

Racial Disparities in Police Citations  
A quantitative analysis of race and police citations

Submitted by

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## **Abstract**

Black people and African Americans continue to be negatively impacted by Anti-Black racism through multiple social, economic, and political metrics. People of color, particularly Black people, have been stopped-and-frisked, pulled over, issued citations, and even killed by the police at alarmingly higher rates than their white counterparts. This study utilizes citation data from the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) for the year 2016 to examine if there is a racial disparity in police citations. Examining daytime vs. nighttime citations, it allows me to test if a “veil of darkness” affects the chances of Black people being issued citations at night where their race becomes more ambiguous. As age increases the likelihood of nighttime citation decreases and males are less likely to get a nighttime citation compared to daytime. With an increase in rent prices, the chances of nighttime citations also increase. Asians were more likely to get nighttime citations compared to daytime citations. Individuals that fell into the “other” category of race were also more likely to get a nighttime citation. The results indicate that Black people are 17% less likely to get a nighttime citation. The post-hoc analysis revealed significant differences between the probability of nighttime citations for different races. Black people were the only statistically significant group of people that were less likely to get a citation at night.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Racial disparities continue to pervade everyday life for residents of the United States. Black people and African Americans continue to be negatively impacted by Anti-Black racism through multiple social, economic, and political metrics. The criminal justice system and racially biased policing contribute to this problem. Policing and racial biases have been studied extensively in various contexts such as the impacts of racial biases on traffic stops. Black Americans are disproportionately shot to death by police officers. Approximately 1,000 people are shot to death by police every year, Black Americans were twice as likely to be shot and killed by police officers in comparison to their representation in the population (Miller et. al 2020). Black Americans were also three times more likely to be shot and killed by law enforcement during interactions where the victim appeared to pose little or no threat to the officers. Based on over two million 911 calls from two cities in the United States, white officers dispatched to Black neighborhoods fired their guns five times as often as Black officers dispatched for similar calls in the same neighborhood (Hoekstra & Sloan 2020).

This study will utilize citation data from the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) for the year 2016 to examine if there is a racial disparity in police citations. Each citation issued by the LAPD has a timestamp which allows the citations to be sorted into either daytime or nighttime citations. By examining daytime vs. nighttime citations, it allows me to test if a “veil of darkness” affects the chances of Black people being issued citations at night where their race becomes more ambiguous. The question, “Are there racial disparities in police citations?” guides my research. I hypothesize that there is a racial disparity in police citations and that negatively impacts Black people. I hypothesize that Black people are less likely to get a citation by the LAPD during nighttime compared to daytime because it becomes harder for police officers to actively racial profile people.

## Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Broken windows policing plays a role in police behavior and racial disparities in citations. Broken windows model of policing was first introduced in 1982 by Wilson and Kelling. The model emphasizes disorder (e.g. graffiti and broken windows) and their potential to generate more serious crimes. In the 1970s a "Safe and Clean Neighborhoods Program," was introduced by the State of New Jersey. The program aimed to improve the quality of life for members of the community across twenty-eight cities. Funded by the state government, police officers were assigned walking beats (foot patrol). The goal of assigning officers to walk beats was to increase police visibility and enhance citizen's sense of safety and potentially reduce crime. Five years after the program was introduced, the Police Foundation published an evaluation of the effectiveness of the foot patrol project. The findings concluded that assigning officers to walking beats did not reduce crime rates. The foot patrol intervention did not have a significant impact on overall crime, arrests, or victimization. However, the residents of foot patrolled communities feel more than secure than those in other areas without. Residents of the foot patrolled neighborhoods had more favorable opinions on law enforcement (The Police Foundation 1981). The disorder is not directly correlated to more serious crimes, but it leads to increased fear and withdrawal from the residents, which then catalyzes more serious crimes. The role police plays by focusing on disorders they can reduce fear and resident withdrawal. Thus, promoting higher levels of informal social control which makes the resident feel safer even though crime rates have not reduced and have potentially gone up.

