
First Look at the How Many Stops Act Data

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For over two decades, the New York Police Department (NYPD) has shared [public data](#) on pedestrian stops conducted when an officer reports a “reasonable suspicion” of criminal activity. These “Level 3” stops peaked at 685,724 in 2011. In 2013, a judge ruled the policies at that time [unconstitutional](#), leading annual stops to drop sharply and [remain consistently below 20,000](#) since 2016.

Implemented in July 2024, the [How Many Stops Act](#) required that police officers record information about previously unexamined “Level 1” and “Level 2” investigative encounters with civilians, including the precinct, reason for the encounter, whether it resulted in an arrest or summons, and the civilian’s apparent race/ethnicity, gender, and age.

This research brief examines the first six months of the How Many Stops Act data, covering the period from July to December 2024. For context, certain analyses also include the latest data on Level 3 stops. Key findings are presented below, followed by accompanying figures and tables. The new data on Level 1 and Level 2 encounters can be found [here](#).

About Pedestrian Stops and Police-Civilian Street Encounters

The New York Police Department (NYPD) categorizes street encounters into [three levels](#), each requiring a stronger justification for more intrusive interactions:

- **Level 1:** Officers may request information from a civilian if they have an *objective, credible* reason that is more substantial than a mere hunch or whim. They may not ask accusatory questions, and people are free to ignore the officer’s questions and walk away.
- **Level 2:** Officers may ask accusatory or pointed questions when they have a *founded suspicion* that criminal activity is occurring. People have the right to decline to answer and walk away.
- **Level 3:** Commonly known as *Terry* stops, this level allows officers to detain individuals using reasonable force and ask accusatory questions when there is *reasonable suspicion* that a person has committed, is committing, or is about to commit a crime.

KEY FINDINGS

The Long Arc of Level 3 Stops

- **Rise and Fall of Pedestrian Stops, 2003-2021:** Level 3 stops climbed more than fourfold from 160,851 in 2003 to 685,724 in 2011, before dropping by 87% to a low of 8,947 in 2021 (**Figure 1**).
- **Rising Stops During the Adams Administration:** Since 2021, stops climbed by 184% to 25,386 in 2024.

Total Street Encounters at All Levels

- **Street Encounters, July-December 2024:** In the first six months covered by the How Many Stops Act data, the NYPD recorded a total of **1,185,728** investigative street encounters, amounting to **6,310 encounters per day**. This included **1,161,093 Level 1 (98%)** encounters, **11,815 Level 2 encounters (1%)**, and **12,820 Level 3 stops (1%)**.
- **Borough Breakdown:** Brooklyn accounted for the largest share of **Level 1 (32%)** and **Level 2 (41%)** encounters. The Bronx saw Level 2 encounters at double its share of the NYC population (32% vs 16%), and accounted for the largest share of **Level 3 stops (38%) (Figure 2)**.

Precinct Breakdown for Level 1 and Level 2 Encounters

- **Top Five Precincts, Level 1 Encounters:** The precincts with the most **Level 1** encounters were: the **75th** (East New York and Cypress Hills, Brooklyn): 32,147; the **48th** (Belmont and East Tremont, Bronx): 29,717, the **52nd** (Bedford Park, Fordham, Kingsbridge, Norwood, and University Heights, Bronx): 29,499; the **73rd** (Brownsville and Ocean Hill, Brooklyn): 26,372, and the **67th** (East Flatbush, Brooklyn): 24,349 (**Figure 3**).
- **Top Five Precincts, Level 2 Encounters:** The precincts with the most **Level 2** encounters were: the **75th** (East New York and Cypress Hills, Brooklyn): 1,530; the **40th** (Mott Haven and Melrose, Bronx): 667; the **48th** (Belmont and East Tremont, Bronx): 630; the **73rd** (Brownsville and Ocean Hill, Brooklyn): 589; and the **52nd** (Bedford Park, Fordham, Kingsbridge, Norwood, and University Heights, Bronx): 439 (**Figure 4**).

Reason for Encounters

- **Initial Basis for Encounter:** 70% of **Level 1** encounters resulted from a radio dispatch to the officer, while the overwhelming majority (87%) of **Level 2** encounters were self-initiated by the officer (**Table 1**).
- **Reason for Encounter:** The most common reason for a **Level 1** encounter was responding to a complainant, victim, or witness (70%), while the most common reason for a **Level 2** encounter was suspicion of criminal possession of a weapon (61%). Shown in **Table 2**, no other suspected offense accounted for more than 4% of the total.

Outcomes of the Encounters

- **Encounters Resulting in Arrest:** From July to December 2024, 1% of **Level 1**, 7% of **Level 2**, and 27% of **Level 3** encounters resulted in arrest (**Figure 6**). Notably, the percent of **Level 3** stops resulting in arrest declined from 38% in 2021 to 27% in the second half of 2024.
- **Use of Force:** Police used force in 575 **Level 1** encounters, 41 **Level 2** encounters, and 162 **Level 3** stops (amounting to 1% or less at each level) (**Figure 7**).

