

2022 Vehicle Stops Report Tables from Comments For MOCLA Presentation

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Disproportions

Using the 2022 VSR dataset to compute group stop rates per driver and then compare group rates, Black drivers are stopped at a rate per estimated driver-age resident 1.68 times the rate for White drivers:

Agency	Group	Population	Group % of Populatio	Total Stops		
		2021 ACS estimate of driver-age residents	Grp pop / Total Pop	Count	Rate per Driver	Disproportion
Missouri State Total	Asian	101,636	2%	12,825	0.13	0.52
Missouri State Total	Black	535,276	11%	220,556	0.41	1.68
Missouri State Total	Hispanic	183,165	4%	36,105	0.20	0.80
Missouri State Total	Other	238,513	5%	17,999	0.08	0.31
Missouri State Total	White	4,018,782	82%	984,097	0.24	0.59
Missouri State Total	Total	4,910,777		1,273,509	0.26	

To find disproportions, Non-White rates are compared to the White rate and the White rate is compared to the Black Rate. Other comparisons are possible but these are what we are usually most interested in.

Instead of reporting stop rates and comparisons of rates, the VSR uses a “Disparity Index,” which compares a group’s proportion of stops to its proportion of the driving population. Asians of driving age, for instance, have 0.89% of the stops but 2.07% of the population. $0.889\% / 2.07\% = 0.428$, their Disparity Index.

Reasons for Stops

2022 Vehicle Stops Report: Reasons for Stops								
Agency	Missouri State Total							
Group	Officer Perception	Asian	Black	Hispanic	NativeAmerica	Other	White	Total
Total Stops	Count	12,825	220,556	36,105	1,927	17,999	984,097	1,273,509
	Rate per Driver	0.13	0.41	0.20	0.12	0.08	0.24	0.26
	Disproportion	0.52	1.68	0.80	0.47	0.31	0.59	
Reason for Stop	Equipment	1,253	26,417	4,382	266	2,597	132,468	167,383
	Rate per Driver	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.03
	Disproportion	0.37	1.50	0.73	0.49	0.33	0.67	
	Investigative	303	9,595	1,325	52	885	30,224	42,384
	Rate per Driver	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
	Disproportion	0.40	2.38	0.96	0.42	0.49	0.42	
	License	2,178	83,329	7,662	452	5,813	302,400	401,834
	Rate per Driver	0.02	0.16	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.08	0.08
	Disproportion	0.28	2.07	0.56	0.36	0.32	0.48	
	Moving Violation	9,449	120,261	24,124	1,374	9,561	559,263	724,032
	Rate per Driver	0.09	0.22	0.13	0.08	0.04	0.14	0.15
	Disproportion	0.67	1.61	0.95	0.60	0.29	0.62	

Drug-dog Alert Searches

The history of Drug-Dog Alert searches.

Large Agency Post-stop Disproportions					
Comparisons by year of the largest agencies.	Year	Race	Drug-Dog Alert Searches	Drug-Dog Rate	Drug-Dog Disproportion
2017, 2016, 2015, 2014, 2013, 2009, 2001			count	grp incidents / grp stops	minority rate / white rate
Missouri State Totals	2001	Black	122	0.0006	0.94
Missouri State Totals	2009	Black	282	0.0009	1.57
Missouri State Totals	2013	Black	368	0.0013	1.20
Missouri State Totals	2014	Black	380	0.0012	1.08
Missouri State Totals	2015	Black	384	0.0014	1.07
Missouri State Totals	2016	Black	442	0.0016	1.03
Missouri State Totals	2017	Black	440	0.0015	0.99
Missouri State Totals	2018	Black	464	0.0016	0.86

In 2015, the overall state disproportion was moderate but some agencies conducting more than 5 drug-dog alert searches had high disproportions against Black drivers:

2015 VSR: Drug Dog Alert Searches					
Police Department	Group	Total Stops	Drug-Dog Alert Search	Rate: searches per driver	Disproportion
	Black		>5		
Columbia Police Dept.	Black	3348	25	0.007	1.53
Grandview Police Dept.	Black	4773	8	0.002	1.09
Jackson County Sheriff's Dept.	Black	2521	7	0.003	0.78
Joplin Police Dept.	Black	1152	29	0.025	2.13
Kansas City Police Dept.	Black	46392	7	0.000	1.29
Lee's Summit Police Dept.	Black	2770	46	0.017	2.01
Maryland Heights Police Dept.	Black	4765	14	0.003	0.45
Missouri State	Black	275081	384	0.001	1.07
Missouri State Highway Patrol	Black	34447	52	0.002	1.96
Sikeston Police Dept.	Black	868	10	0.012	#DIV/0!
Springfield Police Dept.	Black	2560	12	0.005	3.69
St. Louis County Police Dept.	Black	20198	16	0.001	1.62
Ste. Genevieve Co. Sheriff's Dept.	Black	410	6	0.015	3.84
Velda City Police Dept.	Black	1052	23	0.022	3.32
Wellston Police Dept.	Black	655	11	0.017	#DIV/0!

Wellston and Sikeston conducted no DDA searches for White drivers so the disproportion high, although division by zero is not defined.

Agencies conducting more than 5 DDA searches:

2022 Vehicle Stops Report	Agencies with more than 5 Black Drug-Dog Alert Searches					
Agency	Group	Population	Total Stops			
	Black			>5		
	Officer Perception	2021 ACS estimate of driver-age residents	Count	Drug-dog Alert	Rate Per Stop	Disproportion
Arnold Police Dept	Black	80	369	7	0.019	0.71
Butler County Sheriff's Dept	Black	2000	33	6	0.182	5.93
Cape Girardeau Police Dept	Black	3949	1216	12	0.010	1.86
Columbia Police Dept	Black	11000	2007	14	0.007	0.76
Greene County Sheriff's Dept	Black	7500	1485	6	0.004	0.72
Joplin Police Dept	Black	1364	784	8	0.010	3.50
Kennett Police Dept	Black	1181	606	6	0.010	1.31
Missouri State Highway Patrol	Black	535276	39302	42	0.001	1.30
Missouri State Total	Black	535276	220,556	336	0.002	0.69
Platte County Sheriff's Dept	Black	5350	1694	7	0.004	2.04
St. Charles Police Dept	Black	3667	2903	7	0.002	0.46
University City Police Dept	Black	9667	3102	61	0.020	2.68

Some agencies conducting DDA Searches continue to have high disproportions, but most of them have declined.

The statewide disproportion against Black drivers has continued to fall, to 0.69 in 2022; White drivers were searched at a rate 1.45 times the Black rate.

2022 Vehicle Stops Report	Drug-Dog Alert Searches				
Agency	Group	Total Stops			
	Black				
	Officer Perception	Count	Drug-dog Alert	Rate Per Stop	Disproportion
Missouri State Total	Asian	12,825	5	0.00	0.18
Missouri State Total	Black	220,556	336	0.002	0.69
Missouri State Total	Hispanic	36,105	87	0.00	1.09
Missouri State Total	NativeAmer	1,927	2	0.00	0.47
Missouri State Total	Other	17,999	13	0.00	0.33
Missouri State Total	White	984,097	2,170	0.00	1.45
Missouri State Total	Total	1,273,509	2,613	0.00	

A big factor has been the 2015 [Rodriguez decision](#). The Supreme Court, in the opinion written by Ruth Bader Ginsberg, ruled that officers must cite "independently supported reasonable suspicion" in order to call for a dog to detect evidence of a crime. If the officer hadn't acted on "reasonable" facts, the judge would not allow the results of the search to be used as evidence in court.