Order maintenance policing practice pertains to the fair use of public spaces. The policing policy of order maintenance policing has been a central aspect of police work since the inception of modern-day police departments. Order maintenance policing as defined by James Q. Wilson as, "the regulation of behavior that disturbs or threatens to disturb the public peace or that involves face-to-face conflict among two or more persons" (Wilson 1968, 16). Wilson also defined it as "handling disputes...among citizens who accuse each other of being at fault. Which

can range from noise complaints or complaints of homeless people sleeping on bus benches to public disagreements between friends. A more modern definition of order maintenance policing as the enforcement of a wide range of quality of life standards including rules against public drinking, noise pollution, public indecency, verbal harassment, aggressive panhandling, and obstruction (Skogan 2008) or as David Thacher refers to it as, "a residual category that refers to most things police do besides enforcing core elements of criminal law (Thacher 2007). A study conducted on the impacts of order maintenance policing regarding violent crimes in New York City found statistically significant but small crime-reduction effects of order maintenance policing and conclude that the impact of aggressive order enforcement on the reduction in homicide and robbery rates in New York City during the 1990s was modest at best (Rosenfeld 2007).

Broken windows policing and order maintenance policing unfairly target minority communities (Thatcher 2007). Kelling states, "we might agree that certain behavior makes one person more undesirable than another but how do we ensure that age or skin color or national origin or harmless mannerisms will not also become the basis for distinguishing the undesirable from the desirable?" (1982, 19). Kelling states that there is no way to ensure that police do not become agents of neighborhood bigotry other than training, selection, and supervision of police officers. The issue with order maintenance policing is that there is no universal standard to settle arguments over what classifies as a disorder. Another problem as mentioned by Thacher is the kind of behavior police can and cannot legitimately regulate. An example that was used is that if an undesired public behavior such as panhandling causes crime in the way that Wilson and Kelling suggested, the effect is too indirect to provide a reason for criminalizing such behavior (Thacher 2007, 129). Broken windows policing has led to many well-publicized cases of police brutality on Black peoples, such as the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson where officer Darren Wilson approached him for walking in the middle of the street. The repeated harassment of Eric Garner who was killed using a banned chokehold over alleged sales of cigarettes. Broken

windows policing contributes to excessive use of force by police. Kelling mentioned in his seminal essay in 1982, “Given the subject of our article, the Black Codes-vague loitering and vagrancy laws passed in the South immediately after the Civil War-were of special concern for us. Under these laws, police arrested African Americans for minor offenses and when they could not pay the fines, courts committed them to involuntary labor farms-in a sense extending slavery for many into the 20th century.” There are no clear distinguishing differences from modern-day order maintenance policing and these practices. Order maintenance policing disproportionately target ethnic minorities.

Previous studies examined bias policing in the context of the stop and frisk procedure. In the 1990s New York City implemented a policing strategy based on the lawful practice of, “temporarily detaining, questioning, and at times searching civilians on the street” (Spitzer 1999). Although the U.S Supreme Court ruled stop-and-frisk procedure to be constitutional (Terry v. Ohio), there were repeated complaints of harassment of minority community by the NYPD. Well-publicized events such as the assault of Abner Louima and the shooting of Amadou Diallo exacerbated the complaints about stop-and-frisk. Leading to civil litigation alleging racial bias in stop-and-frisk procedures, resulting in a settlement that regulated the use of this procedure (Kelvin Daniels et al. v. City of New York 2004).

