



Consultant Report: Progress Update and Data Analysis of Chicago Police Department Stops between 2018 and 2020

**Investigatory Stop and Protective Pat Down
Settlement Agreement
Between the City of Chicago and
the American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois**

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Executive Summary

In August 2015, the City of Chicago (City), the Chicago Police Department (CPD), and the American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois (ACLU)—collectively, “the parties”—entered into the Investigatory Stop and Protective Pat Down Settlement Agreement (Agreement). See [Appendix A \(Investigatory Stop and Protective Pat Down Settlement Agreement\)](#). To “avoid the burden, inconvenience, and expense of litigation,” the parties “agreed to work together to ensure and validate that CPD’s policies and practices relating to investigatory stops and protective pat downs fully comply with applicable law.”¹ These laws include the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution and the Illinois Civil Rights Act of 2003. On September 26, 2019, the parties agreed to a Temporary Stay of certain provisions of the Agreement and agreed to take additional steps to move forward with accomplishing the goals of the Agreement.²

This report provides (1) an update on the Agreement through early 2023 and (2) an assessment of police stops in Chicago from 2018 through 2020.³

First, this report provides an update on developments since our *Status Report* in March 2021, including community engagement, CPD’s current investigatory stop and protective pat down review procedures, and policy and training development.⁴ Notably, the parties are following through on their commitment to a robust community engagement effort to guide the reform of the CPD’s stop and pat down policies, practices, and training. On March 28, 2022, after extensive deliberation, the parties approved the *Independent Consultant Team’s Request for Proposal: Co-Design Community Engagement for the CPD-ACLU Investigatory Stop Agreement*, allowing the community engagement process to move forward. The Request for Proposal (RFP) was originally posted on May 10, 2022, and was re-posted on July 12, 2022.⁵ Three community organizations were selected to co-design a citywide, community-led process to engage a wide variety of stakeholders to develop a set of recommendations regarding the CPD’s stop and protective pat down practices. Each of the three organizations—Lawndale Christian Legal Center, Center on Halsted, and Equiticity—received a \$25,000 stipend (raised from private donors) to cover

¹ See [Appendix A](#); also available at <https://www.aclu-il.org/sites/default/files/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/2015-08-06-Investigatory-Stop-and-Protective-Pat-Down-SettlementAgreeme....pdf>.

² See [Appendix B](#); also available at https://www.aclu-il.org/sites/default/files/temporary_stay_of_the_review_of_the_statistically_representative_sample_of_isrs_.pdf.

³ Consultant Team member Professor David Abrams completed an analysis of this data under methodologies that the parties negotiated and agreed to for purposes of the limited assessment contemplated under the Temporary Stay.

⁴ *2021 Consultant Status Report*, CONSULTANT TEAM (March 19, 2021), https://www.aclu-il.org/sites/default/files/2021_03_19_consultant_status_report.pdf.

⁵ See e.g., *Request for Proposal*, available at <https://cpdmonitoringteam.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/2022-07-11-Community-Groups-RFP.pdf>.

the costs of their participation in and work on the project.⁶ We will publish the community recommendations and the CPD’s response in a supplemental public report.

Second, this report contains analysis of data from 2018 through 2020 in order to provide the public with information about the impacts of the CPD’s stop and frisk practices across racial and ethnic groups. The analysis was conducted according to the Temporary Stay and the subsequently-negotiated methodologies. The City and the CPD did not provide any explanation of any disparate impact, despite our requests for the CPD’s crime strategy during the 2018–2020 time frame.⁷ Therefore, the analysis does not attempt to explain any observed disparities between racial/ethnic groups.⁸

This report is intended to give an overview of police stops in Chicago in 2018–2020. Chicago is a large, diverse city, which makes gaining an overall understanding of the impact of policing a challenge at all times. The period for this analysis had the added complexity of including a global pandemic. But some clear patterns emerged from the data.

- Citywide, in 2018 and 2019, a Black person was nine times as likely to be stopped as a White person, and a Latino person was about three times as likely to be stopped as a White person.⁹ Black people were stopped at higher rates than their population share

⁶ The co-design process is complete and the organizations hosted a series of events in early 2023. The organizations synthesized the input received from the community into a set of recommendations that they will present to the CPD. The CPD, with assistance from the ACLU and the Consultant, will respond to the recommendations within approximately 60 days. The CPD’s response will include (1) a plan to follow the recommendations in the development and revision of the Stop Report and related policies and training, and (2) for any recommendations the CPD will not follow, an explanation of its reasoning. The CPD’s response will be shared with the community organizations and participants in the community engagement process.

⁷ We do not know, for example, whether the differences in the CPD’s stop, pat down, or search practices across Chicago reflect any intentional strategy to reduce any particular types of crimes—such as firearm or drug crime—or whether any differences reflect differences in local community feedback regarding the preferred strategy of local districts in the 2018-2020 time frame.

⁸ As reflected above, the CPD did not provide any legitimate rationale to explain potential disparities—such as a policy objective or crime strategy relevant to this same time frame—needed to conduct such analysis. We look forward to expanding our analysis to explore other potential causal factors in the future as appropriate if such data is supplied by the CPD.

⁹ We understand that some people may prefer “Latinx” or “Hispanic” to “Latino.” For the purposes of this report, we followed the Agreement, the United States Census Bureau, and the DOJ’s investigation of the Chicago Police Department. See Agreement at 2, Appendix A; see also *About Race*, US Census Bureau (last revised March 1, 2022), <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html> and DOJ Civil Rights Division and United States Attorney’s Office Northern District of Illinois, *Investigation of Chicago Police Department* (January 13, 2017), available at <https://www.justice.gov/opa/file/925846/download>. In general, people who identify with the term “Latino” may be of any race because “Latino” is an ethnicity. See *About the Hispanic Population and its Origin*, US Census Bureau (last revised April 15, 2022), <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/hispanic-origin/about.html>. However, the data that the CPD is required to collect under Illinois law includes an officer’s “subjective determination of the race of the person stopped” and “the person’s race shall be selected from the following list: American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific

in every police district in Chicago, regardless of the racial/ethnic composition or crime rate of the district.

- There was substantial variation across police districts in the rate at which stops occurred, ranging from a low of 14.8 stops per thousand residents to a high of 292 stops per thousand residents. Stop rates were correlated both with Black and Latino residential share and crime rate in the district.
- During investigatory stops, Black and Latino people were patted down more often than White people were patted down.
- In 2018 and 2019, Chicago police pat downs of Black and Latino people resulted in lower “hit rates” (the rates of contraband discovery) than pat downs of White people. Chicago police found contraband around 29% more often when they patted down a White person as compared to a Black person, and there is a less than 5% chance that a disparity this large or larger could occur due to chance. Chicago police found contraband around 38% more often when they patted down a White person as compared to a Latino person, and there is a less than 1% chance that a disparity this large or larger could occur due to chance.
- For searches, the hit rate for any contraband was lower for Black people than for White people. In contrast, specifically for firearms, the hit rate was higher for Black people than for White people.
- There was substantial variation across police districts in how hit rates vary by race/ethnicity, with great disparities in some and none in others.
- With the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020, there was a sharp decline in the number of stops, pat downs, and searches. As their numbers fell, pat downs and searches became substantially more likely to result in the detection of contraband in the second half of 2020 as compared to 2018 and 2019.
- Less than 4% of all searches resulted in discovery of a weapon of any kind and 3% yielded a firearm. For pat downs, the rate for weapons was roughly the same (4.1%), but even lower for firearms (1.9%).
- When looking at all stops, the rates were substantially lower. Just one in 50 stops yielded any weapon and 1 in 77 yielded a firearm. Ultimately, these hit rates must be balanced against the intrusion on people’s lives from being stopped, patted down, or searched.

Islander, or White.” 625 ILCS 5/11-212. Individuals who identified as both Black and Latino in the Census Bureau data were counted as Black.

We look forward to reporting on the results of the community engagement, as well as continuing to assist the City, the CPD, and the ACLU of Illinois in their pursuit of improved policies, reporting mechanisms, and training on investigatory stops and pat downs.

We anticipate that the City and the Office of the Illinois Attorney General, who are parties to the federal consent decree regarding Chicago policing, *Illinois v. Chicago*, No. 17-Cv-620 (N.D. Ill.) (Consent Decree), will soon file a stipulation with the court to add provisions regarding investigatory stops and pat downs to the Consent Decree. It is anticipated the court will hold a public hearing to receive comments on the stipulation. As a result of the stipulation, we expect that the Agreement between the City, the CPD, and the ACLU will terminate and that the progress made under the Agreement toward reform will continue under the Consent Decree.

Background

In August 2015, the City of Chicago (City), the Chicago Police Department (CPD), and the American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois (ACLU)—collectively, “the parties”—entered into the Investigatory Stop and Protective Pat Down Settlement Agreement (Agreement). See [Appendix A \(Investigatory Stop and Protective Pat Down Settlement Agreement\)](#).

To “avoid the burden, inconvenience, and expense of litigation,” the parties “agreed to work together to ensure and validate that CPD’s policies and practices relating to investigatory stops and protective pat downs fully comply with applicable law.”¹⁰ These laws include the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution and the Illinois Civil Rights Act of 2003.

- The Fourth Amendment requires, among other things, (1) the police to have reasonable and articulable suspicion of criminal activity to justify an investigatory stop of an individual, and (2) the police to have reasonable and articulable suspicion that an individual is armed and dangerous to justify a protective pat down.
- The Fourteenth Amendment guarantees equal protection of the laws, regardless of race and ethnicity, which applies to police stops and pat downs.
- The Illinois Civil Rights Act (ICRA) prohibits law enforcement agencies in Illinois from subjecting a person to discrimination “on the grounds of that person’s race, color, national origin, or gender; or utiliz[ing] criteria or methods of administration that have the effect of subjecting individuals” to such discrimination. 740 ILCS 23/5(a).

The Agreement also requires the CPD to comply with data collection, training, supervision, and auditing obligations. The Agreement requires, for example, the following:

- The CPD must document all investigatory stops and protective pat downs.
- CPD district-level supervisors must review all such documentation for compliance with the law and CPD policy.
- The CPD must conduct regular headquarters-level audits of investigatory stop and protective pat down practices, including records of supervisors’ review.

As part of the Agreement, the parties jointly selected a Consultant to (1) review and make recommendations for the CPD’s policies, practices, and training regarding investigatory stops and protective pat downs; (2) audit Investigatory Stop Reports (known as ISRs) and

¹⁰ Agreement at 1-2, [Appendix A](#); also available at <https://www.aclu-il.org/sites/default/files/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/2015-08-06-Investigatory-Stop-and-Protective-Pat-Down-SettlementAgreeme...pdf>.

review aggregate ISR data to assess compliance with the Agreement; and (3) issue reports and recommendations.

The following subsections provide further detail regarding the Consultant reports, the transition of Consultant, and the *2021 Status Report*.

Consultant Reports between 2017 and 2019

At the time of the Agreement's inception, the parties selected retired Judge Arlander Keys to serve as the Consultant. Judge Keys issued three Reports while serving as Consultant:

(1) a March 23, 2017 report covering January 1 to June 30, 2016;

(2) a March 5, 2018 report covering July 1 through December 31, 2016; and

(3) an October 17, 2019 report covering calendar year 2017.¹¹

Judge Keys's reports identified concerns with data collection and supervision of the CPD's stops and pat downs that he believed made an accurate assessment of compliance with the Agreement impracticable.

Temporary Stay to the Agreement between the Parties on September 26, 2019, and Presumption of a Prima Facie Showing of Disparate Impact under ICRA

Between 2017 and 2019, Judge Keys's concerns about accurately assessing compliance with the Agreement were not alleviated. Therefore, on September 26, 2019, the parties agreed to a Temporary Stay¹² of certain provisions of the Agreement and agreed to take additional steps to move forward with accomplishing the goals of the Agreement. See [Appendix B](#) (Temporary Stay Agreement, September 26, 2019).

¹¹ These reports are available at the ACLU's website: <https://www.aclu-il.org/en/campaigns/stop-and-frisk>.

¹² Temporary Stay of the Review of the Statistically Representative Sample of ISRs (Section V(d-f) of the Agreement), [Appendix B](#); also available at https://www.aclu-il.org/sites/default/files/temporary_stay_of_the_review_of_the_statistically_representative_sample_of_isrs.pdf.

Specifically, the parties agreed that the Consultant would not analyze 2018 and 2019 investigatory stop reports (ISRs) for Fourth Amendment compliance while the CPD reviewed and assessed changes to its data collection, supervision, and auditing systems related to stops and pat downs. The parties and the Consultant will confer on a date for resumption of the Consultant's reporting per the Agreement.

The Temporary Stay also requires the City, the ACLU, and the Consultant to confer about the Consultant's methodology for conducting Fourth Amendment compliance assessments and address issues related to the CPD's use of multi-version investigatory stop reports.¹³

The Temporary Stay also permits the Consultant to bypass the first step in determining compliance with the Illinois Civil Rights Act (ICRA). ICRA prohibits law enforcement agencies from discriminating against an individual "on the grounds of that person's race, color, national origin, or gender; or utiliz[ing] criteria or methods of administration that have the effect of subjecting individuals to discrimination because of their race, color, national origin, or gender." 740 ILCS 23/5(a).

As Retired Judge Keys explained in past reports, assessing compliance with ICRA involves assessing whether the CPD's policies and practices have an unjustified disparate impact based on race or ethnicity, without regard to whether there is evidence of intentional discrimination or purpose at an institutional level.¹⁴

A showing of unjustified disparate impact requires (1) a disproportionate adverse effect on a specific group of people; (2) caused by a practice or policy; (3) that, after consideration of various factors, is not justified by an otherwise legitimate rationale.¹⁵ With this, the first step in assessing a claim of disparate impact requires consideration of the quantitative evidence of impact, rather than qualitative evidence of justification, derived from statistical analysis of aggregate ISR data.¹⁶ If quantitative evidence shows a disparate impact, the burden shifts to the City to show that it has a legitimate, non-discriminatory policy that is necessary to obtain a legitimate objective.¹⁷ If the City shows its actions were justified in this way, the burden shifts again to the challenging party to

¹³ As Judge Keys described the issue, the CPD "does not limit the number of versions a police officer may submit or a reviewing supervisor may request in an attempt to correct the original ISR's articulation of RAS and/or other identified errors." *October 17, 2019 Report*, page 124, available at <https://www.aclu-il.org/en/period-3-and-4-stop-and-frisk-report-cy2017>.

¹⁴ See e.g., *March 23, 2017 Report*, page 65, available at <https://www.aclu-il.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/the-consultants-first-semiannual-report-3-23-17.pdf>.

¹⁵ See *March 23, 2017 Report*, pages 112–13.

¹⁶ See *October 17, 2019 Report*, page 104, available at <https://www.aclu-il.org/en/period-3-and-4-stop-and-frisk-report-cy2017>.

¹⁷ See, e.g., *Cent. Austin Neighborhood Ass'n v. City of Chicago*, 2013 IL App (1st) 123041, ¶10 (quoting *Gallagher v. Magner*, 619 F.3d 823, 834 (8th Cir. 2010)).

show a viable alternative means could be employed to achieve the legitimate objective without causing discriminatory effects.¹⁸

In the Temporary Stay, the City and the ACLU agreed that “the Consultant may (1) assume, solely for the purposes of determining the CPD’s legal compliance under the Agreement, that a prima facie showing under ICRA based on disparate impact on the basis of race has been satisfied and (2) forgo that analysis.”¹⁹ The Temporary Stay recognizes that this assumption “does not constitute an admission of any fault or liability whatsoever on the part of the City or CPD and does not extend outside of determining a compliance methodology for this Agreement.”

Chicago Police Consent Decree and Transitions in the Consultant Team

Meanwhile, in January 2019, federal Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr. signed a consent decree between the City and the Office of the Illinois Attorney General (OAG) regarding specified aspects of Chicago policing (Consent Decree).²⁰ As a result of various federal, state, and local community efforts,²¹ the City and the OAG entered into the Consent Decree to ensure the following:

- “that the City and CPD deliver services in a manner that fully complies with the Constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Illinois, respects the rights of the people of Chicago, builds trust between officers and the communities they serve and promotes community and officer safety”; and
- “that Chicago police officers are provided with the training, resources, and support they need to perform their jobs professionally and safely.”²²

The Consent Decree requires changes to CPD policies, training, and practices in ten topic areas: (1) community policing; (2) impartial policing; (3) crisis intervention; (4) use of force; (5) recruitment, hiring, and promotions; (6) training; (7) supervision; (8) officer wellness and support; (9) accountability and transparency; and (10) data collection, analysis, and management. Maggie Hickey, a partner at ArentFox Schiff LLP, was appointed

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ Paragraph 14 of the Temporary Stay.

²⁰ As of November 2022, Chief Judge Rebecca R. Pallmeyer now oversees the Consent Decree.

²¹ For more discussion on the Consent Decree’s development, see the *March 19, 2021 Consultant Status Report*, pages 2–3, available at https://www.aclu-il.org/sites/default/files/2021_03_19_consultant_status_report.pdf. Extensive information regarding the Consent Decree is available at <https://chicagopoliceconsentdecree.org>.

²² Consent Decree ¶12.

by Judge Dow to serve as the Independent Monitor for the Consent Decree.²³ Ms. Hickey leads the Independent Monitoring Team—which includes over 20 experts and attorneys—to oversee and report on the Consent-Decree-related efforts of the City, the CPD, and other implicated City entities.

While nothing in the Consent Decree “alters or incorporates any provision” in the Agreement,²⁴ investigatory stops and protective pat downs by the CPD implicate many of the reforms required by the Consent Decree in its ten areas of focus.

In the summer of 2020, recognizing the significant overlap between the City’s responsibilities under the Agreement and those under the Consent Decree,²⁵ the parties agreed that the Consultant work required by the Agreement would transition from Judge Keys to Maggie Hickey and her team (members of which are identified in [Appendix C](#)), collectively the Consultant Team.²⁶

March 19, 2021 Status Report

On March 19, 2021, the Consultant Team published a *Status Report*.²⁷ The *2021 Status Report* explained that the Temporary Stay remained in place and that the parties remained in discussion regarding the Consultant Team’s methodology for conducting Fourth Amendment compliance assessments. The parties and the Consultant Team also continued to discuss how to address issues related to the CPD’s use of multi-version investigatory stop reports.²⁸

The Consultant Team worked with statistical experts who examined data regarding traffic stops and investigatory stop reports from 2014 to 2019, which indicated that after the Agreement was reached, the rate of reported traffic stops rose as the rate of reported investigatory stops fell. That work informed our initial recommendations to improve the CPD’s existing policy on investigatory stops and protective pat downs—Special Order S04-

²³ Ms. Hickey, as the Independent Monitor, reports directly to the Judge Pallmeyer, who recently transitioned to overseeing the Consent Decree.

²⁴ Consent Decree ¶712.

²⁵ See, e.g., Consent Decree ¶¶49–51, 53, and 79–82.

²⁶ For more information about the Consultant Team and the Consultant team transition, see the March 19, 2021 *Consultant Status Report*, pages 2–3, available at https://www.aclu-il.org/sites/default/files/2021_03_19_consultant_status_report.pdf.

²⁷ *2021 Consultant Status Report*, CONSULTANT TEAM (March 19, 2021), https://www.aclu-il.org/sites/default/files/2021_03_19_consultant_status_report.pdf.

²⁸ As Judge Keys described the issue, the CPD “does not limit the number of versions a police officer may submit or a reviewing supervisor may request in an attempt to correct the original ISR’s articulation of RAS and/or other identified errors.” *October 17, 2019 Report*, page 124, available at <https://www.aclu-il.org/en/period-3-and-4-stop-and-frisk-report-cy2017>.

13-09, *Investigatory Stop System*—and other CPD policies, including Special Order S04-14-09, *Illinois Traffic and Pedestrian Stop Study*.

We recommended that the CPD adopt a single system to record investigatory stops and traffic stops, along with pat downs and searches that take place during each type of stop. As a result, the CPD would use the same form for all involuntary contacts short of citation or arrest.

We also recommended that the CPD adopt the following two policies to cover such contacts:

1. A single policy to cover the documentation of the contacts, supervisory review of the documentation, and auditing and retention responsibilities for documentation and data.
2. A separate, standalone policy covering the substantive legal framework governing a range of CPD members' contacts with the public—from voluntary contacts to arrests—to (1) provide guidance on when and how to make such contacts and (2) serve as a hub to other, more specific policies (including policies on how to document such contacts).

The City and the CPD agreed with our recommendation to record investigatory stops and traffic stops on a single form, and on February 25, 2021, provided a preliminary draft of a universal *Stop Report* to the Consultant Team and the ACLU for review.

To better inform improvements to CPD's policies and procedures related to investigatory stops and protective pat downs—including the development of the new *Stop Report* form—we recommended and the parties agreed to a robust, multi-tier community engagement effort. At the release of the *2021 Status Report*, the strategic plan for community engagement remained in development.

As indicated in our *2021 Status Report*, we also reviewed a draft of the CPD's Fourth Amendment training lesson plan, and on November 25, 2020, we provided written feedback on its substance and pedagogy. We indicated that we would provide recommendations as to how the CPD trains its officers to document investigatory stops and pat downs and how it trains supervisors to review such documentation once a determination is made regarding how to revise the CPD's policies and forms.

As we explained in our *2021 Status Report*, since the *Temporary Stay*, Chicago and the country experienced a pandemic, an economic crisis, a social justice movement, widespread protests, and large-scale unrest. Given the unusual circumstances, we therefore noted that the parties were conferring to jointly determine when reporting per the Agreement would resume. On December 1, 2021, after our *2021 Status Report*, the parties memorialized their agreement that data collected during 2020 regarding

investigatory stops and protective pat downs should be included in this report, and analyzed in accordance with the terms of the Temporary Stay.²⁹

The following section provides our latest updates.

²⁹ See [Attachment B](#), Section III.A.

2022 Updates: Investigatory Stop System Reform

The status of the CPD’s investigatory stop and pat down policies and practices and efforts to reform the same—starting with the community engagement process—are detailed below.

Many of the circumstances we described in our *2021 Status Report* persist. Specifically, (1) issues related to the CPD’s use of multi-version investigatory stop reports (ISRs)³⁰ have not yet been resolved, and (2) the Temporary Stay remains in place. The CPD has proposed new policies and forms which offer improvements over the status quo—including integration of traffic stops—but more work is needed, including incorporation of community input.

In addition, other issues with the existing policies and procedures have come to our attention since our *2021 Status Report*: problems with supervisory and headquarters-level reviews of ISRs. In particular, (1) the CPD’s Audit Division produced an April 25, 2022 report indicating that supervisors are incorrectly administering “rejection statuses” in their reviews of ISRs; and (2) there is a significant backlog in the headquarters-level reviews, which are conducted by the Tactical Review and Evaluation Division’s (TRED’s) Fourth Amendment Stop Review Unit.

The final sub-section below provides updates on the CPD’s training on stops and pat downs.

Community Engagement Developments

The parties are following through on their commitment to a robust community engagement effort to guide the reform of the CPD’s stop and pat down policies, practices, and training. The strategic plan for the community engagement effort was still in development at the time of our March 19, *2021 Status Report*.

After extensive deliberation, the parties agreed on a community engagement process that combines elements of the approach we described in our *2021 Status Report* in seeking input from community members most affected by stop and pat down practices. On March 28, 2022, following multiple rounds of revisions, the parties approved the “Independent

³⁰ As Judge Keys described the issue, the CPD “does not limit the number of versions a police officer may submit or a reviewing supervisor may request in an attempt to correct the original ISR’s articulation of RAS and/or other identified errors.” *October 17, 2019 Report*, page 124, available at <https://www.aclu-il.org/en/period-3-and-4-stop-and-frisk-report-cy2017>.

Consultant Team’s Request for Proposal: Co-Design Community Engagement for the CPD-ACLU Investigatory Stop Agreement,” allowing the community engagement process to move forward. The Request for Proposal (RFP) was originally posted on May 10, 2022, and was re-posted on July 12, 2022.³¹

RFP applications were reviewed, and interviews were conducted, by a selection committee comprised of the Consultant, the CPD, the ACLU of Illinois, and two non-profit organizations selected by the Consultant (in order to engage the community at the selection stage): Impact for Equity (formerly known as BPI) and the Invisible Institute.

Three community organizations were selected to co-design a citywide, community-led process to engage a wide variety of stakeholders and develop a set of recommendations regarding the CPD’s stop and protective pat down practices. Each of the three organizations—Lawndale Christian Legal Center, Center on Halsted, and Equiticity—received a \$25,000 stipend (raised from private donors) to cover the costs of their participation in and work on the project.

The co-design process is complete and the organizations hosted a series of events in early 2023. The organizations synthesized the input received from the community into a set of recommendations that they will present to the CPD. The CPD, with assistance from the ACLU and the Consultant, will respond to the recommendations within approximately 60 days.

The CPD’s response will include (1) a plan to follow the recommendations in the development and revision of the Stop Report and related policies and training, and (2) for any recommendations the CPD will not follow, an explanation of its reasoning. The CPD’s response will be shared with the organizations and individuals who participated in the community engagement process.

The Consultant will publish the community recommendations and the CPD’s response in a supplemental public report.

Policies and Procedures

The CPD has not revised its investigatory stop policy since July 10, 2017.³² On July 7, 2022, the City and the CPD provided a revised draft of their proposed *Stop Report* form and drafts of three related forms: a *Stop Receipt*, a *Deficiency Report*, and a *Unit Audit*. The

³¹ See e.g., *Request for Proposal*, available at <https://cpdmonitoringteam.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/2022-07-11-Community-Groups-RFP.pdf>.

³² Special Order S04-13-09, *Investigatory Stop System*, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>. Special Order S04-14-09, *Illinois Traffic and Pedestrian Stop Study*, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6689>, was last revised March 23, 2018.

ACLU and the Consultant Team had previously provided comments on February 25, April 21, and November 24, 2021 versions of the Stop Report form. To accompany the new forms, the City and the CPD provided drafts of a suite of policies: a *Fourth Amendment and Street Stops General Order*, a *Pedestrian and Vehicular Stop System* sub-policy, and a *Department Review of Pedestrian and Vehicular Stops* sub-policy. The ACLU and the Consultant Team had previously provided comments on a January 7, 2022 version of the first two policies; the third was new.

The draft policies and forms contain improvements over the CPD's existing policies and forms. For example, the new policies and forms would allow a Stop Report to be rejected by a supervisor for revision and resubmission by an officer only once. At present, there is no limit to the number of times an ISR can be revised and resubmitted by an officer, which means there is no limit to the number of versions of an ISR that could exist.

Another example is a new field titled "After-Action Support Recommendations to Address Deficiency" on the proposed revised Deficiency Rejection Report, which encourages supervisors to provide a submitting officer with immediate feedback or remediation to address a rejected ISR's issues.

In addition, while the Agreement does not cover traffic stops, we appreciate that the City and the CPD are working to adopt our recommendation³³ that the CPD use a single system to record investigatory stops and traffic stops, along with pat downs and searches conducted by officers during each type of stop. We look forward to additional progress toward that goal.

However, more work remains. For instance, the City and the CPD rejected many of our comments on the previous versions, and responded to some of our comments regarding Fourth Amendment jurisprudence by stating, "CPD is currently reviewing the policy to ensure it's consistent with Fourth Amendment rights."

The latest draft of the policies retains content that we previously identified as confusing, such as the use of the term, "non-investigatory probable cause stop," and the phrase "combination of both [reasonable articulable suspicion] and probable cause."

Moreover, limiting each Stop Report to a single rejection and resubmission seems unlikely on its own to ensure accurate reporting and data in light of the issues raised in the CPD's own *Audit Division Report*, as detailed below.

On December 16, 2022, the ACLU provided extensive comments on the July 2022 versions of the CPD's draft policies and forms. The ACLU's comments included the following recommendations: revising the policies in light of Illinois's legalization of personal

³³ The statistical analysis our experts conducted in 2020 indicated that after the Agreement was reached, the rate of reported traffic stops rose as the rate of reported investigatory stops fell. The possibility that traffic stops were replacing investigatory stops prompted our recommendation to combine the reporting systems for pedestrian and vehicle stops.

amounts of cannabis; requiring officers to notify individuals that they are not required to consent to searches; requiring officers to identify themselves when they initiate consensual encounters and investigatory stops; limiting pretextual stops; limiting officers' discretion to order people out of vehicles; clarifying that a probable cause stop of a driver does not provide a basis to search a passenger; adding to the list of factors that do not alone provide reasonable articulable suspicion to stop a person; clarifying the standard for a protective pat down and other legal standards; requiring officers to record the request for consent and the response or non-response on body-worn or in-car cameras; and including examples to illustrate reasonable articulable suspicion. The ACLU takes the position that Stop Reports should not be rejected and resubmitted even one time.

We look forward to continuing to improve the CPD's proposed policies and form, including by receiving recommendations from the community to inform the policies' and forms' further development (as detailed in the update on community engagement above).

AUDIT DIVISION REPORT

On May 5, 2022, the City and the CPD provided the Consultant Team and the ACLU with Audit Division Report No. 21-001, *Audit of ISR Supervisory Reviews* (dated April 25, 2022) ("*Audit Division Report*"). The stated purpose of the audit was to assess the extent to which supervisors are correctly administering "rejection statuses" in their reviews of ISRs. Currently, there are three types of rejection status that supervisors may use:

1. **Administrative Rejection:** Supervisors use the "administrative rejection" to reject an ISR due to typographic errors, incomplete fields, or simple omission. Supervisors document Administrative Rejections and any corrective action taken in the comments section within the Investigatory Stop Database, but are not required to complete a Deficiency Notification Form ([CPD-11.914](#)). The ISR is returned to the reporting officer for revision and resubmission.
2. **Deficiency Rejection:** Supervisors use the "deficiency rejection" to reject an ISR for an error such as the omission of some factors of the totality of circumstances that support Reasonable Articulable Suspicion (RAS) for the investigatory stop, or a problem with the articulated rationale for a protective pat down or search. A Deficiency Rejection requires the completion of a Deficiency Notification Form ([CPD-11.914](#)). The ISR is returned to the reporting officer for revision and resubmission.
3. **Send to Integrity Unit:** Supervisors use "send to Integrity Unit" to reject an ISR found to have improper justification for the investigatory stop, protective pat down, and/or search, or when the ISR was generated in error (*e.g.*, the ISR is a duplicate or the officer's actions did not require an ISR). A Deficiency Notification Form ([CPD-11.914](#)) is required. The ISR is not returned to the officer and is sent to the CPD's Tactical

Review and Evaluation Division's Fourth Amendment Stop Review Unit (TRED Stop Review Unit) for review and/or cancellation.³⁴

The *Audit Division Report* **only** sampled ISRs generated between January 1, 2018, and September 30, 2021, that (1) had received an Administrative Rejection or a Deficiency Rejection and (2) had been approved upon re-submission. The Audit Division did not sample ISRs that were rejected under the "Send to Integrity Unit" status, which are reviewed by the TRED Stop Review Unit.

Moreover, *the Audit division did not sample ISRs where more than two versions exist (i.e., where the supervisor rejected the ISR after re-submission)*. The *Audit Division Report* noted that supervisors rejected 1.2% of all 445,880 ISRs submitted during the review period more than once—or about 5,350 ISRs. In preparing the *Audit Division Report*, the Audit Division learned that one ISR was rejected eight times before final approval.

Still, the *Audit Division Report* indicates that supervisors are not correctly administering the Administrative Rejection and Deficiency Rejection statuses. In making that determination, the Audit Division evaluated both the supervisor's comments as well as the nature of the revision made upon resubmission. To find it was correctly applied, both the supervisor's comments and the officer's revisions had to match the selected rejection status.

The *Audit Division Report* states that of the 380 ISRs reviewed in the sample of Administrative Rejections, only 208 ISRs (54.7%) were rejected and revised consistent with an Administrative Rejection. About a quarter (94 ISRs or 24.7%) had "indecipherable supervisor comments," so the reason the supervisor rejected the ISR could not be determined.

Of the 288 ISRs reviewed in the sample of Deficiency Rejections, fewer than half (141 ISRs or 49%) were rejected and revised consistent with a Deficiency Rejection. Thirty-seven ISRs (12.8%) had either indecipherable supervisor notes or the comments did not describe the deficiency.

The *Audit Division Report* describes some significant changes between original ISRs and the ones resubmitted by officers before approval. For instance, the *Audit Division Report* indicates that for 16.1% of the ISRs that received an Administrative Rejection, the reason for the stop changed from probable cause to reasonable articulable suspicion (the lower standard) or from reasonable articulable suspicion to probable cause. In addition, the Audit Division identified eight ISRs where key elements of the original narrative were

³⁴ In addition to ISRs that are rejected under the "Send to Integrity Unit" status, the TRED Stop Review Unit conducts audits of 10% of approved ISRs that received an Administrative or Deficiency Rejection, according to the *Audit Division Report*. As outlined in the next section, however, there are also issues with the TRED Stop Review Unit's review of ISRs.

retracted and revised before supervisor approval, resulting in two contradictory versions of the same report.

The Audit Division made a number of recommendations and suggestions in its Report, but the report indicates that the Audit Division received no response to any of its recommendations. We understand that the Audit Division intends to do a follow-up to the *Audit Division Report*, and look forward to receiving and reviewing it.

We look forward to continuing to work with the City and the CPD to address the problems identified in the CPD's *Audit Division Report*.

TRED'S FOURTH AMENDMENT STOP REVIEW UNIT (TRED STOP REVIEW UNIT)

Under the terms of the Agreement, CPD headquarters staff are required to conduct quarterly or semi-annual audits that include examination of (i) the narrative sections of a statistically representative sample of individual ISRs, (ii) records of supervisory corrections or rejections of ISRs, and (iii) CPD documentation of civilian and internal complaints relating to investigatory stops and/or protective pat downs.³⁵

On October 16, 2020, the City and the CPD provided the Consultant Team and the ACLU with materials prepared by the CPD's "Integrity Unit," which at the time, was responsible for auditing ISRs. According to the October 16, 2020 materials, the Integrity Unit was conducting the following audits of officers' ISR documentation:

- Daily audit of 15% of *all* ISRs once they were approved and marked final by supervisors;
- Monthly audit of 10% of arrests involving unlawful use of a weapon or robbery to ensure that a corresponding ISR was completed where appropriate; and
- On an ongoing basis, the Bureau of Internal Affairs (BIA) was forwarding ISR-related complaints to the Integrity Unit to determine whether the ISRs were appropriately supported.

In addition, the Integrity Unit was conducting the following audits of supervisors' review of ISRs:

- Monthly audit of 10% of ISRs sent back for changes; and
- Audit of all ISRs forwarded by supervisors to the Integrity Unit (i.e., put in "Send to Integrity Unit" rejection status).

³⁵ See [Appendix B](#) at Section II(3)(b).

Headquarters-level ISR audits are now conducted by the CPD’s Tactical Review and Evaluation Division’s (TRED’s) Fourth Amendment Stop Review Unit (TRED Stop Review Unit).³⁶ We were informed that as of July 21, 2022, the TRED Stop Review Unit had a significant backlog of outstanding ISR audits from the 15% daily sample of all ISRs. In November 2022, we were informed that the TRED Stop Review Unit was no longer staffed, but that TRED was reassigning reviewers from other tasks (such as use of force and firearm pointing reviews) until the TRED Stop Review Unit open positions are filled.³⁷ We understand that the backlog of outstanding ISR audits as of June 11, 2023 was 25,886.

