

Evaluating Policing in San Diego

By Samuel Sinyangwe, Co-Founder, Campaign Zero

Executive Summary

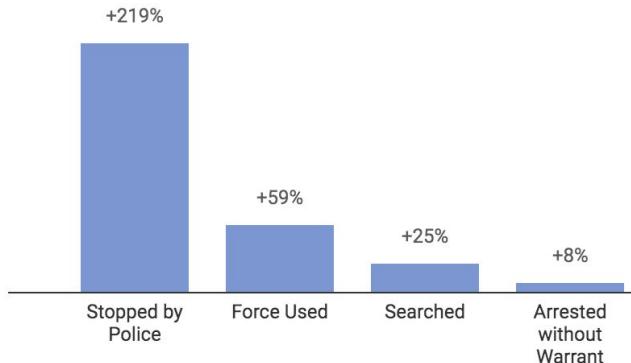
[Campaign Zero](#) evaluated the policing practices of San Diego Police Department (SDPD) and San Diego Sheriff's Department (SDSD) using data on police stops, searches, use of force, and arrests obtained through public records requests. Our analysis finds evidence of discriminatory policing by both departments. **San Diego police stopped black people at higher rates than white people in 85% of the police beats in their jurisdiction, while San Diego sheriff's deputies stopped black people at higher rates in every area of their jurisdiction.** Once stopped, San Diego police were 25% more likely to search, 8% more likely to arrest without warrant and 59% more likely to use force against black people than white people. Similar results were found for San Diego Sheriff's Department, where deputies were 21% more likely to search, 18% more likely to arrest and 47% more likely to use force against black people during a stop.

An analysis of use of force databases obtained from each department confirms and expands upon these findings - establishing that both departments not only use force more often but also use more severe forms of force against black people than other groups, even after controlling for arrest rates and alleged level of resistance. We also found evidence of anti-Latinx bias in the use of consent searches and evidence of anti-LGBT bias and bias against people with disabilities in both departments' search practices.

Finally, we reviewed each department's policy manual, use of force guidelines and police union contract and identified a range of policy solutions that would reduce police violence and discrimination, improve accountability and make San Diego safer for communities.

Anti-Black Bias in San Diego PD Stops

San Diego Police Department stopped black people at 219% higher rate per population than white people. Once stopped, black people were more likely to be searched, arrested, and to have force used against them.



Anti-Black Bias in San Diego SD Stops

San Diego Sheriff's deputies stopped black people at 130% higher rate per population than white people. Once stopped, black people were more likely to be searched, arrested, and to have force used against them.

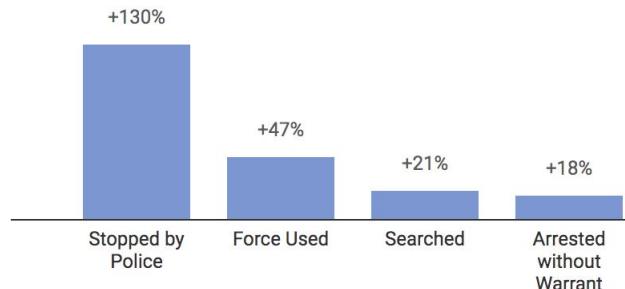


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Part 1: Analysis of San Diego Police Department

Analysis of San Diego Police Department RIPA Stops Data

Using data recently made available by San Diego Police Department under the Racial and Identity Profiling Act of 2015 (RIPA), we examined disparities by race, perceived disability status, sexual orientation and gender identity in the conduct of 158,757 police stops during the 12 month period from 7/1/2018-6/30/2019.¹ During this period, San Diego police reported making 36,424 searches and 24,761 arrests during these stops and used force 3,122 times in 2,945 different encounters.²

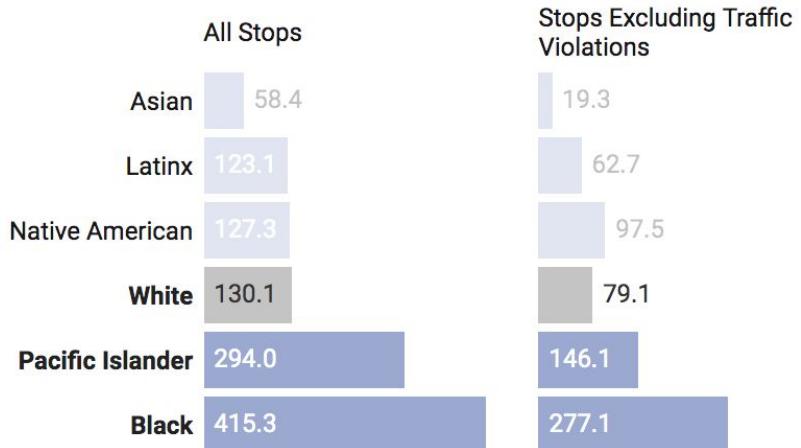
Types and Locations of San Diego Police Stops

San Diego police reported “reasonable suspicion” as the primary reason for making half of all stops during this period (for a breakdown of the factors cited as “reasonable suspicion” in these cases, see Appendix C.1). 43% of stops were made for traffic violations and 2% were made due to “consensual encounters” resulting in a search.³

To understand which communities are most impacted by policing in San Diego, we mapped stop rates per population at the police beat level. San Diego police have 126 designated police beats throughout the city, each represented by a different beat number (as displayed on the map). The data show stop rates per population differ substantially by police beat. For example, police made 13,698 stops in the East Village (Beat #521), a rate 28x higher per population than the

San Diego Police Dept Stop Rates

San Diego Police Department Stops per 1,000 Population



RIPA Stops Data from 7/2018 - 6/2019 obtained from SDPD. Rates calculated using 2010 Census Data.

¹ For this analysis, we used all of the SDPD stops data made available to date under RIPA - which includes data from July 1, 2018 - June 30, 2019.

² We used person encounters for the purposes of calculating searches, arrests and use of force. SDPD assigned a stop ID to each stop and person ID for each person stopped. So search, arrest and use of force numbers reflect the number of times any person was stopped, searched, arrested or had force used against them. Since the same person could've been stopped or arrested during two or more different encounters with police during this period, the number of searches, arrests or use of force is likely higher than the number of unique individuals who were searched, arrested or had force used against them during this period. Additionally, a single use of force encounter could include multiple uses of force against the same person in the same encounter.

³ RIPA [defines](#) a consensual encounter as “an interaction in which the officer does not exert any authority over, or use any force on, a person, and the person is free to leave.” Officers are instructed to select this “if a consensual encounter results in a search, regardless of whether the resulting search is consensual.”

median beat, Morena (#622). Core Columbia (#524), Mission Beach (#121), Logan Heights (#512) and Border (#714) had some of the highest stop rates, while San Pasqual (#235), Broadway Heights (#435), Rancho Encantada (#245) and Scripps Ranch (#241) had the lowest rates.

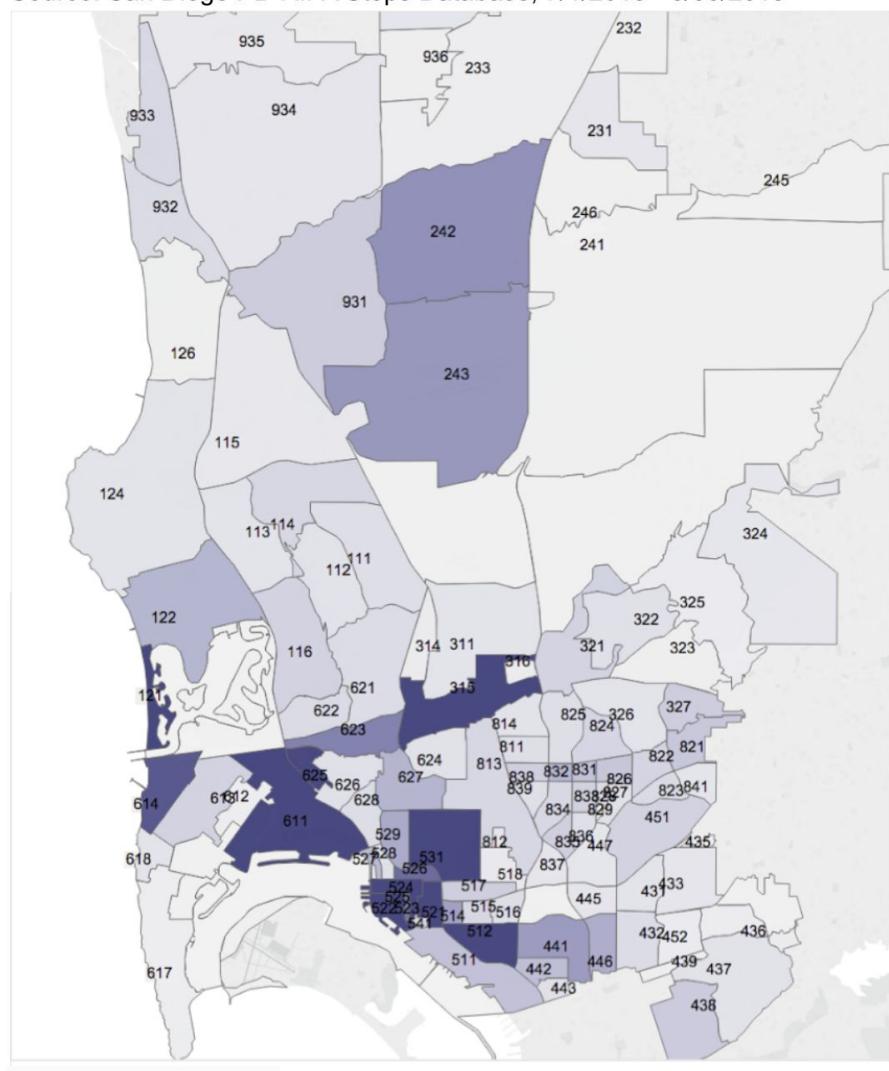
Racial Disparities in Police Stops

Racial disparities also varied by police beat. When we examine stop rates by race and police beat, we find that black people were stopped by San Diego police at higher rates than white people in 106 (85%) of the 125 San Diego police beats. Disparities in stop rates were particularly severe in some areas of the city - in 18 police beats, black people were stopped at rates more than **10x higher** than white people in the same area. Beats where black people are stopped at higher rates than white people are displayed in red on the map below. We've also provided a detailed list of beats a breakdown of stop rates by race and beat [here](#).

Among racial and ethnic groups, **San Diego Police stopped black people and Pacific Islanders at the highest rates per population**. Pacific Islanders were stopped by San Diego police at **126% higher rate** per population than white people. Black people were stopped at the highest rates of any other group - a rate **219% higher** per population than white people.⁴ Black people were more likely to be stopped by police for both traffic violations and also for pedestrian stops.

San Diego Police Stop Rates by Beat

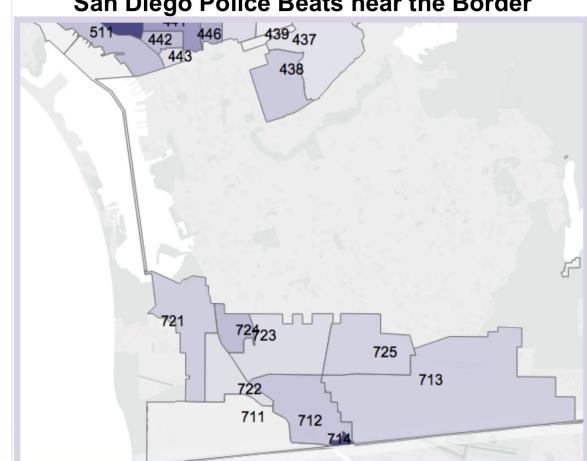
Source: San Diego PD RIPA Stops Database, 7/1/2018 - 6/30/2019



Stops per 1k Population



San Diego Police Beats near the Border



⁴ Population data were obtained via the [2013-2017 American Community Survey](#).

Altogether, San Diego police made 35,038 stops of black people during a 12 month period in a city with a total of 88,774 black residents - an extreme level of policing impacting black San Diego residents.

"BLACK PEOPLE WERE STOPPED BY SAN DIEGO POLICE AT HIGHER RATES THAN WHITE PEOPLE IN 106 (85%) OF THE 125 SAN DIEGO POLICE BEATS."

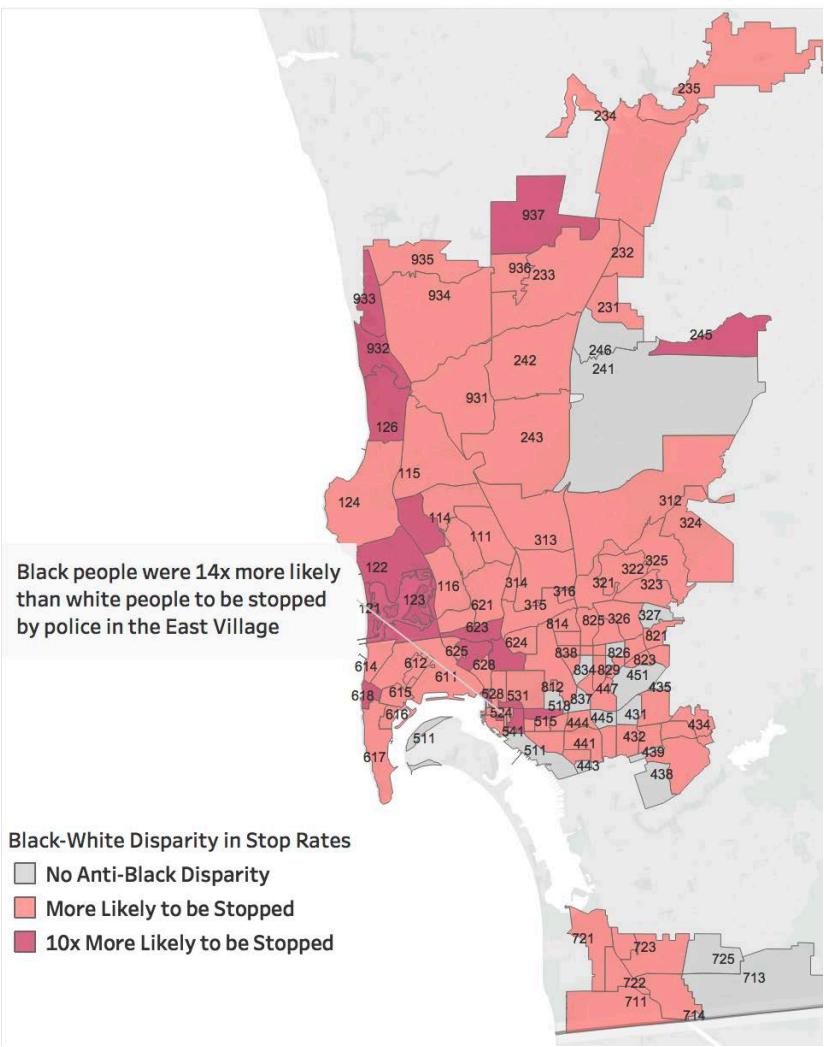
The vast majority of these stops, across all racial groups, were initiated by officers. Fewer than 15% of stops were initiated from civilian calls for service (i.e 911 calls). For example, only 4,911 of the 35,038 stops of black people by San Diego police were initiated from civilian calls for service. This suggests racial disparities in police stops are the result of police decision-making, rather than the product of officers simply responding to calls for service from communities.

Disparities by Officer Assignment

90% of these stops were made by officers who had an assignment classified as "Patrol, traffic enforcement, field operations." The next largest assignment categories were officers with an assignment reported as "Other," followed by Gang Enforcement. When we break out stops data by assignment and race we find stops by Gang Enforcement officers have the most severe racial

Black People were More Likely to be Stopped by Police in 85% of San Diego Police Beats

Source: San Diego PD RIPA Stops Database, 7/1/2018 - 6/30/2019

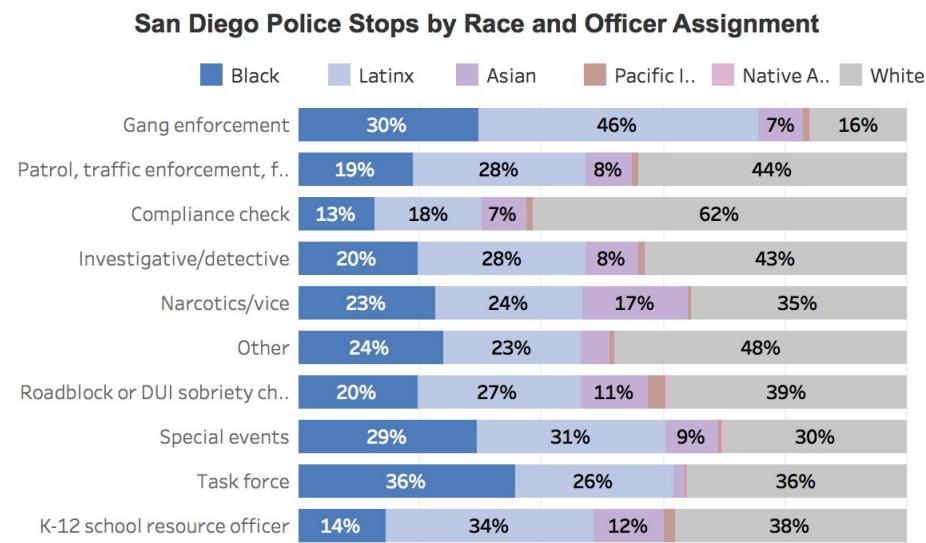


disparities. Black and Latinx individuals were 76% of the 4,128 people stopped by Gang Enforcement officers, compared to 47% of those stopped by officers with all other assignments.

Police Conduct during Stops

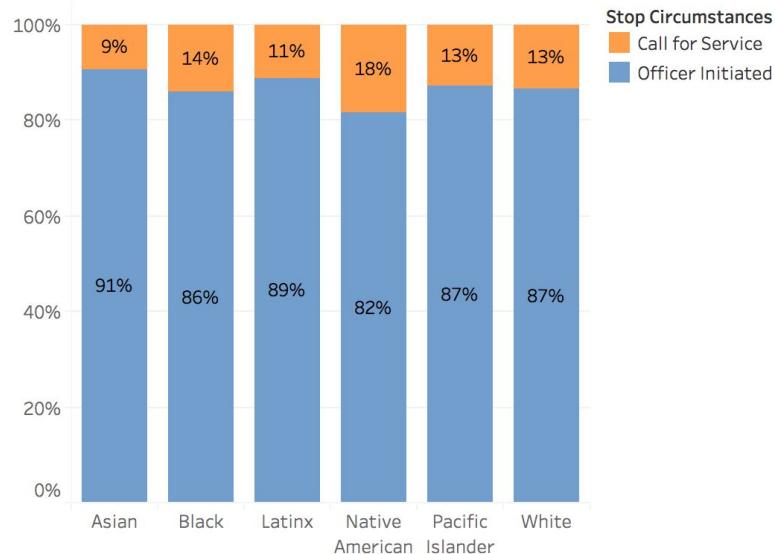
24% of people stopped by San Diego police were searched, arrested or were impacted by police use of force during the stop. When we examine these outcomes by race, we find substantial racial disparities in how police treated the people they stopped. Black people were not only significantly more likely to be stopped by San Diego police - they were also

25% more likely to be searched, 8% more likely to be arrested without a warrant, and 59% more likely to have force used against them during a stop. San Diego police were also 26% more likely to search and 61% more likely to arrest Native Americans than white people during stops.