Goel et al (2017) analyzed three million stops by NYPD over the course of five years, focusing on cases where officers suspected the stopped individual of criminal possession of a weapon (CPW). In more than 40% of the cases studied, the likelihood of an officer finding a weapon was less than 1%, which raises concerns that the legal requirement for reasonable suspicion was often not met. The findings also suggested that Blacks and Hispanic peoples were disproportionately stopped on suspicion of criminal possession of a weapon (typically a knife). The study was also able to investigate claims that stop-and-frisk procedures violated two constitutional protections: first, that individuals were detained without legal basis, in violation of the Fourth Amendment; and second, that the tactic was not applied in a race-neutral manner, in

violation of the Fourteenth Amendment (Goel 2016). A study by Andrew Gelman (2007) examined NYPD records on stops from January 1998 through March 1999. Gelman uses UF-250 Forms which NYPD officers are required to fill out for mandated stops. The outcomes of the study indicated that Black and Hispanic peoples represented 51% and 33% of the stops by NYPD, despite being only 26% and 24% of the city population (1990 Census). Black people are stopped 23% more often than Whites and Hispanic people are 39% more often than whites.

The study is partial replication by Kalinowski et al (2019), which utilizes data from the Stanford Open Policing Project on stops made by state police in Texas from 2010 to 2015. The data identified the location, date and time, race and ethnicity of the motorist, and the reason for the stop. The study emphasized the type of police stops, location of stops, and racial compositions of stops. The types of police stops included speeding related citations, other citations that were not speeding related, warning for equipment (broken tail light, etc.), warning for paperwork, warning for moving violation, and other types of warnings that would warrant a stop. The study also utilizes the Veil of Darkness (VOD) test, proposed by Grogger and Ridgeway (2006) understand the composition of motorists at risk of being stopped. In VOD, the racial composition of stops at night is used to assess the distribution of stops during daylight since race is less likely to be observed by police at night. The study's findings indicate that when darkness falls, police officers change their patrolling behavior (Kalinowski et. al). The types of stops change substantially with an increase number of equipment warnings and a decrease number of speeding stops.

### **Current Study**

A large amount of studies done on racial biases and policing uses data from New York City, which results in the data lacking diversity. The prior studies examined racial biases but did not utilized police citation data. Examining police citation data allows me to test relationships regarding racial biases that is not possible in other contexts. The research question is, are there

racial disparities in police citations? Studying the relationship between race, time of day and police citations would aid in addressing the research question. I hypothesize that Black people are less likely to be cited by LAPD at night because it becomes harder for police officers to actively racial profile people due to a “veil of darkness”. The main hypothesis were that Black people will be less likely to receive a citation from the LAPD at nighttime versus during the daytime. The null hypothesis is that there is no significant difference in daytime and nighttime citations for Black people. During the day race is more apparent and clearer which makes it easier for Black people to be racial profiled by police officers and be subjected to broken windows policing tactics. At night, an individual’s race becomes more ambiguous hence lowering the likelihood of racial profiling. Policy implications from this study can bring awareness to the racial disparity of daytime and nighttime policing.

### **Chapter 3: Methods**

Data utilized for this study derived from a study by Collins, Stuart, and Janulis (under review) that examined police citations in relationship to gentrification. The police citation data were obtained from the Los Angeles Police Department through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request. The data obtained from the FOIA request included eight years of police citation data for 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2016, and 2017. Every citation given by an LAPD officer was included for the given years. The data set includes variables of the person receiving the citation such as race, sex, age, time the citation was issued, violation code, and violation type (e.g. infraction, misdemeanor, felony, etc.). It also includes location the citation was issued. The study examined race, infraction type (e.g. infraction, misdemeanor, felony, etc.), and the time of the. Data from 2016 was utilized because it is the most recent year with complete data (2017 data was incomplete).

The study is a cross-sectional design utilizing police citation data. The study is a partial replication by Kalinowski et al. (2017). The original study utilized Texas Highway Patrol data

while my study uses police citations from the LAPD. While both are datasets pertains to law enforcement citations, the prior study was focused on how police behavior changes regarding the time of day, while this study focused on the aspect of racial disparity. I did not use the VOD test in my replication to determine daytime and nighttime. Instead of using the VOD test, I developed a new variable to determine if a citation was issued at night or during the day based on the time it was issued. The component of the study that is being replicated is the daytime versus nighttime aspect. The dependent variables of both studies are the time of day but independent variables for my study is race, and the original study was police behavior.

