

Presented By:

**PEOPLE'S  
BUDGET  
COALITION**



REFUND. REALLOCATE. COMMUNITY CONTROL.

2021

# **Building a Safe and Just Charleston: From Eliminating Racist Policing to Investing in Life Affirming Services**



# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report is a project of the Charleston People's Budget Coalition, whose contributing members include the American Civil Liberties Union of South Carolina (ACLU-SC), Charleston Area Justice Ministry (CAJM), Charleston BLM, Charleston Climate Coalition, Lowcountry Action Committee (LAC), Lowcountry Alliance for Model Communities, and We Are Family.

The primary authors of this report are Frank Knaack of ACLU-SC, Alex Yurcaba, and Sophie Beiers of the national ACLU. Data collection and analysis was conducted by Alex Yurcaba and Sophie Beiers of the national ACLU.

Edits as well as strategic guidance on content and recommendations were provided by Cora Webb of We Are Family, Shaquille Fontenot and Joshua Parks of the Lowcountry Action Committee, Marcus McDonald of Charleston BLM, Helen Mrema of the ACLU-SC, Treva Williams of CAJM, and Belvin Olasov of the Charleston Climate Coalition.

The Charleston People's Budget Coalition would also like to thank Emily Walter for her work in the development of this project.

The graphic design of this report was provided by Cora Webb.

*We thank you for your continued support in our efforts to redistribute wealth and power in the city of Charleston, South Carolina.*

---

## CONTACT

Email: [PeoplesBudgetChs@gmail.com](mailto:PeoplesBudgetChs@gmail.com)

Instagram: [@chspeoplesbudget](https://www.instagram.com/chspeoplesbudget)

Web: [charlestonpeoplesbudget.com](http://charlestonpeoplesbudget.com)

# Table of Contents

# CONTENTS

1.	About People's Budget	14.	Trends in CPD Action
2.	Introduction	15.	District Statistics Overview
3-5.	Key Findings	16-27.	Breakdown of District Statistics
6.	Methodology	28-30.	CPD Racial Bias Audit
7-8.	Rethinking Safety	31.	Conclusion
9-10.	Rethinking Public Safety and Harm Reduction	32-35.	Recommendations
11-13.	Addressing Police Violence and Harm	36-40.	Endnotes

# ABOUT THE CHARLESTON PEOPLE'S BUDGET COALITION

---

The Charleston People's Budget Coalition is a united front advocating for an equitable city budget, the elimination of poverty and racial disparities, and a redistribution of power to create true accountability with city officials in Charleston.



# INTRODUCTION

This report provides Charleston city leaders and residents with a detailed analysis of the actual policing practices of the Charleston Police Department (CPD). While CPD is sold to the Charleston residents as a harm reduction tool—a way to make our communities safer—the data paints a much different picture, one that shows racism in policing is alive and well.

COVID-19 made it harder to ignore the government’s failure to protect its people. Many workers have been forced to choose between their health and a paycheck (1). Incarcerated people have been locked in crowded facilities where social distancing is impossible (2). Deaths from drug overdoses have skyrocketed (3).

Prior to COVID’s arrival in the Lowcountry, Charleston residents had already long suffered from high rates of shelter poverty (4), flooding (5), toxic environmental conditions (6), food insecurity (7), and limited access to jobs that pay a living wage (8). And, because of Charleston’s history of racist policies and practices, Charleston’s Black and Brown residents have, and continue to be, disproportionately harmed (9). COVID compounded these harms, including their disproportionate impact on Black and Brown residents.

To put it another way, the City of Charleston has failed to prioritize the health and safety of its residents.

Charleston cannot solve all of these issues on its own. But, the city’s leaders have an obligation to do as much as they can with the resources they have. It is time for the city to rethink its current budget priorities and prioritize the actual needs of the community.

One large budget line item to adjust is the more than \$50 million dollars the city gives to the Charleston Police Department (CPD) every year. This is particularly urgent and concerning due to the lack of resources available to the community for life-affirming services. Additionally, CPD—like many police forces across the United States—has been shown to prioritize arrests for minor incidents, which do not directly affect public safety. This misplaced focus leads directly to mass criminalization and incarceration. Adjusting the CPD budget would help to end this harmful cycle.

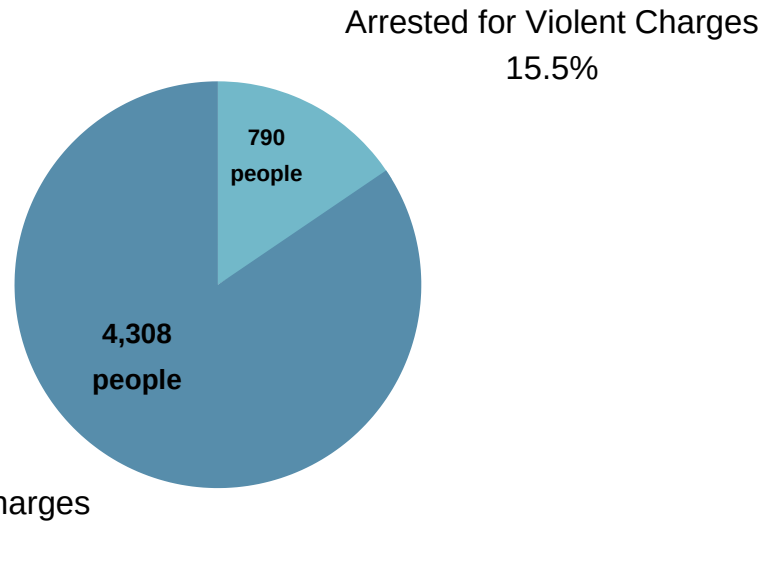
# KEY FINDINGS

Between January 1, 2020 and June 31, 2021:

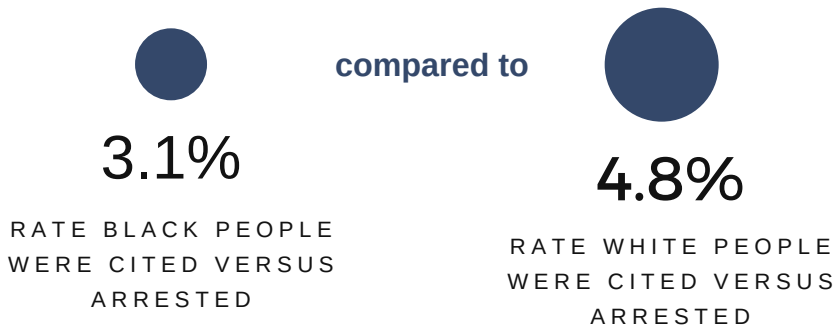
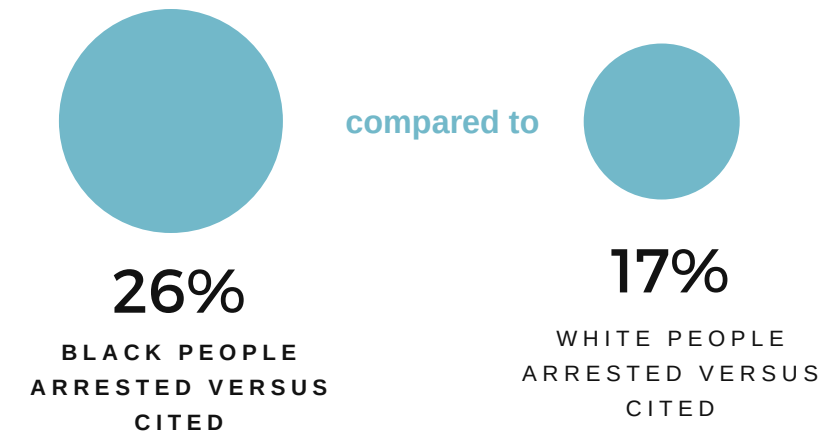
CPD gave out 20,655 citations and made 5,098 arrests.

15.5 percent of arrests - 790 people - were for violent charges (10).

84.5 percent of arrests - 4,308 people - were for low-level or non-violent charges.



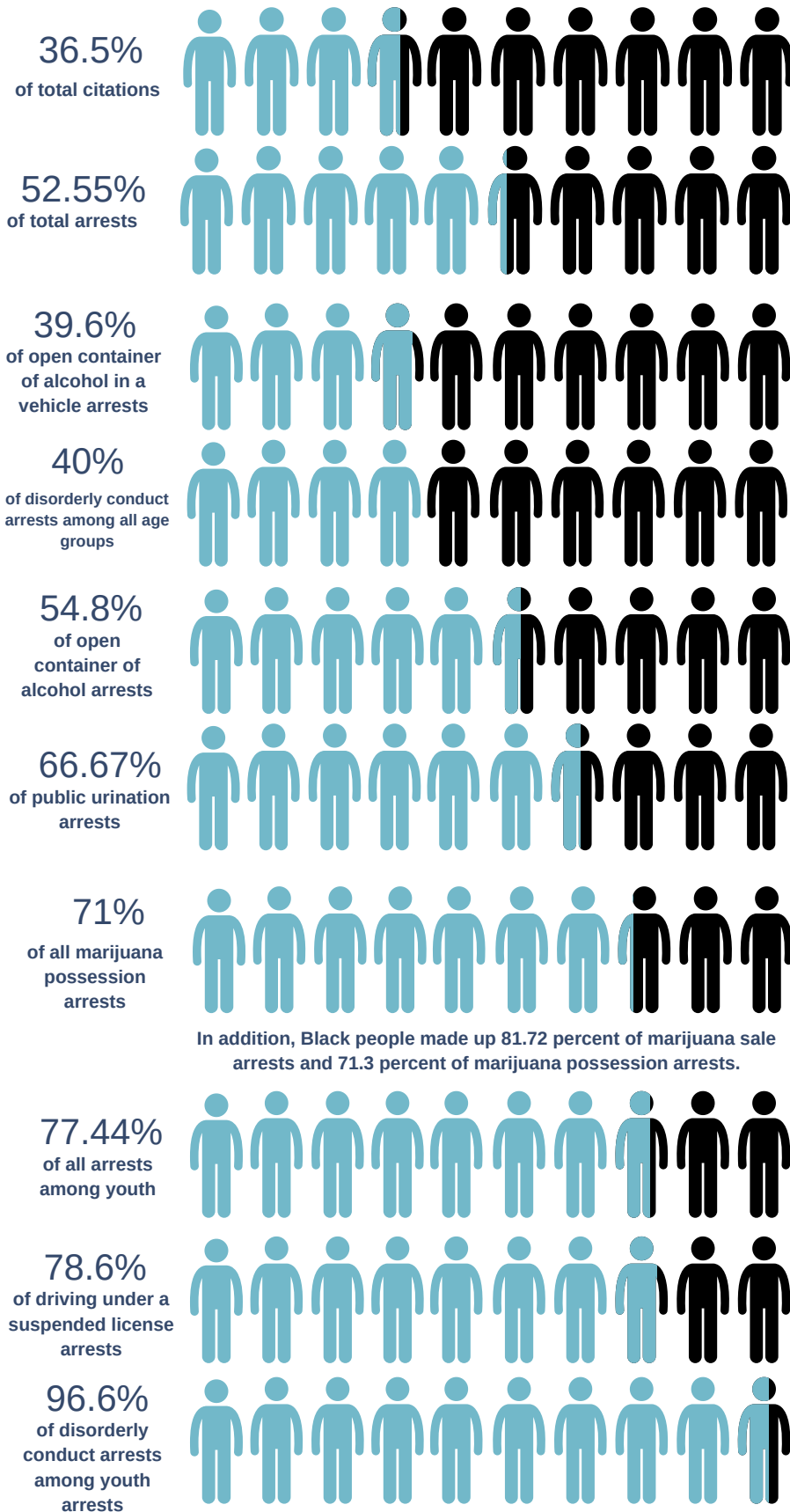
Black people were arrested at **3.83 times** the rate of white people.