Evaluating Police Searches

In three-quarters of all SDPD searches, no contraband was found by officers. Moreover, when police did find contraband - it tended to have no impact on public safety. The largest category of contraband found was drugs or drug paraphernalia - representing two-thirds of all contraband found. By contrast, fewer than 1% of searches reported finding a gun. SDPD searches were only half as likely to find a firearm as searches by the LAPD in 2018. This suggests SDPD is engaged in excessive and intrusive search practices that do not appear to advance a public safety goal.



Evaluating Racial Discrimination

The contraband “hit rate” or “outcome test” has been established in the research [literature](#) as a useful, albeit imperfect measure of evaluating police searches for discrimination. Using this method, if police search a group at a higher

rate despite being less likely to find contraband during these searches (illegal guns, drugs, etc), it suggests police are discriminating against that group. Examining overall search outcomes by race yields mixed results initially: searches of Latinx people resulted in contraband being found at slightly lower rates than white people and searches of black people resulted in contraband being found at slightly higher rates. After accounting for the level of discretion officers had when making these searches, however, we find evidence of discrimination against black and Latinx people in circumstances where officers have the most discretion.

**"BLACK PEOPLE WERE 23% MORE LIKELY AND
LATINX PEOPLE WERE 60% MORE LIKELY TO
HAVE SAN DIEGO POLICE CONDUCT A CONSENT
SEARCH...AND WERE LESS LIKELY THAN WHITE
PEOPLE TO BE FOUND WITH CONTRABAND DURING
THESE SEARCHES."**

Consent Searches

To better understand how race may inform officer's decisions to search people, we examined the [types of searches](#) where officers have the most discretion - and therefore where officer bias may be most likely to occur. For example, officers have more discretion to conduct a search based on the consent of the person being searched than they do when conducting a search pursuant to a search warrant. The stops data provided by San Diego police includes 2,565 searches where the police reported no basis for the search other than consent being given. When we examine the data on this "high discretion" category of searches, we find evidence that officers are conducting consent searches in ways that discriminate against black and brown people. Black people were 23% more likely and Latinx people were 60% more likely to have San Diego police conduct a consent search on them during a stop.⁵ And while black and Latinx people were more likely to experience consent searches by SDPD, they were less likely than white people to be found with contraband during these searches - suggesting the presence of racial discrimination in the use of consent searches.

⁵ Consent searches were coded as searches where the only reported search basis was "consent given."

Pretext Stops

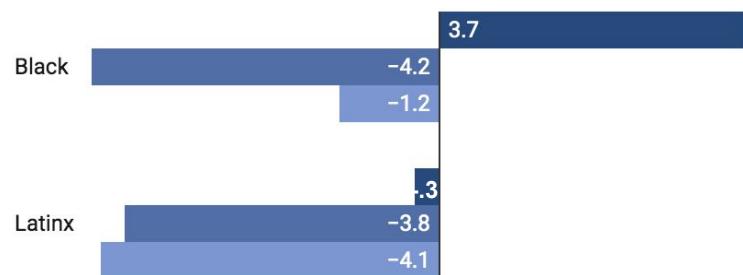
San Diego police searched 6,614 people after pulling them over for an alleged traffic violation. These types of searches are also more likely to be discretionary and vulnerable to racial bias. Because traffic violations are so common and often enforced inconsistently, officers could decide to pull someone over for a minor traffic violation as a pretext to search and investigate someone, without evidence, for an unrelated issue. The data show San Diego police were more likely to pull over people of color - especially black people - for equipment violations where police have substantial discretion (for example, driving with a brake light or plate light out).

After being pulled over for a traffic violation, San Diego police were then 44% more likely to search Latinx people and 133% more likely to search black people compared to their white counterparts. There appears to be no justification for these search disparities - police were less likely to find contraband from searches of black and Latinx people during these stops than white people.

In situations where San Diego police had more discretion, racial disparities in search outcomes were more severe.

Police were less likely to find contraband on Black and Latinx people than White people during the types of searches where officers had the most discretion, indicating racial bias.

- Other Searches
- Searches during Traffic Violation Stops (Higher Discretion)
- Consent Searches (Higher Discretion)

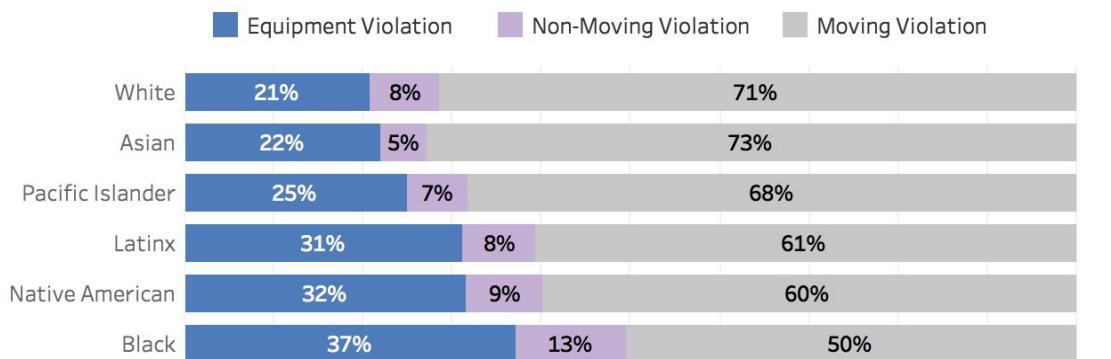


Displays the rate of contraband being found by San Diego police during a search relative to the rate for searches of white people.

These findings suggest officers are engaging in racially biased decision-making in situations where they have the most discretion - when conducting consent searches or when pulling people over for minor violations that can serve as a pretext to search people of color.

People of color are more likely to be stopped by SDPD for equipment violations.

San Diego police stops for traffic violations, 7/1/18-6/30/19



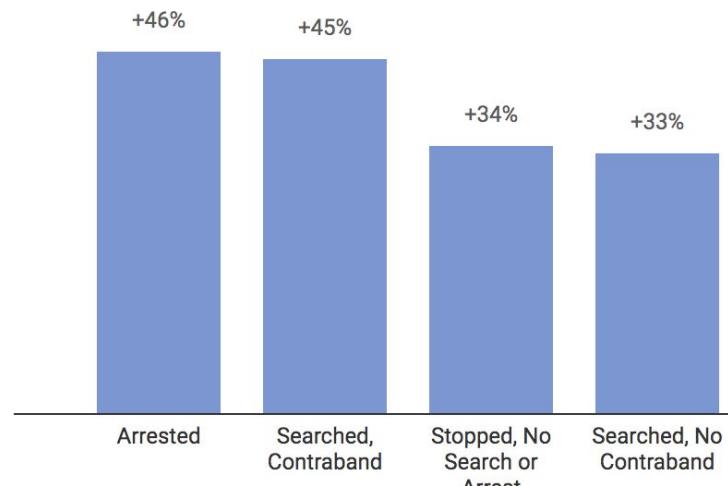
Evaluating Other Forms of Police Discrimination

In addition to search rates, there were other aspects of SDPD's conduct that show evidence of racial discrimination. San Diego police were more likely to use force against black people when making an arrest or conducting a search - whether or not contraband was found. In fact, racial disparities in the use of force *increased* for stops where San Diego police made an arrest and for stops where they found contraband following a search. Police were 46% more likely to use force against black people than white people during an arrest and 45% more likely to use force against black people found with contraband compared to whites found with contraband. This is consistent with [previous research](#) showing that police tend to punish black people more severely for the same suspected offenses (i.e. possessing contraband and/or being suspected of an arrestable offense). A deeper investigation into San Diego police use of force, which confirms these findings using a more extensive database of use of force incidents, is provided in the Use of Force section of this report.

Bias Against People with Disabilities

San Diego police were more likely to use force against Black people

San Diego Police Department were more likely to use force against Black people than White people - whether or not the person was arrested or found with evidence of a crime.



San Diego PD RIPA Stops Data, 7/1/2018-6/30/2019

"SAN DIEGO POLICE WERE MORE LIKELY TO SEARCH AND USE FORCE AGAINST PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES DURING A STOP, DESPITE BEING LESS LIKELY TO FIND CONTRABAND"

When stops data are examined by disability status, we find that San Diego police were more likely to search and use force against people with disabilities during a stop, despite being less likely to find contraband during these encounters. Moreover, this trend persists across racial groups - white, black, and Latinx people with disabilities were all more likely to be searched than their peers despite being less likely to be found with contraband.

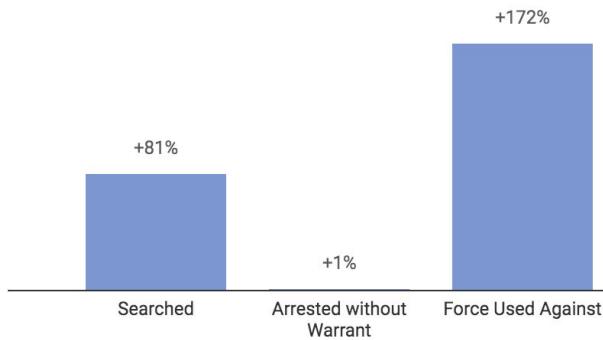
The largest disparities in searches and use of force involve encounters with people perceived to have mental disabilities. Specifically, people perceived to have mental disabilities were 81% more likely to be searched and 172% more likely to experience police use of force than people who were not perceived to have a disability. And while police found contraband 24% of the time when searching people who were not perceived to have disabilities, only 10% of searches of people perceived to have mental disabilities yielded contraband. This suggests San Diego Police Department have been engaged in biased policing towards people with disabilities, especially people perceived to have mental disabilities. And within this group, black and Latinx people perceived to have disabilities were searched at the highest rates (see Appendix C.6).

Bias Against LGBT and Gender Non-Conforming People

4,523 people stopped by San Diego police during this period were perceived by officers to be LGBT and 119 people were perceived to be Gender Non-Conforming. San Diego police were more likely to search, arrest without warrant and use force against people they perceived to be LGBT or Gender Non-Conforming. Police were more likely to search these groups despite being less likely to find contraband as a result - an indicator of police bias. This anti-LGBT bias intersected with racial bias - black and Latinx people who police perceived to be LGBT experienced the highest search rates (see Appendix C.7).

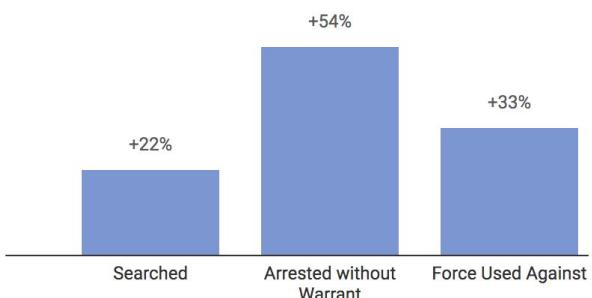
Bias Against People with Mental Disabilities in San Diego PD Stops

San Diego police were 81% more likely to search people with mental disabilities during a stop and more than twice as likely to use force against them.



Bias Against People Perceived to be LGBT in San Diego PD Stops

San Diego police were 22% more likely to search people they perceived to be LGBT during a stop and more likely to arrest and use force against them.



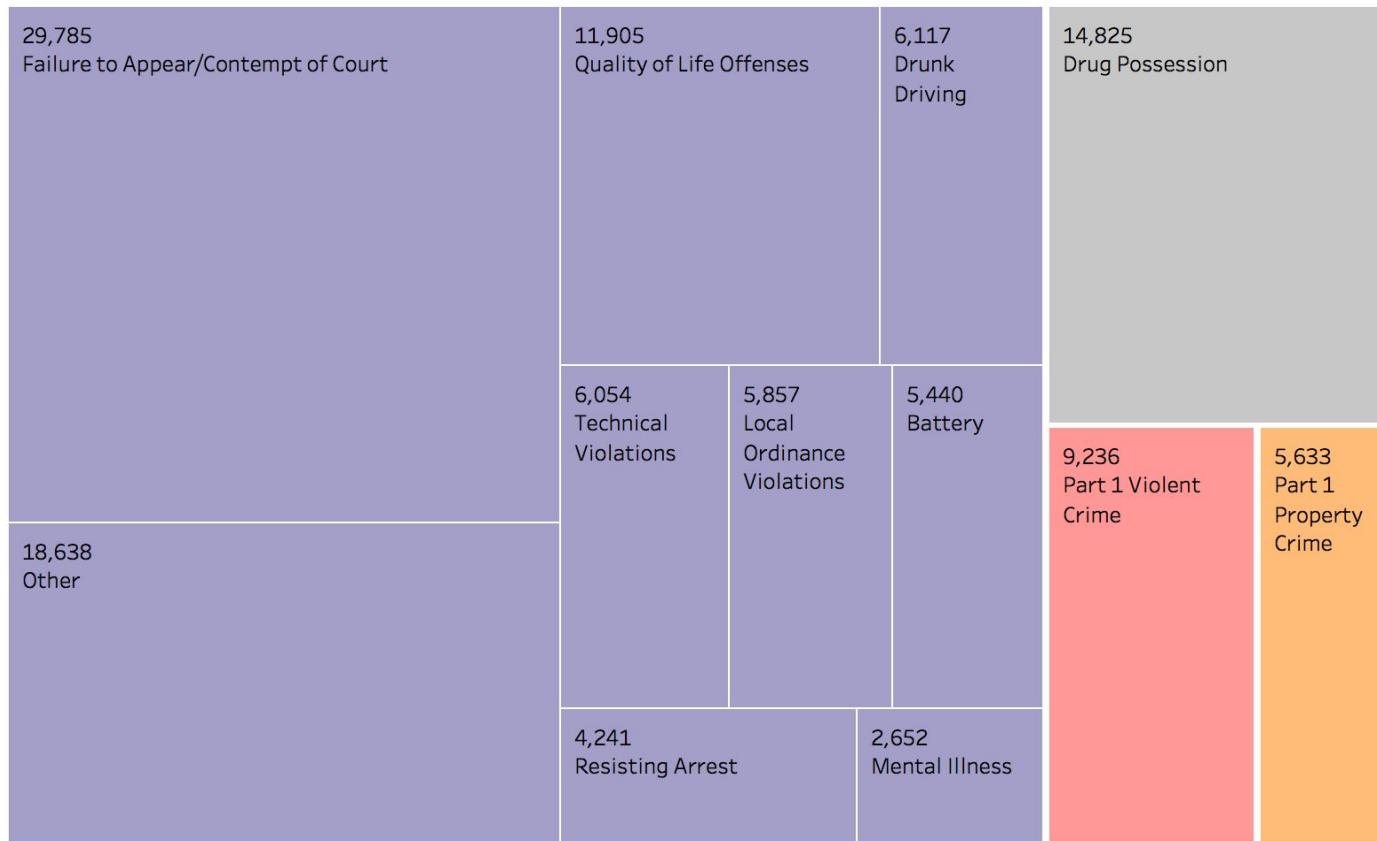
RIPA Stops Data, 7/1/18-6/30/19

Arrests

We obtained individualized arrests data San Diego Police Department including 88,372 arrests made from 2016-2018, including the demographics of each person arrested and each individual offense or violation they were charged with. 7 in every 10 arrests made by San Diego police during this period were for misdemeanor offenses. Moreover, San Diego police made nearly as many arrests for drug possession alone as they did for all [Part 1](#) Violent and Property Crimes combined. This strategy of predominantly making low-level arrests disproportionately impacts black communities. Black people were 4.2x more likely to be arrested for misdemeanor offenses overall and 4.1x more likely to be arrested for drug possession, despite [research](#) showing black and white people use and sell drugs at similar rates. By contrast, San Diego police arrested Latinx and white people at similar rates in 2016 for drug possession and for misdemeanors overall.

San Diego police reported making 88,372 arrests from 2016-2018, charging people with over 120,000 offenses. Most were low-level offenses.

Source: Data obtained from San Diego Police Department

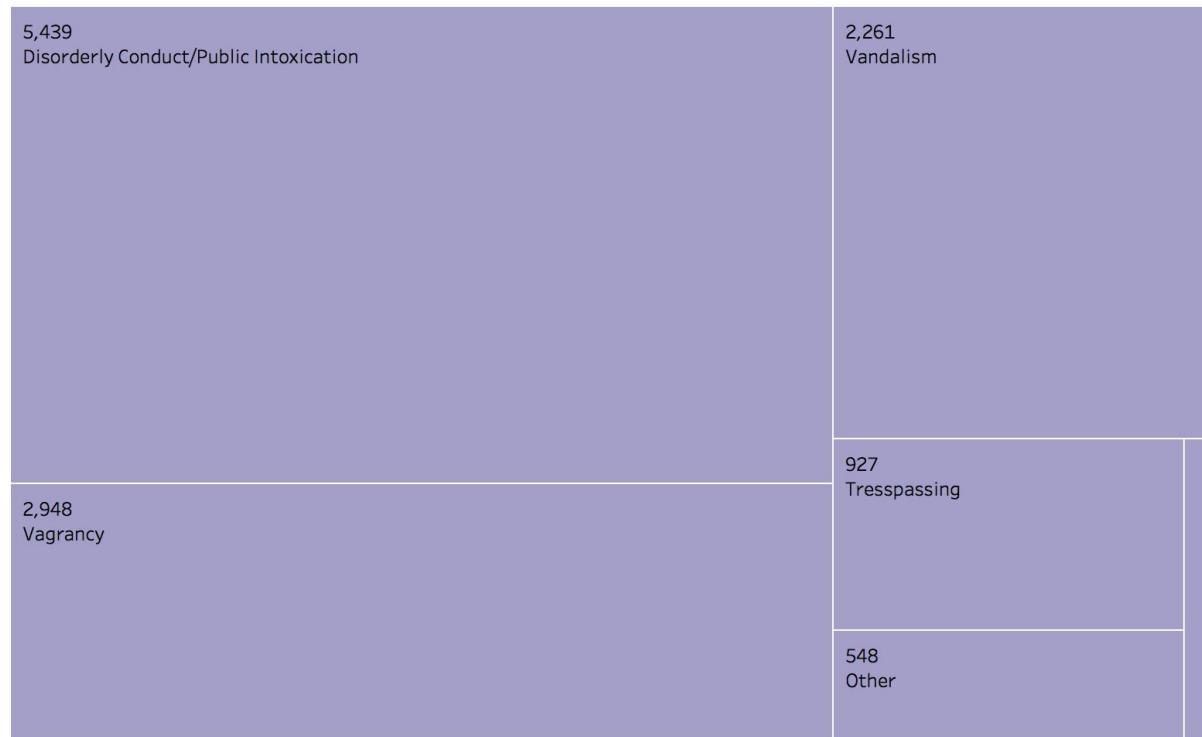


Examination of Arrests for Quality of Life Offenses.

Nearly 12,000 arrests from 2016-2018 were for Quality of Life offenses such as public intoxication, loitering, trespassing and prostitution. Of these, disorderly conduct/public intoxication made up the largest share of arrests. 2,948 people were reportedly arrested for vagrancy - living in a home or structure without consent of the owner - an issue disproportionately impacting homeless populations.

San Diego Police Department Quality of Life Arrests, 2016-2018.

