



INFRASTRUCTURE, SAFETY,  
AND ENVIRONMENT

***Not Always Black and White:  
More Credible Approaches for  
Detecting Racial Profiling***

# ***Racial Profiling Is a Growing Concern***

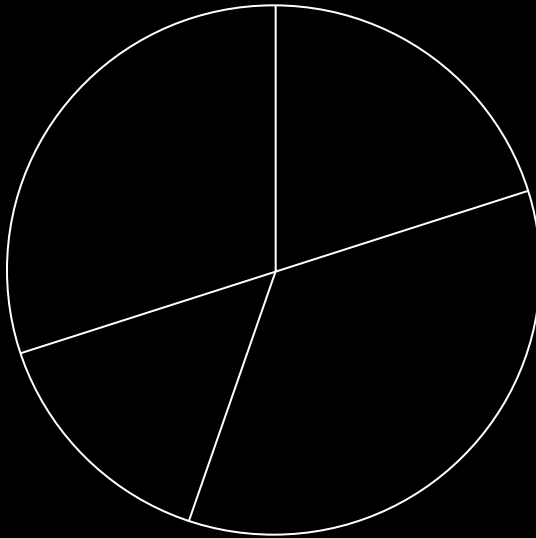
- **I-95 “turnpike” studies in the mid-1990s raised public concern about racial profiling**
  - **Showed concrete evidence of racial profiling policies**
- **Public concern has led to state and local-level action**
  - **At least 14 states have passed legislation to deal with it**
  - **Many localities collect data voluntarily; some are compelled to do so by U.S. Justice Department**
  - **More than 400 police agencies now compile data on racial distribution of stopped motorists**
- **Congress is considering End of Racial Profiling Act**
  - **Mandates data collection to receive Federal funds**

# *Unfortunately, the Quality of the Analysis Using Collected Data Is Weak*

- A growing number of studies claim racial profiling based on analysis of data collected
  - **Texas**: Concluded that “75% of agencies stop more black and Latino drivers than white drivers”
- And some studies hastily conclude no profiling occurs based on analyzed data
  - **Sacramento**: Found that the percentage of black drivers stopped matched the percentage of blacks among crime suspect descriptions

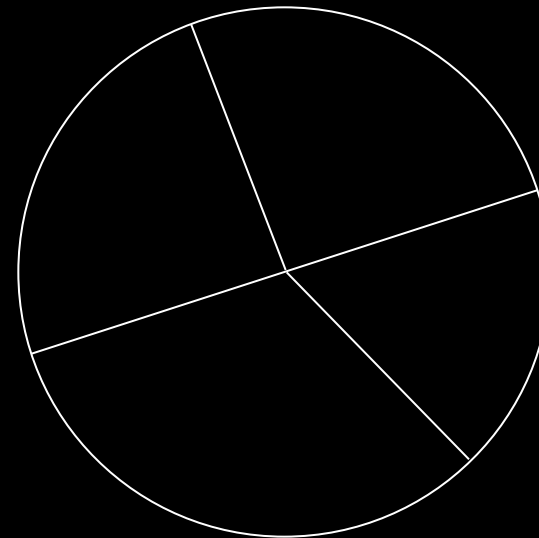
# *Why Is Testing for Racial Profiling So Hard?*

**Racial Distribution of  
People Stopped**



**Difference  
Between**

**Racial Distribution of People at  
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**And**

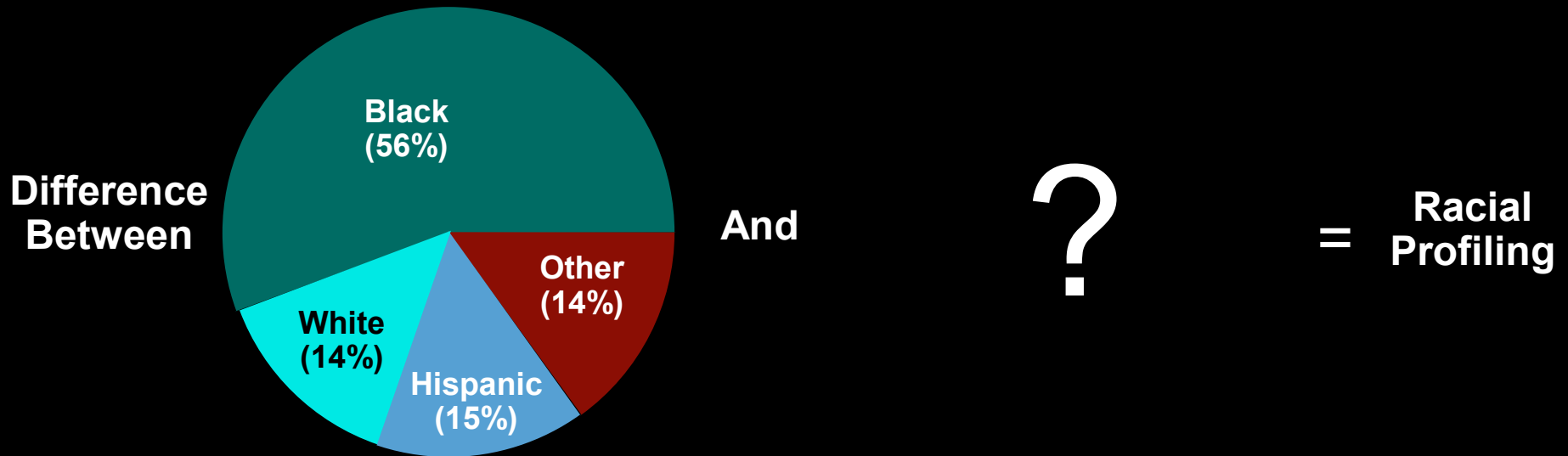
**=**

**Racial  
Profiling**

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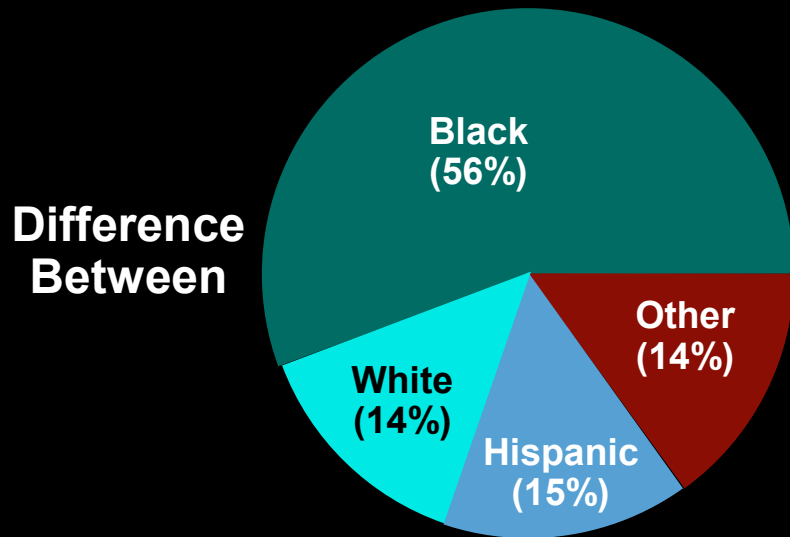
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Source: Oakland Police Department, 2003

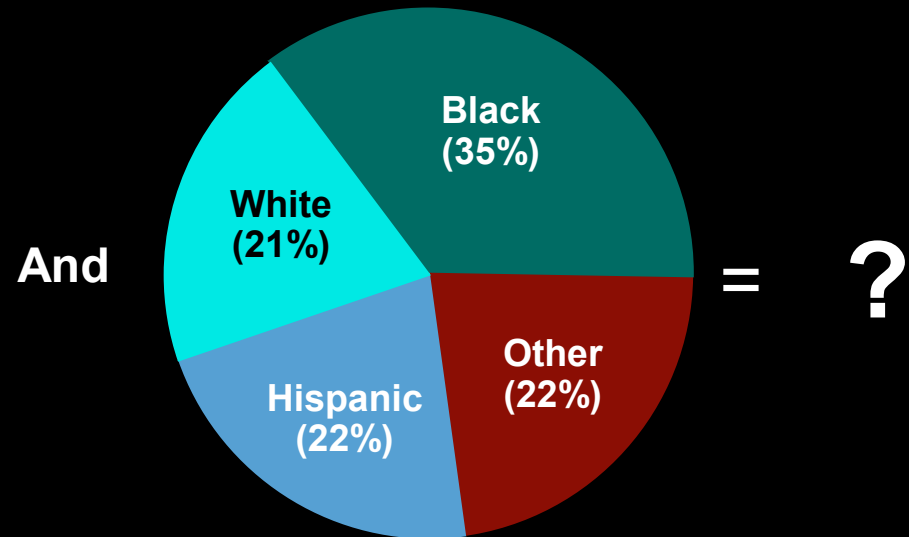
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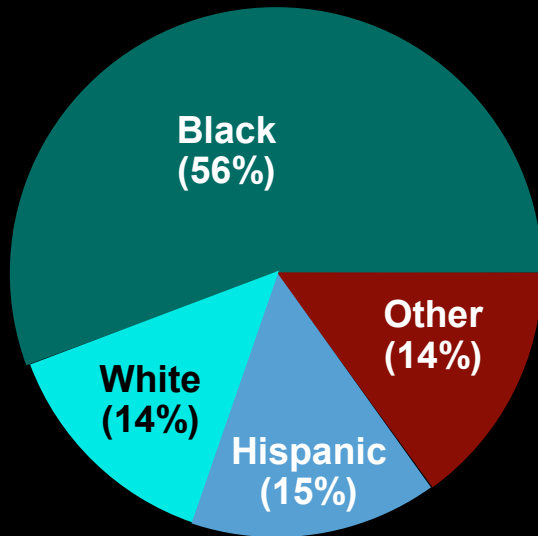
**Racial Distribution of Residents  
According to the Census**