We understand that the CPD has developed a revised Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for the TRED Stop Review Unit, but the CPD has not yet provided the SOP to the ACLU and the Consultant Team for review and comment.

We look forward to continuing to work with the City and the CPD to address TRED’s staffing shortage and improve the TRED Stop Review Unit’s audit processes.

Training Developments

In the time since our *2021 Status Report*, the CPD provided draft training materials for two newly developed courses to the Consultant Team and the ACLU for review and comment.

On February 23, 2022, the CPD provided portions of its proposed *Fourth Amendment eLearning* course to the Consultant Team and the ACLU for review and comment. We provided our concerns and comments on March 17, 2022, noting our view that the training required significant revisions and making three overall recommendations:

- correct the standard for conducting a protective pat down by removing the phrase “OR presents a danger of attack” after “armed AND dangerous”;
- explain valid consent and consensual searches; and

³⁶ The CPD established a Force Review Division (FRD) in 2017 to review and analyze information and tactics utilized in Use of Force incidents with the goal of identifying “skills needing improvement as an individual and/or organization, as well as highlight positive skill and techniques as models for emulation.” The FRD was renamed the Tactical Review and Evaluation Division (TRED) in early 2022 to reflect the additional duties it performs; TRED encompasses the Force Review Unit, Firearm Pointing Review Unit, Foot Pursuit Review Unit, Search Warrant Review Unit, and the Fourth Amendment Stop Review Unit. See *Tactical Review and Evaluation Division Reports*, CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT, <https://home.chicagopolice.org/statistics-data/statistical-reports/tactical-review-and-evaluation-division-reports/>.

³⁷ The CPD’s failure to adequately staff TRED is detailed in the Consent Decree’s Independent Monitor Reports dated April 11, 2022, and December 15, 2022, available at <https://cpdmonitoringteam.com/overview/reports-and-resources/>.

- clarify the distinction between investigatory stops and non-custodial detentions supported by probable cause.

The ACLU made similar recommendations. After receiving our comments and those of the ACLU, the CPD informed us that it was no longer planning to revise and deliver the *Fourth Amendment eLearning*, and would instead focus on developing its in-person, mandatory 2023 in-service course, *Constitutional Policing*.

The CPD provided an initial draft of Modules 1–5 of its *Constitutional Policing* course for review and comment on August 22, 2022, and provided a revised draft on October 31, 2022. The ACLU and the Consultant Team provided the CPD with our comments and recommendations for revisions on February 14–23 and March 17, 2023, respectively. In addition to discrete changes, the ACLU recommended global revisions to align the training with the CPD’s new draft policies, which CPD did not implement. The CPD started delivering the training shortly thereafter.

We look forward to continuing to work with the CPD to improve its training on the Fourth Amendment and related reporting requirements.

2018–2020 Data Analysis by Professor David Abrams³⁸

The City and the CPD provided data from *Investigatory Stop Reports* (ISRs) from 2018 through 2020. The Consultant Team member Professor David Abrams completed an analysis of this data under methodologies that the parties negotiated and agreed to for purposes of the limited assessment under the Temporary Stay.³⁹ This report compiles and analyzes police stops in Chicago in 2018–2020 as recorded in *Investigatory Stop Reports* (ISRs) completed by officers after such stops.⁴⁰ This includes the likelihood that the CPD’s stops, pat downs, or searches yielded contraband, known as the “hit rate.”

The purpose of this assessment is to provide the public with data regarding the impacts of the CPD’s stop, pat down, and search practices across racial and ethnic groups without further assessing the causes of those impacts or the extent to which those impacts are justified by a legitimate policy objective that cannot be accomplished without discriminatory effects.

The City and the CPD did not provide any explanation of any disparate impact, despite our requests for the CPD’s crime strategy during the 2018–2020 time frame. We do not know, for example, whether the differences in the CPD’s stop, pat down, or search practices across Chicago reflect any intentional strategy to reduce any particular types of crimes—such as firearm or drug crime—or whether any differences reflect differences in local community feedback regarding the preferred strategy of local districts. Therefore, the below analysis does not consider whether the statistical effects of the CPD’s practices are justified by a legitimate policy objective for which there is not a viable alternative means to achieve that objective without the discriminatory effects. We do not attempt to explain the observed disparities between racial/ethnic groups.⁴¹

³⁸ David Abrams is a professor of law, business economics, and public policy at the University of Pennsylvania. See David Abrams, <https://www.davidsabrams.com/>.

³⁹ The agreed methodologies contemplated analyses of the “Administrative Rejection” and “Deficiency Rejection” of ISRs, including the frequency with which multiple rejections occurred. Given the findings of the CPD’s *Audit Division Report* (described above, and provided after the methodologies were finalized), we have significant concerns about the data quality and have therefore omitted these analyses.

⁴⁰ Because the bulk of the data from this report comes from the information CPD officers completed in ISRs from 2018 through 2020, all results presented in this report are subject to the accuracy and completeness of the ISR data.

⁴¹ As reflected above, the CPD did not provide any legitimate rationale to explain potential disparities—such as a policy objective or crime strategy relevant to this same time frame—needed to conduct such

Summary and Key Findings

This report is intended to give an overview of police stops in Chicago in 2018–2020.⁴² Chicago is a large, diverse city, which makes gaining an overall understanding of the impact of policing a challenge at all times. The period for this analysis had the added complexity of including a global pandemic. But some clear patterns emerged from the data.

During 2018 and 2019, the primary period examined, Black and Latino people were stopped at far higher rates than White people. The citywide average chance of being stopped in a year was 1 in 8 for Black people, 1 in 25 for Latino people, and 1 in 73 for White people.

Citywide disparities in pat down and search rates were even greater for those years, when about 1 in 25 Black people were patted down annually, compared to 1 in 86 Latino people and 1 in 475 White people. For searches, the rates were 1 in 27 for Black people, 1 in 99 for Latino people, and 1 in 420 for White people. Regardless of the local crime rate, Black people in Chicago were stopped well in excess of their population share in all police districts in Chicago.

An important analysis focuses on “hit rates,” the share of the time a police encounter results in the discovery of contraband. Although there was a higher rate of pat downs of Black people, those pat downs were less likely to yield contraband than were pat downs of White people. Specifically, contraband was found at a 25% higher rate for pat downs of White people than for pat downs of Black people.

The disparity was not as great for searches, but still existed: searches of White people were more likely to yield contraband than searches of Black or Latino people.

There was a great deal of variation across police districts in stop, pat down, and search rates, as well as hit rates overall and by race/ethnicity. Some districts showed substantial disparity in hit rates by race/ethnicity while others showed no difference at all. The cross-district variation in stops was large, ranging from a low of 14.8 stops per thousand residents to a high of 292 stops per thousand residents. Stop rates were correlated both with Black and Latino residential share and crime rate in the district.

Personal possession of certain amounts of cannabis was legalized in the beginning of 2020. There was no detectable decline in its share of contraband at that time, and in fact it rose later in 2020.

The COVID-19 pandemic had a substantial impact on the number of stops made, as stops were rising on average from 2018 to 2019, but then plunged and remained at lower levels

analysis. We look forward to expanding our analysis to explore other potential causal factors in the future as appropriate if such data is supplied by the CPD.

⁴² The bulk of the analysis focuses on 2018 and 2019 given the unusual nature of 2020.

when the pandemic hit in early 2020. While pat downs and searches also declined, the share of stops that resulted in those outcomes increased.

With fewer stops, pat downs, and searches performed, contraband discovery rates increased in 2020, rising above the sub-10% pat down hit rates for the prior two years.

Investigatory Stop Report Form

As referenced above, this report compiles and analyzes police stops in Chicago in 2018–2020 as recorded in *Investigatory Stop Reports* (ISRs) completed by officers after such stops. Investigatory stops include those of pedestrians as well as vehicle occupants. Officers must complete the ISR to document investigatory stops and related pat downs and searches. In the ISR, officers document various information, including the following:

- the date and location of the stop,
- name and description⁴³ of the individual stopped,
- name and identifying information of the officer making the stop,
- circumstances and reasons for the stop,
- whether a pat down was performed,
- the rationale and results of any pat down,
- whether a search was performed,
- the rationale and results of any search,
- and whether the person was given a warning or citation or was arrested.

A protective pat down is a limited search during an investigatory stop in which the officer pats down a person’s outer clothing to check for weapons for the protection of the officer or others in the area. A search is more intrusive than a protective pat down and requires probable cause. A person may also consent to an officer’s search.

⁴³ This includes “the officer’s subjective determination of the race of the person stopped,” in compliance with Illinois law, which also requires that “the person’s race shall be selected from the following list: American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, or White.” 625 ILCS 5/11-212.

Because the bulk of the data from this report comes from the information CPD officers completed in ISRs from 2018 through 2020, all results presented in this report are subject to the accuracy and completeness of the ISR data.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ The last version of each ISR was used for this report.

Variation in Stops Over Time

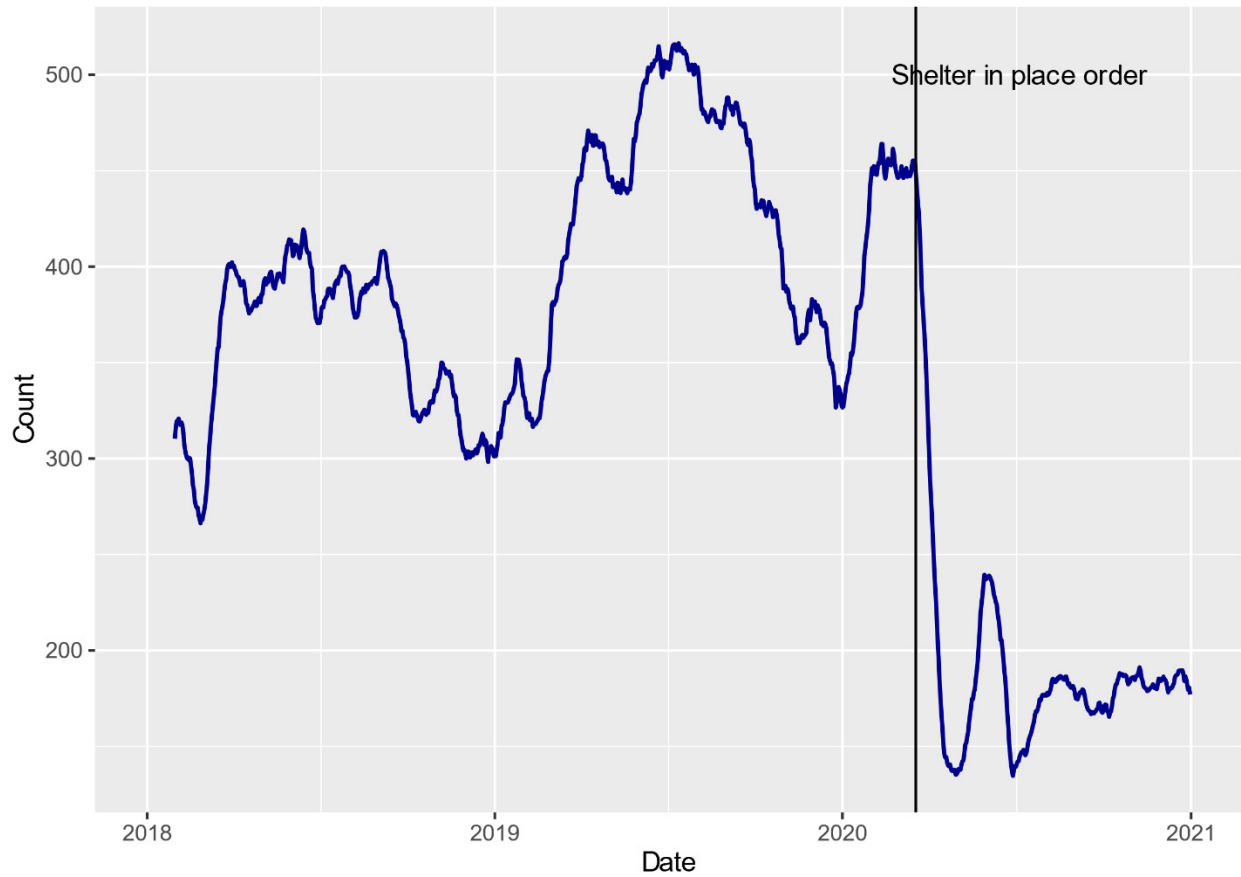
Hundreds of investigatory stops occur in Chicago every day (Figure 1 and Table 1). There is some seasonality to stops with fewer occurring in winter months and more during the summer.⁴⁵ In 2018, 129,000 individuals were stopped, an average of 350 per day. That rose substantially to 155,000 total or 426 daily in 2019. This was over 45% higher than the CPD's average stop rate in 2016–2017.

During this period the growth in stops was greatest for Latino people, rising over 64% from the 2016–2017 average to 2019. Pat downs and searches also rose the most for Latino people from 2018 to 2019, increasing 19% and 49%, respectively. This compares with the overall one-year growth rate of 10% for pat downs and 35% for searches.

Stops continued to rise and were higher at the beginning of 2020 than during the same period of 2019, but the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic was immense. As can be seen in Figure 1, there was a massive decline in stops in March 2020 from about 450 daily stops to under 200. Because of the enormous impact of the pandemic in 2020, this report includes that data but the analysis focuses on 2018 and 2019. Trends over the three years were similar for pat downs and searches, as may be seen in Appendix Figures 2 and 3.

⁴⁵ Seasonality in crime follows a similar pattern. See Appendix Figure 1.

Figure 1: Chicago Investigatory Police Stops, 2018–2020
Stops by Day, 30-day moving average



- a. For each date the average number of Investigatory police stops over the past 30 days is computed and plotted on the y-axis.
- b. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- c. Data source: 2018–2020 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

Table 1: Citywide Stops, Pat Downs, and Searches by Race/Ethnicity, 2016–2020

Race/Ethnicity	Annual Total				Daily Average			
	2016–2017	2018	2019	2020	2016–2017	2018	2019	2020
Stops								
All	106844	128728	155333	84916	292.7	352.7	425.6	232.6
Black	76753	89885	106296	57258	210.3	246.3	291.2	156.9
Latino	21513	27585	35468	20211	58.9	75.6	97.2	55.4
White	8578	11258	13569	7447	23.5	30.8	37.2	20.4
Pat Downs								
All		40998	45266	29108		112.3	124	79.7
Black		30831	33407	21231		84.5	91.5	58.2
Latino		8322	9905	6554		22.8	27.1	18
White		1845	1954	1323		5.1	5.4	3.6
Searches								
All		33435	44976	30976		91.6	123.2	84.9
Black		25089	33273	22573		68.7	91.2	61.8
Latino		6333	9423	6827		17.4	25.8	18.7
White		2013	2280	1576		5.5	6.2	4.3

- a. Table shows the annual counts and daily average of stops, pat downs, and searches by year and race/ethnicity for the City of Chicago.
- b. 2016–2017 annual counts are the average annual counts for 2016 and 2017.
- c. Data sources: 2018–2020 CPD Investigatory Stops Reports. 2016–2017 stop counts come from the *October 17, 2019 Report*, available at <https://www.aclu-il.org/en/period-3-and-4-stop-and-frisk-report-cy2017>.

Appendix Figure 4 shows these general time trends were similar for people who were Black, White, and Latino—although the average level of stops varies substantially by group. While stops, pat downs, and searches all plunged when the pandemic hit in 2020, the level of the drop was not the same. Stops fell substantially more than pat downs. Appendix Figure 5 shows the share of stops that lead to a pat down by subject race/ethnicity. That rate shot up for all races/ethnicities upon the pandemic onset and stayed elevated for most of 2020.

Variation by Geography & Demographic Information

In addition to variation over time in stops, pat downs, and searches, there was greater variation by geography. In 2018–2019, average stop rates in each police district ranged from 14.8 to 292 per 1,000 people annually (Appendix Table 1).⁴⁶ Figures 2 and 3 show maps of Chicago with the districts indicated. In Figure 2, these districts are shaded according to the rate of stops per thousand residents in the district, with darker shading indicating a higher stop rate. The pattern for pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions⁴⁷ was similar and may be seen in Appendix Figures 6–8. It is difficult to draw precise conclusions from maps like these, but one noticeable trend is that the darker shading (higher stop rate) is primarily in the south and west, and lighter shading (lower stop rate) in the north.

⁴⁶ See Appendix Tables 2–4 for analogous statistics on pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions.

⁴⁷ Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.

Figure 2: Investigatory Stop Rates by Police District, 2018–2019

Annual stop rate per 1,000 residents

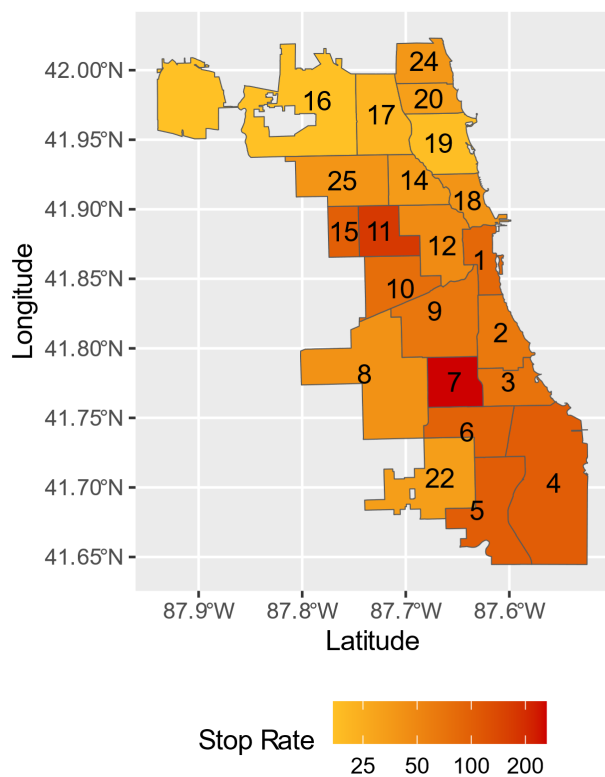
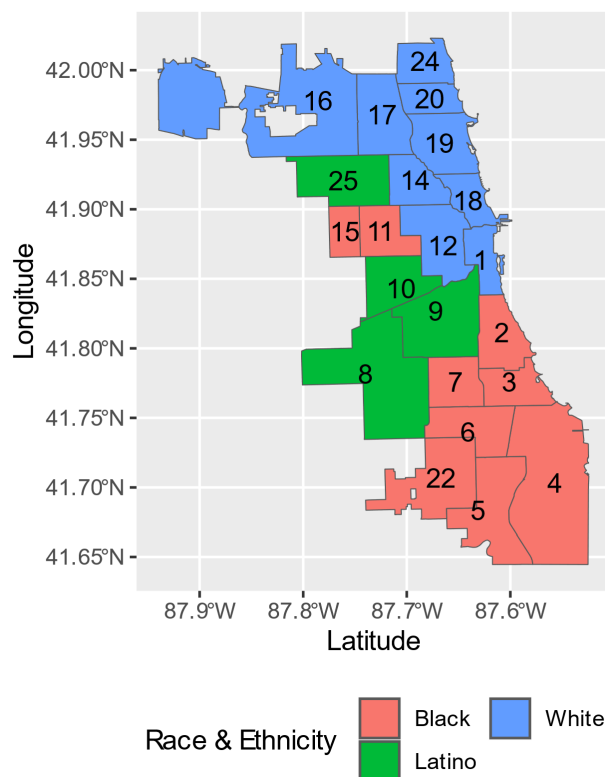


Figure 3: Most Populous Race/Ethnicity by Police District



- a. The map on the left-hand side displays the mean annual number of stops per 1,000 residents for each police district for 2018–2019. The map on the right-hand side displays the most populous racial/ethnic group for each police district.
- b. Areas not incorporated into the City of Chicago are dropped from the maps.
- c. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Report, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

Figure 3, above, uses data compiled by the U.S. Census in the American Community Survey⁴⁸ (ACS) on race and ethnicity, which is mapped to police districts. For this report, the focus is on individuals identified as Black, Latino, or White, which accounted for 91% of the population (Appendix Tables 5 and 6).⁴⁹ Each district is assigned a color based on the largest residential race or ethnicity.

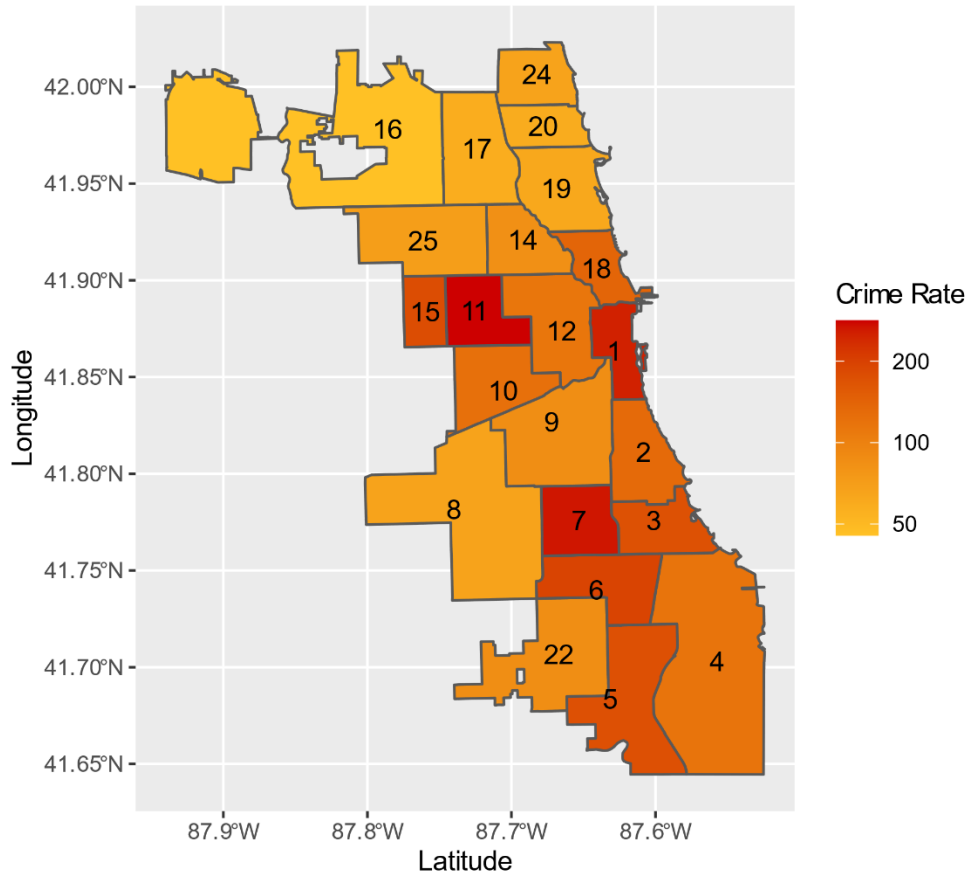
Most districts with the lowest stop rates had a larger White population than others (although not necessarily a majority White population), while Black people made up the largest racial/ethnic group in most districts with the highest stop rates. The relationship is very similar when comparing the geographic distribution of overall crime or violent crime rates to stops (See Figure 4, Appendix Figure 9, and Appendix Table 7).⁵⁰ What is clear from these maps and table is that stops were concentrated in districts with the largest non-White populations and highest crime rates.

⁴⁸ See *American Community Survey*, UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU, available at <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs>. Individuals who identified as both Black and Latino in the ACS were counted as Black.

⁴⁹ U.S. Census Bureau data is self-reported, but the race/ethnicity recorded on the ISR form is determined by the officer, not the person stopped or searched.

⁵⁰ Crime rates were obtained from the [Chicago Data Portal](https://data.cityofchicago.org) and are based on incidents reported to the Chicago Police Department, not arrests or convictions. Note that crime rates are impacted by the level of police presence in multiple ways, including the fact that officers record crime. Thus higher police presence will mechanically lead to a higher level of recorded crime. Crime categories used by the Chicago Police Department are available at <https://data.cityofchicago.org/Public-Safety/Chicago-Police-Department-Illinois-Uniform-Crime-R/c7ck-438e>.

Figure 4: Crime Rate by Police District, 2018–2019
 Crime Rate per 1,000 residents



- a. The map displays the mean annual number of reported crime incidents per 1,000 residents for each police district for 2018–2019.
- b. Police district numbers displayed on map. Areas not incorporated into the City of Chicago are dropped.
- c. Data source: 2018–2019 crime incidents from the CPD’s CLEAR (Citizen Law Enforcement Analysis and Reporting) system via the Chicago Data Portal.

District-Level Analysis of Racial and Ethnic Differences

Overall, the vast majority of stops, pat downs, and searches conducted by Chicago police in 2018–2020 were of non-White individuals. Partly, this reflects the demographic makeup of Chicago, which was 33% White, 29% Black, 29% Latino, and 9% other race or ethnicity. This section explores whether people in each of these groups were stopped out of proportion to the group’s share of the Chicago population.

There are several ways to compare the effects of policing on different racial/ethnic groups, and two are presented here. The first uses simple citywide aggregates to calculate overall averages. The second divides the data by racial/ethnic group, police district, and year and then explores differences.⁵¹ The first approach is useful for overall comparisons; the second allows for statistical tests of differences by racial/ethnic group.

Black people were stopped, patted down, and searched at far higher rates than people of other races or ethnicities. Citywide, for 2018–2019, the chance of being stopped in a year was 1 in 8 for Black people, 1 in 25 for Latino people, and 1 in 73 for White people (See Appendix Table 9 for summary statistics by race/ethnicity). About 1 in 25 Black people were patted down annually, compared to 1 in 86 Latino people and 1 in 475 White people. For searches, the rates were 1 in 27 for Black people, 1 in 99 for Latino people, and 1 in 420 for White people.

While these are the average rates for the entire city, there is tremendous variation across police districts (Appendix Table 8). This combined with the fact that racial/ethnic composition always varies widely means the second method of analysis—looking at averages by police district, race/ethnicity, and year—will sometimes understate the level of overall racial/ethnic disparity.

Table 2, below, reports both mean and median rates of police actions per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents, by police district. It shows that when computing the mean stop rate per 1,000 residents for each district and averaging over all districts, the stop rate is 146 for Black people, roughly triple the rates for Latino and White people, for whom the district-level averages were quite similar to each other at 49.7 and 48.4 stops per 1,000 people, respectively.

The reason for the disparity with the first method of analysis is due to the fact that the district average stop rates by race/ethnicity is skewed by a handful of districts with low populations of particular groups. Appendix Table 8 shows this to be the case. Two districts (7 and 11) by themselves almost double the average stop rate for White people, due to

⁵¹ For this analysis, the 22 standard districts are used, each with an average population of 123,000. Two locations in the data received are excluded because they are not incorporated into the City of Chicago.

their low White population share. One approach to get a more complete picture of stops across the city is to also examine the median district stop rate along with the traditional arithmetic mean across districts.⁵²

Additional detail is available in Appendix Table 5 which reports summary statistics at the district-year level. It shows that for both White and Latino racial/ethnic groups there are some districts for which the group share drops as low as one percent of the population, which can lead to the issue noted above.

A comparison of district-level stop rate medians (Table 2) shows that typical stop rate disparities were even greater than indicated by the means, and is closer to that found by the first method. In particular the median stop rate of Black people is over 6 times that of White people, and the median stop rate of Latino people is over 2.5 times that of White people.

⁵² For data that has a normal or “bell curve” distribution, the mean and median are very similar. But for data that is skewed, the mean and median can differ substantially. For example, in data on wealth, a small number of very wealthy people would pull up the mean substantially; this is not the case with the median, which is obtained by ordering from least to greatest all of the observations (in this case by wealth) and choosing the one in the middle. By way of illustration, including Oprah Winfrey in a sample of Chicago residents would greatly increase the mean of the wealth, but have little to no effect on the median. Therefore, the median can be a better indicator of a typical observation when a sample is skewed.

Table 2: Police Stop Action District-Level Summary Statistics by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Measure	<u>Mean</u>				<u>Median</u>				<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>
	All	Black	Latino	White	All	Black	Latino	White	All	All
Police actions by subject race/ethnicity per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents										
Stop	71.2 (57)	145.9 (80)	49.7 (28)	48.4 (72)	52.5	112.6	44.7	17.7	14.8	292.2
Pat Down	23.5 (29)	41.6 (29)	15.0 (14)	12.6 (25)	11.9	35.0	11.4	2.4	2.6	144.1
Search	20.8 (25)	35.8 (24)	13.0 (12)	16.0 (30)	10.7	28.7	9.6	2.4	1.4	129.7
Enforcement	17.1 (16)	34.3 (20)	10.4 (6)	11.5 (22)	11.9	27.2	9.5	3.4	4.0	61.0
Share of stops that result in:										
Pat Down	28.0 (11)	28.9 (10)	28.6 (11)	20.2 (11)	26.3	28.7	26.2	17.5	10.9	57.5
Search	24.5 (9)	25.1 (9)	24.7 (10)	22.1 (12)	25.1	23.4	24.3	21.4	7.4	44.4
Enforcement	23.6 (6)	23.8 (6)	21.9 (7)	20.0 (8)	23.9	23.8	21.4	18.6	11.5	38.4

a. The unit of observation for this table is a police district-year. The top panel reports stop, pat down, search, and enforcement rates per 1,000 same race/ethnicity residential population averaged across police districts and years, with standard deviations in parentheses. For example, the value in the second column of the top row is computed by averaging across districts the number of stops of Black individuals per 1,000 Black residents in each district. In addition to means and medians, minima and maxima are reported to better indicate the impact of outliers.

b. The bottom panel reports the share of stops with pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions.

c. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.

d. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

The advantage of the second method—dividing the data by racial/ethnic group, police district, and year—is that a simple statistical test (known as a t-test) can be used to determine the likelihood that a difference in stop rates between two racial/ethnic groups of such a large magnitude could have occurred by chance.⁵³

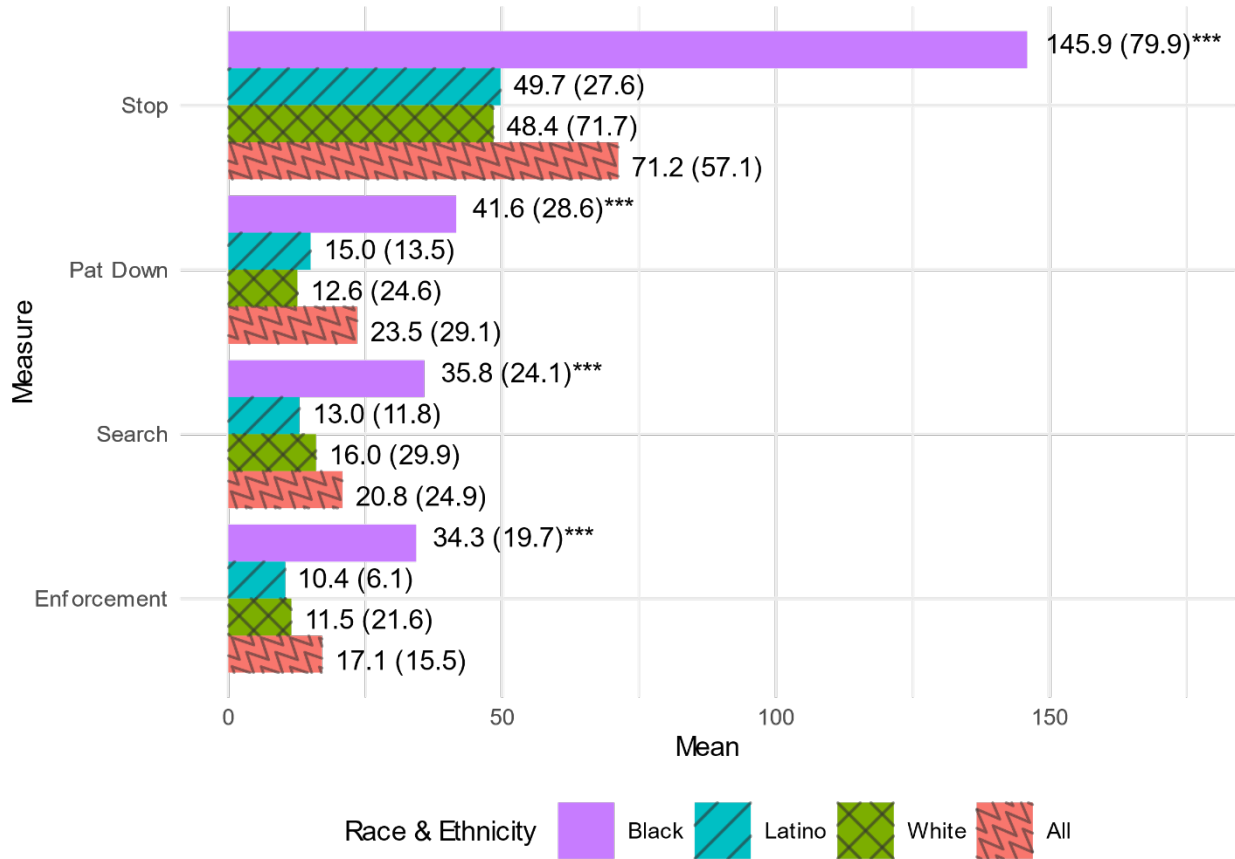
In analyzing the ISR data, the t-test was used frequently, and in this instance was run separately comparing stop rates for Black and White people and stop rates for Black and Latino people. In both cases the results show that there was less than a 1 in 1000 chance (Figure 5) that a difference in stop rates this large or larger occurred due to chance (that is, the p-value was less than 0.001).⁵⁴

Due to the outlier districts mentioned above with very high stop rates of White people per capita (and low populations of White people), a t-test of the difference between average stop rates for White and Latino people was not statistically significant. However, it is clear from examining the medians (Table 2 and Figure 6) or the rates in all of the districts (Appendix Table 8) that stop rates were generally substantially higher for Latino people than White people. *Compare* Figure 5 and Figure 6, below.

⁵³ For example, say someone wanted to know whether the typical White Sox batter (team batting average 0.257) is actually significantly better than a Cubs player (team average 0.244). Using statistical software, one would use the batting average of each player on both teams, and then run the t-test. The output of a test is the t-statistic, which may be translated into a p-value, the probability that teams would have averages at least as different as those observed, just by chance. If this p-value is high, the difference is not statistically significant. If it is low (usually less than .05), then one would say that the batting averages are statistically significantly different at the 5% level.

⁵⁴ In this report, formal statistical tests are kept to a minimum, but some are reported to clarify whether differences are statistically significant.