Source: Data obtained from San Diego Police Department



An additional 5,857 arrests were categorized separately as municipal ordinance violations, though many were also consistent with Quality of Life arrests. For example, “encroachment” represented the largest category of arrests for municipal code violations, which has been [cited](#) in previous reporting as a tactic used by San Diego police to target homeless populations. Similarly, the code violations of camping, urinating/defecating in public, open container of alcohol, trespassing, rules to be followed;posting, and posting handbills in park are also consistent with Quality of Life arrests. Together, these categories made up 15,633 arrests - 18% of all San Diego police arrests from 2016-2018.

SDPD Municipal Code Arrests, 2016-2018

Code Section	Violation	
54.011	Municipal Code: Encroachment	2,525
58.0102(A)	Juvenile Curfew Violation	947
58.05(B)(1)	Daytime Loitering - Compulsory Edu	845
63.0102B1	Posting Handbills in Park	588
63.20.13	Rules to be Followed; Posting	377
58.01	Curfew	234
58.05(B)(2)	Daytime Loitering - Alternative Edu	128
56.54(B)	Open Container of Alcohol	101
58.04	Minor in Possession of Tobacco	74
85.1	Parking Violation	73
52.80.01A	Trespassing on Private Business	67
56.55	Urinating/Defecating in Public	58
63.0102b12	Camping	12

Examining Youth Arrests

San Diego police reported making 8,200 arrests of people under the age of 18 from 2016-2018. These arrests disproportionately impacted black youth, who comprised 19% of all youth arrests despite being only [7%](#) of the population under 18 in the City of San Diego. Arrests of people for “Mental Illness” (i.e. code 5150) comprised a quarter of all youth arrests. Juvenile Curfew and Daytime Loitering - Compulsory/Alternative Education were the next most frequent offenses. Collectively, these offenses were associated with the majority of youth arrests. Moreover, these offenses are utilized almost exclusively to arrest youth. For example, the three most frequent arrest categories for youth each have fewer than 65 total adult arrests. The use of policing and arrest to address situations that overwhelmingly apply to youth should be reconsidered.

San Diego police youth arrests by race, 2016-2018.

Asian / Pacific Islander	6.9%
Black	18.8%
Latinx	47.5%
Other	1.9%
White	25.0%

San Diego police made 8,200 youth arrests from 2016-2018.

Offense categories with 100 or more SDPD arrests of people under the age of 18.

	Under 18	18-29	30+
MENTAL ILLNESS / 5150	2,590	24	39
JUVENILE CURFEW VIOLATION	1,174	7	
DAYTIME LOITERING - EDUCATION	971	2	
POSS MARIJUANA SCHL GRNDS	455	54	88
MOD COURT ORD:COMMIT/PROB	396	66	
BATTERY	257	590	785
POSS MARIJ OVER 28.5 GRAM	200	26	55
DELINQUENCY	186	2	
POSS WEAPON AT SCHOOL	173	2	3
OBSTRUCT/ETC PUB OFCR/ETC	173	1,613	1,973
VANDALISM	169	855	1,063
MINOR POSSESS ALCOHOL	148	18	
THEFT PERSONAL PROPERTY	118	86	146
BENCH WARRANT:FTA:MIS CHG	111	8,263	16,801
ROBBERY	108	232	155
DISORD CONDUCT:UI/DRUG	102	2,091	3,254

Use of Force

San Diego Police Department began collecting detailed, individualized use of force data on September 25, 2016. We conducted an analysis of this dataset, which includes all use of force incidents through December 31, 2018, to determine the extent to which there were racial disparities in the use of force and how these

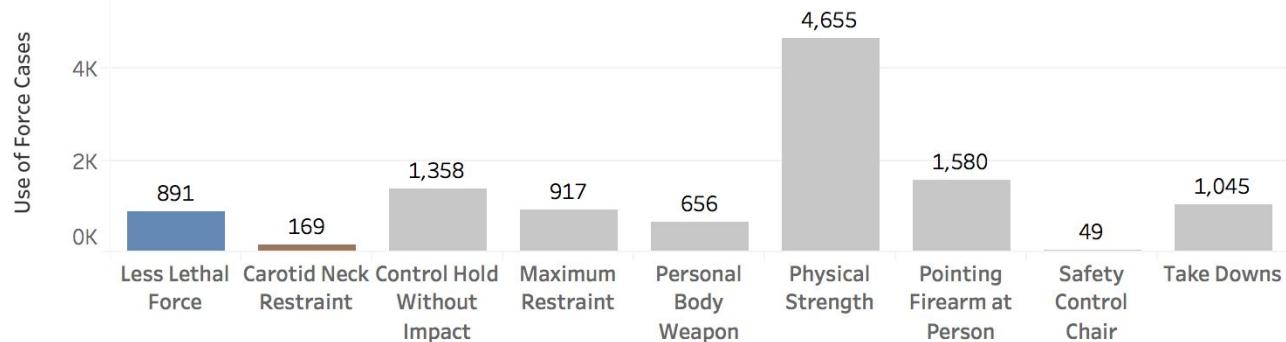
outcomes compared to other police departments in the state. During this period, San Diego police reported 13,553 uses of force⁶ in 8,660 encounters involving 8,280 different civilians.

Use of Force in Comparison to Other Departments

Among various use of force options, weaponless physical force and pointing firearms at civilians were the most frequent types of force reportedly used against civilians by San Diego police. To compare use of force by San Diego police with other agencies within the state, we developed a “use of force” index that includes the types of force that are most commonly reported across police agencies. This includes police use of batons, tasers, chemical agents, bean bag shotguns and potentially deadly tactics such as strangleholds against civilians. Collectively, the types of force in our use of force index include the most serious use of force incidents that do not involve the use of a firearm. There were 1,060 cases involving these types of force in 2017-2018 and 59,152 arrests reported by San Diego police during this period - a use of force index rate of 179.2 cases per 10,000 arrests.⁷

San Diego Police Use of Force Cases, 2017-2018

Source: Records obtained from San Diego Police Department



We obtained data on the number of uses of each of these types of force from 42 of the 100 largest California police departments via public records requests. Since SDPD's use of force dataset begins in late 2016, we compared SDPD use of force outcomes from 2017-2018 to the number of these types of force used by the other agencies in California during this period and benchmarked use of force rates using 2017-2018 arrests data from the [FBI Uniform Crime Report](#). The data show that San Diego police used these types of force at a higher rate than 95% of the police departments in our analysis. San Diego police used strangleholds and weapons other than firearms against people at a rate 14% higher per arrest than San Jose police, 98% higher

⁶ There can be more than one use of force in a single encounter with a civilian.

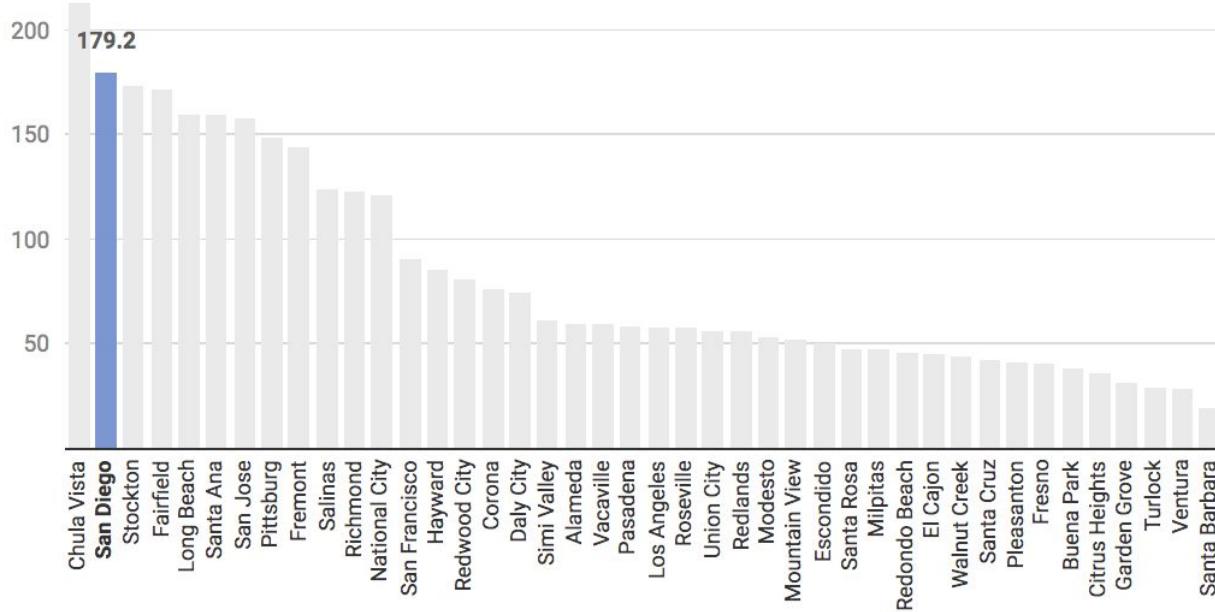
⁷ Using the number of unique cases involving the use of force yields a more conservative estimate of use of force rates consistent with the way use of force is reported in reports obtained from other large agencies such as LAPD and San Jose PD. For reference, we've included tables in Appendix C showing the use of force outcomes on both case and report levels. Use of force rates were benchmarked using arrest rates from the Monthly Arrests and Citations Register database.

than San Francisco police, 211% higher than Los Angeles police, and 341% higher than Fresno police (see Appendix C.10 for use of force calculations for all agencies).

SAN DIEGO POLICE USED FORCE AGAINST PEOPLE AT A HIGHER RATE THAN 95% OF THE 42 CALIFORNIA POLICE DEPARTMENTS THAT PROVIDED US USE OF FORCE DATA.

San Diego Police Department uses Force at Higher Rates than Most CA Police Departments

Use of Force Index Incidents per 10,000 Arrests, 2017-2018



The Use of Force Index includes all uses of tasers, batons and other impact weapons, projectiles, neck restraints and chemical agents reported by Agencies. Data obtained from Agencies via Public Records requests.

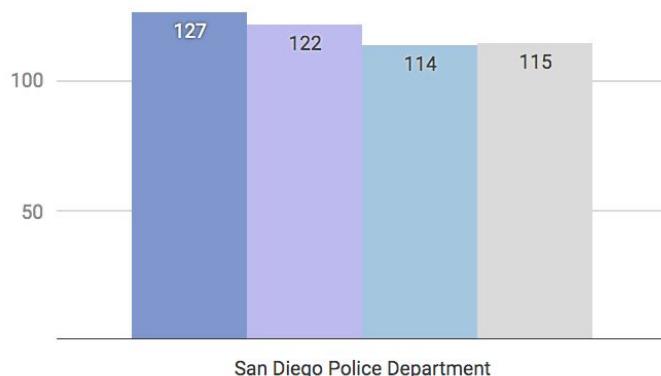
Racial Disparities in Police Use of Force

To examine racial disparities in all use of force cases (both force involving weapons and weaponless force), we used the full SDPD use of force database spanning 9/25/2016 - 12/31/2018. We benchmarked these data by the total number of arrests made, by race, during this period. The data show that black people are 10% more likely to have San Diego police use force against them compared to white people, after controlling for arrests. Asian / Pacific Islanders were 6% more likely to have force used against them, though this was not statistically significant. By contrast, there were similar use of force rates per arrest between Latinx and white people. While there were racial disparities in the likelihood of experiencing some form of police use of force *once a person is being arrested*, the likelihood of being arrested in the first place varied substantially by race. Black people, in particular, had substantially higher arrest rates *and* more exposure to police use of force during arrest - resulting in a 5x higher use of force rate per resident than white people (see Appendix C.11).

San Diego Police Use of Force by Race

Use of Force Cases per 1,000 Arrests

Black Asian/Pacific I. Latinx White



Source: 9/25/2016-12/31/2018 Use of Force and Arrests Data from SDPD.

San Diego Police Use of Force Severity Score by Race

San Diego police used higher levels of force against Black people during Use of Force Incidents

Black Asian/Pacific I. Latinx White



Severity Score Displayed per 1,000 Arrests

Source: 9/25/2016-12/31/2018 Use of Force and Arrests Data from SDPD.

Evaluating Use of Force Severity

Overall use of force rates can mask differences in the types and severity of force that police use against different groups during use of force incidents. We calculated a weighted severity score to determine the severity of force used against each racial group by San Diego police. Using a methodology [developed](#) by the Center for Policing Equity, we assigned more severe forms of force a higher score while less severe forms of force received a lower score. This methodology assigns the following weights to each type of force:⁸

- Police shootings were assigned a weight of 6.

⁸ Incidents involving safety control chairs, maximum restraints and pointing a firearm were excluded from the force severity analysis consistent with the methodology used in the CPE report. For reference, we included the scores with all SDPD force types included in Appendix C, whereby pointing a firearm, safety control chairs and maximum restraints were assigned a score of 2 consistent with other weapon incidents.

- Beanbag Shotguns, Strangleholds and Taser Incidents were assigned a weight of 5.
- Canine incidents were assigned a weight of 4.⁹
- OC spray incidents were assigned a weight of 3.
- All other weapon incidents were assigned a weight of 2.
- Hands and body incidents were assigned a weight of 1.

The results reveal that San Diego police are not only more likely to use force against black people overall, but also use more severe forms of force on average during these encounters. Generally, San Diego police used force 25% more severe per arrest when encountering a black person compared to a white person. After controlling for the subject's level of resistance, black people were still more likely to have a more severe level of force used against them for all levels of resistance except for the most extreme (life-threatening resistance) - which represented only 1% of use of force incidents (See Appendix C.12).

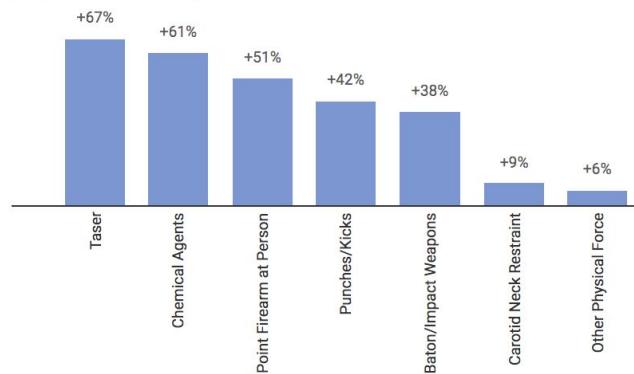
"THE RESULTS REVEAL THAT SAN DIEGO POLICE ARE NOT ONLY MORE LIKELY TO USE FORCE AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE OVERALL, BUT ALSO MORE SEVERE FORMS OF FORCE ON AVERAGE DURING THESE ENCOUNTERS."

Types of Force Used

Among the various force options available to San Diego police, physical force¹⁰ and pointing a firearm at a civilian were used most frequently. After controlling for arrest rates, San Diego police were more likely to use most of these force types on black people, including the use of physical force, pointing firearms, pepper spray, tasers and impact weapons. Police were also more likely to point a firearm at Latinx people than white people, though Latinx people were not more likely to experience other forms of police use of

San Diego police were more likely to use weapons and other types of force against Black People

Likelihood of using type of force against Black people compared to White people, after controlling for arrest rates.



San Diego PD Use of Force and Arrests Data, 9/25/2016 - 12/31/2018

⁹ SDPD did not report any canine incidents in its use of force database during the 2016-2018 period.

¹⁰ Physical force includes weaponless force such as "physical strength," take downs, control holds, punches and kicks.

force. Only the use of restraints and safety control chairs were more likely to be used on white people, types of force that tend to be used in the context of mental or emotional health crises.

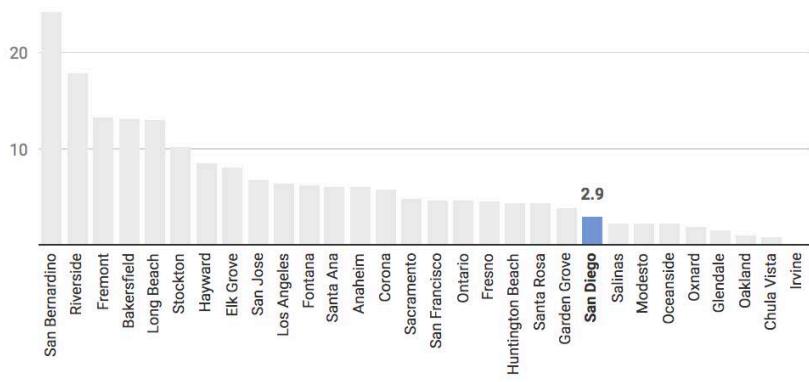
Use of Deadly Force

San Diego Police Department reported 26 deadly force incidents to California Department of Justice's URSUS database from 2016-2018, including - 19 police shootings and 7 other force incidents causing death or serious injury. Altogether, 10 people died and 9 were seriously injured in these incidents.¹¹ San Diego police made 88,372 arrests during this period, resulting in a deadly force rate of 2.9 incidents per 10,000 arrests. As such, San Diego police used deadly force at a rate slightly below the statewide average - using it *more than 37% of California's 100 largest municipal departments from 2016 through 2018*. Nevertheless, we identified several issues in these cases that suggest further changes to department policies and procedures could significantly reduce the use of deadly force in the future:

- In at least 8 of the 26 incidents (31%), the person was unarmed. By contrast, there were 7 incidents (27%) where the person was reportedly armed with a gun.
- At least 8 of 26 incidents (31%) involved people who had mental health issues or who were under the influence of drugs/alcohol at the time of the encounter. Six of these people reportedly had signs of mental illness and the other two reportedly were under the influence of drugs/alcohol at the time.
- 4 of the 19 police shootings (21%) involved San Diego police shooting at someone who was in a moving vehicle and not presenting any threat to officers or the public other than the vehicle.
- In 16 of the 19 police shootings (84%), San Diego police officers shot at the subject *without first attempting to use non-lethal force to resolve the situation*. This suggests a need for stronger deadly force policies and better enforcement of these standards to emphasize alternatives to deadly force whenever possible.

San Diego Police Department uses Deadly Force at Lower Rates than Most CA Departments

Deadly Force Incidents per 10,000 Arrests for the 30 largest CA Police Depts, 2016-2018



Analysis includes the Police Departments for the 30 largest CA cities. Deadly force incidents include all firearms discharges and other force causing death or serious injury. Data obtained via CA DOJ URSUS database.

¹¹ In one of these cases, a man died after being shot by police multiple times and then shooting himself.

Police Accountability

When civilians come forward to report police misconduct, it rarely led to accountability in San Diego. Of 226 reported civilian complaints in 2016 and 2017, only 11% were ruled in favor of civilians.¹³ Moreover, complaints alleging the most serious misconduct were never sustained. For example, of 21 civilian complaints of police discrimination, 75 use of force complaints and 2 complaints alleging criminal misconduct, none of these complaints were sustained. Moreover, due to restrictions in state law preventing accessing police officer personnel files, most of the officers involved in these incidents remain undisclosed to the public and we cannot determine what discipline, if any, they received.

Due to the recent passage of California [Senate Bill 1421](#), records of police deadly force as well as sustained allegations of sexual assault and official dishonesty are now considered public record. However, the vast majority of complaints made against SDPD during this period are not included within the scope of that legislation and San Diego Police Department still has yet to release many of the records that are eligible for disclosure. For example, records of at least 8 of the 19 police shootings from 2016-2018 have [not yet been released](#) as of 11/20/2019. Among the records that have been released, the same officer - Richard Butera - is named in three different police shootings, suggesting a serious lack of accountability for police deadly force within the San Diego Police Department.

¹³ While we [requested](#) complaints data for 2018, San Diego Police Department indicated they had “no responsive records” on this subject.