Source: U.S. Census, 2000

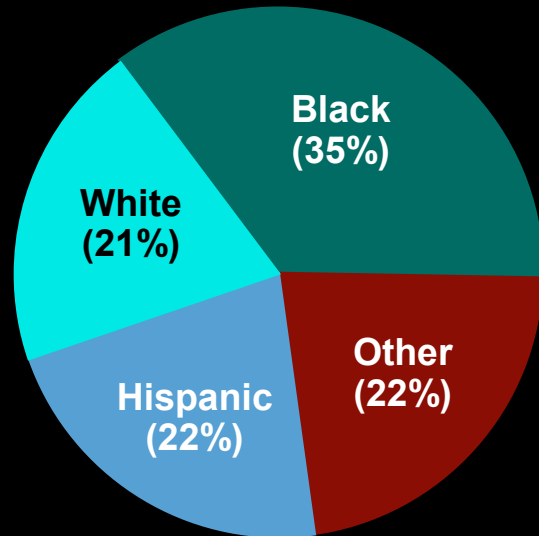
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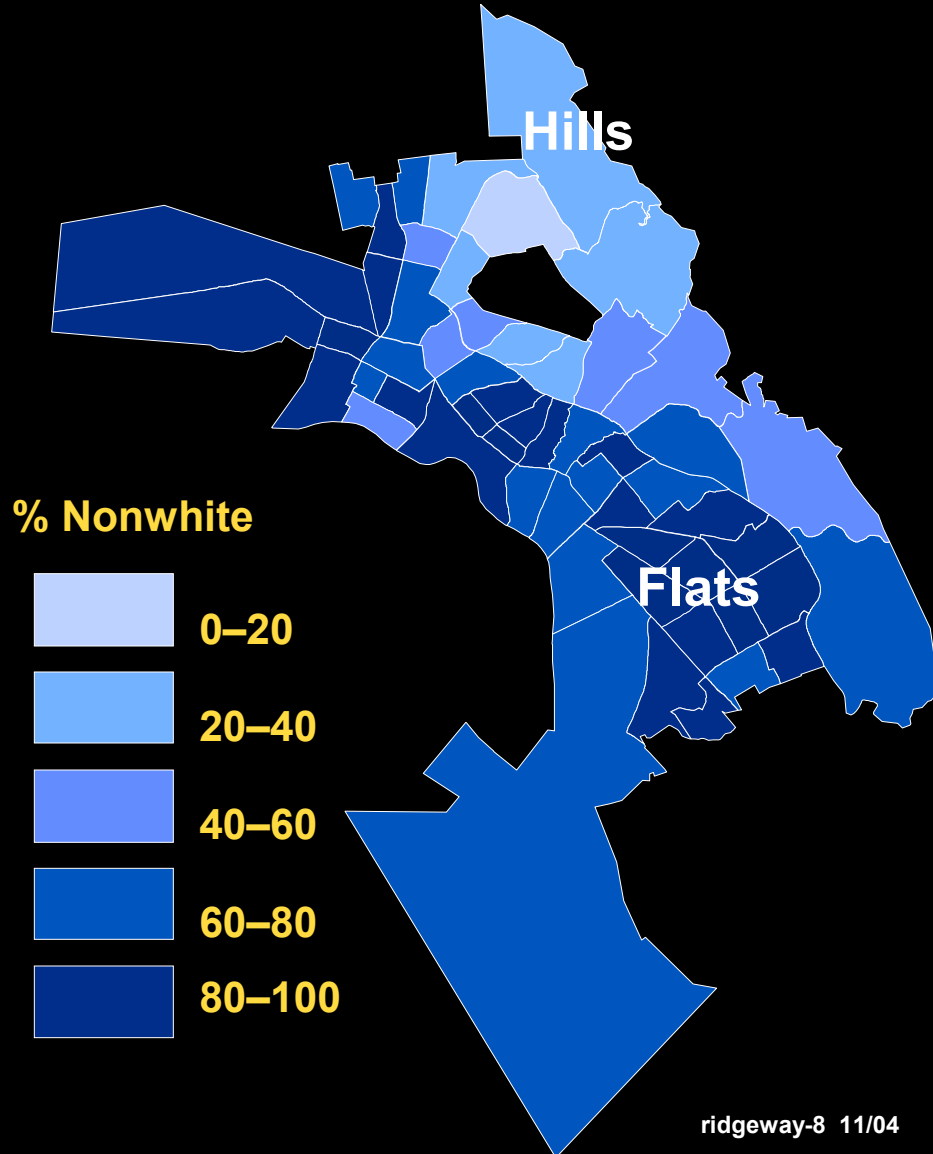
Source: Oakland Police Department, 2003

Source: U.S. Census, 2000

- The difference between the racial distributions may result from:
  - A race bias
  - Driving behavior: car ownership, time on the road, and care
  - Exposure to police

# ***RAND Focused on Applying New Approaches to Assessing Racial Profiling***

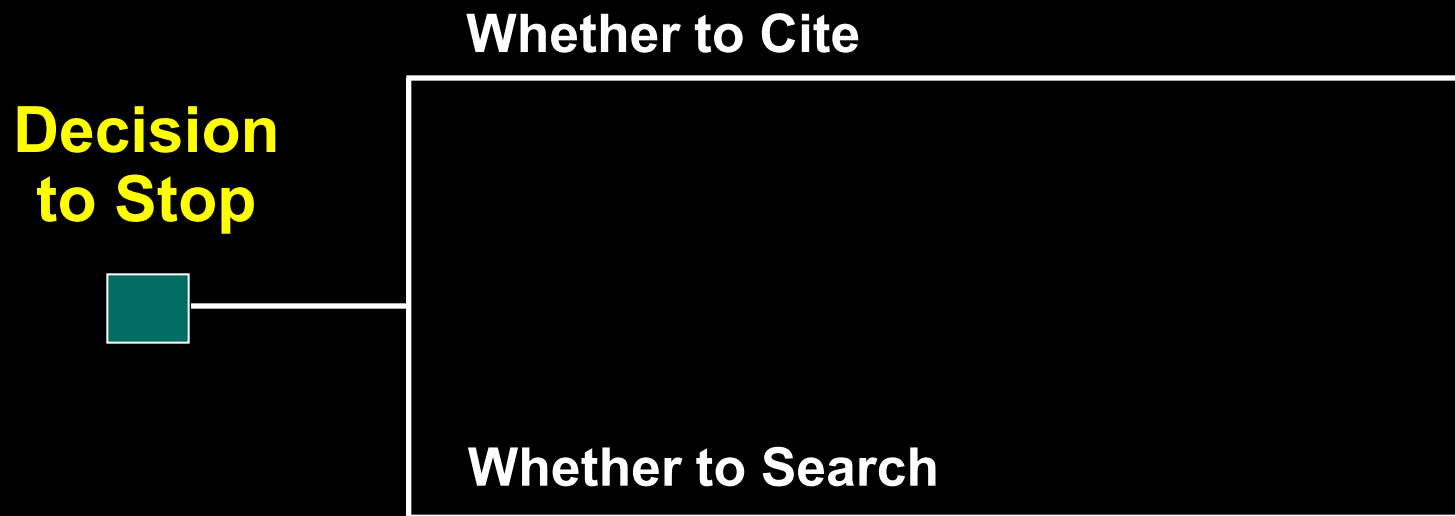
- **Work on policy development and data collection with Oakland Police Department**
- **Assess whether there is racial profiling in the decision to stop**
- **Assess whether there is racial profiling in post-stop activity**
- **Use data from Oakland Police Department**
  - **7,607 recorded vehicle stops**
  - **Between 6/15/03 and 12/30/03**





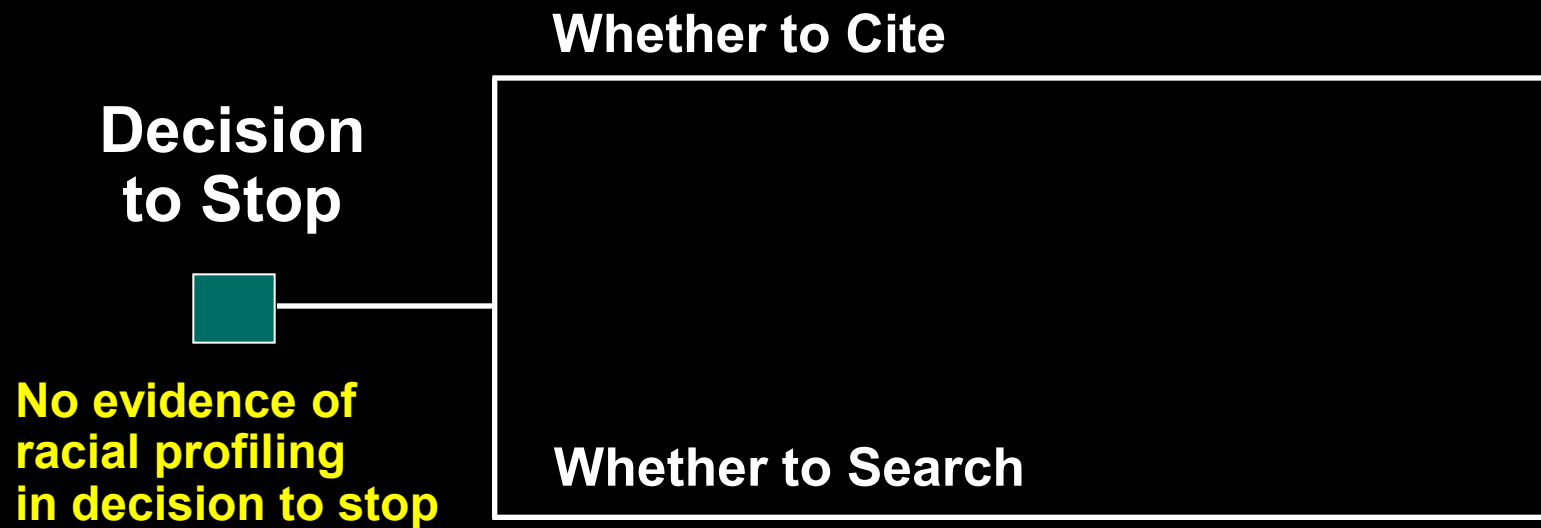
# *Is There Racial Profiling in Oakland?*