Figure 5: Police Actions per 1,000 Same-Race/Ethnicity Residents, 2018–2019 (Means)

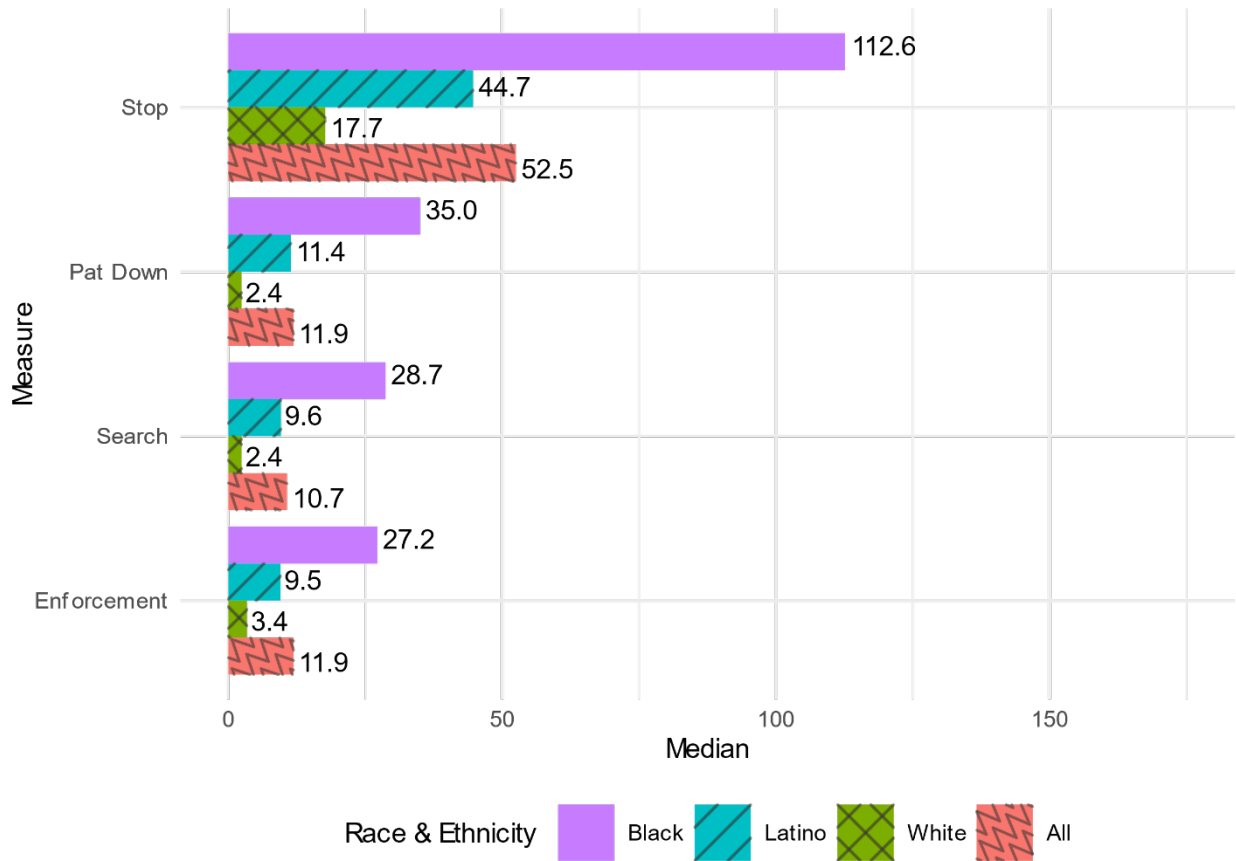


- a. This figure reports the mean (standard deviation) annual stops, pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents by race/ethnicity. Observations at the police district-year level.
- b. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.
- c. T-tests performed to check for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups with p-value range indicated by number of stars. * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001
- d. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

Using method two—dividing the data by racial/ethnic group, police district, and year—the disparity was similar for pat downs: There were 41.6 pat downs annually for every 1000 Black people compared to 15 pat downs annually for every 1000 Latino people and 12.6 pat downs annually for every 1000 White people. The disparity in pat down rates of Black and White people was even greater than that for stops. The chances that a disparity this large or larger occurred due to chance is also less than 1 in 1000. The disparity for searches was slightly lower: 35.8 per 1000 Black people compared to 16.0 per 1000 White people and 13.0 per 1000 Latino people.

Again, an examination of medians shows that the means were seriously impacted by outliers, whereas the medians reveal far greater disparities with a 2.4 median pat down rate per 1000 White people and an identical search rate. These rates were at least 4 times lower than median rates for Latino people and over 10 times lower than median rates for Black people. These results using medians, again, are consistent with those from method one (calculating averages from simple citywide aggregates).

Figure 6: Police Actions per 1,000 Same-Race/Ethnicity Residents, 2018–2019 (Medians)



a. This figure reports the median number of annual stops, pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents by race/ethnicity. Observations at the police district-year level.

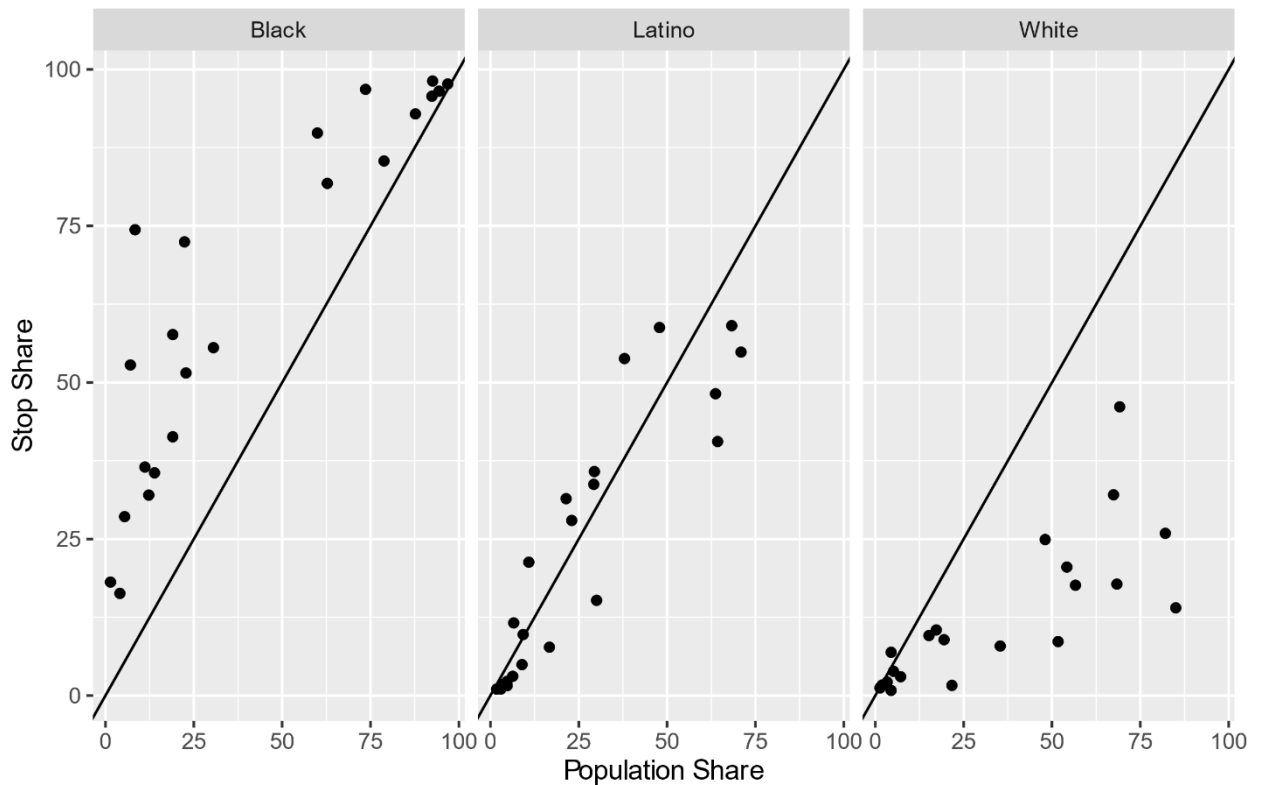
b. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.

c. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

Comparison of Stop Share to Population Share by Race/Ethnicity

Black people were stopped at higher rates than their population share in every district in Chicago—regardless of the racial/ethnic composition of the district. Figure 7 shows the share of stops versus the population share for Black, Latino, and White people.

Figure 7: Racial/Ethnic Composition of Stops versus Residential Population, 2018–2019



- a. Each panel in this figure plots the share of individuals stopped that are of the indicated race/ethnicity against the residential population share for each district. Observations are district-stop and population shares are averaged over 2018 and 2019.
- b. The 45-degree line represents equal population and stop share. If stops were made at random from the residential population all points will lie on this line.
- c. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

The 45 degree line on the figures shows what the relationship would look like if members of a racial/ethnic group were stopped in proportion to each group's share of the residential population in each Chicago police district. The fact that all of the points on the graph for Black people lie above the line indicates that stop share in every police district was above their share of the population. The pattern for White people was nearly the exact opposite with almost all points lying below the 45 degree line. The results for Latino people were in between. Most observations for Latino people lie close to the 45 degree line, indicating that their stop share was similar to population share in most districts. There were some districts in which the share of police stops involving Latino people were higher than the share of the district population that was Latino, and there were other districts where the opposite was true. The analogous figures for pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions show very similar results (Appendix Figures 10–12).

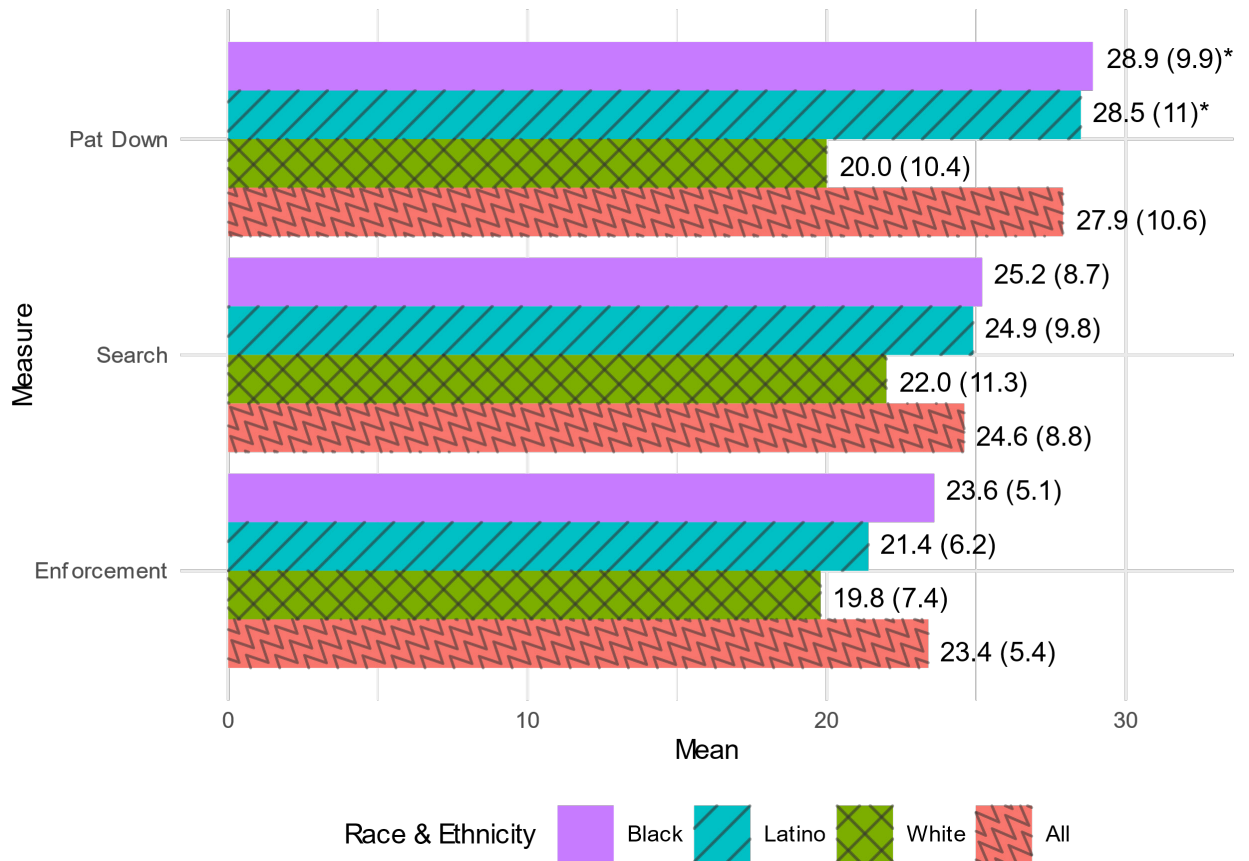
Pat Down, Search, and Enforcement Action Differences by Race/Ethnicity

Even given the difference in stop rates, a greater share of stops lead to pat downs for Black people than White people (28.9% of the time versus 20.2%), and about the same rate for Black people as Latino people (28.6%). See Figure 8, below.⁵⁵ T-tests show that there was less than a 1% chance that the disparity between Black and White people was due to chance, and a less than a 5% chance that the disparity between Latino and White people was due to chance. The results were similar for searches and enforcement actions following stops, with higher rates for Black people than for White and Latino people, although the differences were not as great and not statistically significant at the 5% level.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ See Appendix Tables 10–12 for district-level summaries of the share of stops that lead to pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions, respectively.

⁵⁶ Statistical significance at the 5% level means there is less than a 5% chance that a disparity at least as large as that observed would happen by chance. For example, the disparity in the share of stops leading to a pat down between Latino people and White people is statistically significant at the 5% level. When something is not statistically significant at the 5% level, it doesn't mean that the difference is not meaningful; it simply means that given the amount of data available, there is at least a 5% chance that such a result could have occurred by chance. There is nothing particularly special about the 5% value—it is a threshold that is sometimes used in social science, but 10%, 1%, and even lower levels of statistical significance may also be used, depending on the context.

Figure 8: Post-Stop Police Actions by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019



- a. This figure reports the mean (standard deviation) rate of pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions following stops by race/ethnicity. Observations at the police district-year level.
- b. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.
- c. T-tests performed to check for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups with p-value range indicated by number of stars. * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001
- d. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports

Hit-Rate Analysis

This section presents the results of a hit rate analysis. Hit rates are calculated as the fraction of the time a stop, pat down, or search yields contraband. For example, if 10 pat downs yield contraband 3 times, the hit rate is 30%. It is also useful to define hit rates focused just on firearms or weapons because the police must have reasonable and articulable suspicion that an individual is armed and dangerous to justify a protective pat down.

The term “contraband” includes not just “firearm[s]” and “other weapon[s],” but also “alcohol,” controlled substances, “drug paraphernalia,” “stolen property,” and “other.” These are categories on the Chicago stop report that officer may check off to indicate that something was recovered from a pat down or search.

Hit rates are a particularly useful measure because they focus on whether a pat down or a search conducted during a stop resulted in the discovery of physical evidence, and thus a “hit” may be seen as more objective than other outcomes of a police stop.⁵⁷

A. HIT-RATE RESULTS

Figure 9 and Tables 3 and 4, below, report hit rates using several different measures.⁵⁸ Pat downs of Black people yielded contraband 7.9% of the time. The rate of contraband recovery for pat downs of White people was 10.2% and for Latino people was 7.4%. The difference between the contraband hit rate for White people and that for Black people was statistically significant at the 5% level. The difference between the contraband hit rate for White people and the contraband hit rate for Latino people was statistically significant at the 1% level.

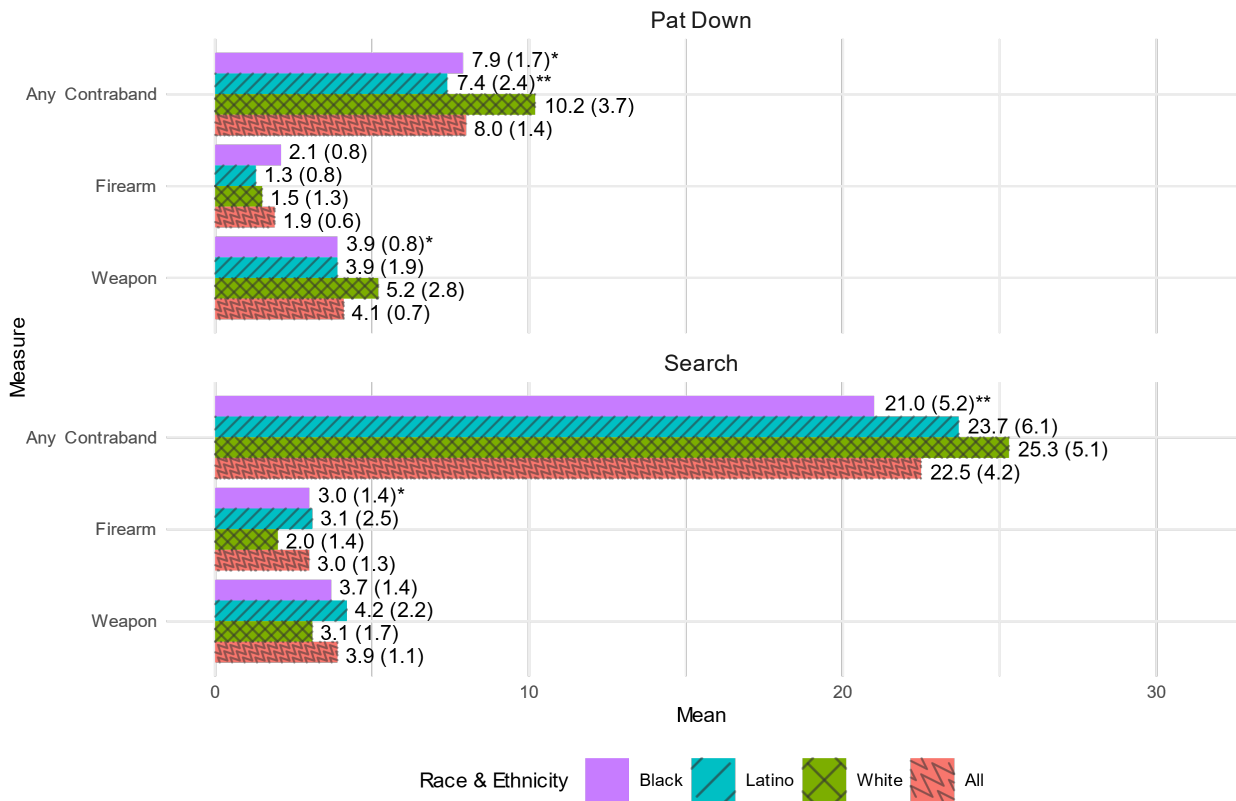
The results were analogous when examining searches. Searches were about three times more likely to yield contraband compared to pat downs. Across Chicago, pat downs resulted in the recovery of contraband or a weapon 8.0% of the time, and searches resulted in the recovery of contraband or a weapon 22.5% of the time.

⁵⁷ Hit rates have been used to help analyze police stops at least since the publication of *Racial Bias in Motor Vehicle Searches: Theory and Evidence* by Knowles, Persico, and Todd in the *Journal of Political Economy* in 2001, which is available at <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/318603>. Knowles, Persico, and Todd model the behavior of officers and subjects in a police stop, making some basic assumptions about each: that officers seek to maximize contraband detection rates and that people who are stopped by police seek to minimize the likelihood of contraband discovery. Solving this problem using game theory, the authors show that the average hit rate will be equalized across racial/ethnic groups if officers are race/ethnicity-neutral. This is true even if underlying contraband carry rates differ markedly by race/ethnicity. If hit rates do differ, it implies some groups are over-patted down or over-searched relative to others.

⁵⁸ See also Appendix Tables 13 and 14 for more detailed versions of Tables 3 and 4 for 2018–2019 and Appendix Tables 15 and 16 for 2020.

As with pat downs, the hit rate for contraband from searches was highest for White people at 25.3%. The hit rate for contraband from searches of Latino people was 23.7% and 21.0% for searches of Black people. The difference between the contraband hit rate from searches of Black people and the contraband hit rate from searches of White people was statistically significant at the 1% level. This suggests that White people were under-searched relative to Black people, assuming contraband detection is the main justification for searches.

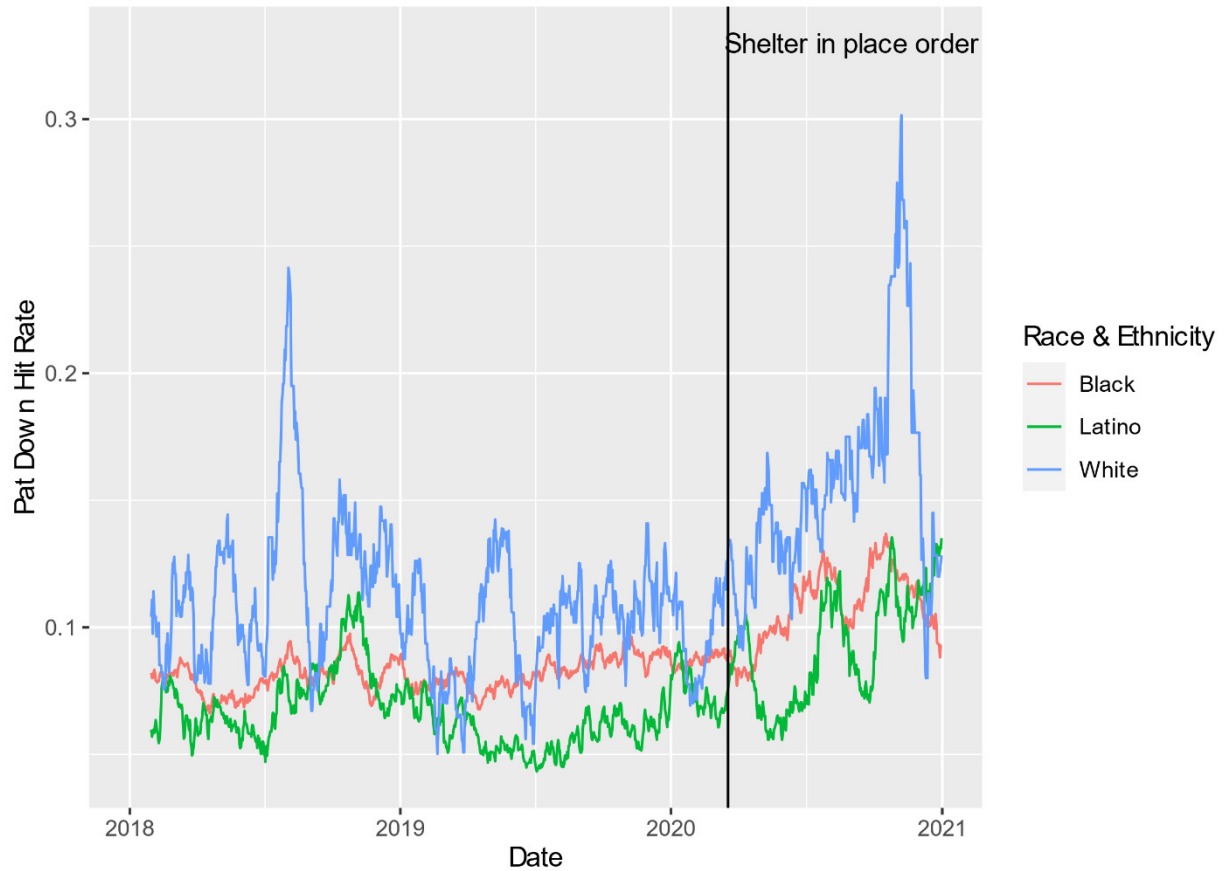
Figure 9: Hit Rates for Pat Downs and Searches by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019



- This figure reports mean (standard deviation) hit rate for pat downs (top panel) and searches (bottom panel) by race/ethnicity. Hit rate is the fraction of pat downs or searches that result in the type of contraband indicated. Observations at the police district-year level.
- Weapons include firearms and other weapons.
- T-tests performed to check for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups with p-value range indicated by number of stars. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
- Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

While results fluctuated somewhat, the hit rates tended to move within a consistent range, until the pandemic onset in March 2020. At that point, when the overall number of stops and pat downs declined (although pat down rates increased), the pat down hit rates significantly increased for all three racial/ethnic groups. See Figure 10.

Figure 10: Pat Down Hit Rate by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2020



- a. For each date the average pat down hit rate over the past 30 days is plotted for each race/ethnicity
- b. Hit rate is the fraction of pat downs that result in contraband discovery.
- c. The vertical line indicates the date of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- d. Data source: 2018–2020 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

The elevated hit rates were sustained for most of 2020, suggesting that when stop and pat down rates were reduced, those that were performed were more likely to result in contraband discovery.⁵⁹

In fact, while pat downs and searches dropped by about 50% as the pandemic struck (Appendix Figures 13 and 14), total weapon discovery was flat (Appendix Figure 15). At the same time, the number of pat downs with no enforcement action dropped at a similar rate (about 50%) to total pat downs, suggesting that there was not a huge compositional shift in pat downs after the pandemic lockdown began (Appendix Figure 16).

⁵⁹ Theoretically, it is possible that hit rates could also be impacted by higher contraband carry rates of those on the streets after the pandemic began. An examination of other data on proxies for firearm carry rates, such as gun crimes, as well as a comparison of districts with greater and lesser change in these rates suggests that those factors are unlikely to account for the full increase in hit rates.

B. HIT RATES FOR FIREARMS AND OTHER WEAPONS

Because the Fourth Amendment requires police to have reasonable and articulable suspicion that an individual is armed and dangerous to justify a protective pat down, hit rates where pat downs or searches specifically yield a firearm or any type of weapon were also reviewed in isolation. See Table 3, below.

Table 3: Pat Down Hit Rates and Contraband Type by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of pat downs with hits for:					
Any Contraband	8.0	7.9	7.4	10.2	0.003
Firearm	1.9	2.1	1.3	1.5	0.032
Weapon	4.1	3.9	3.9	5.2	0.045
Contraband Share (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	51.1	50.6	52.2	51.8	0.951
Firearm	24.5	26.5	19.5	15.0	0.002
Other Weapon	26.7	24.1	33.0	37.2	0.059
Cannabis	26.4	25.8	25.8	7.7	0.000
Non-Cannabis	9.4	9.2	7.7	19.2	0.023
Controlled Substance					
Alcohol, Drug Paraphernalia, Stolen Property	8.6	9.2	8.5	14.4	0.045
Other	9.1	10.0	8.9	11.1	0.639

a. The top panel reports the mean hit rate for pat downs by race/ethnicity and type of contraband found. Observations at the police district-year level.

b. Hit rate is the fraction of pat downs that result in the type of contraband indicated.

c. p-values from F-tests run for equality of hit rates across all racial/ethnic groups are reported in last column. Values lower than 0.05 indicate statistically significant differences.

d. A pat down is a limited search during an investigatory stop in which the sworn member conducts a pat down of the outer clothing of a person for weapons for the protection of the sworn member or others in the area.

e. Bottom panel reports shares of different types of contraband by racial/ethnic group. Columns do not sum to 100 because multiple types of contraband may be discovered in a single pat down.

f. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

g. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

These results add to the findings from the overall contraband hit rates. When defining a hit as the discovery of any weapon from a pat down, the results were similar to those when a hit is defined as any contraband discovery: the hit rate for White people was about a third higher than for Black people and Latino people.

Focusing on only firearms, the pat down hit rate of 2.1% for Black people was higher than the 1.5% rate for White people and 1.3% rate for Latino people, but these differences were not statistically significant.

For searches, the hit rates for Black and Latino people were higher than for White people when counting only weapons or only firearms as a hit, although the difference was only statistically significant between search hit rates for firearms between Black and White people (Table 4).

Table 4: Search Hit Rates and Contraband Type by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of searches with hits for:					
Any Contraband	22.5	21.0	23.7	25.3	0.037
Firearm	3.0	3.0	3.1	2.0	0.100
Weapon	3.9	3.7	4.2	3.1	0.136
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	17.5	17.9	18.3	12.4	0.030
Firearm	13.5	14.4	13.7	8.0	0.022
Other Weapon	4.1	3.6	4.7	4.6	0.702
Cannabis	48.8	48.4	50.6	34.7	0.000
Non-Cannabis	20.2	20.2	17.0	36.1	0.000
Controlled Substance					
Alcohol, Drug	21.2	20.5	22.9	24.8	0.474
Paraphernalia, Stolen Property					
Other	4.3	4.2	3.6	4.6	0.558

a. The top panel reports the mean hit rate for searches by race/ethnicity and type of contraband found. Observations at the police district-year level.

b. Hit rate is the fraction of searches that result in the type of contraband indicated.

c. P-values from F-tests run for equality of hit rates across all racial/ethnic groups are reported in last column. Values lower than 0.05 indicate statistically significant differences.

d. A search is more intrusive than a pat down and requires probable cause or consent.

e. Bottom panel reports shares of different types of contraband by racial/ethnic group. Columns do not sum to 100 because multiple types of contraband may be discovered in a single search.

f. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

g. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

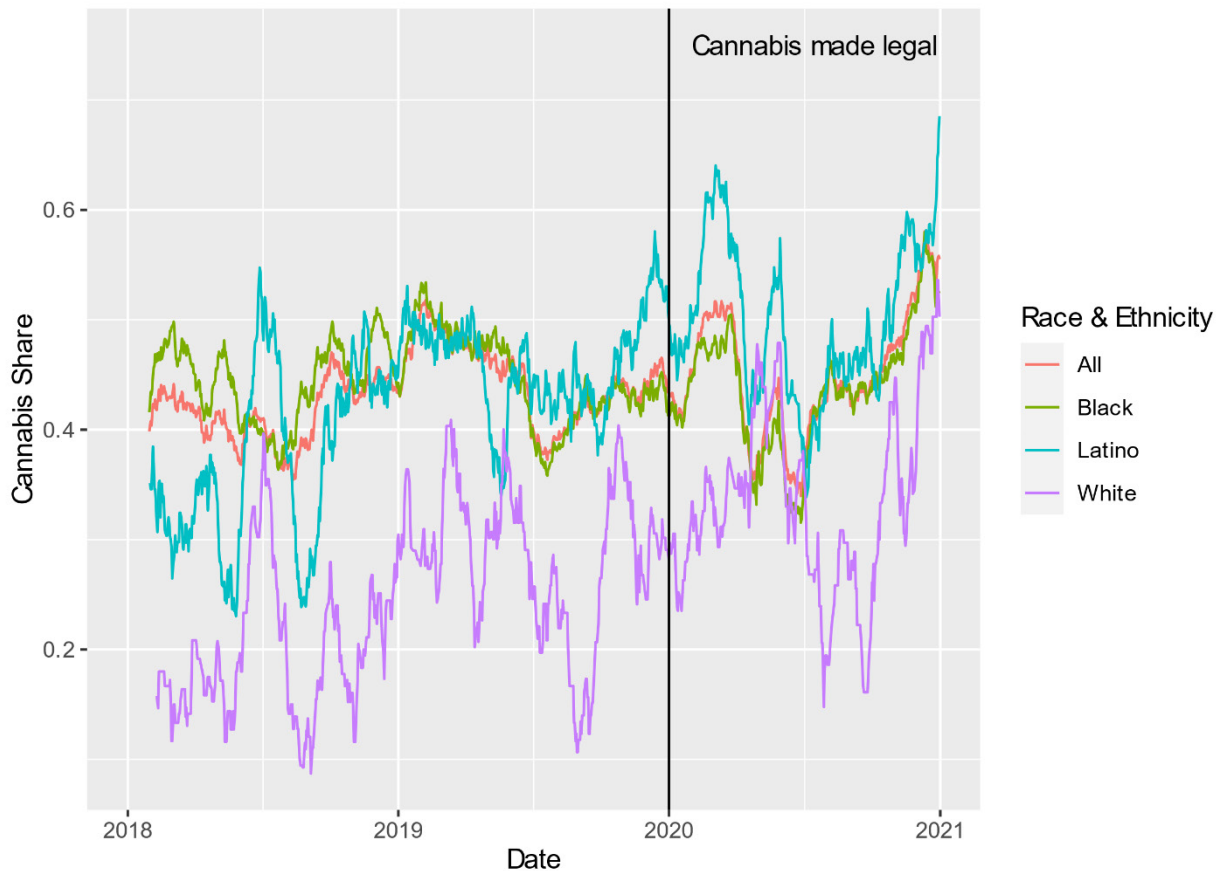
Taken together, these results suggest that, for searches, the implications from the data may depend on whether the CPD's focus is any type of contraband or weapons or firearms specifically.

Less than 4% of all searches yielded a weapon of any kind and 3% yielded a firearm. For pat downs, the hit rate for weapons was roughly the same (4.1%), but lower when focused on only firearms (1.9%). When looking at all stops, the rates were substantially lower. Just one in 50 stops yielded any weapon and 1 in 77 yielded a firearm. Ultimately, these hit rates must be balanced against the intrusion on people's lives from being stopped, patted down, or searched.

C. CANNABIS LEGALIZATION AND SHARE OF CONTRABAND

Cannabis discovery accounted for about a quarter of all contraband found on Black and Latino people in pat downs and roughly half in searches. Given that possession of up to one ounce of cannabis was legalized on January 1, 2020, one may expect that rate to decline significantly from that date. To determine whether this was the case we examined the share of Chicago police pat downs and searches conducted from 2018 through 2020 that resulted in the discovery of cannabis. The share of contraband discovered in pat downs accounted for by cannabis alone decreased in 2020 to 21.5% from 26.4% in the prior two years (Appendix Tables 17 and 18). However, the contraband share of searches actually increased in 2020, from 48.8% in 2018–2019 to 52.3% in 2020 overall, and also for each racial/ethnic group (Appendix Tables 19 and 20). Figure 11 shows the share of contraband that cannabis comprised for all stops from 2018–2020.

Figure 11: Cannabis Share of Contraband by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2020



- For each date, the average cannabis share of contraband for the prior 30 days is plotted by race/ethnicity.
- The vertical line indicates when recreational cannabis was made legal on January 1, 2020.
- Data source: 2018–2020 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

There was no precipitous decline in early 2020 following cannabis legalization. There was some decline beginning in the spring of 2020 during the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, which is consistent with many cities that deemphasized drug crimes relative to more violent ones. However, in the second half of 2020, the cannabis share of contraband rose to the highest levels observed for 2018–2020 for all racial/ethnic groups.

D. VARIATION ACROSS DISTRICTS

Thus far the discussion of hit rates has focused on a citywide analysis for 2018 and 2019. But there was substantial variation across districts (Appendix Tables 21 and 22).

For example, District 4, with a heavily Black and Latino population on the far south side, had a somewhat lower than average overall pat down hit rate (7.6% versus an average of 8.0%). But there was an immense disparity by race/ethnicity: 17.2% for White people, 7.9% for Black people, and only 4.5% for Latino people. These results get even more extreme when focusing on weapon hit rates, which were 11.5% for White people, 3.9% for Black people, and 1.9% for Latino people.

To put this in perspective, the likelihood of a pat down of a Latino person in District 4 yielding a firearm was lower than the average in any district overall; while for a White person, over 1 in 10 pat downs in District 4 yielded a weapon, which was more than twice the highest overall average in any district.

A detailed examination of hit rate data on a district or beat level may help identify where the productivity of pat downs and searches can be improved the most and where they differ substantially by race/ethnicity, but is beyond the scope of this report.

Reasonable Articulable Suspicion

An analysis of whether Chicago police officers provided sufficient information to justify their stops or pat downs under the Fourth Amendment is beyond the scope of this report, per the terms of the Temporary Stay and the methodology agreed to by the parties. The ISR forms require officers to provide a narrative description of the reasonable articulable suspicion supporting a stop or pat down. In addition to providing a narrative, officers may also check boxes identifying broad categories of information that may be relevant to the determination of whether they had reasonable articulable suspicion. This section discusses the broad categories that Chicago police officers most frequently check off when seeking to demonstrate that they had justification for a stop or a pat down.

