

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

**Mahari Bailey, et al.,
Plaintiffs**

v.

**City of Philadelphia, et al.,
Defendants**

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C.A. No. 10-5952

**PLAINTIFFS' SEVENTH REPORT TO COURT AND MONITOR
ON STOP AND FRISK PRACTICES: FOURTEENTH
AMENDMENT RACIAL DISPARITY ISSUES**

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Racial Analysis of Stop and Frisk Practices, July-December, 2016

A. Introduction

This section sets forth a statistical analysis of the “Stop and Frisk” practices of the PPD for the second half of 2016, conducted by plaintiffs’ expert, Professor David Abrams. The benchmarks to be used in the analysis are those set forth in a revised Benchmark Memorandum agreed to by the parties in 2016.

In creating benchmarks to measure compliance of the PPD with the terms of the Agreement, we considered several criteria. First, the benchmarks are designed to be straightforward in terms of computation and interpretation. Second, they are designed to measure characteristics at the core of the Agreement, namely compliance with the Fourteenth Amendment. Third, they consider other potential explanations for patterns in the data beyond suspect race. The benchmarks are based on a combination of those discussed and used in *NAACP v. City of Philadelphia*, academic literature on the topic, and those used recently in other jurisdictions. See, e.g., *Floyd v. City of New York*, 959 F.Supp. 2d 540 (S.D.N.Y. 2013).

B. Summary of the Racial Aspects of the Stop and Frisk Data

We examined data from Q3 and Q4 2016 pedestrian stops. A random sample of the stops was drawn by the Philadelphia Police Department for legal analysis for stop and frisk sufficiency by the plaintiffs. In this report we largely focus on an analysis of this randomly selected sample (see Table 1). We also include a description of the full array of stops (Table 2) at the PSA-race level, which is the way the overall stop rate is analyzed (Table 5).

The sample dataset (Table 1) includes 4,597 total pedestrian stops and the full

data set has 57,828. This reflects a substantial decline of 35% relative to the first half of 2016 and an even larger decline relative the same period in 2015. The mean detainee age is 33 and 86% of detainees are male. The likelihood of being stopped rises sharply in the late teens and early 20's (Figure 1), which is not surprising given the evidence that criminal activity rises sharply at this age. Blacks account for 70% of those stopped, one percentage point higher than in 2015 and 2 higher than in the first half of 2016.

The data is subdivided into 64 Police Service Areas (PSA's). See Table 2 for PSA-level summary statistics.¹ There were an average of 621 stops of Black pedestrians per PSA in the second half of 2016, compared with 196 White stops and 75 of Hispanics. In light of the fact that much of this variation is due to variation in residential racial composition, we also report the stop rate by race per 10,000 residents of the same race. This varies from a low of 272 for Hispanics, to 376 for Whites and 692 stops of Blacks for every 10,000 Black residents. In keeping with the decline in overall stops, the decline in stops per same-race residential population is substantially lower than in 2015. Still, there is a substantial amount of variation in stop rates by race. Below we use a regression framework to determine whether other factors account for these differences.

The control variables include demographic, economic and crime factors. The employment rate varies substantially across PSA's. The variation in racial composition is even greater, with the Black residential share ranging from 3% to 98%. To account for higher crime rates among juvenile and young adult males, we control for the share of males under 24 in some regression specifications. This rate also varies widely, from 9 to 52 percent, with a mean of 37%. Crime rates are also likely to drive stop rates and

¹ Two PSA's are omitted: 77, which is the airport and has no residential population and 254, due to missing demographic information.

thus we control for them using three different measures: violent crime, property crime and overall Part 1 crimes. Crime rates vary by more than a factor of 10 across Philadelphia and thus it is important to include these controls.

Table 3 provides a breakdown of stop, frisk and arrest rates by race. As noted, Blacks account for 70% of stops, Whites for 23% and Latinos account for 7%. Minorities account for an even higher share of individuals frisked, of which 77% are Black, 8% Latino and 14% White. This racial composition is very similar to that of the previous two years. About 1 in 5.7 stops of Black pedestrians result in a frisk, but the rate is only 1 in 10.2 for Whites. The difference is not as large for arrests, with an arrest of a Black detained resulting from 11.5 stops on average, while for Whites it takes 12.1 stops, a change from previous years where typically the number of stops per arrest was greater for Whites than Blacks.

The number of stops varies substantially by district, with the 24th, which includes Port Richmond and part of North Philadelphia, accounting for 12.5% of the total (Figure 2). The fewest stops are in the 7th police district, in Northeast Philadelphia, accounting for just over 1% of all stops.

C. Benchmark Applications

1. Stops, Census and Regression Analysis

The question of whether race is impermissibly used as a factor in the decision to stop and frisk cannot be answered by a simple comparison of stop and frisk rates to census data. Even if stop and frisk rates relative to the same-race residential population vary by race, there could be non-racial explanations for the disparities. However, the stop rate/census comparison is the first step in this process. As set forth in Tables 2 and 3,

the stop rate by race in comparison to the census is as follows:

Black stops=70%; Black census=46%

White stops=23%; White census=42%

Latino stops=7%; Latino census=11%

The next analysis is a cross-PSA comparison of stop rates by Black/Minority population share. A racial disparity in stops should be expected based on differences in population composition. It is possible to examine variation in the share of Black and Latino stops by PSA, as reported in Tables 4A and 4B, respectively. Each row in the tables represents a PSA (column 1) and the tables are sorted by the Black or Latino share of the population in the district, as reflected in column 2. The third column reports the share of stops that are of Black/Latino pedestrians and the fourth is the ratio of Black/Latino stops to Black/Latino population share. Note that in *all but seven* PSAs, Blacks account for a higher share of stops than they do of the population; in several PSA's, they are stopped at a rate over five times their share of the population. For example, in PSA 91, the population is only 3% Black, but over 68% of stops were of Blacks. In PSA 63, the population is 7% Black and 57% of stops were of Blacks. By contrast, in the PSA 192, where Blacks make up 96% of the population, the ratio of Black stops to Black population was close to a 1:1 ratio.

This trend of a vastly inflated minority stop rate in heavily White locations can be seen visually in Figure 3. If the ratio of minority stops were independent of PSA minority share, the points should form a horizontal line. The fact that the points in the

left end of the figure (heavily White PSA's) have much higher Black stop ratios, reinforces the results from Table 4A.

The last two columns in Tables 4A and 4B report characteristics based on the census population of the PSA, not just minorities. Column 5 reports total stops per capita and Column 6, the violent crime rate in the PSA (violent crimes per 10,000 residents). Figure 4 visually displays the relationship between overall stop rate and Black population share. It shows that areas with a greater Black population share experience a higher stop rate than those with a lower share. Of course, regression analysis is necessary to determine whether the violent crime rates or other differences in these PSA's explains the extent of the differences.

To address non-racial influences, we next move to a multivariate regression analysis. This approach is more robust than a comparison of averages because it examines the relationship among multiple variables simultaneously. To determine the impact of suspect race on the likelihood of a stop or frisk, we control for factors that include the demographic makeup and crime rate of the neighborhood.

