

Do Monitoring and Transparency Make Food Safer?

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Motivation

- Sanitation at retail food establishments is a great public health concern but is also difficult for average consumers to enforce or observe
- Municipal health departments conduct regular food inspections to ensure restaurants uphold hygiene standards
 - Dearth of empirical studies that measure the efficacy of inspections on restaurant compliance
- Major cities, such as New York City, have started to make food inspection results more transparent by having restaurants post grades
 - Inspection results have become more prominent as they become integrated with Yelp



Research Questions

- Do inspections incentivize restaurants to improve their sanitation practices?
 - Do restaurants shift attention and effort away from areas that they did well toward areas that got flagged?
 - How do the magnitudes of the results vary across different types of establishments (heterogenous effects)

Main Findings

- Marginal increase in the number of citations leads to improved conditions in subsequent inspections
 - Instead of focusing only on areas that they got cited, restaurants seem to improve in other areas as well
- More citations also reduces the probability that an establishment receives a complaint call

Road Map

Background

Data

- Food Inspection Data

- 311 Call Data

Impact of Inspections on Restaurant Behaviors

- Inspector Specific Stringencies as Instrument

- Impact of Violation Citations on Restaurant Cleanliness

- Multi-Tasking

- Robustness

- Complaint Calls

Conclusion

2. Background on NYC Food Inspection Grading System

- Inspection occurs at least once a year
 - During inspection, inspector cites violations, assign scores based on severity, and sum up scores
- Total score is converted to letter grades based on the following cutoffs:
 - ≤ 13 : A
 - ≥ 14 and ≤ 27 : B
 - > 28 : C
- Dual Inspection: anything lower than A during initial inspection results in a second inspection within a month
 - In the meantime, post previous grade
- After each inspection, restaurants can pursue adjudication to argue for better grades (in the meantime, post "Grade Pending")
 - Resolved within 6 weeks of initial inspection
- The health department temporally closes a restaurant if it finds critical violations

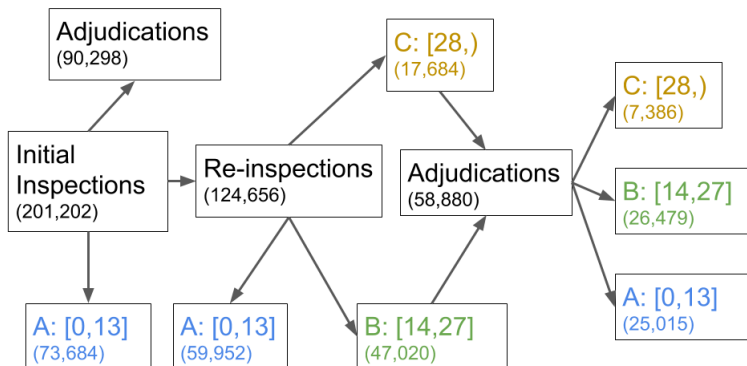
Food Inspection Data

- Universe of all food inspections conducted in NYC (2007 - 2016)
- Inspection date and inspector ID
- Individual violation codes, total score, corresponding adjudication date, and modified score
- Restaurant level info: name, address, cuisine, service type, and venue type

311 Call Data

- 311 is a phone line for non-emergency municipal services - also carries complaint calls to Department of Health and Mental Hygiene concerning restaurants
 - Examples of complaints: 'Rodents/Insects/Garbage', 'Bare Hands in Contact w/ Food', 'Food Contains Foreign Object', 'Food Spoiled',
- From 2010 to present
- Each complaint has an incident address and date
- Use fuzzy string matching on street address to the inspection data

NYC Food Inspection Pipeline



⁰The numbers in the parenthesis are the number of inspections in those steps

Impact of Inspection Results on Subsequent Inspection Scores

- Do inspection results affect sanitation?
 - Does getting a "bad" score make a restaurant work harder?
 - Does getting a "good" score cause a restaurant to slack off?
- Do the inspection results cause restaurants to reallocate efforts across multiple tasks?