Tables 5 and 6 report data from all ISRs for 2018–2019 indicating the rates at which Chicago police officers checked off certain boxes identifying broad categories concerning the basis for stops and pat downs, respectively.⁶⁰ Officers check boxes from two separate lists on the ISR form—one for stops and one for pat downs—because there are separate legal standards to justify each.⁶¹ Note that the analysis in this report did not include a review of the additional information an officer is required to provide in the written narrative section of the ISR explaining the basis for stops and/or pat downs.

⁶⁰ See Appendix Tables 23 and 24 for counts of each RAS reason as well as the share of stop and pat down ISRs, respectively, that contain each justification.

⁶¹ Appendix Tables 25 and 26 show that in many cases 0 boxes or multiple boxes may be checked. 43% of stops have no box checked; that rate was only 11% for pat downs. 21% of stops have more than 1 box checked, which was true for 29% of pat downs.

Table 5: Reported Reasonable Articulate Suspicion Reasons for Stops by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Reason	Checkbox Rate				F-test p-value
	All	Black	Latino	White	
Drug Transaction	6.2	7.7	2.2	4.7	0.000
Casing Victim or Location	1.8	1.5	2.1	3.2	0.000
Fits Flash Message Description	6.7	6.7	6.8	5.9	0.000
Fits Description of Offender	14.0	14.1	13.1	15.8	0.000
Proximity to Recorded Crime	15.8	15.7	16.2	15.4	0.005
Gang/Narcotic Related Enforcement	7.8	8.7	6.7	3.4	0.000
Other	35.3	34.1	38.7	35.8	0.000
Boxes checked					
0 boxes checked	43.0	42.9	43.0	44.4	0.000
>1 boxes checked	21.2	21.8	19.6	19.9	0.000

a. Top panel reports the percentage of investigatory stop reports (ISRs) of indicated racial/ethnic group for which officers checked the rationale for the stop indicated in that row. Bottom panel reports the share of ISRs that have zero checkboxes chosen and those with multiple checkboxes chosen.

b. The final column reports p-values from F-tests run to check that there is no difference by race/ethnicity in the rate the given stop reason is checked. P-values less than 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference.

c. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports. N=284,061 stops

Table 6: Reported Reasonable Articulate Suspicion Reasons for Pat Downs by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Reason	Checkbox Rate				F-test p-value
	All	Black	Latino	White	
Verbal Threats	1.8	1.8	1.7	3.4	0.000
Knowledge of Suspect Prior Behavior	8.0	7.2	10.9	7.5	0.000
Actions Indicating Engaging in Violent Behavior	8.3	7.9	9.1	10.8	0.000
Violent Crime Suspected	13.4	13.0	14.7	13.0	0.000
Suspicious Bulge or Object	35.1	35.5	34.2	33.0	0.000
Other Reasonable Suspicion of Weapon	58.2	57.5	61.6	53.4	0.000
Boxes checked					
0 boxes checked	11.3	12.0	8.6	11.6	0.000
>1 boxes checked	28.7	28.0	31.7	25.9	0.000

a. Top panel reports the percentage of investigatory stop reports (ISRs) of indicated racial/ethnic group for which officers checked the rationale for the pat down indicated in that row. Bottom panel reports the share of ISRs that have zero checkboxes chosen and those with multiple checkboxes chosen.

b. The final column reports p-values from F-tests run to check that there is no difference by race/ethnicity in the rate the given stop reason is checked. P-values less than 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference.

c. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports. N=86,264 pat downs

What is clear from the data is that there was variation by racial and ethnic groups in the boxes checked by officers to identify the justifications for stops and pat downs. For example, officers selected the box for “actions indicative of engaging in drug transaction” as relevant to the stop justification 7.7% of the time for Black people, 4.7% of the time for White people, and only 2.2% of the time for Latino people.

All of the differences in these tables were statistically significant at the 1% level. White people were slightly more likely than Black or Latino people to have no boxes checked for stops. For pat downs, Black people were the most likely to have no checked boxes. Racial differences in the boxes checked could arise from patterns of behavior that vary by location, timing, or other factors that vary by race/ethnicity.

Conclusion

We look forward to reporting on the results of the community engagement, as well as continuing to assist the City, the CPD, and the ACLU of Illinois in their pursuit of improved policies, reporting mechanisms, and training on investigatory stops and pat downs.

We anticipate that the City and the Office of the Illinois Attorney General, who are parties to the federal consent decree regarding Chicago policing, *Illinois v. Chicago*, No. 17-Cv-620 (N.D. Ill.) (Consent Decree), will soon file a stipulation with the court to add provisions regarding investigatory stops and pat downs to the Consent Decree. It is anticipated the court will hold a public hearing to receive comments on the stipulation. As a result of the stipulation, we expect that the Agreement between the City, the CPD, and the ACLU will terminate and that the progress made under the Agreement toward reform will continue under the Consent Decree.

APPENDIX A:
INVESTIGATORY STOP AND PROTECTIVE PAT DOWN SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT
(AUGUST 2015)

**INVESTIGATORY STOP AND PROTECTIVE PAT DOWN
SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT**

WHEREAS, in April 2014, the Chicago Police Department (“CPD”) issued revised General Orders and directives to ensure that its policies and practices relating to investigatory stops and protective pat downs comply with applicable law, including the United States and Illinois Constitutions and the Illinois Civil Rights Act (“ICRA”). In connection with that effort, and prior to finalizing the revised General Orders and directives, CPD provided such orders and directives to the American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois (“ACLU”) for their review and comment.

WHEREAS, in early 2015, CPD commenced a further review of its policies and practices relating to investigatory stops and protective pat downs. In March 2015, while CPD’s review was pending, the ACLU issued a report entitled “Stop and Frisk in Chicago” that raised concerns about CPD’s policies and practices. On May 30, 2015, Senate Bill 1304 passed both houses of the Illinois General Assembly. If signed by the Governor, Senate Bill 1304 will impose new documentation requirements relating to investigatory stops and/or protective pat downs.

WHEREAS, pursuant to CPD’s continuing evaluation of its policies and practices relating to investigatory stops and protective pat downs, and in response to the ACLU report and Senate Bill 1304, CPD is in the process of further revising its policies and practices. CPD intends to have the revised policies and practices finalized and implemented on or before December 31, 2015, and to complete its training of its officers and supervisors with respect to the revised policies and practices on or before March 1, 2016.

WHEREAS, CPD believes that its policies and practices relating to investigatory stops and protective pat downs have been and will continue to be fully compliant with all applicable laws. Nevertheless, the ACLU has raised concerns about CPD’s policies and practices and has informed the City of Chicago of its intention to file a lawsuit challenging them.

WHEREAS, to avoid the burden, inconvenience, and expense of litigation, the City of

Chicago, CPD, and the ACLU (“the parties”) have agreed to work together to ensure and validate that CPD’s policies and practices relating to investigatory stops and protective pat downs fully comply with applicable law.

Accordingly, the parties agree as follows:

I. Data Collection

1. CPD will document all investigatory stops and all protective pat downs, including those that lead to an arrest, an Administrative Notice of Violation (“ANOV”), or other enforcement action, into an electronic digitized database. CPD’s current database documents all investigatory stops and protective pat downs that do not lead to either an arrest or an ANOV. As soon as reasonably possible thereafter, the database will be modified to also include investigatory stops and protective pat downs that lead to an arrest or an ANOV. For each investigatory stop and/or protective pat down, the electronic digitized database shall include:

a) the name and badge number of the officers who conducted the investigatory stop and/or protective pat down;

b) the race/ethnicity of the person stopped, selected from the following list:
American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino,
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, or White;

c) the gender of the person stopped;

d) all of the reasons for the stop;

e) the location of the stop, including the address, beat, and district;

f) the date and time of the stop;

g) whether or not a protective pat down was conducted of the person, and if so, all of the reasons that led to the protective pat down and whether it was with consent or by other means;

h) whether or not contraband was found during the protective pat down, and if so,

the type and amount of contraband seized;

i) whether or not a search beyond a protective pat down was conducted of the person or his or her effects, and if so, all the reasons that led to the search, and whether it was with consent or by other means;

j) whether or not contraband was found during any search beyond a protective pat down, and if so, the type and amount of the contraband seized;

k) the disposition of the stop, such as a warning, an ANOV, or an arrest; and

l) if an enforcement action was taken (i.e., an arrest or ANOV), a record of the violations, offenses, or crimes alleged or charged.

II. Training and Supervision

1. CPD will provide training for officers and supervisors directed at ensuring that investigatory stops are conducted only where there is reasonable suspicion of criminal conduct and that protective pat downs are performed only where there is reasonable suspicion that the person stopped is armed and dangerous. Further, CPD shall train officers with respect to the electronic digitized database and their responsibilities to record all the relevant information for each investigatory stop and protective pat down. Where appropriate, new or revised General Orders and/or other directives will be issued by the CPD. CPD expects to issue such new or revised General Orders and/or other directives by December 31, 2015, and to complete the training of its officers and supervisors with respect to such General Orders and/or other directives, by March 1, 2016.

2. CPD will implement training policies and practices to ensure that investigatory stops and protective pat downs are conducted consistent with the following guidance provided by the U.S.

Department of Justice:

In making routine or spontaneous law enforcement decisions, such as ordinary sidewalk and traffic stops, Chicago Police Department officers may not use race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, marital status, parental status, or military discharge status, except that officers may rely on the listed characteristics in a specific suspect description.

3. By January 1, 2016, CPD shall establish and enforce policies providing for continuous district-level supervisory review and quarterly or semi-annual department-level audits of CPD's investigatory stop and protective pat down practices. The CPD shall provide these policies and procedures to the Consultant (identified in Section V.1, below) and the ACLU for their review and comment, prior to their finalization. These policies and procedures shall include:

a) Continuous review by police district supervisors of all individual Investigatory Stop Reports to determine whether they state legal grounds for the investigatory stop and/or any protective pat down.

b) Quarterly or semi-annual audits by CPD headquarters staff of CPD investigatory stop and protective pat down practices. These audits shall include examination of: (i) the narrative sections of a statistically representative sample of individual Investigatory Stop Reports to determine whether they state legal grounds for the investigatory stop and/or protective pat down; (ii) records of supervisory corrections or rejections of Investigatory Stop Reports to identify officers who repeatedly fail to document investigatory stops and/or protective pat downs, or who conduct investigatory stops and/or protective pat downs without the requisite reasonable suspicion; and (iii) CPD documentation of civilian and internal complaints relating to investigatory stops and/or protective pat downs.

c) The establishment of re-training, enhanced supervision, or discipline of officers who engage in unlawful investigatory stops and/or protective pat downs or who violate CPD policies or procedures governing these practices. There shall be written documentation of all such re-training, enhanced supervision, or discipline.

III. Release of Data and Documents

1. Within 10 days of the execution of this agreement, all of the digitized information in CPD's electronic digitized database, including but not limited to the enumerated fields in Section I.1, shall be provided to the Consultant and the ACLU. Thereafter, the data shall be provided to the Consultant and the ACLU on a monthly basis on the first of the month. This information, and the information described in paragraphs 4 through 6 below, shall be kept confidential by the Consultant, the ACLU, and the persons identified in Section III.3 on an "attorneys eyes only" basis and shall not be disclosed by the Consultant, the ACLU, or the persons identified in Section III.3 for any purpose whatsoever other than to the extent the information is included in the Consultant's Reports and Recommendations described in Section V.2(f) below.

2. This agreement does not in any way limit the ACLU's rights under the Illinois Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Moreover, if the ACLU receives information under this agreement that the ACLU believes it would be entitled to obtain under FOIA, the parties will work in good faith to seek agreement about whether that information would in fact be subject to release under FOIA. If the parties reach agreement, the confidentiality provision set forth in III.1 shall not apply. Any dispute about whether information disclosed pursuant to this agreement would be subject to release under FOIA shall be resolved by the Consultant.

3. Under the "attorneys eyes only" restrictions, the Consultant and ACLU may only allow the following categories of people to review the information: (1) counsel for the ACLU and employees of counsel who have responsibility for the execution of this agreement; (2) contractors specifically engaged for the limited purpose of making copies of documents or organizing or processing documents, including outside vendors hired to process electronically stored documents; (3) consultants or experts provided for in Section V.3 (the Consultant's experts); (4) consultants or experts employed by the ACLU to assist in the execution of this agreement, and (5) other persons only by written consent of the City. Prior to sharing the information with any outside consultants, experts, or others, the ACLU and/or the Consultant will obtain from that individual a signed agreement to abide by the confidentiality provisions set forth herein. The

ACLU and/or the Consultant will promptly provide the City with a copy of all such agreements.

4. CPD shall provide the Consultant and the ACLU all current and future training, policy materials, and supervisory materials described in Section II.

5. CPD shall provide the Consultant and the ACLU the quarterly or semi-annual audits conducted by CPD headquarters staff of CPD's investigatory stop and protective pat down practices described in Section II.

6. CPD shall provide the Consultant and the ACLU with all additional documents necessary to conduct an independent analysis and review of CPD's investigatory stop and protective pat down practices.

7. Absent the permission of the subject of the stop, the Consultant will redact all personal identifying information about the subject of stops from the Consultant's Reports and Recommendations. The redacted information shall be kept confidential consistent with Section III.1, above.

IV. Compliance with the United States and Illinois Constitutions and ICRA

1. CPD shall conduct investigatory stops and protective pat downs in compliance with the United States Constitution, the Illinois Constitution, and ICRA.

2. CPD shall be in substantial compliance with this agreement if any violations of its requirements are neither systemic nor serious. If a serious violation occurs, CPD shall be in substantial compliance if it promptly identifies the violation and develops and implements a timely and appropriate remedy that results in compliance.

3. After reviewing the data for the six-month period commencing January 1, 2016 and ending June 30, 2016, the ACLU and the City will work together to seek agreement on standards for substantial compliance with ICRA. If the ACLU and the City cannot agree, the Consultant will review the data and determine such standards after considering the respective views and submissions of the parties.

V. The Consultant

1. The Parties have jointly selected retired Judge Arlander Keys to serve as the Consultant of this agreement.

2. The duties of the Consultant are to:

a) Review and validate CPD's policies, practices, and orders regarding investigatory stops and protective pat downs, including but not limited to, CPD's training regarding investigatory stops and protective pat downs, CPD's method of supervisory review of investigatory stops and protective pat downs, and CPD's method of auditing investigatory stops and protective pat downs.

b) Recommend to the parties changes to CPD's policies, practices, and orders regarding investigatory stops and protective pat downs that are reasonable and necessary to comply with the law, including the United States Constitution, the Illinois Constitution, and ICRA. The Consultant shall consult with the parties before making such recommendations.

c) Review any other documents the Consultant determines are necessary to assess CPD's investigatory stops and protective pat downs, including but not limited to civilian complaints and disciplinary files regarding investigatory stops and protective pat downs (subject to any limitations contained in federal and state law and collective bargaining agreements).

d) On a semi-annual basis, commencing with the six month period starting January 1, 2016 and ending June 30, 2016, identify to the parties and review a statistically representative sample of Investigatory Stop Reports and assess whether the narratives state sufficient facts to establish the requisite reasonable suspicion for the investigatory stop and for any protective pat down.

e) On a semi-annual basis, commencing with the six month period starting January 1, 2016 and ending June 30, 2016, review aggregate Investigatory Stop Report data to determine whether the standards for substantial compliance set forth in Section IV.2 have been met.

f) On a semi-annual basis, commencing with the six month period starting January 1, 2016 and ending June 30, 2016, provide to the parties a written Report and Recommendations based on his or her review of the above materials. These Reports and Recommendations will include an assessment

of whether the CPD is in substantial compliance with this agreement. The Reports and Recommendations will also identify any further practices, policies and other measures that the Consultant recommends are needed to ensure that CPD investigatory stop and protective pat down practices and policies are in compliance with the United States Constitution, the Illinois Constitution, ICRA, and this agreement. The parties will have 30 days to serve each other and the Consultant with objections to each Report and Recommendations. The Consultant will then have 30 days to make any revisions to the Report and Recommendations before making it public.

3. The Consultant may seek the advice and assistance of police practices and statistical experts in formulating the Reports and Recommendations. The City shall compensate the Consultant and any experts he or she shall retain for their professional services and reasonable expenses. Any experts utilized by the Consultant will be subject to the confidentiality provisions set forth in Section III.1.

VI. Other Terms

1. The parties acknowledge that this agreement is not an admission of liability on the part of the City and/or the City's future, current, or former officers, agents, and employees, and shall not serve as evidence of the validity or invalidity of any claims that have been or might be brought in litigation against the City and/or the City's future, current, or former officers, agents, and employees.


2. In consideration of this agreement, the ACLU agrees not to either file as a party or join as a party any lawsuit challenging CPD's policies or practices relating to investigatory stops and/or protective pat downs while this agreement remains in effect.

3. This Agreement shall remain in effect until June 30, 2017, upon a finding by the Consultant of substantial compliance as defined in Sections IV.2 and .3 for one year preceding that date. If the Consultant finds at that time that CPD has not been in substantial compliance, this agreement shall be extended until the Consultant finds that CPD has been in substantial compliance with this agreement for one year. Any party may terminate this agreement at any time.

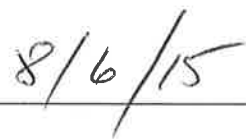
4. Any dispute as to the meaning or interpretation of this agreement will be resolved first by the Consultant. If, after an interpretation by the Consultant, either party wishes, they also may seek interpretation in the Circuit Court of Cook County.

5. This agreement contains the entire agreement between the parties and the parties mutually agree that this agreement shall be binding upon and inure to the benefit of the parties, due consideration having been given and may be enforced like any other contract. The parties agree that in the event of a breach of this agreement, there will be no adequate remedy at law and that this agreement may be enforced through a suit for specific performance.


6. The person signing the agreement represents and warrants that he or she is authorized to sign on behalf of the party for which he or she is signing and that the agreement as signed is binding on that party.



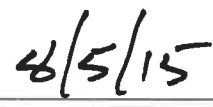
Harvey Grossman
Legal Director
The American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois
180 North Michigan Avenue, Suite 2300
Chicago, Illinois 60601




Date



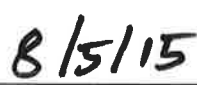
Garry F. McCarthy
Superintendent
Chicago Police Department
3510 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60653



Date



Stephen R. Patton
Corporation Counsel
City of Chicago, Department of Law
121 North LaSalle Street, Suite 600
Chicago, Illinois 60602



Date

APPENDIX B:
TEMPORARY STAY AGREEMENT
(SEPTEMBER 26, 2019)

Temporary Stay of the Review of the Statistically Representative Sample of ISRs (Section V(d-f) of the Agreement)

1. The Consultant's report on his review of 2017 Chicago Police Department ("CPD" or "Department") Investigatory Stop Report ("ISR") data identifies concerns with data collection and supervision which he believed made an accurate assessment of Fourth amendment compliance, as required by the Agreement, impracticable. Certain data and supervision processes related to the Consultant's concerns have not changed since 2017. The parties agree that the Consultant will not review a statistically significant sample of ISRs for 2018 and 2019 for Fourth Amendment compliance. Nothing in this agreement constitutes an admission by the City or CPD of noncompliance with the Investigatory Stop and Protective Pat Down Settlement Agreement dated August 6, 2015 ("2015 Agreement"), nor any agreement on their part with the specific findings of the Consultant. However, in the interest of accomplishing the goals of the Agreement, the parties have agreed to the following actions.
2. The parties agree to place a stay on the review of a statistically significant sample of ISRs (Section V(d-f) of the Agreement) while the Department undertakes review of and assesses any changes to its systems of data collection, supervision, and auditing (collectively, the "investigatory stop system"), as described in Appendix A. This stay does not otherwise alter the terms of the 2015 Agreement.
3. During this stay, the role of the Consultant will be limited to assisting the CPD in identifying improvements to the investigatory stop system, as described in Appendix A, and monitoring the implementation of the Department's implementation plan, as described below and in Appendix A.
4. As described in Appendix A, by January 1, 2020, the Department will identify improvements to the investigatory stop system through a process of research, focus groups, and consultation with the ACLU, the Consultant, and the Consultant's independent police practices expert.
5. The police practices expert will provide consultation with sufficient time for the Department to create the implementation plan described below and in Appendix A. If the police practices expert raises questions or concerns about the investigatory stop system, or makes recommendations to improve the system, the Department will share information with the expert in response and/or incorporate the expert's recommended changes into the implementation plan.
6. By March 1, 2020, the Department will develop a project management plan, in consultation with the ACLU, the Consultant, and the Consultant's police practices expert, to implement improvements they have jointly identified ("project management plan" or "implementation plan"), to be completed by June 1, 2020.

7. From September 16, 2019 through June 1, 2020, the City and Department will have bi-weekly calls with the Consultant, the police practices expert, and the ACLU to provide updates on the progress of the items addressed above and in Appendix A.
8. By June 15, 2020, the Consultant will publish a public report describing the progress of the items discussed above and in Appendix A and CPD's implementation of the project management plan.
9. The Consultant's review of a statistically significant sample of ISRs as described in Section V(d-f) will resume with a review of the data collected between June 1, 2020 and December 31, 2020. The parties and Consultant will confer and jointly determine an appropriate and timely date on which the Consultant's reporting pursuant to the 2015 Agreement will resume.

Fourth Amendment Review of 2018-2019 Data

10. The Consultant's statistical expert shall receive and conduct a preliminary review of the data for 2018 and 2019. The expert will advise on whether and, if applicable, when it is appropriate to publish limited statistical analyses for the purpose of assessing Fourth Amendment compliance and disparate impact. When publishing the report described in Par. 8 above, the Consultant may include these simple statistical analyses.

Prospective Fourth Amendment Review

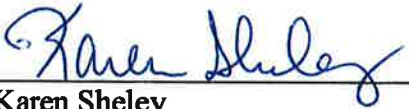
11. By July 1, 2020, the City, ACLU, and Consultant will confer about the Consultant's methodology for conducting Fourth Amendment compliance assessments. If the Department continues the use of multi-version ISRs, the methodology will include a review of the use of multi-version ISRs, including supervisors' documentation of rejections and corrections.
12. If the Department continues the use of multi-version ISRs, an expert will review and provide advice on which ISR versions the Consultant should review and under what circumstances (e.g., whether the Consultant should review only the first version or final versions of the ISRs) in assessing Fourth Amendment compliance within a statistically significant sample of ISRs. If the expert advises that the Consultant should review only the first version, the parties do not object to that review.
13. If the Department continues the use of multi-version ISRs, the Department will create an explanation of the appropriate employment and purposes of the multi-version forms and make it available to officers, supervisors, auditors, and others who receive or are entitled to receive the forms.

Disparate Impact Compliance Methodology

14. For the purposes of negotiating agreement under Section IV.3 of the Agreement, the City agrees that the Consultant may (1) assume, solely for purposes of determining CPD's

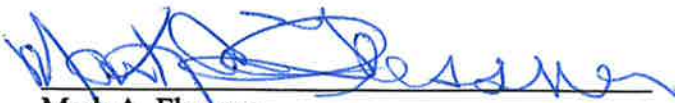
legal compliance under the Agreement, that a prima facie showing under ICRA based on disparate impact on the basis of race has been satisfied and (2) forego that analysis. This agreement to address and discuss disparate impact does not constitute an admission of any fault or liability whatsoever on the part of the City or the CPD and does not extend outside of determining a compliance methodology for this Agreement; this agreement shall not be interpreted as an admission of any fault or liability by the City or the CPD.

15. Consistent with Section III of the 2015 Agreement, the City agrees to furnish the ACLU and the Consultant's policing practices expert with all CPD policies necessary for ICRA analysis, and any information required to devise any remedies under ICRA analysis. Such information includes, but is not limited to, access to all relevant data and, for the policing practices expert, interviews of members of the Department conducted and selected by the expert.
16. Consistent with Section V of the 2015 Agreement, if applicable, the Consultant will recommend to CPD any remedies the Consultant identifies pursuant to the ICRA analysis.



Karen Sheley
Director, Police Practices Project
ACLU of Illinois
150 North Michigan Avenue, Suite 600
Chicago, Illinois 60601

9/26/2019
Date



Mark A. Flessner
Corporation Counsel
City of Chicago Department of Law
121 N. LaSalle, Suite 600
Chicago, IL 60602

9/27/19
Date

Appendix A:

Investigatory Stop System Revision Plan

1. The City and CPD seek to promote accuracy and transparency when forms are completed and reviewed. Thus, by January 1, 2020, CPD, in consultation with the Consultant, the Consultant's policing expert and the ACLU, CPD will:
 - a. determine what adjustments CPD, the Consultant, the Consultant's policing expert, and the ACLU jointly agree are needed to the ISR application (i.e., the electronic forms that both officers and supervisors fill out) to promote accurate reporting; and
 - b. review and determine appropriate revisions to the ISR special order and any related guidance documents to provide clarity and consistency with the revised investigatory stop system.
2. In so doing, CPD will conduct research, including but not limited to conducting focus groups with CPD members and reviewing best practices in other jurisdictions, to identify improvements in the Department's investigatory stop system that promote the Department's goals of accurate and transparent reporting.
3. Currently, all CPD officers receive training on the investigatory stop system and Fourth Amendment, the curriculum for which was reviewed and approved by the ACLU and Consultant. CPD also provides targeted remediation training based on the Department's review of ISRs. By January 1, 2020, CPD will review its training methods and frequency and will determine, with assistance from the police practices expert, whether additional training is necessary, including whether additional targeted remediation training is appropriate for certain members.
4. To improve the accountability of CPD's auditing of ISRs and respond to the Consultant's report on this issue, CPD's Integrity Unit has been moved under the Department's new Auditing Unit, which now directly supervises the ISR auditing process. Further, by January 1, 2020, CPD will, in consultation with the Consultant, policing expert and the ACLU:
 - a. summarize and report on the work and findings of the Integrity Unit from 2016-2019;

- b. determine appropriate adjustments to the specific methodologies of the Department's ISR audits conducted to provide transparency and consistency, including district-level executive audits, including whether review of body-worn camera footage would be helpful or appropriate;**
 - c. develop criteria for a standardized audit template, including for district-level executive audits;**
 - d. review and determine any appropriate revisions to the Department's Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for conducting ISR audits;**
 - e. determine whether additional or revised training is appropriate for the Department's ISR reviewers and auditors.**
- 4. By March 1, 2020, CPD will develop a plan to implement all agreed-upon processes.**

APPENDIX C: CONSULTANT TEAM

The Consultant Team represents a diverse, multidisciplinary group of policing experts, attorneys, and researchers with robust experience in oversight, change management, and community relationships. The Consultant Team is led by Consultant Maggie Hickey, Deputy Consultant Chief Rodney Monroe (Ret.), and Deputy Consultant Chief Theron “T” Bowman (Ret.), and helps the parties create the organizational change the CPD needs to achieve better outcomes in constitutional policing and rebuild the trust of Chicago’s diverse communities as it relates to police stops and protective pat downs.

CONSULTANT LEADERSHIP



Maggie Hickey
Consultant



Chief Rodney Monroe
(Ret.)
Deputy Consultant



Chief Theron Bowman
(Ret.)
Deputy Consultant

Maggie Hickey, JD, Partner at ArentFox Schiff LLP, serves as Consultant for this project. As Consultant, Ms. Hickey oversees the City and the CPD’s efforts to achieve compliance with the Agreement. Ms. Hickey, along with Deputy Consultants Chief Monroe and Chief Bowman, is the principal liaison to the parties. She is also the primary public spokesperson for the team, leads most public meetings, and acts as the final team arbiter on all compliance issues.

Ms. Hickey is a highly skilled attorney and consensus builder with a long and notable career. She has a wealth of experience in internal investigations, compliance programs, police operations, sexual harassment issues in the workplace, and ethics training. In 2015, she was appointed Executive Inspector General for the Agencies of the Illinois Governor, an independent executive branch state agency that ensures accountability across the state government, nine state public universities, and four Chicago-area regional transportation boards. Ms. Hickey’s experience spans a range of legal issues and positions in Springfield and Chicago, Illinois, and Washington, DC. Before becoming Executive Inspector General, she was the Executive Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois for more than five years. She spent five years as an Assistant U.S.

Attorney (AUSA) in the Criminal Division, Financial Crimes, and Special Prosecution sections investigating and prosecuting complex and sensitive matters. Ms. Hickey also served as chief of staff and chief legal counsel to U.S. Senator Peter Fitzgerald, and she began her career with the U.S. Senate as the Investigative Counsel for the Committee on Government Affairs. Ms. Hickey was also an AUSA in the Criminal Division for the Southern District of West Virginia. During her tenure as Executive Inspector General, Ms. Hickey was chair of the Illinois Health Care Fraud Elimination Task Force, a comprehensive effort to prevent and eliminate fraud, waste, and abuse in state-administered health care programs. In addition to her practice, Ms. Hickey remains active in several community service and pro bono legal initiatives. In 2018, Ms. Hickey was tapped by the Board of Education of the City of Chicago to lead an independent review of the school district's policies and procedures following the Chicago Tribune investigation that revealed cases of sexual abuse by Chicago Public School employees.

Chief (Ret.) Rodney Monroe, Senior Policing Advisor for CNA, serves as Deputy Consultant. Mr. Monroe also serves as Deputy Monitor for the federal Consent Decree, overseeing Consent Decree topic areas including training; use of force; recruitment, hiring, and promotion; supervision; accountability and transparency; and officer wellness and support. Mr. Monroe brings extensive experience organizing communities and developing meaningful partnerships with people, businesses, and faith-based organizations to increase trust, respect, and legitimacy while reducing crime, improving quality of life, and reducing the public's fear of crime. Mr. Monroe was also appointed by a federal judge as the Independent Monitor to oversee a settlement agreement for the Meridian Police Department. In that role, Mr. Monroe leads an auditing team to work with Meridian Police Department (MPD) personnel, the Meridian community (particularly youth), and U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) personnel to ensure MPD's compliance with the agreement. Meridian has achieved substantial compliance with all areas of the settlement agreement. Chief Monroe also has experience with the DOJ Community Oriented Policing Services' (COPS) Collaborative Reform Initiative, working with the North Charleston Police Department following the police shooting of Walter Scott.

Chief Monroe also brings expertise in reviewing critical incidents. For example, he provided subject matter expertise and technical assistance in the critical incident review of the November 15, 2015, shooting of Jamar Clark by Minneapolis police officers, which explored a wide range of critical policing issues. Chief Monroe is a recognized leader, innovator, and practitioner of community policing and has more than 30 years of experience in law enforcement. He was chief of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department (CMPD), nationally recognized for its excellence in community policing. Under his leadership, the department refocused its efforts on crime fighting and crime prevention through a more accountable organizational structure, new technology, and an enhanced community policing strategy. Before joining CMPD, Chief Monroe served as chief in Macon, Georgia, and in Richmond, Virginia. While serving in Richmond, his efforts led to the lowest number of homicides in 25 years. Chief Monroe also worked in a variety of leadership positions within the Washington, DC, Metropolitan Police Department.

Chief (Ret.) Theron Bowman, Ph.D., serves as Deputy Consultant and is the current Independent Monitoring Team's Associate Monitor for Recruitment, Hiring, and Promotion and Training for the

federal Consent Decree. Dr. Bowman began his public service career in 1983 as an officer with the Arlington, Texas, Police Department, and served in numerous positions before becoming chief in 1999. He later served for five years as Arlington’s Deputy City Manager and Director of Public Safety before retiring in 2017.

Dr. Bowman has led, managed, and participated in police practices investigations and audits in multiple locations, including Albuquerque, New Mexico; Baltimore, Maryland; Battle Creek, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; Los Angeles County, California; Maricopa County, Arizona; Newark, New Jersey; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Seattle, Washington.

Dr. Bowman is also a federal court-appointed consent decree deputy monitor in Baltimore and a multidisciplinary law enforcement expert on the New Orleans and Memphis, Tennessee, monitoring teams. Dr. Bowman has received much recognition throughout his career, including being named the African American Peace Officer Association of Arlington “Officer of the Year,” receiving Proclamation of Achievement from the Texas State Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives, and being designated a University of Texas at Arlington “University Scholar and Distinguished Alumni.”

Consultant Leadership oversees other experts and attorneys, including the following:



Matthew Barge
Associate Consultant



Joseph Hoereth
Associate Consultant
& Community Liaison



David Abrams
Statistical Expert

Matthew Barge, JD, is a police practices and civil rights expert with more than 15 years of experience working with law enforcement agencies, city governments, and communities on public safety challenges. He served as the lead police practices expert to Judge Keys under the Agreement. From 2015 through 2019, Mr. Barge served as the federal court-appointed Monitor overseeing a federal consent decree involving the police in Cleveland, Ohio. He is a lead subject matter expert on the federal monitoring team overseeing a consent decree in Baltimore. He is also a Senior Consultant with the Policing Project at N.Y.U. School of Law.

Joe Hoereth, PhD, is an urban planner who regularly engages with Chicago communities through his position as Director of the Institute for Policy and Civic Engagement (IPCE) at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC). Dr. Hoereth creates opportunities for scholars, community members, students, and the government to participate in public discourse and educational programs addressing current policy issues and social trends. Dr. Hoereth has expertise in community development research and evaluation, having previously worked for university research centers, non-profit organizations, and private consulting firms. Dr. Hoereth and **Norma Ramos**, the Associate Director of IPCE, support the community engagement effort under the Agreement.

David Abrams, PhD, is the Consultant Team’s statistical expert. Dr. Abrams is the Professor of Law, Business Economics, and Public Policy at University of Pennsylvania. “His work strives to understand and measure how individuals respond to incentives in various legal contexts. In his work on intellectual property law, he has investigated the expected impact of the America Invents Act, examined the effect of patent duration on innovation, and used natural language processing to establish more reliable measures of patent value. In his latest empirical work he has shown that long-held views on patent value and citations do not hold and introduced a new model of innovation to account for the findings. He has also done substantial work in criminal justice, including investigating whether longer sentences deter crime, how defendant race/ethnicity impacts judicial decisions, to what extent attorney skill affects case outcomes, and how much individuals value freedom.”⁶²

Meredith DeCarlo, Kylie Wood, and Anthony-Ray Sepúlveda, JDs, are associates at ArentFox Schiff LLP who, in addition to supporting the Consultant Team, have extensive experience with the federal Consent Decree.

When needed, the Consultant Team draws from the expertise of a pool of additional subject matter experts and attorneys. All Associate Consultants, subject matter experts, and attorneys work closely with Ms. Hickey, Chief Monroe, or Chief Bowman. Our legal team supports the consultants and subject-matter experts with data collection, data analysis, legal analysis, reporting, and general administrative support. This approach ensures the greatest efficiency and effectiveness in working toward the objectives of the Agreement.

⁶² See David Abrams, <https://www.davidsabrams.com/>.