## **Measures**

**Independent Variable: Race.** The LAPD citation data provided the race of every individual that was issued a citation. Using this data, I narrowed race down to the four most cited races which includes Asian (n=598), Black (n=8,951), Hispanic (n=13,590), and White (n=7,630). An “other” (n=1,710) category was constructed that included people who received citation but were not indicated as one of these four racial categories.

**Dependent Variable: Time of day.** In this study time of day is viewed as either daytime or nighttime pertaining to when the police citation was issued. Daytime is defined as 7AM to 7PM. Nighttime falls after 7PM but before 7AM. Daytime was decided based on the average sunrise time in Los Angeles throughout the year and nighttime is the average sunset time in Los Angeles. The earliest sunrise time in Los Angeles for the year 2019 was 5:49AM and the latest was 7:13AM. While the earliest sunset was 5:43PM and the latest being 8:08PM. While there was variation in the sunrise and sunset times, the cutoff of 7AM and 7PM is a good average for the times and it offers a clean number to work with.

**Control Variables:** At the individual level, I controlled for demographic factors including age, sex, and the type of arrest citation (e.g. infraction, misdemeanor, etc.). To account for the potential neighborhood level influences, I mapped citations to specific Census tracts and

included the following data at this level from the U.S Census (American Community Survey 5-year estimate): income, rent, percent of the population 200% or above the poverty line, percent of home ownership, percent of white residents, percent of population in management jobs, and female headed households.

## Chapter 4: Results

There was a total of 32,479 LAPD citations for the year 2016. Of the total citations 23,706 were issued during the daytime and 8,773 occurred during nighttime. The most common arrest type were misdemeanors with 23,250 citations which accounted for 71.58% of LAPD citations in 2016. Hispanics were the most cited race with 12,590 (41.84%), Blacks accounted for 8,951 (27.57%), and white with 7,630 (23.49%) of the citations. The average age of the person issued a citation was 28 (SD=14.55). The lowest annual income reported was \$10,042 with the highest being \$250,000 (M=42,540.38, SD=23690.19). The average rent prices were \$1,190. Although the minimum age of zero does not seem possible, there were multiple citations which had the age of the person being cited as zero. It is possible that a family received a citation and part of the family was a child under the age of one. Refer to Table 1 for the complete selection of descriptive statistics.

**Table 1: Descriptive Data for Controls**

Variable	Observed	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Age	32,479	1	87	38.55	14.55467
Income	32,479	10,042	250,000	42,540.38	23690.19
Rent	32,466	299	35000	1190.70	478.47
Home Ownership	32,479	0	0.97	0.23	0.29
Poverty	32,497	244	7565	1726.64	967.13
White	32,479	0.06	0.93	0.51	0.22
Management Jobs	32,479	0.04	0.83	0.38	0.19
Female Headed House	32,479	0	0.61	011.58	009.49

## Analysis

To test this hypothesis, I conducted logistic regression analysis to model the probability of Black people being issued citations at night compared to other racial demographics. A logistic regression is a predictive modeling technique to investigate the relationship between the independent and dependent variable. In this study logistic regression is used to model the probability of a racial group getting a citation at night. Model 1 controlled for individual level covariates including age, sex, and arrest type. Model 2 added neighborhood level covariates including median income, percent renters, percent of people above the 200% poverty line, individuals in management positions, percent female headed households, and the total number of citations within each tract. Model 3 added the independent variable of race. To account for potential clustering effects at the Census tract level, I analyzed models using cluster robust standard errors in Stata (version 14.2).

