



# Methods for Racial Profiling Analysis

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# *Racial profiling is a growing concern*

## Introduction

### ❖ Racial profiling is a growing concern

- ❖ Analytic quality is weak
- ❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?
- ❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?
- ❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?
- ❖ A new approach

## Bias in the decision to stop

## Internal benchmarking

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

- I-95 “turnpike” studies in the mid-1990s raised public concern about racial profiling
- Public concern has led to widespread action
  - ❖ 26 states have passed legislation and hundreds of cities collect data
- The End of Racial Profiling Act of 2007 would mandate data collection to receive federal funds
- Should officers use racial profiling?
  - ❖ Tenth Circuit: “unequal application of criminal law to white and black persons was one of the central evils addressed by the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment”

# Analytic quality is weak

## Introduction

❖ Racial profiling is a growing concern

❖ Analytic quality is weak

❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?

❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?

❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?

❖ A new approach

Bias in the decision to stop

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Summary

- 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:**  
% black drivers stopped =  
% black crime suspect descriptions

# *Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?*

## Introduction

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- ❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?
- ❖ A new approach

Bias in the decision to stop

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## Summary

**Racial Distribution of People Stopped**

**Racial Distribution of People at Risk of Being Stopped**

# Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?

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- ❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?
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- ❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?
- ❖ A new approach

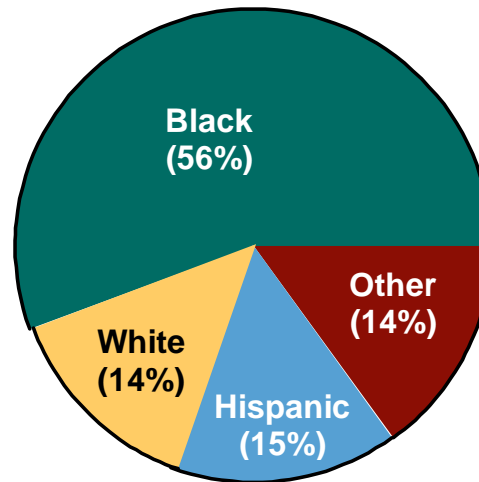
Bias in the decision to stop

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## Summary

**Racial Distribution of People Stopped**



**Racial Distribution of People at Risk of Being Stopped**

# Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?

## Introduction

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- ❖ Analytic quality is weak
- ❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?
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- ❖ Why is testing for racial profiling so hard?
- ❖ A new approach

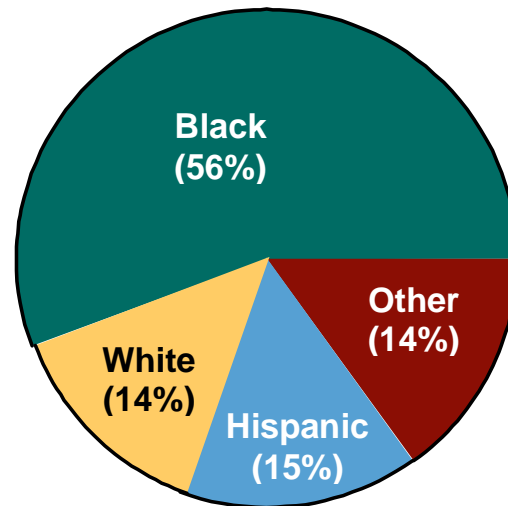
## Bias in the decision to stop

## Internal benchmarking

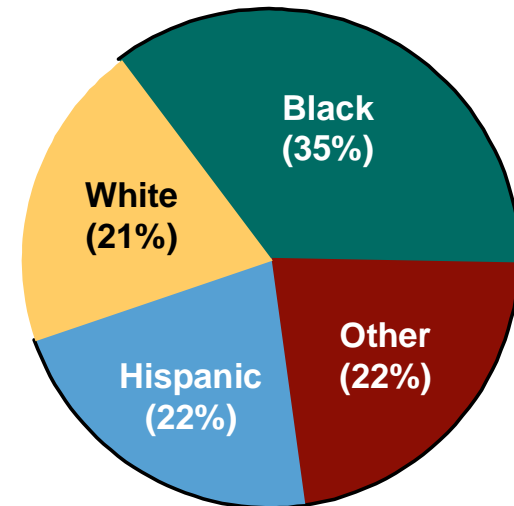
## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