APPENDIX D: FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure & Table Index

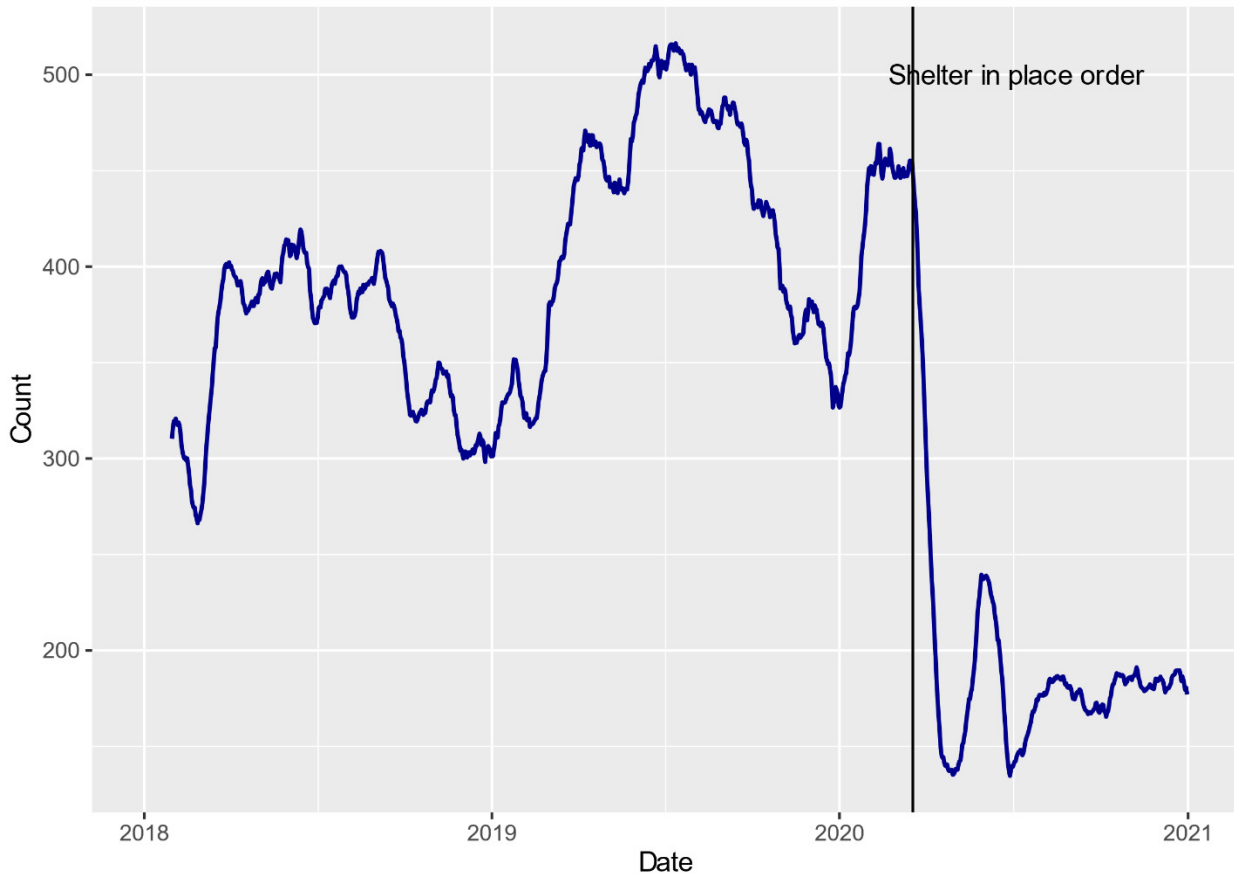
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Figure 1: Chicago Investigative Police Stops, 2018–2020
Stops by Day, 30-day moving average



- a. For each date the average number of Investigative police stops over the past 30 days is computed and plotted on the y-axis.
- b. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- c. Data source: 2018–2020 CPD Investigative Stop Reports.

Figure 2: Investigatory Stop Rates by Police District, 2018–2019

Annual stop rate per 1,000 residents

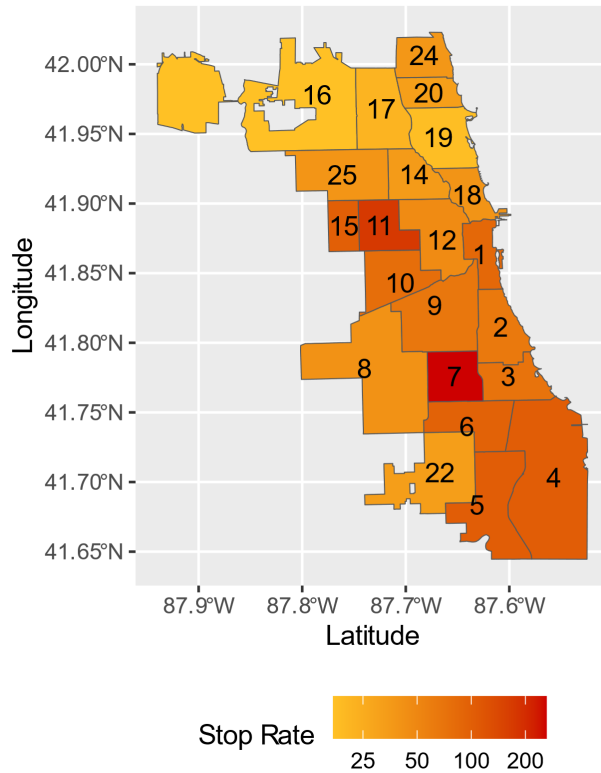
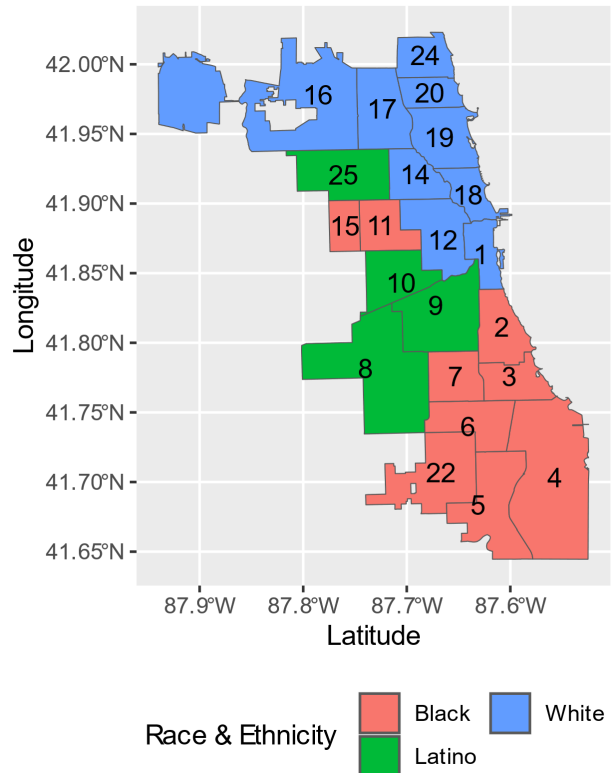


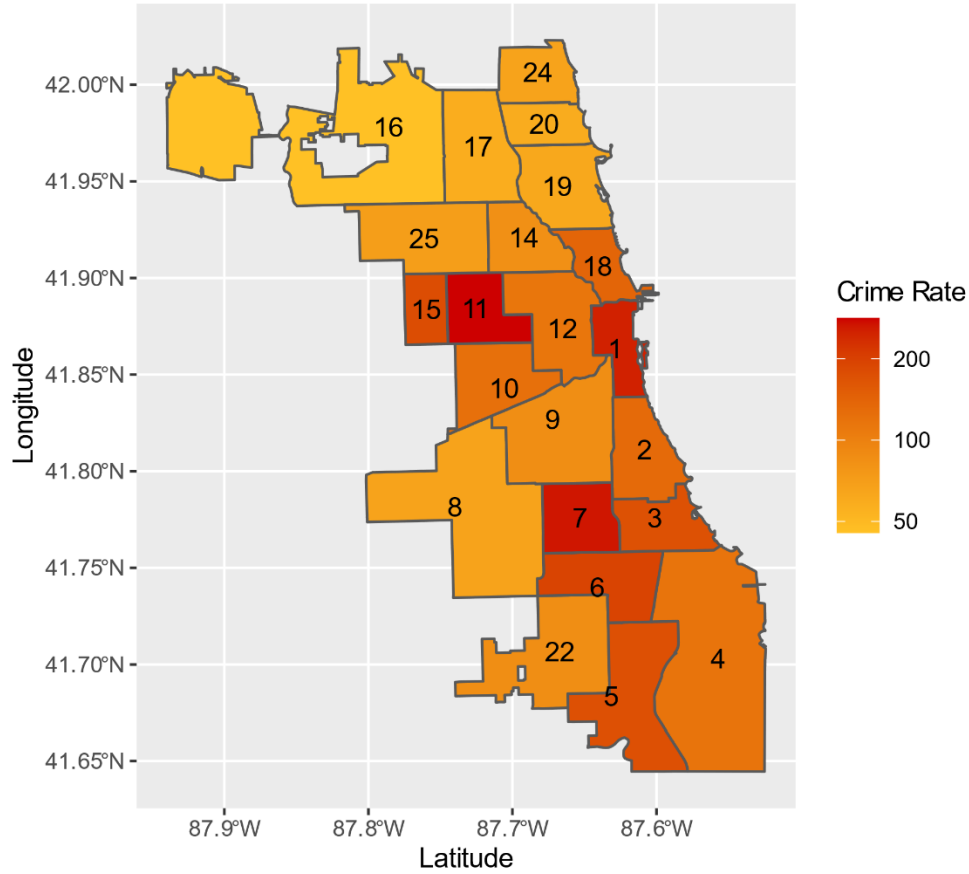
Figure 3: Most Populous Race/Ethnicity by Police District



- a. The map on the left-hand side displays the mean annual number of stops per 1,000 residents for each police district for 2018–2019. The map on the right-hand side displays the most populous racial/ethnic group for each police district.
- b. Areas not incorporated into the City of Chicago are dropped from the maps.
- c. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Report, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

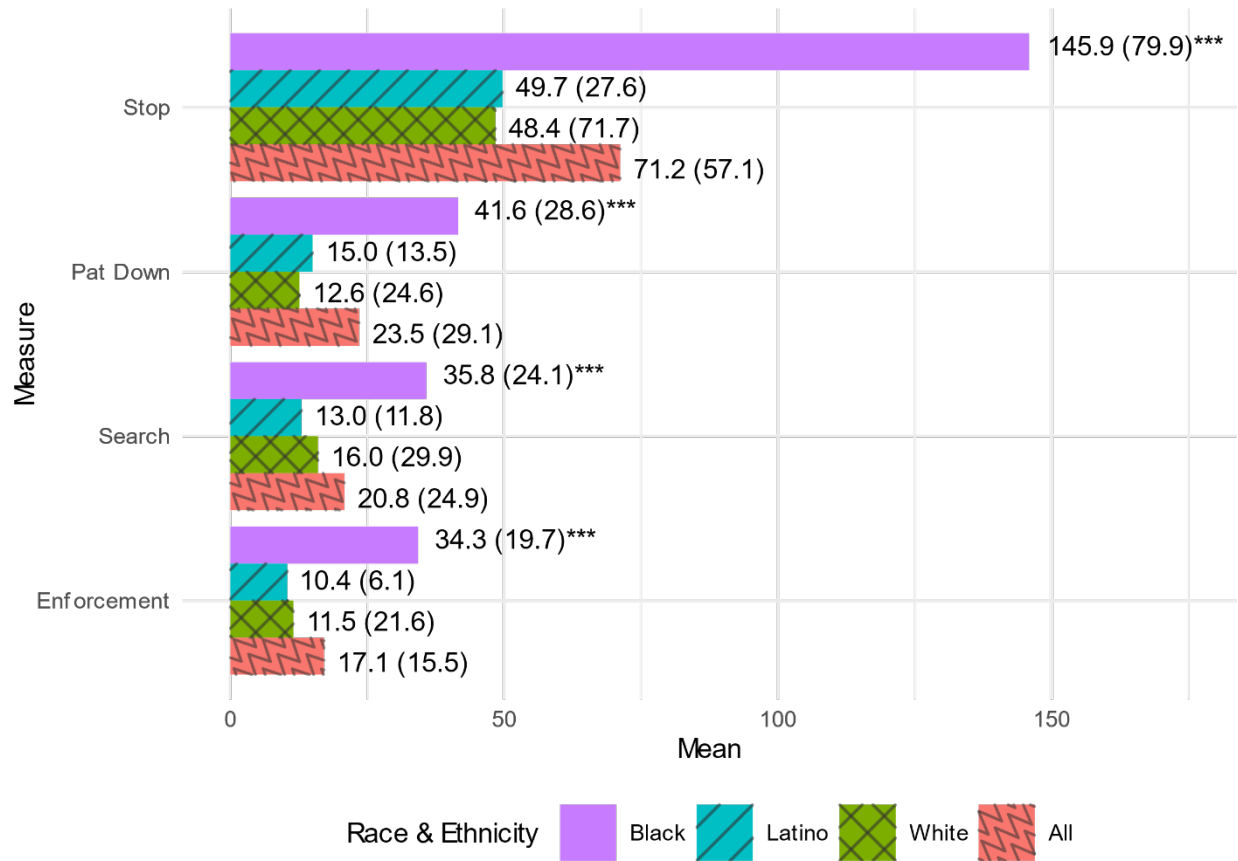
Figure 4: Crime Rate by Police District, 2018–2019

Crime Rate per 1,000 residents



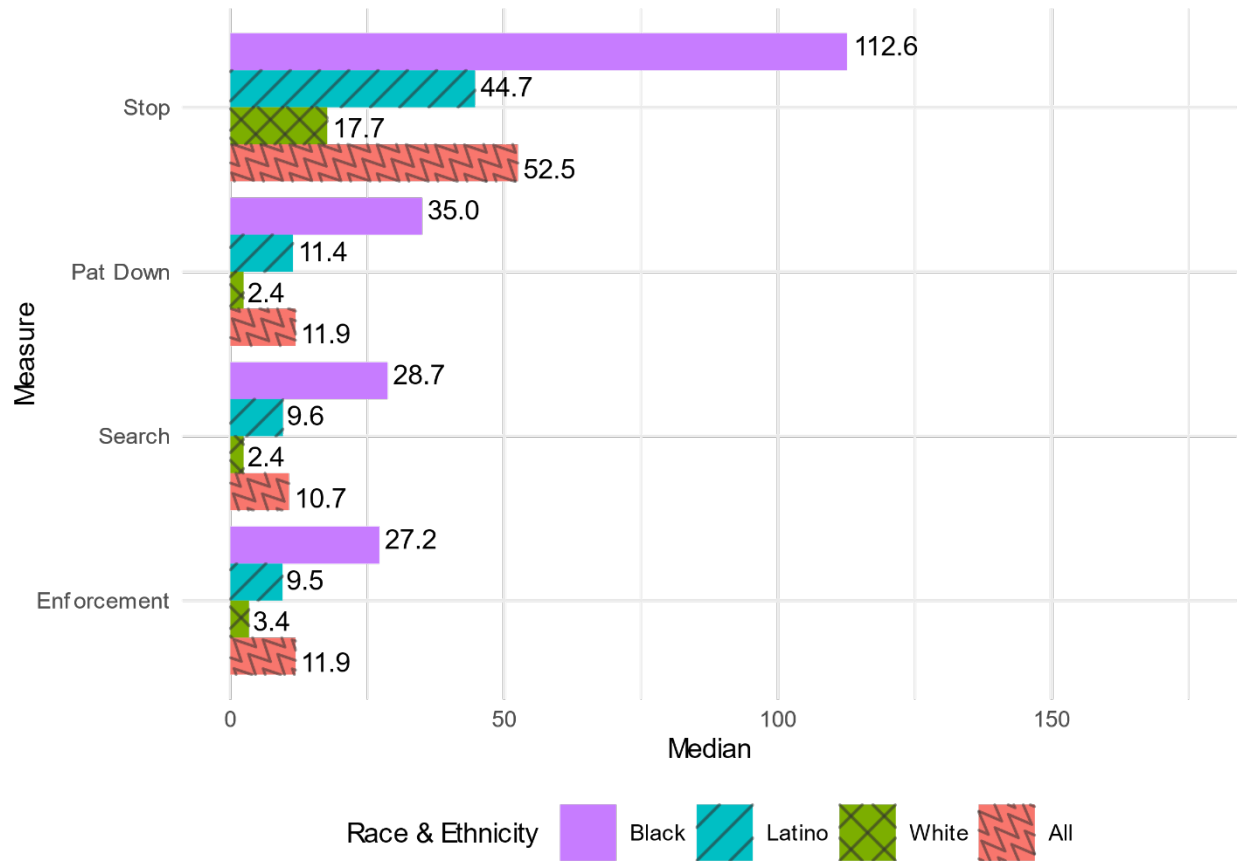
- a. The map displays the mean annual number of reported crime incidents per 1,000 residents for each police district for 2018–2019.
- b. Police district numbers displayed on map. Areas not incorporated into the City of Chicago are dropped.
- c. Data source: 2018–2019 crime incidents from the CPD’s CLEAR (Citizen Law Enforcement Analysis and Reporting) system via the Chicago Data Portal.

Figure 5: Police Actions per 1,000 Same-Race/Ethnicity Residents, 2018–2019 (Means)



- a. This figure reports the mean (standard deviation) annual stops, pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents by race/ethnicity. Observations at the police district-year level.
- b. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.
- c. T-tests performed to check for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups with p-value range indicated by number of stars. * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001
- d. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

Figure 6: Police Actions per 1,000 Same-Race/Ethnicity Residents, 2018–2019 (Medians)

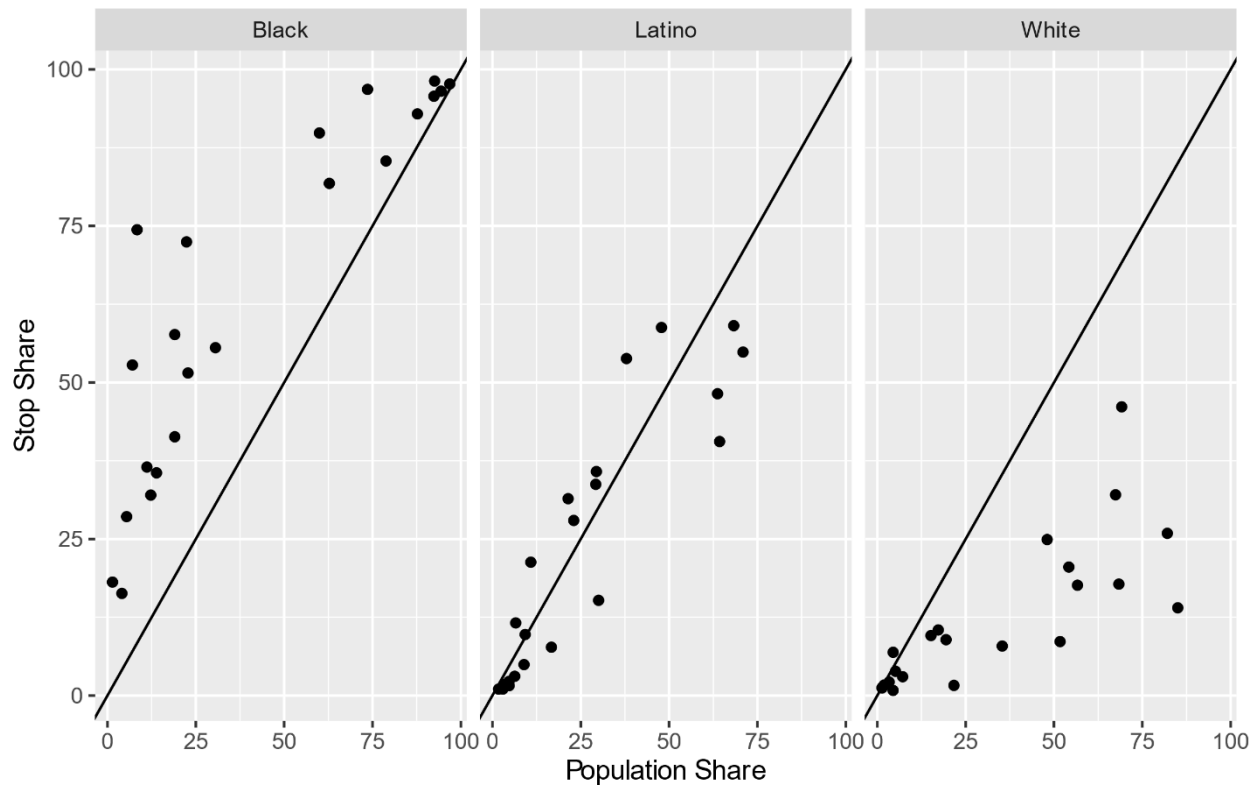


a. This figure reports the median number of annual stops, pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents by race/ethnicity. Observations at the police district-year level.

b. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.

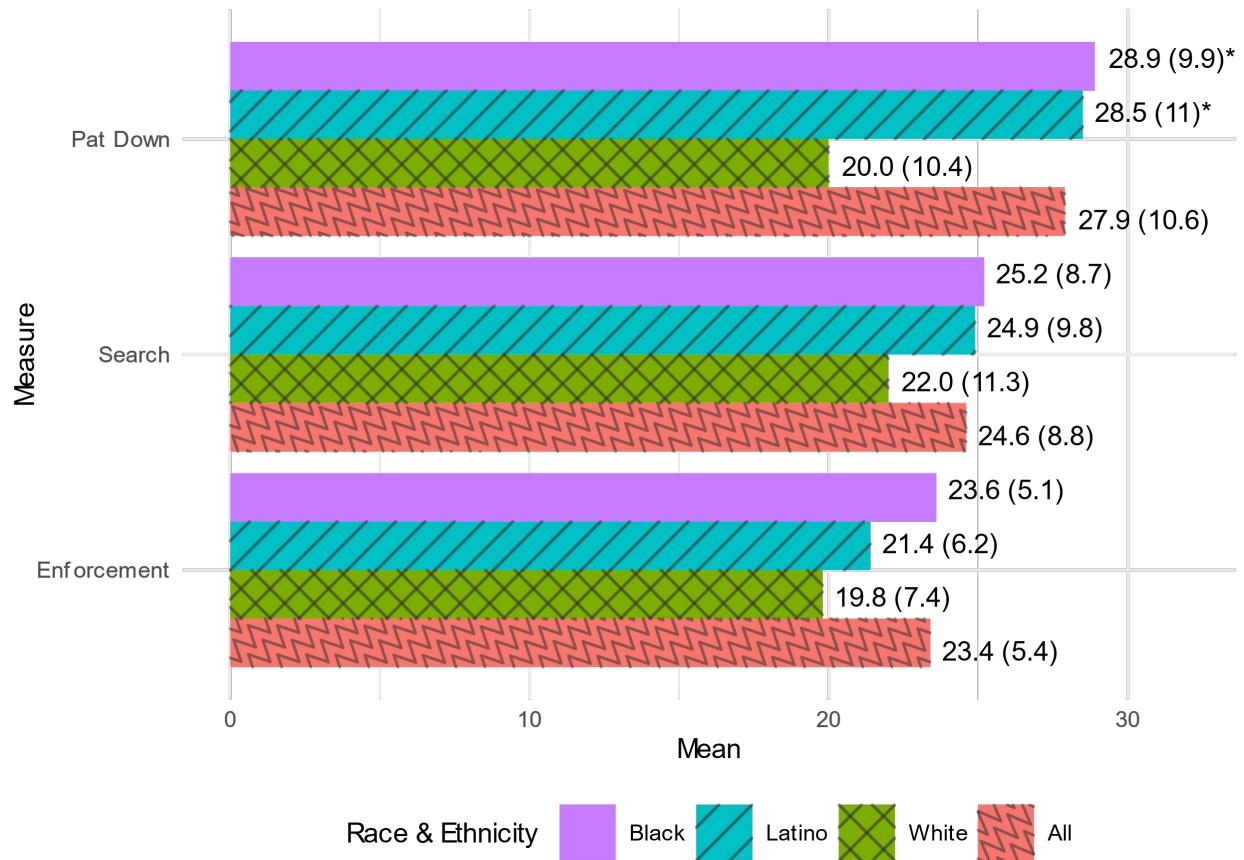
c. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

Figure 7: Racial/Ethnic Composition of Stops versus Residential Population, 2018–2019



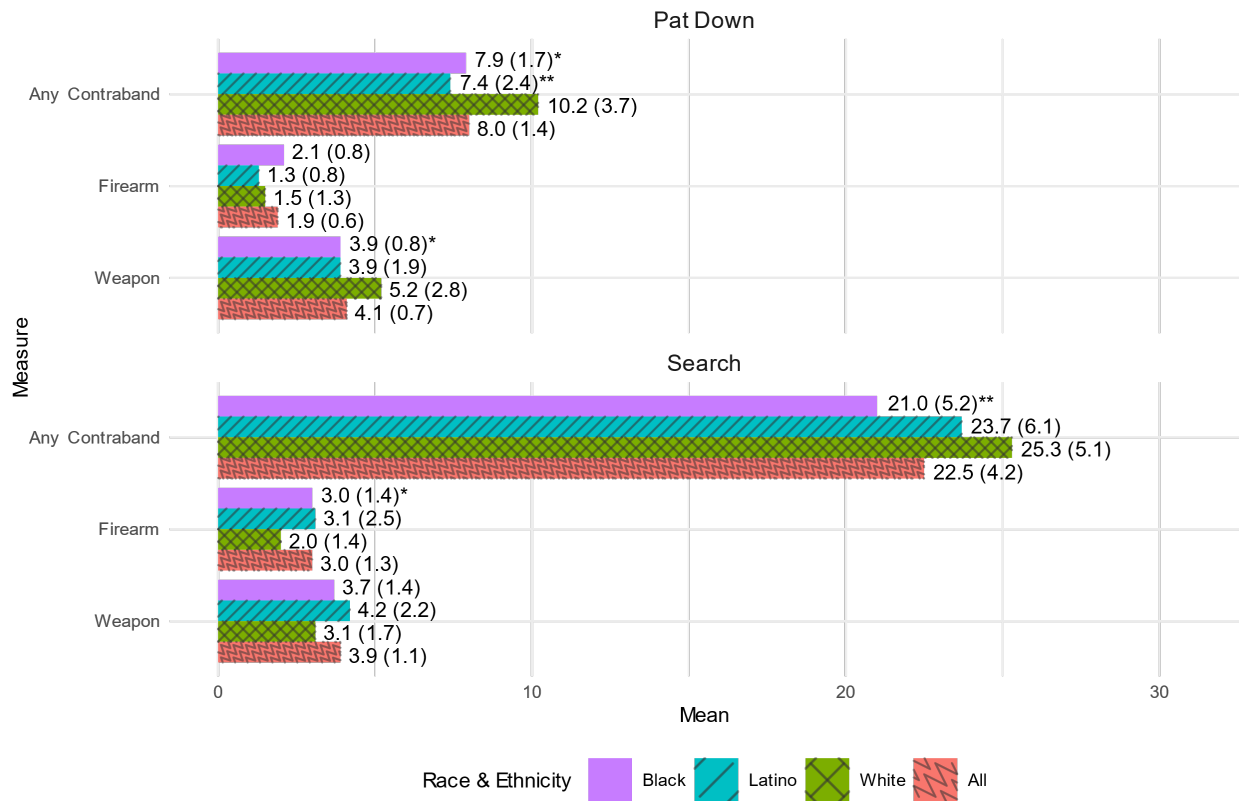
- a. Each panel in this figure plots the share of individuals stopped that are of the indicated race/ethnicity against the residential population share for each district. Observations are district-stop and population shares are averaged over 2018 and 2019.
- b. The 45-degree line represents equal population and stop share. If stops were made at random from the residential population all points will lie on this line.
- c. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

Figure 8: Post-Stop Police Actions by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019



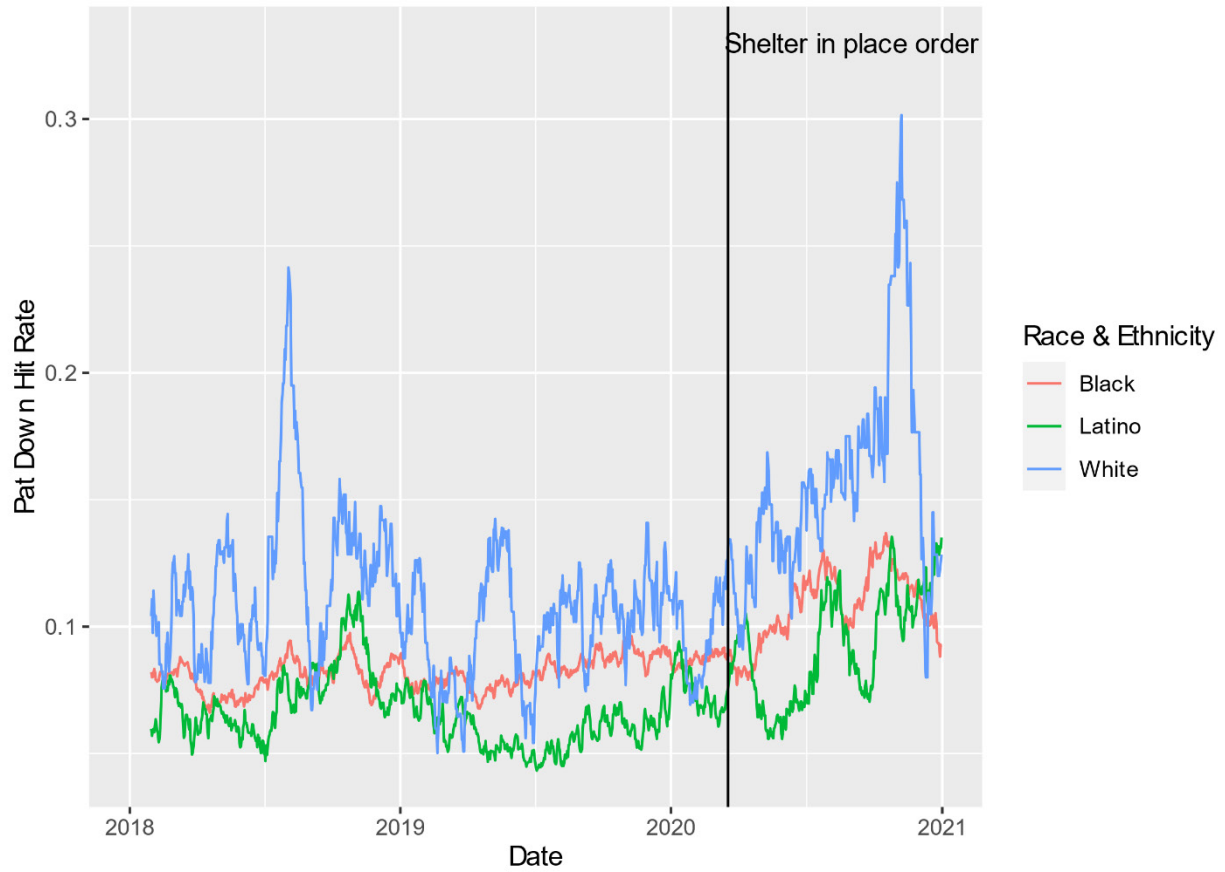
- a. This figure reports the mean (standard deviation) rate of pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions following stops by race/ethnicity. Observations at the police district-year level.
- b. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.
- c. T-tests performed to check for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups with p-value range indicated by number of stars. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
- d. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports

Figure 9: Hit Rates for Pat Downs and Searches by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019



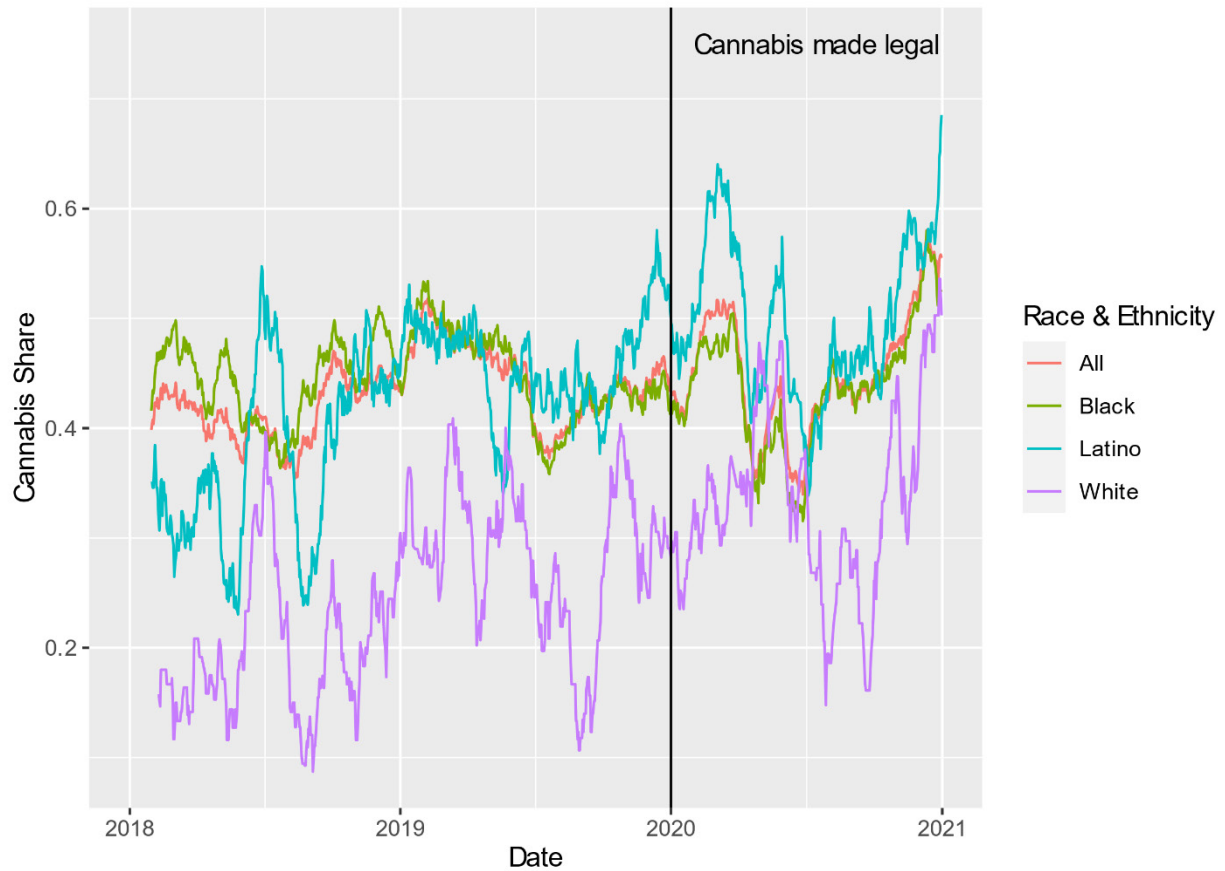
- a. This figure reports mean (standard deviation) hit rate for pat downs (top panel) and searches (bottom panel) by race/ethnicity. Hit rate is the fraction of pat downs or searches that result in the type of contraband indicated. Observations at the police district-year level.
- b. Weapons include firearms and other weapons.
- c. T-tests performed to check for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups with p-value range indicated by number of stars. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
- d. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

Figure 10: Pat Down Hit Rate by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2020



- a. For each date the average pat down hit rate over the past 30 days is plotted for each race/ethnicity
- b. Hit rate is the fraction of pat downs that result in contraband discovery.
- c. The vertical line indicates the date of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- d. Data source: 2018–2020 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

Figure 11: Cannabis Share of Contraband by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2020



- a. For each date, the average cannabis share of contraband for the prior 30 days is plotted by race/ethnicity.
- b. The vertical line indicates when recreational cannabis was made legal on January 1, 2020.
- c. Data source: 2018–2020 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

Table 1: Citywide Stops, Pat Downs, and Searches by Race/Ethnicity, 2016–2020

Race/Ethnicity	Annual Total				Daily Average			
	2016–2017	2018	2019	2020	2016–2017	2018	2019	2020
Stops								
All	106844	128728	155333	84916	292.7	352.7	425.6	232.6
Black	76753	89885	106296	57258	210.3	246.3	291.2	156.9
Latino	21513	27585	35468	20211	58.9	75.6	97.2	55.4
White	8578	11258	13569	7447	23.5	30.8	37.2	20.4
Pat Downs								
All		40998	45266	29108		112.3	124	79.7
Black		30831	33407	21231		84.5	91.5	58.2
Latino		8322	9905	6554		22.8	27.1	18
White		1845	1954	1323		5.1	5.4	3.6
Searches								
All		33435	44976	30976		91.6	123.2	84.9
Black		25089	33273	22573		68.7	91.2	61.8
Latino		6333	9423	6827		17.4	25.8	18.7
White		2013	2280	1576		5.5	6.2	4.3

a. Table shows the annual counts and daily average of stops, pat downs, and searches by year and race/ethnicity for the City of Chicago.

b. 2016–2017 annual counts are the average annual counts for 2016 and 2017.

c. Data sources: 2018–2020 CPD Investigatory Stops Reports. 2016–2017 stop counts come from the *October 17, 2019 Report*, available at <https://www.aclu-il.org/en/period-3-and-4-stop-and-frisk-report-cy2017>.

