

# Assessing Arrest & Traffic Stop Patterns in Portland, ME

AN ANALYSIS OF PORTLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT DATA



# Acknowledgments

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# Introduction

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## Background

With an authorized strength of 161 sworn officers and 59 civilian employees, the **Portland Police Department is the largest municipal law enforcement agency in the state of Maine**. In addition to uniformed operations, the department houses numerous units, teams and programs that respond to a wide range of community needs, including the following:

- **Crisis Negotiators Team**, an eight-member team trained to respond to incidents involving suicidal behaviors, domestic crises, high-risk warrants, or barricaded suspects;
- **Behavioral Health Response Program** in partnership with the Opportunity Alliance, including a Behavioral Health Coordinator, Substance Use Disorder Liaison, Alternative Response Liaison, and Crisis Intervention Training (CIT);
- **Community Policing Unit**, a unit that includes community policing coordinators, community police officers, a neighborhood prosecutor and a youth services officer;
- **Victim and Witness Advocate Program** which employs a full-time advocate to provide emotional support, guidance with investigative and court processes, paperwork, and referrals to social service agencies.

The Portland PD, like many departments across the country, faced community outrage in the aftermath of George Floyd’s killing in May of 2020. Following the protests held in Portland, the city hired an outside firm to investigate the Portland PD’s response to incidents which occurred at the protests in June 2020.<sup>1</sup> That review, conducted by an independent firm with a law enforcement background, determined that Portland’s police officers had demonstrated a “facilitation mindset” rather than using disorder control tactics and methods (which rely on the use of mass arrests and shows of force). In addition, the city established the Racial Equity Steering Committee which released a report with recommendations to improve the city’s approach to public safety, which

included alternative and community-based responses, as well as changes to internal police policies and practices (e.g., screening, training, oversight).<sup>2</sup>

In 2021, Portland’s Police Chief commissioned an analysis of the department’s data to better understand whether racial and ethnic disparities exist in the decision to arrest individuals and to issue traffic citations and, if so, the need for any internal policy changes to reduce these disparities. **This was an unusual step as most studies of racial disparities within policing are not requested by law enforcement agencies themselves, but rather are conducted at the behest of state or federal oversight agencies.** The Portland PD subsequently invited the South Portland Police Department to take part in the analysis. Both departments hired the Catherine Cutler Institute at the University of Southern Maine and the Institute on Race and Justice at Northeastern University. The Roux Institute of Northeastern University’s Roux Institute, which has a large presence in Portland, provided additional funding to support this project as part of their ongoing commitment to improve the quality of life for local Maine communities.

## About This Report

It is important to firmly place our local inquiry against the backdrop of national trends and to acknowledge the systematic factors which contribute to myriad disparities experienced by historically marginalized communities nationwide, even if many of them are outside the scope of this targeted examination. Structural racism and discrimination in America are widespread and deeply rooted in our criminal legal systems, public health systems, education systems and economic opportunities. Nationwide data show that BIPOC<sup>3</sup> people in the U.S. have higher rates of poverty,<sup>4</sup> higher rates of

<sup>1</sup> For more information and access to the full text of the report, see this [article](#)

<sup>2</sup> See the Portland city [website](#) for more information about the Racial Equity Steering Committee and to read their [full report](#).

<sup>3</sup> BIPOC is used throughout this report as a category that includes individuals who are Black, Indigenous, and Persons of Color.

<sup>4</sup> Creamer, J. (September 15, 2020). Inequalities Persist Despite Decline in Poverty for All Major Race and Hispanic Origin Groups. Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, Poverty Statistics Branch. <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2020/09/poverty-rates-for-blacks-and-hispanics-reached-historic-lows-in-2019.html>

school discipline<sup>5</sup> and disconnection,<sup>6</sup> higher rates of experiencing homelessness<sup>7</sup> and housing instability,<sup>8</sup> and health disparities.<sup>9,10</sup> In Maine, racial, socioeconomic, education, and criminal justice disparities persist similar to national trends. For example, in 2020, 39.7% of Black or African American children in Maine lived in families whose income was below the federal poverty level compared to 12.5% of White children.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, BIPOC, particularly Black or African American, individuals are overrepresented in every facet of the U.S. criminal justice system.<sup>12</sup> Previous research in Maine has found that BIPOC people are overrepresented in Maine's prisons and jails.<sup>13,14</sup> BIPOC individuals also experience higher instances of individual bias, discrimination, and hate crimes<sup>15</sup> and a recent report found that anti-Black or African American hate or bias crimes were the most frequently reported in Maine between 2008 and 2017.<sup>16</sup>

Within this context, this project examined the available arrest and traffic citation data from the Portland and South Portland Police Departments to determine if there is any evidence of disproportionate enforcement activities in either city. **This report outlines the findings of the analysis for the Portland Police Department**

and makes recommendations for next steps. The South Portland data analysis and findings can be found in a separate report. Specifically, this report looks at racial, ethnic, age, gender and geographical factors which may be associated with Portland PD arrests and traffic citations among adults and juveniles between 2018 and 2020, a period inclusive of both the early part of the pandemic and the protests.

#### The following research questions guided the analysis:

- Are there differences in arrests and traffic citations by race, ethnicity, gender, or age?
- To what extent do associated factors, crime types, demographics, time of day, and location impact the likelihood of getting arrested or receiving a traffic citation?
- What does this data tell us about individual officer discretion and how it may affect disparities in arrests?

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6 Lewis, K. (2021). A Decade Undone: 2021 Update. New York: Measure of America, Social Science Research Council. <https://ssrc-static.s3.amazonaws.com/moa/ADecadeUndone2021Update.pdf>

7 Moses, J. (2018). Demographic Data Project, Part III: Race, Ethnicity, and Homelessness. National Alliance to End Homelessness. <https://endhomelessness.org/demographic-data-project-race/>

8 Greene, S. & McCargo, A. (May 29, 2020). New Data Suggests COVID-19 is Widening Housing Disparities by Race and Income. Washington D.C.: Urban Institute. <https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/new-data-suggest-covid-19-widening-housing-disparities-race-and-income>

9 Carratala, S., & Maxwell, C. (May 7, 2020). Health Disparities by Race and Ethnicity. Center for American Progress. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/health-disparities-race-ethnicity/>

10 Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (May 18, 2022). Health Disparities: Provisional Death Counts for Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19). [https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/vsrr/covid19/health\\_disparities.htm#RaceHispanicOrigin](https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/vsrr/covid19/health_disparities.htm#RaceHispanicOrigin)

11 The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2022). Kids Count Data Center, Children in poverty by race and ethnicity (5-yr ACS) in Maine. <https://datacenter.kidscount.org/data/tables/9738-children-in-poverty-by-race-and-ethnicity-5-yr-acs#detailed/2/any/false/574,1729,37,871,870,573,869/10,172,9,12,1,13,185/19003>

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14 Prison Policy Initiative. (2021). Maine profile. <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/ME.html>

15 U.S. Department of Justice. (2020). FBI Releases 2020 Hate Crime Statistics. <https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/hate-crime-statistics>

16 Brintlinger, H., Shaler, G., & McDevitt, J. (2022). Bias and Hate Crimes in Maine: Reconciling Reported and Investigated Crimes. Maine Statistical Analysis Center. Portland, ME: University of Southern Maine. <https://cpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/wpsites.maine.edu/dist/2/115/files/2017/10/2022-Bias-and-Hate-Crimes-in-Maine-Report.pdf>

## Summary of Key Findings

**This analysis did not find statistical evidence of biased-based policing by members of the Portland Police Department**, that is, instances where an officer made a decision or took action based on the individual's race or ethnicity rather than the individual's behavior. This does not mean such incidents do not happen, but rather no patterns emerge that demonstrate severe and persistent occurrences.

However, despite limitations in the scope of this study, **this analysis does provide evidence of some racial and ethnic disparities in arrests and traffic stops particularly among Black or African American individuals.** Further research is needed to determine to what extent the observed disparities are the result of factors that were outside the scope of this analysis such as specific policing practices (e.g., patrol patterns, officer-level arrest trends, and officer attitudes), and other social circumstances (e.g., socio-economic conditions, mental health and wellbeing, etc.).

*The following key findings emerged from the analysis of the Portland Police Department data:*



**BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN INDIVIDUALS EXPERIENCE DISPARITIES IN ARRESTS IN PORTLAND.** Although direct comparisons between police data and the population are limited because they are measured differently in each data source, our study found that Black or African American individuals accounted for 17% of all arrests among Maine residents in Portland, and only 5% of the population estimate. Among Portland residents, Black or African American individuals were arrested at an average annual rate that is higher than White residents. Many factors which could be contributing to these disparities were outside the scope of this study and therefore more research is recommended.



**THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF ARRESTS OCCURRED IN THE WEST BAYSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD** (Portland Patrol Area 4) which accounted for one-third (33%) of all arrests during the study period. However, Black or Latinx individuals were more likely to be arrested in the East Bayside (Patrol Area 2) and Parkside (Patrol Area 6) neighborhoods compared to White individuals.



**THE ODDS OF BLACK OR LATINX INDIVIDUALS BEING ARRESTED INCREASED WHEN THE INCIDENT WAS INITIATED BY THE OFFICER RATHER THAN INITIATED BY A 911 CALL.** Overall, 49% of all arrests did not include a warrant, and 55% of arrests were officer-initiated. Regression analysis found a 17% increase in the odds of a Black or Latinx individual being arrested when the incident was initiated by the officer. Arrests that are officer-initiated, with no warrant present are typically more discretionary on the part of the arresting officer.

- There is no evidence that race and ethnicity were related to the decision to request multiple charges, which prior research suggests can be an indicator of biased decision-making.<sup>17</sup>
- Use of force was reported in less than two percent of arrests across the three-year time period. Of those, 24% involved BIPOC individuals, who made 20.4% of the total arrested population, a difference that was not statistically significant.



**PEOPLE EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS REPRESENTED OVER ONE-THIRD OF ALL PORTLAND PD ARRESTS.** Individuals who were unhoused at the time of their arrest were more likely to be White, men, between the ages of 40 and 59, and also more likely to be arrested multiple times throughout the study period. In addition, they were more likely to be arrested in the West Bayside neighborhood (Portland Patrol Area 4) which accounted for 52% of all arrests among people who were unhoused.



**BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN DRIVERS EXPERIENCE DISPARITIES IN TRAFFIC STOPS OVERALL, BUT WHITE DRIVERS ARE MORE LIKELY TO RECEIVE A CITATION.** While Black or African American drivers represented only 4% of the driving age population, they accounted for 14% of all traffic stops in Portland among Maine residents. However, they had lower rates of citations compared to White drivers (26% vs. 37% received citations as opposed to a warning).

- Black or African American individuals were stopped more frequently during the nighttime (19%) than during the daylight hours (11%). This finding contradicts the “Veil of Darkness” theory<sup>18,19</sup> which suggests Black or African American drivers would be more likely stopped during the day in cases of racial profiling or discrimination.



**THE MOST COMMON LOCATION FOR TRAFFIC CITATIONS WAS THE WEST BAYSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD (16% OF TOTAL).** Black or African American drivers were more likely to receive a traffic citation in this neighborhood compared to White drivers (25% vs. 15%). The odds of the driver being Black or African American increased by 38% when the stop occurred in this neighborhood.

17 Roh, S. & Robinson, M. (2009). A Geographic Approach to Racial Profiling: The Microanalysis and Macroanalysis of Racial Disparity in Traffic Stops. *Police Quarterly*, 12(2), 137-169.

18 Grogger, J., & Ridgeway, G. (2006). Testing for racial profiling in traffic stops from behind a veil of darkness. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 101(475), 878-887

19 Pierson, E., Simoiu, C., Overgoor, J. et al. A large-scale analysis of racial disparities in police stops across the United States. *Nat Hum Behav* 4, 736–745 (2020).

## Data Extraction & Analysis

In order to answer the research questions, the research teams from University of Southern Maine's (USM) Catherine Cutler Institute and the Institute on Race and Justice at Northeastern University worked with the Portland and South Portland police departments to develop appropriate data extracts. It is important to note that the Portland and South Portland Police Departments provided all the data for these analyses. The staff within each department designed and used queries to pull the data from their respective management information systems. The data files were sent to the USM team using secure data transfer protocols. All data files were cleaned and de-identified prior to analysis to ensure confidentiality.

The arrest data included records for all adults and juveniles arrested over a three-year period (2018-2020). As the data files were pulled in multiple extracts, the research team first matched the files using a combination of arrest/incident ID numbers, individual names, and dates of birth. The research team then cleaned the data files to remove test records and standardize fields and terminology that were inconsistently recorded (e.g., some individuals who were unhoused listed the shelter address, while others were marked as transient). In some cases, the research team also created new variables and categories from various fields to aid the final analysis (see definitions on the next page). Location data were also cleaned and recoded to assign regional groups and geo-tagged for mapping purposes.

The traffic stop data included records of citations from the same period (2018-2020) for both cities, and warnings (verbal and written) from Portland only. Data on warnings were not available for South Portland for the period studied. These files were similarly cleaned and combined using record ID numbers. Duplicate and test/error records were removed, and fields were recoded to standardize terminology like the arrest data. Traffic citations were also coded into groups to categorize the types of citations.

The research teams used statistical software to conduct analysis (descriptive statistics and multivariate analyses). A chi-square goodness of fit test was used to compare the population characteristics to that of the various samples. Tests of column proportions and/or chi-square tests were used to compare groups within the samples as noted throughout the report. In both cases, a statistically significant result indicates that the observed differences are greater than we might expect by chance alone. In addition, to further test the association of variables the research team conducted multiple logistic regression models. The results of these models identify where statistical disparities may exist which may or may not indicate incidents of bias.



## Definitions & Coding

### Race

Includes a recoded version of the original race data from the data extract. In most cases, the data extract did not allow for multiple race selections and therefore the multiracial data is unavailable in the police data unless otherwise noted. Categories include Asian or Pacific Islander, Black or African American, Native American or Indigenous, or White. In the police department data, race is recorded as perceived by the officer and is not self-identified by the individual.

