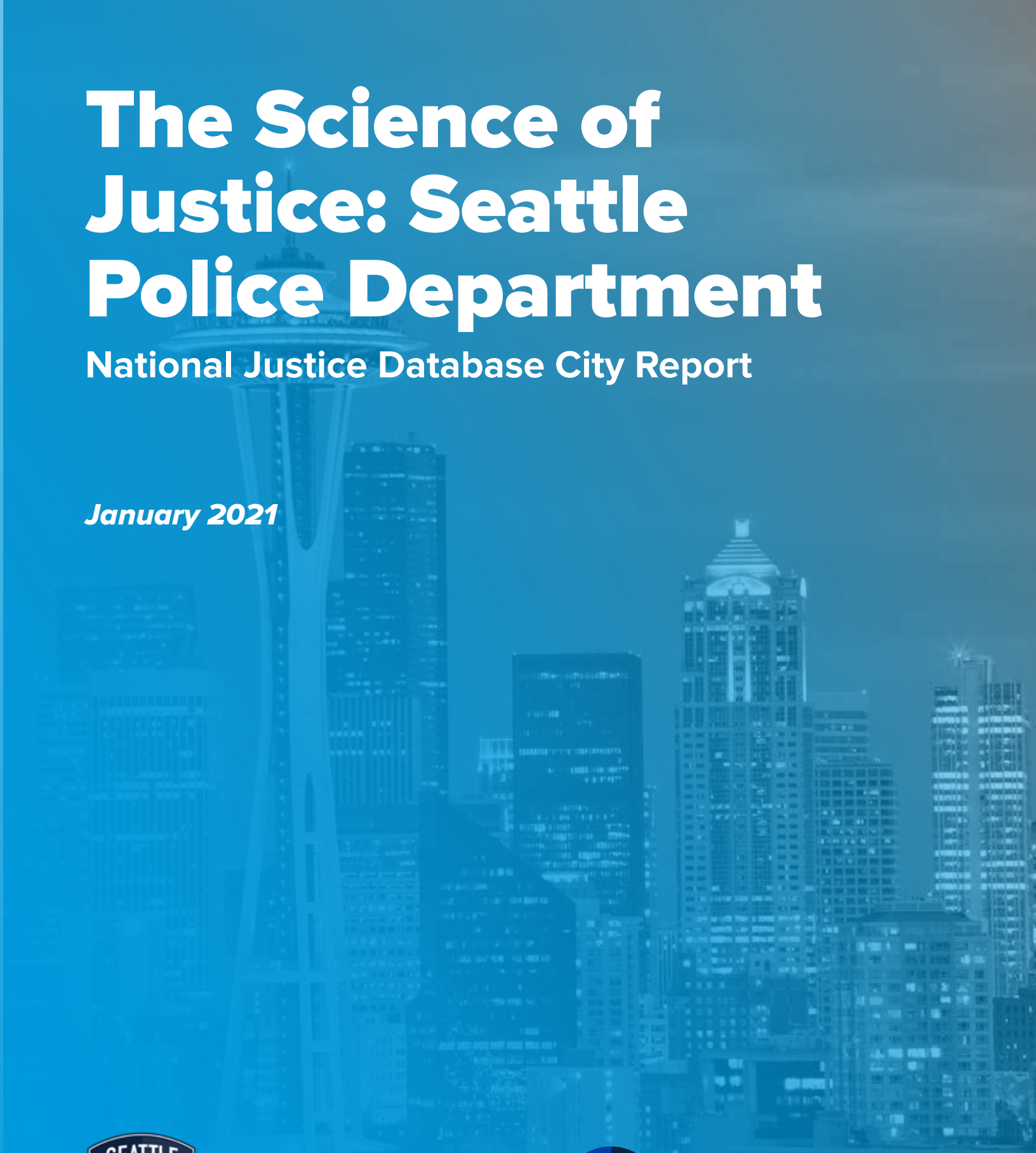
The Science of Justice: Seattle Police Department

National Justice Database City Report

January 2021



SEATTLE POLICE

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CENTER FOR POLICING EQUITY

The Center for Policing Equity (CPE) is a research and action think tank, providing leadership in equity through excellence in research. CPE specializes in partnering with law enforcement and communities to diagnose disparities in policing, shed light on police behavior, and answer questions police and communities have asked for years about how to build a healthy relationship.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Center for Policing Equity (CPE) partnered with the Seattle Police Department (SPD) to analyze the department's policing practices during the 2014 to 2019 timeframe.

Through the National Justice Database (NJD), CPE collects policing data to measure fairness and improve policing equity, applies a rigorous analytic framework to examine equity in police contact, shares findings with partner agencies, and encourages our partners to share the findings with their communities. We recognize that leadership in police reform cannot alone address all challenges in producing fair and equitable policing, as these challenges result not only from department policy and behavior but also from the broader history of racial injustice in our country. Nonetheless, we believe change is possible. This report reflects CPE's commitment to partnering with agencies like SPD to create systems that use data to illuminate opportunities to change how policing delivers public safety. Our hope is that, informed by the NJD analyses and recommendations, partners can chart a path toward better practices that are consistent with their values and those of the communities they serve.

The project's overall goals were to (1) examine whether some racial groups in Seattle experience more frequent or burdensome police contact than other groups; (2) identify factors that contribute to any existing racial disparities and the extent to which these factors can be influenced by SPD; and (3) provide recommendations for actions SPD can take to address any identified disparities.

While findings of racial disparities are always reason for concern, they are not necessarily attributable to decisions or practices by law enforcement. In other words, observed racial disparities do not necessarily indicate that officers have prejudiced beliefs or that they have even engaged in discriminatory behavior. Crime, poverty, institutional neglect, and a host of other factors may drive law enforcement's disparate contacts with and other behaviors toward various racial groups. These factors do not mean disparities are not a concern, just that those seeking to address the concern must focus on all of the factors that produce them—including, but not limited to, the policies and behaviors of law enforcement. The NJD framework described in this report examines how factors outside of a department's control (e.g., poverty and crime rates in a neighborhood) can contribute to observed disparities, which helps us infer what portion of a disparity is likely related to officer behavior and/or departmental policies and practices.

Overall, CPE's analyses revealed reasons for optimism and identified opportunities for improving SPD practices in the service of fair and equitable policing. The key findings from the report are highlighted below.

Key Findings

- Following a 2012 consent decree with the U.S. Department of Justice, SPD has adopted a number of equity-promoting changes to the department's policies and practices, including the following:
    - 6.220-POL (Voluntary Contacts, Terry Stops & Detentions) requires documentation of all field contacts, Terry stops, and other detentions. Documentation of Terry stops (that is, stops involving reasonable suspicion that a crime has been, is being, or is about to be committed) must be shared with a supervising officer daily, at the end of each shift, for review and approval.
    - 8.400-POL (Use of Force Reporting and Investigation) requires documentation of all

applications of any force beyond *de minimis* force. [1]

- 8.100-POL (Deescalation) requires officers to use de-escalation tactics whenever it is safe and feasible.

- POL-5.140 (Bias-Free Policing) explicitly commits the department to the equitable provision of policing services. This policy acknowledges that bias can occur at both the individual and the institutional level, and commits the department to eradicating both discriminatory behavior by individual officers and "the long-term impacts of historical inequality and institutional bias…even in the absence of intentional bias" (Section 9).

- SPD has also created a number of community advisory groups to respond to community priorities and concerns:

  - Since the 1990s, SPD has convened Demographic Advisory Councils of representatives from African American, East African, Filipino, Korean, Latinx, LGBTQ, Muslim/Sikh/Arab, Native American, South East Asian, and citywide communities to identify and respond to community concerns.

  - SPD has adopted Micro-Community Policing Plans to address the distinctive needs and priorities of each neighborhood. These plans take a three-pronged approach to combine community engagement, crime data, and police services to generate direct feedback on perceptions of crime and public safety.

The stop data that we received from SPD were confined to Terry stops (based on reasonable suspicion of involvement in criminal activity), as SPD stops for traffic enforcement and other purposes were recorded on paper forms that were not systematically analyzable. All quantitative findings about SPD stops presented in this report describe Terry stop data only.

- Our analyses of Terry stops between 2015 and 2019 found **racial disparities in stop rates in every SPD sector across the city.**

- **Per capita, Native American persons were stopped nearly 9 times as frequently as White persons, and Black persons were stopped over 5 times as frequently as White persons.[2]**

  - Native Americans, who make up only 0.5% of the Seattle population, accounted for more than 3% of persons stopped by SPD.

  - Black persons, who make up 7% of the Seattle population, accounted for about one third of persons stopped by SPD.

- **Once stopped, 29% of Black men and 28% of Native American men were searched for weapons, compared to 21% of White men.** Similar racial disparities were observed among women stopped by SPD.

  - **If searched, White men were more likely to be found with a weapon than any other group.** Thirty-five percent of White men who were searched for a weapon had one, compared to 19% of Black men and 21% of Native American men who were searched. Similar racial disparities were observed among women searched by SPD.

  - **White persons were less likely than Native American or Black persons to be arrested at**

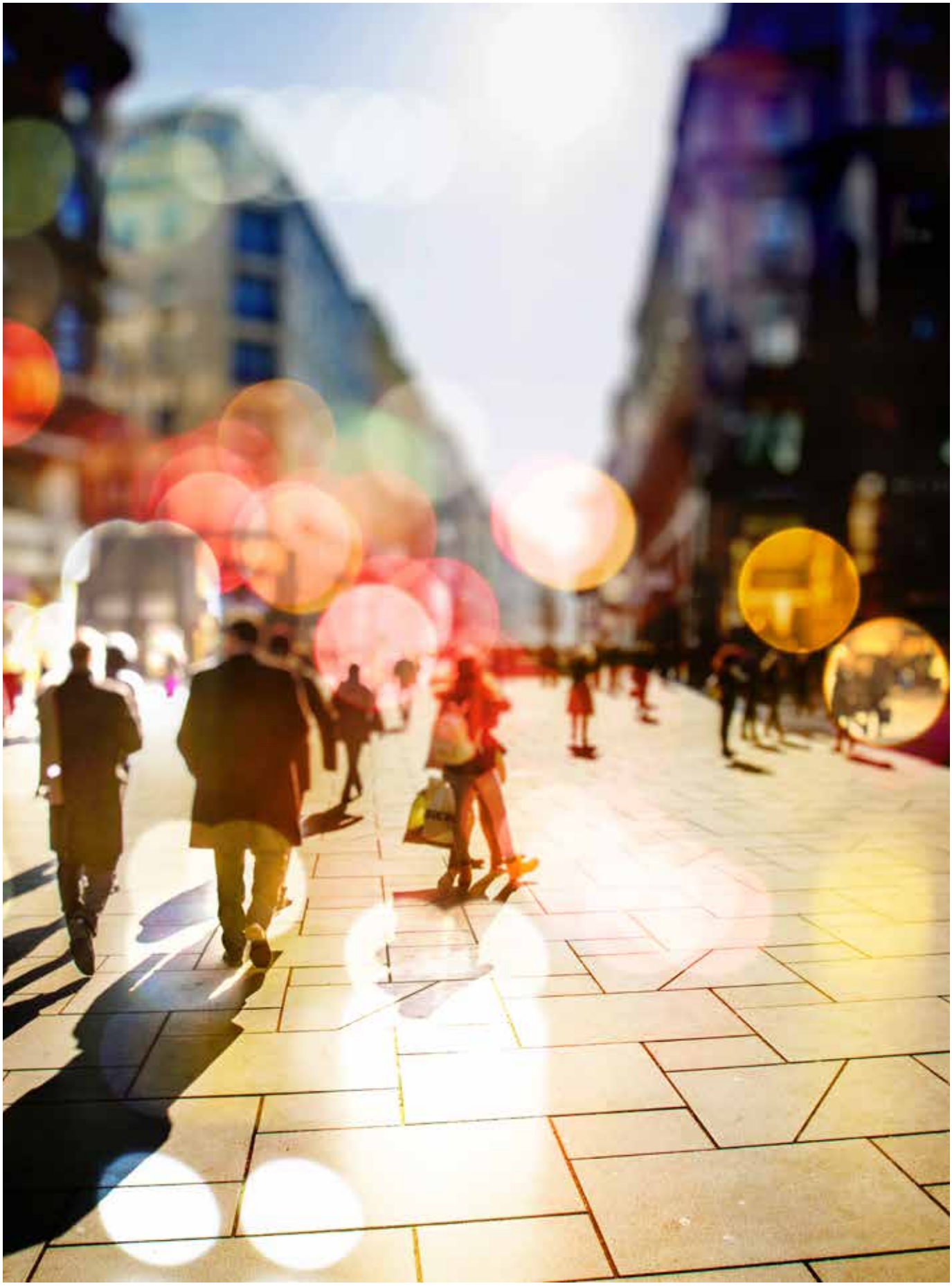
1 "*De minimis* force" is defined in 8.050-POL as the use of hands, equipment, control holds, or joint manipulation techniques in ways that do not cause pain or injury and are not reasonably likely to inflict pain or injury.