## Post-Stop Activity



# *Is There Racial Profiling in Oakland?*

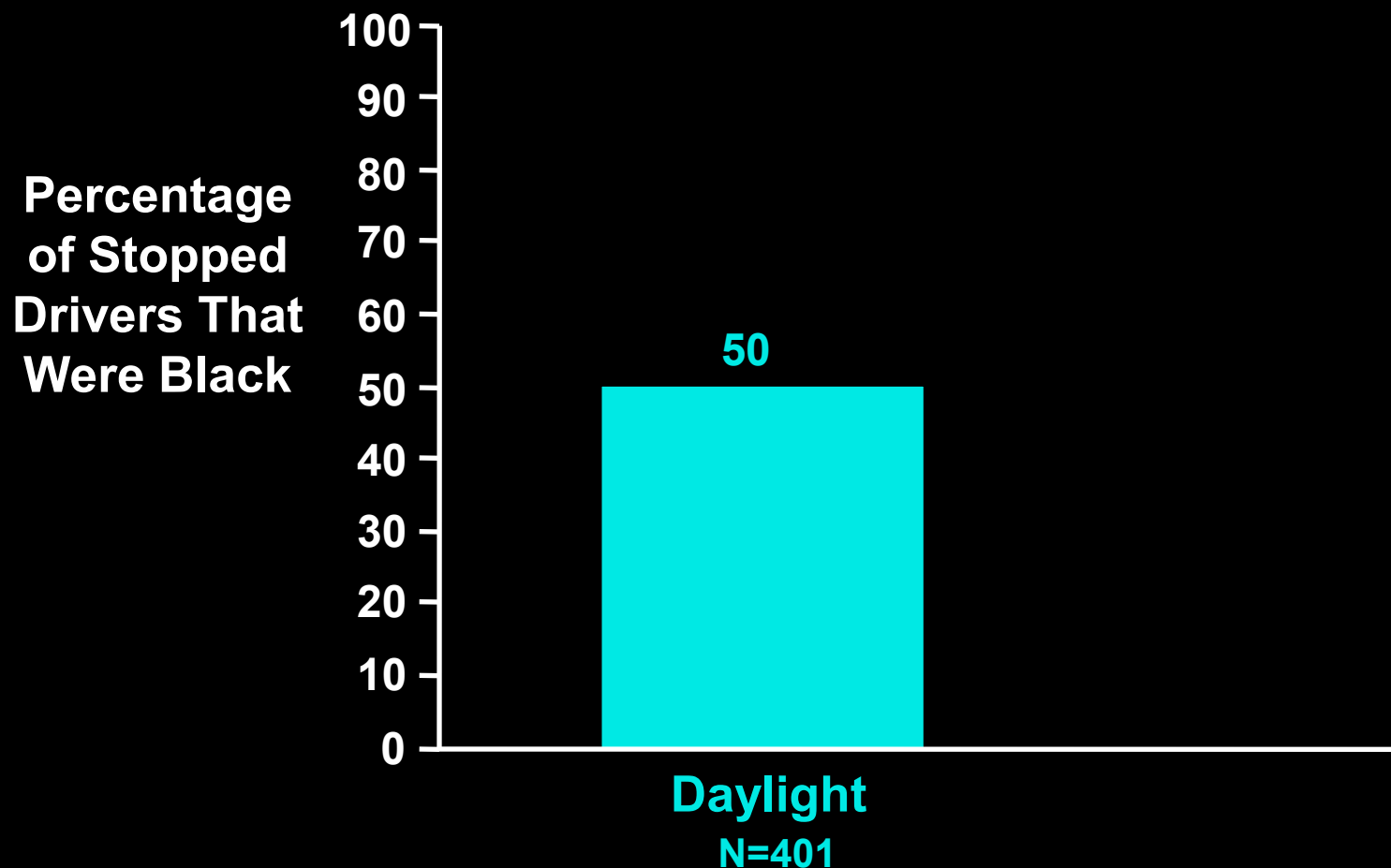
## **Post-Stop Activity**



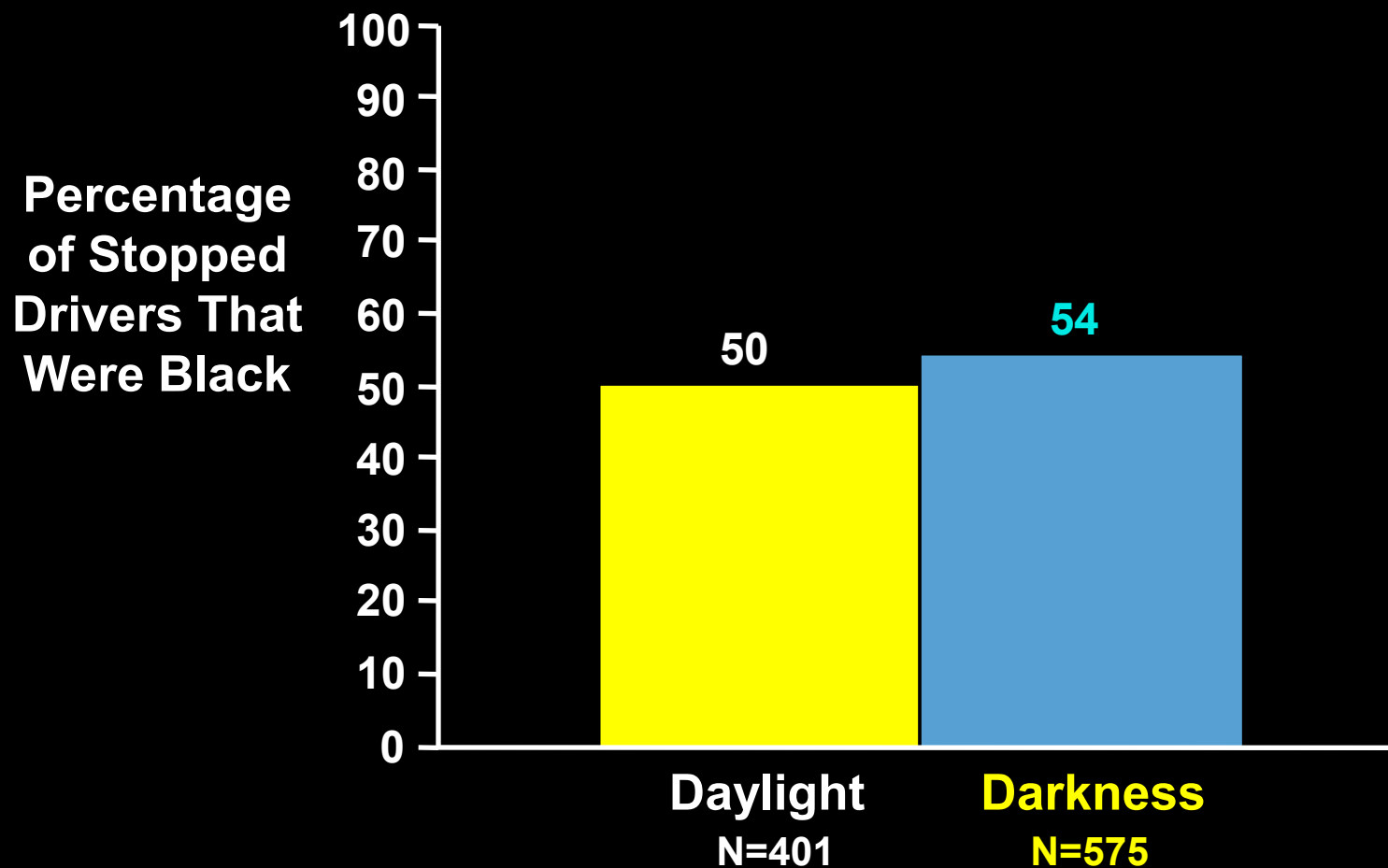
# ***RAND's Approach Relies on Natural Lighting Experiment to Assess Racial Profiling***

- **Does an officer's ability to identify race of driver in advance influence which drivers he stops?**
- **The ability to identify race in advance of the stop decreases as it becomes dark**
- **We directly test whether the ability to identify the race affects the race distribution of the stopped drivers**

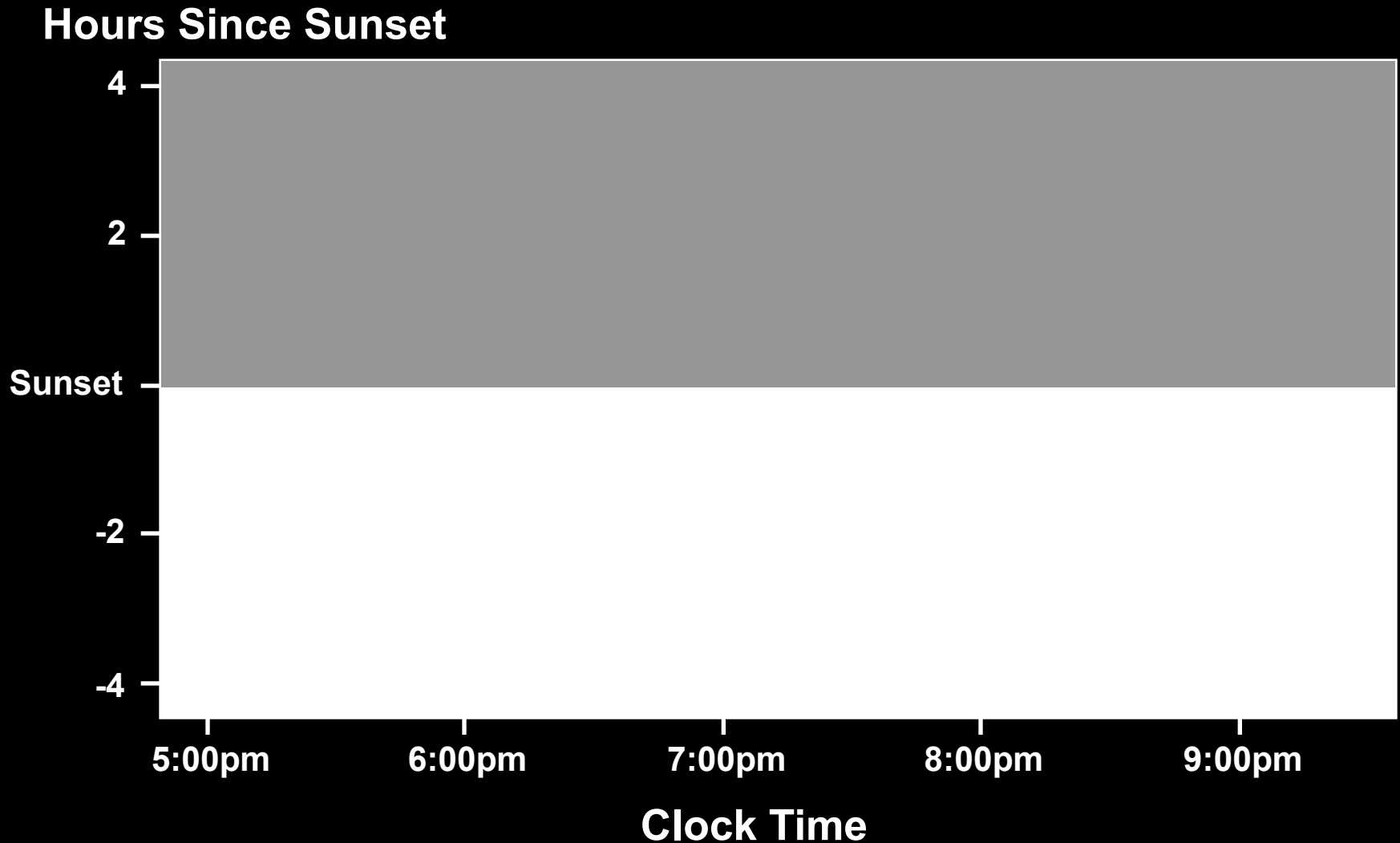
# *Simple “Veil of Darkness” Test Shows No Evidence of Racial Bias in the Decision to Stop*