First, we add data collected from the U.S. Census as well as data on reported crimes by PSA from the Philadelphia Police Department. We begin by examining differences in overall stop rates by race in Table 5. This table (and tables 6, 8, 9 and 11) share the same format: each column in the table reports results from a separate regression that identifies the relationship between the variables listed in the first column and the dependent variable, which is the title of the table. For example, the regression that is reported in column 4 can be written as:

$$(1) \quad StopRate = \alpha + \beta_1 Black + \beta_2 Latino + \beta_3 Male + \beta_4 Age + \epsilon$$

Stop Rate is the number of stops in the sample examined per 10,000 residents of the same race in a district and *Black* is coded 0 if the detainee is White and 1 if the detainee is Black. Similarly, *Latino* is coded 1 if the detainee is Latino and zero otherwise.² Male is coded 1 for men and 0 for women. Age is the detainee's age in years. By including 4 variables in the equation, this regression can better isolate the impact of race and Latino identity on the likelihood of being stopped, even if sex or age are important factors affecting the stop rate.

The coefficient on *Black* found in column 4 is 385.1, which means that in the full dataset about 385 more Black individuals were stopped than White individuals for every 10,000 same-race residents of a PSA. To put the magnitude of this racial difference in perspective, note that the average stop rate for Whites is 324 per 10,000 same-race PSA residents. This means that Blacks are stopped well over twice as frequently – 218% the rate of Whites. The standard errors are reported in parentheses below the coefficient and the double stars on the standard error indicates that this result is statistically significant at better than the 1% level. This means that there is less than a 1% chance that the difference in stop rates between Blacks and Whites is zero.

There may be reasons other than race that minorities are stopped at higher rates. For example, if minorities tend to be younger on average, since more crime is committed by younger individuals, one might expect a higher stop rate for minorities. We control for this factor (as in equation 1 above) and others relevant to this issue. Column 5 adds controls for the PSA racial composition and Column 6 the share of the male population under 24 years of age. Even after adding these controls, the coefficient on Detainee

² If a detainee is both Black and Latino, he is counted as Black.

Black (384.4) is still similar to what it was with no controls. The 7th column includes a control for whether flash information led to the stop, which does not have a statistically significant influence on the stop rate. Column 8 adds the PSA employment rate to the regression. Not surprisingly, PSA's with higher employment rates have lower stop rates, but this control does not have a substantial impact on the race effect.

Columns 9-11 add different controls for PSA crime rates. The crime rates are based on crimes reported to the police (not arrests) in 2015. It is preferable to use lagged crime because current crime levels could be influenced by policing policies. In each case, PSA's with higher crime rates have more stops, but controlling for crime rates does not affect the influence of detainee race on stop rate.

The final column reproduces column 10, but includes additional econometric safeguards. It controls for other potential differences across districts (district fixed effects) as well as potential correlations in the errors within a district (clustering standard errors at the district level). A comparison between columns 10 and 12 shows that the coefficients on Black and Latino are not greatly impacted by these additions. All of the regressions reported were run with the addition of district fixed effects and clustering of standard errors, and the results were not materially changed.

A number of additional specification checks were run to insure the robustness of the results. Instead of using stop rate as the outcome, the number of stops was also examined. The results from these regressions were consistent with those reported. While the number of stops per PSA is large enough that an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression is appropriate, we also made use of a negative binomial regression, which is appropriate for use with count data. Again the results were consistent with those

reported. Next, we varied the types of control variables used, including replacing the demographic and economic control variables with those provided by the defendant's expert. This, too, did not change the results.

Table 6 is analogous to Table 5, but it reports the results of a regression of the incidence of pedestrian frisks (rather than stops) on detainee race and various controls. Rather than aggregating data to the PSA-race level, the data in Table 6 is at the stop level and controls for the quarter of the year. In each regression, the coefficient on Detainee Black is statistically significantly different from zero and ranges from about 0.046 – 0.071. The preferred estimate is .048 which may be found in column 10 and controls for demographic, economic and crime variables. This means the frisk rate for Black detainees is 4.8 percentage points higher than for Whites, once controlling for the entire array of variables described above. Since the frisk rate for Whites is 9.8%, this means black detainees are almost 50% more likely to be frisked than Whites detainees. This results is statistically significant at the 1% level. It is robust to the array of alternative specifications described above for the stop rate regressions.

There are several other interesting results reflected in Table 6. Latinos are also more likely than Whites to be frisked (*see* second row) although the result loses statistical significance once including controls variables. Also statistically significant are results for age and gender. An extra decade of age decreases likelihood of frisk by almost 4 percentage points and male detainees are far more likely to be frisked than females. Overall, in assessing data as to frisks, and controlling for non-racial factors, there is a substantially higher frisk rate for minorities.

2. Reasonable Suspicion for Stops and Frisks: Racial Analysis

As the Plaintiffs' previous Reports and Section II of this Report demonstrate, a substantial number of the pedestrian stops do not meet the reasonable suspicion standard. Table 7 shows that the share of stops without reasonable suspicion remains high and similar across racial and ethnic categories, at 23% for Whites, 28% for Latinos and 25% for Blacks. The average of 25% unfounded stops is 8 percentage points lower than in 2015 and 12 percentage points below the level in 2014. This is a move in the right direction, but still shows that 1 in 4 stops of pedestrians lack reasonable suspicion. The share of frisks made without reasonable suspicion is far higher, at 41% overall. This is a decrease of 15 percentage points from 2015 and down 14 percentage points from the 55% unfounded frisk rate in 2012. The unfounded rate is highest for minorities, making up 46% of Latino frisks and 41% for Blacks, whereas the rate for Whites is at 37%.

As with stop rates and frisks, summary statistics can only get you so far, and regressions are necessary to control for potentially confounding factors. Table 8 reports results from such regressions, with each column representing a separate regression where the dependent variable is whether there was reasonable suspicion for the stop. As before, additional control variables are added in the different columns. In most of the columns the coefficient on Detainee Black is between -.021 and -.0064 but none of these results are statistically significant. The results for Latino detainees are stronger, with the coefficient ranging from -.041 to -.063 and statically significant at the 5% level. This means that a stop of a Latino is 17 – 26% more likely to be unfounded than Whites. There are consistently significant effects for detainee gender, and the gender disparity

(males have higher rates of unfounded stops) is similar to that for Latinos.

Table 9 is similar to Table 8 and describes regressions of the rate of reasonable suspicion, but now for a frisk rather than a stop. The coefficient on Detainee Black covers a wide range, but as in Table 8, none of these coefficients are statistically significant. The same is true for Latino detainees. Overall there is little evidence that there are significant disparities in the rates of unfounded frisks, although this is largely due to the less precise estimates due to the smaller sample size.

3. Hit-Rate Analysis

An important measure of the propriety of stops and particularly of frisks is the rate at which they lead to the discovery of contraband, and particularly weapons, since frisks are permitted only where the officer reasonably believes that the suspect is armed and dangerous. Moreover, seizures of weapons are often cited as justification for a robust stop and frisk program. The rates of discovery of contraband from frisks are reported in Table 10. Contraband is categorized as firearms, drugs, or other. “Other” may include small amounts of cash or unspecified materials.

Table 10 reports an overall detection rate for firearms that is low, with only 1 in 51 pedestrian frisks yielding a firearm. Drugs were by far the most commonly detected type of contraband, and were found in every 24 frisks. Overall, contraband was found in about 12% of all frisks.

Table 11 is a more sophisticated approach to the firearms hit-rate analysis. The regressions report the rate of discovery of a firearm in pedestrian frisks. Of the 700 frisks analyzed, there is a marginally statistically significant (at the 5% level) effect of race, depending on the specification. Firearms are recovered at a

3.3 percentage point lower rate when Blacks are frisked, controlling for local demographics, crime rates and other variables. This is quite a large disparity, given that the overall firearm recovery rate is around 2 percent.