2 It is important to note there are limitations in the precision of per capita estimates as a sole metric of disparity. For SPD, as for any other police department, it cannot be assumed that persons with whom the department's officers interact are necessarily residents of the jurisdiction serviced by SPD or of the neighborhood in which an encounter takes place.

a stop. Once stopped, 28% of Native Americans and 26% of Black persons were arrested, compared to 23% of stopped White persons.

- **Black persons also experienced higher rates of SPD use of force. Native Americans and Pacific Islanders were also overrepresented compared to their share of the population.**
    - **Black persons were subjected to force at a per capita rate more than 7 times the per capita rate for White persons.** Each year, Black persons, who make up 7% of the population, made up between 35% and 42% of all people upon whom force was used.
    - The overrepresentation of Black, Native American, and Pacific Islander individuals was **especially pronounced among children and youth.**
- **Data recording for stops and use of force was not as complete as it could be.** Racial data were missing in 9.3% of recorded stops and 18% of recorded use-of-force incidents. Thus, nearly a fifth of recorded use-of-force incidents had to be excluded from our analyses. Other fields that were frequently left blank included sector, reason for stop, age, and force type used.
    - For both Terry stops and use-of-force incidents, **location data were not recorded in analyzable form. This precluded regression analyses** that might assess the contribution of crime rates, neighborhood income, and racial demographics to observed disparities in SPD policing data.

We commend SPD for their proactive participation in the NJD as a tool for enhancing equity in policing practices and outcomes. We encourage the department to share these results with the people of Seattle to enhance transparency and accountability and to support community partnership in achieving equity and public safety. As this is the first quantitative report CPE has produced for SPD, the analyses in this report should be viewed as a resource for steering reforms and as an initial benchmark against which future progress can be measured.



RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend SPD take five actionable steps to enhance the department's commitment to fair and equitable policing.

1. **We recommend that SPD require officers to record every pedestrian or vehicle stop, whether for investigative purposes, traffic enforcement, or any other reason, and that SPD ensure that such data are retained and shared with researchers in analyzable form (in accordance with the NJD analytical framework).**

2. **We recommend that stop records include the reason for the stop and the type of stop (traffic or pedestrian[3]). These data elements were missing, in whole or in part, from the data provided to CPE. To ensure that they can be analyzed, these data should be stored electronically with the option to download in a tabular format.**

3. **We recommend that, for every stop or use-of-force incident, SPD continue to require the completion of every field on the data collection form, including the street address of the incident, the officer sector, the nature of contact, the reason for contact, the race of the person, the person's age, and the force type used. These data elements were missing, in whole or in part, from the data provided to CPE.**

4. **We commend SPD for the recent (June 19, 2020) change to Use of Force Policies 8.050-POL and 8.200-POL, which prohibits neck and carotid restraints in all circumstances. We further recommend that SPD:**

   a. **clarify the definition of "neck restraint" in POL-8.050 to include any hold or contact with the neck that may obstruct the flow of air or blood to the brain or that applies pressure to the front, sides, or back of the neck, and**

   b. **expand its use-of-force policy to include additional provisions warning officers of positions and restraint methods that can cause breathing impairment; prohibiting officers from placing body weight on the back of a prone, handcuffed individual; and requiring officers to carefully monitor individuals who are restrained (e.g., handcuffed) to ensure they are breathing properly.**

5. **We recommend that SPD build on its existing use-of-force policies to state that use of deadly force is a last resort that is only authorized when other reasonable alternatives have been exhausted or would clearly be ineffective.**

3 SPD's stop records include an additional "reasonable suspicion" category; however, these data were not provided to CPE.

SPD CONTEXT AND HISTORY OF PARTICIPATION IN CPE'S NATIONAL JUSTICE DATABASE

SPD's collaboration with CPE began in 2015. The work was initiated by then-Chief Kathleen O'Toole to produce a report about use of force at demonstrations and to conduct a policy review. (The policy review was shared with Chief O'Toole in April 2017.) SPD's work with the NJD began in late 2016. Chief O'Toole led the department from June 2014 to December 2017. Chief Carmen Best served as interim chief of police beginning January 1, 2018, and was appointed as SPD's permanent chief in August 2018. SPD serves a community of approximately 688,245 residents of the city of Seattle,[4] as well as the pool of commuters, visitors, and other non-residents who enter the city. The racial composition of Seattle residents is summarized below.[5]

- 65% White (449,138 residents)
- 14% Asian (98,871 residents)
- 7.0% Black (47,961 residents)
- 6.5% Latinx (44,505 residents)
- 5.8% Multiple Races (40,167 residents)
- Every other racial group comprises less than 1% of the city population: Native American 0.5% (3,101 residents); Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander 0.4% (2,606 residents); and some "Other" Race 0.3% (1,896 residents)

SPD employs about 1,447 sworn officers,[6] 224 female and 1,223 male, and another 580 civilian employees.[7] As of May 1, 2020, the racial demographics of SPD sworn officers were as follows:[8]

- 70% White (1,013 officers)
- 7.5% Black (109 officers)
- 6.8% Asian (99 officers)
- 6.0% Latinx (87 officers)
- 4.6% Multiracial (67 officers)
- 1.5% American Indian/Alaska Native (21 officers)
- 1.0% Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (14 officers)
- 2.6% Not Specified (37 officers)

The City of Seattle entered into a consent decree with the U.S. Department of Justice in 2012.[9] Since then, SPD has adopted a number of equity-promoting policies and practices, including Demographic Advisory Committees and Micro-Community Policing Plans (described in the Executive Summary, above). SPD has partnered with experts, including participa-

4 Estimates of the Seattle population are drawn from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey 5-year estimates for 2017.

5 In this report, "racial group" refers to groups described in SPD records by racial categories (e.g., Black, Asian, etc.). When our analyses compare SPD policing statistics to U.S. Census Bureau data, these identities are mapped onto the following census categories: Hispanic (referred to as Latinx in this report), non-Latinx Asian, non-Latinx Black, non-Latinx Native American, non-Latinx White, and non-Latinx Other Race. To make analysis tractable, in many of the analyses in this report we use a broader category for Other Race, combining the relatively small number of observations in certain racial categories. The census counts "Hispanic" identity as an ethnicity that encompasses persons of all racial backgrounds. The description of Asian, Black, Native American, Latinx, White, and Other Race as "racial" designations does not represent a claim that any such person belongs to a monolithic "race," or indeed that the category of "race" has objective meaning independent of its social context. Furthermore, it should be noted that SPD racial categories describe the officer's perception of the individual's race. That perception may or may not match the individual's own racial identity.

6 As of September 30, 2020, SPD employs 1,310 sworn officers.

7 Seattle Police Department. (n.d.). *Department fact sheet*. Retrieved April 2, 2020, from https://www.seattle.gov/police/about-us/about-the-department/department-fact-sheet

8 Personal communication with SPD personnel (May 29, 2020).

9 In the context of policing, a consent decree is a court-ordered agreement between a municipality and the United States Department of Justice (DOJ). It is issued in response to a DOJ investigation of what DOJ considers to be a pattern or practice of violation of constitutional rules governing criminal procedural rights, equal protection (that is, nondiscrimination), or both. Typically, a consent decree will set out measures designed to correct and prevent such violations, for example by setting conditions for stops, searches, and use of force by the municipality's police department.

tion in the NJD, to continually revise and update the department's practices to promote fair and equitable policing for all communities. SPD is also subject to civilian oversight, through the Community Police Commission, an Office of Police Accountability, and a fully independent Office of the Inspector General. As required under the consent decree, an independent monitor has issued 10 systematic assessments and seven semiannual reports.

SPD indicated to CPE that transparency is a guiding principle of the department. To achieve this goal, SPD partners with experts in the field, such as CPE. In their discussions with us, SPD leadership reported that the department understands that officers are human and may occasionally make mistakes, but it wants to have systems and training in place to reduce such occurrences and to understand the impact they have on the community.

NATIONAL JUSTICE DATABASE ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

The analyses presented in this report are intended to identify any racial disparities in SPD Terry stops and use-of-force incidents, to identify potential drivers of these disparities, and to test various explanations of what may be contributing to any identified disparities. The analyses are informed by CPE's understanding of racial disparities and common sources of disparities in policing, as described below.

What does CPE mean by racial disparities?

The analyses presented in this report consider two types of racial disparities: disparities in rates of contact and disparities in the outcomes of this contact. **Racial disparities in contact** exist when the proportion of a racial group that experiences police contact is greater than that group's representation in the community the police department serves. **Racial disparities in outcomes** exist when the likelihood of a police encounter resulting in a given outcome (e.g., a vehicle stop resulting in an arrest) differs across racial groups.

It is important to note that the analyses of racial outcomes in this report are not intended to imply a statistically robust relationship between race and outcomes. The purpose of the analyses is to display outcomes by race and, if there are differences, point to ways agencies can investigate those differences further (e.g., through improved data collection protocols).

What does it mean if these analyses find evidence of racial disparities?

Disparities in rates of police contact and the outcomes of this contact mean that racial groups in Seattle have different experiences of SPD policing. This is important to measure, as these differences can represent pain points for communities. Disparities do not necessarily indicate that police officers have engaged in biased or discriminatory behavior. The NJD framework described below examines how factors outside of a department's control (e.g., poverty and crime rates in a neighborhood) contribute to observed disparities, which can be used to infer what portion of a disparity is likely related to officer behavior and/or departmental policies and practices.

What factors might contribute to observed racial disparities?

The NJD analytic framework aims to distinguish among five broad types of explanations for racial disparities in policing.

These explanations of disparities in policing are:

1. **Individual characteristics or behaviors:** Attributes or behaviors of individual community members may lead to a greater risk of interaction with law enforcement. Such behaviors and attitudes may include mental health challenges, homelessness, or participation in criminal activity.

2. **Community characteristics:** Neighborhood conditions, such as poverty or high crime rates, may result in higher rates of interaction with law enforcement.

3. **Officer characteristics or behaviors:** Some officers may view members of certain communities with a higher level of suspicion, resulting in a disproportionate rate of stops or more punitive disposition after a stop for these individuals.

4. **Departmental culture, law, or policy:** Institutional policies, practices, or norms may increase law enforcement contact with some members of the population more than others. For example, officers may be deployed to patrol some communities. Moreover, police departments may be constrained by federal, state, or local laws that may contribute to disparate interactions with individuals and communities.

5. **Relationships between communities and police:** Mistrust of law enforcement can reduce community members' willingness to cooperate with police. Similarly, a sense that communities do not trust or respect police may cause officers to feel unsafe or defensive in encounters with members of those communities.

CPE recognizes that the whole story likely incorporates elements of each of these explanations. The analyses presented in this report combine police administrative data provided by SPD and census data on the resident population of Seattle to examine overarching trends in policing outcomes by race and police characteristics (Explanation 3). It is important to note that we were unable to examine community characteristics (Explanation 2) at this time due to missing data. Please see the Data Gap Analysis included as Appendix A of this report for a summary of the data that CPE requested and received from SPD, and a description of how the availability of requisite data fields impacted the analyses conducted for this report.

We commend SPD for their participation in the NJD and their responsiveness to CPE requests for data sharing and information. Our hope is that SPD and the community they serve can leverage the information revealed through these analyses to address the disparities that police departments and communities both want to reduce.

