



INFRASTRUCTURE, SAFETY,  
AND ENVIRONMENT

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

# *Racial Profiling Is a Growing Concern*

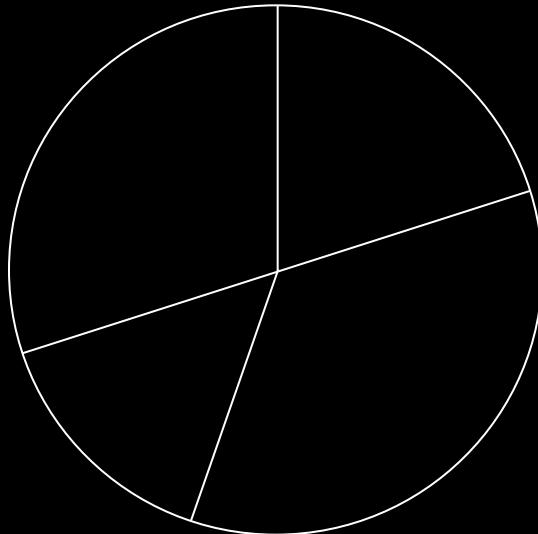
- I-95 “turnpike” studies in the mid-1990s raised public concern about racial profiling
  - Showed concrete evidence of racial profiling policies
- Public concern has led to state and local-level action
  - At least 14 states have passed legislation to deal with it
  - Many localities collect data voluntarily; 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

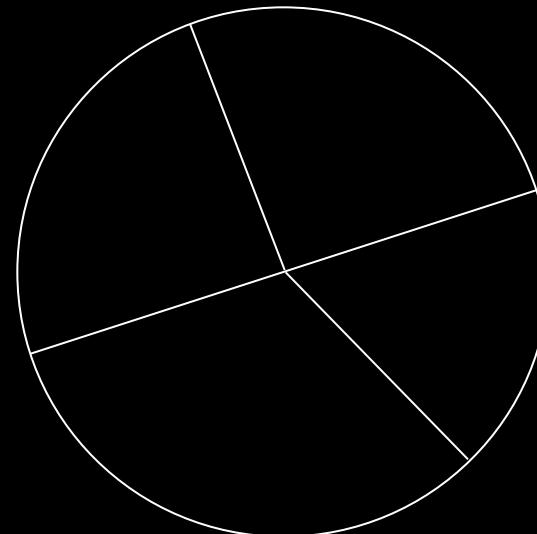
# *Why Is Testing for Racial Profiling So Hard?*

Racial Distribution of  
People Stopped



Difference  
Between

Racial Distribution of People at  
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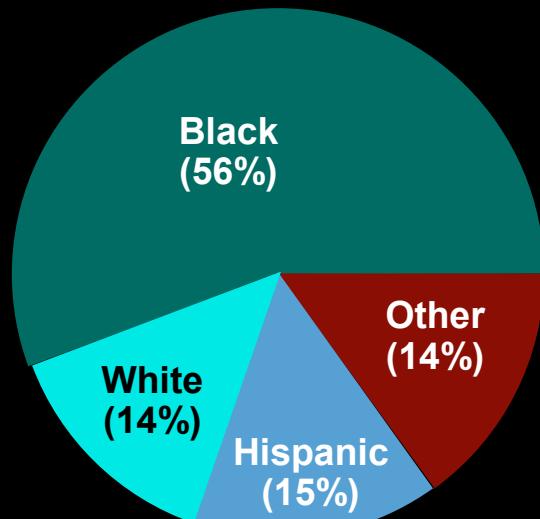


And

= Racial  
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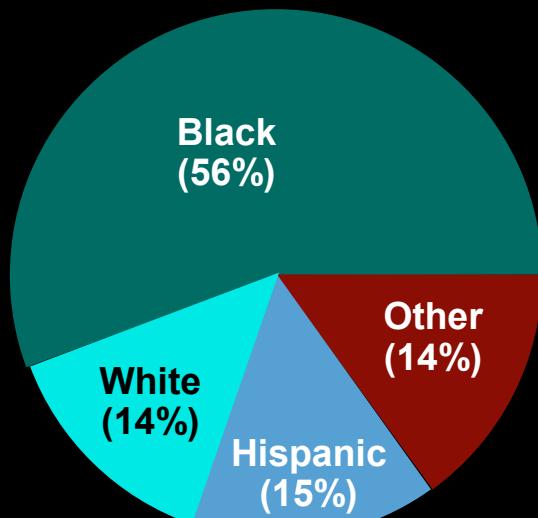
?

= Racial Profiling

Source: Oakland Police Department, 2003

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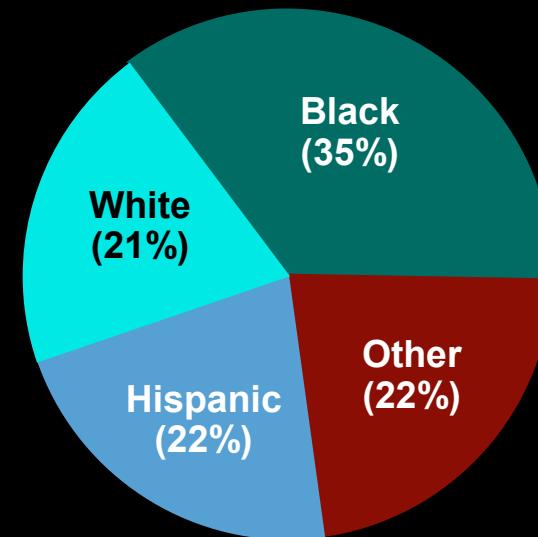


Difference Between

Racial Distribution of Residents According to the Census

And

= ?

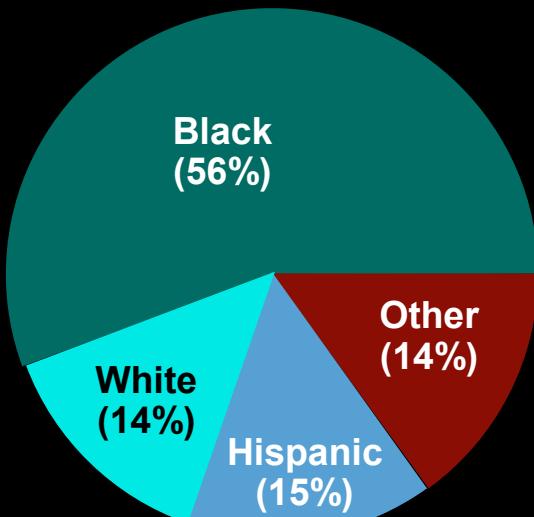


Source: Oakland Police Department, 2003

Source: U.S. Census, 2000

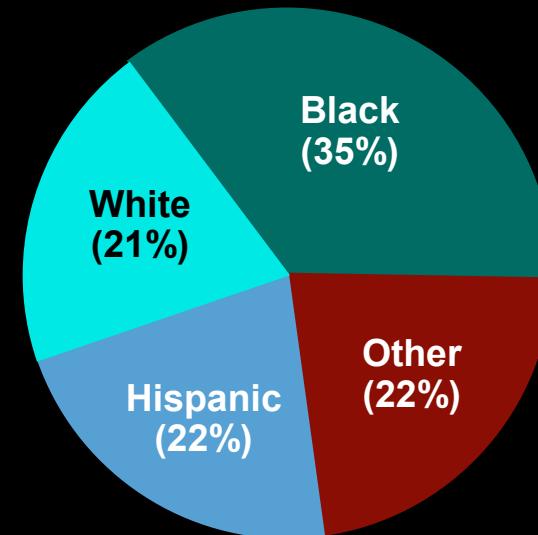
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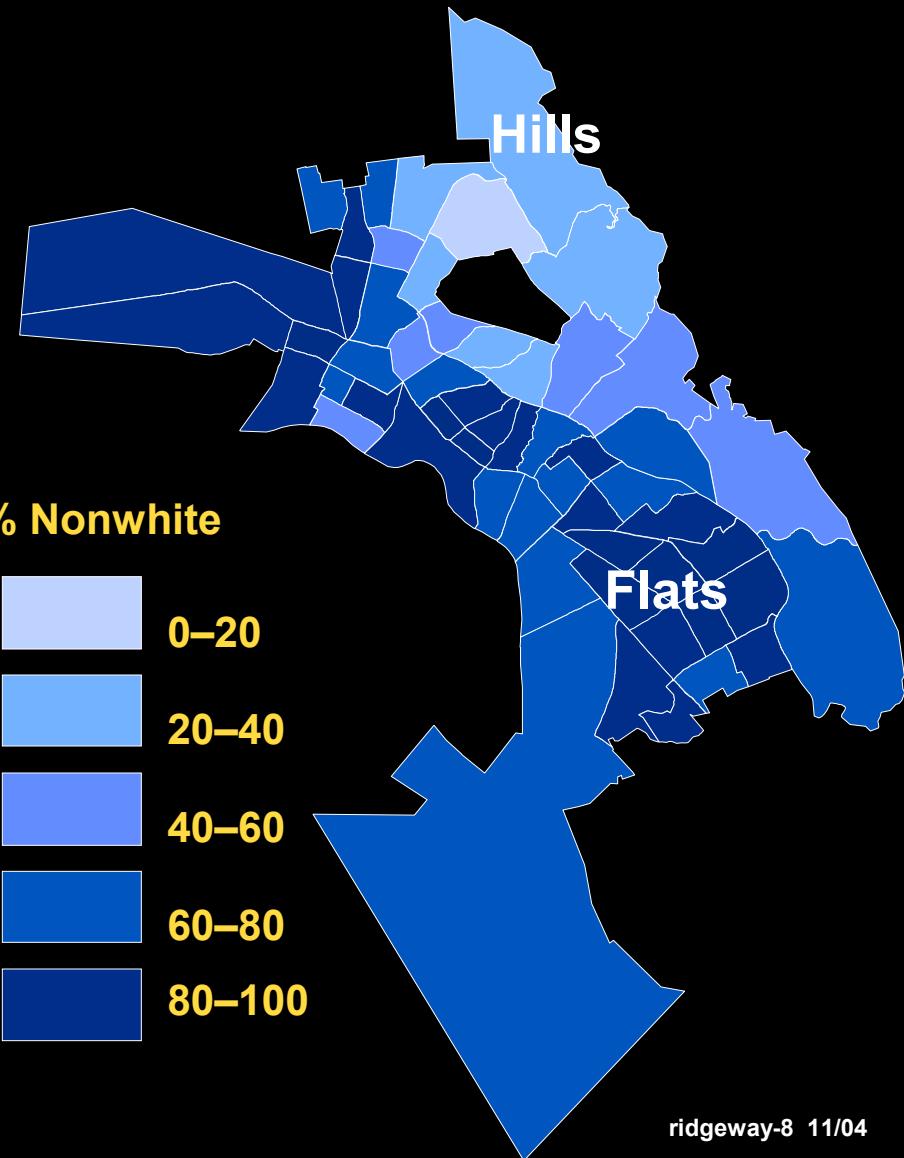
Source: Oakland Police Department, 2003

