

Using Vehicle Stops Report Data to Address Discrimination: for Empower Missouri

The Missouri Vehicle Stops Report (VSR¹) provides objective evidence about traffic stops. The original 2000 legislation intended it to document whether Black drivers were disproportionately affected by traffic stops and the actions officers take during them. More than twenty years of information have been unequivocal: Black drivers are disproportionately affected by stops and other officer actions. Hispanic drivers are also affected in some situations.

Progress has been slow on addressing concerns about discrimination for several reasons:

1. **The VSR does not provide clear disproportions.** The data are in place but nothing says, “Black drivers are stopped at a rate per driver X times the rate for White drivers.” In very limited situations, rates are provided, but most of the information is just the raw data reported by agencies. **When advocates began publishing disproportions on consent searches, the high disproportions against Black drivers immediately began to decline.** For the past four years, White drivers have had higher consent search rates per stop than Black drivers.
2. **Disproportions have been confused with discrimination.** Disproportions can be caused by factors other than officers applying different standards to some groups. **In order to document discrimination, evidence must be available that officers treated groups differently.** Or, assuming officers are relying on credible intelligence when they act against White drivers, discrimination can be taken to occur when officers act against Black drivers based on facts that aren’t “specific and articulable,” as expressed in the Terry decision.
3. **Bias is the root cause of discrimination.** Steps must be taken to make sure officers understand the dangers of bias and want to eliminate their biases or at least be able to control them, but we can’t wait for our society to undo 400 years of unequal treatment being the norm. Instead, **officers must be held accountable for acting on facts that clearly justify their actions and are clearly independent of racial stereotypes.** The criteria for these facts must be embedded in policies and training. Officers must document the facts they act on, using methods that are efficient and make the information easily accessible to supervisors—such as the checkoffs used for the VSR. Officers must receive prompt feedback on the facts they cite: approval from supervisors or guidance on the evidence required. Officers who do not respond to feedback must face discipline or dismissal.
4. Finding compelling evidence of discrimination is inherently difficult, even for prosecutors with access to law enforcement records. Sometimes a situation is so bad, as in Ferguson, that prosecution is necessary, but our Constitutional system of law enforcement relies on agencies assuming the primary responsibility for acting on specific or “actionable” facts. For traffic stops in Missouri, **agencies with disproportions high enough to raise community concerns must accept the responsibility to document that officers are acting on facts that satisfy community standards.** Vulnerable individuals and their advocates should not be expected to prove discrimination; it is enough for them to cite disproportions and other forms of circumstantial evidence. **Agencies must be held accountable for proving that law enforcement actions are always based on acceptable facts.** These actions include those by officers on the street up through command staff, who must control systemic issues.
5. **Updating 590.650, the law that mandates the VSR would help the processes outlined above.** A few more checkoffs would help clarify situations of concern. The law should allow the VSR to take advantage of the Incident-Based Data (IBD) most agencies now use. Because IBD keeps all information grouped by stop, things like contraband found in a consent search can be analyzed. The VSR needs rates and disproportions for all categories of data collected. Agencies need guidance on data collection and reporting. Officer evaluations need to be based on reporting credible facts supporting their actions. Agencies must document that the facts officers act on are sufficient for the actions taken and clearly independent of racial stereotypes of criminality.

¹ Links: [2023 Executive Summary](#)
[2023 Annual State Report](#)
[2023 VSR Agency Specific Reports](#)
[2023 Agency Responses](#)
[Rules & Regulations](#) (Code of State Regulations)
[590.650](#) (the law that mandates the VSR)

Consent Searches

In 2010, [Dr David A. Harris](#), University of Pittsburgh School of Law, led panel discussions across the state for Empower Missouri on racial profiling as a threat to public trust in police officers. I was his chauffeur. He told me a good way to address the problem of possible discrimination was to publicize disproportions in searches based on the consent of the driver. The numbers are already in the Vehicle Stops Report, he told me.

Advocacy groups began emphasizing consent searches as an indicator of possible discrimination. Agencies with high disproportions against groups had to accept responsibility for documenting that officers were acting on convincing facts when they asked for consent.

Improvements quickly appeared among some agencies. My first awareness of a breakthrough occurred when I was studying the 2015 data. Ladue Police Department reported no consent searches, after reporting 27 in 2009 for a disproportion of 6.81. Ladue still had very high stop disproportions against Black drivers based on group estimates of resident drivers because very few Blacks reside in Ladue, but on all the post-stop situations I use as alerts, LPD's disproportions had fallen dramatically from the previous year.