Consent Searches

In 2009, Missouri officers used consent searches on Black drivers at a rate per stop 45% higher than the rate for White drivers, but the disproportion has been falling. In 2018 Black drivers were affected at a rate per stop 1.07 times the rate for White drivers. **In 2019 the rate was 0.99; Black drivers were affected at a rate lower than the White rate.** 2020 fell another point to 0.98 where it stayed for 2021. **In 2022 it remains at 0.99.**

Here are agencies with low consent search disproportions against Black drivers in 2022:

2022 Vehicle Stops Report					
Consent Searches: low Black disproportions					
Agency	Group	Total Stops	Authority for Search		
	Black		>20		<1.00
	Officer Perception	Count	Consent	Rate Per Stop	Disproportion
Cole County Sheriff's Dept	Black	448	25	0.06	0.87
Edmundson Police Dept	Black	898	62	0.07	0.38
Florissant Police Dept	Black	9122	91	0.01	0.51
Independence Police Dept	Black	2904	37	0.01	0.60
Missouri State Total	Black	220,556	5,497	0.02	0.99
North County Police Coopera	Black	5820	143	0.02	0.36
O'Fallon Police Dept	Black	3426	93	0.03	0.99
Pine Lawn Police Dept	Black	831	61	0.07	0.21
Sedalia Police Dept	Black	637	29	0.05	0.84
Sikeston Police Dept	Black	1120	56	0.05	0.94
St. Ann Police Dept	Black	1735	40	0.02	0.95
St. Peters Police Dept	Black	1232	46	0.04	0.77
Vinita Park Police Dept	Black	2135	21	0.01	0.24
Wellston Police Dept	Black	347	41	0.12	0.45
Wentzville Police Dept	Black	1195	30	0.03	1.00

Other agencies continue to have high disproportions. Here are those that meet the criteria of making at least 50 stops of Black drivers, at least 20 consent searches and having a disproportion of at least 2.00. The list has been getting shorter, I'm glad to report.

2022 Vehicle Stops Report					
High Black Consent Search Disproportions					
Agency	Group	Total Stops			
			> 20		> 2.00
	Officer Perception	Count	Consent	Rate Per Stop	Disproportion
Chesterfield Police Dept	Black	3180	53	0.02	2.97
Richmond Heights Police Dept	Black	2366	28	0.01	4.98
St. Louis City Police Dept	Black	18841	845	0.04	2.71
UCM-Dept of Public Safety	Black	240	38	0.16	2.85
University City Police Dept	Black	3102	73	0.02	2.85
University of Missouri-Columbia	Black	730	38	0.05	2.28

White Privilege

In some cases, agencies perform consent searches on Black drivers at low rates per stop compared to other agencies (arbitrarily set at 0.030, slightly above the state average of 0.020) but still have high disproportions. The only way this situation can occur is for the consent search rate for White drivers to be super low. Here are some agencies that fit this pattern.

Low Consent Search rates against Black drivers but high disproportions:

2022 Vehicle Stops Report						
Consent Searches with low rates against Black drivers but high disproportions						
Agency	Group	Population	Total Stops	Authority for Search		
				>10	<0.03	>1.50
	Officer Perception	2021 ACS estimate of driver-age residents	Count	Consent	Rate Per Stop	Disproportion
Chesterfield Police Dept	Black	1367	3180	53	0.02	2.97
Clayton Police Dept	Black	1218	1654	16	0.01	1.97
Frontenac Police Dept	Black	100	760	14	0.02	9.03
Jackson County Sheriff's Dept	Black	122747	1114	19	0.02	1.75
Kansas City Police Dept	Black	101137	8350	34	0.00	1.53
Platte County Sheriff's Dept	Black	5350	1694	25	0.01	1.51
Richmond Heights Police Dept	Black	703	2366	28	0.01	4.98
St. Louis County Police Dept	Black	184411	12388	174	0.01	1.75
University City Police Dept	Black	9667	3102	73	0.02	2.85

Officers do not appear to be targeting Black drivers because the rates are no higher than the state average of 0.02 per stop. The disproportions are high because the rates for White drivers are low. They use consent searches sparingly, and perhaps only use them when they have a good reason, **but they are seldom suspicious enough of White drivers to ask for consent.** Perhaps they should be more suspicious of White drivers, but I don't like anyone being asked to surrender Constitutional rights. I take this situation to illustrate White privilege.