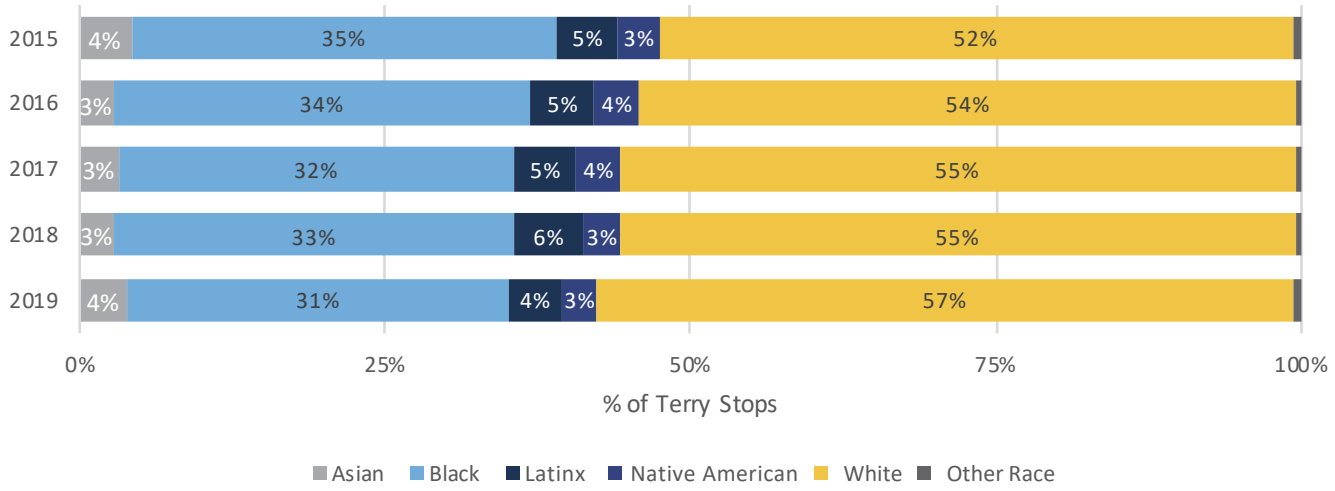
SPD TERRY STOPS, 2015–2019

For the purposes of this report, a stop is defined as a single event in which a person was stopped by SPD. Each stopped individual counts as one stop, regardless of the number of officers or other persons involved in the stop, which aligns with SPD's approach and standard for data collection. The stop data that we received from SPD were confined to Terry stops—that is, stops based on "reasonable suspicion" that the person stopped was involved in criminal activity. SPD defines reasonable suspicion as "specific, objective, articulable facts, which, taken together with rational inferences, would create a well-founded suspicion that there is a substantial possibility that a subject has engaged, is engaging or is about to engage in criminal conduct."[10] Although we are advised by SPD that officers also conduct traffic enforcement[11] and other types of stops, Terry stops were the only ones for which data were systematically recorded in an analyzable format.

The Terry stop data received from SPD do not differentiate between vehicle stops and stops of pedestrians.[12] We are advised by SPD that the majority of recorded stops were of persons on foot, and a minority involved motor vehicles. The locations of SPD stops were also not systematically recorded in an analyzable format.[13] Data on the sector in which the stop occurred were missing for 26% of observations. In addition, about 35% of observations were missing the reason for the stop. Race data were missing for 3,383 observations (about 9.3% of the total). Stops that were missing relevant data had to be dropped from our analyses (but were counted in our totals for all stops).

SPD officers recorded a total of 36,511 Terry stops from March 15, 2015, through August 15, 2019, a period of 4 years and 5 months.[14] The analyses presented in this report examine whether there are

Figure 1. Composition of SPD Terry Stops by Race, 2015–2019



Note: For chart readability, data labels for values below 3% are not included for all figures in this report.

10 Seattle Police Department. (2020). *Seattle Police Department Manual,* Title 6, Arrest, search and seizure. Retrieved November 10, 2020, from https://www.seattle.gov/police-manual/title-6---arrests-search-and-seizure/6220---voluntary-contacts-terry-stops-and-detention

11 It is important to note that, early in the 2000s, SPD enacted policy requiring the documentation of all official police contact. Within this system, some traffic stops may be recorded as Terry stops (and are included in the data analyzed in this report), while vehicle stops are documented as either infractions, warnings, or traffic contact forms.

12 SPD does collect additional stop narratives, including a record of stop type; however, these additional data were not provided to CPE.

13 Since the drafting of this report, SPD has updated data collection policies and now requires that all Terry stops include location data.

14 Graphs displaying the count of stops made each quarter and the gender and racial breakdown of these stops are included in Appendix B.

disparities in the frequency and outcomes of stops across racial groups, and whether there is variation in such disparities across different types of stops and SPD sectors.

In each year of the observation period, Black and Native American persons were overrepresented in SPD Terry stops relative to their share of the Seattle population. Although Black persons make up only 7% of the Seattle population, they comprised more than 30% of persons stopped by SPD each year (Figure 1). Native American persons, who make up 0.5% of the Seattle population, comprised more than 3% of SPD Terry stops each year. Persons identified as White, Asian, and Latinx were underrepresented, relative to their share of the population, among persons stopped by SPD.

The Black/White racial disparity in SPD Terry stops declined slightly across the observation period, with the proportion of Black persons declining from 35% to 31% of Terry stops, and the proportion of White persons increasing from 52% to 57% of all Terry stops. The Native American/White disparity also declined slightly, with the proportion of Native American persons declining from a peak of 4% in 2016 to a nadir of 3% in 2019. In each year of the observation period, the proportion of persons classified by the officer as a race other than Asian, Black, Latinx, Native American, or White was less than 1%.[15]

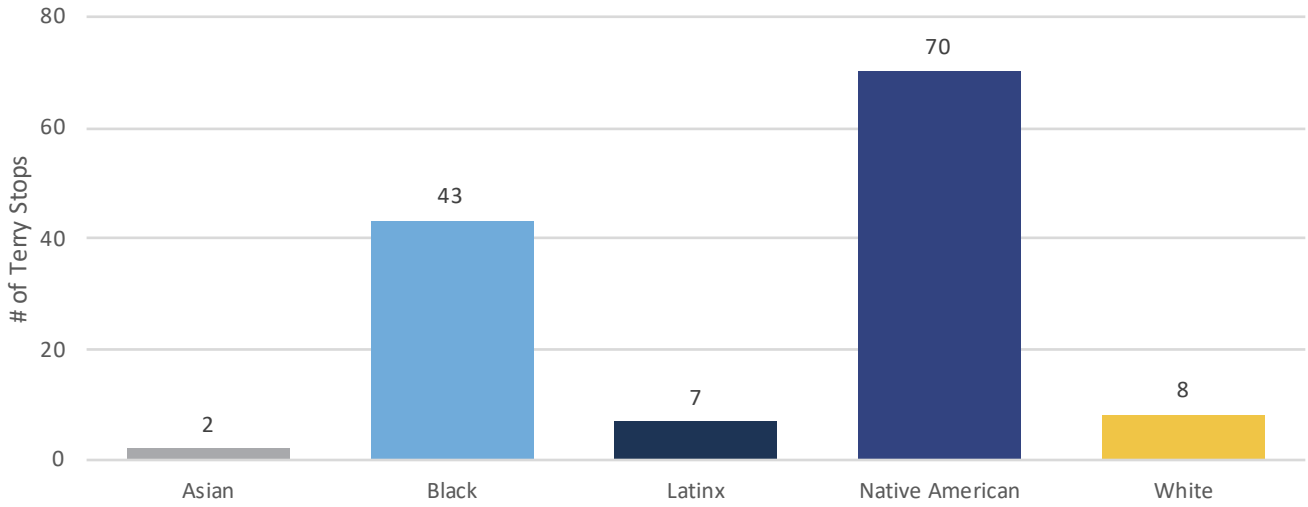
Are there racial disparities in who is stopped by SPD officers and in the outcomes of these stops?

The analyses presented in this section examine whether there are disparities in the frequency and outcomes of stops across racial groups using analyses of stop rates, stop outcomes, and search and yield rates.

SPD TERRY STOPS RATES

Stop rate analysis (Figure 2): This analysis compares the frequency of SPD Terry stops across racial groups, taking into account the representation of each group in the population of Seattle residents. The per capita stop rate for each racial group (that is, the number of stops of a person of that racial category per 1,000 residents of that racial

Figure 2. Comparing Per Capita Terry Stop Rates per 1,000 Residents by Race, 2015–2019



15 This includes individuals identified by the officer as "Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander" (fewer than 10 stops) or as "Other Race." These categories were combined because they independently accounted for less than 2% of all vehicle stops.

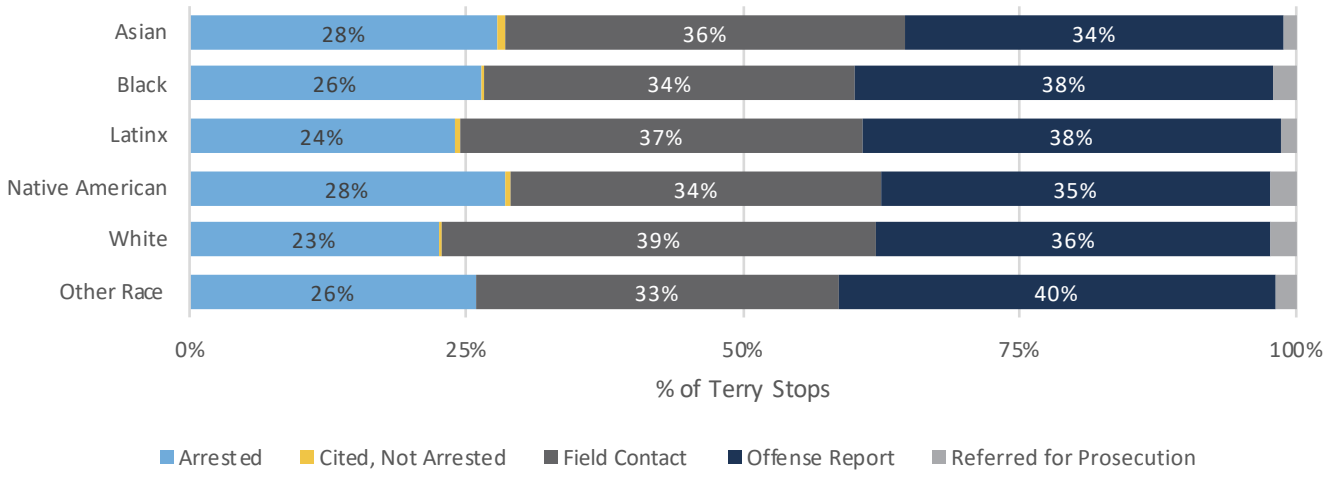
category) is calculated by dividing the number of Terry wstops of individuals of a given racial group by the number of city residents in that group.[16]

Interpreting findings: The stop rate analysis illustrates the relative frequency of Terry stops experienced by Seattle community members in each racial group. Higher per capita stop rates for a given group indicate that group is experiencing a **greater burden** of Terry stops compared to other groups.

We note that there are limitations in the precision of per capita estimates as a sole metric of disparity. For SPD, as for any other police department, it cannot be assumed that persons with whom officers interact are necessarily residents of the jurisdiction serviced by the department or of the neighborhood in which an encounter takes place. Nevertheless, jurisdiction-wide data appear to provide the best available estimates of the characteristics of persons interacting with the police. (Neighborhood demographic data can also be used, but the lack of precise geolocation data in the SPD Terry stop data shared with CPE precludes location-based analyses.) We select municipal demographic data as the most straightforward and complete proxy of the community served by SPD, but recognize that this does not take into account, for example, whether miles walked differ between racial groups. It is not possible to precisely estimate what the racial distribution of police encounters might be if these encounters accurately reflected the relative population sizes of the different racial groups walking and driving in SPD's jurisdiction.

As shown earlier, in Figure 1, persons identified as Black or Native American experienced a higher share of SPD Terry stops compared to their share of the population. The relative burden of Terry stops can also be understood by comparing the number of SPD stops for each racial group to the number of Seattle residents from that group. Latinx persons were stopped at a per capita rate similar to that of White persons, and Asian persons were stopped at a rate lower than that of White persons. Again, however, Black and Native American individuals experienced the heaviest burden of SPD Terry stops. In Seattle, Native American persons experienced per capita stops at a rate 8.8 times as high as the rate

Figure 3. Comparing Terry Stop Outcomes by Race, 2015–2019



16 We do not produce per capita analyses for individuals included in the "Other Race" category, as we cannot accurately estimate the benchmark population for this aggregate category.

for White persons; Black persons experienced stops at 5.4 times the rate of White persons.

During the 4 years and 5 months of the observation period, SPD conducted 1,134 stops of Native American persons, and there are 3,101 Native American residents in Seattle. Along the same lines, SPD conducted 10,966 Terry stops of Black persons, and Seattle has 47,961 Black residents. By contrast, over the same period, SPD conducted 18,072 Terry stops of White persons, and there are 449,138 White residents in Seattle.

TERRY STOP OUTCOMES

Stop outcomes analysis (Figure 3): This analysis examines the percentage of Terry stops that end in each stop outcome (e.g., arrested, cited, or released without citation or arrest) for each racial group. The goal of this analysis is to gauge the degree to which different groups are subject to similar levels of scrutiny and treatment.

Interpreting findings: The stop outcomes analysis is interpreted alongside the stop rate analysis. If the stop rate analysis finds a particular racial group is stopped less frequently, and the stop outcomes analysis finds these stops are more likely to result in the individual being released, this may suggest the group is experiencing **greater leniency** in discretionary enforcement decisions. When the stop rate analysis finds a particular racial group is stopped more frequently, and the stop outcomes analysis finds that these stops are more likely to result in the individual being released, this may suggest individuals in this group are experiencing a **greater burden of stops** relative to other groups and may be subject to greater scrutiny than other groups.

Most people (75%) who experienced SPD Terry stops during the observation period were released without citation or arrest, while 24% resulted in arrest. As might be expected in a dataset restricted to Terry stops, citations were rare: Fewer than 0.4% of all Terry stops recorded by SPD resulted in any citation.