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

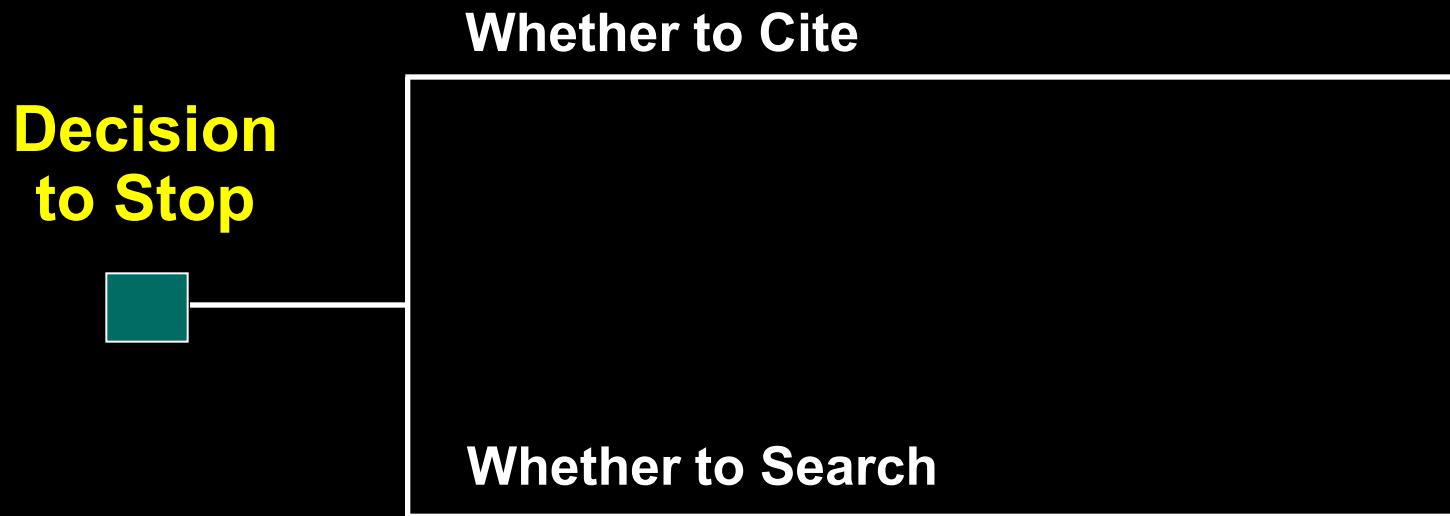
# RAND Focused on Applying New Approaches to Assessing Racial Profiling

- 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



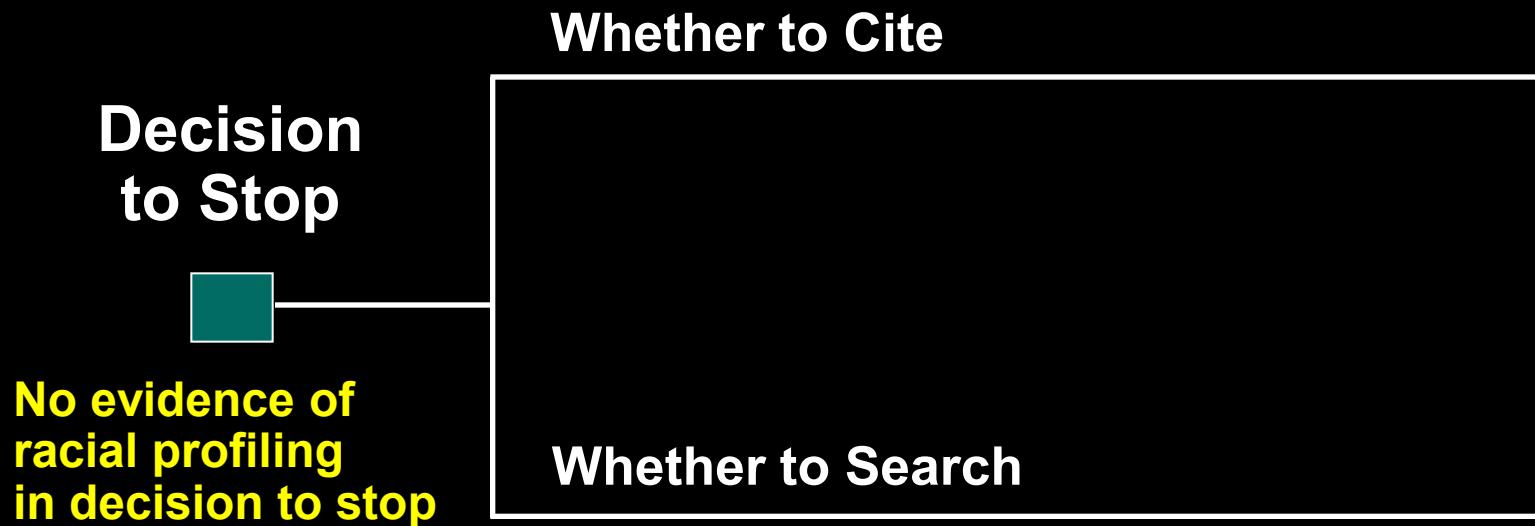
# *Is There Racial Profiling in Oakland?*