Low Stop Rates for Black Drivers but High Disproportions

2022 Vehicle Stops Report							
Agencies with low stop rates for Black residents but high disproportions							
Agency	Group	Total Stops			Resident Stops		
					>100	<0.20	>3.00
	Officer Perception	Count	Rate per Driver	Disproportion	Count	Rate per Driver	Disproportion
Boone County Sheriff's Dept	Black	2092	0.16	3.27	1737	0.14	3.66
Columbia Police Dept	Black	2007	0.18	4.81	1712	0.16	5.64
Dellwood Police Dept	Black	688	0.22	4.15	113	0.04	3.86
Ferguson Police Dept	Black	506	0.05	5.31	124	0.01	5.21
Florissant Police Dept	Black	9122	0.59	6.79	330	0.02	4.29
Gladstone Dept of Public Safety	Black	474	0.38	5.06	113	0.09	3.87
Greene County Sheriff's Dept	Black	1485	0.20	2.94	1317	0.18	3.08
Maryland Heights Police Dept	Black	4097	1.28	4.46	438	0.14	3.41
Mexico Police Dept	Black	140	0.24	2.30	109	0.19	3.10
St. Ann Police Dept	Black	1735	0.59	6.64	185	0.06	4.79
St. Charles County Police Dept	Black	1398	0.10	6.59	487	0.03	3.57
St. Louis City Police Dept	Black	18841	0.18	1.83	9440	0.09	3.32
University City Police Dept	Black	3102	0.32	4.86	1065	0.11	5.23

Using less restrictive parameters would increase the number of agencies. Lowering the disproportion to 2.00 expands the list to 30 agencies. Resident statistics are used because the estimates of numbers of drivers are more dependable for them.

Odor Searches

Disproportions remain in other high-discretion situations. **The odor of drugs or alcohol was probable cause for conducting a search in 2022 but is no longer allowed under Missouri's law legalizing marijuana.** Officers could be applying different standards to different drivers.

In 2009, Black drivers were subjected to odor searches at a rate per stop 1.79 times the rate for White drivers. Rates and disproportions have generally been up, although the disproportion was down for 2022, the final year.

History of Odor Search Disproportions

Large Agency Post-stop Disproportions					
Comparisons by year of the largest agencies.	Year	Race	Drug Alcohol Odor Search	D/A Odor Rate	D/A Odor Disproportion
Select Years			count	grp incidents / grp stops	minority rate / white rate
Missouri State Totals	2001	Black	2022	0.01	1.59
Missouri State Totals	2009	Black	3309	0.01	1.79
Missouri State Totals	2013	Black	5655	0.02	2.92
Missouri State Totals	2014	Black	5628	0.02	2.84
Missouri State Totals	2015	Black	5808	0.02	2.85
Missouri State Totals	2016	Black	7263	0.03	2.93
Missouri State Totals	2017	Black	9662	0.03	3.26
Missouri State Totals	2018	Black	8607	0.03	2.76
Missouri State Totals	2019	Black	8944	0.03	2.87
Missouri State Totals	2020	Black	7147	0.03	3.03
Missouri State Totals	2021	Black	7384	0.03	2.89
Missouri State Totals	2022	Black	5861	0.03	2.71

Only a few agencies avoid odor search disproportions against Black drivers. Here they are, filtered to see those that made enough stops and odor searches of Black drivers to establish a pattern:

2022 Vehicle Stops Report					
Agencies with more than 10 Odor Searches and low Black disproportions					
Agency	Group	Total Stops	Authority for Search		
			>10		< 1.00
	Officer Perception	Count	Drug Odor	Rate Per Stop	Disproportion
Edmundson Police Dept	Black	898	13	0.01	0.46
Wellston Police Dept	Black	347	16	0.05	0.97