When a stopped person was released without being arrested or receiving a citation, three outcomes were possible. In a plurality of such encounters, the officer either recorded a field contact (37% of all Terry stops) or completed an offense report (36% of all Terry stops). In 2.1% of all Terry stops, the officer referred the stopped person for prosecution without making an immediate arrest.

Of all racial groups stopped by SPD, White persons appeared to be treated more leniently than any other group. They were stopped less frequently per cap-

Table 1. Comparing Terry Stop, Search, and Yield Rates by Race and Gender, 2015–2019

	Terry Stops	Searches		Weapons Found	
	Count	Count	% of Stops	Count	% of Searches
Asian Women	239	28	12%	7	25%
Asian Men	868	255	29%	42	17%
Black Women	1,922	262	14%	38	15%
Black Men	9,026	2,636	29%	512	19%
Latinx Women	215	21	9.8%	6	29%
Latinx Men	1,466	414	28%	93	23%
Native American Women	355	39	11%	7	18%
Native American Men	779	216	28%	45	21%
White Women	4,103	373	9.1%	79	21%
White Men	13,933	2,907	21%	1,019	35%
Other Race Women	45	9	20%	1	11%
Other Race Men	116	27	23%	2	7.4%

ita than Black or Native American persons (see Figure 2); once stopped, they were least likely to be arrested (23%) and most likely to be released without citation or arrest (77%; Figure 3).

Native American persons, who experienced a particularly heavy burden of Terry stops (see Figure 2), were also more likely to experience arrest once they were stopped. They were arrested more frequently than persons from most other racial groups (28%). Asian individuals were arrested at the same rate once stopped, though they were stopped less frequently per capita than any other group.

Black persons also experienced a heavy burden of Terry stops as well as a high arrest rate. They were stopped at much higher rates than White persons and, once stopped, were arrested at an above-average rate (26%). Latinx persons experienced similar treatment to White persons: They were stopped at a slightly lower per capita frequency than White persons, and were only slightly more likely to be arrested at a stop (24%).

SEARCH AND YIELD RATES

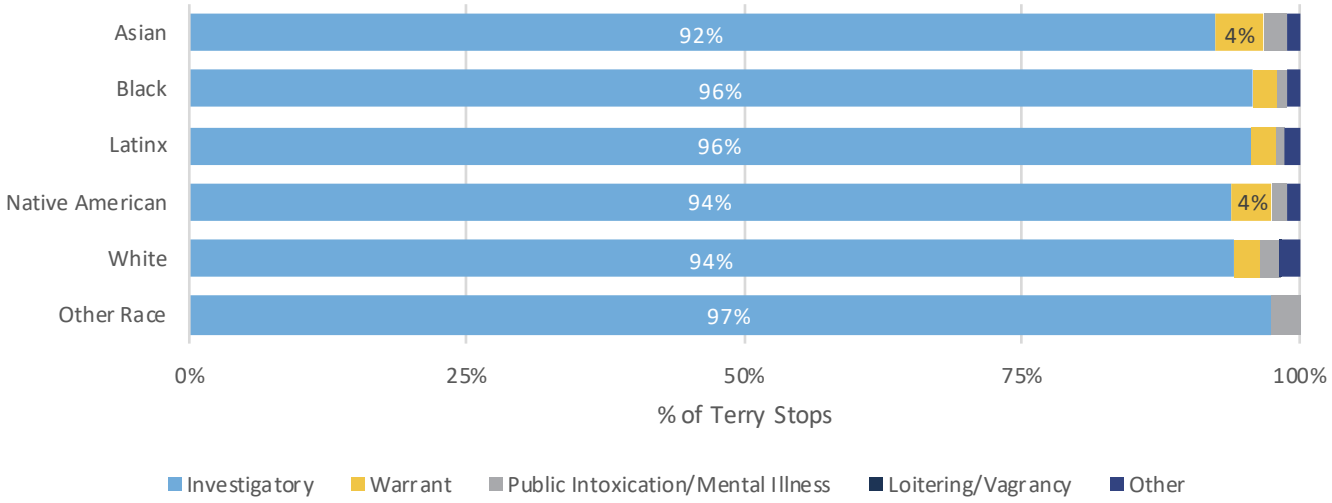
Search and yield rate analysis (Table 1): This analysis compares the percentage of persons stopped at Terry stops who are searched to the share of these searches that result in the discovery of weapons for each racial and gender group. Like the Terry stop outcomes analysis above, this analysis is intended to evaluate the degree to which different groups may be subject to similar levels of scrutiny and treatment.

Interpreting findings: The search and yield rate analysis examines whether the likelihood of a Terry stop resulting in a weapons search differs by racial and gender group, and whether these differences in search rates may be explained by the likelihood of possessing a weapon. When the analysis reveals that a given group is searched more frequently and that the searches are less likely to result in the discovery of a weapon, this may suggest either that SPD officers' reasonable suspicion of illegal activity or weapons possession is less likely to be accurate for the group or that some officers have a lower threshold in making the decision to search members of that group.

SPD policy 6.220-POL-2 (6) permits searches at Terry stops "only if [the officer has] an articulable and reasonable safety concern that the person is armed and presently dangerous." It permits searches for "weapons or other items which pose a danger to those nearby," but not for other purposes.

An overwhelming majority of SPD Terry stops (79%) and searches (90%) involved men. Of persons searched by

Figure 4. Comparing Reasons for Terry Stops by Race, 2015–2019



SPD and found with weapons, 93% were men. Women comprised only about one fifth of all stops, and they were fewer than 10% of all persons who were searched or found with weapons. Because the largest numbers of stops, searches, and weapons found involved men, this discussion focuses primarily on racial disparities in the rates at which men were stopped, searched, or found with weapons.

Among men, the widest racial disparities in search and yield rates were between White men and all other groups of men stopped by SPD (Table1). White men, who were the least likely to be stopped and the least likely to be arrested at a stop (see Figures 2 and 3), were also much less likely than men of any other group to be searched by SPD. At the same time, White men who were searched were much *more* likely than their non-White counterparts to be found with a weapon.

Only 21% of White men who were stopped experienced a search, a rate much lower than that of any non-White group that was stopped in large numbers: At SPD stops, 28% of Native American men, 28% of Latinx men, 29% of Black men, and 29% of Asian men were searched.

The yield rate for searches of White men was much higher than for any other group of persons searched by SPD: More than one third of searches conducted upon White men (35%) uncovered a weapon, compared to 23% for searches of Latinx men, 21% of searches of Native American men, 19% of searches of Black men, and 17% of searches of Asian men.

That is, White men were searched less frequently than men from any non-White group, even though more than a third of searches of White men turned up weapons. By contrast, more than 70% of all searches of non-White men were fruitless. The elevated rates at which Black and Native American men were stopped and searched, then, are not explained by any elevated likelihood that they would possess weapons.

For both women and men, those who experienced the most burdensome per capita stop rates and the greatest likelihood of arrest—Native American and Black persons—were also among those most likely to be searched. At the same time, searches of Native American and Black persons were among the *least* likely to uncover weapons. Searches of Asian men, though infrequent relative to their share of the population, were the least likely to uncover weapons: Once stopped, 29% of Asian men were searched, and only 17% of searches of Asian men uncovered any weapon.

The results of our search and yield rate analysis are consistent with the possibility that SPD officers' suspicion of weapons possession is less likely to be accurate for Black, Native American, or Asian persons, or that some officers use a lower threshold in making the decision to search Black, Native American, or Asian persons.

Racial disparities were broadly similar among women. Of the five largest racial groups—White, Black, Asian, Latinx, and Native American—Black women were the most likely to be searched and the least likely to be found with weapons. White, Latinx, and Asian women were less likely to be searched than Black women were, and searches of these women were more likely than searches of Black (or Native American) women to reveal weapons.

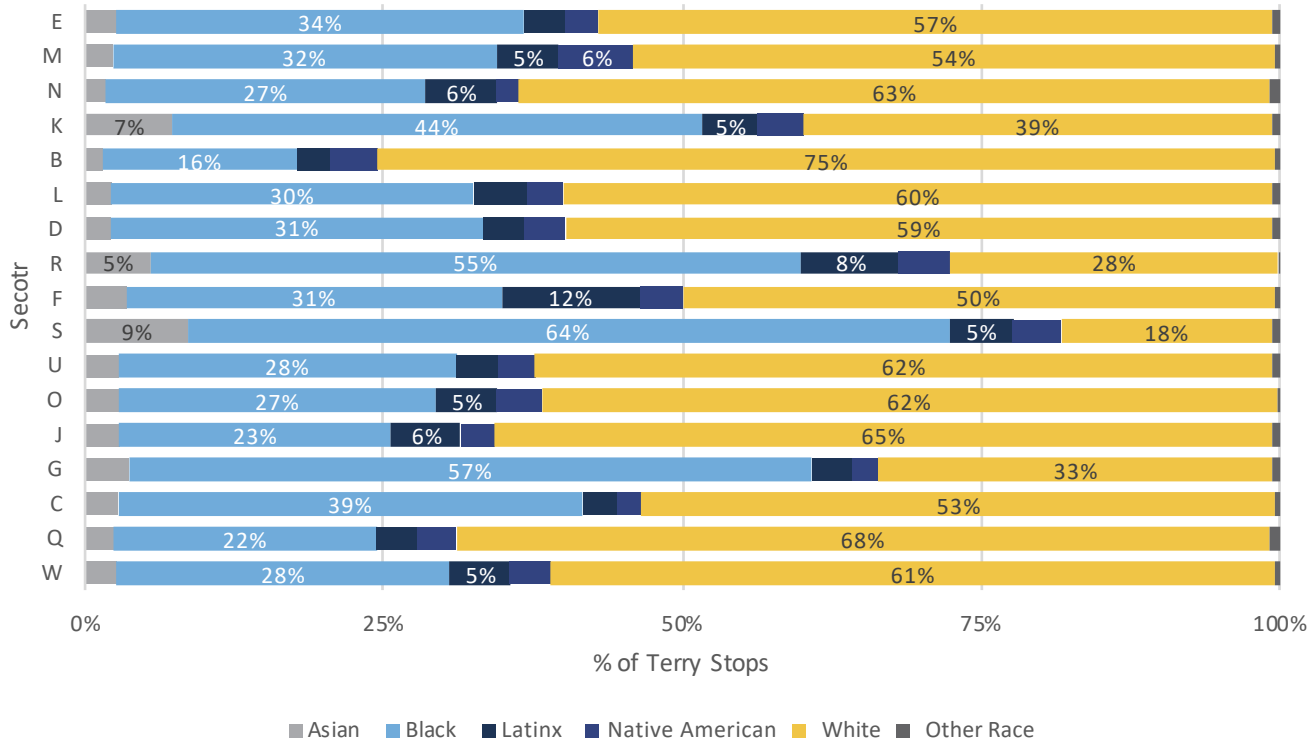
Which types of stops evidence the greatest racial disparities?

STOP REASON

Stop reason analysis (Figure 4): This analysis examines how the composition of reasons given for Terry stops varies across racial groups. The goal of this analysis is to reveal whether specific types of Terry stops may be driving racial disparities. As noted above, 35% of stop records did not contain a reason for the stop. These observations could not be used in this analysis.

Interpreting findings: A stop reason analysis that reveals a larger proportion of a specific stop reason among a racial group relative to other groups indicates that stops of that type may be driving any observed disparities in the stop rates for that racial group.

Figure 5. Comparing the Racial Composition of Terry Stops by SPD Sector, 2015–2019



Note: For chart readability, data labels for values below 5% are not included in this figure.

SPD policy 6.220-POL-2(1) "prohibits Terry stops when an officer lacks reasonable suspicion that a suspect has been, is, or is about to engage in the commission of a crime." Because all the stops analyzed in this report are recorded as Terry stops, this rule applied to all such stops.

For every racial group, more than 90% of SPD stops were logged as being for investigatory purposes. This percentage ranged from 92% for Asians, to 94% for White and Native American persons, to 96% for Black and Latinx persons, and 97% for persons in the Other Race category.

For most racial groups (other than the catchall "Other" category), the second most common reason that a person might be stopped by an SPD officer was that the person had an outstanding warrant. About 4% of Asian and Native American persons who were stopped—and about 2% of White, Black, and Latinx persons who were stopped—were stopped for this reason.

The third most common reason recorded for an SPD Terry stop was that the person appeared intoxicated or appeared to be experiencing an episode of mental illness. About 2% of White and Asian persons who were stopped, about 1% of Native American persons who were stopped, and fewer than 1% of Black and Latinx persons who were stopped were stopped for this reason.