Identification strategy: exploit the randomness of inspector assignment and use inspector stringencies as an instrument

Outcomes of Interests from Subsequent Inspections

- Overall inspection scores
- Whether a restaurants receives an A and does not need an re-inspection
- Whether a restaurant commits critical violations that results in temporarily closure

Empirical Strategy

$$Y_{i,t^{next}} = \beta Score_{i,t} + \delta_i + \tau_t + \tau_{t^{next}} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

- $Y_{i,t^{next}}$: outcome from next inspection: overall score, temporary closure, getting an A
- t^{next} : time period of next inspection
- $Score_{i,t^{next}}$: inspection score from the next inspection
- τ_t : time fixed effect
- δ_i : restaurant fixed effect
- ε_{it} : two-way clustered at zipcode and inspector levels¹

¹(Cameron et al 2009)

Empirical Strategy

A challenge of OLS is that $SCORE_{it}$ is endogenous

- If β positive, places that do poorly in the past tend to do poorly in the future
 - Restaurant FE does not fix problem if we have persistence
- If β is negative, cannot rule out mechanical mean reversion.

Use Inspector Assignment as Instrument

Instrument for when inspector j assigned to restaurant i

$$Z_{ij} = \frac{1}{n_j - l_{ij}} \left(\sum_{kjt \neq ijt} Y_{kjt} \right)$$

- n_j total number of inspections done by inspector j
- l_{ij} is the number of times inspector j has inspected restaurant i
- Y_{kjt} is the outcome used to calculate inspector tendencies

Inspector Stringency is Highly Predictive of Inspection Score

$$score_{it} = \gamma Z_{it} + \delta_i + \tau_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$

where Z_{it} is the leave-out propensity of inspector assigned to restaurant i in period t .

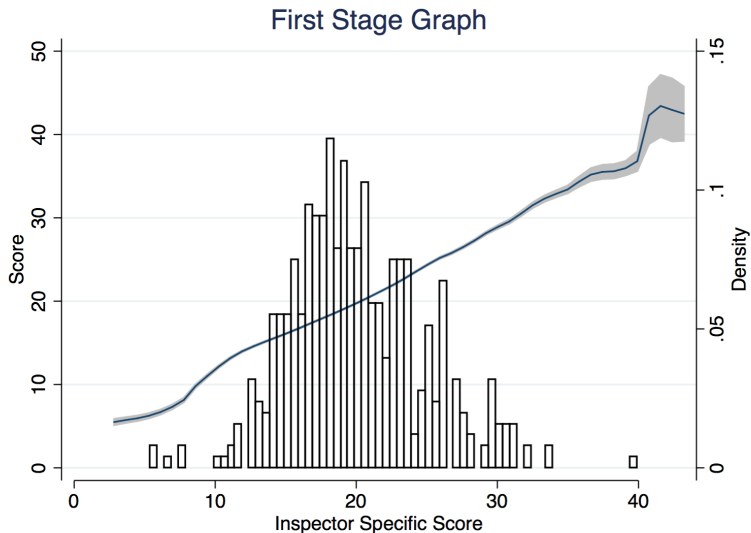
| VARIABLES | (1) Score | (2) Score | (3) Score |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Z | 0.961*** (0.00948) | 0.997*** (0.00983) | 1.135*** (0.0162) |
| Observations | 330,469 | 330,466 | 325,681 |
| R-squared | 0.149 | 0.201 | 0.414 |
| Restaurant Controls | NO | YES | NO |
| Restaurant FE | NO | NO | YES |
| F Statistics | 10271 | 10270 | 4908 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

¹ First column consists of all inspections after 10/1/2010. The sample for the second column is reduced to inspections with non-empty zipcode, chain indicator, cuisine type, venue type, and service type. Standard errors are two-way clustered at the inspector and zipcode level.

Graphical Representation of First Stage



5. Assignment Process of Inspectors to Restaurants

- DOHMH claims that each inspector is randomly assigned to each inspection
- Implies:

$$Z_{ijt} = \beta X_i + \delta L_{i,t-1} + \varepsilon,$$

with X_i as restaurant characteristics (cuisine, service type, venue type, chain, etc) and $L_{i,t-1}$ as restaurant specific lag terms (previous scores and previous grades), $\beta = \delta = 0$.

