

Consortium for Police Leadership in Equity
San Jose Quarterly Update
March 17, 2011

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. We are pleased to report that Chief Chris Moore has affirmed the Department's commitment to work with the CPLÉ.

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

Research Project Updates
Assessing Racial Disparities in Police Treatment
Assessing Vehicle Types and Traffic Offences

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; State University of New York, Stony Brook (SUNY, Stony Brook); and Columbia University. 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). We are in the process of hand coding the racial breakdown of the suspects 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 99 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, such as use of force, complaint data, and officer initiated stops, was collected and is now being recoded and matched with the results from the attitude assessment. This represents a significant accomplishment by the SJPD given their staffing constraints. We are pleased to be working towards a comprehensive analytic strategy that we can share with the SJPD as soon as these data are analyzed.

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.

The CPLE has the 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, and 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

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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. This data is now in the process of being analyzed.

Assessing Vehicle Types and Traffic Offences: CPLE researchers Dana R. Carney, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Management, Columbia University and Amy J. C. Cuddy, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Business Administration, Harvard University, are beginning a new project investigating the way that situational factors increase the propensity to commit traffic offenses. Recent research suggests that subtle cues in one's environment, such as an expanded posture, may lead to corrupt behavior by allowing expanded body owners to feel more powerful. This has been a productive stream of research in non-law enforcement domains, and is being explored as a possible exacerbating factor for vehicle violations.