## **Post-Stop Activity**



# *Is There Racial Profiling in Oakland?*

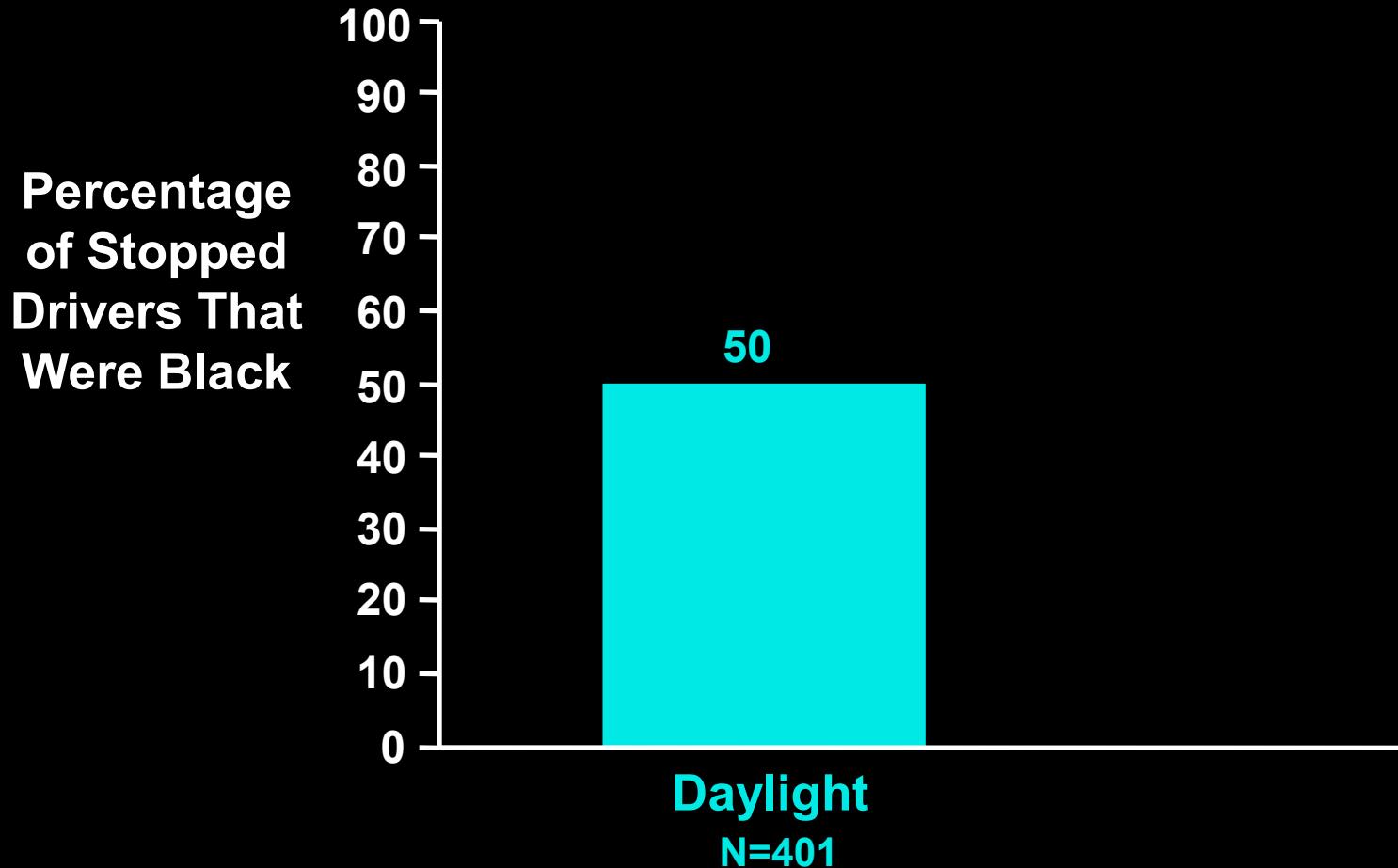
## Post-Stop Activity



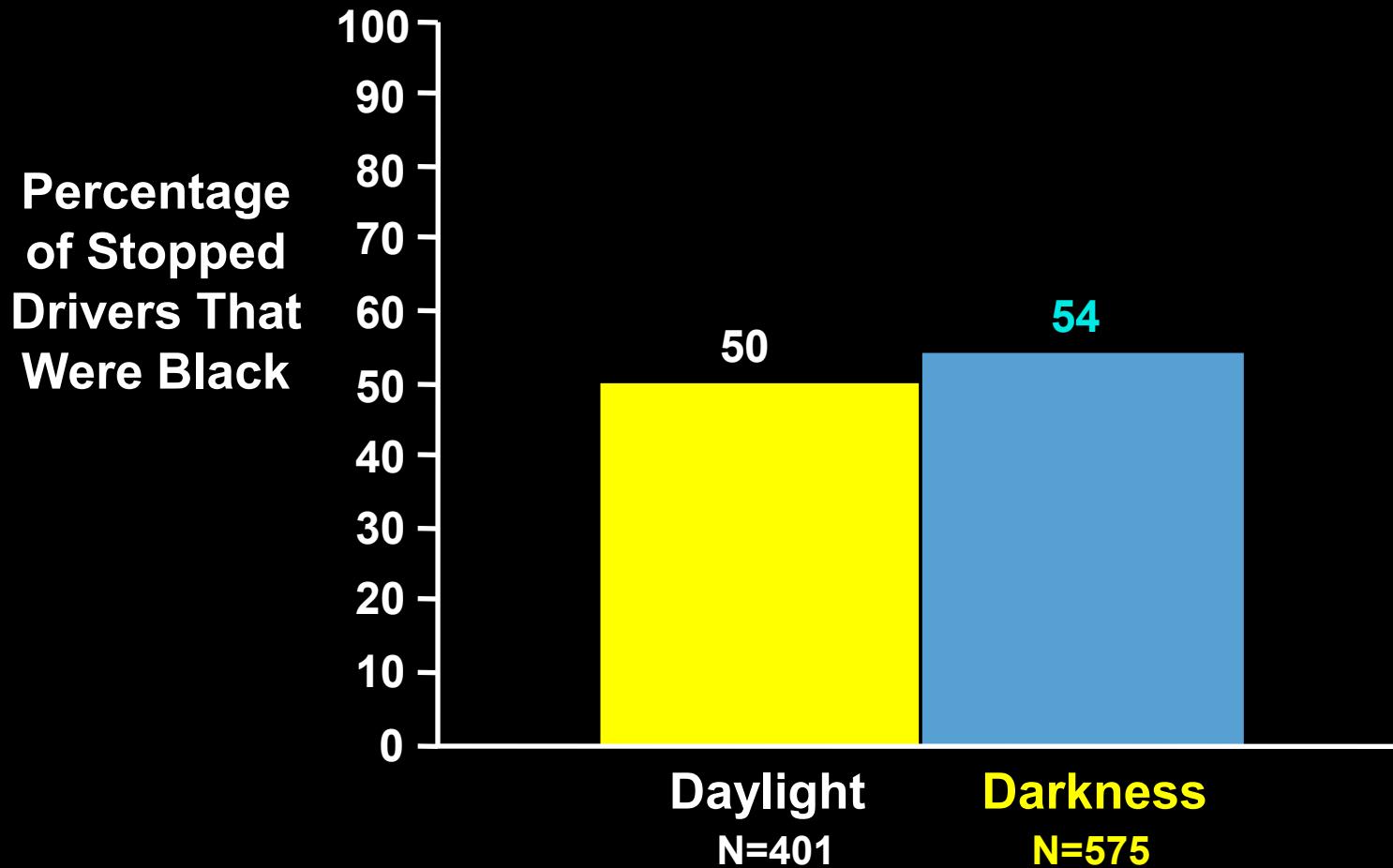
# *RAND's Approach Relies on Natural Lighting Experiment to Assess Racial Profiling*

