

# **NOT JUST STOPS: Mapping Racially Biased Policing in the Antelope Valley**

**OCTOBER 2021**

---

**Neighborhood Legal Services of Los Angeles  
County in Partnership with California State  
University, Northridge**



Neighborhood Legal Services  
of Los Angeles County



**CSUN**

---

## **Authors**

Chelsea Helena, Nora Salem, Alexandra Reyes, Professor Steven Graves, Ph.D.

## **Contributors**

Petra Nichols, Bronte Almanza, Maksymilian Bogatyrov, Michael Castillo, Fernando Vargas, Karla Altamirano, Jarrell Mitchell, Beth Farmer

## **Special Thanks**

Yvonne, Mariajimenez, Sahar Durali, David Pallack, Rachel Steinback, Cassandra Goodman, Lambreni Waddell, Isela Banuelos, Cancel the Contract-Antelope Valley, Sharon Otasowie, Justin Small, Mallory Thornton, Shara Darden, Rachel Nordhoff

## **Photos**

Fernando Nunez (p. 7, 9, 13)

Published October 2021

---

# Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Executive Summary</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>The Complex History and Present Needs of the Antelope Valley Region</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Who is LASD subjecting to stops, citations, and arrests?</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Where are LASD contacts in Lancaster and Palmdale occurring?</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Mapping Methodology</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Endnotes</b>	<b>41</b>

---

# Introduction

**Law enforcement in the United States has throughout history been a force intentionally designed and systematically used to subjugate, criminalize, institutionalize, and disenfranchise people of color.<sup>i</sup>** Police have been the enforcers and protectors of systems that further white supremacy at the expense of Black and Brown men, women, and children.

Consequences of Black and Brown people receiving disproportionate numbers of police contacts are far-reaching. Law enforcement is often people's first encounter with the criminal legal system, serving as the "initial net that sweeps people of color disproportionately into the criminal system... [and is] the locus that overexposes Black people to police violence."<sup>ii</sup>

In the United States, Latine men are between 1.3 and 1.4 times likelier to be killed by police than white men. Black women are 1.4 times more likely to be killed than white women. But, no group fares worse than Black men and boys, who are by some estimates 2.5 times likelier to be killed by police in their lifetime than white men. Some models predict that 1 in 1,000 Black men and boys will be killed by police over the course of their lives,<sup>iii</sup> and rates of fatal police shootings of unarmed Black people are 3 times higher than among white people.<sup>iv</sup> Further, national data shows that police officers stop Black drivers at higher rates than white drivers, even when controlling for the driver's age and gender. Following these stops, Black and Latine drivers are more likely to be searched<sup>v</sup> and receive higher numbers of post-stop citations and arrests.<sup>vi</sup>

**Despite data unequivocally showing that law enforcement in our country over-surveils, over-criminalizes, and over-brutalizes people of color, local, state, and federal governments continue to fund and expand policing systems they know to be fundamentally discriminatory.** Decades of demands from communities, organizers, and advocates that policing be revamped, reformed, and defunded have gone largely unheeded.

In the last few years, footage depicting police brutality and murder of Black and Brown civilians has sparked national and international outrage.<sup>vii</sup> In May 2020, as Americans watched in horror the 8 minutes and 46 seconds of recorded video showing the brutal

---

killing of an unarmed Black man named George Floyd, a grim reality set in—one that has been at the center of the Black American experience since the country’s inception.



Floyd’s murder ignited nationwide protests calling for significant police reforms, including increased scrutiny and accountability, with

some cities defunding departments and ending policing contracts entirely.<sup>viii</sup> Even as advocates and communities have called for the reimagining of community safety and structural responses to crime, inequities persist, to the profound disadvantage of people and communities of color.

Law enforcement in the Antelope Valley, a desert community with a particularly troubling history of racism and discriminatory policing, has remained impervious to the nation’s calls for reform. Newly analyzed data lays bare the prejudicial practices of Los Angeles County Sheriff’s deputies in this remote region of Los Angeles County. Here, Black men, women, and children are routinely subjected to stops, searches, detentions, arrests, and citations at rates that vastly outpace people of other races.

**This report analyzes the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department’s (“LASD”) civilian traffic and pedestrian stops data in the Antelope Valley made available through the Racial Identity and Profiling Act (“RIPA”).** In partnership with California State University, Northridge’s (“CSUN”) Geography Department, we were able to compare RIPA data to data from LASD’s own crime databases—as well as data from the United States Census—to map law enforcement stops in the area, break them down by race, and analyze the reasons behind the stops.

**Our analysis finds that LASD’s policing practices disproportionately target people and communities of color, with socioeconomic disparities between white residents and residents of color exacerbating the collateral financial consequences of police contact.**

---

# Executive Summary

**Communities of color in the Antelope Valley are being targeted, stopped, harassed, and racially profiled by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department.** Analysis of the Department's RIPA data shows that people of color in Lancaster and Palmdale—the Antelope Valley's largest and most populated cities—are stopped by law enforcement at rates that far exceed those of surrounding areas. Black residents fare the worst. At just 16.76% of the population, they receive 33.36% of all stops, translating to 10,886 more stops than expected given regional averages. LASD does not, however, over-police white residents, stopping this group 5,210 fewer times than statistically expected.

Racial disparities present in overall LASD stops persist in traffic stops and stops based on reasonable suspicion. LASD subjected Black individuals to 7,824 more traffic stops and 3,061 more stops based on reasonable suspicion than statistically expected. White residents, on the other hand, received 4,245 fewer traffic stops and 965 fewer stops based on reasonable suspicion than expected.

**Consequences of being stopped by LASD are often severe and far-reaching.** Law enforcement stops frequently lead to searches, seizures, detentions, arrests, and in some cases violence. In Lancaster and Palmdale, 21.14% of stops led to a “pat down” search and 8.58% led to a property search. Nearly 40% of these searches were of Black residents, who were searched by LASD at nearly twice the rate of white individuals. Although Black residents in the area are far more likely to be searched than white residents, that search is less likely to result in the discovery and seizure of contraband, negating a possible justification for the disproportionate number of LASD contacts.

Alarming, Black individuals were handcuffed in 1 out of every 5 LASD stops. Black and Latine<sup>1</sup> individuals accounted for 79% of stops in which an officer pointed a gun at a

---

<sup>1</sup> This report uses the term “Latine” to describe people who are from or who trace their roots to Latin America. The dominant term “Hispanic” is used by the Census Bureau to imprecisely define this same group as descendants of Spanish settlers in the Southwest prior to annexation. However, many in the Latine community find this term to be disempowering and misguided due to its centering of Spanish colonialism and the history of the United States government placing all peoples from Latin America under this term whether it applies to them or not. The term “Latine” was chosen because it uses Spanish's own gender-neutral suffix “e.”

---

civilian. People of color also experience a disproportionate number of citations and arrests, with 77.8% of citations and 78.29% of arrests in the area.

**School-age children as young as 5 are also having daily contact with LASD on their school campuses through contracts the Department has with local school districts.** Black students in Lancaster and Palmdale have significantly more LASD contacts than any other race. In fact, they were stopped, arrested, or cited more than every other racial and ethnic student group combined.



**Quantitative and qualitative analysis of LASD’s RIPA data and civilian accounts shows a near certainty that racial or ethnic animus is a determinative factor in how LASD conducts its stops. This conclusion is drawn into sharper focus when LASD’s civilian contacts are mapped and layered over demographic data for individual census blocks.** Lancaster and Palmdale neighborhoods with high concentrations of poor, non-white residents have greater-than expected numbers of law enforcement contacts. The average contact rate in AV areas in which 30% or more of the population is white is nearly 250% less than the average contact rate in areas in which 20% or more of the population is Black.

The Antelope Valley is already a pervasively underserved area in Los Angeles County, due in large part to its remoteness and high concentration of people of color and individuals experiencing poverty. This area’s most vulnerable residents must work the hardest to get the services, resources, and support they need to thrive. The Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department, in targeting socioeconomically disadvantaged individuals of color, exacerbate hardships already besetting these AV populations.

**The purpose of this report is to provide information to AV community members as they navigate a region policed by a sheriff’s department that profiles people of color to their physical, socioeconomic, and emotional detriment. In quantifying this bias, we hope to equip impacted community members with data that could help redress these disparities.**

---

# The Complex History and Present Needs of the Antelope Valley Region

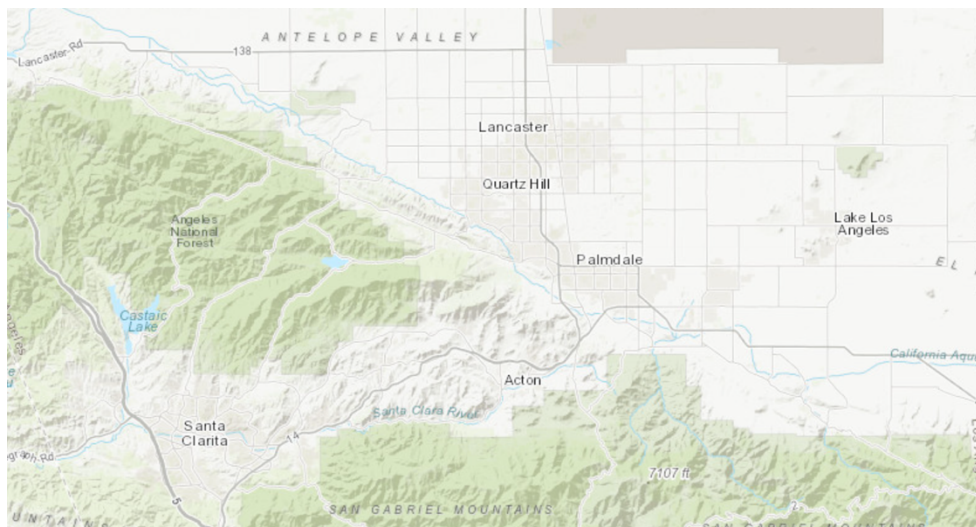
Pervasive racial intolerance is embedded in the history of the Antelope Valley, contributing to decades of race-based tension, racial disparities, and growing segregation throughout the region.

**The Antelope Valley is a vast region located in the northern part of Los Angeles County, about 70 miles north of the city of Los Angeles.**

Encompassing nearly 1,170 square miles of Mojave Desert, the area is home to 368,728 people living in the cities of Lancaster and Palmdale as well as the unincorporated census-designated communities of Acton, Agua Dulce, Antelope Acres, Del Sur, Desert View Highlands, Elizabeth Lake, Hi Vista, Juniper Hills, Lake Hughes, Lake Los Angeles, Leona Valley, Littlerock, Llano, Neenach, Pearblossom, Quartz Hill, Sun Village, Valyermo, and Wilsona Gardens.

**Racial intolerance and prejudice are and have been an unfortunate and inescapable part of the Antelope Valley's past and present.** For decades, the Antelope Valley was a highly segregated and predominantly white commuter suburb of Los Angeles, due to widespread redlining practices and displacement of Black and Native American AV residents. That all changed in the 1980s, when affordable housing and employment opportunities, bolstered by the construction of California State Route 14, drew more people of color to the area. In that decade, the non-white population of the Antelope Valley grew 19 times larger.<sup>ix</sup>

That growth gave rise to white supremacist gangs, which became commonplace in the Antelope Valley in the 1990s. In February 1995, three members of a skinhead



Topographic map of the Antelope Valley region.





gang known as the Peckerwoods shot at a car carrying four Black AV residents—strangers to them—solely because of their race. At the time, Sheriff’s Deputy Chris Haymond offered up this explanation for the spike in white supremacist violence: “A lot of white kids are saying [affirmative action] is not fair, and all of them feel like they’re getting the short end of the stick. I think when you come up here 10 years ago, there were a lot less minorities.”<sup>x</sup>

In 1997, the *New Yorker* called growing up in the Antelope Valley a “pretty harrowing, dispiriting affair,” citing overcrowded schools with a 45% dropout rate, neighborhoods devoid of adults until nightfall due to long commutes, and spikes in the youth crime rate. For the Black, Asian, and Latine children who were new to the slowly desegregating area, it was much harder. The area was teeming with skinhead and white supremacist gangs, who were known for dealing methamphetamines and assaulting non-white residents as a matter of course. Compounding the difficulties for the area’s residents of color, the Sheriff’s Department was focused on Black and Latine gangs, despite the reality that the “most obvious gang tension in the Valley, though, was not between the Bloods and the Crips but between the Sharps and the neo-Nazis.”<sup>xi</sup>

The trajectory of the demographic shift that began in the 1980s continued into the 2000s. The number of people of color in the Antelope Valley continues to grow and tensions have not lifted. According to the 2000 Census, the population in Lancaster was 63% white. The 2019 American Community Survey reported that the white population

---

was around 31%, a 51% decrease from 2000. The Black population has been more or less stable (15.96% to 21.3%), while the Latine population has jumped dramatically from 24% in 2000 to 41.5% in 2019.

In the summer of 2020, the death of young Robert Fuller, a Black Palmdale resident found hanging from a tree near Palmdale City Hall, exacerbated racial tensions in the area. It was a death that many referred to as “mysterious,” and, in the wake of nationwide unrest after the death of George Floyd, the local community responded with several vigils and protests. Due to the circumstances of Fuller’s death, the history of the region, and the location where he was found, many associated the incident with police harassment. In response to Mr. Fuller’s death, local activist Ayinde Love called the Antelope Valley the “Confederacy of Southern California.”<sup>xii</sup>

**A critical piece of Antelope Valley history is its relationship with LASD.** The Antelope Valley LASD station opened in 1937.<sup>xiii</sup> Today, Lancaster has the largest contract in the county with LASD.

**In 2011, Neighborhood Legal Services of Los Angeles County, along with other legal services groups, sued the cities of Lancaster and Palmdale for relying on LASD to systematically target Black and Latine families utilizing Section 8 rental subsidies in the area.** Families using Section 8 vouchers in Lancaster and Palmdale were victims of constant, unbearable harassment at the hands of housing authority investigators and sheriff’s deputies, often leading to termination from the program.

Thinly veiled racism became a regular feature in newspaper columns, with “Section 8” standing in for Black. A now-suspended Facebook page entitled “I Hate Section 8” was a local repository of hate and resentment. In 2010, an LASD deputy posted photos on the page that fanned the flames of vitriol and led to hate crimes against a Section 8 household, including the use of racial slurs, vandalism, and an incident in which a racist community member threw urine at a young boy.<sup>xiv</sup> Incidents like this contributed to the following statement by the Department of Justice (DOJ): “As of 2010, the Antelope Valley has the highest rate of hate crimes of any region in Los Angeles County.”<sup>xv</sup>

Teams of sheriff’s deputies conducted searches without warrants, using housing authority investigators to get into the homes of tenants who relied on the vouchers and who believed they were required to let them in. In 2007, the Los Angeles Times

---

reported that “the Antelope Valley is home to only about 15% of Section 8 recipients managed by the housing authority, but 60% of the agency’s subsidy terminations.”<sup>xvi</sup> From 2005-2007, more than 350 families lost their subsidies—over 10% of Section 8 recipients in the area. Many ended up homeless, often over questionable charges.<sup>xvii</sup>

The lawsuit brought by NLSLA and its partner organizations halted that illegal practice, but law enforcement continues to play a role in enforcing racially biased policies that shut many Black families out of much of the area’s rental housing. In the early 2000s, the City of Lancaster enacted its first crime-free housing ordinance, which created the Lancaster Community Appreciation Project (LAN-CAP) and significantly increased LASD’s presence in the policing of rental properties. Lancaster further expanded this program in 2007 by increasing LASD’s and the City’s ability to patrol and inspect properties regulated by the program for local code violations. Today, LAN-CAP is a formal partnership between LASD, the City of Lancaster, and the Los Angeles County District Attorney’s Office and requires that a dedicated team of LASD deputies patrol specific rental properties in Lancaster to “reduce crime” through frequent contacts with residents and community members.<sup>xviii</sup> Reports about the implementation and uneven enforcement of LAN-CAP show that the program makes it substantially more difficult, if not impossible, for low-income Black and Latine individuals to find housing if they have even minor convictions on their criminal records and leave this population more likely to be evicted.<sup>xix</sup>

The City of Lancaster also contracts with LASD to push unhoused individuals out of the city and into the surrounding desert. Deputies are reported to regularly bulldoze



and otherwise destroy homeless encampments and personal property.<sup>xx</sup> They also use citations and threats of criminalization to force unhoused residents to move out of the city. Being forcibly relocated into the harsh Mojave Desert means that unhoused people have to find shelter in remote areas and walk great distances for food and water. Black individuals, unhoused at rates four

---

times greater than their share of the population, experience the brunt of this city policy in being disproportionately targeted by LASD enforcement of loitering and camping ordinances.<sup>xxi</sup>

**The Section 8 lawsuit sparked a Department of Justice investigation that found overwhelming evidence of racially biased law enforcement.** Completed in June 2013, the investigation found “the aggressive pedestrian stop rate of African Americans cannot be justified by demonstrating that the higher rate of stops results in discovery of more contraband. In fact, a regression analysis . . . indicates that there is about a 50% lower rate of contraband seizure for African-American pedestrians compared to whites.”<sup>xxii</sup>

Among other things, the DOJ documented egregious use of force employed by LASD deputies, highlighting instances in which force was used and the only charge given was obstruction of justice. These cases, the DOJ wrote, “[raise] the question of what legitimate law enforcement objective was being obstructed.”<sup>xxiii</sup> They found that 81% of these instances—cases in which people were charged with obstruction and force was used—involved targets who were Black or Latine.

