

Consortium for Police Leadership in Equity
San Jose Quarterly Update
December 16, 2010

On May 5, 2009, the San Jose City Council endorsed the partnership between the Consortium for Police Leadership in Equity (CPLÉ) and the San Jose Police Department regarding research designed to improve racial equity in policing. The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), a legal document which lays out the scope of work to be undertaken by the CPLÉ, was officially signed and ratified by the University of California (serving as the academic and legal home of the CPLÉ) and the City of San Jose in August of 2009. Since this time, the CPLÉ has collaborated with the San Jose Police Department and San Jose City officials to carry out an ambitious research agenda.

The CPLÉ has continued to make significant progress on our research efforts since our last quarterly update in May. The CPLÉ is pleased to report the following updates regarding the projects with the San Jose Police Department (SJPD):

Research Project Updates
Assessing Racial Disparities in Police Treatment
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Research Project Updates

The CPLÉ is conducting research intended to inform the SJPD with respect to ways in which SJPD might ensure the equitable delivery of police services to all members of the community. The CPLÉ is undertaking five distinct research projects to achieve these goals, involving a variety of methodologies and analysis techniques, across four institutions – University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA); University of California, Berkeley (Berkeley); Stanford University; and State University of New York, Stony Brook (SUNY, Stony Brook). While coordinating multiple research projects across various research institutions is normally a multi-year process, we are instituting an accelerated research timeline to provide San Jose with informative results as soon as possible. Below we highlight the progress made on each of CPLÉ's ongoing research initiatives.

Assessing Racial Disparities in Police Treatment

The CPLÉ is currently conducting a three pronged approach aimed at assessing potential disparities in police treatment. As we have reported previously, there is continued scholarly debate regarding the assessment of racial equity in law enforcement. Studying population benchmarking alone (i.e. the notion that stops of a racial group should be proportional to the racial group's representation in a given population) is a notoriously imprecise technique for measuring racial bias. To solve this problem, the CPLÉ is using a modified population-benchmarking analysis in combination with two other measures to measure the racial distribution of police stops and arrests. We will briefly outline those projects and update our progress below.

Population Benchmarking Analysis: The CPLE is currently conducting a population benchmarking analysis of arrests for different racial groups in San Jose over a 20 year period. Specifically, the CPLE is focusing on comparing arrest categories that community members find concerning (e.g. public intoxication arrests, resisting arrest, and disturbing the peace arrests) vs. arrest categories that are less concerning categories (e.g. battery).

To further this analysis, the CPLE recommended and requested that the SJPD pair existing arrest data with source of contact initiation data (i.e. Type I and Type II data). This breakdown indicates whether a police/citizen interaction resulted from a civilian call for service (Type I) or was officer initiated (Type II). This type of data is a way to gauge the relative effectiveness and equitable distribution of law enforcement services that stem from officers' instincts, training, and legal requirements, as well as calls for service from the community. It may also be the case that collecting this data could serve as an early warning system on equity-related issues, including a host of other concerns (e.g. excessive use of force and citizen complaints).

The CPLE has received this data from the SJPD for all cases in 2008 and 2009 for all events that resulted in an arrest disposition. Specifically, we received 33,456 events that resulted in an arrest disposition that were categorized by priorities with numbers ranging from 1 to 6. This breakdown indicates whether a police/citizen interaction resulted from a call for service (Priorities 1-4) or was officer initiated (Priorities 5 and 6). Our next step in the research processes is to hand code the racial breakdown of the suspect in each case, as this information is not currently coded in the same system. This coding is a very time intensive process but we are working closely with the San Jose Police's Crime Analysis Unit to first start with a sample of a couple hundred cases. Pending staff availability and funding, we will proceed with the full analysis. The Crime Analysis Unit is working on an automated program to assist in coding the sample.

It is worth noting that this form of analysis is not possible in a plurality of other police departments because of the way in which data is collected and because the police department lacks the desire to conduct the research. That is, because data about whether or not an incident originates from an officer's instincts or a call for service is often kept separately from the ultimate disposition of a police contact (i.e. an arrest disposition), creating a database that permits racial comparisons of the kind outlined above requires time intensive hand coding. No department in the nation has previously committed the necessary resources to permit this kind of analysis before San Jose.

Attitude/Behavior Matching: In addition to the population benchmarking analyses described above, which focus on aggregate trends, the CPLE is also conducting a more fine grained, individual level analysis in order to study racial equity in the behavior of individual officers. Specifically, the CPLE is measuring officers' psychological profiles, and then pairing officer profiles with their performance history. The goal is not to reveal any biases of individual officers, as officer identities will be kept confidential. Rather, the

goal is to understand what relationship, if any, officer attitudes have on officer behavior. This method allows CPLE to study the connections between racial attitudes and policing behavior. That is, if prejudiced attitudes are associated with disproportionate stops of particular racial groups, then this reveals a problem for the SJPD to address.

The first CPLE officer data collection for this research initiative was conducted from April 9 - 12, 2010. During this data collection, the CPLE collected attitude data from a significant number of San Jose police officers. Officers completed various computerized tasks and responded to a variety of survey measures. This attitude data collection represents the first step in the project. The second step of the process is to gather the behavioral data for the officers. The behavioral data will then be matched with the results from the attitude assessment. A CPLE data collection team assisted Lt. Thomas Sims and the SJPD data collection team on September 14 – 17, 2010. Data collected included use of force and complaint data. The remaining data collection, stops data, is scheduled to be completed by early 2011. Specifically, all officer-initiated stop data is scheduled to be completed by January 1, 2011 by Lt. Thomas Sims and the SJPD data collection team. The timeline for stops data that are a result of a call for service still needs to be finalized.