Civilian Demographics

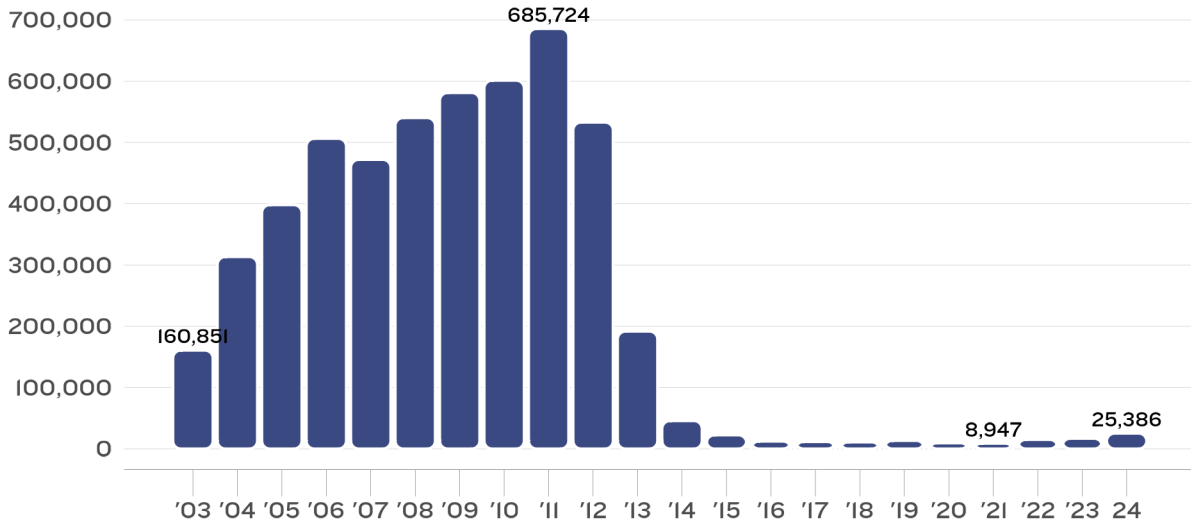
- **Race/Ethnicity:** From July to December 2024, Black people accounted for 39% of **Level 1** and 59% of **Level 2** encounters, while making up only 23% of the City's population. Conversely, white people accounted for 17% of **Level 1** and just 4% of **Level 2** encounters, despite making up 31% of the population (**Figure 8**). For context, Black people ranged from 56% to 60% of **Level 3** pedestrian stops from 2017 onward, including 58% in 2024—pointing to similarly disproportionate impacts of **Level 2** encounters and **Level 3** stops (data not shown).
- **Gender:** Men comprised 60% of **Level 1** and 94% of **Level 2** encounters (**Figure 9**).
- **Age:** People ages 30 and under accounted for 28% of **Level 1** encounters and 67% of **Level 2** encounters (**Figure 10**).

Relationship Between Police-Civilian Encounters and Total Index Crime

- **Level 1 Encounters:** Level 1 encounters were positively associated with total index crime across all boroughs—indicating that precincts with a higher number of index crime complaints tended to experience more investigative encounters. There were several outliers in the Bronx, with the 48th precinct (Belmont and East Tremont) and 52nd (Bedford Park, Fordham, Kingsbridge, Norwood, and University Heights) seeing especially high **Level 1** encounters relative to index crimes (**Figure 11**).
- **Level 2 Encounters:** Level 2 encounters were positively associated with total index crimes across all boroughs except Manhattan. Outliers included the 48th precinct and the 40th in the Bronx (Mott Haven and Melrose) as well as the 113th in Queens (Jamaica and surrounding areas) (**Figure 12**).