This suggests that the full dataset may be more useful than the sample to understand the impact of race on contraband hit-rates. These results are presented in Table 12, which examines 8,075 frisks in Q3 and Q4 of 2016, of which 10.5% resulted in the recovery of some kind of contraband or evidence (the type is not categorized in the full data). Hit rates for blacks are 10.0% while they are 11.7% for Whites. Even given the larger data set, the very low rates still mean that once adding control variables, these differences are not statistically significant. Still, the data shows that frisks of Blacks are less likely to yield contraband than frisks of Whites, although the difference may be driven by other factors.

D. Commentary

We have examined the relationship of race to stop and frisk practices from multiple perspectives, following standard statistical theories. It is significant that on the key benchmarks that provide the most reliable measures of racial bias—regression analysis, comparisons of stops without reasonable suspicion by race, and hit rate analysis—there is strong evidence that the large difference in stop and frisk rates by race in Philadelphia are not explained by non-racial factors. To the contrary, the data show statistically significant racial disparities that in almost all respects are not explainable by non-racial factors. The reduction in the number of stops and frisks without reasonable suspicion has not eliminated these racial disparities and more must be done to conform with the Consent Decree on the issue of racial bias.

Figure 1

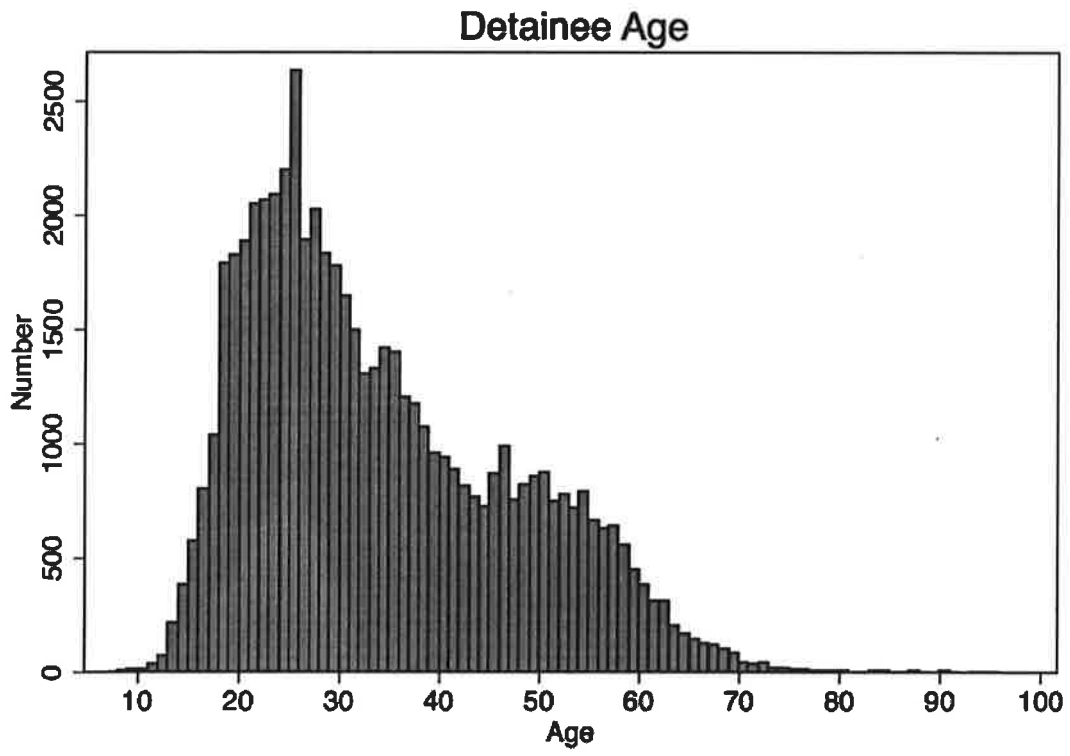


Figure 2

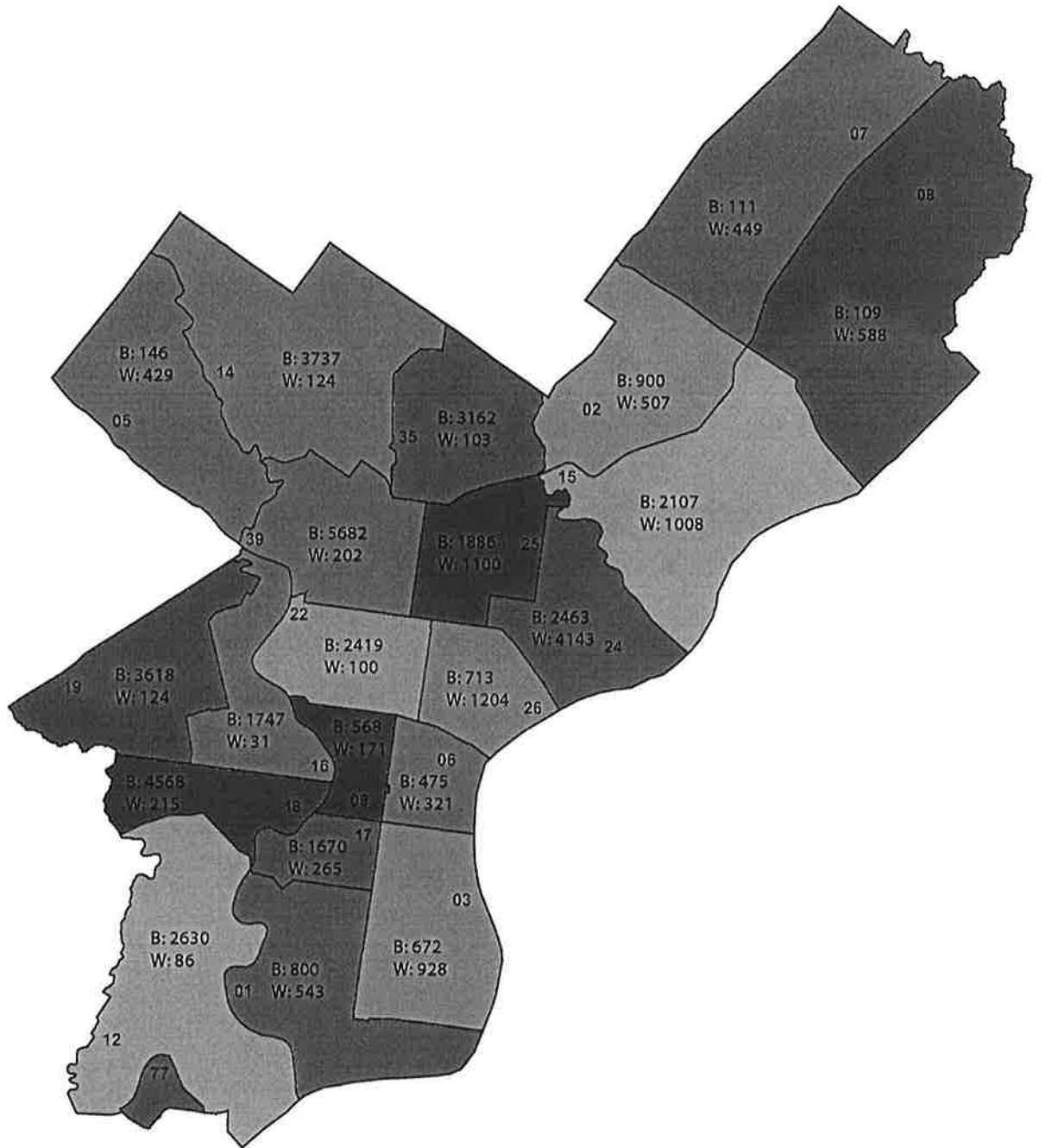


Figure 3

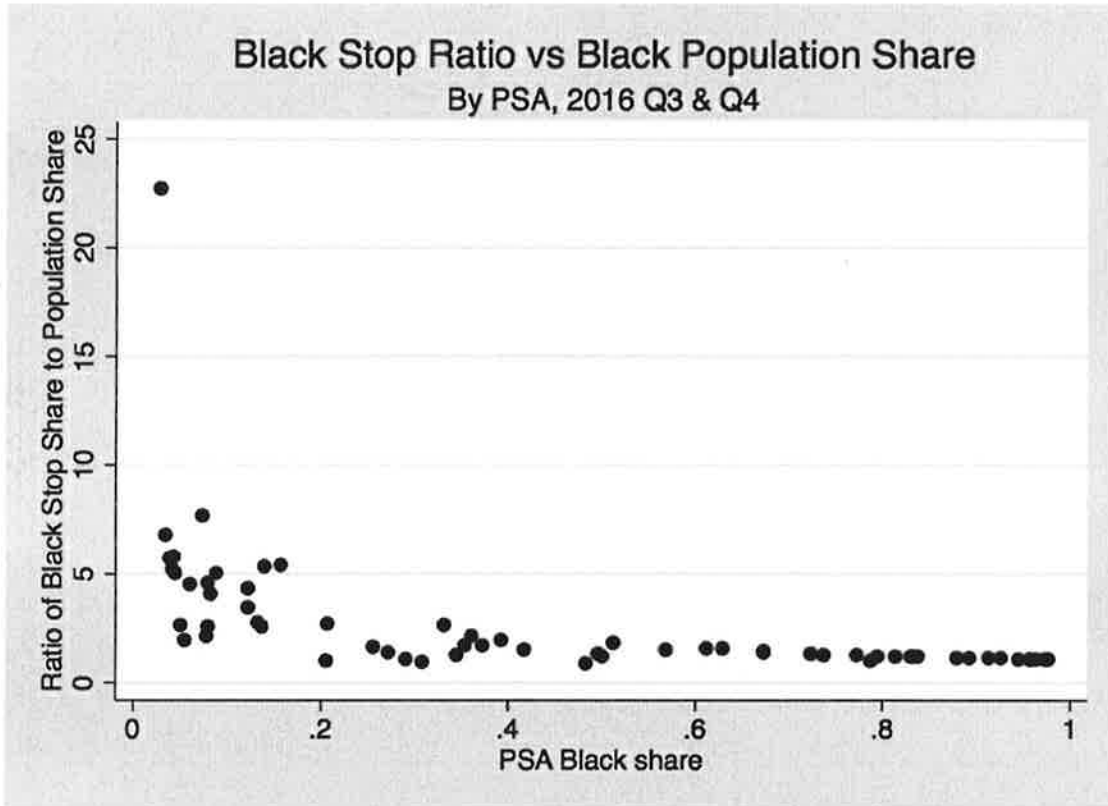


Figure 4

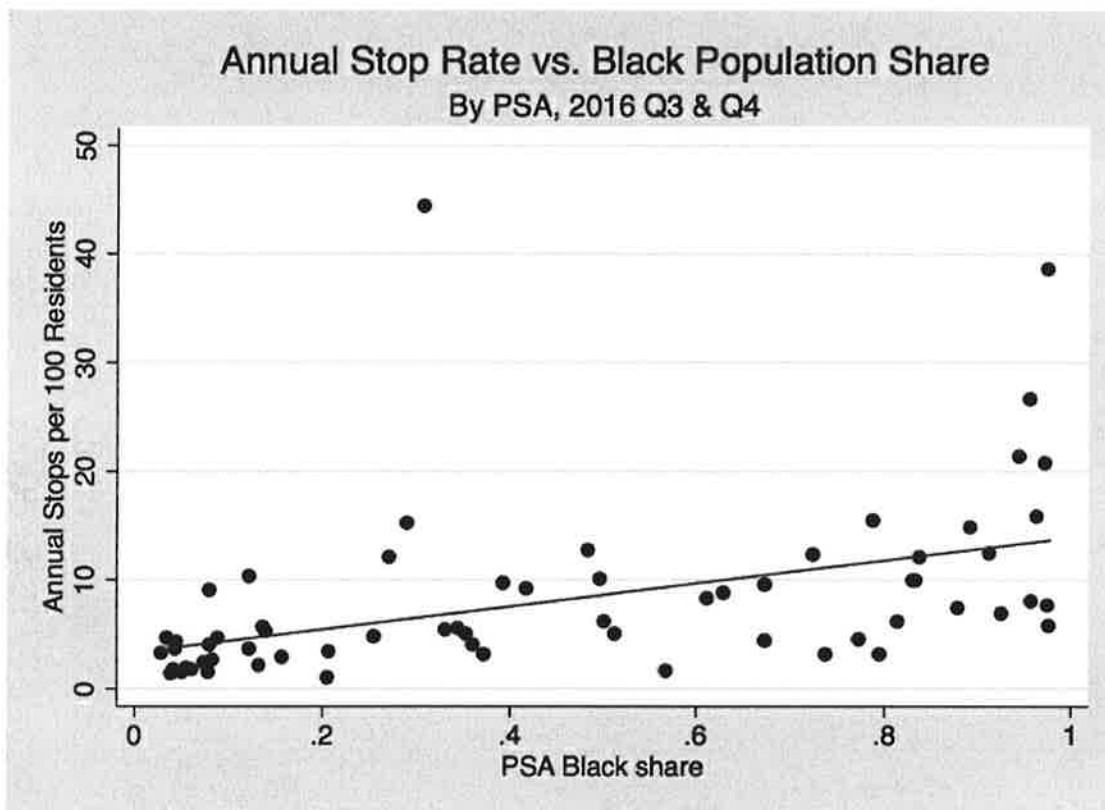


