

**TRACKING ENFORCEMENT RATES  
IN  
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD  
2006-2018**

**A Report of the Research Network on  
Misdemeanor Justice**



**MARYLAND DATA ANALYSIS CENTER**

*Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice*

# Tracking Enforcement Rates in Prince George's County, MD 2006-2018

---

Meghan Kozlowski-Serra, M.A.  
Jinney Smith, Ph.D.  
Emily Glazener, M.A.  
James Mitchell, M.S.  
James P. Lynch, Ph.D.

October 1, 2019

Suggested Citation: Kozlowski-Serra, M., Smith, J., Glazener, E., Mitchell, J., and Lynch, J. P. (2019). *Tracking Enforcement Rates in Prince George's County, Maryland, 2006-2018*. Report prepared for the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice. College Park, Maryland: University of Maryland.

Corresponding Author: Jinney Smith, email: [jinneys@umd.edu](mailto:jinneys@umd.edu), tel: 301.405.8043.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the support and participation of multiple organizations and individuals over the past two years.

The Prince George's County Police Department has been an ideal research partner in sharing its administrative record data for this project. All data requested were provided, and both officers and civilian employees generously contributed their time toward providing and helping us understand the necessary data. Captain James Mitchell, included as a co-author, served as the critical liaison throughout the study. We are grateful that both the previous Chief of Police, Mark Magaw, as well as current Chief Hank Stawinski, endorsed this project. Alan Lee, Chief Information Officer for the department, was very helpful in reviewing our interim and final reports, answering our questions about the data and trends, and providing contextual information for our descriptive findings. In addition, several individuals at the department contributed toward this project in extracting and explaining needed data from the two different data systems in use during the study period of 2006-2018. Those individuals are Tanner Fellrath, Brendan Gill, Leslie Liano, Jordan Westfall, and Toby Wiles.

We also note the contribution of our colleague Dr. Kiminori Nakamura, Research Director, who structured analysis files from the relational database extract provided by the Prince George's County Police Department.

In the course of this study, we convened two stakeholder meetings, in 2017 and 2018, to preview findings, and to elicit comments and suggestions. We value the participation of representatives from various criminal justice governmental agencies and community groups who attended those meetings and provided feedback as our work progressed.

We are also grateful to Dr. Preeti Chauhan, Principal Investigator, and Dr. Meredith Patten, Executive Director, of the Data Collaborative for Justice at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, who selected us as a network member, and financially supported this effort through their grant from Arnold Ventures. We also thank the doctoral research assistants at the Data Collaborative for Justice for their work on the Census estimates provided for our study.

Finally, we thank fellow members at the other sites in the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice. We enjoyed working with them, their collegiality, and learning a great deal from their efforts as they undertook the same work across the country in Durham (NC), Los Angeles (CA), Louisville (KY), Meridien (MS), St. Louis (MO), and Seattle (WA).

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	2
List of Figures .....	4
Executive Summary .....	6
Chapter 1: Introduction, Data, and Methodology .....	7
Chapter 2: Overall Enforcement Trends and Context.....	15
Chapter 3: Trends by Age Groups .....	18
Chapter 4: Trends by Race & Ethnicity.....	26
Chapter 5: Trends by Gender.....	33
Chapter 6: Trends by Gender, Age, and Race & Ethnicity.....	37
Chapter 7: Trends by Offense Types and Charges .....	45
Chapter 8: Conclusions .....	53
References.....	54

## LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1.1 Beat Maps for the County Before and After 2016
- Figure 2.1 Rates of Violent and Property Crimes Known to the Police
- Figure 2.2 Rates of Misdemeanor and Felony Arrests and Criminal Citations
- Figure 3.1 Combined Enforcement Rates by Age Groups
- Figure 3.2 Enforcement Rates by Type for 14-15-Year-Olds
- Figure 3.3 Enforcement Rates by Type for 16-17-Year-Olds
- Figure 3.4 Enforcement Rates by Type for 18-20-Year-Olds
- Figure 3.5 Enforcement Rates by Type for 21-24-Year-Olds
- Figure 3.6 Enforcement Rates by Type for 25-34-Year-Olds
- Figure 3.7 Enforcement Rates by Type for 35-65-Year-Olds
- Figure 3.8 Ratio of Rates of Misdemeanor Arrest of 16-17, 18-20, 21-24, and 25-34-Year-Olds Age Groups Relative to the 35-65 Age Group
- Figure 3.9 Ratio of Rates of Felony Arrest of 16-17, 18-20, 21-24, and 25-34-Year-Olds Age Groups Relative to the 35-65 Age Group
- Figure 3.10 Ratio of Rates of Criminal Citation of 16-17, 18-20, 21-24, and 25-34-Year-Olds Age Groups Relative to the 35-65 Age Group
- Figure 4.1 Combined Enforcement Rates by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 4.2 Enforcement Rates by Type for Blacks
- Figure 4.3 Enforcement Rates by Type for Whites
- Figure 4.4. Enforcement Rates by Type for Hispanics
- Figure 4.5 Ratio of Black-to-White and Hispanic-to-White Enforcement Rates
- Figure 5.1 Combined Enforcement Rates by Sex
- Figure 5.2 Enforcement Rates by Type for Males
- Figure 5.3 Enforcement Rates by Type for Females
- Figure 5.4 Ratio of Male-to-Female Enforcement Rates
- Figure 6.1 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 14-15 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.2 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 16-17 by Race/Ethnicity

- Figure 6.3 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 18-20 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.4 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 21-24 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.5 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 25-34 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.6 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 35-65 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.7 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 14-15 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.8 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 16-17 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.9 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 18-20 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.10 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 21-24 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.11 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 25-34 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 6.12 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 35-65 by Race/Ethnicity
- Figure 7.1 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges by Offense Type during 2006-2015
- Figure 7.2 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges during 2006-2015 (Least Changed by Coding)
- Figure 7.3 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges during 2006-2015 (Most Changed by Coding)
- Figure 7.4 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges by Offense Type
- Figure 7.5 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges by Offense Type (bar)
- Figure 7.6 Percentage of Felony Arrest-Related Charges by Offense Type
- Figure 7.7 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges for Most Common Charges

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Although misdemeanor enforcement actions represent the large majority of police enforcement activity (including the arrests and citations studied here), less attention is paid to misdemeanor enforcement than to felony enforcement. The Data Collaborative for Justice sought to address this gap in knowledge by establishing the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice. The Maryland Data Analysis Center at the University of Maryland was selected as a network member, in partnership with the Prince George's County Police Department. The other network sites include the following: Durham (NC), Los Angeles (CA), Louisville (KY), Meriden (MS), St. Louis (MO), and Seattle (WA). All sites have replicated comparable descriptive analyses first completed by the Data Collaborative for Justice in New York City.

The current report presents trends in enforcement actions in Prince George's County, Maryland, from 2006 through 2018, except for the year 2016, when a data system change resulted in a significant missing data problem for that year. Three specific categories of enforcement are examined here, including felony arrests, misdemeanor arrests, and criminal citations, but with an emphasis on misdemeanor arrests. This report describes trends in overall enforcement rates, by the types of offenses subject to enforcement, as well as by the age, gender, and race and ethnicity of individuals who were arrested or cited.

Key findings about trends in enforcement rates during 2006-2018 include:

- In the county overall, misdemeanor arrest rates declined by 38%, felony arrest rates declined by 51%, and criminal citation rates declined by 75%.
- Males and females experienced a 59% decline in overall enforcement rates (including misdemeanor arrests, felony arrests, and criminal citation), and the ratio of male to female misdemeanor arrests remained stable at about 4:1 throughout the study period.
- Males and females, including blacks, Hispanics, and whites, in the younger age groups (14-15, 16-17, and 18-20) uniformly experienced significant declines in enforcement rates, while the age groups representing those aged 21 and older varied.
- The ratio of black and Hispanic enforcement rates to those of whites were steady during the early half of the study period, but increased in more recent years as declines in white enforcement rates generally outpaced the declines in black and Hispanic enforcement rates.
- Trends in the offense types for misdemeanor and felony arrests indicate changes have occurred due to both enforcement and legal changes, as well as a data system change resulting in charge information being recorded differently for NIBRS-compliance.
- The most common specific misdemeanor charges throughout the period include marijuana possession, non-aggravated assault, disorderly conduct, trespassing, and shoplifting.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, DATA, AND METHODOLOGY

According to official statistics, police enforcement activities are mostly focused on misdemeanor offenses, as opposed to more serious, felony offenses. In recent years, data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program show that, of 11.3 million reported arrests, approximately 18 percent were for "Part I" violent or property offenses, most of which are felonies (e.g., murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary). Misdemeanors and ordinance violations (i.e., "Part II" offenses of the UCR program) made up the remaining 82 percent of arrests (Lum & Nagin, 2016). Lum and Nagin (2016) conducted a survey of police departments and found that, on average, officers spend between two and four hours processing an arrest for a Part II offense. Given that there were 9.2 million arrests for these offenses in 2013 alone, arrests for misdemeanor offenses take a "major bite out of officers' time" (Lum & Nagin, 2016, p. 4).

Despite the significant proportion of time and resources devoted by police agencies to the enforcement of low-level misdemeanor offenses, relatively little is known about the misdemeanor enforcement practices of police across the United States. The empirical study of crime and criminal justice in the United States has traditionally focused on felony, rather than misdemeanor, offenses. In recent years, however, the study of misdemeanor justice has achieved greater attention from researchers and policymakers pursuing criminal justice reform (Natapoff, 2015).

The primary goal of this report is to present trends in enforcement actions by the Prince George's County Police Department in Maryland, during 2006 to 2018 (except for the year 2016, when a data-system change resulted in a significant missing data problem for that year). Three specific categories of enforcement are examined here, including felony arrests, misdemeanor arrests, and criminal citations. This report describes trends in overall enforcement rates, by the types of offenses subject to enforcement, as well as by age, gender, and race and ethnicity of persons subject to arrest or citation.

The working model for all sites in the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice is to describe the trends in law enforcement experienced at each study site. Accordingly, we do not make causal inferences, nor do we provide policy recommendations based on the findings of our studies. But our aim is to improve understanding of enforcement activity, especially in the realm of misdemeanor enforcement, and to begin to address the knowledge gap about this topic. Given the overwhelming interest and value placed on data-driven and evidence-based policymaking, the first step is having the data itself, and in that regard, we hope that the audience of researchers, criminal justice system officials, policymakers, and the public finds this study enlightening and informative in discussions about criminal justice policy and potential reforms.



The remainder of this chapter describes Prince George's County as a study site, as well as the data collected and analyzed for this report.

### **Prince George's County as a Study Site**

We next provide contextual information about the county and the police department.

Prince George's County Police Department had 1,394 sworn officers in 2006 (the first year of our study period) and currently has over 1,600 sworn officers. During the study period, there were four Chiefs of Police for the Prince George's County Police Department: Melvin C. High (2003-2008), Roberto Hyllton (2008-2010), Mark A. Magaw (2010-2016), and the current chief, Henry P. Stawinski (2016-present).

Prince George's County is located to the east of Washington, D.C. and is one of twenty-four counties in the state of Maryland. The county has grown appreciably in recent decades, from a reported population of 661,719 in the 1970 Census to 862,420 in the 2010 Census. In 2018, the resident population numbered approximately 900,000. Overall, the county covers 483 square miles, with a population per square mile of 1,789 in 2010. The 2010 Census found Prince George's County was 85.1% minority, up from 75.7% in 2000. To the west, the county is contiguous with the northeast and southeast quadrants of Washington, D.C. Moving west to east in the county, the population concentration changes from urban to suburban, and it is rural in nature at its southern end.

In 2010, the median household income in Prince George's County was \$72,360, compared to the national median household income of \$51,914. Similarly, estimates from the American Community Survey show that the 2017 median household income for Prince George's County was approximately 1.4 times higher than the national estimate (\$81,240 compared to \$60,336).

Prince George's County is a unique jurisdiction, particularly due to its status as the wealthiest majority-minority county in the nation (Brigham, 2018; Rowlands, 2018). Despite this status, the county's neighborhoods are generally segregated. Of the police department's 65 patrol beats in effect during 2006-2015, 78.46% were majority African-American, 7.69% were majority white, and 3.08% were majority Hispanic (based on average proportions of racial-ethnic groups during 2006-2015). Relatedly, while the median household income in Prince George's County is nearly double the national average for black households, the county is relatively as wealthy as other D.C. metropolitan area jurisdictions, such as D.C. and counties in Maryland and Virginia (Rowlands, 2018).

The county has experienced periods of dynamic and stalled growth in recent decades. The county's majority-minority status is partially attributable to the exodus of whites from the county in recent years, with the county's white population declining by about 50,000 since the

2000 Census (Wiggins et al., 2011). In addition to the outmigration of whites, tens of thousands of lower-income, minority workers migrated into Prince George's County from Washington, D.C., after the riots in the 1960s. Today, the relatively affordable housing stock, and "middle income character" of Prince George's County, has served as a pathway to the middle class for new residents (DeRenzis & Rivlin, 2007, p. 2). In recent years, the county continues to experience growth in terms of population, construction (residential and commercial), and investment.

## **Enforcement Data and Definitions**

The enforcement data analyzed in this report are collected and maintained by the Prince George's County Police Department. There are additional municipal and university law enforcement agencies that operate in jurisdictions within the county, but data from those agencies are not included in this study.

In this report, enforcement is defined as an event that involves an individual and a law enforcement officer, which results in either the full-custody arrest for a felony or misdemeanor offense, or the issuance of a criminal citation to an individual. Full-custody arrests involve the process of an individual being handcuffed and transported to a booking facility, where their identity is recorded fully, and the charges for which they were arrested are assigned. Formal charges are assigned through judicial process by a District Court Commissioner. Criminal citations are issued at the location of enforcement, and while they may in some cases ultimately result in periods of incarceration, citations are typically resolved by the individual cited paying an assessed fine.

Administrative record data provided by the Prince George's County Police Department included all adults and juveniles subjected to arrest (for felonies and misdemeanors) or criminal citation (for misdemeanors) during the period of 2006 through 2018, except for the year 2016. Due to a system change in the department's record management system, the data for 2016 were too incomplete to be used in this study. Data for this project were extracted in two installments to cover the following periods: in 2017, for the period January 1, 2006 through December 31, 2015; and in 2019, for the period January 1, 2017 through December 31, 2018.

The 2006-2015 data included 79,793 misdemeanor arrests, 31,075 felony arrests, and 41,535 criminal citations (totaling 152,403 enforcement actions). The 2017-2018 data included 10,526 misdemeanor arrests, 3,831 felony arrests, and 1,798 criminal citations (totaling 16,155 enforcement actions).

For all years in the study period, the enforcement data include the race, age, gender, and home address of the individual subject to enforcement; the type of enforcement (arrest or citation); the time, date, and location of the enforcement action; and a description of the specific offense leading to enforcement.

There were two major differences between the pre- and post-2016 study periods. First, the 2006-2015 data were structured at the arrest event-level, while the 2017-2018 data were structured at the offense- (or charge-) level. Second, the 2006-2015 data do not include a designation of whether the event was for a misdemeanor or felony offense. The charge information appearing in the 2017-2018 data did include a misdemeanor/felony designation tied to state and local criminal codes. Given these differences, the following procedures were applied to the two sets of data to achieve consistency between them.

The 2006-2015 data were structured at the event-level, with each unique event representing one individual subjected to an enforcement action and containing up to three offense descriptions for which the individual was arrested or cited. Each offense description was drawn from a list of 153 possible classification codes. The offense descriptions were recorded in order of declining severity (e.g., classification 1 representing the most serious offense/charge).

Although the offenses within an event were organized hierarchically by severity, the 2006-2015 data did not include an indicator to identify the event as a misdemeanor or felony. To create this indicator, two independent coders (among the authors of this report) assigned the most serious offense from each enforcement event to one of the following five categories: felony, misdemeanor, warrant service (e.g., for an open warrant), distress-related police service (e.g., drug overdose or suicide), and other miscellaneous official activity (e.g., prisoner transport). For example, if the most serious offense in an enforcement event was a misdemeanor, the entire enforcement event was classified as a misdemeanor event. Misdemeanor and felony offenses together represented 86% of the enforcement-related events captured during 2006-2015. The other 14% of enforcement-related events involved official activity, but not enforcement *per se* – such as conducting a prisoner transport or assisting in the search for a lost child.

The 2017-18 data were collected and housed at the offense/charge-level, allowing each unique enforcement event to re-appear across rows of data as many times as there were charges in that event. There were 848 unique potential charges that appeared in the 2017-18 data. Unlike the pre-2017 data, the offense information was not organized in any hierarchical order, but each charge did include an indicator of felony status. Using this indicator, each charge was coded as either a misdemeanor or a felony. Next, individual charges were aggregated for each unique enforcement event, so that (as with the 2006-2015 data) each event appeared only once, containing up to 38 related offenses. (In the data for 2017-18, the number of observed charges ranged between one and 38, as the new data system did not limit charge-recording to only the top three.)

Then, each enforcement event was given an indicator of misdemeanor or felony based on the following rule: if all charges within a unique enforcement event were coded as misdemeanors, then the event was identified as a misdemeanor enforcement. Accordingly, any enforcement event that included a mix of misdemeanor and felony charges was categorized as a felony enforcement. Unlike the 2006-2015 data, the 2017-18 data did not include non-criminal

events such as distress-related police service, and so misdemeanor and felony offenses together composed 100% of enforcement events.

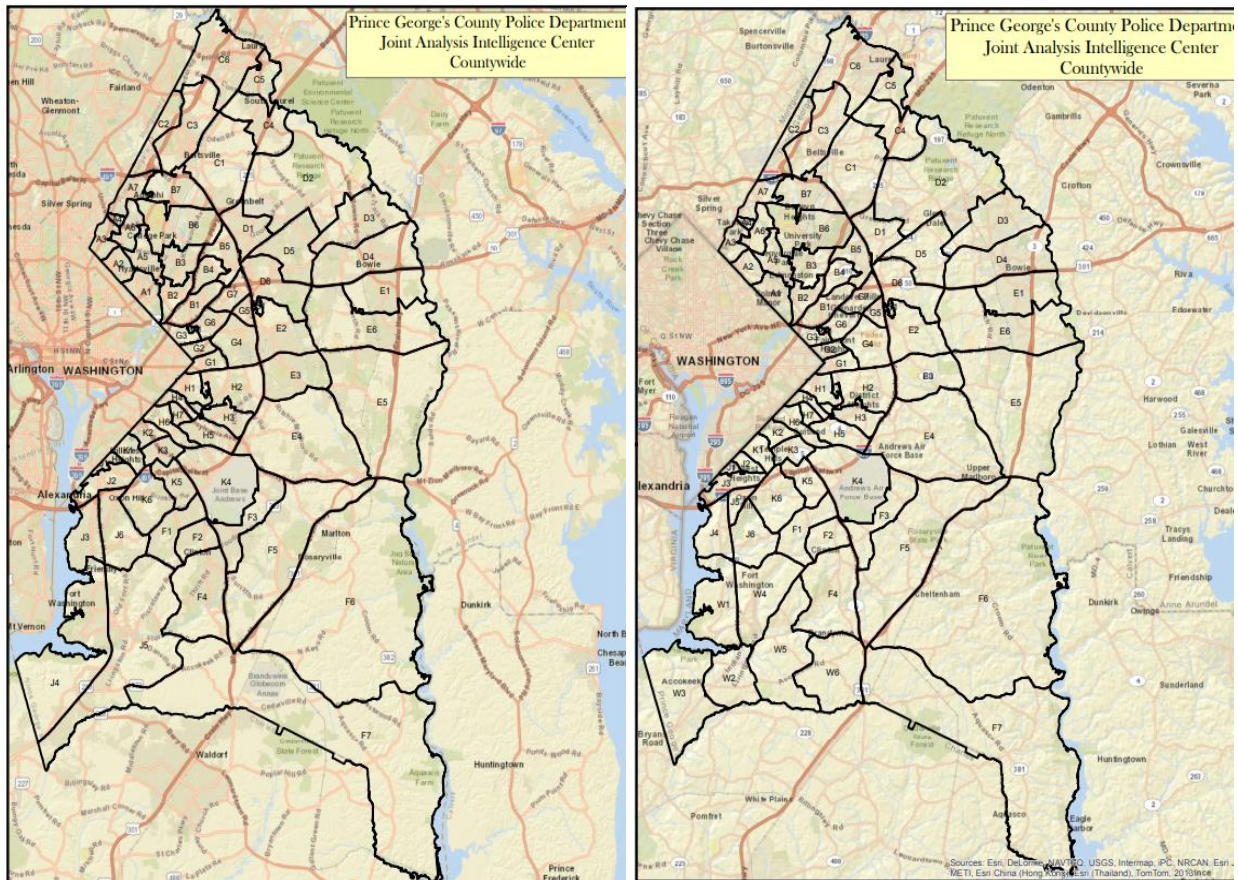
Based on the offense/charge information contained within an arrest event, the data for each period were assigned to one of six primary categories of offense types: person, property, drug, disorder, traffic, or weapons. Counting each charge separately (i.e., allowing up to three charges per enforcement event to count), in the 2006-2015 data, the distribution of offense types was as follows: person (10.2%), property (15.7%), drug (22.9%), disorder (20.3%), traffic (8.4%), and weapons (2.2%). The remaining 20% of charges were attributable to “other” incidents such as warrant service or vehicle impound. In the 2017-18 data, the distribution of offense types was as follows: person (15.8%), property (22.8%), drugs (18.3%), disorder (12.6%), traffic (8.0%), and weapons (13.0%). The remaining 10% of charges were classified as “interference” and included charges such as failing to obey an officer or resisting arrest.