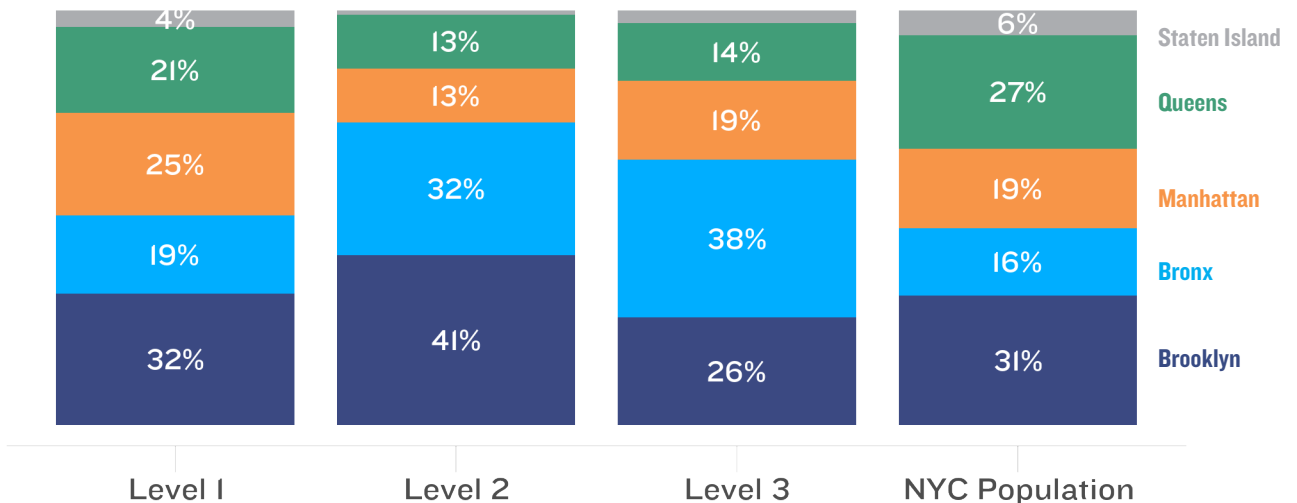
FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1.
Level 3 Stops, 2003-2024



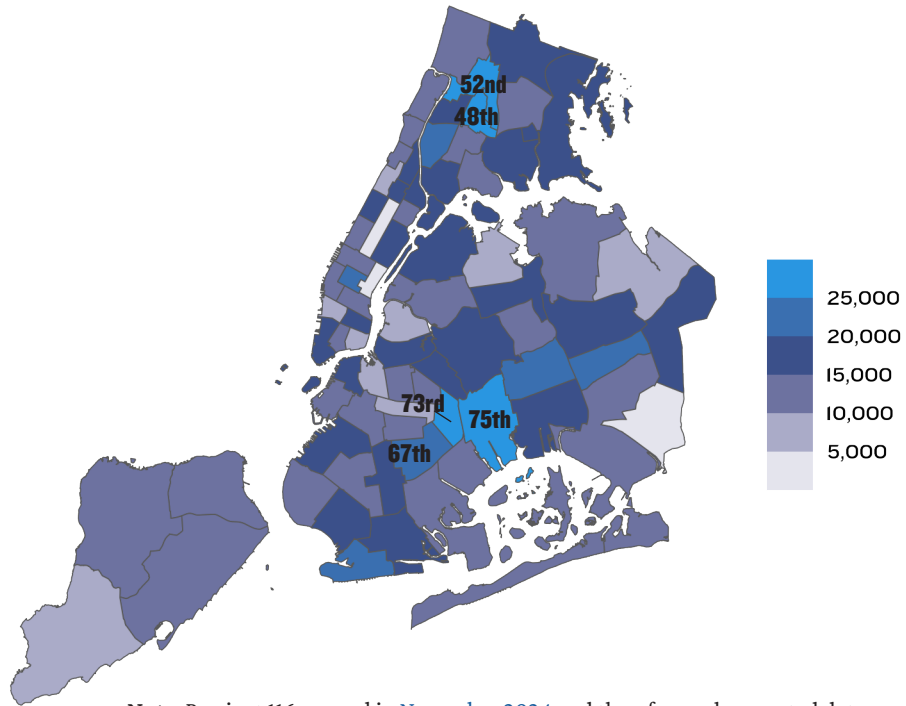
Note: As records for Level 3 stops released under the How Many Stops Acts were available only for the second half of 2024, data from the New York Police Department’s Level 3 [Stop, Question, and Frisk datasets](#) were used to calculate annual totals. For the second half of 2024, the 2024 Stop, Question, and Frisk dataset includes substantially more stops than the newly released [Level 3 Investigative Encounter reports](#) (14,704 vs 12,820) for unclear reasons.

Figure 2.
Distribution of Police-Civilian Street Encounters by Borough, July-December 2024