## Model Results

Model 1, which examines the individual level covariates indicated that as age increases an individual is less likely to be issued a citation at night with an odds ratio of .95 ( $p < 0.00$ ). Model 1 also resulted in males were less likely to be given a citation at nighttime compared to daytime with an odds ratio of .84 ( $p < 0.025$ ). It also revealed that felonies, infractions, and other types of arrests were less likely to happen at nighttime at significant levels.

### Model 1: Individual Level Covariates

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Night						
Age	0.95	0.007	-5.33	0	0.94	0.97
Sex						
Male	0.84	0.06	-2.24	0.025	0.72	0.97
Arrest Type						
M	1					
F	0.04	0.04	-2.9	0.004	0.005	0.36
I	0.75	0.07	-2.79	0.005	0.61	0.91

O	0.32	0.11	-3.16	0.002	0.15	0.65
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Model 2, which includes neighborhood level covariates revealed similar results to model 1 pertaining to age and sex. It still indicated that as age increases the likelihood of a nighttime citation decreases with an odds ratio of .96 ( $p>0.00$ ). Males were still less likely to get a nighttime citation with an odds ratio of .82 ( $p>0.01$ ). Infractions, felonies, and other types of arrest were still less likely to be issued at nighttime. The only significant neighborhood level covariate was rent. Which indicated that with higher rent prices, the chance of a nighttime citation increases with an odds ratio of 1.001 ( $p>0.002$ ).

### Model 2: Addition of Neighborhood Level Covariates

Night	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Age	0.961	0.006	-5.47	0	0.94	0.97
Sex						
Male	0.82	0.06	-2.59	0.01	0.71	0.95
Arrest Type						
D	1					
F	0.05	0.05	-2.78	0.00	0.006	0.41
I	0.77	0.10	-2.00	0.04	0.59	0.99
O	0.34	0.13	-2.75	0.00	0.15	0.73
Income	0.999	9.40	-1.34	0.17	0.99	1.00
Rent	1.001	0.00	3.13	0.00	1.00	1.00
% Pop. 200% or Above Poverty Line	1.00	0.00	0.19	0.85	0.99	1.00
% Home Ownership	0.68	0.44	-0.59	0.55	0.18	2.45
% Of White Residents	0.96	0.48	-0.07	0.94	0.361	2.58
% Pop. In Management Jobs	0.711	0.79	-0.30	0.76	0.07	6.42
Female Headed House	0.29	0.63	-0.57	0.56	0.00	19.03
Citation Total	0.99	0.00	-2.24	0.02	0.99	0.99

Model 3 includes all variables in the model. Along with the individual and neighborhood covariates, model 3 includes race which is broken into Asian, Hispanic, White, and other. With race included, age and sex yielded similar results to previous models which indicated as age

increases the likelihood of nighttime citation decreases and males are less likely to get a nighttime citation compared to daytime. Probability of various arrest types were also congruent with previous models. Rent is still significant with an odds ratio of 1.001 (p=0.002). Model 3 indicated that compared to Black people, Asian people are more likely to receive citations at night. Individuals that fell into the “other” category of race were also more likely to get a nighttime citation compared to Black people with an odds ratio of 1.61 (p=0.00). Hispanic people and whites were not statistically significant.

### Model 3: All Variables in Model

Night	Odds Ratio	Robust Std.			[95% Conf. Interval]	
		Err.	z	P> z		
Age	0.961	0.00	-5.73	0.00	0.94	0.97
Sex						
Male	0.85	0.06	-2.18	0.02	0.73	0.98
Arrest Type						
D	1					
F	0.05	0.05	-2.70	0.007	0.00	0.45
I	0.77	0.09	-1.95	0.051	0.60	1.00
O	0.34	0.13	-2.75	0.006	0.15	0.73
Income	0.99	9.30	-1.36	0.172	0.99	1.00
Rent	1.00	0.00	3.11	0.002	1.00	1.00
% Pop. 200% or Above Poverty Line	1.00	0.00	0.12	0.907	0.99	1.00
% Home Ownership % Of White Residents	0.71	0.46	-0.53	0.598	0.19	2.53
% Pop. In Management Jobs Female Headed House	0.90	0.44	-0.21	0.833	0.34	2.38
Citation Total	0.79	0.88	-0.21	0.836	0.08	7.05
RACE	0.33	0.70	-0.52	0.603	0.00	20.01
Asian	0.99	0.00	-2.12	0.034	0.99	0.99
Hispanic	2.31	0.47	4.06	0.00	1.54	3.47
White	1.16	0.09	1.79	0.074	0.98	1.36
Other	1.10	0.08	1.23	0.218	0.94	1.29
	1.61	0.15	4.97	0.00	1.33	1.94

