

Portland Police Bureau_____

STOPS DATA COLLECTION

The Portland Police Bureau's response to the Criminal Justice Policy and Research Institute's recommendations

Presented to the Community Police Relations Committee

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Introduction

This report documents the Portland Police Bureau's (PPB) follow up to the Portland State University's Criminal Justice and Policy Research Institute (CJPRI) report, "Benchmarking Portland Police Bureau Traffic Stops and Search Data," (Renauer, Henning, & Covelli, Benchmarking Portland Police Bureau Traffic Stop and Search Data, 2009). That report arose out of a request for technical assistance from the CJPRI, aimed at improving how the PPB collects and analyzes its stop and search data.

The CJPRI report highlights issues related to appropriate benchmarking for stop data and emphasizes the importance of a strategy employing multiple benchmarks, including but not limited to, demographic information. The CJPRI report goes on to make recommendations regarding how the PPB can improve both the quality of stop data reporting and the quality of the data itself. The report is available at: <http://www.portlandoregon.gov/police/article/305171>.

This document catalogs the changes made to the stops and search data collection and analysis system (called Stops Data Collection or SDC by the Police Bureau) as a result of the technical assistance provided by the Criminal Justice Policy Research Institute, as well as feedback from community stakeholders. It also provides examples of additional possible analytic approaches that may be useful for examining racial disparities in police contacts. This report will provide:

- A review of the recommendations made by CJPRI.
- A review of the improvements made to the stops data collection process and updated benchmarking techniques.
- The 2011 PPB stops and search data analysis.
- Appendices containing additional analyses conducted at the request of the public and members of the Community Police Relations Committee (CPRC).

One of the main purposes of this document is to provide a resource to those charged with facilitating or participating in discussions around racial disparities in the Portland Police Bureau's stop and search data. The hope is that these analyses and information will provide a broader understanding of where disparities exist and what types of relationships can be explored with this type of data. This is important for enhancing discussions around disparities and making informed decisions on strategies for addressing racial disparities.

CJPRI Recommendations

The CJPRI report makes recommendations around data recording, benchmarking (or the issue of what factors to compare stops data with i.e. demographics, variations in driving patterns, internal benchmarks, etc.) and policy. Below is a summarized list of these recommendations:

Data collection and recording

- Improve quality control
 - Address issues of missing data, review database systems, conduct refresher training for officers
 - Address the issue of unknown race of drivers
- There was confusion about whether the officer's perception of the stopped person's race was before or after the stop. This created a large number of individuals coded with unknown race in traffic stops when the officer did not know the driver's race before the stop was initiated.
 - Retain an easy link between stops and the CAD (computer aided dispatch) system.
 - Create an easy link between the stops information and the citation database.
 - Adopt additional data points, particularly,
- More detailed reasons for the stop
- More detailed reason for searches, including consent, plain view, probable cause and weapons pat down categories
- Number of passengers
- Vehicle registration
- Driver residency

Benchmarking

- Census population should not be the exclusive benchmark
 - Address differential driving patterns and exposure to law enforcement
- Ensure data collection system allows the use of multiple benchmarking strategies, including,
 - Geographic information
 - Time of stop
 - Traffic versus Patrol designation (previously data from Traffic Division officers was collected inconsistently) and many traffic officers (motorcycles in particular) did not have access to an easy way to document their stops.
- Examining crash data and the racial characteristics of drivers involved in crashes
- Observational studies using trained observers to code race/ethnicity of drivers and driving infractions

- Multivariate Analysis of Search Decision-Making
- Internal search rates examining differences in search rates between matched officers

Policy

- The CJPRI report highlights that there is “growing evidence that targeted proactive patrol focused on hotspot crime locations can improve public safety in these areas. However, targeted proactive patrol should entail public input and dialogue and be weighed against intended and unintended consequences”. The report also found that African-American residents in Portland are more likely to live in neighborhoods with higher calls for police service and crime, creating a greater risk for being stopped and searched.
 - Utilize targeted proactive patrols, with public input and dialogue
 - Ideally, this will mitigate the potential damage to the community which can occur as a result of intensive patrol of high crime areas or responses to gang violence which drive a substantial portion of the disproportionate contact between police and community members of color.

Portland Police Bureau response

The Portland Police Bureau has been collecting data, in some form, on police stops since 2001. These data are available at: <http://www.portlandoregon.gov/police/42284>.

Outside reports on PPB stops data have consistently cited the lack of explanation for why variations may occur as a weakness in the PPB's historic approach to disseminating stops data. Conversations with community members have also revealed frustration around simply releasing data without context.

The PPB's goal is to be a leader in the collection and analysis of stops data and to continually improve the quality of both processes. The PPB recognizes that although there are limitations to analyzing stop and search data, examining disparate outcomes is an important part of assessing our services to the community.

This report aims to:

- Document and explain to the community in general and the Community and Police Relations Committee the steps the Portland Police Bureau is taking to improve Stops Data Collection and Analysis.
- Provide examples of different ways this data can be used.
 - Analysis of the stops data for this report is intentionally presented in different formats so that the Portland Police Bureau can work with the Community and Police Relations Committee to determine the ideal format for future analyses.
- Provide context for why disparities exist and inform the community around tactics employed by the police, which may increase disparities in stops.
 - This will hopefully inform a discussion around which tactics to employ and how to develop better solutions to problems related to disparities in exposure to violent crime.
- Inform a discussion around what benchmarks will be used to determine the level of disparity and what kinds of analysis the community and the PPB will find helpful so that future reports can be tailored to meet the needs of the community and the PPB in developing plans to reduce disparities in stops and searches.

The Police Bureau recognizes the importance of improving communication with the community around the reasons disparities exist in stops and search data. The lack of context in existing reports has been a source of frustration for both the community and for researchers working with the PPB data. This report contains sections examining disparities and discussing how the data can be interpreted. Some readers may find the interpretation sections frustrating because often definite conclusions cannot be drawn regarding the cause of racial disparities in this type of data. However, examining racial disparities is still a critical component of identifying root causes of disparities through a combination of data analysis and discussion, and being able to monitor improvements over time.

It is important to remember that racism can play an important (Engel & Calnon, 2004) direct or indirect role in disparities, even if the data to appropriately determine this as

a causal component is not available. For instance, several studies (Renauer, Henning & Covelli, 2009; Renauer, 2012) report that differential exposure to law enforcement increases the number of people of color contacted by police. Even when race does not impact an officer's decision to stop a person it is likely that redlining (using race or other factors to limit services, house, job or other opportunities) and other segregationist policies drive the differential exposure in the first place. Similarly, African Americans appear to be disproportionately exposed to violent Part I crime (violent Part I crimes include: Murder, Rape, Robbery and Aggravated Assault) in the city of Portland, according to current statistics on crime and victimization. This exposure may lead to target enforcement in certain areas which leads to disparities in who is contacted. Determining the role of race as a causal mechanism in disproportionate stops and searches is beyond the data available in this report, but the reader should remain aware that the impact of race may manifest itself at many levels.

The change over to the new reporting system resulted in three separate data sets for 2011. This report will focus on the final data set which began August 5, 2011, and runs through December 31, 2011. Tables for the other 2011 data sets are available at the Portland Police Bureau's website. Starting with 2012 the data will be consistent for the year.

Data collection and recording

After the CJPRI report, which was requested by multiple stakeholders, the PPB began restructuring how it collected stops data. These efforts include making improvements to the quality control process, the types and volume of data collected and importantly, developing a method for including traffic officers' stops more consistently in the collection process. This last piece was especially vital given that traffic officers often conduct more than one-half of all traffic stops in the city and prior to this restructure many of these stops were not captured.

Quality control

Reason for cancelling a stop

Efforts at improving quality control include requiring officers to provide a reason if cancelling a SDC to increase transparency and ensure that any SDC form that is cancelled is being done for a legitimate reason (for instance, if he or she were attached to call by dispatch accidentally, if the officer was not the primary officer on the call, or if the call was not actually a stop).

Ensuring completion of SDC form

In the event an officer logs off without completing an SDC, that officer is notified when he or she logs onto the Portland Police Data System (PPDS) – this is the Bureau's records management system and is used regularly by officers. As an additional layer of accountability, that officer's lieutenant is notified via email weekly that there is an outstanding SDC form until it is completed. This is important as officers are often forced to abruptly end a stop in order to respond to an emergency call. This system helps ensure that SDC forms are completed, even in the event that an emergency or other factor prevents the officer from immediately completing the form.

Addressing issue of overreliance on unknown race

Additional improvements include addressing the issue of the frequency at which “unknown” was used to code the race of the driver. The new SDC format included questions surrounding the perceived race of the driver both before and after the stop. This has reduced the number of unknown/other race drivers from 29% in 2010 to 5.5% between August 5 and December 31, 2011 (the data at which all stops data went live). Of this group, 4.7% (n = 1184) of stops were of an “unknown” race at the time of the stop and .8% (n = 194) of the drivers were coded as “other” race. Table 1 includes the breakdown of citywide traffic stops for the August 5 through December 31, 2011, data (both patrol officers and traffic officers):

Table 1. Citywide Race at Stop of Driver (Traffic & Patrol)		
Race/Ethnicity	Count	Percent
African American/Black	2946	11.8%
Asian	1121	4.5%
Hispanic	1539	6.2%
Native American	66	0.3%
White	17943	71.8%
Unknown/Other	1378	5.5%
Total*	24993	100.1%
* Note: Five stops missing the race of driver. Total does not equal 100% due to rounding.		

Accessibility of stops data form for motorcycle officers

A significant improvement in the stops collection process is the development of an application for handheld devices which allowed officers who did not have access to a mobile data computer (MDC), such as officers who work on motorcycles, to enter stops data immediately. This parallel system links with the citation data (also recommended in the CJPRI report).

Other improvements include the addition of new fields to allow for more precise analysis. The fields included in this data set are (see Appendix C for a screen shot of the form as it appears in an officer’s MDC):

- Description of the stop category (traffic/patrol)
- SDC Type (driver, passenger or pedestrian)
- Race prior to stop (frequently unknown for traffic stops)
- Race at stop (see Table 2)
- Gender prior to stop
- Gender at stop
- Age prior to stop
- Age at stop
- Reason for stop (major moving violation, minor moving violation, etc.)
- Reason for search (if conducted)

- Search results
- Action taken (citation, arrest, warning, etc.)
- Date and time of SDC
- Associated linking numbers such as citation or warning number for traffic officers
- Reason if cancelled
- Precinct of stop (if a patrol officer)
- Police district of stop (if a patrol officer)
- Geo-codable citation location (this is only for Patrol Officers and is a result of the limitations required by having separate systems for officers who do not have access to MDCs)

Benchmarking

The CJPRI report and other researchers recommend utilizing multiple benchmarks to assess racial disparities in stops and search data. This is done to help compensate for the limitations of the data and benchmarks, ensure existing disparities will be identified, and to better identify some of the contributing factors to racial disparities in stops and searches.

As well as census data the following methods have been advocated:

- Adjusted census data
- Driver license data
- Not-at-fault vehicle accidents
- Blind enforcement
- Observations of driving behavior
- Internal comparisons

(Tillyer, Engel, & Cherkauskas, 2010)

Researchers have also advocated the separate analysis of “traffic” type enforcement, which could be expected to yield stop rates consistent with the rate at which different demographic groups commit driving infractions and “investigative” type stops in which officers stop vehicles and pedestrians for infractions, but the primary purpose of these stops is to address criminal activity as opposed to traffic enforcement (Fridell, 2004). “Investigative” stops pose a particular concern to many community members as they often entail more subjective decision making than “traffic” stops, thus opening the door for bias.

The following list contains the benchmarks adopted for this study and reasons for their adoption. This does not preclude the use of additional/different benchmarks in future analyses if the community desires and the resources necessary to conduct the analysis are made available to the PPB:

- Unadjusted census data on race/ethnicity
 - Easily accessible
 - Generally understood by the public
- Accident data (serious injury)
 - Easily accessible
 - An indicator of the demographics of individuals driving
 - Helps control for the fact that unadjusted census data may not reflect driving population
- Calls involving violence by neighborhood
 - Easily accessible
 - Reduce police discretion as these calls are primarily the result of citizens calling police for assistance
 - Provides important context for patrol division stops as the Bureau is responsive to violent crime and focuses patrol officers in areas with violent crime
- Exposure to violent crime (measured by victimization in a violent Part I crime)
 - Easily accessible
 - Reduce police discretion
 - Due to the seriousness of these offenses the measure should be resistant to police bias as estimators of the prevalence of violent crime
 - Victimization data can measure who is exposed to violent crime and is less resistant to bias than when victims recount suspect race.
 - This indicator is resistant to variations within neighborhood.
 - Even when people of color and whites live in the same neighborhood it is possible that people of color live in the more dangerous sections of the neighborhood and are therefore exposed to more violence.
 - Victimization data will capture this where as neighborhood level crime statistics (without the demographic information on victims) may not.

The first benchmarks (census data) should be expected to relate to both patrol and Traffic Division officers. The second variables (crash data) should impact both divisions, but be more apparent in the activity of the Traffic Division. The final two variables should have limited impact on Traffic Division stops and searches and a greater impact on patrol division stops and searches.

Other benchmarking strategies advocated in the CJPRI report have not been adopted. These include internal benchmarking (which requires the examination of data at the officer level and would require union approval) and observational studies (which can be very costly). Both of these methods would require resources not currently available to the Strategic Services Division and would be cost prohibitive to implement at this time.

Policy

The Police Bureau has begun to explore various methods for improving community input. The PPB has been working with the Community Police Relations Committee to identify ways to increase community input into how the Bureau can improve. Chief Reese attended a Race Talks session in 2013 on racial profiling to hear from members of the community who are concerned about this issue. In addition to these efforts, the PPB will be conducting surveys of the community on issues related to police legitimacy.

The Bureau is exploring an expanded partnership to continue to gain specific information aimed at improving community and police relations. The Bureau hopes to improve relationships with the community by working with the community to create crime reduction strategies that are both effective and consistent with the values of the citizens of Portland. Some examples of these strategies include the recent collaboration between the PPB and 11:45 (a group of pastors and other individuals working on gang outreach) to address gang violence and other community issues, working with community members to make downtown safer by closing streets and working with residents of Hayden Island to improve the livability of their neighborhood.