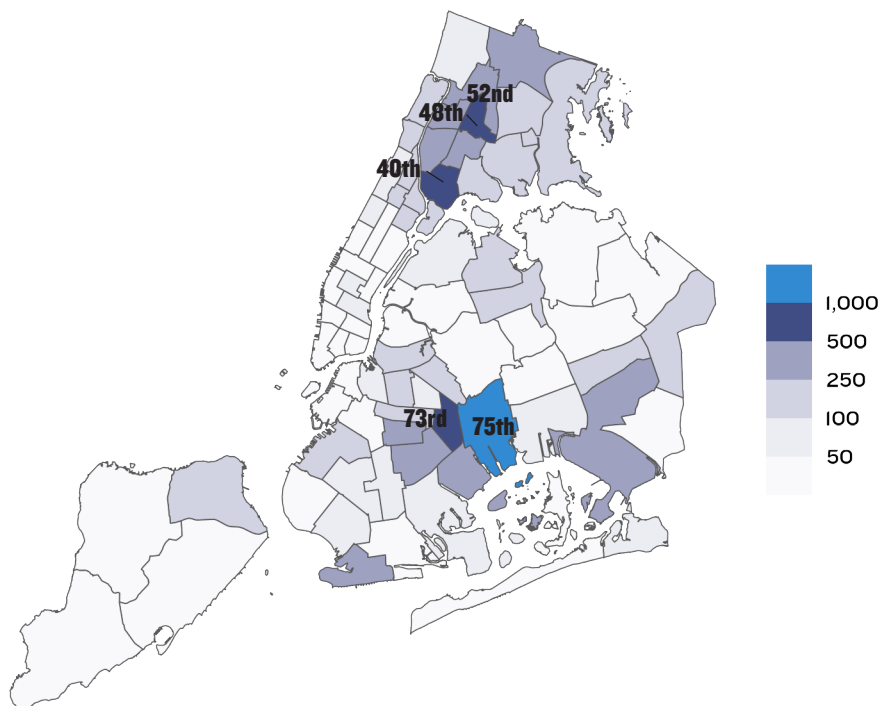
Note: Population estimates are based on the latest available county-level [Census data](#).

Figure 3.
Level 1 Encounters by Police Precinct (Top 5 Labeled)



Note: Precinct 116 opened in [November 2024](#) and therefore only reported data for the last two months of the study period.

Figure 4.
Level 2 Encounters by Police Precinct (Top 5 Labeled)



Note: Precinct 116 opened in [November 2024](#) and therefore only reported data for the last two months of the study period.