Table 2: Police Stop Action District-Level Summary Statistics by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Measure	<u>Mean</u>				<u>Median</u>				<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>
	All	Black	Latino	White	All	Black	Latino	White	All	All
Police actions by subject race/ethnicity per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents										
Stop	71.2 (57)	145.9 (80)	49.7 (28)	48.4 (72)	52.5	112.6	44.7	17.7	14.8	292.2
Pat Down	23.5 (29)	41.6 (29)	15.0 (14)	12.6 (25)	11.9	35.0	11.4	2.4	2.6	144.1
Search	20.8 (25)	35.8 (24)	13.0 (12)	16.0 (30)	10.7	28.7	9.6	2.4	1.4	129.7
Enforcement	17.1 (16)	34.3 (20)	10.4 (6)	11.5 (22)	11.9	27.2	9.5	3.4	4.0	61.0
Share of stops that result in:										
Pat Down	28.0 (11)	28.9 (10)	28.6 (11)	20.2 (11)	26.3	28.7	26.2	17.5	10.9	57.5
Search	24.5 (9)	25.1 (9)	24.7 (10)	22.1 (12)	25.1	23.4	24.3	21.4	7.4	44.4
Enforcement	23.6 (6)	23.8 (6)	21.9 (7)	20.0 (8)	23.9	23.8	21.4	18.6	11.5	38.4

a. The unit of observation for this table is a police district-year. The top panel reports stop, pat down, search, and enforcement rates per 1,000 same race/ethnicity residential population averaged across police districts and years, with standard deviations in parentheses. For example, the value in the second column of the top row is computed by averaging across districts the number of stops of Black individuals per 1,000 Black residents in each district. In addition to means and medians, minima and maxima are reported to better indicate the impact of outliers.

b. The bottom panel reports the share of stops with pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions.

c. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.

d. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

Table 3: Pat Down Hit Rates and Contraband Type by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of pat downs with hits for:					
Any Contraband	8.0	7.9	7.4	10.2	0.003
Firearm	1.9	2.1	1.3	1.5	0.032
Weapon	4.1	3.9	3.9	5.2	0.045
Contraband Share (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	51.1	50.6	52.2	51.8	0.951
Firearm	24.5	26.5	19.5	15.0	0.002
Other Weapon	26.7	24.1	33.0	37.2	0.059
Cannabis	26.4	25.8	25.8	7.7	0.000
Non-Cannabis	9.4	9.2	7.7	19.2	0.023
Controlled Substance					
Alcohol, Drug	8.6	9.2	8.5	14.4	0.045
Paraphernalia, Stolen Property					
Other	9.1	10.0	8.9	11.1	0.639

a. The top panel reports the mean hit rate for pat downs by race/ethnicity and type of contraband found. Observations at the police district-year level.

b. Hit rate is the fraction of pat downs that result in the type of contraband indicated.

c. p-values from F-tests run for equality of hit rates across all racial/ethnic groups are reported in last column. Values lower than 0.05 indicate statistically significant differences.

d. A pat down is a limited search during an investigatory stop in which the sworn member conducts a pat down of the outer clothing of a person for weapons for the protection of the sworn member or others in the area.

e. Bottom panel reports shares of different types of contraband by racial/ethnic group. Columns do not sum to 100 because multiple types of contraband may be discovered in a single pat down.

f. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

g. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

Table 4: Search Hit Rates and Contraband Type by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of searches with hits for:					
Any Contraband	22.5	21.0	23.7	25.3	0.037
Firearm	3.0	3.0	3.1	2.0	0.100
Weapon	3.9	3.7	4.2	3.1	0.136
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	17.5	17.9	18.3	12.4	0.030
Firearm	13.5	14.4	13.7	8.0	0.022
Other Weapon	4.1	3.6	4.7	4.6	0.702
Cannabis	48.8	48.4	50.6	34.7	0.000
Non-Cannabis	20.2	20.2	17.0	36.1	0.000
Controlled Substance					
Alcohol, Drug	21.2	20.5	22.9	24.8	0.474
Paraphernalia, Stolen Property					
Other	4.3	4.2	3.6	4.6	0.558

a. The top panel reports the mean hit rate for searches by race/ethnicity and type of contraband found. Observations at the police district-year level.

b. Hit rate is the fraction of searches that result in the type of contraband indicated.

c. P-values from F-tests run for equality of hit rates across all racial/ethnic groups are reported in last column. Values lower than 0.05 indicate statistically significant differences.

d. A search is more intrusive than a pat down and requires probable cause or consent.

e. Bottom panel reports shares of different types of contraband by racial/ethnic group. Columns do not sum to 100 because multiple types of contraband may be discovered in a single search.

f. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

g. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

Table 5: Reported Reasonable Articulate Suspicion Reasons for Stops by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Reason	Checkbox Rate				F-test p-value
	All	Black	Latino	White	
Drug Transaction	6.2	7.7	2.2	4.7	0.000
Casing Victim or Location	1.8	1.5	2.1	3.2	0.000
Fits Flash Message Description	6.7	6.7	6.8	5.9	0.000
Fits Description of Offender	14.0	14.1	13.1	15.8	0.000
Proximity to Recorded Crime	15.8	15.7	16.2	15.4	0.005
Gang/Narcotic Related Enforcement	7.8	8.7	6.7	3.4	0.000
Other	35.3	34.1	38.7	35.8	0.000
Boxes checked					
0 boxes checked	43.0	42.9	43.0	44.4	0.000
>1 boxes checked	21.2	21.8	19.6	19.9	0.000

a. Top panel reports the percentage of investigatory stop reports (ISRs) of indicated racial/ethnic group for which officers checked the rationale for the stop indicated in that row. Bottom panel reports the share of ISRs that have zero checkboxes chosen and those with multiple checkboxes chosen.

b. The final column reports p-values from F-tests run to check that there is no difference by race/ethnicity in the rate the given stop reason is checked. P-values less than 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference.

c. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports. N=284,061 stops

Table 6: Reported Reasonable Articulable Suspicion Reasons for Pat Downs by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

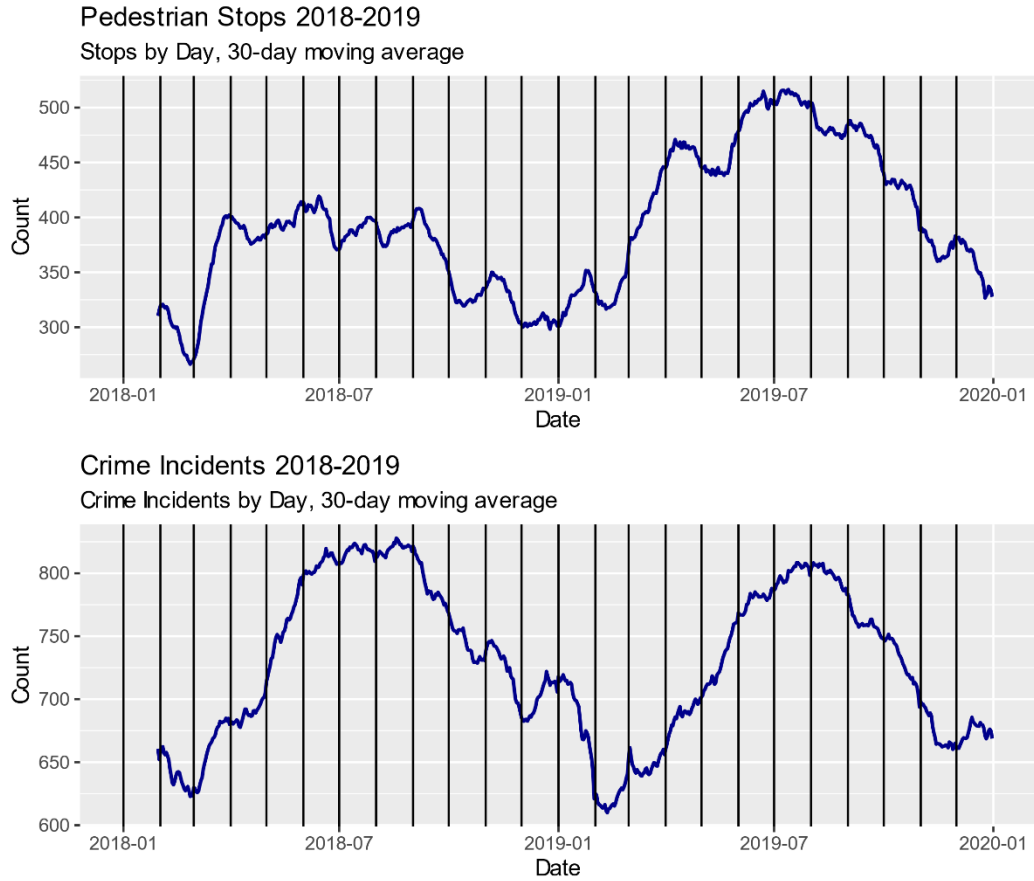
Reason	Checkbox Rate				F-test p-value
	All	Black	Latino	White	
Verbal Threats	1.8	1.8	1.7	3.4	0.000
Knowledge of Suspect Prior Behavior	8.0	7.2	10.9	7.5	0.000
Actions Indicating Engaging in Violent Behavior	8.3	7.9	9.1	10.8	0.000
Violent Crime Suspected	13.4	13.0	14.7	13.0	0.000
Suspicious Bulge or Object	35.1	35.5	34.2	33.0	0.000
Other Reasonable Suspicion of Weapon	58.2	57.5	61.6	53.4	0.000
Boxes checked					
0 boxes checked	11.3	12.0	8.6	11.6	0.000
>1 boxes checked	28.7	28.0	31.7	25.9	0.000

a. Top panel reports the percentage of investigatory stop reports (ISRs) of indicated racial/ethnic group for which officers checked the rationale for the pat down indicated in that row. Bottom panel reports the share of ISRs that have zero checkboxes chosen and those with multiple checkboxes chosen.

b. The final column reports p-values from F-tests run to check that there is no difference by race/ethnicity in the rate the given stop reason is checked. P-values less than 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference.

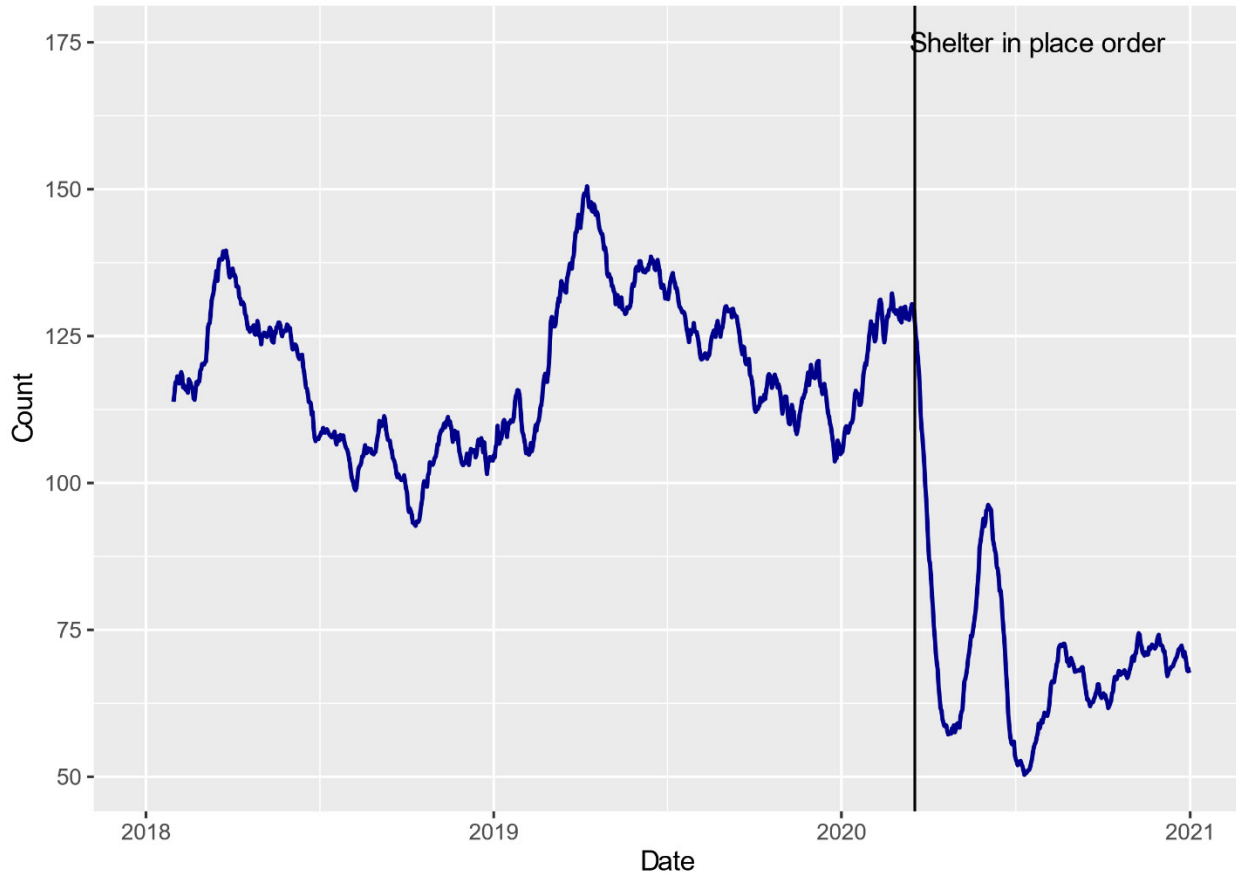
c. Data source: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports. N=86,264 pat downs

Appendix Figure 1: Comparison of Crime Incidents and Investigatory Stop Trends, 2018–2019



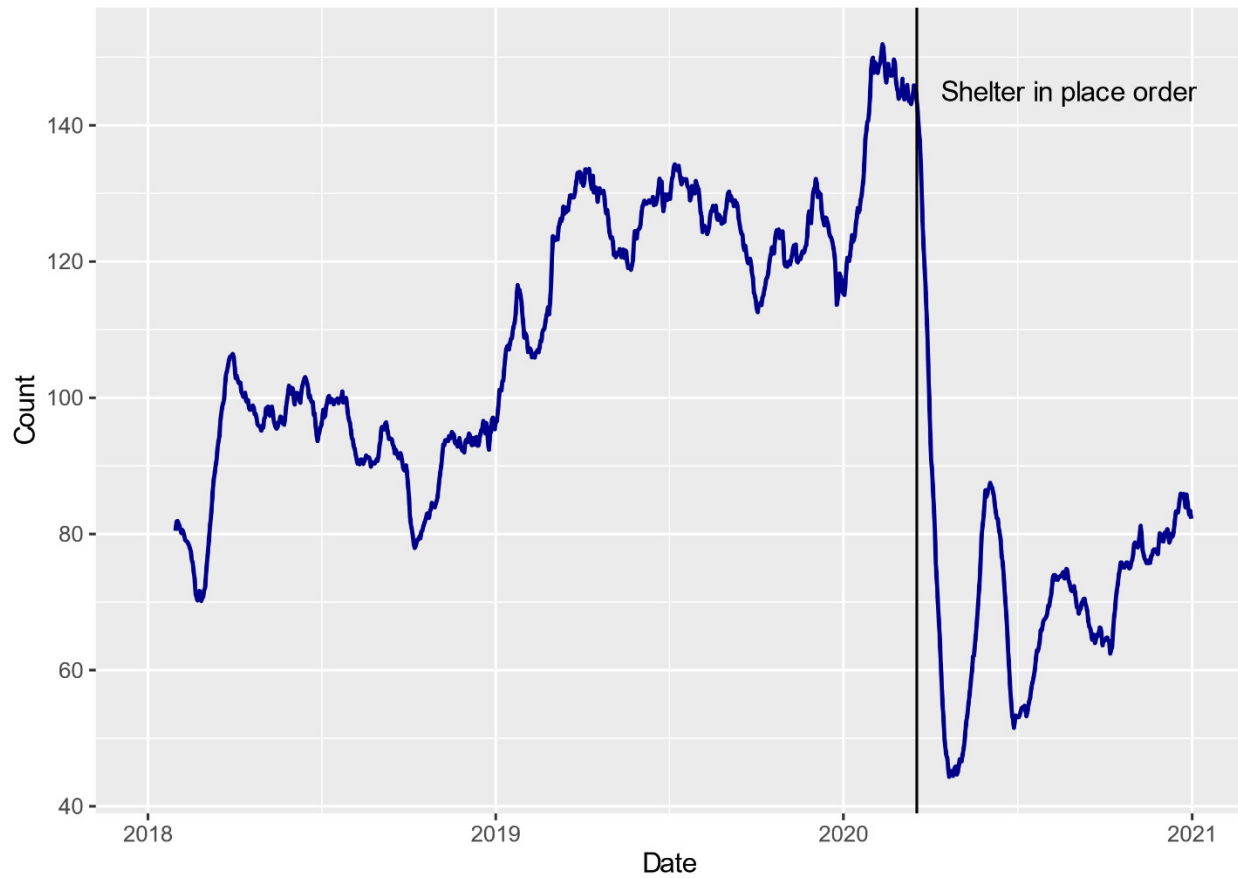
- a. The top panel displays the moving average of number of Investigatory stops for the prior 30 days. The bottom panel displays the moving average for the number of crime incidents for the prior 30 days.
- b. Vertical lines are monthly markers for guiding comparisons.
- c. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 2018–2019 crime incidents from the Chicago Data Portal.

Appendix Figure 2: Chicago Investigative Police Pat Down Time Trend 2018–2020
Pat Downs by Day, 30-day moving average



- a. For each date the average number of Investigatory pat downs over the past 30 days is computed and plotted on the y-axis.
- b. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- c. Data source: 2018–2020 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports.

Appendix Figure 3: Chicago Investigatory Police Search Time Trend 2018–2020
Searches by Day, 30-day moving average



- a. For each date the average number of Investigatory searches over the past 30 days is computed and plotted on the y-axis.
- b. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- c. Data: 2018–2020 investigatory stops.

Appendix Figure 4: Chicago Investigatory Police Stop Trends by Race/Ethnicity 2018–2020
Stops by Day and Race/Ethnicity, 30-day moving average



- a. For each date the average number of Investigatory stops over the past 30 days is computed and plotted on the y-axis.
- b. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- c. Data: 2018–2020 investigatory stops.

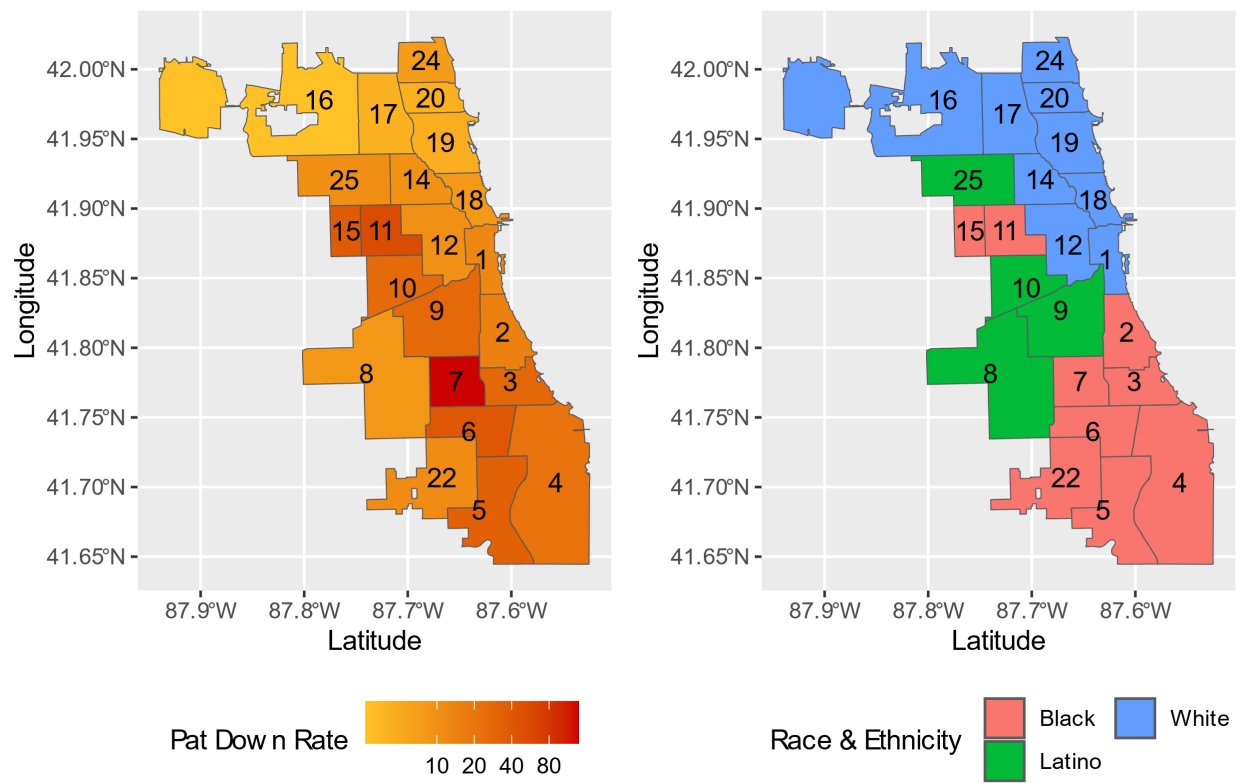
Appendix Figure 5: Chicago Investigative Police Pat Down Rate Trends by Race/Ethnicity 2018–2020

Pat Down Rates by Day and Race/Ethnicity, 30-day moving average



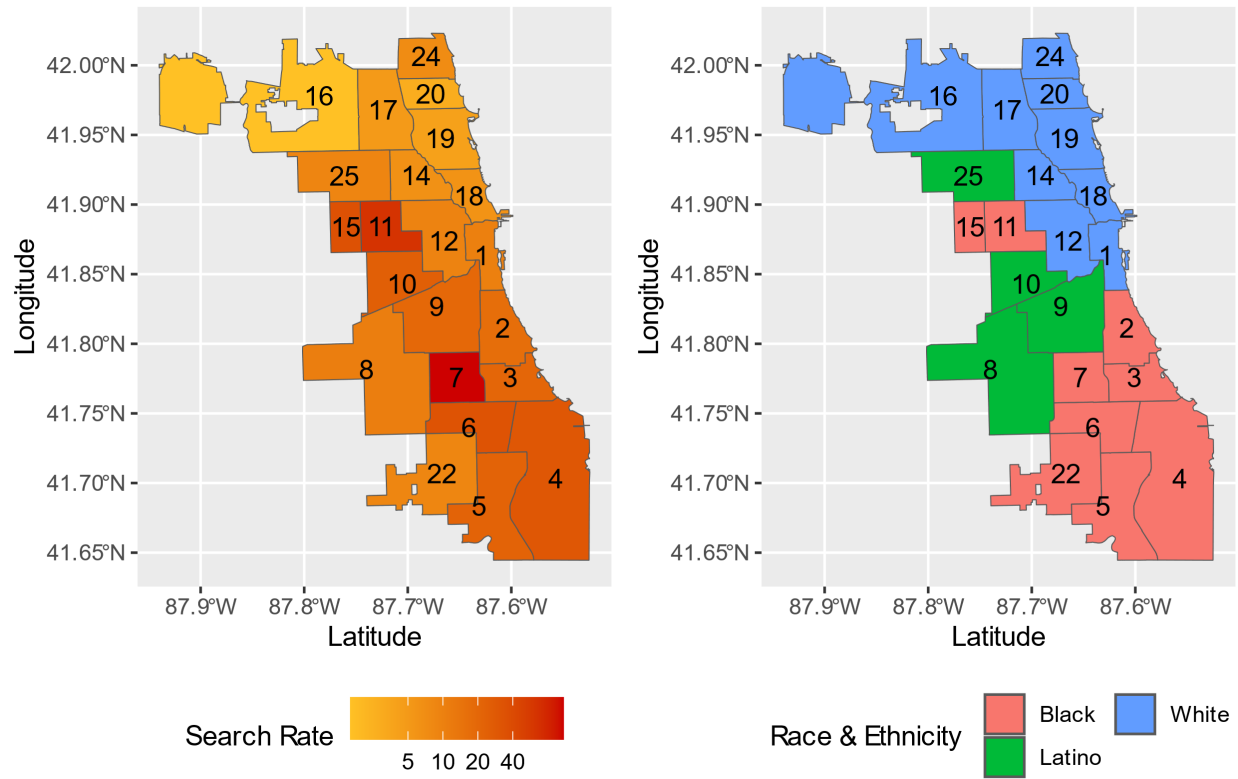
- The figure displays the moving average for the rate of pat downs for stops by race/ethnicity for the prior 30 days.
- The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- Data: 2018–2020 investigatory stops.

Appendix Figure 6: Pat Downs Rates Per 1,000 Residents & Majority Race/Ethnicity by Police District



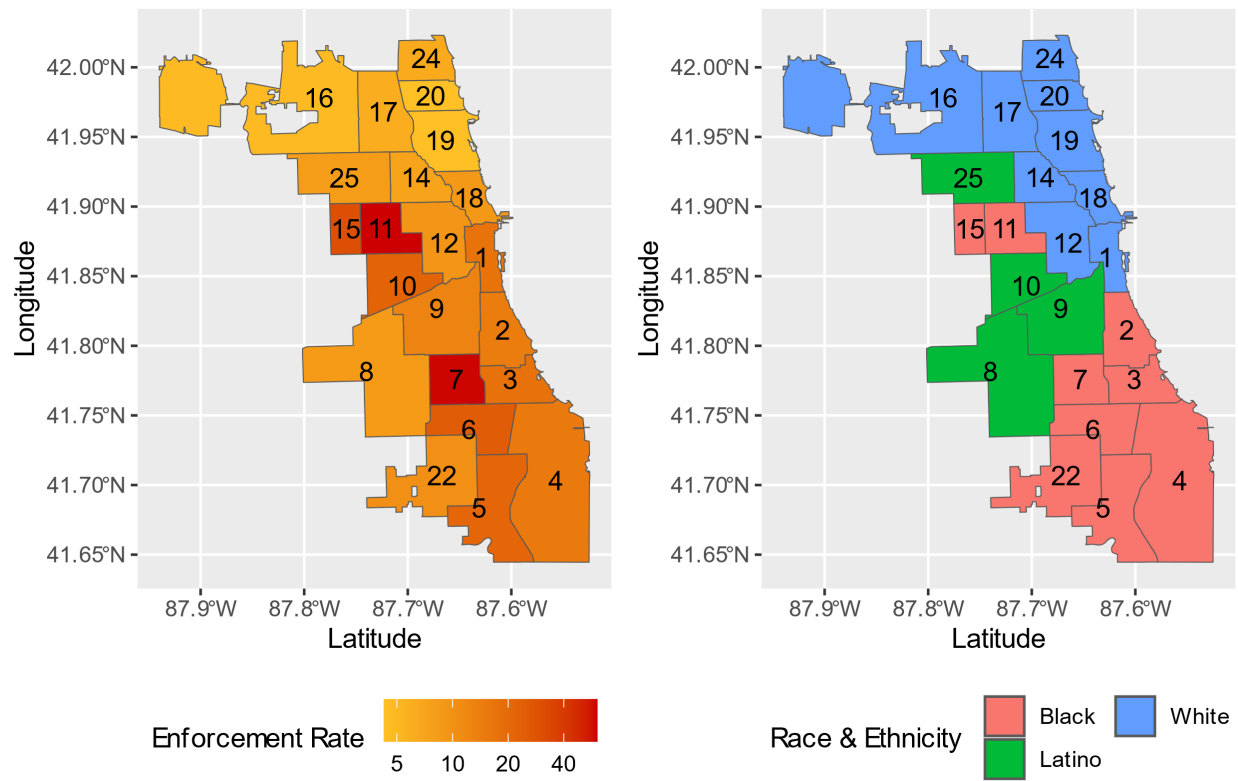
- a. The map on the left-hand side displays the mean annual number of pat downs per 1,000 residents for each police district. The map on the right-hand side displays the majority race/ethnicity group for each police district.
- b. Areas not incorporated into the City of Chicago are dropped from the map.
- c. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

Appendix Figure 7: Search Rates Per 1,000 Residents & Majority Race/Ethnicity by Police District



- a. The map on the left-hand side displays the mean annual number of searches per 1,000 residents for each police district. The map on the right-hand side displays the majority race/ethnicity group for each police district.
- b. Areas not incorporated into the City of Chicago are dropped from the map.
- c. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

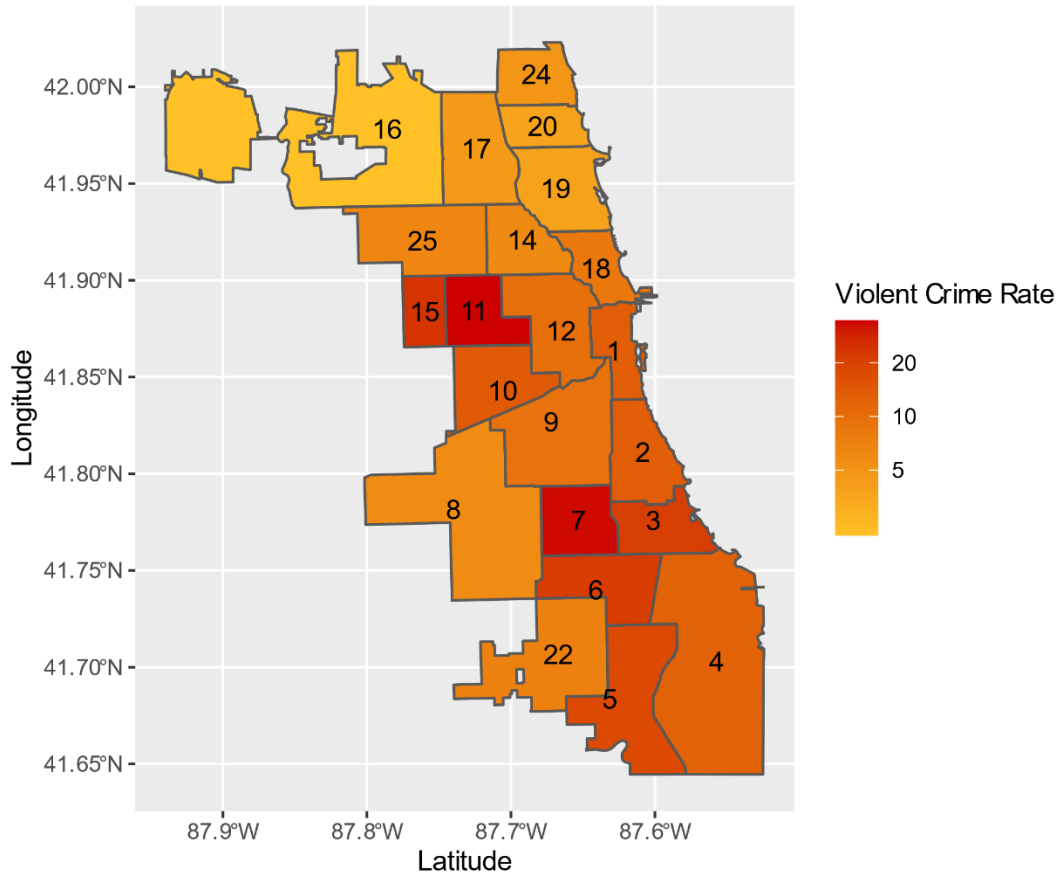
Appendix Figure 8: Enforcement Actions Per 1,000 Residents & Majority Race/Ethnicity by Police District



- a. The map on the left-hand side displays the mean annual number of enforcement actions per 1,000 residents for each police district. The map on the right-hand side displays the majority race/ethnicity group for each police district.
- b. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.
- c. Areas not incorporated into the City of Chicago are dropped from the map.
- d. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

Appendix Figure 9: Violent Crime Rate By Police District, 2018–2019

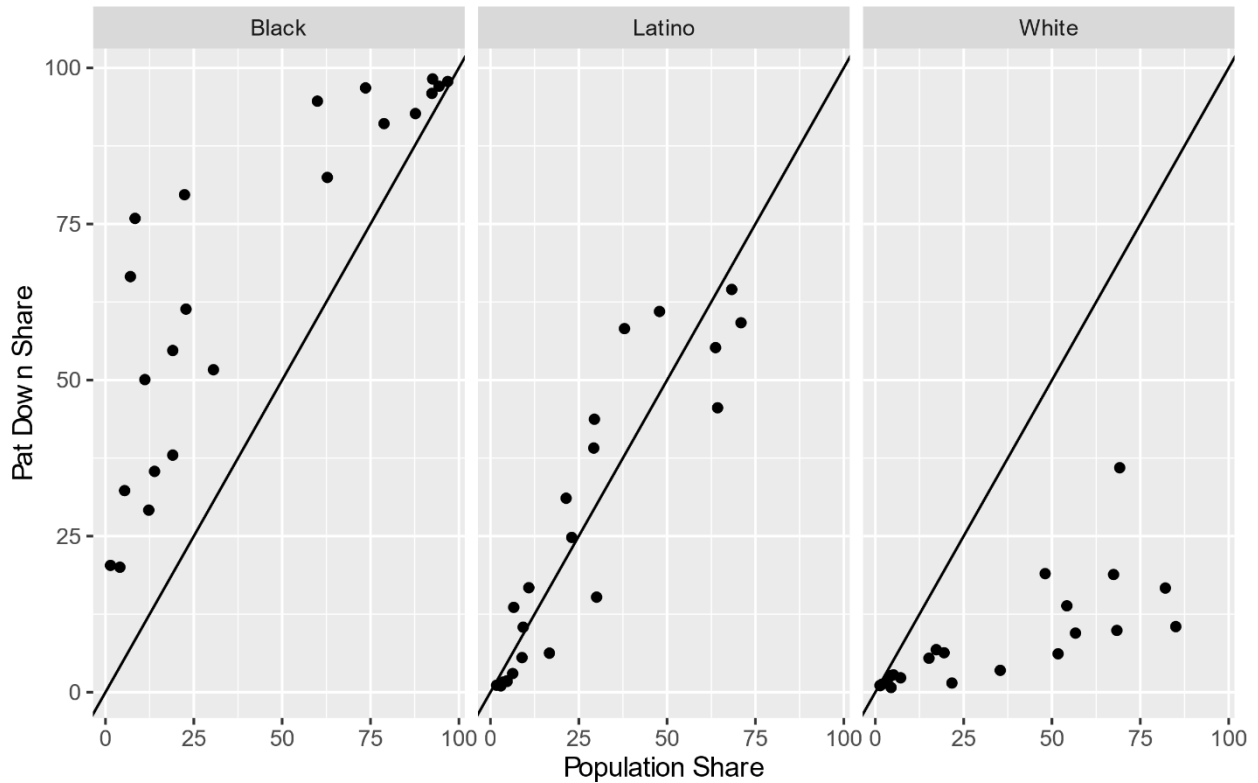
Violent Crime Rates per 1,000 residents



- a. Map displays the mean annual number of crime incidents per 1,000 residents for each police district. Number labels show the corresponding police district.
- b. Violent crimes include: homicides, manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault with a firearm, and aggravated assault with a knife or cutting weapon.
- c. Areas not incorporated into the City of Chicago are dropped from the map.
- d. Data: 2018–2019 crime incidents from the Chicago Data Portal.