Over the full study period (2006-2018), the common offenses/charges within each offense type category remained consistent. Common person offenses included assault, robbery, and homicide. Typical property offenses included charges for trespassing, shoplifting/theft, and burglary. Common drug offenses included possession and sales/distribution of controlled dangerous substances (primarily marijuana) or other narcotic implements. Disorder offenses typically included charges such as prostitution, disorderly conduct, and vandalism. Common traffic offenses included driving while under the influence and other traffic-related offenses such as negligent or reckless driving. Typical weapons offenses included charges for illegally carrying, transporting, or possessing a firearm or ammunition. In Chapter 7, we present the offense types and charges involved in misdemeanor enforcement events in greater detail, and the differences observed across the study period.

### **Beat and District Reorganization**

Another change that occurred during the study period was an operational change to the patrol beats in the county. From 2006 to 2015, the county was composed of six districts, which were sub-divided into a total of 65 beats. Due to substantial residential and commercial development near the National Harbor area (located in the southwestern part of the county), the department added a seventh district in 2016. Encompassing some of old Districts 4 and 5, the new District 7 includes an additional six beats, for a county-wide total of 71 beats. The figure below shows the beat boundaries before and after the introduction of District 7. The changes were concentrated in the southwestern area of the county.

**Figure 1.1 Beat Maps for the County Before (left) and After 2016**



### Census Data and Calculating Rates

To compute *rates* of enforcement activity, we use population estimates from the United States Census and the American Community Survey. A description of the data is provided below.

Population estimates for Prince George's County, disaggregated by race, age, and gender at the beat-level, were provided by the Data Collaborative for Justice at John Jay College of Criminal Justice. The estimates were generated using data from the 2000 and 2010 United States Census, and linear interpolation was used to calculate population counts for years between 2006 and 2010. In the absence of post-2010 decennial Census estimates, the American Community Survey (ACS) five-year estimates, downloaded from American Fact Finder, were used to interpolate population data for 2011-2015, and 2017. An ACS update for 2018 population changes is not yet available, and so the population counts from 2017 were weighted by the rate of change for each age-sex-race group from 2016-2017, to apply to the 2017 beat-level population counts, to estimate 2018 beat-level population by demographic characteristics.

Across the full study period of 2006-18, the African-American population in Prince George's County has grown slightly, while the white population has declined by about 25

percent, and the Hispanic population has increased by about 50 percent. Our 2018 county-wide population estimates are that the county is 62 percent African-American, 15 percent white, and 16 percent Hispanic, with the remaining 7 percent combined representing other racial and ethnic groups.

Throughout the report, we report counts and rates of enforcement activity per 100,000 residents. All rates are population specific. For example, the enforcement rates for 21-to-24-year-olds are based on the number of 21-to-24-year-olds residing in Prince George's County in a particular year.

A limitation of using Census estimates to calculate rates of enforcement should be noted. Rates are based only on the residential population of Prince George's County, and therefore do not count individuals who may commute into or visit the county. We are unable to include out-of-county residents in our population counts (the denominator for enforcement rates) since no estimates exist to do so appropriately. This caveat is especially important given the proximity of Prince George's County to Washington, D.C. Using residential information included in the enforcement data, we find that approximately 78% of enforcement actions during 2006-2015 involved Prince George's County residents. A small decline occurred post-2015, with 73% of enforcements involving county residents.

Relatedly, due to the demographic composition of Washington, D.C. and the inclusion of out-of-county residents in our enforcement data, there is an impact on the racial composition of those being enforced against, that skews results due to the greater presence of black non-residents. In each year, more than 79% of the out-of-county residents subject to enforcement were black (with a low of 79.3% in 2007 and a high of 84.3% in 2013). This percentage is higher than the proportion of the residential population that is African-American (approximately 60-63% during the study period). Within the county, Districts 1, 3, and 4 are directly adjacent to Washington, D.C., and experience a greater number of out-of-county residents in enforcement actions than the districts on the east side of the county. During 2006-2015 (prior to district and beat re-organization), the race of out-of-county residents subject to enforcement in just Districts 1, 3, and 4 was skewed even further towards African-Americans; by 2015, 86% of the out-of-county individuals subject to enforcement were black.

Overall, then, because we use the residential population to calculate rates, and the out-of-county group of individuals subject to enforcement does not demographically mirror the county's residents, the enforcement rates for African-Americans will be inflated to some extent, and deflated for whites and Hispanics.

Another methodological limitation should be noted about using Census data to calculate rates, especially toward the end of our study period. By 2018, we are eight years away from the last decennial census. The rates of growth estimated since 2010 are based on surveys, not actual population censuses. There is much anecdotal evidence that the growth of the Hispanic population has been greater than has been captured through surveys, due to issues involving language translation and legal issues involving immigration and documented status. It will be better understood after the 2020 Census, whether the estimates for Hispanics were generally

correct, or were underestimates, in which case enforcement rates may appear inflated for that specific group.

Despite these limitations, calculating rate of enforcements allows for the accounting of population size and change, as well as more meaningful comparisons across demographic subgroups. In presenting rates, we present the most comparable descriptions possible. But the limitations discussed above (both universal and unique to Prince George’s County) counsel in favor of caution when attempting to explain or interpret the differences between any two rates. Thus, here we only have data that allows us to present and describe differences, and do not have data that would enable us to explain or interpret those differences.

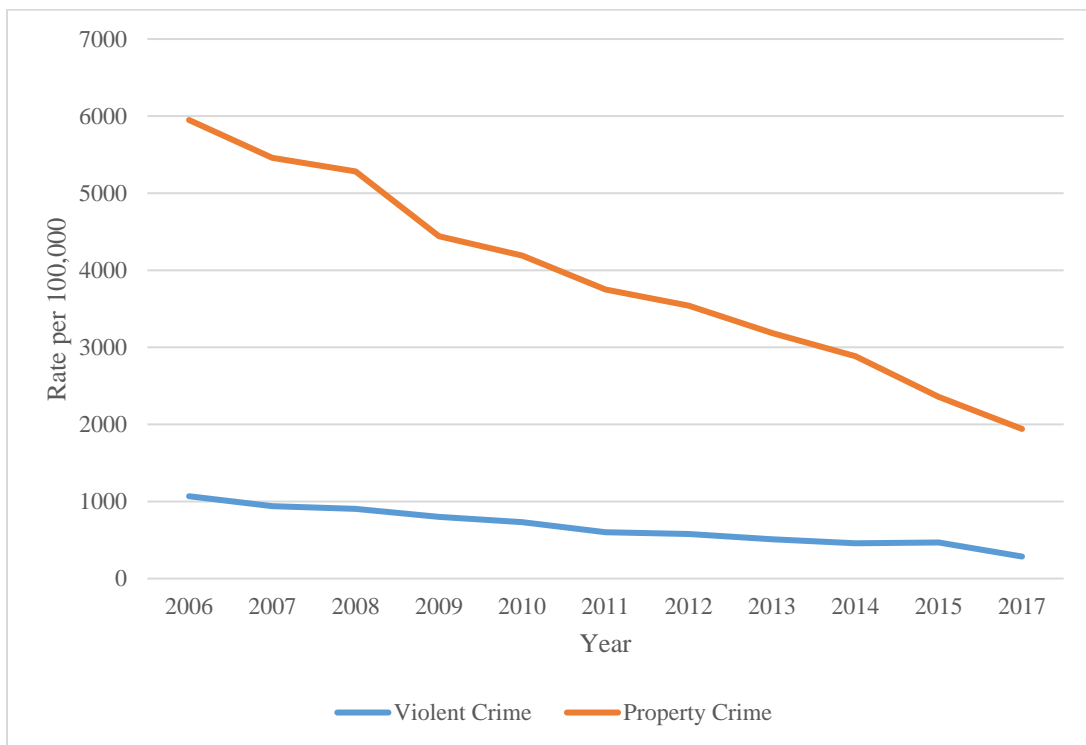
In conclusion, as indicated by this detailed data and methodological discussion, there were important structural and substantive differences between the two data systems used by the Prince George’s County Police Department during the study period. The county also reorganized its district and beat maps for patrol and management purposes. Also, the latter period in the study is the furthest away in time since an actual population census. The data from the two study periods have been harmonized as much as possible. Still, we summarize below these important differences. Some changes observed in trends presented in the following chapters may be artifacts of these methodology issues, as we point out when appropriate.

	<b>2006-2015 Data</b>	<b>2017-2018 Data</b>
<i>Data Structure/ Unit of Analysis</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Event/arrestee level data</li> <li>• Includes arrests, criminal citations, <i>and</i> other police services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charge level data</li> <li>• Includes arrests and criminal citations only</li> </ul>
<i>Charge Definitions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Specific offenses/charges identified by one of 153 classification codes</li> <li>• 3 charge maximum per event</li> <li>• Misdemeanor/felony indicator generated by research team</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Specific offenses/charges identified by one of 848 codes</li> <li>• Unlimited charges per event</li> <li>• Officer flagged if charge related to a felony</li> </ul>
<i>Geographic Changes</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6 districts, 65 beats</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 districts, 71 beats</li> </ul>
<i>Population Estimates</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• U.S. Census Estimates (2006-2010)</li> <li>• American Community Survey (2011-2015)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• American Community Survey (2017); population change weights applied to calculate 2018 estimates</li> </ul>

## CHAPTER 2: OVERALL ENFORCEMENT TRENDS AND CONTEXT

During the study period, Prince George’s County experienced significant declines in crime reported to police. The figure below shows the violent and property crime rates for the county, as reported through the FBI’s Uniform Crime Report (UCR) reporting program. (As in all graphs appearing in this report, the year 2016 is omitted.) Violent crime reported to police in 2018 has fallen by half, from the level of 1,068 per 100,000 population since the beginning of the study period. Property crime reported to police has fallen by two-thirds, from 5,950 per 100,000 in 2006, to 1,941 per 100,000 in 2017. (2018 data has not yet been reported by the UCR program.)

**Figure 2.1 Rates of Violent and Property Crimes Known to the Police**



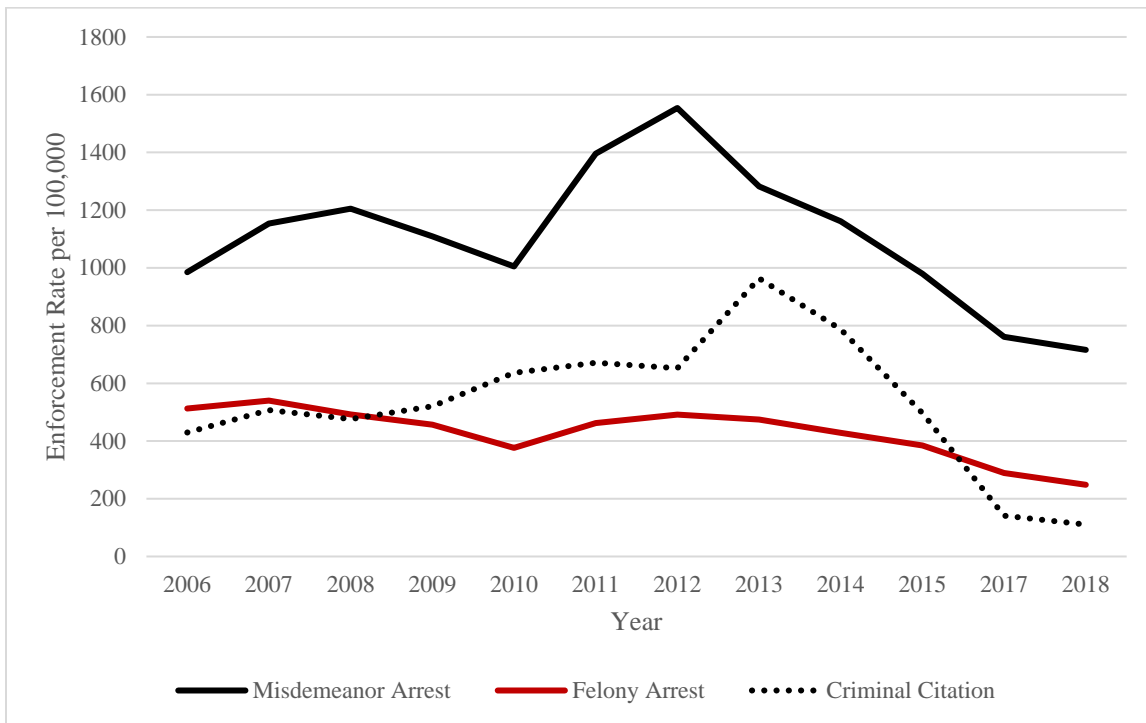
Over the same time period, enforcement rates have also fallen. While the enforcement categorization we use in this report (misdemeanor and felony arrests, and criminal citations) does not map cleanly onto the UCR program’s violent and property crime categories, we present the UCR reported crimes rate as context for the enforcement rates.



In Prince George’s County, the felony arrest rate has fallen by half during 2006-2018, from 512 felony arrests per 100,000 population in 2006, to 248 per 100,000 population in 2018. Misdemeanor arrests have fallen less, from 1,153 in 2006, to 716 in 2018, per 100,000 population. Criminal citation rates have fallen the most, by about 75 percent, from 429 to 111 per 100,000 population.

Unlike the UCR trend lines, which indicate relatively steady declines throughout the study period, the enforcement trend lines for misdemeanor and criminal citations peak at different times. The felony arrest rate line shows a steady decline between 2006 and 2010, but increases during 2011 and 2012, and then resumes declining in 2013.

**Figure 2.2 Rates of Misdemeanor and Felony Arrests and Criminal Citations**



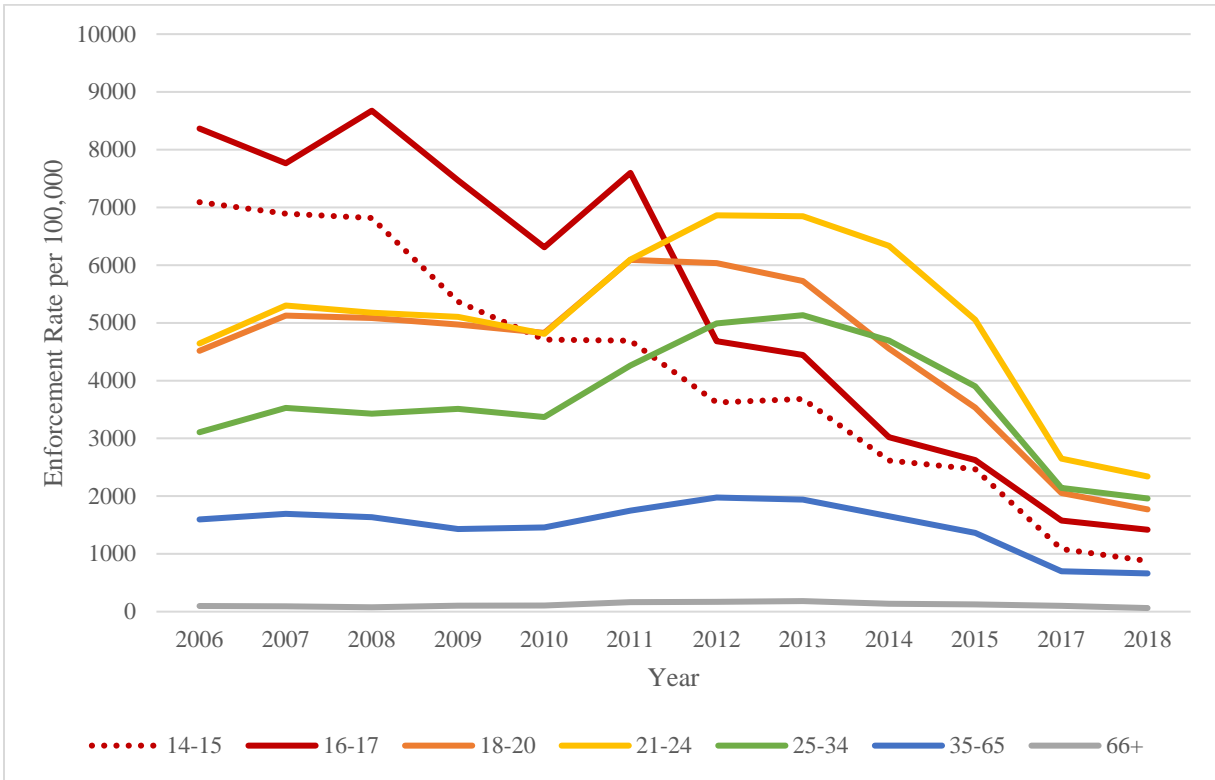
The increases in misdemeanor and felony arrest rates during 2011 and 2012 were the result of increased patrol staffing, implemented in response to a homicide spike in the county during January 2011. In response, county and police leadership increased funds for patrol and investigation activities, in addition to securing additional resources through state and federal grant programs. Increased funding supported a sustained increase in enforcement activity that lasted through 2012.

The increase in criminal citations during 2013 and 2014 were due to a statewide legal change in 2012. During the period under study, two state-wide legal reforms occurred in Maryland criminal law regarding the enforcement of low-quantity marijuana possession. Prior to October 1, 2012, possession of less than 10 grams of marijuana was an arrestable offense, punishable by up to one year of incarceration and/or a \$1,000 fine. Beginning on October 1, 2012, possession of less than 10 grams could be enforced by criminal citation, in lieu of arrest. The maximum potential punishment was reduced to 90 days of incarceration and/or a \$500 fine. Then, two years later, on October 1, 2014, the laws governing enforcement and punishment of less than 10 grams of marijuana were changed again, and civil citation was introduced. A first offense could be punished by a fine up to \$100.00, a second offense by up to \$250, and a third offense by up to \$500.

These policy changes introduced new enforcement options in responding to low-quantity marijuana possession. Prior to the 2012 change, officers could either make a full-custody arrest (e.g., handcuffing, searching, and transporting) or no arrest. During the period between October 1, 2012 and September 30, 2014, a third option, criminal citation, was added. When the subject of enforcement met minimal criteria regarding positive establishment of identity and residence, and was assessed by the officer as likely to comply, the individual could be cited rather than arrested. Large increases in criminal citations for marijuana possession occurred statewide in Maryland. After the October 1, 2014 legal change implementing civil citations, criminal citations declined significantly.

### CHAPTER 3: TRENDS BY AGE GROUPS

**Figure 3.1 Combined Enforcement Rates by Age**



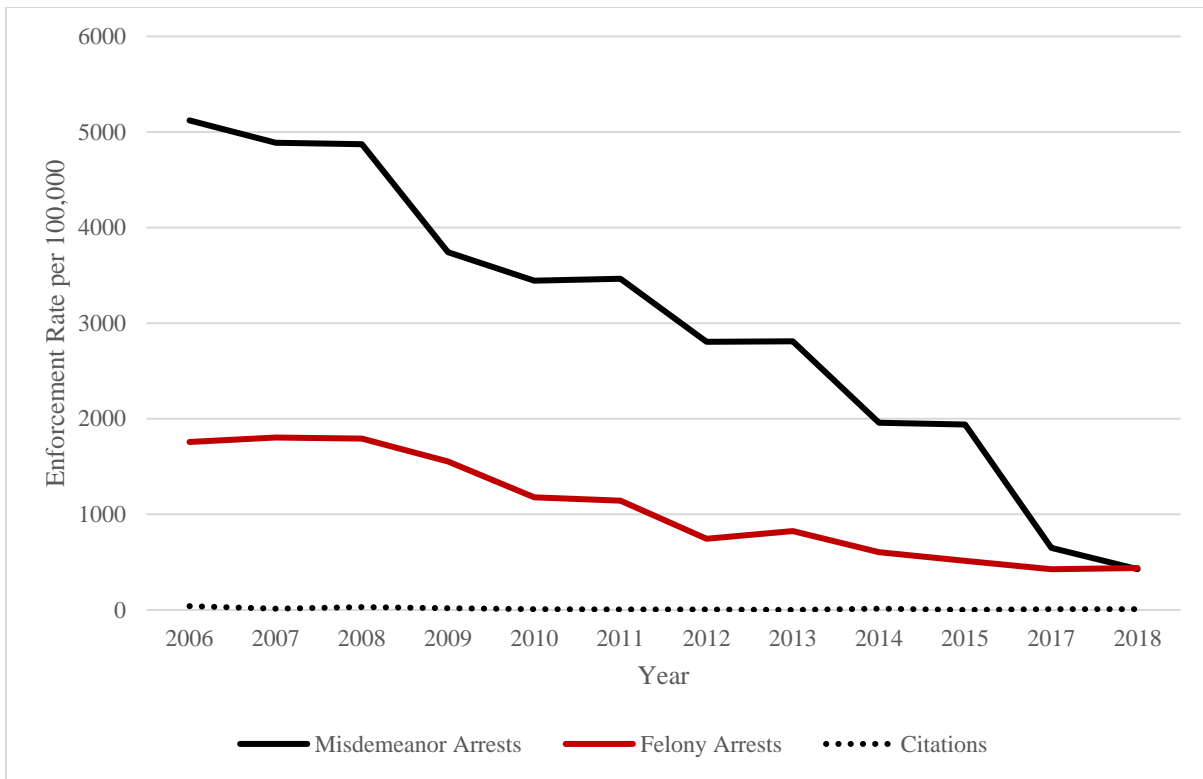
The figure above displays the overall combined enforcement rate (misdemeanor and felony arrests, and criminal citations) for the population, divided into seven different age groups.