The DOJ investigation also discovered that LASD independently targeted Section 8 voucher holders, fueled by “racially-motivated bias against the voucher program [with] the ultimate goal not just to terminate voucher holders from the program, but to force them out of their homes.”<sup>xxiv</sup>

Finally, the DOJ critiqued LASD’s practices as they relate to the investigation of civilian complaints alleging officer misconduct. In the one-year period reviewed by the DOJ, it found that Antelope Valley stations resolved all but one civilian complaint through “service reviews” rather than formal administrative investigations, even when such investigations were required as a matter of policy. This is significant, as deputy discipline cannot be imposed when a complaint is resolved through a service review, and problematic trends in officer conduct cannot be effectively tracked. The result was a station that regularly terrorized its citizens, especially citizens of color, and flouted any efforts to bring officers in line with the agency’s own policy.

The DOJ investigation resulted in a settlement agreement in 2015 that included 8 key objectives designed to bring LASD into compliance with the law: (1) stops, seizures, and searches should be constitutional and adequately documented; (2) LASD should

---

provide bias-free policing and train staff to prevent discrimination; (3) LASD will not violate the Fair Housing Act; (4) LASD will improve its data collecting, reporting, and analyzing practices in order to assess patterns of bias; (5) LASD agrees to promote partnerships with the community and work to increase confidence in the Department; (6) Antelope Valley deputies will only use force when necessary, only use the level of force necessary, and deescalate as soon as possible; (7) LASD will ensure that all complaints against personnel are appropriately investigated; and (8) LASD will strengthen its accountability mechanisms in order to consistently provide constitutional policing.<sup>xxv</sup>

**While this agreement was reached six years ago, the group tasked with monitoring the settlement agreement has been unable to bring LASD into compliance.** The most recently available report, from December 2020, noted that “key reforms have not been attempted or successfully implemented.” The monitoring team also noted that they have “struggled with resistance and the unproductive nature of some discussions with LASD.”<sup>xxvi</sup>

**Our analysis of RIPA data shows that many of the DOJ’s initial concerns in 2013 have continued and that the Antelope Valley LASD stations’ tendency toward biased policing has not abated.** Meanwhile, the community’s trust in the Department is lower than ever. The following analysis will provide more detail about how this racial bias, revealed in LASD’s own data, is impacting the AV community, particularly its residents of color.

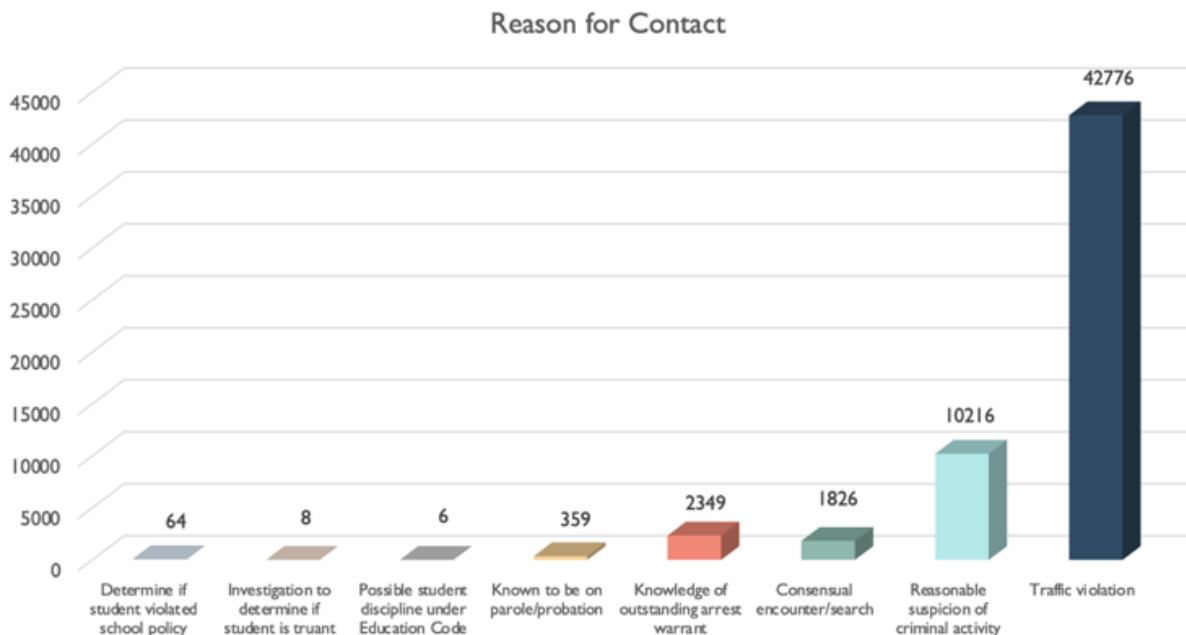


# Who is LASD subjecting to stops, citations, and arrests?

LASD’s own data shows that Antelope Valley residents of color are at greater risk of being stopped, cited, or arrested by the Sheriff’s Department.

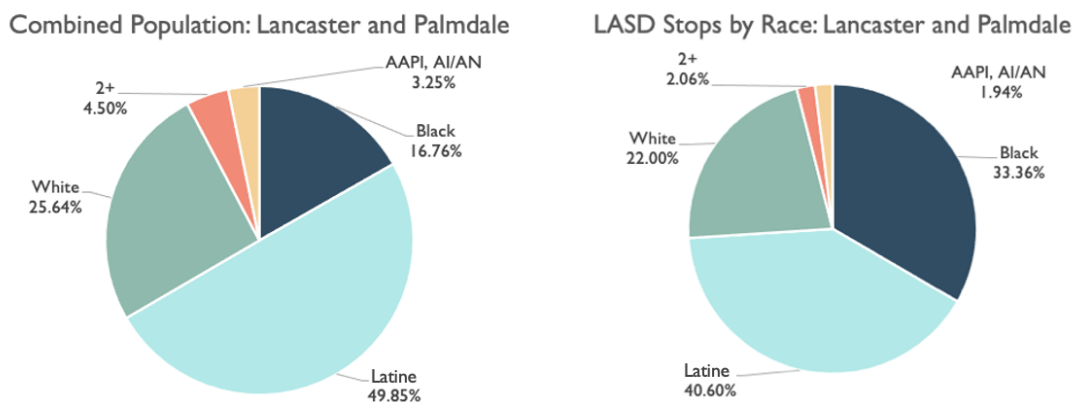
The demographics of the Antelope Valley have shifted dramatically over the last twenty years. Once a predominantly white “bedroom commuter colony,”<sup>xxvii</sup> the Antelope Valley has become a diverse urban center. Lancaster and Palmdale are now majority-minority cities, with white populations at 31% and 20% respectively. In Palmdale, 60% of residents are Latine. In Lancaster, 21% of residents are Black.<sup>xxviii</sup>

In 2019, the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department effectuated 61,999 traffic and pedestrian stops in the Antelope Valley, with 57,604 of them occurring in Lancaster and Palmdale. While reasons for these contacts vary from traffic violations to suspicion of criminal activity to violations of education policies on school campuses, RIPA data shows that Black individuals in Lancaster and Palmdale are consistently and pervasively overrepresented among LASD stops, searches, and seizures compared to their representative share of the population, particularly when compared to white individuals.



In calculating the racial distribution of stopped individuals in Lancaster and Palmdale, we compiled demographic information from the American Community Survey and the U.S. Census Bureau from 2010-2019.

Compared to their share of the population, Black individuals were significantly overrepresented in stops LASD made in Lancaster and Palmdale. It would be statistically expected for Black residents, at 16.76% of these cities' populations, to be subjected to 16.76% of traffic and pedestrian stops initiated by LASD. Instead, they comprised 33.36% of LASD stops, nearly 100% more than their expected share. Stops data for white residents, on the other hand, shows that this group has contact with LASD at 14.2% below their population's statistically expected rate.<sup>2</sup>

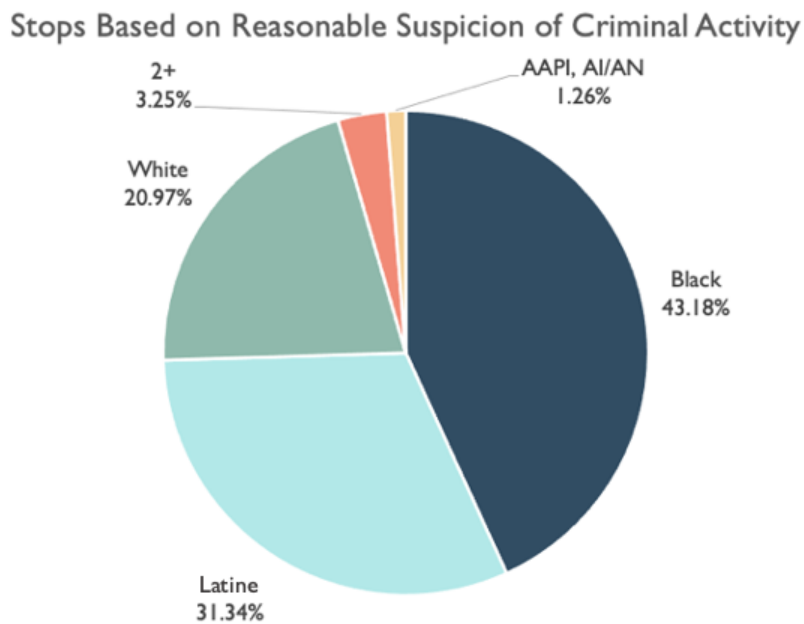
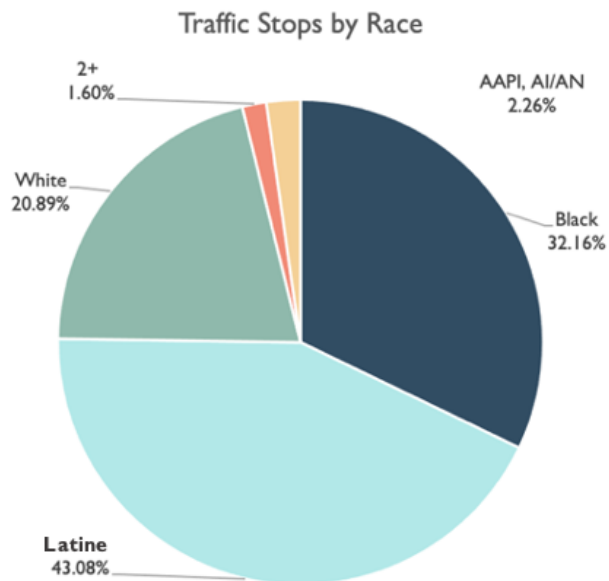


**Racial disparities present in overall LASD stops persist in the nearly 75% categorized as traffic stops.** In 2019, LASD made 42,776 traffic stops. Of those, LASD stopped 13,756 Black individuals, compared to 8,938 white individuals. More than three of every ten traffic stops were of Black drivers—at 32.16%, their rate was nearly double the rate expected for this group. Again, white drivers were stopped far less often, almost 18.5% less than their population's expected share.

Because traffic stops are the most common type of police encounter, both in the AV and nationwide, people's experiences with them often shape their views of law enforcement. Traffic stops have historically been the basis of accusations of racial profiling against law enforcement agencies,<sup>xxix</sup> particularly in recent years when many high-profile police-related shooting deaths of Black individuals occurred after drivers were pulled over for

minor traffic infractions—expired license plates,<sup>xxx</sup> minor moving violations,<sup>xxxi</sup> and broken brake lights.<sup>xxxii</sup>

**The second most common category of LASD stops in Lancaster and Palmdale is stops based on “reasonable suspicion of criminal activity.”<sup>3</sup> Over four of every ten stops LASD made in Lancaster and Palmdale based on “reasonable suspicion” were of Black residents. At 43.18% of reasonable suspicion stops, Black residents were stopped 157% more than their expected rate and 106% more than the rate of reasonable suspicion stops given to white individuals. Black individuals were stopped for reasonable suspicion in 22.2%—over one-fifth—of their stops, while white individuals were stopped for reasonable suspicion in only 17.7% of their stops.**

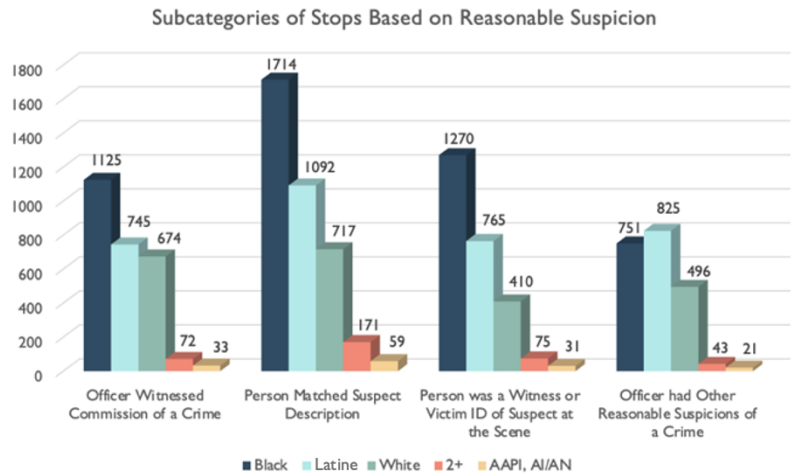


<sup>2</sup>While Latine residents are stopped in alarming numbers, their stops were found to be proportional to their large share of the population. We acknowledge that there may be errors in how the races and ethnicities of residents were perceived and recorded, which could explain why we do not see the same overrepresentation in the Latine community or other communities of color. Further research and analysis of additional datasets are needed to determine if LASD’s impact is disproportionately felt in other communities of color to the degree that it is felt by the Black community.

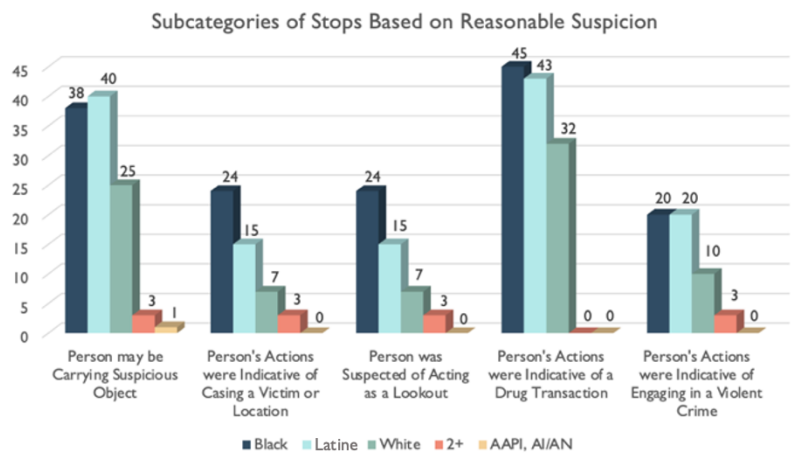
<sup>3</sup> In the Fourth Amendment context, reasonable suspicion is a legal standard that can justify an investigatory law enforcement stop or frisk. It requires more evidence than a hunch but less than probable cause, which is needed to obtain warrants for searches and arrests. Courts, in evaluating whether an officer had reasonable suspicion to effectuate an investigatory stop, weigh whether a reasonable officer would also suspect that a person was involved in criminal activity if the circumstances were the same. See *Terry v. Ohio*, 392 U.S. 1 (1968).



**In all subcategories of stops based on reasonable suspicion, Black individuals are disproportionately represented. 35.16% to 49.7% of reasonable suspicion subcategory stops were of Black residents—110% to 197% over their proportionate share. Conversely, 14.29% to 26.6% of reasonable suspicion subcategory stops were of white residents, either at or significantly below their expected share of these stops as 25.64% of the Lancaster and Palmdale population.**



**While courts have held that an officer cannot meet the Fourth Amendment standard for “reasonable suspicion” by relying on their perception of a person’s race alone, officers may use race as part of their calculus if they can point to an**



**individualized justification.** An officer can include race as one of the factors forming reasonable suspicion if, for example, they are searching for a person matching a suspect’s physical description. However, a frequent critique of relying on race in Fourth Amendment reasonable suspicion stops is that it encourages pretextual stops and racial profiling to the marked disadvantage of people of color.<sup>xxxiii</sup> In light of how disparate the numbers of stops are for Black individuals, LASD’s policies and practices related to reasonable suspicion stops likely contribute to distrust of law enforcement among AV communities of color. Indeed, a 2020 community survey by the AV Settlement Monitoring team showed that 41% of Black/Black multiracial respondents indicated that they felt they had been treated differently by LASD based on their race.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

---

**Qualitative analysis of deputy-reported reasons for stops shows that LASD deputies frequently use coded language about an individual’s physical appearance as a proxy for race in rationalizing their stops.** In substituting language describing racial identity with seemingly race-neutral terms, officers may be attempting to disguise explicit or implicit racial animus in justifying their civilian contacts. Some suspect reasons for stops include:

- A Latine man was stopped for “pacing back and forth in front of the library wearing baggy clothing and a backpack;”
- A Black man was stopped after being seen “crouched behind an apartment building with a hoodie over his head;”
- A Black man was stopped for holding a baseball bat in his front yard in “an aggressive manner;”
- A Latine man was stopped for having “obvious gang tattoos” and standing near an area that had “recent graffiti” on it; and
- A Black man was stopped for sitting on a wall in a parking lot that was near an area “known for high drug activity” while wearing “gang related tattoos and dress.”

