

HOW MANY STOPS? 2.7 MILLION - METHODS

Lauren O'Neil and Sandhya Kajepeta, PhD
January 2026

Data Sources

NYPD Investigative Encounter Data

We obtained citywide and police precinct-level data on Level 1, Level 2, and Level 3 police investigative encounters on a quarterly basis from the NYPD, pursuant to NYC Administrative Code 14-146 and Local Law 43 of 2024 (the How Many Stops Act):

<https://www.nyc.gov/site/nypd/stats/reports-analysis/investigative-encounters.page>. We compiled data from third quarter 2024, fourth quarter 2024, first quarter 2025, and second quarter 2025 to reflect the first full year of police investigative encounter data (July 2024 through June 2025). We excluded Precinct 116 (Queens) from the analysis because it was missing from third quarter 2024.

Citywide Demographic Data

We obtained citywide residential racial demographic data from the U.S. Census Bureau (2024):
<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/newyorkcitynewyork/PST045224>.

Precinct-Level Demographic Data

We obtained residential racial demographic data for each NYPD precinct from John Keefe, Data Editor at *The New York Times*. Keefe mapped block-level racial demographic data from the 2020 U.S. census over the NYPD precinct map to calculate the racial demographics of each precinct. These data are publicly available on Keefe's GitHub:

<https://github.com/jkeefe/census-by-precincts/tree/master/data/nyc>.

Data Analysis

Describing Overall Encounters

We calculated citywide totals for Level 1, Level 2, Level 3, and total police investigative encounters from July 2024 through June 2025.

Citywide Racial Disparities

Using citywide total police investigative encounters (Levels 1 through 3 combined), we compared the racial demographics of people involved in police encounters with the overall racial demographics of New York City from the American Community Survey. Racial/ethnic categories from the NYPD's data on investigative encounters do not align exactly with racial/ethnic categories from the American Community Survey. Most notably, the NYPD data included "Middle Eastern/Southwest Asian" as a racial/ethnic category, but the American Community Survey did not. Historically, the U.S. Census Bureau has designated people of Middle Eastern

descent as white.¹ Therefore, to avoid underestimating the rate of stops for non-Hispanic white New Yorkers, we combined the number of stops where the race was designated as “white” or “Middle Eastern/Southwest Asian” in the numerator for the non-Hispanic white stop rate.

Precinct-Level Analyses

For precinct-level analyses, we dropped Precinct 22 (Central Park in Manhattan) because it was an extreme outlier with an extremely high encounter rate given that it has no residential population but many police encounters. In all models, we included borough fixed effects to account for spatial clustering by borough.

1. Association between precinct racial composition and total police encounter rate

We used precinct-level racial demographic data from John Keefe to calculate the racial composition of each precinct (percentage of Black residents). We then calculated the total police encounter rate per capita for each precinct (Levels 1 through 3 encounters combined).

To model the relationship between percentage of Black residents and rate of police encounters, we fit two regression models that are commonly used to model rate variables: a quasi-Poisson model and a negative binomial model. The results from both models were consistent. The unit of change for the analysis was a 10-percentage-point change in the percentage of Black residents in a precinct.

The results from the model showed that precincts with a higher percentage of Black residents had higher rates of police encounters per capita (Table 1). A 10-percentage-point increase in the percent of Black residents in a precinct was associated with a 5% increase in the police encounter rate.

Table 1. New York City precinct-level association between percentage of Black residents and total police encounter rate per capita, results from quasi-Poisson and negative binomial models (July 2024 – June 2025)

	Estimate	95% CI	P-value
Quasi-Poisson model	1.05	1.00, 1.11	0.038
Negative binomial model	1.05	1.00, 1.10	0.045

2. Association between precinct racial composition and police encounter racial disparity

Again, we used precinct-level racial demographic data from John Keefe to calculate the racial composition of each precinct (in this case, percentage of non-Hispanic white residents). We then calculated the Black-white racial disparity in police encounter rates for each precinct (Levels 1 through 3 encounters combined). The Black-white police encounter disparity is calculated by dividing the encounter rate for Black people by the encounter rate for non-Hispanic white

¹ See Ennis S, Tiv M, Fernandez L, Bhaskar R, & Porter S. Examining Racial Identity Responses Among People with Middle Eastern and North African Ancestry in the American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau (2024), <https://www2.census.gov/library/working-papers/2024/adrm/ces/CES-WP-24-14.pdf>.

people. For example, if a precinct has a Black-white police encounter disparity of 3, this means that Black people are 3 times as likely as white people to face a police encounter in that precinct.

To model the relationship between percentage of white residents and Black-white encounter disparity, we fit a linear regression model. The unit of change for the analysis was a 10-percentage-point change in the percentage of white residents in a precinct.

The results from the model showed that precincts with a higher percentage of white residents had higher Black-white police encounter disparities (Table 2). A 10-percentage-point increase in the percent of white residents in a precinct was associated with an increase of 2 in the Black-white police encounter disparity.

Table 2. New York City precinct-level linear association between percentage of non-Hispanic white residents and Black-white police encounter disparity, (July 2024 – June 2025)

Estimate	95% CI	P-value
2.06	1.68, 2.45	<0.0001