Coefficients Close to 0 and Insignificant

| VARIABLES | Score | | Inspector Stringency | | Inspector Stringency | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|
| VARIABLES | (> 50 Inspections) | se | (> 50 Inspections) | se | (> 650 Inspections) | se |
| last score | 0.218*** | (0.00746) | -0.000440 | (0.00199) | -0.00193 | (0.00205) |
| last grade = B | 1.430*** | (0.131) | 0.0178 | (0.0628) | 0.0837 | (0.0683) |
| last grade = C | 1.495*** | (0.206) | -0.0494 | (0.0764) | 0.0240 | (0.0807) |
| last inspector propensity | -0.298*** | (0.0104) | -0.00363 | (0.00491) | -0.00529 | (0.00551) |
| chain | -3.644*** | (0.179) | -0.0274 | (0.0644) | -0.0300 | (0.0734) |
| Sea Food | 0.301 | (0.412) | -0.0687 | (0.129) | -0.0648 | (0.136) |
| Chinese | 1.588*** | (0.307) | -0.0952* | (0.0510) | -0.0511 | (0.0546) |
| Pizza/Italian | 0.305** | (0.118) | -0.0893*** | (0.0342) | -0.0614 | (0.0384) |
| Coffee/Tea | -2.219*** | (0.162) | -0.0421 | (0.0889) | -0.0514 | (0.0966) |
| Latin | 1.534*** | (0.303) | -0.0714 | (0.0556) | -0.0390 | (0.0583) |
| Spanish | 1.560*** | (0.261) | 0.0125 | (0.0615) | -0.0435 | (0.0691) |
| Caribbean | 1.542*** | (0.288) | -0.0637 | (0.0608) | -0.0619 | (0.0544) |
| Sandwich | 0.661** | (0.297) | -0.00916 | (0.0472) | 0.0180 | (0.0488) |
| Concession Stands | -4.379*** | (0.722) | 0.295 | (0.197) | 0.209 | (0.211) |
| Fast Food Restaurant-Food Court | 0.570*** | (0.187) | 0.0394 | (0.0881) | -0.0211 | (0.0868) |
| Restaurant | 1.453*** | (0.158) | 0.0449 | (0.0662) | 0.00343 | (0.0641) |
| Buffet Service | 2.564*** | (0.365) | -0.182* | (0.107) | -0.196 | (0.118) |
| Cater Service | -1.897*** | (0.609) | -0.200 | (0.190) | -0.193 | (0.219) |
| Counter Service | -0.635*** | (0.185) | 0.0273 | (0.0613) | 0.0123 | (0.0684) |
| Take-out Service | -1.410*** | (0.185) | -0.153 | (0.110) | -0.173 | (0.123) |
| Wait Service | 1.205*** | (0.166) | 0.0418 | (0.0481) | 0.0404 | (0.0525) |
| Cafeteria Service | -3.541*** | (0.500) | -0.280* | (0.156) | -0.200 | (0.168) |
| Observations | 299,174 | | 299,174 | | 244,099 | |
| F Statistics | 101.6 | | 2.423 | | 2.249 | |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

¹ Standard errors are two-way clustered at the inspector and restaurant level.

TSLS Regression Results

| VARIABLES | (1) Score (OLS) | (2) Score (IV) | (3) Closure (OLS) | (4) Closure (IV) | (5) Grade A (OLS) | (6) Grade A (IV) |
|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Score | -0.139*** (0.00492) | -0.242*** (0.0162) | 4.67e-05 (0.000101) | -0.00234*** (0.000393) | -8.49e-05 (0.000127) | 0.00222*** (0.000556) |
| Observations | 149,831 | 149,831 | 108,849 | 108,849 | 149,831 | 149,831 |
| Inspection Date FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| Restaurant FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| Dependent mean | 21.08 | 21.08 | 0.0123 | 0.0123 | 0.372 | 0.372 |

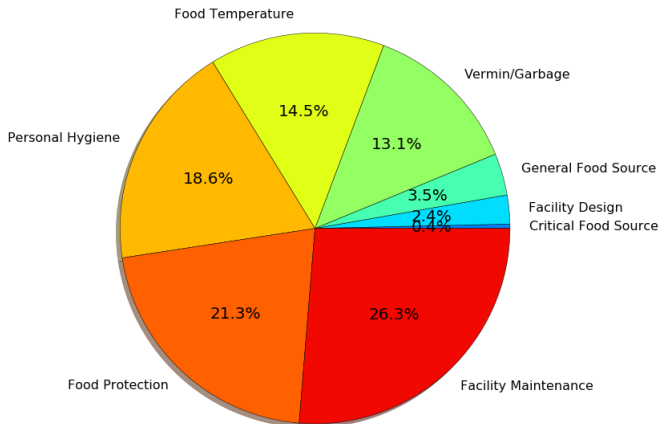
Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

¹ Standard errors are two-way clustered at zipcode and inspector levels. Closure samples exclude inspections resulting in scores over 28 points.