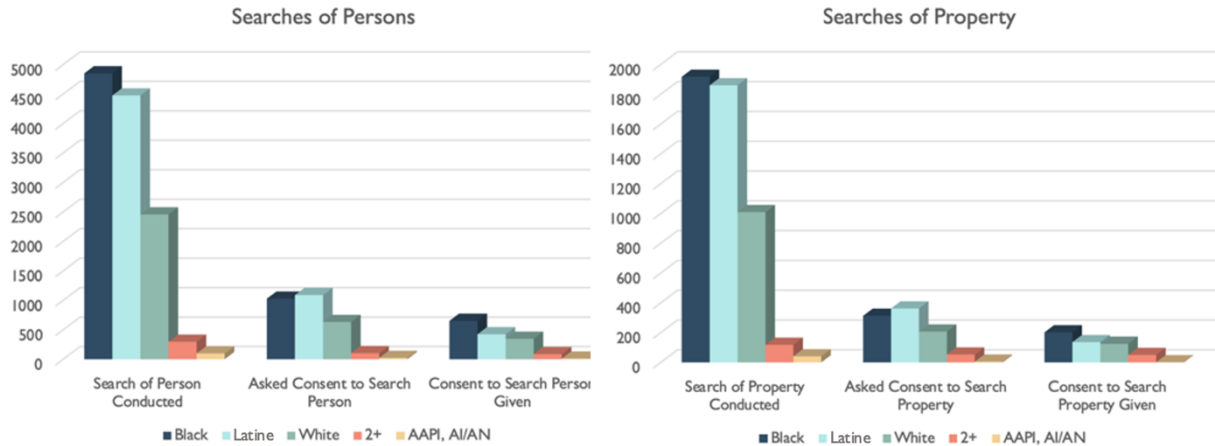
**The consequences of being stopped by law enforcement often extend beyond a few short minutes of inconvenience. While traffic and pedestrian stops with outcomes involving significant bodily harm or death are rare, law enforcement stops frequently lead to searches, seizures, detentions, and arrests.** For many, these common consequences of traffic stops form a pipeline to criminal and civil court system contact and can lead to serious financial and emotional hardship. In Lancaster and Palmdale, 21.14% of stops led to a person search and 8.58% led to a property search. Of the person and property searches that LASD effectuated, nearly 40% were of Black individuals. With only 20% of searches being of white individuals, Black individuals were searched by LASD at nearly twice the rate at which white individuals were searched.

The two most common reasons for a Black individual in Lancaster and Palmdale to be searched by LASD were “incident to arrest”<sup>4</sup> (15% of searches of Black persons and

---

<sup>4</sup> The Fourth Amendment’s protection against unreasonable searches and seizures means that police may not search person or property unless they have obtained a valid search warrant from a judge or a valid and judicially recognized exception to the warrant requirement applies. Searches incident to a lawful arrest are an exception to the Fourth Amendment’s warrant requirement. Under this exception, police can search a person and the area within that person’s immediate control pursuant to a lawful arrest with probable cause.

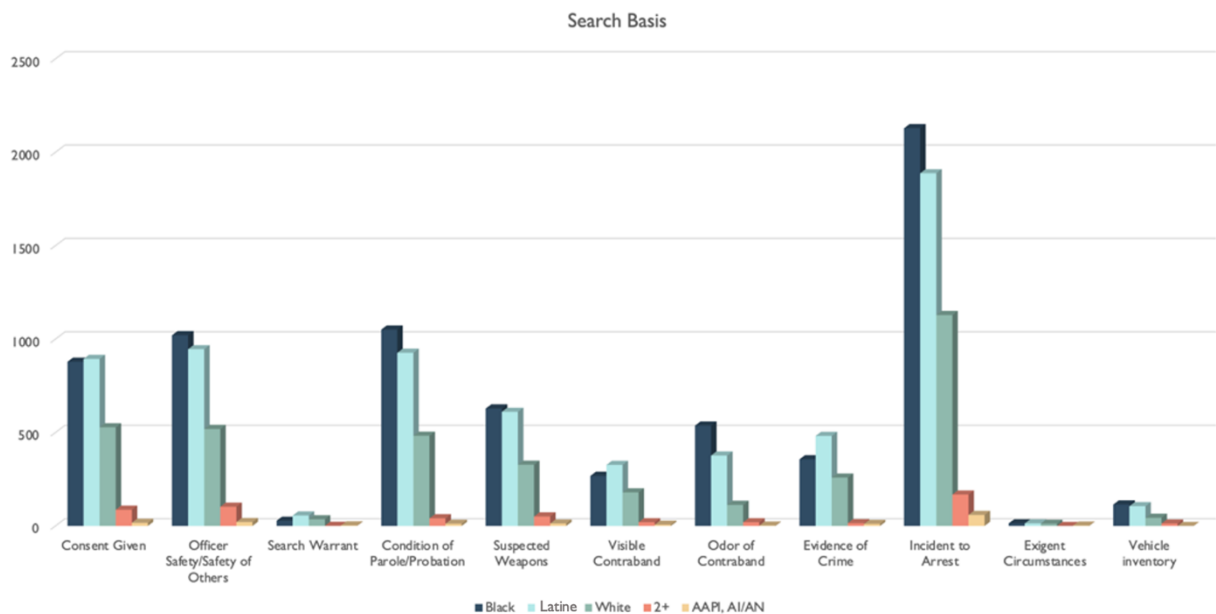
29.9% of total searches) and “as a condition of probation or parole” (30.3% of searches of Black persons and 14% of all searches).



**The data shows that when it comes to LASD arrests and searches incident to arrests, Black AV residents were disproportionately represented in both.** Of the 9,687 arrests reported in LASD’s RIPA data, 38.5% were Black individuals, 130% more than their expected share and 77% more than arrests of white residents. Because LASD data indicates that Black individuals are disparately arrested when compared to their proportion of the overall population, their share of searches incident to arrest is also disparate. 39.62% of all searches incident to arrest were of Black residents, 136% more than their population’s expected share and 89% more than the rate at which white individuals were searched pursuant to arrest.

**Black individuals were also disproportionately searched as a condition of parole or probation.** 41.8% of searches in this category were of Black residents, compared to the 19.2% of searches that were of white individuals. Because people on probation and parole can be searched at any time based on their status and an officer has discretion in deciding whether or not to inquire into someone’s status, an officer’s

decision to ask one racial group this question more frequently than another would lead to racially disproportionate numbers of searches.

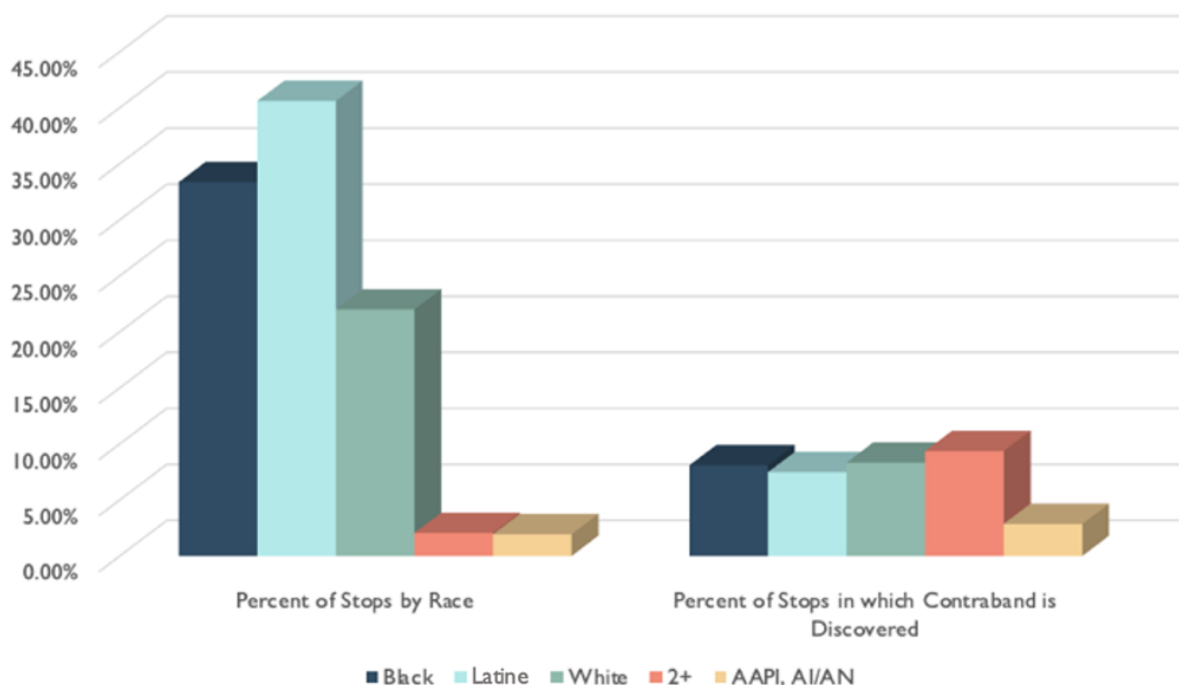


The AV Settlement Monitoring Team’s December 2020 semi-annual report provides context for this statistic. The report states that “stops analysis data shows several LASD-AV deputies ask almost every community member stopped if they are on probation and/or parole. . . . Black and Latine people [are] most likely to be asked if they are on probation or parole but no more likely to answer “yes” than White people.”<sup>xxxv</sup>

According to the Monitoring Team’s analysis, roughly 55% of Black individuals stopped are asked about their community corrections status, compared to 44% of white and 49% of Latine individuals. Among those individuals asked, 47% of Black individuals stopped answer that they are not on probation/parole, compared to 37% for white individuals and 42% of Latine individuals.

**Although Black Lancaster and Palmdale residents were substantially more likely to be searched than their white counterparts, they were less likely than white residents to have that search result in the discovery and seizure of contraband.** According to LASD’s RIPA data, contraband was discovered in 8.09% of Black stops, compared to 8.33% of white stops. Stopping Black residents more frequently than white residents did not yield more contraband, negating a possible justification for the disproportionate number of police contacts.

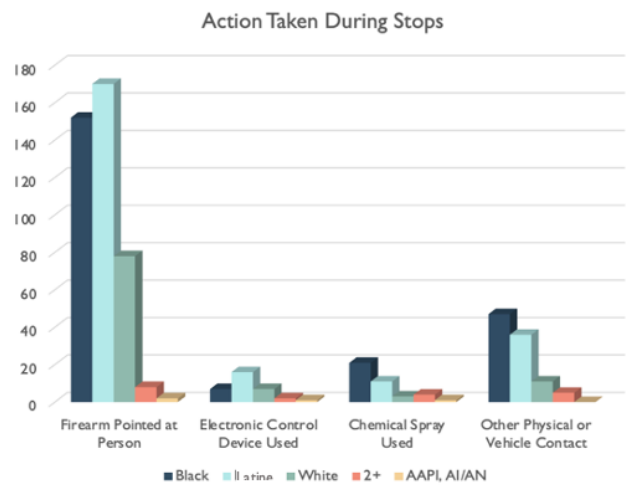
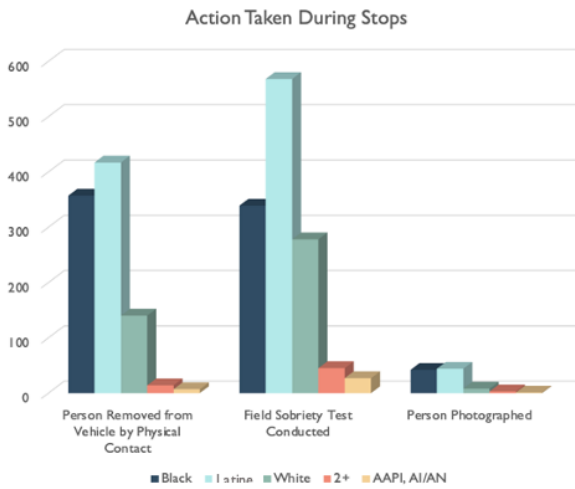
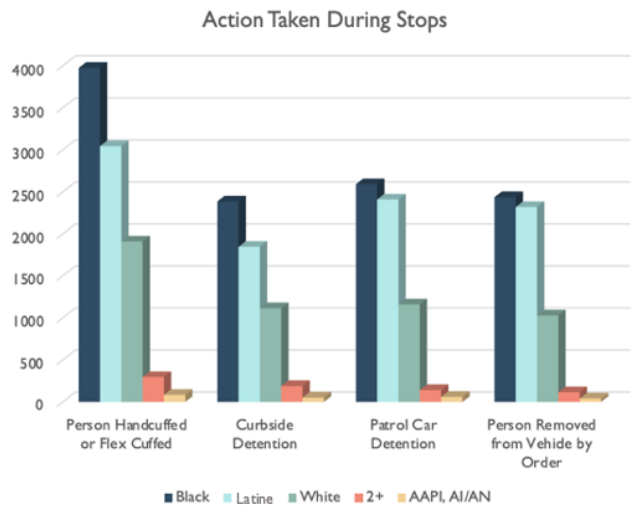
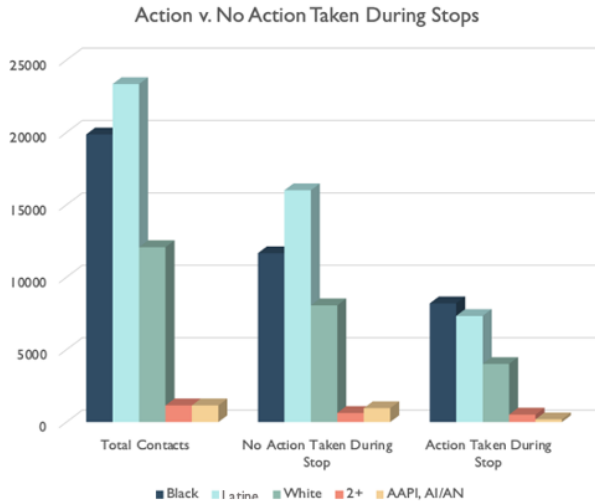
Comparing Overall Stops to Contraband Discovery



Searches and seizures are not the only actions taken during stops that disadvantage people of color in Lancaster and Palmdale. While the majority (64.8%) of LASD stops did not lead to additional law enforcement action, in stops where further action was taken, Black and Latine individuals were disproportionately impacted.

**Of stops in which a person was handcuffed or flex cuffed, 42.6% were of Black individuals, while only 20.5% were of white individuals.** Distressingly, Black individuals were handcuffed in 1 out of every 5 stops. Despite comprising less than 17% of the Lancaster and Palmdale population, Black individuals were also the most likely to be detained on the street—with staggering disparities: they were handcuffed 540 more times than Latine individuals, 1,271 more times than white individuals, and 2,333 more times than the combined group of Asian American/Pacific Islander/American Indian/Alaska Native.

**Of the 410 instances in which LASD drew and pointed a gun at a civilian, guns were pointed at a Black person 152 times and at a Latine person 170 times. Combined, these groups accounted for 79% of stops in which an officer pointed a gun.** White individuals had a firearm pointed at them only 78 times, or 19% of these stops.

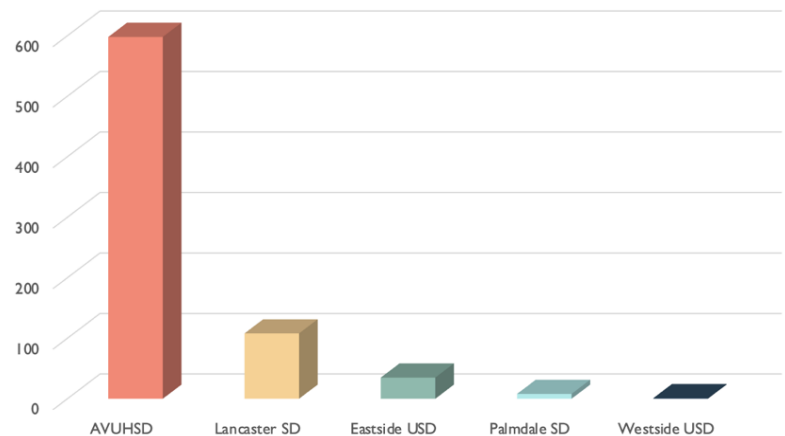


**The Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department has deputies assigned as school resource officers in elementary, middle, and high schools throughout Lancaster and Palmdale, meaning that students as young as 5 are having daily contact with law enforcement on their school campuses.** The vast majority—nearly 80%—of LASD contacts with students in grades Kindergarten through 12 are taking place in schools within Antelope Valley Union High School District (“AVUHSD”).<sup>xxxvi</sup> LASD has a longstanding contract with AVUHSD to staff Sheriff’s Deputies as School Resource Officers at every district campus.

**Black Lancaster and Palmdale students have significantly more LASD contacts than any other race. In fact, they were stopped more than every other racial and ethnic student group combined.** 50.45% of LASD stops were of Black students, a group comprising only 17.89% of the K-12 population in Lancaster and

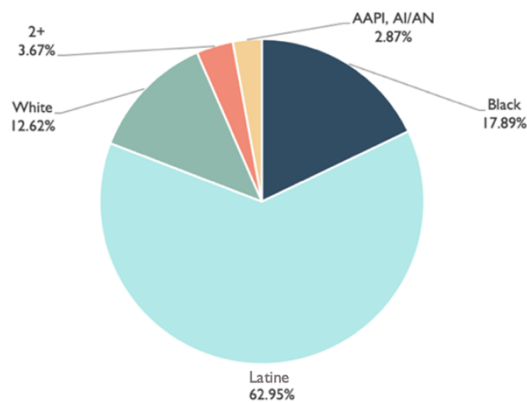
Palmdale. This is 182% more than what would be proportional to their population size. White students, by comparison, are 12.62% of the student population and had contact with deputies in only 5.91% of LASD K-12 stops, 53% less than their proportional share.

LASD Stops of K-12 Students in AV Districts

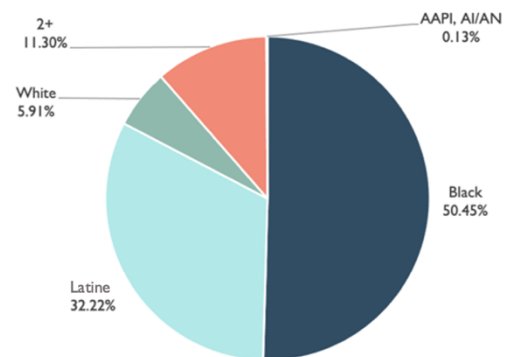


Another group showing significant disproportionality between population size and number of LASD contacts are students who are multiracial (two or more races). This group is a reasonably small portion of the K-12 student population, at 3.67%, yet 11.30% of stops were students in this category. This is 208% higher than this group’s expected share and nearly double the rate for white students, a significantly larger student group.