- 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*

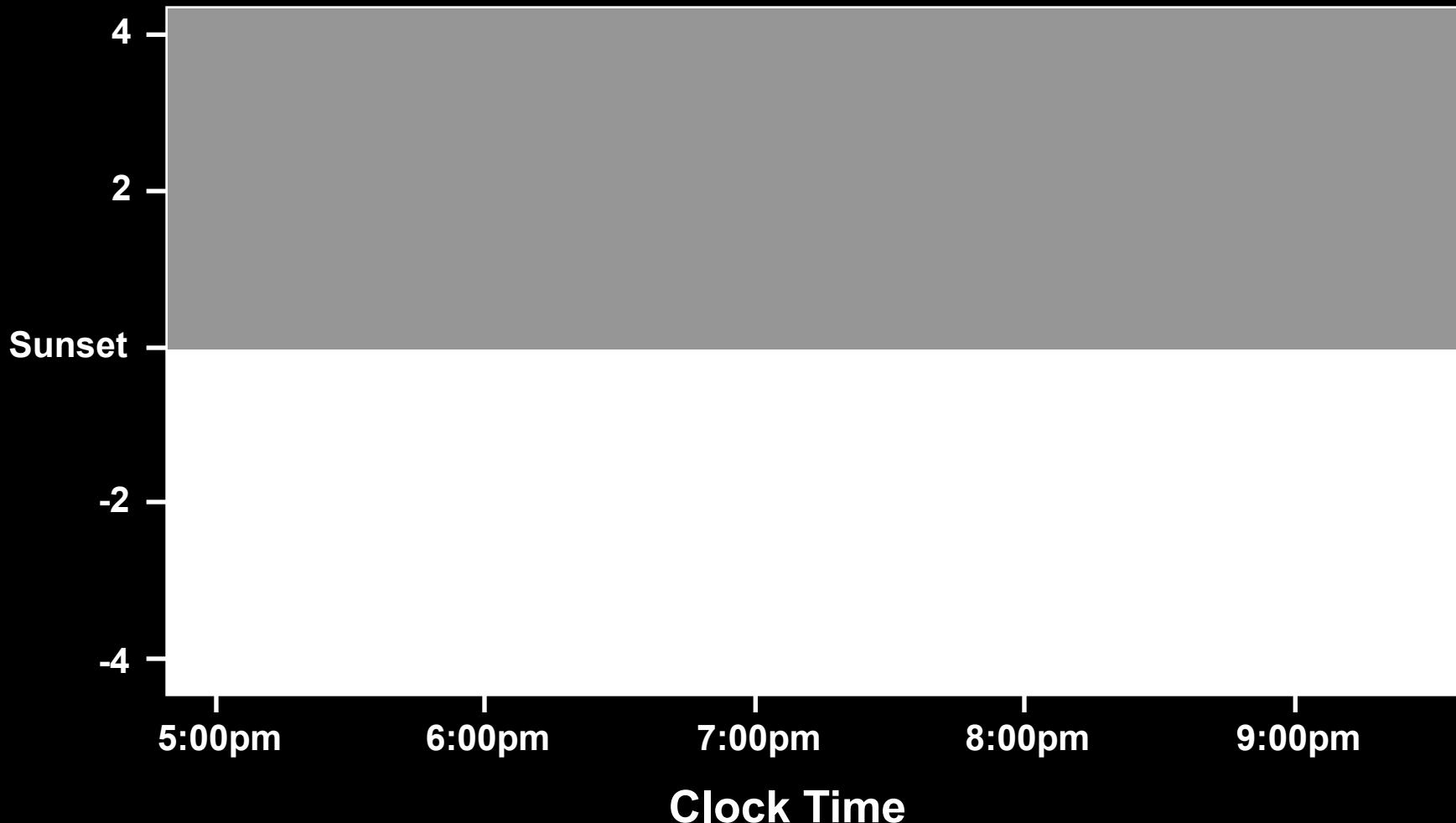


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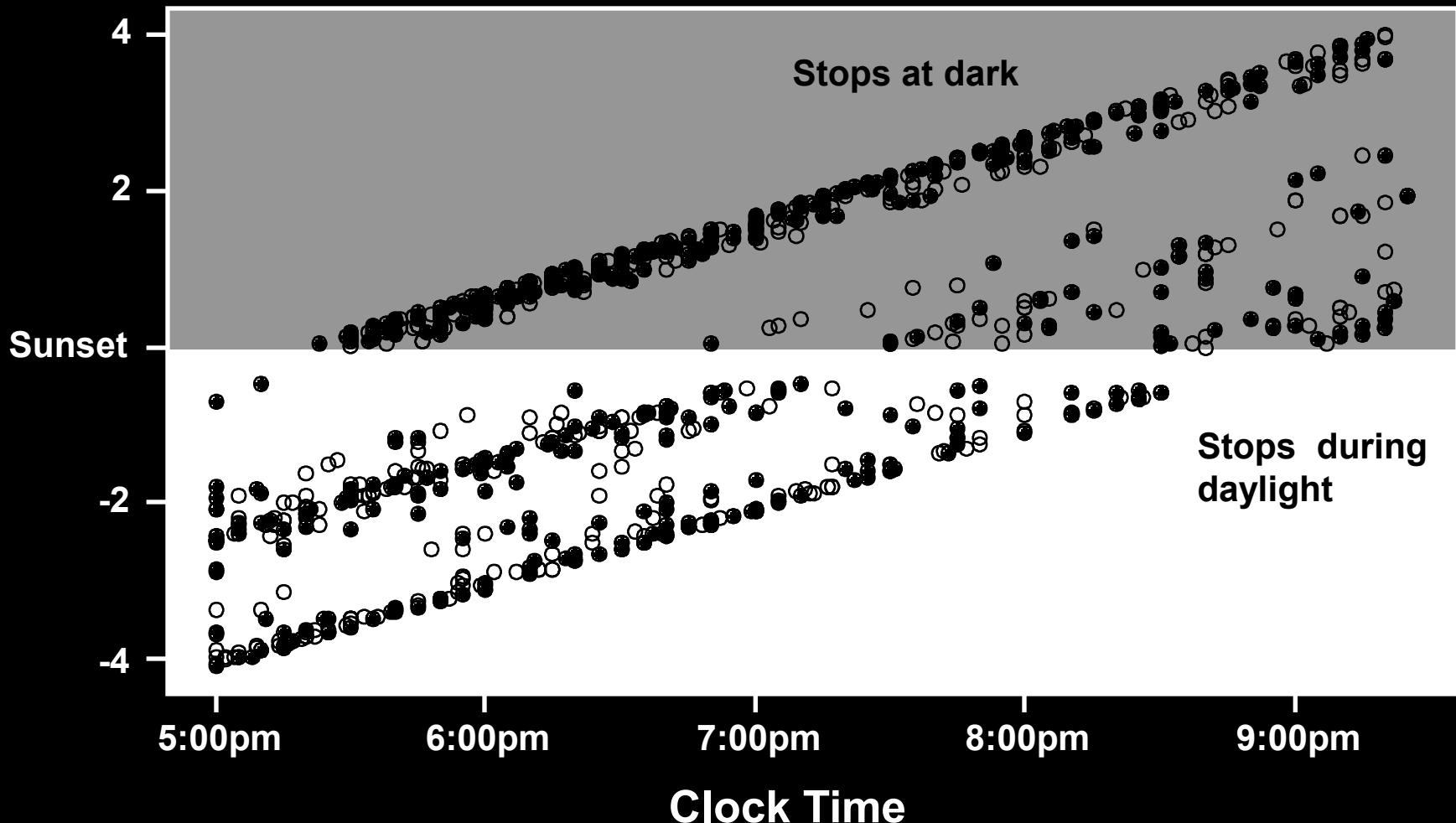
# *We Used a More Sophisticated Approach That Involved Adjusting for “Clock Time”*

Hours Since Sunset



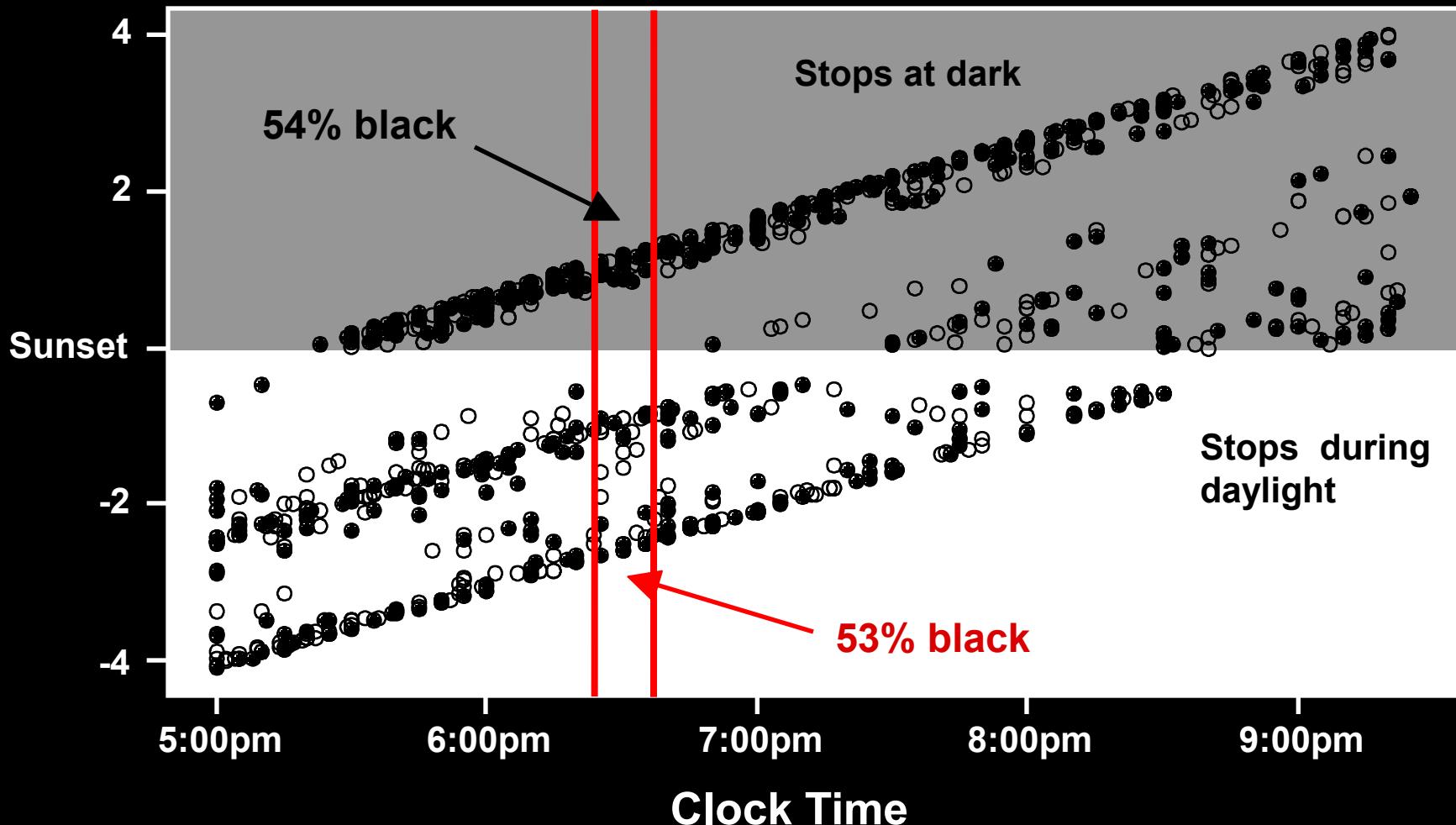
# We Compare Stops During Daylight with Stops in Darkness

Hours Since Sunset



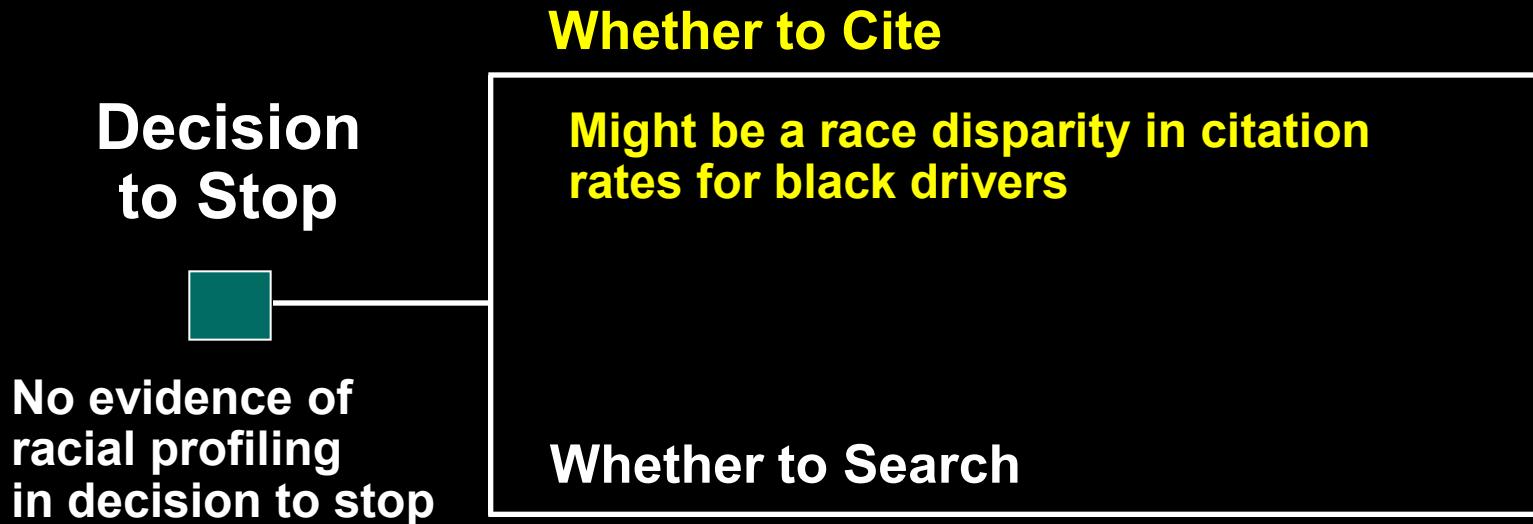
# *There Is No Difference in the Rate that Black Drivers Are Stopped*