Table 1

2016 Q3 & Q4 Random Sample Summary Statistics

VARIABLES	(1) Mean	(2) N
Reasonable Suspicion for stop?	75%	4,597
Individual Frisked	16%	4,596
Reasonable Suspicion for frisk?	59%	722
Search Made	8.6%	4,597
Arrest Made	8.8%	4,596
Evidence or Contraband Found	4.8%	4,596
Firearm Found	0.44%	4,596
Drugs Found	1.6%	4,596
Detainee Age	33.5	4,586
Detainee Male	86%	4,590
Detainee Black	70%	4,518
Detainee Latino	8.4%	4,597

Table includes summary statistics from 2016 Q3 & Q4 random sample, excluding observations incorrectly coded as stops.

Table 2

2016 Q3 & Q4 PSA-Level All Stops Summary Statistics

VARIABLES	(1) Mean	(2) Median	(3) SD	(4) Min	(5) Max	(6) Obs
Stop of Black Pedestrian	621	382	634	29	2548	64
Stop of White Pedestrian	196	84	409	5.0	3097	64
Stop of Hispanic Pedestrian	75	13	207	1.0	1171	64
Stops per 10,000 Black Residents	692	598	539	44	3276	64
Stops per 10,000 White Residents	376	136	690	25	4214	64
Stops per 10,000 Hispanic Residents	272	145	328	16	1461	64
Detainee Age	33.8	33.6	2.8	28.7	40.6	64
Detainee Male	84%	84%	5%	73%	96%	64
PSA Population	23,578	21,097	10,529	5,278	46,642	64
PSA Black share	46%	38%	34%	3.0%	98%	64
PSA White share	42%	39%	32%	0.9%	93%	64
PSA Latino share	11%	4%	16%	0.7%	75%	64
PSA Asian share	5.2%	3.4%	5.1%	0.03%	22%	64
Employment Rate	40%	40%	11%	20%	67%	64
Male population under 24	37%	39%	11%	9%	52%	64
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	279	257	144	62	671	64
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	499	453	261	168	1924	64
Drug Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	51	32	83	0.7	624	64
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	670	626	337	196	2434	64

Table includes PSA-level summary statistics from 2016 Q3 & Q4 all stops, excluding PSA 77 and 254.