SPD SECTOR

Work unit (sector) analysis (Figure 5): This analysis shows the distribution of Terry stops during the 5-year period by racial group and police department work

unit (defined in this case as the SPD sector where the stop was made).[17] The goal of this analysis is to examine whether specific work units may differently contribute to the overall racial composition of SPD Terry stops. As noted above, 26% of stop records were missing information about the sector. These observations could not be used in this analysis.

Interpreting findings: The sector analysis suggests that a specific sector may contribute to racial disparities in stops if a specific racial group is overrepresented in stops among that sector relative to other sectors and relative to that group's representation in the Seattle population. We note, however, that the demographic composition of the population served by a given sector may vary, which may account for a portion of the variation in racial composition of stops. If the sector analysis finds that a given racial group is overrepresented among the stops in all sectors, this indicates that local demographics are not the whole explanation for the observed racial disparities.

SPD sectors are ordered in Figure 5 from top to bottom by the total number of stops made. The racial composition of stops varied widely among sectors. Nonetheless, without exception, in every SPD sector, Black and Native American persons made up a percentage of stops several times higher than their representation in the citywide population.

As mentioned above, the citywide population of Seattle is about 65% White, 14% Asian, 7% Black, 6.5% Latinx, and 0.5% Native American. It is likely that the demographics of the populations encountered by different SPD sectors vary across the city. Thus, a sector's deviation from citywide population demographics does not necessarily indicate discrimination, or even disparity, relative to the local population with which its officers interact. Nonetheless, racial disparities in work-unit stop demographics cannot be entirely attributable to local demographics because, relative to the citywide population, Black and Native American persons were overrepresented in every sector (and therefore were not underrepresented in any sector).

The sectors with the highest proportion of Terry stops involving non-White persons were Unit S (82% of stopped persons were non-White), Unit R (72% were non-White), Unit G (67% were non-White), and Unit K (61% were non-White). In all other sectors, a majority of stopped persons were White.

The greatest overrepresentation of Black persons relative to the Seattle population occurred in two sectors where a majority of SPD stops involved Black persons: Unit S (64% of all persons stopped were Black) and Unit G (57% of all persons stopped were Black). Unit K and Unit C also involved high proportions of Black persons stopped (44% and 39%, respectively), relative to the citywide population.

The greatest overrepresentation of Native American persons relative to the Seattle population occurred in Unit M (where 6% of all stopped persons were Native American) and in Units R, S, B, and K (4% each). In most SPD sectors, Native American persons comprised between 2.0% and 3.5% of all SPD stops.

At the same time, SPD officers in 15 out of 17 sectors stopped White persons at a rate lower than their representation in each sector, the exceptions being Unit B and Unit Q (where 75% and 68% of stops, respectively, involved White persons). Notably, however, in the sectors most likely to stop White persons, the overrepresentation of White persons was slight compared to the overrepresentation of Native American and Black persons in those units' stops.

Similarly, only two sectors—Unit F (12%) and Unit R (8%)—stopped Latinx persons at a rate higher than their representation in the Seattle population. No sector stopped Asian persons at a rate as high as their representation in the citywide population. (In every sector, persons identified as Asian accounted for less than 9% of stops,compared to their 14% share of the population.)

17 A map of SPD's precinct and patrol boundaries can be found at https://www.seattle.gov/police/about-us/about-policing/precinct-and-patrol-boundaries

SPD USE-OF-FORCE INCIDENTS, 2014–2019

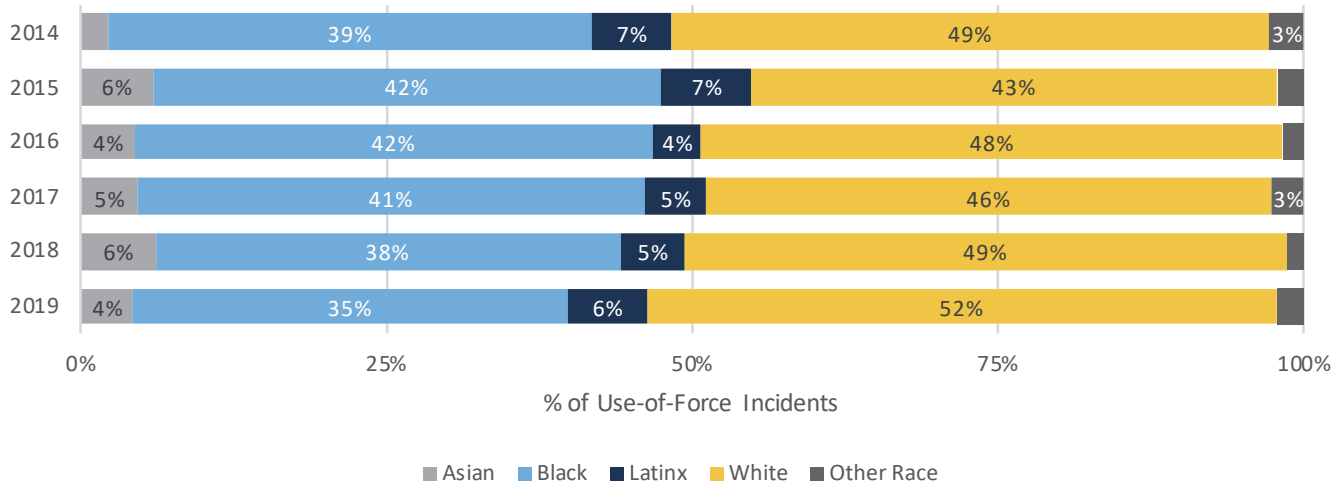
For the purpose of this report, a use-of-force incident is defined as a use of force against an individual community member, regardless of the type(s) of force used or the number of officers involved. A single incident, then, could include multiple force types, multiple applications of force, or multiple officers. SPD policy 8.400-POL-2 requires completion of a use-of-force report for every incident in which an SPD officer uses force unless the force used is *de minimis*. *De minimis* force is defined as "Physical interaction meant to separate, guide, and/or control without the use of control techniques that are intended to or are reasonably likely to cause any pain or injury."

SPD officers recorded a total of 4,827 use-of-force incidents during the approximately 5½ years from January 27, 2014, through August 3, 2019.[18] We have excluded from these analyses 24 SPD use-of-force records where the only force type recorded was "Verbal Commands," as CPE analyses do not count verbal commands as force. For the same reason, we also excluded 1,969 incidents in which the only force type used was "Handcuffing" with no injury reported. In addition, data on the type of force used were missing from 359 reports of use of force, and these observations are excluded from the analyses.

The analyses presented in this section examine whether there are disparities in the frequency of use-of-force incidents across racial groups or in the types of force used. Ordinarily, our use-of-force analyses would also include a multilevel regression analysis assessing how various factors contribute to the observed disparities in the likelihood of a use-of-force incident. Because we did not receive analyzable location data for use-of-force incidents recorded by SPD, however, we were unable to conduct this analysis.

Our analyses of racial disparity in use-of-force incidents recorded by SPD were complicated by the high proportion of incidents in which the race of the person was not recorded. Of 4,827 use-of-force incidents recorded

Figure 6. Composition of SPD Use-of-Force Incidents by Race and Year, 2014–2019



18 A graph displaying the number of use-of-force incidents each quarter is included in Appendix C.

by SPD, some 859 incidents were missing racial data. That is, in 18% of all use-of-force incidents reported by SPD, officers did not record the race of the individual subjected to force. All racial data presented in this section, then, are restricted to the 3,968 incidents in which racial data were recorded.

The racial composition of individuals subject to SPD use of force over the 5½-year observation period is illustrated below.

As was observed with SPD stops, Black persons were overrepresented, relative to the Seattle population, among persons who had SPD force used upon them (Figure 6). In each year of the observation period, Black persons, who comprise 7% of the citywide population, accounted for between 35% and 42% of all people upon whom force was used.

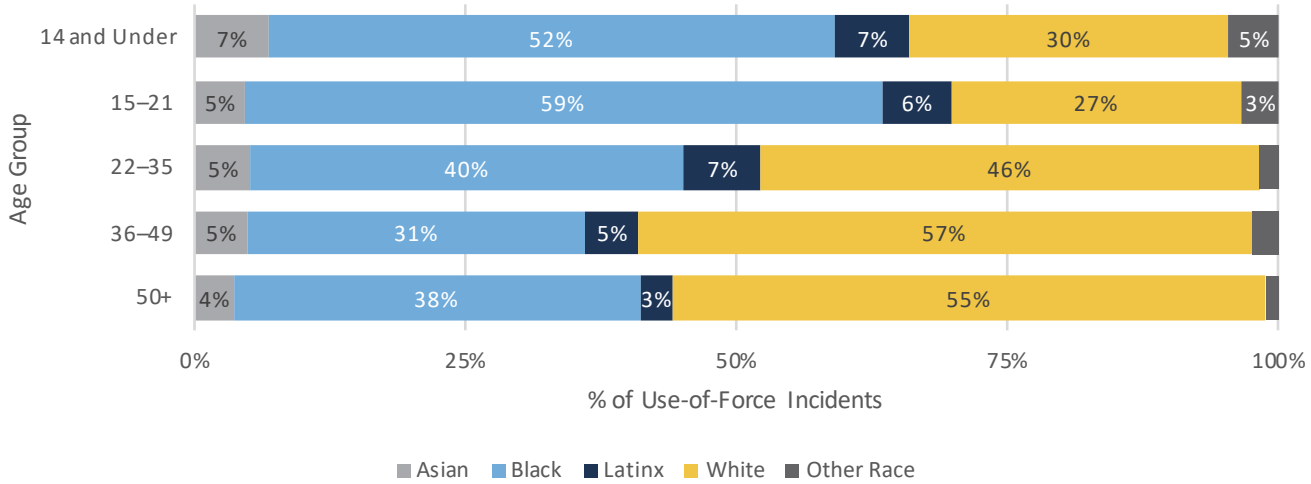
Incidents in which the person subjected to force was identified as Native American (N = 52) or Pacific Islander (N = 31) accounted for less than 2% of the total, and are combined in the Other Race category. In light of the disparities observed in SPD stops, however, it is worth noting that the proportion of Native American persons subjected to force (1.3% of all use-of-force incidents for which racial data were recorded) was more than twice their representation in the Seattle population (0.5%). Pacific Islanders were the subjects of 0.8% of incidents in which the race of the person was recorded, which is approximately double their representation in the population (0.4% of the Seattle population is identified as Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander).

Consistent with patterns observed in stops, White, Latinx, and Asian persons were underrepresented, relative to population, in use-of-force incidents. White persons comprise nearly two thirds of the population of the city of Seattle, for example, but were the subjects of fewer than half of all use-of-force incidents recorded by SPD. In addition to the 859 SPD use-of-force incidents for which race was not recorded, 395 incident records were also missing data on the age of the person who was subjected to force. As such, the findings presented in Figure 7 exclude these incidents.

As Figure 7 shows, racial disparities in SPD use of force were greatest among children 14 years old and under, and among young people aged 15–21. Although Black persons comprise only 7% of the Seattle population, most children and young people who were subjected to SPD force were Black. Of incidents where force was used on a child aged 14 or younger and race was identified (N = 44), 52% of the children were Black. In comparison, 30% of children who had force used upon them were identified as White, 7% as Latinx, and 5% as Other Race (defined in this analysis as Native American and Pacific Islander).

In incidents where force was used on a young person aged 15 to 21 and race was identified (N = 563), 59% of the young people were Black. In contrast, 27% of young

Figure 7. Composition of SPD Use-of-Force Incidents by Race and Age, 2014–2019



people who had force used on them were identified as White, 6% as Latinx, and 3% as Other Race.

In every age group, Black persons were subjected to force at a rate several times their representation in the Seattle population. Their overrepresentation was smallest in the 36- to 49-year-old age group, where they comprised 31% of persons subjected to SPD force.

Are there racial disparities in who is subject to use of force and in the types of force used by SPD officers?

The findings presented in this section examine the degree to which there are disparities in the frequency of use-of-force incidents and types of force across racial groups. Here we present analyses of incident rates and force types. A multilevel regression analysis examining whether common explanations for disparities—including community characteristics and crime rates—are contributing to the observed disparities could not be conducted because SPD use-of-force records did not contain usable location data.