Black people were more likely to be arrested compared to white people and were less likely to be cited compared to white people. Twenty six percent of Black people were arrested versus cited, compared to seventeen percent of white people. White people were cited at a rate of 4.8 times more often than they were arrested. Black people were only cited at 3.1 times the rate that they were arrested.

# KEY FINDINGS

Despite being only 21.7 percent of Charleston's population, Black people comprised:



The data is clear - Black people are disproportionately policed.

These are not the results Charleston should continue to invest in. While reinvesting part of the \$50 million CPD budget into life affirming services will not fix all of the harms facing Charleston residents, city leaders have an obligation to do as much as they can with the resources they have.

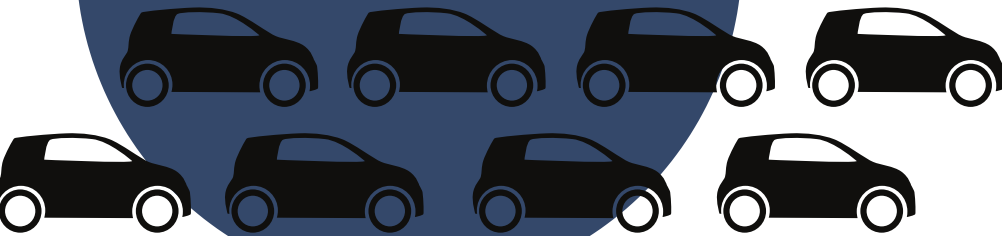
In addition to documenting staggering racial disparities in arrests by CPD, this report also provides a review of the intersection between violent crime and police funding, documents earlier trends in CPD action and the continued failure of CPD and Charleston's elected leaders to hold CPD accountable, and provides recommendations for Charleston's elected leaders to build a Charleston that is safe and just for all.

# KEY FINDINGS

Between January 1, 2020 and June 31, 2021:

**8X**

Black drivers were almost 8 times as likely to get a citation for a license violation than white drivers.



**12.5X**

Black drivers were arrested for suspended licenses at 12.53 times the rate of white drivers.

**9.6X**

Black people were cited for marijuana possession at 9.6 times the rate of white people.

**9.4X**

Black people were arrested for marijuana possession at 9.41 times the rate of white people.

**10.4X**

Black youth were arrested at 10.38 times the rate of white youth.





# METHODOLOGY

The CPD arrest data and electronic citation data analyzed in this report is based on data from the Charleston Police Department's Open Data Portal. CPD's data included race variables of "B", "W", "I", "O", and "U." The citation data also included a category of "Bk", which we assumed should be categorized as "Black." Ethnicity was not recorded, making it impossible to analyze CPD's disparate treatment of Latinx people. In addition, this likely reduces many Latinx individuals to a racial categorization of "white." If there are true disparities in CPD arrests between arrests of Latinx people and arrests of non-Hispanic white people, as has been documented frequently in jurisdictions throughout the US, then the lack of ethnicity data likely artificially inflates the white arrest rate, making arrests appear less disparate than they in fact are.

The ratio for determining Black versus white arrest rates is calculated by dividing the Black arrest rate by the white arrest rate. The 95 percent confidence interval around this estimate is 3.59 times - 4.06 times. As discussed above, given the misclassification of Latinx individuals in CPD's data, this measure is likely a conservative underestimate.

The population of Black residents was determined to be 21.7 percent, relying on the 2019 population of Charleston city, South Carolina according to the American Community Survey.

The marijuana arrest rate ratio is calculated by dividing the Black arrest rate for marijuana charges by the white arrest rate for marijuana charges. The 95 percent confidence interval around this estimate is 7.4 times - 11.24 times. Nationwide survey data indicate that Black and white people use marijuana at comparable rates.

This ratio for a Suspended License charge is calculated by dividing the Black arrest rate for Suspended License charge by the white arrest rate for a Suspended License charge. The 95 percent confidence interval around this estimate is 5.33 times - 19.7 times.

# RETHINKING SAFETY

Charleston must rethink its approach to public safety and harm reduction. The everyday harms facing Charleston residents did not come about by accident. They are the direct result of intentional policy decisions by our former and current local, state, and federal elected leaders. Just as our elected leaders created these harms, they also have the power to undo them. It's time for our elected leaders to focus on building safe and just communities for all.

For too long Charleston city leaders have failed to prioritize the safety and well-being of all residents. Instead of prioritizing the city's resources to ensure that all residents have a roof over their heads, reparations, a living wage, decent public transportation, and other necessary life affirming services, city leaders have provided \$50 million every year - *the city's largest annual single expenditure* - to the CPD. It is time for Charleston city leaders to analyze this expenditure through a harm reduction lens.

Our political leaders define crime in ways that are often disconnected from actual harm. For example, 7,200 adults die in South Carolina each year from smoking related illnesses (11), yet anyone over 18 can walk into their corner store and purchase a pack of cigarettes. At the same time, South Carolina arrests nearly 35,000 people each year for possessing marijuana, a substance associated with few, if any, deaths, and does so at an annual cost of around \$100 million (12).

Nationally there were approximately 245,000 deaths in 2000 that resulted from racist policies, exposure to toxic chemicals, and other poverty related factors (13), a death toll multiple factors above the number of homicides that year (14). If City leaders want to increase public safety, these issues must be part of the conversation.

# RETHINKING SAFETY CONT.

In 2020 South Carolina experienced the highest increase in drug overdose deaths in the country (a 65 percent spike), which included a record 180 deaths in Charleston County (15). Yet, our city and state law enforcement leaders continue to double down on the failed war on drugs (16), which stigmatizes addiction and drives people away from lifesaving treatment. If harm reduction was the goal, the criminalization of drug use would end. For example, Portugal decriminalized possession of small amounts of all drugs in 2001, instead choosing to destigmatize use and prioritize treatment. As a result, “the number of heroin users in Portugal has dropped from about 100,000 before the law to just 25,000 today. Portugal now has the lowest drug-related death rate in Western Europe, with a mortality rate a tenth of Britain's and a fiftieth of the United States'. The number of HIV diagnoses caused by injection drug use has plummeted by more than 90 percent” (17).

Charleston has also long had one of the highest pedestrian death rates in the country (18). Nearly the same number of people have died in traffic fatalities as homicides in Charleston in 2021 (ten (19) versus twelve (20)), yet high profile homicides result in an increased police presence and checkpoints (21) (ignoring the fact that this type of response is inherently reactive and ineffective at stopping harm). At the same time, as Charleston Moves' Katie Zimmerman told the Post and Courier, “we're not investing enough in connected, usable, comfortable space for people to walk or bike safely" (22).

When crime and harm are disconnected public safety cannot be maximized.

The data used to measure crime is also controlled by one side in this debate - the police - and is thus an inherently unreliable indicator of actual community violence and harm. Police decide when, where, and how to police, which necessarily means that crime is often determined by these arbitrary decisions by police and not by actual harm to the community. For example, we know that Black and white people use marijuana at roughly the same rate (23), but that Black people are over nine times more likely to be arrested for marijuana possession in Charleston. This means that crime data around marijuana arrests is skewed by CPD's decision to over-police Black communities and people. In addition, crime data ignores crimes committed by police, including illegal searches and uses of force (aka assaults) (24).

# THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN HARM REDUCTION AND POLICE FUNDING

---

Fear has long been a “go to” technique for law enforcement seeking to increase their budget. When crime is down, law enforcement teams need more money to keep the “criminals” away. When crime is up, law enforcement teams need more money to get tougher on “criminals.” Either way, law enforcement consistently requests more money because of ... “criminals.”

This approach is alive and well in South Carolina. Despite South Carolina’s, including Charleston’s, flawed approach to public safety, some law enforcement leaders are still attempting to use fear to justify ever-increasing police budgets and draconian sentencing laws (25).

This is a dangerous approach to public safety, ignoring multiple examples that show violent crime and police per capita actually decreasing simultaneously. For example, between 1997 and 2016 the numbers of police officers nationally decreased from 242 to 217 for every 100,000 residents (26). During the same time, the national violent crime rate decreased by 37 percent (27). South Carolina has followed this trend. Between 2000 and 2019 the number of police officers per 10,000 residents decreased from 27 to 24 (28). During that same time, the rate of violent crime decreased 39.9 percent (29).

Despite these facts and a national reckoning around the role of policing and incarceration in the United States, Charleston city leaders have doubled down on throwing ever increasing amounts of money to CPD. And, as the movement to call for prioritizing investments in people and communities instead of police and incarceration has grown, opponents have attempted to blame the movement for recent increases in crime.

The data does not support this claim.

The rise in some harm across the country, including in Charleston, is concerning. At the same time, it is the communities who have long faced racist and oppressive policies and practices including over-policing, that are more likely to be impacted by this increase in violence. This includes murders (30). And, COVID-19 compounded the harms already faced by under-resourced and over-policed communities.

# THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN HARM REDUCTION AND POLICE FUNDING CONT.

There is no single factor that increases the likelihood of certain crimes (31). But, we do know a few important factors that illustrate the rise in homicides cannot be attributed to the progressive reform movement. Data from jurisdictions that recently adopted progressive reforms as well as jurisdictions that did not, shows that the increase in murders has risen at approximately the same rate (32). And, because only a few jurisdictions engaged in progressive reforms, the vast majority of jurisdictions that suffered a rise in murders maintained a much more punitive approach to crime (33).

The City of Charleston provides a perfect example of this. In 2020 the Charleston City Council increased the 2021 CPD budget. The result: “violent crime” is up 10 percent during the first eight months of 2021 compared to the same period in 2020 (34).

Just as it would be disingenuous to blame the city’s decision to increase the CPD budget for each of the specific violent acts that have occurred this year, it is equally disingenuous when Charleston’s law enforcement and other political leaders attempt to claim that progressive reforms are the cause of some other violent acts. Harm does not occur in a vacuum, and solutions to harm must address the root issues.