Figure 5.
Initial Basis for Encounter

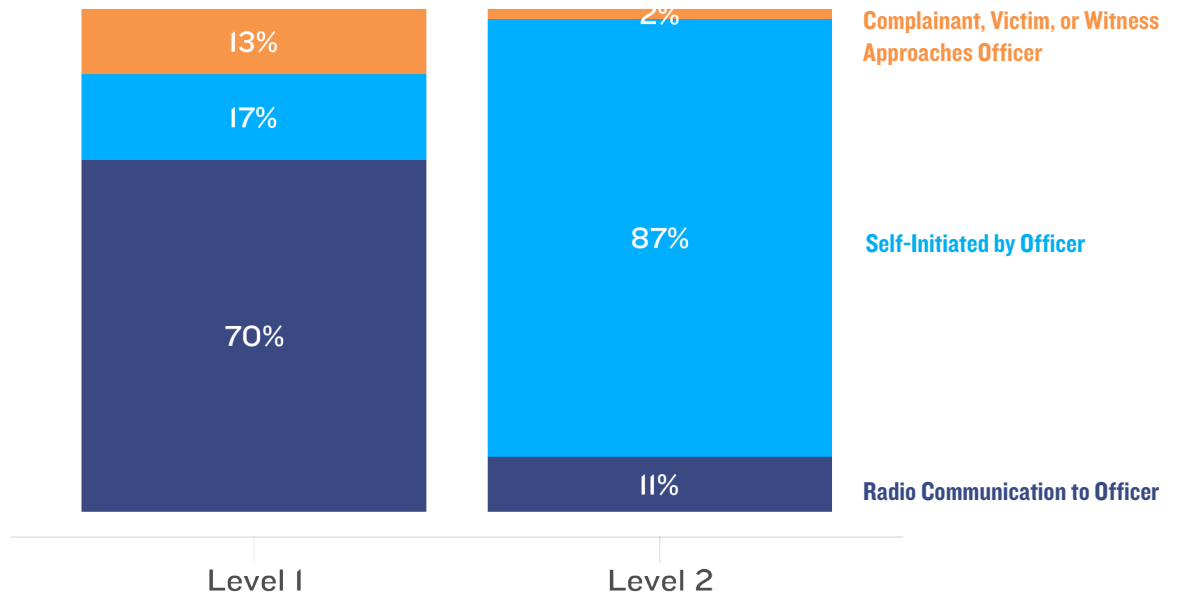


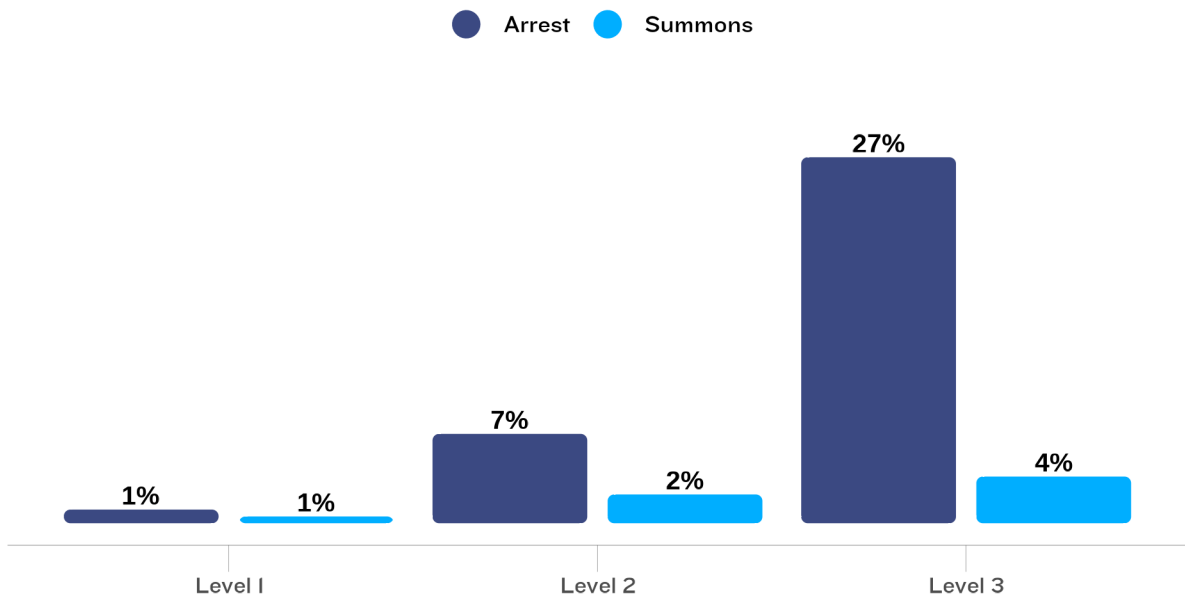
Table 1.
Reason for Level 1 Encounter

Reason	Total	Percent
Complainant/victim/witness	810,315	69.8%
Quality of life	106,778	9.2%
Proximate to scene	46,602	4.0%
Canvassing	32,762	2.8%
Missing person	7,195	0.6%
Other	157,441	13.6%
Total	1,161,093	100%

Table 2.
Reason for Level 2 Encounter

Reason	Total	Percent
Criminal Possession of Weapon	7,177	60.7%
Grand Larceny Auto	445	3.8%
Criminal Possession of Controlled Substance	407	3.4%
Assault	271	2.3%
Marijuana	182	1.5%
Burglary	149	1.3%
Criminal Trespass	142	1.2%
Unauthorized Use of a Vehicle	130	1.1%
Criminal Possession of Stolen Property	129	1.1%
Petit Larceny	108	0.9%
Criminal Sale of Controlled Substance	105	0.9%
Robbery	89	0.8%
Grand Larceny	70	0.6%
Criminal Mischief	66	0.6%
Theft of Services	60	0.5%
Reckless Endangerment	57	0.5%
Menacing	52	0.4%
Criminal Possession of Forged Instrument	38	0.3%
Auto Stripping	26	0.2%
Murder	10	0.1%
Forcible Touching	5	0.0%
Graffiti	4	0.0%
Prostitution	4	0.0%
Rape	1	0.0%
Other	2,088	17.7%
Total	11,815	100%

Figure 6.
Arrests and Summonses Following an Investigative Encounter



Note: Rates were calculated by dividing the total number of arrests or summonses by the total number of encounters at each level. Since it was unclear whether an encounter resulted in both a summons and an arrest, combining the summons issuance rate with the arrest rate should be done with caution.