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 was 0.99. **In 2023 Black drivers were subjected to consent searches at a rate per stop 89% of the White rate; the White rate was 1.13 times the Black rate.**

One of the most helpful uses of VSR data is to rank agencies according to significant metrics. Here are agencies that still had high consent search disproportions against Black drivers in 2023:

Table 1:2023 High Consent Search Disproportions

VSRdata 2023 Master SS 6 18 24						
2023 VSR: Agency Name	Group	Population from ACS 2022	Total Stops	Consent Search	Rate per Stop	Disproportion: Non-W Rate / White
Filters	Black			>20		>2.00
Kansas City Police Dept	Black	101144	9176	76	0.0083	2.38
Montgomery County Sheriff's	Black	179	125	33	0.264	2.53
Normandy Police Dept	Black	2595	1281	22	0.0172	2.37
Richmond Heights Police Dept	Black	651	1923	28	0.0146	3.85
Springfield Police Dept	Black	6288	2222	231	0.104	2.26
St Louis City Police Dept	Black	102617	16424	471	0.0287	2.83

Black drivers in KC were subjected to consent searches at a rate per stop 2.38 times the rate for White drivers. Similar lists were much longer in the past. Agencies that aren't such outliers should still be working on concerns. Every consent search must be based on documented facts that are clearly independent of stereotypes.

Agencies that have low disproportions should be thanked:

Table 2: 2023 Low Consent Search Disproportions

VSRdata 2023 Master SS 7 14 24					
2023 VSR: Agency Name	Group	Population from ACS 2022	Consent Search	Rate per Stop	Disproportion: Non-W Rate / White Rate or W / B
Filters			>25		<1.00
Boone County Sheriff's Dept	Black	12779	120	0.0404	0.98
Cape Girardeau Police Dept	Black	4054	33	0.0254	0.73
Clay County Sheriff's Dept	Black	12541	44	0.0244	0.54
Edmundson Police Dept	Black	291	28	0.0246	0.50
Florissant Police Dept	Black	15811	86	0.0104	0.23
Hazelwood Police Dept	Black	8416	85	0.0102	0.59
Independence Police Dept	Black	8968	55	0.0138	0.72
North County Police Cooperative	Black	184627	80	0.0135	0.86
O'Fallon Police Dept	Black	3441	79	0.0209	0.89
Sikeston Police Dept	Black	2898	55	0.0238	0.65
St Ann Police Dept	Black	2850	49	0.0164	0.61
St Charles County Police Dept	Black	16111	84	0.0380	0.50
St Peters Police Dept	Black	2349	41	0.0302	0.64
Missouri State Results	Black	535423	4,389	0.0186	0.89

When Black disproportions are below 1.00 there is a possibility officers are applying different standards to White drivers. I suspect some agencies are subjecting White drivers to consent searches without sufficient justification.

Consent Searches in Incident-Based Data

One of the advantages of Incident-Based Data (IBD) over the VSR's aggregate data is that categories can be combined. For instance, contraband found can be linked to stops in which a consent search was performed. Columbia PD posts its IBD on the city website so I use it to dig deeper into VSR data.

Using the 2023 CPD IBD, here's the contraband that was found when a consent search was made during a stop. The contraband could have been found in a different type of search, but the net result was that contraband was found only 31% of the time (0.31 in the lower right corner):

Table 4: CPD IBD Contraband Found following Consent Searches

2023 CPD IBD Contraband Found During Stops with Consent Searches								
Group	Officer Perception	Asian	Black	Hispanic	Native American	Other	White	Total
Group Population	2021 VSR ACSEstimates	6,452	10,661	3,301	258	4,654	78,132	102,321
Consent Searches	CPD Added Checkoff	1	71	7	0	0	103	182
Contraband Found	Alcohol	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contraband Found	Currency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contraband Found	Drugs Alcohol Parapernal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contraband Found	Drugs Paraphernalia	0	7	1	0	0	17	25
Contraband Found	Marijuana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contraband Found	No Contraband Found	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contraband Found	Other	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Contraband Found	Drugs	0	3	0	0	0	6	9
Contraband Found	Paraphernalia	0	6	0	0	0	8	14
Contraband Found	Stolen Property	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Contraband Found	Weapon	0	2	0	0	0	3	5
Contraband Found	Total	0	20	1	0	0	35	56
Rate Per Search	Contraband Per Search	-	0.28	0.14			0.34	0.31
Disproportion	NW/W or W/B	0.00	0.83	0.42			1.21	

Black drivers were found with contraband at a rate per search 83% of the White rate (0.83 in the bottom row of the Black column).