Table 3**Counts by Race in Random Sample, 2016 Q3 & Q4**

	Black	Latino	White	Total
Stops	3150	339	1037	4526
Stop Share	70%	7%	23%	100%
Frisks	548	59	102	709
Frisk Share	77%	8%	14%	100%
Stops/Frisk	5.7	5.7	10.2	6.4
Searches	264	40	83	387
Stops/Search	11.9	8.5	12.5	11.7
Arrests	273	39	86	398
Stops/Arrest	11.5	8.7	12.1	11.4
Contraband or Evidence	159	20	40	219
Frisks/Contraband	3.4	3.0	2.6	3.2

Table 4A**PSA-Level Statistics, Black Stops 2016 Q3 & Q4**

PSA	PSA Black share	Black Share of Stops	Ratio of Black Stop Share to Population Share	Total Stops per 100 Residents	Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)
222	98%	97%	0.99	5.7	541
124	98%	99%	1.01	7.5	337
393	98%	96%	0.99	38.5	549
181	97%	97%	0.99	20.7	436
192	96%	98%	1.02	15.8	416
141	96%	98%	1.02	8.0	262
392	96%	95%	1.00	26.5	415
182	95%	97%	1.03	21.2	510
224	93%	97%	1.05	6.8	532
162	91%	99%	1.08	12.3	412
142	89%	97%	1.09	14.8	400
353	88%	96%	1.09	7.3	252
221	84%	94%	1.12	11.9	560
122	83%	96%	1.16	9.9	319
123	83%	97%	1.17	9.9	405
223	82%	93%	1.14	6.1	453
193	80%	92%	1.15	3.1	193
172	79%	78%	0.98	15.4	470
191	77%	93%	1.20	4.4	224
121	74%	89%	1.21	3.0	194
173	73%	92%	1.27	12.3	250
352	68%	92%	1.37	9.4	368
351	68%	91%	1.34	4.3	168
161	63%	96%	1.53	8.8	309
391	61%	92%	1.50	8.2	188
144	57%	84%	1.48	1.5	127
143	51%	92%	1.79	4.9	177
251	50%	57%	1.13	6.1	287
61	50%	64%	1.28	9.9	369
261	48%	39%	0.80	12.6	426
11	42%	61%	1.45	9.1	215
151	39%	74%	1.89	9.5	410

Table 4A, continued
PSA-Level Statistics, Black Stops 2016 Q3 & Q4

PSA	PSA Black share	Black Share of Stops	Ratio of Black Stop Share to Population Share	Total Stops per 100 Residents	Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)
22	37%	61%	1.64	3.0	217
171	36%	76%	2.11	3.9	134
21	35%	58%	1.63	4.9	209
262	35%	42%	1.21	5.4	270
183	33%	86%	2.60	5.3	124
242	31%	28%	0.90	44.4	392
253	29%	29%	1.00	15.1	301
241	27%	37%	1.35	12.0	328
252	26%	41%	1.61	4.7	301
152	21%	55%	2.63	3.2	271
81	21%	19%	0.93	1.0	132
93	16%	85%	5.37	2.8	189
92	14%	74%	5.27	5.2	411
32	14%	35%	2.55	5.6	265
23	13%	36%	2.72	2.1	120
62	12%	42%	3.40	10.3	671
31	12%	52%	4.26	3.6	181
12	9%	44%	4.96	4.6	107
153	8%	34%	4.02	2.5	223
33	8%	37%	4.52	3.9	195
263	8%	20%	2.51	9.0	240
82	8%	16%	2.06	1.5	89
63	7%	57%	7.64	2.3	230
53	6%	28%	4.48	1.7	65
83	6%	10%	1.87	1.8	94
72	5%	13%	2.61	1.4	62
52	5%	23%	4.99	4.2	129
51	4%	26%	5.76	3.5	113
71	4%	22%	5.14	1.6	87
73	4%	23%	5.69	1.3	67
243	3%	23%	6.71	4.5	302
91	3%	68%	22.66	3.1	183

Table 4B
PSA-Level Statistics, Latino Stops 2016 Q3 & Q4

PSA	PSA Latino share	Latino Share of Stops	Ratio of Latino Stop Share to Population Share	Total Stops per 100 Residents	Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)
253	75%	41%	0.55	15.1	301
252	58%	40%	0.70	4.7	301
242	52%	20%	0.38	44.4	392
261	50%	26%	0.51	12.6	426
251	48%	28%	0.57	6.1	287
241	46%	22%	0.49	12.0	328
262	37%	15%	0.40	5.4	270
21	20%	17%	0.84	4.9	209
352	20%	6%	0.28	9.4	368
151	19%	5%	0.28	9.5	410
152	14%	9%	0.61	3.2	271
22	14%	24%	1.75	3.0	217
32	14%	6%	0.45	5.6	265
263	12%	11%	0.93	9.0	240
33	11%	9%	0.81	3.9	195
351	11%	4%	0.39	4.3	168
23	10%	14%	1.44	2.1	120
31	9%	4%	0.44	3.6	181
61	9%	7%	0.83	9.9	369
81	8%	8%	0.99	1.0	132
93	8%	1%	0.18	2.8	189
153	7%	10%	1.42	2.5	223
92	7%	3%	0.38	5.2	411
83	6%	3%	0.51	1.8	94
72	6%	4%	0.70	1.4	62
71	5%	7%	1.23	1.6	87
62	5%	8%	1.46	10.3	671
82	5%	6%	1.18	1.5	89
243	5%	15%	3.19	4.5	302
73	4%	3%	0.89	1.3	67
183	4%	0%	0.12	5.3	124
192	4%	0%	0.09	15.8	416

Table 4B, continued
PSA-Level Statistics, Latino Stops 2016 Q3 & Q4

PSA	PSA Latino share	Latino Share of Stops	Ratio of Latino Stops to Population Share	Total Stops per 100 Residents	Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)
191	4%	0%	0.08	4.4	224
171	4%	4%	1.21	3.9	134
53	4%	2%	0.49	1.7	65
143	3%	0%	0.07	4.9	177
63	3%	4%	1.28	2.3	230
11	3%	2%	0.72	9.1	215
144	3%	2%	0.64	1.5	127
121	3%	1%	0.35	3.0	194
223	3%	2%	0.59	6.1	453
91	3%	0%	0.16	3.1	183
173	3%	1%	0.51	12.3	250
161	3%	1%	0.26	8.8	309
51	2%	2%	0.88	3.5	113
141	2%	1%	0.27	8.0	262
123	2%	0%	0.09	9.9	405
391	2%	2%	0.78	8.2	188
392	2%	2%	1.06	26.5	415
221	2%	1%	0.41	11.9	560
193	2%	1%	0.58	3.1	193
182	2%	0%	0.20	21.2	510
122	2%	1%	0.32	9.9	319
162	2%	0%	0.16	12.3	412
393	2%	1%	0.75	38.5	549
142	1%	1%	0.52	14.8	400
52	1%	1%	0.63	4.2	129
353	1%	1%	0.87	7.3	252
222	1%	1%	0.75	5.7	541
224	1%	1%	1.00	6.8	532
12	1%	3%	4.08	4.6	107
181	1%	1%	1.27	20.7	436
124	1%	0%	0.64	7.5	337
172	1%	1%	1.17	15.4	470