The previous chapter described the increases seen in misdemeanor and felony arrests, and criminal citations, during the 2011-2014 period. This figure indicates that enforcement rates for age groups 18-20, 21-24, and 25-34 increased the most during the 2011-2014 period. However, age groups 14-15, 16-17, 35-65, and 66 and older were less affected.

While all age groups had lower enforcement rates in 2018 than in 2006, age groups 14-15 and 16-17 experienced the greatest declines in enforcement over the study period, of greater than 80 percent.

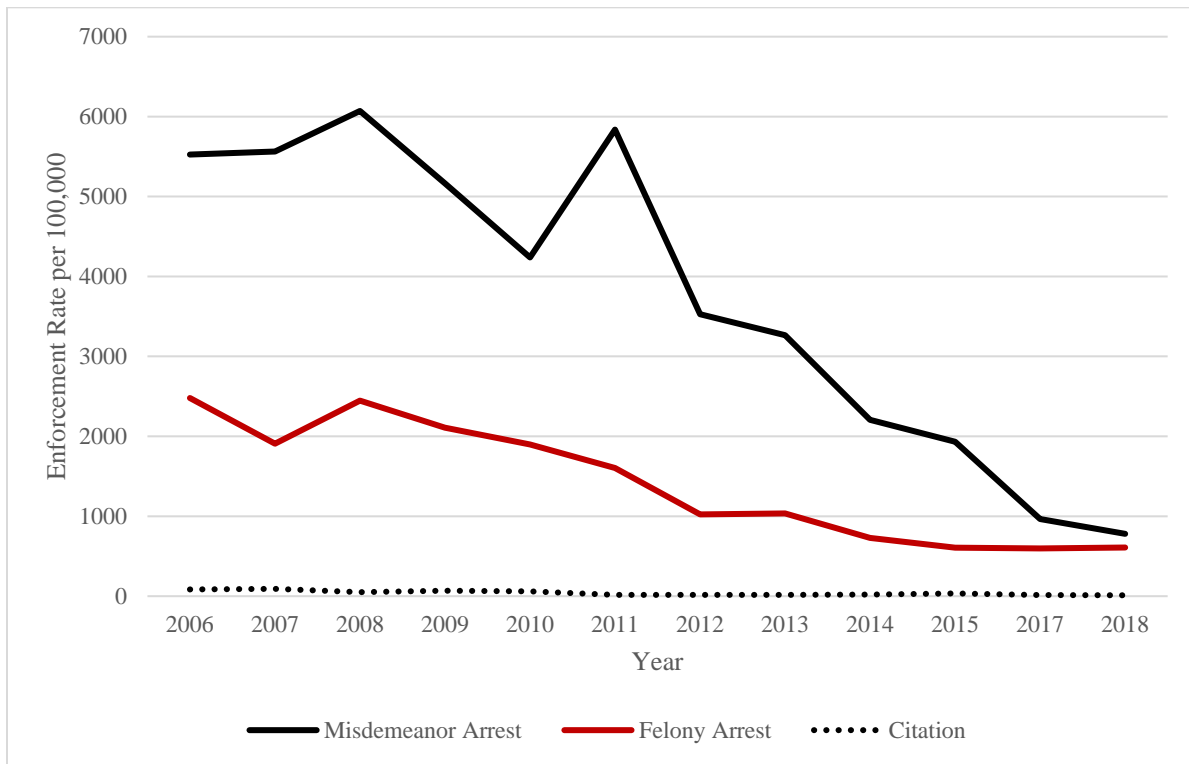
The next several figures examine each age group in turn, to describe their enforcement rate trends for each type of enforcement – misdemeanor arrests, felony arrests, and criminal citations.

**Figure 3.2 Enforcement Rates by Type for 14-15-Year-Olds**



The figure above shows the misdemeanor and felony arrest rates for 14-15-year-olds. (Criminal citations, represented by the dotted line corresponding to the y-axis of this figure, are rarely given to juveniles, especially since traffic-related offenses represent the most common offenses subject to citation.) During the study period, misdemeanor arrest rates for this age group declined more than felony arrest rates, to the point in 2018 when misdemeanor arrest rates were less than felony arrest rates (427 versus 439 per 100,000 population of 14-15-year-olds), for the first time during the study period.

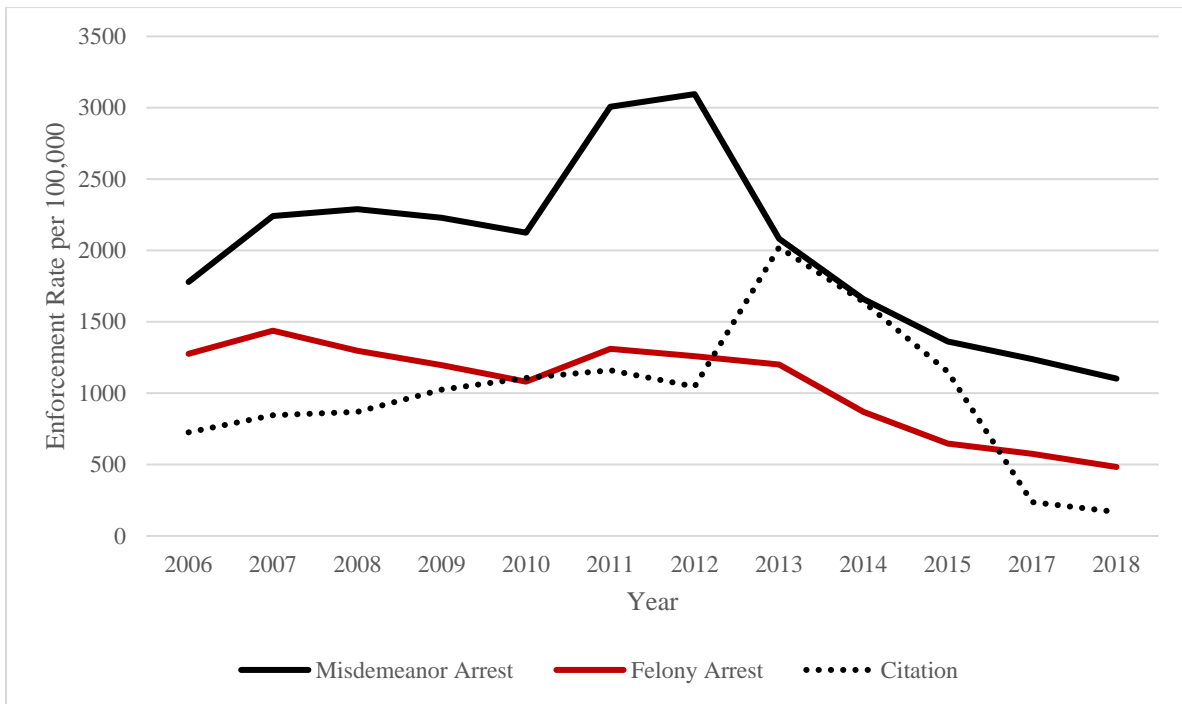
**Figure 3.3 Enforcement Rates by Type for 16-17-Year-Olds**



The figure above shows the misdemeanor and felony arrest rates for 16-17-year-olds. (Criminal citations, represented by the dotted line corresponding to the y-axis of this figure, are rarely given to juveniles, especially since traffic-related offenses represent the most common offenses subject to citation.) During the study period, misdemeanor arrest rates for this age group declined more than felony arrest rates, but misdemeanor arrest rates remain higher than felony arrest rates in 2018 (780 versus 608 per 100,000 population of 14-15-year-olds).

Also, unlike 14-15-year-olds, the trend line shows more variability across the study period, and appears more similar to the overall trend figures. This is due in part because this age group has the highest enforcement rates at the beginning of the study period. Age 17 is identified in criminological research as the “peak” of the age-crime curve, and has historically experienced the highest rates of offending and enforcement compared to all other ages. However, across the study period, this age group shows steady enforcement declines beginning in 2011.

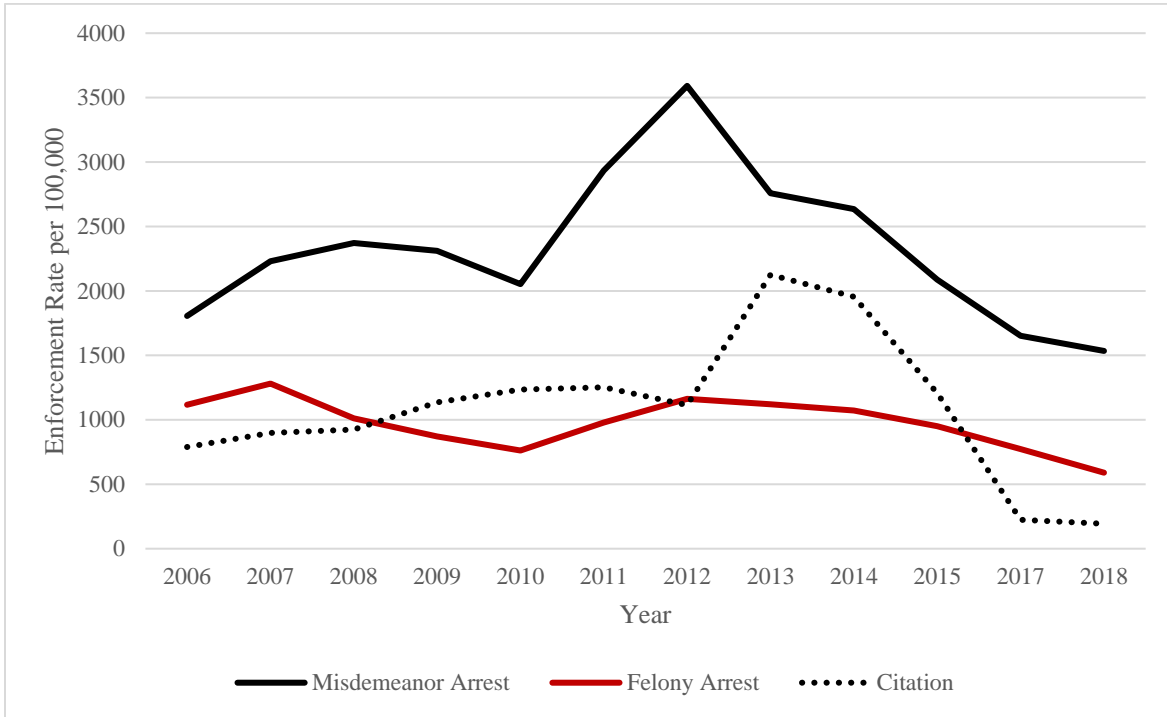
**Figure 3.4 Enforcement Rates by Type for 18-20-Year-Olds**



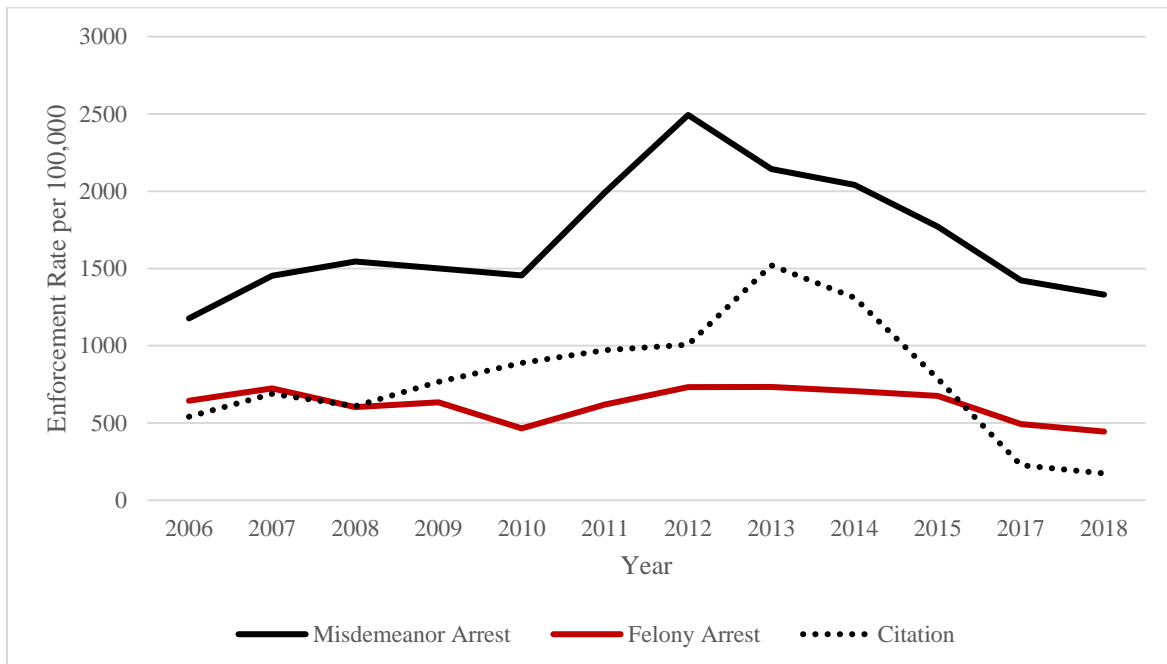
The figure above shows the misdemeanor and felony arrest rates, and criminal citation rates, for 18-20-year-olds. This is the first age group, in order of increasing age, whose enforcement rate trends resemble overall trends experienced in Prince George’s County. Both felony and misdemeanor arrest rates increased during 2011-2012, then declined steadily beginning in 2012. In addition, the increase in the criminal citation rate, due to the legal change allowing criminal citation for low-level marijuana possession instead of arrest during 2012-2014. Comparing 2006 to 2018, felony arrest rates for this age group declined by more than 60 percent, while misdemeanor arrest rates declined by about 40 percent.

The trends in arrest rates and citation rates are highly similar for 21-24-year-olds and 25-34-year-olds and are both shown on the next page. For each enforcement type, peak rates occur in the same years for misdemeanor arrests (2013) and criminal citations (2014). Felony arrest rates peaked in 2007 for 21-24-year-olds and were nearly identically at their peak in 2007 and 2013 for 25-35-year-olds. Note, though, the scale for Figure 3.5 shows higher rates than in Figure 3.6, due to the higher enforcement rate experienced by younger versus older adults.

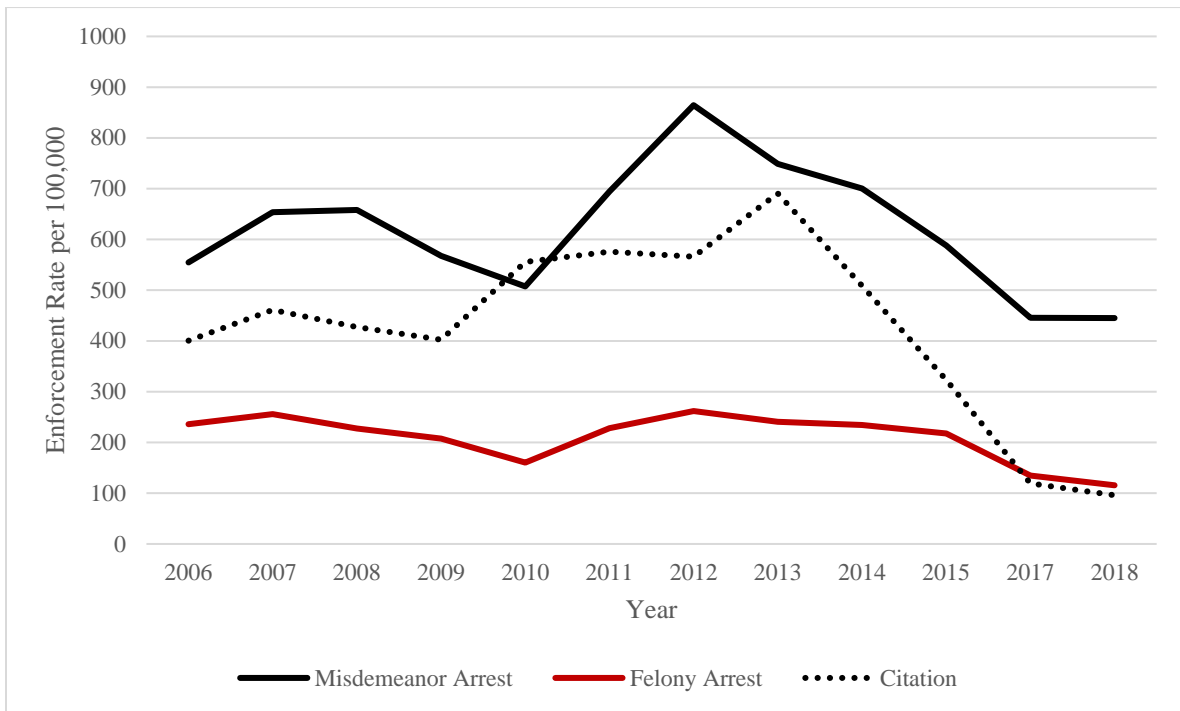
**Figure 3.5 Enforcement Rates by Type for 21-24-Year-Olds**



**Figure 3.6 Enforcement Rates by Type for 25-34-Year-Olds**



**Figure 3.7 Enforcement Rates by Type for 35-65-Year-Olds**

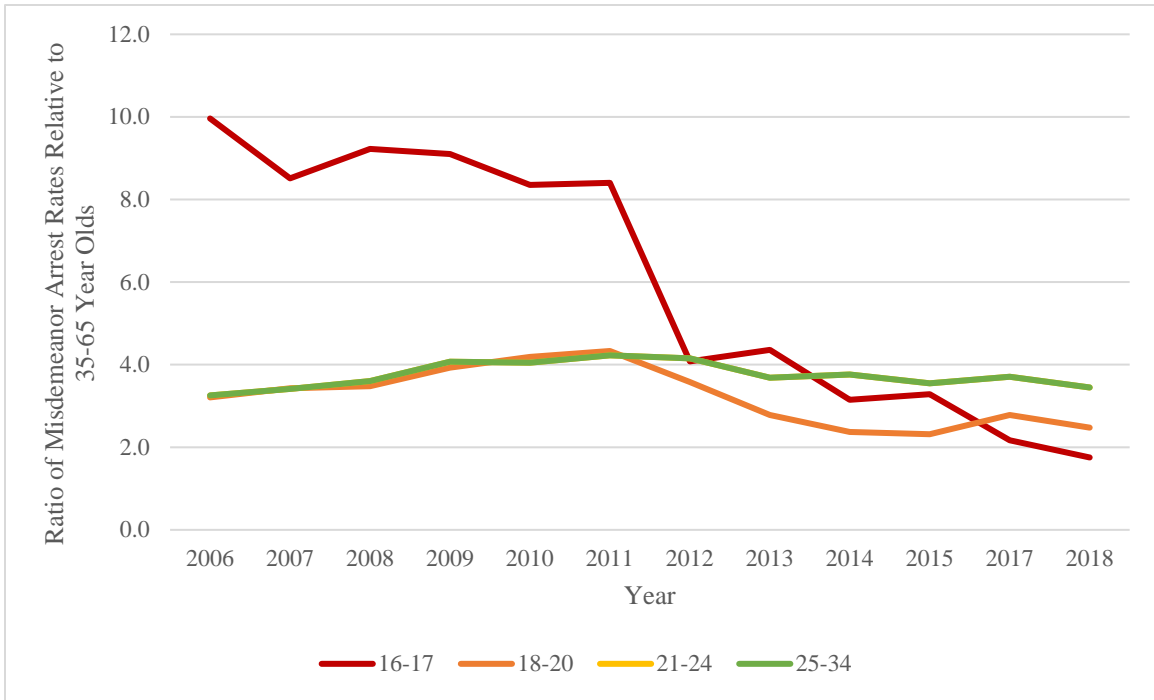


The figure above shows the misdemeanor and felony arrest rates, and criminal citation rates, for the oldest age group to be examined here. While the overall trends are similar to those of younger adults, the scaling of the figure indicates that this group, besides those aged 66 and older, experiences the lowest enforcement rates, even lower than those experienced by 14-15-year-olds in 2018 after declining steadily over the past decade.