Policy Review and Recommendations for San Diego Police Department

A review of San Diego police department's policy manual, procedures and police union contract identified a number of areas where new policies could contribute towards addressing the outcomes described in this report.

1. Expand Alternatives to Arrest for Low-Level Offenses

Our review of San Diego police arrest data identified a number of low-level offenses that could be decriminalized entirely or deprioritized for enforcement. These offenses tended to involve drug possession, status offenses, and quality of life offenses that posed no threat to the public or property. Instead of a policing-based response to these activities, alternative responses should be developed or expanded that send substance abuse counselors, mental health professionals and other civilian responders to the scene instead of armed police officers. In these cases, subjects should not be arrested or incarcerated but rather provided with community-based services and supports. For example, the [CAHOOTS program](#) in Eugene, OR deploys mental health providers instead of police officers to calls involving a suspected mental health crisis - responding to nearly 1 in 5 calls for service citywide. Similarly, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department's Mental Health Evaluation Teams have been credited with [preventing](#) as many as 671 use of force incidents and 4 police shootings in 2018 and 2019.

2. Implement More Restrictive Use of Force Policies

San Diego police policy manual and [use of force procedures](#) lacked a number of restrictions on the use of force that have effectively reduced the force in other jurisdictions.

A. Require Officers to Use De-Escalation

Unlike [43 of the nation's 100 largest departments](#), San Diego police department policies do not explicitly require officers to use de-escalation when possible prior to using force. Instead, the policy states that de-escalation or disengagement "may" be used in some circumstances and cautions officers that this tactic "may not be possible" in some situations.

*"Disengagement or de-escalation is a tactic that an officer **may** employ in an attempt to resolve the situation. If an officer does not have adequate resources to safely control a situation, or if disengagement or de-escalation would assist in resolving a situation with a lower force level, an officer **may** disengage from the incident or de-escalate the force option. Disengagement or de-escalation **may** require an officer to move to a tactically sound position and wait for additional resources. Disengagement or de-escalation **may not be possible**."*

De-escalation requirements have been shown to [significantly reduce](#) the use of deadly force. San Diego police department should revise their use of force procedure to clarify that the use of de-escalation is a requirement for all officers whenever possible rather than the use of force.

B. Ban Shooting at Moving Vehicles

San Diego police department's use of force procedure allows officers to shoot at moving vehicles even if the vehicle is considered the only threat:

"H.6. Officers shall not discharge a firearm at an occupant of a vehicle unless:

- a. *The officer has probable cause to believe that the subject or the vehicle poses an immediate threat of death or serious physical harm to the officer and there is no reasonable alternative for the officer to avoid the harm; or,*
- b. *The officer has probable cause to believe that the subject or the vehicle poses an immediate threat of death or serious physical harm to other persons."*

This policy is inconsistent with the recommendations of the US Department of Justice and law enforcement groups such as the Police Executive Research Forum, which have recommended that police departments ban shooting at moving vehicles unless an occupant of the vehicle is using deadly force by means other than the vehicle (for example, shooting at someone from the vehicle). If such a policy was implemented in San Diego, it would likely have restricted officers from shooting at vehicles in 21% of San Diego police shootings from 2016-2018.

C. Ban the use of Carotid Restraints / Strangleholds

San Diego's use of force procedure allows officers to use Carotid Restraint Holds (a form of stranglehold) against civilians in situations where deadly force would not be authorized:

"IV. I. Greater Controlling Force – The force needed to control a subject who engages in Active Resistance. This level of force may involve the use of techniques such as takedowns, distractions techniques, chemical agents and the carotid restraint."

From 9/25/2016 - 12/31/2018, San Diego police used this dangerous tactic on 208 people. Only 6 of these cases (3%) reportedly involved a "life-threatening" level of resistance from the subject, while 153 cases (74%) involved someone who was reportedly "passively" or "actively" resisting. In departments such as San Jose, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley and Corona, the use of Carotid Restraints and Chokeholds are banned or limited to deadly force situations. By banning the use of Carotid Restraints, San Diego police can reduce the risk of injury or death to civilians.

3. Address Anti-Black Bias in Policing Outcomes

Our findings indicate that black people, in particular, had both high arrest rates **and** high exposure to police use of force as a population - experiencing 5x higher use of force rate per resident. As such, policymakers should consider measures designed to both reduce the overall number of black people arrested by San Diego police

as well as measures to address anti-black bias in police use of force during the process of arrest. At the assignment level, the Gang Unit, Narcotics, and Task Force officers stopped black people at higher rates than officers working other assignments. Policymakers and police leadership should re-examine the utility of continuing to assign officers to these units given their racially disparate impact. Moreover, given the new RIPA data collection requirements, the San Diego Police Department should already have all the data needed to identify which officers, specifically, exhibit a pattern of anti-black bias in stops, searches, arrests and use of force. This information should be used to hold these officers accountable and protect black communities from discriminatory policing.

4. Ban Consent Searches and Stops for Equipment Violations

When San Diego police officers had more discretion - during “consensual” encounters or stops for routine traffic violations - they tended to use this discretion to search black and Latinx individuals at higher rates despite being less likely to find contraband during these searches. Racial disparities were particularly high for traffic stops for equipment violations, suggesting San Diego police may be conducting these stops as a pretext to investigate black and Latinx drivers. As a strategy to protect residents - especially black and brown residents - from intrusive and unnecessary police contact, SDPD officers should be required to have probable cause to initiate a search and stops for equipment violations should be banned.

5. Remove Language in the San Diego Police Union Contract to Strengthen Investigations and Accountability

A review of San Diego’s police union contract identified contract language that imposes unfair and unnecessary limits on the department’s ability to investigate and adjudicate allegations of officer misconduct. For example, Section 41.D.1 imposes a 3 business day delay in interrogations of officers - a period that can only be reduced on a case-by-case basis by the Assistant Chief:

“Any officer or officers under investigation will receive at least three (3) working days notice prior to an interrogation except where a delay will hamper the gathering of evidence as determined by an Assistant Chief.”

Policing experts such as Professor Samuel Walker have [cited](#) provisions imposing delays in interrogating officers as “unreasonable” and inconsistent with “best-practices” including those articulated in DOJ consent decrees. Such language should be removed from the contract and replaced with a practice of interrogating officers as soon as possible following a misconduct incident/receipt of a misconduct allegation. For example, Washington D.C.’s police union Section 13.3 states that:

“Where an employee can reasonably expect discipline to result from an investigatory interview, or the employee is the target of an administrative investigation conducted by the Employer, at the request of

the employee, questioning shall be delayed for no longer than two hours in order to give the employee an opportunity to consult with a Union representative.”

6. Strengthen Community Oversight to Ensure Accountability

Low sustain rates for SDPD complaints, especially complaints alleging use of force violations, suggest changes to existing investigatory and oversight structures are warranted. For example, the current San Diego's Community Review Board on Police Practices has the power to review internal affairs investigations but cannot independently investigate complaints of misconduct or subpoena witnesses. This board should be replaced with an independent community structure that has the power to conduct independent investigations, subpoena witnesses and documents, and impose discipline as a result of their findings. For example, San Francisco's Department of Police Accountability has many of these powers and, in combination with the city's police commission, gives civilians the power to impose discipline on officers in cases where the police department fails to do so.

7. Improve Data Transparency, Reporting and Compliance with the Racial Identity Profiling Act

A. Address Inconsistencies in the Use of Force Data Reported by San Diego Police Department:

There were notable inconsistencies between the use of force and arrests databases provided by San Diego Police Department and the data that SDPD reported to the RIPA program. During the period where these two databases overlap, from 7/1/18 - 12/31/18, there were 1,554 uses of force reported to the RIPA program¹ and 2,476 uses of force reported in San Diego Police Department's use of force database. A few categories of force were required to be reported by SDPD that were not required by RIPA - for example the use of safety control chairs and maximum restraints. However, inconsistencies remained even among those types of force that were reported to both databases. Based on the number of cases in the department's use of force database, use of force involving police pointing a firearm at people, using batons, chemical spray, or other forms of physical or vehicle contact² were under-reported to the RIPA program during this period.³ Additionally, while 13 canine incidents were reported to RIPA, they weren't included within the department's use of force database, indicating the

¹ There was also 1 firearms discharge which was reported to RIPA that did not show up in the SDPD use of force database because this information was stored in a separate database. This is excluded from the chart because it was reported and provided by SDPD separately.

² Consistent with RIPA guidelines, we used cases involving carotid restraints, control holds without impact weapons, take downs, personal body weapons and physical strength to compare to the number of “Physical or Vehicle contact” incidents. This is a conservative estimate since vehicle contacts are not included in the SDSD use of force database, but are included in this RIPA category. We also included batons, hard impact weapons and control hold with impact weapons to compare to the RIPA force reporting category of “Batons and Other Impact Weapons.”

³ For this analysis, we used the number of use of force cases reported in SDPD's use of force database rather than the number of instances where force was used. This obtains a more conservative estimate, consistent with how force is reported to RIPA, that counts multiple uses of the same type of force against someone as one use of force. Still, there remained more cases in the SDPD use of force database than were reported to RIPA.

department's internal databases should be strengthened to incorporate data that is inclusive of all use of force types.

San Diego police reported different use of force totals to RIPA than are included in their use of force database

Total use of force cases reported in San Diego Police Department's use of force database compared to the number of cases SDPD reported to RIPA during the 7/1/18 - 12/31/18 period

SDPD Action	RIPA Database	Use of Force Database	Percent Reported to RIPA
Baton or other impact weapon used	11	34	32%
Chemical spray used	97	136	71%
Electronic control device used	48	87	55%
Firearm pointed at person	323	432	75%
Impact projectile discharged or used	11	8	138%
Physical or Vehicle contact	1,051	1,483	71%
Canine bit or held person	13	0	Not Reported
Safety Control Chair	0	20	Not Reported
Maximum Restraint	0	276	Not Reported

- B. **Improve Police Data Transparency in California:** We conducted our analysis based on the data reported by California's RIPA, URSUS and CCOPA programs combined with data we were able to obtain from agencies via public records requests. Despite this, there remain aspects of policing that we could not obtain data on due to a combination of unwillingness by CA Department of Justice to provide data and existing limitations on police data imposed by state law. For example, we could not obtain detailed arrests data from the Monthly Arrests and Citation Register that was more recent than 2016 because the state's [OpenJustice database](#) does not provide this information at the agency-level. Instead, the OpenJustice database aggregates data at the county-level, making it difficult to determine how many arrests a single agency within a county made or how many of those arrests were felony, misdemeanor or status offenses. While we requested this data repeatedly from the CA Department of Justice, they did not provide it.

Additionally, the state's RIPA regulations should be revised to permit more comprehensive analyses of policing practices. For example, RIPA's regulations [don't require agencies to specify](#) whether a stop is a vehicle or pedestrian stop. Instead, departments indicate a "primary reason for stop" that can include either "traffic violation" or categories such as "reasonable suspicion." As such, both vehicle and pedestrian stops based on "reasonable suspicion" are grouped together, making it difficult to understand how officers may be approaching different types of stops. Additionally, RIPA's regulations

currently prevent the public from accessing data showing the ID numbers of the officers making each stop. **If we had such information, we could've evaluated which officers make the most stops - and which officers were engaging in a pattern of biased policing practices.** Despite the passage of SB 1421, which made it possible to obtain records of police misconduct in limited set of cases (for example, cases involving deadly force, sustained complaints of sexual assault and official dishonesty), further legislation is needed to allow the public to access the full range of data needed to effectively track, predict and prevent police misconduct. For example, [recent research](#) has shown that data identifying all the officers named in misconduct complaints (whether or not the complaints were sustained) in addition to all use of force incidents (whether or not the incidents involve deadly force) can be used to track the spread of misconduct through a police department over time and even predict which officers will likely commit misconduct in the future. California should make this information public, as has been done in many states already, so that it can be used to design targeted interventions at the officer level in order to protect communities from harm.

Our analysis was also limited by the quality of data provided by San Diego Police Department. The department only began collecting individualized use of force data on 9/25/2016, limiting the time period of our use of force analysis. Moreover, the information they provided had important data missing. For example, the Weapon_Type column was completely blank. Instead, it appears some or all of this information was placed within the UoF_Resist_Type column along with the Levels of Resistance reportedly posed by civilians who force was used against. As such, it's unclear whether NULL values in this column referred to the person's weapon type (meaning they were unarmed) or their resistance level (meaning they posed no resistance) or both. Only 436 cases in this column denoted a person who was "confirmed" to be armed with a weapon or other object, which either means 95% of all SDPD use of force cases involve unarmed people or this information is incomplete/missing from their database. As such, San Diego Police Department should improve the quality of their use of force database by providing complete data on weapon type within the Weapon_Type column to permit analyses of how the department uses force against people who are armed or unarmed.

Part 2: Analysis of San Diego Sheriff's Department

Analysis of San Diego Sheriff's Department RIPA Stops Data

Using RIPA stops data obtained from San Diego Sheriff's Department, we examined disparities in the conduct of 71,886 police stops from 7/1/2018 - 7/31/2019.¹⁷ More than 14,585 police searches, 8,710 arrests and 780 use of force incidents were reported during this 13-month period. Our analysis finds strong evidence of discriminatory policing within the San Diego Sheriff's Department. Black people and people with disabilities were more likely to be stopped, searched, arrested and to have force used against them by San Diego sheriff's deputies. Moreover, racial disparities in police searches and use of force remained even after controlling for arrest rates and contraband rates.

Types and Locations of SDSD Stops

San Diego Sheriff's deputies reported traffic violations as the primary reason for making two-thirds of all stops during this period, while 26% of stops were reportedly made for reasonable suspicion and 4% were "consensual encounters."

"BLACK PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES WERE MORE LIKELY TO BE STOPPED, SEARCHED, ARRESTED, AND TO HAVE FORCE USED AGAINST THEM BY SAN DIEGO SHERIFF'S DEPUTIES."

64% of SDSD stops were made in 9 areas: Del Mar, Santee, Encinitas, Solana Beach, Imperial Beach, Poway, Lemon Grove, Vista and San Marcos. Another 23% occurred in Unincorporated San Diego County and the remaining 13% occurred in cities where another law enforcement agency has primary jurisdiction.¹⁸ Deputies in

¹⁷ For this analysis, we used all of the SDSD stops data made available to date under RIPA - which includes data from July 1, 2018 - July 31, 2019.

¹⁸ 66% of stops in places where another agency had primary jurisdiction were in San Diego City and El Cajon City.

Del Mar, Santee and Encinitas stopped people at the highest rates; while unincorporated San Diego County had the lowest stop rate.

Racial Disparities in Sheriff's Department Stops

Since most SDSD stops were traffic-related, overall stop rates may reflect levels of traffic flowing through a given area rather than how police are interacting with the residents living there. To better evaluate how SDSD interacts with residents living in each area, we examined pedestrian stop rates in each area. Results show SDSD is more likely to make

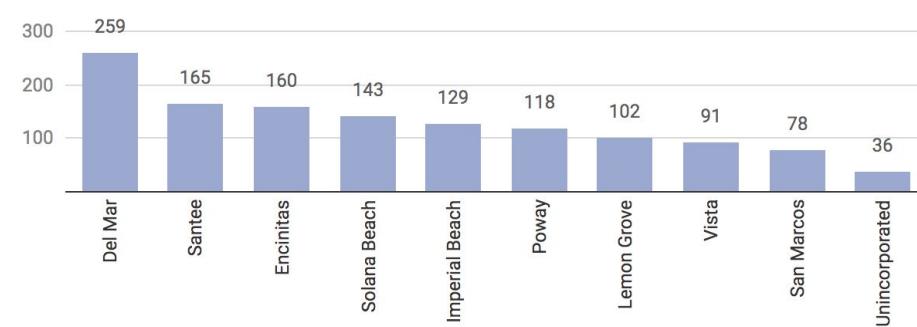
non-traffic related stops in black and brown areas. The two communities with the highest proportion of residents of color - Lemon Grove and Imperial Beach - had the highest rates of non-traffic related stops. Moreover, **black people were stopped at higher rates than whites in every area of the San Diego Sheriff's jurisdiction.**¹⁹

Among racial groups, **black people were stopped by San Diego Sheriff's Department at the highest rates** overall (including both traffic and pedestrian stops) compared to their population within SDSD's primary jurisdiction.²⁰ Black people were 130% more likely than white people to be stopped overall and 199% more likely to be stopped for reasons other than a traffic-violation.

These disparities were produced by deputy-initiated actions, rather than responses to 911 calls from communities. **9 in every 10 stops, across all racial groups, were initiated by officers rather than initiated in response to calls for service.**

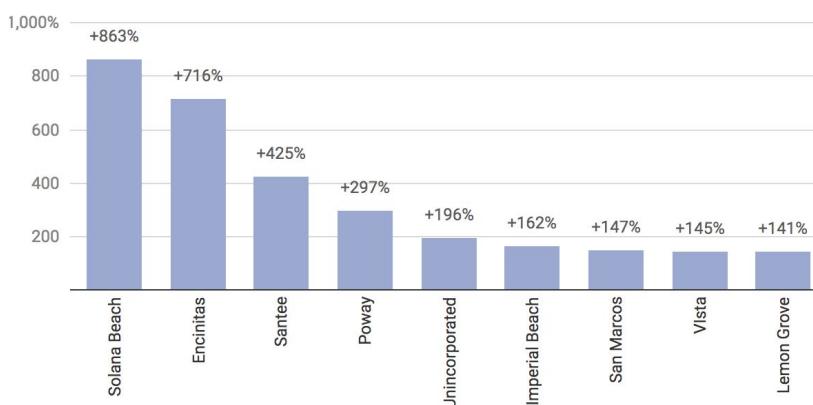
San Diego Sheriff's Department Stop Rates by City.

Rates per 1,000 Population.



SDSD Stopped Black People at Higher Rates in Every Area

Likelihood of a black person being stopped by police, relative to white people.



¹⁹ Del Mar's black population was too small to evaluate stop rates conclusively.

²⁰ Population data obtained via [SANDAG 2016 Demographic Report \(page 9 of that report\)](#). SDSD primary jurisdiction includes Del Mar, Imperial Beach, Poway, Santee, Encinitas, Solano Beach, Lemon Grove, Vista, San Marcos and Unincorporated San Diego County.

Sheriff's Deputy Conduct during Stops

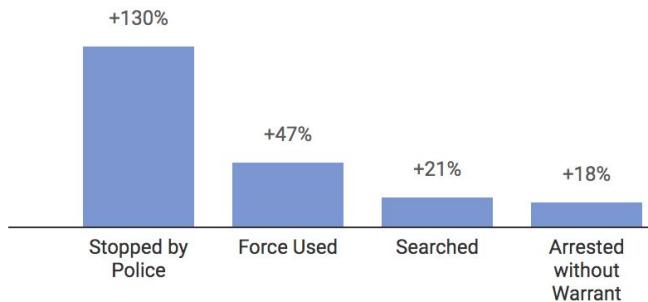
Once stopped, black and brown people were more likely to be searched, arrested and to have force used against them. Black people were 130% more likely to be stopped and 21% more likely to be searched, 18% more likely to be arrested without a warrant and 47% more likely to have force used against them during these stops.²¹

Latinx people were also more likely than white people to have property seized²² or have force used against them by San Diego sheriff's deputies during a stop.²³ Racial disparities remained after controlling for arrests - black and Latinx people were more likely to have force used against them than whites whether or not they were arrested during a stop.