Contraband found is not necessarily sufficient to support an arrest charge. A weapon might have been in legal possession. A trace amount of a drug might have been found.

Table 5: CPD IBD: Arrests Per Contraband Found Following Consent Searches

2023 CPD IBD Arrests Per Contraband Found During Stops with Consent Searches		Asian	Black	Hispanic	Native American	Other	White	Total
Contraband Found	Total	0	20	1	0	0	35	56
Arrest	All Charges	1	8	1	0	0	22	32
Arrest Rate	Arrests Per Contraband Found	#DIV/0!	0.40	1.00	#DIV/0!	#DIV/0!	0.63	0.57
2023 CPD IBD VSR 4 25 24 PT Arrest follow CS								

57% of all the contraband resulted in an arrest, which means 43% did not result in an arrest. 60% of the contraband for Black drivers did not result in an arrest. Were officers applying the same standards to all drivers?

Considering all stops in which consent searches occurred, rates of arrests per consent search were low: 18%. The Black rate was barely more than half the White rate (0.11 compared to 0.21). White drivers were arrested at a rate per consent search 1.90 times the Black rate:

Table 6: CPD IBD: Arrest made for Contraband Found Following Consent Searches

2023 CPD IBD Arrests Made During Stops with Consent Searches		Asian	Black	Hispanic	Native American	Other	White	Total
Group Population	2021 VSR ACS Estimates	6,452	10,661	3,301	258	4,654	78,132	102,321
Consent Searches	CPD Added Checkoff	1	71	7	0	0	103	182
Arrest	Drug Violation	0	2	1	0	0	9	12
Arrest	Other Weapon Violation	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Arrest	Property Crime	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Arrest	All Charges	1	8	1	0	0	22	32
Rate Per Search	Arrest Per Consent Search	1.00	0.11	0.14			0.21	0.18
Disproportion	NW/W or W/B	4.68	0.53	0.67			1.90	
2023 CPD IBD VSR 4 25 24 PT Arrest follow CS								

All arrest charges were probably not tried in court. All trials probably did not result in convictions. Even though the numbers of consent searches have declined over the years and the disproportions against Black drivers based on rates per search have almost disappeared, consent searches do not appear to be an effective way to protect public safety. Officers should be relying on probable cause evidence, not asking drivers to surrender their Constitutional rights.

Stops of Residents and Non-Residents

In 2019 a checkoff was added for the residency of the driver, whether in the jurisdiction where the stop occurred or out of it. Agencies took some time to learn how to use the checkoffs accurately. Errors are still evident in the data. Non-resident drivers are still not identified by checkoffs but determined by the difference between total stops and resident stops, which could be masking problems, but the information has finally revealed crucial clues about the causes of stop disproportions.

Table 7: 2023 Stops of Residents and Non-Residents in Jurisdictions

2023 VSR Statewide Disproportions		Spreadsheet						VSR 2023 PT Statewide 6 18 24
Group		Asian	Black	Hispanic	Native Am	Other	White	Grand Total
Population	VSR ACS 2022	105,151	535,423	191,155	14,295	285,027	3,925,816	4,940,395
Total Stops	Count	14,148	235,979	42,736	2,288	18,995	1,053,004	1,367,150
Rate per Driver	Rate Per Driver	0.13	0.44	0.22	0.16	0.07	0.27	0.28
Disproportion: Non-W Rate /	NW/W or W/B	0.50	1.64	0.83	0.60	0.25	0.61	
Resident Stops Only	Count	5,583	89,428	18,403	837	4,726	565,766	684,743
Rate per Driver	Rate Per Driver	0.05	0.17	0.10	0.06	0.02	0.14	0.14
Disproportion	NW/W or W/B	0.37	1.16	0.67	0.41	0.12	0.86	
Non-Resident Stops Only	Total Minus Resident	8,565	146,551	24,333	1,451	14,269	487,238	682,407
Rate per Statewide Driver	Rate Per Driver	0.08	0.27	0.13	0.10	0.05	0.12	0.14
Disproportion	NW/W or W/B	0.66	2.21	1.03	0.82	0.40	0.45	

Black drivers were stopped at a rate per estimated driver 1.64 times the rate for White drivers. The rate of stops for non-resident White drivers goes down, not up.

