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# 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

## Internal benchmarking

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## 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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- ❖ 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 People at Risk of Being Stopped

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

## Introduction

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

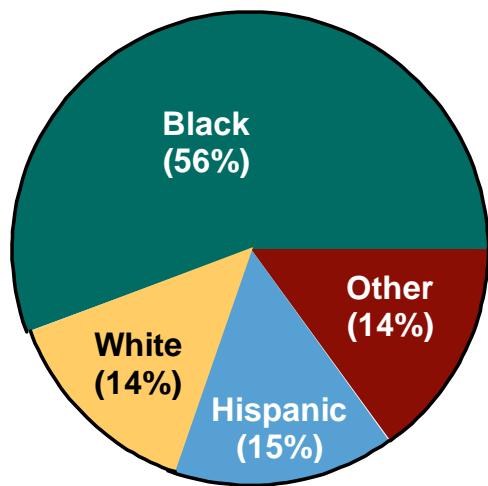
## Bias in the decision to stop

## Internal benchmarking

## Assessing race bias post-stop

## Summary

Racial Distribution of People Stopped



Racial Distribution of People at Risk of Being Stoppe

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

## Introduction

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

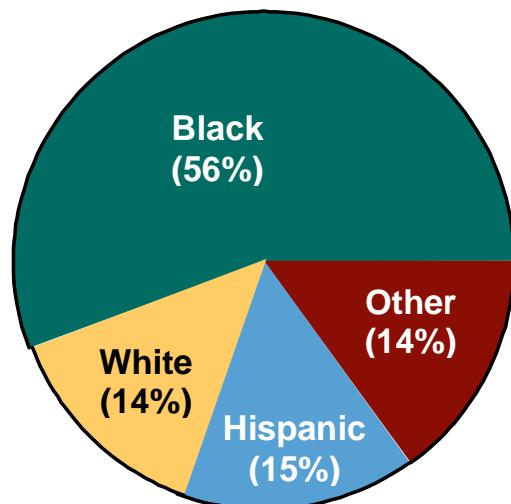
## Bias in the decision to stop

## Internal benchmarking

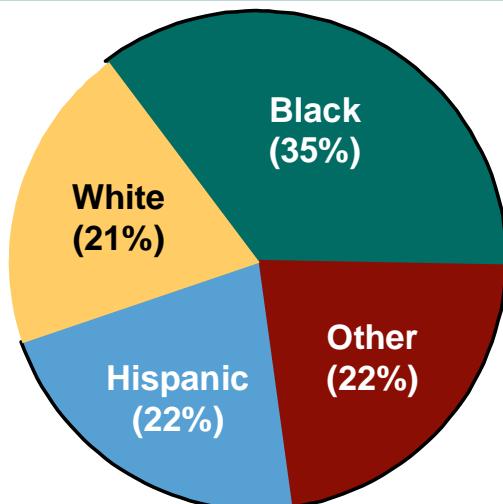
## Assessing race bias post-stop

## 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

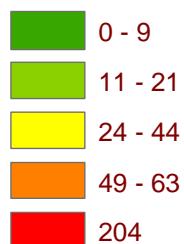
## Internal benchmarking

## 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

Use of force incidents



# ***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

Groger & 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

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❖ Decomposition of the race effect