Similarly, deputies were more likely to use force against black and Latinx people whether or not they found contraband/evidence of a crime (see Appendix F.2). To conduct a deeper investigation of racial disparities in use of force, we obtained a more extensive database of SDSD use of force from 2016-2018. The results of that analysis provide further evidence of racial disparities within SDSD use of force, even after controlling for crime/arrest rates, and are presented in the Use of Force section of this report.

Anti-Black Bias in San Diego SD Stops

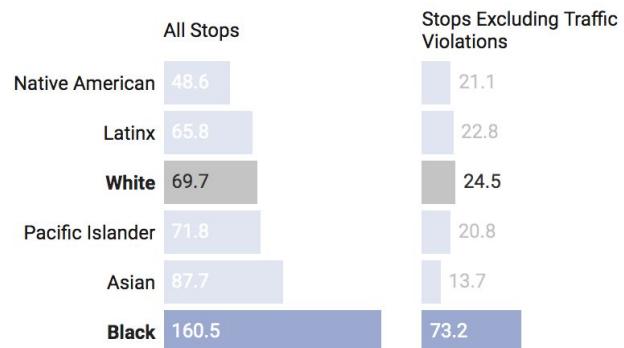
San Diego Sheriff's deputies stopped black people at 130% higher rate per population than white people. Once stopped, black people were more likely to be searched, arrested, and to have force used against them.



RIPA Stops Data, 7/1/18-7/31/19

San Diego Sheriff's Dept Stop Rates

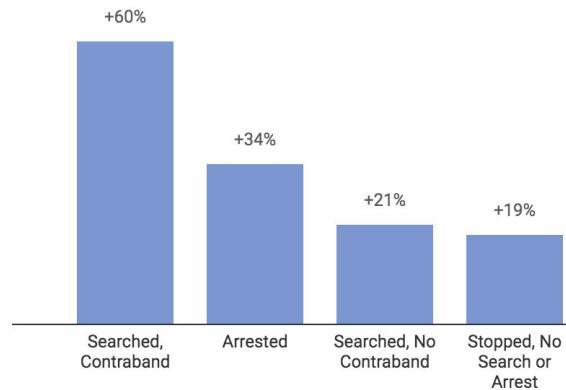
Stops per 1,000 Population in areas where San Diego Sheriff's Dept has primary jurisdiction.



RIPA Stops Data from 7/2018 - 6/2019 obtained from SDSD. Rates calculated using 2010 Census Data.

San Diego Sheriff's deputies were more likely to use force against Black people

San Diego Sheriff's Department were more likely to use force against Black people than White people - whether or not the person was arrested or found with evidence of a crime.



RIPA Stops Data, 7/1/2018-7/31/2019

²¹ Use of Force included all stops coded as involving the use of impact weapons, electronic control devices, chemical spray, "other physical or vehicle contact", canine bites, firearms discharges and cases where a firearm was pointed at a civilian.

²² Property Seized included all stops coded as "Property Seized" or "Vehicle Impounded"

²³ Native Americans also experienced high rates of searches, arrests and use of force, though the sample size was not large enough to draw strong conclusions.

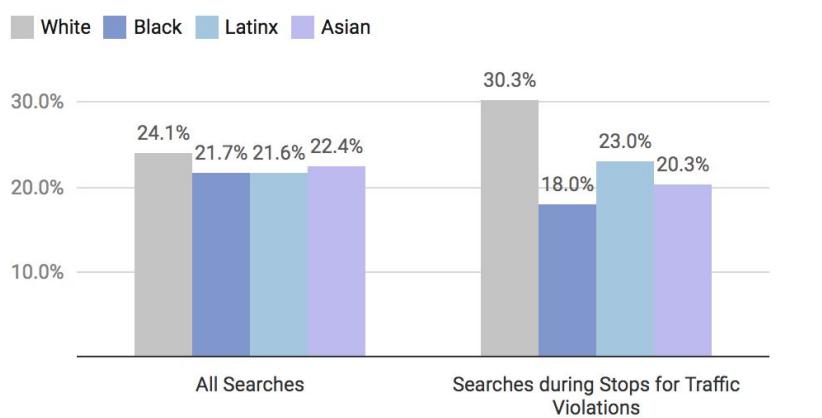
Evaluating Contraband “Hit Rates” and Racial Bias in SDSD Searches

In 77% of all searches by San Diego deputies, no contraband was found. And while San Diego Sheriff’s Department searches people of color at higher rates, they are even less likely to find contraband during these searches. This suggests deputies may be engaging in biased policing practices. Moreover, two-thirds of all contraband found was either drugs or drug paraphernalia. By contrast, only 0.6% of searches found a gun. This suggests SDSD is over-searching people in general, with little to no public safety benefit, while engaging in biased policing towards communities of color in particular.

Evaluating Pretext Stops and Consent Searches

Racial disparities were also present in the use of “consent searches” - searches where officers report asking and receiving consent from the person being searched as the only reported basis for making the search. San Diego deputies made 2,553 consent searches from 7/1/2018 - 7/31/2019 - representing nearly 1 in 5 searches conducted. These searches were conducted disproportionately on black and brown residents - deputies were 7% more likely to conduct a consent search on a Latinx person, 13% more likely to perform a consent search on a black person or Pacific Islander, and 42% more likely to perform a consent search on a Native American person than a white person during a stop.²⁴

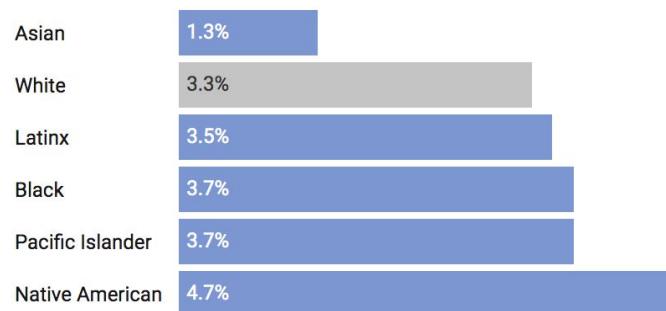
SDSD searches were less likely to find contraband on people of color, especially during traffic stops



San Diego Sheriff's Dept RIPA Stops Data, 7/1/2018-7/31/2019

SDSD Consent Searches per Stop

San Diego Sheriff's deputies were more likely to perform consent searches on Black and Latinx people during a stop.

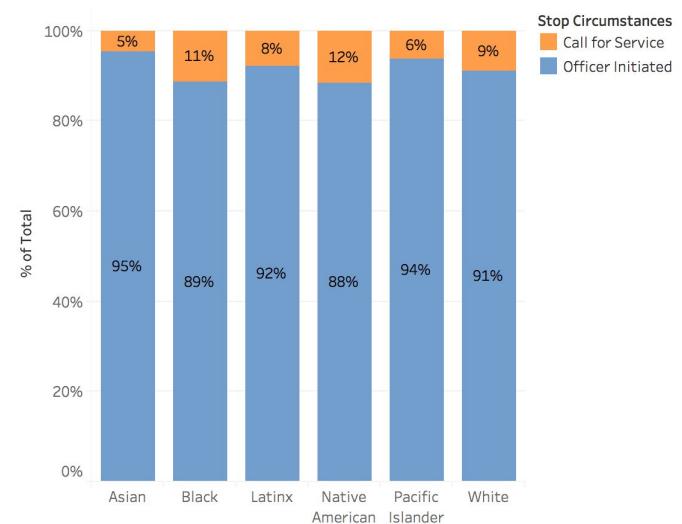


²⁴ Searches where the only reported basis for the search was “consent given” were coded as Higher Discretion, while searches where the reported basis was “incident to arrest”, pursuant to warrant and/or “vehicle inventory for search of property” were coded as Lower Discretion.

Deputies appeared to be engaged in biased practices

regarding pretext stops. Pretext stops are when police stop someone for a minor infraction (i.e. traffic violation) as means to conduct a search and investigate unrelated issues. San Diego deputies ended up searching 2,629 people who were reportedly stopped for traffic violations. While black and Latinx people were more likely to be searched during these stops, they were substantially less likely to be found with contraband - a larger racial disparity in contraband rates than was found for other types of searches. This suggests the presence of racially biased decision-making by San Diego deputies conducting traffic-violation stops in particular.

San Diego Sheriff's Department reported Stop Reason by Race



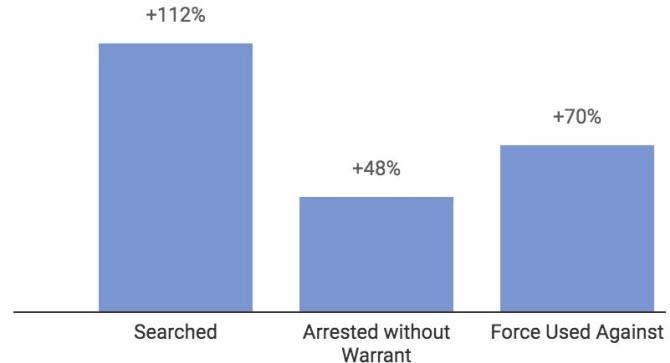
Bias Against People with Disabilities

In addition to evidence of racial bias in San Diego Sheriff's Department's stops outcomes, there's also evidence of bias against people with disabilities. Deputies reported stopping 2,489 people they perceived to have a disability. Perceived mental disabilities comprised 75% of these stops, 18% were reported as "other" or "more than one disability", and the remaining 7% were people perceived to have a physical disability such as blindness or deafness.

Once stopped, people perceived to have physical or other disabilities (not including mental disabilities) were 35% more likely to be searched, 17% more likely to be arrested without a warrant, and 51% more likely to experience police use of force during a stop. People perceived to have mental disabilities faced even more severe disparities - being searched 112% more often, arrested without warrant 48% more often and subjected to police use of force 70% more often than those who were not perceived to have a disability.

Bias Against People with Mental Disabilities in San Diego SD Stops

San Diego Sheriff's deputies were 112% more likely to search people with mental disabilities during a stop and more likely to arrest or use of force against them.



RIPA Stops Data, 7/1/18-7/31/19

These disparities intersect with racial disparities - black and Latinx people with disabilities were searched at the highest rates (see Appendix F.7). And while people with disabilities were more likely to be searched by San Diego sheriff's deputies, deputies conducting these

searches were 47% less likely to find contraband than searches of people with no perceived disability. **This suggests a pattern of biased policing by SDSD of people with disabilities - especially those perceived to have mental disabilities.**

San Diego sheriff's deputies were more likely to search, arrest without warrant, and use force against People with Disabilities.

Data from 7/1/18 - 7/31/19

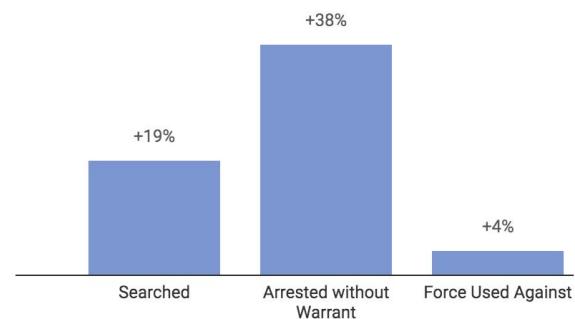
Perceived Identity	People Stopped	% Searched	% Searches Finding Contraband	% Stops with Property Seized	% Arrested Without Warrant	% Police Used Force
Mental Disability	1,874	38.2%	11.9%	3.7%	12.4%	1.7%
Physical/Other Disability	615	24.2%	14.8%	3.1%	9.8%	1.5%
No Perceived Disability	76,209	18.0%	23.7%	3.5%	8.4%	1.0%

Bias Against LGBT and Gender Non-Conforming People

1,169 people stopped by San Diego sheriff's deputies were perceived to be LGBT and 107 people were perceived to be gender non-conforming. Deputies were more likely to make an arrest or conduct a search during these stops despite there being lower likelihood of deputies finding contraband. Moreover, disparities by sexual orientation were present for all racial groups, with deputies more likely to search black and Latinx people they perceive to be LGBT than white people perceived to be LGBT.

Bias Against People Perceived to be LGBT in San Diego SD Stops

San Diego sheriff's deputies were 19% more likely to search people they perceived to be LGBT during a stop and more likely to arrest them.



RIPA Stops Data, 7/1/18-7/31/19

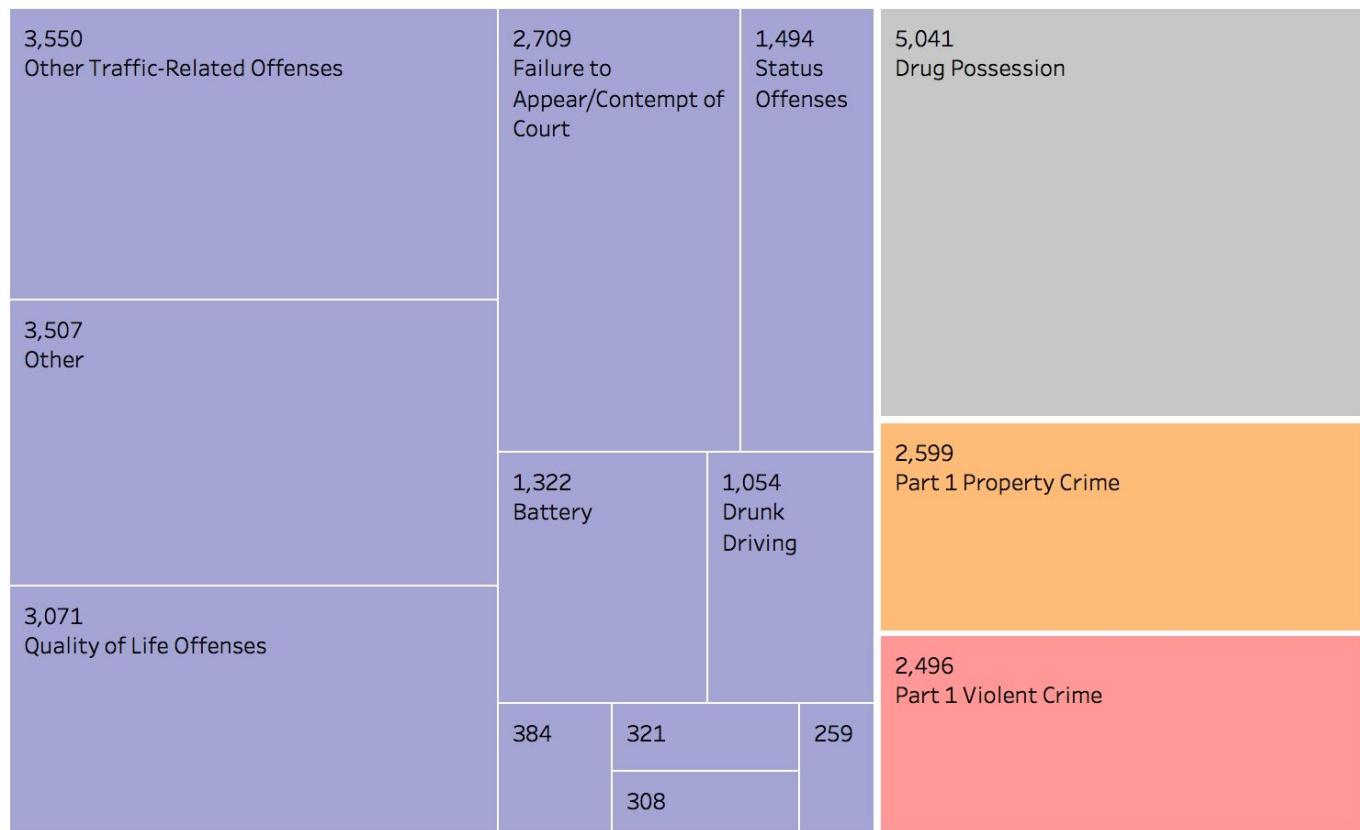
"DISPARITIES BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION WERE PRESENT FOR ALL RACIAL GROUPS, WITH DEPUTIES MORE LIKELY TO SEARCH BLACK AND LATINX PEOPLE THEY PERCEIVE TO BE LGBT THAN WHITE PEOPLE PERCEIVED TO BE LGBT."

Arrests

We obtained data on San Diego Sheriff's Department arrests from the California Department of Justice's 2016 Monthly Arrests and Citations Register database.²⁵ This database shows San Diego deputies made 28,119 arrests in 2016, including arrests made by SDSD in cities that contract with the sheriff's department for law enforcement services. 67% of all SDSD arrests were for misdemeanor offenses. Moreover, San Diego sheriff's deputies made as many arrests for drug possession alone as for all Part 1 Violent and Property crimes combined. **Decriminalizing or deprioritizing arrests for status offenses, drug possession and quality of life offenses would reduce the overall number of arrests made by SDSD by 34%.**

San Diego Sheriff's Department made 28,119 arrests in 2016. Most were for low-level offenses.

Source: CA Monthly Arrests and Citations Register, 2016



Quality of Life Offense Arrests

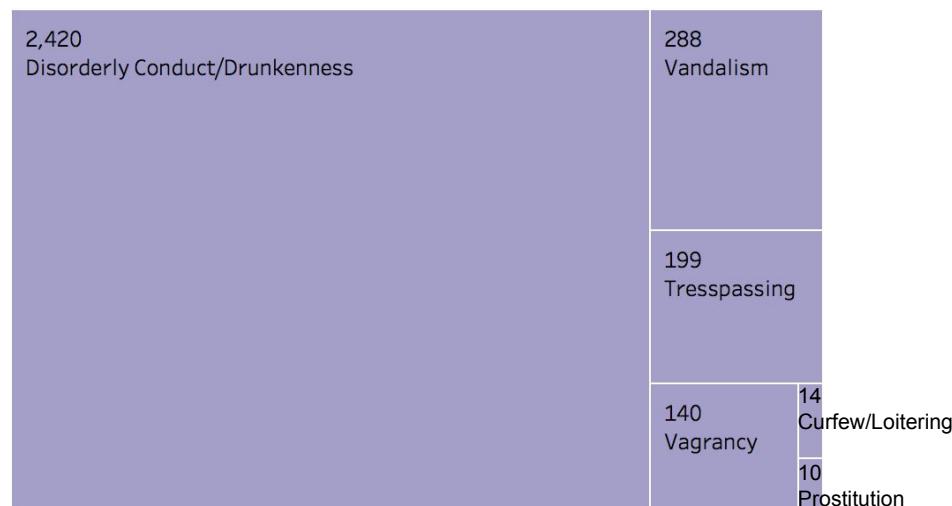
Disorderly conduct/public drunkenness represented most (79%) of the 3,071 "quality of life" offense arrests, followed by vandalism, trespassing and vagrancy. These arrests disproportionately affect black and brown

²⁵ While we also requested 2017 and 2018 arrests data from the California Department of Justice's Monthly Arrest and Citation Register database (and made multiple calls to follow up), we were not provided with these data. As such, we were limited to using 2016 data for our analysis of arrests.

communities. Black people were arrested by SDSD for quality of life offenses at a rate 2.9x higher than white people per population and Latinx people were arrested at a rate 1.2x higher than white people.

San Diego Sheriff's Department Quality of Life offense arrests in 2016.