While there is no silver bullet to ending harm, there are multiple approaches to harm reduction that are supported by evidence. As discussed above, ending the war on drugs and ensuring adequate funding goes to treatment and the destigmatization of drug use would be a great start. Improved access to housing and jobs that pay a living wage would be another step. Even using the police’s own flawed crime data, research has shown that increased low income housing access (35) and higher hourly wages correlate with reductions in crime rates (36).

***Another way is possible and necessary. It is time for Charleston’s political leaders to move beyond the empty rhetoric and invest the city’s resources in programs and policies that have been shown to strengthen and prioritize community safety.***



# ADDRESSING POLICE VIOLENCE AND HARM

Prioritizing life-affirming services is just part of the solution. Charleston leaders must also recognize and address the legacy of policing.

## History of Policing

The historic role of police in the United States, including Charleston, has been to maintain a specific racial and economic hierarchy. Throughout American history, political leaders have used laws to protect the oppressor instead of the oppressed - from punishing abolitionists instead of slave owners, to punishing opponents of mass incarceration and police violence, instead of those who perpetuate it. Police have and continue to be a key mechanism for enforcing these racist and exploitative laws.

The earliest example of organized city policing actually emerged in Charleston, where free white people joined a professional force formed to maintain control of enslaved Black people living inside the city. The explicit purpose of this force was to maintain a racist social order against the will of whom it policed. In other words, it was a slave patrol. With the abolition of slavery, the role of police shifted from protecting the institution of slavery to protecting the revised racial and economic hierarchy, with white people still acting as oppressor. This regime included enforcing some of the earliest versions of voter suppression, including poll taxes. In the decades since, police have enforced policies designed to exploit and destroy Black communities - from convict leasing, to Jim Crow, to the war on drugs.

It is past time for our political leaders to openly acknowledge this racist history and move away from it by investing in people and communities instead of police and incarceration.

# ADDRESSING POLICE VIOLENCE AND HARM CONT.

## Failures of Procedural Reforms

Procedural reforms are not enough to stop police violence. Law enforcement officers too often ignore departmental policies and procedures, leading to the serious harm and death of community members. For example, Derek Chauvin violated department policy for the nine minutes and 29 seconds that he kept his knee on George Floyd's neck. The officers standing next to him also violated department policy for those same nine minutes and 29 seconds by failing to intervene (37). The same is true closer to home. For example, on May 31, 2020 we witnessed the Charleston Police Department engage in police brutality against community members peacefully protesting in Marion Square in downtown Charleston (38). CPD and other officers escalated the situation by indiscriminately launching tear gas and pepper balls at a group of people who were engaging in non-violent protest in a public space (39). This happened despite a clear CPD Administrative General Order limiting the use of chemical agents to situations that were not present at the time (40). In addition, those officers who did not use excessive force were in violation of CPD Administrative General Orders because they failed to intervene (41).

Law enforcement also too often ignores previous efforts to hold them accountable. For example, following the murder of Walter Scott by the North Charleston Police Department six years ago, South Carolina lawmakers passed legislation requiring all law enforcement officers to wear body cameras (42). In the years since the law's passage, law enforcement have turned a tool sold to the public as a way to strengthen law enforcement accountability and community trust of law enforcement into a tool to shield law enforcement officers from accountability. Despite a South Carolina's Law Enforcement Training Council guideline requiring body cams to be turned on "[w]hen a uniformed officer arrives at a call for service or initiates any other law enforcement or investigative encounter between an officer and a member of the public[.]" (43) the Greenville News found that only nine of the 28 Greenville County deputies involved in shootings in 2017 had their cameras turned on and recording (44). And, as the Greenville News found, this failure to follow the minimum policy guidelines was not limited to Greenville deputies. Looking at just the next five largest agencies in South Carolina, the Greenville News found that between 2017 and 2018 seven officers did not turn on and record during a law enforcement shooting (45). These officers were from the sheriff's offices in Charleston, Lexington, York, and Spartanburg counties. As history has already shown, strong accountability measures are required .

All of the committees, studies, audits, and training in the world cannot fix policing's fundamental problems. Police have handcuffs, guns, pepper spray, tasers, and, under certain conditions, the power to make arrests and use lethal force. They cannot provide health care, treat substance use and mental illness, provide housing to unhoused people, or provide people with a living wage - the issues that truly enable people to live safe lives.

# ADDRESSING POLICE VIOLENCE AND HARM CONT.

## Failures of Procedural Reforms Cont.

Each day that we pretend that procedural reforms can fix policing, more Black, Brown, and other marginalized people are harmed and killed. To truly address the problem of police violence, we must drastically reduce the size, scope, and role of police in South Carolina.

In addition, procedural reforms cannot fix a policing system that repeatedly attempts to cover up its abuses. It was last year when a Minneapolis Police Department press statement read: “Man Dies After Medical Incident During Police Interaction.” (46) That man was George Floyd. Six years ago a North Charleston Police Department officer claimed he feared for his life when he fired multiple bullets into the back of a man (47). That man was Walter Scott. George Floyd and Walter Scott should be alive today. We know their names despite the system’s best efforts to cover up or hide the truth. We know their names because their killings at the hands of law enforcement were caught on tape. We know their names because the families and community members fought tirelessly to ensure that America knows the truth.

As the Charleston community witnessed repeatedly during the recent uprisings against police violence and racism, instead of ensuring the fundamental right to protest, CPD chose to flex its muscles and intimidate those who had gathered to speak out against police violence (48).

The police response was about intimidation. It was a reminder that while Derek Chauvin’s conviction is a small win for police accountability, the policing system that allowed enabled Mr. Floyd’s murder and the continued destruction of Black, Brown, and other marginalized people and communities remains fully intact.

Each day the world watched the trial of Chauvin, police killed an average of three more people in our country - including children. While Chauvin’s conviction is a small win for police accountability, the policing system that allowed enabled Mr. Floyd’s murder and the continued destruction of Black, Brown, and other marginalized people and communities remains fully intact.

*Committees, studies, audits, and trainings are the “solutions” offered by our political and law enforcement leaders. **They won’t work.***





# Trends in CPD action and the continued failure of CPD and Charleston’s elected leaders to hold CPD accountable



## What CPD Actually Does

Police spend the majority of their resources arresting people for minor incidents which do not affect public safety, but do lead to mass criminalization and incarceration at a huge cost to taxpayers. Of the approximately 10 million arrests each year, only about five percent are for serious offenses like murder, rape, and aggravated assault (49). The remaining 95 percent are for low level offenses including marijuana possession, traffic violations, and unlawful assembly (50).

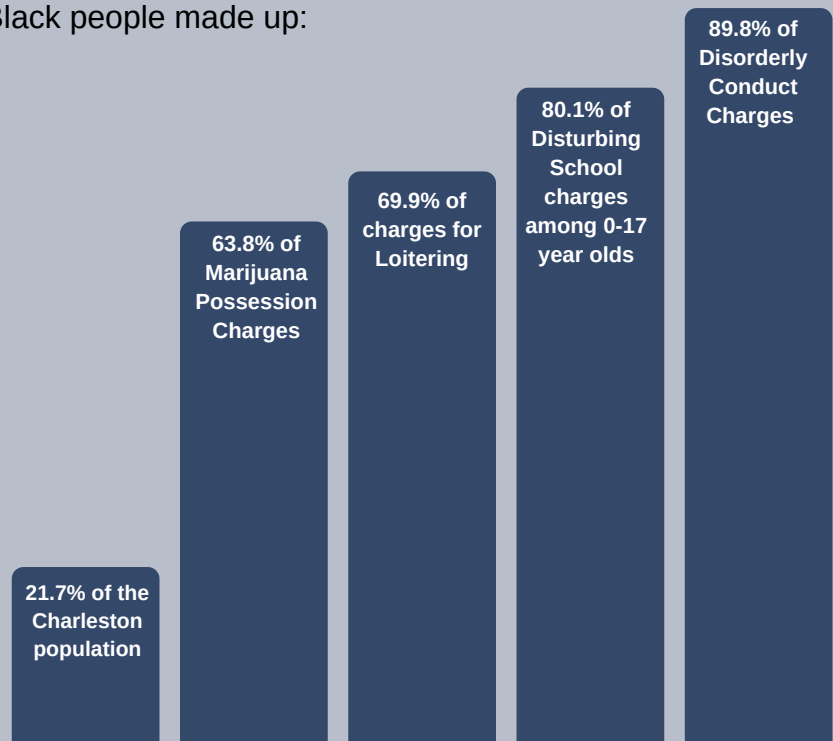
This section explores two recent periods of CPD history. The five years leading up to the public release of the CPD Racial Bias Audit and the 18 months since the Audit’s release.

### CPD Arrests Between 2015 - 2020

Similar to the national trend, 90 percent of all arrests by the Charleston Police Department between 2015 and 2020 were for these low level things including marijuana possession and having an open container of alcohol, while just 10 percent were for serious offenses. In addition, CPD made more arrests for the possession of marijuana, a substance that is legal in 18 states, than all serious offenses combined.

Not only did CPD spend the vast majority of its time on low level offense, but it did so with a staggering racial bias.

Between 2015 and 2020, despite being only 21.7 percent of the Charleston population, Black people made up:



# DISTRICT STATISTICS

These staggering racial disparities are present throughout each of the twelve Charleston City Council districts. Before assessing each district specifically, it's valuable to look at some top-line comparisons between each of Charleston's 12 City Council districts.

- The average City Council district has a population of 13,721 people
- District 5 is the most populous district, with a population of 26,072 people
- District 8 is the least populous district, with a population of just 6,794 people

The next pages review each district's arrest statistics. Sadly, there is no City Council district in Charleston in which Black people are not arrested disproportionately more frequently than white people. While this disparity is more dramatic in some districts than in others, it is clear that the relationship between CPD and its Black population is in a profound state of disrepair.



A circular pie chart with a white background and a light blue slice representing 11.7%. The text '88%' is displayed in large, bold, black font.

**88%**

*District 1 is the least diverse district; white people comprise 88.3 percent of its total population*



A circular pie chart with a light blue background and a white slice representing 49.1%. The text '51%' is displayed in large, bold, black font.