Lancaster and Palmdale K-12 Population by Race



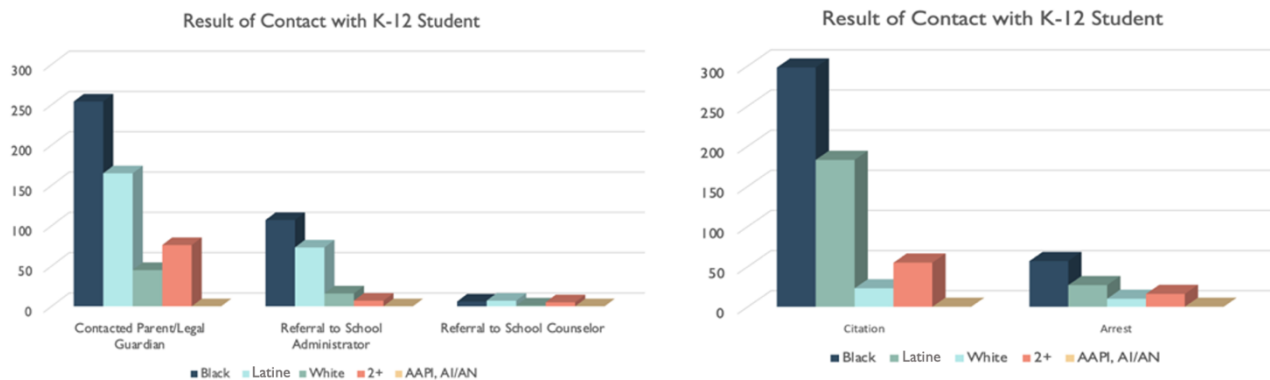
LASD Stops by Race: K-12 Students



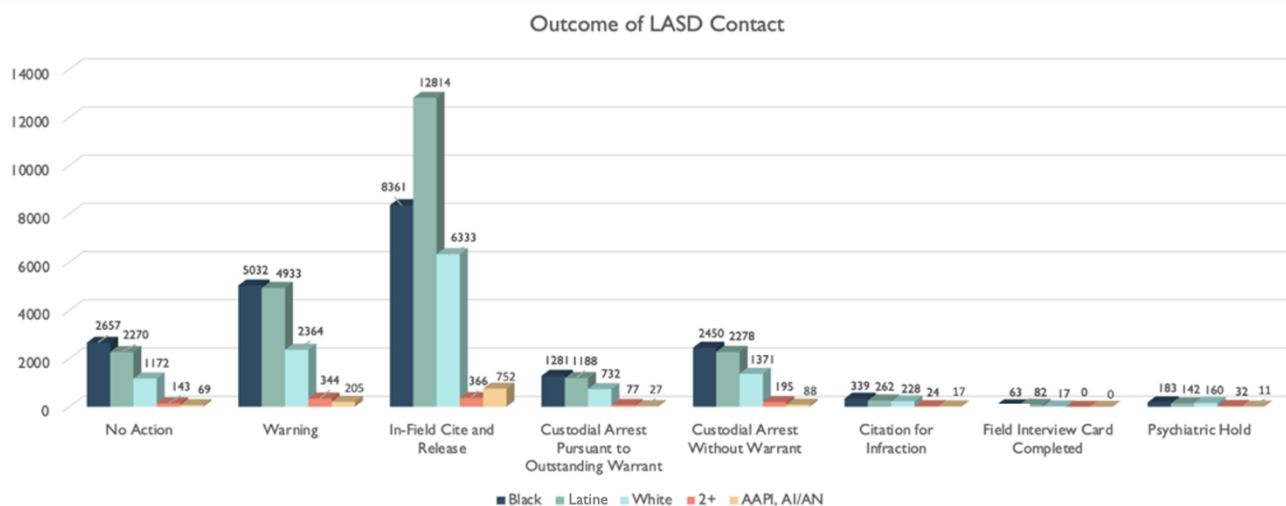
Following law enforcement contact, the majority of students were referred to a school administrator (26%) or to a parent or guardian (69%); only 2.4% of students were referred to a counselor. 559 students received a citation<sup>5</sup>, with 95.9% going to non-white students and over half (52%) going to Black students. LASD arrested 110 students on school grounds, with 91% of arrests going to students of color and, again, over half (52%)

<sup>5</sup> Categorized in the RIPA data as an “in-field cite and release” or a “citation for infraction.”

going to Black students. Black students in Lancaster and Palmdale were arrested or cited at school more than any other race/ethnicity combined.



**Racial disparities in LASD contacts in Lancaster and Palmdale extend beyond those experienced by K-12 students. People of color, Black individuals in particular, experienced the disproportionate majority of citations and arrests.**

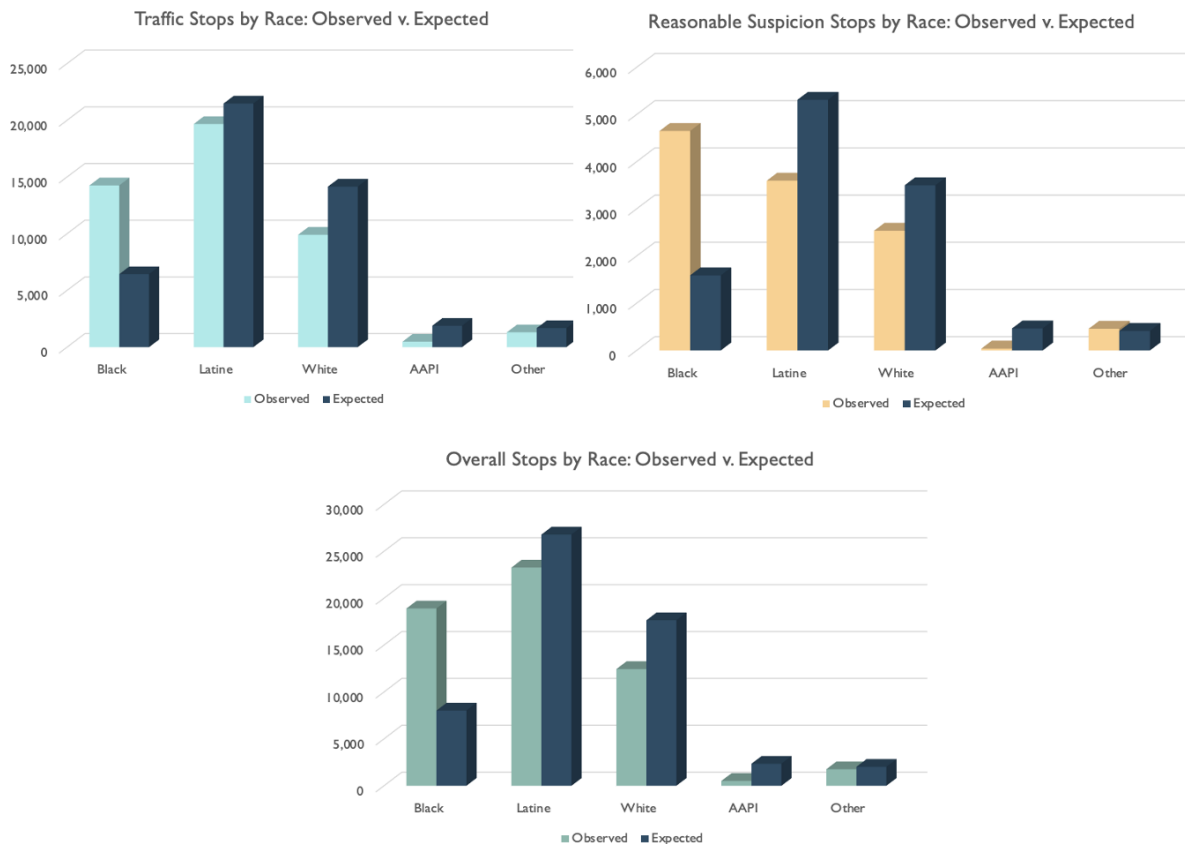


Of the 29,496 citations LASD issued to Lancaster and Palmdale residents, non-white individuals received 77.8% of them. Black individuals received 29.5% of citations, 76% more than their expected share. White individuals received 22.2% of citations, 13.4% below their expected share. LASD arrested 9,687 people following a traffic or pedestrian stop, with 78.29% of these arrests going to non-white individuals and 38.52% going to Black individuals.

**Overall, observed stops for Black individuals are 135.7% more than expected, with traffic and reasonable suspicion stops being 121.6% and 192.3% more**



**than expected, respectively.** Below are graphs that show the number of traffic stops, stops based on reasonable suspicion, and overall stops observed in the Antelope Valley by race as well as the number of stops that would be expected given each race's population size. These graphs show that the number of observed stops for Black residents far outpace the number of stops expected for this group.

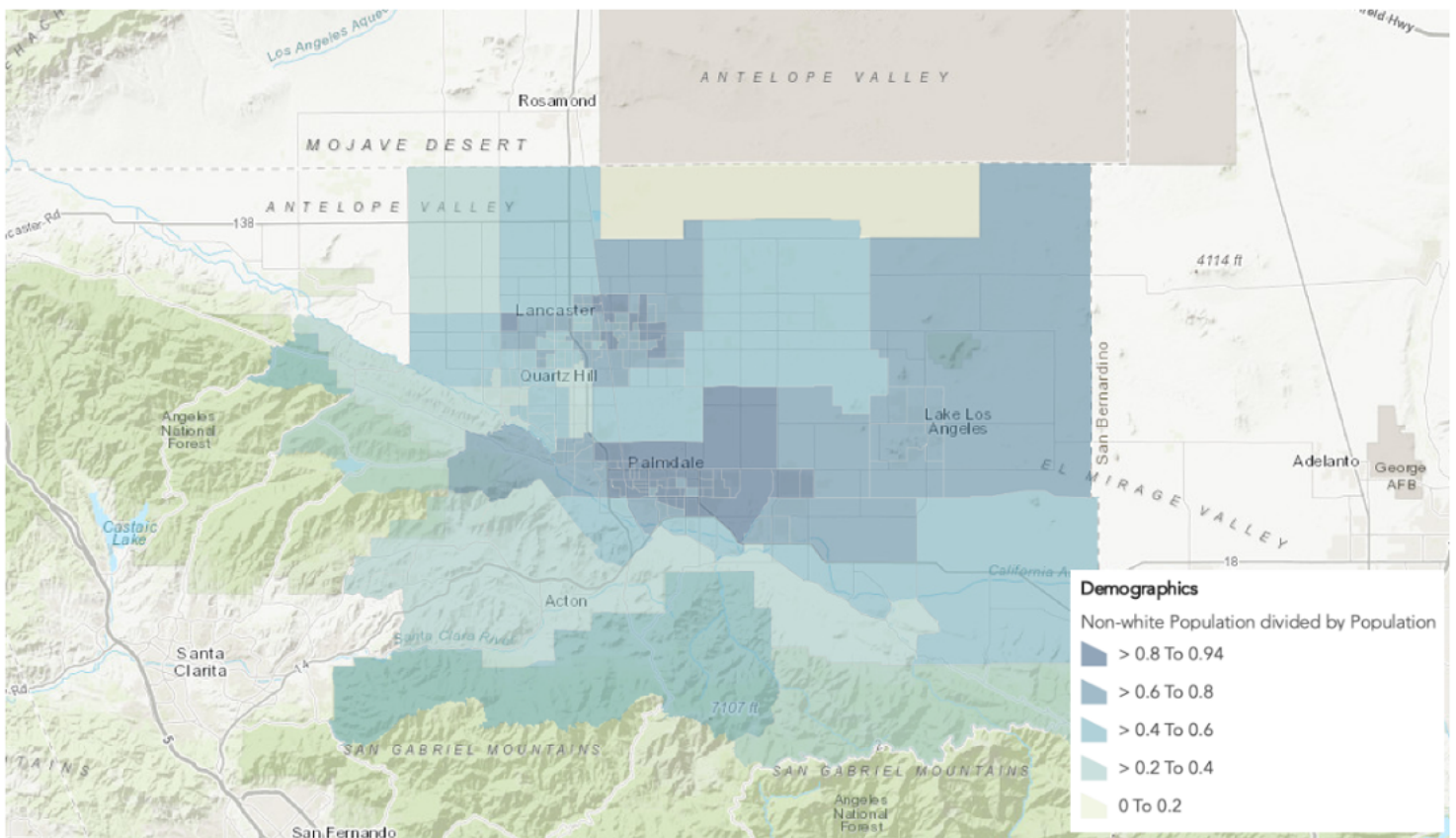


A chi-square test—a statistical test used to compare observed results with expected results—completed using LASD’s RIPA and crime data—yields an incredibly low probability that the observed stops were drawn from the general population at random. Results show a substantial disproportionality of LASD contacts with Black residents, yielding a near certainty that racial or ethnic animus is a determinative factor in how LASD conducts its stops.

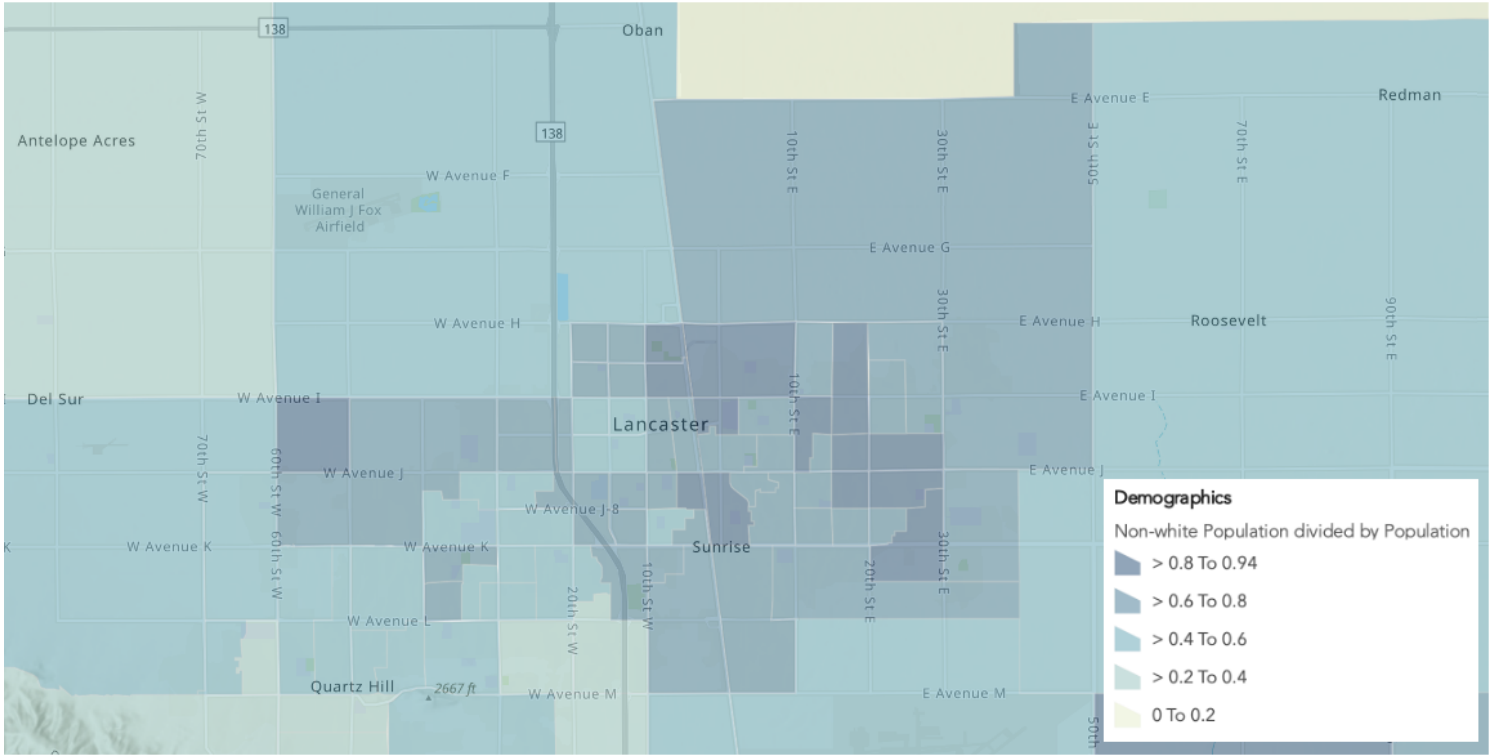
# Where are LASD contacts in Lancaster and Palmdale occurring?

LASD's data shows that Lancaster and Palmdale neighborhoods with high concentrations of non-white residents have greater-than-expected numbers of law enforcement contacts.