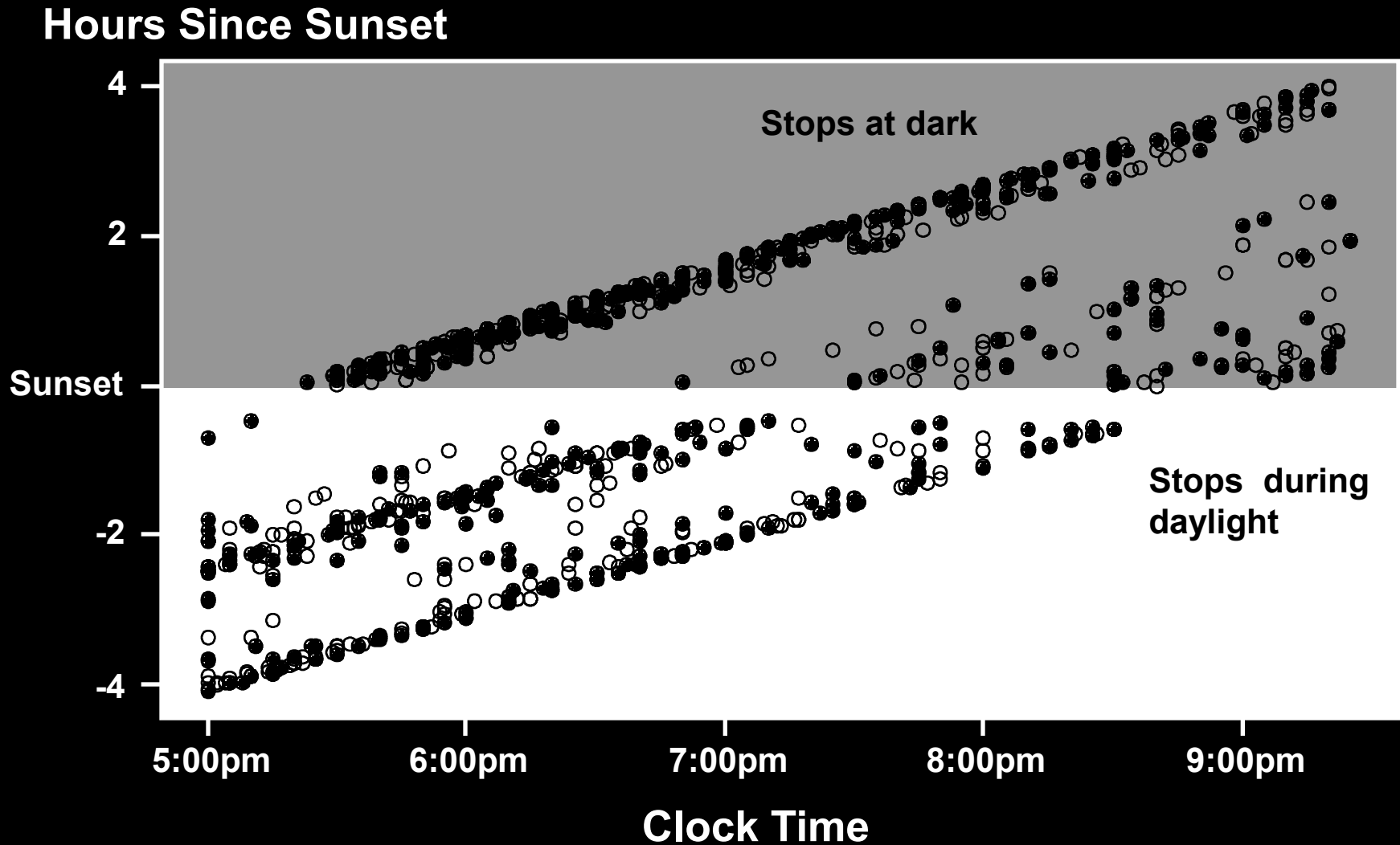
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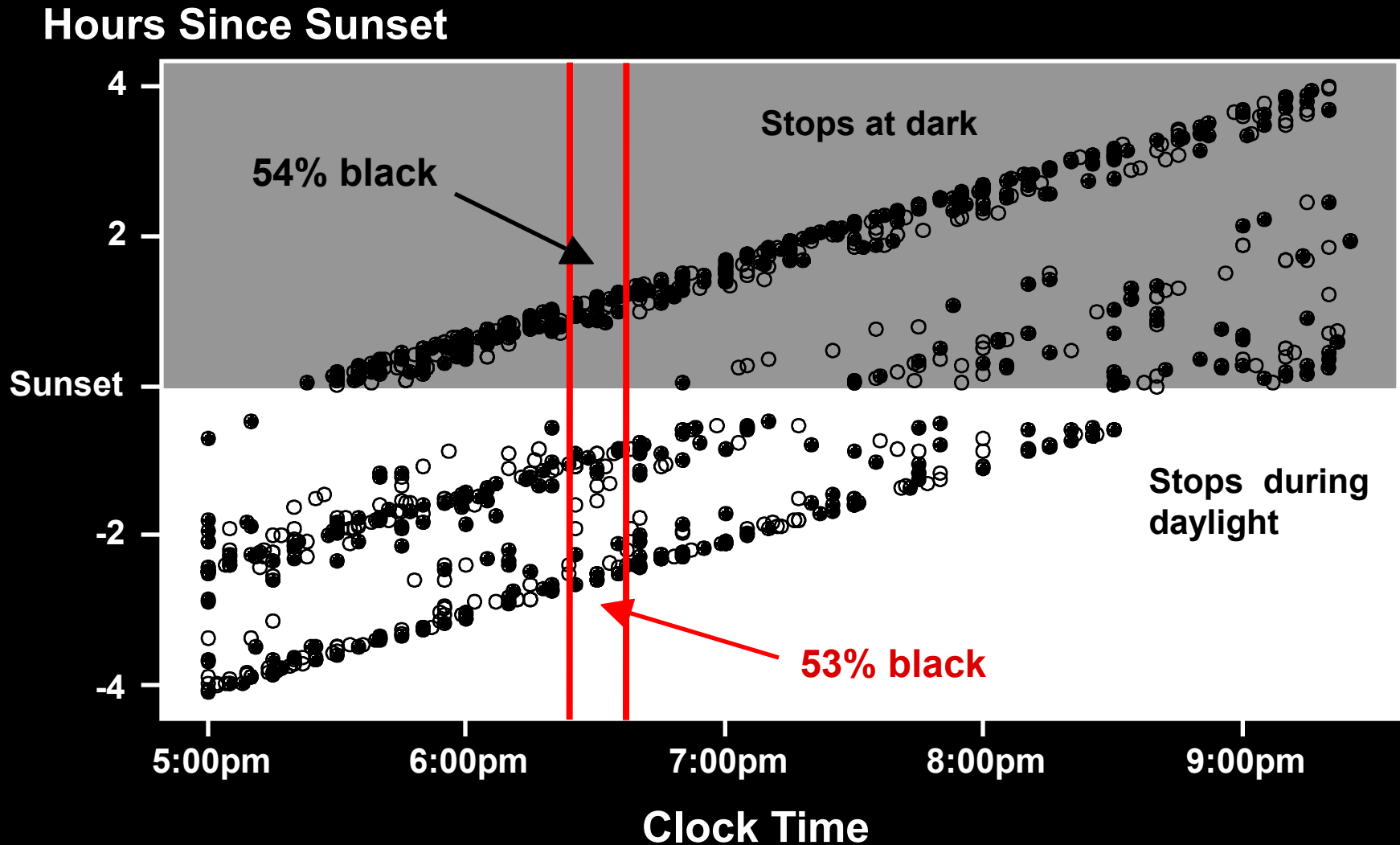
# ***We Used a More Sophisticated Approach That Involved Adjusting for “Clock Time”***