Table 5
Stop Rate per 10,000 Residents

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Detainee Black	368.3 (82.68)**	316.0 (95.42)**	354.5 (103.1)**	385.1 (104.8)**	389.2 (102.4)**	384.4 (100.3)**	384.5 (100.6)**	372.9 (98.11)**	385.8 (95.82)**	382.4 (93.82)**	384.0 (96.60)**	350.9 (92.81)**
Detainee Latino	-104.5 (95.42)	-104.5 (95.42)	-64.69 (103.6)	-32.90 (105.4)	-28.56 (103.0)	-33.71 (100.9)	-33.48 (101.5)	-45.17 (98.99)	-32.93 (96.67)	-35.80 (94.65)	-34.73 (97.45)	-66.35 (58.61)
Detainee Male	-384.8 (389.1)	-396.7 (387.9)	-384.8 (389.1)	-396.7 (387.9)	-397.8 (391.2)	-504.0 (384.6)	-504.4 (386.0)	-416.0 (377.1)	-608.0 (372.9)	-545.6 (361.8)	-591.9 (376.8)	-332.9 (432.0)
Detainee Age	13.08 (8.806)	13.08 (8.806)	13.08 (8.806)	13.08 (8.806)	14.88 (8.720)	7.980 (8.845)	7.968 (8.880)	6.620 (8.663)	4.271 (8.486)	5.233 (8.288)	4.160 (8.572)	-0.209 (4.596)
PSA Asian share	-854.8 (872.7)	-854.8 (872.7)	-522.1 (861.7)	-520.4 (866.1)	-520.4 (850.3)	-520.4 (850.3)	-520.4 (850.3)	-183.1 (857.4)	-869.5 (857.4)	-812.8 (826.2)	-722.8 (860.8)	-1,497 (565.5)*
PSA Black share	173.8 (128.6)	173.8 (128.6)	603.3 (191.1)**	602.5 (193.6)**	602.5 (193.3)*	602.5 (193.3)*	602.5 (193.6)**	464.9 (193.3)*	211.7 (204.8)	5.930 (214.0)	293.9 (200.8)	-286.5 (305.5)
PSA Latino share	750.6 (252.9)**	750.6 (252.9)**	1,362 (321.2)**	1,361 (322.8)**	1,074 (326.7)**	1,074 (326.7)**	1,074 (326.7)**	844.6 (326.8)*	844.6 (326.8)*	740.5 (322.0)*	916.5 (326.7)**	826.5 (866.4)
Male population under 24	-1,763 (590.1)**	-1,763 (590.1)**	-1,763 (590.1)**	-1,762 (592.8)**	-3,679 (823.5)**	-3,679 (823.5)**	-3,679 (823.5)**	-3,679 (823.5)**	-2,788 (851.0)**	-2,600 (827.1)**	-2,955 (854.7)**	-750.6 (725.6)
Detainee Matches Flash Information	-106.5 (3,744)	-106.5 (3,744)	-106.5 (3,744)	-106.5 (3,744)	-106.5 (3,744)	-106.5 (3,744)	-106.5 (3,744)	-396.5 (3,650)	624.3 (3,576)	-16.68 (3,490)	568.0 (3,609)	-2,017 (2,113)
Employment Rate	-2,674 (818.4)**	-2,674 (818.4)**	-2,674 (818.4)**	-2,674 (818.4)**	-2,674 (818.4)**	-2,674 (818.4)**	-2,674 (818.4)**	-2,674 (818.4)**	-2,337 (805.6)**	-1,744 (812.4)*	-2,506 (807.5)**	-676.9 (852.8)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**	0.394 (0.124)**
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.414 (0.333)**	1.857 (0.542)**
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**	0.426 (0.161)**
Constant	323.9 (47.74)**	376.2 (67.47)**	668.5 (303.2)*	215.1 (429.6)	38.10 (425.2)	726.9 (476.0)	727.9 (478.5)	2,548 (726.4)**	2,228 (715.9)**	1,815 (715.5)*	2,346 (718.6)**	789.0 (663.7)
Observations	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192
R-squared	0.095	0.100	0.105	0.115	0.175	0.213	0.213	0.257	0.296	0.325	0.285	0.521

Standard errors in parentheses ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 6

Frisk

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Detainee Black	0.058 (0.012)**	0.071 (0.013)**	0.061 (0.013)**	0.057 (0.013)**	0.049 (0.015)**	0.050 (0.015)**	0.050 (0.015)**	0.048 (0.015)**	0.048 (0.015)**	0.048 (0.015)**	0.048 (0.015)**	0.046 (0.024)
Detainee Latino		0.058 (0.021)**	0.047 (0.021)*	0.041 (0.021)	0.029 (0.022)	0.029 (0.022)	0.029 (0.022)	0.029 (0.022)	0.030 (0.022)	0.030 (0.022)	0.029 (0.022)	0.028 (0.041)
Detainee Male			0.12 (0.016)**	0.12 (0.016)**	0.12 (0.016)**	0.12 (0.016)**	0.12 (0.016)**	0.12 (0.016)**	0.12 (0.016)**	0.12 (0.016)**	0.12 (0.016)**	0.12 (0.010)**
Detainee Age				-0.0039 (0.00041)**	-0.0039 (0.00041)**	-0.0038 (0.00041)**	-0.0038 (0.00041)**	-0.0038 (0.00041)**	-0.0039 (0.00041)**	-0.0039 (0.00041)**	-0.0039 (0.00041)**	-0.0038 (0.00052)*
PSA Asian share				-0.11 (0.13)	-0.11 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.13)	-0.11 (0.13)	-0.15 (0.13)	0.21 (0.24)
PSA Black share				0.027 (0.025)	0.027 (0.025)	-0.0012 (0.032)	-0.0011 (0.032)	0.015 (0.036)	-0.017 (0.036)	-0.017 (0.037)	-0.011 (0.036)	0.14 (0.086)
PSA Latino share				0.045 (0.035)	0.045 (0.035)	0.0048 (0.046)	0.0048 (0.046)	0.027 (0.050)	0.0083 (0.051)	0.013 (0.051)	0.017 (0.050)	0.11 (0.18)
Male population under 24						0.12 (0.088)	0.12 (0.088)	0.21 (0.12)	0.33 (0.13)**	0.28 (0.13)*	0.34 (0.13)**	-0.17 (0.33)
Detainee Matches Flash Information						0.055 (0.095)	0.055 (0.095)	0.056 (0.095)	0.066 (0.095)	0.062 (0.095)	0.067 (0.095)	0.044 (0.11)
Employment Rate								0.15 (0.14)	0.20 (0.14)	0.24 (0.14)	0.18 (0.14)	0.33 (0.28)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)								0.000082 (0.000020)**				
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)										0.00015 (0.000053)**		-0.000058 (0.000084)
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)											0.00011 (0.000025)**	
Constant	0.12 (0.011)**	0.11 (0.012)**	0.012 (0.017)	0.15 (0.022)**	0.14 (0.028)**	0.11 (0.035)**	0.11 (0.035)**	0.0078 (0.10)	-0.096 (0.10)	-0.083 (0.11)	-0.096 (0.10)	0.020 (0.24)
Observations	4,517	4,517	4,510	4,499	4,462	4,462	4,462	4,462	4,462	4,462	4,462	4,462
R-squared	0.005	0.007	0.020	0.039	0.041	0.041	0.042	0.042	0.045	0.043	0.046	0.054