### Ethnicity

Includes records which were identified as being Latinx or Hispanic origin. This category is not exclusive with race. For example, an individual may be identified as both Latinx and Black or African American. In the police department data, ethnicity is recorded as perceived by the officer and is not self-identified by the individual.

### BIPOC

A grouped category identifying individuals as either BIPOC or White. The BIPOC group includes all individuals who were identified as Asian or Pacific Islander, Black or African American, Native American or Indigenous, or Latinx.

### Unhoused

The adult arrest data extracts included a flag which identified individuals as being “homeless” or “transient” at the time of their arrest. This information was combined with other variables to identify all records where the individual was unhoused at the time of the arrest. Address information was also examined and anyone with a shelter address or motel address was also identified as unhoused.

### The Portland-South Portland Metro Area

U.S. Census Metro designation which includes towns and cities surrounding the two cities (Durham, Baldwin, Cape Elizabeth, Casco, Chebeague Island, Cumberland, Falmouth, Freeport, Frye Island, Gorham, Gray, Long Island, Naples, New Gloucester, North Yarmouth, Portland, Pownal, Raymond, Scarborough, Sebago, South Portland, Standish, Westbrook, Windham, Yarmouth, Arundel, Biddeford, Buxton, Cornish, Dayton, Hollis, Kennebunk, Kennebunkport, Limerick, Limington, Lyman, Old Orchard Beach, Saco, and Waterboro).

### Portland PD Call Source

includes three primary call-sources which define how the incident was initially reported/initiated: Administrative, 911 Calls, and Officer-initiated incidents. Officer-initiated calls are incidents that occurred because the officer was on scene and made the decision to intervene. 911 calls are incidents where the officer responds as a result of a call to the 911 emergency line. Administrative calls include any call that came in through the non-emergency police department phone line.

### Registration Violations

include failure to display or produce a registration, inspection, or insurance information.

### Moving Violations

include but are not limited to speeding, failure to stop at a stop sign/red light, driving the wrong way, failure to yield, distracted driving, driving without a valid license, and safety belt or car seat violations.

### Equipment Violations

include any defective vehicle violation such as a broken light, inappropriate or unsafe tires, excessive exhaust noise, tinted windows, etc.

## Samples & Population Estimates

The various data extracts resulted in multiple datasets (Table 1), including:

- Adult Arrest Records for both Portland and South Portland
- Juvenile Arrest Records for both Portland and South Portland
- Traffic Citations (Portland and South Portland) and Warnings (Portland only).

The Portland datasets and analysis are the focus of this report.

The research team downloaded population totals, and demographics on gender, age, and race/ethnicity from various population tables on the U.S. Census Bureau (2022) website. Race and ethnicity data by age was pulled from single race data tables and combined. All population level data are 2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates.<sup>20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28</sup>

Population data were pulled for specific age groups: adults (18+), juveniles (under 18), and drivers (15+). Table 2 shows the total population for the three age groups.<sup>20-28</sup> Both cities have many visitors and commuters coming into their cities each day which changes the demographics of the population with whom each department interacts. To account for this, the research team adjusted the population estimates based on the residence distribution of the arrest and traffic stop samples. For example, Portland residents accounted for 71% of the arrests made by Portland PD, and therefore we used Portland demographics to account for 71% of our population estimates. Although out-of-state and unknown records are included in the remainder of the report, we excluded them from the residence distribution used in this calculation because we could not adjust the demographics appropriately.

TABLE 1

Total Records by Dataset

	PORTLAND PD	SOUTH PORTLAND PD
Adult Arrests	7,536	2,542
Juvenile Arrests	166	289
Traffic Citations	5,056	4,020
Traffic Warnings	8,965	N/A

TABLE 2

Population Estimates for Various Age Groups, U.S. Census 2020 Data<sup>20-28</sup>

AGE GROUP	MAINE	PORTLAND	SOUTH PORTLAND
Total	1,340,825	66,706	25,665
Adults (18+)	1,089,858	56,442	21,417
Juveniles (Under 18)	250,967	10,264	4,248
Drivers (15+)	1,135,578	57,948	22,311

Demographic characteristics were then calculated for each of the sub-population groups to establish baseline population comparisons for the various samples (Adult Arrests, Juvenile Arrests, and Traffic Stops). While the adjusted population estimates may not capture the true population of individuals who come into contact with police, they represent a closer approximation for comparing the data given the methodological limitations. Full population demographic estimates for each group can be found in Appendix A.

20 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022a). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: S0101].

21 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022b). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: B01001B].

22 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022c). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: B01001G].

23 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022d). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: B01001I].

24 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022e). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: B01001D].

25 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022f). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: B01001E].

26 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022g). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: B01001C].

27 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022h). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: B01001F].

28 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022i). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: B01001H].

## Data & Analysis Limitations

This analysis provides insights into the arrests and traffic stops for the cities of Portland and South Portland over a three-year period, however, it is limited in scope. There are many factors that lead to and influence an arrest or traffic stop interaction and outcomes, and many of these factors are external or unmeasured in this analysis. This analysis looked solely at the available records from the two departments and did not consider any systemic policies or practices, or any community or individual experience information. **In many instances, these data can tell us that there is a difference between various groups, but it does not always tell us why that difference exists.**

When interpreting the data and making conclusions, it is important to keep these limitations in mind.

- ▶ **The data includes only records that lead to an arrest or warning/citation.** It does not include every interaction with the departments where an arrest was not made or a warning/citation was not given. A sample that included the data on every interaction with the departments would offer more opportunities for analyzing the relationship between the various characteristics and the likelihood of getting arrested or receiving a warning or citation during a traffic stop, especially at it pertains to race and ethnicity.
- ▶ **This analysis only includes incidents where the local police departments were the primary agency.** This does not include arrests or traffic incidents in either location where the primary agency was a state or federal department such as the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), or the Maine State Police. In addition, given the proximity of several other large towns and cities, there may be cases where Portland police department was involved in an incident, but again not the primary responding agency as local departments sometimes collaborate.
- ▶ **The data are reported and entered by the officers and identities and characteristics are not self-reported by the individuals themselves.** Therefore, in some cases, the racial and ethnic identities of the individuals may not reflect how an individual self-identifies, and thus certain groups may be under- or over-represented. In addition, the U.S. Census data includes self-reported race and ethnicity information and has its own limitations in the ability to accurately count all groups; therefore, comparisons of population data and police department data must be viewed with caution.
- ▶ **This study did not include input from the point of view of the directly impacted individual.** These events and the experiences of the directly impacted individual(s) are important in understanding the full context of an incident. This analysis did not interview or survey the individuals involved in any incident (police officer or community member) to learn their perception of the incident.
- ▶ **This analysis did not examine policy or system level issues (at the local, state, or national level) or context.** Procedures and policies such as staffing decisions, COVID-19 policy decisions, mandatory arrest rules, etc. may impact these results but are out of the scope of this study.
- ▶ **Due to the unknown influence of factors not included in this study, a statistical disparity does not necessarily point to officer discrimination or racial profiling.** The methods used in this study measure the patterns and trends that may indicate racial disparities and point to potential biased decision-making. However, there are many unmeasured external factors (the individual's economic situation, the officer's thought process, institutional or systemic factors, patrolling patterns, etc.) that were out of the scope of this study to be able to conclude whether an incident was one of bias. In some cases, missing data led the research team to remove some cases from the analysis.

Even with these limitations, this study provides an overview of police department data and identifies many patterns and trends for further exploration. The insights from this analysis also point to specific areas where the Police Department and the city can work together to identify solutions to further improve safety and well-being of the local communities.

# Detailed Findings: Portland Police Data Analysis

## Portland Police Department Arrests, 2018-2020

In total, the Portland PD made 7,536 arrests between 2018 and 2020 which involved 5,706 individual adults (18+). (Detailed arrest figures for South Portland appear in a separate report). Of those, 952 (17%) people were arrested multiple times during the study period, ranging from two to 17 individual arrest incidents and accounting for 37% of all adult arrests during the study period.

The majority of the arrests (77%) were individuals from the Portland-South Portland Metro Area.<sup>29</sup> Only a small proportion of arrests were people from other areas of Maine (7%), or from out of state (4%).<sup>30</sup>

Among adults (including all residences) the majority of those arrested were White (79%) men (77%). One-fifth (20%) of the arrest records were individuals who were identified by the arresting officers as BIPOC, with 17% identified as Black or African American, and 3% identified as Latinx or Hispanic. [Table 3](#) depicts these data in detail. The sample demographics are compared to the overall population in detail later in this report.

TABLE 3

**Demographics of the Full Sample of Adult Arrests by Portland PD, 2018-2020** (n=7,536)

GENDER	# OF ARRESTS	%
<b>Men</b>	5,773	76.6%
<b>Women</b>	1,761	23.4%
<b>Missing</b>	2	0.0%
<b>RACE/ETHNICITY</b>		
<b>BIPOC</b>	1,540	20.4%
Black or African American	1,273	16.9%
Latinx/Hispanic	189	2.5%
Asian/Pacific Islander	77	1.0%
Native American/Indigenous	13	0.2%
<b>White</b>	5,982	79.4%
<b>Missing</b>	14	0.2%
<b>AGE</b>		
<b>18-24</b>	1,146	15.2%
<b>25-29</b>	1,141	15.1%
<b>30-39</b>	2,386	31.7%
<b>40-49</b>	1,485	19.7%
<b>50-59</b>	1,120	14.9%
<b>60 or older</b>	255	3.4%
<b>Missing</b>	3	0.0%

<sup>29</sup> The Portland-South Portland Metro Area includes towns and cities surrounding the two cities. See definitions for the full list of towns/cities included.

<sup>30</sup> Residence information was missing from 12% (n=903) of the arrest records.

## Arrest Location

The research team examined the location of the incident to identify patterns of arrests around the city. The Portland PD uses Patrol Areas<sup>31</sup> as a means for dividing up the city into 11 separate areas for officers to patrol. As Table 4 shows, more than half (56%) of all arrests occurred in three Patrol Areas: West Bayside (Patrol Area 4), Downtown (Patrol Area 3), and the West End (Patrol Area 5). **The highest number of arrests occurred in West Bayside (Patrol Area 4) which represented one-third (33%) of all arrests.**

TABLE 4

Number of Arrests by Location, 2018-2020, (n=7,536)

PORTLAND PD PATROL AREA	NUMBER OF ARRESTS	PERCENT
4 West Bayside	2,460	32.6%
3 Downtown	910	12.10%
5 West End	848	11.3%
11 Oakdale/Back Cove/East Deering	564	7.5%
8 Riverton/Deering Center/Rosemont	553	7.3%
6 Parkside	533	7.1%
2 Upper East Bayside/Munjoy Hill	392	5.2%
10 North Deering/Back Cove	391	5.2%
7 Stroudwater/Libbytown/Nasons Corner	381	5.1%
1 Lower East Bayside/Munjoy Hill	239	3.2%
9 Riverton/North Deering	223	3.0%
Other (Peaks, Jetport, Out of Town)	42	0.6%

▶ 33% of all arrests occurred in West Bayside (Patrol Area 4)

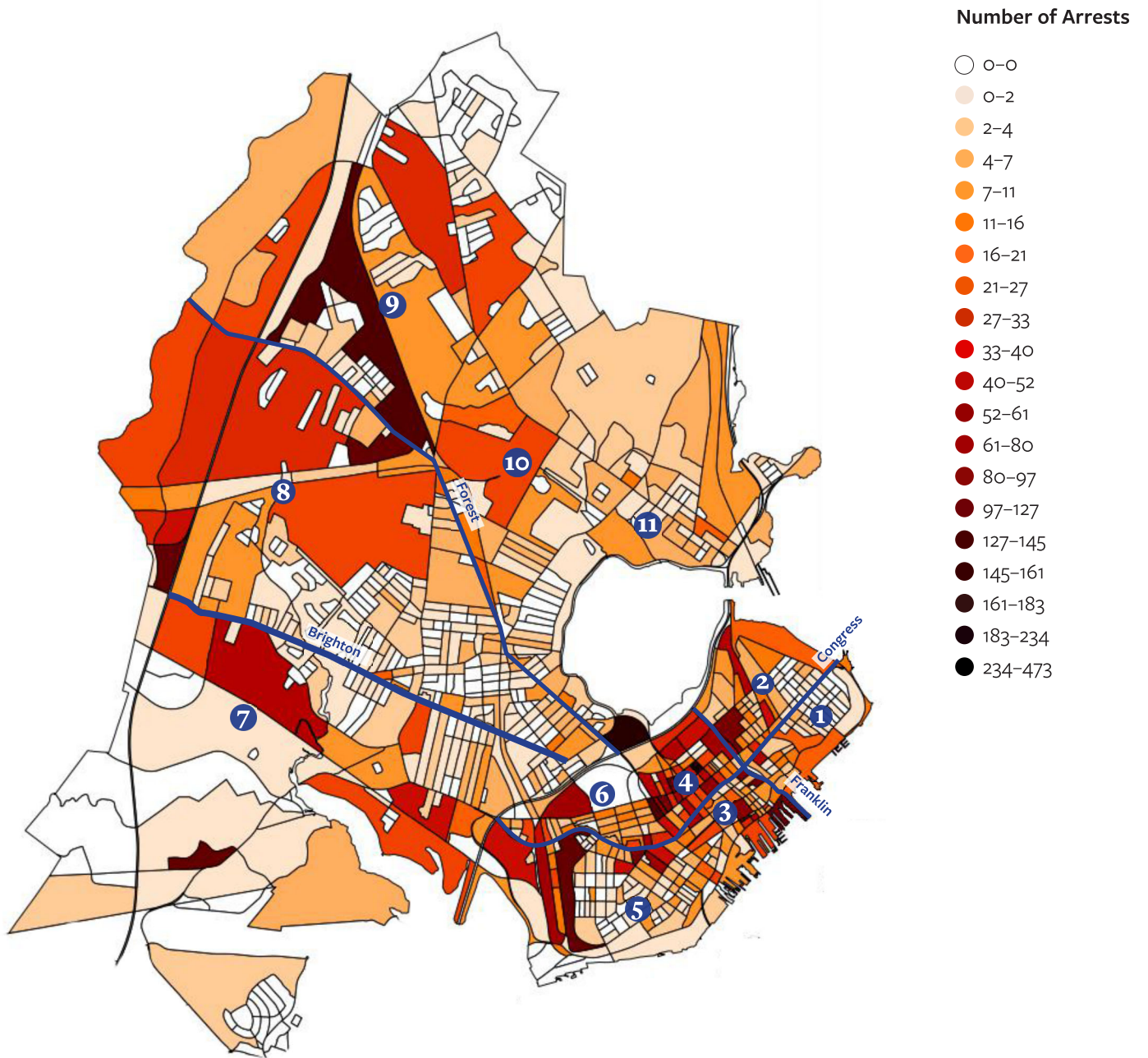
Furthermore, the research team mapped the arrests by Census Tract to identify areas with a high density of arrests. The map on the following page displays these areas which is consistent with the data in Table 4. However, there are some other areas where a high number of arrests occurred, such as in the Back Cove neighborhood, Valley Street/Western Promenade area, and near interstate 95 on the Westbrook-Portland line.<sup>32</sup>

31 See Appendix B for a map of the Portland PD Patrol Areas (also known as Police Beats). This includes 11 different designations. In the table above neighborhood designations are approximate as they do not align exactly with the Police Patrol Areas. See appendix for full list and street details.