2011 Data analyses

Data

The following analyses on stops and searches utilize the PPB's stop and search data from the date of August 5 to December 31, 2011. The initial dataset consisted of 31,143 records. 5,531 records were unusable and removed from the data set for the following reasons:

- 3,432 were duplicate records or the stop was cancelled (Table 2 below)
- 1,879 occurred prior to noon on August 5, 2011¹
- 7 records were actually Gresham or Troutdale Police calls
- 213 records focused on the passenger of the vehicle (these can be used for future, separate analyses if desired)

PPB officers cancelled 11% of their SDC forms. Table 2 displays the reason officers cancelled these SDC forms (this table includes both pedestrian and traffic stops):

Table 2. Reasons for Cancelling Stop		
Reason	Count	Percent
Duplicate Stop	510	1.6%
Flagged Down (no stop)	83	0.3%
Mere Conversation (no stop)	2092	6.7%
Welfare Check (no stop)	336	1.1%
Other	411	1.3%
Not Cancelled	27711	89.0%
Total	31143	100.0%

The final analysis consisted of 24,998 records involving the driver of a vehicle on traffic stops and 614 records involving pedestrian stops.

Unresolved data issues

Several issues were identified through this analysis that will need to be resolved. These issues include:

Duplicate entries for what appears to be the same stop.

For instance, 1.5 % of patrol stops had duplicate entries where the race of the driver was the same on both entries. This may be accurate (i.e. officers stopped multiple persons on the same incident), but this needs to be confirmed. Initial analysis indicates that some portion of these duplicates are legitimate (for instance duplicate entries with different race and gender information on the same incident), others may be the result the same data being entered multiple times (for instance several stops on the

¹ The change to the new stop and search data collection system occurred on August 5, 2011. 1,299 of the 1,879 cases prior to noon on August 5, 2011, were at exactly 10:03:25, suggesting an initial error in the collection system. The cases after noon reflected reasonable activity and were likely accurate, so the data used for this report began on August 5, 2011 at noon.

same incident each logged 18 to 24 seconds apart).

The impact of these issues on the quality of the analysis appears to be minimal. For instance, 1.2% of stops of African-American/Black drivers by patrol had duplicate entries (this amounts to 24 stops) while 1.4% of stops of White drivers by patrol had duplicate entries (this amounts to 101 stops). Traffic Division had a higher percentage of duplicate entries (approximately 3.5% of stops of drivers), but this may be due to higher number of legitimate entries when an officer stops multiple drivers at the same time.

Issues surrounding the recovery of property when no search was conducted

Officers can recover property and list it in the SDC form when no search has been conducted. This was very uncommon, but creates confusion in the data analysis. Some portion of these may be the results of officers recovering property on a stop unrelated to the incident. However, given the SDC form's current configuration it is impossible to determine what portion of this is the result of human error (incorrectly indicating that no search had been conducted) and which portion is legitimate. A solution for this has been identified and the PPB is working on implementing it. This change should resolve this issue in future analyses.

Analysis

Benchmarks – Who is driving?

One of the most frequently used benchmarks for stops data is census data (Engel & Calnon, 2004). Census reporting can be informative, but is generally not a sufficient benchmark when used alone. As pointed out by Renauer et al., 2009, a variety of benchmarks is ideal. However, census and survey data can act as one potential source of benchmarking. Table 3 is taken from the American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates for 2007 to 2011:

Race/Ethnicity	Percent
One race	95.7%
White	77.4%
Black or African American	6.3%
American Indian and Alaska Native	1.0%
Asian	7.2%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	0.5%
Some other race	3.2%
Two or more races	4.3%
Hispanic or Latino origin (of any race)	9.2%
White alone, not Hispanic or Latino	72.4%

The structure of Census and American Community Survey data is not consistent with the PPB data (Withrow, 2008). The Portland Police Bureau has consistently collected data based on the following categories: African American/Black, Asian, Hispanic, Native American, White, and Unknown/Other. While the Census and American Community Survey data are more descriptive, officers are coding based on their perceptions so it would be difficult to match this level of specificity. However, because one of the

concerns is that people are being treated unfairly based on racial perceptions and that it may be harmful and invasive to be asking community members for their racial and ethnic identity when stopped, this coding practice appears to be reasonable at this time.

This limitation may make comparisons between PPB data and ACS or Census data less accurate. For instance, some community members have justifiably pointed out that many Native American persons may be mistakenly coded as Hispanic. Other issues may arise when an officer attempts to code Hispanic individuals who are White. This limitation may be insurmountable without officers asking invasive questions not related to the stop. The PPB's position is that the damage caused by asking such questions would outweigh any potential benefits from capturing more accurate data. Given these limitations, direct comparisons to census data may be misleading.

An alternate for assessing who is using roadways is the use of the demographic data of non-responsible drivers in two vehicle accidents (Alpert, Smith, & Dunham, 2004). Unfortunately, their exact methodology could not be replicated because the PPB data does not differentiate between single and multiple vehicle accidents. Despite this limitation, the PPB crash data does have several attractive characteristics for a potential benchmark.

One benefit of the data is that PPB policy (Portland Police Bureau, 2009) requires investigations for serious injury accidents. These accident investigations are conducted by trained traffic officers, if they are available, utilizing a standardized methodology which limits discretion. Additionally, the demographic characteristics collected for this data set is in a format consistent with other PPB data. As such, these accidents represent a possible benchmark for road usage. Table 4 examines the demographic characteristics of drivers involved in injury accidents as captured by PPDS between August 5, 2011 and December 31, 2011:

Table 4. Drivers in Injury Accidents in Portland

Race/Ethnicity	All Drivers	
	Count	Percent
African American/Black	23	6.6%
Asian	25	7.2%
Hispanic	32	9.2%
Native American	1	0.3%
White	262	75.5%
Unknown/Other	4	1.2%
Total	347	100.0%

The accident data for the dates of August 5 to December 31, 2011, was used in order to match the dates of the stop data. Future analyses could also consider using an average for 1-3 years in order to make these percentages more robust. Despite the low counts, this data is consistent with other benchmarks (ACS 5-Year and Census 18 and over). Having multiple benchmarks that provide similar benchmarks for who is driving should increase our confidence in the accuracy of these benchmarks.

Who is stopped and searched?

The next several pages provide the stops and searches analyses with the following breakdowns:

- Traffic and Patrol Stops of Drivers Combined
- Traffic and Patrol Pedestrian Stops Combined
- Traffic Stops of Drivers Only
- Patrol Stops of Drivers Only
- Patrol Pedestrian Stops Only

The data for traffic and patrol officers are broken down because officers focusing on traffic enforcement have different criteria for stops, operate in different areas and at different times of the day than patrol officers, who tend to be more focused on crime reduction as opposed to traffic law enforcement.

Stops of drivers for Traffic and patrol

Table 5 displays the demographic breakdown of all stops of the drivers of motor vehicles occurring between August 5, 2011, and December 31, 2011 in the city of Portland (both patrol and Traffic Division officers):

Table 5. Citywide Race at Stop of Driver (Traffic & Patrol)		
Race/Ethnicity	Count	Percent
African American/Black	2946	11.8%
Asian	1121	4.5%
Hispanic	1539	6.2%
Native American	66	0.3%
White	17943	71.8%
Unknown/Other	1378	5.5%
Total*	24993	100.1%
* Note: Five stops missing the race of driver. Total does not equal 100% due to rounding.		

The main findings:

- African Americans/Blacks were more likely to be stopped compared to both their Census and accident data estimates. This is the only racial/ethnic group in this analysis that is consistently stopped in greater proportion than their driving population would indicate. There were 1,296 more stops of African Americans/Blacks than we would expect given their approximate percentage of the driving population (using the higher estimate for their driving population).
- Asians were less likely to be stopped compared to both their Census and accident data estimates.
- Hispanics were less likely to be stopped compared to both their Census and accident data estimates.
- Native Americans were less likely to be stopped compared to the Census estimates but are stopped at an equivalent rate compared to the accident data.

- Whites were less likely to be stopped compared to both their Census and accident data estimates.
- The Unknown/Other category is difficult to compare to the Census estimates. This group was more likely to be stopped compared to their accident data estimate.

Reasons for the Stop

Table 6 displays the reasons citywide for stops. This information is collected to provide greater clarity on the reasons for stops. One goal of this is to identify “pre-text” stops (stops in which the traffic violation is used to initiate an investigative contact) which may be more susceptible to bias (Fridell, 2004; Renauer et al., 2009). A potential cause for the disproportionate use of pre-text stops against differing groups would be large differences in the use of more subjective or lower level offenses as a reason for stopping people of color. For instance, the use of equipment violations as a reason for stopping drivers of color may signify the use of such violations as a “pre-text” for stopping (although it may also be the result of other disparities such as socio-economic differences). Another important consideration would be the magnitude (or relative number) of such stops.

Table 6. Citywide Reasons for Stops of Drivers

RACE/ETHNICITY	City Code		Equipment		License		Major ¹		Minor ²		Other		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	6	0.2%	365	12.4%	118	4.0%	866	29.4%	1560	53.0%	31	1.1%	2946	100.0%
Asian	1	0.1%	95	8.5%	16	1.4%	388	34.6%	613	54.7%	8	0.7%	1121	100.0%
Hispanic	5	0.3%	168	10.9%	39	2.5%	502	32.6%	799	51.9%	26	1.7%	1539	100.0%
Native American	0	0.0%	9	13.6%	2	3.0%	21	31.8%	34	51.5%	0	0.0%	66	100.0%
White	15	0.1%	1504	8.4%	395	2.2%	5940	33.1%	9993	55.7%	96	0.5%	17943	100.0%
Unknown/Other	4	0.3%	118	8.6%	11	0.8%	364	26.4%	846	61.4%	35	2.5%	1378	100.0%
Grand Total*	31	0.1%	2259	9.0%	581	2.3%	8081	32.3%	13845	55.4%	196	0.8%	24998	100.0%

¹ Major Moving Violation (Traffic crime, A or B Infraction)

² Minor Moving Violation (Class C or D Infraction)

*Note five stops missing race of driver

The main findings:

- The distribution of reasons for why drivers were stopped was fairly similar among the six racial/ethnic groups.
- African Americans/Blacks and those in the Unknown/Other category were the least likely to be pulled over for a major traffic violation (African American/Blacks = 29.4%, Unknown/Other = 26.4%, and Whites = 33.1%).
- Native Americans, African Americans/Blacks, and Hispanics were more likely than Whites to be pulled over for an equipment violation (Native American = 13.6%, African Americans/Blacks = 12.4%, Hispanics = 10.9%, and Whites = 8.4%).
- African Americans/Blacks and Native Americans were more likely to be stopped for a license violation than Whites (African Americans = 4.0%, Native Americans = 3.0%, and Whites = 2.2%).
- African Americans/Blacks, Hispanics, and those in the Unknown/Other category were more likely than Whites to be stopped for an “other” violation. (African American/Blacks = 1.1%, Hispanics = 1.7%, Unknown/Other = 2.5%, and Whites = .5%).
- One suggestion for future analysis would be to add an indicator to the SDC form so

that officers could identify which stops were the results of an emphasis on traffic enforcement and which stops were conducted for investigative purposes (i.e. “pre-text” stops).

Searches of drivers

Table 7 examines searches of drivers citywide within race (i.e. when a white person is stopped a consent search is conducted 1.9% of the time):

RACE/ETHNICITY	Consent		No Search		Plain View		Probable Cause		Weapons Pat Down		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	245	8.3%	2572	87.3%	12	0.4%	78	2.6%	39	1.3%	2946	100.0%
Asian	8	0.7%	1101	98.2%	2	0.2%	9	0.8%	1	0.1%	1121	100.0%
Hispanic	70	4.5%	1415	91.9%	5	0.3%	32	2.1%	17	1.1%	1539	100.0%
Native American	3	4.5%	60	90.9%	1	1.5%	2	3.0%	0	0.0%	66	100.0%
White	349	1.9%	17318	96.5%	32	0.2%	184	1.0%	60	0.3%	17943	100.0%
Unknown/Other	21	1.5%	1335	96.9%	2	0.1%	9	0.7%	11	0.8%	1378	100.0%
Total*	696	2.8%	23806	95.2%	54	0.2%	314	1.3%	128	0.5%	24998	100.0%

* Note % stops missing race of driver, however none of these stops resulted in a search of a driver. These stops were added to the No Search and Total columns.

The main findings:

- African-American/Black, Hispanic, and Native American drivers that were stopped were more likely than Whites to have a consent search while Asian drivers were less likely to be searched when stopped.
- 8.3 percent of the African-American/Black drivers that were stopped had a consent search.
- 4.5 percent of the Hispanic drivers that were stopped had a consent search.
- 4.5 percent of the Native American drivers that were stopped had a consent search.
- 1.9 percent of White drivers that were stopped had a consent search.
- 0.7 percent of Asian drivers that were stopped had a consent search.
- Approximately 95% of drivers that were stopped were not searched. In the roughly five month period examined, police searched³:
 - 374 African-American/Black Drivers
 - 20 Asian Drivers
 - 124 Hispanic Drivers
 - 6 Native American Drivers
 - 625 White Drivers
 - 43 Drivers whose race was unknown or not captured in the above categories.

Hit Rates on Searches

Fridell (2004) highlights issues that surround the use of hit rates (a hit rate is the percentage of searches which result in finding contraband)⁴ in general, and the

³ This number was calculated by subtracting the “No Search” value from the Total number of stops.

⁴ The PPB collects data on the following types of contraband: alcohol, drugs, nothing found, other, stolen property and weapons.

problem related to the analysis of consent searches in particular⁵. While not addressed by Fridell, there is an additional issue regarding searches with the PPB. Officers are trained to ask for consent even when other legal reasons for a search exist (this is due to the fact that consent searches are less likely to be lost in a motion to suppress). Thus, the relatively high number of consent searches may be deceptive because other legitimate search reasons may have existed, but not been captured. This problem illustrates the difficulty of collecting and analyzing data of this complexity. Despite these issues, the use of hit rates is a viable method to examine the relative productivity of searches. Table 8 examines the hit rates of stopped drivers citywide for various kinds of contraband:

Table 8. Hit Rates of Stopped Drivers Citywide (Traffic and Patrol) for all contraband, Alcohol, Drugs and Weapons¹

Race/Ethnicity	Total Searches	All Contraband		Alcohol		Drugs		Weapons		Contraband excluding Alcohol	
		Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent
African American/Black	374	114	30.5%	21	5.6%	65	17.4%	18	4.8%	93	24.9%
Asian	20	7	35.0%	1	5.0%	6	30.0%	1	5.0%	6	30.0%
Hispanic	124	37	29.8%	11	8.9%	19	15.3%	4	3.2%	31	25.0%
Native American	6	5	83.3%	3	50.0%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	33.3%
White	625	267	42.7%	96	15.4%	138	22.1%	23	3.7%	172	27.5%
Unknown/Other	43	19	44.2%	1	2.3%	7	16.3%	1	2.3%	18	41.9%
All Non-White ²	567	182	32.1%	37	6.5%	99	17.5%	24	4.2%	150	26.5%
Total³	1192	449	37.7%	133	11.2%	237	19.9%	47	3.9%	322	27.0%

¹ Officers can choose between the following results: Alcohol, Drugs, Other, Nothing Found, Stolen Property and Weapons. Stolen property and others are not included individually but are included in all contraband.