**Racial Distribution of People Stopped**



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



- The difference may result from:
  - ❖ A race bias
  - ❖ Car ownership, time on the road, and care
  - ❖ Exposure to police

# A new approach

## Introduction

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## ❖ A new approach

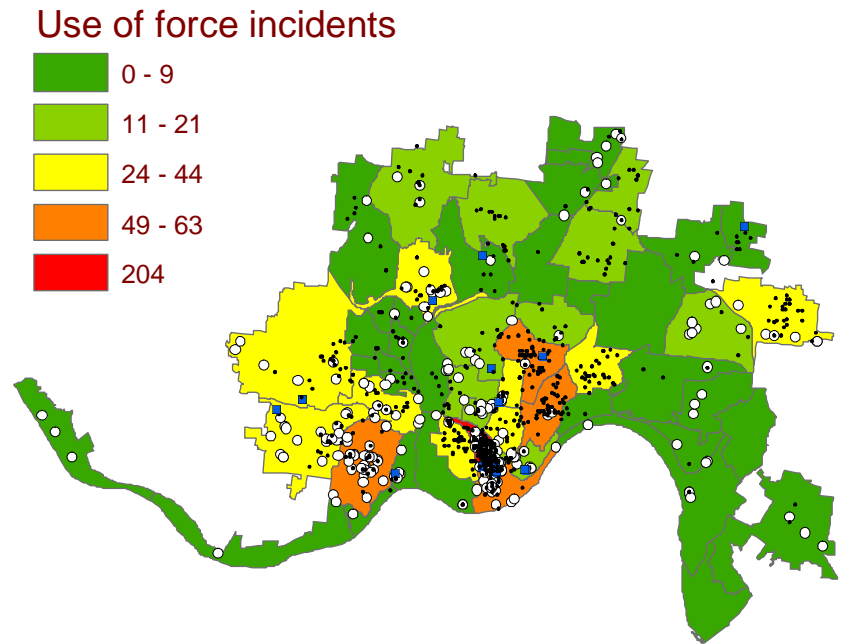
## Bias in the decision to stop

## Internal benchmarking

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

- Gauge department wide racial bias in the decision to stop
- Identify potential problem officers with internal benchmarking
- Assess racial bias in post-stop activity with propensity scores





# Step #1: Bias in the decision to stop

## Introduction

## Bias in the decision to stop

### ❖ Central question

- ❖ Simple veil of darkness test
- ❖ Adjusting for “clock time”
- ❖ Development of the test
- ❖ Accommodate underreporting
- ❖ Decomposition of the race effect
- ❖ Results
- ❖ Results

## Internal benchmarking

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

Grogger & Ridgeway (2006). “Testing for Racial Profiling in Traffic Stops from Behind a Veil of Darkness,” *JASA* 101(475):878-887. ASA 2007 Outstanding Statistical Application

**Central question:** Does an officer’s ability to identify race of driver in advance influence which drivers he stops?

- The ability to discriminate requires officers identifying the race in advance (e.g. Goldin & Rouse, bias in orchestra auditions)
- 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