Source: CA Monthly Arrests and Citations Register, 2016



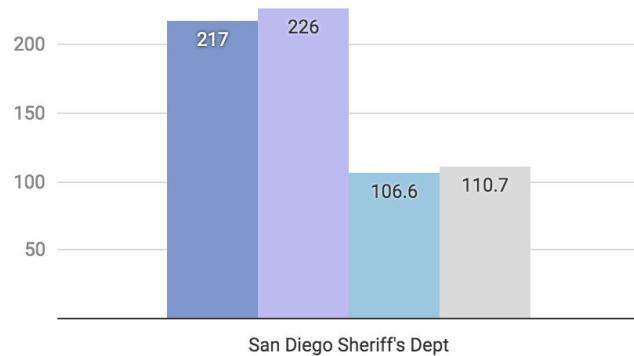
Use of Force

Our analysis of San Diego Sheriff's Department's RIPA stops data examined disparities within 808 reported use of force incidents, finding deputies disproportionately used force against people of color and people with disabilities. To expand upon these initial findings, we obtained a more comprehensive dataset from SDSD that includes 23,488 uses of force²⁶ spanning 9,543 incidents and 8,948 different civilians²⁷ from January 1, 2016 through December 31, 2018. This dataset includes information not only on the frequency and type of force used against civilians during this period, but also the reported level of resistance faced by deputies.²⁸

San Diego Sheriff Use of Force by Race

Use of Force Cases per 1,000 Arrests

Black Asian/Pacific I. Latinx White



Source: 2016-2018 Use of Force Data obtained from SDSD.

²⁶ There can be more than one use of force in a single encounter with a civilian.

²⁷ SDSD's dataset did not assign a unique ID number for each person force was used against. To determine the number of unique civilians whom force was used against, we assigned each unique race/sex/DOB combination as a different person. However, there may still be slight differences in our estimates of the total number of civilians impacted since there could be more than one person with the exact same race, sex and birthday (or alternatively birthday information could be entered in incorrectly/differently in different use of force reports, resulting in duplicate records).

²⁸ While we requested information on the armed/unarmed status of the subjects of SDSD force as well as whether they had a physical or mental disability, the San Diego Sheriff's Department reported they were unable to provide data on these issues for the incidents in their use of force database.

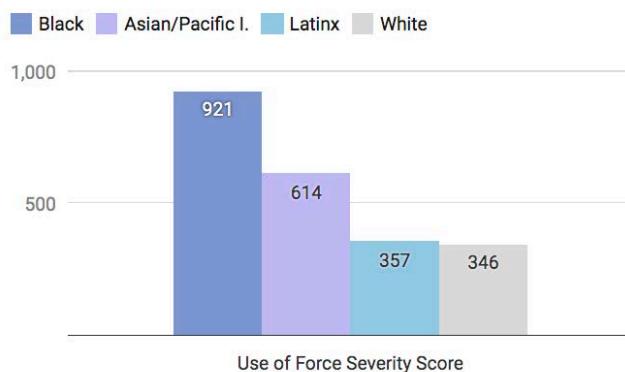
Use of Force Rates by Race

Roughly 1 in every 10 arrests made by SDSD involved the use of force during this period.

To evaluate these incidents by race, we calculated use of force rates benchmarked by arrest rates using arrest data reported by the Monthly Arrest and Citation Register (MACR). **The results show San Diego Sheriff's Department is substantially more likely to use force against black people²⁹, even after controlling for arrest rates.** Black people were 3% of the population within San Diego Sheriff Department's primary jurisdiction, 10% of people arrested by SDSD and 19% of people who had force used against them by SDSD. Asian / Pacific Islanders also had high use of force rates per arrest, while use of force rates were similar between white and Latinx populations. This suggests advocacy efforts should focus both on reducing high arrest rates experienced by black residents at the hands of San Diego deputies and addressing racial bias in the application of force during arrests of black and Asian / Pacific Islander residents.

San Diego Sheriff Use of Force Severity Score by Race

San Diego deputies used more severe levels of force against Black people and Asian / Pacific Islanders per 1,000 Arrests



Source: 2016-2018 Use of Force Data obtained from SDSD.

Use of Force Severity

Employing the methodology developed by the Center for Policing Equity to calculate the severity of force used by San Diego Sheriff's Department, we find **SDSD not only were more likely to use force against black people but also used higher levels of force during these encounters compared to other groups.** On average, when SDSD uses force against black people they use a level of force 2.7x more severe than when using force against white people. SDSD also used a more severe level of force against API and Latinx people than against whites. This suggests **stricter policy restrictions on the use of higher levels of force are warranted**, especially for encounters with black residents.

Types of Force Used

Of the force options available to San Diego sheriff's deputies, the use of weaponless physical force and pointing a firearm were used most frequently - collectively accounting for 90% of all reported uses of force. When these data are broken down by race, we find San Diego Sheriff's Department used almost every force option more often against black, Latinx and Asian / Pacific Islander populations, even after controlling for arrest rates. For example, Sheriff's deputies were 104% more likely to use impact weapons or projectiles; 130% more

²⁹ San Diego Sheriff's Department did not provide arrest data that distinguished between Asian and Pacific Islander arrestees. As such, we used a combined Asian / Pacific Islander category to evaluate SDSD use of force disparities.

likely to use tasers and strangleholds, 156% more likely to use weaponless physical force on black people compared with white people during arrest.³⁰ Deputies were also 292% more likely to use canines against, and 149% more likely to point firearms at Asian / Pacific Islanders during arrest.

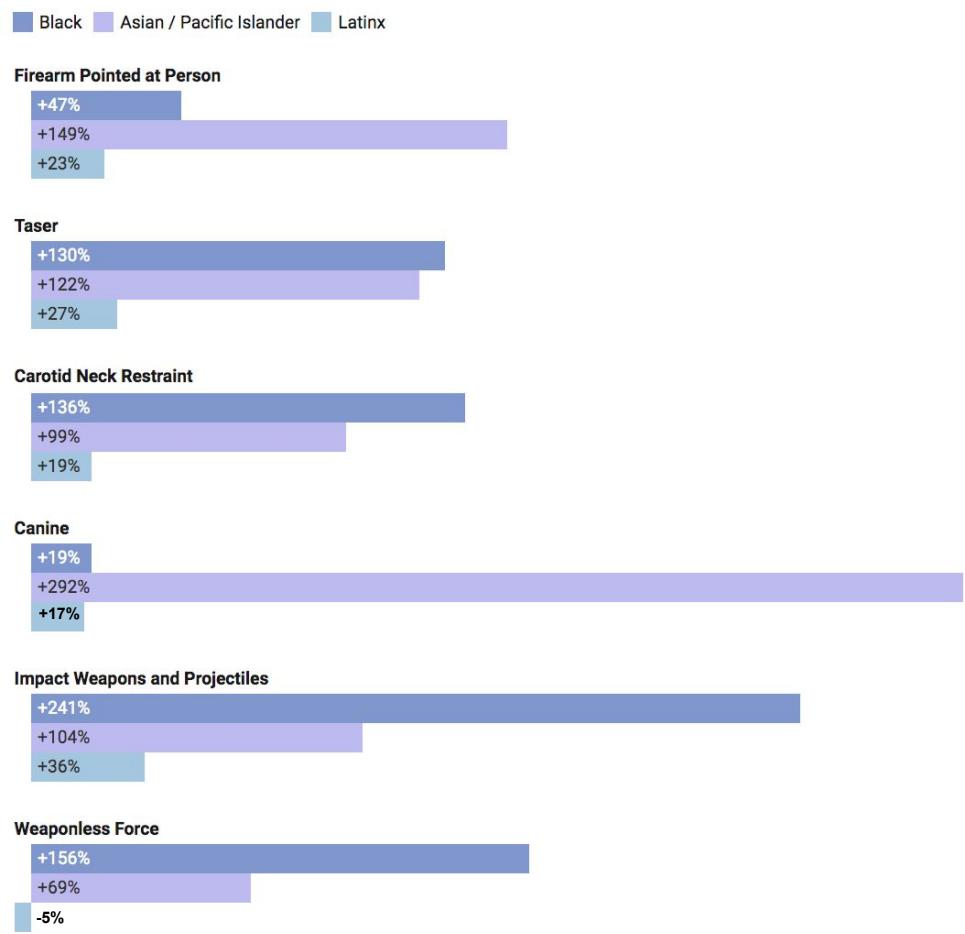
Deadly Force

San Diego Sheriff's Department reported 95 deadly force incidents from 2016-2018, including 22 police shootings and 73 other force incidents causing death or serious injury. 12 people were killed in these incidents and 83 were seriously injured. This is 4.6x higher deadly force rate per arrest than San Diego Police Department during this period and a higher rate than 26 of the 30 largest CA sheriff's departments.

- SDSD used force against 96 people during these 95 incidents. 68 of these people (71%) were unarmed. Only 8 of the 96 people (8%) were allegedly armed with a gun.
- Tasers, strangleholds and weaponless physical force made up 67% of incidents causing death or serious injury.
- At least 14 people SDSD used deadly force on reportedly had disabilities - 13 people had signs of mental illness and one person had physical disabilities.
- Of 22 people shot by SDSD from 2016-2018, 14 (64%) were Latinx. Latinx people were 5.5x more likely to be shot by SDSD than white people per arrest.
- 4 of the 22 police shootings (18%) involved San Diego sheriff's deputies shooting at someone who was in a moving vehicle.

San Diego deputies were more likely to use nearly every type of force against People of Color

Likelihood of using force against Black, Latinx, and Asian / Pacific Islander individuals compared to White people, after controlling for arrest rates.

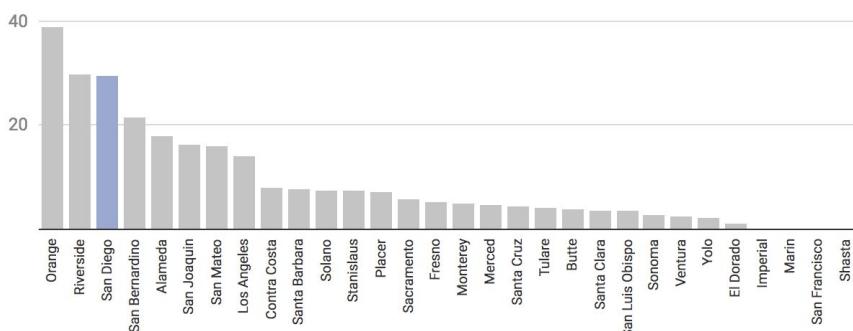


³⁰ Physical force includes weaponless force options which are categorized by SDSD as "grab/push/pull", takedowns, control holds, strikes, and "pressure point."

This suggests policy interventions should include a focus on addressing the excessive use of tasers, physical force and strangleholds while also addressing racial bias in decisions to use firearms, particularly against Latinx people.

San Diego Sheriff's Department uses Deadly Force at Higher Rates than Most Departments

Deadly Force Incidents per 10,000 Arrests for the 30 largest CA Sheriff's Depts, 2016-2018



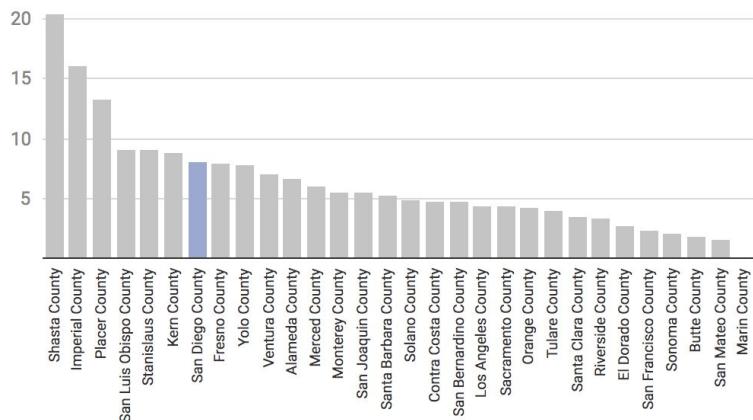
Analysis includes the Sheriff's Departments for the 30 largest CA counties. Deadly force incidents include all firearms discharges and other force causing death or serious injury. Data obtained via CA DOJ URSUS database.

Deaths in San Diego County Jail

In addition to use of force incidents, San Diego Sheriff's Department reported 44 in-custody deaths attributed to causes other than use of force from 2016-2018. This includes at least 10 deaths reportedly due to suicide, 2 death due to homicide committed by another person in custody, and 4 reportedly due to "accidental" causes. Another 15 deaths are attributed to natural causes and 13 remained under investigation at the time of the report. After accounting for the adult jail population in each county, San Diego Sheriff's Department had a rate of 8.1 jail deaths per 1,000 jail population. As such, people were more likely to die in jail in San Diego County than 18 of the 25 largest counties in California - suggesting the need for urgent intervention to address treatment and conditions within jail facilities in San Diego.

San Diego Sheriff's Department had a Higher Rate of Jail Deaths than Most California Sheriffs

Jail Deaths per 1,000 Jail Population, 2016-2018



*Analysis includes the Sheriff's Departments of the 30 most populous counties in California.
Chart: Campaign Zero • Source: California Department of Justice URSUS Database, 2016-2018*

Police Accountability

Nearly 9 in every 10 civilian complaints alleging San Diego sheriff's deputy misconduct are reported to the San Diego County Citizens Law Enforcement Review Board.³¹ This Review Board reported receiving 417 civilian complaints from 2016-2018, including 1,581 different allegations of deputy misconduct.³² San Diego Sheriff's Department's Internal Affairs division also [reported](#) receiving 30 civilian complaints in 2016 and 2017,³³ but did not report the number of civilian complaints specifically that were sustained.

Of the 1,581 allegations reported to the Citizens Law Enforcement Review Board, 252 alleged excessive force, 73 alleged criminal conduct and 33 alleged police discrimination. The board sustained only 18 complaints overall during this period - including 1 excessive force allegation, 2 criminal allegations and 0 allegations of discrimination. This represents a 4% complaint sustain rate overall, a 3% sustain rate for criminal allegations, 0.4% sustain rate for excessive force and 0% sustain rate for allegations of police discrimination. This is a lower sustain rate than the 7% average rate reported statewide under the CCAPO program during this period. This suggests further policy changes are warranted to strengthen the Citizens' Law Enforcement Review Board so that it can effectively hold San Diego Sheriff's Department accountable for misconduct.

³¹ For example, from 2016-17, 262 civilian complaints were reported to the San Diego County Citizens Law Enforcement Review Board compared to 30 civilian complaints reported to SDSD's Internal Affairs division.

³² Data obtained via San Diego County Citizens Law Enforcement Review Board's [2018](#), [2017](#) and [2016](#) Annual Reports.

³³ 2018 data was not reported by the SDSD Internal Affairs Unit

Policy Review and Recommendations for San Diego Sheriff's Department

We reviewed San Diego Sheriff's Department's policy manual, [use of force guidelines](#) and police union contract to determine where new policies could contribute towards addressing the outcomes described in this report. Our recommendations are provided below.

1. Reduce SDSD Arrests by One-Third by scaling up Alternatives to Arrest for Drug Possession, Quality of Life Offenses and Other Low-Level Offenses

34% of all San Diego Sheriff's Department arrests were reportedly for drug possession, status offenses and quality of life offenses that pose no threat to public safety. San Diego Sheriff's Department would see a substantial reduction in arrest rates by expanding the use of alternative, community-based responses to these low-level offenses.

2. Ban Consent Searches and Limit Pretext Stops

We found evidence San Diego Sheriff's Department engaged in biased police search practices - searching black and brown people at higher rates despite being less likely to find contraband during these searches. Moreover, 66% of all contraband found was either drugs or drug paraphernalia - hardly a public safety risk justifying the use of this intrusive police tactic. As such, SDSD should take action to substantially reduce the number of searches conducted - especially of black and brown residents. Banning or strongly restricting searches originating from traffic-violation stops as well as "consent searches", types of searches where San Diego deputies have the most discretion, would reduce the overall number of SDSD searches by as much as 31%. One way to accomplish this would be to require deputies to have probable cause to initiate a search.

3. Strengthen the Department's De-Escalation Policy

The San Diego Sheriff's Department Use of Force guidelines require deputies to "attempt to de-escalate confrontations by using verbalization techniques" prior to using force:

"Deputies should attempt to de-escalate confrontations by using verbalization techniques prior to, during and after any use of physical force. Commands should be given in clear, concise terms, i.e., "don't move," "slowly raise your hands over your head." Keep it simple. Arm guidance and firm grip: When verbalization proves ineffective, arm guidance or a firm grip may suffice to overcome resistance. Arm guidance or a firm grip that results in injury requires documentation."

While this limited de-escalation requirement is important, it does not contain language that is nearly as comprehensive or robust as the language contained within de-escalation policies adopted by police departments in cities like San Francisco, Seattle, New Orleans or Las Vegas. For example, Seattle Police

Department's De-escalation policy includes [four approaches](#) to de-escalating situations that officers are required to consider when possible: using communication, slowing down or stabilizing the situation, increasing distance, and shielding/utilizing cover and concealment. Of these, San Diego deputies are only required to consider using communication (i.e. "verbalization techniques").

4. Restrict the Use of Tasers

San Diego Sheriff's Department killed 3 people with tasers from 2016-2018 - representing 17% of all taser deaths statewide during this period. San Diego Sheriff's Department used tasers in 590 cases during this time, 1.7x more often per arrest than San Diego Police Department. As such, the department should impose new restrictions on the use of tasers and emphasize using de-escalation tactics and lesser forms of physical force in these situations instead. If these reforms fail to curb deaths and serious injuries from taser use, SDSD should consider banning the use of tasers entirely.

5. Ban the use of Carotid Restraints (i.e. Strangleholds)

San Diego Sheriff Department reported seriously injuring 28 people through the use of carotid restraints - a form of stranglehold - from 2016-2018. This represents 21% of all people seriously injured by this tactic statewide during this period - more than any other police agency. SDSD's use of force guidelines state that:

"The carotid restraint may be used on subjects who are actively resisting or assaultive."

This allows carotid restraints to be used even when no threat of imminent death or serious injury is present. Of the 205 people SDSD used a stranglehold on from 2016-2018, only 18 (9%) displayed "aggravated active aggression" which is the level of resistance defined by SDSD as involving a perceived threat of death or serious injury.

Banning the use of carotid restraints by SDSD or limiting this tactic to be authorized only as deadly force can help prevent further injuries. Police departments in San Jose, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley and Corona have either banned or limited the use of carotid restraints to deadly force situations where there is a threat of imminent death or serious injury. San Diego Sheriff's Department should do the same.

6. Ban Shooting at Moving Vehicles

4 of the 22 people shot by San Diego Sheriff's Department were in a moving vehicle when police fired at them. The use of force guidelines of the San Diego Sheriff's Department provide confusing and contradictory instructions to officers regarding shooting at moving vehicles:

"Shooting at a motor vehicle for the purpose of disabling that vehicle is prohibited. Shooting at or from a moving vehicle is prohibited, except when immediately necessary to protect persons from death or serious bodily injury. Shooting at or from moving vehicles is ineffective and extremely hazardous."

Deputies must consider not only their own safety but the safety of fellow deputies and the public.

Tactical considerations and decisions for real and or potential threat of the vehicle should be assessed."