Appendix Figure 10: Racial/Ethnic Composition of Pat Downs versus Residential Population, 2018–2019

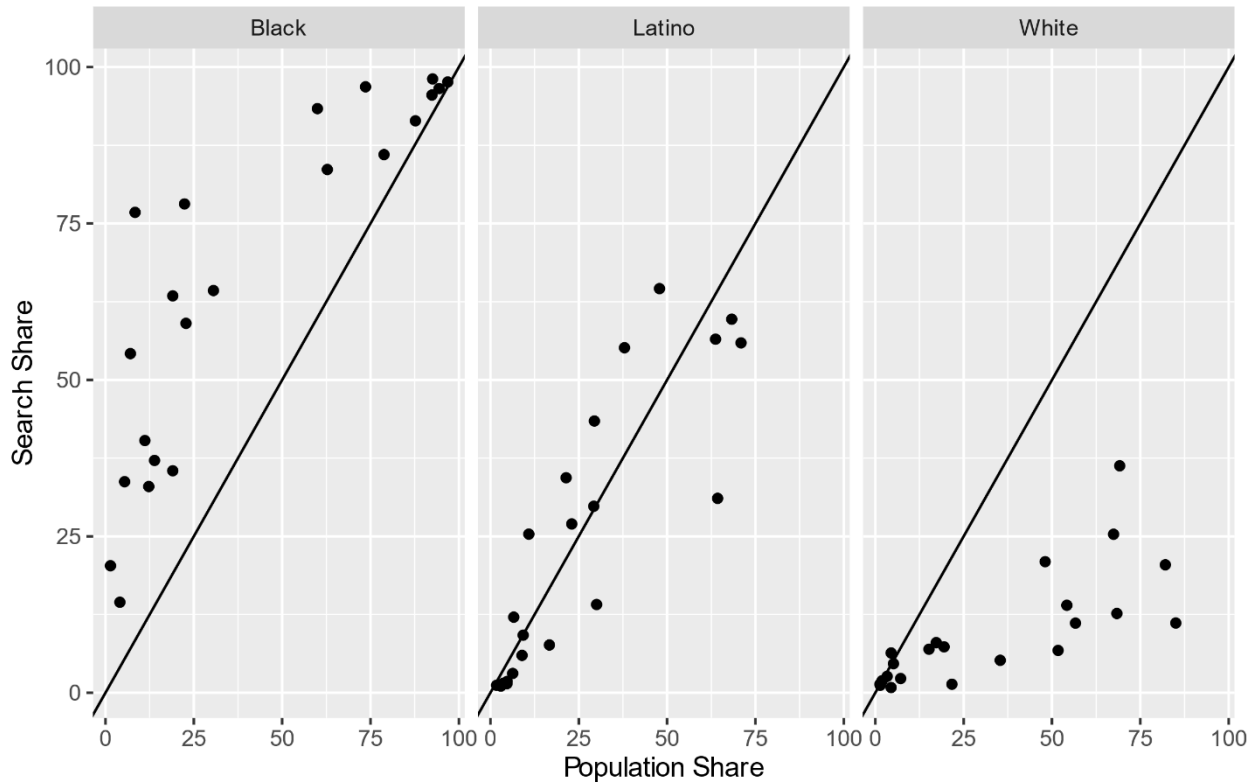
Population Share Versus Pat Down Share By Race/Ethnicity



- a. Figure compares the population share versus pat down share by race/ethnicity for each district. Each point is a district. The x-axis shows the size of the racial/ethnic group within a district and the y-axis shows the share of pat down that the racial group accounts for within the district.
- b. The 45-degree line represents equal population and pat down share. Points near the line indicate that the population share is similar to the pat down share by race/ethnicity.
- c. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 2015–2019 ACS Estimates.

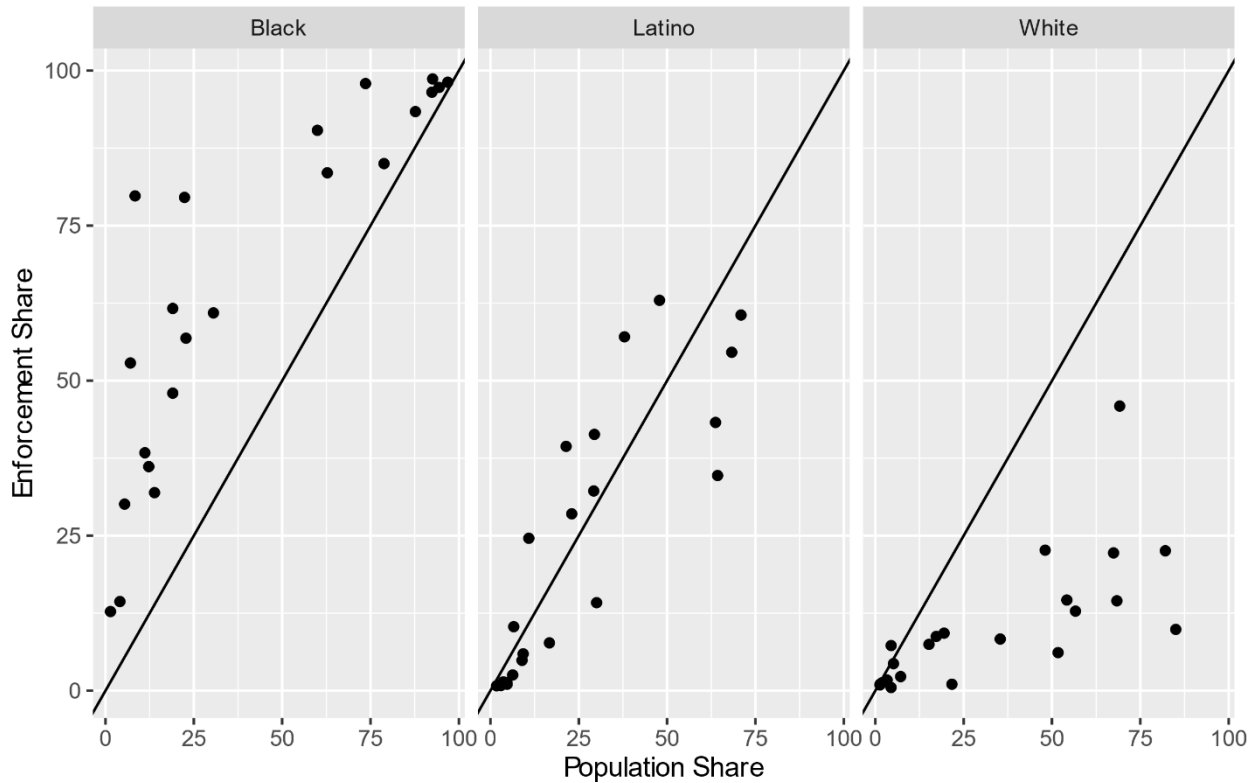
Appendix Figure 11: Racial/Ethnic Composition of Searches versus Residential Population, 2018–2019

Population Share Versus Search Share By Race/Ethnicity



- a. Figure compares the population share versus search share by race/ethnicity for each district. Each point is a district. The x-axis shows the size of the racial/ethnic group within a district and the y-axis shows the share of search that the racial group accounts for within the district.
- b. The 45-degree line represents equal population and search share. Points near the line indicate that the population share is similar to the search share by race/ethnicity.
- c. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 2015–2019 ACS Estimates.

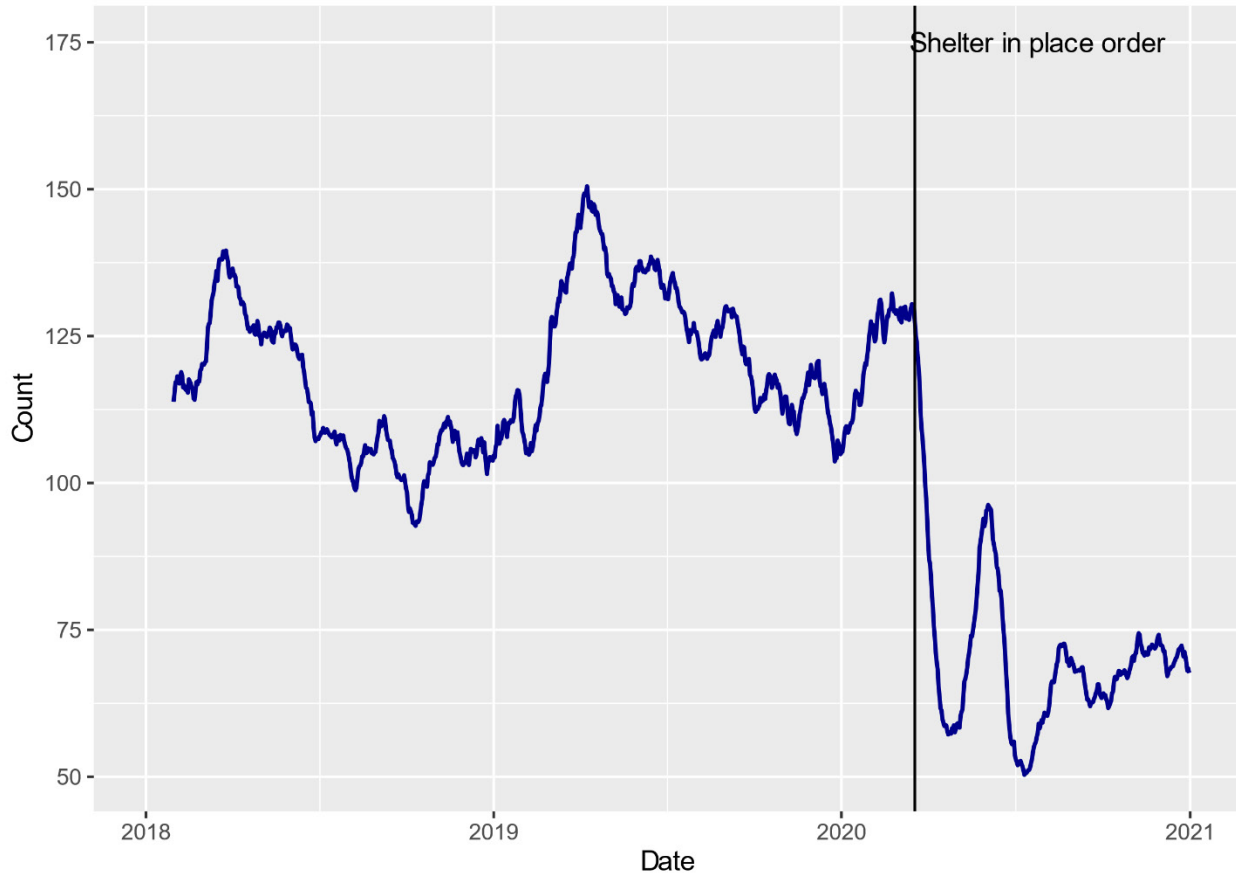
Appendix Figure 12: Racial/Ethnic Composition of Enforcement versus Residential Population, 2018–2019
 Population Share Versus Enforcement Share By Race/Ethnicity



- a. Figure compares the population share versus enforcement share by race/ethnicity for each district. Each point is a district. The x-axis shows the size of the racial group within a district and the y-axis shows the share of enforcement actions that the racial/ethnic group accounts for within the district.
- b. The 45-degree line represents equal population and enforcement share. Points near the line indicate that the population share is similar to the enforcement share by race/ethnicity.
- c. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 2015–2019 ACS Estimates.

Appendix Figure 13: Pat Down Time Trend 2018–2020

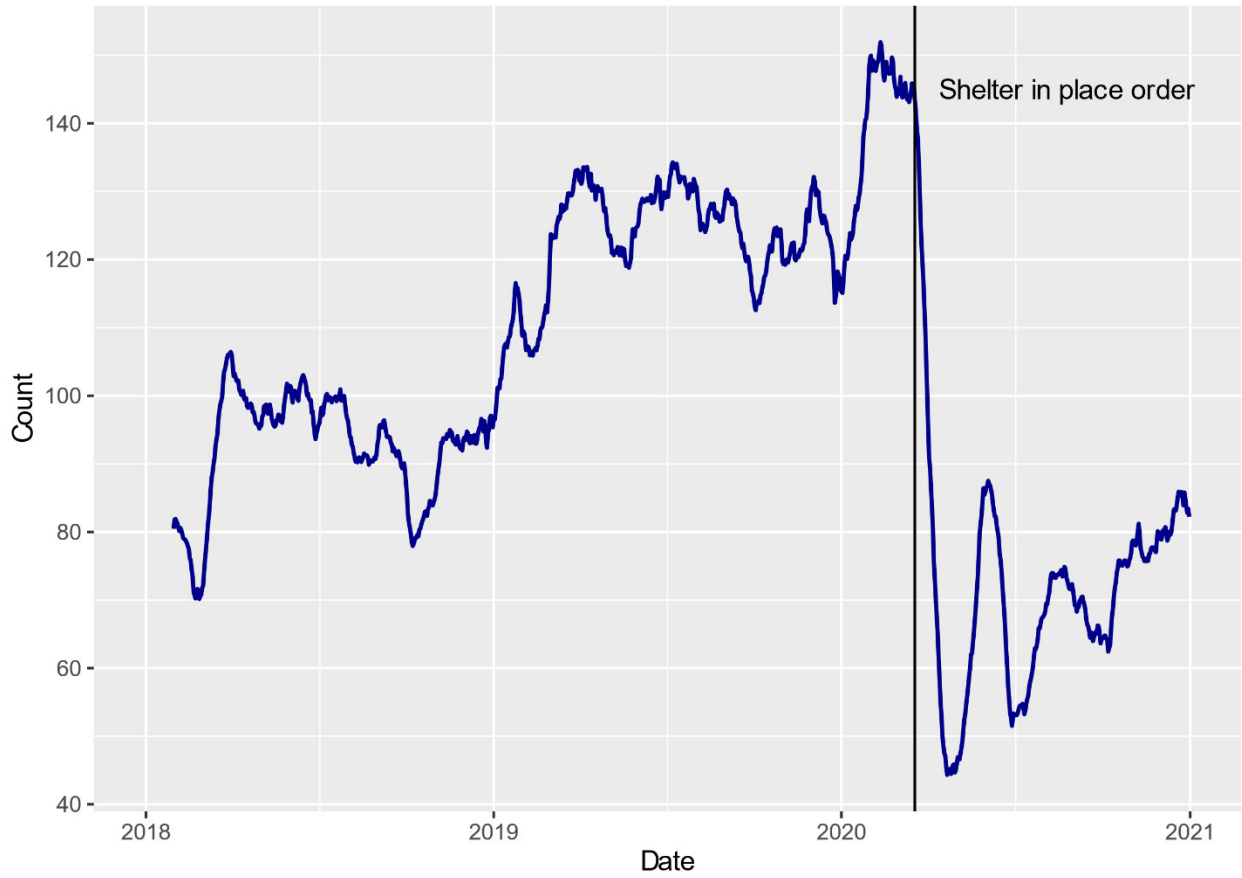
Pat Downs by Day, 30-day moving average



- a. The figure displays the moving average of pat downs for the prior 30 days.
- b. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- c. Data: 2018–2020 investigatory stops.

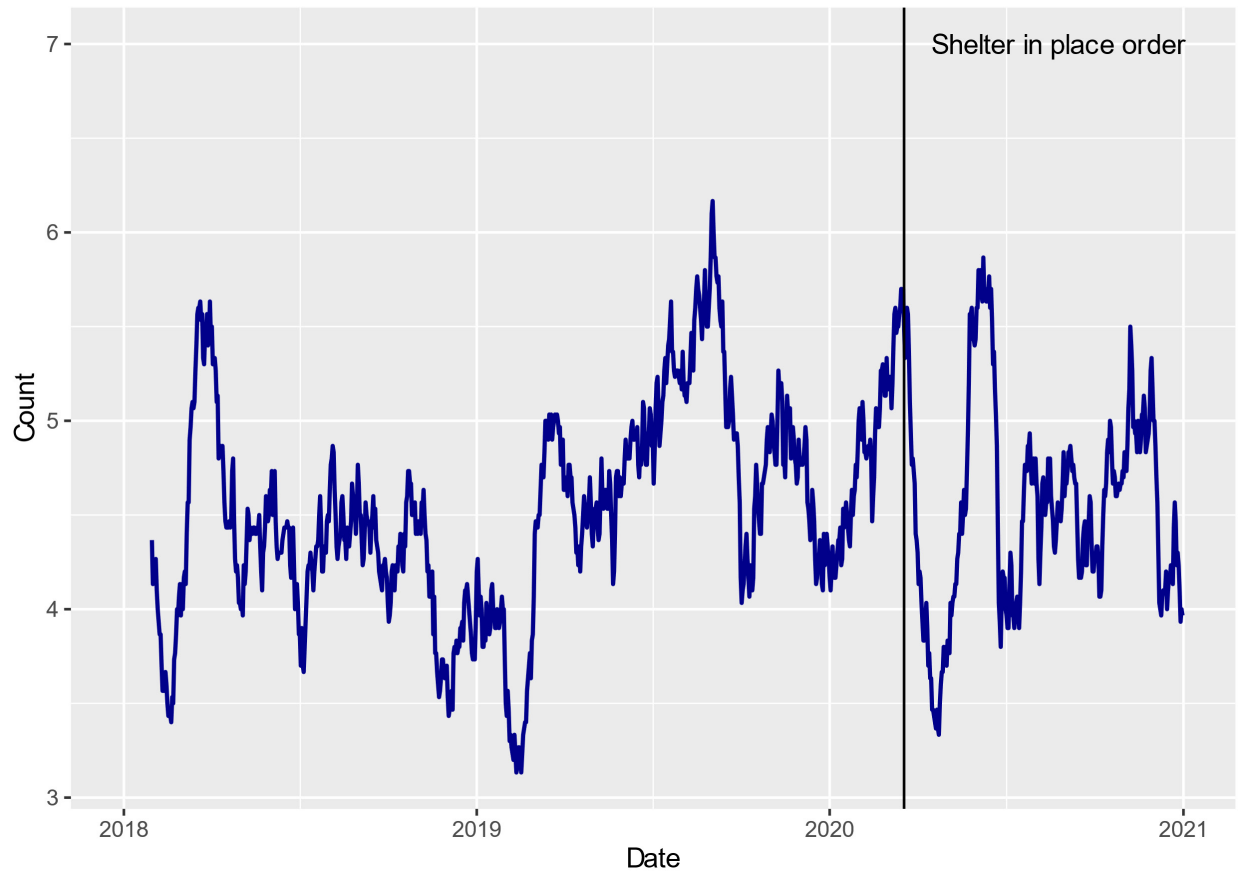
Appendix Figure 14: Search Time Trend 2018–2020

Searches by Day, 30-day moving average



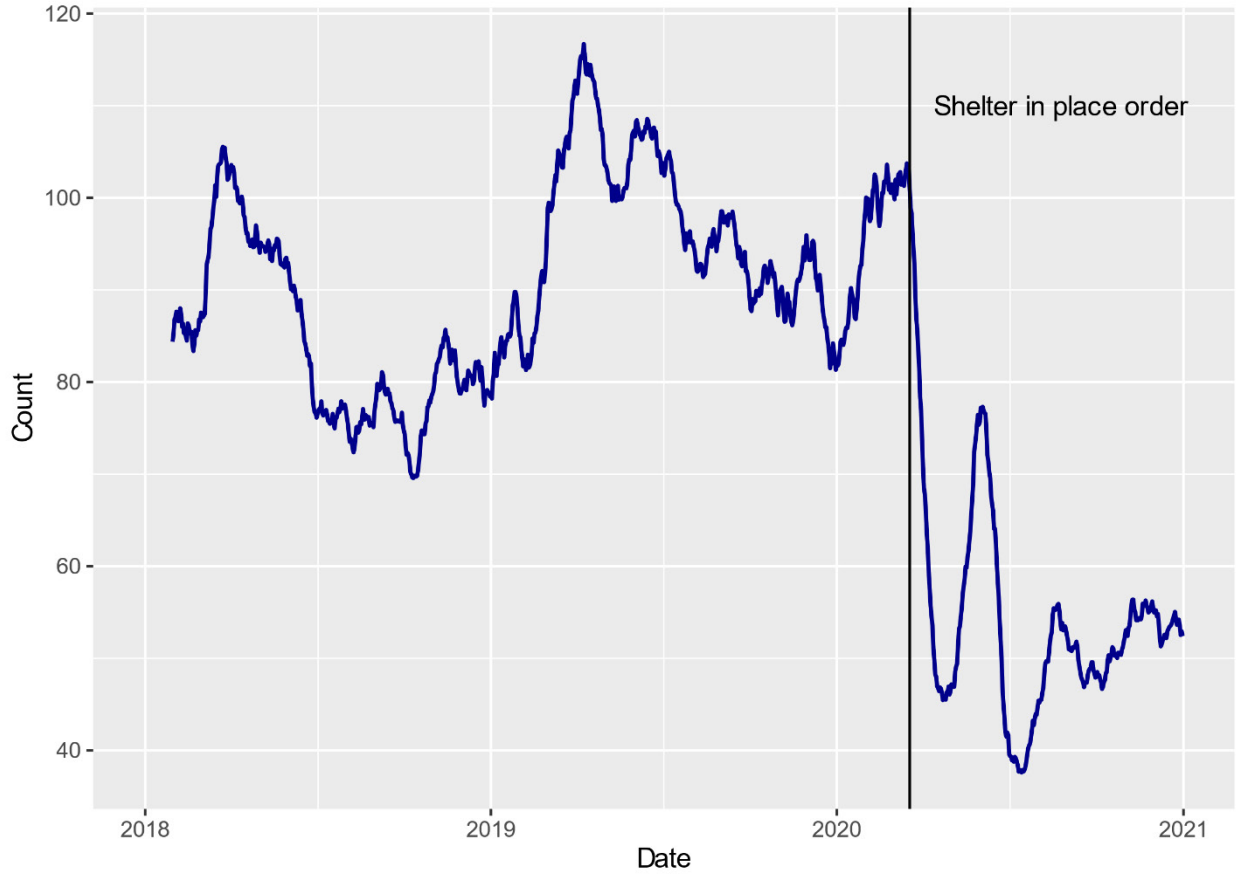
- a. The figure displays the moving average of searches for the prior 30 days.
- b. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- c. Data: 2018–2020 investigatory stops.

Appendix Figure 15: Weapon discovery for pat downs or searches, 2018–2020



- a. The figure displays the moving average of weapon discoveries for pat downs or searches for the prior 30 days.
- b. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- c. Data: 2018–2020 investigatory stops.

Appendix Figure 16: Pat downs with no enforcement action, 2018–2020



- a. The figure displays the moving average of pat downs with no enforcement actions for the prior 30 days.
- b. The vertical line indicates the beginning of the shelter in place order on March 18, 2020.
- c. Data: 2018–2020 investigatory stops.

Appendix Table 1: Police Stop Action District-Level Summary Statistics by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Measure	<u>Mean</u>				<u>Median</u>				<u>Min</u>	<u>Max</u>
	All	Black	Latino	White	All	Black	Latino	White	All	All
Police actions by subject race/ethnicity per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents										
Stop	71.2 (57)	145.9 (80)	49.7 (28)	48.4 (72)	52.5	112.6	44.7	17.7	14.8	292.2
Pat Down	23.5 (29)	41.6 (29)	15.0 (14)	12.6 (25)	11.9	35.0	11.4	2.4	2.6	144.1
Search	20.8 (25)	35.8 (24)	13.0 (12)	16.0 (30)	10.7	28.7	9.6	2.4	1.4	129.7
Enforcement	17.1 (16)	34.3 (20)	10.4 (6)	11.5 (22)	11.9	27.2	9.5	3.4	4.0	61.0
Share of stops that result in:										
Pat Down	28.0 (11)	28.9 (10)	28.6 (11)	20.2 (11)	26.3	28.7	26.2	17.5	10.9	57.5
Search	24.5 (9)	25.1 (9)	24.7 (10)	22.1 (12)	25.1	23.4	24.3	21.4	7.4	44.4
Enforcement	23.6 (6)	23.8 (6)	21.9 (7)	20.0 (8)	23.9	23.8	21.4	18.6	11.5	38.4

a. The unit of observation for this table is a police district-year. The top panel reports stop, pat down, search, and enforcement rates per 1,000 same race/ethnicity residential population averaged across police districts and years, with standard deviations in parentheses. For example, the value in the second column of the top row is computed by averaging across districts the number of stops of Black individuals per 1,000 Black residents in each district. In addition to means and medians, minima and maxima are reported to better indicate the impact of outliers.

b. The bottom panel reports the share of stops with pat downs, searches, and enforcement actions.

c. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.

d. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stop Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

Appendix Table 2: Pat Downs Per 1,000 Same-Race/Ethnicity Residential Population at the District Level 2018–2019

District	Black	Latino	White	All
1	44.7	14.1	1.8	9.7
2	19.7	5.5	1.0	13.4
3	30.6	9.9	4.9	28.0
4	28.8	11.1	7.1	21.7
5	33.7	14.6	22.1	32.2
6	42.8	26.9	32.2	41.7
7	144.0	65.8	114.9	136.9
8	16.7	7.2	3.3	8.2
9	64.6	25.6	8.8	21.6
10	45.5	19.1	14.6	26.7
11	61.8	20.0	31.8	52.2
12	28.7	13.3	1.2	8.8
14	56.4	14.5	1.6	8.8
15	40.1	23.5	20.0	37.6
16	38.3	4.0	1.4	2.4
17	19.4	5.1	1.6	3.3
18	74.2	16.9	1.0	7.0
19	43.4	7.1	0.9	4.2
20	18.8	6.1	1.2	3.4
22	17.8	4.4	1.1	11.0
24	19.2	7.7	1.8	5.8
25	26.1	8.6	3.7	9.9
Results				
Mean Across Districts By Race/Ethnicity	41.6	15.0	12.6	22.5
T-test p-value	0.00	0.57		

a. Table shows the mean annual pat down rates per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents by district. The bottom panel checks for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups.

b. T-tests compare the mean in pat down rates for Black people versus White people and Latino people versus White people. P-values below 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference between the groups.

c. Units of observation are the combinations of district and year.

d. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

Appendix Table 3: Searches Per 1,000 Same-Race/Ethnicity Residential Population at the District Level 2018–2019

District	Black	Latino	White	All
1	36.3	10.3	1.9	8.0
2	21.9	6.4	1.0	14.9
3	22.2	7.6	3.9	20.4
4	40.3	14.2	9.6	30.0
5	22.7	9.1	22.1	21.8
6	33.5	22.6	28.5	32.7
7	113.4	53.6	114.9	108.2
8	20.6	9.8	5.1	10.8
9	52.4	17.0	7.4	15.5
10	52.4	12.0	22.5	24.7
11	70.3	29.4	91.4	62.9
12	31.6	9.7	1.2	8.4
14	39.9	9.3	1.3	5.9
15	36.6	23.4	27.5	34.8
16	22.9	2.4	0.8	1.5
17	17.3	6.6	2.1	4.1
18	56.2	11.2	0.8	5.2
19	31.2	9.5	1.0	3.7
20	10.4	4.6	1.1	2.4
22	13.7	2.7	1.3	8.6
24	18.9	8.5	1.9	5.9
25	23.8	7.0	4.1	8.6
Results				
Mean Across Districts By Race/Ethnicity	35.8	13.0	16.0	20.0
T-test p-value	0.00	0.55		

a. Table shows the annual search rates per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents by district. The bottom panel checks for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups.

b. T-tests compare the mean in search rates for Black people versus White people and Latino people versus White people. P-values below 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference between the groups.

c. Units of observation are the combinations of district and year.

d. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

Appendix Table 4: Enforcement Actions Per 1,000 Same-Race/Ethnicity Residential Population at the District Level 2018–2019

District	Black	Latino	White	All
1	61.5	11.1	3.7	13.4
2	19.5	3.2	0.7	13.1
3	18.9	5.0	2.0	17.2
4	20.3	7.2	4.9	15.2
5	22.2	8.3	14.4	21.1
6	25.2	11.3	19.3	24.5
7	62.3	24.0	42.4	58.9
8	21.4	5.8	4.3	8.3
9	38.8	10.5	6.3	10.5
10	44.9	12.1	19.1	22.3
11	65.5	28.0	98.7	59.3
12	31.0	10.5	1.1	8.5
14	40.0	10.8	1.6	6.7
15	32.2	16.5	15.5	30.0
16	44.1	6.9	3.2	4.5
17	21.6	8.1	2.9	5.2
18	86.4	14.2	1.1	7.7
19	32.6	9.8	1.2	3.9
20	14.7	7.8	1.4	3.5
22	15.6	2.9	2.4	10.1
24	16.0	8.0	1.7	5.2
25	19.1	7.1	4.1	8.0
Results				
Mean Across Districts By Race/Ethnicity	34.3	10.4	11.5	16.2
T-test p-value	0.00	0.76		

a. Table shows the annual enforcement action rates per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents by district. The bottom panel checks for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups.

b. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.

c. T-tests compare the mean in enforcement action rates for Black people versus White people and Latino people versus White people. P-values below 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference between the groups.

d. Units of observation are the combinations of district and year.

e. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

Appendix Table 5: District-Level Summary Statistics, 2018–2019

Measure	Mean	Minimum	Median	Maximum	Standard Deviation
Incident Measures					
Age	31.8	28.6	31.1	36.8	2.2
Male (%)	85.2	80.5	84.8	89.6	2.6
Female (%)	14.7	10.3	15.1	19.4	2.6
Black (%)	64.0	16.3	65.0	98.1	28.5
Latino (%)	23.9	1.0	18.2	59.1	21.2
White (%)	12.1	0.8	8.8	46.1	11.9
Number of Stops	12869.7	5136.0	10848.0	27601.0	6456.2
Pat Downs	3910.8	661.0	3239.5	14613.0	3145.6
Searches	3558.9	453.0	2954.0	11566.0	2831.8
Enforcement	2998.1	671.0	2545.0	8117.0	1717.3
Pat Down Rate	27.9	12.9	25.9	52.9	10.6
Search Rate	24.6	8.8	24.4	41.9	8.8
Enforcement Rate	23.3	13.1	22.6	34.9	5.4
ACS Census Estimates					
Population	112320.8	52786.4	107224.4	242090.3	50351.8
Black Population Share (%)	41.7	1.4	22.6	96.8	36.1
Latino Population Share (%)	25.6	1.8	19.0	70.9	23.4
White Population Share (%)	32.8	1.3	20.6	85.0	29.5
Males Under Age 24 (%)	32.4	19.9	34.9	41.9	7.0
Total Crime	126.9	44.1	115.6	278.6	70.9
Violent Crime	12.3	2.1	9.2	33.3	9.1
Unemployment Rate	10.3	2.8	10.2	26.1	6.5
Household Income Under 30k (%)	33.0	14.8	30.2	58.2	13.4
Household Median Income	62530.0	31585.0	55055.9	120772.3	26648.1

a. Table displays summary statistics using districts as the units of observation. The top panel shows the demographics of incidents and the type of incidents. The bottom panel shows summary statistics for the ACS Census Estimates.

b. Violent crimes include homicides, manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault with a firearm, and aggravated assault with a knife or cutting weapon.

c. Data Source: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 2015–2019 ACS Estimates. 2019 crime incidents.

Appendix Table 6: Population Composition by Race/Ethnicity 2019

Population Type	Count	District Average	Share
All	2707250	123056.9	100
Black, Latino, White	2471056	112320.8	91.3
Black	789858	35902.7	29.2
Latino	780629	35483.2	28.8
White	900568	40934.9	33.3
Other	236194	10736.1	8.7

a. Table displays Chicago’s population composition by race/ethnicity. “Count” is the total number of people by race/ethnicity group. “District Average” is the average number of the corresponding group across police district. “Share” is the share of city’s population that each row accounts for.

b. Data Source: 2015–2019 ACS Estimates.

Appendix Table 7: Population Share & Crime Rates by District 2018–2019

District	Black Population Share	Latino Population Share	White Population Share	Total Crime Per 1,000	Violent Crime Per 1,000
1	22.4	9.3	68.4	253.2	13.5
2	73.6	4.7	21.7	131.1	13.4
3	92.6	3.0	4.5	172.4	21.3
4	62.8	30.1	7.2	117.3	12.5
5	94.4	3.7	1.9	174.5	18.2
6	96.8	1.8	1.4	194.8	21.8
7	92.4	6.3	1.3	265.8	33.4
8	19.0	63.7	17.2	66.4	6.0
9	12.2	68.3	19.5	86.0	9.4
10	30.6	64.3	5.1	122.3	14.3
11	78.8	16.7	4.5	282.8	34.5
12	19.0	29.2	51.7	114.7	9.9
14	5.4	37.9	56.6	83.7	6.1
15	87.7	9.0	3.3	179.3	24.2
16	1.4	29.4	69.2	45.4	2.2
17	4.1	47.8	48.1	58.6	4.6
18	8.4	6.6	85.0	139.2	8.4
19	7.1	10.9	82.1	62.3	3.9
20	11.2	21.4	67.4	58.9	3.8
22	60.0	4.7	35.3	86.1	7.2
24	22.8	23.0	54.2	66.2	4.9
25	13.9	70.9	15.2	70.1	6.6

a. Table shows the population share and mean annual crime rate per 1,000 by district.

b. Violent crimes include: homicides, manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault with a firearm, and aggravated assault with a knife or cutting weapon.

c. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 2015–2019 ACS Estimates. 2018- 2019 crime incidents from the Chicago Data Portal.