## Introduction

### Bias in the decision to stop

#### ❖ Central question

#### ❖ Simple veil of darkness test

#### ❖ Adjusting for “clock time”

#### ❖ Development of the test

#### ❖ Accommodate underreporting

#### ❖ Decomposition of the race effect

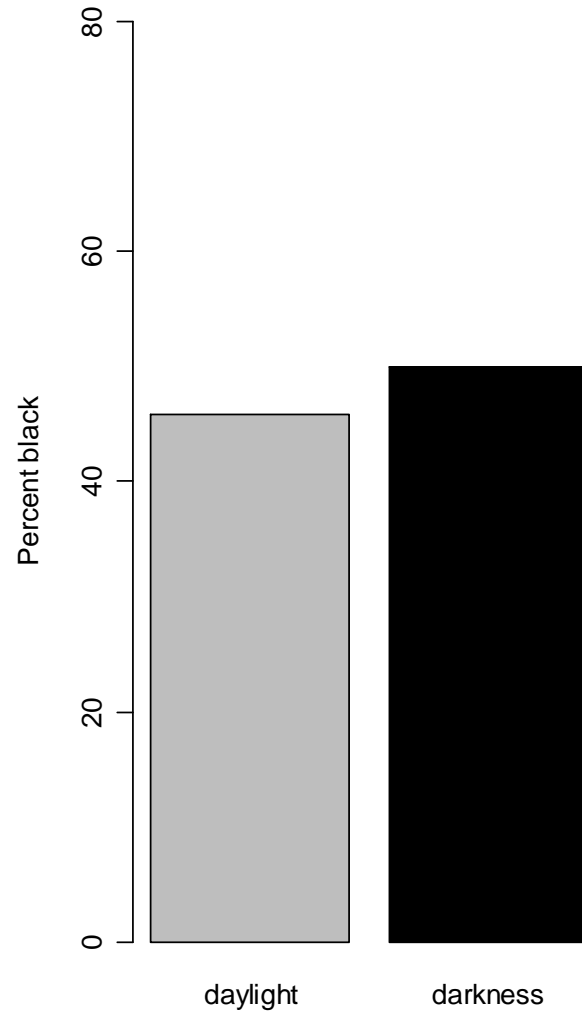
#### ❖ Results

#### ❖ Results

## Internal benchmarking

### Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary



- CPD officers stop a greater proportion of black drivers at night than during the day
- This is counter to the racial profiling hypothesis