² This category is created by subtracting white driver results from the total and is not unique in the original data set. It includes unknown/other race individuals.

³ Total Searches may not equal search results because multiple items can be recovered in the same search.

Main Findings:

- African Americans/Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics that were searched were less likely than Whites to be found with contraband.
- 29.8 percent of Hispanics that were searched had some form of contraband.
- 30.5 percent of African Americans/Blacks that were searched had some form of contraband.
- 35.0 percent of Asians that were searched had some form of contraband.
- 42.7 percent of Whites that were searched had some form of contraband.
- 83.3 percent of Native Americans that were searched had some form of contraband (the percentages for Native Americans can be misleading due to the low search counts for this group).
- Some of the disparity appears to be related to alcohol. The hit rates when excluding alcohol are more similar than when alcohol is being accounted for.

Stops of pedestrians for Traffic and patrol

Table 9 displays the demographic breakdown of all pedestrians stopped by PPB officers in the city of Portland between August 5 and December 31, 2011. The comparison here is more difficult since we do not have an additional measure to verify the racial/ethnic breakdown of pedestrians like we do with who is driving.

⁵ Please refer to Fridell (2004) for a comprehensive review of the controversy surrounding hit rates. As mentioned earlier in this report, without an indicator of who is asked for consent versus who grants consent any analysis is of limited utility. This is especially relevant given that over half of actual searches by PPB officers is a consent search.

Table 9. Citywide Race at Stops of Pedestrians (Traffic and Patrol)

RACE/ETHNICITY	Total	
	Count	Percent
African American/Black	120	19.5%
Asian	12	2.0%
Hispanic	37	6.0%
Native American	10	1.6%
White	410	66.8%
Unknown/Other	24	3.9%
Grand Total*	614	100.0%

*Note includes one stop without race of pedestrian.

The main findings:

- African Americans/Blacks were more likely to have a pedestrian stop compared to their Census estimates. The difference in the pedestrian stops was greater than the difference for drivers.
- Asians were less likely to have a pedestrian stop compared to their Census estimates. The difference in the pedestrian stops was greater than the difference for drivers.
- Hispanics were less likely to have a pedestrian stop compared to their Census estimates. The difference in the pedestrian stops was similar to their difference for drivers.
- Native Americans were more likely to have a pedestrian stop compared to their Census estimates.
- Whites were less likely to have a pedestrian stop compared to their Census estimates. The difference in the pedestrian stops was greater than the difference for drivers.
- The Unknown/Other category is difficult to compare to the Census estimates. This group was more likely to have a pedestrian stop compared to their accident data estimate. This disparity was less in the pedestrian stops than for the drivers of this category.

Table 10 listed the reasons for pedestrian stops citywide. Given the very small number of pedestrians stopped in some racial/ethnic categories, it is difficult to draw conclusions on the data for the Asian, Native American, Hispanic and Unknown/Other pedestrians. Therefore the findings will focus on a comparison between African American/Blacks and Whites.

Table 10. Citywide Reasons for Stops of Pedestrians

RACE/ETHNICITY	City Code		Equipment		License		Major ¹		Minor ²		Other		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	19	15.8%	8	6.7%	4	3.3%	21	17.5%	43	35.8%	25	20.8%	120	100.0%
Asian	0	0.0%	1	8.3%	0	0.0%	6	50.0%	4	33.3%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%
Hispanic	8	21.6%	2	5.4%	1	2.7%	7	18.9%	11	29.7%	8	21.6%	37	100.0%
Native American	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	2	20.0%	4	40.0%	10	100.0%
White	84	20.5%	27	6.6%	4	1.0%	78	19.0%	136	33.2%	81	19.8%	410	100.0%
Unknown/Other	2	8.3%	4	16.7%	1	4.2%	2	8.3%	11	45.8%	4	16.7%	24	100.0%
Grand Total*	116	18.9%	42	6.8%	10	1.6%	116	18.9%	207	33.7%	123	20.0%	614	100.0%

¹ Major Moving Violation (Traffic crime, A or B Infraction)

² Minor Moving Violation (Class C or D Infraction)

*Note includes one stop without race of pedestrian. This person was stopped for a major violation. It is included in the major violation and total columns.

The main findings:

- The distribution of reasons for why African-American/Black and White pedestrians were stopped was fairly similar.
- African American/Blacks were slightly less likely than Whites to be stopped for a major violation (African American/Blacks = 17.5% and Whites = 19.0%) and slightly more likely to be stopped for a minor violation (African American/Blacks = 35.8% and Whites = 33.2%).
- African American/Blacks were more likely than Whites to be stopped for a license violation (African American/Black = 3.3% and Whites = 1.0%).

There were only 614 stops of pedestrians compared with 24,998 traffic stops during this period. However, there were approximately 2,000 stops forms cancelled which involved mere conversation type contacts. These contacts could include a wide variety of activities, but are different from stops in that the person being contacted is free to leave and is not being legally detained.

Summary

As noted previously in this report, analyzing and interpreting stop and search data has its challenges. Therefore, examining multiple analyses and considering multiple contributing factors to why disparities exist is important. Researchers specializing in analyzing disparities in stops data suggest examining various analyses and looking at patterns of disparate outcomes to help identify whether the findings are concerning. In these initial findings, of particular concern is the disparate impact on African Americans/Blacks. They are demonstrating the greatest disparities and concerning findings in the stops data, as the data shows consistent disparities for this group (in traffic stops and searches, reasons for the stop, consent searches, hit rates, and pedestrian stops). Native Americans and Hispanics had disparities in some of the analyses, suggesting they also should be looked at in more in-depth analyses. However, these disparities tended to be smaller and less consistent than those for the African Americans/Blacks.

Particularly since disparities were found in these initial analyses, it was important to conduct further analyses to better understand the reason for the disparities. For instance, past reports have found marked difference in the findings between the traffic and patrol divisions. Other findings have noted that the disparities in stops correlate with areas that have more crime and therefore more proactive patrol. Although the cause of racial disparities can be from multiple reasons that often overlap or are interrelated and therefore challenging to analyze, better understanding these relationships is a critical step to finding the solutions to reduce disparities.

Stops and searches by the Traffic Division⁶

Traffic officers' primary focus should be violations related to traffic law. There may be some variation as strategies using traffic enforcement to buttress patrol efforts at crime reduction are becoming more common. An example of this is the federally sponsored Data Driven Approaches to Crime and Traffic Safety (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2009), which focuses traffic enforcement on areas with both crime and traffic safety issues. The PPB has utilized a similar strategy⁷ (traffic enforcement in high crime areas), which may result in some variation from the driving estimate or census benchmarks.

Stops

Table 11 displays the demographic breakdown of vehicle stops (of the driver) by traffic officers citywide between August 5, 2011, and December 31, 2011:

Table 11. Citywide Race at Stop of Driver (Traffic Division)		
Race/Ethnicity	Count	Percent
African American/Black	985	7.1%
Asian	570	4.1%
Hispanic	670	4.9%
Native American	18	0.1%
White	10784	78.3%
Unknown/Other	745	5.4%
Total*	13777	100.0%
*Note five stops missing race of driver		

In the earlier section on benchmarking who is driving, we discussed several possible benchmarks. Fridell (2004) proposes the use of a "Disparity Index" to examine disparity in stops. This system can help examine the stops of both traffic and patrol division more closely using various benchmarks to help assess disparities in stops. Under this system, a value greater than "1" would indicate an over-representation of the stopped group. Further analysis is needed to determine the cause of the disparity. Values less than "1" would indicate under-representation. Table 12 examines the stops by Traffic Division of African-American/Black, Asian, Hispanic, Native American, White drivers and Unknown/Other race drivers⁸:

⁶ Because of very small numbers associated with certain activities (such as pedestrian stops) by Traffic Division officers, there is a limited amount of analysis which can be conducted. Using a full year (or even multiple years) of data when available will allow for a more thorough analysis.

⁷ Per conversations with Traffic Captain David Hendrie, the PPB Traffic officers will occasionally be detailed to enforce traffic laws in areas experiencing high crime. Traffic officers in these details still focus on traffic enforcement but are focused in high crime areas. The demographics of these areas may not be representative of the city as a whole.

⁸ Stops of Native Americans are included in this table but are difficult to interpret due to the small sample size, n = 18.

Table 12. Citywide Race at Stop of Driver (Traffic Division)

Race/Ethnicity	Actual Stops		ACS 5-Year Benchmark ¹		Injury Crash Benchmark	
	Count	Percent	Percent	Disparity Index	Percent	Disparity Index
African American/Black	985	7.1%	6.3%	1.1	6.6%	1.1
Asian	570	4.1%	7.2%	0.6	7.2%	0.6
Hispanic	670	4.9%	9.2%	0.5	9.2%	0.5
Native American	18	0.1%	1.0%	0.1	1.0%	0.1
White	10784	78.3%	72.4%	1.1	75.5%	1.0
Unknown/Other	745	5.4%	3.2%	1.7	1.2%	4.5
Total^{2,3}	13777	100.0%	99.3%	1.0	100.0%	1.0

¹ PPB data collection around race/ethnicity is not consistent with ACS/Census data making attempts at comparison difficult and potentially inappropriate (Withrow, 2008). This chart attempts to use the most consistent categories within each group. Injury crash data is collected using consistent metrics, making it more useful for comparison purposes.

² Note five stops missing race of driver

³ ACS data does not sum to 100% because the PPB does not collect data on multi-racial individuals (see footnote 1).

The main findings:

- African American/Black drivers constituted 7.1 percent of the traffic stops, which is close to their compared Census and accident data estimates.
- Asian drivers were 4.1 percent of the traffic stops, which is significantly lower than would be expected, compared to their Census and accident data estimates.
- Hispanic drivers were 4.9 percent of the stops by the Traffic Division, which is about half of the amount that would be expected compared to their Census and accident data estimates.
- White drivers constituted 78.3 percent of stops by the Traffic Division, which is about equal to the expected amount from their accident data estimates and slightly greater than their Census estimate.
- An examination of the disparity index of the stops reveals that African-American/Black and White drivers are stopped at rates roughly consistent with their representation in other benchmarks. Asian, Hispanic and Native American drivers are stopped at rates below what might be expected. Finally, Other/Unknown race drivers are stopped at rates much higher than would be expected. While this may be concerning it is not unexpected. Officers will regularly ask the race of the injured party in an accident so that the appropriate forms can be completed. This is not common in traffic stops, where asking the race of the person stopped may cause additional stress for the stopped party and is not necessary for the completion of the traffic citation or warning.

Table 13 examines the reasons for stops of drivers by Traffic Division officers:

Table 13. Citywide Reasons for Stops of Drivers (Traffic Division)

RACE/ETHNICITY	City Code		Equipment		License		Major ¹		Minor ²		Other		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	1	0.1%	44	4.5%	9	0.9%	348	35.3%	583	59.2%	0	0.0%	985	100.0%
Asian	0	0.0%	19	3.3%	1	0.2%	198	34.7%	351	61.6%	1	0.2%	570	100.0%
Hispanic	0	0.0%	26	3.9%	7	1.0%	264	39.4%	369	55.1%	4	0.6%	670	100.0%
Native American	0	0.0%	1	5.6%	1	5.6%	5	27.8%	11	61.1%	0	0.0%	18	100.0%
White	3	0.0%	443	4.1%	67	0.6%	3768	34.9%	6,496	60.2%	7	0.1%	10784	100.0%
Unknown/Other	3	0.4%	19	2.6%	0	0.0%	211	28.3%	510	68.5%	2	0.3%	745	100.0%
Grand Total*	7	0.1%	552	4.0%	85	0.6%	4799	34.8%	8,320	60.4%	14	0.1%	13777	100.0%

¹Major Moving Violation (Traffic crime, A or B Infraction)²Minor Moving Violation (Class C or D Infraction)

*Note includes five stops without race of pedestrian. All these stops were stopped for a major violation. These numbers are included in the major violation and total columns.

The main findings:

- There were only minor differences in the reasons for stops between African-American/Black, Asian, Hispanic and White drivers.
- Native American driver stop reasons are difficult to interpret due to the small number of Native Americans in this analysis.
- Unknown/Other race drivers exhibit some differences in the reasons for stops, being slightly less likely to be stopped for a major violation and more likely to be stopped for a minor violation.

Searches

Traffic Division officers conduct searches in only 1.5% of all stops⁹, therefore, the counts in some analyses within the racial categories is low (for instance traffic officers conducted just ten consent searches of African-American/Black drivers, only one consent search of a Native American driver, and did not conduct any consent searches of Asian drivers). Having a full year of data available for analysis with the 2012 data may provide more accurate estimates regarding the distribution of searches for these groups. Table 14 provides the raw numbers of searches by Traffic Division officers:

Table 14. Reasons for Searches of Drivers by Traffic Division (% by Ethnicity/Race)*

RACE/ETHNICITY	Consent		No Search		Plain View		Probable Cause		Weapons Pat Down		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	10	1.0%	947	96.1%	1	0.1%	24	2.4%	3	0.3%	985	100.0%
Asian	0	0.0%	566	99.3%	1	0.2%	3	0.5%	0	0.0%	570	100.0%
Hispanic	6	0.9%	647	96.6%	2	0.3%	15	2.2%	0	0.0%	670	100.0%
Native American	1	5.6%	16	88.9%	0	0.0%	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	18	100.0%
White	51	0.5%	10645	98.7%	3	0.0%	79	0.7%	6	0.1%	10784	100.0%
Unknown/Other	1	0.1%	742	99.6%	0	0.0%	2	0.3%	0	0.0%	745	100.0%
Total*	69	0.5%	13568	98.5%	7	0.1%	124	0.9%	9	0.1%	13777	100.0%

* Note 5 stops missing race of driver, however none of these stops resulted in a search of a driver. These stops were added to the No Search and Total columns.

The main findings:

- Drivers were very rarely searched by Traffic Division officers and when searches were conducted they were generally (59.3%) the result of probable cause.
- African-American/Black, Hispanic, and Native American drivers that were stopped were more likely than White drivers to have a consent search.

⁹ This was calculated by subtracting the percentage of stops with "No Search" from the "Total" percentage of stops.