Multi-Dimensionality of Food Inspections

- Individual Violation Codes Grouped into Eight Groups:



Multi-dimensional 1st Stage

Instrument Construction:

$$Z_{ijg} = \frac{1}{n_j - I_{ij}} \left(\sum_{kjgt \neq ijgt} \#Cited_{ijgt} \right)$$

1st Stage:

$$\#Cited_{ijgt} = \sum_{g' \in \mathcal{G}} \theta_{gg'} Z_{ijg'} + \varepsilon_{ijgt}$$

- $\#Cited_{ijgt}$ is the number of group g violation that inspector j finds in restaurant i at time t and \mathcal{G} is the set of violation groups
- $\theta_{gg'}$: measures how inspector's propensity to find violation in group g' relates to one's probability of finding violation in group g

Multi-task First Stage Equations

| VARIABLES | (1) Facility Maintenance | (2) Food Protection | (3) Personal Hygiene | (4) Food Temperature | (5) Vermin/Garbage | (6) Gen. Food Source | (7) Facility Design | (8) Crit. Food Source |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Facility Maintenance | 1.051*** (0.0177) | -0.0550** (0.0227) | 0.0115 (0.0147) | -0.0256* (0.0132) | -0.0104 (0.0139) | 0.00857 (0.00553) | 0.00276 (0.00395) | 0.000821 (0.00139) |
| Food Protection | -0.00719 (0.0372) | 0.726*** (0.0419) | -0.00429 (0.0287) | 0.0709* (0.0388) | -0.0911*** (0.0284) | 0.00237 (0.0126) | -0.0105 (0.00883) | 0.00328 (0.00391) |
| Personal Hygiene | 0.00395 (0.0197) | -0.127*** (0.0199) | 0.952*** (0.0192) | -0.00446 (0.0193) | -0.0686*** (0.0128) | 0.00179 (0.00524) | -0.00719* (0.00415) | -0.00161 (0.00185) |
| Food Temperature | 0.000328 (0.0236) | -0.0810*** (0.0297) | -0.0890*** (0.0179) | 0.808*** (0.0226) | -0.0638*** (0.0182) | 0.00215 (0.00836) | -0.0150** (0.00609) | -0.00488*** (0.00181) |
| Vermin/Garbage | 0.0116 (0.0486) | 0.121** (0.0562) | -0.118*** (0.0419) | -0.186*** (0.0601) | 1.011*** (0.0383) | -0.0250 (0.0178) | -0.0274** (0.0136) | -0.00804* (0.00466) |
| Gen. Food Source | -0.00784 (0.0456) | -0.0505 (0.0451) | -0.0105 (0.0393) | -0.0591 (0.0407) | -0.0410 (0.0281) | 0.959*** (0.0220) | -0.0233* (0.0129) | 0.00318 (0.00365) |
| Facility Design | -0.0288 (0.0915) | -0.112 (0.130) | -0.0860 (0.0950) | 0.0153 (0.0930) | -0.116* (0.0680) | -0.0878** (0.0347) | 0.845*** (0.0256) | -0.0102 (0.0105) |
| Crit. Food Source | -0.0660 (0.333) | 0.0496 (0.440) | -0.487* (0.260) | -0.115 (0.329) | 0.145 (0.244) | -0.0241 (0.0868) | -0.0630 (0.0686) | 0.921*** (0.0454) |
| Observations | 149,831 | 149,831 | 149,831 | 149,831 | 149,831 | 149,831 | 149,831 | 149,831 |
| dependent mean | 1.013 | 0.840 | 0.863 | 0.671 | 0.518 | 0.135 | 0.0827 | 0.0149 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Multi-dimensional 2nd Stage

$$\#Cited_{igt^{next}} = \sum_{g' \in \mathcal{G}} \beta_{gg'} \#Cited_{igt} + \delta_i + \tau_t + \varepsilon_{igt},$$

where

- $\#Cited_{igt}$: number of group g violations that restaurant i receives on date t
- τ_t : date fixed effect
- δ_i : restaurant fixed effect