# Adjusting for “clock time”

## Introduction

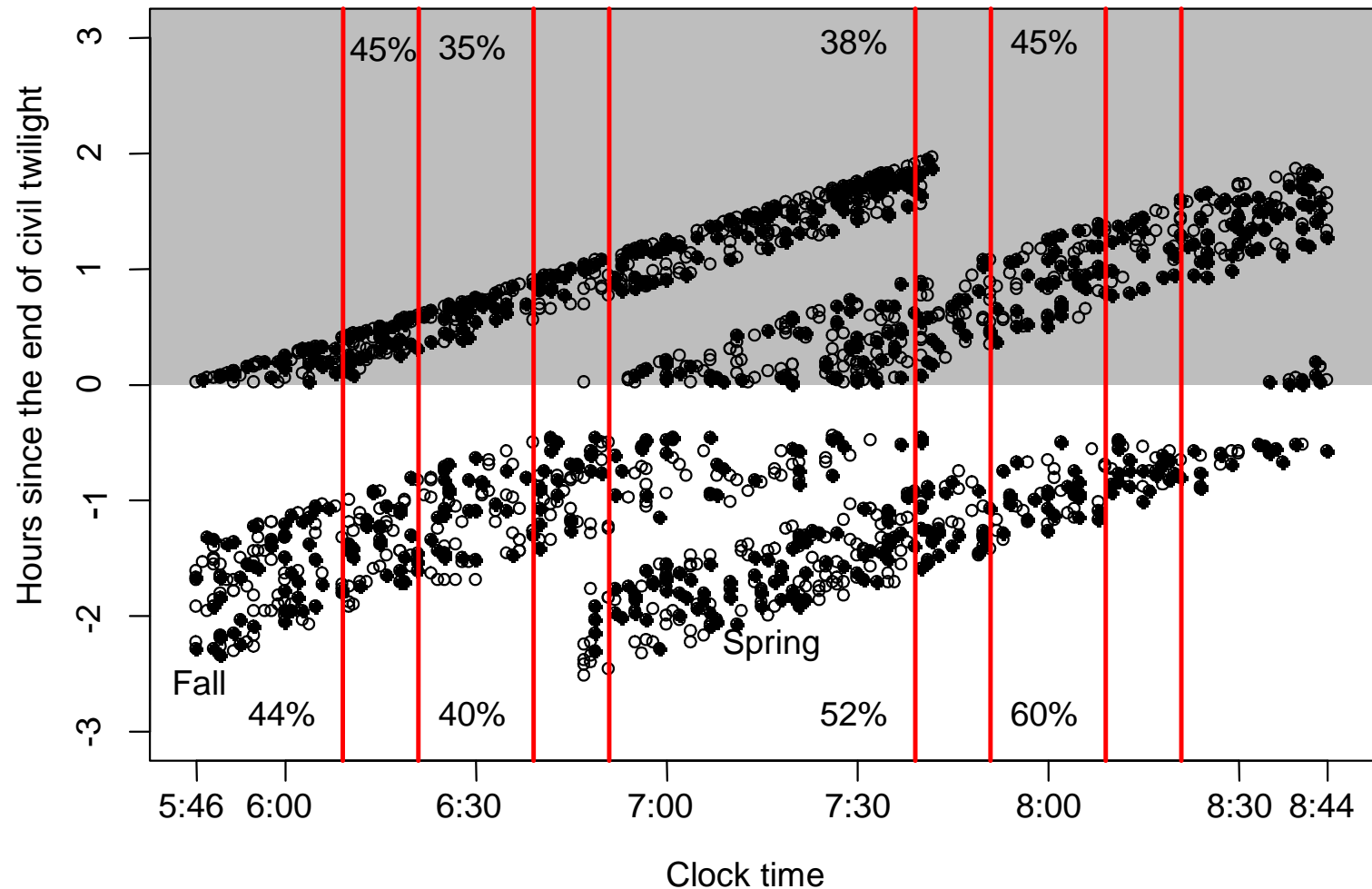
### Bias in the decision to stop

- ❖ Central question
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- ❖ Results
- ❖ Results

## Internal benchmarking

### Assessing race bias post-stop

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# Development of the test

## Introduction

### Bias in the decision to stop

- ❖ Central question
- ❖ Simple veil of darkness test
- ❖ Adjusting for “clock time”

### ❖ Development of the test

- ❖ Accommodate underreporting
- ❖ Decomposition of the race effect
- ❖ Results
- ❖ Results

## Internal benchmarking

### Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

- In the absence of a race bias  $K(t) = 1$

$$\frac{P(S|B, t, d = 0)}{P(S|\bar{B}, t, d = 0)} = K(t) \frac{P(S|B, t, d = 1)}{P(S|\bar{B}, t, d = 1)}$$

- Bayes' Theorem and some algebra yield

$$K(t) = \frac{P(B|S, t, d = 0)}{P(\bar{B}|S, t, d = 0)} \frac{P(\bar{B}|S, t, d = 1)}{P(B|S, t, d = 1)} \\ \frac{P(\bar{B}|t, d = 0)}{P(B|t, d = 0)} \frac{P(B|t, d = 1)}{P(\bar{B}|t, d = 1)}$$

# Accommodate underreporting

## Introduction

### Bias in the decision to stop

- ❖ Central question
- ❖ Simple veil of darkness test
- ❖ Adjusting for “clock time”
- ❖ Development of the test

### ❖ Accommodate underreporting

- ❖ Decomposition of the race effect
- ❖ Results
- ❖ Results

## Internal benchmarking

### Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

- There is some potential underreporting

$$P(B|S, t, d) = \frac{P(B|R, S, t, d)P(R|S, t, d)}{P(R|B, S, t, d)}$$

$$\log K(t) =$$

$$\log \frac{P(B|R, S, t, d=0)}{1 - P(B|R, S, t, d=0)} - \log \frac{P(B|R, S, t, d=1)}{1 - P(B|R, S, t, d=1)} +$$

$$\log \frac{P(\bar{B}|t, d=0)}{P(B|t, d=0)} \frac{P(B|t, d=1)}{P(\bar{B}|t, d=1)} +$$

$$\log \frac{P(R|\bar{B}, S, t, d=0)}{P(R|\bar{B}, S, t, d=1)} \frac{P(R|B, S, t, d=1)}{P(R|B, S, t, d=0)}$$

# Decomposition of the race effect

## Introduction

### Bias in the decision to stop

- ❖ Central question
- ❖ Simple veil of darkness test
- ❖ Adjusting for “clock time”
- ❖ Development of the test
- ❖ Accommodate underreporting

### ❖ Decomposition of the race effect

- ❖ Results
- ❖ Results

### Internal benchmarking

### Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

$$\log K(t) = \text{stop distribution} + \text{exposure} + \text{reporting}$$

- We can estimate the stop ratio using logistic regression

$$\log \frac{P(B|R, S, d, t)}{1 - P(B|R, S, d, t)} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 d + g(t)$$

- $g(t)$  is some flexible function of  $t$  (e.g.  $t + t^2 + t^3$ )
- Assume exposure and reporting terms are 0
- $\log K(t) = -\beta_1$

# Results: VoD estimates of bias, all months

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### Bias in the decision to stop

- ❖ Central question
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- ❖ Decomposition of the race effect