# *We Compare Stops During Daylight with Stops in Darkness*



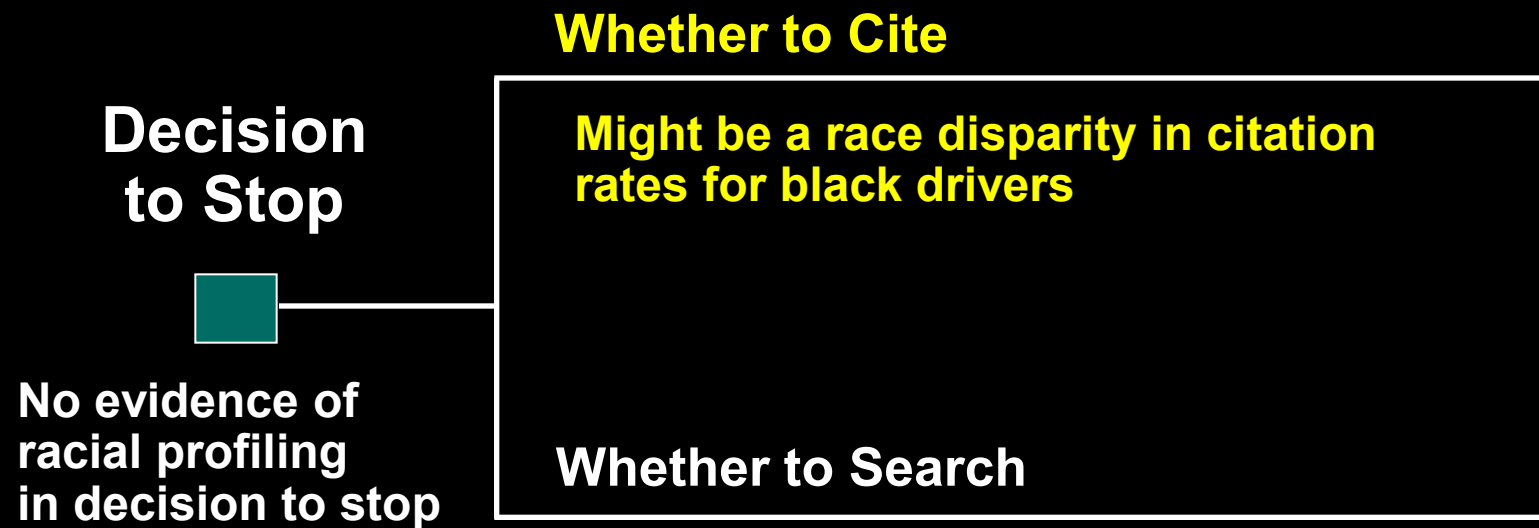
# *There Is No Difference in the Rate that Black Drivers Are Stopped*





# *Is There Racial Profiling in Oakland?*

## Post-Stop Activity



# *Propensity Score Analysis Created Comparison Group in Terms of Stop Features*

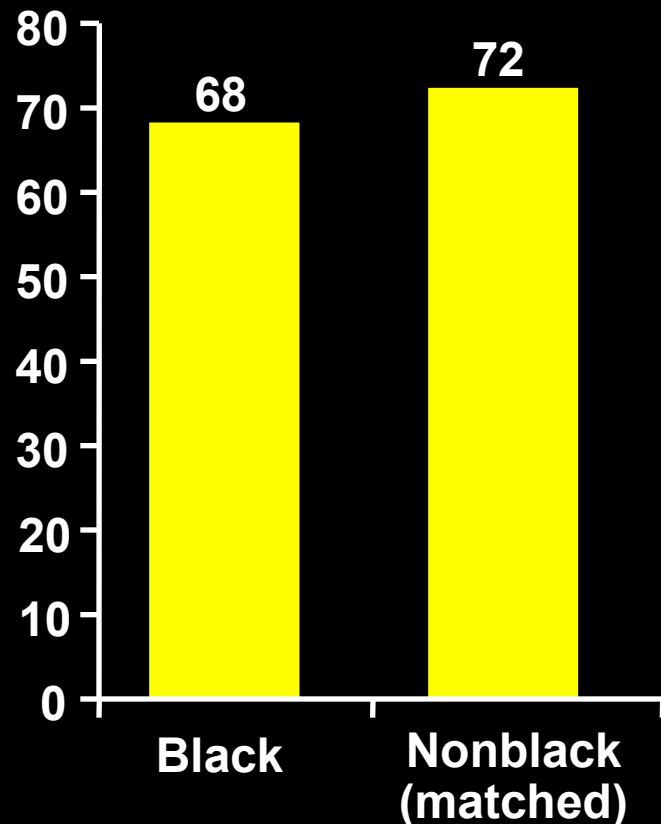
<b>Stop Feature</b>	<b>% Black Drivers (N=3,703)</b>		<b>% Nonblack Drivers (unmatched) (N=3,033)</b>
Region East Hills ⋮	32% 1%		14% 3%
Time of Day 12AM-4AM ⋮	16%		7%
Age 18-29 ⋮	47%		38%
Reason Mechanical/ Registration ⋮	26%		16%

# Propensity Score Analysis Created Comparison Group in Terms of Stop Features

Stop Feature	% Black Drivers (N=3,703)	% Nonblack Drivers (matched) (N=2,089)	% Nonblack Drivers (unmatched) (N=3,033)
Region East Hills ⋮	32% 1%	30% 1%	14% 3%
Time of Day 12AM-4AM ⋮	16%	13%	7%
Age 18-29 ⋮	47%	45%	38%
Reason Mechanical/ Registration ⋮	26%	23%	16%

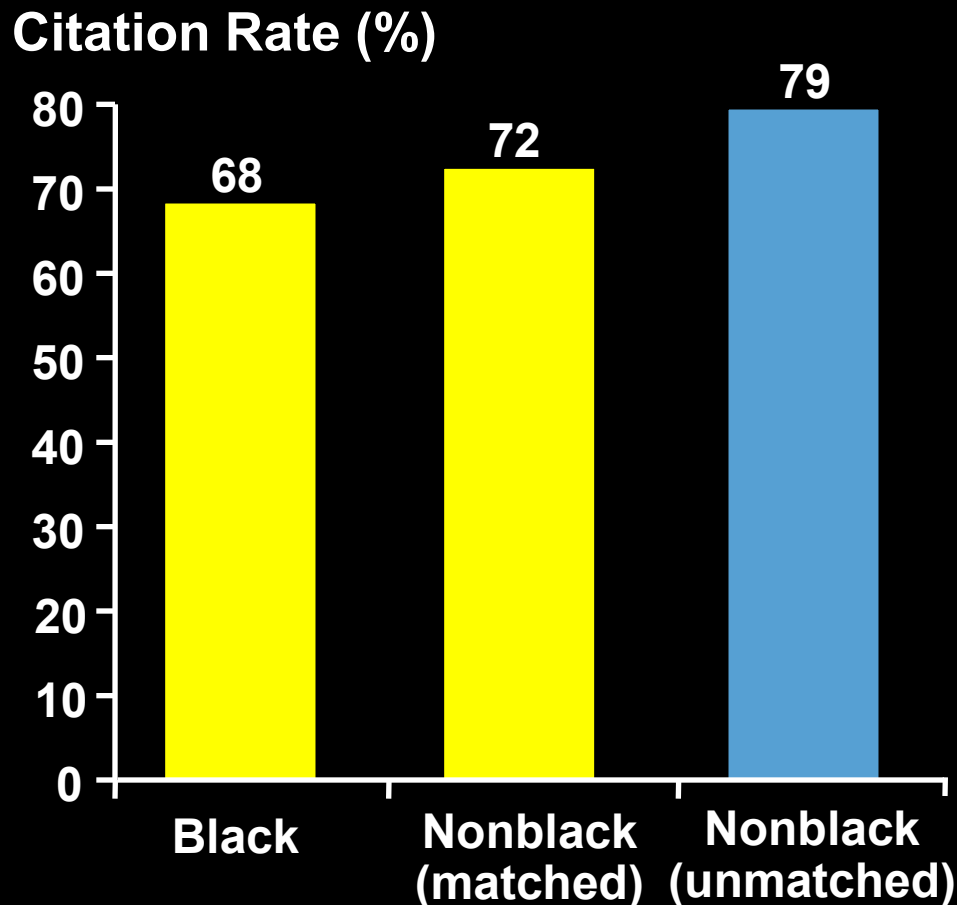
# *Analysis Shows That a Race Disparity in Citation Rates Might Exist*

Citation Rate (%)



- Citation rate for black drivers is 4% less than for comparable non-black drivers
- Finding potentially implies that either
  - Police are slightly more hesitant to cite black drivers
  - Some of stops involving black drivers were of a level of severity unlikely to result in citation

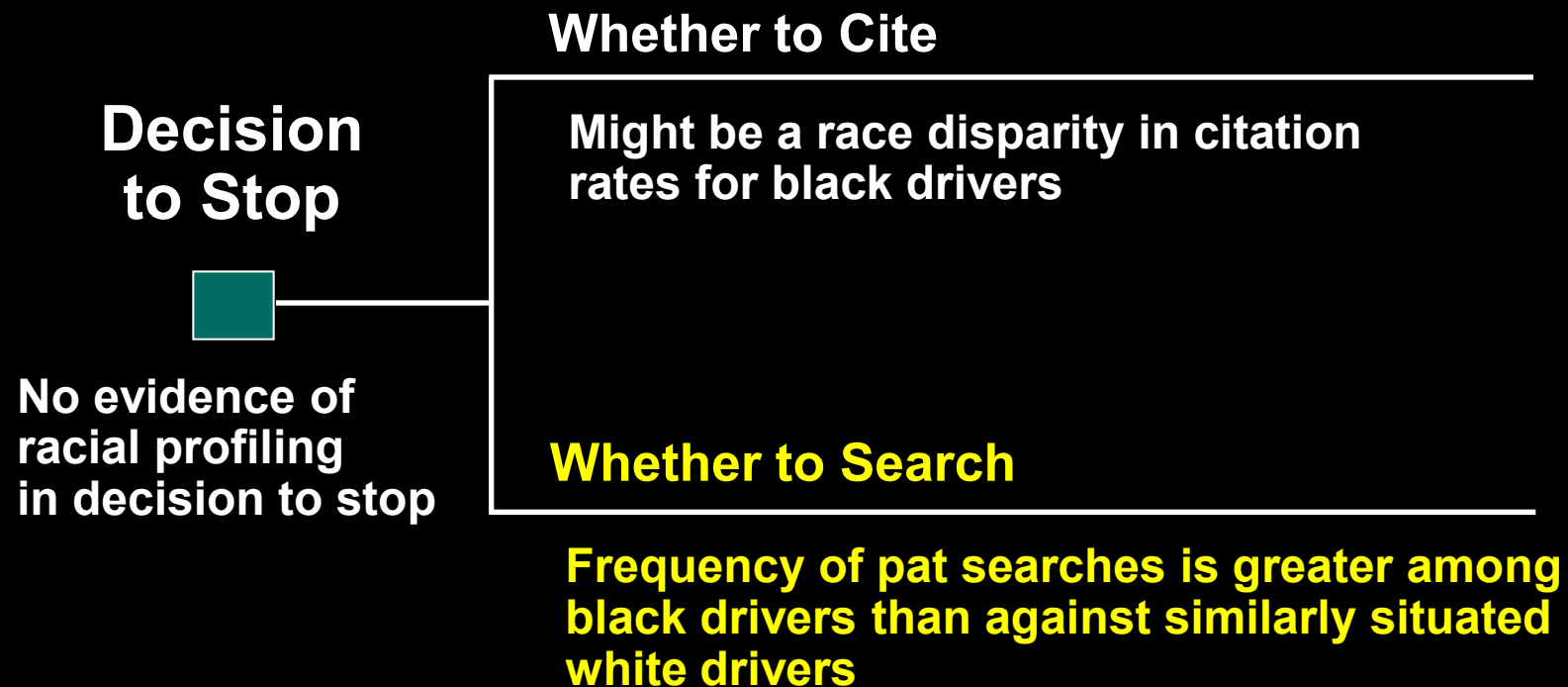
## *But the Analysis Also Shows the Danger of Making Naïve Comparisons*