32 The map shows Portland PD adult arrests from 2018-2020 focusing on mainland Portland. As the table shows a small number of arrests were also made on islands or in other towns (not all of these are shown).

FIGURE 1  
Map of Total Number of Arrests in Portland by Census Tract, 2018-2020

1-11 = Portland PD Patrol Area



The research team also examined arrest locations to determine if any patterns emerged among different areas of the city and the various racial and ethnic groups. As shown in [Table 5](#), **Black and Latinx individuals were statistically more likely to have been arrested in Patrol Areas 2 and 6, whereas White individuals were more likely to have been arrested in Patrol Area 5.** Both groups were equally likely to have been arrested in Patrol Area 4.

Arrest locations were also mapped to compare the locations of arrests among individuals who were Black or Latinx to those who were White. The map on the next page shows the number of arrests by Census Tract and reveals areas of high concentrations of arrests in certain areas of the city for Black or Latinx Individuals.

**TABLE 5**  
**Arrest Location of Black/Latinx Individuals Compared to White Individuals**  
*(n=7,432)*

PORTLAND PD PATROL AREA	BLACK OR LATINX	WHITE
6 Parkside	129 8.9%^	402 6.70%
2 Upper East Bayside/Munjoy Hill	109 7.5%^	272 4.50%
4 West Bayside	486 33.50%	1946 32.50%
3 Downtown	165 11.40%	730 12.20%
11 Oakdale/Back Cove/East Deering	122 8.40%	433 7.20%
5 West End	103 7.10%	738 12.3%^
8 Riverton/Deering Center/Rosemont	98 6.80%	449 7.50%
7 Stroudwater/Libbytown/Nasons Corner	66 4.60%	308 5.10%
10 North Deering/Back Cove	67 4.60%	318 5.30%
1 Lower East Bayside/Munjoy Hill	51 3.50%	183 3.10%
9 Riverton/North Deering	47 3.20%	169 2.80%
Other (Peaks, Jetport, Out of Town)	7 0.50%	34 0.60%

▶ Black and Latinx individuals were statistically more likely to have been arrested in Patrol Areas 6 and 2

^ Indicates a statistically significant difference (z-test for column proportions) between Black/Latinx individuals and White individuals (p<.05).

Other race/ethnicity groups (Native American/Indigenous and Asian/Pacific Islander) are not included in the table or maps due to small sample sizes.

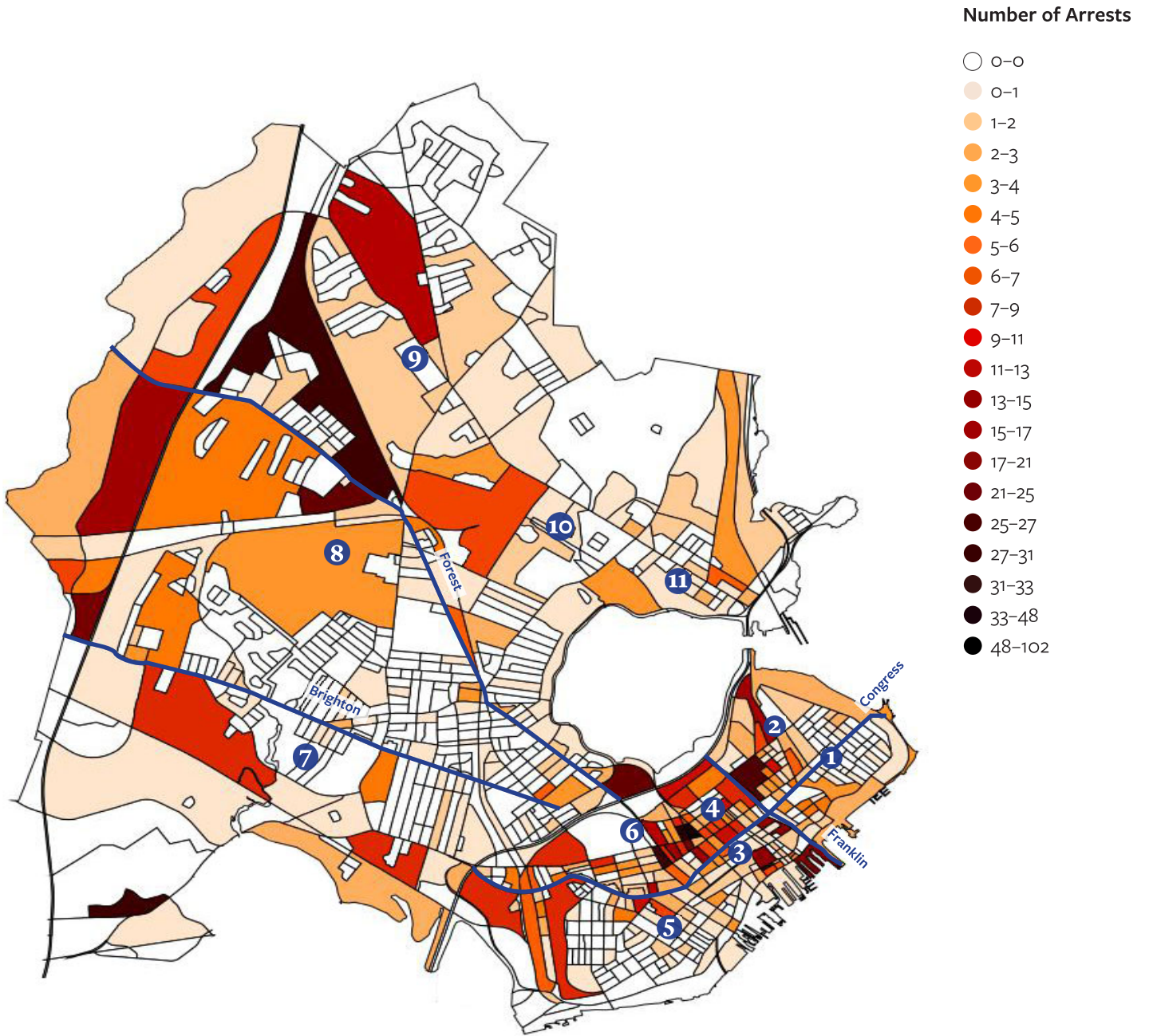
### Use of Force

Use of force was reported in less than two percent of arrests (146 incidents) across the three-year time period. The most common reasons officers reported using force were resisting officers’ requests (42%), not responding to commands (18%), or attacking an officer (17%). When analyzed further, 24% of those instances of use of force involved BIPOC individuals, who made 20.4% of the arrested population. However, because there were so few instances overall, this difference was not statistically significant but may warrant further investigation by the Portland PD.

FIGURE 2

Map of Total Number of Arrests Among Black/Latinx Individuals in Portland by Census Tract, 2018-2020

1-11 = Portland PD Patrol Area





## Circumstances Surrounding the Arrest

### Call Source and Type of Arrest

The Portland PD data includes three primary call sources by which an incident is initiated: officer-initiated incidents, 911 calls, and administrative calls.<sup>33</sup> **More than half (55%) of all arrests were officer-initiated incidents.** Of the remaining arrests, 23% were initiated as administrative calls, and 22% were initiated as 911 calls.

The Portland PD arrest records were grouped into three categories based on the outcome of the incident: summons,<sup>34</sup> on-view arrests (non-warrant), and warrant arrests. **Nearly half of all incidents were on-view arrests without a warrant (49%).** Summons accounted for 31% of all incidents and 20% of arrests were made because the individual had an outstanding warrant. In the case of warrants, an officer is required to make an arrest. While dependent on the severity and type of offense, arrests that are officer-initiated and no warrant is present tend to be more discretionary on the part of the arresting officer.

### Types of Charges

Charges were grouped into categories to compare trends. Most people received one (69%) or two charges (20%), with an average number of 1.5 charges per incident. As [Table 7](#) shows, top charges included warrants, violations of conditional release, criminal traffic violations (not including OUIs), assault, and drug possession.<sup>35</sup>

Charges were further examined by race/ethnicity group to identify any patterns. Overall, White individuals were more likely than BIPOC individuals to be arrested for a warrant (18% vs. 14%), drug possession (9% vs. 4%), or theft (6% vs. 4%). BIPOC individuals were more likely than White individuals to be arrested for traffic violations (18% vs. 10%).<sup>36</sup>

TABLE 6

Type of Arrest, Portland PD

INCIDENT TYPE	PORTLAND PD	
	%	N
On-view Arrest (no warrant)	49%	3,690
Summons	31%	2,332
Warrant Arrest	20%	1,514

TABLE 7

Top Charges, Portland PD Adult Arrests (n= 11,339)

INCIDENT TYPE	PORTLAND PD	
	%	N
Warrant	17.1%	1942
Violation of Conditional Release	13.9%	1579
Criminal Traffic Violations	11.7%	1332
Assault	9.0%	1025
Drug Possession	8.0%	909
Criminal Trespassing	6.5%	742
Theft	5.2%	593
Public Drinking	5.1%	583
OUI	4.4%	496
Disorderly Conduct	2.9%	329
Criminal Mischief	2.4%	274
Refusing Arrest	2.1%	240
Criminal Threatening	1.7%	188
Burglary	1.0%	118
Other	8.7%	989

33 Call source is the reason the incident was initiated. See the definitions in the methods section for more information about call sources.

34 Summons are an order directing the individual to appear in court and answer the charges later.

35 Total n=11,339 due to multiple charges per incident. Percentages are calculated out of the total number of charges.

36 Differences are statistically significant (z-test for column proportions, p<.05).

## Arrests Compared to Population-level Characteristics

A population estimate was created using 2020 5-year ACS estimates<sup>20-28</sup> to be more representative of the population with whom the Portland PD is interacting.<sup>37</sup> As outlined previously, comparing arrests to U.S. Census population data is difficult, and observed population disparities do not necessarily mean that police discrimination or biased-based policing are the cause of the disparities. Nonetheless, the comparison provides a useful starting point by which to identify areas and patterns in need of further exploration, and possible solutions to mitigate existing disparities.

As shown in [Table 8](#), when the sample of arrested individuals is compared to the population estimate,<sup>38</sup> some notable differences emerge. Similar to national trends, men are arrested more often than women. In addition, **one-fifth (21%) of the adults who were arrested by Portland PD were identified as BIPOC, while only 13% of the Portland PD population estimate is BIPOC.** This difference is made up mostly of Black or African American individuals who represent only 5% of the population but account for 17% of the arrests by Portland PD during the study period. The arrest sample also includes a higher proportion of individuals under the age of 50 compared to the overall population. When we limit the sample to only arrests of Portland residents (60% of all arrests), the same patterns hold.

TABLE 8

**Portland PD Arrests Compared to Weighted Population Characteristics, All Maine Residents**

	POPULATION ESTIMATE	SAMPLE ALL YEARS
<b>GENDER (n= 6368)</b>		
<b>Men</b>	48.4%	<b>75.3%<sup>^</sup></b>
<b>Women</b>	51.6% <sup>^</sup>	24.7%
<b>RACE/ETHNICITY (n= 6355)</b>		
<b>BIPOC</b>	12.8%	<b>20.9%<sup>^</sup></b>
Black or African American	4.9%	17.2% <sup>^</sup>
Asian/Pacific Islander	3.2% <sup>^</sup>	1.1%
Native American/Indigenous	0.4% <sup>^</sup>	0.1%
Latinx/Hispanic	2.3%	2.6%
Two or More Races	2.3%	0.0%
<b>White, Not Hispanic</b>	87.2% <sup>^</sup>	79.1%
<b>AGE (n= 6366)</b>		
<b>18-24</b>	11.4%	<b>16.2%<sup>^</sup></b>
<b>25-29</b>	12.8%	<b>15.4%<sup>^</sup></b>
<b>30-39</b>	18.7%	<b>31.6%<sup>^</sup></b>
<b>40-49</b>	14.2%	<b>19.2%<sup>^</sup></b>
<b>50-59</b>	15.7% <sup>^</sup>	14.3%
<b>60 or older</b>	27.2% <sup>^</sup>	3.3%

<sup>^</sup> Indicates a statistically significant difference between the Portland PD Population and the sample of Portland PD arrests (where p<.05). Full chi-square test results can be found in the appendix.

All population estimates are based on 2020 5-year ACS estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau. See methods section for more information.