## ❖ Results

### ❖ Results

### Internal benchmarking

### Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

Year	$K(t)$	95% interval	N
2003	1.04	(0.90,1.20)	3,899
2004	0.99	(0.87,1.14)	4,346
2005	1.06	(0.94,1.20)	5,193
2006	0.90	(0.79,1.02)	4,644
Combined	0.99	(0.93,1.06)	18,082

- Includes all stops during the evening intertwilight period

# Results: VoD estimates of bias, Daylight Savings Time

## Introduction

### Bias in the decision to stop

- ❖ Central question
- ❖ Simple veil of darkness test
- ❖ Adjusting for “clock time”
- ❖ Development of the test
- ❖ Accommodate underreporting
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- ❖ Results

### ❖ Results

### Internal benchmarking

### Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

Year	$K(t)$	95% interval	N
2003	1.02	(0.70,1.47)	543
2004	1.19	(0.80,1.77)	465
2005	1.10	(0.81,1.51)	763
2006	0.71	(0.51,1.00)	606
Combined	0.98	(0.82,1.16)	2,377

- Includes all stops occurring within four weeks of the spring or fall Daylight Saving Time change during the evening intertwilight period



# Step #2: Internal benchmarking

G. Ridgeway and J.M. MacDonald. “Doubly Robust Internal Benchmarking and False Discovery Rates for Detecting Racial Bias in Police Stops.”

- 83% of this officer’s stops involve a black driver

Stop Characteristic		Example Officer (%) ( <i>n</i> = 392)
Month	January	3
	February	4
	March	8
Day of the week	Monday	13
	Tuesday	11
	Wednesday	14
	Thursday	17
Time of day	(4-6 p.m.)	9
	(6-8 p.m.)	8
	(8-10 p.m.)	23
	(10 p.m. -12 a.m.)	17
Patrol borough	Brooklyn North	100
Precinct	B	98
	C	1
Outside		96
In uniform	Yes	99
Radio run	Yes	1

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❖ Internal benchmark

❖ Stop locations are well matched

❖ Propensity score weighting

❖ Common approach

❖ Estimating the false discovery rate

❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

Assessing race bias post-stop

Summary

# Internal benchmark

- 78% of similarly situated stops made by other officers involved black drivers

Stop Characteristic		Example Officer (%) ( <i>n</i> = 392)	Internal Benchmark (%) ( <i>ESS</i> = 3,676)
Month	January	3	3
	February	4	4
	March	8	9
Day of the week	Monday	13	13
	Tuesday	11	10
	Wednesday	14	15
Time of day	(4-6 p.m.)	9	10
	(6-8 p.m.)	8	8
	(8-10 p.m.)	23	23
	(10 p.m. -12 a.m.)	17	17
Patrol borough	Brooklyn North	100	100
Precinct	B	98	98
	C	1	1
Outside		96	94
In uniform	Yes	99	97
Radio run	Yes	1	3