Figure 7.
Use of Force

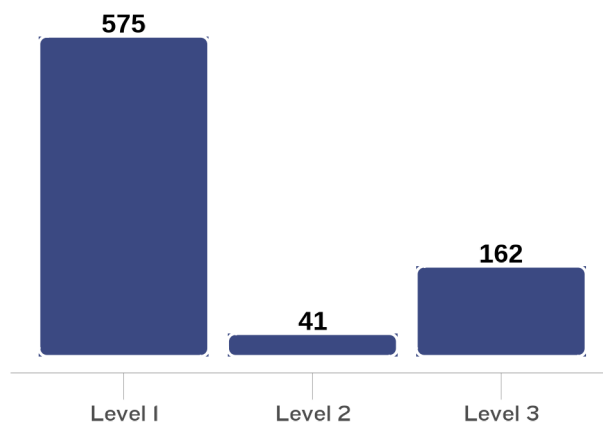
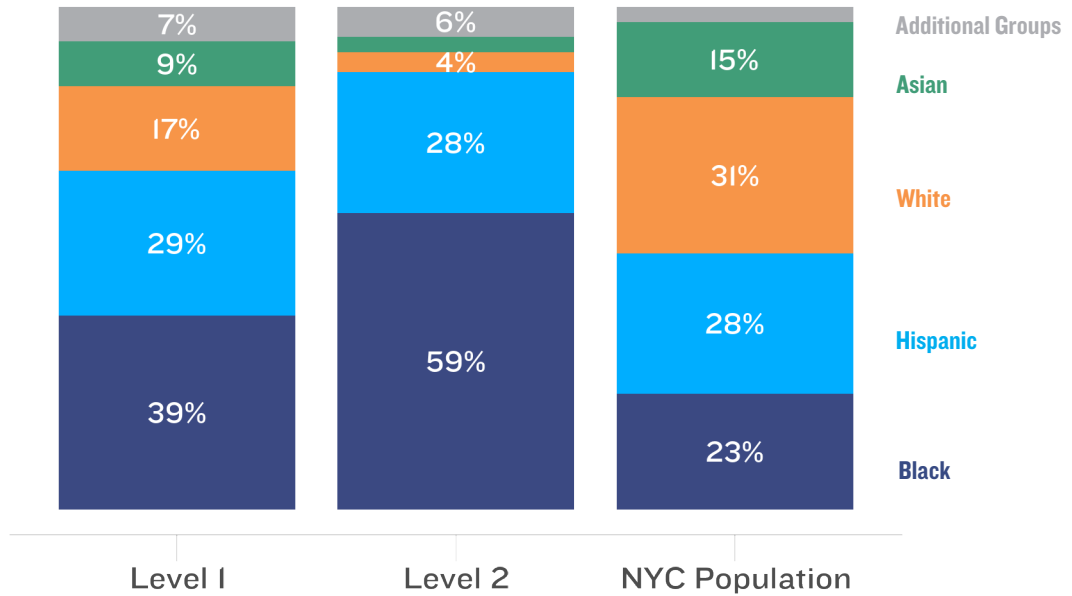
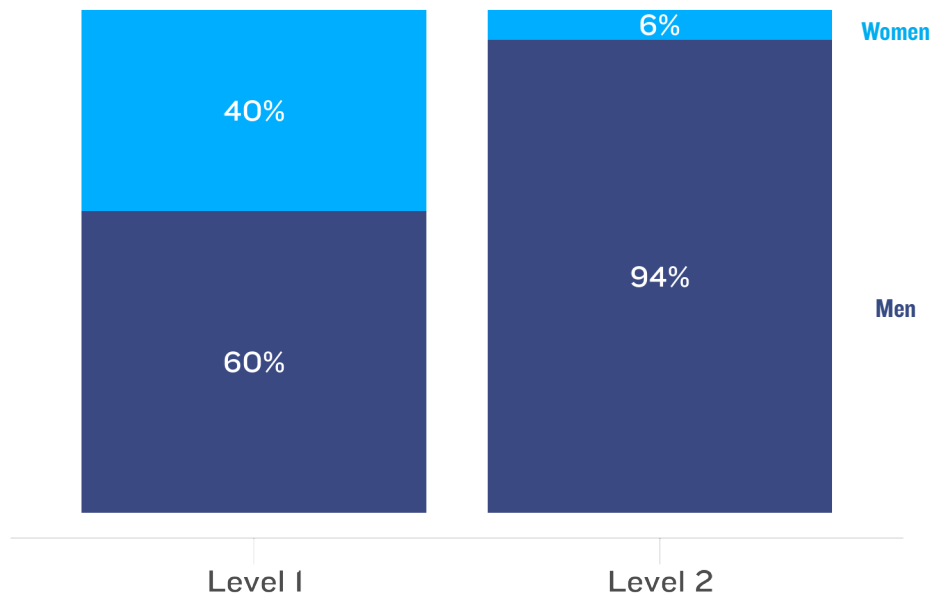


Figure 8.
Distribution of Police-Civilian Encounters by Race/Ethnicity



Note: Population estimates are based on the latest available county-level [Census data](#).

Figure 9.
Distribution of Police-Civilian Encounters by Gender



Note: Data excludes a small percentage of encounters with gender recorded as “unknown.”