Race and ethnicity categories are not exclusive and may add to more than 100%.

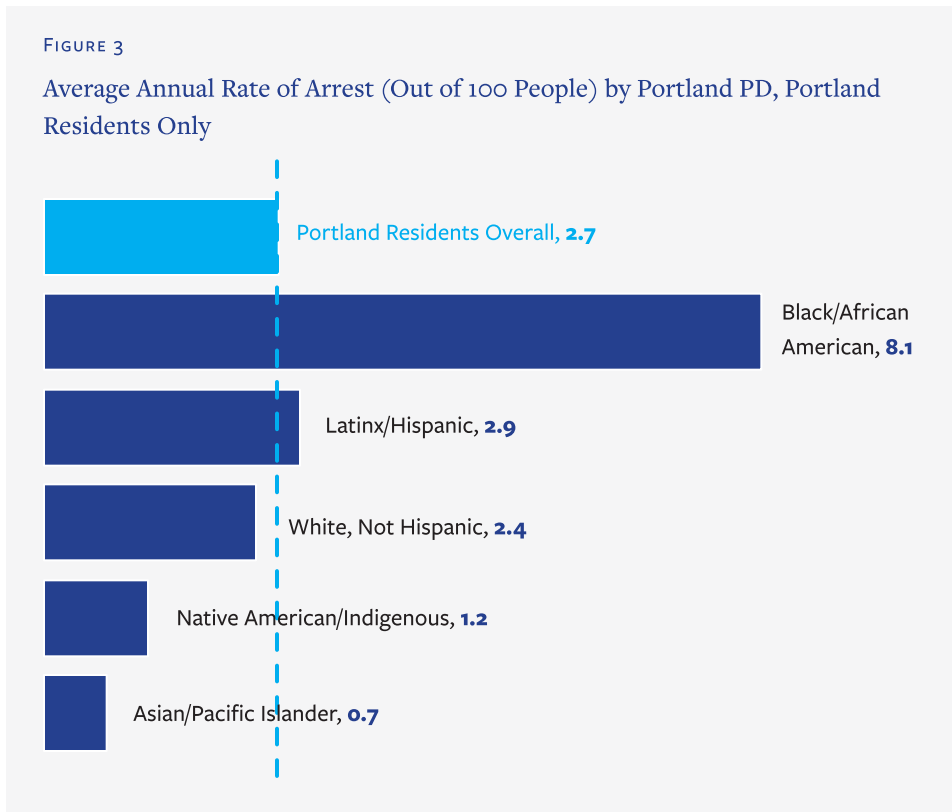
<sup>37</sup> See the methods section for more information.

<sup>38</sup> The Portland PD interacts with individuals from locations outside of Portland. Therefore, in order to compare to population level characteristics, the research team created a weighted average population baseline that is representative of the residences of the arrestees in the Portland PD data. This comparison excludes anyone from out of state and those who were missing residence information. See the methods section for more information.

### Arrest Rates Among Portland Residents

In 2020, the city of Portland had a population of 66,706 people with 56,442 over the age of 18.<sup>39</sup> Overall, 60% (4,514) Portland PD arrests were people from the city of Portland. The arrests among Portland residents were examined in comparison to city-level population data.<sup>27-35</sup> This data was used to create average annual rates of arrest out of 100 Portland residents in each subgroup.<sup>40</sup>

As shown in Figure 3, **Portland residents who were Black or African American were arrested at an average annual rate 3 times higher than White residents** (8.1 vs. 2.4 out of 100). As previously noted, while this comparison to U.S. Census data is limited,<sup>41</sup> this analysis points to a disparity which should be used as a guideline for the Portland Police Department to look deeper into the arrests of BIPOC individuals, particularly those who are Black or African American.



39 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022a). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: [S0101](#)].

40 See the appendix for more details on this calculation.

41 The comparison of the Portland PD arrest data to U.S. Census data is limited due to differences in the ways the data is collected (self-reported vs. officer reported) and U.S. Census limitations in representing all groups accurately. See the methods and limitations sections for more information. Even with these limitations the U.S. Census data provides the best comparable data set to help identify differences between the population and the sample of arrests.

## Portland PD Juvenile Arrests

In 2020, Maine had an estimated 250,957 young people under the age of 18, with 10,264 of those youth living in the city of Portland.<sup>42</sup> **From 2018 to 2020, the Portland PD made 166 arrests of 123 individual youth (under the age of 18).** During the study period, 22% (n=27) of the individuals had multiple records of arrest and accounted for 42% of all juvenile arrests. The majority of these young people were from the Portland-South Portland Metro Area (95%), including 84% of those from Portland. A small number were youth from out of state (<1%) or other areas of Maine (4%).

Researchers calculated a weighted population estimate for the Portland PD juvenile population using population-level characteristics and adjusting for residence.<sup>43</sup> As shown in Table 9, compared to the population estimate, the juvenile arrests during the study period were more likely<sup>44</sup> to be boys (69%), and more likely to be BIPOC (49%). **Black or African American youth represented 38% of all Portland juvenile arrests, but only 19% of the population estimate.** Even with the small sample sizes, these data demonstrate disparity in arrests among BIPOC youth in Portland which is similar to the trends in adult arrests found in this analysis as well as nationwide. While some previous research has been done statewide,<sup>45</sup> additional research such as qualitative exploration and community conversations could help explain some of these trends among the juvenile population in Portland. The similar patterns of disproportionate arrests of Black or African-American youth and adults should spur the Portland Police Department to look deeper into these arrests patterns.

TABLE 9

**Portland PD Juvenile Arrests Compared to Population Estimates, 2018-2020 (n=165)**

GENDER	POPULATION	
	ESTIMATE (UNDER 18)	PPD ARRESTS
Boys	50.5%	69.1%^
Girls	49.5%^	30.9%

RACE/ETHNICITY		
BIPOC		
Black or African American	18.6%	38.4%^
Asian/Pacific Islander	2.9%	0.6%
Native American/Indigenous	0.2%	0.0%
Latinx/Hispanic	3.3%	9.7%^
Two or More Races	6.5%	0.6%
<b>White, Not Hispanic</b>	<b>68.8%^</b>	<b>51.2%</b>

AGE		
5-9	27.3%	0.6%
10-14	27.2%	31.3%
15-17	15.3%	67.5%^
18	—	0.6%

^ Indicates a statistically significant difference between the two subgroups (p<.05).

Race and ethnicity categories are not exclusive and may add to more than 100%.

42 U.S. Census Bureau. (2022a). 2020 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates [Data Table: S0101].

43 This does not represent the population of the city of Portland but rather a weighted average based on the residences in the sample to account for other areas around Maine. For more information about this population estimate see the appendix and methods sections.

44 The differences between the PPD juvenile arrests sample and the population characteristics were tested for statistical significance where p<.05. All significant differences in the table between the arrests sample and the corresponding subgroup are noted with a “^”. Full chi-square test results can be found in the appendix.

45 See the Place Matters [report series](#) which includes several reports examining youth pathways and opportunities in Maine.

## People Experiencing Homelessness in Portland

Research shows housing instability has long been associated with justice system involvement.<sup>46,47</sup> In January 2020, an estimated 2,097 people were unhoused in Maine,<sup>48</sup> up from 1,714 in 2018,<sup>49</sup> an 18% increase in just two years. This increase was likely impacted by a combination of the economic effects from the rising housing crisis in Maine and the influx of asylum seekers during this same period. In 2021, Portland city officials reported serving 850 individuals in city-run shelters and area hotels.<sup>50</sup>

**From 2018 to 2020, people experiencing homelessness represented 36% (2,685) of all Portland PD arrests.<sup>51</sup>** Individuals who were unhoused at the time of their arrest were more likely to be White, men, and between the ages of 40 and 59 compared to those who were housed at the time of their arrest.<sup>52</sup>

**In addition, people experiencing homelessness were more likely to be arrested multiple times throughout the study period compared to people who were housed (1.6 arrests on average vs. 1.1).<sup>53</sup>**

TABLE 10

**Portland PD Arrests by Housing Status at the Time of Arrest, 2018–2020 (n=165)**

	UNHOUSED (n=2,685)	HOUSED (n=4,851)
<b>GENDER</b>		
Men	80.4%^	74.6%
Women	19.6%	25.4%^
<b>RACE/ETHNICITY</b>		
BIPOC	17.2%	22.3%^
White, Not Hispanic	82.8%^	77.7%
<b>AGE</b>		
18–24	8.4%	19.0%^
25–29	11.4%	17.2%^
30–39	31.2%	31.9%
40–49	24.3%^	17.2%
50–59	21.2%^	11.4%
60 or older	3.5%	3.3%

^ Indicates a statistically significant difference between the two subgroups (p<.05).

46 Chapin Hall, Voices of Youth Count. (2017). Missed Opportunities: Youth Homelessness in America, National Estimates. Retrieved from <https://voicesofyouthcount.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/VoYC-National-Estimates-Brief-Chapin-Hall-2017.pdf>

47 Gillespie, S., & Batko, S. (September 16, 2020). Feature: Five Charts That Explain the Homelessness- Jail Cycle and How to Break It. Washington D.C.: Urban Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.urban.org/features/five-charts-explain-homelessness-jail-cycle-and-how-break-it>

48 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. (2021). HUD 2020 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations Report-Maine. Retrieved from [https://files.hudexchange.info/reports/published/CoC\\_PopSub\\_State\\_ME\\_2020.pdf](https://files.hudexchange.info/reports/published/CoC_PopSub_State_ME_2020.pdf)

49 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. (2019). HUD 2018 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations Report-Maine. Retrieved from [https://files.hudexchange.info/reports/published/CoC\\_PopSub\\_State\\_ME\\_2018.pdf](https://files.hudexchange.info/reports/published/CoC_PopSub_State_ME_2018.pdf)

50 Billings, R. (October 26, 2021). Portland’s unsheltered homeless population is on the rise as temperatures drop. Portland: Portland Press Herald. Retrieved from <https://www.pressherald.com/2021/10/26/number-of-unsheltered-homeless-rises-in-portland-as-temperature-drops/>

51 Several variables were used to identify records where the individual was unhoused at the time of their arrest. See the methods section for more information. This includes all records which may have been people from out of state or from other areas in Maine, as well as those with missing residence information who were also identified as unhoused in the Portland PD data system.

52 Unhoused individuals were more likely to be men, X2(1)=32.401, p<.001; White, X2(1)=27.119, p<.001; and between the ages of 40-59, X2(5)=324.372, p=.000

53 This difference is statistically significant, (t-test of means, p<.001).

As shown in Table 11, more than half (52%) of the arrests of people who were unhoused occurred in Portland Patrol Area 4 (West Bayside). People experiencing homelessness were significantly more likely to have been arrested in this area compared to those who were housed at the time of their arrest. Both groups, regardless of housing status were equally likely to have been arrested in Patrol Areas 1, 3, and 5. However, people experiencing homelessness were less likely to have been arrested in every other area in the city (compared to those who were housed).

**TABLE 11**  
**Arrest Location by Housing Status (n=7,536)**

PORTLAND PD PATROL AREA		UNHOUSED		HOUSED	
4	West Bayside	51.9% <sup>^</sup>	1,394	22.0%	1,066
5	West End	11.4%	307	11.2%	541
3	Downtown	11.1%	299	12.6%	611
6	Parkside	6.1%	164	7.6% <sup>^</sup>	369
11	Oakdale/Back Cove/East Deering	5.4%	144	8.7% <sup>^</sup>	420
2	Upper East Bayside/Munjoy Hill	4.2%	114	5.7% <sup>^</sup>	278
8	Riverton/Deering Center/Rosemont	3.2%	87	9.6% <sup>^</sup>	466
1	Lower East Bayside/Munjoy Hill	2.8%	75	3.4%	164
7	Stroudwater/Libbytown/Nasons Corner	1.8%	48	6.9% <sup>^</sup>	333
10	North Deering/Back Cove	1.0%	27	7.5% <sup>^</sup>	364
9	Riverton/North Deering	0.7%	19	4.2% <sup>^</sup>	204
	Other (Peaks, Jetport, Out of Town)	0.3%	7	0.7% <sup>^</sup>	35

▶ 52% the arrests of people who were unhoused occurred in West Bayside (Patrol Area 4)

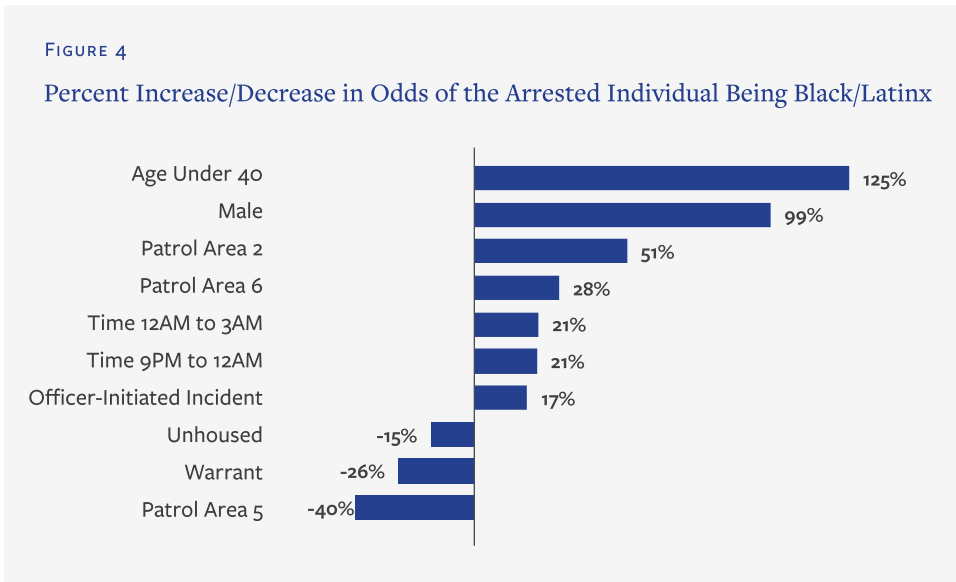
<sup>^</sup> Indicates a statistically significant difference (z-test for column proportions, p<.05) between people who were unhoused and people who were housed at the time of their arrest.