Hours Since Sunset



# *Is There Racial Profiling in Oakland?*

## Post-Stop Activity



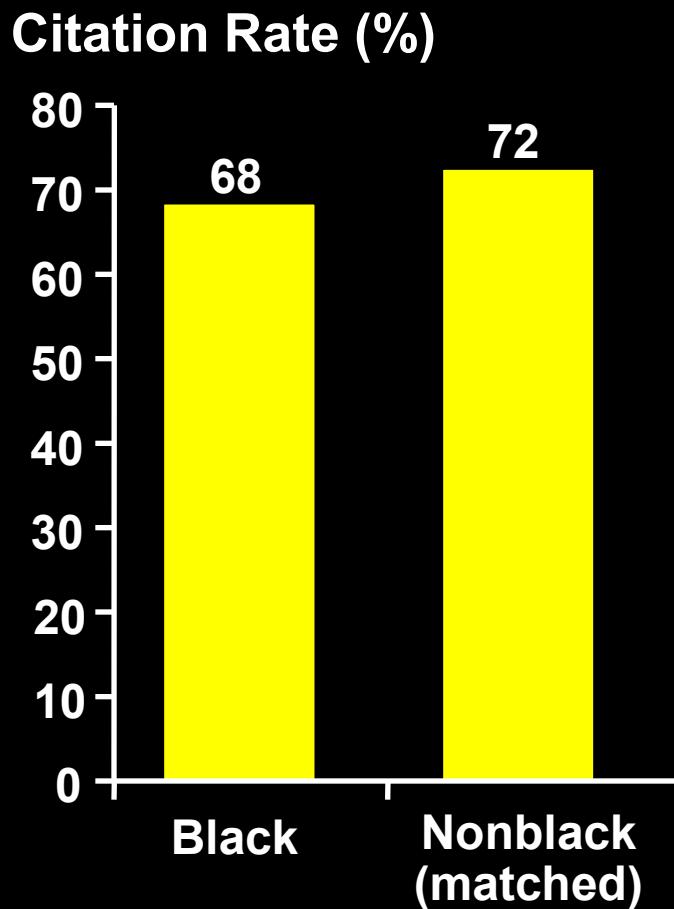
# *Propensity Score Analysis Created Comparison Group in Terms of Stop Features*

Stop Feature	% Black Drivers (N=3,703)	% Nonblack Drivers (unmatched) (N=3,033)
Region		
East	32%	14%
Hills	1%	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

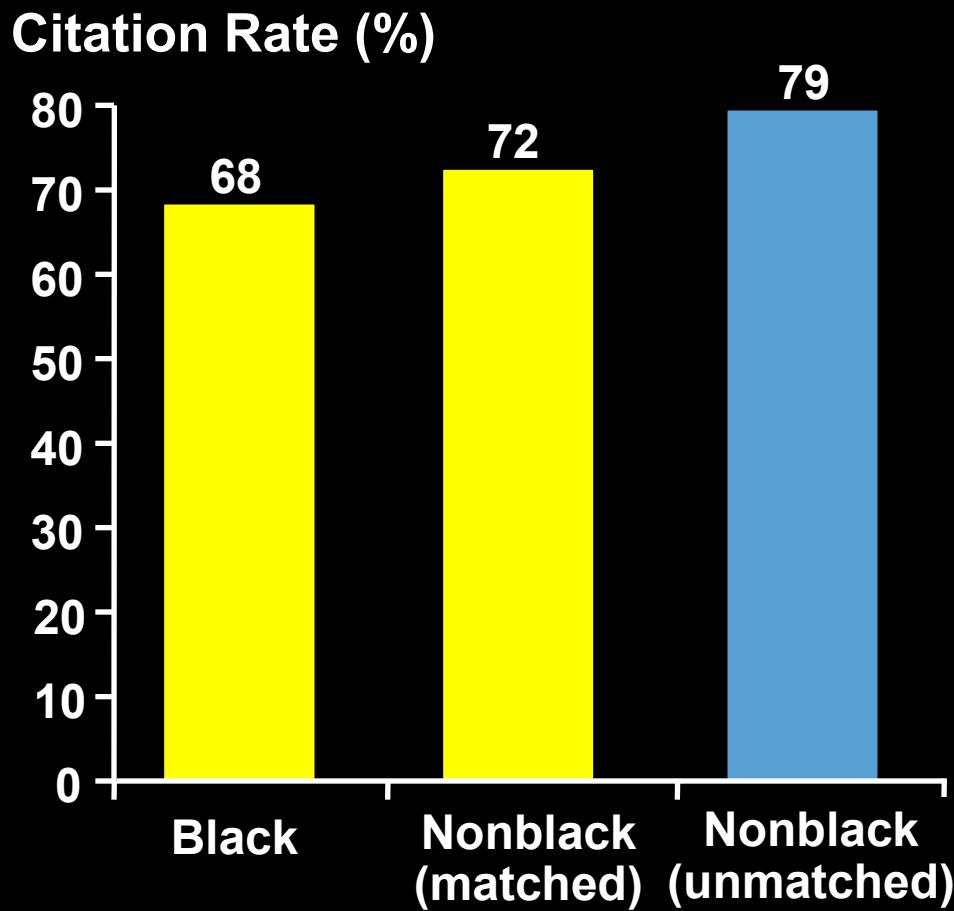
Stop Feature	% Black Drivers (N=3,703)	% Nonblack Drivers (matched) (N=2,089)	% Nonblack Drivers (unmatched) (N=3,033)
Region			
East	32%	30%	14%
Hills	1%	1%	3%
...			
Time of Day			
12AM-4AM	16%	13%	7%
...			
Age			
18-29	47%	45%	38%
...			
Reason			
Mechanical/Registration	26%	23%	16%
...			

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



- Citation rate 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

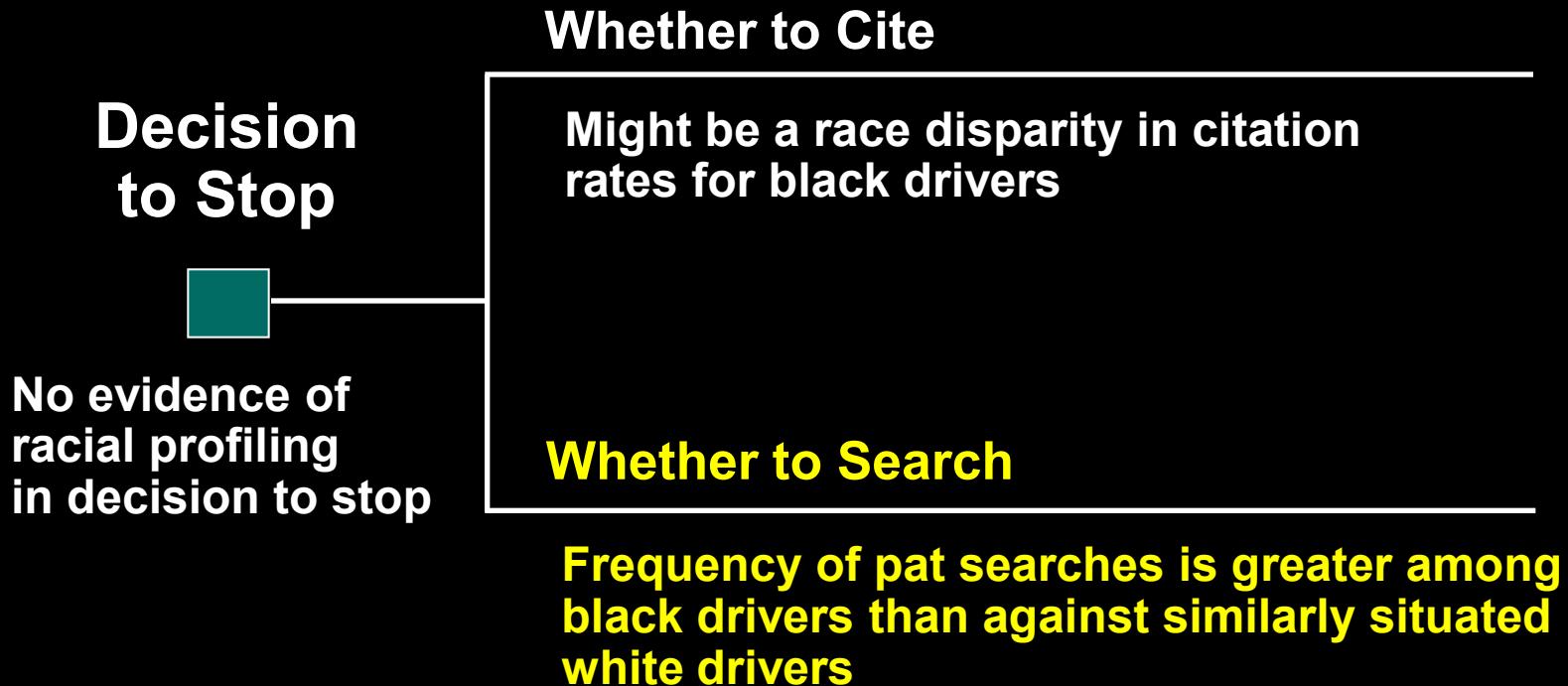
# *But the Analysis Also Shows the Danger of Making Naïve Comparisons*