Figure 10.
Distribution of Police-Civilian Encounters by Age

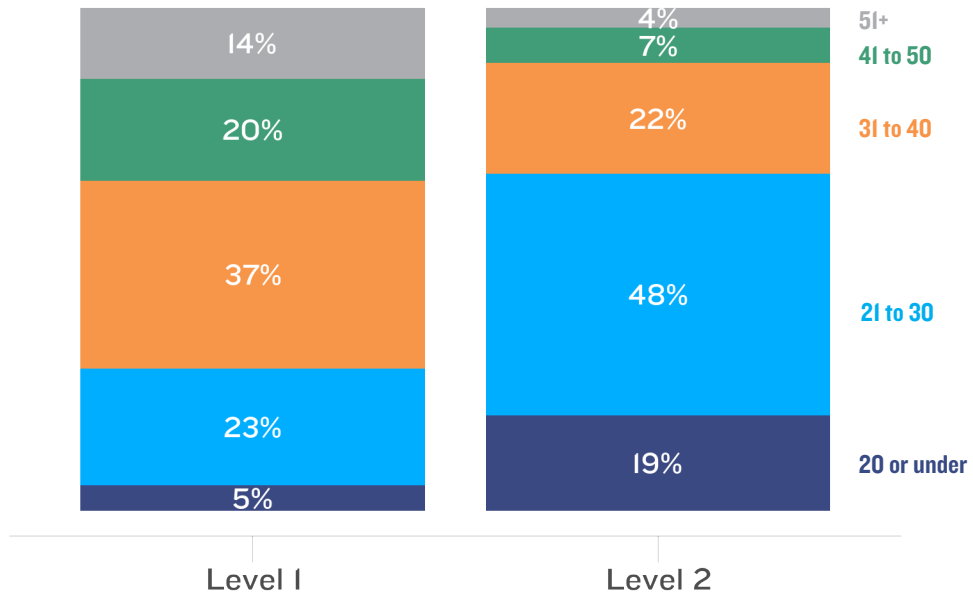
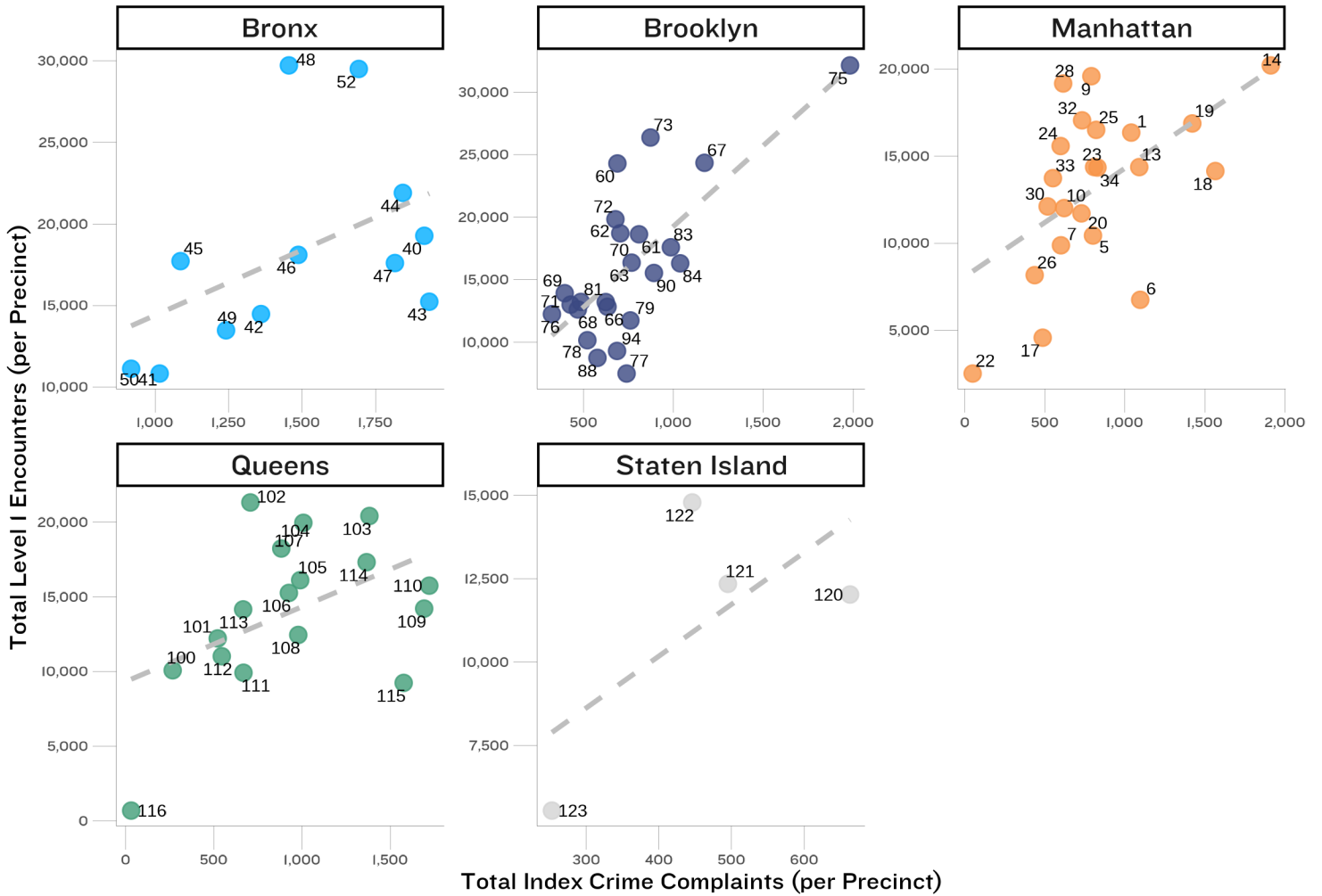


Figure 11.