The CPLE would like to thank the SJPD for their assistance in organizing this intensive data collection. Members of the police department assisted with logistical concerns, officer recruitment, and general troubleshooting. We also thank the individual officers who consented to take part in the research project. CPLE researchers were responsible for all data collection.

Intragroup Differentiation Analysis: The analyses indicated in points 1 and 2 above focus on between group differences in treatment. That is, are Latinos receiving different treatment compared to Whites? However, disparate treatment may also occur within a particular racial group. That is, are certain types of Latinos being treated differently compared to other Latinos? A second, but related question is “what is the role that citizens play in interactions?” The CPLE will answer such questions using an Intragroup Differentiation Analysis. Specifically, the CPLE will study factors that may exacerbate any observed inequalities in treatment and outcomes for group members within the same racial or ethnic group. The specific focus of this project will be an investigation of how officer and suspect racial phenotypic stereotypicality, expectations of hyper-masculine responses (regarding an officer and/or a suspect), and actual hyper-masculine responses may influence police-community interactions. Using arrest records, booking photographs, and experimental designs, CPLE researchers are assessing the role of racial phenotype, expectations of masculine displays, and actual masculine displays in the creation of racial inequality.

Since the last quarterly update, the CPLE data collection team assisted Lt. Thomas Sims and the SJPD data collection team in collecting booking photos for 200 random cases that were associated with Use of Force reports and 200 random cases that were associated with non-Use of Force reports from September 14 – 17, 2010. Having

received the booking photos, we are in the process of coding these photographs on a variety of dimensions including: phenotypic racial stereotypicality, masculinity, femininity, attractiveness, positive and negative emotions, and perceptions of criminality. We will then test the influence of these dimensions on the amount of force used during the interaction. Laboratory studies will also be used to confirm the mechanisms identified in these field studies.

Ranging from aggregate trends to individual level analyses, as well as both intergroup and intragroup level comparisons, this multilevel, mixed methods analysis will produce the clearest picture regarding potential bias. These methods will be used in concert for the first time and we will be able to see what type of analysis is most predicative of bias. From these results, any intervention work within the department deemed necessary can be properly targeted and implemented.

Building Police - Community Trust

In addition to the above research plan addressing potential bias in policing, CPLE researchers Dr. Jennifer L. Eberhardt and Dr. Art Aron have also made considerable progress on their proposed project. Dr. Eberhardt and Dr. Aron's research will focus on ways to promote positive feelings between police and community members in San Jose. Building on previous research on how cross-race friendships promote positive attitudes toward outgroups, the research aims to enhance outgroup compassion between community members and police. Specifically, the research program involves testing a social-psychological intervention that pairs police officers with community members, and guides those pairs through an interaction program designed to promote feelings of closeness and friendship. The research will test the effectiveness of this approach toward improving police-community relations.

Dr. Eberhardt has met with the recently retired Chief Davis and is in the process of expanding this project to a five-city initiative, in which San Jose will serve as the central hub. We are currently in final negotiations to determine the five nearby cities. Once again, San Jose will lead the way in this innovative multi-city collaboration. During our community outreach efforts, multiple community members have expressed their enthusiasm for participating in this event and we look forward to scheduling these sessions. The CPLE would like to thank Chief Davis for his support in helping launch this multi-city initiative.

Update on Consent Search Research

An addition to the San Jose research team, Dr. Jack Glaser received his Ph.D. in Psychology from Yale University in 1999 and joined the faculty of the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley in 2000. He is a social psychologist whose primary research interest is in stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. Dr. Glaser researches the implications of subtle forms of bias and stereotyping for discrimination law and law enforcement. Additionally, Professor Glaser

conducts research on very extreme manifestations of intergroup bias, including hate crimes. Dr. Glaser is a leading national expert on the use of base rates analyses in assessing racial profiling and bias. Dr. Glaser is currently assisting the Oakland Police Department on similar issues of racial profiling and bias. His expertise and advanced quantitative skills will significantly complement the current research team in place at the San Jose research site. Since his introduction to the San Jose team, Dr. Glaser has had meetings with various members of the SJPD, including members of the Crime Analysis Unit.

Community Outreach

The CPLE has continued to reach out to the San Jose community in hopes of responding to the issues and needs of community members. We are making significant progress in building up community involvement in the CPLE's research plan with the San Jose Police Department. During this quarter, the CPLE has conducted a number of interviews with San Jose council members in addition to members of neighborhood associations and community activists from various segments within the San Jose community. We also thank the various city officials who provided recommendations for community members to contact and interview.

These interview themes will help guide the CPLE's future research plans and data collection. Their responses are helping inform our community survey that the CPLE will be conducting in the upcoming months. The CPLE hopes to respond to the concerns of the community in its collaboration with the San Jose Police Department.

The CPLE looks forward to its continued collaboration with the San Jose Police Department, the San Jose City Officials, and the San Jose Community members and will report back further updates on research progress during the next quarterly update meeting.

The Contract for Policing Justice

On Saturday, October 23, the Major Cities Chiefs Association voted to endorse The Contract for Policing Justice. The Contract is a collaborative effort primarily between law enforcement executives and researchers and establishes an agenda for research and action on equity issues in policing. The goal of the document is to identify the most urgent priorities in the area of police equity and outline a set of concrete steps on the way to addressing each of them. The areas identified by law enforcement are: racial profiling and disparate impact, immigration policy enforcement, and organizational equity. The Contract for Policing Justice articulates both priorities within these domains and a methodological blueprint for addressing each. We are extraordinarily pleased that the Major Cities Chiefs Association has endorsed this roadmap and look forward to implementing it with our research partners.

Of particular note is the fact that leading law enforcement agencies, researchers, and community advocates all endorsed a plan of action to measure racial profiling. That plan is nearly identical to the one already underway in San Jose.