## Introduction

## Bias in the decision to stop

## Internal benchmarking

### ❖ Central question

### ❖ Internal benchmark

### ❖ Stop locations are well matched

### ❖ Propensity score weighting

### ❖ Common approach

### ❖ Estimating the false discovery rate

### ❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

# Stop locations are well matched

## Introduction

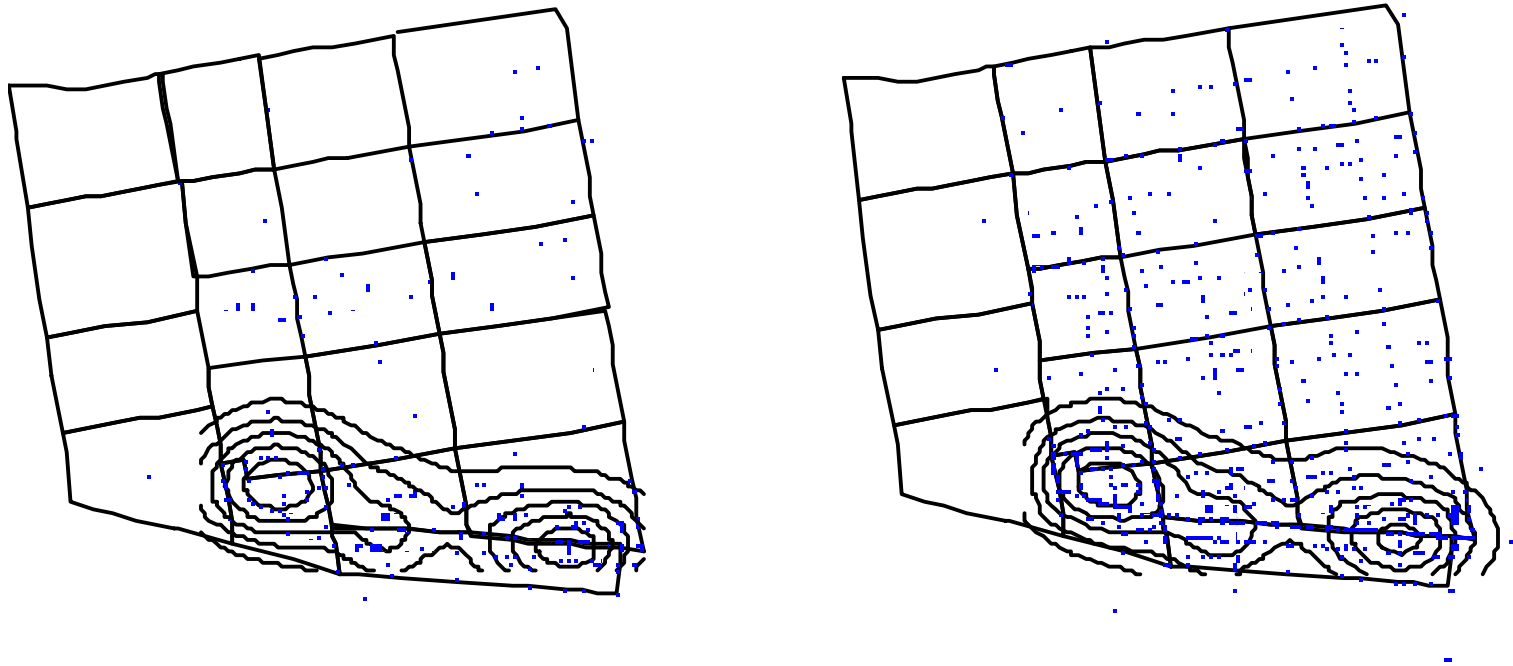
## Bias in the decision to stop

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- ❖ Central question
- ❖ Internal benchmark
- ❖ Stop locations are well matched
- ❖ Propensity score weighting
- ❖ Common approach
- ❖ Estimating the false discovery rate
- ❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary



- The internal benchmarking method also matches on the higher dimensional margins

# Propensity score weighting

## Introduction

## Bias in the decision to stop

## Internal benchmarking

- ❖ Central question
- ❖ Internal benchmark
- ❖ Stop locations are well matched

## ❖ Propensity score weighting

- ❖ Common approach
- ❖ Estimating the false discovery rate
- ❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

- Reweight stops that other officers made so that they have the same distribution of features

$$f(\mathbf{x}|t = 1) = w(\mathbf{x})f(\mathbf{x}|t = 0)$$

- Solving for  $w(\mathbf{x})$  yields the propensity score weight

$$w(\mathbf{x}) = \frac{f(t = 1|\mathbf{x})}{f(t = 0|\mathbf{x})} K = \frac{p(\mathbf{x})}{1 - p(\mathbf{x})} K$$

where  $p(\mathbf{x})$  is the probability that a stop with features  $\mathbf{x}$  involves the officer in question

- Estimate  $p(\mathbf{x})$  using a flexible, non-parametric version of logistic regression
- Compare the percentage of black drivers among the officer's stops with the weighted percentage of black drivers among other stops using weights  $w_i = p(\mathbf{x}_i)/(1 - p(\mathbf{x}_i))$

# Common approach

## Introduction

## Bias in the decision to stop

## Internal benchmarking

- ❖ Central question
- ❖ Internal benchmark
- ❖ Stop locations are well matched
- ❖ Propensity score weighting

## ❖ Common approach

- ❖ Estimating the false discovery rate
- ❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

- A common approach is to compute  $z$ -statistics for each officer

$$z = \frac{p_t - p_c}{\sqrt{\frac{p_t(1-p_t)}{n_t} + \frac{p_c(1-p_c)}{ESS}}}$$

- In the absence of racial bias this would be distributed  $N(0,1)$  and a cutoff of 2.0 would be reasonable
- With 2,756 officers and 2,756 correlated  $z$ s an appropriate reference distribution can be much wider (Efron 2006).