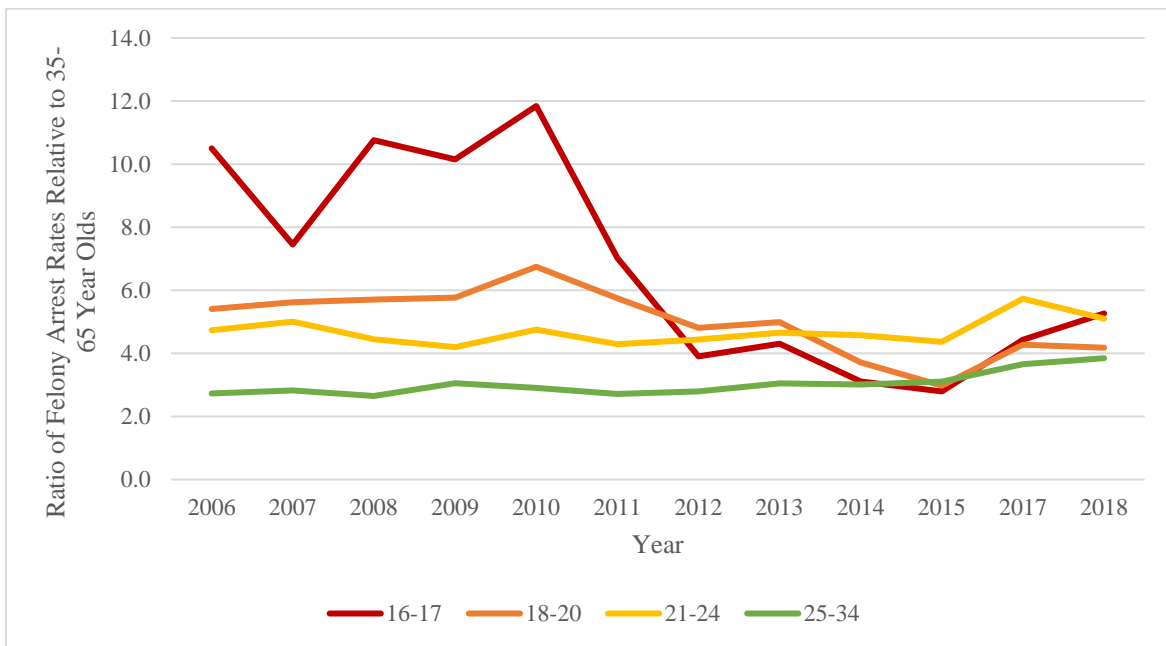
We also present Figure 3.7 for the 35-65-year-olds group to provide context for the next three figures (3.8, 3.9, and 3.10). Each of the next three figures displays the trends in the ratio of enforcement rates for the younger age groups, relative to the 35-65-age-group.



**Figure 3.8 Ratio of Rates of *Misdemeanor* Arrest of 16-17, 18-20, 21-24, and 25-34-Year-Old Age Groups Relative to the 35-65 Age Group**



**Figure 3.9 Ratio of Rates of *Felony* Arrest of 16-17, 18-20, 21-24, and 25-34-Year-Old Age Groups Relative to the 35-65 Age Group**



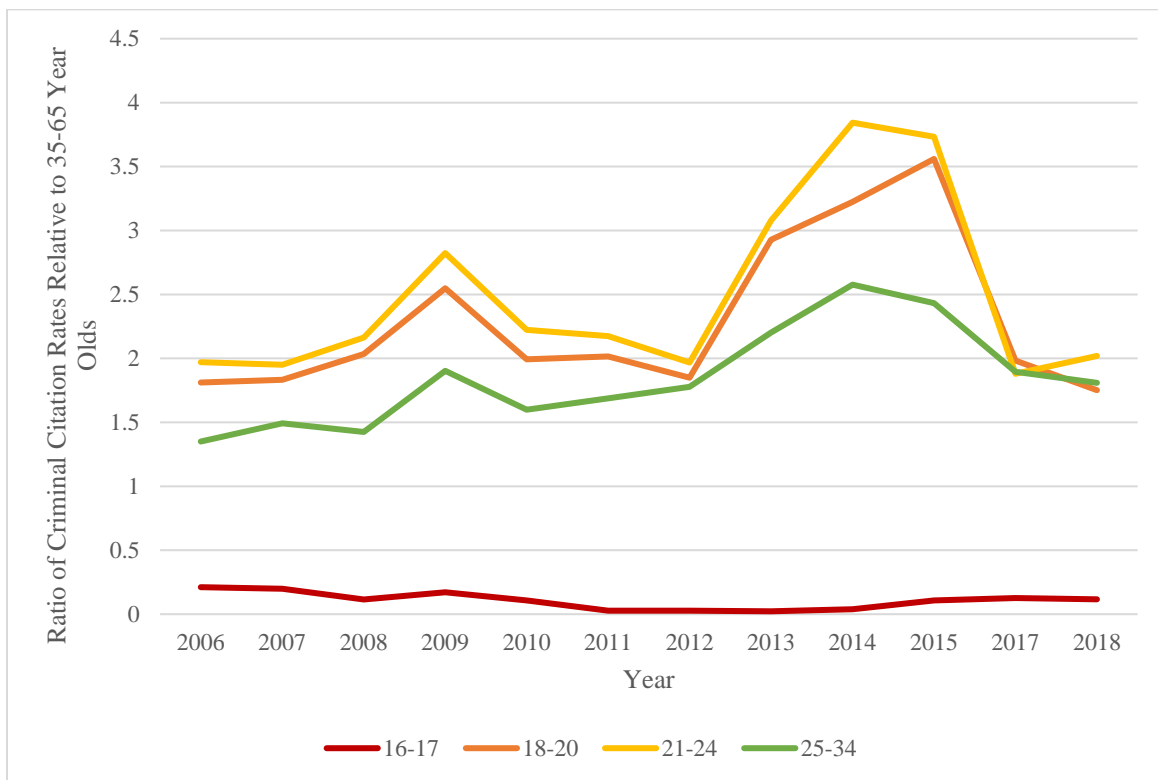
Figures 3.8 and 3.9 on the previous page summarize, for misdemeanor arrests and felony arrests separately, how much enforcement rates have changed since 2006 for each age group, relative to the baseline group of 35-65-year-olds.

For misdemeanor arrests (Figure 3.8), juveniles aged 16-17 had a misdemeanor arrest rate ten times that of 35-65-year-olds in 2006, while those aged 18-20, 21-24, and 25-34 had nearly identical arrest rates about four times that of the reference age group until the middle of the study period. By 2018, juveniles had the lowest ratio of all groups.

A similar trend in ratios may be seen in Figure 3.9 for felony arrests. While ratios by age group for felony arrests show more variation across ages throughout the study period compared to misdemeanor arrests, there was also a dramatic decline for juveniles relative to the young adult age groups.

In Figure 3.10 below, the ratio of rates of criminal citation relative to 35-65-year-olds is displayed. In this figure, the impact of the marijuana possession criminal citation period is noticeable. However, like the previous two ratio trend figures for misdemeanor and felony arrests, all of the adult age groups are experiencing citation rate ratios by 2018 that are comparable to those experienced at the start of the study period.

**Figure 3.10 Ratio of Rates of Criminal Citation of 16-17, 18-20, 21-24, and 25-34-Year-Old Age Groups Relative to the 35-65 Age Group**

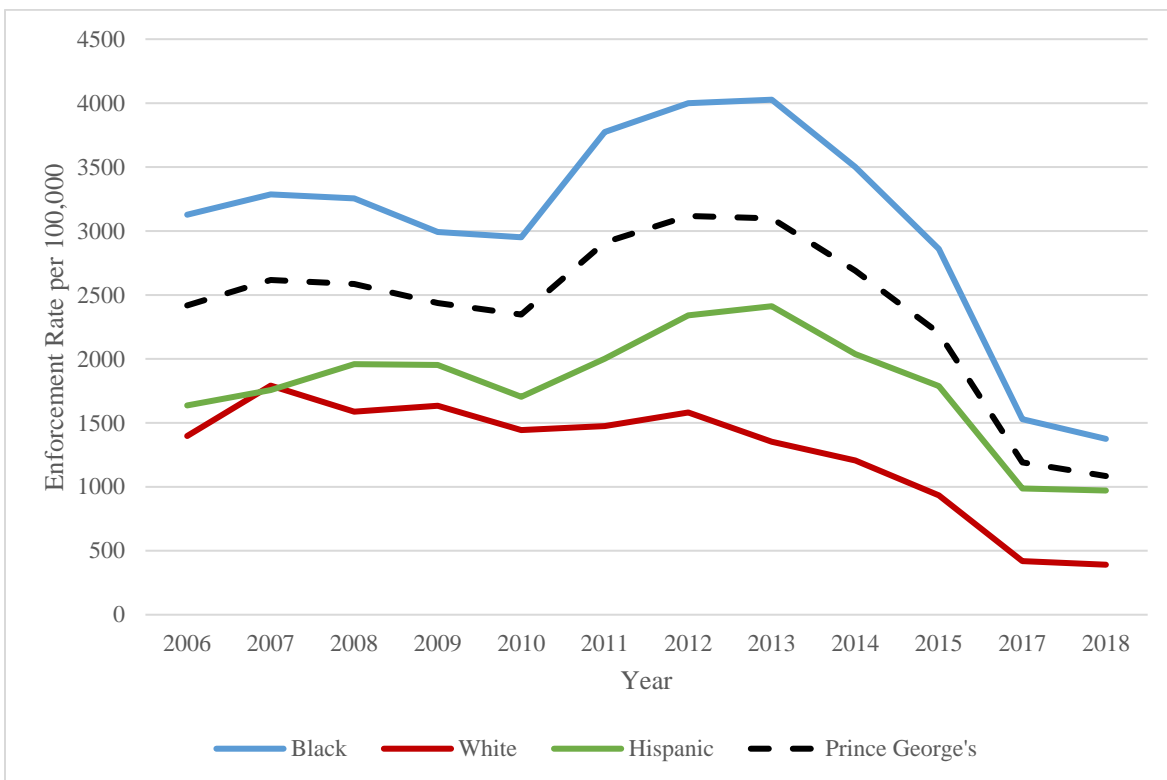


## CHAPTER 4: TRENDS BY RACE AND ETHNICITY

Figures 4.1 through 4.5 illustrate trends in enforcement rates by race and ethnicity of those subjected to enforcement actions. Figure 4.1 displays the combined enforcement rate, disaggregated by race. Race-specific rates for black (Figure 4.2), white (Figure 4.3), and Hispanic (Figure 4.4) enforcements, by type, are presented next. Finally, to allow for cross-race/ethnicity comparisons, Figure 4.5 shows the ratio of black-to-white and Hispanic-to-white enforcement rates by type of enforcement.

As evidenced in Figure 4.1, the combined enforcement rates for blacks, whites, and Hispanics, as well as the total rate for Prince George’s County, show an overall decline during the study period. Throughout the study period, white and Hispanic enforcement rates remained below the total county rate, while black enforcement rates remained higher. The decline in combined enforcement rates was greater for whites (72%), compared to blacks (56%) and Hispanics (41%). Given the demographic profile of the county, the total county enforcement rate is largely determined by the black enforcement rate.

**Figure 4.1 Combined Enforcement Rates by Race/Ethnicity**



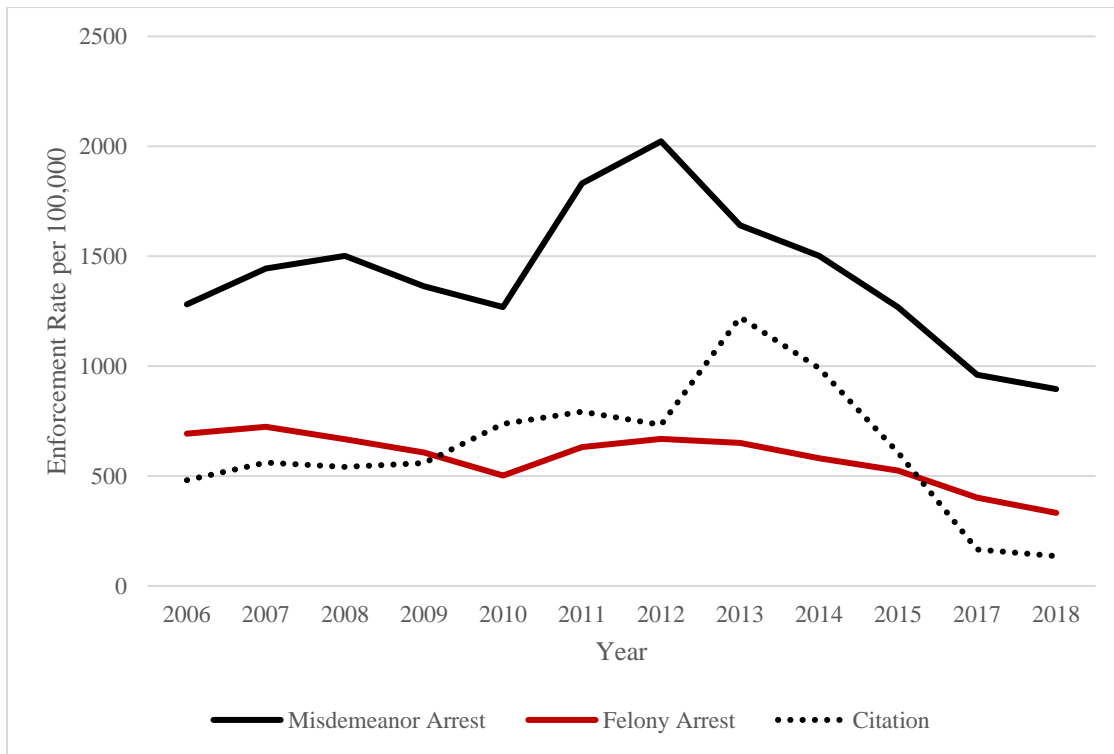
The combined enforcement rate for blacks began the study period at approximately 3,127 per 100,000 population and ended at its lowest level of 1,374 per 100,000 population in 2018. Except for years 2010 through 2013 (which showed a steady increase, peaking at 4,026 per 100,000 population), the combined enforcement rate for blacks declined year-to-year.

The combined enforcement rate for whites declined from 1,397 per 100,000 population in 2006 to 391 per 100,000 population in 2018. The combined enforcement rate for whites remained relatively stable at the start of the study period, with slight year-to-year variations before beginning a steady decline in 2012. The peak enforcement rate for whites occurred in 2007, at 1,791 per 100,000 population.

The combined enforcement rate for Hispanics also declined over the study period. The combined enforcement rate for Hispanics declined from 1,637 per 100,000 population in 2006 to 971 per 100,000 population in 2018. Like the enforcement rate for blacks, the enforcement rate also increased year-to-year during the period of 2010-2013 for Hispanics.

Figures 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 illustrate enforcement rates for blacks, whites, and Hispanics by type of enforcement (misdemeanor arrest, felony arrest, and criminal citation).

**Figure 4.2 Enforcement Rates by Type for Blacks**

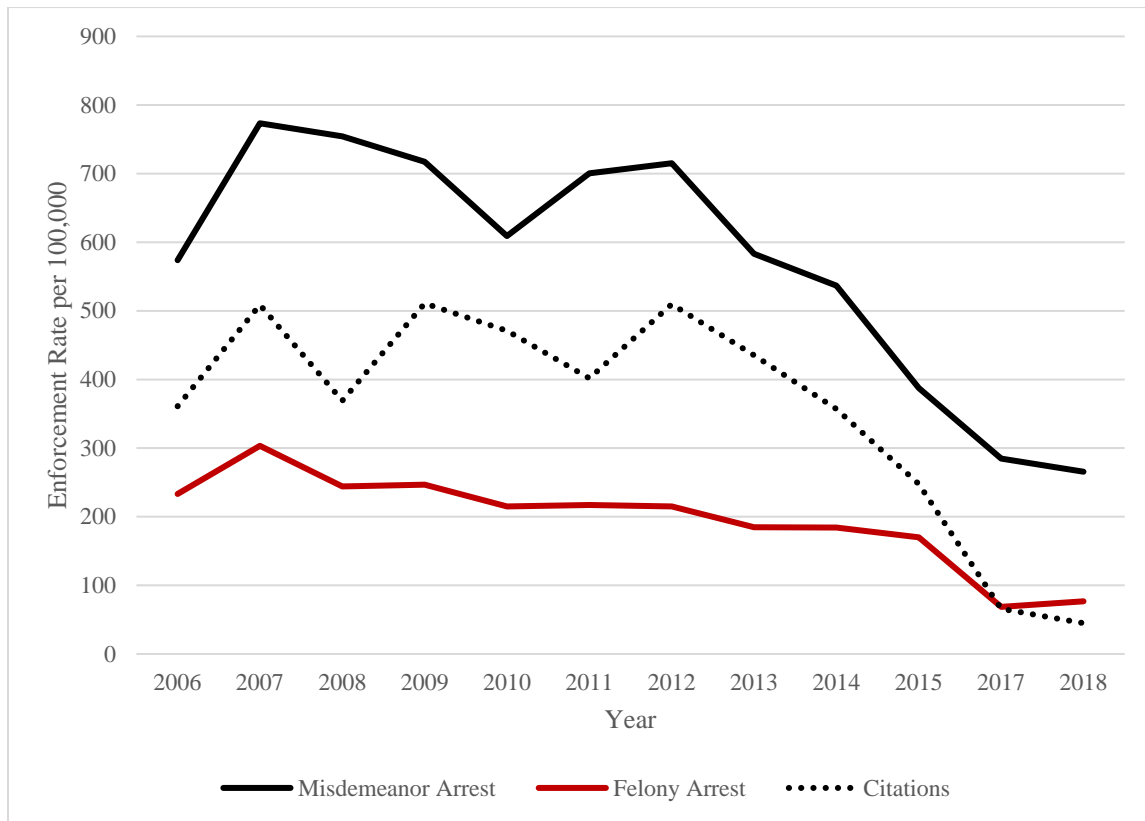


As shown in Figure 4.2, misdemeanor and felony arrests and criminal citations declined for blacks over the study period. The misdemeanor arrest rate began at 1,281 per 100,000 population in 2006 and remained relatively stable through 2010 (1,269 per 100,000). The misdemeanor arrest rate peaked in 2012 at 2,023 per 100,000 population before declining to 896 per 100,000 population in 2018. Overall, from 2006 to 2018 misdemeanor arrest rates declined by 30% among blacks.

The felony arrest rate for blacks peaked at 724 per 100,000 residents in 2007, after which the rate declined until 2010. The felony arrest rate increased between 2010 (502 per 100,000) and 2012 (669 per 100,000) before declining to its low of 332 per 100,000 in 2018.

For blacks, the criminal citation rate showed an overall decline during the study period, despite a peak of 1,222 per 100,000 population in 2013. This peak is associated with the October 2012 legal change, which allowed issuance of a criminal citation as opposed to a full-custody arrest for low-level possession of marijuana. Overall, the black citation rate declined by 72%, from 481 per 100,000 population in 2006 to 136 per 100,000 population in 2018.

**Figure 4.3 Enforcement Rates by Type for Whites**

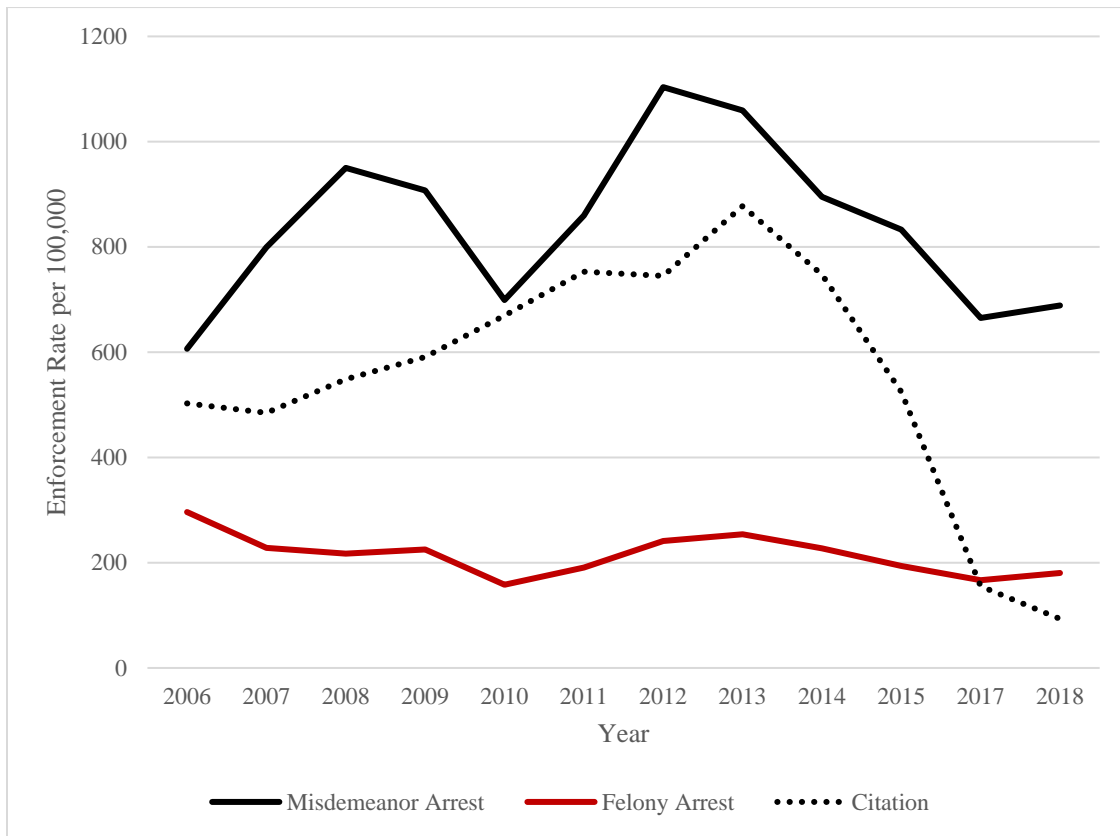


Like the rates for blacks, rates for whites declined for each type of enforcement activity during the study period. For whites, the misdemeanor enforcement rate peaked early at 773 per 100,000 population in 2007 then declined through 2010, increased slightly from 2010-2012, and then steadily declined to its lowest point in 2018. Overall, the white misdemeanor arrest rate declined by 53% from 574 per 100,000 population in 2006 to 266 per 100,000 in 2018, representing a larger decline than was observed for blacks.