❖ Results

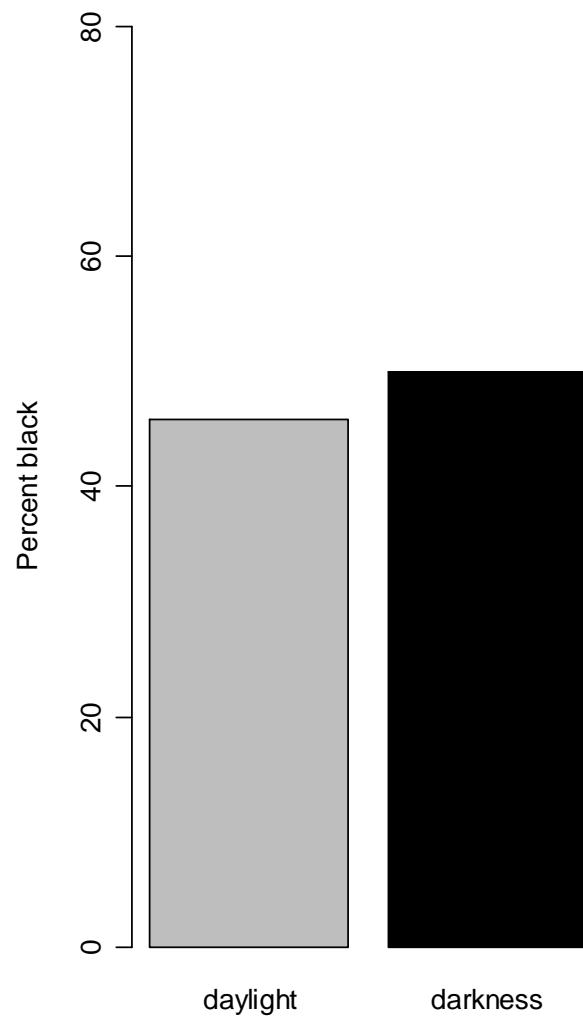
❖ Results

## 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

❖ Simple veil of darkness test

❖ Adjusting for “clock time”