The most common charges among people who were experiencing homelessness at the time of their arrest included warrants (20%), violations of conditional release (16%), criminal trespassing (12%), public drinking (11%), drug possession (9%), and theft (7%). Unhoused individuals were more likely to be charged with nearly all of these (warrants, violations of conditional release, criminal trespassing, public drinking, and theft) compared to people who were not experiencing homelessness. Meanwhile, both groups experienced similar rates of drug possession charges.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Data not shown. Differences are statistically significant (z-test of column proportions, p<.05).

## Factors Influencing the Race of the Arrested Individual

Based on the findings from the descriptive analyses, the researchers identified several factors which they further examined using multiple logistic regression. This approach helps to isolate the extent to which a variable is associated with an outcome, while controlling for the other factors in the model that might influence that outcome. The model assessed the effect of age, gender, housing status, call source, time of day, and Patrol Area on the likelihood of an arrested individual being Black or Latinx (dependent variable). Because an officer in Portland is required to make an arrest if an individual has an outstanding warrant, the researchers included outstanding warrants in the model as well.



Overall, **Figure 4** shows that **the odds of the arrestee being Black or Latinx increased when the individual was under the age of 40 and male, when the incident occurred in Patrol Areas 2 or 6, during the hours of 9:00 pm to 3:00 am, and when the incident was officer-initiated.** The odds of an individual being Black or Latinx decreased when the incident occurred in Patrol Area 5, the individual was unhoused, and when they had an outstanding warrant.<sup>55</sup> Although these variables accounted for only 7% of the variance, which suggests that many factors which influence arrests by race/ethnicity are external to this analysis, the analysis upholds the findings of disparities shared in the previous sections. In addition, a key finding from this model is that **officer-initiated incidents are more likely to result in the arrest of a Black or Latinx individual.** In fact, the model shows a 17% increase in the odds of a Black or Latinx individual being arrested when the incident was initiated by the officer.

<sup>55</sup> This logistic regression model showed that the above variables were all significantly associated with the arrested individual being Black or Latinx ( $X^2(10)=296.673, p<.001$ ). These variables explained 6.8% ( $R^2$ ) of the variance in the race/ethnicity and correctly predicted 80.4% of the cases. See Appendix F for the full model results.

### Multiple Charges Analysis

The decision to request multiple charges from the District Attorney is typically a discretionary decision by a police officer making the arrest. Prior research has suggested that race or ethnicity may have an impact on the number and severity of charges which police officers request, and has found that officers request multiple charges in cases they believe are a high risk to the community.<sup>56</sup> For this study, the researchers conducted multiple logistic regression analysis to examine the association between gender, race, age, location, housing status, call source, and time of day with the decision to request multiple charges.

Overall, the results of the model<sup>57</sup> showed that the odds of an individual receiving more than one charge increased when the incident was a 911 call, when the individual was unhoused, when the individual was between the ages of 25 and 39, when the incident occurred in Patrol Areas 6, 7, or 8, and when the incident occurred between 3:00 am and 6:00 am. **It is important to note that in this analysis the race or ethnicity and the gender of the person arrested were not significantly related to the decision to request multiple charges.** The model supports the findings in the previous sections of this report showing that people who were experiencing homelessness at the time of their arrest were more likely to receive multiple charges. In fact, people who were unhoused had a 27% increase in the odds of receiving multiple charges. In addition, 911 calls resulted in a 56% increase in the odds of receiving multiple charges. This model only accounted for 2% of the variance in multiple charges and therefore additional research is needed to determine other factors which may be influencing these requests that are external to this analysis.

<sup>56</sup> Roh, S. & Robinson, M. (2009). A Geographic Approach to Racial Profiling: The Microanalysis and Macroanalysis of Racial Disparity in Traffic Stops. *Police Quarterly*, 12(2), 137-169.

<sup>57</sup> This logistic regression model showed that the noted variables were all significantly associated with multiple charges being requested ( $X^2(8)=101.408, p<.001$ ). These variables explained 2.1%(R<sup>2</sup>) of the variance and correctly predicted 68.9% of the cases. See Appendix F for the full results.



## Portland Police Department Traffic Stops, 2018-2020

From 2018 to 2020 the Portland PD conducted 14,021 traffic stops which resulted in either a warning or citation. In total, Portland PD gave out 5,056 citations and 8,965 warnings over the three-year period. As seen in **Table 12**, citations represented 36% of the total sample. Reviewing citations is particularly important since they represent a financial burden to those who receive them both in the short term, as a result of the fine imposed by the citation, and in the long term, as a result of possible increases in insurance premiums due to the citation. It is important to understand if the financial burden imposed by citations falls disproportionately on one group or another.

**TABLE 12**  
**Traffic Stops Resulting in a Warning or Citation, Portland PD 2018-2020**

PORTLAND PD TRAFFIC STOPS	2018	2019	2020	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Warnings	3,902	3,653	1,410	8,965	64%
Citations	2,047	2,110	899	5,056	36%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,949</b>	<b>5,763</b>	<b>2,309</b>	<b>14,021</b>	<b>—</b>

In both 2018 and 2019 the total stops were just under 6,000, however, in 2020 there was a large drop in stops overall (down 60%) likely due to the COVID-19 pandemic with only 2,309 stops in total for 2020. Nonetheless, the number of citations as a proportion of all stops remained about the same across all three years (34.1% to 38.9%).

**Just under half (49%) of all citations were individuals from the city of Portland.** About one third (34%) of the citations were individuals from other Portland-South Portland Metro Area locations,<sup>58</sup> and another 10% were individuals from other areas of Maine. Only 3% of all citations were people from out of state.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> The Portland-South Portland Metro Area includes towns and cities surrounding the two cities. See definitions for the full list of towns/cities included.

<sup>59</sup> There were 185 (3.7%) citation records with missing residence data. The warnings records did not include any information on the individual's residence.

Overall, the majority of drivers stopped were men or boys (60%). However, as shown in **Table 13** women and girls received citations (vs. warnings) at a slightly higher statistically significant rate (37% vs. 34%) compared to men and boys. In addition, while the majority of drivers stopped were White (78%), BIPOC drivers represented 17% of all stops which is significantly higher than population estimates (12% BIPOC). More specifically, **Black or African American drivers represented 14% of all stops, while only making up 4% of the population estimate.**<sup>60</sup> However, on average, **drivers who were BIPOC received citations at significantly lower rates compared to drivers who were White (27% vs. 37%).**<sup>61</sup>

### Time of Day

Previous research has suggested one way to examine the presence of bias in traffic stops is to examine the time of day and whether the stop occurred at night or during daylight hours.<sup>62,63</sup> This is commonly referred to as the “veil of darkness” hypothesis, which assumes that a police officer’s bias in initial stops may be reduced at night because the visibility of the driver (and their race) is limited. Time associated factors were analyzed, and all traffic stops (warnings and citations) were coded based on the incident time to estimate whether the incident took place during daylight hours or nighttime. In total, 49% (n=6,861) of the traffic stops which resulted in a warning or citation took place during nighttime hours.

TABLE 13

**Portland PD Traffic Stops Resulting in a Warning or Citation, 2018–2020**

GENDER	Total Stops		Total Issued Citations (%)
	N	%	
<b>Men/Boys</b>	8,472	60.4%	34.0%
<b>Women/Girls</b>	5,266	37.6%	37.3%*
<b>RACE/ETHNICITY</b>			
<b>BIPOC</b>	2,361	16.8%	27.4%
Black or African American	2,008	14.3%	26.4%
Asian/Pacific Islander	314	2.2%	27.7%
Native American/Indigenous	11	0.1%	18.2%
Latinx/Hispanic	28	0.2%	100.0%
<b>White, Not Hispanic</b>	11,176	79.7%	36.6%*
<b>AGE</b>			
<b>15–17</b>	89	0.6%	100.0%
<b>18–24</b>	2,426	17.3%	29.0%*
<b>25–29</b>	2,287	16.3%	34.6%
<b>30–39</b>	3,294	23.5%	35.9%
<b>40–49</b>	2,220	15.8%	36.8%
<b>50–59</b>	1,796	12.8%	39.4%
<b>60 or older</b>	1,474	10.5%	37.0%

^Indicates a statistically significant difference (z-test of column proportions, p<.05) between % of warnings and % of citations for the group highlighted.

\* The last column includes a calculation of the total proportion of individuals within each group who received a citation rather than a warning. For example, while men/boys represented 60% of all traffic stops, only 34% of those men/boys who were stopped received a citation and the remaining 66% received a warning. Women and girls were had significantly higher (p<.05) rates of citations compared to men and boys. In addition, White drivers had significantly higher rates of citations compared to BIPOC drivers, while 18- to 24-year-old drivers had significantly lower citation rates compared to those 25 or older.

60 Population data (Appendix A) and chi-square results (Appendix C) can be found in appendix. In addition, the differences between the population estimate and traffic citations are explored in more detail later in this report.

61 BIPOC drivers overall were found to have statistically significantly lower rates of citations compared to White drivers, (X<sup>2</sup>(1)=72.539, p=.000).

62 Grogger, J., & Ridgeway, G. (2006). Testing for racial profiling in traffic stops from behind a veil of darkness. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 101(475), 878-887

63 Pierson, E., Simoiu, C., Overgoor, J. et al. A large-scale analysis of racial disparities in police stops across the United States. *Nat Hum Behav* 4, 736–745 (2020).

TABLE 14

**Portland PD Traffic Stops by Time of Day and Race/Ethnicity, 2018–2020**

RACE/ETHNICITY	Daylight (n=7,023)		Darkness (n=6514)	
	N	%	N	%
<b>BIPOC</b>	916	13.0%	1,445	22.2%^
Black or African American	750	<b>10.7%</b>	1,258	<b>19.3%^</b>
Asian/Pacific Islander	136	1.9%	178	2.7%^
Latinx/Hispanic	25	0.4%	3	0.0%
Native American/Indigenous	5	0.1%	6	0.1%
<b>White, Not Hispanic</b>	6,107	87.1%^	5,069	77.8%

▶ Contrary to the “veil of darkness” theory, Black or African American individuals were stopped more frequently during the nighttime than the daylight.

^ Indicates a statistically significant difference between the daylight and darkness subgroups (p<.05).

The Veil of Darkness theory suggests that in cases of discrimination, Black or African American drivers would be more likely to be stopped during the day since it would be easier for officers with conscious or unconscious biases to determine the race of the driver. As shown in Table 14, **contrary to the theory, Black or African American individuals were stopped more frequently during the nighttime (19%) than during the daylight hours (11%).**<sup>64</sup> More specifically, Black or African American drivers were more likely to be stopped between the hours of 9:00 PM and 2:59 AM. In fact, among Black or African American drivers, 47% of all stops occurred during those hours compared to 30% of stops for all other race and ethnic groups.<sup>65</sup> While there are a number of criticisms of the “Veil of Darkness” approach, according to this theory, **this data does not indicate widespread profiling in traffic stops based solely on the driver’s race or ethnicity during this study period.**

64 Black or African American individuals were more likely to be stopped at night than during the daylight hours and White individuals were more likely to be stopped during the day,  $X^2(4)=229.105, p=.000$ . While sample sizes for other groups were small, BIPOC individuals as a group were more likely to be stopped at night compared to the day,  $X^2(1)=196.072, p=.000$

65 Data not shown. Black or African American individuals were more likely to have been stopped compared to all other race/ethnicity groups between 9:00 PM and 11:59 PM (28% of stops among Black drivers compared to 20% for all other groups) and between 12:00 AM and 2:59 AM (20% of all stops among Black drivers compared to 10% for all other groups),  $X^2(7)=306.701, p=.000$ .

## Traffic Citations Compared to Population-level Characteristics

A population estimate for drivers (age 15+) was created using 2020 ACS 5-year estimates and adjusted to make it comparable to the sample of traffic citations.<sup>27-35</sup> While the previous “Veil of Darkness” analysis did not find evidence of racial profiling in traffic citations, **compared to the population estimate men, BIPOC individuals, and people ages 18-39 are overrepresented in the sample of Portland PD citations.**<sup>66</sup> In particular, people who were identified as Black or African American are overrepresented compared to the population of driving aged individuals (11% of citations vs. 4% of the population). These findings are consistent with the trends and disparities identified in the arrest records analysis and may indicate other factors involved that are outside the scope of this study.

TABLE 15

**Portland PD Traffic Citations Among Maine Residents Compared to the Population Estimate, 2018-2020**

GENDER (n= 4671)	POPULATION ESTIMATE	CITATIONS SAMPLE (n=4,695)
<b>Men</b>	<b>48.5%</b>	<b>59.3%^</b>
<b>Women</b>	51.5%^	40.7%

RACE/ETHNICITY (n=4573)	POPULATION ESTIMATE	CITATIONS SAMPLE (n=4,695)
<b>BIPOC</b>	11.6%	13.9%^
Black or African American	<b>4.2%</b>	<b>11.4%^</b>
Asian/Pacific Islander	2.8%^	1.8%
Native American/Indigenous	0.5%^	0.0%
Latinx/Hispanic	2.2%^	0.6%
Two or More Races	2.4%	0.0%
<b>White, Not Hispanic</b>	88.4%^	86.1%

AGE (n= 4664)	POPULATION ESTIMATE	CITATIONS SAMPLE (n=4,695)
<b>Under 15</b>		0.1%
<b>15-17</b>	3.30%	1.9%
<b>18-24</b>	<b>10.80%</b>	<b>14.5%^</b>
<b>25-29</b>	<b>11.10%</b>	<b>16.1%^</b>
<b>30-39</b>	<b>17.10%</b>	<b>24.5%^</b>
<b>40-49</b>	13.90%	16.9%
<b>50-59</b>	15.80%	14.8%
<b>60 or older</b>	28.0%^	11.2%

^ Indicates a statistically significant difference between the Portland PD Population and the sample of Portland PD citations (where p<.05). Full chi-square test results can be found in Appendix C, Table 25.