## Post-Hoc Analysis

Due to the emerging patterns in the results, particularly the differences between the probability of individuals of different races receiving a nighttime citation, I developed an additional model to examine the possibility of Black People getting a nighttime citation compared to everyone else. Basically, I collapsed all racial categories and compared them to Black people, resulting in a “Black/Non-Black” variable. This model yielded similar results to model 3 in that as age increases the likelihood of nighttime citation decreases and males are less likely to get a nighttime citation compared to daytime. The likelihood of receiving the various types of citations remained relatively the same. With higher rent prices, the chance of a nighttime citation increases. Model indicates that Black people are less likely to get a citation at night with an odds ratio of .8346031 ( $p > 0.004$ ). With an odds ratio less than one indicating that there is a negative relationship and corresponds with lower odds of being issued a nighttime citation. The odds ratio indicates that Black people are 17% less likely to get a nighttime citation. The post-hoc analysis revealed significant differences between the probability of nighttime citations for different races. Black people were the only statistically significant group of people that were less likely to get a citation at night.

### Model 3b

Night	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Age	.96	0.006	-5.43	0.00	0.94	0.97
Sex						
Male	.82	.05	-2.67	0.008	0.71	0.94
Arrest Type						
D	1					
F	0.54	0.05	-2.70	0.007	0.00	0.45
I	0.76	0.09	-2.03	0.051	0.60	1.00
O	0.34	0.13	-2.73	0.006	0.15	0.73
Income	0.99	9.30	-1.36	0.172	0.99	1.00

Rent	1.00	0.00	3.11	0.002	1.00	1.00
% Pop. 200% or Above Poverty Line	1.00	0.00	0.12	0.907	0.99	1.00
% Home Ownership	0.71	0.46	-0.53	0.598	0.19	2.53
% of White Residents	0.90	0.44	-0.21	0.833	0.34	2.38
% Pop. In Management Jobs	0.79	0.88	-0.21	0.836	0.08	7.05
Female Headed House	0.33	0.70	-0.52	0.603	0.00	20.01
Citation Total	0.99	0.00	-2.12	0.034	0.99	0.99
% Black of Residents	.83	.05	-2.84	0.004	.73	.94

### Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The results of this study provide new evidence for the relationship between police citations and order maintenance policing. I found that the possibility of receiving the various types of citations did not differ much between models and stayed consistent. Types of arrests such as infractions, felonies, and other types of citations were less likely to be issued at night. Males were less likely to get a citation during the nighttime. As an individual's age increases, the likelihood of them getting a nighttime citation decrease. With an increase in rent prices, the chances of nighttime citations also increase. Asians were more likely to get nighttime citations compared to daytime citations. Individuals that fell into the "other" category of race were also more likely to get a nighttime citation. Given the trends in the data, an additional post-hoc analysis was conducted to examine patterns between order maintenance policing and citations given to Black people. The analysis revealed that Black people are less likely to get a citation during the night. This association is significant regarding order maintenance policing because it explicitly targets people of ethnic minorities particularly Black people.