Agencies with High Drug/Alcohol Odor Search Disproportions

2022 Vehicle Stops Report							
Agencies with High Drug/Alcohol Odor Search Disproportions							
Agency	Group	Population	Group % of Population	Total Stops			
	Black				>20		>4.50
	Officer Perception	2021 ACS estimate of driver	Group Pop / Total Pop	Count	Drug/Alc Odor	Rate Per Stop	Disproportion
Boone County Sheriff's Dept	Black	12717	9%	2092	58	0.03	5.89
Chesterfield Police Dept	Black	1367	3%	3180	121	0.04	4.74
Fulton Police Dept	Black	802	8%	406	21	0.05	6.35
Greene County Sheriff's Dept	Black	7500	3%	1485	44	0.03	5.48
Lake Winnebago Police Dept	Black	32	3%	355	26	0.07	5.76
Missouri State Highway Patrol	Black	535276	11%	39302	1660	0.04	4.64
Poplar Bluff Police Dept	Black	1404	11%	439	26	0.06	5.30
Richmond Heights Police Dept	Black	703	9%	2366	26	0.01	13.87
Springfield Police Dept	Black	5897	4%	1651	48	0.03	4.51
St. Louis City Police Dept	Black	105515	42%	18841	121	0.01	11.16
Ste. Genevieve Co. Sheriff's Dept	Black	156	1%	230	22	0.10	4.78
University City Police Dept	Black	9667	33%	3102	36	0.01	12.65
Wright City Police Dept	Black	286	8%	244	24	0.10	5.73

Most of these agencies use odor searches at rates per stop well above the state rate. Richmond Heights and University City officers use them at rates well below the state rate but still have a high disproportion against Black drivers because they almost never use them against White drivers.

2022 Vehicle Stops Report					
Agencies with Low Rates But High Disproportions for D/A Odor Searches of Black Drivers					
Agency	Group	Total Stops			
	Black				
	Officer Perception	Count	Drug/Alc Odor	Rate Per Stop	Disproportion
Missouri State Total	Black	220,556	5,861	0.027	2.71
Missouri State Total	White	984,097	9,635	0.010	0.37
Richmond Heights Police Dept	Black	2366	26	0.011	13.87
Richmond Heights Police Dept	White	2525	2	0.001	0.07
University City Police Dept	Black	3102	36	0.012	12.65
University City Police Dept	White	1090	1	0.001	0.08

Investigative Stops

In the first VSR Executive Summary, then AG Jay Nixon suggested the **high stop disproportions could be the result of officers patrolling areas with high concentrations of Black drivers**. He pointed to “hot spot patrols,” in which officers make no-tolerance stops in areas with high rates of violations, accidents, complaints, crime and so on. The concentrated patrols can be justified by data on crimes and vehicle accidents.¹ They can be an important part of the agency’s effort to investigate crime, but the VSR was originally allowed to include only stops for traffic violations, not investigative stops.

In 2004 the Black Caucus succeeded in amending the law, [590.650](#), so that investigative stops were included, but investigative stops were never defined and training was not provided. **Officers have never recorded very many investigative stops—less than 4% of 2021 stops were checked off as investigative**—not enough to account for the high stop disproportions. They might just record those stops that are purely investigative, with no violation observed, but the intent was always that officers would check off all reasons involved in a stop; the check-off sheet officers are expected to use tells them to check all categories that apply.

Here are reasons for stops in the statewide 2022 VSR:

Stops		Stops						
Agency		Missouri State Total						
Group	Officer Perception	Asian	Black	Hispanic	NativeAmerican	Other	White	Total
VSR Estimate of Driver-Age Residents	ACS 2021 Data	101,636	535,276	183,165	16,570	238,513	4,018,782	4,910,777
Total Stops	Total Stops	12,825	220,556	36,105	1,927	17,999	984,097	1,273,509
Reason for Stop	Equipment	1,253	26,417	4,382	266	2,597	132,468	167,383
	Rate per Driver	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.03
	Disproportion	0.37	1.50	0.73	0.49	0.33	0.67	
	Investigative	303	9,595	1,325	52	885	30,224	42,384
	Rate per Driver	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
	Disproportion	0.40	2.38	0.96	0.42	0.49	0.42	
	License	2,178	83,329	7,662	452	5,813	302,400	401,834
	Rate per Driver	0.02	0.16	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.08	0.08
	Disproportion	0.28	2.07	0.56	0.36	0.32	0.48	
	Moving Violation	9,449	120,261	24,124	1,374	9,561	559,263	724,032
	Rate per Driver	0.09	0.22	0.13	0.08	0.04	0.14	0.15
	Disproportion	0.67	1.61	0.95	0.60	0.29	0.62	