Race and ethnicity categories are not exclusive and may add to more than 100%.

66 The population estimate and sample compared exclude people from out of state and those with missing residences. The population estimate is a weighted average of Maine and city-level data adjusted to be comparable to the residence of the individuals in the citations sample. See the methods section for more information and Appendix A for more details on the population data.

TABLE 16

**Type of Citation Violation Issued, Portland PD**

	TOTAL		BLACK DRIVERS		WHITE DRIVERS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Registration Violations</b>	2,986	57.7%	290	51.7%	2,560	58.9%^
<b>Moving Violations</b>	2150	41.5%	266	47.4%^	1753	40.4%
Speeding	974	18.8%	79	14.1%	833	19.2%^
Failure to Stop	688	13.3%	91	16.2%	556	12.8%
Other Moving Violation	133	2.6%	17	3.0%	105	2.4%
Operating Without a Valid License	121	2.3%	35	6.2%^	80	1.8%
Distracted Driving	108	2.1%	6	1.1%	96	2.2%
Seat belt or Child Car seat Violation	88	1.7%	11	2.0%	74	1.7%
Permit Violation	38	0.7%	27	4.8%^	9	0.2%
<b>Equipment Violations</b>	39	0.8%	3	0.5%	29	0.7%
<b>Excessive Noise</b>	20	0.4%	2	0.4%	14	0.3%
<b>Defective Vehicle Violation</b>	19	0.4%	1	0.2%	15	0.3%
<b>Other</b>	4	0.1%	2	0.4%	2	0.0%

**Type of Citation**

Citations were grouped into four categories: registration violations, moving violations, equipment violations or other.<sup>67</sup> As Table 16 shows, <sup>68</sup> **the most common type of citations violations were registration violations which represented 58% of all citations between 2018 and 2020.** Another 42% of citations were moving violations, and a small number (1%) were equipment violations. Drivers who were identified as Black or African American were more likely to have received a moving violation compared to drivers who were White (47% vs. 40%). Meanwhile, drivers who were White were more likely than Black or African American drivers to have received a registration violation (59% vs. 52%).<sup>69</sup>

The most common type of moving violation was speeding which accounted for 19% of all citations. Additionally, failing to stop at a red light/stop sign/etc. accounted for 13% of all citations. While Black or African American drivers were more likely to receive moving violations overall, White drivers were more likely to receive a violation for speeding compared to Black or African American drivers (19% vs. 14%). Black or African American drivers were more likely to have received a citation for operating without a valid/with a suspended license compared to White drivers (6% vs. 2%). While violations related to learner’s permits (driving with non-family passengers, driving after curfew, etc.) were only 1% of citations overall, Black or African American drivers were also more likely than White drivers to have received a citation for a permit violation (5% vs. 0.2%).

67 Registration violations include failures to display/produce registration, insurance, or inspection information. See the methods section for more details on what is included in each category.

68 Other race/ethnicity groups (Latinx, Native American/Indigenous, Asian/Pacific Islander) are not shown in the table due to small sample sizes.

69 Black drivers were more likely to receive moving violations and White drivers were more likely to receive registration violations, X<sup>2</sup>(6)=21.949,p=.001.

TABLE 17

Traffic Citations by Patrol Area, Portland PD (n=4,963)

PORTLAND PD PATROL AREA	TOTAL		BLACK DRIVERS		WHITE DRIVERS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
4 West Bayside	812	16.4%	127	25.0%^	617	15.3%
11 Oakdale/Back Cove/East Deering	686	13.8%	58	11.4%	586	14.5%
10 North Deering/Back Cove	610	12.3%	47	9.3%	519	12.9%^
9 Riverton/North Deering	532	10.7%	51	10.0%	448	11.1%
7 Stroudwater/Libbytown/Nasons Corner	440	8.9%	53	10.4%	337	8.4%
6 Parkside	370	7.5%	41	8.1%	295	7.3%
8 Riverton/Deering Center/Rosemont	354	7.1%	35	6.9%	275	6.8%
2 Upper East Bayside/Munjoy Hill	344	6.9%	34	6.7%	273	6.8%
3 Downtown	339	6.8%	18	3.5%	295	7.3%^
5 West End	299	6.0%	27	5.3%	244	6.0%
1 Lower East Bayside/Munjoy Hill	137	2.8%	16	3.1%	112	2.8%
Other (Peaks, Jetport, Out of Town)	40	0.8%	1	0.2%	34	0.8%

### Location of Traffic Citations

Traffic citations were more dispersed around the city compared to arrests. However, similar to arrests, **the top location for traffic citations was also the West Bayside neighborhood (Patrol Area 4) where 16% of citations occurred.** In addition, Patrol Areas 10 and 11 (North Deering/Back Cove and Oakdale and East Deering) were also top locations for traffic citations.

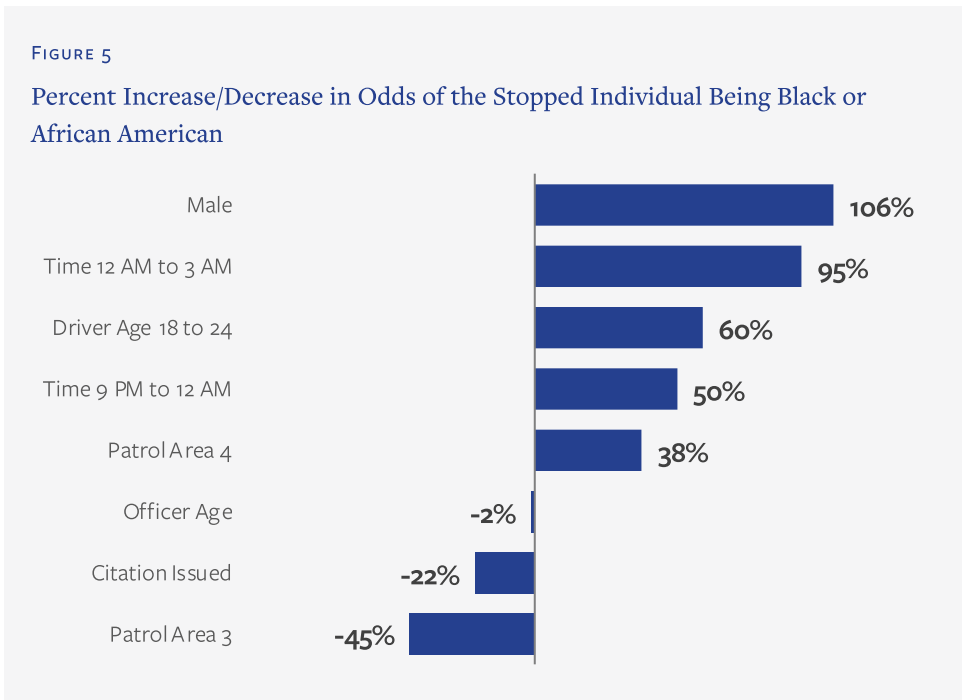
The research team further examined Patrol Areas by the drivers’ race/ethnicity to identify any patterns in specific areas of the city. As shown in Table 17, Black or African American drivers were more likely to receive a citation in the West Bayside neighborhood (Patrol Area 4) compared to White drivers (25% vs. 15%). White drivers were more likely to receive a citation in the Downtown area (Patrol Area 3) and in the North Deering/Back Cove area (Patrol Area 10) compared to Black or African American drivers (7% vs. 4% and 13% vs. 9%).<sup>70</sup>

70 In the table above, ^ indicates a statistically significant difference between Black or African American drivers and White drivers (z-test for column proportions, p<.05). Other race/ethnicity groups (Latinx, Native American/Indigenous, Asian/Pacific Islander) are not shown due to small sample sizes.

## Factors Influencing the Race of the Driver Who Was Stopped

Based on the findings from the descriptive analysis, the researchers identified several factors which they further examined using multiple logistic regression. As stated previously, this approach helps to isolate the extent to which a variable is associated with an outcome, while also controlling for other the other factors in the model that might influence that outcome. The model assessed the effect of age, gender, time of day, and Patrol Area on the likelihood of the driver stopped being Black or African American (dependent variable).<sup>71</sup>

As shown in [Figure 5](#), the odds of the driver being stopped being Black or African American increased when the driver was male, aged 18 to 24, and the incident occurred in Patrol Area 4 and at night between the hours of 9 PM and 3 AM. In addition, the odds of the driver being Black or African American decreased when a citation was issued and when the incident occurred in Patrol Area 3 (Downtown). These variables accounted for only 7% of the variance in the driver’s race, however, meaning that many crucial factors are not captured by this analysis.<sup>72</sup>



71 While the arrest data regressions used Black/Latinx as a group for the dependent variable, the traffic records included only a small number (n=28) identified as Latinx and thus these records were excluded from the regression analysis.

72 This logistic regression model showed that the above variables were all significantly associated with the driver being Black or African American ( $X^2(8)=543.844, p<.001$ ). These variables explained 7.0% ( $R^2$ ) of the variance in the race/ethnicity and correctly predicted 85.2% of the cases. See Appendix F for the full regression results.

# Conclusion & Recommendations

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## Conclusion

The analysis did not find statistical evidence of biased-based policing by members of the Portland Police Department, that is, instances where an officer made a decision or took action based on the individual's race or ethnicity rather than the individual's behavior. In particular, our analysis does not find significant evidence that race and ethnicity were related to the decision to request multiple charges, which prior research suggests can be an indicator of biased decision-making.<sup>73</sup> Additionally, in terms of traffic enforcement this analysis found that for drivers stopped in Portland, White drivers were more likely to receive a citation compared to BIPOC drivers. And contrary to the Veil of Darkness theory, Black or African American individuals were not stopped more frequently during daylight hours. This does not mean such incidents do not happen, but rather no patterns emerge that demonstrate severe and persistent occurrences; indeed, identifying officer attitudes and individual acts of bias-based policing by individual police officers was beyond the scope of this report.

However, despite limitations in the scope of this study, the analysis does provide some evidence of racial and ethnic disparities in arrests and traffic stops, particularly among Black or African American individuals, when compared to the proportion of Black or African American individuals in the population estimates. Among Portland residents, Black or African American individuals were arrested at an average annual rate that is three times higher than White residents. Specific factors influencing these disparities include officer-initiated arrests (where the odds of a Black or African American or Latinx individual being arrested increased by 17%) and location (specifically, Patrol Areas 2 and 6). In addition, this analysis found disparities involving people who were experiencing homelessness at the time of their arrest, who make up more than one-third (36%) of all arrests in Portland. More than half of the arrests among people experiencing homelessness occurred in the West Bayside neighborhood which also includes many of the city shelters. Those individuals were more likely to receive multiple charges.

The research team has identified many next steps which could help the Portland PD dig more deeply into these particular areas, such as changes to data collection and further analysis, including at the officer level. Indeed, many factors which were external to this analysis should be explored further in order to better understand the patterns observed in arrests and traffic stops in Portland. The first set of recommendations below are for the Portland PD, specifically, and are activities that the Department can undertake unilaterally to improve their practice. The second set of recommendations will require the Portland PD and the city of Portland to collaborate with local social service providers and community partners to work towards these common goals. It is our firm belief that undertaking the best practices outlined below will help to reduce the disparities observed in this study, support local communities, and bridge relations between the police department and the people they serve.

73 Roh, S. & Robinson, M. (2009). A Geographic Approach to Racial Profiling: The Microanalysis and Macroanalysis of Racial Disparity in Traffic Stops. *Police Quarterly*, 12(2), 137-169.



## Recommendations for Portland Police Department

The Portland PD should explore additional research and analysis to address the limitations of this study and further explain some of the findings, particularly those involving racial and ethnic disparities. In addition, making system-wide updates to data collection and implementing ongoing monitoring processes would allow for better transparency, accountability, and more effective analysis moving forward. These recommendations are also aligned with statewide efforts and recent legislation<sup>74</sup> to improve the data collection and procedures associated with traffic stops in order to eliminate racial profiling, as well as recommendations from the city of Portland's Racial Equity Steering Committee.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, these represent areas where the Portland PD can lead by example in supporting anti-racism and anti-bias policies, practices, and programs.

### 01. Promote transparency, engagement, and monitoring.

Portland PD leadership should initiate and participate in community meetings to share and discuss these findings with community groups, city leadership, organizations concerned about racial equity, and local human rights commissions. In addition, the department should expand their current practices for sharing data via social media and with the City Council, including periodic presentations, which will allow for ongoing reporting and monitoring of key data points and transparent reporting of race and ethnicity statistics to the public.

### 02. Implement data collection improvements.

The first step to being able to identify patterns of racial profiling and bias is to collect accurate and complete data on all interactions that police officers have with community members, regardless of the outcome of that interaction. This study revealed data quality, gaps, and tracking issues which should be addressed to improve data quality and efficiency for future research and monitoring purposes. The data extraction required a complex, time consuming process to gather data from multiple database tables. In many cases, information was not available and there were a large number of errors, inconsistencies, and missing data. As the department rolls out the new data management system, the following are specific items that could improve the efficiency and quality of reporting:

- Inconsistencies in coding and naming conventions limit efficient and quality reporting abilities. Standardized naming and procedures should be implemented to reduce this in the future.
- Exploring officer-initiated incidents in greater depth (e.g., by officer, type of charges, patrol patterns, time of day, etc.) could offer some explanation to disparities

<sup>74</sup> For more information about this law see [LD132/HP88 An Act to Implement the Attorney General's Recommendations on Data Collection in Order to Eliminate Racial Profiling in Maine](#).

<sup>75</sup> Abdurraqib, S. (April 26, 2021). City of Portland Racial Equity Steering Committee, Full Report. <https://content.civicplus.com/api/assets/41c75afi-d867-4dco-b4af-39af4a6470d8>

observed in this study.