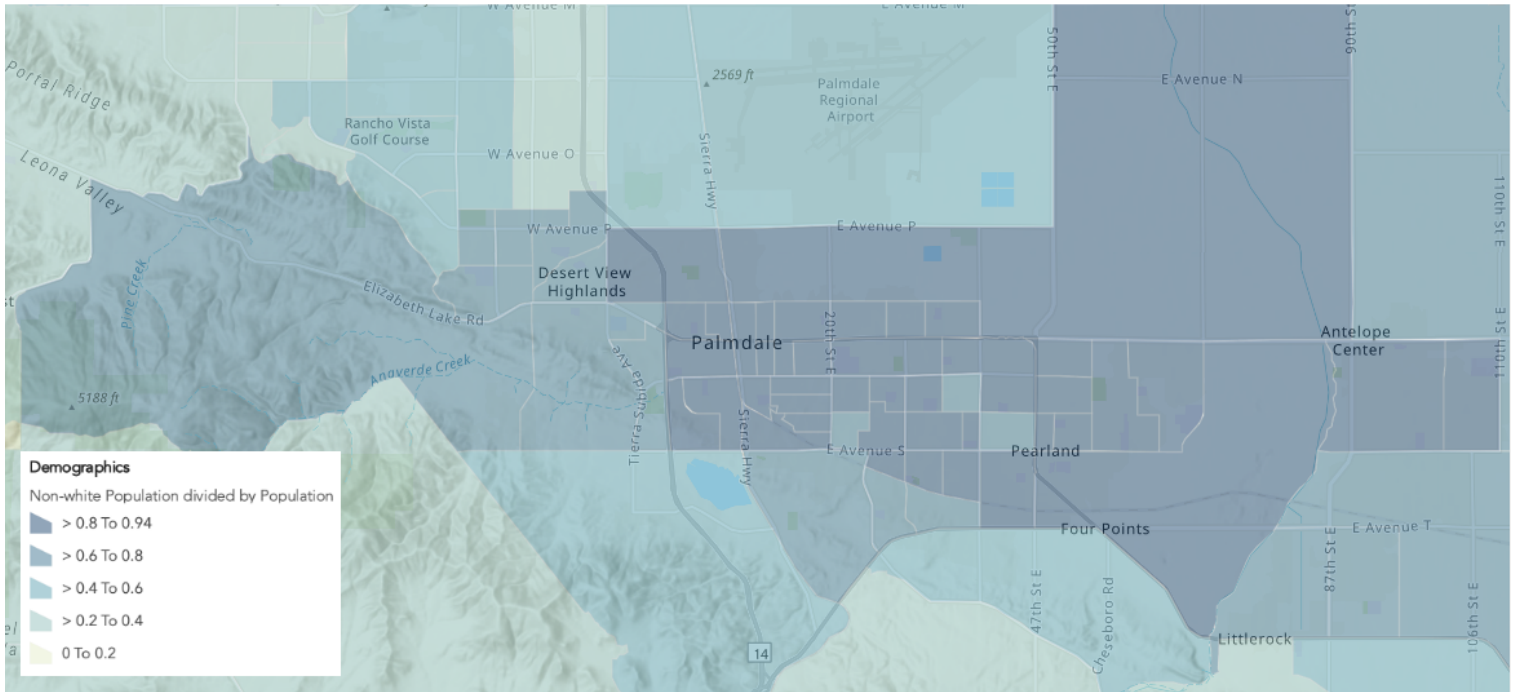
**The Antelope Valley is a region presently and historically segregated by race.** According to Census data, white residents make up 25% of the populations of Lancaster and Palmdale. 66%—two-thirds—of white residents live in communities where 30% or more of the population is also white. 49.7%—nearly half—of white residents live in communities where 40% or more of the population is also white. 31.5%—nearly one-third—of white residents live in communities in which 50% or more of the population is also white.



This map shows the racial demographics of the Antelope Valley region. The darker blue an area is, the higher concentration of people of color it has, according to data gathered from the US Census and American Community Surveys.



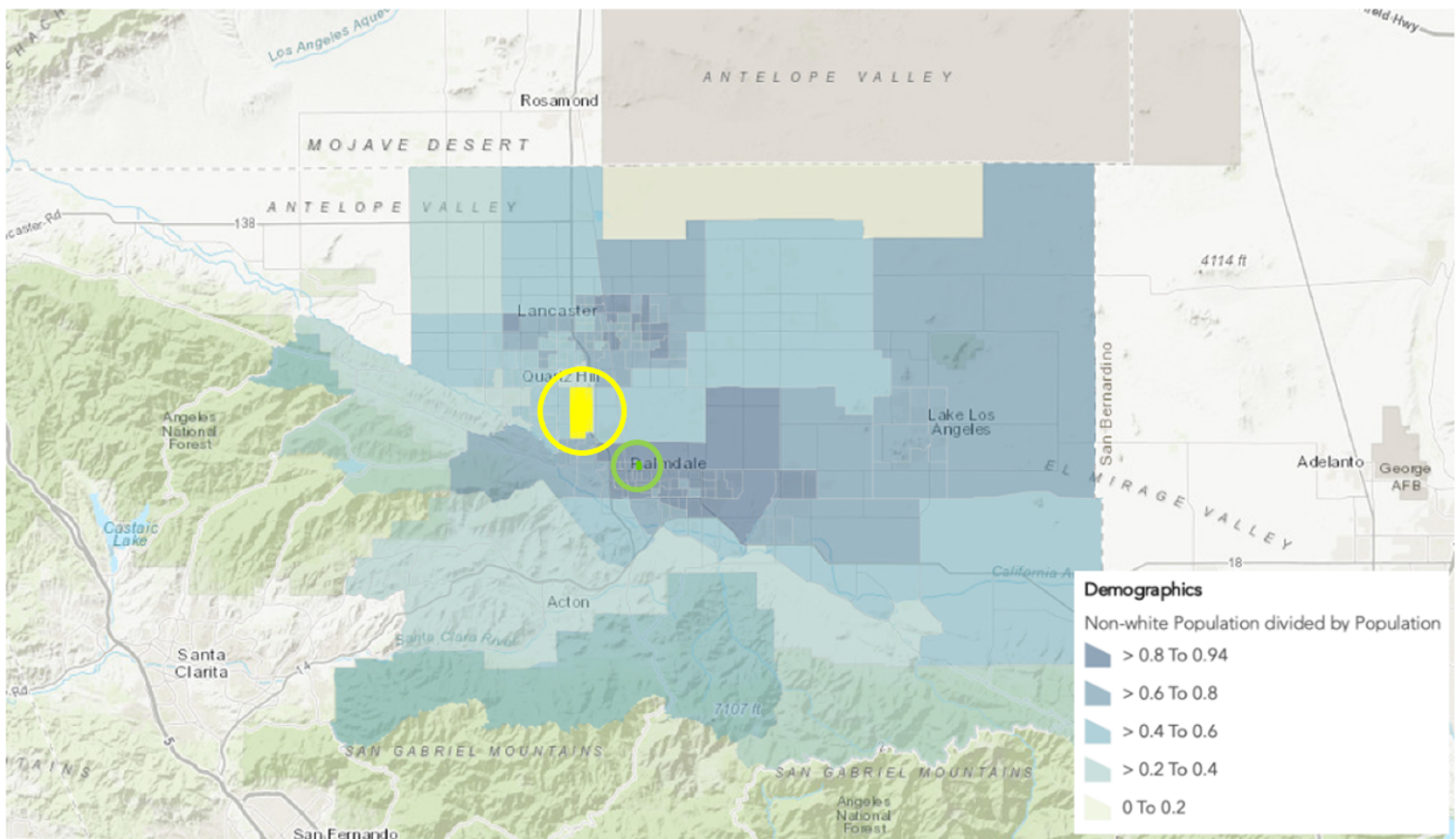
This map shows the racial demographics of Lancaster, again with darker blue areas indicating higher concentrations of people of color. Majority white communities are clustered in the western part of the city, while communities of color are largely found in the eastern part of the city.



This map shows the racial demographics of Palmdale. Majority white communities are found in the west and in the outskirts of the city, while communities of color are found in the east and in the city's center.

Moreover, areas with high concentrations of Black residents have much lower-than-expected numbers of white residents and vice versa. For example, in the Quartz Hill neighborhood highlighted in yellow on the map below, 63.78% of the community is white, while only 3.94% of the community is Black. Not only does the makeup of this neighborhood indicate a significantly higher-than-expected concentration of white residents, it also shows a significantly lower-than-expected representation of Black residents, given the overall populations of these two groups.

The Palmdale area highlighted in green has one of the largest proportions of Black residents in Lancaster and Palmdale, at 33.81%—double the percentage of the overall Black population in Lancaster and Palmdale—and a significantly smaller population of white residents at only 7.65%.



At 1,524 people, the Quartz Hill community highlighted in yellow also has one of the highest median incomes, at \$100,474. The Palmdale community in green, at 2,091 people, has one of the lowest median incomes in the region, at \$26,345.

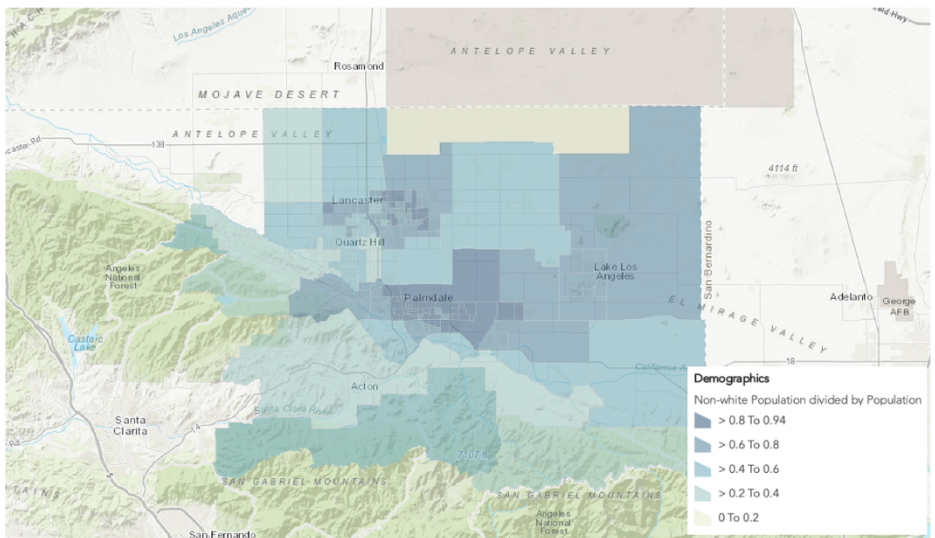
**Racial segregation existing in Antelope Valley communities is also closely tied to socioeconomic disparities.**

The ten communities with the highest median incomes—ranging from \$106,000 to \$125,000—are all areas in which the population is at least 50% white. Similarly, 43 out of the 50 communities with the highest median incomes in the region are areas in which at least 30% of the population is white.

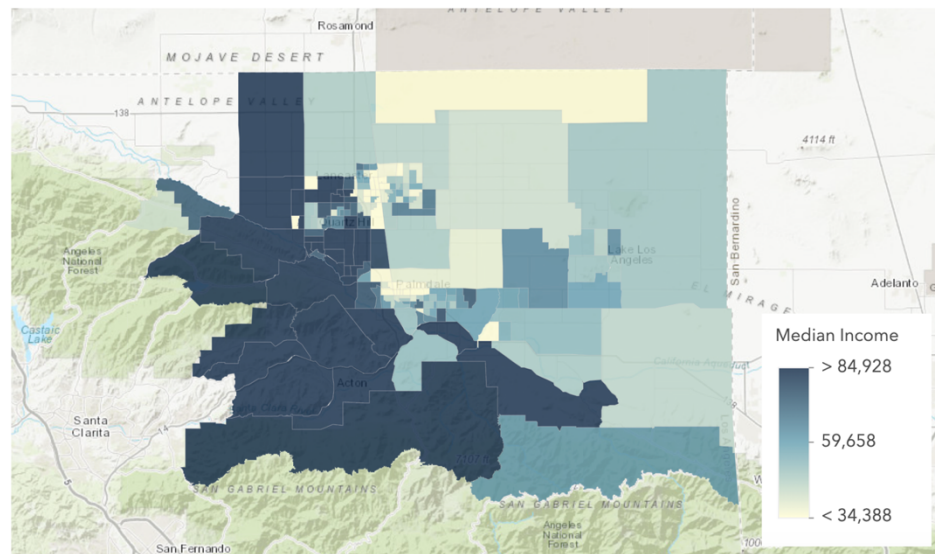
Of the ten communities with the lowest median incomes—ranging from \$16,000 to \$26,000—nine of them have populations where the majority of residents are people of color, seven of them have white populations at less than 30%, and five of them have Black populations at more than 25%.

**Consequences of poverty in the Antelope Valley intersect with policing.**

As the above maps show, areas that have the highest LASD contact rates also have the highest concentrations of Black and Latine residents and have lower median incomes



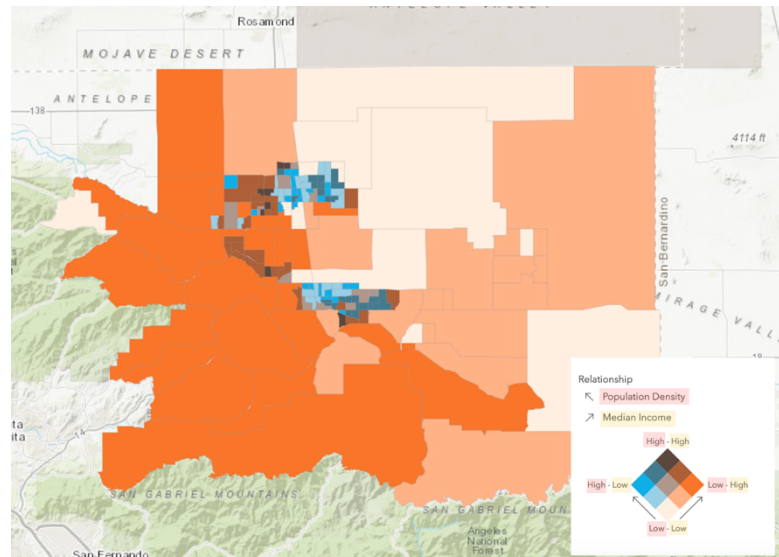
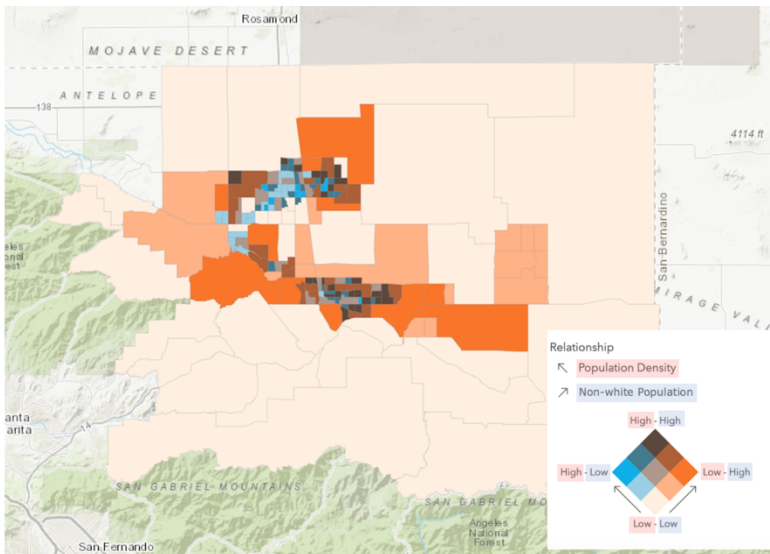
This map shows the racial demographics of the Antelope Valley. The majority of the area’s residents of color live in the northeastern part of the region, with many concentrated in the more populous cities of Lancaster and Palmdale. White AV residents primarily live in the western and southwestern parts of the region, with many concentrated in west Palmdale and Lancaster.



This map shows median incomes for individual Antelope Valley communities. Higher median incomes are clustered in the west and southwestern parts of the region, aligning in large part with majority white areas.

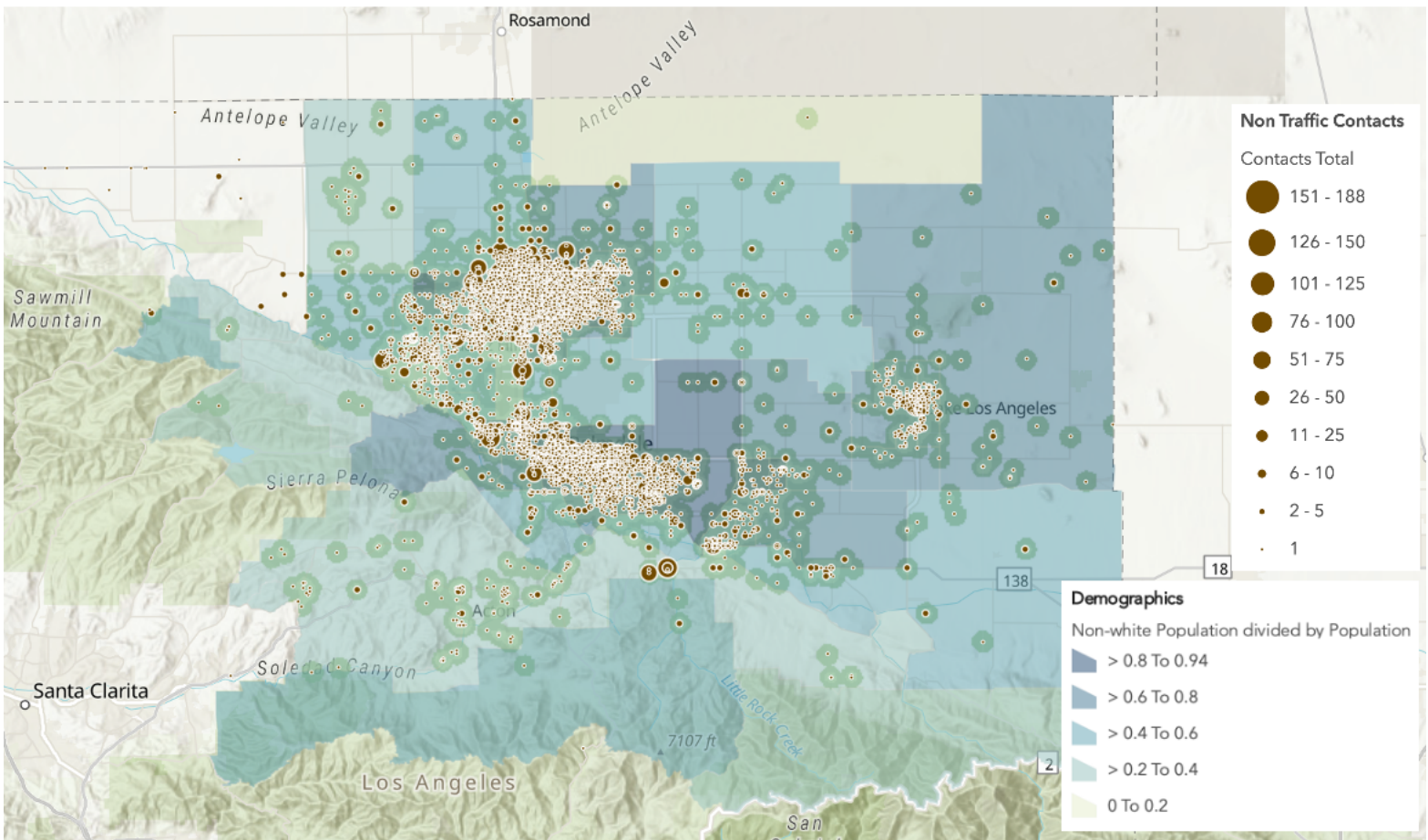
than majority white communities. The Policy Prison Initiative writes that “poverty is not only a predictor of involvement with the justice system: Too often, it is also the outcome.”<sup>xxxvii</sup> Contact with law enforcement frequently leads to citations, arrests, and criminal punishment and subject people to countless fines, fees, and other costs associated with the criminal legal system. The effects are generational. They prevent people from securing jobs and housing. With the disproportionate majority of contacts going to Black and Latine individuals, those penalties are most strongly felt by these populations.