While this policy bans shooting at vehicles "for the purpose of disabling that vehicle" it includes an exception that authorizes shooting at or from vehicles "when immediately necessary to protect persons from death or serious bodily injury." This loophole authorizes deputies to use deadly force against someone in a moving vehicle under similar circumstances (an imminent threat of death or serious injury) as someone who is not in a vehicle. This policy should be updated to reflect best-practices in the field by banning police departments from shooting at moving vehicles unless an occupant of the vehicle is using deadly force by means other than the vehicle. At least 3 of the 4 vehicle-related shootings from 2016-2018 - representing 14% of all SDSD shootings during this period - would have been prohibited by this policy because the subjects in these cases did not use force other than a vehicle against deputies or members of the public.

7. Improve Jail Conditions and Strengthen Oversight

Our analysis found San Diego County jails have higher rates of in-custody deaths than most jails in the state - including a relatively large number of deaths due to suicide and at least one death due to homicide by another inmate. This is consistent with the [analyses](#) from Disability Rights California as well as [recent reporting](#) that finds not only does San Diego County jail have a high rate of in-custody deaths, especially suicides, but also that 82% of the in-custody deaths over the past decade were of people who were awaiting trial. While we did not have access to more detailed records describing the conditions within these facilities, the data currently available suggests the need for independent oversight and policy and practice interventions to change the conditions contributing to these outcomes.

8. Empower the San Diego County Citizens' Law Enforcement Review Board to Enforce Accountability

The San Diego County Citizens' Law Enforcement Review Board's mission is to increase public confidence in government and the accountability of law enforcement. However, the board does not currently have the power to impose discipline or determine the policies of the San Diego Sheriff's Department. Without these powers, the Sheriff's Department routinely fails to follow the board's recommendations. For example, [the majority](#) of the board's policy recommendations in 2018 were not implemented by SDSD. As such, the board's powers should be strengthened to be able to implement policy recommendations and to hold deputies accountable for misconduct.

9. Allow Residents to Submit Anonymous Complaints of Deputy Misconduct

People who've experienced violence or other forms of misconduct at the hands of San Diego sheriff's deputies have three options for filing formal misconduct complaints:

1. Submit a complaint in-person at the San Diego Sheriff's Office
2. File a complaint by mail to the SDSD Internal Affairs Unit or;
3. File a complaint by email, fax or mail with the San Diego County Citizens Law Enforcement Review Board

In order for complaints to be investigated, they must be submitted in writing and signed under penalty of perjury. Complainants must complete a form that requires they enter their full name and sign the following sworn statement:

"I hereby certify that, to the best of my knowledge, and under penalty of perjury, the statements made herein are true."

The form does not allow for anonymous complaints - creating potential barriers to communities that are hesitant to identify themselves in the process of reporting police misconduct due to potential retaliation. In 2018, for example, the San Diego County Citizens Law Enforcement Review Board ruled 55 complaints "procedurally closed" and dismissed them because they were not able to obtain a signed complaint - representing 32% of all complaints closed that year. Anonymous complaints should be accepted by San Diego County Citizens Law Enforcement Review Board just as they are in many other jurisdictions - for example, Oakland's police complaint form allows complainants to select "decline to state" as an alternative to identifying themselves.

10. Strengthen Enforcement of the Racial Profiling Ban and Use Data to Inform Interventions to Hold! Deputies Accountable

Section 2.55 of the SDSD Policy Manual states that:

"Members of the San Diego County Sheriff's Department are prohibited from inappropriately or unlawfully considering race, ethnicity, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, or lifestyle in deciding whether or not enforcement intervention will occur."

Despite this policy, we find substantial evidence of racial bias, especially anti-black bias, and bias against LGBT people and people with disabilities in SDSD stops, searches and use of force. We also found severe inequities in SDSD's use of deadly force against Latinx people. Since SDSD redacted information from the dataset that could have been used to identify officers, we cannot determine which officers are responsible for producing most of these inequities. However, SDSD already has the data needed to begin enforcing this policy effectively. SDSD and an independent oversight agency should use these data to identify, intervene and hold officers accountable whose records indicate a pattern of biased policing. SDSD should also improve its use of force data collection efforts to assign unique identifiers to individuals who force was used against and to begin

systematically tracking and publishing individualized use of force data that includes more expansive information - such as the weapon type (if any) subjects had when force was used against them.

11. Address Underreporting Issues with the Arrests Data Reported by San Diego Sheriff's Department

We found substantial differences between the number of arrests SDSD reported to RIPA and arrests statistics reported in SDSD's [2018 Annual Use of Force Report](#). According to the annual report, deputies made 18,613 arrests during the full year of 2018. By contrast, SDSD's RIPA database includes only 4,444 arrests made during the second half of 2018 (7/1/2018 - 12/31/2018) and 8,206 arrests during the full year period covering 7/1/2018 - 6/30/2019. This suggests SDPD failed to report to RIPA roughly half of all arrests made during the second half of 2018. SDSD should improve the quality of its reporting to ensure compliance with the Racial and Identity Profiling Act.

12. Repeal the One-Year Statute of Limitations on Police Misconduct Investigations

Section 3304(d)(1) of the [California Peace Officer Bill of Rights](#) states that:

"No punitive action, nor denial of promotion on grounds other than merit, shall be undertaken for any act, omission, or other allegation of misconduct if the investigation of the allegation is not completed within one year of the public agency's discovery by a person authorized to initiate an investigation of the allegation of an act, omission, or other misconduct."

Under this law, investigations can be tossed out if the police department or other investigating agency takes longer than one year to complete the investigation. According to the San Diego County Citizens Law Enforcement Review Board, [15% of all cases in 2017](#) were dismissed because they exceeded this statute of limitations - including 22 cases investigating the deaths of civilians. California is [one of only 4 states](#) that has a law establishing a statute of limitations of one-year or less on police misconduct investigations. This section should be repealed to enable agencies to effectively investigate and adjudicate complaints of misconduct - especially for cases resulting in death or serious injury.

Appendix

Appendix A: Datasets Obtained from Police Agencies

Datasets Used in Our Analysis:

1. [San Diego Police Use of Force Incidents, 9/2016 - 12/2018](#)
2. [San Diego Sheriff Use of Force Incidents, 2016-2018](#)
3. [Deadly Force Incidents \(CA DOJ URSUS Database\), 2016-2018](#)
4. [CCOPA CA Agency Civilian Complaints Data, 2016-2018](#)
5. [2016 CA MACR Arrests Data and 2016-2018 SDPD Arrests](#)
6. [San Diego Police Beat Geographies](#)
7. [San Diego Police Beat Demographics](#)
8. [San Diego Police RIPA Stops Data, 7/1/18-6/30/19](#)
9. [San Diego Sheriff RIPA Stops Data, 7/1/18-7/31/19](#)
10. [Census Demographic Data for San Diego City and County](#)
11. [San Diego Sheriff Primary Jurisdiction Demographics and Stops](#)

Additional Datasets for Further Investigation:

1. [San Diego Police Calls for Service](#)
2. [Crisis Intervention Team Deployments \(Mental Health Crises\), 2013-2018](#)

Appendix B: Methodology for Cleaning and Analyzing San Diego PD Stops Data

The City of San Diego produced eight (8) datasets for the period between July 1, 2018 to June 30, 2019 which include the following information on police pedestrian and vehicle stops:

- Actions taken
- Contraband and/or evidence found
- Disability of persons
- Gender of persons
- Basis for property seizure
- Property seized
- Race of persons
- Basis for searches conducted
- Reason for stop
- Result of stop

Each dataset includes variables that are employed in this analysis. All of the datasets are made publicly available by the San Diego and additional details about the contents can be explored.³⁴ We merged the

³⁴ <https://data.sandiego.gov/datasets/police-ripa-stops/>

datasets by both the “Stop_ID” and the “PID” (Person ID) parameters to produce a row for each person stopped by police. We found a number of duplicate observations, which were the result of using datasets that have multiple rows for the same persons as a consequence of how the datasets were structured.

For example, an officer may record multiple pieces of evidence or contraband found for a single person, or an officer may cite multiple reasons as the basis to conduct a search or seize property. Similarly, a person stopped may experience multiple results of the stop. An officer can even have more than one perception of a person’s gender or race. All of this is recorded in the data.

While the data is valuable for further exploration, this analysis is primarily focused on stop, search and hit rates and therefore removed duplicates to only focus on unique individual persons. The final dataset which also includes another merge/matching of population variables by race results in 179,710 observations and 55 variables.

Variables:

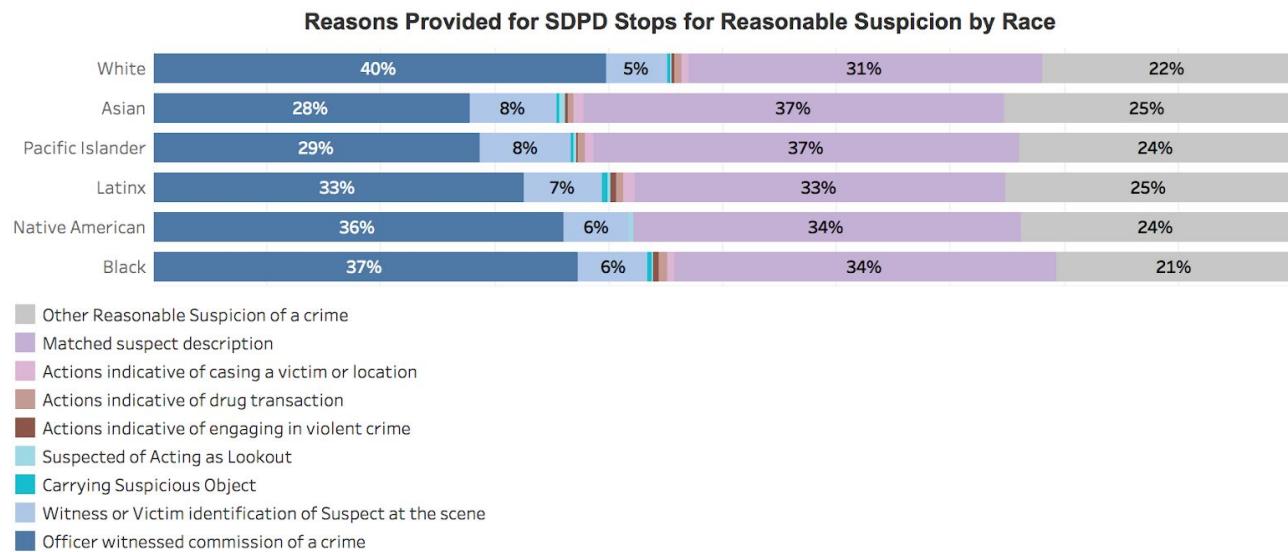
The following variables were constructed based on the dataset:

- Person Stopped = Person ID * Stop ID
- Search Conducted = Searched person, Searched property
- Property Seized = Property Seized, Vehicle Impounded
- Force Used = Electronic control weapon, Baton or Impact weapon, Pointed firearm at subject, Discharged firearm, Chemical spray and Physical or Vehicle contact³⁵
- Consent Search = Searches where “Consent given” was the only basis provided
- Mental Disability = Disability related to hyperactivity or impulsive behavior, Mental health condition, Intellectual or developmental disability including dementia, Speech impairment or limited use of language
- Physical/Other Disability = Blind/limited vision, Deafness/difficulty hearing, Other disability

³⁵ We coded “Physical or Vehicle Contact” as use of force since its definition in the RIPA [guidelines](#) is consistent with how SDPD reports use of force. The guidelines define this category as “any of the following contacts by the officer, when the purpose of such contact is to restrict movement or control a person’s resistance: any physical strike by the officer; instrumental contact with a person by an officer; or the use of significant physical contact by the officer. Examples of such contacts include, but are not limited to, carotid restraints, hard hand controls, the forcible taking of a subject to the ground, or use of vehicle in apprehension.” There was an additional category for “removed from vehicle by physical contact” which was not included. This category was not defined in the guidelines and, as such, may include actions that are broader than use of force - for example some of these incidents involved officers taking someone out of a vehicle who was reportedly too intoxicated to get up on their own. This would not be considered a use of force. In total, there were 338 people who were “removed from vehicle by physical contact” without any other type of force-related action attributed to the incident.

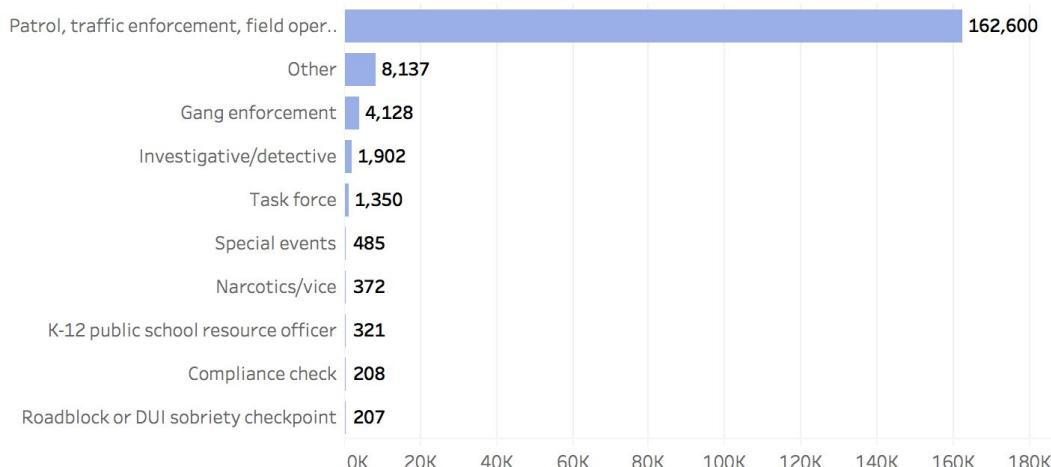
Appendix C: Additional Data Tables for Analysis of San Diego Police Department

1. San Diego Police Stops for “Reasonable Suspicion” by Type of Suspicion Cited



2.

San Diego Police Stops by Officer Assignment



3. San Diego Police Stops by Race, Searches, Arrests and Use of Force

San Diego Police Department RIPA Stop Outcomes

Data from July 2018 - June 2019

Perceived Identity	People Stopped	% Searched	% Arrested Without Warrant	% Property Seized	% Police Used Force
Asian	13,397	11.7%	6.2%	1.8%	1.3%
Black	35,038	24.4%	10.9%	3.3%	2.2%
Latinx	51,361	20.8%	9.4%	3.1%	1.8%
Native American	393	24.7%	16.3%	3.3%	1.5%
Pacific Islander	1,538	20.4%	10.2%	3.3%	1.8%
White	77,983	19.5%	10.1%	2.8%	1.4%

4. San Diego Police Contraband “Hit” Rates for Searches

San Diego Police Department RIPA Stop Outcomes
Data from July 2018 - June 2019

Race	People Searched	Contraband Found Following Search	% Searches Finding Contraband
Asian	1,574	314	19.9%
Black	8,536	2,095	24.5%
Latinx	10,665	2,303	21.6%
Native American	97	19	19.6%
Pacific Islander	313	68	21.7%
White	15,239	3,415	22.4%

5. San Diego Police Use of Force Rates during Arrest or Search

SDPD Use of Force During Police Searches

		People Searched	People Force Used Against	Force Rate
Contraband Found	Asian	314	27	8.6%
	Black	2,095	175	8.4%
	Latinx	2,303	197	8.6%
	Native American	19	2	10.5%
	Pacific Islander	68	4	5.9%
	White	3,415	192	5.6%
No Contraband Found	Asian	1,260	72	5.7%
	Black	6,441	374	5.8%
	Latinx	8,362	441	5.3%
	Native American	78	1	1.3%
	Pacific Islander	245	16	6.5%
	White	11,824	508	4.3%

SDPD Use of Force During Arrests

		People Searched	People Force Used Against	Force Rate
Arrested	Asian	1,062	82	7.7%
	Black	5,696	437	7.7%
	Latinx	6,903	514	7.4%
	Native American	78	3	3.8%
	Pacific Islander	219	14	6.4%
	White	10,803	555	5.1%
Not Arrested	Asian	12,335	88	0.7%
	Black	29,342	319	1.1%
	Latinx	44,458	417	0.9%
	Native American	315	3	1.0%
	Pacific Islander	1,319	13	1.0%
	White	67,180	500	0.7%

6. San Diego Police Department Stops by Disability Status

San Diego police were more likely to search and use force against people perceived to have disabilities.
Data from July 2018 - June 2019

Perceived Identity	People Stopped	% Searched	% Searches Finding Contraband	% Arrested Without Warrant	% Property Seized	% Police Used Force
Mental Disability	6,985	35.6%	9.5%	7.8%	1.9%	4.2%
Physical/Other Disability	1,684	5.4%	33.0%	2.6%	1.1%	1.6%
No Perceived Disability	171,041	19.6%	23.5%	7.7%	2.4%	1.5%

SDPD Search Rates by Race and Disability Status

	All Other Stops		People with Disabilities	
	No Search Conducted	Search Conducted	No Search Conducted	Search Conducted
White	81.2% (59,772)	18.8% (13,882)	68.7% (2,972)	31.3% (1,357)
Black	76.2% (25,246)	23.8% (7,889)	66.0% (1,256)	34.0% (647)
Latinx	79.8% (39,557)	20.2% (10,035)	64.4% (1,139)	35.6% (630)

SDPD Contraband Hit Rates by Race and Disability Status

	All Other Stops		People with Disabilities	
	No Contraband Found	Contraband Found	No Contraband Found	Contraband Found
White	76.5% (10,622)	23.5% (3,260)	88.6% (1,202)	11.4% (155)
Black	74.7% (5,891)	25.3% (1,998)	85.0% (550)	15.0% (97)
Latinx	77.7% (7,796)	22.3% (2,239)	89.8% (566)	10.2% (64)

7. San Diego Police Department Stops of Perceived LGBT and/or Gender Non-Conforming Individuals

San Diego police were more likely to search, arrest without warrant, and use force against people perceived to be LGBT.

Data from July 2018 - June 2019

Perceived Identity	People Stopped	% Searched	% Searches Finding Contraband	% Arrested Without Warrant	% Property Seized	% Police Used Force
LGBT	4,523	24.6%	19.2%	14.9%	2.7%	2.2%
All Other Stops	175,188	20.2%	22.7%	9.6%	2.9%	1.6%

San Diego police were more likely to search, arrest without warrant, and use force against people perceived to be Gender Non-Conforming.