Standard errors in parentheses ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, All regressions include control for quarter of the year

Table 7

Reasonable Suspicion by Race in Random Sample, 2016 Q3 & Q4

	Black	Latino	White	Total
Stops	3150	339	1037	4526
Reasonable Suspicion	2367	245	798	3410
Share of Stops with Reasonable Suspicion	75%	72%	77%	75%
Frisks	548	59	102	709
Reasonable Suspicion	325	32	64	421
Share of Frisks with Reasonable Suspicion	59%	54%	63%	59%

Table 8

Reasonable Suspicion for Stop

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Detainee Black	-0.0064 (0.014)	-0.018 (0.015)	-0.014 (0.015)	-0.013 (0.015)	-0.021 (0.018)	-0.021 (0.018)	-0.021 (0.018)	-0.020 (0.018)	-0.020 (0.018)	-0.020 (0.018)	-0.020 (0.018)	-0.020 (0.026)
Detainee Latino		-0.051 (0.025)*	-0.042 (0.025)	-0.041 (0.025)	-0.063 (0.026)*	-0.063 (0.026)*	-0.063 (0.026)*	-0.063 (0.026)*	-0.062 (0.026)*	-0.060 (0.026)*	-0.063 (0.026)*	-0.059 (0.027)*
Detainee Male			-0.059 (0.019)**	-0.057 (0.019)**	-0.056 (0.019)**	-0.056 (0.019)**	-0.056 (0.019)**	-0.056 (0.019)**	-0.058 (0.019)**	-0.058 (0.019)**	-0.058 (0.019)**	-0.058 (0.019)**
Detainee Age				0.0018 (0.00049)**	0.0016 (0.00049)**	0.0016 (0.00049)**	0.0016 (0.00049)**	0.0016 (0.00049)**	0.0016 (0.00049)**	0.0016 (0.00049)**	0.0016 (0.00049)**	0.0015 (0.00054)*
PSA Asian share				0.45 (0.15)**	0.46 (0.16)**	0.46 (0.16)**	0.46 (0.16)**	0.46 (0.16)**	0.45 (0.16)**	0.49 (0.16)**	0.44 (0.16)**	0.44 (0.25)
PSA Black share				0.091 (0.030)**	0.10 (0.039)**	0.10 (0.039)**	0.10 (0.039)**	0.097 (0.043)*	0.064 (0.044)	0.054 (0.045)	0.073 (0.043)	0.013 (0.089)
PSA Latino share				0.14 (0.042)**	0.16 (0.055)**	0.16 (0.055)**	0.16 (0.055)**	0.15 (0.061)*	0.13 (0.061)*	0.13 (0.061)*	0.14 (0.061)*	0.20 (0.093)*
Male population under 24					-0.055 (0.11)	-0.055 (0.11)	-0.055 (0.11)	-0.096 (0.15)	0.027 (0.15)	-0.0024 (0.15)	0.027 (0.15)	-0.012 (0.30)
Detainee Matches Flash Information					-0.035 (0.12)	-0.035 (0.12)	-0.035 (0.12)	-0.035 (0.12)	-0.025 (0.11)	-0.028 (0.11)	-0.025 (0.11)	-0.034 (0.13)
Employment Rate								-0.068 (0.17)	-0.011 (0.17)	0.060 (0.17)	-0.039 (0.17)	0.16 (0.26)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)								0.000084 (0.000024)**				
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)									0.00020 (0.000064)**			0.00012 (0.00010)
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)											0.00011 (0.000031)**	
Constant	0.76 (0.013)**	0.77 (0.015)**	0.82 (0.021)**	0.76 (0.027)**	0.68 (0.034)**	0.69 (0.042)**	0.69 (0.042)**	0.74 (0.12)**	0.63 (0.12)**	0.62 (0.13)**	0.64 (0.12)**	0.65 (0.21)**
Observations	4,518	4,518	4,511	4,500	4,463	4,463	4,463	4,463	4,463	4,463	4,463	4,463
R-squared	0.000	0.001	0.003	0.006	0.009	0.009	0.009	0.010	0.012	0.012	0.012	0.020

Standard errors in parentheses ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, All regressions include control for quarter of the year

Table 9

Reasonable Suspicion for Frisk

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Detainee Black	-0.011 (0.044)	-0.047 (0.051)	-0.047 (0.051)	-0.032 (0.052)	0.017 (0.058)	0.0099 (0.058)	0.0094 (0.058)	0.0042 (0.059)	-0.0061 (0.059)	0.000081 (0.059)	-0.0086 (0.059)	-0.014 (0.060)
Detainee Latino		-0.10 (0.074)	-0.10 (0.075)	-0.10 (0.074)	-0.068 (0.078)	-0.074 (0.078)	-0.074 (0.078)	-0.076 (0.079)	-0.085 (0.079)	-0.078 (0.079)	-0.089 (0.079)	-0.12 (0.057)
Detainee Male			-0.035 (0.092)	-0.026 (0.092)	-0.020 (0.093)	-0.024 (0.093)	-0.024 (0.093)	-0.024 (0.093)	-0.025 (0.093)	-0.025 (0.093)	-0.025 (0.093)	-0.0037 (0.11)
Detainee Age				0.0035 (0.0017)*	0.0035 (0.0018)*	0.0033 (0.0018)	0.0033 (0.0018)	0.0034 (0.0018)	0.0031 (0.0018)	0.0032 (0.0018)	0.0030 (0.0018)	0.0028 (0.0012)*
PSA Asian share				-0.16 (0.45)	-0.16 (0.45)	-0.16 (0.45)	-0.17 (0.45)	-0.20 (0.46)	-0.27 (0.46)	-0.19 (0.46)	-0.30 (0.46)	-1.01 (0.59)
PSA Black share				-0.19 (0.089)*	-0.19 (0.089)*	-0.094 (0.11)	-0.093 (0.11)	-0.065 (0.12)	-0.078 (0.12)	-0.081 (0.13)	-0.071 (0.12)	-0.12 (0.27)
PSA Latino share				-0.22 (0.12)	-0.22 (0.12)	-0.089 (0.16)	-0.087 (0.16)	-0.047 (0.17)	-0.035 (0.17)	-0.042 (0.17)	-0.024 (0.17)	-0.11 (0.41)
Male population under 24				-0.39 (0.30)	-0.39 (0.30)	-0.39 (0.30)	-0.40 (0.30)	-0.18 (0.48)	-0.032 (0.50)	-0.12 (0.49)	0.012 (0.50)	-0.0012 (1.01)
Detainee Matches Flash Information						0.085 (0.28)	0.085 (0.28)	0.092 (0.28)	0.088 (0.28)	0.085 (0.28)	0.091 (0.28)	0.11 (0.19)
Employment Rate								0.30 (0.51)	0.42 (0.52)	0.39 (0.53)	0.42 (0.52)	0.83 (0.73)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)									0.000078 (0.000061)			
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)										0.00012 (0.00017)		0.00013 (0.00024);
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)											0.00012 (0.000079)	
Constant	0.56 (0.042)**	0.60 (0.049)**	0.63 (0.059)**	0.51 (0.11)**	0.62 (0.13)**	0.72 (0.15)**	0.72 (0.15)**	0.51 (0.39)	0.37 (0.41)	0.43 (0.41)	0.35 (0.41)	0.29 (0.66)
Observations	707	707	705	704	699	699	699	699	699	699	699	699
R-squared	0.007	0.010	0.010	0.016	0.024	0.026	0.027	0.027	0.029	0.028	0.030	0.050