The felony arrest rate for whites also showed an overall decline during the study period. Specifically, the white felony arrest rate began at 233 per 100,000 in 2006 and declined to 77 per 100,000 population in 2018, representing a 67% decline in the white felony arrest rate over the study period.

For whites, there was variation in the year-to-year criminal citation rate from 2006 through 2012, peaking at 511 per 100,000 population in 2009 (and similarly high at 509 per 100,000 and 510 per 100,000 in years 2007 and 2012, respectively). Still, the criminal citation rate for whites showed an overall decline during the study period. Overall, the white citation rate declined by 88% from 360 (in 2006) to 136 per 100,000 population in 2018).

**Figure 4.4 Enforcement Rates by Type for Hispanics**



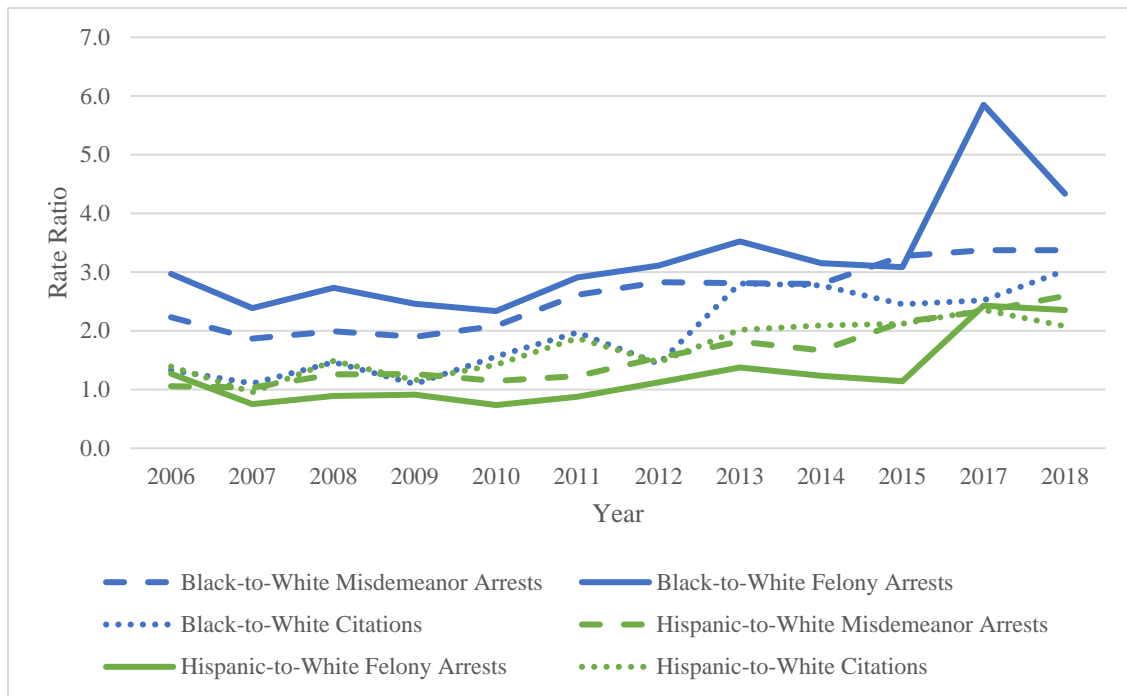
As seen in Figure 4.4, the felony arrest rates and criminal citation rates for Hispanics show a pattern of decline that is consistent with the trends for blacks and whites during the study period. However, unlike the other racial-ethnic group rates, Hispanic misdemeanor arrest rates increased by 14%, from 606 per 100,000 in 2006, to 689 per 100,000 in 2018.

For Hispanics, the felony arrest rate declined from its peak at 296 per 100,000 population in 2006 to 180 per 100,000 population in 2018, representing a 39% reduction. This decline is lower than the decline observed for both black (52%) and white (67%) felony arrests.

The criminal citation rate for Hispanics began at 503 per 100,000 population in 2006 and steadily increased to a high of 878 per 100,000 population in 2013 before declining. This trend comports with trends for blacks and whites and corresponds with the county's legal changes pertaining to low-level marijuana possession. Despite the increase in citations through 2013, the rate for Hispanics declined by 82% from 503 per 100,000 population in 2006 to 93 per 100,000 population in 2018. The decline in the Hispanic criminal citation rate is lower than that observed for whites (88%) but higher than that observed for blacks (72%) during the same period.

Figure 4.5 below presents the ratios of black-to-white and Hispanic-to-white enforcement rates by enforcement type, to describe the relative changes in trends in enforcement rates by race/ethnicity. While all three groups experienced enforcement rate declines during the study period, since the declines were greatest for whites, relative to blacks and Hispanics, the ratios of arrest rates increase over time in Figure 4.5.

**Figure 4.5 Ratio of Black-to-White and Hispanic-to-White Enforcement Rates**



For all enforcement types, the black-to-white enforcement ratio remained greater than 1 throughout the study period. A ratio greater than 1 suggests that blacks experienced higher rates of misdemeanor arrest, felony arrest, and criminal citation than did whites. Additionally, these ratios increased for all types of action over time. The misdemeanor arrest rate ratio reached a low of 1.86:1 in 2007, but ultimately increased over the study period from 2.2:1 in 2006 to 3.4:1 in 2018. The felony arrest rate ratio also increased from 3.0:1 in 2006 to 4.3 in 2018, with a peak at 5.9:1 in 2017. Similarly, the citation rate ratio increased from 1.1:1 (essentially equal) in 2006 to 3.0:1 in 2018.

Generally, the enforcement rate ratios for Hispanics relative to whites were lower than those for blacks relative to whites. However, like black-to-white enforcement ratios, Hispanic-



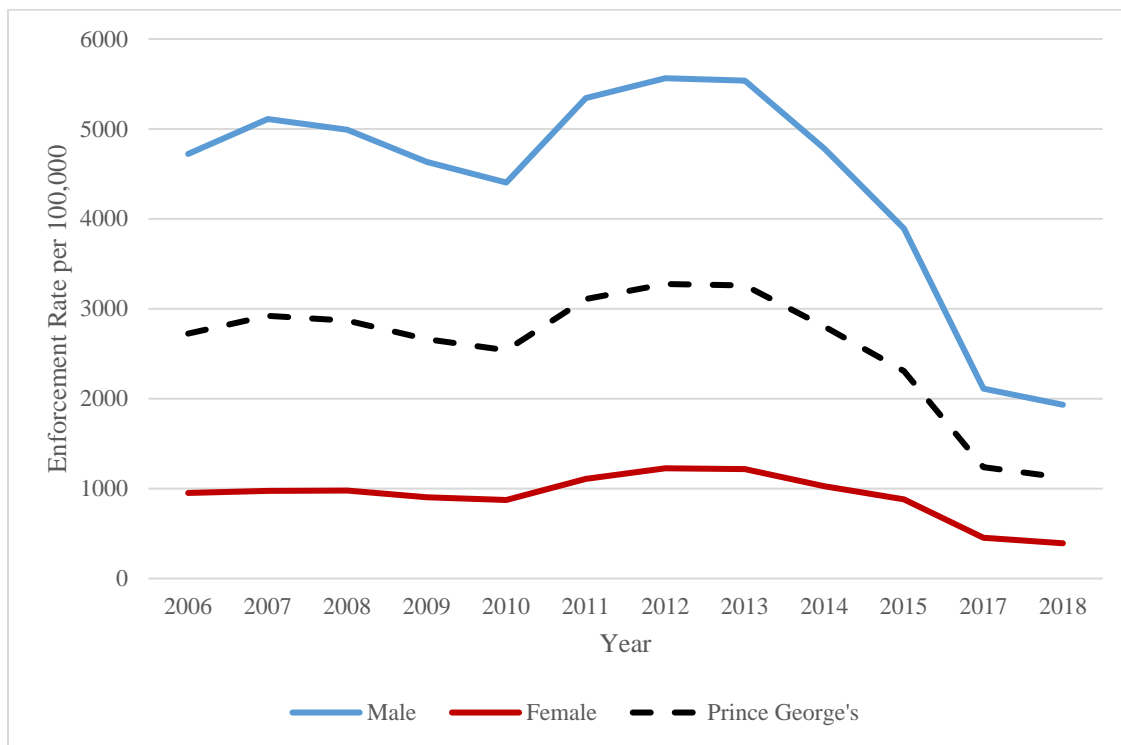
to-white enforcement ratios also increased over the period for each type of enforcement. The Hispanic-to-white misdemeanor arrest rate ratio began at 1.1:1 in 2006 (essentially equal) and increased to a peak of 2.6:1 in 2018. The Hispanic-to-white felony arrest rate ratio reached a low of 0.7:1 in 2010 but increased overall from 1.3:1 in 2006, to a high of 2.4:1 in 2017-18.

Similarly, the citation rate ratio increased from 1.4:1 in 2006 to 2.1:1 in 2018. The citation rate ratio dropped to a low of 1.0:1 (equal) in 2007 and peaked at 2.4:1 in 2017.

## CHAPTER 5: TRENDS BY GENDER

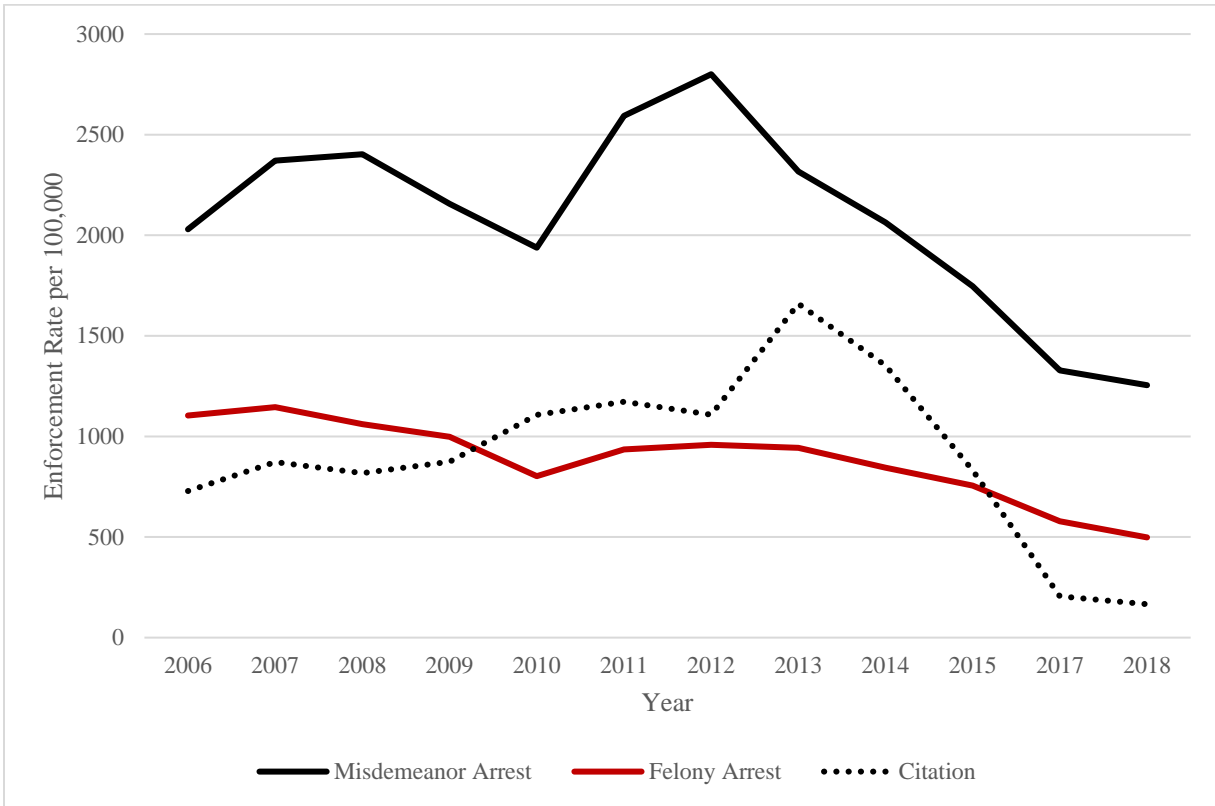
As displayed in Figure 5.1 below, the combined enforcement rates for males and females as well as the combined rate for Prince George's County, shows an overall decline during the study period. Throughout the study period, female enforcement rates remained well below the total county rate, while male enforcement rates remained equally above the total county rate. Interestingly, both male and female combined enforcement rates declined by the same amount over the study period -- approximately 59% from 2006 to 2018.

**Figure 5.1 Combined Enforcement Rates by Gender**



The enforcement rate for males began the study period at 4,723 per 100,000 population and ended at its lowest level of 1,932 per 100,000 population in 2018. Starting in 2011, the male enforcement rate increased year-to-year, reaching a peak of 5,564 per 100,000 in 2012, before beginning to decline steadily again.

**Figure 5.2 Enforcement Rates by Type for Males**

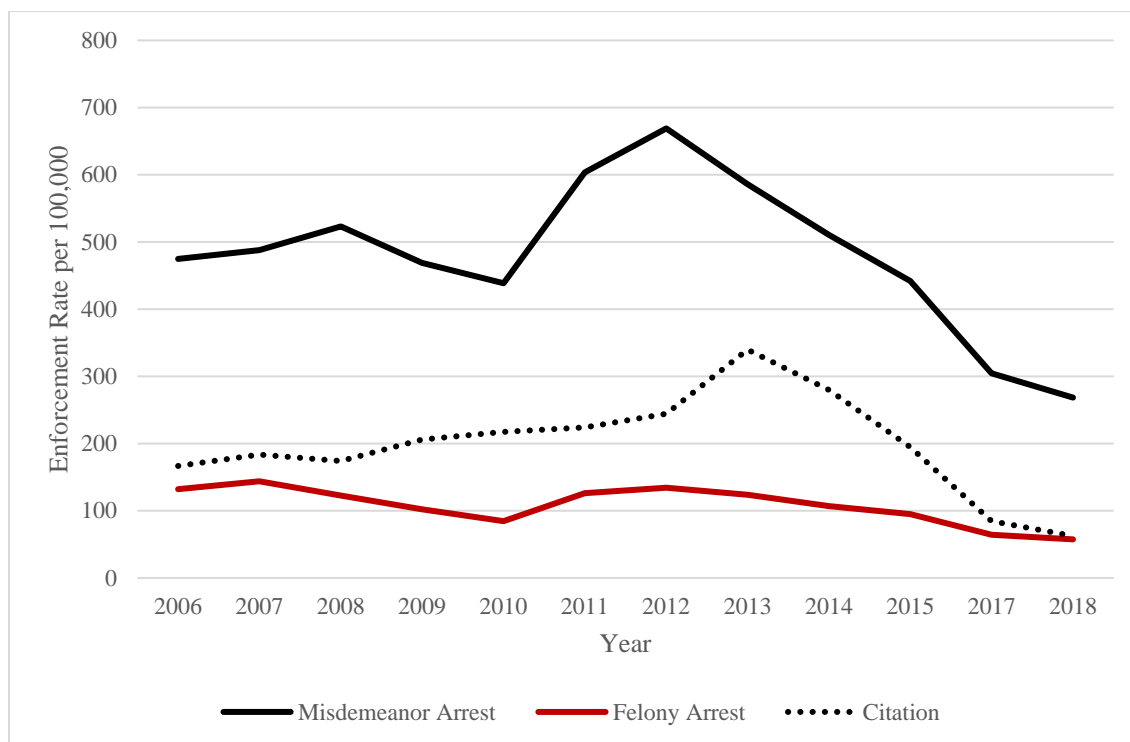


As shown in Figure 5.2 above, all three types of enforcement declined over the study period for males. In 2006, males were arrested at a rate of 2,030 per 100,000 for misdemeanors. There were year-to-year increases in the male, misdemeanor arrest rate, beginning in 2010 and reaching a peak of 2,800 per 100,000 in 2012. Overall, the male misdemeanor arrest rate declined by 38% between 2006 and 2018, reaching a low of 1,255 per 100,000 at the end of the study period.

The felony arrest rate for males peaked at 1,104 per 100,000 residents in 2007, after which the rate declined until 2010. The felony arrest rate then increased between 2010 (802 per 100,000) and 2013 (943 per 100,000) before declining to its low of 498 per 100,000 in 2018. This decline represents a 54% reduction in the male felony arrest rate during the study period.

For males, the criminal citation rate showed an overall decline during the study period, despite increasing from 2006 to its peak in 2013 (1,659 per 100,000 population). Overall, the male citation rate declined by 77%, from 728 per 100,000 population in 2006 to 166 per 100,000 population in 2018.

**Figure 5.3 Enforcement Rates by Type for Females**



Like males, female misdemeanor arrest, felony arrest, and criminal citation rates declined over the study period. The female misdemeanor arrest rate began at 475 per 100,000 population in 2006 and ended at its low of 268 per 100,000 population in 2018, representing a 43% decline in the rate, which is larger than the decline for males. Like males, the female misdemeanor rate rose from 2010 to its peak at 669 per 100,000 in 2012 before declining through the end of the period.

The felony arrest rate for females peaked at 144 per 100,000 population in 2007, after which the rate declined until 2010, increased through 2012, and then declined through the end of the study period. Overall, the female felony arrest rate declined by 57%, from 132 per 100,000 population in 2006 to 57 per 100,000 population in 2018 (again, slightly greater than the decline for males).

For females, the criminal citation rate showed an overall decline during the study period, despite increasing from 2006 to its peak in 2013 (340 per 100,000 population). Overall, the female citation rate declined by 62%, from 166 per 100,000 population in 2006 to 62 per 100,000 population in 2018. Unlike misdemeanor and felony arrest rates, the decline in criminal citations was relatively lower for females than for males (62% compared to 77%).

Figure 5.4 below presents the ratio of male-to-female enforcement actions by type to illustrate the relative changes in enforcement rate changes between the two groups.

**Figure 5.4 Ratio of Male-to-Female Enforcement Rates**

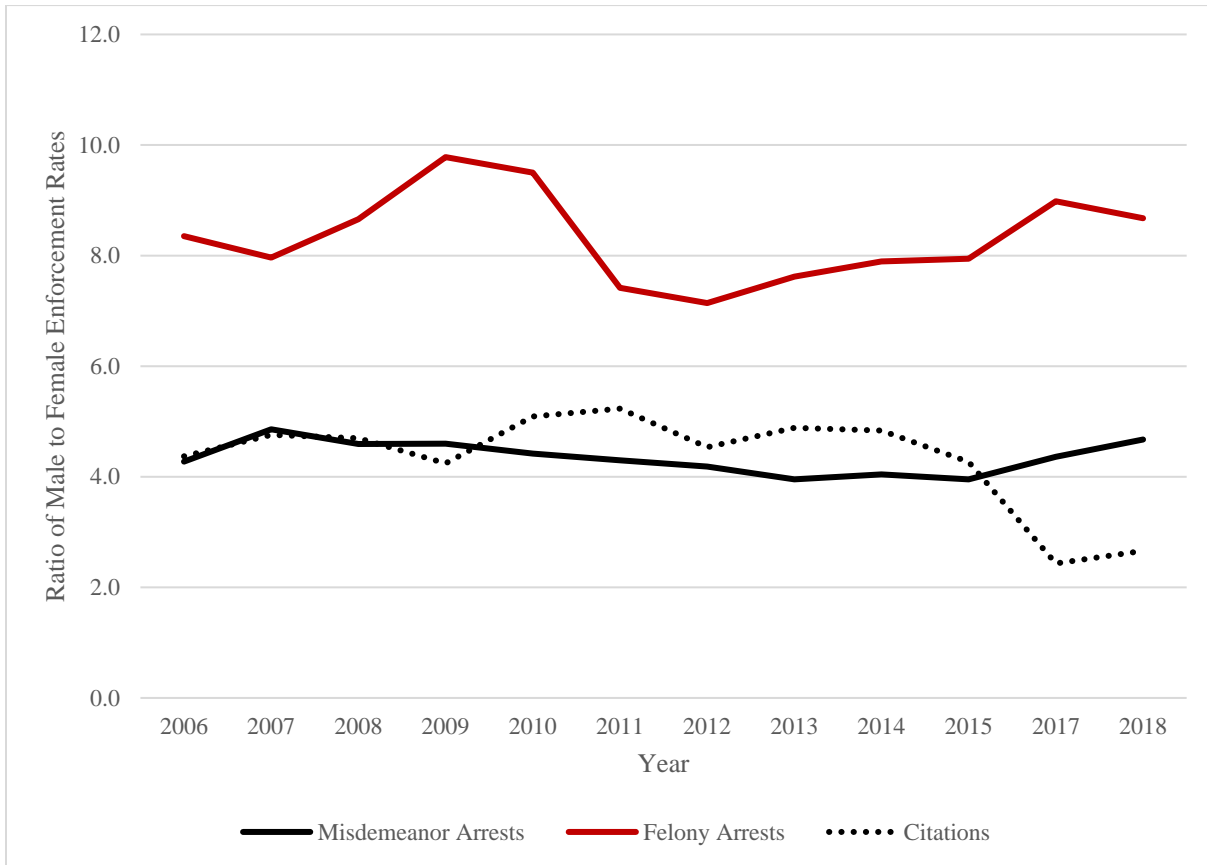


Figure 5.4 shows that the male-to-female ratio remains well above 1 for all enforcement types in all years of the study period. In this case, a ratio greater than 1 indicates that males had higher enforcement rates for misdemeanor and felony arrests as well as criminal citations. The male-to-female misdemeanor arrest rate ratio remained relatively stable during the study period, beginning at 4.3:1 in 2006 and increasing slightly to 4.7:1 by 2018. Similarly, the male-to-female felony arrest rate ratio began at 8.4:1 in 2006 and increased slightly to 8.7:1 in 2018, with a peak of 9.8:1 in 2009. Unlike the arrest rate ratios, the male-to-female criminal citation rate ratio noticeably declined over the study period from 4.4:1 in 2006 to 2.7:1 in 2018. The criminal citation rate ratio reached a low of 2.4:1 in 2017 and peaked at 5.2:1 in 2011.