These findings were made possibly through the methodological approach and data that was used. By using police citation data, it allows us to isolate and analyze law enforcement measures aimed at the premier targets of order maintenance policing, namely Black people, and

African Americans (Collins, Stuart, Janulis). By using citation data, the operationalization of order maintenance policing is like concepts introduced by Wilson and Kelling (1982). Citation data allowed us to isolate race and test it against other variables. citation data also allows for various levels of variables such as individual and neighborhood covariates.

This study is a partial replication of “Now You See Me, Now you Don’t: The Geography of Police Stops” by Kalinowski, Ross and Ross (2017). The study utilizes data from the Stanford Open Policing Project on stops made by Texas Highway Patrol officers over a five-year span. The study uses the “Veil of Darkness” (VOD) test that was proposed by Grogger and Ridgeway (2016) to assess the distribution of stops in daylight (at the same time of day and day of week) since race is unlikely to be observed by police officers at night. This study found that black motorists drive slower during the day when their race can be observed (Kalinowski, Ross, and Ross). The study also indicated that when darkness falls, police officers change their patrolling behavior. The types of stops also changes drastically with a decrease in the number of speeding stops and increase in the number of equipment warnings at night.

The components of Kalinowski’s study that was replicated in this study is the relationship between time of day and police behavior. Although the data used is different, they are similar in some ways. Both are data from law enforcement agencies and pertains to order maintenance policing. The data used by Kalinowski et al. were highway patrol data, which means all the stops involved a motor vehicle and are traffic related. The data used in our study is police citation data and are the data originates from different cities and states.

In the replicated study, the findings were that police officer’s patrolling behavior changes at night when compared to daytime. While I did not examine specific citations given by the LAPD to see which citations were more or less likely to be issued at night, similar results were found in our study which showed that police officers are less likely to give Black people a citation at night. Which would also indicate a change in patrolling behavior in relationship to time of day.

The only difference is not which type of citation was given by police officers but the race of the individual receiving the citation.

This paper has several theoretical considerations. First, the results support the findings of Kalinowski et al. that police behavior changes at night compared to daytime. While this research was focused on race, it still demonstrated that police behavior changes at night. Second, implications from this study suggests that order maintenance policing is inherently racist towards Black people. Broken windows policing as a theoretical framework for policing practices is flawed in a manner that it gives police officers too much power in deciding what is desirable and undesirable. With no universal definition, it leaves a lot of room for personal interpretation. Kelling suggests that with proper training it is enough to ensure police officers do not become agents of neighborhood bigotry. However, regardless of the quality of training and type of training we cannot combat a framework that is inherently racist towards Black people. Instead there needs to be theoretical and practical shift in how we examine policing policies and its implications on people of color. Order maintenance policing as a policing practice emphasizes the regulation of public spaces. The problem is that it is difficult to decide what is fair or inapt use of public spaces. Allowing officers to decide means that the outcome will vary depending on the officer and their personal beliefs.

### **Limitations and Future Studies**

The limitations to this study are that the data is derived from Los Angeles which makes it city specific and could possibly be different from other countries or even cities within the United States. As such, it is recommended that future researchers conduct similar models with data from other countries. The data set is from 2016 which is recent but not the most up to date. The reason 2016 was chosen is because more recent year's data was not complete. Another limitation is that the study only focuses on the year 2016 which means that the sample size would be smaller than if multiple years were being examined. Studying only one year does not

allow the examination of changes over time in a longitudinal design. Time is also a limitation of this study.

## **Conclusion**

This paper utilized LAPD citation data to investigate the relationship between race and order maintenance policing. The hypothesis was that there is a racial disparity in police citation. The results supported the hypothesis which indicated that Black people have a lower probability of being issued a police citation at nighttime. The results provided support for the original study that was being partially replicated in this study. Which also implicates that police behavior changes at night regarding which race is issued citations. Order maintenance policing adversely impacts Black people as shown by the results of the study. Racial biases and disparities in police practices and policies must be acknowledged and addressed. Policing policies has not changed much since the inception of law enforcement and needs to be reevaluated to better serve and protect people of all races, particularly Black peoples.

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