- When we compare black vs. nonblack (unmatched), difference is 11%
- Had we not adjusted for factors such as time and location of stop, we would have concluded that black drivers are *much* less likely to be cited than nonblack ones

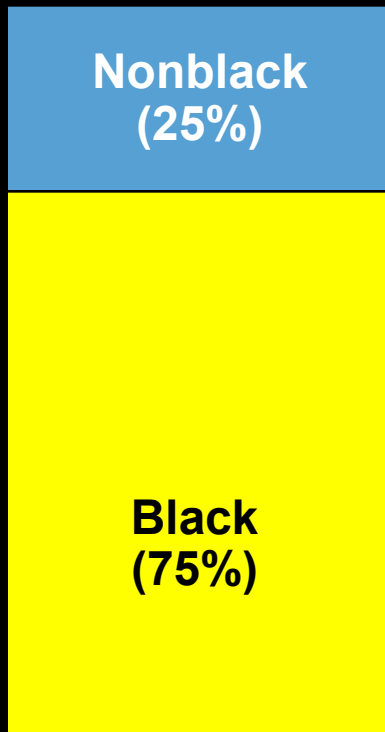
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## **Post-Stop Activity**

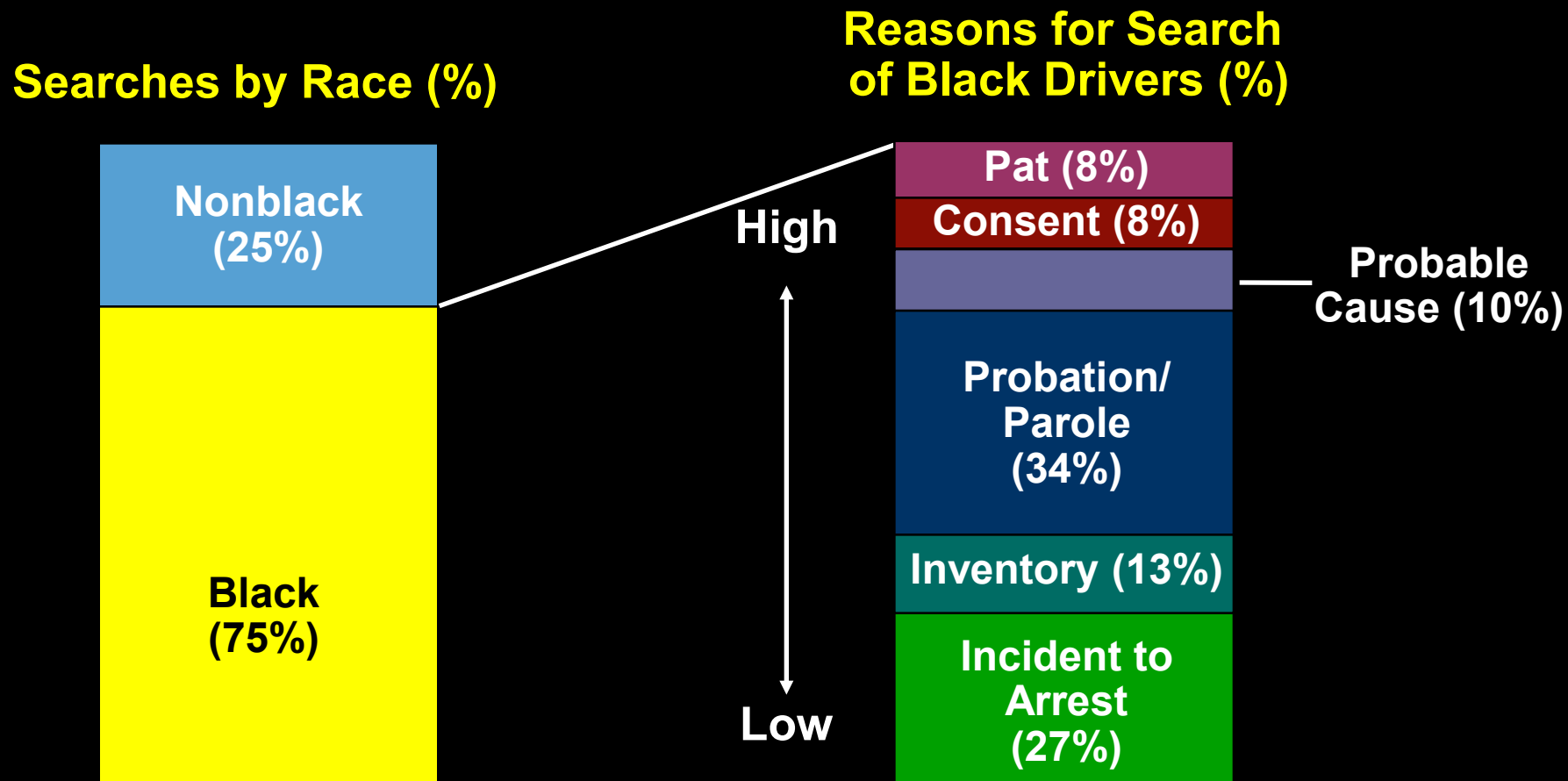


# ***Black Drivers Bear the Burden of Searches***

## **Searches by Race (%)**

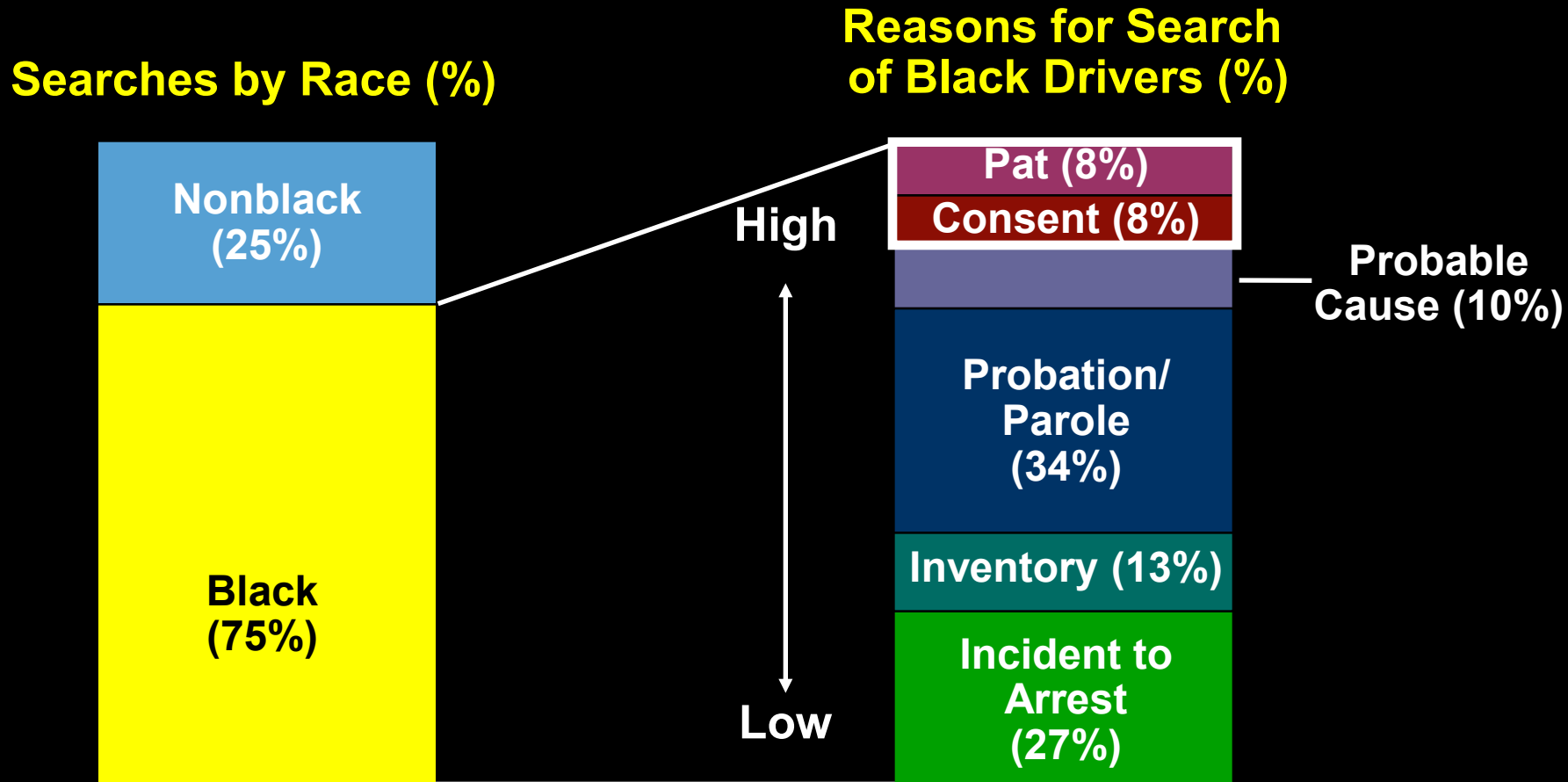


# *Black Drivers Bear the Burden of Searches but Most Searches Are Low-Discretion Ones*





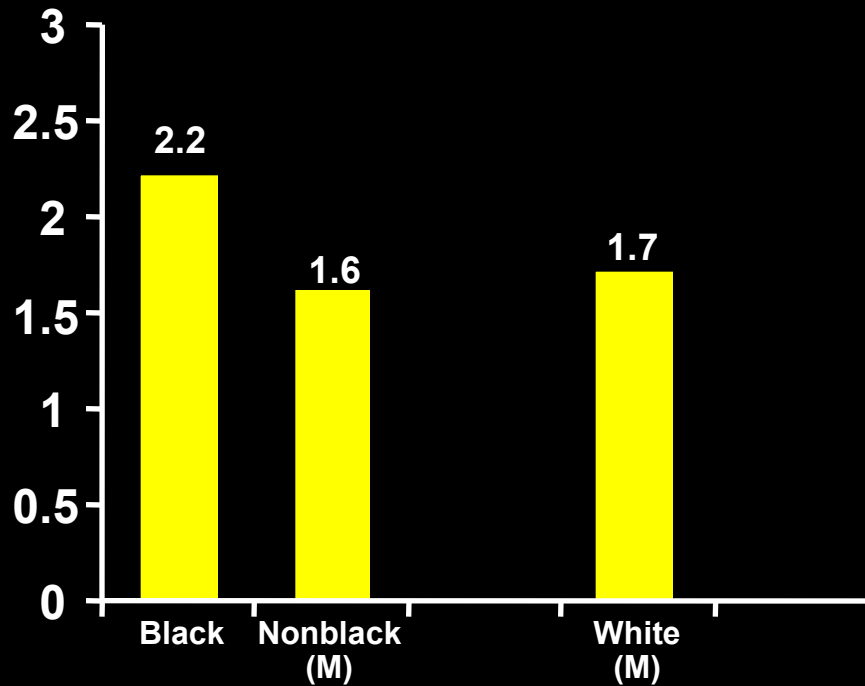
# *Black Drivers Bear the Burden of Searches but Most Searches Are Low-Discretion Ones*



*We focus on pat and consent searches*

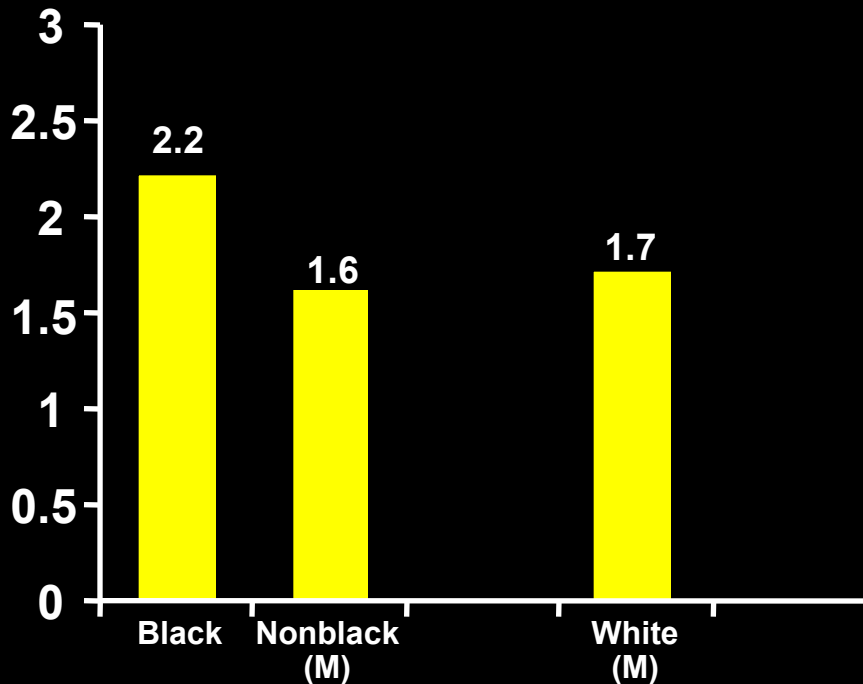
# *Consent Searches Have Similar Rates*

## Consent Searches (%)

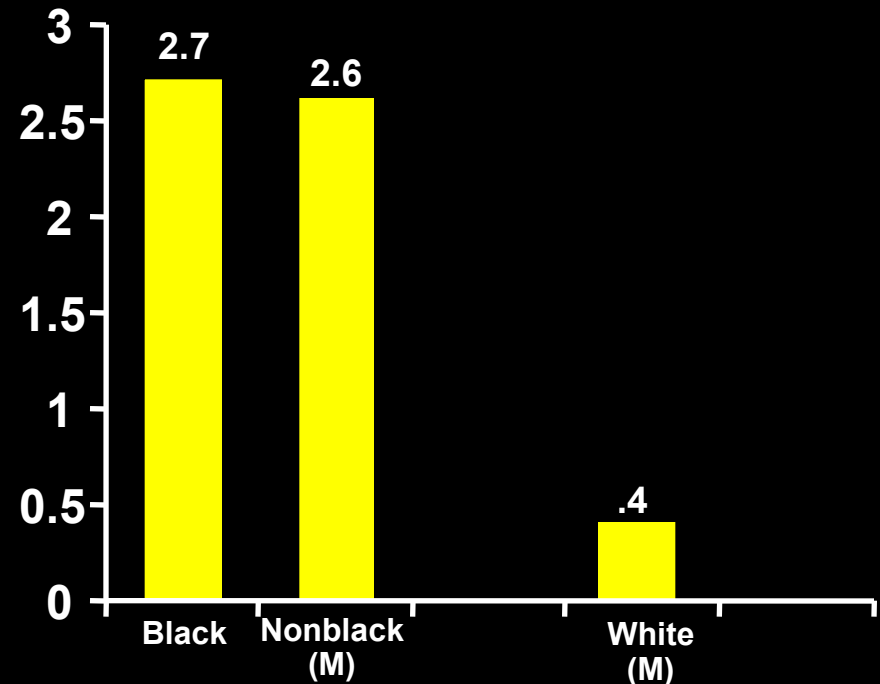