Data from July 2018 - June 2019

Perceived Identity	People Stopped	% Searched	% Searches Finding Contraband	% Arrested Without Warrant	% Property Seized	% Police Used Force
Gender Non-Conforming	119	22.7%	11.1%	14.3%	2.5%	2.5%
Cisgender	179,591	20.3%	22.6%	9.8%	2.9%	1.6%

SDPD Search Rates by Race and LGBT Status

	Other		LGBT	
	No Search Conducted	Search Conducted	No Search Conducted	Search Conducted
White	80.5% (61,209)	19.5% (14,781)	77.0% (1,536)	23.0% (458)
Black	75.7% (25,881)	24.3% (8,308)	73.1% (621)	26.9% (228)
Latinx	79.4% (39,717)	20.6% (10,313)	73.6% (979)	26.4% (352)

SDPD Contraband Hit Rates by Race and LGBT Status

	Other		LGBT	
	No Contraband Found	Contraband Found	No Contraband Found	Contraband Found
White	77.5% (11,448)	22.5% (3,333)	82.1% (376)	17.9% (82)
Black	75.3% (6,254)	24.7% (2,054)	82.0% (187)	18.0% (41)
Latinx	78.4% (8,084)	21.6% (2,229)	79.0% (278)	21.0% (74)

8. San Diego Police Department Stop Results by Race

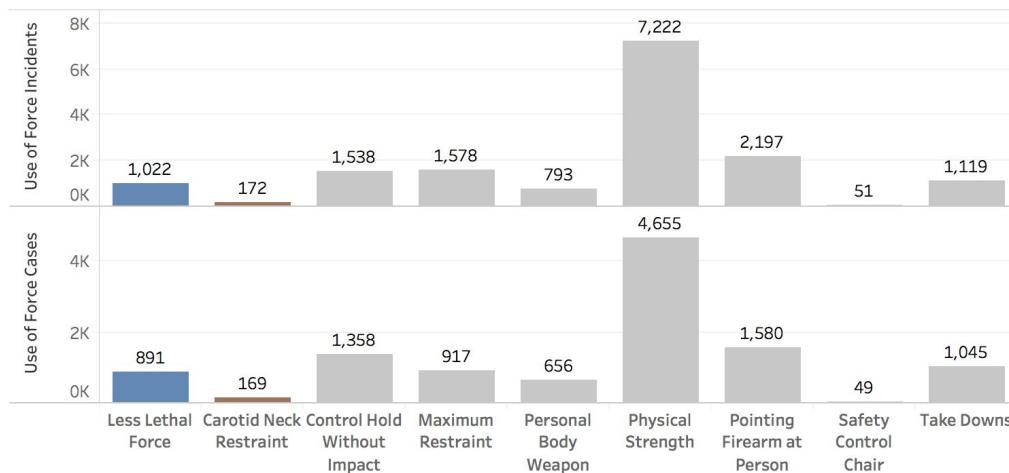
San Diego Police Department Stop Results by Race

	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	Native American	Pacific Islander
No Action	13.3% (10,396)	16.1% (5,630)	13.9% (7,136)	11.8% (1,587)	13.2% (52)	12.5% (193)
Warning (verbal or written)	15.0% (11,682)	15.4% (5,380)	16.2% (8,324)	21.2% (2,841)	12.5% (49)	17.5% (269)
Citation for infraction	23.1% (17,981)	14.7% (5,134)	22.9% (11,764)	34.1% (4,567)	15.3% (60)	23.9% (368)
In-field cite and release	7.7% (6,006)	5.2% (1,838)	7.5% (3,870)	8.5% (1,140)	4.8% (19)	8.5% (131)
Field interview card completed	20.7% (16,120)	27.5% (9,647)	21.4% (10,966)	11.7% (1,563)	26.0% (102)	16.4% (252)
Contacted parent/legal guardian	0.2% (138)	0.2% (80)	0.4% (195)	0.2% (22)	0.3% (1)	0.4% (6)
Contacted U.S. DHS	0.0% (4)	0.0% (1)	0.0% (1)			
Custodial Arrest pursuant to warrant	3.8% (2,933)	5.3% (1,869)	4.1% (2,100)	1.8% (238)	3.6% (14)	4.0% (62)
Custodial Arrest without warrant	10.1% (7,870)	10.9% (3,827)	9.4% (4,803)	6.2% (824)	16.3% (64)	10.2% (157)
Noncriminal transport or caretaking transport	1.9% (1,451)	1.2% (421)	1.3% (680)	1.1% (141)	0.5% (2)	1.4% (21)
Psychiatric hold	4.4% (3,396)	3.5% (1,210)	2.9% (1,507)	3.5% (470)	7.6% (30)	5.1% (79)
Referral to school administrator	0.0% (4)	0.0% (1)	0.0% (13)	0.0% (4)		
Referral to school counselor or other support s..	0.0% (2)		0.0% (2)			

9. Use of Force Types Used by Case and Incident Level of Analysis

We calculated use of force rates by creating a Use of Force Index that includes all types of force involving weapons as well as the use of neck restraints. For San Diego Police Department, this includes the use of tasers, chemical agents, control holds involving weapons, carotid neck restraints, hard impact weapons and extended range impact weapons.

San Diego PD Force Types Used, 2017-2018
Source: Records obtained from San Diego Police Department



10. Methodology for Calculating Use of Force Rates per Arrest

In order to evaluate use of force rates, we benchmarked use of force by arrests as has been done in [previous research](#). Data on use of force incidents by type of force used in 2017 and 2018 were obtained via public records request from each agency. While we requested data from the 100 largest cities in California, we obtained data for both 2017 and 2018 from 42 of those agencies. Calculations of use of force rates per 10,000 arrests for each agency are shown below.

Use of Force Rates for California Police Departments

Calculating Rates of Use of Force Index Incidents from 2017-2018

Agency Name	Use of Force Index Incidents 2017	Use of Force Index Incidents 2018	Arrests 2017	Arrests 2018	Use of Force Index Rate per 10,000 Arrests
Los Angeles	742	449	104,564	102,339	58
San Diego	434	457	30,275	28,877	179
San Jose	245	217	13,977	15,392	157
San Francisco	113	138	13,950	13,891	90
Fresno	89	80	19,070	22,527	41
Long Beach	225	181	12,145	13,362	159
Santa Ana	101	122	7,397	6,609	159
Stockton	128	128	7,435	7,327	173
Chula Vista	81	96	4,118	4,213	213
Fremont	29	45	2,405	2,741	144
Modesto	47	49	8,822	9,217	53
Santa Rosa	28	33	6,195	6,571	48
Garden Grove	14	21	5,578	5,619	31
Corona	26	31	4,016	3,518	76
Hayward	20	38	3,465	3,363	85
Salinas	40	66	4,349	4,223	124
Escondido	25	24	5,185	4,607	50
Pasadena	29	22	4,377	4,341	59
Roseville	19	14	2,921	2,805	58
Simi Valley	16	14	2,386	2,514	61
Fairfield	74	58	3,647	4,082	171
Richmond	18	22	1,464	1,800	123
Ventura	18	14	5,450	5,656	29
Daly City	12	17	1,992	1,917	74
El Cajon	19	18	3,871	4,311	45
Vacaville	22	19	3,534	3,398	59
Santa Barbara	18	9	7,340	6,885	19
Citrus Heights	7	8	2,162	2,090	35
Redwood City	13	13	1,708	1,526	80
Buena Park	12	12	3,063	3,123	39
Mountain View	8	9	1,770	1,489	52
Pleasanton	0	10	1,185	1,251	41
Milpitas	2	13	1,633	1,537	47
Alameda	3	11	1,197	1,163	59
Union City	15		1,279	1,384	56
Turlock	13	6	3,270	3,217	29
Redlands	23		2,001	2,135	56
Pittsburg	19	30	1,737	1,566	148
Walnut Creek	4	6	1,218	1,069	44
Redondo Beach	18		1,978	1,950	46
Santa Cruz	18	17	4,045	4,227	42
National City	32	13	2,007	1,707	121

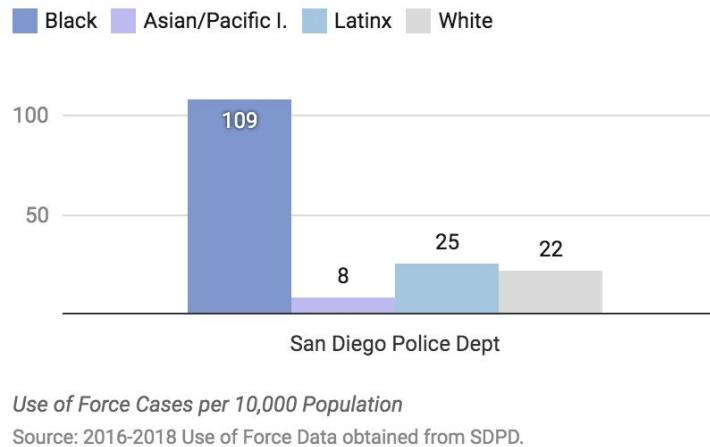
Use of Force Index incidents include all uses of tasers, batons and other impact weapons, projectiles, neck restraints and chemical agents reported by Agencies. Data obtained from Agencies via Public Records requests.

Source: Data obtained from Agencies via public records request. • Created with Datawrapper

11. Use of Force Cases per Population

San Diego Police Use of Force per Population

The average black person experienced use of force by San Diego police at 5x higher rate than the average white person in San Diego.



Use of Force Cases per 10,000 Population

Source: 2016-2018 Use of Force Data obtained from SDPD.

12. Use of Force Severity by Resistance Level

SDPD Force Severity by Resistance Level

Source: San Diego Police Department, 2016-2018

*Because San Diego police grouped subjects' resistance levels and weapon types together into the same column, we could not determine force severity against people who posed No Resistance (rows with NULL in this column could either represent people who were Unarmed or who posed No Resistance or both, but we could not determine which of these options applied based on the data provided.)

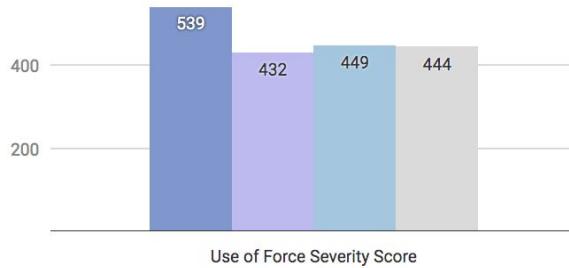
Life-Threatening	Asian / Pacific Islander	3.0
	Black	2.8
	White	3.1
	Latinx	2.4
Assaultive	Asian / Pacific Islander	1.9
	Black	2.2
	White	2.0
	Latinx	2.1
Active Resistance	Asian / Pacific Islander	1.6
	Black	1.6
	White	1.5
	Latinx	1.6
Passive Resistance	Asian / Pacific Islander	1.5
	Black	1.8
	White	1.6
	Latinx	1.6

13. Severity Scores using CPE Methodology and Scores with All SDPD Force Options Included

San Diego Police Use of Force Severity Score by Race (All Force Options)

San Diego police used more severe levels of force against Black people per 1,000 Arrests

■ Black ■ Asian/Pacific I. ■ Latinx ■ White



Source: 2016-2018 Use of Force Data obtained from SDPD.

Appendix D: Methodology for Cleaning and Analyzing San Diego Sheriff's Department Stops Data

In response to our public records request, San Diego Sheriff's Department provided us with RIPA stops data for the period between July 1, 2018 to July 31, 2019 which included information on both police pedestrian and vehicle stops. The dataset was coded according to the [specifications](#) of the RIPA program. Using the codebook for this program, we were able to identify each variable for our analysis. Unlike the data provided by San Diego PD, the data provided by San Diego Sheriff's Department removed the column of data indicating the assignment of the officer who made the stop, though this wasn't used in our analysis of either department.

Appendix E: Calculating San Diego Sheriff's Jurisdiction and Stop Rates

Since there are municipal police departments that have primary jurisdiction over some of the larger cities within the county, we benchmarked stop rates based on the population of the areas where the Sheriff's Department has primary jurisdiction. This includes Del Mar, Santee, Encinitas, Solana Beach, Imperial Beach, Poway, Lemon Grove, Vista, San Marcos and Unincorporated San Diego County. Collectively, these areas represent 87% of all SDSD stops during the period of our analysis. We used only those stops that took place within the area of primary jurisdiction to calculate stop rates. Population totals and stop rates by race are provided below using the population of SDSD's primary jurisdiction and detailed calculations of stop rates and demographic totals for each area of the jurisdiction are available [here](#).

	Asian	Black	Latinx	Native American	Pacific Islander	White
Total San Diego County Population	376,669	154,599	1,095,458	26,340	13,122	1,517,153
Population of Sheriff's Primary Jurisdiction (PJ)	48,300	28,185	278,182	11,258	8,403	527,743
People Stopped	5,199	6,353	23,056	598	733	42,168
People Stopped in PJ	4,235	4,523	18,296	547	603	36,798
Stops per 1k Population (PJ)	87.7	160.5	65.8	48.6	71.8	69.7
Disparity Relative to White People (PJ)	1.3	2.3	0.9	0.7	1.0	1.0
Stops Excluding Traffic Violations (PJ)	661	2,064	6,344	238	175	12,928
Stops per 1k Excluding Traffic Violations (PJ)	13.7	73.2	22.8	21.1	20.8	24.5
Disparity Relative to White People (PJ Non-Traffic)	0.6	3.0	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0

Appendix F: Additional Data Tables for Analysis of San Diego Sheriff's Department

1. San Diego Sheriff Stop Outcomes

Perceived Identity	People Stopped	% Searched	% Searches Finding Contraband	% Arrested Without Warrant	% Stops with Property Seized	% Police Used Force
Asian	5,199	7.0%	22.4%	4.0%	1.6%	0.5%
Black	6,353	22.7%	21.7%	9.8%	3.4%	1.3%
Latinx	23,056	19.3%	21.6%	9.2%	3.9%	1.2%
Native American	598	30.1%	21.1%	13.0%	4.7%	1.8%
Pacific Islander	733	17.7%	23.1%	7.5%	2.5%	1.1%
White	42,168	18.7%	24.1%	8.3%	3.5%	0.9%

2. San Diego Sheriff Use of Force by Arrest and Contraband Rates

SDSD Were More Likely to Use Force Against Black and Latinx People Whether or Not They Make an Arrest

		Force Used
No Arrest	White	0.4% (158)
	Black	0.5% (28)
	Latinx	0.5% (104)
Arrest Made	White	4.6% (213)
	Black	6.2% (54)
	Latinx	6.4% (174)

SDSD Were More Likely to Use Force Against Black and Latinx People During a Search Whether or Not Contraband Was Found

		Force Used
Contraband Found	White	5.2% (99)
	Black	8.3% (26)
	Latinx	7.6% (73)
No Contraband	White	3.2% (189)
	Black	3.8% (43)
	Latinx	4.1% (145)

3. San Diego Sheriff's Department Consent Given to Search by Race

Consented	Asian	92.1%
	Black	86.5%
	Latinx	92.8%
	White	89.2%
Did Not Consent	Asian	7.9%
	Black	13.5%
	Latinx	7.2%
	White	10.8%

4. San Diego Sheriff's Department Searches during Traffic Violation Stops by Race

SDSD Stops for Traffic Violations Leading to Searches

Race	Consent Search	Other Search
Black	1.5% (48)	4.3% (141)
Latinx	1.7% (258)	4.6% (690)
White	1.3% (345)	3.7% (991)

SDSD Stops for Traffic Violations Leading to Searches

Race	Contraband Found	No Contraband
Asian	20.3% (13)	79.7% (51)
Black	18.0% (34)	82.0% (155)
Latinx	23.0% (218)	77.0% (730)
White	30.3% (405)	69.7% (931)

5. San Diego Sheriff's Department Stops by Disability Status and Race

	No Disability		People with Disabilities	
	Not Searched	Searched	Not Searched	Searched
White	81.9% (33,269)	18.1% (7,371)	66.8% (1,020)	33.2% (508)
Black	78.0% (4,742)	22.0% (1,339)	62.5% (170)	37.5% (102)
Latinx	81.0% (18,296)	19.0% (4,281)	62.4% (299)	37.6% (180)

6. San Diego Sheriff Stops of Perceived LGBT and/or Gender Non-Conforming Individuals

San Diego sheriff's deputies were more likely to search and arrest people perceived to be LGBT.

Data from 7/1/2018 - 7/31/2019

Perceived Identity	People Stopped	% Searched	% Searches Finding Contraband	% Arrested Without Warrant	% Stops with Property Seized	% Police Used Force
All Other Stops	77,529	18.5%	23.2%	8.4%	3.5%	1.0%
LGBT	1,169	22.0%	16.0%	11.6%	2.7%	1.0%

San Diego sheriff's deputies were more likely to search, arrest, and seize property from people perceived to be Gender Non-Conforming.

Data from 7/1/2018 - 7/31/2019

Perceived Identity	People Stopped	% Searched	% Searches Finding Contraband	% Arrested Without Warrant	% Stops with Property Seized	% Police Used Force
Gender Non-Conforming	107	20.6%	18.2%	19.6%	4.7%	0.9%
Cisgender	78,591	18.5%	23.1%	8.5%	3.5%	1.0%

SDSD Contraband Hit Rates by Perceived LGBT Status

	Other		Perceived LGBT	
	No Contraband	Contraband Found	No Contraband	Contraband Found
White	75.7% (5,874)	24.3% (1,884)	85.1% (103)	14.9% (18)
Black	78.2% (1,097)	21.8% (306)	81.6% (31)	18.4% (7)
Latinx	78.3% (3,432)	21.7% (950)	82.3% (65)	17.7% (14)

SDSD Search Rates by Perceived LGBT Status

	Other		Perceived LGBT	
	Not Searched	Searched	Not Searched	Searched
White	81.3% (33,821)	18.7% (7,758)	79.5% (468)	20.5% (121)
Black	77.4% (4,803)	22.6% (1,403)	74.1% (109)	25.9% (38)
Latinx	80.7% (18,354)	19.3% (4,382)	75.3% (241)	24.7% (79)

7. San Diego Sheriff Stop Results by Race

San Diego Sheriff's Department Stop Results by Race

	Asian	White	Black	Latinx	Multiracial	Native American	Pacific Islander
No action	13.8% (716)	18.3% (7,696)	22.1% (1,404)	21.3% (4,903)	18.1% (106)	31.6% (189)	20.9% (153)
Warning (verbal or written)	28.6% (1,485)	23.1% (9,745)	28.0% (1,774)	25.3% (5,827)	26.9% (158)	24.1% (144)	25.0% (183)
Citation for infraction	47.0% (2,441)	35.2% (14,858)	20.5% (1,303)	29.7% (6,832)	28.6% (168)	10.9% (65)	31.8% (233)
In-field cite and release	1.2% (64)	2.3% (954)	2.7% (174)	2.4% (544)	4.3% (25)	2.7% (16)	2.7% (20)
Field interview card completed	3.1% (160)	7.5% (3,166)	10.7% (677)	7.8% (1,800)	5.6% (33)	9.7% (58)	6.7% (49)
Custodial arrest pursuant to warrant	1.2% (60)	2.7% (1,145)	4.1% (259)	2.8% (653)	1.9% (11)	6.0% (36)	3.8% (28)
Custodial arrest without warrant	3.8% (196)	7.9% (3,338)	9.2% (584)	8.7% (2,014)	10.1% (59)	12.4% (74)	7.0% (51)
Contacted parent/legal guardian	0.1% (5)	0.1% (63)	0.3% (16)	0.3% (63)	0.5% (3)	0.2% (1)	0.3% (2)
Noncriminal transport or caretaking ..	0.3% (14)	0.5% (229)	0.5% (30)	0.3% (76)	1.0% (6)	0.8% (5)	0.5% (4)
Psychiatric hold	1.1% (57)	2.3% (963)	2.0% (125)	1.4% (315)	3.1% (18)	1.7% (10)	1.2% (9)

8. San Diego Sheriff Force Severity by Resistance Level

SDSD Force Severity by Resistance Level

Source: San Diego Sheriff's Department, 2016-2018

Aggravated / Assaultive Resistance	Asian / Pacific Islander	2.7
	Black	2.4
	Latinx	2.7
	White	2.4
Active Resistance	Asian / Pacific Islander	1.7
	Black	1.7
	Latinx	1.7
	White	1.6
Passive Resistance	Asian / Pacific Islander	1.3
	Black	1.9
	Latinx	1.7
	White	1.5
Verbal Noncompliance / Psychological Intimidation	Asian / Pacific Islander	1.8
	Black	1.9
	Latinx	1.5
	White	1.6