- The department should explore ways to capture data on all interactions that police officers have with community members, including incidents where an arrest was not made, or a warning/citation was not issued.

### 03. **Conduct additional research.**

The limitations in this study mean additional research is needed to further understand the trends and patterns detected in the data and determine if there is evidence of individual officer bias. Specifically, a high priority for the department should be an internal review of officer-initiated arrests that examines the discretionary nature, individual officer level analysis, and any additional information that is available on the reason behind the initial interaction and events that occurred. Specific attention should be paid to arrests that include highly discretionary activities such as drinking, drug use, or disorderly conduct. This new analysis should compare (and control for) patterns of officers who work in similar areas and on similar shifts to determine if any officers are outliers in terms of the groups they arrest or cite. The department should also explore the patrol patterns in the neighborhoods identified in this analysis specifically where Black or Latinx individuals are more likely to be arrested (Patrol Areas 2 and 6). Because the numbers are low, but the disparities do exist, some additional qualitative research to explore juvenile arrests could also be beneficial to the department.

### 04. **Continue to fund and implement ongoing anti-bias efforts for all staff.**

Our analysis found some evidence of disparities related to officer-initiated arrests, which suggests that the Portland PD should continue to implement and/or expand measures to reduce officer bias and increase accountability, such as annual training on systemic racism and implicit bias, and adequately assessing applicants for bias. These strategies are strongly supported by national research as effective means to reduce racial inequities in the criminal justice system<sup>76</sup> and align with the city of Portland's Racial Equity Steering Committee's (RESC) recommendation to work with consultants to design and implement regular staff assessments of bias and provide ongoing anti-racism training for all city employees, including law enforcement. The RESC made several recommendations for specific consultants including the [Mid Atlantic Equity Consortium \(MAEC\)](#) or [GARE](#).<sup>77</sup> In addition, the [Fair and Impartial Policing Curriculum](#) developed by the University of Southern Florida is another that might be considered.

<sup>76</sup> The Sentencing Project. (2008). Reducing Racial Disparity in the Criminal Justice System, A Manual for Practitioners and Policymakers. Washington, D.C. <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/reducing-racial-disparity-criminal-justice-system-manual>

<sup>77</sup> Abdurraqib, S. (April 26, 2021). City of Portland Racial Equity Steering Committee, Full Report. <https://content.civicplus.com/api/assets/41c75afi-d867-4dco-b4af-39af4a6470d8>

## 05. Continue to develop recruitment and advancement pathways to increase staff diversity.

Although not included elsewhere in our analysis because the numbers were so small, only 3% (n=5) of the officers listed in the arrest records were BIPOC. In keeping with best practices, the Portland PD should continue to develop recruitment and advancement pathways that attract and retain a more diverse police force, drawing on the diversity of the local community. The department should also review its current policies and procedures to see what changes can be made to better support these efforts. The Portland Police Department should consider a more decentralized approach to recruitment efforts that empowers local patrol officers to identify and mentor youth, new Mainers, and other local community members who may make excellent future police officers.

## Recommendations for the Portland Police Department, City of Portland, and Strategic Partners

National best practices recommend community-based models for crisis response and community policing models as a way to reduce racial disparities. In addition, providing supports and appropriate responses for individuals experiencing homelessness minimizes the homelessness-jail cycle. The city of Portland and Portland PD currently fund and implement a number of best practices in community-based policing, crisis response, and responses to homelessness all of which should be expanded and leveraged to address racial disparities. Many of these same recommendations were also outlined in detail in the City of Portland's Racial Equity Steering Committee report; this study provides more data to support these needs in Portland to help reduce disparities.

### 06. **Expand capacity for community-based crisis response.**

In 2020, the Vera Institute of Justice published a comprehensive overview of alternative models of crisis response which outlines the various options for internal police crisis response teams, co-response options, and community-based models.<sup>78</sup> Portland PD has a behavioral health program, which includes a full-time coordinator, three full-time liaisons who co-respond with officers, and Crisis Intervention Training (CIT) offered by NAMI Maine. However, these approaches are police-led responses and police co-response options as outlined by the Vera report but are not community-based models. The city of Portland should consider ways to enhance the community-based models available in Portland by expanding and prioritizing mobile crisis response teams that are external to the police, and free up police resources to focus on issues of public safety.

### 07. **Promote efforts that support and decriminalize homelessness.**

With over one-third of arrests in Portland involving individuals who were unhoused, this analysis echoes previously cited national research which demonstrates the cycle of homelessness, police interactions, and justice system involvement. The department currently collaborates Homeless Outreach and Mobile Engagement Team (HOME Team) operated by Milestone Recovery Services. Given the considerable number of arrests among people experiencing homelessness in Portland, the city of Portland and the Portland PD should continue to implement strategies that support these individuals and explicitly decriminalize common activities such as loitering, sleeping in public places, and public urination. In addition, as outlined previously, community-based response teams and mental health and substance use programs can better support individuals experiencing homelessness in Portland. The city should expand resources with local community-based organizations and the HOME Team to support these efforts and provide more alternative responses to these issues, including continuing to expand access to public restrooms.

<sup>78</sup> Beck, J., Reuland, M., & Pope, L. (November 2020). Behavioral Health Crisis Alternatives, Shifting from Police to Community Responses. New York: Vera Institute of Justice. <https://www.vera.org/behavioral-health-crisis-alternatives>

## 08. Pilot a community-based public safety model

Given the high concentration of BIPOC arrests found in some areas, a community-based public safety model should be considered in Portland, particularly in those areas which are predominantly BIPOC.<sup>79</sup> Portland PD currently has a community policing program<sup>80</sup> that includes a community policing officer assigned to each city sector, community policing centers with civilian community coordinators assigned to each, and a neighborhood prosecutor program. The current community policing program aims to foster greater communication, understanding and trust between police and the communities in which they work. However, in recent years, many advocacy groups and community leaders in Maine and nationally have criticized community policing programs because they do not recognize the historical trauma of over policing BIPOC communities and leave the power to arrest with the police officer. In contrast, community-based public safety programs empower local citizens and community-based organizations, which are external to police departments, with the authority to address minor public safety issues and partner with or refer to police departments as they see fit. In Portland, a partnership between the current community policing centers and a new community-based, citizen-led program could help to ameliorate the observed racial disparities while also maintaining a partnership for larger issues. Given the findings in this study, the city should focus on piloting these programs in areas where there is a high concentration of arrests overall (Patrol Area 4) and among Black or African American and Latinx individuals (Patrol Areas 2 and 6). The Urban Institute (2018) published a guide<sup>81</sup> on community-driven safety initiatives which outlines key considerations and funding models, as well as examples of similar initiatives in other cities.

79 A community-based safety model was also recommended by the City of Portland's Racial Equity Steering Committee (Abdurraqib, 2021).

80 See [www.portlandmaine.gov/464/Community-Policing-Officers](http://www.portlandmaine.gov/464/Community-Policing-Officers) for more information.

81 See the guide [here](#).

# Appendices

## Appendix A: Population Data Tables (Adults, Juveniles, Drivers)

TABLE 18

### Adult (18+) Population Data and Weighted Average

	MAINE	PORTLAND	PPD WEIGHTED AVG.
<b>Total 18+ Population (2020)</b>	<b>1,089,858</b>	<b>56,442</b>	
<b>GENDER</b>			
<b>Men</b>	48.4%	48.5%	48.4%
<b>Women</b>	51.6%	51.5%	51.6%
<b>RACE/ETHNICITY</b>			
<b>BIPOC</b>	6.3%	15.3%	12.8%
Black or African American	1.2%	6.3%	4.9%
Asian/Pacific Islander	1.1%	4.0%	3.2%
Native American/Indigenous	0.6%	0.4%	0.4%
Latinx/Hispanic	1.5%	2.6%	2.3%
Two or More Races	2.1%	2.3%	2.3%
<b>Some Other Race</b>	0.3%	0.6%	0.5%
<b>White, Not Hispanic</b>	93.7%	84.7%	87.2%
<b>AGE</b>			
<b>18–24</b>	9.9%	11.8%	11.4%
<b>25–29</b>	7.4%	14.9%	12.8%
<b>30–39</b>	14.5%	20.4%	18.7%
<b>40–49</b>	14.8%	14.1%	14.2%
<b>50–59</b>	18.5%	14.5%	15.7%
<b>60 or older</b>	34.9%	24.4%	27.2%

Race and ethnicity categories are not exclusive and may add to more than 100%.

TABLE 19

**Juvenile (Under 18) Population Data and Weighted Averages**

	MAINE	PORTLAND	PPD WEIGHTED AVG.
<b>Total Population Under 18 (2020)</b>	<b>250,967</b>	<b>10,264</b>	
<b>GENDER</b>			
<b>Boys</b>	51%	50%	50.5%
<b>Girls</b>	49%	50%	49.5%
<b>RACE/ETHNICITY</b>			
<b>BIPOC</b>	12%	34.4%	31.2%
Black or African American	2%	21.2%	18.6%
Asian/Pacific Islander	1%	3.2%	2.9%
Native American/Indigenous	1%	0.1%	0.2%
Latinx/Hispanic	3%	3.3%	3.3%
Two or More Races	5%	6.7%	6.5%
<b>White, Not Hispanic</b>	88%	65.6%	68.8%
<b>AGE</b>			
<b>Under 5 years</b>	25%	31%	30.3%
<b>5–9 years</b>	28%	27%	27.3%
<b>10–14 years</b>	29%	27%	27.2%
<b>15–17 years</b>	18%	15%	15.3%

Race and ethnicity categories are not exclusive and may add to more than 100%.

TABLE 20

**Driver (Age 15+) Population Data and Weighted Averages**

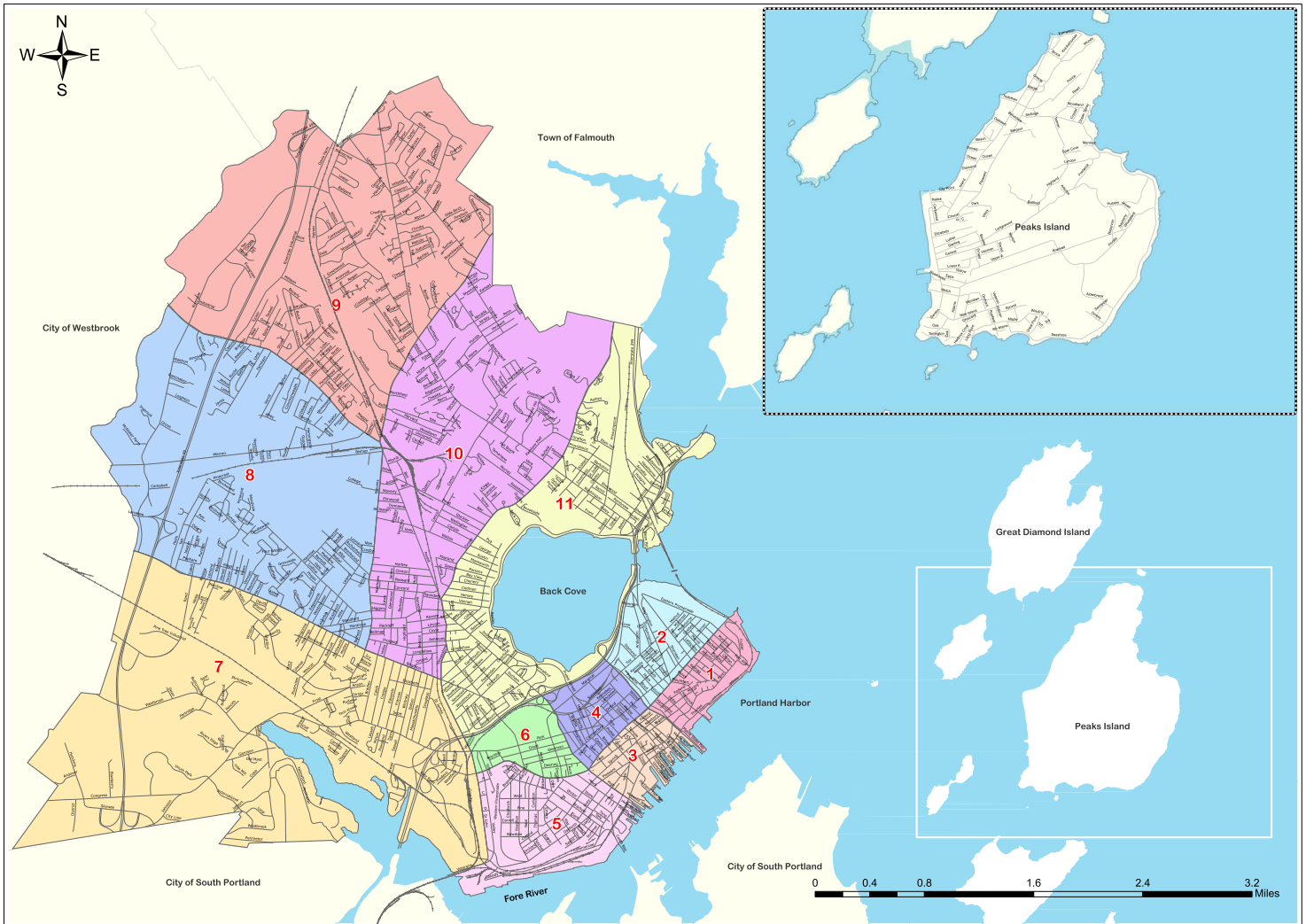
	MAINE	PORTLAND	PPD WEIGHTED AVG.
<b>Total 15+ Population (2020)</b>	<b>1,135,578</b>	<b>57,948</b>	
<b>GENDER</b>			
<b>Men/Boys</b>	48.5%	48.6%	48.5%
<b>Women/Girls</b>	51.5%	51.4%	51.5%
<b>RACE/ETHNICITY</b>			
<b>BIPOC</b>	6.4%	15.6%	11.6%
Black or African American	1.2%	6.5%	4.2%
Asian/Pacific Islander	1.2%	4.0%	2.8%
Native American/Indigenous	0.6%	0.3%	0.5%
Latinx/Hispanic	1.5%	2.6%	2.2%
Two or More Races	2.2%	2.5%	2.4%
<b>White, Not Hispanic</b>	93.6%	84.4%	88.4%
<b>AGE</b>			
<b>15-17</b>	4.0%	2.6%	3.3%
<b>18-24</b>	9.5%	11.5%	10.8%
<b>25-29</b>	7.1%	14.5%	11.1%
<b>30-39</b>	13.9%	19.8%	17.1%
<b>40-49</b>	14.2%	13.7%	13.9%
<b>50-59</b>	17.7%	14.1%	15.8%
<b>60 or older</b>	33.5%	23.7%	28.0%

Race and ethnicity categories are not exclusive and may add to more than 100%.