- Asian drivers and those in the unknown/other category were less likely than White drivers to have a consent search.
- 1 percent of the African-American/Black drivers that were stopped had a consent search. These were ten consent searches of African-American/Black drivers.
- 0.9 percent of the Hispanic drivers had a consent search. These were six consent searches of Hispanic drivers.
- 5.6 percent of the Native American drivers had a consent search. This was one Native American driver.
- 0.5 percent of the White drivers had a consent search. These were 51 White drivers.
- None of the Asian drivers that were stopped had a consent search.

Hit Rates on Searches

Table 15 examines hit rates for Traffic Division officers.

Race/Ethnicity	Total Searches	All Contraband		Alcohol		Drugs		Weapons		Contraband excluding Alcohol	
		Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent
African American/Black	38	10	26.3%	3	7.9%	5	13.2%	1	2.6%	7	18.4%
Asian	4	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%
Hispanic	23	7	30.4%	5	21.7%	2	8.7%	0	0.0%	7	30.4%
Native American	2	2	100.0%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
White	139	74	53.2%	60	43.2%	12	8.6%	0	0.0%	15	10.8%
Unknown/Other	3	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
All Non-White ²	70	21	30.0%	10	14.3%	9	12.9%	1	1.4%	16	22.9%
Total³	209	95	45.5%	70	33.5%	21	10.0%	1	0.5%	31	14.8%

¹ Officers can choose between the following results: Alcohol, Drugs, Other, Nothing Found, Stolen Property and Weapons. Stolen property and others are not included individually but are included in all contraband.

² This category is created by subtracting white driver results from the total and is not unique in the original data set. It includes unknown/other race individuals.

³ Total Searches may not equal search results because multiple items can be recovered in the same search.

The Main Findings

Due to the small sample it is difficult to draw many conclusions from Table 15 for the Asian, Native American or Unknown/Other category.

- African Americans/Blacks and Hispanics that were searched were less likely than Whites to be found with contraband. When alcohol is excluded, African Americans/Blacks were more likely than Whites to be found with contraband but Hispanics are still slightly less likely than Whites to be found with contraband.
- 26.3 percent of African Americans/Blacks that were searched had some form of contraband.
- 30.4 percent of Hispanics that were searched had some form of contraband.
- 53.2 percent of Whites that were searched had some form of contraband.

Summary

Overall the distribution of stops made by the Traffic Division are consistent with the Census and accident data estimates, with the exception of Asian and Hispanic drivers being stopped at a substantially lower rate than one would expect. African-American/Black drivers are only slightly over-represented in stops by the Traffic Division unlike

their findings for traffic and patrol division combined. Given that Traffic Division stops consist of approximately 55% of all stops of drivers by PPB officers this finding is important. It is important to note that the small number of Native American drivers stopped made interpretation of the analyses for this group difficult.

Disparities were found in the percentage of consent searches conducted for African-American/Black and Hispanic drivers; however, this disparity is markedly less than in the previous analyses suggesting that much of the disparity in searches is related to patrol stops. The numbers of consent searches (10 consent searches of African-American/Black drivers, 6 consent searches of Hispanic drivers and 51 consent searches of White drivers) are very small, involving 1% or less of the drivers stopped by the Traffic Division.

Future analysis should examine this trend with an entire (or even multiple) years worth of data. Additionally, using a multi-year dataset of injury accidents may be the best potential benchmark¹⁰. Search data will also benefit from a larger data set. While PPB Traffic officers make a large number of stops, the majority of these are non-investigative and do not result in searches.

¹⁰ By examining multiple years the demographic breakdown will be: (1) more stable (due to a larger number of stops), (2) that data is formatted in a manner consistent with PPB stops data (over-coming issues related to multi-racial categories included in ACS and Census data but not accounted for by PPB data) and (3) will allow us to examine the Unknown/Other category which may improve the accuracy of the potential benchmark.

Stops and searches by officers working patrol assignments

Unlike Traffic Division, where all of the officers are assigned work in the same division with similar goals and responsibilities, officers working patrol encompass a wide range of divisions with various responsibilities. For instance, captured under Patrol are units working gang enforcement, units working in Neighborhood Response Teams when in uniform and on patrol, street crimes units which may focus on drug dealing and other livability type crimes, transit division officers who focus on crimes related to TriMet, district officers working in areas of the city ranging from deep in Southwest Portland to far East Portland. These units have a range of responsibilities that include: the enforcement of traffic laws; the prevention of property crime and violent crime; responding to calls for service (radio calls); engaging in problem solving and community policing activities; as well as other responsibilities. This variety makes the analysis of stop data by officers in patrol much more difficult because there is no single appropriate benchmark (such as representation in injury accidents) by which to gauge potential disparities in stops and searches.

A commonly used technique to suppress violent crime is to assign additional officers to engage in directed patrol in areas where violent crime is occurring or has historically been prevalent. Tactical Operations Division (TOD) officers, such as gang enforcement, are often used in this capacity. The first part of this section will provide the same descriptive statistics as conducted in the previous sections. Three sections will follow these analyses to explore the main factors that community members and law enforcement officers believe contribute to the disparities found. These sections are on disproportionate exposure to law enforcement, the local gang issue, and the impact of racial bias. These are intended to provide information to further productive discussions around these factors; they are not listed to imply that they are the only factors that may be contributing to these disparities. However, exploring solutions around these factors may provide a good starting place for those working to understand the disparities.

Stops

Table 16 displays the demographic breakdown of vehicle stops (of the driver) by patrol officers citywide between August 5, 2011 and December 31, 2011:

Table 16. Citywide Race at Stop of Driver (by Patrol Officers)		
Race/Ethnicity	Count	Percent
African American/Black	1961	17.5%
Asian	551	4.9%
Hispanic	869	7.7%
Native American	48	0.4%
White	7159	63.8%
Unknown/Other	633	5.6%
Total	11221	100.0%

Below is the demographic breakdown of people that are stopped by patrol compared to the estimated driving populations, as is done in the previous sections. However, many patrol officers (such as gang and beat patrol officers) are not necessarily patrolling among these same demographics so this will also be taken into considerations in analyses later in this report. As noted in the previous section, a disparity index value greater than "1" indicates an over-representation compared to the estimated driving population.

Table 17. Citywide Race at Stop of Driver (Patrol Units)

Race/Ethnicity	Actual Stops		ACS 5-Year Benchmark ¹		Injury Crash Benchmark	
	Count	Percent	Percent	Disparity Index	Percent	Disparity Index
African American/Black	1961	17.5%	6.3%	2.8	6.6%	2.6
Asian	551	4.9%	7.2%	0.7	7.2%	0.7
Hispanic	869	7.7%	9.2%	0.8	9.2%	0.8
Native American	48	0.4%	1.0%	0.4	1.0%	0.4
White	7159	63.8%	72.4%	0.9	75.5%	0.8
Unknown/Other	633	5.6%	3.2%	1.8	1.2%	4.7
Total²	11221	100.0%	99.3%	1.0	100.0%	1.0

¹ PPB data collection around race/ethnicity is not consistent with ACS/Census data making attempts at comparison difficult and potentially inappropriate (Withrow, 2008). This chart attempts to use the most consistent categories within each group. Injury crash data is collected using consistent metrics, making it more useful for comparison purposes.

² ACS data does not sum to 100% because the PPB does not collect data multi-racial individuals (see footnote 1).

The main findings:

- African-American/Black drivers constituted 17.5 percent of the stops, which is substantially greater than their Census and accident data estimates. African-American drivers (disparity index of 2.6 using Injury Crash Benchmark) were 3.25 times (2.6/0.8) more likely to be pulled over than White drivers (disparity index of .8).
- Asian drivers were 4.9 percent of the patrol stops, which is lower than would be expected, compared to their Census and accident data estimates. White drivers (disparity index of 0.8) were 1.14 times (0.8/0.7) more likely to be pulled over than Asian drivers (disparity index of 0.7).
- Hispanic drivers were 7.7 percent of the stops by patrol, which is lower than would be expected, compared to their Census and accident data estimates and were no more likely than White drivers to be stopped.
- Native American drivers constituted 0.4 percent of the stops, which is lower than would be expected compared to their Census estimate but greater than to be expected given their accident data estimate.
- White drivers comprised 63.8 percent of the stops by patrol, which is lower than would be expected, compared to their Census and accident data estimates.
- The Unknown/Other category is difficult to compare. However, they had 5.6 percent of the stops by patrol which is greater than what would be expected compared to their Census and accident data estimates.

Reason for the stop

Below are the reasons that were provided for people stopped by patrol:

Table 18. Citywide Reasons for Stops of Drivers (Patrol Units)

RACE/ETHNICITY	City Code		Equipment		License		Major ¹		Minor ²		Other		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	5	0.3%	321	16.4%	109	5.6%	518	26.4%	977	49.8%	31	1.6%	1961	100.0%
Asian	1	0.2%	76	13.8%	15	2.7%	190	34.5%	262	47.5%	7	1.3%	551	100.0%
Hispanic	5	0.6%	142	16.3%	32	3.7%	238	27.4%	430	49.5%	22	2.5%	869	100.0%
Native American	0	0.0%	8	16.7%	1	2.1%	16	33.3%	23	47.9%	0	0.0%	48	100.0%
White	12	0.2%	1061	14.8%	328	4.6%	2172	30.3%	3,497	48.8%	89	1.2%	7159	100.0%
Unknown/Other	1	0.2%	99	15.6%	11	1.7%	153	24.2%	336	53.1%	33	5.2%	633	100.0%
Grand Total	24	0.2%	1707	15.2%	496	4.4%	3287	29.3%	5,525	49.2%	182	1.6%	11221	100.0%

¹ Major Moving Violation (Traffic crime, A or B Infraction)

² Minor Moving Violation (Class C or D Infraction)

The main findings:

- The distribution of reasons why drivers were stopped was mostly similar among the six racial/ethnic groups; however, differences are noted. Many patterns found are similar to those found in the traffic data.
- African American/Blacks, Hispanics, and those in the Unknown/Other category were the least likely to be pulled over for a major moving violation and were pulled over for more minor moving violations compared to Whites.
- The Asian and Native American drivers were more likely to be pulled over for a major moving violation compared to Whites and the least likely to be pulled over for a minor moving violation.
- African American/Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and those in the Unknown/Other category were pulled over for an equipment violation more often than Whites.

Searches

Table 19 provides the demographic breakdown of the searches conducted by patrol officers, the percent of searches among each racial/ethnic group and the percent of stopped persons in each group that were searched. This data can be examined in multiple ways. It is usually recommended to use the percentage of White drivers that were searched as the base rate for measuring equity in how often people are searched (i.e. if 6.8% of White drivers are searched then all other groups should be searched at rates roughly similar to 6.8%).

Table 19. Citywide Race of Searches at Stops of Drivers (Patrol Units)¹

Race/Ethnicity	Count Stops	Count of Searches	Stops with a Search
African American/Black	1961	336	17.1%
Asian	551	16	2.9%
Hispanic	869	101	11.6%
Native American	48	4	8.3%
White	7159	486	6.8%
Unknown/Other	633	40	6.3%
Total	11221	983	8.8%

¹ Total Searches may not equal search results because multiple items can be recovered in the same search.

- African-American/Black drivers were the most likely to be searched (17.1%) and were substantially more likely to be searched than White drivers (6.8%).
- Asian drivers were considerably less likely (2.9%) than White drivers to be searched (6.8%).
- Hispanic drivers were more likely (11.6%) than White drivers to be searched (6.8%).
- Native American drivers were slightly more likely (8.3%) than White drivers to be searched (6.8%).
- Those in the Unknown/Other category were slightly less likely (6.3%) than White drivers to be searched.

Reasons for search

The following table provides the percentage of drivers in each racial/ethnic group that were searched and what types of searches were conducted.

RACE/ETHNICITY	Consent		No Search		Plain View		Probable Cause		Weapons Pat Down		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	235	12.0%	1625	82.9%	11	0.6%	54	2.8%	36	1.8%	1961	100.0%
Asian	8	1.5%	535	97.1%	1	0.2%	6	1.1%	1	0.2%	551	100.0%
Hispanic	64	7.4%	768	88.4%	3	0.3%	17	2.0%	17	2.0%	869	100.0%
Native American	2	4.2%	44	91.7%	1	2.1%	1	2.1%	0	0.0%	48	100.0%
White	298	4.2%	6673	93.2%	29	0.4%	105	1.5%	54	0.8%	7159	100.0%
Unknown/Other	20	3.2%	593	93.7%	2	0.3%	7	1.1%	11	1.7%	633	100.0%
Total	627	5.6%	10238	91.2%	47	0.4%	190	1.7%	119	1.1%	11221	100.0%

- African American/Blacks were searched more frequently than any other racial/ethnic group and were much more likely to receive consent searches. Twelve percent of the African American/Blacks that were stopped by patrol units received a consent search compared to approximately 7.4% of Hispanic drivers, 4.2% of Native American and White drivers, and 1.5% of Asian drivers.
- Hispanic drivers received consent searches more frequently than White drivers.
- Asian drivers were the least likely to be searched; 97.1% received no search compared to 93.2% of White drivers, 88.4% of Hispanic drivers, and 82.9% of African-American/Black drivers.

Search hit rates

The number and percentages of various types of contraband found are listed in the table below.

Race/Ethnicity	Total Searches	All Contraband		Alcohol		Drugs		Weapons		Contraband excluding Alcohol	
		Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent	Hits	Percent
African American/Black	336	104	31.0%	18	5.4%	60	17.9%	17	5.1%	86	25.6%
Asian	16	5	31.3%	1	6.3%	4	25.0%	1	6.3%	4	25.0%
Hispanic	101	30	29.7%	6	5.9%	17	16.8%	4	4.0%	24	23.8%
Native American	4	3	75.0%	1	25.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%
White	486	193	39.7%	36	7.4%	126	25.9%	23	4.7%	157	32.3%
Unknown/Other	40	19	47.5%	1	2.5%	7	17.5%	1	2.5%	18	45.0%
All Non-White ²	497	161	32.4%	27	5.4%	90	18.1%	23	4.6%	134	27.0%
Total ³	983	354	36.0%	63	6.4%	216	22.0%	46	4.7%	291	29.6%

¹ Officers can choose between the following results: Alcohol, Drugs, Other, Nothing Found, Stolen Property and Weapons. Stolen property and others are not included individually but are included in all contraband.

² This category is created by subtracting white driver results from the total and is not unique in the original data set. It includes unknown/other race individuals.

³ Total Searches may not equal search results because multiple items can be recovered in the same search.