2022 data probably did not capture all investigative stops. Many agencies report fewer reasons for stops than stops; officers could be routinely leaving out investigative stops. **Agencies hurt themselves when they fail to record investigative stops**. Investigative stops could be based on convincing evidence clearly independent of race, but with the data missing, large stop disproportions often give the impression that officers are not acting on facts but committing discrimination.

¹ Fridell, Lorie. (2017) *Producing Bias-Free Policing: A Science-Based Approach*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing. Page 83. See the section, Reduce the Risk of Bias in High-Discretion, Crime-Control-Focused Activities.

Some agencies have higher numbers of investigative stops. Looking just at agencies that reported the highest percentages of investigative stops, **they still do not amount to enough stops to have a large impact on Black stop disproportions.**

2022 Vehicle Stops Report				
Percentage of Investigative Stops				
Agency	Group	Total Stops		Percent of Investigative Stops
		> 100		> 10%
	Officer Perception	Count	Investigative	Investigative / Total Stops
Ava Police Dept	Total	1396	162	12%
Berkeley Police Dept	Total	1230	136	11%
Dellwood Police Dept	Total	786	162	21%
Lake Winnebago Police Dept	Total	3750	1707	46%
Missouri Dept of Conservation Pr	Total	461	380	82%
St. Francois County Sheriff's Dept	Total	1695	228	13%
St. Louis City Police Dept	Total	32586	6239	19%
St. Louis County Police Dept	Total	39241	4482	11%
University City Police Dept	Total	4531	593	13%
Wentzville Police Dept	Total	7427	1403	19%

Perhaps an agency having 20% of its stops include an investigative desire is not unusual. But even 20% is not enough to account for high disproportions. For instance, in Wentzville, **leaving out Black investigative stops leads to a reduction in the Black stop disproportion from 2.92 to 2.59.**

Is there reliable research on the proportion of stops officers make with an investigative desire? Perhaps someone has studied the data somewhere. How many Black stops might be investigative in Missouri? There would need to be 90,000 of them to account for the entire stop disproportion; subtracting 90,000 from Total Stops eliminates the Black disproportion.

Non-Resident Drivers

Statewide, Black drivers are stopped at a rate per estimated driver 1.68 times the White rate, but Black drivers in their home jurisdictions fare much better. The disproportion is 1.19. This clue can help us discover what causes high stop disproportions and what changes law enforcement needs to make to ensure public safety is protected without infringing on Constitutional rights.

The 2022 stop rate per driver for Black drivers who do not live in the jurisdiction where they are stopped is more than twice the White rate—2.24 times greater.

2022 Vehicle Stops Report: Resident and Non-Resident Stops								
Agency		Missouri State Total						
Group	Officer Perception	Asian	Black	Hispanic	NativeAmerican	Other	White	Total
VSR Estimate of Driver-Age Residents	ACS 2021 Data	101636	535276	183165	16570	238513	4018782	4910777
Total Stops	Count	12,825	220,556	36,105	1,927	17,999	984,097	1,273,509
	Rate per Driver	0.13	0.41	0.20	0.12	0.08	0.24	0.26
	Disproportion	0.52	1.68	0.80	0.47	0.31	0.59	
Resident Stops	Count	5,179	82,704	15,772	725	4,230	521,066	629,676
	Rate per Driver	0.05	0.15	0.09	0.04	0.02	0.13	0.13
	Disproportion	0.39	1.19	0.66	0.34	0.14	0.84	
Non-Resident Stops	Total Stops Minus Res Stops							
		7646	137,852	20333	1202	13769	463031	643833
	Rate per Jurisdiction Driver	0.08	0.26	0.11	0.07	0.06	0.12	0.13
	Disproportion	0.65	2.24	0.96	0.63	0.50	0.45	
	Rate per State Driver	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
	Disproportion	0.65	2.24	0.96	0.63	0.50	0.45	
Non-R Stops as % of Total Stops	Non-R / Total Stops	60%	63%	56%	62%	76%	47%	51%

1.19 is close enough to equity that factors other than systemic discrimination, such as socioeconomic status, might explain it. But looking at the level of jurisdictions, many of them still have high disproportions which demand explanations and remediation.