# Estimating the false discovery rate

## Introduction

## Bias in the decision to stop

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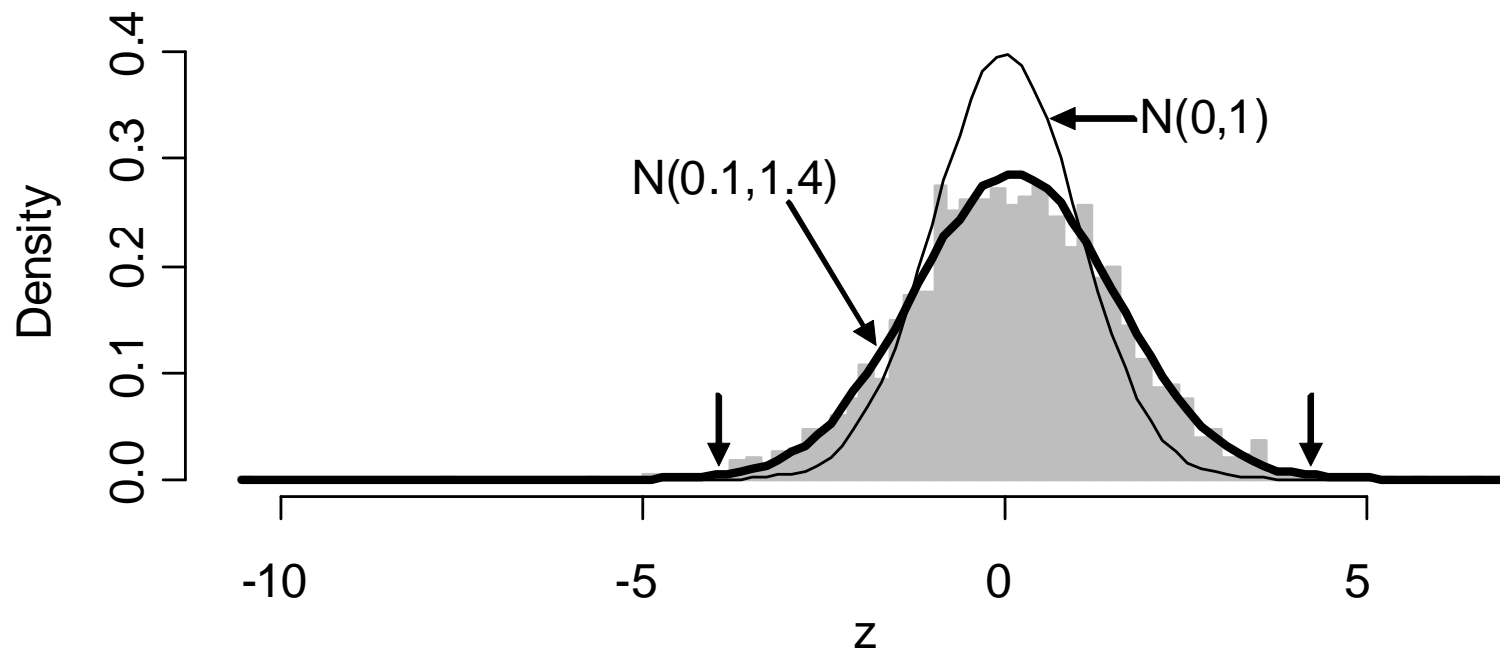
- ❖ Central question
- ❖ Internal benchmark
- ❖ Stop locations are well matched
- ❖ Propensity score weighting
- ❖ Common approach

## ❖ Estimating the false discovery rate

- ❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary



- Estimate  $f_0(z)$  and  $f(z)$  from the observed  $z$ s
- Right tail consists of 5 officers with “problem officer” probabilities in excess of 50%
- Standard cutoff of  $z > 2.0$  flags 242 officers, 90% of which have fdr estimated to be greater than 0.999

# Flagged officers show large disparities

## Introduction

### Bias in the decision to stop

#### Internal benchmarking

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- ❖ Estimating the false discovery rate

#### ❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

### Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

Black (%)		Stops ( $n$ )		fdr
Officer	Benchmark	Officer	Benchmark	
86	55	151	773	0.03
85	67	218	473	0.38
77	56	237	1,081	0.14
75	51	178	483	0.22
64	20	59	695	0.02

Several current systems have statistical flaws

- LAPD's TEAMS II Risk Management Information System
- Pittsburgh's Performance Assessment and Review System
- Cincinnati's Risk Management System
- Phoenix's Personnel Assessment System

# Step #3: Assessing race bias post-stop

G. Ridgeway (2006). "Assessing the effect of race bias in post-traffic stop outcomes using propensity scores," *J. Quantitative Criminology* 22(1):1-29.