How Current Citations Affect Subsequent Citations

| VARIABLES | (1) Facility Maintenance | (2) Food Protection | (3) Personal Hygiene | (4) Food Temperature | (5) Vermin/Garbage | (6) Gen. Food Source | (7) Facility Design | (8) Crit. Food Source |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Facility Maintenance | -0.236*** (0.00961) | 0.00733 (0.0119) | 0.000184 (0.0107) | -0.00506 (0.00944) | -0.000922 (0.00766) | -0.00159 (0.00380) | 0.000981 (0.00295) | -0.000509 (0.00140) |
| Food Protection | -0.0776** (0.0378) | -0.177*** (0.0306) | -0.00731 (0.0410) | -0.0142 (0.0253) | -0.0397* (0.0227) | -0.0100 (0.0113) | 0.00372 (0.0108) | 0.00780* (0.00400) |
| Personal Hygiene | 0.0222 (0.0156) | -0.00484 (0.0103) | -0.189*** (0.0148) | -0.00771 (0.00957) | -0.000551 (0.00892) | 0.00458 (0.00489) | 0.00129 (0.00320) | 0.00217 (0.00173) |
| Food Temperature | 0.0148 (0.0216) | -0.0261 (0.0163) | 0.0133 (0.0162) | -0.214*** (0.0134) | -0.00923 (0.0128) | 0.00613 (0.00722) | -0.00622 (0.00573) | -0.00153 (0.00243) |
| Vermin/Garbage | 0.132*** (0.0439) | -0.0784* (0.0404) | 0.00134 (0.0544) | 0.0446 (0.0318) | -0.174*** (0.0283) | 0.0128 (0.0159) | -0.0105 (0.0138) | -0.00126 (0.00404) |
| Gen. Food Source | -0.0114 (0.0291) | -0.00139 (0.0348) | -0.0456 (0.0374) | -0.0103 (0.0334) | -0.0395* (0.0202) | -0.191*** (0.0199) | -0.0147 (0.00933) | -0.000895 (0.00395) |
| Facility Design | 0.0265 (0.0787) | -0.195** (0.0925) | -0.00742 (0.0776) | 0.0168 (0.0551) | -0.0235 (0.0612) | 0.00421 (0.0296) | -0.199*** (0.0239) | 0.0169* (0.00977) |
| Crit. Food Source | 0.274 (0.248) | -0.284 (0.207) | 0.279 (0.244) | 0.125 (0.195) | -0.0346 (0.142) | -0.0233 (0.0848) | -0.0643 (0.0682) | -0.185*** (0.0298) |
| Observations | 149,831 | 149,829 | 149,831 | 149,829 | 149,829 | 149,831 | 149,829 | 149,831 |
| Dependent mean | 0.989 | 0.802 | 0.842 | 0.645 | 0.503 | 0.125 | 0.0694 | 0.0126 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

¹Standard errors are two-way clustered at zipcode and inspector levels

Concerns of Empirical Strategy

Exclusion Restriction

- Inspectors adjust their grading, given the identities of the previous inspectors
 - Unlikely, given geographically dispersed and random assignment, inspectors need to mentally track the tendencies of hundreds of inspectors
- Inspectors affect restaurant outcomes through channels other than the inspections
- The causal channel of inspection results is through its influence on the subsequent inspectors' behaviors

Monotonicity condition

- The inspection score is strictly increasing in inspector stringency

Monotonicity Tests

- Because inspections are multi-dimensional, monotonicity might not hold
 - Ex. A frozen yogurt establishment may get a better score from a more stringent inspector if that inspector cares only about hot food being kept above a certain temperature
- Two empirical implications:
 - Test 1: Stringent inspectors should be strict for different types of restaurants
 - Run first stage for various sub-samples (baseline sample)
 - Test 2: Inspectors who are strict for one type of restaurants should be strict for other types
 - Recalculate inspector stringency for each sub-sample with inspection results outside of that sub-sample (inverse-sample)

Monotonicity Test Results

| Baseline-Sample | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| VARIABLES | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| | 1st Quartile | 2nd Quartile | 3rd Quartile | 4th Quartile |
| Estimate | 0.407*** (0.0270) | 0.681*** (0.0240) | 0.852*** (0.0213) | 1.231*** (0.0256) |
| Observations | 80,172 | 81,817 | 81,901 | 86,433 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

| Inverse-Sample | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| VARIABLES | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| | 1st Quartile | 2nd Quartile | 3rd Quartile | 4th Quartile |
| Estimate | 0.369*** (0.0340) | 0.612*** (0.0247) | 0.779*** (0.0254) | 1.609*** (0.0674) |
| Observations | 75,188 | 81,328 | 81,481 | 85,851 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