USE-OF-FORCE INCIDENT RATES

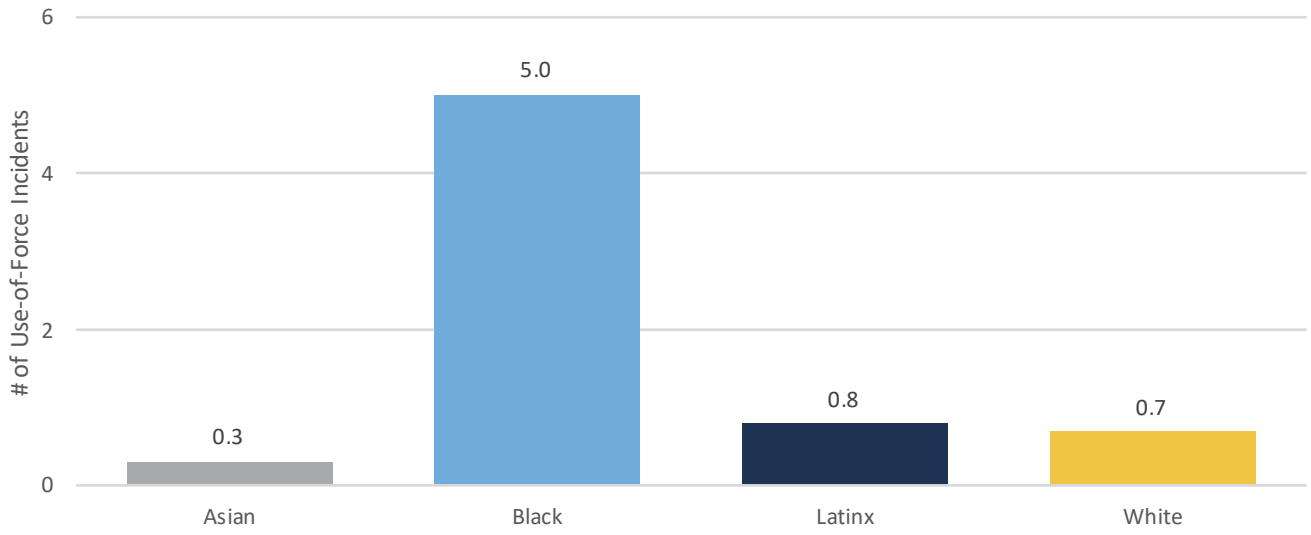
Incident rate analysis (Figure 8): This analysis compares the frequency of use-of-force incidents across racial groups, taking into account the representation of each group in the population of residents of Seattle. The per capita use-of-force incident rate for each racial group is calculated by dividing the number of incidents for the given racial group by the number of city residents in that group.

Interpreting findings: Higher incident rates for a given group indicate that the group is at greater risk of SPD use of force compared to other groups.

Compared to White persons, Black persons experienced more than 7 times the risk of SPD use of force. As Figure 8 illustrates, this translates to 5 use-of-force incidents per 1,000 Black residents, compared to fewer than 1 per 1,000 for other large racial groups. Over the study period, there was approximately one use-of-force incident involving a White individual for every 1,428 White residents, one incident for every 1,250 Latinx residents, and one incident for about every 200 Black residents. Persons identified as Asian were subjected to force at a lower rate than any other group: There was approximately one use-of-force incident involving an Asian individual for every 3,333 Asian residents of Seattle during the observation period.

Because the number of use-of-force incidents involving persons identified by officers as Native American or Pa-

Figure 8. Comparing Per Capita Use-of-Force Incidents per 1,000 Residents by Race, 2014–2019



cific Islander was less than 2% of all incidents, per capita rates were not calculated for these groups. (As noted above under Figure 6, however, both groups were overrepresented in recorded use-of-force incidents, relative to population.)

Which types of use-of-force incidents evidence the greatest racial disparities?

FORCE TYPE

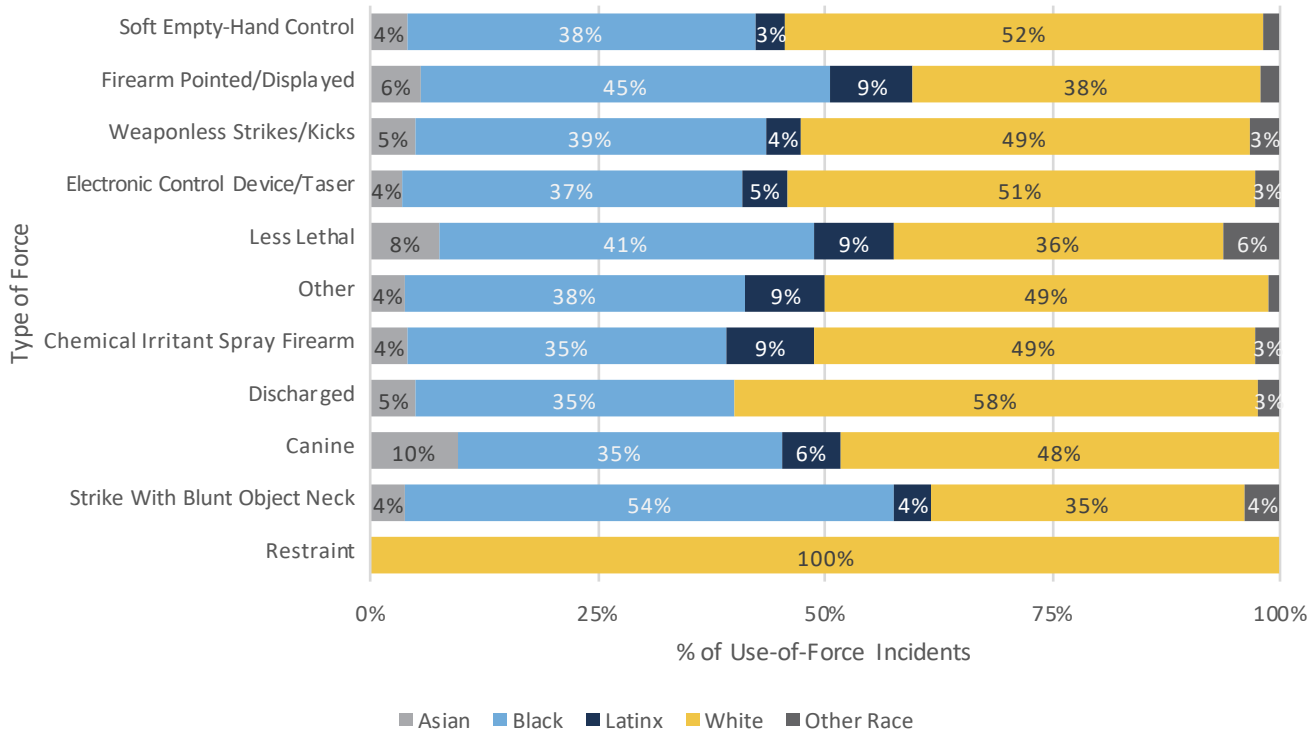
Force type analysis (Figure 9): This analysis examines the various types of force deployed by SPD by the race of the individual subject to that force. The goal of this analysis is to gauge the degree to which different groups are subject to similar types of treatment.

Interpreting findings: A force type analysis that finds that some force types are more likely to be used in incidents involving members of a specific racial group is an indicator that these groups may be subject to differing treatment during encounters in which force is deployed by SPD.

In Figure 9, force types are ordered from left to right according to how frequently their use was recorded.[19] The force types recorded in use-of-force reports were grouped into categories for ease of interpretability.[20] As noted above, SPD use-of-force records that indicated use of only verbal commands and/or handcuffing were not counted as incidents in which force was used.

By far the most common force category recorded in SPD incidents was soft empty-hand control (recorded as Control Hold {Restraint/Takedown}, Hobble Restraint), recorded in 39% of all use-of-force incidents (see Appendix C, Figure C2). The next most common force type recorded in SPD

Figure 9. Composition of Use-of-Force Types by Race, 2014–2019



19 A graph reporting the overall count of each force type deployed by SPD is included in Appendix C.
20 See Appendix D for a mapping of SPD force types to the categories used in this report.

use-of-force incidents was firearm pointing or display, recorded in 32% of all incidents. Weaponless strikes or kicks (using the officer's body) were recorded in 12% of recorded incidents; Taser electronic weapons in 2.8%; "Less lethal" force (Sting Ball, Balls [Blast, OC], Beanbag/Stunbag, Blue Nose, NFDD) in 2.6%; chemical irritant spray in 2.1% of all incidents; and "Other" force (including Other Weapon, Bicycle [Push/Powerslide/Takedown], Vehicle [PIT/Other]) in 2.0% of all recorded incidents. All other force types were used in less than 1% of all use-of-force incidents recorded by SPD.

Racial disparities were fairly consistent across force types. For every force type, Black persons were overrepresented at a rate several times their 7% share of the city population (except neck restraint, which was recorded in a single incident where the individual was White). Black persons represented between 35% and 45% of persons subjected to every type of force except "Strike With a Blunt Object," where 54% of individuals were Black (14 of 26 incidents in which blunt object force was recorded).

CONCLUSION

Overall, the results of our analyses of SPD data on Terry stops and use-of-force incidents find reasons for optimism and identify opportunities for improvement.

We commend SPD for their proactive participation in the NJD as a tool for enhancing equity in SPD policing practices and outcomes. We encourage SPD to share these results with the people of Seattle in an effort to enhance transparency and accountability and to support community partnership in producing equity and public safety. As this is the first quantitative report CPE has produced for SPD, the analyses should be viewed as a resource for steering reforms and as an initial benchmark against which future progress can be measured. Based on the findings described in this report, we offer five specific recommendations, as detailed in the Executive Summary. While this is not an exhaustive list of possible solutions to the disparities and risk factors we have identified, we recommend SPD adopt these actionable steps to enhance their commitment to fair and equitable policing.

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APPENDIX A. DATA GAP ANALYSIS

CPE presented a Data Gap Analysis (DGA) to SPD on April 8, 2020. This appendix includes this DGA in its entirety, along with additional information relevant to data completeness that we identified while conducting the analyses provided in this report. The new information is provided in the column titled "Post-Analysis Evaluation," included in Tables A4 and A5.

Table A1. SeattlePD_Crime_2007-08.26.2019

SeattlePD_Crime_2007-08.26.2019

Variables	Provided	Complete (✓) / Potential Limitation (◈)
Variable Keycodes	✓	✓
Unique Identifier	✓	✓
Date of Incident	✓	✓
Time of Incident	✓	✓
Was the incident a result of a Call for Service or Officer Initiated Activity?	X	
NIBRS or UCR Classification	✓	◈ - See Notes
Offense Description	✓	✓
Latitude and Longitude	X	
Street Address Details	X	
Beat, Precinct, District, Police Service Zone, etc.	✓	✓
Location Type (as coded by NIBRS/UCR)	X	
Bias Motivation (as coded by NIBRS/UCR)	X	
Suspect Race/Ethnicity	✓	◈ - See Notes
Suspect Sex	✓	◈ - See Notes
Suspect Age	✓	◈ - See Notes
Victim Race/Ethnicity	✓	◈ - See Notes
Victim Sex	✓	✓
Victim Age	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Race/Ethnicity	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Sex	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Age	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Department Years	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Rank (at date of incident)	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Geographic Assignment (at date of incident)	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Department Assignment (e.g., patrol, SWAT, SRO, etc.) (at date of incident)	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Military Background/Experience	✓	◈ - See Notes
Unique Identifiers for Subjects and Officers	✓	◈ - See Notes

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Notes:

NIBRS or UCR Classification	33% of entries are NULL. However, we acknowledge that not all offense codes have an associated NIBRS code.
Suspect Race/Ethnicity	11% of entries are NULL. 9% of entries are "Unknown."
Suspect Sex	9% of entries are NULL. 2% of entries are "Unknown."
Suspect Age	48% of entries are NULL. Less than 1% of entries are greater than 120 or less than 4.
Victim Race/Ethnicity	Less than 1% of entries are NULL. 23% of entries are "Unknown."
Victim Age	11% of entries are NULL. Less than 1% of the entries are negative or over 120.
Officer Race/Ethnicity	10% of "Primary Reporter Serial No" do not link to "Employee Serial Numbers" in the "CPE Empl Curr Dem 082119" file.
Officer Sex	
Officer Age	
Officer Department Years	
Officer Military Background/Experience	
Officer Rank (at date of incident)	56% of "Primary Reporter Serial No" do not link to officer_badge_num in the "CPE Officer Serial Squad Title by Day 082119" file.
Officer Geographic and Department Assignment (at date of incident)	
Unique Identifiers for Subjects and Officers	All of the Officer Unique Identifiers are available, but 12% of the subjects' IDs are "Unknown."