After years of just seeing high overall disproportions against Black drivers, we can finally see that Black drivers in their home jurisdictions have disproportions low enough that we should be able to lower them further or see prove that officers are acting on compelling facts. The disproportions are low enough that economic factors might account for much of them.

Why then are Black drivers stopped at a disproportion of 2.21 when they are visiting other jurisdictions? Ranking agencies provides a clue. Here are the agencies that contribute the most to the 2.21 statewide stop disproportion.

Table 8: 2000 stops of Black Non-Residents and 50% stops of Black Non-Residents

VSRdata 2023 Master SS 7 14 24							
2023 VSR: Agency Name	Group	Population from ACS 2022	Total Stops	Non-Resident Stops Only (Total Stops - Resident Stops)	Rate per Statewide Driver	Disproportion: Non-W Rate / White Rate or W / B	Non-R Stops as % of Total Stops
Filters	Black		>2000				>50%
Chesterfield Police Dept	Black	1395	2810	2564	0.00	2.42	91%
Creve Coeur Police Dept	Black	1561	2241	2112	0.00	3.63	94%
Florissant Police Dept	Black	15811	8258	7917	0.015	31.41	96%
Grandview Police Dept	Black	7107	2255	1978	0.00	7.01	88%
Hazelwood Police Dept	Black	8416	8362	7575	0.01	21.73	91%
Independence Police Dept	Black	8968	3977	2453	0.00	3.09	62%
Lee's Summit Police Dept	Black	6242	5358	3166	0.01	2.53	59%
Maryland Heights Police Dept	Black	3301	5957	5262	0.01	6.95	88%
North County Police Cooperati	Black	184627	5915	5497	0.01	83.79	93%
O'Fallon Police Dept	Black	3441	3775	2787	0.01	2.37	74%
St Ann Police Dept	Black	2850	2993	2663	0.00	19.60	89%
St Charles County Police Dept	Black	16111	2212	1429	0.00	4.02	65%
St Charles Police Dept	Black	4046	3261	2632	0.00	6.14	81%
St Louis City Police Dept	Black	102617	16424	9593	0.02	8.97	58%
University City Police Dept	Black	9216	3220	2365	0.00	17.69	73%
Missouri State Results	Black	535423	235,979	146551	0.27	2.21	62%

The disproportions given for each agency are not reliable because rates based on the statewide group populations cannot be counted on to reflect the group populations of visiting drivers. What's important in this table is that stops of non-residents by these agencies are what causes the statewide disproportion of 2.21.

Why are officers stopping so many out-of-jurisdiction drivers? Why is the rate for Black drivers more than twice the rate for White drivers? What public safety concern is being addressed? Are visiting drivers committing serious violations? Are they committing violent crimes? Are officers targeting suspects about whom credible intelligence has been gathered by investigators? Are large numbers of violations or accidents occurring on the routes these drivers are using?

Aren't visiting drivers much more likely to come to work, shop, attend school and so on? Are there ways to protect the public from the few individuals who might be a threat without pulling over so many ordinary people? Can other methods be used to prevent serious criminal activity—methods which do not alienate valuable community members who are just coming to work or shop?

These agencies, and others with similar statistics, have a responsibility to document the public safety reasons that make these stops necessary.

Investigative Stops

The Black Caucus was concerned about “pretext stops” when writing 590.650—stops in which a minor violation is used to make a stop which would not have been made except for suspicions about the driver. How often were these pretext stops being made? Was there a disproportion against Black drivers?

When a checkoff for investigative stops was added in 2004, few were reported. Perhaps officers and agencies needed more guidance about using the checkoff. AG Eric Schmitt amended the Code of State Regulations (CSR, see footnote 1) in 2020 to include checkoffs for categories of investigative stops: calls for service, agency bulletins, officer-initiated investigations and other investigative stops. The CSR says officers are to record an investigative intent when it was involved—an “investigative desire” (15CSR60-10.020(2)(C)1.).