| Baseline-Sample | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| VARIABLES | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| | Manhattan | Bronx | Brooklyn | Queens | Staten-Isl |
| Estimate | 1.005*** (0.0156) | 1.082*** (0.0275) | 0.985*** (0.0198) | 0.969*** (0.0206) | 0.944*** (0.0286) |
| Observations | 131,900 | 31,010 | 79,664 | 77,186 | 10,507 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

| | Inverse-Sample | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| VARIABLES | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| | Manhattan | Bronx | Brooklyn | Queens | Staten-Is. |
| Estimate | 0.990*** (0.0269) | 1.082*** (0.0344) | 0.954*** (0.0238) | 0.934*** (0.0248) | 0.938*** (0.0308) |
| Observations | 128,977 | 30,334 | 76,973 | 74,933 | 10,468 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

| Baseline-Sample | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| VARIABLES | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| | American | Pizza/Italian | Chinese | Coffee | Japanese |
| Estimate | 0.957*** (0.0241) | 0.994*** (0.0180) | 1.086*** (0.0402) | 0.796*** (0.0354) | 1.096*** (0.0262) |
| Observations | 75,330 | 38,432 | 38,785 | 13,303 | 10,915 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

| Inverse-Sample | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| VARIABLES | (1) American | (2) Pizza/Italian | (3) Chinese | (4) Coffee | (5) Japanese |
| Estimate | 0.929*** (0.0298) | 0.990*** (0.0199) | 1.070*** (0.0449) | 0.782*** (0.0363) | 1.098*** (0.0273) |
| Observations | 74,954 | 38,312 | 38,424 | 13,292 | 10,910 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

| Baseline-Sample | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| VARIABLES | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| | Counter Service | Takeout Service | Wait Service |
| Estimate | 1.055*** (0.0177) | 0.894*** (0.0140) | 1.127*** (0.0178) |
| Observations | 127,981 | 127,365 | 73,381 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

| Inverse-Sample | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| VARIABLES | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| | Counter Service | Takeout Service | Wait Service |
| Estimate | 1.064*** (0.0269) | 0.810*** (0.0181) | 1.160*** (0.0236) |
| Observations | 126,011 | 124,867 | 72,645 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

¹To reduce noise, only inspections conducted by inspectors who have done at least 50 inspections remain in the regressions.

Sample Construction

- Convert from inspection level data to a restaurant-month level panel data
- When an inspection occurs in the middle of a month:
 - Consider only calls that were made in between the latest event and the end of the month
 - Calculate a weight variable as the fraction of days since the event to the end of the month

Impact of Restaurant Score on Complaint Call Specification

- 2nd Stage

$$\begin{aligned} Pr(Called_{it}) = & \delta_i + \tau_t + \beta_0 Score_{it} + \beta_1 Month_Since_Inspection_{it} \\ & + \beta_2 Month_Since_Inspection_{it} \times Score_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \end{aligned}$$

- β_3 tests whether the effect of the inspection score changes across time
- Instrument $Score_{it}$ with inspector stringency

Results

| VARIABLES | (1) Prob Call (OLS) | (2) Prob Call (OLS) | (3) Prob Call (OLS) | (4) Prob Call (IV) | (5) Prob Call (IV) | (6) Prob Call (IV) |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| SCORE | -4.67e-05*** (1.53e-05) | -6.95e-06 (1.57e-05) | -9.01e-05*** (1.78e-05) | -8.98e-05* (4.77e-05) | -9.18e-05* (4.99e-05) | -6.21e-05 (6.17e-05) |
| Months Since Inspection | | 0.000540*** (3.72e-05) | -1.81e-05 (6.61e-05) | | 0.000498*** (4.33e-05) | 0.000735* (0.000435) |
| Months Since Inspection × SCORE | | | 5.02e-05*** (5.80e-06) | | -2.16e-05 (3.98e-05) | |
| Observations | 1,223,207 | 1,223,207 | 1,223,207 | 1,223,207 | 1,223,207 | 1,223,207 |
| Year-Month FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| Restaurant FE | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES | YES |
| dependent mean | 0.0145 | 0.0145 | 0.0145 | 0.0145 | 0.0145 | 0.0145 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Conclusion and Discussion

- Marginally more citations leads to improved subsequent inspection results
 - Restaurants improve the most in the areas in which they received citations
 - Some complementarity in cleanliness (ex. better refrigerator leads to few food temperature and food protection violations).
- Customers also perceive the improvement in sanitation by reducing complaint calls
 - One standard deviation increase in inspection score decreases the probability of complaint call by 10%