# Consent Searches Have Similar Rates, *but Pat Searches More Likely for Blacks Than Whites*

Consent Searches (%)

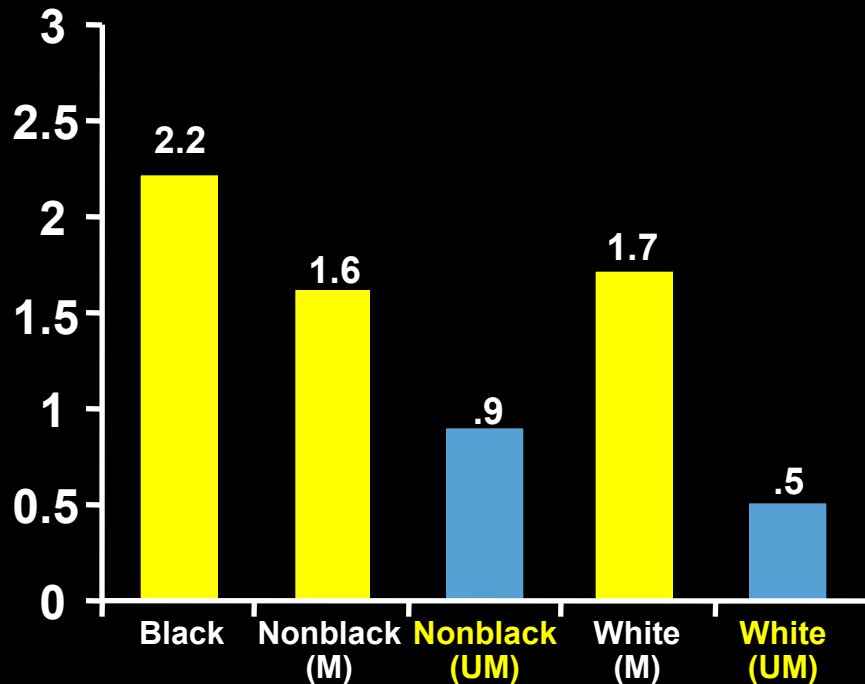


Pat Searches (%)

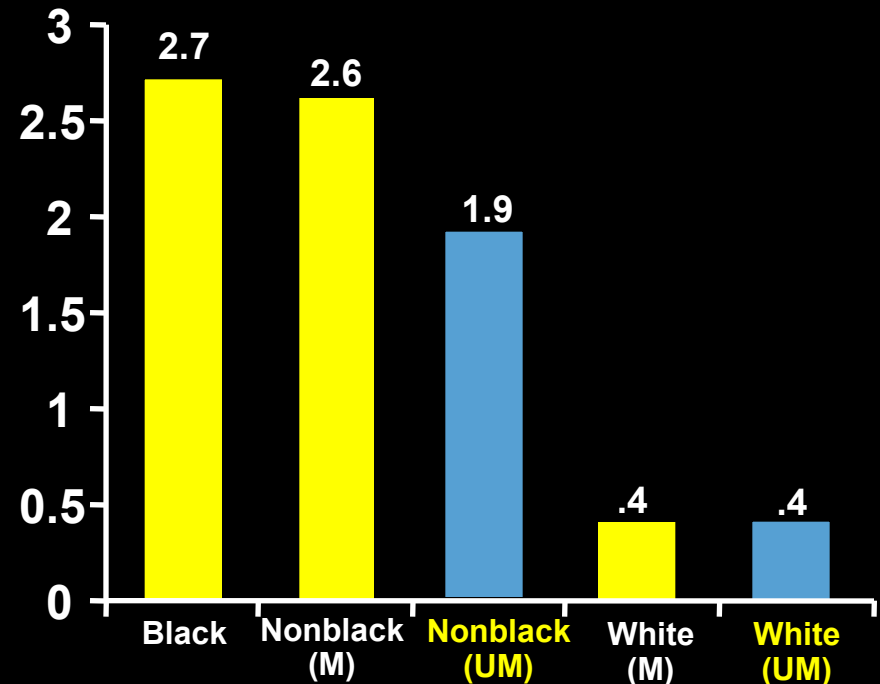


# Once Again, Naïve Comparisons Can Distort the Findings

## Consent Searches (%)



## Pat Searches (%)



# ***Summary: Is There Racial Profiling in Oakland?***

## **Post-Stop Activity**

### **Whether to Cite**

**Might be a race disparity in citation rates for black drivers**

### **Decision to Stop**



**No evidence of racial profiling in decision to stop**

### **Whether to Search**

**Frequency of pat searches is greater among black drivers than against similarly situated white drivers**

## ***Broader Conclusions***

- **It is possible to do more credible analyses of racial profiling**
  - **Objective analyzer using credible approach**
- **Naïve analysis methods can exaggerate (or even understate) the effect of racial bias**
- **Importance of credible analyses increases as data collection becomes mandated**