2023 VSR data indicate Black drivers are disproportionately affected by investigative stops but not enough of them are being made to begin to account for the overall Black stop disproportion:

Table 9: Types of Investigative Stops

2023 VSR Statewide Disproportions		Spreadsheet: VSR 2023 PT Statewide 6 18 24						
Group		Asian	Black	Hispanic	Native Am	Other	White	Grand Total
Population	VSR ACS 2022	105,151	535,423	191,155	14,295	285,027	3,925,816	4,940,395
Total Stops	Count	14,148	235,979	42,736	2,288	18,995	1,053,004	1,367,150
Reason: Investigative	Count	345	9,218	1,491	70	1,034	27,833	39,991
Rate per Driver	Rate Per Driver	0.003	0.017	0.008	0.005	0.004	0.007	0.008
Disproportion	NW/W or W/B	0.46	2.43	1.10	0.69	0.51	0.41	
Invest Stop: Call for Service	Count	74	2,511	346	22	266	7,294	10,513
Rate per Driver	Rate Per Driver	0.001	0.005	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.002	0.002
Disproportion	NW/W or W/B	0.38	2.52	0.97	0.83	0.50	0.40	
Invest Stop: Officer initiated	Count	138	3,620	700	33	262	11,896	16,649
Rate per Driver	Rate Per Driver	0.001	0.007	0.004	0.002	0.001	0.003	0.003
Disproportion	NW/W or W/B	0.43	2.23	1.21	0.76	0.30	0.45	
Invest Stop: Bulletin	Count	8	450	31	1	64	999	1,553
Rate per Driver	Rate Per Driver	0.0001	0.0008	0.0002	0.0001	0.0002	0.0003	0.0003
Disproportion	NW/W or W/B	0.30	3.30	0.64	0.27	0.88	0.30	
Invest Stop: Other	Count	133	2,692	447	19	298	7,686	11,275
Rate per Driver	Rate Per Driver	0.001	0.005	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.002
Disproportion	NW/W or W/B	0.65	2.57	1.19	0.68	0.53	0.39	

Officers obeying orders to make a stop to investigate a tip from a 911 Call—a Call for Service—are acting on facts clearly independent of racial stereotypes. Perhaps the caller is biased, but the officer is acting on facts provided by dispatch.

Officers obeying orders to stop vehicles identified in bulletins prepared by the agency are also acting on facts. But not enough of these investigative stops are being made to begin to account for the overall Black stop disproportion.

Most of the investigative stops are based on officer initiative or “other” reasons, but there are not enough of these either to account for the Black stop disproportion. Perhaps investigative stops are still under reported, but for now the sources of Black disproportions must be found in other situations.

Errors in Reporting Investigative Stops, and other errors

Could it be that officers are not checking off all their investigative stops? The data suggest this could be a problem. The CSR directs that officers are to check off all reasons for stops, so that if the officer had an investigative “desire” but waited to observe at least a minor violation before acting, then both should be checked off. However, Missouri State Highway Patrol and more than 100 other agencies never check off more than one reason for a stop. Here are those agencies making more than 2000 stops.

Table 10: Total Stops Equal Reasons for Stops

VSR 2023 Master Stops and Reasons 6 19 24									
2023 VSR: Agency Name	Group	Population from ACS 2022	Total Stops	Reason: Equipment Violation	Reason: Investigative	Reason: License	Reason: Moving	Sum of Reasons for Stops	Stops minus sum of reasons
Filters	Total		>2000						
Buchanan County Sheriff's Dept	Total	67906	3255	490	55	797	1913	3255	0.00
Callaway County Sheriff's Dept	Total	36425	2590	450	127	1062	951	2590	0.00
Cole County Sheriff's Dept	Total	61878	3399	481	47	876	1995	3399	0.00
Hannibal Police Dept	Total	13622	2798	403	159	795	1441	2798	0.00
Higginsville Police Dept	Total	4103	2053	501	0	951	601	2053	0.00
Jefferson City Police Dept	Total	34990	10124	1420	389	4170	4145	10124	0.00
Kennett Police Dept	Total	7779	3103	930	136	626	1411	3103	0.00
Missouri State Highway Patrol	Total	4940395	342787	16499	1833	86101	238354	342787	0.00
Odessa Police Dept	Total	4577	2099	403	49	996	651	2099	0.00
Potosi Police Dept	Total	2032	2963	1048	20	1180	715	2963	0.00
Riverside Police Dept	Total	3085	3644	510	24	1990	1120	3644	0.00
St Francois County Sheriff's De	Total	54479	2307	943	21	636	707	2307	0.00
Webster County Sheriff's Dept	Total	29743	2093	571	80	607	835	2093	0.00

Reported investigative stops might be undercounted in VSR data in spite of clear instructions in the CSR. Perhaps they are a significant factor in Black stop disproportions. The disproportions for investigative stops are high enough to raise serious concerns but if there are more of them they become a higher priority.