- 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

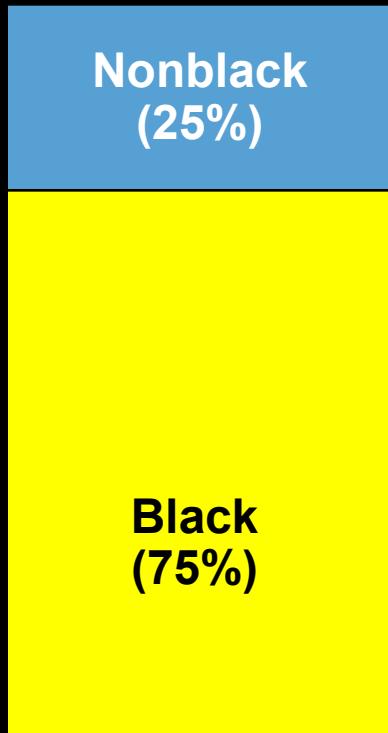
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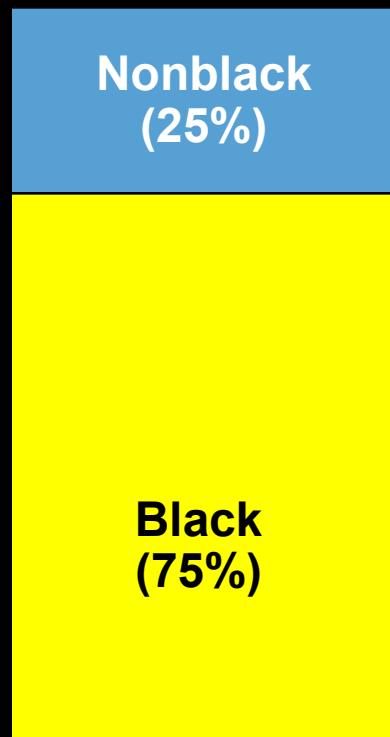
# ***Black Drivers Bear the Burden of Searches***

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

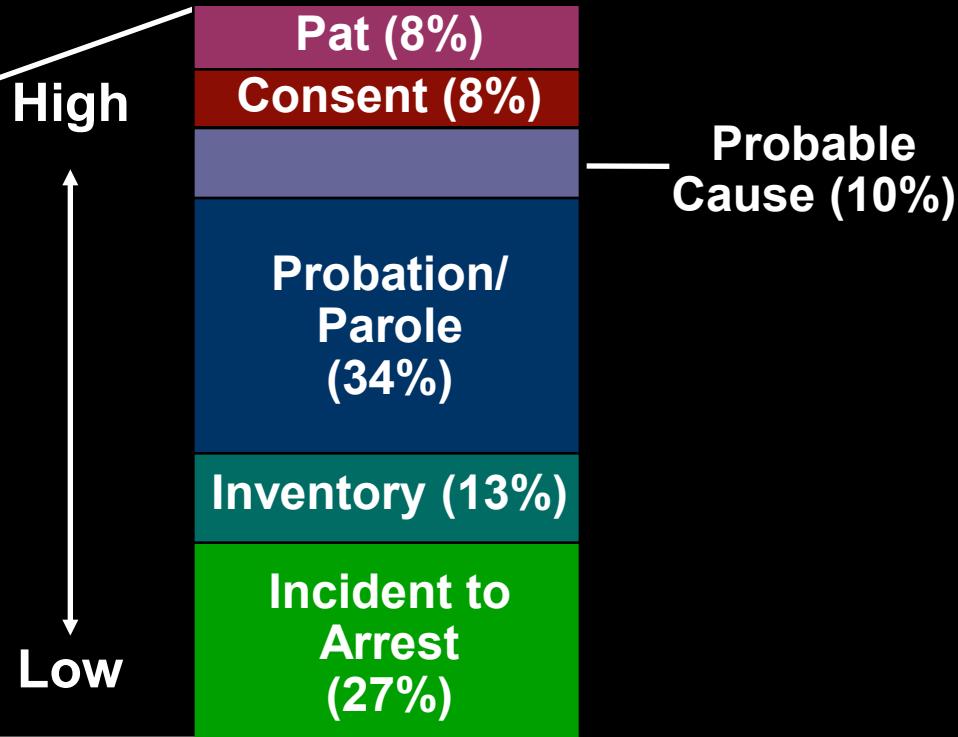


# *Black Drivers Bear the Burden of Searches but Most Searches Are Low-Discretion Ones*

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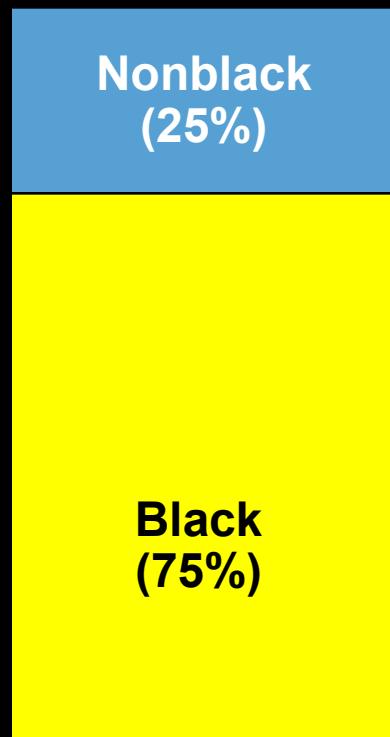


Reasons for Search of Black Drivers (%)



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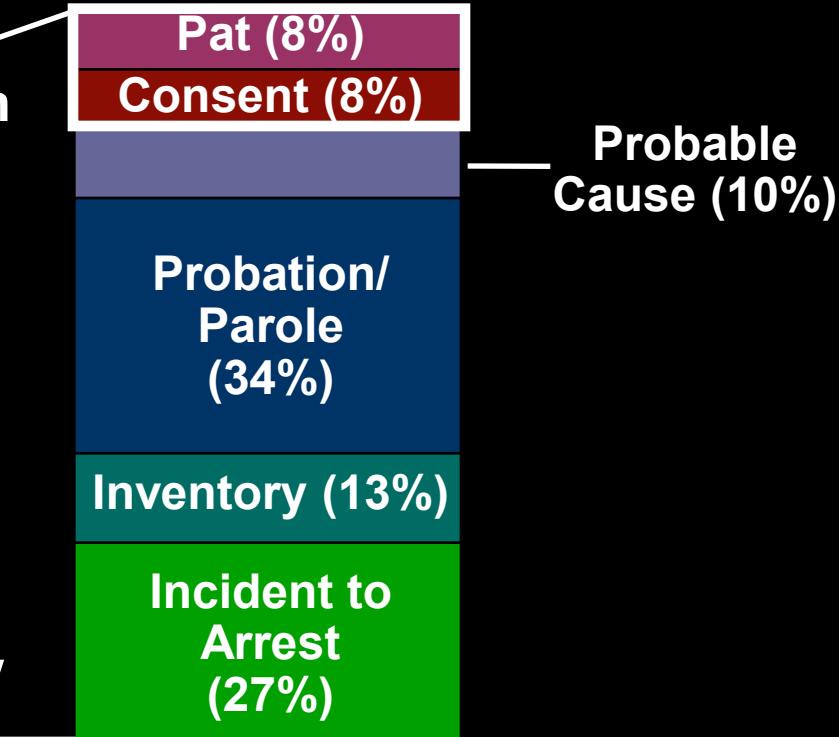
Searches by Race (%)



Reasons for Search of Black Drivers (%)

High

Low

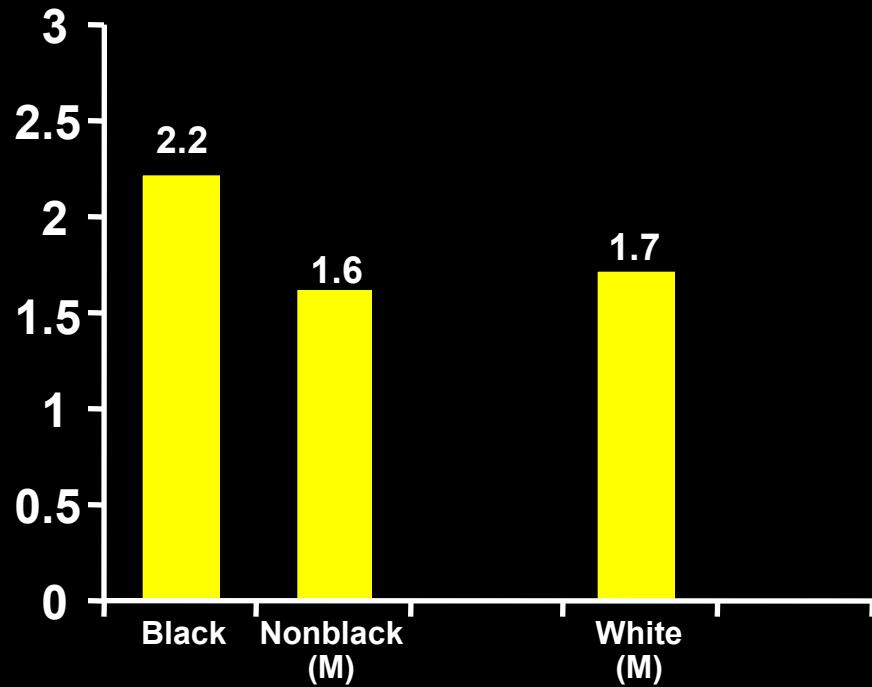


Probable Cause (10%)