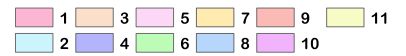
# Appendix B: Portland Police Department Patrol Areas (Beat Map)

### PORTLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT BEAT MAP



Portland Police Department  
 Crime Analysis  
 December 2016

**POLICE BEATS**



## Appendix C: Portland PD Arrests Chi-Square Results Tables

TABLE 21

### Portland PD Adult Population Estimate Compared to the Portland PD Arrest Records Sample, All Years, Maine Residents Only

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS	N	X <sup>2</sup>	DF	P-VALUE
BIPOC	6355	373.28	1	<.001
Black or African American	6355	2078.787	1	0
Latinx or Hispanic	6369	1.682	1	0.195
Asian/Pacific Islander	6355	87.657	1	<.001
Native American/Indigenous	6355	10.649	1	0
Men	6368	1849.16	1	0.001
18–24	6366	144.937	1	<.001
25–29	6366	39.793	1	<.001
30–39	6366	699.092	1	<.001
UNDER 40	6366	1088.304	1	<.001
40–49	6366	128.768	1	<.001
50–59	6366	9.499	1	0.002
60 or older	6366	1838.981	1	0

TABLE 22

### Portland PD Juvenile Arrest Records Compared to the Juvenile Population, All Years, Maine Residents Only

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS	N	X <sup>2</sup>	DF	P-VALUE
Boys	165	22.813	1	<.001
BIPOC	164	23.614	1	<.001
Black or African American	164	42.528	1	<.001
Asian/Pacific Islander	164	3.055	1	0.08
Latinx/Hispanic	165	21.159	1	<.001
10–14 years	165	1.146	1	0.284
15–17 years	165	351.99	1	<.001

**Table Notes:** A p-value of .05 or less indicates a statistically significant result. A statistically significant result indicates that the observed differences between the population estimate and the arrest dataset are greater than we might expect by chance alone.

## Appendix D: Portland Residents Adult Arrest Rates

Average annual arrest rates represent the average number of individuals in each group arrested in the city of Portland each year out of 100 people in that group. Rates were calculated by dividing the total number of arrests by 3, then dividing by the total population for each group and multiplying by 100  $((\text{total arrests subgroup}/3)/\text{total population subgroup} * 100)$ .

TABLE 23

### Portland Annual Average Adult Arrest Rates by Gender, Race, and Age (18+ Population)

	Portland Population		PPD Adult Arrests Sample		Average Annual Rate (per 100)
	N	%	N	%	
<b>Total 18+ Population (2020)</b>	<b>56,442</b>		<b>4,514</b>		<b>2.7</b>
<b>GENDER</b>					
Male	27,383	49%	3,450	76%	4.2
Female	29,059	51%	1,063	24%	1.2
<b>RACE/ETHNICITY</b>					
<b>BIPOC</b>	8,623	15%	1,047	23%	4
Black or African American	3,561	6%	870	19%	8.1
Asian/Pacific Islander	2,265	4%	48	1%	0.7
Native American/Indigenous	199	0%	7	0%	1.2
Latinx/Hispanic	1,489	3%	130	3%	2.9
<b>White, Not Hispanic</b>	47,819	85%	3,459	77%	2.4
<b>AGE</b>					
18–24	6,647	12%	662	15%	3.3
25–29	8,413	15%	661	15%	2.6
30–39	11,498	20%	1,381	31%	4
40–49	7,932	14%	942	21%	4
50–59	8,190	15%	719	16%	2.9
60 or older	13,762	24%	148	3%	0.4

TABLE 24

**Portland Annual Average Adult Arrest Rates Black or African American Individuals Compared to White (18+ Population)**

	Black or African American Individuals			White Individuals		
	Portland Population	Arrests	Annual Rate Per 100	Portland Population	Arrests	Annual Rate Per 100
<b>MEN</b>	<b>2,004</b>	<b>735</b>	<b>12.2</b>	<b>22,845</b>	<b>2,578</b>	<b>3.8</b>
<b>18-24</b>	401	173	14.4	2,516	283	3.7
<b>25-29</b>	242	120	16.5	3,714	352	3.2
<b>30-34</b>	223	125	18.7	2,656	386	4.8
<b>35-44</b>	474	209	14.7	3,635	687	6.3
<b>45-64</b>	540	106	6.5	6,350	823	4.3
<b>65+</b>	124	2	0.5	3,974	47	0.4
<b>WOMEN</b>	<b>1,557</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>24,974</b>	<b>880</b>	<b>1.2</b>
<b>18-24</b>	162	39	8	2,814	123	1.5
<b>25-29</b>	144	35	8.1	3,523	129	1.2
<b>30-34</b>	250	16	2.1	2,407	148	2
<b>35-44</b>	462	26	1.9	3,616	236	2.2
<b>45-64</b>	282	18	2.1	7,221	231	1.1
<b>65+</b>	257	1	0.1	5,393	13	0.1

## Appendix E: Portland PD Traffic Data Chi-Square Results Tables

TABLE 25

**Portland PD Traffic Citations Compared to the Portland PD Population Estimate of Drivers, Maine Residents Only, All Years**

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS	N	X <sub>2</sub>	DF	P-VALUE
Men	4671	216.484	1	<.001
BIPOC	4573	23.302	1	<.001
Black or African American	4573	588.033	1	<.001
Asian/Pacific Islander	4573	15.586	1	<.001
Native American/Indigenous	4573	19.136	1	<.001
Latinx/Hispanic	4573	53.577	1	<.001
15 to 17	4664	30.082	1	<.001
18 to 24	4664	66.833	1	<.001
25 to 29	4664	117.247	1	<.001
30 to 39	4664	181.546	1	<.001
40 to 49	4664	35.468	1	<.001
50 to 59	4664	3.251	1	0.071
60 or older	4664	653.573	1	<.001

TABLE 26

**Portland PD Traffic Stops (Warnings and Citations) Compared to the Portland PD Population Estimate of Drivers, All Residences, All Years**

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS	N	X <sub>2</sub>	DF	P-VALUE
Men/Boys	13738	953.758	1	<.001
BIPOC	13537	450.401	1	<.001
Black or African American	13537	3804.114	1	0
Asian/Pacific Islander	13537	11.481	1	<.001
Native American/Indigenous	13537	47.711	1	<.001
Latinx/Hispanic	13537	249.945	1	<.001
15 to 17	13589	297.932	1	<.001
18 to 24	13589	701.628	1	<.001
25 to 29	13589	452.106	1	<.001
30 to 39	13589	488.716	1	<.001
40 to 49	13589	67.42	1	<.001
50 to 59	13589	68.173	1	<.001
60 or older	13589	1983.247	1	0

**Table Notes:** A p-value of .05 or less indicates a statistically significant result. A statistically significant result indicates that the observed differences between the population estimate and the traffic stops dataset are greater than we might expect by chance alone.

## Appendix F: Portland PD Logistic Models for Multiple Regression Analysis

TABLE 27

### Logistic Regression Final Model Results for the Arrested Individual Being Black/Latinx

ARRESTED INDIVIDUAL BEING BLACK/LATINX	B	S.E.	WALD	DF	SIG.	EXP(B)
Officer-Initiated Incident	0.161	0.064	6.387	1	0.011	1.174
Male	0.687	0.082	69.739	1	0	1.989
Age Under 40	0.812	0.072	127.492	1	0	2.251
Warrant	-0.297	0.082	12.984	1	0	0.743
Unhoused	-0.161	0.069	5.427	1	0.02	0.851
Patrol Area 2	0.411	0.127	10.509	1	0.001	1.508
Patrol Area 5	-0.512	0.118	18.703	1	0	0.599
Patrol Area 6	0.247	0.113	4.806	1	0.028	1.281
Time 9PM to 12AM	0.187	0.086	4.688	1	0.03	1.206
Time 12AM to 3AM	0.192	0.084	5.172	1	0.023	1.211
Constant	-2.551	0.109	551.939	1	0	0.078

#### Table Notes:

This logistic regression model was the final model testing Black/Latinx as the dependent variable. Many variables were tested (such as gender, race, age, location, time of day, call-source) but only the variables which were found to be significant are included in the table above.

The model showed that the above variables were all significantly associated with the arrested individual being Black or Latinx ( $\chi^2(10)=296.673, p<.001$ ). These variables explained 6.8% ( $R^2$ ) of the variance in the race/ethnicity and correctly predicted 80.4% of the cases.

The odds of the arrestee being Black or Latinx increased when the incident was officer-initiated, when the individual was male and under the age of 40, when the incident occurred in Patrol Areas 2 or 6, and during the hours of 9:00 pm to 3:00 am. The odds of an individual being Black or Latinx decreased for the remaining variables.

TABLE 28

**Multiple Logistic Regression Model Results for Multiple Charges Requested**

MULTIPLE CHARGES REQUESTED	B	S.E.	WALD	DF	SIG.	EXP(B)
911 Call	0.442	0.062	50.639	1	0	1.556
Unhoused	0.236	0.056	17.59	1	0	1.266
Time 3 to 6 AM	0.316	0.104	9.179	1	0.002	1.371
Age 25 to 29	0.172	0.076	5.083	1	0.024	1.188
Age 30 to 39	0.188	0.059	10.23	1	0.001	1.207
Patrol Area 6	0.257	0.099	6.751	1	0.009	1.293
Patrol Area 7	0.296	0.118	6.248	1	0.012	1.344
Patrol Area 8	0.268	0.1	7.124	1	0.008	1.307
Constant	-1.146	0.05	535.088	1	0	0.318
Time 12AM to 3AM	0.192	0.084	5.172	1	0.023	1.211
Constant	-2.551	0.109	551.939	1	0	0.078

**Table Notes:**

This logistic regression model was the final model testing Black/Latinx as the dependent variable. Many variables were tested (such as gender, race, age, location, time of day, call-source) but only the variables which were found to be significant are included in the table above.

The model showed that the above variables were all significantly associated with the arrested individual being Black or Latinx ( $\chi^2(10)=296.673, p<.001$ ). These variables explained 6.8% ( $R^2$ ) of the variance in the race/ethnicity and correctly predicted 80.4% of the cases.

The odds of the arrestee being Black or Latinx increased when the incident was officer-initiated, when the individual was male and under the age of 40, when the incident occurred in Patrol Areas 2 or 6, and during the hours of 9:00 pm to 3:00 am. The odds of an individual being Black or Latinx decreased for the remaining variables.

TABLE 29

**Multiple Logistic Regression Model Results for Multiple Charges Requested**

DRIVER IS BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN	B	S.E.	WALD	DF	SIG.	EXP(B)
Male	0.723	0.056	165.523	1	0	2.062
Citation Received	-0.243	0.059	17.116	1	0	0.784
Officer Age	-0.015	0.003	29.104	1	0	0.985
Driver Aged 18 to 24	0.467	0.059	61.891	1	0	1.595
Patrol Area 3	-0.592	0.168	12.422	1	0	0.553
Patrol Area 4	0.322	0.081	15.964	1	0	1.38
Time 9 PM to 12 AM	0.409	0.061	44.188	1	0	1.505
Time 12 AM to 3 AM	0.667	0.071	88.537	1	0	1.948
Constant	-1.949	0.114	292.267	1	0	0.142
Time 12AM to 3AM	0.192	0.084	5.172	1	0.023	1.211
Constant	-2.551	0.109	551.939	1	0	0.078

**Table Notes:**

This logistic regression model was the final model testing Multiple Charges as the dependent variable. Many variables were tested (such as gender, race, age, location, time of day, call-source) but only the variables which were found to be significant are included in the table above.

This logistic regression model showed that the above variables were all significantly associated with multiple charges being requested ( $\chi^2(8)=101.408, p<.001$ ). These variables explained 21%(R<sup>2</sup>) of the variance in the race/ethnicity and correctly predicted 68.9% of the cases.

The odds of the individual receiving multiple charges increased when the incident was a 911 call, when the individual was unhoused, when the individual was between the ages of 25 and 39, when the incident occurred in Patrol Areas 6, 7, or 8, and when the incident occurred between 3:00 am and 6:00 am. Note race and gender were not found to be significant in the models.



## About The Project & Partners

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This project was developed by the cities of Portland and South Portland and their Police Departments in collaboration with the University of Southern Maine, Catherine Cutler Institute and the Northeastern University, Institute on Race and Justice. The project was funded by the cities of Portland and South Portland and the Roux Institute at Northeastern University. The goal of this project was to examine and analyze available data to determine if there was evidence of disproportionate police activities in either city.

The Catherine Cutler Institute is the research arm of the Muskie School of Public Service at the University of Southern Maine. The Catherine Cutler Institute has a long history of collaborating with local, state, and national partners to examine and find solutions to critical societal issues. For more information about the Catherine Cutler Institute visit [usm.maine.edu/cutler](https://usm.maine.edu/cutler).

The Institute on Race and Justice (IRJ) is based at Northeastern University's School of Criminology and Criminal Justice. The IRJ utilizes social science research methods to support partners in the development of policy changes which advance the cause of social justice.