**When it comes to population density, the majority of the AV population and the majority of the non-white population reside in the cities of Lancaster and Palmdale.** According to the maps below, the concentration of people of color residing in the AV is highest in the eastern parts of Lancaster and Palmdale. Predictably, median income does not follow this trend. While the western and southern parts of Lancaster and Palmdale have higher median incomes than the rest of the cities, the majority of the wealth is concentrated outside the cities to the west and to the south. This distribution correlates with where much of the region’s white population resides.



**The map on the left** shows the relationship between population density and concentrations of non-white residents. The AV population is at its most dense in the cities of Lancaster and Palmdale. As previous maps have shown, the concentration of people of color in the AV is also the highest in the cities of Lancaster and Palmdale, particularly in the eastern parts of those cities. **The map on the right** shows the relationship between population density and median income. While the population is most dense throughout Lancaster and Palmdale, the median income is highest to the west of the cities and in the western parts of the cities.

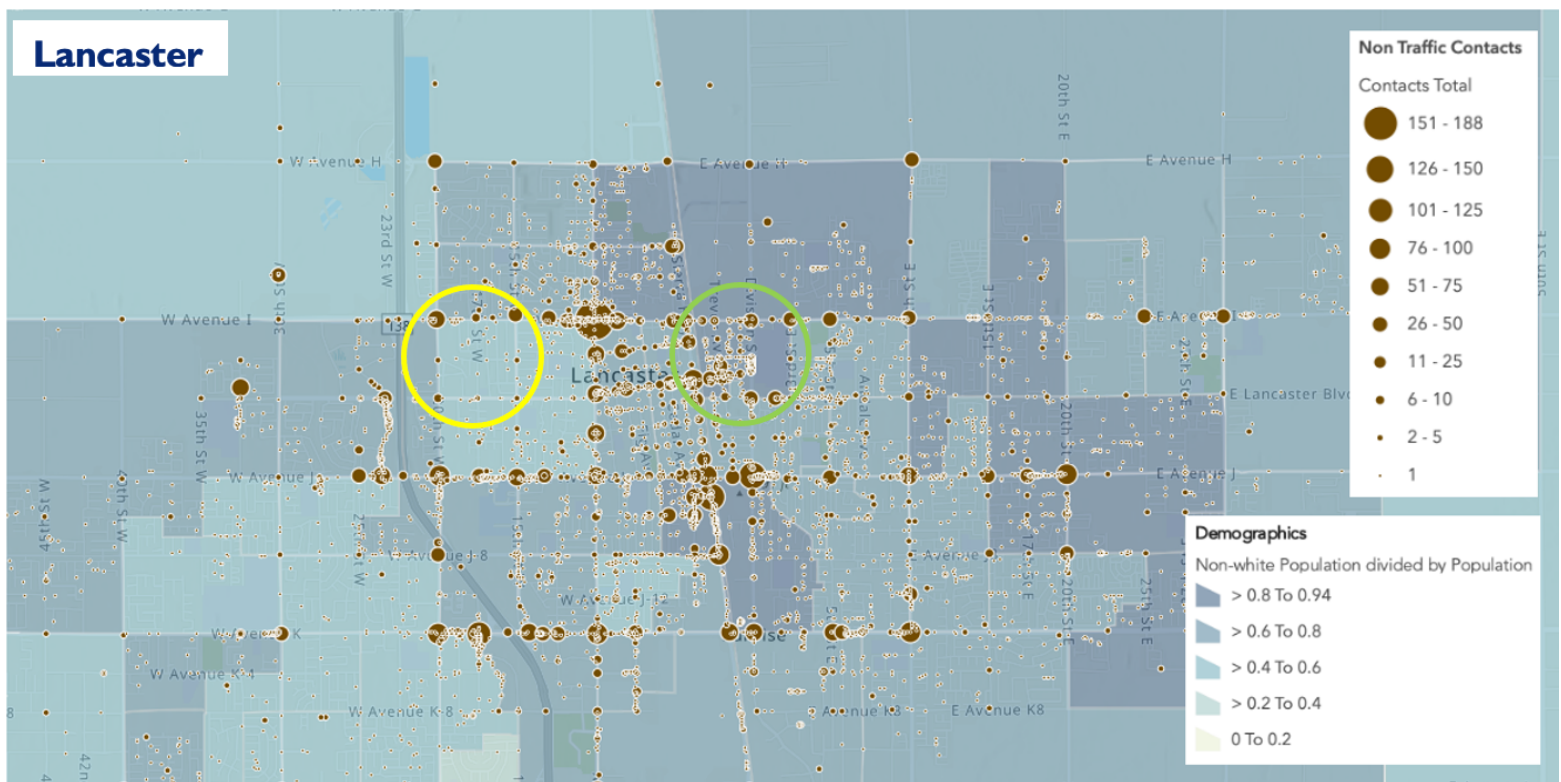
**Just as racial and socioeconomic disparities are present in existing Census and geographic data, similar disparities persist in the number and locations of LASD civilian contacts in the Antelope Valley.** The map below shows the locations of non-traffic stops in the region layered over the racial demographics in individual census blocks. Not only is the volume of stops visible, but it is apparent that the majority of LASD contacts take place in the cities of Lancaster and Palmdale. This is not entirely unexpected given the fact that the population is at its most dense in these two cities. However, as has been shown in previous maps, the majority of those who live within the densest parts of these cities are people of color.



This map shows both the points of non-traffic contact between LASD and the public with the density of these contacts per square kilometer rendered as a light green “hotspot.” These are then layered over the racial demographics of the region’s census blocks to show which communities are heavily impacted by LASD contacts.

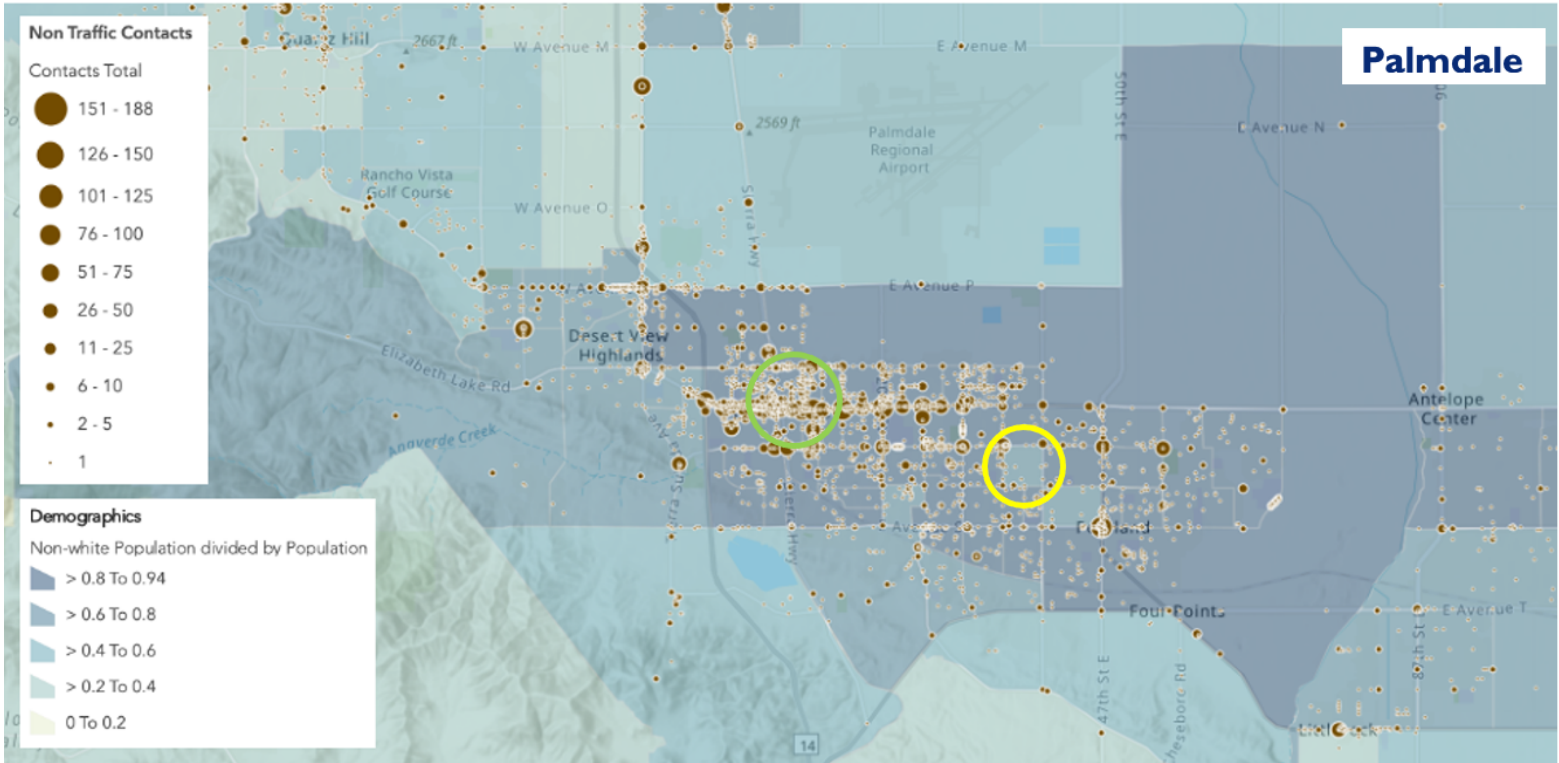
**Zooming in on non-traffic contacts in Lancaster and Palmdale, it becomes even more apparent that neighborhoods with more white residents receive fewer LASD contacts.** On the map of Lancaster below, the area circled in yellow has an overall population of 1,461, a population density of 5,774.7, and a median income of \$59,357. 46.61% of those who live in this area are white, while only 13.96% are Black. The area circled in green has a population of 1,108, a population density of 3,804.90, and a median income of \$25,096. There is a much higher concentration of Black residents in this area, at 32.04%, and a much lower concentration of white residents, at 17.15%.

These two areas are separated by only one mile. However, the rate of non-traffic LASD contacts for these two areas are very different. The rate of contacts in the yellow area is 432.90 contacts, while the rate of contacts in the green area is 3,391.85.



The map above shows non-traffic stops occurring in Lancaster, layered over the city’s racial demographics. The map below shows the same in Palmdale. The circled areas in yellow are predominantly white census blocks and have far fewer LASD contacts than in the surrounding areas. The areas circled in green are predominantly non-white census blocks with high concentrations of Black residents. They have far more LASD contacts than the surrounding area.





Likely contributing to the disparities present in police contacts in these two communities is the fact that the yellow area has 258% more white residents and a median income that more than double that of the green area. Although these two areas are nearly the same size and the yellow area has a larger population and density, it has a contact rate that is nearly 685% less than the green area's rate.

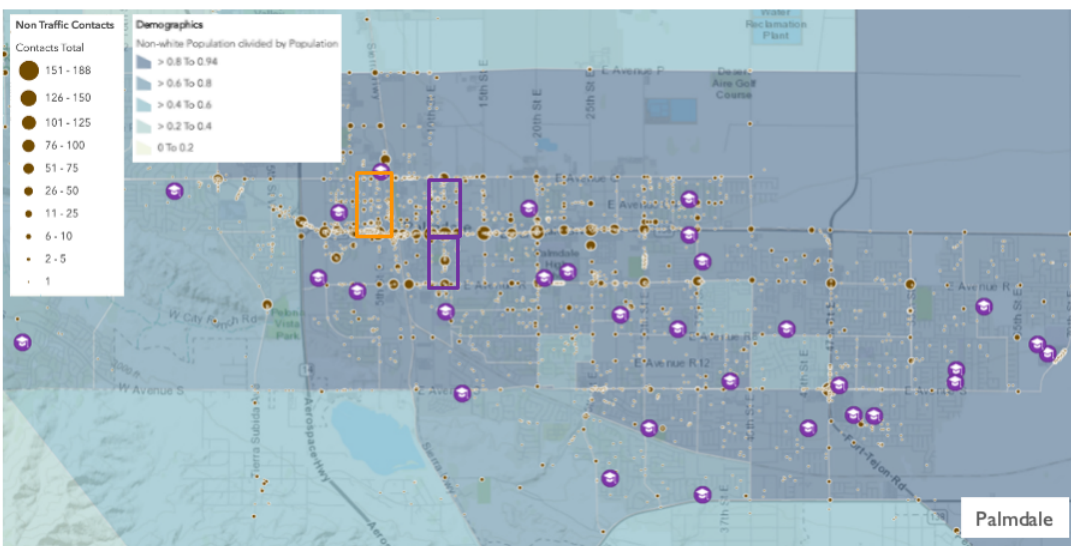
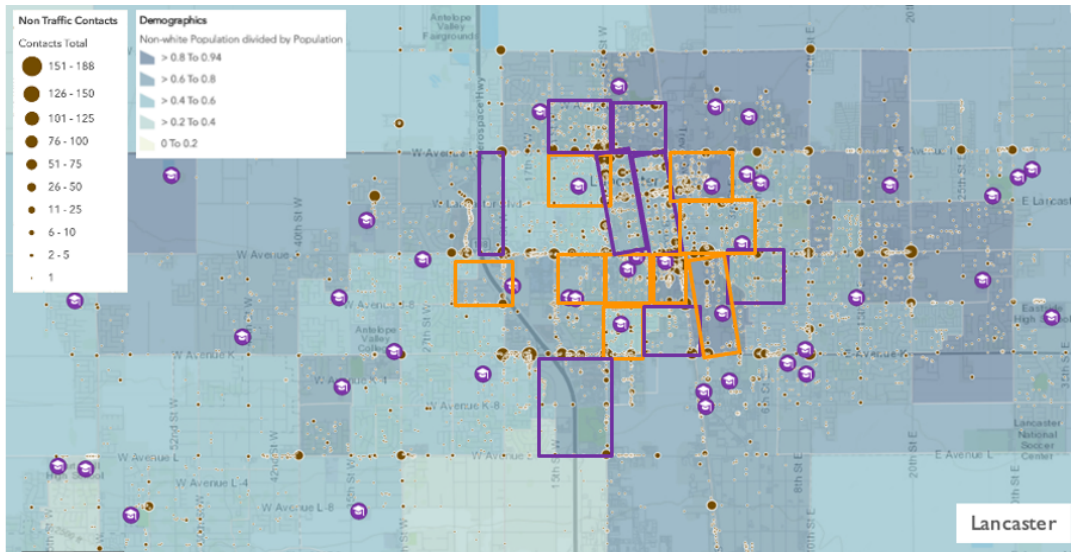
This trend continues in Palmdale as well. On the map, the area circled in yellow has an overall population of 2,244, a population density of 8,558.4, and a median income of \$51,050. 23.04% of its population is white, and 8.65% is Black. The area circled in green has a population of 1,407, a population density of 4,325.2, and a median income of \$16,726. 29.14% of its population is Black and 14.5% of its population is white. Although the yellow area is significantly denser and over one and a half times the population of the green area, its non-traffic LASD contact rate of 109.14 is nearly sixteen (16) times less than the contact rate of the green area, at 1,841.21.