Table A2. Pedestrian Stop Data Checklist

SeattlePD_TerryStops_03.15.2015-08.15.2019

Variables	Provided	Complete (✓) / Potential Limitation (◈)
Variable Keycodes	✓	✓
Unique Identifier	✓	◈ - See Notes
Date of Incident	✓	✓
Time of Incident	✓	✓
Reason for Stop/Offense	✓	◈ - See Notes
Latitude/Longitude	X	
Street Address Details	X	
Beat, Precinct, District, Police Service Zone, etc.	✓	◈ - See Notes
Location Type (as coded by NIBRS/UCR)	X	
Disposition(s) for Each Individual Stopped (citation, arrest, release, etc.)	✓	✓
Search(es) Conducted	✓	✓
Nature of Each Search (e.g., incident to arrest, plain view, consent, etc.)	✓	✓
What contraband was found in each search, if any?	✓	◈ - See Notes
Whether a K9 Was Used to Search	X	
Vehicle and/or Foot Pursuit Involved	X	
Number of Subjects Stopped	X	
Number of Officers Involved	✓	✓
Subject Race/Ethnicity	✓	◈ - See Notes
Subject Sex	✓	✓
Subject Age	✓	✓
Officer Race/Ethnicity	✓	✓
Officer Sex	✓	✓
Officer Age	✓	✓
Officer Department Years	✓	✓
Officer Rank (at date of stop)	✓	✓
Officer Geographic Assignment (at date of stop)	✓	✓
Officer Department Assignment (e.g., patrol, SWAT, SRO, etc.) (at date of stop)	✓	✓
Officer Military Background/Experience	✓	✓
Unique Identifiers for Subjects and Officers	✓	◈ - See Notes

Do the data include all pedestrian stops OR only certain stops (citation stops, field interviews, etc.)?

As informed by the department: "There is no way to differentiate [between pedestrian and vehicle Terry stops] but most of these stops will be pedestrian stops." Additionally, these interactions are considered "Terry stops," which are reasonable suspicion stops.

Continued on the next page

Notes:

Unique Identifier	5% of rows are missing unique IDs. However, each row represents one stop, so this shouldn't be an issue for analysis.
Reason for Stop/Offense	34% of entries are marked as "-".
Beat, Precinct, District, Police Service Zone, etc.	25% of beat, precinct, and sector entries are marked as "-".
What contraband was found in each search, if any?	5% of entries are marked as "-", regardless of whether a frisk occurred.
Subject Race/Ethnicity	4% of entries are "Unknown." 2% of entries are marked as "-".
Unique Identifiers for Subjects and Officers	There are no subject IDs listed.

Table A3. Use-of-Force Data Checklist

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SeattlePD_UOF Data_01.27.2014-08.03.2019

Variables	Provided	Complete (✓) / Potential Limitation (◈)
Variable Keycodes	✓	✓
Unique Identifier	✓	✓
Date of Incident	✓	✓
Time of Incident	✓	✓
Latitude and Longitude	X	
Street Address Details	X	
Beat, Precinct, District, Police Service Zone, etc.	✓	◈ - See Notes
Location Type (as coded by NIBRS/UCR)	X	
Nature of Contact (traffic stop, call for service, warrant, etc.)	X	
Was the stop officer-initiated?	X	
Disposition(s) For Each Subject (citation, arrest, release, etc.)	X	
Subject Resistance (verbal aggression, physical fleeing, etc.)	✓	✓
Type(s) of Force (restraint only, physical force, lethal, etc.)	✓	✓
Did subject(s) possess a weapon?	✓	✓
Did subject(s) use the weapon?	✓	✓
Police Weapons/Tools Used (handgun, OC, Taser, etc.)	✓	✓
When a Firearm Was Used, Whether It Was Discharged	✓	✓
Number of Officers Involved	✓	✓
Camera on Scene	X	
Camera Activated/Operating?	X	
Subject Race/Ethnicity	✓	◈ - See Notes
Subject Sex	✓	✓
Subject Age	✓	✓
Subject Injury/Hospitalization/Death	✓	✓
Officer Race/Ethnicity	✓	✓
Officer Sex	✓	✓
Officer Age	✓	✓
Officer Department Years	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Rank (at date of incident)	✓	◈ - See Notes
Officer Geographic Assignment (at date of incident)	✓	✓
Officer Department Assignment (e.g., patrol, SWAT, SRO, etc.) (at date of incident)	✓	✓
Officer Military Background/Experience	✓	✓
Officer Injury/Hospitalization/Death	✓	✓
Unique Identifiers for Subjects and Officers	✓	✓

Notes:

Beat, Precinct, District, Police Service Zone, etc.	9% of entries are either missing, “X”, “XX,” or “-” for beat, precinct, and sector.
Subject Race/Ethnicity	17% of entries are “Not Specified.”
Officer Department Years	6% of entries are blank.
Officer Rank (at date of incident)	24% of entries are blank.

Symbol Key

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Symbol	Provided Meaning	Analysis Ability Meaning
✓	**Variable Provided**	**Analysis Possible**
X	**Variable Not Provided**	**Analysis Not Possible**
▨	**Variable Provided with Potential Limitation**	**Potential Analysis Limitation**

Table A4. Pedestrian Stop Data – Possible Analyses

Research Question	Variables Required	Provided?	Analysis Ability	Post-Analysis Evaluation
PS0. Has the annual number of pedestrian stops increased or decreased over the time for which data were provided?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**✓ Analysis Possible**	Analysis conducted. Data were provided for pedestrian stops from 3/15/2015 to 8/15/2019. Estimates of annual stops were prorated for years where only partial data were available.
	2. Date of Incident	✓		
PS1. How many pedestrian stops does the department make?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**✓ Analysis Possible**	Quarters that were not fully covered by available data (Q1 2015; Q3, 2019) were dropped from the analysis.
	2. Date of Incident	✓		
PS2. What percentage of pedestrian stops each year involve people from each racial group?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**▨Potential Analysis Limitation** • Subject Race/Ethnicity: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-".	9.3% of stops (3,383) were dropped from the analysis due to race being missing.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity	▨		
	3. Date of Incident	✓		
PS3. What is the per capita rate of being stopped by police?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**X Analysis Not Possible** • Subject Race/Ethnicity: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-". • Neither Street Address Details nor Latitude/Longitude were provided in the data.	Analysis conducted. Note: This analysis does not require location data (only an indication that these observations occurred within Seattle). See PS2.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity	▨		
	3a. Street Address Details	X		
	AND/OR			
	3b. Latitude/Longitude	X		

PS4. What percentage of each work unit's pedestrian stops are of each racial group?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**Potential Analysis Limitation** • Subject Race/Ethnicity: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-". • 25% of Beat, Precinct, and Sector entries are marked as "-".	See PS2. 25.7% of stops (9,395) were missing sector. These were not included in the analysis.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity			
	3a. Officer Department Assignment	✓		
	OR			
	3b. Beat, Precinct, District, Police Service Zone, etc.			
PS5. What percentage of each age group's stops are of each racial group?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**Potential Analysis Limitation** • Subject Race/Ethnicity: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-".	See PS2.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity			
	3. Subject Age or Age Group	✓		
PS6. What percentage of each racial group's stops are of each gender?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**Potential Analysis Limitation** • Subject Race/Ethnicity: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-".	See PS2.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity			
	3. Subject Sex	✓		
PS7. Are there disparities in the reasons cited for stopping people of different races?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**Potential Analysis Limitation** • Subject Race/Ethnicity: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-". • 34% of the Reason for Stop/Offense entries are marked as "-".	See PS2. 34.6% of stops (12,617) were missing stop reason. These were not included in the analysis.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity			
	3. Reason for Stop/Offense			
PS8. Once stopped, are stop outcomes different for people of different races and genders?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**Potential Analysis Limitation** • Subject Race/Ethnicity: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-".	This analysis is no longer in CPE's analysis plan and so was not included in this city report.
	2. Disposition(s) (citation, arrest, release, etc.)	✓		
	3a. Subject Sex	✓		
	AND/OR			
	3b. Subject Race/Ethnicity			
PS9. Are there disparities in the stop outcomes for people of different races?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**Potential Analysis Limitation** • Subject Race/Ethnicity: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-".	See PS2.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity			
	3. Disposition(s) (citation, arrest, release, etc.)	✓		

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PS10. Once searched, are there racial differences in the likelihood of being found in possession of contraband (i.e., are there differences in the "yield rate") for discretionary searches (i.e., not "searches incident to arrest")?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**◈Potential Analysis Limitation** • Subject Race/Ethnicity: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-".	See PS2. This analysis excludes non-discretionary searches. These are all discretionary searches, given the nature of the dataset. Ideally, all searches would be explicitly coded as "discretionary" or "non-discretionary."
	2. Search(es) Conducted	✓		
	3. What contraband was found in each search?	✓		
	4a. Subject Sex	✓		
	AND/OR			
	4b. Subject Race/Ethnicity	◈		
PS11. To what extent do officer-level differences in stop rates explain the disparity in pedestrian stops?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**X Analysis Not Possible** • Subject Race: 4% of entries are "Unknown"; 2% of entries are marked as "-". • Neither Street Address Details nor Latitude/Longitude were provided in the data. • 25% of Beat, Precinct, and Sector entries are marked as "-".	This analysis requires precise location data (e.g., address).
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity	◈		
	3a. Street Address Details	X		
	AND/OR			
	3b. Latitude/Longitude	X		
	4. Beat, Precinct, District, Police Service Zone, etc.	◈		
	5a. Unique Identifiers for Officers	✓		
	OR			
	5b(a). Officer Race/Ethnicity	✓		
	5b(b). Officer Sex	✓		
	5b(c). Officer Date of Birth	✓		
	AND/OR			
	5b(d). Officer Date of Hire	✓		

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="11">PS12. When controlling for all other factors, is race predictive of the likelihood of a person being stopped by police?</td><td>1. Unique Identifier</td><td>✓</td><td rowspan="11">X Analysis Not Possible
• Neither Street Address Details nor Latitude/Longitude were provided in the data
• Subject Race: 4% of entries are “Unknown”; 2% of entries are marked as “-”.
• 33% of entries are NULL. However, we acknowledge that not all offense codes have an associated NIBRS code.</td><td rowspan="11">This analysis requires precise location data (e.g., address).</td></tr>
<tr><td>2a. Street Address Details</td><td>X</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">AND/OR</td></tr>
<tr><td>2b. Latitude/Longitude</td><td>X</td></tr>
<tr><td>3. Subject Race/Ethnicity</td><td>///</td></tr>
<tr><td>4. Crime Data: Unique Identifier</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>5. Crime Data: Date of Incident</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>6a. Crime Data: Offense Description</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">AND/OR</td></tr>
<tr><td>6b. Crime Data: NIBRS or UCR Classification</td><td>///</td></tr>
<tr><td>7a. Crime Data: Street Address Details</td><td>X</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">AND/OR</td></tr>
<tr><td>7b. Crime Data: Latitude and Longitude</td><td>X</td></tr>
</table>

Symbol Key

Symbol	Provided Meaning	Analysis Ability Meaning
✓	**Variable Provided**	**Analysis Possible**
X	**Variable Not Provided**	**Analysis Not Possible**
▨	**Variable Provided with Potential Limitation**	**Potential Analysis Limitation**

Table A5. Use of Force – Possible Analyses

Research Question	Variables Required	Provided?	Analysis Ability	Post-Analysis Evaluation
UF0. Has the annual number of use-of-force incidents increased or decreased over the time for which data were provided?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**✓ Analysis Possible**	Use-of-force data cover 1/27/2014 – 8/3/2019. Estimates of annual uses of force were prorated for years where only partial data were available.
	2. Date of Incident	✓		
UF1. How many use-of-force incidents occur within the department?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**✓ Analysis Possible**	Use-of-force data cover 1/27/2014 – 8/3/2019. Quarters with partial data (Q1 2014; Q3 2019) were dropped from the analysis.
	2. Date of Incident	✓		
UF2. What percentage of use-of-force incidents each year involve people from each racial group?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**▨ Potential Analysis Limitation** • 17% of Subject Race entries are "Not Specified."	17.8% of stops (859) were missing race. These were not included in the analysis.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity	▨		
	3. Date of Incident	✓		
UF3. What is the per capita rate of experiencing police use of force?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**X Analysis Not Possible** • 17% of Subject Race entries are "Not Specified." • Neither Street Address Details nor Latitude/Longitude were provided in the data.	Analysis conducted. This analysis does not require location data (only an indication that these observations occurred within Seattle). See UF2.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity	▨		
	3a. Street Address Details	X		
	AND/OR			
	3b. Latitude/Longitude	X		

UF4. What force types are most commonly deployed by the department?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**✓ Analysis Possible**	Use-of-force data include "handcuffing" and "verbal commands.'" By our definitions, "handcuffing" would only be considered force if it resulted in injury. A distinction between routine handcuffing and handcuffing that rises to the level of use of force is not included in the force type indicator itself and must be inferred from other data. "Verbal commands" were dropped from the analysis, as they do not constitute force by our definition. 1,969 reported use-of-force incidents (15% of incidents originally reported) were removed from all analyses in this section, as "handcuffing" was the sole type of force reported being used, and no injuries were reported. 6.3% of uses of force (359) were missing type of force and were excluded from these analyses.
	2. Type(s) of Force	✓		
	3. Police Weapons/Tools Used	✓		
	4. (OPTIONAL): When a Firearm Was Used, Whether It Was Discharged	✓		
UF5. Are there racial differences in the types of force deployed by the department?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**▨ Potential Analysis Limitation** • 17% of Subject Race entries are "Not Specified."	See UF2. See UF4 (observations missing type of force were excluded).
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity	▨		
	3. Type(s) of Force	✓		
	4. Police Weapons/Tools Used	✓		
	5. (OPTIONAL): When a Firearm Was Used, Whether It Was Discharged	✓		