The main findings:

- African-American/Black and Hispanic drivers were less likely than White and Asian drivers to be found with contraband regardless of whether or not alcohol is included in the analyses.
- Asian drivers were found to have close to the same amount of contraband as White drivers.
- The Unknown/Other categories of drivers were found to have more contraband than White drivers regardless of whether or not alcohol is included in the analyses.
- The largest disparity was found in the drug category. White drivers were more likely than any other racial/ethnic group to be found with drugs.

Stops of pedestrians by patrol officers

Many agencies, particularly on the east coast, employ strategies which utilize large numbers of pedestrian stops (similar to “pre-text” stops of drivers, i.e. stopping a driver for a traffic investigation when the underlying reason for the stop is not to enforce traffic, but to look for other criminal activity such as property crime, violent crime or drug possession). Often called “stop-and-frisk” such practices have resulted in people of color being stopped at rates in excess of both demographic and crime-related variables (Gelman, Fagan, & Kiss, 2007).

The Portland Police does not employ a strategy based on “stop-and-frisk.” On the contrary, officers are trained to ask for consent to search, even if they believe they are justified in performing a non-consensual pat down for weapons¹¹. This leads to a larger number of consent searches in Portland compared with weapon pat downs elsewhere. There is also less reliance on stops and a greater emphasis on “mere conversation.” The difference between a stop and “mere conversation” is that the subject is free to leave if the officer engages in “mere conversation,” but can be legally detained (although not necessarily arrested) in a stop. Some community members have expressed concern that “mere conversation” contacts are not tracked. This concern is valid in that the number of such contacts exceeds the number of pedestrian stops. Despite this concern, the logistics of collecting data on every “mere conversation” contact would be considerable. The Portland Police respond to approximately 400,000 calls annually and most resulted in at least one such contact and many result in multiple contacts¹².

Table 22 examines the race of pedestrians stopped by patrol officers between August 5 and December 31, 2011 (this does not include mere conversations):

Table 23. Citywide Race at Stop of Pedestrians (Patrol)		
Race/Ethnicity	Count	Percent
African American/Black	107	22.1%
Asian	10	2.1%
Hispanic	32	6.6%
Native American	10	2.1%
White	305	63.0%
Unknown/Other	20	4.1%
Total	484	100.0%

The total number of pedestrian stops by patrol during this time was 484. It is important to remember this does not count the number of unique individuals stopped, but all stops regardless of if the person is stopped multiple times by the same or different officers. Many individuals are known to the police and are repeatedly stopped (this

¹¹ Per conversations with Training Division officers, this is still standard practice as of 1/25/12. The benefits of having consent versus a pat down are related with issues of admissibility of evidence in court.

¹² The PPB recognizes that if the community is sufficiently concerned it may be necessary to collect such data. However, the costs of collecting and analyzing the data would be considerable. If officers average 1.5 routine contacts per call and collecting data on such contacts took only 3 minutes on average the amount of time spent collecting data (filling out contact forms) would be the equivalent of approximately 14.5 full-time police officers annually.

is particularly true of a small number of very active gang members and individuals who are prohibited from being in drug impact areas). Being able to separate these stops would allow for a more refined analysis of the impact on different demographic groups (one person being stopped repeatedly due to gang involvement would be less impactful on the community than a large number of individuals stopped).

Tables 23 through 25 examine these stops by precinct:

Table 23. Central Precinct Race at Stop of Pedestrians (Patrol)		
Race/Ethnicity	Count	Percent
African American/Black	39	17.6%
Asian	2	0.9%
Hispanic	13	5.9%
Native American	5	2.3%
White	157	71.0%
Unknown/Other	5	2.3%
Total	221	100.0%

Table 24. East Precinct Race at Stop of Pedestrians (Patrol)		
Race/Ethnicity	Count	Percent
African American/Black	17	19.1%
Asian	3	3.4%
Hispanic	4	4.5%
Native American	1	1.1%
White	55	61.8%
Unknown/Other	9	10.1%
Total	89	100.0%

Table 25. North Precinct Race at Stop of Pedestrians (Patrol)		
Race/Ethnicity	Count	Percent
African American/Black	37	30.6%
Asian	4	3.3%
Hispanic	10	8.3%
Native American	2	1.7%
White	63	52.1%
Unknown/Other	5	4.1%
Total	121	100.0%

What does the data mean?

Benchmarking pedestrian stops is difficult without using observational data to examine the proportion of individuals walking and/or violating pedestrian rules. The PPB performs very limited enforcement of jaywalking and other offenses (although some officers may enforce these rules and very occasionally a mission is run in response to a pedestrian death). Anecdotally¹³, drug enforcement in areas with open air drug markets¹⁴ often involves pedestrian stops. Another major activity involving stops of pedestrians are citations for having open alcohol containers. Officers also focus on violent crime and contacting individuals in areas with where violent crime (particularly gang crime) has occurred.

¹³ Based on the author's personal experiences and conversations with officers still working in patrol.

¹⁴ Low-level drug deals typically involve a seller and buy who know each other communicating via phone, text or alternate means and arrangements to meet. Some areas (Old Town or the area beneath the Burnside Bridge for instance) are open air drug markets where drug buyers and sellers, who may or may not know each other, meet to sell/buy drugs.

Variations in where different racial groups live as well as different enforcement priorities may account for some of the variation in stops between precincts.

Table 26 examines the demographic characteristics of pedestrians stopped by patrol officers against the rate of victimization in violent crime by precinct:

Table 26. Stop of Pedestrians (Patrol) Compared with Victimization in a Part I Violent Crime as a Benchmark						
Race/Ethnicity	Central/Viol Exposure	Central/Stops	East/Viol Exposure	East/Stops	North/Viol Exposure	North/Stops
African American/Black	8.8%	17.6%	21.0%	19.1%	26.2%	30.6%
Asian	3.9%	0.9%	8.9%	3.4%	4.7%	3.3%
Hispanic	8.8%	5.9%	10.1%	4.5%	9.9%	8.3%
Native American	1.4%	2.3%	1.9%	1.1%	3.0%	1.7%
White	77.1%	71.0%	61.5%	61.8%	56.1%	52.1%

This table compares stop rates against exposure to violent crime (as measured by victimization in Part I violent crimes reported to the police)¹⁵. For instance, when using violent Part I crime it appears that:

- The percentage of stops consisting of African-American/Black pedestrians is approximately twice the amount than would be expected in Central Precinct, slightly greater than would be expected in North Precinct and is slightly less than would be expected in East Precinct.
- The number of stops consisting of Asian and Native American pedestrians stopped is small (10 stops for each group), making it difficult to draw meaningful conclusions.
- The percentage of stops consisting of Hispanic pedestrians stopped is below what their prevalence as victims would indicate in all three precincts.
- The number of stops consisting of Asian pedestrians is lower than their violent exposure rate in all three precincts and substantially lower in Central and East precinct.
- Native Americans received more pedestrian stops than would be expected by their violent exposure in Central precinct and less than would be expected in East and North precinct.
- The percentage of stops consisting of White pedestrians stopped is slightly lower than would be expected in Central and North Precincts and at a rate almost exactly the same as exposure in East.

While there are substantial disparities in victimization for violent crime reported to the police these disparities do not account for differences in stops of pedestrians in Central Precinct. By examining the data more closely, it becomes apparent that nearly all the disparities in stops of pedestrians observed in Central Precinct occurred in District 822.

¹⁵ This table has no Unknown/Other race category because officers identified the race of all individuals victimized.

Table 27. Central Precinct Race at Stop of Pedestrians (Patrol) - the Impact of Oldtown

Race/Ethnicity	District 822 (Oldtown east of Broadway)		Central without 822		Central/Violent Exposure
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Percent
African American/ Black	22	44.0%	17	9.9%	8.8%
Asian	0	0.0%	2	1.2%	3.9%
Hispanic	2	4.0%	11	6.4%	8.8%
Native American	1	2.0%	4	2.3%	1.4%
White	25	50.0%	132	77.2%	77.1%
Unknown/Other	0	0.0%	5	2.9%	0.0%
Total	50	100.0%	171	100.0%	100.0%

It is important to note that these are stops which occur in District 822 (not stops by any particular officer working in District 822). This district, in the heart of Old Town, is roughly composed of the area east and south of NW Broadway and north of West Burnside Street. Historically, this area has experienced a high volume of complaints regarding drug activity, street drinking and other livability issues.

Summary

The examination of pedestrian stops provides an excellent illustration of the many potential pitfalls associated with determining appropriate benchmarks for police units who are responsible for responding to issues beyond simply traffic enforcement. While pedestrian stops are disproportionate to Census estimates, it is likely that patrol units are responding to increased victimization in parts of the city which are disproportionately inhabited by residents of color. However, even after accounting for disparate victimization, certain parts of the city have disproportionate numbers of people of color stopped. Better understanding the cause of these disparities is important and the following sections will explore three potential contributing factors that PPB officers, PSU researchers and the public have noted: differential exposure to law enforcement, the impact of local gangs and the impact of racial bias.

Differential exposure to law enforcement

One of the concerns that the Criminal Justice Policy Research report and others have brought up is that in Portland, some communities of color may experience a greater amount of exposure to law enforcement due to the geographical demographics in Portland and the distribution of police services. Some of these differences in police response may be due to variation in crime rates and calls for service; however, this differential response can also have a negative impact on some community groups more than others. It may benefit the Portland Police Bureau and the police and community advisory groups to stay aware of how dispersion of patrol and calls for service is impacting communities so that plans to mitigate unintended consequences can be made.

Police presence in a neighborhood can be driven by different factors. One factor influencing exposure to police is priority calls loads. Renauer (2012) utilized such calls to measure police presence and community consensus around the need for enforcement in an area.

Crime and call loads are not evenly dispersed across the city of Portland. Police officers, particularly in the patrol division, are assigned to different parts of the city based on factors such as call load, violent crime, geography (certain areas are difficult to access and require more police to reduce response times) as well as dynamic factors (in particular the city has responded to increased gang violence by applying additional police to those areas impacted).

This section aims to examine two questions:

- 1) Do people of color experience a greater amount of police exposure in Portland due to how crime and non-police initiated calls for service are dispersed around the city? There is some extra emphasis on seeing what the relationship is for African Americans/Blacks because the data demonstrates that they have the most consistent and greatest amount of disparities in this dataset. If people of color in Portland are exposed to a greater amount of police presence, the Portland Police Bureau may want to consider how they can mitigate the negative consequences of this through patrol strategies and police and community member interactions.
- 2) If people of color are disproportionately impacted, it is also important to examine how well neighborhood levels of stops and searches correlate with the neighborhood crime and call loads. If these factors do not correlate well, the Police Bureau may want to further investigate why this may be the case. Regardless of how well they correlate, finding ways to reduce disparities and mitigate negative consequences on police and community member interactions is critical.

Do people of color experience a greater amount of police exposure in Portland due to how crime and non-police initiated calls for service are dispersed around the city?

Data on the numbers of Part I crimes (homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, vehicle theft, arson), non-police initiated calls for service, stops, searches, and the racial/ethnic resident population counts by neighborhood

were collected for the dates between August 5 to December 31, 2011¹⁶. The data was aggregated to 96 Portland neighborhoods. The 20 neighborhoods with the greatest number of African Americans/Blacks in Portland were identified. These 20 neighborhoods¹⁷ are where approximately 67 percent of the African American/Blacks in Portland reside. Table 28 below provides the percentage of Part I crimes, calls for service, patrol stops, discretionary patrol searches, and other racial/ethnic characteristics for these neighborhoods.

Table 28. Characteristics of 20 Neighborhoods in Portland with the Largest African American/Black Population ¹	
Characteristic	Percent
% of Portland's Land Mass	37%
% of Portland's Population	38%
% of Portland's African American/Black Population	67%
% of Portland's Hispanic Population	58%
% of Portland's Native American Population	51%
% of Portland's Asian Population	46%
% of Portland's White Population	32%
% of Portland's Part I Crimes	40%
% of Portland's Violent Crimes	48%
% of Portland's Aggravated Assaults involving Firearms ²	76%
% of Portland's Attempted Murder involving Firearms ³	80%
% of Calls for Service in Portland	41%
% of Stops Conducted in Portland (by patrol)	51%
% of Discretionary Searches Conducted in Portland (by patrol)	62%

¹Population data estimated using 2010 Census data. Crimes and calls compiled using SQL server/CAMIN 2 PPB data For Aug. 5, 2011 to Dec. 31, 2011. Data is presented at the offense (as opposed to incident).

²This definition follows federal guidelines for aggravated and does not necessarily involve a person being shot. Shooting at a person or even menacing a person may qualify as an aggravated assault with a firearm. Attempted Murder may more closely resemble the lay person's impression of what constitutes an assault with a firearm.

³It is important to remember that there was only 10 of these offenses citywide during the period examined.

The main findings:

- As well as being the residence for 67% of the African American/Black population, approximately 58% of Hispanics, 51% of Native American, 46% of Asians, and 32% of Whites in Portland reside in these 20 neighborhoods.

¹⁶ To examine the impact of priority calls on police deployment, all priority police calls in the city of Portland between August 5, 2011, to December 31, 2011 were extracted from police records. Calls generated by police (called self-initiated calls) were excluded so that the data set contained only calls to the police. This eliminated discretion on the part of officers and created a measure of demand for police services.

This resulted in 60,568 calls. Calls assigned to other agencies (such as medical calls, calls assigned to other police agencies such as Port of Portland Police, Portland State University Campus Safety, Federal Agencies etc.) were removed as were calls which were classified as information only (broadcast but no officers were dispatched to the location). This created a data set of 52,639 calls. This data set was input into a mapping program and 48,809 calls were successfully attributed to a neighborhood (92.7%).

Demographic data at the neighborhood level was estimated by using 2010 Census data at the Census Block level. The Census blocks were converted to point data and joined to a map file of Portland neighborhoods. This resulted in an estimate of the demographic composition of each Portland neighborhood.

Crime data is collected at the neighborhood level by the PPB. This data was taken from PPB reports.

Stop data consists of PPB traffic stops by patrol officers (this excludes Traffic Division stops) between August 5, 2011 and December 31, 2011. Search data consists only of discretionary searches (consent searches and weapon pat downs) which could be geocoded. 86.9% of these searches could be geocoded to a neighborhood.

¹⁷ These 20 neighborhoods were Cully, Portsmouth, Powellhurst-Gilbert, Hazelwood, King, Concordia, Piedmont, Woodlawn, Humboldt, Centennial, St. Johns, Lents, Kenton, Montavilla, Wilkes, Parkrose, Boise, Argay, Eliot, and Madison South.