**51%**

*District 4 has the largest Black population; Black people comprise 50.9 percent of the district's total population*

**DISTRICT ONE**  
**Councilmember**  
**\*\*Open Seat\*\***

**Note: There will be a special election on January 11, 2022**

**9%**

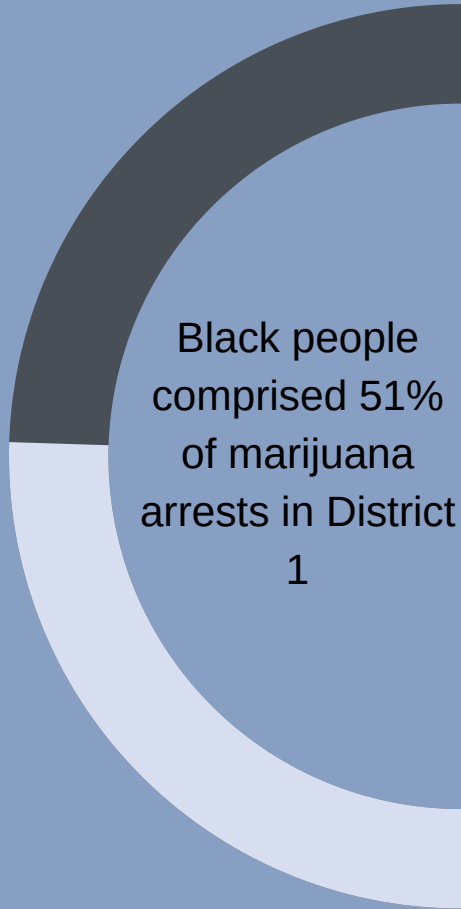
**BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 1**

From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 8.7 percent of the population of District 1.

**37%**

**BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED**

Black people represented 976 (or 37.28 percent) of total arrests made in District 1 between 2015 - 2020.



**Black people comprised 51% of marijuana arrests in District 1**

## DISTRICT ONE STATS

In District 1, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 2,618 total arrests in the district. This represents 9 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 1 currently comprises 9.45 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 976 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 37.28 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 8.7 percent of the population of District 1. This means that in District 1, Black people were arrested at 6.1 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 10.81 times the rate of white people in District 1. During the same time period there were 102 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 1. Black people comprised 52, or 50.98 percent of these arrests, including 50 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (49 total), and 75 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (3 total).
- Driving-Related Arrests: Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 82 such arrests in District 1 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 57.32 percent of these arrests (47 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 1 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 13.68 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT TWO

Kevin Shealy  
Councilmember  
Phone: 843-442-6680  
Email:  
shealyk@charleston-sc.gov



# 21%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 2

---

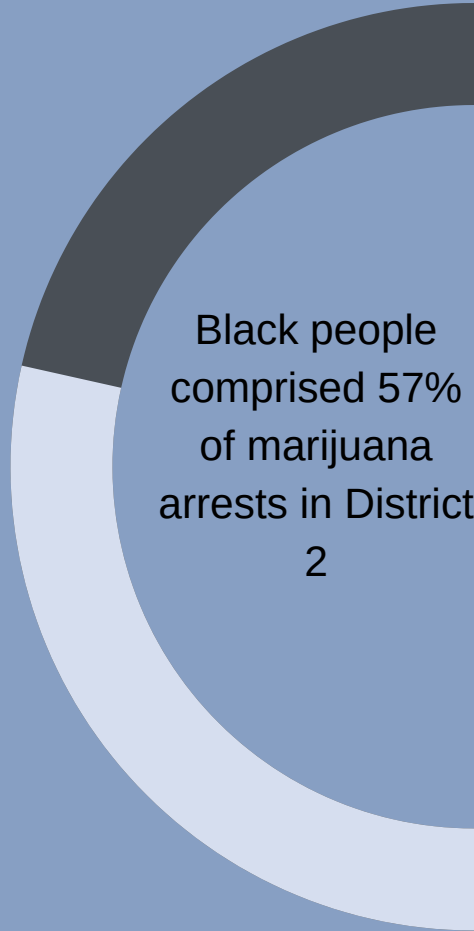
From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 20.7 percent of the population of District 2.

# 53%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 712 (or 53.45 percent) of total arrests made in District 2 between 2015 - 2020.



Black people comprised 57% of marijuana arrests in District 2

## DISTRICT TWO STATS

In District 2, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 1,332 total arrests in the district. This represents 4 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 2 currently comprises 6.79 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 712 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 53.45 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 20.7 percent of the population of District 2. This means that in District 2, Black people were arrested at 4.05 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 242 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 2. Black people comprised 137, or 56.61 percent of these arrests, including 54.91 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (123 total), and 77.78 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (14 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 4.57 times the rate of white people in District 2.
- Driving-Related Arrests: Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 28 such arrests in District 2 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 75 percent of these arrests (21 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 2 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 12.14 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT THREE

Jason Sakran  
Councilmember  
Email:  
jasonsakrandistrict3@gmail.com



# 46%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 3

---

From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 46.3 percent of the population of District 3.

# 75%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 1,282 (or 74.62 percent) of total arrests made in District 3 between 2015 - 2020.

A donut chart with a dark grey segment representing 84% of the total. The text 'Black people comprised 84% of marijuana arrests in District 3' is overlaid on the chart.

Black people  
comprised 84%  
of marijuana  
arrests in District  
3

## DISTRICT THREE STATS

In District 3, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 1,718 total arrests in the district. This represents 6 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 3 currently comprises 6.56 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 1,282 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 74.62 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 46.3 percent of the population of District 3. This means that in District 3, Black people were arrested at 3.37 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- **Marijuana Arrests:** During the same time period, there were 219 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 3. Black people comprised 183, or 83.56 percent of these arrests, including 84.66 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (160 total), and 76.67% of arrests for Marijuana Sale (23 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 6.05 times the rate of white people in District 3.
- **Driving-Related Arrests:** Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 57 such arrests in District 3 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 73.68 percent of these arrests (42 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 3 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 3.15 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT FOUR

Robert M. Mitchell  
Councilmember  
Phone: 843-853-2057  
Email:  
mitchellro@charleston-sc.gov



# 51%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 4

---

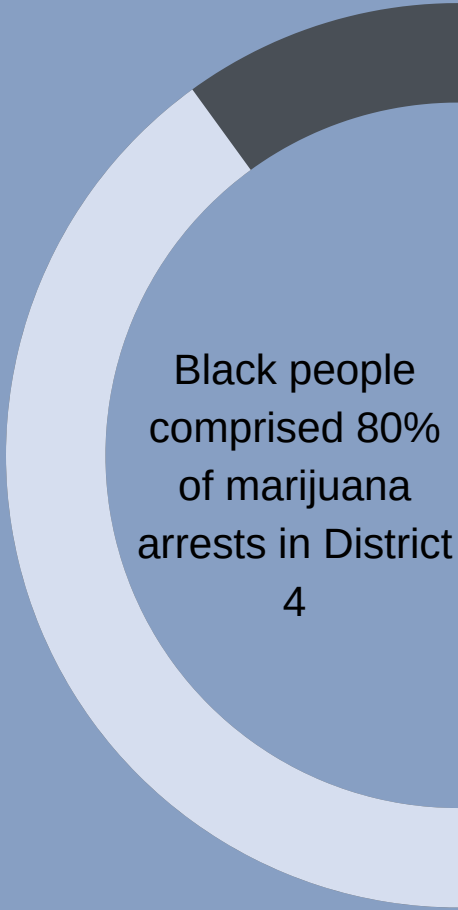
From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 50.9 percent of the population of District 4.

# 58%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 5,405 (or 57.65 percent) of total arrests made in District 4 between 2015 - 2020.



Black people  
comprised 80%  
of marijuana  
arrests in District  
4

## DISTRICT FOUR STATS

In District 4, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 9,375 total arrests in the district. This represents 31 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 4 currently comprises 6.45 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 5,405 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 57.65% of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 50.9 percent of the population of District 4. This means that in District 4, Black people were arrested at 1.23 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 620 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 4. Black people comprised 496, or 80 percent of these arrests, including 77.78 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (406 total), and 91.84 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (90 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 3.67 times the rate of white people in District 4.
- Driving-Related Arrests: Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 152 such arrests in District 4 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 73.68 percent of these arrests (112 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 4 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 2.64 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT FIVE

Karl L. Brady Jr.  
Councilmember  
Email:  
bradyk@charleston-sc.gov



# 19%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 5

---

From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 19.3 percent of the population of District 5.

# 50%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 763 (or 50.53 percent) of total arrests made in District 5 between 2015 - 2020.

A donut chart with a dark grey segment representing 54% and a light blue segment representing 46%. The text 'Black people comprised 54% of marijuana arrests in District 5' is placed inside the dark grey segment.

Black people comprised 54% of marijuana arrests in District 5

## DISTRICT FIVE STATS

In District 5, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 1,510 total arrests in the district. This represents 5 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 5 currently comprises 15.83 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 763 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 50.53 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 19.3 percent of the population of District 5. This means that in District 5, Black people were arrested at 4.04 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 282 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 5. Black people comprised 152, or 53.9 percent of these arrests, including 52.99 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (133 total), and 61.29 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (19 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 4.64 times the rate of white people in District 5.
- Driving-Related Arrests: Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 29 such arrests in District 5 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 72.41 percent of these arrests (21 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 5 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 10.35 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT SIX

William Dudley Gregorie  
Councilmember  
Phone: 843-720-1232  
Email:  
gregoriewd@charleston-sc.gov



# 25%

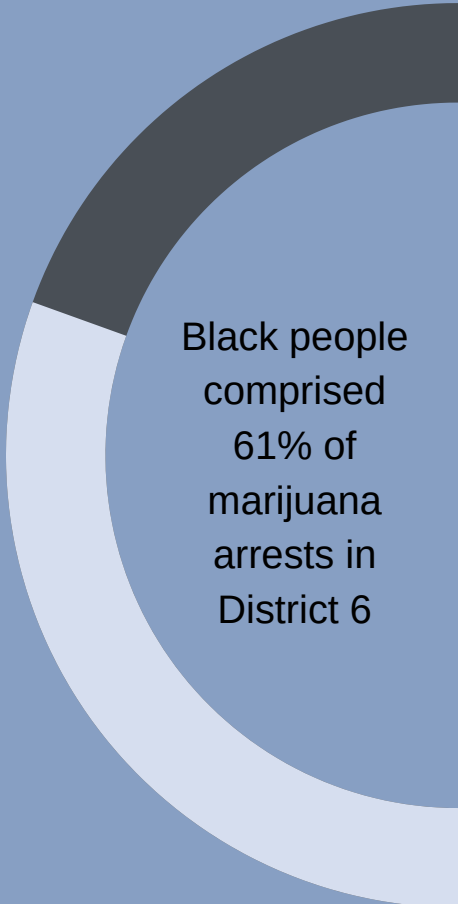
### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 6

From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 25.1 percent of the population of District 6.

# 55%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

Black people represented 1,632 (or 55.49 percent) of total arrests made in District 6 between 2015 - 2020.



Black people comprised 61% of marijuana arrests in District 6

## DISTRICT SIX STATS

In District 6, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 2,941 total arrests in the district. This represents 10 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 6 currently comprises 5.67 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 1,632 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 55.49 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 25.1 percent of the population of District 6. This means that in District 6, Black people were arrested at 3.47 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 274 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 6. Black people comprised 167, or 60.95 percent of these arrests, including 60.82 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (149 total), and 62.07 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (18 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 4.4 times the rate of white people in District 6.
- Driving-Related Arrests: Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 122 such arrests in District 6 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 69.67 percent of these arrests (85 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 6 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 6.35 times more frequently than white drivers.