❖ Development of the test

❖ Accommodate underreporting

❖ Decomposition of the race effect

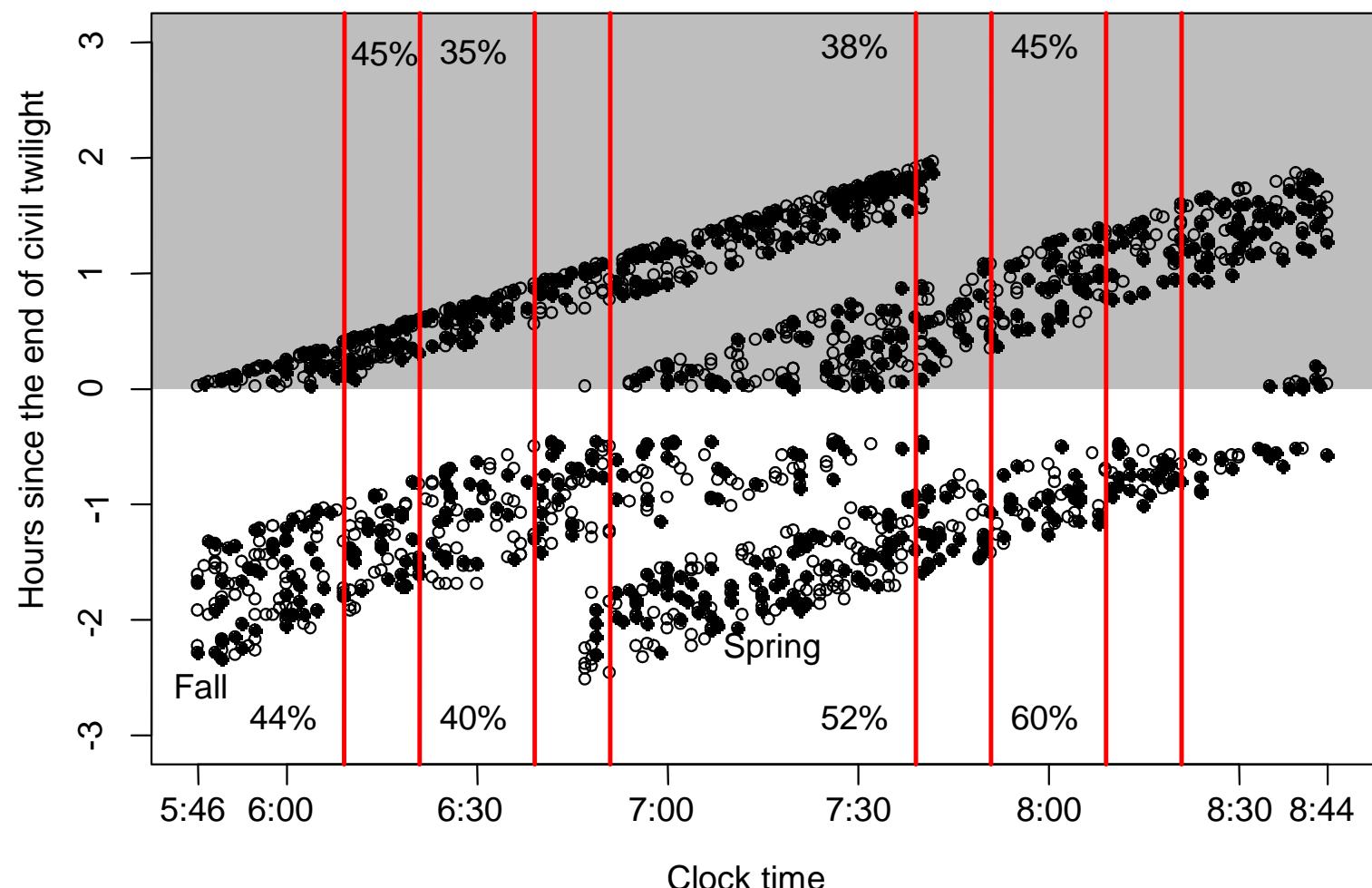
❖ Results

❖ Results

Internal benchmarking

Assessing race bias post-stop

Summary



# ***Development of the test***

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

- ❖ Central question
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❖ 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

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

# **Accommodate underreporting**

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

- ❖ Central question
- ❖ Simple veil of darkness test
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- ❖ 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

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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*

Introduction

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❖ 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
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- ❖ 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

| 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 twilight period

## ***Step #2: Internal benchmarking***

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

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 (%)<br>(n = 392) |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| Month               | January 3                        |
|                     | February 4                       |
|                     | March 8                          |
| Day of the week     | Monday 13                        |
|                     | Tuesday 11                       |
|                     | Wednesday 14                     |
| 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                            |

# ***Internal benchmark***

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

Internal benchmarking

❖ Central question

❖ Internal benchmark

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❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

Assessing race bias post-stop

Summary

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

| Stop Characteristic | Example Officer (%)<br>(n = 392) | Internal Benchmark (%)<br>(ESS = 3,676) |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| Month               | January                          | 3                                       |
|                     | February                         | 4                                       |
|                     | March                            | 8                                       |
| Day of the week     | Monday                           | 13                                      |
|                     | Tuesday                          | 11                                      |
|                     | Wednesday                        | 14                                      |
| 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                                       |