UF6. What percentage of each age group's use-of-force incidents involve each racial group?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**◈Potential Analysis Limitation** • 17% of Subject Race entries are "Not Specified."	See UF2. 8.2% of use-of-force incidents (395) were missing subject age. These were excluded from this analysis.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity	◈		
	3. Subject Age	✓		
UF7. Are there disparities in the reasons cited for stopping people of different races?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**X Analysis Not Possible** • 17% of Subject Race entries are "Not Specified." • Nature of Contact not provided within these data.	Analysis not completed. Nature of contact not available.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity	◈		
	3. Nature of Contact	X		
UF8. When subjected to police use of force, are racial groups equally likely to be injured/hospitalized/killed?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**◈Potential Analysis Limitation** • 17% of Subject Race entries are "Not Specified."	UF8 analysis not included in 2020 NJD reports.
	2. Subject Race	◈		
	3. Subject Injury	✓		
	4. (OPTIONAL): Subject Hospitalization	✓		
	5. (OPTIONAL): Subject Death	✓		

UF9. When controlling for all other factors, is race predictive of the likelihood of a person experiencing police use of force?	1. Unique Identifier	✓	**X Analysis Not Possible** • 17% of Subject Race entries are "Not Specified." • Neither Street Address Details nor Latitude/Longitude were provided in the data. • 33% of entries are NULL. However, we acknowledge that not all offense codes have an associated NIBRS code. • Location information not provided within crime data.	Analysis not conducted. Precise location data (i.e., address or latitude/longitude coordinates) were not available.
	2. Subject Race/Ethnicity	⁄//		
	3a. Street Address Details	X		
	AND/OR			
	3b. Latitude/Longitude	X		
	4. Crime Data: Unique Identifier	✓		
	5. Crime Data: Date of Incident	✓		
	6a. Crime Data: Offense Description	✓		
	AND/OR			
	6b. Crime Data: NIBRS or UCR Classification	⁄//		
	7a. Crime Data: Street Address Details	X		
	AND/OR			
	7b. Crime Data: Latitude and Longitude	X		

APPENDIX B. SUPPLEMENTAL STOP ANALYSES

Figure B1. SPD Terry Stops by Quarter, 2015–2019

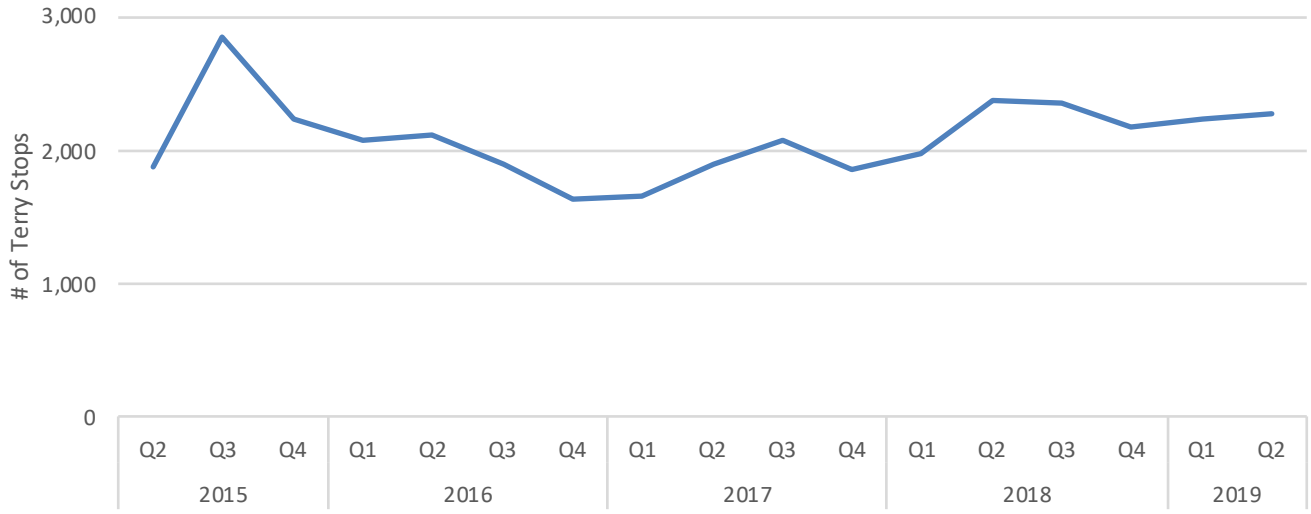
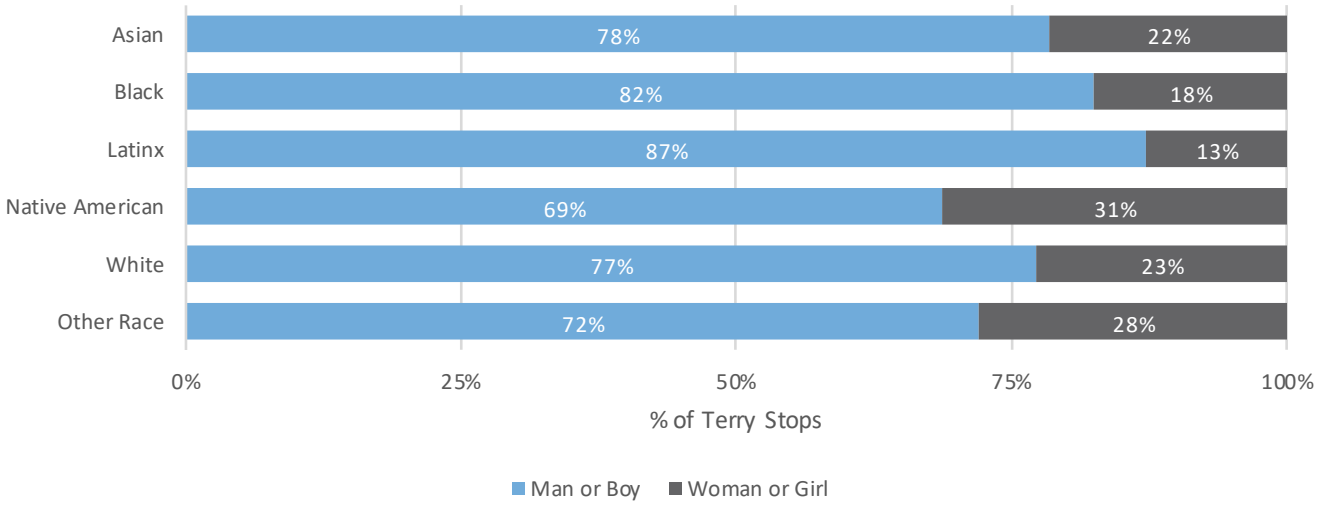


Figure B2. SPD Terry Stops by Race and Gender, 2015–2019



APPENDIX C. SUPPLEMENTAL USE-OF-FORCE ANALYSES

Figure C1. SPD Use-of-Force Incidents by Quarter, 2014–2019

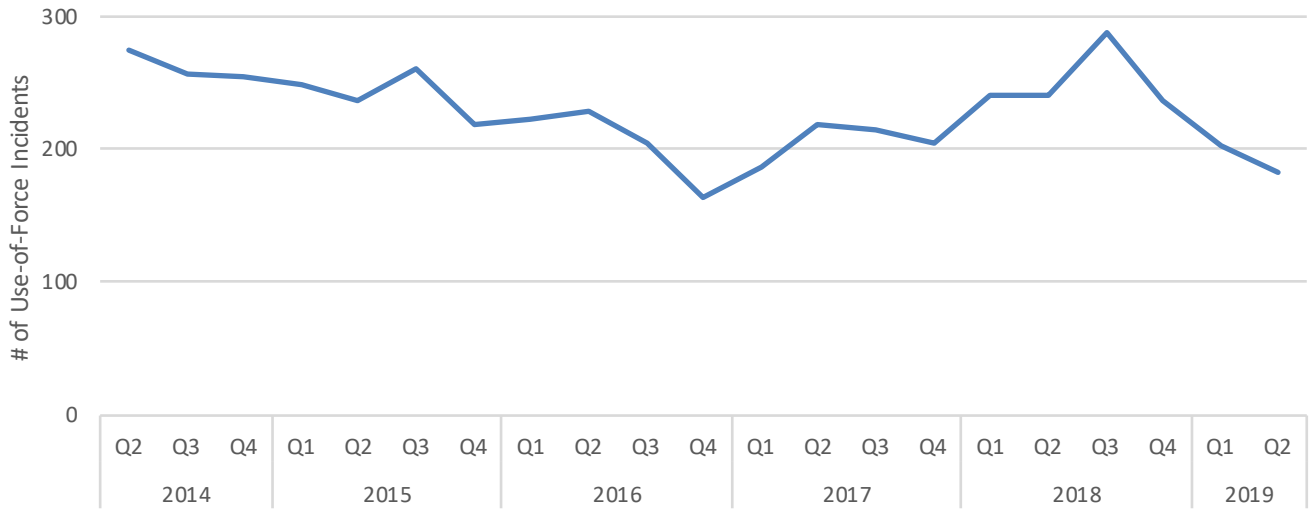
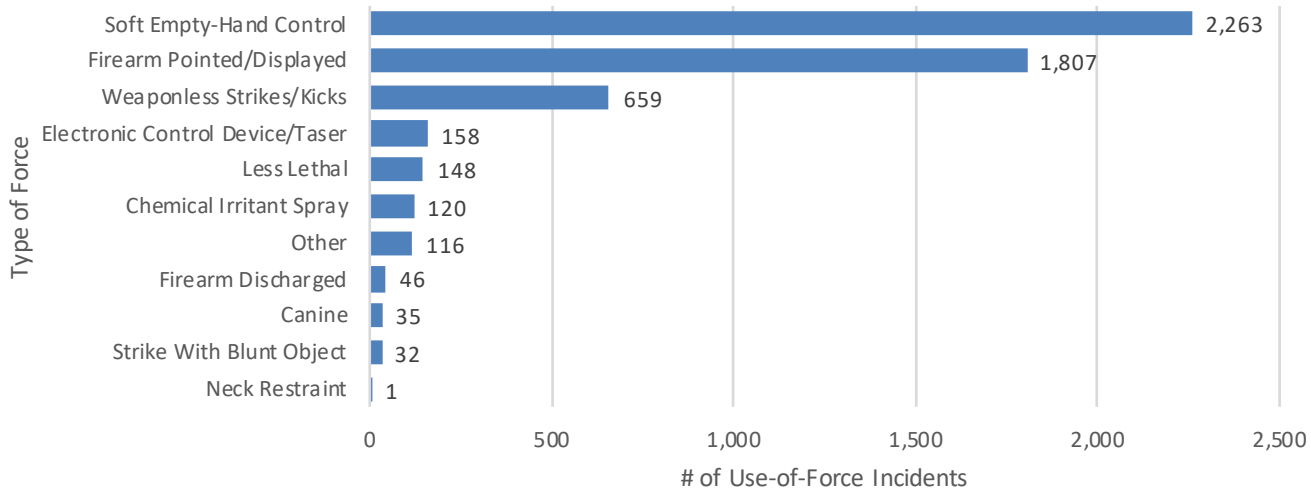


Figure C2. Count of SPD Use-of-Force Types, 2014–2019



APPENDIX D. MAPPING SPD FORCE TYPES TO CPE FORCE-TYPE CLASSIFICATIONS

Table D1. SPD Force Types and CPE Force-Type Classifications

Force Type Recorded by SPD	CPE Force-Type Classifications
Control Hold (Restraint/Takedown); Hobble Restraint	Soft Empty-Hand Control
Firearm (Pistol, Rifle, Shotgun)—Point; Firearm (Pistol, Rifle, Shotgun)—Other	Firearm Displayed/Pointed
Personal Weapon (Punch, Elbow, Kick, Knee, Push, Sweep, Pressure Point, Open Hand)	Weaponless Strikes/Kicks
Electronic Control (ECD/Taser)	Electronic Control Device/Taser
Sting Ball; Balls (Blast, OC); Beanbag/Stunbag; Blue Nose; NFDD	Less Lethal
Other Weapon; Bicycle (Push/Powerslide/ Takedown); Vehicle (Pit/Other)	Other
Chemical Agent (OC Spray, Other)	Chemical Irritant Spray
Firearm (Pistol, Rifle, Shotgun)—Fire	Firearm Discharged
Canine	Canine
Flashlight (Strike, Control, Pressure Point); Shield; Baton (Expandable, Straight); Other Weapon—Blunt Object	Strike With Blunt Object
Carotid/Neck Restraint	Neck Restraint