## DISTRICT SEVEN

Perry K. Waring  
Councilmember  
Phone: 843-763-5388  
Email:  
waringp@charleston-sc.gov



# 45%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 7

---

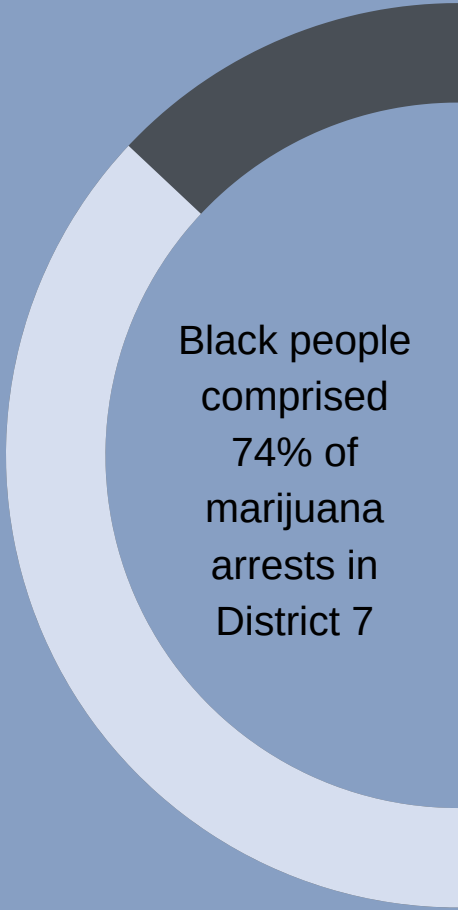
From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 45.3 percent of the population of District 7.

# 63%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 1,885 (or 63.23 percent) of total arrests made in District 7 between 2015 - 2020.



Black people comprised 74% of marijuana arrests in District 7

## DISTRICT SEVEN STATS

In District 7, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 2,981 total arrests in the district. This represents 10 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 7 currently comprises 9.47 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 1,885 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 63.23 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 45.3 percent of the population of District 7. This means that in District 7, Black people were arrested at 2 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 554 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 7. Black people comprised 408, or 73.65 percent of these arrests, including 71.88% of arrests for Marijuana Possession (368 total), and 95.24% of arrests for Marijuana Sale (40 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 3.22 times the rate of white people in District 7.
- Driving-Related Arrests: Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 80 such arrests in District 7 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 62.5 percent of these arrests (50 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 7 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 1.92 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT EIGHT

Michael S. Seekings  
Councilmember  
Phone: 843-853-5353  
Email:  
seekingsm@charleston-sc.gov



# 15%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 8

---

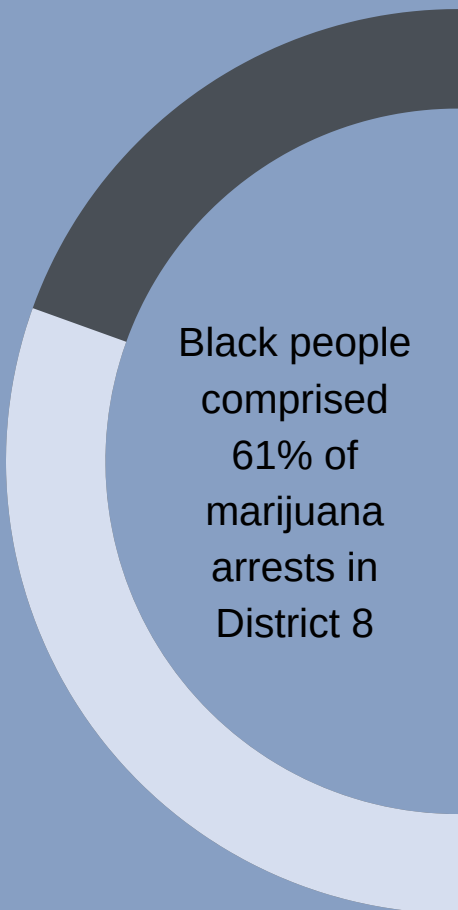
From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 14.7 percent of the population of District 8.

# 47%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 679 (or 46.89 percent) of total arrests made in District 8 between 2015 - 2020.



Black people comprised 61% of marijuana arrests in District 8

## DISTRICT EIGHT STATS

In District 8, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 1,448 total arrests in the district. This represents 5 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 8 currently comprises 4.13 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 679 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 46.89 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 14.7 percent of the population of District 8. This means that in District 8, Black people were arrested at 5.08 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 201 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 8. Black people comprised 122, or 60.7 percent of these arrests, including 59.56 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (109 total), and 72.22 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (13 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 8.92 times the rate of white people in District 8.
- Driving-Related Arrests: What's more, Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 120 such arrests in District 8 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 71.67 percent of these arrests (86 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 8 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 14.87 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT NINE

A. Peter Shahid, Jr.  
Councilmember  
Phone: (843) 323-6474  
Email:  
peter@charlestoncitycouncil9.org



# 20%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 9

---

From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 19.5 percent of the population of District 9.

# 58%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 737 (or 58.03 percent) of total arrests made in District 9 between 2015 - 2020.

Black people comprised 73% of marijuana arrests in District 9

## DISTRICT NINE STATS

In District 9, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 1,270 total arrests in the district. This represents 4 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 9 currently comprises 5.93 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 737 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 58.03 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 19.5 percent of the population of District 9. This means that in District 9, Black people were arrested at 5.43 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 343 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 9. Black people comprised 251, or 73.18 percent of these arrests, including 72.2 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (226 total), and 83.33 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (25 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 10.56 times the rate of white people in District 9.
- Driving-Related Arrests: Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 49 such arrests in District 9 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 75.51 percent of these arrests (37 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 9 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 11.94 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT TEN

Harry Joseph Griffin  
Councilmember  
Phone: 843-509-1591  
Email: griffinh@charleston-sc.gov



# 14%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 10

---

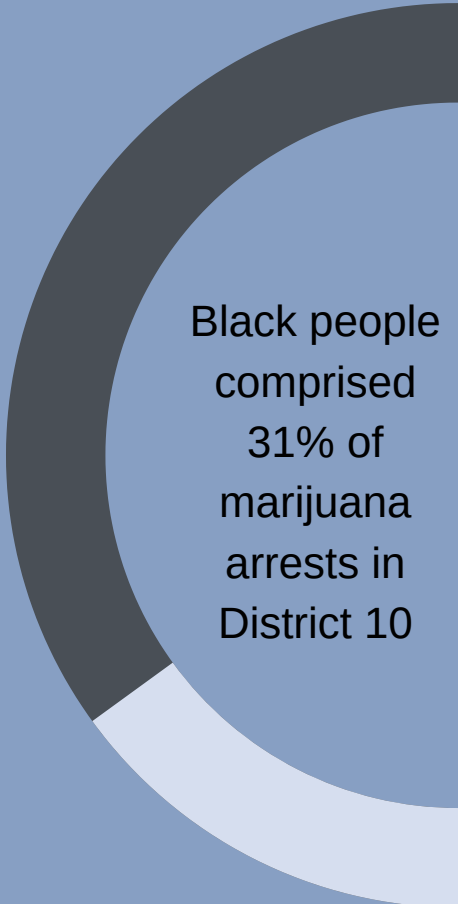
From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 13.8 percent of the population of District 10.

# 28%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 111 (or 27.54 percent) of total arrests made in District 10 between 2015 - 2020.



Black people  
comprised  
31% of  
marijuana  
arrests in  
District 10

## DISTRICT TEN STATS

In District 10, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 403 total arrests in the district. This represents 1 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 10 currently comprises 6.21 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 111 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 27.54 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 13.8 percent of the population of District 10. This means that in District 10, Black people were arrested at 2.28 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 78 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 10. Black people comprised 24, or 30.77 percent of these arrests, including 29.73 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (22 total), and 50 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (2 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 2.67 times the rate of white people in District 10.
- Driving-Related Arrests: Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 9 such arrests in District 10 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 55.56 percent of these arrests (5 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 10 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 7.5 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT ELEVEN

Ross A. Appel  
Councilmember  
Email:  
appelr@charleston-sc.gov



# 11%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 11

---

From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 10.8 percent of the population of District 11.

# 42%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 550 (or 41.64 percent) of total arrests made in District 11 between 2015 - 2020.

A donut chart with a dark grey segment representing 49% and a light blue segment representing 51%. The text 'Black people comprised 49% of marijuana arrests in District 11' is written inside the dark grey segment.

Black people comprised 49% of marijuana arrests in District 11

## DISTRICT ELEVEN STATS

In District 11, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 1,321 total arrests in the district. This represents 4 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 11 currently comprises 9.94 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 550 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 41.64 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 10.8 percent of the population of District 11. This means that in District 11, Black people were arrested at 5.76 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 276 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 11. Black people comprised 136, or 49.28 percent of these arrests, including 49.42 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (127 total), and 47.37 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (9 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 7.81 times the rate of white people in District 11.
- Driving-Related Arrests: Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 66 such arrests in District 11 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 63.64 percent of these arrests (42 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 11 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 14.46 times more frequently than white drivers.

## DISTRICT TWELVE

Carol A. Jackson  
Councilmember  
Phone: 843-302-9317  
Email: jacksonc@charleston-sc.gov



# 10%

### BLACK PEOPLE IN DISTRICT 12

---

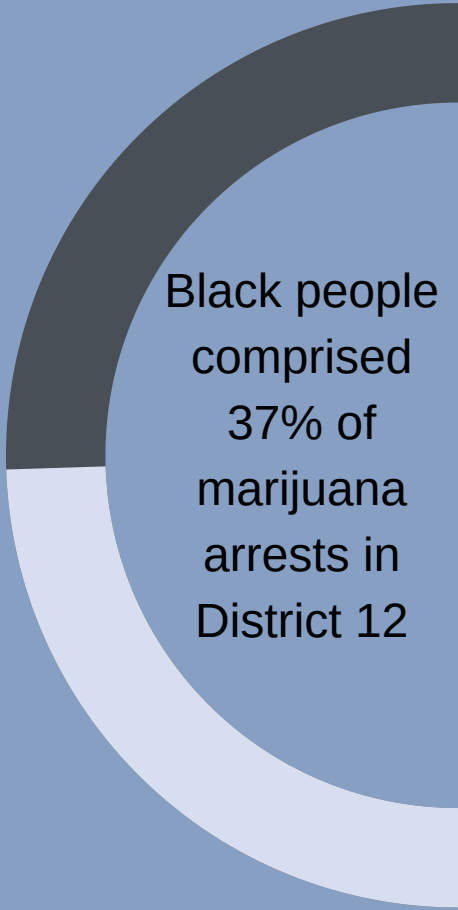
From 2015 - 2020, Black people made up only 9.5 percent of the population of District 12.