- **Central question:** Are black drivers more/less likely to be cited, have long stop durations, or be searched?

Stop feature	% Black drivers (N=3,703)	% Nonblack drivers (N=3,033)
Region		
A	32%	14%
Time of day		
12am-4am	16%	8%
Resident	76%	64%
Age		
18-29	47%	38%
Reason		
Mechanical/ Registration	26%	16%
Male	75%	74%

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❖ Central question
❖ Reweighting balances the group
❖ Results: Cincinnati stop duration
❖ Results: Cincinnati search rates
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# Reweighting balances the group

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## Bias in the decision to stop

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## Assessing race bias post-stop

### ❖ Central question

### ❖ Reweighting balances the group

### ❖ Results: Cincinnati stop duration

### ❖ Results: Cincinnati search rates

## Summary

$$\bullet w(\mathbf{x}) = \frac{P(\text{black}|\mathbf{x})}{1 - P(\text{black}|\mathbf{x})}$$

Stop feature	% Black drivers (N=3,703)	% Nonblack drivers weighted (ESS=1,689.2)	% Nonblack drivers (N=3,033)
Region			
A	32%	33%	14%
Time of day			
12am-4am	16%	16%	8%
Resident	76%	76%	64%
Age			
18-29	47%	48%	38%
Reason			
Mechanical/ Registration	26%	26%	16%
Male	75%	76%	74%

# Results: Cincinnati stop duration

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## Bias in the decision to stop

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### ❖ Central question

### ❖ Reweighting balances the group

### ❖ Results: Cincinnati stop duration

### ❖ Results: Cincinnati search rates

## Summary

Year	Stop Duration (Minutes)	Black Drivers	Nonblack (reweighted)	Nonblack (unweighted)
2003	$n =$ (0,10)	16,708 40%	4,881 43%	18,548 56%
2004	$n =$ (0,10)	18,721 40%	5,190 44%	20,390 59%
2005	$n =$ (0,10)	15,571 45%	4,965 47%	20,431 60%
2006	$n =$ (0,10)	15,557 47%	3,358 47%	18,458 56%

- Black drivers in 2006 were three times more likely to have an invalid license than white drivers (18% vs. 5%)

# Results: Cincinnati search rates

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## Bias in the decision to stop

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### ❖ Central question

### ❖ Reweighting balances the group

### ❖ Results: Cincinnati stop duration

### ❖ Results: Cincinnati search rates

## Summary

Year	Discretion (Minutes)	Black Drivers	Nonblack (reweighted)	Nonblack (unweighted)
2003	$n =$	16,708	4,881	18,548
	High	5.9%	5.4%	2.8%
	Low	8.1%	5.5%	2.7%
2004	$n =$	18,721	5,190	20,390
	High	6.7%	6.2%	3.2%
	Low	10.7%	7.0%	3.9%
2005	$n =$	19,375	6,141	25,163
	High	6.1%	5.2%	2.8%
	Low	4.4%	3.5%	1.6%
2005	$n =$	20,146	5,365	24,383
	High	6.1%	6.7%	3.0%
	Low	4.9%	3.9%	1.8%

- Hit rates for black and white drivers are about 23% for high discretion searches

# Summary

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❖ Summary

❖ For more information

- Racial profiling analyses have generally confused the issue by studying irrelevant comparisons
- Credible and relevant comparisons are not difficult
  - ❖ Assess whether the ability to identify race in advance influences who gets stopped
  - ❖ Compare similarly situated officers
  - ❖ Equalize race groups on the obvious features on which they might legitimately differ

# *For more information...*

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❖ For more information

Complete reports and papers are available at [www.rand.org](http://www.rand.org)