# *Stop locations are well matched*

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

Internal benchmarking

❖ Central question

❖ Internal benchmark

❖ Stop locations are well matched

❖ Propensity score weighting

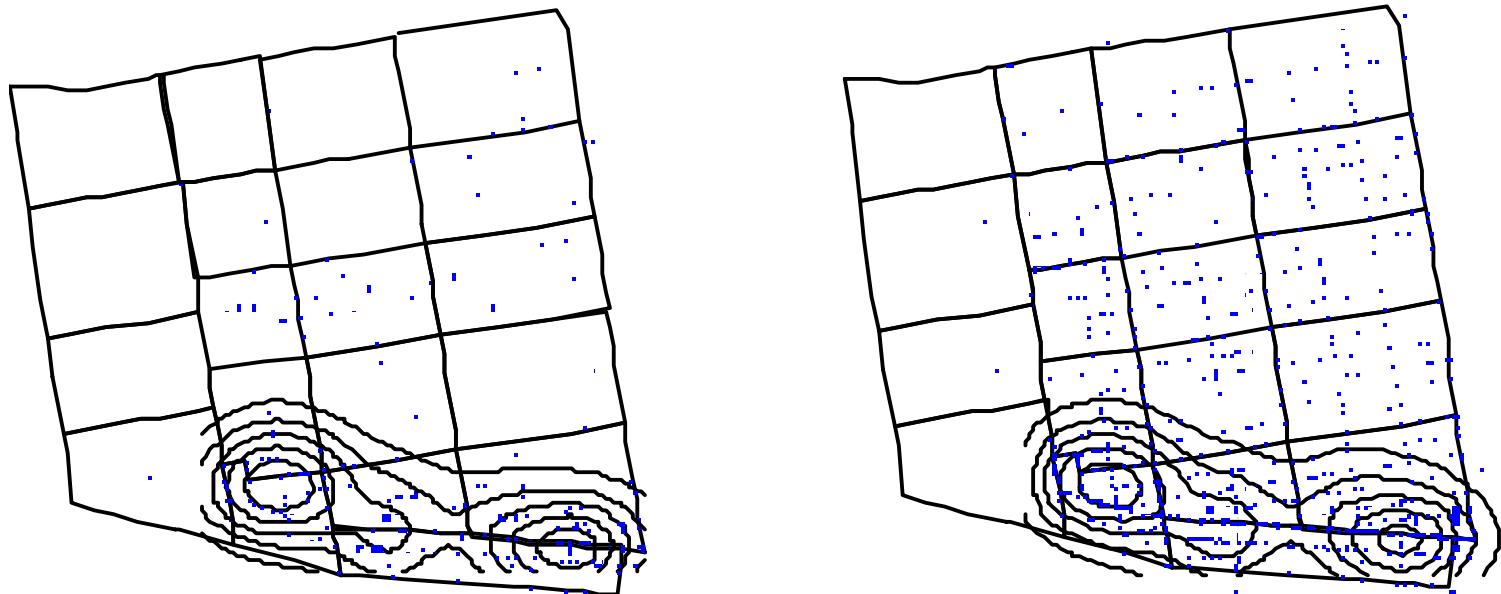
❖ Common approach

❖ Estimating the false discovery rate

❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

Assessing race bias post-stop

Summary



- 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  $zs$  an appropriate reference distribution can be much wider (Efron 2006).

# *Estimating the false discovery rate*

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

Internal benchmarking

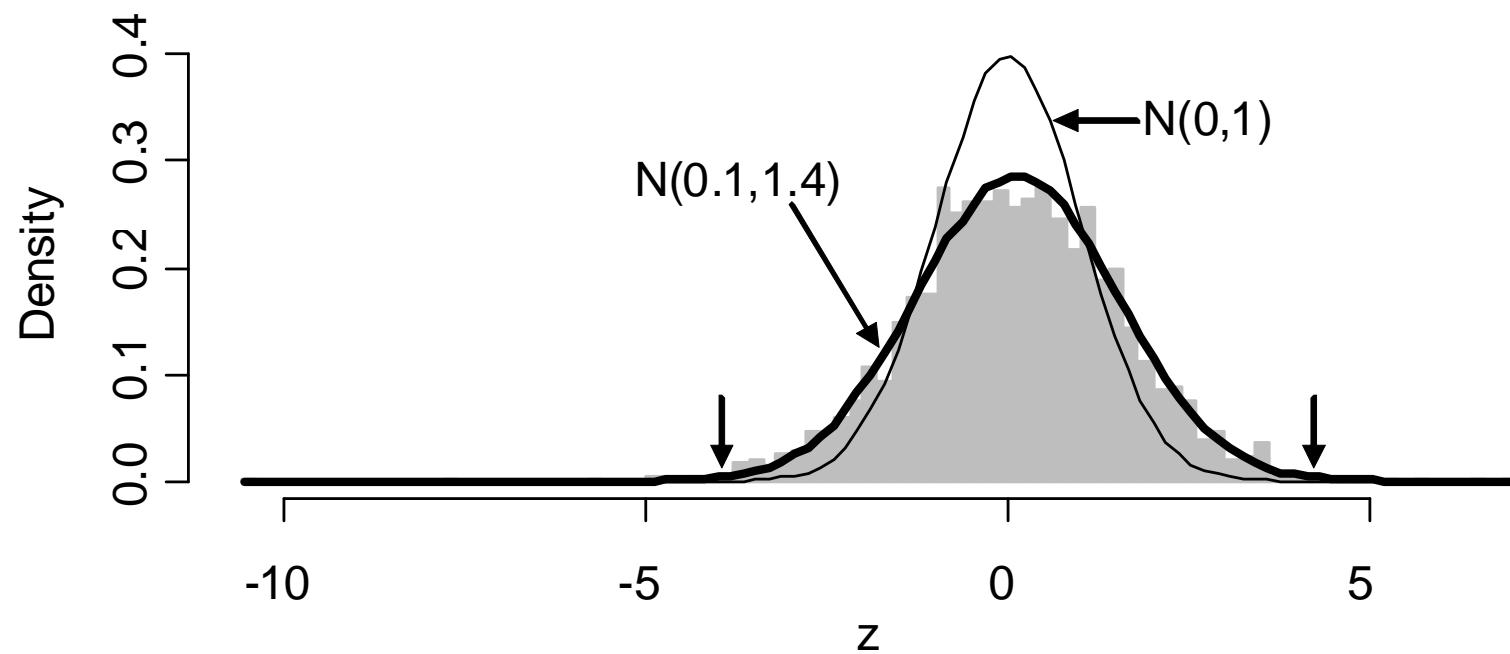
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- ❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