# 38%

### BLACK PEOPLE ARRESTED

---

Black people represented 386 (or 37.62 percent) of total arrests made in District 12 between 2015 - 2020.



Black people  
comprised  
37% of  
marijuana  
arrests in  
District 12

## DISTRICT TWELVE STATS

In District 12, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2015-2020, there were 1,026 total arrests in the district. This represents 3 percent of all arrests made in Charleston during that period. District 12 currently comprises 13.57 percent of Charleston's total population.

Of these arrests, 386 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 37.62 percent of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 9.5 percent of the population of District 12. This means that in District 12, Black people were arrested at 5.56 times the rate of white people. This troubling disparity in arrests becomes even more stark when considering certain low-level offenses.

- Marijuana Arrests: During the same time period, there were 210 arrests for marijuana-related offenses in District 12. Black people comprised 77, or 36.67 percent of these arrests, including 36.5 percent of arrests for Marijuana Possession (73 total), and 40 percent of arrests for Marijuana Sale (4 total). All told, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 5.36 times the rate of white people in District 12.
- Driving-Related Arrests: What's more, Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate frequency while driving, particularly for Suspended Licenses charges. There were 39 such arrests in District 12 from 2015-2020. Black drivers comprised 51.28 percent of these arrests (20 total), meaning that Black drivers in District 12 have been arrested for Suspended License charges 9.68 times more frequently than white drivers.

# THE CPD RACIAL BIAS AUDIT

---

Following community calls for an audit of its conduct, the City hired CNA (51) to conduct a racial bias audit of CPD. This audit was narrow in scope. While it answered some questions about how CPD policed, it did not address the more foundational questions of why CPD policed certain actions.

In November 2019, Charleston community members were presented with the findings of the racial bias audit (52). The audit found disturbing data and practices throughout CPD, including racial disparities in traffic stops (53) and use of force (54). For example, it found that Black community members were disproportionately subjected to traffic stops and that Black community members were 2.8 times more likely to face the use of force from CPD officers. The report concluded with a series of recommendations to address CPD's failures around policy and practice.

The Audit provided confirmation for what the community, particularly its Black and Brown residents, had long known. The next section of this report reviews arrests that occurred after the public presentation of the Audit.

CPD should have known long before the completion of the Audit that its officers were disproportionately stopping and harming Black residents. Despite this knowledge, the next section documents how CPD continues to police with a staggering racial bias. While the total number of arrests by CPD are trending down, the racial disparities in arrests have remained the same or increased.

Between January 1, 2020 and June 31, 2021, despite making up less than a quarter of the population of the City of Charleston, Black people comprised over half of all arrests by CPD, and even higher percentages of several common low-level arrests, such as arrests for Marijuana-related offenses, Driving under a Suspended License, and a host of other minor charges. Perhaps most unsettling is the disparity in arrests between Black and white children under the age of 18.

According to this new data, racial disparities in arrests continue to be an issue. From 2020 through June 2021, there were 5,098 total arrests in Charleston. Of these arrests, 2,679 were of a Black defendant, which corresponds to 52.55% of the total, despite the fact that Black people made up only 21.7% of the city population. This means that Black people were arrested at 3.83 times the rate of white people.

# THE CPD RACIAL BIAS AUDIT CONT.

---

More specifically, between January 1, 2020 and June 31, 2021, Black people comprised:

- 39.6 percent of open container of alcohol in a vehicle arrests
- 40 percent of disorderly conduct arrests among all age groups
- 54.8 percent of open container of alcohol arrests
- 66.67 percent of public urination arrests
- 71 percent of all marijuana possession arrests
  - 81.72 percent of marijuana sale arrests
  - 71.3 percent of marijuana possession arrests
- 77.44 percent all arrests among youth
- 78.6 percent of driving under a suspended license arrests
- 78.6 percent of driving under a suspended license (DUS) arrests
- 96.6 percent of disorderly conduct arrests among youth arrests

Monthly arrests hit an all-time low in Charleston in June of 2020, though total arrests had been trending down throughout the 6-year period of data collection. This appears to be largely driven by reductions in enforcement of minor offenses such as public intoxication, open container of alcohol, trespassing, disorderly conduct, and disturbing schools. In addition, Charleston, like the rest of the world, was in the midst of a global pandemic that had greatly reduced the number of people out in the community.

Despite this, the proportion of arrests that are of Black people, while variable, has not decreased consistently, despite the fact that Black people are arrested at more than three times the rate that would be expected based on their proportion of the population.

For example, Black people were arrested for Marijuana-related charges at 9.41 times the rate of white people. Even Black children were subjected to alarming disparities in the rate of arrests. From Jan 2020 - June 2021, there were 297 arrests involving defendants under the age of 18. 230 of these arrests involved Black youths, comprising 82.4 percent of the total. 34 of those arrests took place in schools.

Black people of all ages were arrested with a disproportionate number of Driving under a Suspended License (DUS) charges. There were 56 such arrests from 2020 - June 2021. Black drivers comprised 78.6 percent of these arrests (44 total), meaning that Black drivers have been arrested for suspended license charges 12.53 times more frequently than white drivers.

Black people were also more likely than white people to be arrested for disorderly conduct. There were 230 arrests for disorderly conduct between 2020 and June 2021. During this time period, Black people were 2.29 times more likely than white people to be arrested for disorderly conduct.



# THE CPD RACIAL BIAS AUDIT CONT.

---

While arrests, including arrests for low-level offenses, have fallen since 2019, Black people are still arrested at more than twice the rate of white people. Racial disparities remain functionally unchanged, and in some charge categories, have increased.

As this report makes clear, through over policing Black communities, CPD is misusing a large portion of the \$53 million that our city invests in it each year. It is past time for Charleston's leaders to prioritize harm reduction and public safety. This is not a debate about "defunding the police." This is a call to implement effective solutions to the issues that harm our communities.

And, while arrests have been trending down, CPD is deploying another mechanism for bringing people into the criminal justice system for low-level offenses - cite and release. Under Charleston's cite and release program, people avoid an arrest but are still brought into the criminal legal system, and thus can still face potential incarceration, fines and fees, and the collateral harms of a criminal conviction.

And, like arrests, CPD use of cite and release comes with a staggering racial bias.

Between January 1, 2020 and June 31, 2021, CPD gave out 20,655 citations. Overall, out of all incidents that led to citations or arrests by CPD, almost 20 percent led to arrests versus 80 percent led to citations. Twenty-six percent of Black folks were arrested versus cited, compared to 17 percent of white people. And, Black people made up 36.5 percent of all citations, yet just 21.7 percent of the population.

White people were cited at a rate of 4.8 times more often than they were arrested. Black people were also more likely to be cited than arrested, but were only cited at 3.1 times the rate that they were arrested. Overall, more individual Black people were arrested than white people despite white people making a larger percentage of the population. And, Black people were cited at 2.2 times the rate of white people (compared to 3.8 times arrests).

Suspended license and marijuana possession were two offenses where the racial disparity was particularly troubling. Out of roughly 1,500 citations for driving with a suspended license, 67 percent were given to Black drivers, and 29 percent were given to white drivers. Black drivers were almost 8 times as likely to get a citation for a license violation than white drivers. For marijuana possession, 72 percent of the roughly 850 citations for marijuana possession were given to Black people, and 26 percent were given to white folks. Black folks were cited for marijuana possession at 9.6 times the rate of white folks.



# CONCLUSION

Charleston's policing system isn't broken — it's working as it was designed. CPD's recent abuses coupled with its continued massive racial disparities in the enforcement of our laws is a contradiction of city leaders' claims to be invested in racial justice.

Over the past several years, the City of Charleston has taken steps to demonstrate to the community a concern for racial justice, including apologizing for its role in slavery, commissioning a racial bias audit of the police department, establishing the "Special Commission on Equity Inclusion and Racial Reconciliation," and removing the Calhoun monument from Marion Square.

Now is the time to follow these gestures with concrete actions to reduce harms enacted on Black people in Charleston. In the birthplace of America's first police force, which was originally established as a slave patrol, this expansion of policing is a direct dismissal of the outcries of Black people who continue to be oppressed by the racist foundation and structure of policing in Charleston. Coming to terms with that means recognizing that we must fundamentally rethink what public safety means.

Law enforcement officers have handcuffs, guns, pepper spray, tasers, and, under certain conditions, the power to make arrests and use lethal force. Yet, Charleston's political and law enforcement leaders have turned police into society's "solution" for drug use, misbehaving children at school, homelessness, mental illness and protests against these destructive policies, to name just a few. As a society, we have others who are better trained and equipped to handle these various issues.

Charleston must finally invest the city's resources into policies and programs that will actually make our communities safer and more just. And, if public safety really means ensuring the safety and well-being of all, then Charleston must focus on the needs outlined by the community, like ensuring all people have a roof over their head, comprehensive healthcare, reliable public transportation and safe transportation routes, a living wage, and quality public education.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

---

## **Reduce Law Enforcement Jurisdiction and Invest in Communities and People.**

Our political leaders have prioritized policing and incarceration rather than things that will actually improve public safety and health, like ensuring all people have a roof over their head, comprehensive healthcare, a living wage, and quality public education. Our political leaders have turned law enforcement into a "solution" for drug use, misbehaving children at school, homelessness, and mental illness, and other issues where officers lack the tools, training, and resources to handle the situation. It is past time to drastically reduce the size, scope, and role of law enforcement and drastically increase investments in areas like housing, education, and health care, especially in the Black and Brown communities that have been most targeted by discriminatory practices.

We call on the Charleston City Council, Mayor, and CPD to:

- Further review on CPD's past youth arrest, expungement of disorderly conduct violations, and potentially discontinue all disorderly conduct arrest amongst youth under 18.
- A full independent review and oversight CNA Racial Bias Audit, and further review on the effectiveness of its implementation in reducing racial disparities in law enforcement.
- A moratorium on new City of Charleston funded law enforcement youth programs until the further review is conducted on the department's racial bias against Black youth.
- Create new Departments of Community Safety and Violence Prevention to oversee CPD as well as two newly created departments.
  - The Community Response Department will consist of trained medical and mental health professionals, social workers, or other expert staff and volunteers independent of local law enforcement and who are responsible for responding to incidents where a city resident is experiencing a medical, mental health, disability-related, or other behavioral or social need.
  - The Traffic Enforcement Department will be an unarmed civilian department responsible for enforcing traffic violations.
- Improve access to housing: Increase opportunities for home ownership, rental assistance, transitional housing. Increase the number of Homelessness Outreach Coordinators. Create inclusionary zoning laws to support the creation of affordable and public housing.