Other data errors appear in the data. The VSR acknowledges that the reports depend on data reported by agencies: The analysis in the report is based on the aggregated data reported by each agency. Thus, it relies on the assumption of accuracy in the reported data in terms of the tallying of stops and resulting outcomes, the distinction between resident and non-resident drivers, etc. (Page 6, Note 3)

The agencies are ultimately responsible for accurate data, but they clearly need guidance, and might need to be held accountable. As mentioned above, data for residents and non-residents are not being reported according to CSR requirements. MSHP troopers never use the “Other” group category, even though they must sometimes encounter a driver they cannot classify as a member of one of the standard groups. One agency refused to classify drivers by group, lumping them all under “Other.”

White Privilege

In some cases, agencies perform consent searches on Black drivers at low rates per stop compared to other agencies 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:

Table 11: Low Consent Search Rate But High Disproportion

VSRdata 2023 Master SS 6 18 24						
2023 VSR: Agency Name	Group	Population from ACS 2022	Total Stops	Consent Search	Rate per Stop	Disproportion: Non-W Rate / White
Filters	Black			>10	<0.02	>1.50
Chesterfield Police Dept	Black	1395	2810	41	0.015	1.64
Jackson County Sheriff's Dept	Black	123008	984	13	0.013	2.03
Kansas City Police Dept	Black	101144	9176	76	0.008	2.38
Normandy Police Dept	Black	2595	1281	22	0.017	2.37
Platte County Sheriff's Dept	Black	6019	1200	17	0.014	1.82
Richmond Heights Police Dept	Black	651	1923	28	0.015	3.85
St Louis County Police Dept	Black	184627	14826	145	0.010	1.55

Officers do not appear to be targeting Black drivers because the rates are below 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.**

White Privilege also appears to be occurring in stop disproportions. Information from the 2023 Vehicle Stops Report is filtered in this table to see law enforcement agencies which have relatively low stop rates for Black resident drivers (the statewide rate is 0.17 per Black driver), make more than 100 stops of Black residents, and have a high disproportion: resident Black drivers in these jurisdictions are stopped at a rate per estimated driver more than 3.00 times the White rate.

Table 12: Low Resident Stop Rate but High Disproportion²

VSRdata 2023 Master SS 6 18 24						
2023 VSR: Agency Name	Group	Population from ACS 2022	Total Stops	Resident Stops Only	Rate per Driver	Disproportion: Non-W Rate / White
Filters	Black			>100	<0.17	
Bridgeton Police Dept	Black	1832	1223	121	0.07	3.84
Clay County Sheriff's Dept	Black	12541	1800	1050	0.08	3.13
Columbia Police Dept	Black	10749	1443	1189	0.11	5.60
Ferguson Police Dept	Black	10120	1431	272	0.03	3.88
Florissant Police Dept	Black	15811	8258	341	0.02	4.80
Gladstone Dept of Public Safet	Black	1570	1071	229	0.15	3.05
St Ann Police Dept	Black	2850	2993	330	0.12	3.22
St Charles County Police Dept	Black	16111	2212	783	0.05	3.25
St Charles Police Dept	Black	4046	3261	629	0.16	3.04
St Louis City Police Dept	Black	102617	16424	6831	0.07	3.55
University City Police Dept	Black	9216	3220	855	0.09	3.74
Webster Groves Police Dept	Black	815	1152	106	0.13	3.41

Using less restrictive parameters would increase the number of agencies. Lowering the threshold 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.

Conclusions

Do you have a stake in any of the law enforcement agencies identified in these tables? What can be done in your community to help law enforcement master the skills of ignoring the distractions of racial stereotypes and instead learning to act on compelling facts?

Are media covering the VSR disproportions in your community? Reporting on VSR data is not easy but it is what we need reporters to do.

Are academics paying attention to concerns raised by VSR data? Is there anyone whose help you can enlist?

Are public officials in your jurisdiction holding law enforcement accountable? Are your state officials developing policies that protect public safety and protect the rights of individuals vulnerable to discrimination?

See my website for spreadsheets using the complete VSR dataset to provide rates and disproportions for all categories of data reported by all agencies. I can also email the spreadsheets. Other resources will be added. Contact me if you have suggestions or questions.

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[Love the Missouri Vehicle Stops Report](#)

7/18/24 (minor edits from 7/16)

² Add threshold for disproportions: 3.00