## CHAPTER 6: TRENDS BY GENDER, AGE, AND RACE & ETHNICITY

The figures in this chapter are first organized by gender, presenting males first, followed by females. Each figure shows, for a specific age group, the misdemeanor and felony arrest rates for blacks, Hispanics, and whites. Figures 6.1 to 6.6 present combined age and race and ethnicity enforcement rate trends for males, while Figures 6.7 to 6.12 present combined age and race and ethnicity rate trends for females.

Previous chapters dealing with enforcement rates by age, race, and gender examined each demographic category in isolation. By presenting misdemeanor and felony arrest rate trends in this manner, the interaction of age, race & ethnicity, and gender reveal differences and changes not visible previously. The unique findings this analysis reveals are summarized for each gender in turn, followed by all of the figures for that gender.

Since these figures are organized by gender and age, the reader is cautioned to note the dramatically different scales for the y-axis across figures. For legibility, each figure appears to be similarly sized, while the maximum enforcement rate value declines steadily across older age groups.

### *Males: Figures 6.1 to 6.6*

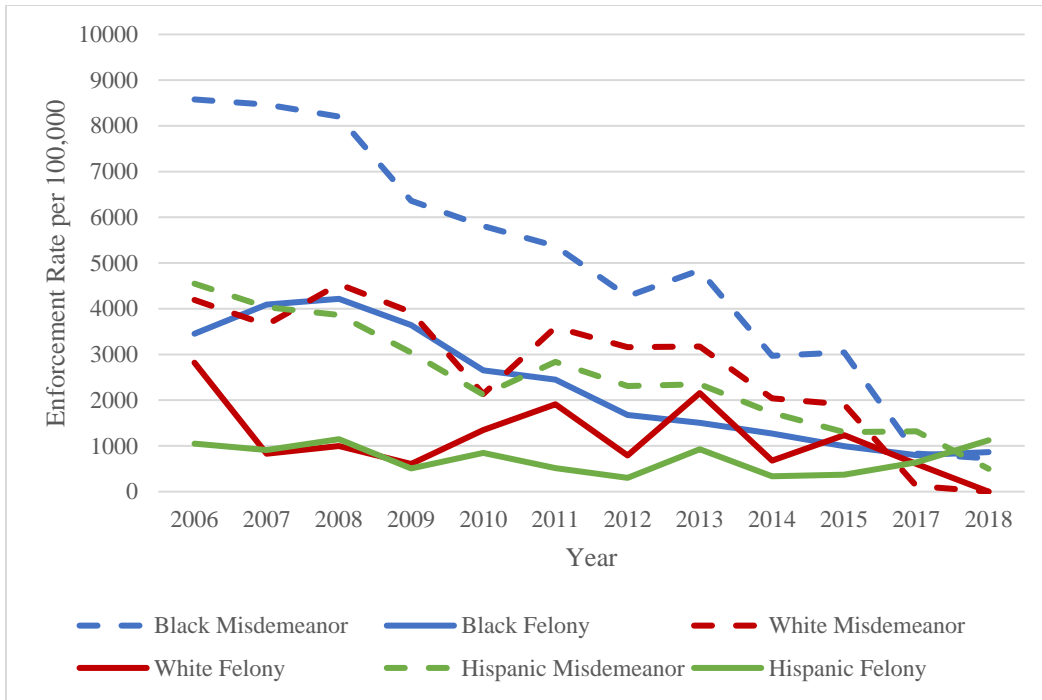
While enforcement rates declined for males overall during the study period, there was only one male group that experienced slightly higher enforcement rates in 2018 versus 2006. In Figure 6.1, Hispanic males, aged 14-15, had a slightly higher felony arrest rate in 2018 (1,123 per 100,000 population) than in 2006 (1,050 per 100,000 population). This may be due in part to population undercounting, but, in comparison, black felony arrest rates for 14-to-15-year-olds in 2018 were 864 per 100,000 population, having fallen from 3,455 in 2006.

For younger age groups (14-15, 16-17, and 18-20), the trend over the study period has been that the misdemeanor and felony arrest rates became more similar, while among the older adult groups, starting with 21-24, the rates show greater stability, and no convergence among race and ethnicity groups over time.

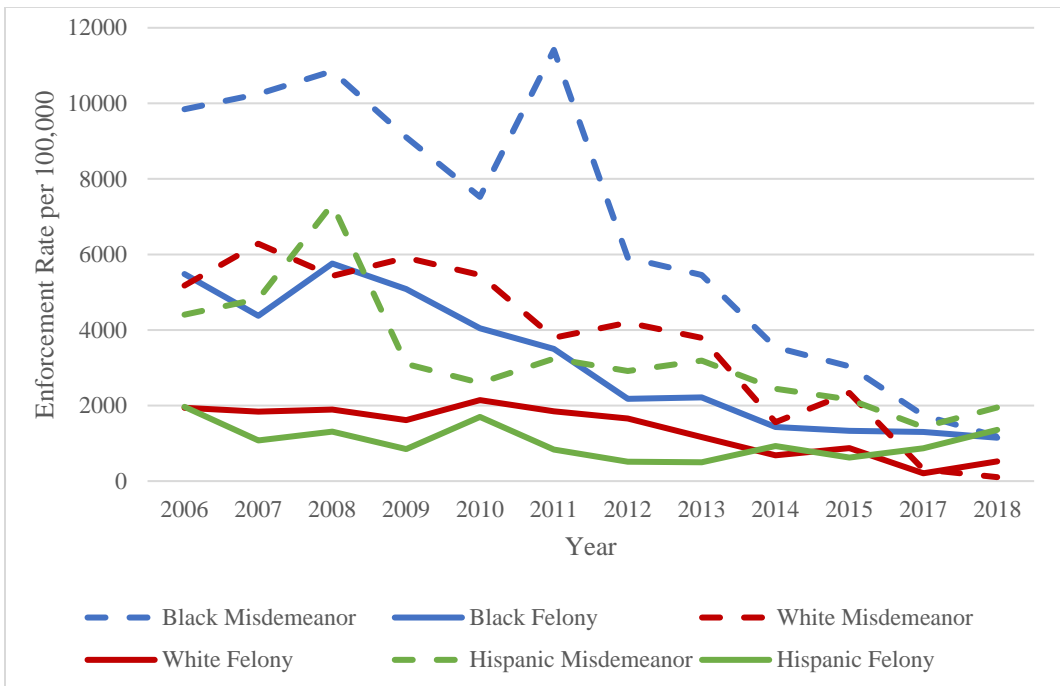
Finally, the misdemeanor and felony arrest rates for those aged 35-65 showed the least amount of change during the study period.

The following three pages display the figures for all six male age groups.

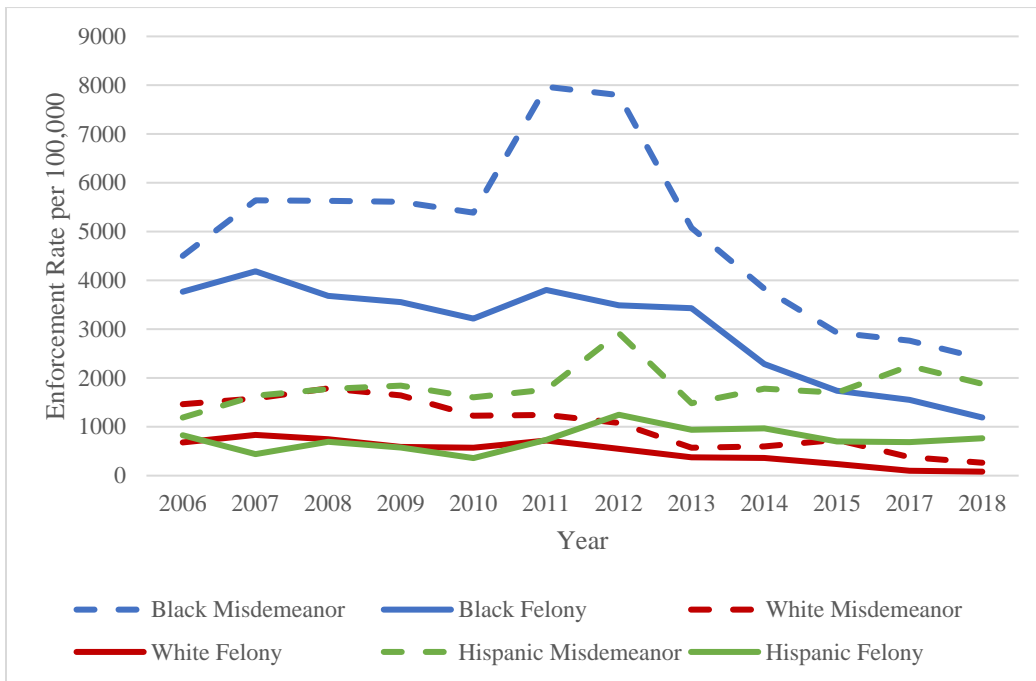
**Figure 6.1 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 14-15**



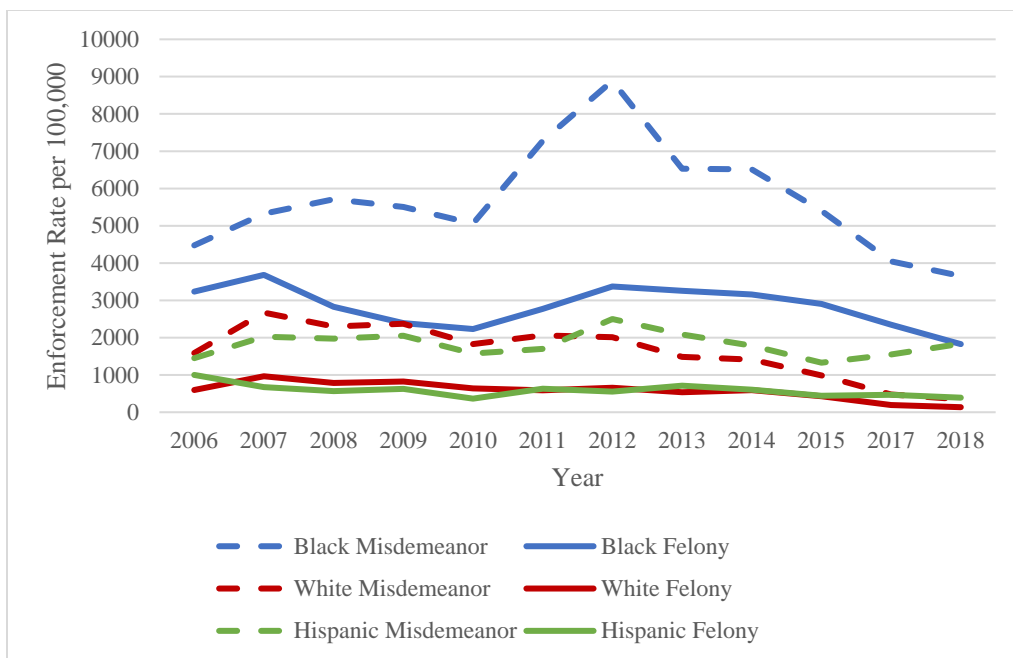
**Figure 6.2 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 16-17**



**Figure 6.3 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 18-20 by Race/Ethnicity**

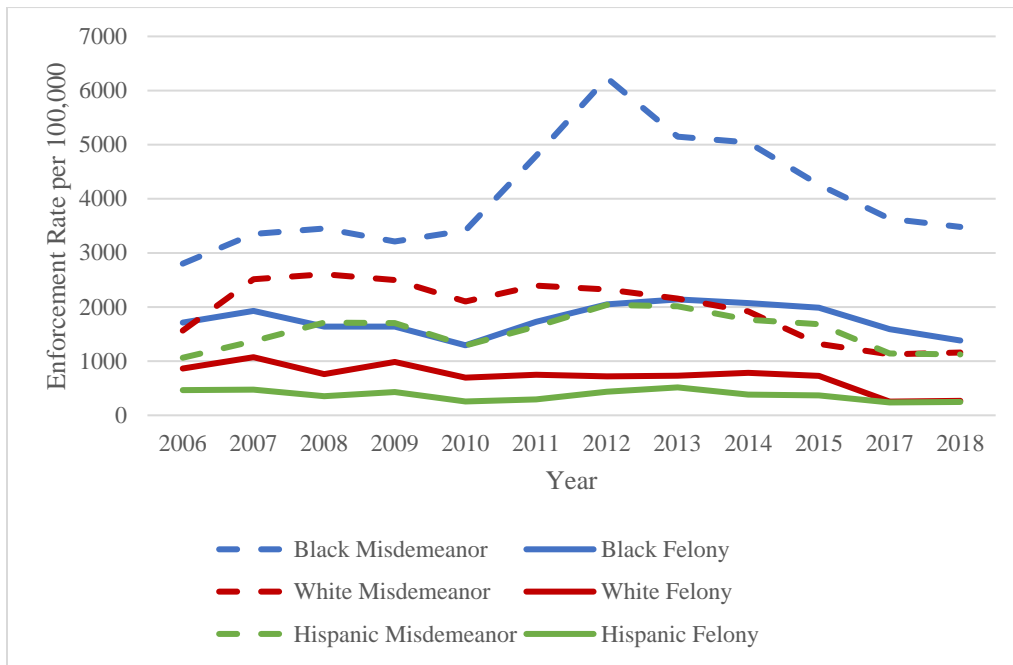


**Figure 6.4 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 21-24 by Race/Ethnicity**

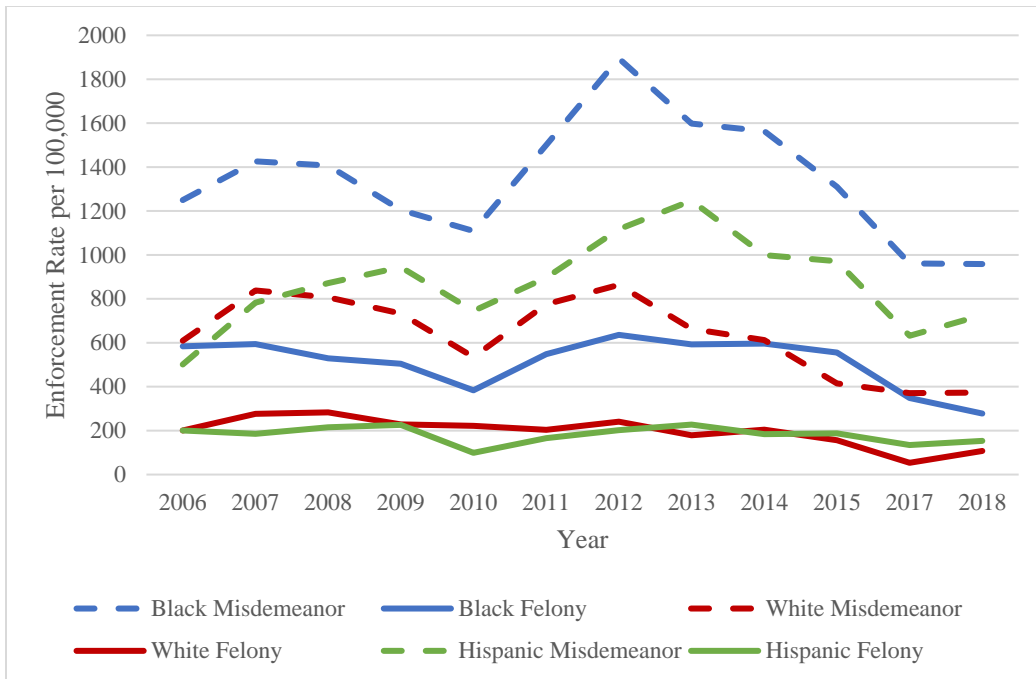




**Figure 6.5 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 25-34 by Race/Ethnicity**



**Figure 6.6 Enforcement Rates for Males Ages 35-65 by Race/Ethnicity**



***Females: Figures 6.7 to 6.12***

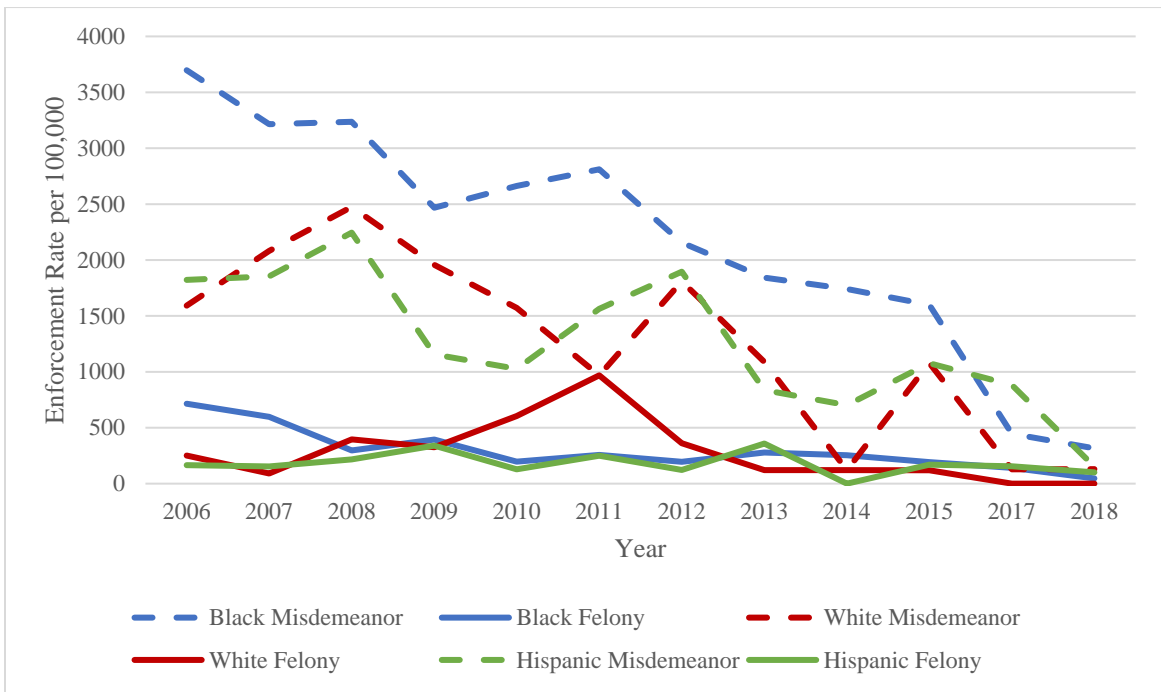
Similar to males, among the younger age groups (14-15, 16-17, and 18-20), the trend during the study period was that the misdemeanor and felony arrest rates became more similar, while among the older adult groups, starting with 21-24, the rates show less change, and no convergence among race and ethnicity groups over time.

While enforcement rates declined for females overall during the study period, there was one female group that experienced a slightly higher enforcement rate in 2018 versus 2006. In Figure 6.11, white females aged 25-34, are shown to have a slightly higher misdemeanor arrest rate in 2018 (377 per 100,000 population) than in 2006 (365 per 100,000 population). The most frequent misdemeanor charge among white females aged 25-34 in 2018 was for prostitution (representing 25% of that group's total misdemeanor charges).