# RECOMMENDATIONS CONT.

---

## **Reduce Law Enforcement Jurisdiction and Invest in Communities and People cont.**

- Provide opportunities for youth: Increase summer youth employment programs for youth and seasonal workers specifically in underserved communities. Provide financial literacy programs for youth and underserved communities through a Bank On initiative.
- Build safe infrastructure: Create and maintain sidewalk programs in neighborhoods with high public transit ridership. Provide subsidies for Weatherization Assistance Programs for low-income neighborhoods.
- Guarantee all city workers a living wage: Implement a \$15 living wage minimum guarantee for every employee that works for the city. Create and pass a resolution demonstrating strong support for every employee to be paid \$15/hour.
- Directly invest in racial justice: Expand the Department of Racial Reconciliation and Tolerance and hire additional staff. Fund the Special Commission on Equity, Inclusion and Racial Conciliation.
- Demilitarize CPD: End all participation in federal programs that provide surplus military equipment or funding to buy military equipment, and return any military equipment currently in CPD's possession.
- Creation of a permanent Public Safety Accountability Council who will review city safety data and make recommendations to the City Council on how to modify and/or initiate programs or policies to improve community safety and prevent police violence. This will also:
  - Consist of county residents, including community members impacted by law enforcement; independent of the Mayor and CPD
  - Not consist of current or former law enforcement officers
  - Have oversight over and the ability to cap law enforcement budgets
  - The authority to subpoena and review data, inspect detention facilities, make recommendations on enforcement and jail policies, practices, and responses to incidents
  - The ability to discipline and fire police for violations
- Create a formal policy that CPD will not cooperate with the 287g program, which allows officers to receive training and work under the supervision of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).
- Pass an ordinance to ban the box on job applications.
- Prioritize programs and departments aimed at building alternative public safety infrastructures.

# RECOMMENDATIONS CONT.

---

## Limit Law Enforcement Power

As Charleston County residents witnessed first hand on May 31, 2020 when multiple law enforcement departments engaged in police violence against people exercising their First Amendment right to protest, law enforcement have immense power and discretion to harm the very people they are supposed to serve. Charleston must substantially reduce law enforcement's power to control community actions and make arrests, including the power to unilaterally declare a protest unlawful, search a vehicle or pedestrian, or use no-knock warrants.

We call on the Charleston City Council, Mayor, and CPD to:

- Instruct CPD to decline to arrest or cite people for minor offenses including failure to pay fines, low-level (one ounce) marijuana possession, and open container violations.
- End the practice of stationing CPD officers in Charleston County public schools.
- Ban consent-based searches of vehicles and civilians during equipment violations, routine traffic and pedestrian stops.
- Instruct CPD to decline partnerships and/or funding to participate in regional or statewide "gang task forces" or "gang units," known to overpolice BIPOC communities.
- Enforce CPD's use of force policy that already mandates the use of de-escalation whenever possible, and prohibits them from using more force than necessary to accomplish a legitimate and immediate public safety.
- Ending the use of brutal and/or indiscriminate tools and tactics including:
  - Tear gas;
  - Chokeholds; and
  - No-knock warrants.
- Instruct CPD (and support efforts at the State Legislature) that dispersal orders by law enforcement are a last resort and that the dispersal order cannot take place unless there is a clear and present danger of riot, disorder, interference with traffic, or other immediate threat to public safety.
- Avoid pre-detaining children by releasing them into the custody of their family, whenever possible.
- Commit to protecting the first amendment right and limit interaction between officers and protestors.

# RECOMMENDATIONS CONT.

---

## **Ensure Law Enforcement is Transparent and Accountable**

Transparency and accountability are cornerstones of good government, yet law enforcement too often act in secret and with impunity. Charleston must ensure that law enforcement is transparent and accountable to the people when they abuse their power.

We call on the Charleston City Council, Mayor, and CPD to:

- End the practice of charging fees for FOIA and data requests, responding to requests within 30 days, and implementing a presumption against the use of investigatory exemptions.
- Create an independent office that monitors and enforces all policing protocols.
- Instruct CPD not to have or maintain encrypted police radios
- Create a publicly accessible database that:
  - Documents complaints about law enforcement misconduct and the outcomes of investigations into potential wrongdoing (redacting individual officer information); and
  - Documents law enforcement found to have misconduct and the results of those investigations

## **End policing for profit**

From civil asset forfeiture to fines and fees, South Carolina law incentivizes law enforcement to prioritize revenue collection. Charleston must ensure that law enforcement is focused on the fair administration of justice, not collecting revenue or meeting quotas.

We call on the Charleston City Council, Mayor, and CPD to:

- End participation in programs that encourage policing for profit (e.g. civil asset forfeiture).
- Cease the collection and/or spending of revenue that is not specifically granted to the CPD through the Charleston City budget process

# ENDNOTES

## 1-8

1. Megan Cassella & Brianna Ehley, Unemployed workers face choice between safety and money as states reopen, Politico, Apr. 29, 2020, available at <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/29/unemployment-coronavirus-safety-223216> (“South Carolina and Tennessee both have notices on their websites noting that workers refusing to return will lose unemployment aid the same week they turn down an offer.”).
2. Bill Chappell, Crowded U.S. Jails Drove Millions Of COVID-19 Cases, NPR, A New Study Says, Sept. 2, 2021, available at <https://www.npr.org/2021/09/02/1033326204/crowded-jails-drove-millions-of-covid-19-cases-a-new-study-says>.
3. Mike Stobbe, US overdose deaths hit record 93,000 in pandemic last year, AP, July 14, 2021, available at <https://apnews.com/article/overdose-deaths-record-covid-pandemic-fd43b5d91a81179def5ac596253b0304>.
4. Skyler Baldwin, Charleston at the “epicenter” of housing crises in S.C., according to new report, Charleston City Paper, Sept. 18, 2019, available at <https://charlestoncitypaper.com/charleston-at-the-epicenter-of-housing-crisis-in-s-c-according-to-new-report/>.
5. Tony Bartelme, *A sunny day in Charleston and a flood: What that tells us about climate change and the future*, Post & Courier, June 11, 2021, available at [https://www.postandcourier.com/rising-waters/a-sunny-day-in-charleston-and-a-flood-what-that-tells-us-about-climate-change/article\\_367fb068-f9b9-11ea-b881-4ff1fcafa0a9.html](https://www.postandcourier.com/rising-waters/a-sunny-day-in-charleston-and-a-flood-what-that-tells-us-about-climate-change/article_367fb068-f9b9-11ea-b881-4ff1fcafa0a9.html).
6. Chloe Johnson, Gadsden Creek becomes a flashpoint in Charleston discussion on environmental justice, Post & Courier, July 17, 2020, available at [https://www.postandcourier.com/news/gadsden-creek-becomes-a-flashpoint-in-charleston-discussion-on-environmental-justice/article\\_8a40ece8-c5e9-11ea-b50e-df363e8bef92.html](https://www.postandcourier.com/news/gadsden-creek-becomes-a-flashpoint-in-charleston-discussion-on-environmental-justice/article_8a40ece8-c5e9-11ea-b50e-df363e8bef92.html).
7. Feeding America, Food Insecurity in the Lowcountry Food Bank Service Area, 2019, available at <https://map.feedingamerica.org/county/2019/overall/south-carolina/organization/lowcountry-food-bank>.
8. Andrew Brown, *Average wages for workers in Charleston barely outpaced inflation over past decade*, Post & Courier, June 8, 2021, available at [https://www.postandcourier.com/business/average-wages-for-workers-in-charleston-barely-outpaced-inflation-over-past-decade/article\\_d8a24f1c-c859-11eb-80f8-7b0a5ff85f98.html](https://www.postandcourier.com/business/average-wages-for-workers-in-charleston-barely-outpaced-inflation-over-past-decade/article_d8a24f1c-c859-11eb-80f8-7b0a5ff85f98.html). See also, Living Wage Calculation for Charleston County, South Carolina, available at <https://livingwage.mit.edu/counties/45019>.

# ENDNOTES

## 9-20

9. Stacey Patton, *The State of Racial Disparities in Charleston County, South Carolina 2000-2015*, The Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture, p. 7, available at <https://avery.cofc.edu/disparities-report/>.
10. Based on the Federal Bureau of Investigation Universal Crime Reporting definition of violent crime.
11. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, *Extinguishing the Tobacco Epidemic in South Carolina*, available at <https://www.cdc.gov/tobacco/about/osh/state-fact-sheets/south-carolina/index.html>.
12. Ezekiel Edwards, et. al., *A Tale of Two Countries: Racially Targeted Arrests in the Era of Marijuana Reform*, ACLU, 2020, available at [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/marijuanareport\\_03232021.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/marijuanareport_03232021.pdf).
13. Sandro Galea, et. al., *Estimated Deaths Attributable to Social Factors in the United States*, *Am J Public Health*. 2011 August; 101(8): 1456-1465.
14. There were 15,517 homicides in 2000. See, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, 2000*, available at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3134519/>.
15. Steve Bailey, *Fentanyl and the pandemic are a deadly combination for SC men*, *Post and Courier*, May 8, 2021, available at [https://www.postandcourier.com/opinion/commentary/bailey-fentanyl-and-the-pandemic-are-a-deadly-combination-for-sc-men/article\\_a6a9b2be-af24-11eb-86ca-1717558881c2.html](https://www.postandcourier.com/opinion/commentary/bailey-fentanyl-and-the-pandemic-are-a-deadly-combination-for-sc-men/article_a6a9b2be-af24-11eb-86ca-1717558881c2.html).
16. David Travis Bland, *With record number of murders in 2020, SC police plead for community and lawmaker help*, *The State*, June 03, 2021, available at <https://www.thestate.com/news/local/crime/article251865133.html>.
17. Rebecca A. Clay, *How Portugal is solving its opioid problem: By focusing on public health instead of incarceration, the country has stopped an opioid epidemic. Psychologists are playing a key role in this dramatic turnaround*, *American Psychological Association*, Oct. 2018, Vol 49, No. 9, available at <https://www.apa.org/monitor/2018/10/portugal-opioid> (emphasis added).
18. Andrew Brown, *SC ranks 4th in rate of pedestrian deaths. Charleston activists want more safety measures*, *Post and Courier*, Mar. 15, 2021, available at [https://www.postandcourier.com/news/sc-ranks-4th-in-rate-of-pedestrian-deaths-charleston-activists-want-more-safety-measures/article\\_d20f72ca-8596-11eb-9bf2-576756ea078e.html](https://www.postandcourier.com/news/sc-ranks-4th-in-rate-of-pedestrian-deaths-charleston-activists-want-more-safety-measures/article_d20f72ca-8596-11eb-9bf2-576756ea078e.html).
19. *One dead in crash between car, bicyclist*, *Live 5*, July 17, 2021, available at <https://www.live5news.com/2021/07/17/one-dead-crash-between-car-bicyclist/>.
20. *2021 Ops Stat Report Wk 36*, available at <https://pdi-charleston-sc.opendata.arcgis.com/documents/cd444eae2579452f92e52b838490c0da/explore>