## ***Broader Conclusions***

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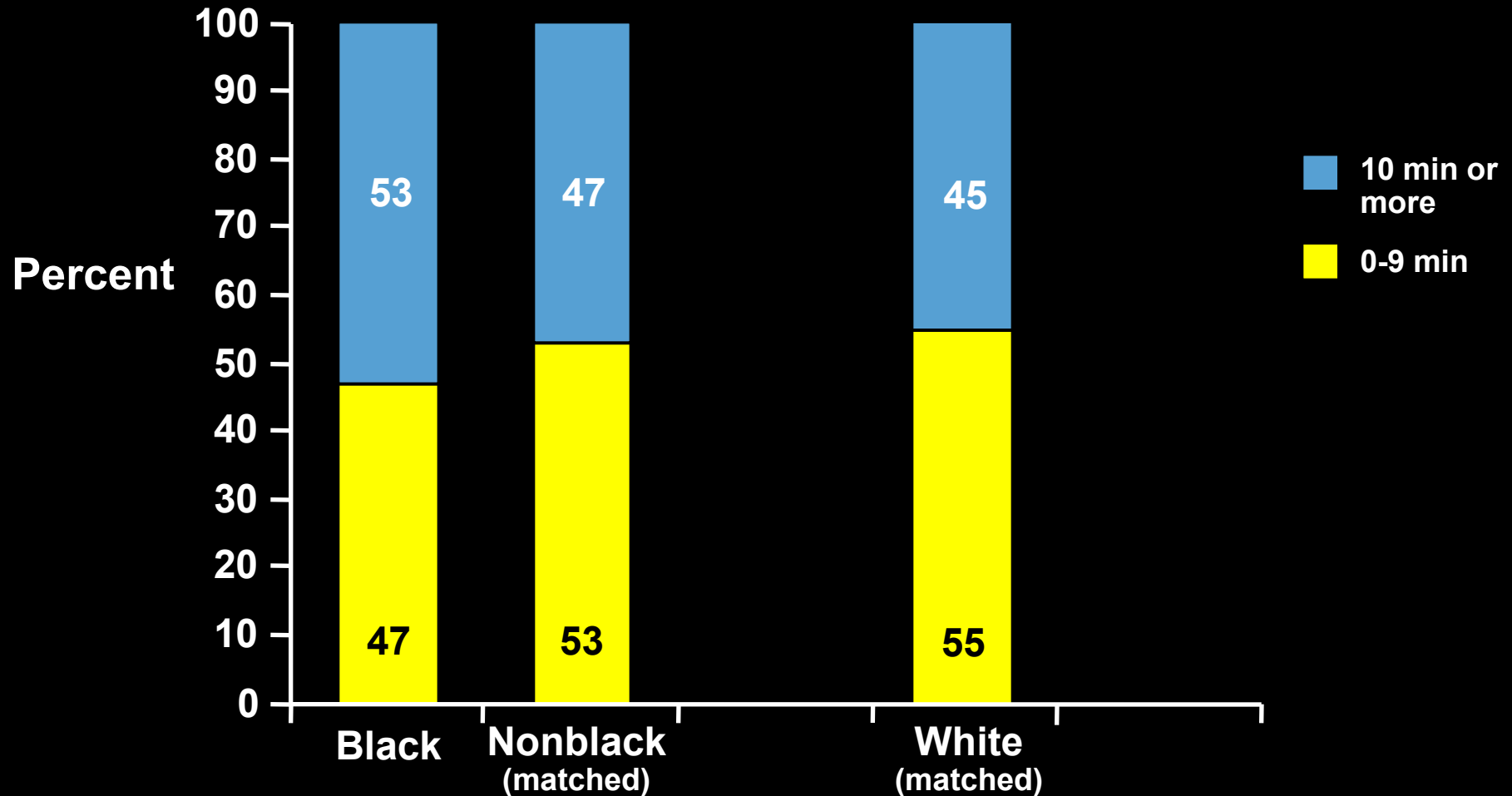
***We will be applying approach with data from other cities***



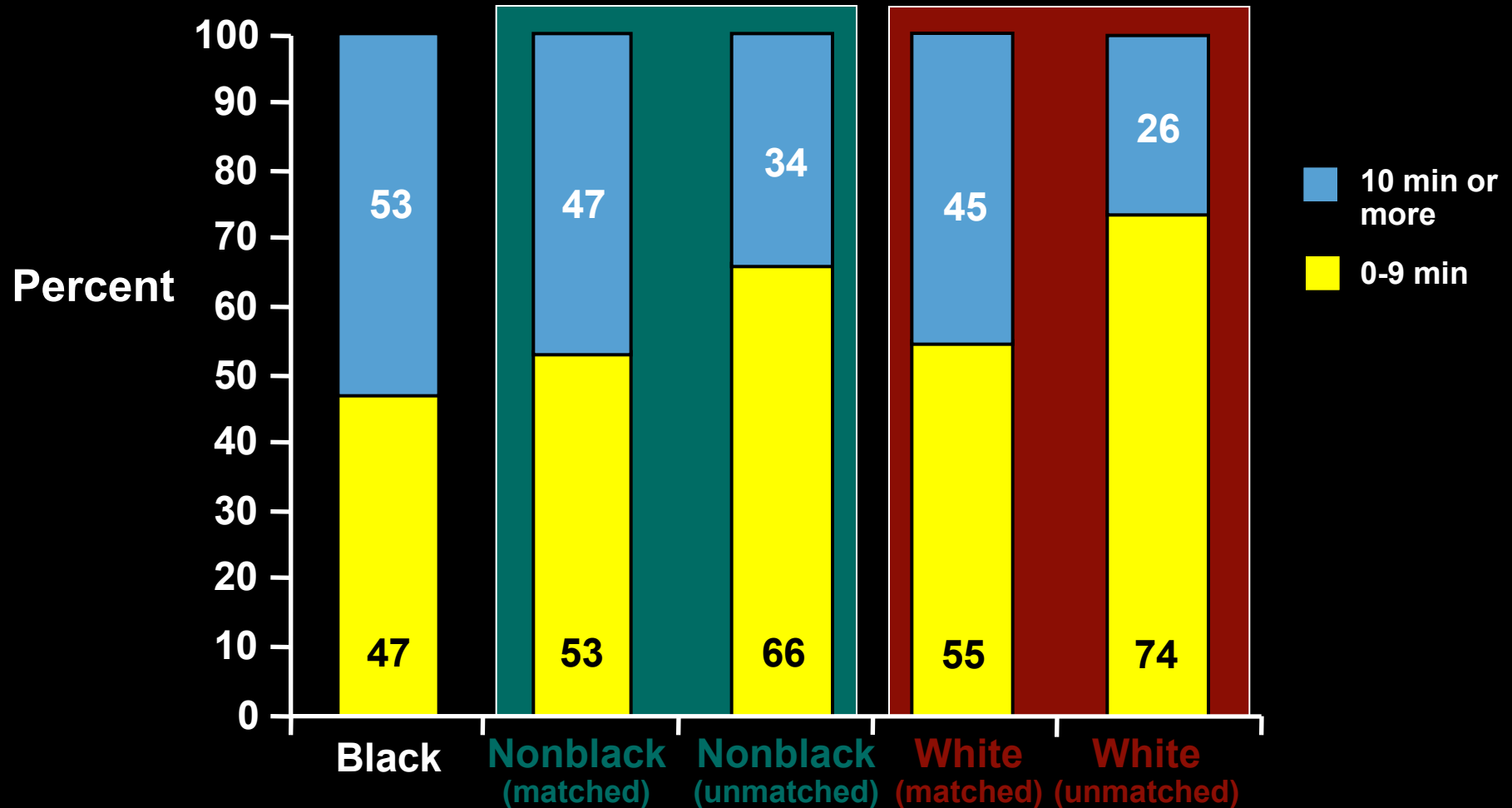
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# *Black Drivers Seemed More Likely to Have Longer Stops Than Nonblack or White Drivers*



# *Naïve Comparisons Considerably Overstate the Problem*



# ***Sensitivity Analysis Tests Show the Findings Are Robust***

<b>Issue</b>	<b>Analysis Result</b>
Could still be racial bias if many fewer black drivers were at risk of being stopped during the day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• But to change finding, difference in exposure would need to change by 10 percentage points</li><li>• Unlikely given control for clock time</li></ul>
Could still be racial bias if there were seasonal changes in racial distribution over June–December period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• But repeating analysis using only October and November data does not change the finding</li></ul>
Could still be racial bias because stops are under-reported in the data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• But approach is robust to some kinds of underreporting, even if reporting rates differ for black/nonblack drivers</li></ul>

# *Approaches to Dealing with “Benchmarking” Problem Are, in Turn, Problematic*

<b>Approach</b>	<b>Problem</b>
Using census data	
Using traffic surveys	
Using only outcomes of the stop	

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Using traffic surveys	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Are expensive</li><li>• Validity may fail in multi-ethnic environments</li><li>• Provide only limited measure of driver care</li></ul>
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Using only outcomes of the stop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Avoids the challenging problem of detecting bias in the decision to stop</b></li></ul>