- Approximately 40 percent of Part I crimes and 48% of violent crimes that are reported to the police in Portland occur in these neighborhoods.
- Approximately 41 percent of the calls for police services in Portland come from these neighborhoods.
- Approximately 51 percent of stops and 62 percent of searches conducted in Portland are in these neighborhoods.
- Approximately 76 percent of Portland's Aggravated Assaults with firearms (guns) and 80 of Portland Attempted Murder with Firearms occurred in these neighborhoods.

These 20 neighborhoods are approximately 21 percent of the 96 neighborhoods in Portland. However, they encompass approximately 37.2% of the land mass and 38% of the total population of all 96 Portland neighborhoods. Given this information, the percentages of Part I crimes and calls for services are approximately what would be expected. Violent crime, stops and searches are disproportionately higher for these 20 neighborhoods (this is not the case in each of these neighborhoods individually). Although the amount of Part I crimes and calls for service to these areas are relatively proportionate to what would be expected for these areas if these crimes and calls for service were evenly distributed in Portland, the findings still point out that some communities of color are likely experiencing a disproportionate amount of exposure to the police.

During this time frame, approximately two-thirds of the searches in Portland occurred in these 20 neighborhoods. This suggests two questions: 1) how well does the police presence with respect to stops and searches correlate with the Part I crime, violent crime and calls for service in a given area and 2) what can the Police Bureau do to mitigate the negative consequences of a greater police presence on individuals who are not engaging in crime.

How well do neighborhood levels of stops and searches correlate with the neighborhood Part I crime, violent crime and calls for service?

The table below lists the correlation coefficients for how well patrol stops and patrol discretionary searches¹⁸ correlate with Part I crimes, violent Part I crimes, and calls for service to an area. For these correlations, all variables were standardized by 1,000 people in the population to control for neighborhood population differences. A correlation value of 0 would mean that there is no relationship between the factors (e.g. patrol stops and Part I crimes) and a correlation value of 1 would mean that there is a perfect relationship between the two factors (e.g. if patrol stops and Part I crimes had a correlation of 1, the amount of stops in a neighborhood could perfectly predict the amount of crime in the neighborhood).

Overall, the data demonstrates that the number of patrol stops increase with the amount of Part I crime, violent Part I crime, and calls for service in an area. The correlations are not perfect; however, they do demonstrate a considerable relationship. The relationship between discretionary searches and Part I crimes and

¹⁸ Discretionary searches are search types where the officer is not mandated by policy to conduct a search (for instance, officers are required to search individuals they arrest prior to transporting them to jail. This category consists of consent searches and weapon pat downs by patrol officers and excludes search types such as probable cause and plain view searches.

calls for service are somewhat weaker. The weaker correlation may be partly due to a large portion of Part I crimes consisting of crimes such as shoplifts reported by large retail establishments. Such crimes generate a police response and report, but are rarely associated with stops and/or searches. However, it was found that overall discretionary searches are more common in areas with more Part I crimes and calls for service. The strongest correlation is between the patrol discretionary searches and the violent crimes rates in an area. This would support the hypothesis that as the amount of violent crime in an area increases the chance of an officer conducting a discretionary search also increases. Further analysis may want to examine whether the hit rates in areas with a greater amount of violent crime compare to areas with lower amounts of violent crime.

Table 29. Correlation of Patrol Stops and Discretionary Searches to Crime and Calls for Service Controlling for Population

Characteristic	Spearman's <i>r</i>
Patrol Stops and Part I Crime	0.672
Patrol Stops and Violent Crime	0.744
Patrol Stops and Calls for Service	0.740
Patrol Discretionary Searches and Part I Crime	0.572
Patrol Discretionary Searches and Violent Crime	0.771
Patrol Discretionary Searches and calls for Service	0.596

Next steps: Further analysis and strategies for mitigating the unintended consequences of a greater police presence among communities of color.

A primary goal of this report is to stimulate a discussion around steps which can be taken to reduce disparities in stop and search outcomes while simultaneously improving public safety outcomes. There appears to be a growing consensus that programs such as Focused Deterrence, Hot Spot Policing and Problem-Oriented Policing can have a positive impact on violent crime (Telep & Weisburd, 2012). Most of these strategies, while potentially effective at reducing crime and disorder, have an unknown impact on underrepresented populations and may negatively impact police legitimacy (for Hot Spot Policing see: Kotchel, 2011).

As Renauer et al., 2009, found, this lack of information would argue for the importance of improved police/community dialogue around which strategies should be employed in order to better protect and serve the community. It would also argue for examining the impact of these strategies on both crime and disparities in contact between police and communities of color. Such an examination would benefit both the public, by making the costs of crime reduction strategies on community/police relations more explicit, and patrol officers, many of who believe they are being accused of being racist for carrying out strategies which have been endorsed by city leadership. Finally, such an explicit accounting would force police leaders to develop new and more effective strategies for addressing public safety in a more equitable fashion¹⁹.

¹⁹ Alternately, it may be that no single simple solution exists and police leaders may need to manage the benefits of immediate, deterrent based crime preventions efforts against longer term issues such as the legitimacy of police in communities impacted by crime.

Impact of local gang issues

Many people have inquired about how the demographics in local gangs impact the disparities in the stops data. This section provides an overview of the racial/ethnic demographics of those that have been identified by the Portland Police Bureau as being a gang member²⁰, the crimes they have been associated with during the timeframe this report focuses on, and the amount of disparity that relates to units that are designated to focus on gang enforcement.

Table 30 provides some examples of initiatives that were directed at reducing violent crime during this time period:

Table 30. Initiatives Directed at Violent Crime - Active August 1st, 2011 to December 31st, 2011

Approximate Date/Time Frame	Name of Mission (if named)	Primary Unit/Division	Number of Officers (if identified)	Focus of Mission
June 1 through the Summer, 2011	Operation Cool Down	Tactical Operations Division /Mult. Co. Parole Officers/County Prosecutors/Gang Outreach/All Precincts	Gang Unit plus 10 additional sworn officers (8 patrol officers)	Responded to eight shootings including a homicide in a two-week period.
September 1, 2011	Not Named	North Precinct/ Tactical Operations Division	Not tracked	Increased patrol following the shooting of six
October 24-28, 2011	Follow-up to Operation Cool Down	All Precincts/ Tactical Operations Division /Transit/Gang Outreach	Not tracked	Increased patrol of gang hotspots following a string
December 15-24, 2011	Not Named	Tactical Operations Division/Federal Prosecutors	Not tracked	Police arrested 31 people with ties to a local gang noted for its high

Intensive patrol of areas can increase disproportionate contact with people of color. This does not mean that these techniques should be abandoned, but does reinforce the importance of a community-wide discussion of how to address this kind of violence in such a way as to minimize the disparate impact of enforcement. For instance, at the end of December, 2011, PPB officers focused on arresting gang members associated with a particularly violent gang set. This gang is an “LA style” gang whose membership is predominately African American/Black. Officers assigned to these missions are expected to conduct traffic stops, often “pre-text” stops which use minor violations as a reason for the stop, and conduct consent searches aimed at recovering weapons. Because weapons are a very infrequent “hit” on searches this focus can create low overall hit rates as other items (such as alcohol or drugs) are much more commonly found.

The following section examines the demographics composition of identified gang members in Portland as well as the impact of gang related enforcement on communities of color.

²⁰ The PPB has restructured their gang designation process. It requires more evidence of gang membership than the previous process and also notifies individuals of their designation and provides for an appeals process (to a non-police affiliate hearings officer) if individuals believe they have been unjustly documented. For more information, refer to PPB Policy and Procedure 640.05, available online at: <http://www.portlandoregon.gov/police/article/112753>

*Portland gang demographics*²¹

Table 31 below displays the racial/ethnic breakdown of designated gang members in the city of Portland. Most of these individuals are well known to the police and may be subject to repeated stops. The Bureau's emphasis on reducing gang violence results in increased contact between police and these individuals. It also increases the police presence in areas which these individuals frequent. Approximately 48 percent of identified gang members are African American/Black, 32 percent are Hispanic, 14 percent are White, 4 percent are Asian, and 1 percent are Native American. The percentage of identified gang members in Portland who are Black and Hispanic are concerning considering their proportions to the population in Portland. This disparity is believed to be related to an influx of California-style gangs from the mid 1980's and early 1990's and is disproportionately impacting youth that are vulnerable in social structures such as education, poverty, and intergenerational gang influences. The PPB collaborates with the City of Portland Office of Youth Violence Prevention, Multnomah County services and community based stakeholders to address these underlying issues that lead youth to enter a gang impacted life style. Some of these programs are: the Gang Violence Task Force (a public forum); the Street Level Gang Outreach Grant Program; Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.); the Court Probation Mentoring Program (a collaborative effort involving City, County, 11-45 faith-based community volunteer program and secular community leaders); 11-45 Program; the Black Male Achievement Technical Service Grant Program sponsored by the National League of Cities and hosted by the City of Portland; the Gang Impacted Families Team Program; and collaborative response training programs associated with the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)²².

Prior to the mid-1980's; the known gangs to the PPB were primarily motorcycle gangs; such as the Gypsy Jokers, Free Souls, and Outsiders which arose in the area around the 1950s and 1960s. The local gang members associated with these gangs in Portland were, and still are, predominantly White. These gangs are still patrolled; however, they are less visible, more underground, and engage in less street violence. When the California-style gangs came to the area they were more visible and engaged in more street violence. The motorcycle gangs are still present in Portland and their membership has remained fairly steady over the years.

²¹ The system Portland uses for gang designations intentionally removes the designation from individuals if those designations are not refreshed with new, relevant information regarding gang and criminal activity. Because of this the PPB CAU could not figure out how identify gang members during the study period. The gang numbers provided are as of 06/27/13 and are subject to changes.

²² Program information obtained from the City of Portland's Office of Youth Violence Prevention and the Captain of the Gang Task Force. The following sites provide more information on some of these programs:
<http://www.portlandonline.com/safeyouth/index.cfm?c=49739>
<http://www.nationalgangcenter.gov/Comprehensive-Gang-Model/About>
<http://www.ojjdp.gov/mpg/CeaseFire—Chicago-MPGProgramDetail-835.aspx>
<http://www.cincinnati-oh.gov/police/community-involvement/cincinnati-initiative-to-reduce-violence/>
<http://www.nlc.org/media-center/news-search/eleven-cities-to-address-disparities-affecting-young-black-men-and-boys>

Table 31. Racial/Ethnic Breakdown of Identified Portland Gang Members*		
Race / Ethnicity	Count	Percentage
African American/Black	307	48.4%
Asian	26	4.1%
Hispanic	205	32.3%
Native American	6	0.9%
White	90	14.2%
Total	634	100.0%

*Data obtained from PPDS on 6/27/13.

Portland gang crimes

Crimes are coded GVRT (Gang Violence Response Team) when a responding officer suspects that a crime may have a gang association and the gang team sergeant determines that a serious violent crime has a gang nexus. When a responding officer makes a referral to GVRT, the referral results in a specialized team of gang investigators responding to the crime to conduct further investigation. For example, a shooting or stabbing at a location where there was a party known to be associated with gang or serious assaults on individuals with a gang association may lead to a GVRT response.

Table 32 provides a the number of all known victims and suspects to GVRT crimes committed from August 5 to December 31, 2011.

Table 32. GVRT Victim and Suspect Demographics¹				
Race/Ethnicity	GVRT Victims		GVRT Suspects	
	Counts	Percentages	Counts	Percentages
African American/Black	39	67.2%	39	58.2%
Asian	1	1.7%	0	0.0%
Hispanic	4	6.9%	4	6.0%
Native American	2	3.4%	0	0.0%
White	4	6.9%	5	7.5%
Unknown/Other	8	13.8%	19	28.4%
Total	58	100.0%	67	100.0%

¹During this time period, Aug. 5th, 2011 to Dec. 31st, 2011, there were 46 GVRT responses. Responses can have more than one victim or suspect. The crimes related to these responses include 46 shootings (three of which resulted in homicides), four stabbings and one menacing with a firearm. They represent a substantial portion of all firearms related crime in the City of Portland during the period studied.

The racial/ethnic breakdown of the victims and suspects is relatively similar for most categories. The most disparity is found in the African American/Black and Unknown/Other categories. During this time period, it would appear that there is a disproportionate amount of gang associated crimes that are impacting African American/Black people. This may relate to part of the disparities in patrol stops and searches.

Gang and beat patrol units

The gang and beat patrol units' stops data analysis was separated from the patrol data to help understand the impact of gang enforcement. The gang enforcement unit focuses almost solely on gang enforcement and the beat patrols specialize in precinct specific issues which can include gang enforcement (and did include gang enforcement for at least one precinct during this time period).

Table 33 provides the racial/ethnic demographic breakdown of stops by gang and beat patrol units from August 5 to December 31, 2011.

Table 33. Citywide Race at Stop of Driver (Gang Oriented Units¹)

Race/Ethnicity	Count	Percent
African American/Black	401	38.1%
Asian	37	3.5%
Hispanic	98	9.3%
Native American	6	0.6%
White	456	43.3%
Unknown/Other	54	5.1%
Total	1052	100.0%

¹ The data was not set up to conduct this kind of analysis. Collecting the appropriate data resulted in the loss of approximately 2% of the stops.

The racial/ethnic breakdown of drivers that were stopped by gang and beat patrol officers was approximately 38 African American/Black, 4 percent Asian, 9 percent Hispanic, 1 percent Native American, 43 percent White, and 5 percent were categorized as Unknown/Other. What this racial/ethnic breakdown would be expected to look like is difficult to determine since beat cars are focused on various crime issues.

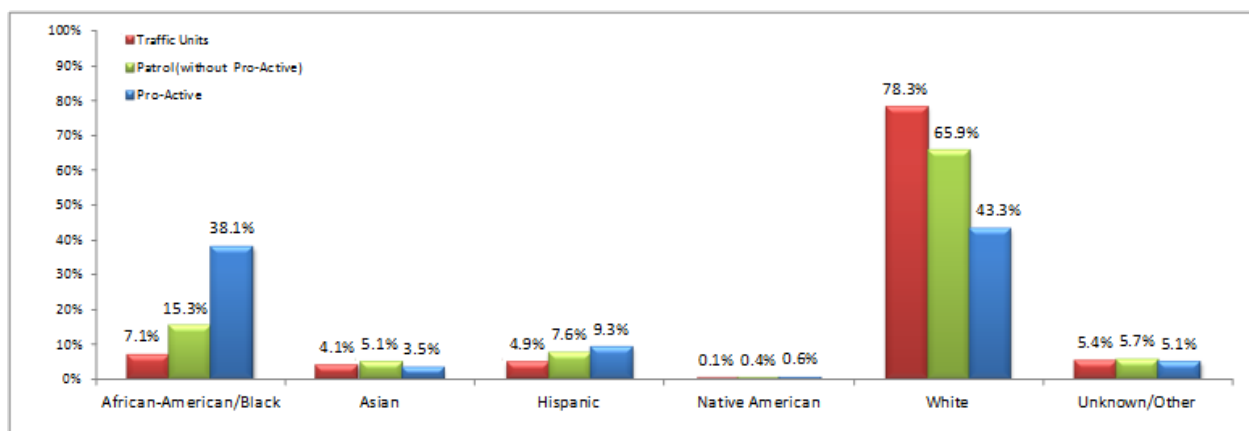
Table 34 provides the racial/ethnic breakdown of patrol stops excluding the gang and beat units units from August 5 to December 31, 2011.