**Across the Antelope Valley, LASD stops more residents in areas that have higher concentrations of Black individuals and fewer residents in areas that have higher concentrations of White individuals.** The average contact rate in areas where 30% or more of their populations are white is 223.59, nearly 250% less

than the average contact rate of 780.68 in areas where 20% or more of their populations are Black.<sup>6</sup>

**Concerningly, of the twenty (20) census blocks with the highest contact rates in the region, nine of them contain or directly border K-12 schools. In fact, the area with by far the highest LASD contact rate—3,391.85 stops of residents—is the site of an Antelope Valley Union High School District high school. With AV**

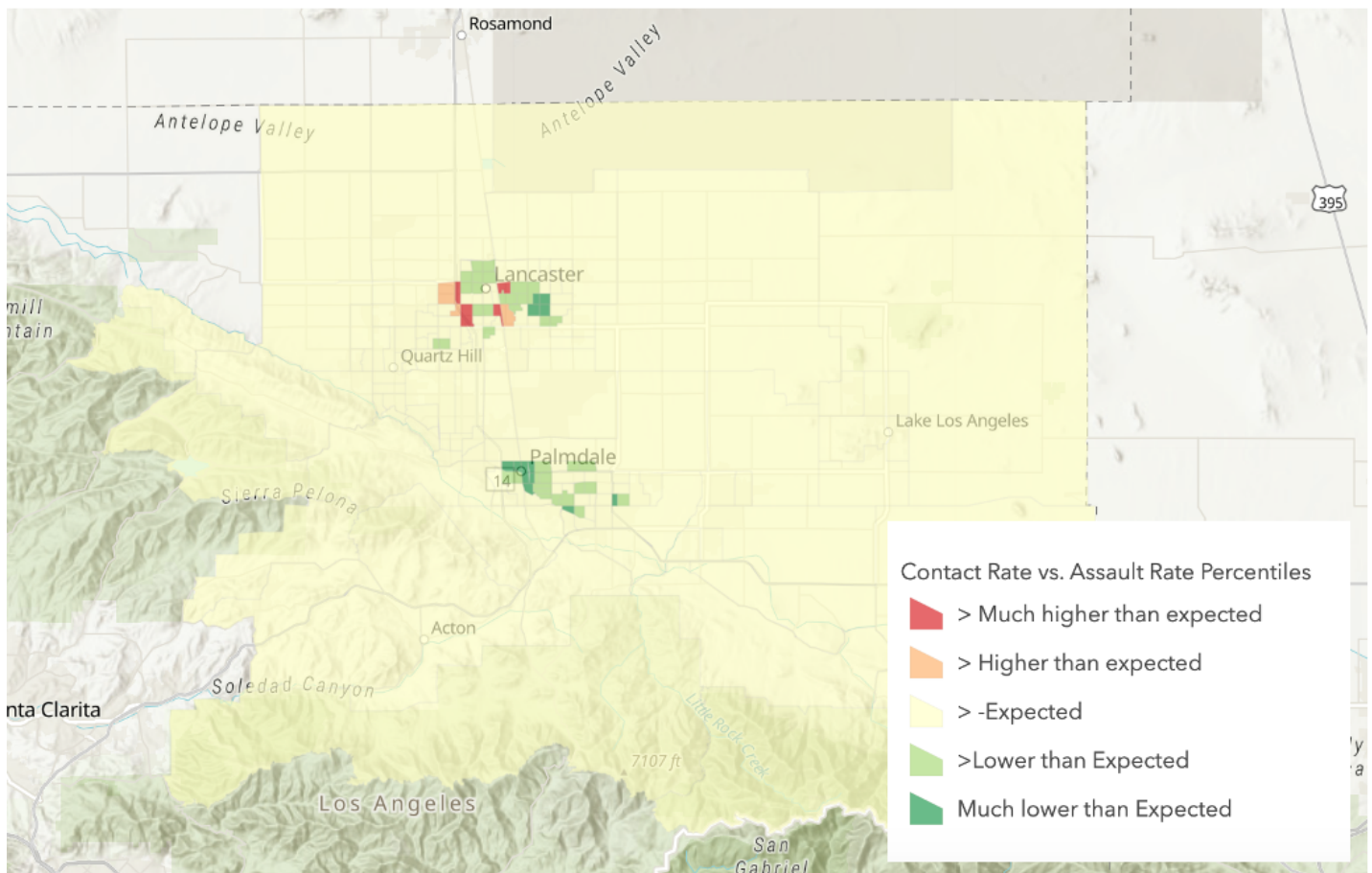
**schools and LASD so deeply intertwined, the Antelope Valley contributes to a troubling national trend where law enforcement contacts funnel students out of classrooms and into the criminal legal system in a phenomenon known at the School-to-Prison Pipeline. The maps to the left highlight in purple the 20 census blocks with the highest rate of LASD non-traffic contacts, with the blocks containing schools highlighted in orange.**



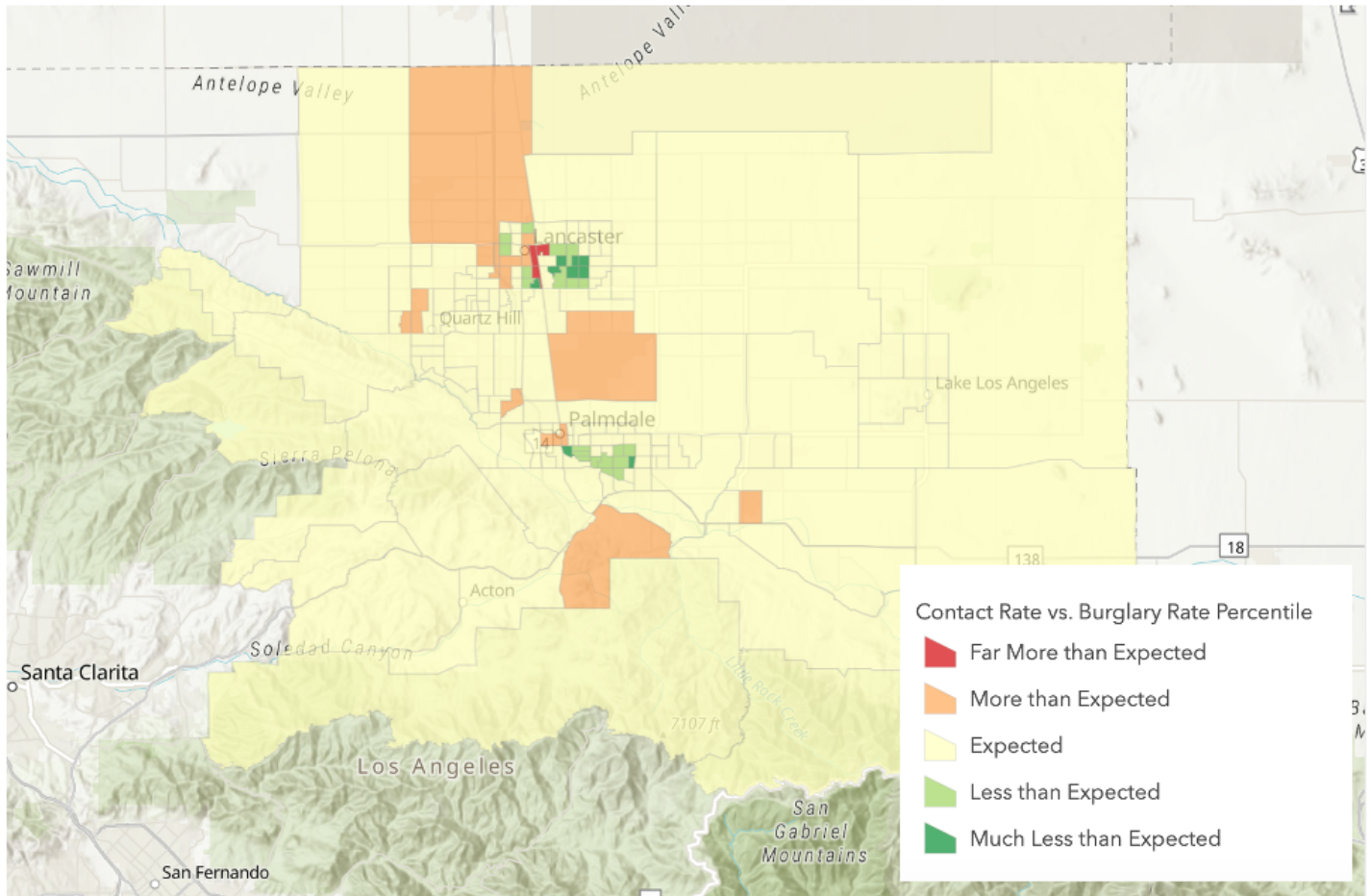
<sup>6</sup> We set the threshold for determining when the white or Black population had a disproportionate share of a particular area's population at 15% greater than their overall population. For white residents, who make up 25.64% of the populations of Lancaster and Palmdale, this threshold would be reached when white people make up about 30% or more of an area's population. For Black residents, at 16.76% of the population, this threshold would be reached when Black people make up about 20% or more of an area's population.

**Another important question is whether these Antelope Valley neighborhoods are experiencing levels of crime that are proportional to the levels of policing they receive.** Estimating a “reasonable” amount of policing is not a simple task. Determining when a community is under-policed versus over-policed is not always immediately apparent. One approach is to map reported crimes and compare the number of crimes per person in a given neighborhood to the numbers of non-traffic stops. We chose to map burglary and aggravated assault in the Antelope Valley. Although one is a property crime and the other a violent crime, both are common, reasonably widespread, and had available data published on LASD’s website.

The maps below show the relationship between the relative rates at which LASD deputies had contact with members of the community (stops) and the burglary and aggravated assault rates (expressed as average crimes per square mile per 10,000 persons per year).



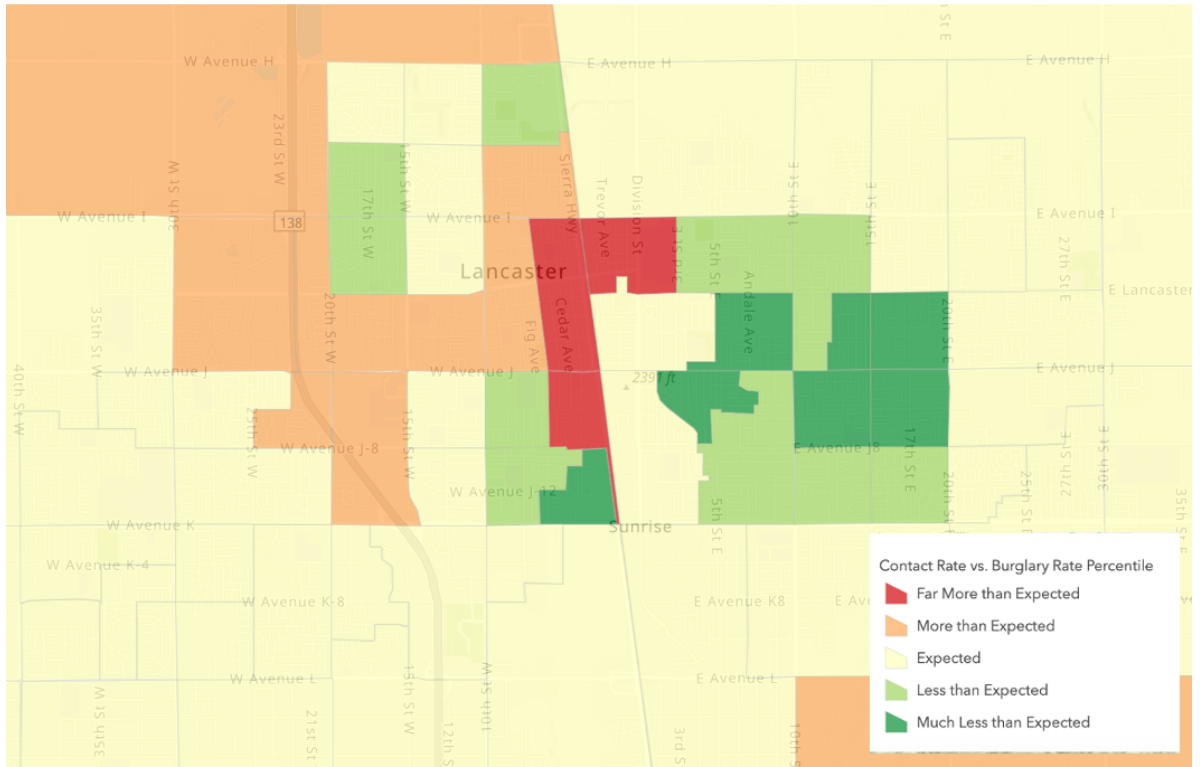
The map above shows the relationship between aggravated assault rates and rates of LASD civilian contacts. Block groups in shades of orange and red have relatively higher rates of contacts than expected as compared to the relative assault rates. Block groups in green have relatively lower rates of contact.



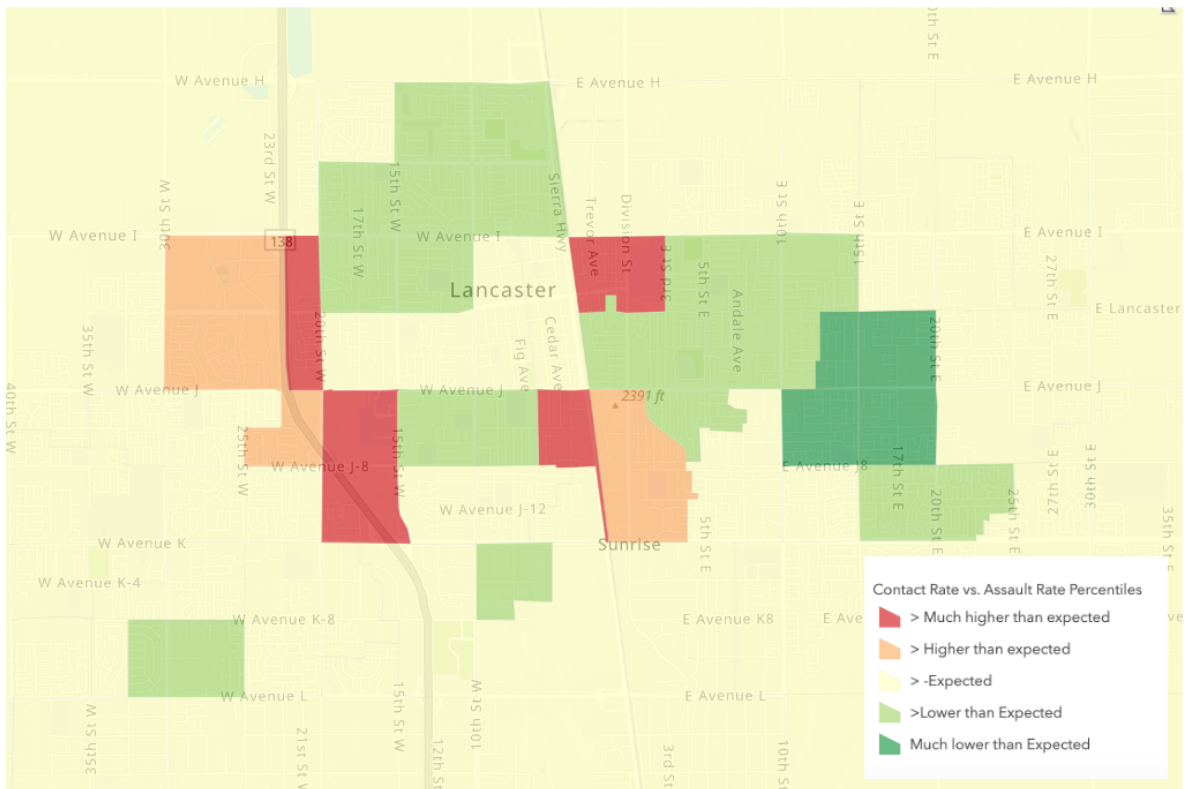
The map above shows the relationship between burglary rates and rates of LASD civilian contacts. Block groups in shades of orange and red have relatively higher rates of contacts than expected as compared to the relative burglary rates. Block groups in green have relatively lower rates of contact.

These maps show that the rates of policing for both assault and burglary are lower than expected in Palmdale, while the opposite is true in several Lancaster neighborhoods. While there may be several reasons for this trend, it is important to note, as mentioned earlier, that Lancaster is home to the majority of the Antelope Valley’s Black population. As previously discussed, Black residents tend to be stopped, arrested, and cited at higher rates.

The maps below show a closer view of policing and crime rates in Lancaster neighborhoods. While several factors contribute to policing decisions made by law enforcement agencies like LASD, there are some important geographical aspects to note about the locations shown in red on these maps. The red areas on the

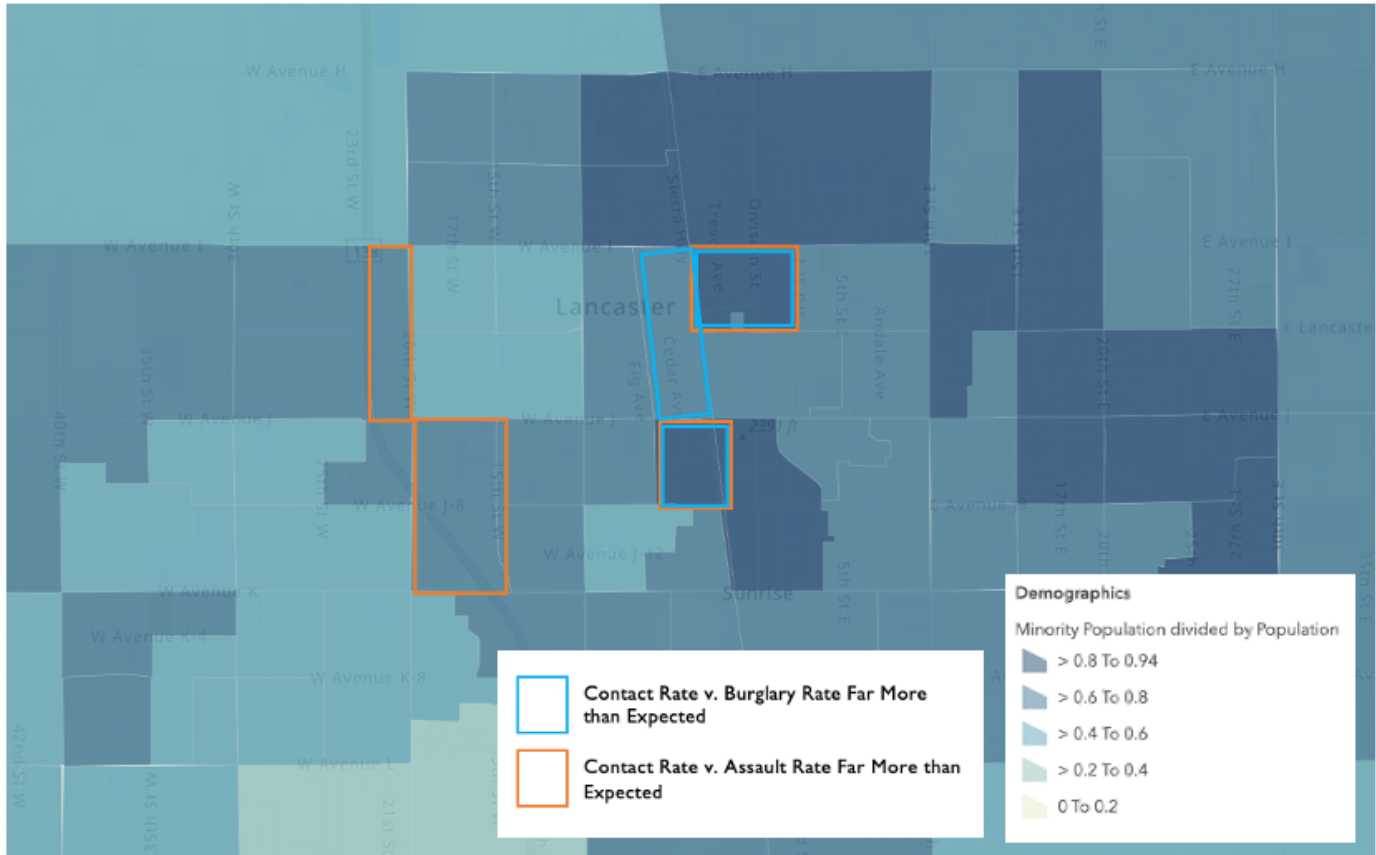


These maps show the relationship between burglary rates (above), assault rates (below), and rates of LASD civilian contacts in Lancaster. Block groups in shades of orange and red have relatively higher rates of contacts than expected as compared to the relative burglary rates. Block groups in green have relatively lower rates of contact.



far right of both maps are at or very close to business districts and the Metrolink station on Sierra Highway, which may be why they are more policed. Sierra Highway between Ave M and Avenue K is also an area known for sex work, which may also explain heightened police activity. The red area on the lower left of the assault map surrounds Sunset Ridge, a large apartment complex that is home to many low-income people of color. The red area above that, in the upper left, is known to contain several sizeable encampments for unhoused people.