Standard errors in parentheses ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, All regressions include control for quarter of the year

Table 10

Contraband by Race in Random Sample, 2016 Q3 & Q4

	Black	Latino	White	Total
Frisks	548	59	102	709
Firearm	10	1	3	14
Drugs	21	5	3	29
Other	10	3	4	17
Any	59	11	15	85
Frisks/Firearm	55	59	34	51
Frisks/Drugs	26	12	34	24
Frisks/Other	55	20	26	42
Frisks/Any	9	5	7	8

Table 11

Firearm Recovered

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Detainee Black	-0.0053 (0.013)	-0.0091 (0.015)	-0.0097 (0.015)	-0.012 (0.015)	-0.032 (0.017)*	-0.034 (0.017)*	-0.034 (0.017)*	-0.035 (0.017)*	-0.033 (0.017)	-0.035 (0.017)*	-0.032 (0.017)	-0.029 (0.018)
Detainee Latino		-0.011 (0.021)	-0.012 (0.021)	-0.012 (0.021)	-0.0075 (0.022)	-0.0091 (0.022)	-0.0091 (0.022)	-0.0094 (0.022)	-0.0079 (0.023)	-0.0096 (0.023)	-0.0069 (0.023)	-0.0073 (0.019)
Detainee Male			0.021 (0.026)	0.020 (0.026)	0.027 (0.027)	0.026 (0.027)	0.026 (0.027)	0.026 (0.027)	0.027 (0.027)	0.026 (0.027)	0.027 (0.027)	0.025 (0.0093)*
Detainee Age				-0.00047 (0.00050)	-0.00048 (0.00050)	-0.00053 (0.00050)	-0.00053 (0.00050)	-0.00053 (0.00050)	-0.00048 (0.00051)	-0.00055 (0.00051)	-0.00046 (0.00051)	-0.00053 (0.00053)
PSA Asian share				0.00015 (0.13)	-0.00083 (0.13)	-0.00013 (0.13)	-0.00013 (0.13)	-0.0045 (0.13)	0.0060 (0.13)	-0.0040 (0.13)	0.015 (0.13)	-0.057 (0.19)
PSA Black share				0.050 (0.025)*	0.076 (0.033)*	0.076 (0.033)*	0.076 (0.033)*	0.079 (0.035)*	0.081 (0.036)*	0.078 (0.036)*	0.081 (0.035)*	0.024 (0.077)
PSA Latino share				-0.015 (0.035)	0.020 (0.045)	0.019 (0.045)	0.019 (0.045)	0.025 (0.049)	0.023 (0.049)	0.025 (0.049)	0.021 (0.049)	0.091 (0.077)
Male population under 24					-0.11 (0.086)	-0.11 (0.087)	-0.11 (0.087)	-0.076 (0.14)	-0.098 (0.14)	-0.070 (0.14)	-0.11 (0.14)	-0.082 (0.24)
Detainee Matches Flash Information						-0.015 (0.081)	-0.015 (0.081)	-0.014 (0.081)	-0.013 (0.081)	-0.015 (0.081)	-0.014 (0.081)	-0.0057 (0.020)
Employment Rate								0.042 (0.15)	0.024 (0.15)	0.051 (0.15)	0.018 (0.15)	0.076 (0.15)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)								-0.000012 (0.000018)	-0.000012 (0.000018)			
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)										0.000012 (0.000049)		0.000085 (0.000078)
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)											-0.000023 (0.000023)	
Constant		0.034 (0.012)**	0.038 (0.014)**	0.034 (0.033)	0.017 (0.037)	0.045 (0.044)	0.045 (0.044)	0.015 (0.11)	0.036 (0.12)	0.0072 (0.12)	0.046 (0.12)	-0.0040 (0.16)
Observations	707	707	705	704	699	699	699	699	699	699	699	699
R-squared	0.006	0.007	0.008	0.009	0.020	0.022	0.022	0.022	0.023	0.022	0.024	0.078

Standard errors in parentheses ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, All regressions include control for quarter of the year

Table 12

Contraband Recovered

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Detainee Black	-0.023 (0.0081)**	-0.017 (0.010)	-0.018 (0.010)	-0.020 (0.010)	-0.0047 (0.012)	-0.0047 (0.012)	-0.0048 (0.012)	-0.0013 (0.012)	-0.0021 (0.012)	-0.0018 (0.012)	-0.0021 (0.012)	0.0011 (0.014)
Detainee Latino		0.013 (0.015)	0.012 (0.015)	0.011 (0.015)	0.028 (0.015)	0.028 (0.015)	0.028 (0.016)	0.030 (0.016)	0.029 (0.016)	0.029 (0.016)	0.029 (0.016)	0.030 (0.021)
Detainee Male			0.0056 (0.014)	0.0041 (0.014)	0.0041 (0.014)	0.0041 (0.014)	0.0040 (0.014)	0.0041 (0.014)	0.0034 (0.014)	0.0034 (0.014)	0.0034 (0.014)	0.0020 (0.017)
Detainee Age				-0.00066 (0.00030)*	-0.00065 (0.00031)*	-0.00065 (0.00031)*	-0.00065 (0.00031)*	-0.00070 (0.00031)*	-0.00072 (0.00031)*	-0.00072 (0.00031)*	-0.00073 (0.00031)*	-0.00071 (0.00027)*
PSA Asian share				0.19	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.26	0.25	0.27	0.25	0.083
PSA Black share				(0.093)*	(0.094)*	(0.094)*	(0.094)*	(0.096)**	(0.096)**	(0.096)**	(0.096)**	(0.12)
PSA Latino share				-0.040 (0.017)*	-0.035 (0.021)	-0.035 (0.021)	-0.035 (0.021)	-0.058 (0.023)*	-0.059 (0.023)*	-0.064 (0.023)**	-0.057 (0.023)*	-0.0025 (0.049)
Male population under 24				-0.045 (0.022)*	-0.038 (0.030)	-0.038 (0.030)	-0.038 (0.030)	-0.080 (0.033)*	-0.076 (0.033)*	-0.076 (0.033)*	-0.075 (0.033)*	-0.055 (0.058)
Detainee Matches Flash Information					-0.022 (0.063)	-0.022 (0.063)	-0.022 (0.063)	-0.20 (0.088)*	-0.17 (0.090)	-0.17 (0.089)	-0.17 (0.090)	0.074 (0.20)
Employment Rate					0.024 (0.039)	0.024 (0.039)	0.024 (0.039)	0.024 (0.039)	0.024 (0.039)	0.023 (0.039)	0.024 (0.039)	0.019 (0.055)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)								-0.29 (0.10)**	-0.26 (0.10)*	-0.23 (0.11)*	-0.26 (0.10)*	-0.033 (0.20)
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)									0.000019 (0.000015)	0.000057 (0.000038)	0.000057 (0.000026)	9.0e-06 (0.000027)
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)												
Constant	0.12 (0.0072)**	0.12 (0.0093)**	0.11 (0.015)**	0.13 (0.018)**	0.15 (0.022)**	0.15 (0.027)**	0.15 (0.027)**	0.34 (0.071)**	0.31 (0.076)**	0.29 (0.077)**	0.31 (0.075)**	0.10 (0.17)
Observations	8,075	8,075	8,067	8,049	7,923	7,923	7,923	7,923	7,923	7,923	7,923	7,923
R-squared	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.014

Standard errors in parentheses ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, All regressions include control for quarter of the year

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