Appendix Table 8: Stops Per 1,000 Same-Race/Ethnicity Residential Population at the District Level 2018–2019

District	Black	Latino	White	All
1	279.9	90.8	22.5	66.6
2	85.3	21.6	4.8	58.0
3	76.0	25.0	13.2	69.5
4	134.3	52.1	43.1	102.1
5	105.3	50.5	89.3	101.2
6	96.4	55.7	88.7	94.0
7	271.4	127.7	239.8	258.6
8	89.3	31.1	25.0	40.1
9	174.3	57.7	30.6	53.1
10	142.8	49.6	59.1	77.9
11	188.5	80.4	268.6	170.1
12	141.3	53.8	7.8	41.2
14	184.2	49.5	10.9	32.4
15	105.6	55.0	64.7	98.9
16	219.1	20.8	11.4	15.6
17	86.9	26.7	11.3	18.3
18	352.2	69.6	6.5	33.8
19	135.8	35.5	5.7	16.4
20	106.2	47.6	15.4	26.7
22	49.3	15.8	7.4	32.1
24	85.2	45.8	14.3	30.4
25	99.7	30.1	24.5	37.7
Results				
Mean Across Districts By Race/Ethnicity	145.9	49.7	48.4	67.0
T-test p-value	0.00	0.91		

a. Table shows the annual stop rates per 1,000 same-race/ethnicity residents by district. The bottom panel checks for statistically significant differences between White people and other racial/ethnic groups.

b. T-tests compare the mean in stop rates for Black people versus White people and Latino people versus White people. P-values below 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference between the groups.

c. Units of observation are the combinations of district and year.

d. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

Appendix Table 9: Summary Statistics by Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2019

Measure	Black	Latino	White	All
Age	32.3	28.2	34.8	31.6
Male	86.5	85.9	76.8	85.5
Female	13.5	13.9	23.1	14.4
Stops	97765	31414	12388	141567
Pat Downs	32032	9091	1896	43019
Searches	29141	7865	2143	39148
Enforcement Action	23762	6729	2489	32980
Pat Down Rate	32.9	29.0	15.4	30.6
Search Rate	29.7	24.8	17.4	27.5
Enforcement Rate	24.5	21.8	20.2	23.5
Population	790,000	781,000	901,000	2,471,000
Population Share	32.0	31.6	36.4	100
Stops/Population	4.1	1.2	0.2	1.7
Pat Downs/Population	3.7	1.0	0.2	1.6
Search/Population	3.0	0.9	0.3	1.3

a. Table reports citywide means by race/ethnicity. Observations at the year level.

b. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.

c. Pat down, search, and enforcement rates are percentages.

d. Data sources: 2018–2019 CPD Investigatory Stops Reports, 5-Year American Community Survey Estimates from 2015–2019 (US Census).

Appendix Table 10: Pat Down Rate by Race/Ethnicity at the District Level 2018–2019

District	<u>Pat Down Rate (%)</u>				<u>Demographics</u>		<u>T-Tests</u>	
	Black	Latino	White	All	Black Share	Latino Share	Black Versus White p-value	Latino Versus White p-value
1	0.16	0.16	0.08	0.15	22.4	9.3	0.000	0.000
2	0.23	0.26	0.21	0.23	73.6	4.7	0.498	0.314
3	0.40	0.40	0.37	0.40	92.6	3.0	0.527	0.704
4	0.21	0.21	0.16	0.21	62.8	30.1	0.000	0.001
5	0.32	0.29	0.25	0.32	94.4	3.7	0.013	0.308
6	0.44	0.48	0.36	0.44	96.9	1.8	0.016	0.020
7	0.53	0.52	0.48	0.53	92.4	6.3	0.063	0.262
8	0.19	0.23	0.13	0.20	19.0	63.7	0.000	0.000
9	0.37	0.44	0.29	0.41	12.3	68.3	0.000	0.000
10	0.32	0.38	0.25	0.34	30.6	64.3	0.000	0.000
11	0.33	0.25	0.12	0.31	78.8	16.7	0.000	0.000
12	0.20	0.25	0.15	0.21	19.0	29.3	0.000	0.000
14	0.31	0.29	0.15	0.27	5.4	38.0	0.000	0.000
15	0.38	0.43	0.31	0.38	87.7	9.0	0.022	0.001
16	0.17	0.19	0.12	0.16	1.4	29.4	0.000	0.000
17	0.22	0.19	0.14	0.18	4.1	47.9	0.000	0.000
18	0.21	0.24	0.15	0.21	8.4	6.6	0.000	0.000
19	0.32	0.20	0.16	0.25	7.1	10.9	0.000	0.008
20	0.18	0.13	0.08	0.13	11.2	21.4	0.000	0.000
22	0.36	0.28	0.15	0.34	60.0	4.7	0.000	0.002
24	0.23	0.17	0.13	0.19	22.8	23.0	0.000	0.000
25	0.26	0.28	0.15	0.26	13.9	70.9	0.000	0.000
District-level Results								
Mean Across	0.29	0.28	0.20	0.28				
Districts By Race/Ethnicity								
Black or Latino Rate > White Rate	1.00	1.00						
T-test p-value	0.010	0.010						

- a. Table shows the mean pat down rate by race/ethnicity within each district.
- b. T-test compares the pat down rates for Black people versus White people and Latino people versus White people within districts. The t-tests columns use investigatory stops as the units of observation.
- c. The “District-Level Results” panel uses district rates as the units of observation.
- d. Black or Latino Rate > White Rate displays the share of districts where the Black or Latino pat down rate is higher than the White pat down rate.
- f. P-values less than 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference.
- g. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

Appendix Table 11: Search Rate by Race/Ethnicity at the District Level 2018–2019

District	<u>Search Rate (%)</u>				<u>Demographics</u>		<u>T-Tests</u>	
	Black	Latino	White	All	Black Share	Latino Share	Black Versus White p-value	Latino Versus White p-value
1	0.13	0.11	0.09	0.12	22.4	9.3	0.000	0.018
2	0.26	0.29	0.22	0.26	73.6	4.7	0.184	0.087
3	0.29	0.30	0.30	0.29	92.6	3.0	0.923	0.949
4	0.30	0.27	0.22	0.29	62.8	30.1	0.000	0.003
5	0.22	0.18	0.25	0.22	94.4	3.7	0.258	0.075
6	0.35	0.40	0.32	0.35	96.9	1.8	0.407	0.092
7	0.42	0.42	0.48	0.42	92.4	6.3	0.026	0.067
8	0.23	0.31	0.21	0.27	19.0	63.7	0.012	0.000
9	0.30	0.30	0.24	0.29	12.3	68.3	0.000	0.000
10	0.37	0.24	0.38	0.32	30.6	64.3	0.486	0.000
11	0.37	0.37	0.34	0.37	78.8	16.7	0.009	0.122
12	0.22	0.18	0.16	0.20	19.0	29.3	0.000	0.142
14	0.22	0.19	0.12	0.18	5.4	38.0	0.000	0.000
15	0.35	0.43	0.43	0.35	87.7	9.0	0.014	0.998
16	0.10	0.11	0.07	0.09	1.4	29.4	0.002	0.000
17	0.20	0.25	0.19	0.22	4.1	47.9	0.549	0.000
18	0.16	0.16	0.12	0.15	8.4	6.6	0.000	0.010
19	0.23	0.27	0.18	0.22	7.1	10.9	0.000	0.000
20	0.10	0.10	0.07	0.09	11.2	21.4	0.003	0.006
22	0.28	0.17	0.18	0.27	60.0	4.7	0.000	0.949
24	0.22	0.19	0.13	0.19	22.8	23.0	0.000	0.000
25	0.24	0.23	0.17	0.23	13.9	70.9	0.000	0.000
District-level Results								
Mean Across Districts By Race	0.25	0.25	0.22	0.25				
Black or Latino Rate > White Rate	0.77	0.82						
T-test p-value	0.30	0.37						

- a. Table shows the mean search rate by race/ethnicity within each district.
- b. T-test compares the search rates for Black people versus White people and Latino people versus White people within districts. The t-tests columns use investigatory stops as the units of observation.
- c. The “District-Level Results” panel uses district rates as the units of observation.
- d. Black or Latino Rate > White Rate displays the share of districts where the Black or Latino search rate is higher than the White search rate.
- e. P-values less than 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference.
- f. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

Appendix Table 12: Enforcement Rate by Race/Ethnicity at the District Level 2018–2019

District	Enforcement Rate (%)				Demographics		T-Tests	
	Black	Latino	White	All	Black Share	Latino Share	Black Versus White p-value	Latino Versus White p-value
1	0.22	0.12	0.16	0.20	22.4	9.3	0.000	0.002
2	0.23	0.15	0.15	0.23	73.6	4.7	0.002	0.913
3	0.25	0.20	0.15	0.25	92.6	3.0	0.021	0.436
4	0.15	0.14	0.11	0.15	62.8	30.1	0.001	0.045
5	0.21	0.16	0.16	0.21	94.4	3.7	0.045	0.911
6	0.26	0.20	0.22	0.26	96.9	1.8	0.120	0.729
7	0.23	0.19	0.18	0.23	92.4	6.3	0.012	0.641
8	0.24	0.19	0.17	0.21	19.0	63.7	0.000	0.166
9	0.22	0.18	0.21	0.20	12.3	68.3	0.141	0.037
10	0.31	0.25	0.32	0.29	30.6	64.3	0.641	0.000
11	0.35	0.35	0.37	0.35	78.8	16.7	0.101	0.245
12	0.22	0.20	0.15	0.21	19.0	29.3	0.000	0.000
14	0.22	0.22	0.15	0.21	5.4	38.0	0.000	0.000
15	0.30	0.30	0.24	0.30	87.7	9.0	0.020	0.071
16	0.20	0.33	0.28	0.29	1.4	29.4	0.000	0.000
17	0.25	0.30	0.26	0.28	4.1	47.9	0.676	0.002
18	0.25	0.20	0.16	0.23	8.4	6.6	0.000	0.009
19	0.24	0.28	0.21	0.24	7.1	10.9	0.008	0.000
20	0.14	0.16	0.09	0.13	11.2	21.4	0.000	0.000
22	0.32	0.18	0.33	0.31	60.0	4.7	0.480	0.000
24	0.19	0.17	0.12	0.17	22.8	23.0	0.000	0.000
25	0.19	0.24	0.17	0.21	13.9	70.9	0.027	0.000
District-level Results								
Mean Across	0.24	0.21	0.20	0.23				
Districts By Race/Ethnicity								
Black or Latino Rate > White Rate	0.77	0.73						
T-test p-value	0.06	0.45						

a. Table shows the mean enforcement rate by race/ethnicity within each district.

b. T-test compares the search rates for Black people versus White people and Latino people versus White people within districts. The t-tests columns use investigatory stops as the units of observation.

c. The “District-Level Results” panel uses district rates as the units of observation.

d. Black or Latino Rate > White Rate displays the share of districts where the Black or Latino enforcement rate is higher than the White enforcement rate.

e. Enforcement actions include arrest, administrative notice of violation (ANOV), personal service citation, curfew violation report, school absentee report, and other actions. See CPD Special Order S03-19-04, available at <http://directives.chicagopolice.org/#directive/public/6568>.

f. P-values less than 0.05 indicate a statistically significant difference.

g. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. 5-Year ACS Estimates from 2015–2019.

Appendix Table 13: Pat Down Hit Rates and Type of Contraband Found by Race/Ethnicity with Standard Deviations 2018–2019

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of pat downs with hits for:					
Any Contraband	8.0 (1.4)	7.9 (1.7)	7.4 (2.4)	10.2 (3.7)	0.003
Firearm	1.9 (0.6)	2.1 (0.8)	1.3 (0.8)	1.5 (1.3)	0.032
Weapon	4.1 (0.7)	3.9 (0.8)	3.9 (1.9)	5.2 (2.8)	0.045
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	51.1 (8.0)	50.6 (7.8)	52.2 (17.4)	51.8 (24.1)	0.951
Firearm	24.5 (7.4)	26.5 (7.6)	19.5 (12.5)	15.0 (10.7)	0.002
Other Weapon	26.7 (10.9)	24.1 (9.4)	33.0 (16.3)	37.2 (25.4)	0.059
Cannabis	26.4 (10.7)	25.8 (12.0)	25.8 (14.8)	7.7 (8.1)	0.000
Non-Cannabis Controlled Substance	9.4 (5.2)	9.2 (6.2)	7.7 (11.0)	19.2 (22.1)	0.023
Alcohol, Drug Paraphernalia, Stolen Property	8.6 (3.6)	9.2 (5.4)	8.5 (5.7)	14.4 (12.2)	0.045
Other	9.1 (3.8)	10.0 (6.1)	8.9 (7.1)	11.1 (9.0)	0.639

a. Table shows the mean hit rate for pat downs by race/ethnicity and the type of contraband found across districts. Standard deviations are enclosed in parentheses.

b. F-tests check for statistically significant difference across race/ethnicity groups. Values lower than 0.05 indicate significant differences.

c. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a pat down.

d. A pat down is a limited search during an investigatory stop in which the sworn member conducts a pat down of the outer clothing of a person for weapons for the protection of the sworn member or others in the area.

e. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

f. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. Districts are the units of observation.

Appendix Table 14: Search Hit Rates and Type of Contraband Found by Race/Ethnicity with Standard Deviations 2018–2019

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of searches with hits for:					
Any Contraband	22.5 (4.2)	21.0 (5.2)	23.7 (6.1)	25.3 (5.1)	0.037
Firearm	3.0 (1.3)	3.0 (1.4)	3.1 (2.5)	2.0 (1.4)	0.100
Weapon	3.9 (1.1)	3.7 (1.4)	4.2 (2.2)	3.1 (1.7)	0.136
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	17.5 (4.9)	17.9 (6.1)	18.3 (10.7)	12.4 (6.5)	0.030
Firearm	13.5 (5.3)	14.4 (5.8)	13.7 (11.8)	8.0 (5.0)	0.022
Other Weapon	4.1 (2.5)	3.6 (3.1)	4.7 (5.9)	4.6 (4.8)	0.702
Cannabis	48.8 (11.6)	48.4 (11.3)	50.6 (13.4)	34.7 (13.2)	0.000
Non-Cannabis Controlled Substance	20.2 (12.0)	20.2 (12.3)	17.0 (15.1)	36.1 (18.1)	0.000
Alcohol, Drug Paraphernalia, Stolen Property	21.2 (9.3)	20.5 (9.9)	22.9 (12.7)	24.8 (11.8)	0.474
Other	4.3 (1.9)	4.2 (2.3)	3.6 (3.7)	4.6 (3.5)	0.558

a. Table shows the mean hit rate for searches by race/ethnicity and the type of contraband found across districts. Standard deviations are enclosed in parentheses.

b. F-tests check for statistically significant difference across race/ethnicity groups. Values lower than 0.05 indicate significant differences.

c. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a search.

d. A search is more intrusive search activity than a pat down and requires probable cause or consent.

e. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

f. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. Districts are the units of observation.

Appendix Table 15: Pat Down Hit Rates and Type of Contraband Found by Race/Ethnicity with Standard Deviations 2020

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of pat downs with hits for:					
Any Contraband	9.8 (2.0)	9.8 (3.1)	9.9 (4.8)	14.8 (5.9)	0.001
Firearm	3.5 (1.8)	3.7 (2.1)	3.3 (3.7)	4.1 (5.2)	0.778
Weapon	5.7 (1.3)	5.6 (2.0)	6.3 (4.4)	8.0 (4.7)	0.120
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	58.3 (9.2)	57.7 (11.3)	62.3 (22.3)	58.5 (27.5)	0.752
Firearm	34.8 (14.5)	36.8 (16.5)	32.8 (24.8)	26.4 (24.1)	0.294
Other Weapon	23.5 (12.3)	20.9 (13.5)	29.9 (22.4)	32.1 (23.8)	0.164
Cannabis	21.5 (8.0)	21.0 (11.3)	20.6 (13.8)	13.2 (18.8)	0.161
Non-Cannabis Controlled Substance	9.2 (5.8)	8.4 (6.0)	7.8 (9.6)	10.1 (18.0)	0.813
Alcohol, Drug Paraphernalia, Stolen Property	6.2 (3.6)	6.6 (5.8)	4.0 (6.1)	13.3 (16.8)	0.019
Other	8.8 (3.8)	9.9 (9.7)	8.6 (8.6)	12.0 (16.7)	0.658

a. Table shows the mean hit rate for pat downs by race/ethnicity and the type of contraband found across districts. Standard deviations are enclosed in parentheses.

b. F-tests check for statistically significant difference across race/ethnicity groups. Values lower than 0.05 indicate significant differences.

c. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a pat down.

d. A pat down is a limited search during an investigatory stop in which the sworn member conducts a pat down of the outer clothing of a person for weapons for the protection of the sworn member or others in the area.

e. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

f. Data: 2020 investigatory stops. Districts are the units of observation.

Appendix Table 16: Search Hit Rates and Type of Contraband Found by Race/Ethnicity with Standard Deviations 2020

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of searches with hits for:					
Any Contraband	29.2 (5.1)	28.1 (6.6)	29.7 (9.7)	30.6 (8.9)	0.037
Firearm	5.2 (2.6)	5.6 (2.8)	4.5 (3.7)	3.4 (3.2)	0.100
Weapon	6.2 (2.3)	6.5 (2.8)	5.5 (3.6)	4.8 (3.7)	0.136
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	21.6 (8.4)	22.6 (9.5)	19.8 (13.3)	16.6 (12.6)	0.030
Firearm	17.8 (9.1)	19.5 (9.5)	15.4 (11.3)	11.6 (10.7)	0.022
Other Weapon	4.0 (4.1)	3.3 (3.2)	4.5 (7.1)	6.1 (8.6)	0.702
Cannabis	52.3 (14.8)	50.9 (13.3)	56.0 (18.8)	43.1 (20.7)	0.000
Non-Cannabis Controlled Substance	15.5 (10.5)	14.0 (10.9)	16.9 (15.6)	28.6 (23.7)	0.000
Alcohol, Drug Paraphernalia, Stolen Property	18.9 (8.0)	18.5 (9.5)	20.0 (12.9)	21.5 (14.9)	0.474
Other	4.0 (3.4)	4.7 (5.4)	2.6 (3.4)	9.3 (13.3)	0.558

a. Table shows the mean hit rate for searches by race/ethnicity and the type of contraband found across districts. Standard deviations are enclosed in parentheses.

b. F-tests check for statistically significant difference across race/ethnicity groups. Values lower than 0.05 indicate significant differences.

c. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a search.

d. A search is more intrusive search activity than a pat down and requires probable cause or consent.

e. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

f. Data: 2020 investigatory stops. Districts are the units of observation.

Appendix Table 17: Pat Down Hit Rates and Type of Contraband Found by Race/Ethnicity with Standard Deviations 2018–2019

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of pat downs with hits for:					
Any Contraband	8.0 (1.4)	7.9 (1.7)	7.4 (2.4)	10.2 (3.7)	0.003
Firearm	1.9 (0.6)	2.1 (0.8)	1.3 (0.8)	1.5 (1.3)	0.032
Weapon	4.1 (0.7)	3.9 (0.8)	3.9 (1.9)	5.2 (2.8)	0.045
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	51.1 (8.0)	50.6 (7.8)	52.2 (17.4)	51.8 (24.1)	0.951
Firearm	24.5 (7.4)	26.5 (7.6)	19.5 (12.5)	15.0 (10.7)	0.002
Other Weapon	26.7 (10.9)	24.1 (9.4)	33.0 (16.3)	37.2 (25.4)	0.059
Cannabis	26.4 (10.7)	25.8 (12.0)	25.8 (14.8)	7.7 (8.1)	0.000
Non-Cannabis Controlled Substance	9.4 (5.2)	9.2 (6.2)	7.7 (11.0)	19.2 (22.1)	0.023
Alcohol, Drug Paraphernalia, Stolen Property	8.6 (3.6)	9.2 (5.4)	8.5 (5.7)	14.4 (12.2)	0.045
Other	9.1 (3.8)	10.0 (6.1)	8.9 (7.1)	11.1 (9.0)	0.639

a. Table shows the mean hit rate for pat downs by race/ethnicity and the type of contraband found across districts. Standard deviations are enclosed in parentheses.

b. F-tests check for statistically significant difference across race/ethnicity groups. Values lower than 0.05 indicate significant differences.

c. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a pat down.

d. A pat down is a limited search during an investigatory stop in which the sworn member conducts a pat down of the outer clothing of a person for weapons for the protection of the sworn member or others in the area.

e. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

f. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. Districts are the units of observation.

Appendix Table 18: Pat Down Hit Rates and Type of Contraband Found by Race/Ethnicity with Standard Deviations 2020

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of pat downs with hits for:					
Any Contraband	9.8 (2.0)	9.8 (3.1)	9.9 (4.8)	14.8 (5.9)	0.001
Firearm	3.5 (1.8)	3.7 (2.1)	3.3 (3.7)	4.1 (5.2)	0.778
Weapon	5.7 (1.3)	5.6 (2.0)	6.3 (4.4)	8.0 (4.7)	0.120
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	58.3 (9.2)	57.7 (11.3)	62.3 (22.3)	58.5 (27.5)	0.752
Firearm	34.8 (14.5)	36.8 (16.5)	32.8 (24.8)	26.4 (24.1)	0.294
Other Weapon	23.5 (12.3)	20.9 (13.5)	29.9 (22.4)	32.1 (23.8)	0.164
Cannabis	21.5 (8.0)	21.0 (11.3)	20.6 (13.8)	13.2 (18.8)	0.161
Non-Cannabis Controlled Substance	9.2 (5.8)	8.4 (6.0)	7.8 (9.6)	10.1 (18.0)	0.813
Alcohol, Drug Paraphernalia, Stolen Property	6.2 (3.6)	6.6 (5.8)	4.0 (6.1)	13.3 (16.8)	0.019
Other	8.8 (3.8)	9.9 (9.7)	8.6 (8.6)	12.0 (16.7)	0.658

a. Table shows the mean hit rate for pat downs by race/ethnicity and the type of contraband found across districts. Standard deviations are enclosed in parentheses.

b. F-tests check for statistically significant difference across race/ethnicity groups. Values lower than 0.05 indicate significant differences.

c. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a pat down.

d. A pat down is a limited search during an investigatory stop in which the sworn member conducts a pat down of the outer clothing of a person for weapons for the protection of the sworn member or others in the area.

e. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

f. Data: 2020 investigatory stops. Districts are the units of observation.

Appendix Table 19: Search Hit Rates and Type of Contraband Found by Race/Ethnicity with Standard Deviations 2018–2019

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of searches with hits for:					
Any Contraband	22.5 (4.2)	21.0 (5.2)	23.7 (6.1)	25.3 (5.1)	0.037
Firearm	3.0 (1.3)	3.0 (1.4)	3.1 (2.5)	2.0 (1.4)	0.100
Weapon	3.9 (1.1)	3.7 (1.4)	4.2 (2.2)	3.1 (1.7)	0.136
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	17.5 (4.9)	17.9 (6.1)	18.3 (10.7)	12.4 (6.5)	0.030
Firearm	13.5 (5.3)	14.4 (5.8)	13.7 (11.8)	8.0 (5.0)	0.022
Other Weapon	4.1 (2.5)	3.6 (3.1)	4.7 (5.9)	4.6 (4.8)	0.702
Cannabis	48.8 (11.6)	48.4 (11.3)	50.6 (13.4)	34.7 (13.2)	0.000
Non-Cannabis Controlled Substance	20.2 (12.0)	20.2 (12.3)	17.0 (15.1)	36.1 (18.1)	0.000
Alcohol, Drug Paraphernalia, Stolen Property	21.2 (9.3)	20.5 (9.9)	22.9 (12.7)	24.8 (11.8)	0.474
Other	4.3 (1.9)	4.2 (2.3)	3.6 (3.7)	4.6 (3.5)	0.558

a. Table shows the mean hit rate for searches by race/ethnicity and the type of contraband found across districts. Standard deviations are enclosed in parentheses.

b. F-tests check for statistically significant difference across race/ethnicity groups. Values lower than 0.05 indicate significant differences.

c. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a search.

d. A search is more intrusive search activity than a pat down and requires probable cause or consent.

e. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

f. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. Districts are the units of observation.

Appendix Table 20: Search Hit Rates and Type of Contraband Found by Race/Ethnicity with Standard Deviations 2020

Variable	All	Black	Latino	White	F-test, p-value
Share of searches with hits for:					
Any Contraband	29.2 (5.1)	28.1 (6.6)	29.7 (9.7)	30.6 (8.9)	0.037
Firearm	5.2 (2.6)	5.6 (2.8)	4.5 (3.7)	3.4 (3.2)	0.100
Weapon	6.2 (2.3)	6.5 (2.8)	5.5 (3.6)	4.8 (3.7)	0.136
Contraband Rate (rate conditional on contraband found)					
Any Weapon	21.6 (8.4)	22.6 (9.5)	19.8 (13.3)	16.6 (12.6)	0.030
Firearm	17.8 (9.1)	19.5 (9.5)	15.4 (11.3)	11.6 (10.7)	0.022
Other Weapon	4.0 (4.1)	3.3 (3.2)	4.5 (7.1)	6.1 (8.6)	0.702
Cannabis	52.3 (14.8)	50.9 (13.3)	56.0 (18.8)	43.1 (20.7)	0.000
Non-Cannabis Controlled Substance	15.5 (10.5)	14.0 (10.9)	16.9 (15.6)	28.6 (23.7)	0.000
Alcohol, Drug Paraphernalia, Stolen Property	18.9 (8.0)	18.5 (9.5)	20.0 (12.9)	21.5 (14.9)	0.474
Other	4.0 (3.4)	4.7 (5.4)	2.6 (3.4)	9.3 (13.3)	0.558

a. Table shows the mean hit rate for searches by race/ethnicity and the type of contraband found across districts. Standard deviations are enclosed in parentheses.

b. F-tests check for statistically significant difference across race/ethnicity groups. Values lower than 0.05 indicate significant differences.

c. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a search.

d. A search is more intrusive search activity than a pat down and requires probable cause or consent.

e. Non-cannabis controlled substance includes cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substance.

f. Data: 2020 investigatory stops. Districts are the units of observation.

Appendix Table 21: Pat Down Hit Rate by Race/Ethnicity at the District Level, 2018–2019

District	Hit Rate				Firearm Hit Rate				Weapon Hit Rate			
	All	Black	Latino	White	All	Black	Latino	White	All	Black	Latino	White
1	7.8	7.9	6.2	8.6	1.8	1.6	3.1	1.3	5.3	5.1	4.4	7.2
2	8.3	8.5	4.3	5.1	1.7	1.7	0.0	0.0	3.0	3.0	0.0	5.1
3	8.5	8.5	7.1	3.2	3.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	4.0	4.0	4.8	0.0
4	7.6	7.9	4.5	17.2	2.2	2.5	0.4	5.7	3.8	3.9	1.9	11.5
5	8.0	8.1	6.9	5.3	2.8	2.9	1.4	1.8	4.1	4.2	4.2	1.8
6	9.8	9.7	8.6	14.3	2.6	2.7	1.2	2.6	4.2	4.2	2.5	2.6
7	5.9	5.8	7.5	9.4	1.7	1.7	1.6	2.5	3.0	3.0	4.1	3.8
8	7.8	8.3	6.9	12.0	1.9	2.8	1.3	1.8	4.0	4.6	3.4	4.7
9	5.7	7.0	4.7	9.8	1.4	1.9	1.2	1.8	3.1	3.6	2.6	5.7
10	7.1	8.6	5.0	13.0	2.5	3.3	1.6	1.3	3.8	4.8	2.7	3.9
11	9.2	9.2	7.1	15.7	3.1	3.3	1.3	1.6	4.2	4.3	2.7	5.8
12	6.4	7.7	4.5	6.4	1.8	2.2	1.3	2.1	3.3	4.0	2.2	4.3
14	5.8	4.3	6.1	9.0	1.4	0.9	1.7	1.0	3.6	2.6	3.7	6.0
15	11.3	11.5	8.5	6.7	2.4	2.4	2.5	1.3	4.0	3.9	5.5	2.7
16	7.7	3.4	8.7	8.9	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.7	4.6	2.0	4.8	5.8
17	8.6	8.7	8.8	8.1	1.6	2.6	1.3	1.6	4.6	5.1	4.4	4.9
18	8.0	7.7	6.0	12.9	1.7	1.5	2.4	2.6	4.8	3.9	4.8	10.8
19	10.2	9.7	8.1	14.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.0	5.5	4.5	5.7	9.4
20	9.0	7.5	11.2	9.6	0.9	0.9	1.5	0.0	3.8	3.0	3.4	6.4
22	8.1	7.8	15.0	11.7	2.5	2.6	0.0	0.0	4.3	4.3	10.0	2.6
24	8.3	8.2	8.6	8.5	1.4	1.6	1.2	0.4	4.7	4.6	4.8	4.7
25	7.8	6.6	7.9	14.3	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.9	3.6	3.2	3.6	5.7

- a. Table shows the mean hit rate, firearm hit rate, and weapon hit rate for pat downs by race/ethnicity across districts.
- b. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a pat down. Weapon hit rate includes firearms and other weapons.
- c. A pat down is a limited search during an investigatory stop in which the sworn member conducts a pat down of the outer clothing of a person for weapons for the protection of the sworn member or others in the area.
- d. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. Units of observations are districts.

Appendix Table 22: Search Hit Rate by Race/Ethnicity at the District Level, 2018–2019

District	Hit Rate				Firearm Hit Rate				Weapon Hit Rate			
	All	Black	Latino	White	All	Black	Latino	White	All	Black	Latino	White
1	17.9	15.9	29.1	21.7	1.1	0.9	4.3	0.0	2.1	1.9	5.1	1.2
2	28.2	28.3	26.4	27.5	2.5	2.6	0.0	2.5	3.0	3.1	0.0	5.0
3	23.5	23.5	21.9	24.0	4.7	4.8	0.0	4.0	5.3	5.3	6.2	4.0
4	21.3	21.2	21.6	26.5	3.2	3.3	2.5	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.3	5.4
5	21.6	21.4	15.6	35.1	5.7	5.7	8.9	3.5	6.3	6.3	8.9	3.5
6	28.4	28.2	41.2	29.4	6.1	6.1	10.3	5.9	6.6	6.6	10.3	5.9
7	21.2	21.0	26.1	25.0	3.8	3.9	2.5	1.9	4.3	4.3	3.6	1.9
8	18.6	16.4	19.6	21.2	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.3	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.0
9	18.4	15.5	19.4	24.3	2.9	3.7	2.6	2.2	3.9	4.2	3.5	5.7
10	27.5	30.0	21.1	35.7	3.4	3.6	3.5	1.3	3.8	3.8	4.0	1.7
11	30.7	30.4	32.0	33.5	4.2	4.6	2.3	0.9	4.6	5.0	3.0	1.1
12	16.5	16.1	16.2	21.8	2.4	2.6	2.3	1.4	3.0	3.0	3.2	2.0
14	19.1	13.7	22.3	19.5	2.1	2.1	2.3	1.3	3.1	2.9	3.7	1.3
15	28.1	28.0	29.4	29.1	2.9	2.9	5.1	0.0	3.3	3.3	5.5	0.0
16	21.0	13.1	23.4	22.5	3.0	0.8	5.0	1.8	4.2	0.8	5.7	4.1
17	28.0	19.0	30.6	26.2	2.2	1.7	2.3	2.4	2.7	1.7	2.7	3.6
18	18.7	18.3	20.4	19.5	1.6	1.7	1.2	1.3	3.3	3.6	3.0	1.9
19	18.7	19.7	18.6	16.2	1.7	2.2	1.3	0.9	3.5	4.6	2.5	1.9
20	22.2	21.9	22.4	22.6	1.8	2.2	1.9	0.9	3.5	3.3	3.2	4.3
22	20.0	19.6	16.0	28.1	3.9	4.0	4.0	2.2	4.7	4.8	4.0	2.2
24	20.9	19.4	23.1	22.7	1.4	1.6	1.1	1.2	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.9
25	24.2	21.7	25.8	24.5	3.1	3.3	2.9	3.4	3.9	3.9	3.8	4.7

a. Table shows the mean hit rate for searches by race/ethnicity across districts.

b. The hit rate is the rate of contraband found conditional on conducting a search. Weapon hit rate includes firearms and other weapons.

c. A search is more intrusive search activity than a pat down and requires probable cause or consent.

d. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. Units of observations are districts.

Appendix Table 23: Reasonable Articulate Suspicion Share for Stops by Race/Ethnicity 2018–2019

Reason	<u>All</u>		<u>Black</u>		<u>Latino</u>		<u>White</u>	
	Count	Share	Count	Share	Count	Share	Count	Share
Drug Transaction	17679	7.1	15152	8.7	1365	2.5	1162	5.6
Casing Victim or Location	5031	2.0	2938	1.7	1300	2.4	793	3.8
Fits Flash Message Description	18894	7.6	13106	7.5	4317	8.0	1471	7.0
Fits Description of Offender	39869	16.0	27644	15.9	8290	15.3	3935	18.8
Proximity to Recorded Crime	44861	18.0	30848	17.8	10195	18.9	3818	18.2
Gang/Narcotic Related Enforcement	22201	8.9	17126	9.9	4226	7.8	849	4.1
Other	100137	40.3	66859	38.5	24380	45.1	8898	42.5

a. Table shows the count and share of reasonable articulable suspicion reasons for stops broken down by race/ethnicity.

b. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. N=284,061 stops.

Appendix Table 24: Reasonable Articulate Suspicion Share for Pat Downs by Race/Ethnicity 2018–2019

Reason	<u>All</u>		<u>Black</u>		<u>Latino</u>		<u>White</u>	
	Count	Share	Count	Share	Count	Share	Count	Share
Verbal Threats	1588	1.5	1147	1.5	313	1.3	128	2.8
Knowledge of Suspect Prior Behavior	6914	6.4	4637	5.9	1992	8.3	285	6.2
Actions Indicating Engaging in Violent Behavior	7154	6.6	5078	6.4	1664	6.9	412	9.0
Violent Crime Suspected	11521	10.7	8350	10.6	2676	11.1	495	10.8
Suspicious Bulge or Object	30300	28.1	22806	28.9	6241	25.9	1253	27.2
Other Reasonable Suspicion of Weapon	50222	46.6	36959	46.8	11234	46.6	2029	44.1

a. Table shows the count and share of reasonable articulable suspicion reasons for pat downs broken down by race/ethnicity.

b. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. N=86,264 pat downs.

Appendix Table 25: Stops with Reasonable Articulate Suspicion, 2018–2019

Number of boxes checked	Count	Share
0	122210	43.0
1	101665	35.8
2	38300	13.5
3	17734	6.2
4 or more	4152	1.5

a. Table shows the number of boxes checked indicating a reasonable articulable suspicion per investigatory stop.

b. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. N=284,061 stops.

Appendix Table 26: Pat Downs with Reasonable Articulate Suspicion, 2018–2019

Number of boxes checked	Count	Share
0	9737	11.3
1	51789	60.0
2	19371	22.5
3	4415	5.1
4 or more	952	1.1

a. Table shows the number of boxes checked indicating a reasonable articulable suspicion per pat down.

b. Data: 2018–2019 investigatory stops. N=86,264 pat downs.