*We focus on pat and consent searches*

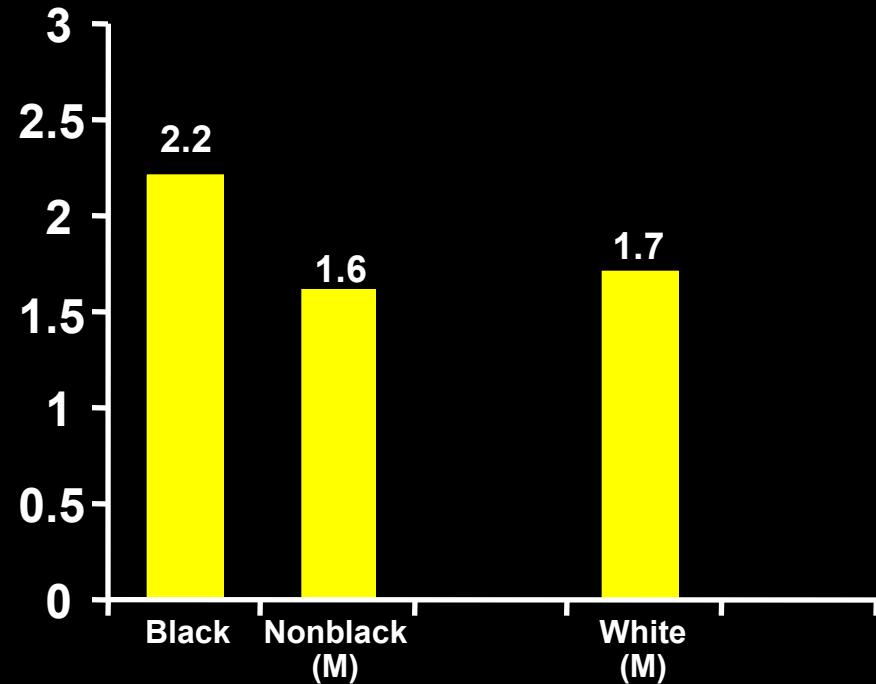
# *Consent Searches Have Similar Rates*

## **Consent Searches (%)**

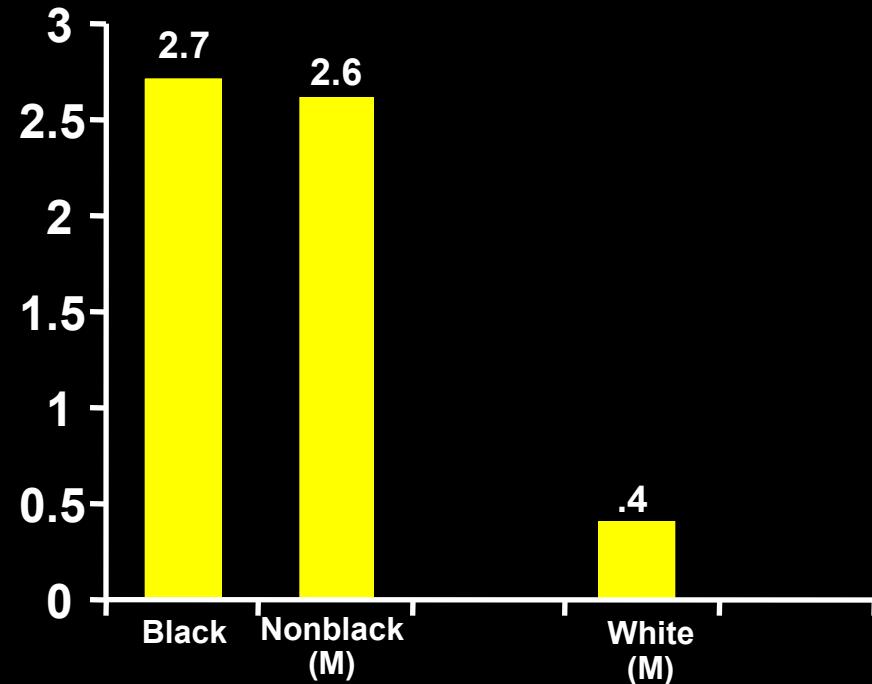


# *Consent Searches Have Similar Rates, but Pat Searches More Likely for Blacks Than Whites*

**Consent Searches (%)**

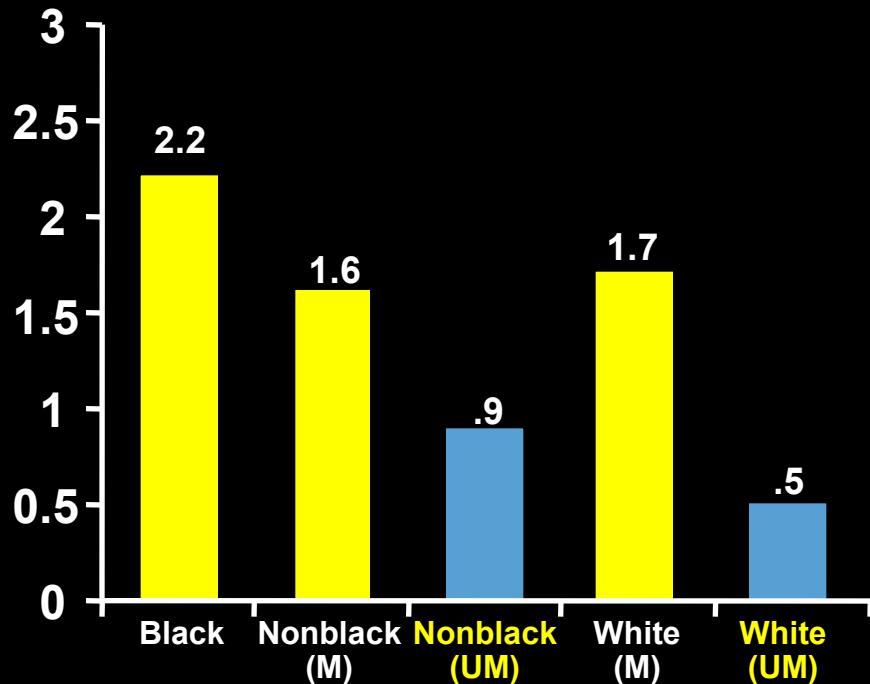


**Pat Searches (%)**

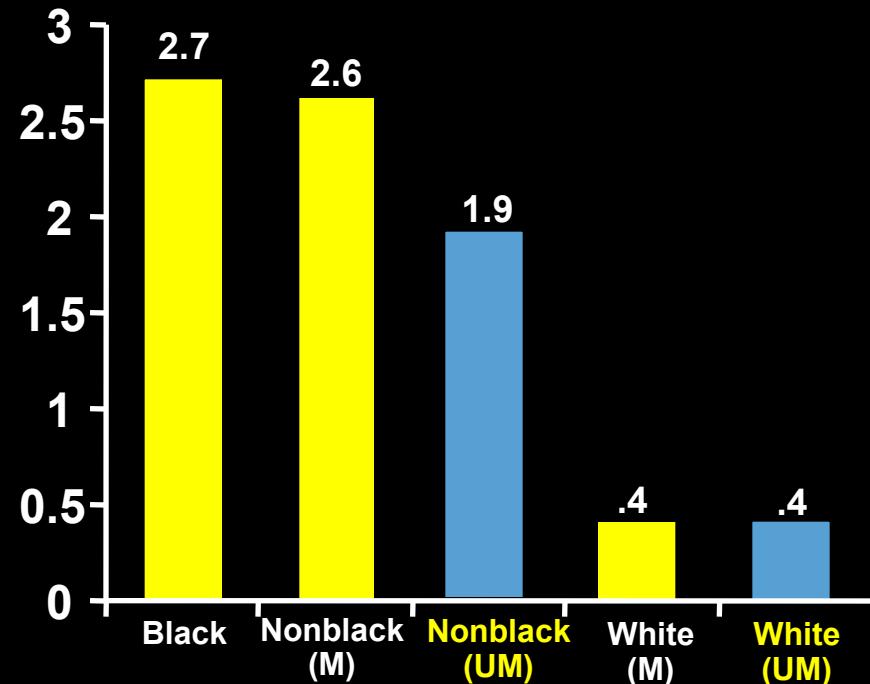


# *Once Again, Naïve Comparisons Can Distort the Findings*

**Consent Searches (%)**

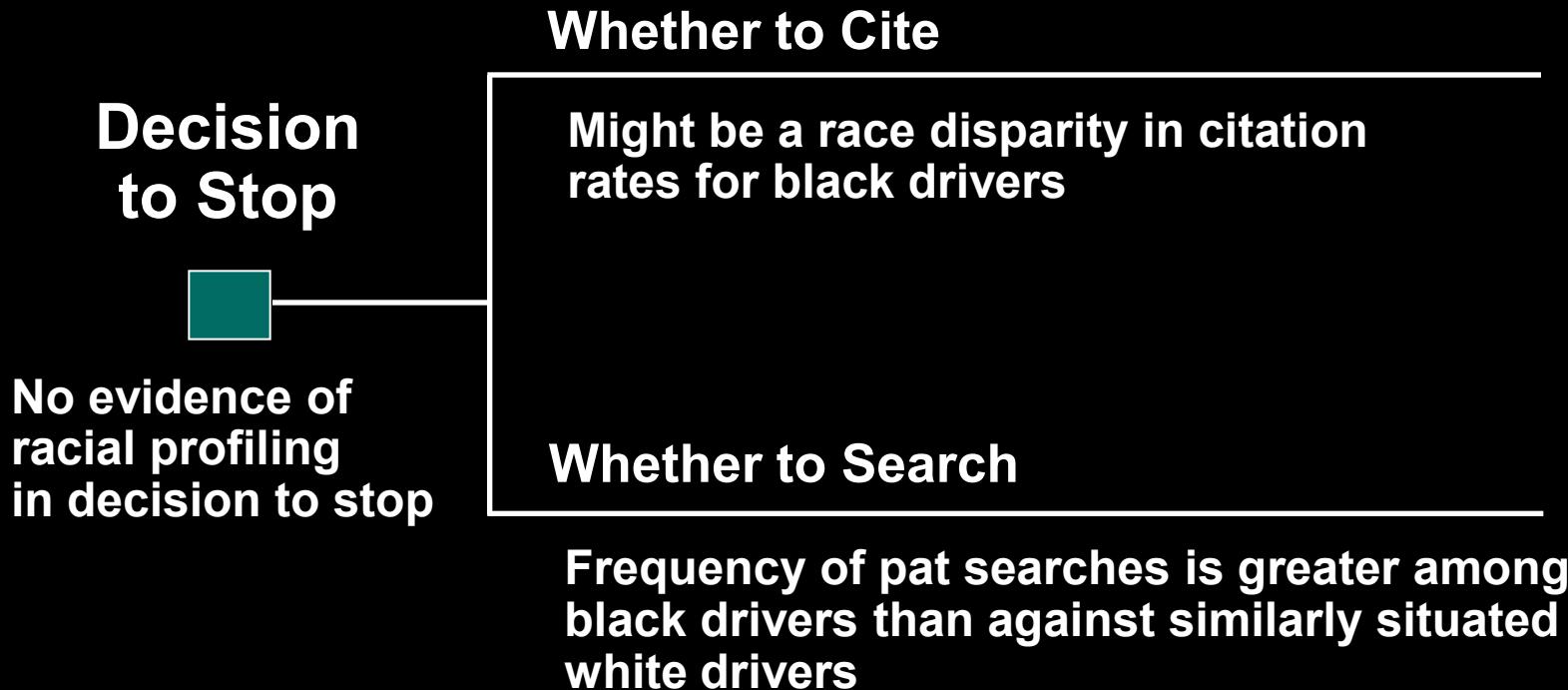


**Pat Searches (%)**



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

## **Post-Stop Activity**



## ***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***

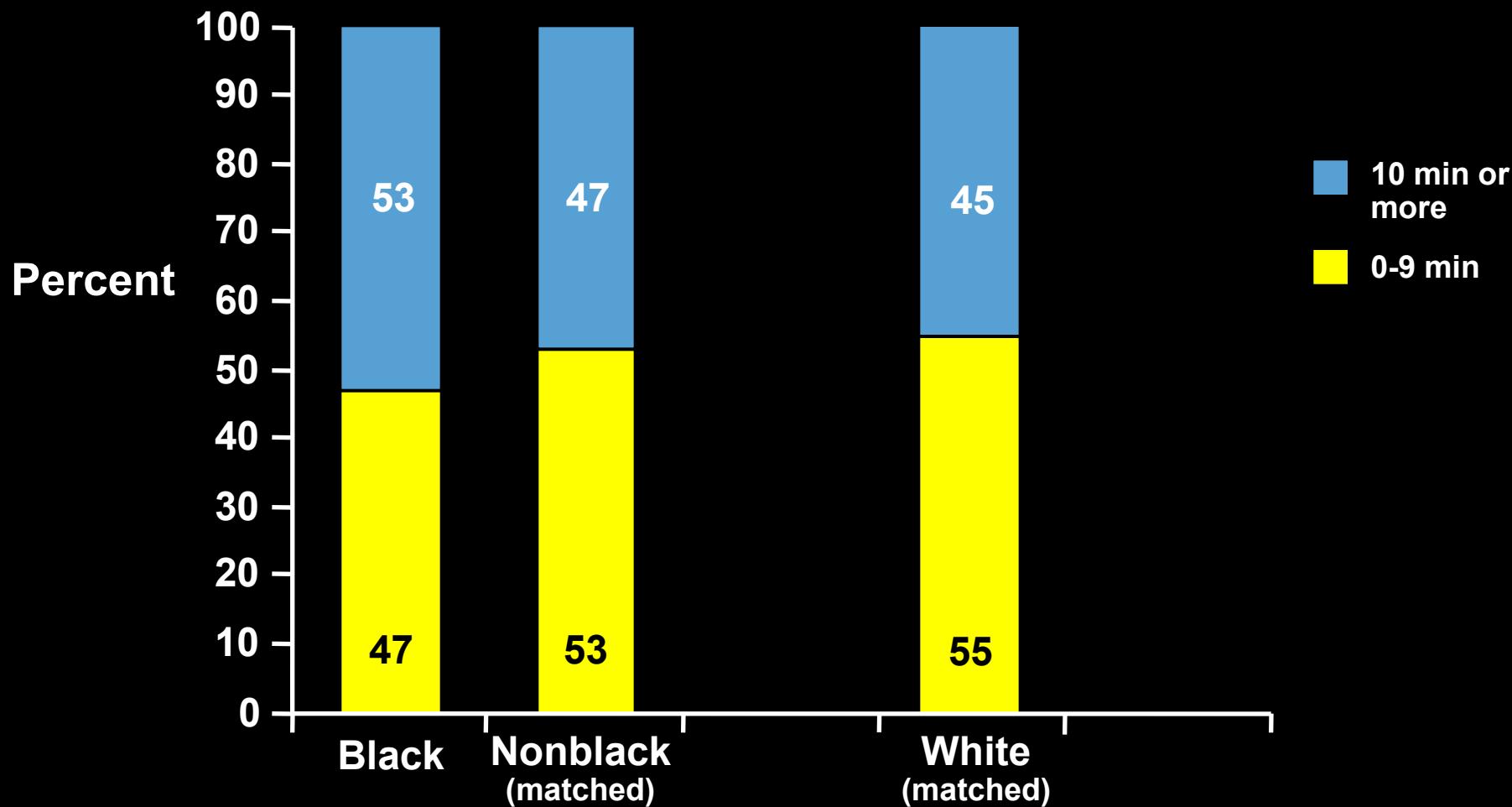
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***We will be applying approach with data from other cities***

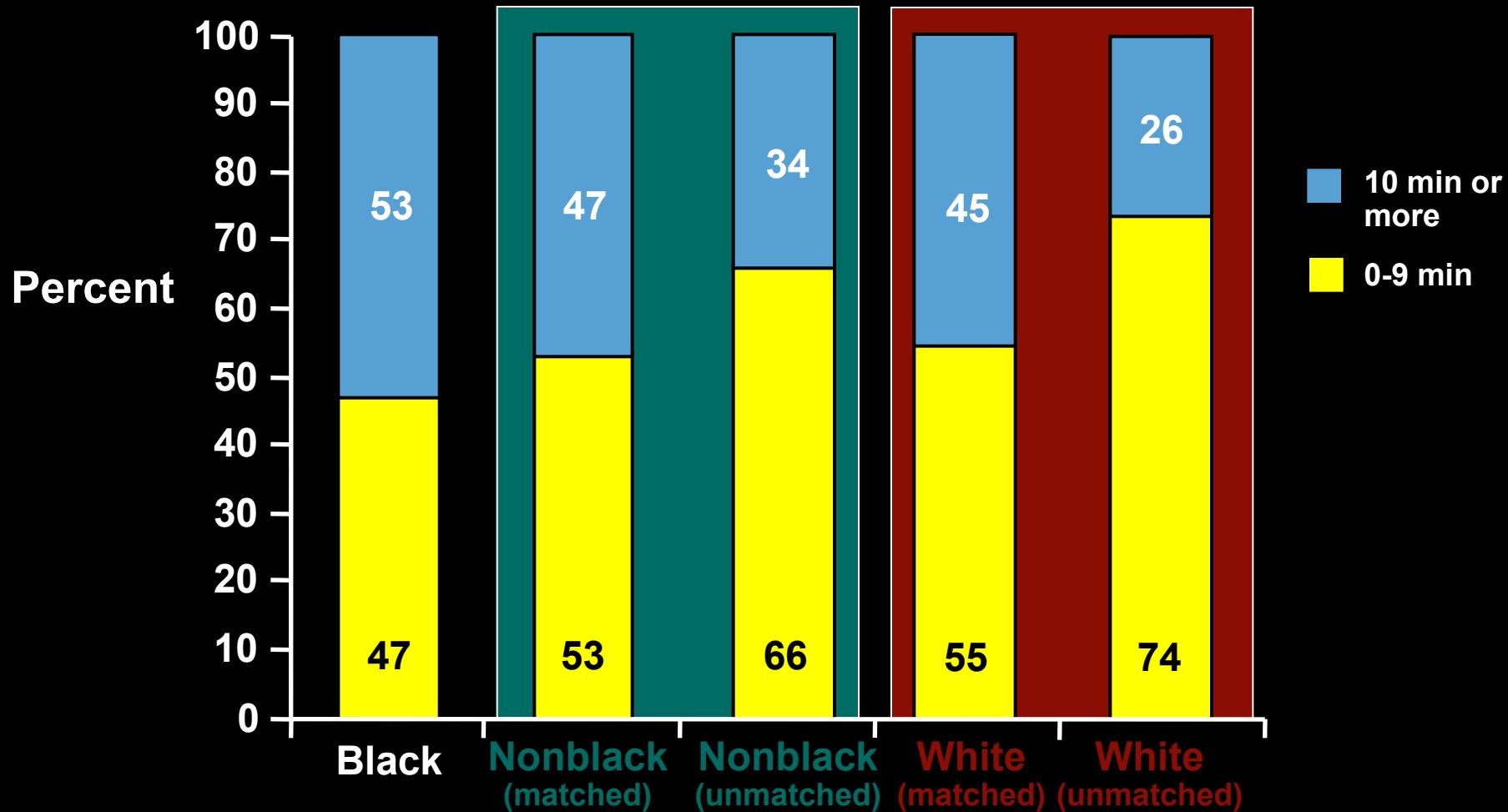


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# *Black Drivers Seemed More Likely to Have Longer Stops Than Nonblack or White Drivers*



# *Naïve Comparisons Considerably Overstate the Problem*



# *Sensitivity Analysis Tests Show the Findings Are Robust*

Issue	Analysis Result
<p>Could still be racial bias if many fewer black drivers were at risk of being stopped during the day</p>	<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>
<p>Could still be racial bias if there were seasonal changes in racial distribution over June–December period</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• But repeating analysis using only October and November data does not change the finding</li></ul>
<p>Could still be racial bias because stops are under-reported in the data</p>	<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*

Approach	Problem
Using census data	
Using traffic surveys	
Using only outcomes of the stop	

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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>