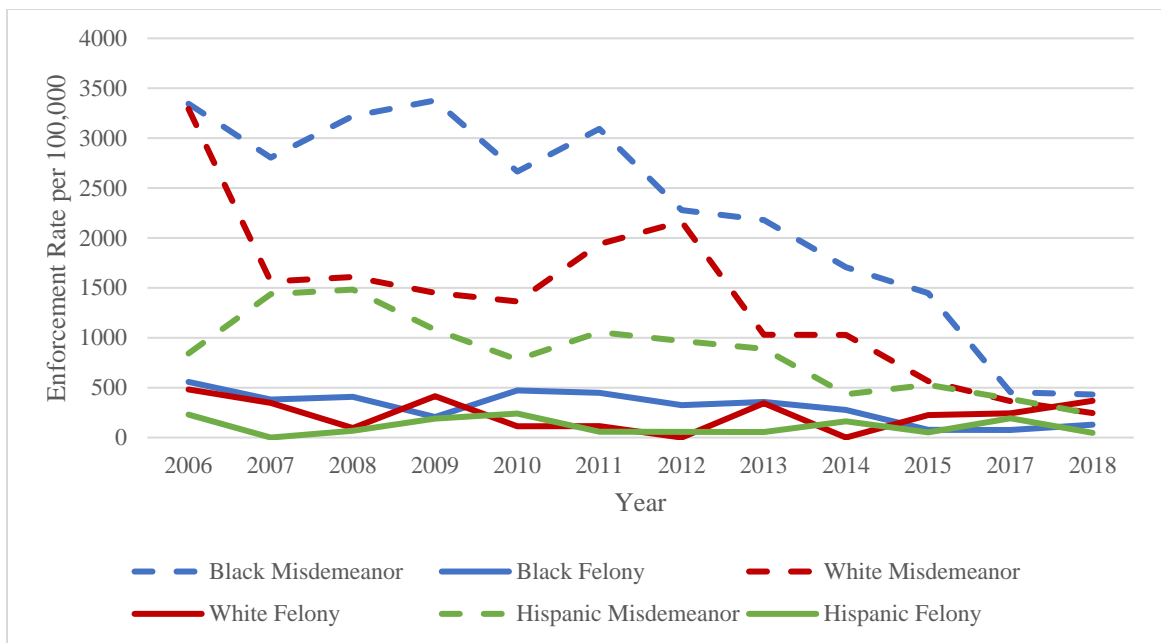
Finally, the misdemeanor and felony arrest rates for those aged 35-65 showed trend changes greater than that of 35-65-year-old males during the study period, but by 2018, black, Hispanic, and white females all had nearly identical felony arrest rates.

The following three pages display the figures for all six female age groups.

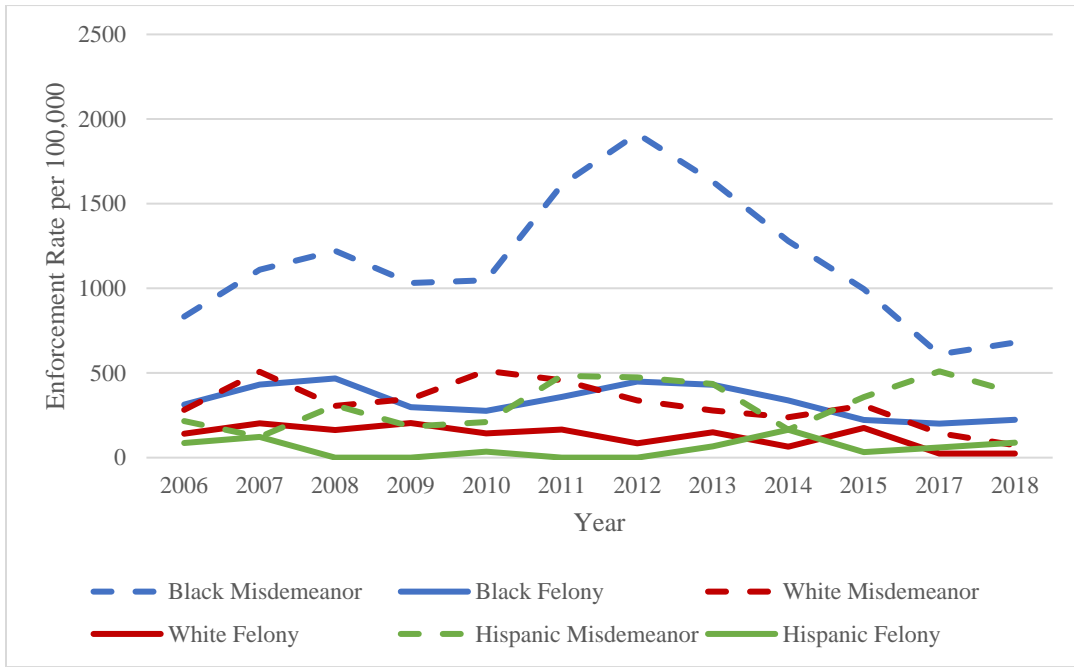
**Figure 6.7 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 14-15 by Race/Ethnicity**



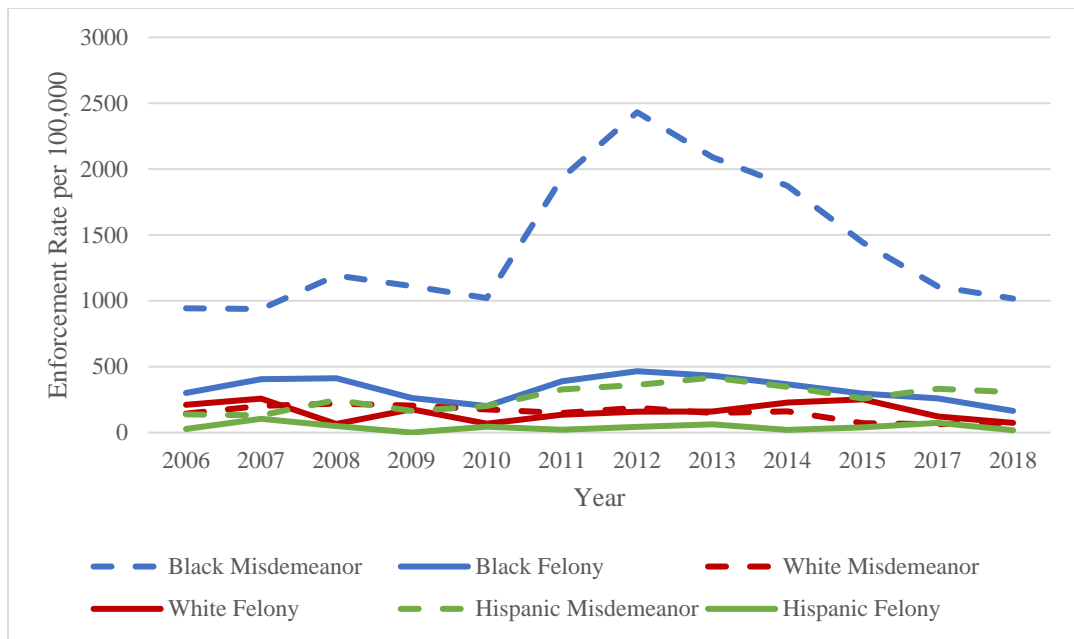
**Figure 6.8 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 16-17 by Race/Ethnicity**



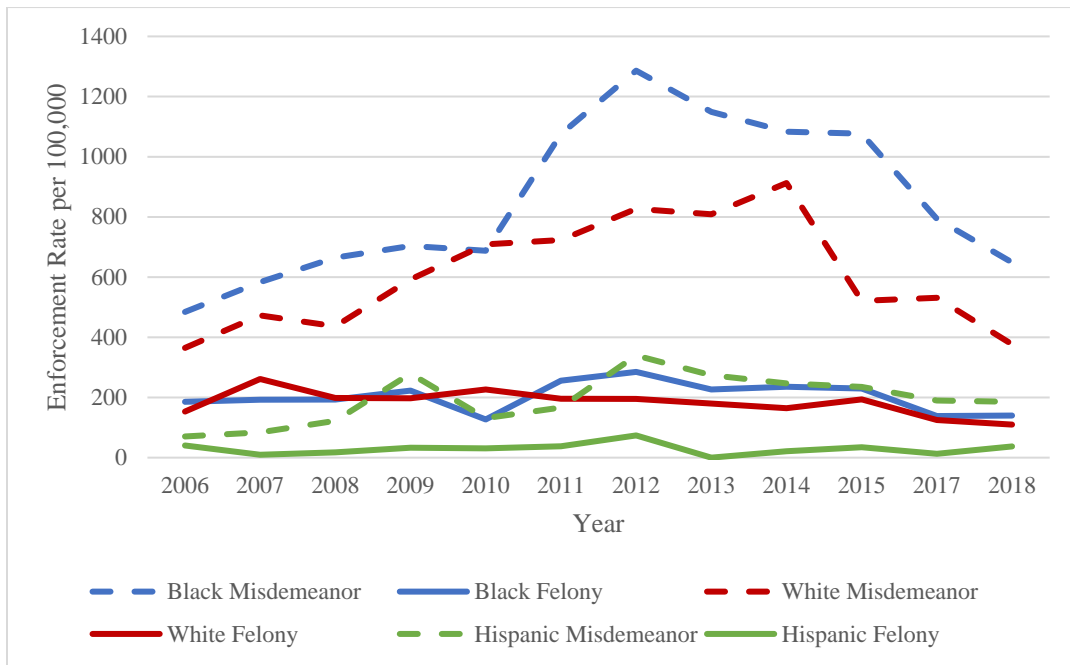
**Figure 6.9 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 18-20 by Race/Ethnicity**



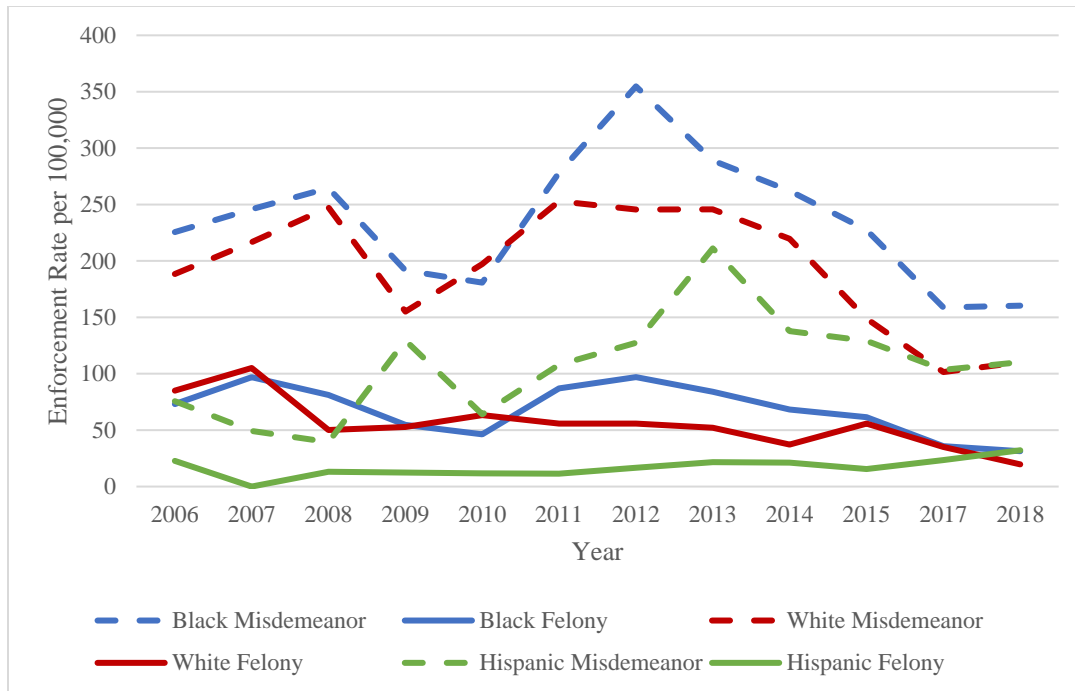
**Figure 6.10 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 21-24 by Race/Ethnicity**



**Figure 6.11 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 25-34 by Race/Ethnicity**



**Figure 6.12 Enforcement Rates for Females Ages 35-65 by Race/Ethnicity**



## **CHAPTER 7: TRENDS BY OFFENSE TYPES AND CHARGES**

In the introductory chapter of this report, the differences in how arrests and charges were recorded during 2006-2015 and 2017-2018 periods were reviewed.

During 2006-2015, charges were hierarchically ordered, a maximum of three charges could be recorded, and each charge was described by using one of 153 internal classification codes.

After 2016, charges were not hierarchically ordered, there was no limit to the number of charges possible (a maximum of 38 were recorded), and each charge was described using one of 848 classification codes cross-referenced to criminal statutes or county codes.

Classification codes in both periods were re-coded to create six offense type categories, consistent across the study periods: person, property, drug, disorder, weapon, or traffic-related offenses. The analyses in this chapter describe the types of offenses that made up misdemeanor and felony arrests, and how the offense types for which arrests occur have changed in frequency during the study period.

The most challenging issue in harmonizing the data from two different data-systems used in this study involved the designation of a “top charge” in the 2006-2015 period, and no such designation appearing in the 2017-2018 data. Since it was impossible to re-code the new data to match the old data, we explored how restructuring the old data would affect descriptive statistics for the types of offenses that made up misdemeanor arrests.

**Figure 7.1 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges by Offense Type during 2006-2015**

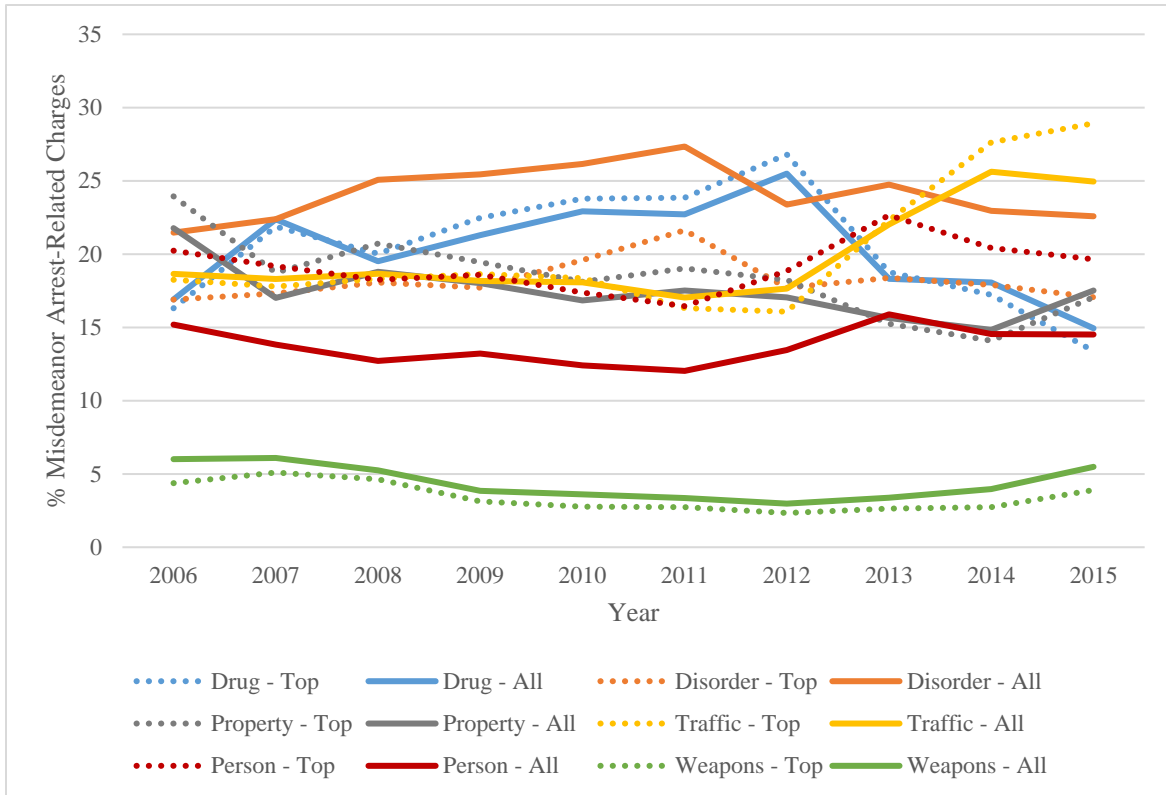


Figure 7.1 above displays the percent of misdemeanor arrest charges represented by different offense types, but only in the 2006-2015 data. The dotted lines display the offense-type percent when only the “top charge” is counted, while the solid lines display the offense-type percent when all charges (up to three being possible) are counted.

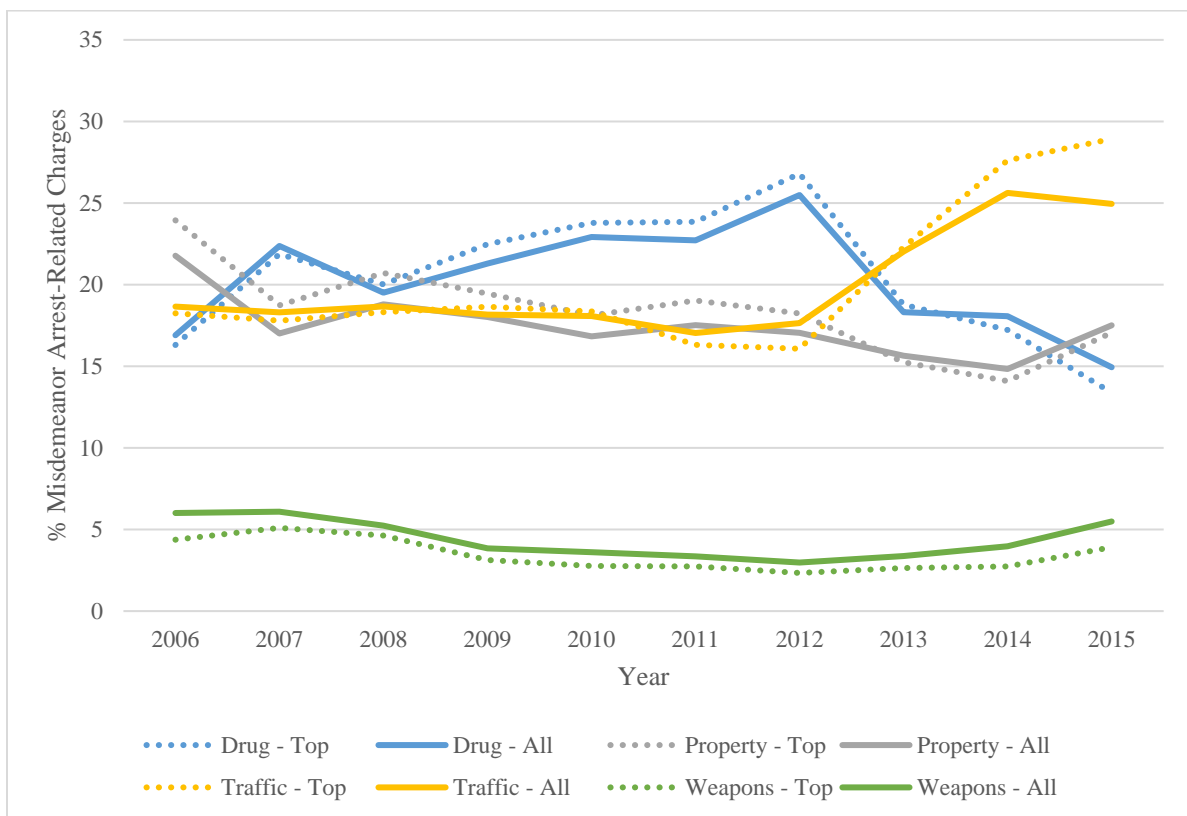
There were three different results from using “top charge” versus up to all three charges in the older data, depending on offense-type. The next two figures on the following pages display these three different results.

In Figure 7.2, the four offense-types that are the least affected when using “top charge” or all charges are displayed. For charges related to drug, property (theft), traffic, and weapon offenses, the percent contribution of each offense-type to all misdemeanor arrests changes generally changes by only a couple percentage points.

The figure may be read according to the following example, using the largest difference observed, in 2015 for traffic charges, noted by the yellow lines: When only “top charge” is counted, traffic offenses make up about 29% of all charges among misdemeanor arrests, while when up to all three charges are counted, traffic offenses make up about 25% of all charges among misdemeanor arrests.

In terms of using all charges, then, there is minimal impact on the descriptive findings for drug, property (theft), traffic, and weapon offense-type categories.