Table 34. Citywide Race at Stop of Driver (Traffic vs. Patrol vs. Gang Oriented Units¹)

Race/Ethnicity	Traffic Units	Patrol without Gang Units	Gang/Pro-active Units
	Percent	Percent	Percent
African American/Black	7.1%	15.3%	38.1%
Asian	4.1%	5.1%	3.5%
Hispanic	4.9%	7.6%	9.3%
Native American	0.1%	0.4%	0.6%
White	78.3%	65.9%	43.3%
Unknown/Other	5.4%	5.7%	5.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

¹ The data was not set up to conduct this kind of analysis. Collecting the appropriate data resulted in the loss of approximately 2% of the stops.

Figure One presents the above data graphically:



By accounting for the gang and beat units, the disparity in African-American/Black drivers stopped by all patrol slightly decreases (by approximately 2 percent) and the amount of stops of Whites slightly increases. The percentage of stops for all other racial/ethnic groups remains about the same. For African-American/Black, Hispanic and Native American drivers it would appear that the percentage of individuals stopped increases as units become less focused on traffic offenses and more focused on gang and/or pro-active activity. This does not appear to be the case for Asian, White or Unknown/Other race drivers.

Table 35 provides the breakdown of searches by gang and beat patrol units from August 5 to December 31, 2011.

Table 35. Reasons for Searches of Drivers by Gang Oriented Units¹ (% by Ethnicity/Race)												
RACE/ETHNICITY	Consent		No Search		Plain View		Probable Cause		Weapons Pat Down		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	107	26.7%	271	67.6%	1	0.2%	14	3.5%	8	2.0%	401	100.0%
Asian	1	2.7%	36	97.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	37	100.0%
Hispanic	12	12.2%	81	82.7%	2	2.0%	1	1.0%	2	2.0%	98	100.0%
Native American	0	0.0%	5	83.3%	0	0.0%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%
White	34	7.5%	404	88.6%	2	0.4%	13	2.9%	3	0.7%	456	100.0%
Unknown/Other	9	16.7%	43	79.6%	1	1.9%	1	1.9%	0	0.0%	54	100.0%
Total	163	15.5%	840	79.8%	6	0.6%	30	2.9%	13	1.2%	1052	100.0%

¹ The data was not set up to conduct this kind of analysis. Collecting the appropriate data resulted in the loss of approximately 2% of the stops.

The Main Findings:

- The gang and beat patrol units conduct searches, particularly consent searches, much more frequently than the rest of the patrol. This is not surprising given their mission of pro-actively addressing issues such as gang violence. These units conducted searches (of any kind, not just consent searches) on approximately 20 percent of their stops while other patrol units (not including gang and beat patrol) conducted searches on approximately 8 percent of their stops and traffic units conduct searches on just 1.5% of their stops. Traffic, Gang Units, Beat Units and patrol operate differently as they are addressing different issues²³ with different tactics.
- All racial/ethnic groups, with the exception of Native Americans, were searched at a greater rate by the gang and beat patrol units, compared to the rest of patrol.
- As Table 35 indicates 26.7 percent of the African-American/Black drivers that were stopped, 2.7 percent of Asian drivers, 12.2 percent of Hispanic drivers, 0 Native American drivers, 7.5% of White drivers and 16.7 percent of drivers that were classified as Unknown/Other received a consent search.

²³ For instance, Traffic Division focuses primarily on traffic-related citywide concerns, Gang Units focus primarily on gang-related citywide concerns, Beat Units focus on gang issues, drug complaints or specific issues/concerns at the precinct level. Patrol units are assigned a specific district and focus on the problems in that district. Different districts have different problems, thus increasing the complexity of the analysis of stops and searches conducted by these patrol units.

Table 36 provides the breakdown of searches by patrol officers from August 5 to December 31, 2011 when the gang and beat patrol units are removed from the table.

RACE/ETHNICITY	Traffic Units (see Table 14 for full data set)	Patrol Units without Gang (calculated by removing the results of table 35 from Table 20)	Gang/Pro-Active Units (see Table 35 for full data set)
	Percent	Percent	Percent
African American/Black	1.0%	8.2%	26.7%
Asian	0.0%	1.4%	2.7%
Hispanic	0.9%	6.7%	12.2%
Native American	5.6%	4.8%	0.0%
White	0.5%	3.9%	7.5%
Unknown/Other	0.1%	1.9%	16.7%
Total¹	0.5%	4.6%	15.5%

¹ This represents the percentage of stops for each racial group which result in a consent search

When accounting for the gang and beat patrol units, the percentages of drivers that receive a consent search decreases for African-American/Black, Asian, Hispanic, White drivers and those classified as Unknown/Other. The most substantial decreases were for those classified as African American/Black or Unknown/Other. The amount of consent searches decreased by 3.8 percentage points for African-Americans/Black drivers and 1.3 percentage points for Unknown/Other drivers.

Discussion

There is significant community concern regarding gang activity. At the same time there is also significant community concern regarding racial disparities in police stops and searches. Additionally, gang activity is among the leading causes of serious violent crime in Portland²⁴. This creates pressure for the PPB to address gang problems pro-actively. Internally, the PPB places a high value on officers engaging in self-initiated activity when not responding to radio calls. Traffic stops are the most common form of self-initiated activity. While some portion of such stops is aimed at directly addressing concerns related to traffic, many stops are focused on issues such as gang violence.

While disparity in victimization associated with gang violence is troubling, the use of aggressive traffic enforcement as a tool to address gang violence may create racial disparities in stops and searches. These disparities may be exacerbated if officers not assigned to the gang unit also engage in such activity as part of their regular patrol activities. Finally, if the PPB also places additional officers in those areas with significant amounts of violent crime the potential exists for not just increased exposure to law enforcement (as shown in Table 29), but also for that exposure to be qualitatively different by using stops and searches used as tactics to address violent crime as opposed to traffic related issues. The PPB needs to be cognizant of (and constantly manage) these risks. Clearly, gang violence must be addressed and additional enforcement appears to have helped suppress this violence in the past. However, to be effective in the long term, the PPB must also maintain legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

The PPB may want to examine how it utilizes its self-initiated activity so that such activity matches community concerns as closely as possible. Additionally, the PPB must remain aware that when engaging in additional enforcement efforts it is also necessary to spend time communicating with, and addressing the concerns of, those communities impacted by the additional enforcement (Renauer et al., 2009; Renauer, 2012).

²⁴ The Crime Analysis Unit has observed this in prior analyses and gang related activity is consistently correlated with firearms related crime.

Impact of racial bias

One of the main concerns around racial disparities is how often is conscious or most often unconscious racial bias impacting police in their decision making process. The issue of racial bias is critical and organizations of all types are becoming more aware of how it can impact hiring practices, job satisfaction and productivity, and the services they provide. As mentioned previously, researchers across the nation have been discussing the importance of not relying on aggregate level of police stop and search data to be an indication of whether and how much racial profiling occurs in an agency. The methodological issues around this are numerous and require a longer discussion on research methodology. In short, at an aggregate level, this data may show no disparities yet racial profiling can be occurring in a police agency or it can show disparities without racial profiling occurring. It simply cannot be relied on as a tool for measuring how often racial profiling occurs. This does not mean that efforts to reduce and address individual racial bias should be discarded.

This also does not mean that police agencies and community members should discard the practice of collecting this data and examining it at an agency level. This data can be extremely valuable for understanding the disparate impact of various patrol strategies, examining search and contraband recovery rates, measuring the impact of special missions, and examining disparities in stop outcomes. Some of these analyses do lead to discussions and more indepth analyses that help identify racial bias, better patrol strategies, and more systemic city level issues. The data also provides fairly accurate information for how often officers stop, search, recover contraband, arrest, etc. and the associated racial breakdowns. This is critical for creating meaningful dialogue around many issues related to police patrol, whether it be an internal agency dialogue or one between the police and community members.

The Portland Police Bureau is currently engaged in a relatively new initiative to increase diversity and address racial disparities at an organizational level. The PPB is also following up on the 2009 Plan to Address Racial Profiling, of which this report is a product. The current organizational level initiative began in July of 2011, when the Portland Police Bureau requested the assistance of the Human Rights Commission's (HRC) Community and Police Relations Committee (CPRC) to develop a plan to address institutional racial issues, increase diversity, and create a more inclusive environment within the Portland Police Bureau. Addressing institutional race issues is a critical step in improving the PPB's services to the community and addressing some of the issues that were to be addressed in the PPB 2009 Plan to Address Racial Profiling. The CPRC designated a subcommittee to work on these issues. The Subcommittee consists of CPRC members and Bureau members, and is presently working to develop both an equity plan for the Bureau and training for all Bureau members.

Below is a summary of CPRC Subcommittee's work.

• ***CPRC Strategic Equity Plan for the PPB***

- The strategic equity plan consists of two main components: 1) a training component and 2) organizational change strategies. The training component is crucial in that employees can only decrease implicit bias, identify institutional racial issues, and apply an equity lens to policies and procedures when they know what those concepts are, and are taught skills applicable to their particular line of work. The subcommittee acknowledges that no one training will address all of the needs of an institution related to the topic of race. The equity plan will list out all of the objectives that PPB will address in their training plan. Not all of the objectives will be thoroughly covered in the initial training. Multiple trainings will be needed to address additional needs.
- The organizational change strategies will include elements such as changing or reviewing policies or procedures that may contribute to inequitable outcomes, implementing systems to identify areas of disparity, and programs to address identified issues. An example of an organizational change strategy is setting up personnel's data collection system so that it would be possible to analyze if racial disparities occur within the hiring process, and if so, identify exactly where these disparities occur to inform effective counter strategies.

• ***CPRC Training Subcommittee Workgroup***

- The training workgroup developed an initial training for the Portland Police Bureau on institutional racial issues. This initial training is designed to provide participants with an understanding of what institutional racism is, how it plays out in organizations, and how to identify and address racial issues within an agency. The initial outline for this training stems from the City of Seattle's Race and Social Justice Initiative, which serves all City of Seattle employees. Several of the training workgroup members attended a training from Seattle to become more familiar with the work being done there. The CPRC Subcommittee adapted the Seattle model, yet expanded and changed several elements to include elements very specific to Portland – including historical demographic shifts in neighborhoods, and information on how to provide more opportunities for learning how to apply the information to one's own workplace. This training was first pilot tested in late November 2012, and was delivered to Command Staff (approximately 60) the week of December 10 of 2012. All sergeants were trained in 2013. Officers will begin going through the training in 2014.

In addition to working with the Community and Police Relations Committee on the initiative described previously, the PPB is also engaged in the following related efforts:

- The PPB's Equity Leadership Council has identified the need for developing an officer mentorship program to address some of the disparities in the promotional process.
- The PPB's Equity Leadership Council is organizing opportunities for officers to engage in a series of InterGroup Dialogue sessions with other officers. These sessions offer officers with the opportunity to have indepth discussions around race, understand the prevalence and impact of racial bias today, and explore implicit biases.

- The PPB's Field Training Officer (FTO) program has begun partnering with the CJPRI to offer classes to the FTO's on implicit bias, biased based policing, U.S. and local racial history and how it pertains to police and community member interactions today, peer accountability, and the 14th Amendment.
- The PPB has made a budget request for an equity analyst in its 2014-15 budget package.

Finally, the PPB has continued to work on its Racial Profiling Plan Strategies. The original document can be located at this website:

<http://www.portlandoregon.gov/police/index.cfm?&a=230887>

Appendix E has the entire plan with updates as to the status of each item as of 2013. Below are some highlights of the work that has been done:

- Modified hiring requirements to enlarge the applicant pool (including creating a path for individuals who serve as reserves or cadets, but do not possess the educational or military service requirements to gain employment).
- Working with the CPRC to develop new trainings around equity issues (trainings have already been administered to command officer).
- Provide additional training around searches and "mere consent" to ensure the constitutionality of PPB searches.

A full list is available in Appendix E.

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Appendix A – Additional analyses

This section catalogs requests made for future analysis and will attempt to track the progress made on meetings these request or provide a reason why the PPB is unable to meet them.

Request #1a

Request: Provide a single table that displays the percentages and counts of stops and discretionary searches by race.

Status: The following table meets this request and will be included in future reports in the executive summary:

Citywide Stops and Searches of All Individuals (Drivers and Pedestrians) by both Traffic and Patrol Units				
Race/Ethnicity	Stops		Searches	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	3066	12.0%	427	13.9%
Asian	1133	4.4%	21	1.9%
Hispanic	1576	6.2%	136	8.6%
Native American	76	0.3%	10	13.2%
White	18353	71.7%	720	3.9%
Unknown/Other	1402	5.5%	48	3.4%
Total*	25606	100.0%	1362	5.3%

* 6 stops where race of individual contacted was missing were removed.

Citywide Stops and Searches of All Individuals (Drivers and Pedestrians) for Patrol Units				
Race/Ethnicity	Stops		Searches	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	2068	17.7%	388	18.8%
Asian	561	4.8%	17	3.0%
Hispanic	901	7.7%	113	12.5%
Native American	58	0.5%	8	13.8%
White	7464	63.8%	580	7.8%
Unknown/Other	653	5.6%	45	6.9%
Total	11705	100.0%	1151	9.8%

Citywide Stops and Searches of All Individuals (Drivers and Pedestrians) for Traffic Units				
Race/Ethnicity	Stops		Searches	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
African American/Black	998	7.6%	39	3.9%
Asian	572	4.3%	4	0.7%
Hispanic	675	5.1%	23	3.4%
Native American	18	0.1%	2	11.1%
White	10889	82.5%	140	1.3%
Unknown/Other	39	0.3%	3	7.7%
Total*	13191	100.0%	211	1.6%

* 6 stops where race of individual contacted was missing were removed.

Comment: This table examines the percentage of individuals stopped by race and the percentage of each race of individuals stopped who are searched (i.e. when an Asian driver is stopped they are searched 1.9% of the time not that 1.9% of searches are Asian drivers). Future reports can include this table in the executive summary with data by year if desired.