Assessing race bias post-stop

Summary



- Estimate  $f_0(z)$  and  $f(z)$  from the observed  $zs$
- 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

- ❖ Central question
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- ❖ Stop locations are well matched

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- ❖ Estimating the false discovery rate

- ❖ Flagged officers show large disparities

Assessing race bias post-stop

Summary

| Officer | Black (%) | Officer | Stops (n) | fdr  |
|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|------|
|         | Benchmark |         | 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**

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

Internal benchmarking

Assessing race bias post-stop

❖ Central question

❖ Reweighting balances the group

❖ Results: Cincinnati stop duration

❖ Results: Cincinnati search rates

Summary

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<br>(N=3,703) | % Nonblack drivers<br>(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%                             |

# *Reweighting balances the group*

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

Internal benchmarking

Assessing race bias post-stop

❖ Central question

❖ Reweighting balances the group

❖ Results: Cincinnati stop duration

❖ Results: Cincinnati search rates

Summary

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

| Stop feature                | % Black drivers<br>(N=3,703) | % Nonblack drivers<br>weighted (ESS=1,689.2) | % Nonblack drivers<br>(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/<br>Registration | 26%                          | 26%  | 16%                             |
| Male                        | 75%                          | 76%  | 74%                             |

# *Results: Cincinnati stop duration*

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

Internal benchmarking

Assessing race bias post-stop

❖ Central question

❖ Reweighting balances the group

❖ Results: Cincinnati stop duration

❖ Results: Cincinnati search rates

Summary

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

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

Internal benchmarking

Assessing race bias post-stop

❖ Central question

❖ Reweighting balances the group

❖ Results: Cincinnati stop duration

❖ Results: Cincinnati search rates

Summary

| Year | Discretion<br>(Minutes) | Black<br>Drivers | Nonblack<br>(reweighted) | Nonblack<br>(unweighted) |
|------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 2003 | <i>n</i> =              | 16,708           | 4,881                    | 18,548                   |
|      | High                    | 5.9%             | 5.4%                     | 2.8%                     |
|      | Low                     | 8.1%             | 5.5%                     | 2.7%                     |
| 2004 | <i>n</i> =              | 18,721           | 5,190                    | 20,390                   |
|      | High                    | 6.7%             | 6.2%                     | 3.2%                     |
|      | Low                     | 10.7%            | 7.0%                     | 3.9%                     |
| 2005 | <i>n</i> =              | 19,375           | 6,141                    | 25,163                   |
|      | High                    | 6.1%             | 5.2%                     | 2.8%                     |
|      | Low                     | 4.4%             | 3.5%                     | 1.6%                     |
| 2005 | <i>n</i> =              | 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***

Introduction

Bias in the decision to stop

Internal benchmarking

Assessing race bias post-stop

Summary

❖ 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...*

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

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