**Figure 7.2 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges during 2006-2015 (Least Changed by Coding)**

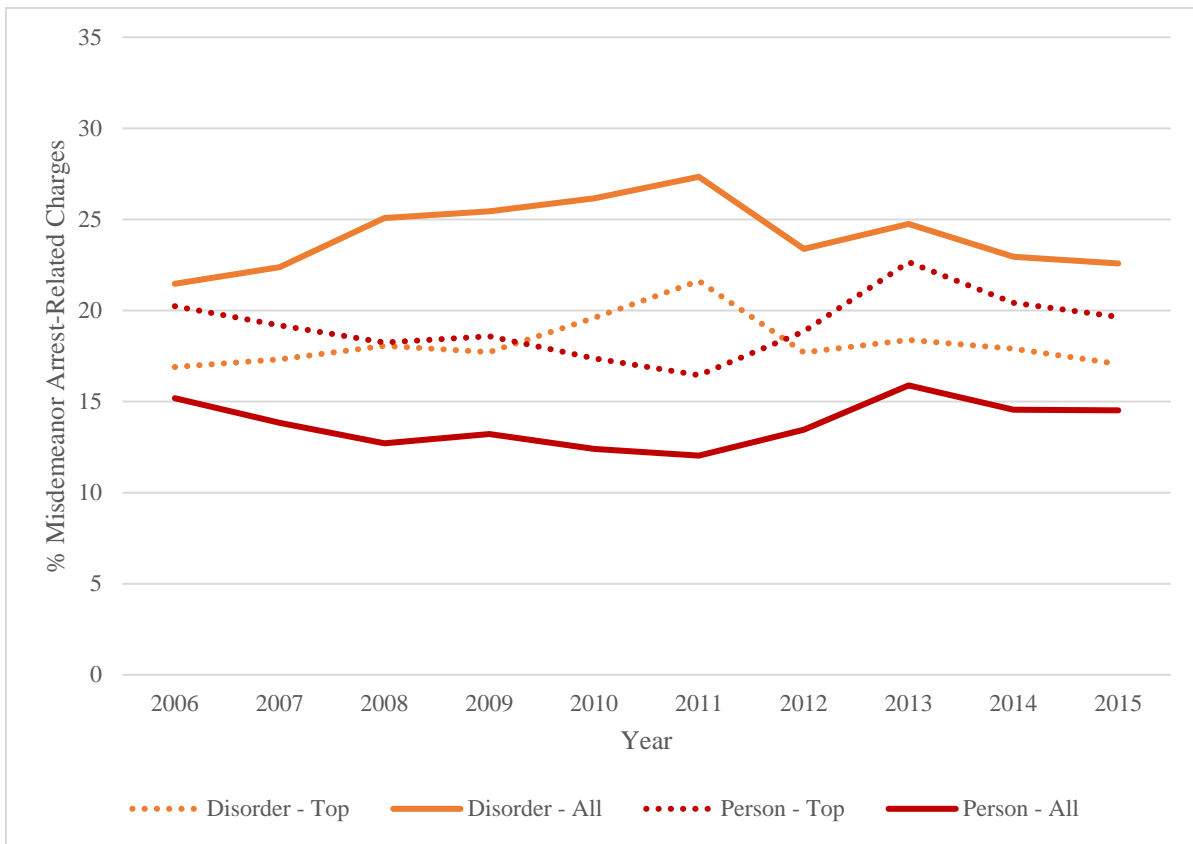




On the other hand, in terms of using all charges versus only the top charge, there are larger impacts on the descriptive findings for the categories of person and disorder offense-types. Common misdemeanor person offenses include lesser degrees of (or less serious) assault, robbery, and sexual assault charges. Disorder offenses are universally misdemeanors, and typically included charges such as prostitution, disorderly conduct, and vandalism.

For person offenses, moving from “top charge” to all charges results in person offenses representing a *smaller* portion of all misdemeanor arrests. The opposite occurs for disorder offenses – including all charges *increases* the percentage of all misdemeanor charges involving disorder offenses.

**Figure 7.3 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges during 2006-2015 (Most Changed by Coding)**



In Figure 7.4 below, offense type charges for the entire study period are displayed, to show how much each offense type contributes to total misdemeanor charges, by using all charges. As noted earlier, it is impossible to designate a “top charge” in the recent data. For the purpose of continuity, we include all arrest charges, to align the older data with the recent data.

The exploratory analyses of the older data suggested that, during 2006-2015, the contribution of drug, property, traffic, and weapons offense-type charges would minimally change by including all charges. Person offense-type charges would appear to contribute less, and disorder offenses more, to all misdemeanor arrests. There is a fair amount of change across time in the relative contributions of each offense type to all misdemeanor arrest charges in the figure below. Most notable is the increase in the contribution of weapons charges.

**Figure 7.4 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges by Offense Type**

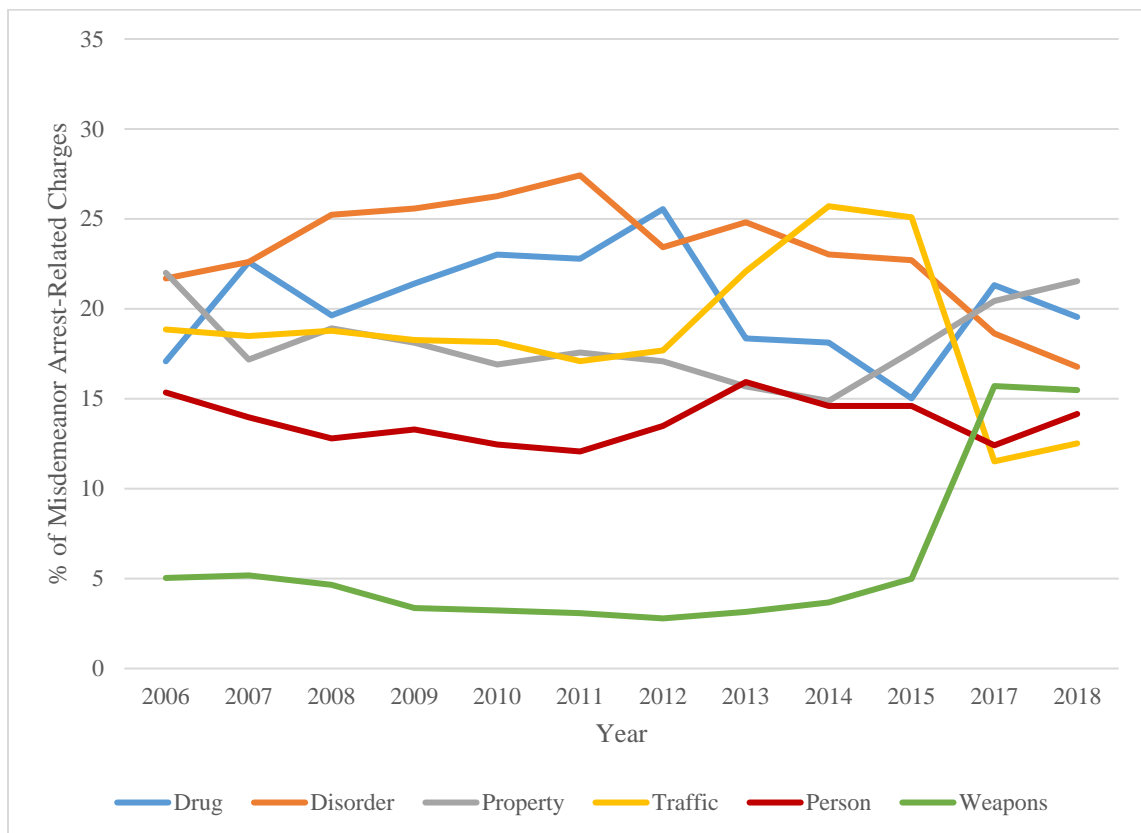
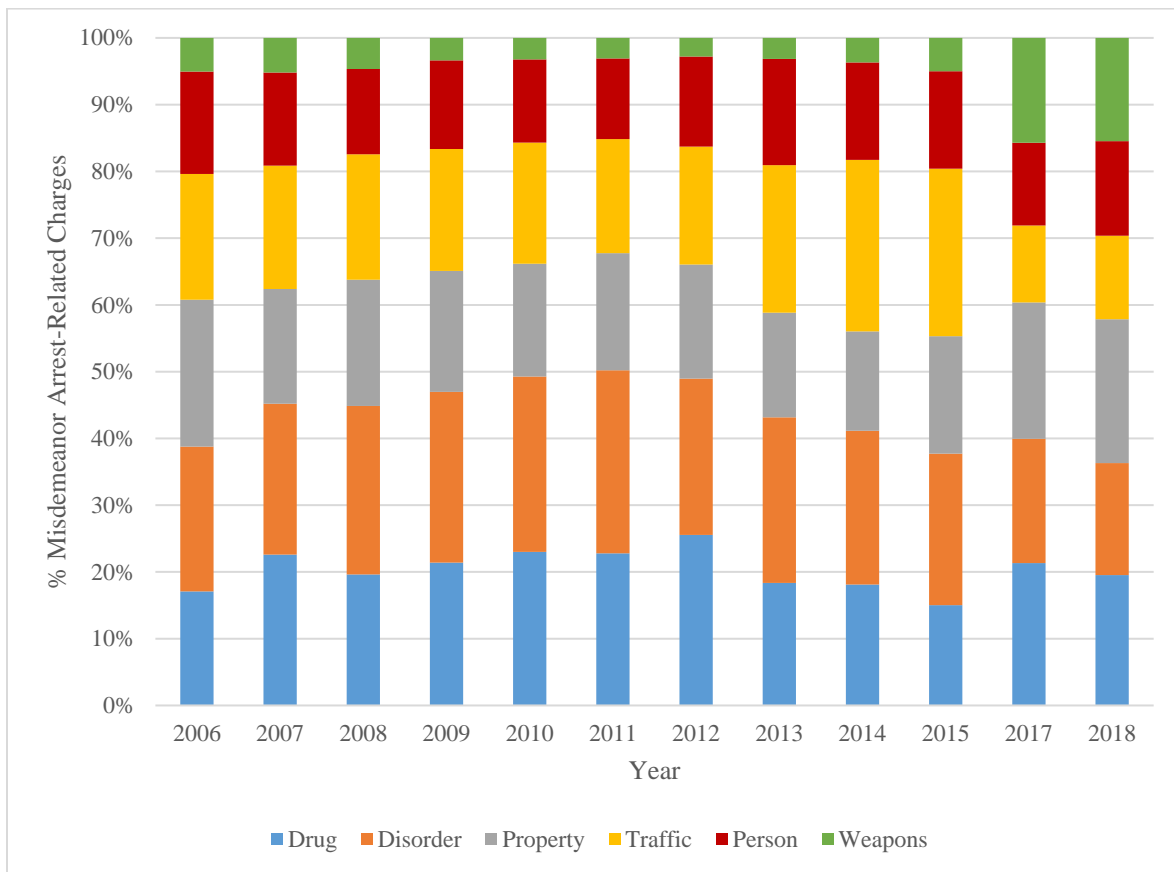


Figure 7.5 below provides the same information as in Figure 7.4, but by summing the contributions of offense types to 100% each year, it allows visualizing the relative change across years more clearly.

There are fluctuations across the period in terms of the relative contribution of each offense type to the total amount of misdemeanor arrest charges. The two offense types that show the most change in contribution are weapons charges (which increased dramatically), and traffic charges (which decreased dramatically). However, it should be noted that these larger changes both occurred only between the 2015 and 2017, and 2016 is when the data system change occurred.

**Figure 7.5 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrest-Related Charges by Offense Type**

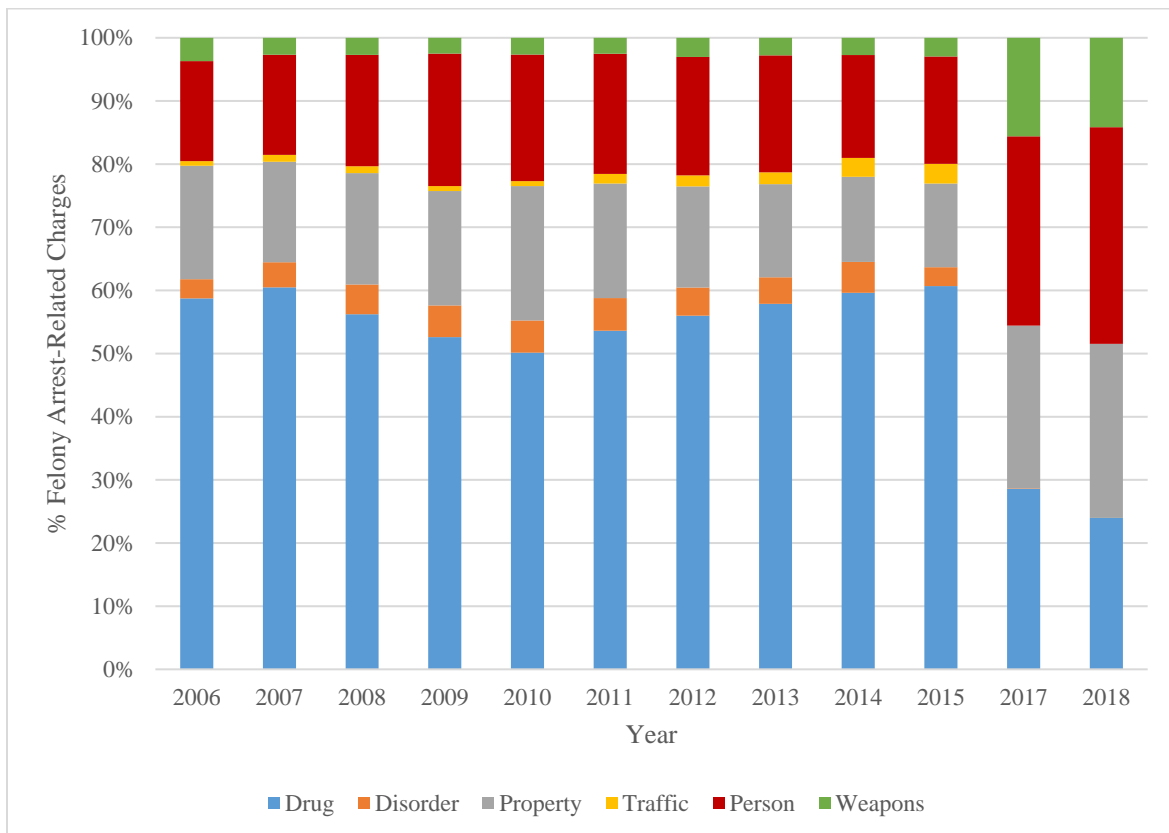


As a comparison, Figure 7.6 below presents felony charge information across the same six offense types. As in Figure 7.6, all charges are included – up to the top three charges during 2006-2015, and all charges recorded with the data system change in 2017-2018.

As in Figure 7.5 for misdemeanors, there is a large increase in the contribution of weapons charges toward the total number of felony arrest charges. (This is due in part to a task force including Prince George’s County Police, the Drug Enforcement Agency, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, which began operations in the county in 2016, whose work focused specifically on armed drug dealers.)

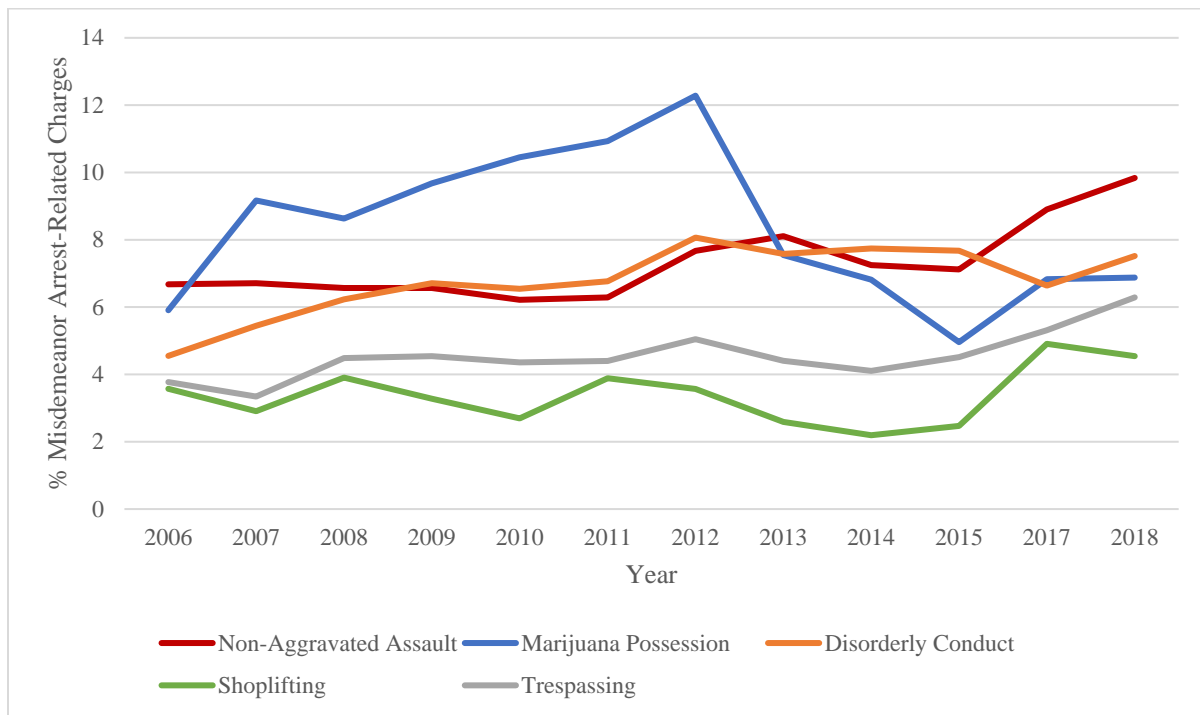
The contribution of person charges and property charges also increase significantly, almost doubling in the 2017-2018 period. Drug charges decline by slightly more than half. Overall, while there are small year-to-year changes within the 2006-2015 and 2017-2018 periods, the noticeably different distributions of offense type contributions to all arrest charges between these two periods suggests that the different classification systems used in the two periods may also be contributing to these differences, in addition to changes in enforcement activity.

**Figure 7.6. Percentage of Felony Arrest-Related Charges by Offense Type**



The final figure in this chapter below describes the specific charges that are the most common among misdemeanor arrests. The previous findings described in this chapter grouped charges by offense type. Figure 7.7 below lists the specific charges that are the most common during the study period. Here there is relatively more stability in the trend lines across time. Except for the increase in misdemeanor arrests for marijuana possession, and then the decline in marijuana possession arrest charges in 2013 (after criminal citations for such possession offenses were allowed starting on October 1, 2012) the other four most common charges show more stability. Non-aggravated assault, disorderly conduct, trespassing, and shoplifting were the most common misdemeanor charges at the beginning of the study period and remained the most common through 2018. In the 2017-2018 period, the relative contributions of these four specific charges increased somewhat, but this is likely due in part to the unlimited number of charges that can be recorded in the present data system.

**Figure 7.7 Percentage of Misdemeanor Arrests Accounted for by Most Common Charges**



## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

The current report presents trends in enforcement rates in Prince George's County, Maryland, from 2006 through 2018. Three specific categories of enforcement are examined here, including felony arrests, misdemeanor arrests, and criminal citations, but with an emphasis on misdemeanor arrests. This report describes trends in overall enforcement rates, by the types of offenses subject to enforcement, as well as by the age, gender, and race and ethnicity of individuals who were arrested or cited.

The most notable overall finding regarding trends in enforcement rates during the study period is the dramatic decline in the enforcement rates experienced by juveniles (ages 14-17) and young adults (18-20) in the county since 2006. Declines have occurred in misdemeanor and felony enforcement, among males and females, and for all racial and ethnic groups examined here.

Other key findings about trends in enforcement rates during 2006-2018 include:

- In the county overall, misdemeanor arrest rates declined by 38%, felony arrest rates declined by 51%, and criminal citation rates declined by 75%.
- Males and females experienced a 59% decline in overall enforcement rates (including misdemeanor arrests, felony arrests, and criminal citation), and the ratio of male to female misdemeanor arrests remained stable at about 4:1 throughout the study period.
- Males and females, including blacks, Hispanics, and whites, in the younger age groups (14-15, 16-17, and 18-20) uniformly experienced significant declines in enforcement rates, while the age groups representing those aged 21 and older varied.
- The ratio of black and Hispanic enforcement rates to those of whites were steady during the early half of the study period, but increased in the last two years as declines in white enforcement rates generally outpaced the declines in black and Hispanic enforcement rates.
- Trends in the offense types for misdemeanor and felony arrests indicate changes have occurred due to both enforcement and legal changes, as well as a data system change resulting in charge information being recorded differently for NIBRS-compliance.
- The most common specific misdemeanor charges throughout the period include marijuana possession, non-aggravated assault, disorderly conduct, trespassing, and shoplifting.

## REFERENCES

- Brigham, S. (2018). *Prince George's rising: Strategies for equitable development and prosperity*. Landover, MD: Prince George's County Social Innovation Fund.
- DeRenzis, B. & Rivlin, A.M. (2007). *A pathway to the middle class: Migration and demographic change in Prince George's County*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.
- Lum, C. & Nagin, D.S. (2016). Reinventing American Policing. *Crime and Justice*, 46(1), 339-393.
- Natapoff, A. (2015). Misdemeanors. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 11, 255-267.
- Rowlands, D.W. (2018). *Here's the primer you need to understand Prince George's extraordinary diversity*. Retrieved from <https://ggwash.org/view/67566/prince-georges-county-demographics-vary-a-lot-by-region>.
- Wiggins, O., Morello, C. & Keating, D. (2011, October 30). Prince George's County: Growing, and growing more segregated, census shows. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/prince-georges-county-growing-and-growing-more-segregated-census-shows/2011/10/14/gIQAbCc1TM\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/prince-georges-county-growing-and-growing-more-segregated-census-shows/2011/10/14/gIQAbCc1TM_story.html).