This will be presented annually in an executive summary and will incorporate parts of Request 1b (see below).

Request #1b

Request: Track data on a year-to-year basis to help determine if progress is being made in reducing disparity.

Status: The 2012 Stops Data Report will include 2011 data for comparison.

Comment: The data used in the report is structured differently from previous data sets (including a massive reduction in Unknown race drivers) and does not support comparisons to previous years. Next year's report will include data for comparison purposes but even then it is important to remember that the data from 2011 is from only 5 months of the year and seasonal variations may be result in differences in stops and searches. Starting in the 2013 the data should be suitable for comparisons.

This will be presented annually in an executive summary (see Request 1c).

Request #1c

Request: Develop an executive summary

Status: An executive summary will be added to the beginning of future versions of this document.

Comment: Request 1a, 1b and 1c will form the basis of future executive summaries. This should provide an easily accessible source for high level data tracking stops over time. This document does not include an executive summary because the focus of this report is to explain changes in how stops data is being collected and analyzed.

Request #2

Request: Improve the Bureau's ability to differentiate between Native America and Hispanic persons.

Status: The PPB is open to exploring ways to its identification of Native American drivers and pedestrians but unsure on how to accomplish this goal without potentially causing more distress to minority drivers and pedestrians.

Comment: This is difficult to address and also related to another issue (although not a formal request at this point) related to other under-represented racial/minority groups (for instance, individuals from Southeast Asia or Eastern Europe).

Request #3

Request: Examine dispatch or report data to see what the demographic breakdown of subjects reported to the police is.

Status: Unresolved

Comment: To accomplish this with the PPB's existing reporting system would require hand searches of reports and be very labor intensive. The implementation of a new records system is underway. The Crime Analysis Unit will explore options for using this new system to accomplish this in a less labor-intensive manner.

Request #4

Request: Determine a way to differentiate individuals stopped repeated so that data can be examined both the level of the individual and the stop.

Status: The PPB is exploring adding a new field to the stops data report to identify individuals who have been stopped within the last year.

Comment: This possible change represents only a partial fix. While it will be able to identify when the officer conducting the stop has contacted the person before it will not be able to determine if different officers have stopped the individual. To gather the data necessary to determine this would place an additional reporting burden on the officers, our records personnel and would also impose additional burdens on the individual stopped (e.g. having to answer more questions, possibly provide additional personal information etc.).

Request #5

Request: Explore a means to quantify mere conversation contacts.

Status: Unresolved

Comment: Capturing this level of data on all mere conversation contacts is not feasible. There are simply too many such contacts and the costs involved would be prohibitive. One possible solution would be to capture data on searches resulting from mere conversation contacts. This would provide data suitable for stop analysis but would provide data to analyze searches. To accomplish this would require either that other sections of this report be removed to reduce workload or additional resources for the Crime Analysis Unit to assist in analysis. Finally, additional resources would be required at the level of patrol to account for the additional workload such reporting requirements would impose.

Request #6

Request: Add a glossary of terms.

Status: A glossary has been added to this document as an appendix and can be expanded as needed.

Comment: The glossary will be updated as additional questions about terminology are identified.

Request #7

Request: Add a number of passengers field.

Status: This is being explored (see Appendix C) and will be added if possible.

Comment: Analysis of Corvallis Police Department data has demonstrated that the number of passengers can be a salient factor in stops and searches analysis.

Request #8

Request: Address issues with duplicate stops.

Status: A meeting was held August 21, 2013, and it was determined to use the incident number of the stop and the status of the person stopped (Driver, Passenger and Pedestrian) as a key for stops. This will prevent duplicate stops.

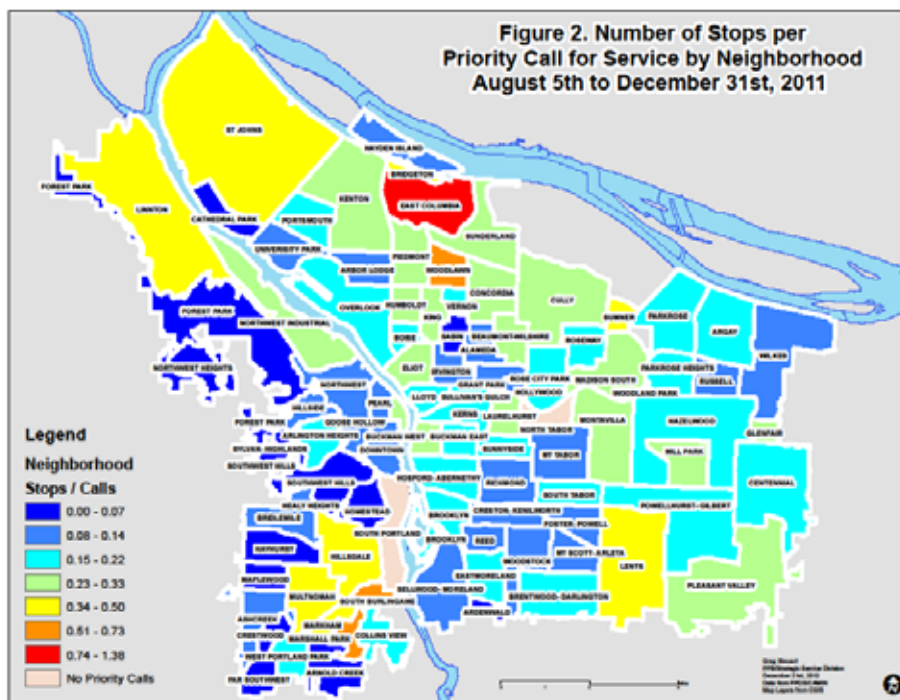
Comments: There is not perfect fix for this issue. Officer may occasionally stop multiple vehicles and/or pedestrians. This system will limit such stops to one driver, pedestrian and passenger per stop.

The benefit of this system is that it will prevent multiple entries for the same stop. An analysis of duplicate stops reveal that a number of stops appeared to be for the same incident where the officer simply hit the “send” button every 15 or 20 seconds. This created multiple entries for the same incident, potentially damaging the quality of the data. This solution ensures the integrity of the data.

Request #9

Request: Utilize mapping to represent stops data graphically.

Status: The CAU has produced such maps and can easily produce others. Below is an example of map produce for an earlier version of this report which explored the relationship between calls and stops:



Comments: Other maps can be produced, however, it is important to remember that certain map types can be deceptive (for instance maps of neighborhoods that do not control for factors such as population, land area or calls for service).

Request #10

Request: Include a table with hit rates for discretionary searches (weapons pat downs and consent searches) for Patrol Division.

Status: See the table below:

Citywide Hit Rates for Consent and Weapons Pat Down Searches of Drivers (Patrol)

Race/Ethnicity	Total Hits	Weapons Hits	Total Discretionary Searches	Total Hit Rate	Weapon Hit Rate
African-American/Black	72	13	271	26.6%	4.8%
Asian	2	0	9	22.2%	0.0%
Hispanic	20	3	81	24.7%	3.7%
Native American	2	0	2	100.0%	0.0%
White	122	11	352	34.7%	3.1%
Unknown/Other	15	1	31	48.4%	3.2%
Total	233	28	746	31.2%	3.8%

Comment: This table or a similar one can be included in future executive summaries for this report and tracked annually.

Request #11

Request: Include a table breaking out self-initiated stops compared to stops resulting in a call for service.

Status: The possibility of producing this table is being explored. It should be feasible for Patrol Units but may not be possible for Traffic Units.

Comment: Traffic Units often do not have access to MDT's (in car computers) and frequently use an alternate method for dispatching themselves on traffic stops. For this reason prior to 2011, the PPB could often did not capture data for stops by Traffic Units. This alternate method of capturing calls does not link directly to dispatch call data. For this reason it appears to be impossible to link these stops. It appears to be possible to link patrol stops to dispatched call data. If possible, this data will be included in the 2012 report.

Appendix B – Glossary

Accident Data: Accident data as used in this report consists of records maintained by the Portland Police Bureau of traffic crashes meeting the following criteria:

- a. Fatal crashes,
- b. Physical injuries with entry into the Regional Trauma System by on-scene EMS personnel.
- c. Accidents involving physical injury to vulnerable road users where the road user is transported by ambulance.
- d. Drivers who are under the influence of intoxicants.
- e. Drivers who fail to perform the duties required of them at the scene of a traffic crash (hit and run).
- f. Hazardous material spills.
- g. An emergency code run by the police regardless of whether a police vehicle was directly involved in the crash.
- h. Crashes where a driver is cited for any violation other than vehicle licensing, operator licensing or financial responsibility statute.

Beat Unit: For purposes of this report, “Beat Units” are police units, assigned to one of the three police precincts, who are not responsible for taking dispatched police calls. Instead, these units are tasked with engaging in pro-active activity such as stopping suspicious persons, conducting vehicle stops or investigating an ongoing crime. Generally, “Beat Units” are created when specific issues, such as a gang violence or ongoing drug dealing in an area, require a more focused response.

Benchmark: For purposes of this report, a benchmark is a number which can be used help put context around the percentage of individuals stopped by the police. Historically, Census data has been used for this purpose but researches have recognized that this a poor benchmark if used in the absence of other data and supporting benchmarks. This report uses Census data, victimization data, data on exposure to police and other benchmarks to better inform the conversation around disparities in police stops.

Consent Search: This is a legal/police term used to define a search where the subject is afforded the opportunity to refuse an officer’s request to search them. Certain circumstances, for instance when an individual is arrested, will result in a search regardless of consent. To qualify for this code, the officer must have asked an individual if they consent to be searched in a situation where they are aware that they can refuse and the individual must agree to being searched.

Contraband: For purposes of this report contraband consists of the items identified on the Stops Data Collection screen. This would include; alcohol, drugs, other, stolen property and weapons. Examples of “other” types of contraband would include items such as; juveniles in possession of tobacco, modified tools used for criminal activity (for instance, car prowlers frequently modify spark plug porcelain to create whips which can be used to break car windows more quietly) and other material which may not be illegal to possess but which is commonly associated with criminal activity.

Correlation: For purposes of this report, correlation would be defined as the degree to which two values move relative to one another. For example, if when the amount of violent assaults in an area goes up and the number of searches goes up in a consistent proportion we would say they were highly correlated.

Discretionary Search: For purposes of this report, discretionary searches include consent searches and weapons pat downs. Both these search types are optional for the officer involved (i.e. they have a choice). Other search types, probable cause, plain view etc. are the product of either policy/procedure (probable cause) or simply seeing contraband (plain view).

Hit Rate: In the context used in this report a “hit rate” generally measures a successful search (finding contraband). Higher hit rates would indicate that more searches are resulting in the recovery of evidence or other items relevant to criminal activity.

Mere Conversation: Mere conversation is term used by police and the courts to describe a contact where the subject being contacted by police is free to terminate the contact. This would encompass the vast majority of police contacts.

Concerns exist around the use of mere conversation as an investigative method. Such contacts are legally no different than an officer greeting a person in the street but can cause distress in individuals who feel they are being targeted for police contact.

Part I Crime: This is a category used nationally for crime reporting. These crimes consist of Murder, Rape, Robbery and Aggravated Assault (Violent Part I crimes) and Burglary, AutoTheft, Larceny and Arson (Non-violent Part I crimes).

Part II Crime: This is a category used nationally for crime reporting. It covers a much wider variety of crimes than Part I crimes. An incomplete list of Part II crimes would include simple assault, disorderly conduct, drug offenses and offenses related to weapons possession.

Patrol Unit: For purposes of this report, Patrol Units are police units which are focused on patrolling the City of Portland for crime but are not focused entirely on traffic enforcement. These units do not include units conducting investigations (such as detectives) or providing operation support (such as officer assigned to training). They also do not include units whose main focus is traffic enforcement. A patrol unit would be the most likely responder to an emergency call to 911.

Pedestrian Stop: Pedestrian stops are non-consensual contacts (meaning the subject does not have a right to terminate the contact) between a police officer and a citizen. To initiate a stop, an officer needs either some kind of legal violation (such as jaywalking or the commission of a crime) or “reasonable suspicion” that criminal activity is occurring. “Reasonable suspicion” is a legal term and is a lower standard of evidence than “probable cause” (probable cause if required to make an arrest).

This kind of contact is a key part of “Stop and Frisk” tactics in policing. While individual officers in the PPB may conduct pedestrian stops, such stops are not part of an organized crime suppression effort. Furthermore, there is no expectation that patrol officers conduct a set number of pedestrian stops (i.e. there is no quota).

Plain View Search: This definition covers instances where officer see contraband in plain sight (i.e. they walk up to a vehicle and see a gun on the seat or similar). This kind of “search” is not optional in that an officer does not choose to see contraband,

but observes it as part of their routine patrol. It would not encompass actions such as asking to search a vehicle and then seeing contraband (this would be a consent search).

Probable Cause Search: Probable cause searches are generally the result of an arrest where the officer has probable cause to believe a crime has occurred, arrests a subject for that crime and then searches their person and/or immediate surrounding for evidence of a crime. An example of this might be an officer who responds to a car prowler and apprehends a subject inside a car with a broken window. The officer may search the subject for tools commonly used by car prowlers to break car windows (often this is a modified spark plug or punch type device). This search is not discretionary in the sense that officer should be searching individuals in such circumstances for evidence.

Traffic Unit: For purposes of this report, a traffic unit is a police unit, generally assigned to the Traffic Division, whose primary focus is the enforcement of traffic law. Such units generally patrol different parts of the city than Patrol Units. The focus is driven by traffic crash data, citizen complaints and other factors (such as around bars for DUI enforcement) but is generally not driven by other “non-traffic” type crimes. Because of the different focus of Traffic Units, it is often informative to contrast their activity with “Patrol Units,” who are more responsive to “non-traffic” crimes.

Vehicle Stop: Vehicle stops are probably the most common contact that most citizens have with police. It involves a police officer, usually in a marked police car, using their lights and siren to pull over an individual. This generally occurs for because of a traffic offense.

Violent Crime: This includes the Part I crimes of Murder, Rape, Robbery, Aggravated Assault and the Part II crime of Simple Assault.

Weapons Pat Down Search: This is a search classification used in the PPB SDC form. It is technically not a “search” in that the officer is only conducting the pat down to verify that the subject they contacting does not have a weapon. While commonly used in tactics such as “Stop and Frisk,” these “searches” are relatively uncommon in Portland. For instance, PPB Patrol Units conducted Weapons Pat Downs in just 1.1% of vehicle stops (see Table 20, pg. 27).



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