**When the map areas receiving much higher-than-expected rates of police contact are layered over the city’s demographics, these areas are shown to have high concentrations of people of color.** The areas outlined in blue are the areas with “far more than expected” rates of police contacts compared to burglaries, and the areas outlined in orange have “much higher than expected” rates of contact compared to assault rates. Two areas below have higher than expected rates of contact for both assaults and burglaries. Unsurprisingly, these same two areas have the highest rates of overall LASD civilian contacts in the region and have two of the highest concentrations of Black residents (both above 32%).



---

# Mapping Methodology

The Racial Identity and Profiling Act of 2015, or RIPA, was enacted to “prohibit racial and identity profiling by law enforcement.”<sup>xxxviii</sup> RIPA requires law enforcement agencies, among other things, to report demographic data to the Attorney General’s Office on all pedestrian and vehicle stops. According to regulations guiding RIPA data collection, a “stop” is defined as any pedestrian or vehicle detention, interaction, or search of an individual by a law enforcement officer.<sup>xxxix</sup> For every stop, officers must record and report their perception of the stopped individual’s identity, including their race/ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, and disability status. Officers must also report the exact location the stop took place, the outcome of the interaction, and any action taken.

To map locations recorded in LASD’s RIPA data, CSUN meticulously converted addresses that were anonymized by LASD at the block and intersection level into points on a map. Intersection addresses were left as “intersections,” and anonymized “block level” addresses were converted to a random address on the block. For example, 500 block of Main Street was converted to a random point on the 500 block of Main Street by adding a random two-digit value to 500. This produces a far more plausible distribution of crimes than would occur if all crimes were mapped at the 00 point (generally a corner) of each block.

To ensure that the crime and stop rate maps were not biased by the randomization of block addresses or the effect of overcounting that occurs with points at an intersection that can get counted in one of possibly four different block groups,<sup>7</sup> CSUN converted the point maps to hotspot maps showing crime density per square mile. These maps were used to generate a robust map of crime density normalized to a yearly rate per 10,000 persons.

Converted addresses were mapped using Los Angeles County’s GIS mapping service street file, supplemented with Google Maps’ geolocator service for the small percentage of addresses that could not be found. Mapping services were then used to create the maps used in this report. Crime rate maps using the last three years of

---

<sup>7</sup> This was a highly complex process made more challenging by the fact that LASD reported stops at intersections and addresses that do not exist and used informal or inconsistent names for stop locations.

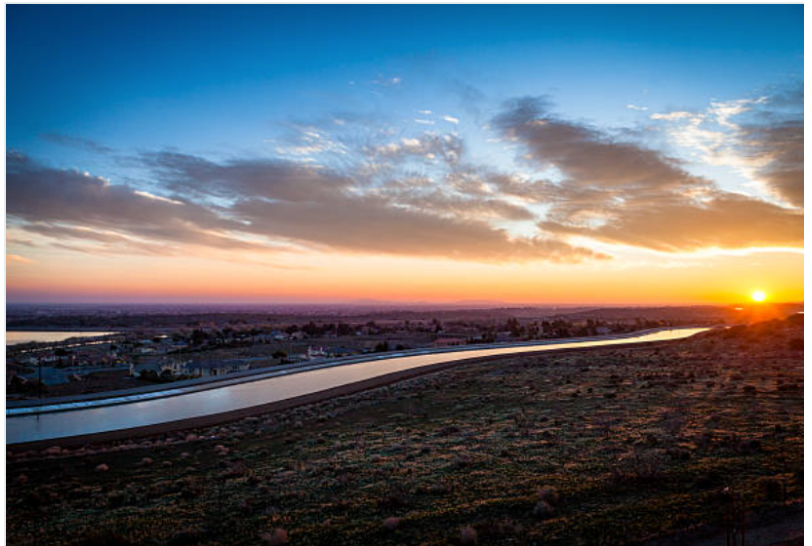
---

LASD data were used to establish the rate of crimes per person at the census block group level to get a sense of the number of stops “expected” in a particular area. A map of non-traffic stops per 10,000 people using RIPA data was also created. Both maps were converted to percentile-based maps so they could be compared, and we could see areas where the number of stops and past crimes were disproportionate.<sup>8</sup> Layers of demographic data from the U.S. Census were added to the maps so that we could analyze whether certain populations were being subjected to higher-than-expected numbers of stops.

## Conclusion

Across the Antelope Valley, LASD stops are not just stops—they recall the region’s troubled history and contribute to the everyday reality wherein residents of color are plagued by racist systems of oppression. LASD’s policing practices are disproportionately targeting people and communities of color, bringing already underserved and over-criminalized groups into deeper economic hardship, traumatization, and criminal legal system involvement. Communities across the country—the Antelope Valley included—are already calling for police reform, pointing to the countless examples residing in society’s collective consciousness that show that the harms of racially-biased policing and prejudicial law enforcement stops far outweigh any potential public safety benefits.

It is our goal that this report can support work that people, organizations, and neighborhoods throughout the Antelope Valley have been engaged in for years—work aimed at making communities truly supportive, just, and safe for all who live there.



---

<sup>8</sup> For example, a census block group in the 99<sup>th</sup> percentile for violent crime should, presumably, be in the 99<sup>th</sup> percentile for non-traffic stops.



---

## Endnotes

---

- <sup>i</sup> K.B. Turner, David Giacompassi & Margaret Vandiver, *Ignoring the Past: Coverage of Slavery and Slave Patrols in Criminal Justice Texts*, 17:1 J. of Crim. Just. Educ. 181-195 (2006); Jill Lepore, *The Invention of the Police*, THE NEW YORKER, July 20, 2020, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/07/20/the-invention-of-the-police>; Connie Hassett-Walker, *How You Start is How You Finish? The Slave Patrol and Jim Crow Origins of Policing*, ABA, Jan. 11, 2021, [https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human\\_rights\\_magazine\\_home/civil-rights-reimagining-policing/how-you-start-is-how-you-finish/](https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/civil-rights-reimagining-policing/how-you-start-is-how-you-finish/).
- <sup>ii</sup> Colleen Walsh, *Solving Racial Disparities in Policing*, HARV. GAZETTE, Feb. 24, 2021, <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2021/02/solving-racial-disparities-in-policing/>.
- <sup>iii</sup> Frank Edwards, Hedwig Lee & Michael Esposito, *Risk of Being Killed by Police Use of Force in the United States by Age, Race, Ethnicity, and Sex*, PROC. NATL. ACAD. OF SCI., Aug. 20, 2019, <https://www.pnas.org/content/116/34/16793>.
- <sup>iv</sup> Elle Lett, Emmanuella Ngozi Asabor, Theodore Corbin & Dowin Boatright, *Racial Inequality in Fatal U.S. Police Shootings, 2015-2020*, J. EPIDEMIOLOGY & CMTY HEALTH, Apr. 1, 2021, <https://jech.bmj.com/content/75/4/394>.
- <sup>v</sup> THE STANFORD OPEN POLICING PROJECT, <https://openpolicing.stanford.edu/findings/> (last visited Aug. 30, 2021).
- <sup>vi</sup> Richard Greenleaf, Arthur Lurigio, Jamie Flexon & Teri Walker, *Race-Based Decisions: Traffic Citations and Municipal Court Dispositions*, 8 JUST. POL'Y J. 1 (2011), available at [http://www.cjcj.org/uploads/cjcj/documents/Race-based\\_decisions.pdf](http://www.cjcj.org/uploads/cjcj/documents/Race-based_decisions.pdf).
- <sup>vii</sup> Bill Hutchinson, *From Eric Garner to George Floyd, 12 Black Lives Lost in Police Encounters that Stoked Mass Protests*, ABC NEWS, June 6, 2020, <https://abcnews.go.com/US/eric-garner-george-floyd-12-black-lives-lost/story?id=70999321>
- <sup>viii</sup> Stef W. Kight & Kim Hart, *The Cities That Are Already Defunding the Police*, AXIOS, June 27, 2020, <https://www.axios.com/cities-defund-the-police-george-floyd-188e169a-a32a-44fa-bace-e2e5df4d1c9b.html>; Jemima McEvoy, *At Least 13 Cities Are Defunding Police Departments*, FORBES, Sept. 29, 2020, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jemimamcevoy/2020/08/13/at-least-13-cities-are-defunding-their-police-departments/?sh=2479501c29e3>.
- <sup>ix</sup> Richard Lee Colvin, *Census Shows High Desert a New Melting Pot*, L.A. TIMES, Feb. 27, 1991, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-02-27-me-1939-story.html>.
- <sup>x</sup> Errol A. Cockfield, *Blacks Fear Growth of Hate in a New Antelope Valley*, L.A. TIMES, Mar. 27, 1995, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1995-03-27-mn-47654.html>.
- <sup>xi</sup> William Finnegan, *The Unwanted*, THE NEW YORKER, Dec. 1, 1997, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1997/12/01/the-unwanted>.
- <sup>xii</sup> Vivian Ho, *'The Confederacy of California': life in the valley where Robert Fuller was found hanged*, THE GUARDIAN, Jun. 27, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/27/california-racism-policing-robert-fuller-antelope-valley>.
- <sup>xiii</sup> *History of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (1849-1971)*, L.A. CNTY. SHERIFF'S DEPT. (2005), [http://shq.lasdnews.net/content/captains/LASD\\_History.pdf](http://shq.lasdnews.net/content/captains/LASD_History.pdf).
- <sup>xiv</sup> Thomas E. Perez, *Findings Letter: Investigation of Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department Stations in Antelope Valley* (Jun. 28, 2013), [https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2013/06/28/antelope\\_findings\\_6-28-13.pdf](https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2013/06/28/antelope_findings_6-28-13.pdf).
- <sup>xv</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>xvi</sup> Jessica Garrison & Ted Rohrlich, *A not-so-welcome mat*, L.A. TIMES, Jun. 17, 2007, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2007-jun-17-me-antelope17-story.html>.
- <sup>xvii</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>xviii</sup> *Lancaster Community Appreciation Project (LAN-CAP)*, City of Lancaster, <https://www.cityoflancasterca.org/our-city/departments-services/public-safety/contract-services-emergency-response/l-a-county-sheriff-s-department/special-teams/lancaster-community-appreciation-project> (last visited Aug. 30, 2021).
- <sup>xix</sup> Liam Dillon, Ben Poston & Julia Barajas, *Black and Latino Renters Face Eviction, Exclusion Amid Police Crackdowns in California*, L.A. TIMES, Nov. 19, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/homeless-housing/story/2020-11-19/california-housing-policies-hurt-black-latino-renters>.
- <sup>xx</sup> EVE GARROW & TIFFANY BAILEY, *ACLU, BANISHED AND ABANDONED IN LANCASTER* (2021), [https://www.aclusocal.org/sites/default/files/banished\\_and\\_abandoned\\_in\\_lancaster\\_-\\_aclu\\_socal\\_report\\_-\\_feb\\_2021.pdf](https://www.aclusocal.org/sites/default/files/banished_and_abandoned_in_lancaster_-_aclu_socal_report_-_feb_2021.pdf); Doug Smith, *Homeless People Face Relentless Abuse in Lancaster, and ACLU Report Alleges*, L.A. TIMES, Feb. 22, 2021, <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-02-22/homeless-people-face-relentless-abuse-in-lancaster-an-aclu-report-alleges>.
- <sup>xxi</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>xxii</sup> *Supra* note xiv.

---

<sup>xxiii</sup> *Id.*

<sup>xxiv</sup> *Id.*

<sup>xxv</sup> Summary of Antelope Valley Settlement Agreement (Apr. 28, 2015),

<http://antelopevalleysettlementmonitoring.info/content/documents/Antelope%20Valley%20Settlement%20Agreement%20Summary.pdf>.

<sup>xxvi</sup> ANTELOPE VALLEY MONITORING TEAM, 11<sup>TH</sup> SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT: DECEMBER 2020 (Dec. 2020),

<http://antelopevalleysettlementmonitoring.info/content/documents/reports/11%20Semi-Annual%20Report,%20December%202020.pdf>.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Kim Stringfellow, *The Shifting Demographics of the Antelope Valley – And Development’s Consequences*, KCET, Dec. 12, 2017, <https://www.kcet.org/shows/artbound/the-shifting-demographics-of-antelope-valley-and-developments-consequences>.

<sup>xxviii</sup> The Antelope Valley also includes a significant number of unincorporated towns that are more rural and tend to be whiter. These towns, including Lake Los Angeles, Acton, Quartz Hill, and Littlerock, are significantly smaller than neighboring Lancaster and Palmdale and have populations that range from 500 to 13,000. Collectively, these small towns have comparable populations of Latine and white residents. However, city-to-city, the proportions vary a great deal. For example, in Sun Village, Latine residents make up about 67% of the population. In Leona Valley, on the other hand, the Latine population sits at around 12% while the white population is 83%. The numbers of residents in these areas that are neither white nor Latine are small.

<sup>xxix</sup> FRANK R. BAUMGARTNER, DEREK A. EPP & KELSEY SHOUR, *SUSPECT CITIZENS* (2018).

<sup>xxx</sup> Tim Sullivan & Denise Lavoie, *Daunte Wright, slain by police, known as jokester, young dad*, AP (Apr. 15, 2021),

<https://apnews.com/article/death-of-daunte-wright-shootings-police-coronavirus-pandemic-minneapolis-d88c7d626eebcdea975dc249309a4fa5>.

<sup>xxxi</sup> David Montgomery, *Sandra Bland, It Turns Out, Filmed Traffic Stop Confrontation Herself*, N.Y. TIMES, May 7, 2019,

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/07/us/sandra-bland-video-brian-encinia.html>.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Mark Berman, *What the police officer who shot Philando Castile said about the shooting*, WASH. POST., Jun. 21, 2017,

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/06/21/what-the-police-officer-who-shot-philando-castile-said-about-the-shooting/>.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Devon W. Carbado, *From Stopping Black People to Killing Black People: The Fourth Amendment Pathways to Police Violence*, 105 CA L. REV. 125 (2017); Ekow N. Yankah, *Pretext and Justification: Republicanism, Policing, and Race*, 40(4) CARDOZO L. REV. 1543 (2019).

<sup>xxxiv</sup> DR. TODD FRANKE, DR. ROBERT BLAGG & MELANIE SONSTENG-PERSON, ANTELOPE VALLEY MONITORING TEAM, THE ANTELOPE VALLEY COMMUNITY SURVEY: YEAR 2 (Aug. 2020),

<http://www.antelopevalleysettlementmonitoring.info/content/documents/surveys/AV%20Community%20Survey%20Year%20Two%20-%20Final%20Report%202020.pdf>.

<sup>xxxv</sup> *Supra* note xxvi.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> For more analysis of RIPA data from the Antelope Valley Union High School District, see Emily Elena Dugdale, In the

Antelope Valley, Sheriff’s Deputies Settle Schoolyard Disputes. Black Teens Bear the Brunt, LAIST (Sept. 29, 2021),

[https://laist.com/news/criminal-justice/antelope-valley-schools-sheriffs-deputies-discipline-black-teens-bear-the-brunt?utm\\_campaign=20212909+School+Police+Racism&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=sfmc\\_&utm\\_content=&utm\\_term=188728864](https://laist.com/news/criminal-justice/antelope-valley-schools-sheriffs-deputies-discipline-black-teens-bear-the-brunt?utm_campaign=20212909+School+Police+Racism&utm_medium=email&utm_source=sfmc_&utm_content=&utm_term=188728864).

<sup>xxxvii</sup> PRISON POLICY INITIATIVE, <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/poverty.html> (last visited Aug. 30, 2021).

<sup>xxxviii</sup> AB 953: *The Racial and Identity Profiling Act of 2015*, St. of Cal. Dept. of J. (2015), <https://oag.ca.gov/ab953>.

<sup>xxxix</sup> Cal. Code Regs. tit. 11, § 999.224 (2015).