Knowing the source of so much of the Black stop disproportion means the possibility of discrimination can be addressed; **finally the data points to a clear source of disproportion**. Agencies must accept responsibility for investigating the stops of visitors to make sure officers are acting on facts clearly independent of race and that command staff are creating policies and procedures based on documented public safety concerns.

Here are agencies making more than a minimum number stops and having a high proportion of non-resident stops of Black drivers.

2022 Vehicle Stops Report													
Agencies with high proportions of stops of non-resident Black drivers													
Agency	Group	Population	Group % of Population	Total Stops			Resident Stops			Non-Resident Stops			Non-R Stops as % of Total
	Black			More than 2000									Greater than 50%
	Officer Perception	2021 ACS estimate of driver	Group Pop / Total Pop	Count	Rate per Driver	Disproportion	Count	Rate per Driver	Disproportion	Total Stops Minus Res Stops	Rate per Jurisdiction Driver	Disproportion	Non-R / Total Stops
Chesterfield Police Dept	Black	1367	3%	3180	2.33	6.58	247	0.18	2.66	2933	2.15	7.51	92%
Florissant Police Dept	Black	15367	37%	9122	0.59	6.79	330	0.02	4.29	8792	0.57	6.95	96%
Hazelwood Police Dept	Black	8234	40%	7681	0.93	3.53	843	0.10	2.51	6838	0.83	3.72	89%
Independence Police Dept	Black	8192	8%	2904	0.35	3.02	1102	0.13	2.24	1802	0.22	3.84	62%
Lee's Summit Police Dept	Black	6085	8%	3849	0.63	2.76	1604	0.26	2.27	2245	0.37	3.25	58%
Maryland Heights Police Dept	Black	3204	14%	4097	1.28	4.46	438	0.14	3.41	3659	1.14	4.64	89%
Missouri State Total	Black	535276	11%	220,556	0.41	1.68	82,704	0.15	1.19	137,852	0.26	2.24	63%
O'Fallon Police Dept	Black	2745	4%	3426	1.25	5.22	950	0.35	3.52	2476	0.90	6.41	72%
Richmond Heights Police Dept	Black	703	9%	2366	3.37	8.25	42	0.06	2.43	2324	3.31	8.62	98%
St. Charles Police Dept	Black	3667	6%	2903	0.79	7.83	363	0.10	2.99	2540	0.69	10.18	87%
University City Police Dept	Black	9667	33%	3102	0.32	4.86	1065	0.11	5.23	2037	0.21	4.69	66%
Vinita Park Police Dept	Black	844	58%	2135	2.53	3.80	52	0.06	1.84	2083	2.47	3.91	98%

These agencies make a significant number of stops of Black drivers who do not live in their jurisdictions: 84,817. **If the agencies reduced the numbers of stops or documented that the stops were based on facts that are clearly independent of race, then we could say with confidence that discrimination is much less of a problem than current stop disproportions suggest.** Reducing Black stops by 90,000 brings the overall Black disproportion to equity, as seen above in the section on investigative stops.

A possible explanation of the stop disproportion for visiting Black drivers is that the same drivers end up being stopped multiple times. Agencies can find this information in their internal data. Officers could be alerted that these drivers have been stopped previously and found to be valuable workers and shoppers, not criminal suspects.

For more documents covering aspects of the VSR, see my website: [Love the Missouri Vehicle Stops Report](#).

This is a work in progress. Comments? Questions? Corrections?

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