# ENDNOTES

## 21-30

21. Sara Coello, Charleston police, with deputies, state agents, ramp up patrols, checkpoints on peninsula, Post and Courier, July 21, 2020, available at [https://www.postandcourier.com/news/charleston-police-with-deputies-state-agents-ramp-up-patrols-checkpoints-on-peninsula/article\\_54800644-cb92-11ea-848f-7bec99224346.html](https://www.postandcourier.com/news/charleston-police-with-deputies-state-agents-ramp-up-patrols-checkpoints-on-peninsula/article_54800644-cb92-11ea-848f-7bec99224346.html).
22. Andrew Brown, SC ranks 4th in rate of pedestrian deaths. Charleston activists want more safety measures, Post and Courier, Mar. 15, 2021, *available at* [https://www.postandcourier.com/news/sc-ranks-4th-in-rate-of-pedestrian-deaths-charleston-activists-want-more-safety-measures/article\\_d20f72ca-8596-11eb-9bf2-576756ea078e.html](https://www.postandcourier.com/news/sc-ranks-4th-in-rate-of-pedestrian-deaths-charleston-activists-want-more-safety-measures/article_d20f72ca-8596-11eb-9bf2-576756ea078e.html).
23. Warren Fiske, PolitiFact VA: Are Marijuana Laws Enforced Differently Across Races?, Virginia Public Media, Dec. 2, 2020, *available at* <https://vpm.org/news/articles/18530/politifact-va-are-marijuana-laws-enforced-differently-across-races>.
24. Alec Karakatsanis, Why “Crime” Isn’t the Question and Police Aren’t the Answer, Criminal Punishment, Aug. 10, 2020.
25. David Travis Bland, With record number of murders in 2020, SC police plead for community and lawmaker help, The State, June 03, 2021, available at <https://www.thestate.com/news/local/crime/article251865133.html>. (“[Chief] Keel took a shot at a legislative proposal to reform drug sentencing, saying it would ‘incentivize criminal conduct,’ and called on lawmakers to uphold laws that punish criminals. ‘I’m so sick of hearing drug crimes are victimless crimes,’ he said, adding that street dealing leads to homicides. ‘Not holding criminals accountable is not the answer.’”). See also, Live 5 Web Staff, Charleston Police chief: Crime trends ‘going in wrong direction’, Live 5 Web Staff, May. 26, 2021, available at <https://www.live5news.com/2021/05/26/charleston-police-chief-insists-charleston-is-safe-city-despite-uptick-violence/> (“Charleston’s police chief blames a recent uptick in violent crimes in the Holy City largely on gangs and drugs. Police Chief Luther Reynolds said in addition to increased patrols, his agency is working with state and federal authorities to keep the area safe by seeking harsher penalties for those involved.”)
26. Simone Weichselbaum & Wendi C. Thomas, Is the Answer to Crime More Cops?, The Marshall Project, Feb. 13, 2019.
27. Simone Weichselbaum & Wendi C. Thomas, Is the Answer to Crime More Cops?, The Marshall Project, Feb. 13, 2019.
28. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crime Data Explorer, South Carolina Ratio of Police Officers to Population, available at <https://crime-data-explorer.app.cloud.gov/pages/le/pe>.
29. South Carolina Law Enforcement Division, Crime in South Carolina 2019, p.6
30. Lois Beckett & Abené Clayton, *How bad is the rise in US homicides? Fact checking the ‘crime wave’ narrative police are pushing*, The Guardian, June 2021, *available at* <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/jun/30/us-crime-rate-homicides-explained>.

# ENDNOTES

## 31-41

31. Weihua Li, The truth about violent crime in American cities, explained in 11 charts, Vox, Sept. 25, 2020, available at <https://www.vox.com/21454844/murder-crime-us-cities-protests>.
32. John Pflaff, Can Criminal Justice Reform Survive the Wave of Violent Crime?, The New Republic, June 21, 2021.
33. John Pflaff, Can Criminal Justice Reform Survive the Wave of Violent Crime?, The New Republic, June 21, 2021.
34. <https://pdi-charleston.sc.opendata.arcgis.com/documents/cd444eae2579452f92e52b838490c0da/explore>.
35. Matthew Yglesias, Study: adding low-income housing to poor neighborhoods lowers crime and boosts property values, Vox, May 2, 2016, available at <https://www.vox.com/2016/5/2/11568262/low-income-housing-impact>.
36. Juleyka Lantigua-Williams, *Raise the Minimum Wage, Reduce Crime? A new White House report links higher hourly incomes to lower rates of law-breaking*, The Atlantic, May 3, 2016, available at <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/05/raise-the-minimum-wage-reduce-crime/480912/>.
37. Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, Prosecutors say Derek Chauvin knelt on George Floyd for 9 minutes 29 seconds, longer than initially reported, Mar. 30, 2021, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/30/us/derek-chauvin-george-floyd-kneel-9-minutes-29-seconds.html>.
38. ACLU of SC letter to Heather Mulloy, July 28, 2020, available at [https://www.aclusc.org/sites/default/files/field\\_documents/2020.07.29\\_aclu\\_sc\\_2nd\\_letter\\_-\\_law\\_enforcement\\_response\\_to\\_protests\\_0.pdf](https://www.aclusc.org/sites/default/files/field_documents/2020.07.29_aclu_sc_2nd_letter_-_law_enforcement_response_to_protests_0.pdf).
39. ACLU of SC letter to Heather Mulloy, July 28, 2020, available at [https://www.aclusc.org/sites/default/files/field\\_documents/2020.07.29\\_aclu\\_sc\\_2nd\\_letter\\_-\\_law\\_enforcement\\_response\\_to\\_protests\\_0.pdf](https://www.aclusc.org/sites/default/files/field_documents/2020.07.29_aclu_sc_2nd_letter_-_law_enforcement_response_to_protests_0.pdf).
40. City of Charleston Police Department Policy and Procedure Manual, Administrative General Order 25 Less-Lethal & Lethal Weapons, Effective Date: 02/01/08, Revised: 05/13/20, available at <https://www.charleston-sc.gov/1356/Policies-Procedures> (“[T]he use of a chemical agent may be necessary in circumstances where a serious danger to life and property exists and other methods of apprehension would be ineffective or more dangerous.”).
41. City of Charleston Police Department Policy and Procedure Manual, Administrative General Order 23 Response to Resistance/Aggression, Effective Date: 02/01/08, Revised: 02/01/17, available at <https://www.charleston-sc.gov/1356/Policies-Procedures> (“Any officer present and observing another officer using force that is clearly beyond that which is objectively reasonable under the circumstances shall, when in a position to do so, intercede to prevent the use of such excessive force. Officers shall promptly report these observations to a supervisor.”).

# ENDNOTES

## 42-54

42. Fleming Smith, Despite celebrated 2015 law, body cameras for SC law enforcement lack state funding, Post and Courier, updated June 22, 2020 [https://www.postandcourier.com/news/despite-celebrated-2015-law-body-cameras-for-sc-law-enforcement-lack-state-funding/article\\_0741c19e-9aa8-11ea-ad54-33fb0ac91f15.html](https://www.postandcourier.com/news/despite-celebrated-2015-law-body-cameras-for-sc-law-enforcement-lack-state-funding/article_0741c19e-9aa8-11ea-ad54-33fb0ac91f15.html).
43. South Carolina Law Enforcement Training Council, Law Enforcement Training Council's Body-Worn Camera Guidelines, Dec. 7, 2015, available at [https://www.masc.sc/SiteCollectionDocuments/Public%20Safety/BWC\\_guidelines.pdf](https://www.masc.sc/SiteCollectionDocuments/Public%20Safety/BWC_guidelines.pdf).
44. Daniel J. Gross, Lethal Force Part 3: Some police shootings in South Carolina aren't captured on body camera. Here's why., Greenville News, updated June 17, 2020, available at <https://www.greenvilleonline.com/in-depth/news/local/south-carolina/2019/09/29/body-camera-use-sc-police-shootings-is-inconsistent-heres-why/3210213002>.
45. Daniel J. Gross, Lethal Force Part 3: Some police shootings in South Carolina aren't captured on body camera. Here's why., Greenville News, updated June 17, 2020, available at <https://www.greenvilleonline.com/in-depth/news/local/south-carolina/2019/09/29/body-camera-use-sc-police-shootings-is-inconsistent-heres-why/3210213002>.
46. Opinion: After George Floyd's Death, A Press Release Obscured A Police Murder, NPR, April 24, 2021, available at <https://www.npr.org/2021/04/24/990376231/opinion-after-george-floyds-death-a-press-release-obscured-a-police-murder>.
47. Matthew Vann and Erik Ortiz, Walter Scott shooting: Michael Slager, ex-officer, sentenced to 20 years in prison, NBC, Dec. 7, 2017, available at <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/walter-scott-shooting/walter-scott-shooting-michael-slager-ex-officer-sentenced-20-years-n825006>.
48. ACLU of SC letter to Heather Mulloy, July 28, 2020, available at [https://www.aclusc.org/sites/default/files/field\\_documents/2020.07.29\\_aclu\\_sc\\_2nd\\_letter\\_-\\_law\\_enforcement\\_response\\_to\\_protests\\_0.pdf](https://www.aclusc.org/sites/default/files/field_documents/2020.07.29_aclu_sc_2nd_letter_-_law_enforcement_response_to_protests_0.pdf).
49. Paige Fernandez, Defunding the Police Isn't Punishment—It Will Actually Make Us Safer, Cosmopolitan, Apr 13, 2021, available at <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/a32757152/defund-police-black-lives-matter/>.
50. Paige Fernandez, Defunding the Police Isn't Punishment—It Will Actually Make Us Safer, Cosmopolitan, Apr 13, 2021, available at <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/a32757152/defund-police-black-lives-matter/>.
51. Denise Rodriguez, et. al., Racial Bias Audit of the Charleston, South Carolina, Police Department, CNA, November 2019, available at [https://www.cna.org/CNA\\_files/PDF/IRM-2019-U-022344-Final.pdf](https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/IRM-2019-U-022344-Final.pdf).
52. Denise Rodriguez, et. al., *Racial Bias Audit of the Charleston, South Carolina*, Police Department, CNA, November 2019, available at [https://www.cna.org/CNA\\_files/PDF/IRM-2019-U-022344-Final.pdf](https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/IRM-2019-U-022344-Final.pdf).
53. Denise Rodriguez, et. al., *Racial Bias Audit of the Charleston, South Carolina*, Police Department, CNA, November 2019, available at [https://www.cna.org/CNA\\_files/PDF/IRM-2019-U-022344-Final.pdf](https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/IRM-2019-U-022344-Final.pdf).
54. Denise Rodriguez, et. al., *Racial Bias Audit of the Charleston, South Carolina*, Police Department, CNA, November 2019, available at [https://www.cna.org/CNA\\_files/PDF/IRM-2019-U-022344-Final.pdf](https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/IRM-2019-U-022344-Final.pdf).