Relationship Between Level 1 Encounters and Index Crime Complaints

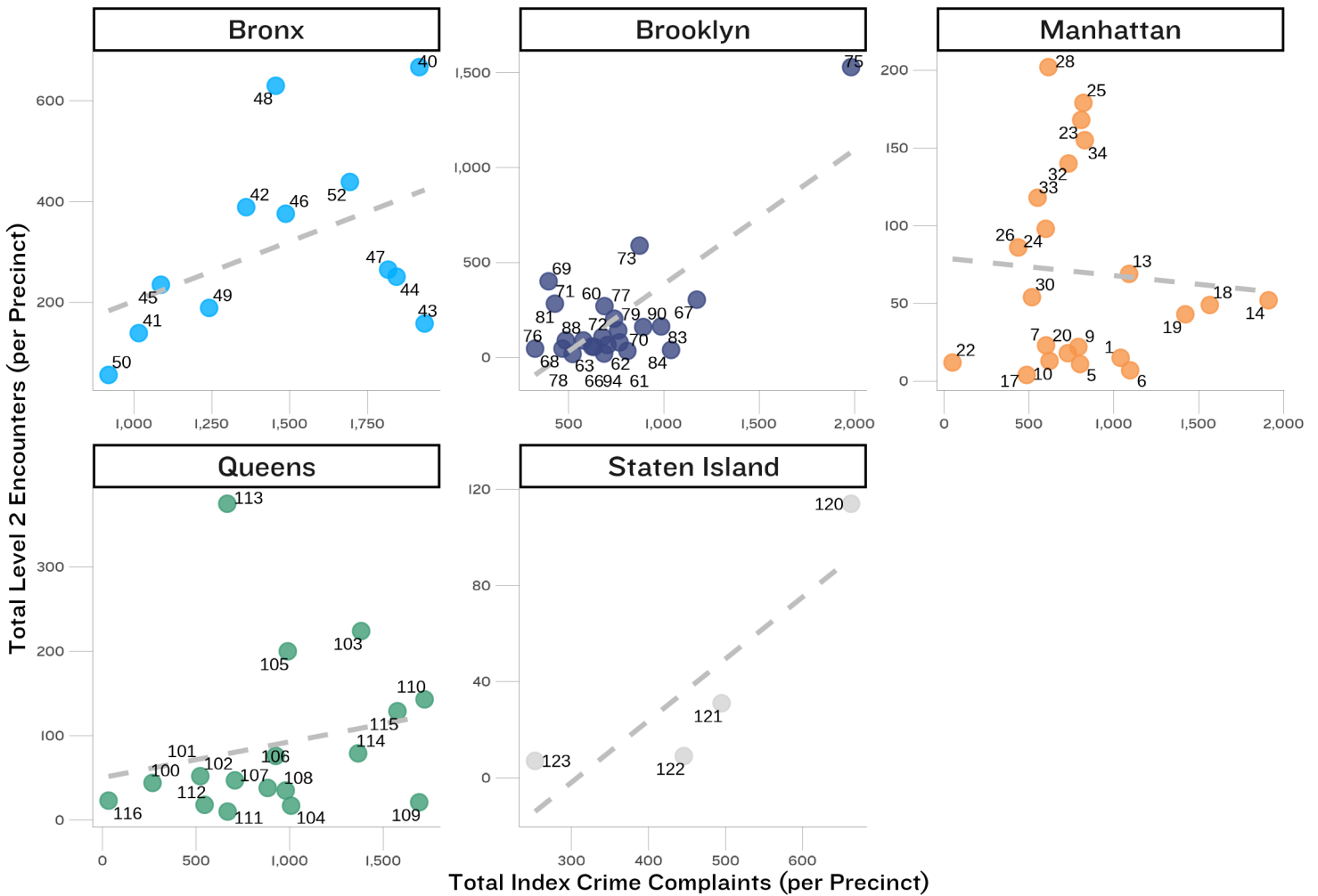
● Bronx ● Brooklyn ● Manhattan ● Queens ● Staten Island



Note: Data on index crime complaints came from the [NYPD's Complaint dataset](#). Data were restricted to complaints reported between July and December 2024 for index crimes (i.e., murder, rape, robbery, felony assault, burglary, grand larceny, and grand larceny of motor vehicle). The dashed line represents a simple linear regression line, capturing the overall trend and direction of the relationship between encounters and index crime.

Figure 12.
Relationship Between Level 2 Encounters and Index Crime Complaints

● Bronx ● Brooklyn ● Manhattan ● Queens ● Staten Island



Note: Data on index crime complaints came from the [NYPD's Complaint dataset](#). Data were restricted to complaints reported between July and December 2024 for index crimes (i.e., murder, rape, robbery, felony assault, burglary, grand larceny, and grand larceny of motor vehicle). The dashed line represents a simple linear regression line, capturing the overall trend and direction of the relationship between encounters and index crime.