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A Meta-Analysis of the Extant Literature on Racial Profiling by U.S. Police Departments

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School of Security & Global Studies

Criminal Justice Program

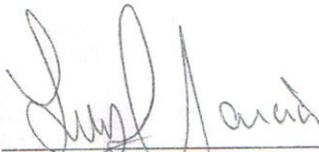
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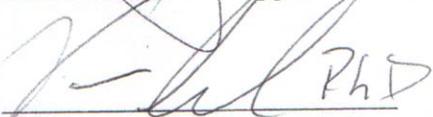
A META-ANALYSIS OF THE EXTANT LITERATURE ON
RACIAL PROFILING BY U.S. POLICE DEPARTMENTS

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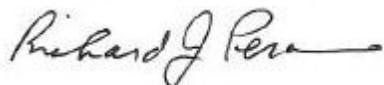
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AMERICAN PUBLIC UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

Charles Town, West Virginia

A META-ANALYSIS OF THE EXTANT LITERATURE ON RACIAL PROFILING BY U.S.
POLICE DEPARTMENTS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

by

Sabrina Hill

Department Approval Date:
August 25, 2013

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my sons, Willie and Devon, as well as my parents. With the lack of patience, understanding and support, and most of all love, the motivation to complete this work would not have been possible. I also dedicate this to my coworker, Joice Casey, who has supported and encouraged me throughout the entire process.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

A META-ANALYSIS OF THE EXTANT LITERATURE ON RACIAL PROFILING BY U.S.

POLICE DEPARTMENTS

by

Sabrina Hill

American Public University System, August 25, 2013

Charles Town, West Virginia

Dr. Luis Garcia, Thesis Professor

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the interpretation of existing data that proposes racial profiling increases the apprehension of potential offenders and innocent people. The study will utilize peer-reviewed research journals, government reports and professional criminal justice websites to review various statistics and demographic data to corroborate that minorities are disproportionately singled out by police during stops. The study will also examine whether racial profiling exists more in some states and/or regions in the United States than in others.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Driving While Black/Driving While Brown (DWB) (when referring to Hispanics) is a term that puts fear and anger into the hearts of many Americans. The idea of being targeted simply because of one's skin color or ethnicity runs against the main principle upon which this great nation was founded "that all men are created equal"—a concept that will remain peculiar to most Americans. Existing data on vehicle stops by some law enforcement agencies appears to support the perception that officers target people to stop, first because of their appearance, then by observing probable cause. Vehicle stops are only one police activity where consideration of race enters the law enforcement decision-making process. One of the most leading and challenging questions facing law enforcement is whether race/ethnicity should define what enforcement actions to take (Flores, 2002).

Racial profiling occurs when a police officer stops, questions, arrests, and/or searches someone solely on the basis of the person's race or ethnicity. This definition is typically used by some skeptics when condemning racial profiling, as law enforcement agencies do when denying the existence of it (Cleary, 2000). An example of racial profiling under this definition would be a police stop based on the confluence of the following factors: age; clothing; point in time; location; and biological and sociological features (Kennedy, 1999).

Racial profiling is not victimless. It violates human rights, fundamental principles of justice and taints everything it touches (Romero, 2012). Racial profiling violates many international treaties that the United States has signed related to discrimination and the promotion of racial equality (Kemper Human Rights Education Foundation, 2012). Also, it has an impact that goes far beyond the initial incident. Kansas State University's recent study indicates that blacks and Hispanic drivers were significantly more likely to be searched, ticketed

and arrested than white drivers when stopped by police (U.S. Fed News Services, 2012). In Steward's (2004) survey, the criteria for determining the ethnic identities of stopped drivers was not clear.

Racial profiling and/or the lack of knowledge of racial profiling occurring are one of the most indispensable matters currently facing law enforcement. Although not a new issue, there have been allegations through our nation's history; it most likely is the new single law enforcement issue that has received the most broadcasting and civilian participation during the last several years. It is an issue that is not basically going to diminish on its own. It is an issue that police organizations need to tackle in order to uphold believability with the citizens whom they serve.

The primary question is the extent to which racial profiling actually occurs. Today, a good number of law enforcement officials still do not believe that racial profiling ever occurs or happens so uncommonly, that is not a major problem for law enforcement to address. However, some of them are conscious that racial profiling is an appropriate action for law enforcement to partake. The National Association of Police Organizations (NAPO) publicized its resistance to the federal Traffic Stops Statistics Act, which calls for police agencies to gather racial identification information from all traffic stops which law enforcers partake. NAPO believed that there was no prerequisite to collect the data, including that there is no issue with racial profiling (Jackson, 1998).

While these individuals may be genuine in their beliefs, they are disregarding, or not aware that statistical information proves racial profiling is prevalent in the activities of law enforcement agencies within the United States. Racial profiling matters because it is both morally and ethically wrong. It is a constitutional violation. The 4th Amendment of the Bill of

Rights forbids unreasonable searches and seizures (United States Constitution). Police agencies need to develop stronger guidelines that prohibit racial profiling and offer extensive, mandatory training to their officers on those policies.

An Oakland survey presented by DeJong et al. (2001) indicated that a total of 7,607 traffic stops conducted between July 13 and November 24, 1999 by U.S. police engaged in patrol duties were marred with instances of racial profiling. In spite of the subjective nature of danger distinctions, such traffic stops are initiated to inspect both dangerous (27 percent) and non-dangerous moving violations (48 percent). While some drivers (5 percent) could be impounded for criminal investigations, registration and mechanical violations were—and still—are the chief reasons for majority of the remaining traffic stops (DeJong et al. 2001).

Chapter II: Hypotheses

This study will be guided by the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: There is an increasing amount of research that concludes that racial profiling is applied by police department within some U.S. locales.

Hypothesis 2: Police perceptions of criminality vary by race of the alleged offender.

Hypothesis 3: If some activities such as making arrests, searching citizens and stopping vehicles are highly rewarded by a particular police department, police officers are more likely to aggressively carry out these activities based on race.

Chapter III: Limitations

Previously, studies in this subject have relied on either traffic surveys or secondary data sources to construct the estimates of set risks (Alpert and Dunham, 1998; Fridell, 2004). Since the validity of tests abstracted from secondary data sources have been disputed, external risk estimates are not required in the approach. However, certain assumptions are necessary. In

some instances, the model yields negligible proof of racial profiling in well-off regions. In such cases, the meta-synthesis analysis indicates that the conclusion could have been overturned by a slight departure from the strongly maintained assumptions. Notably, the estimates remain valid if there are no variations in risks set between nighttime and daylight.

Implicitly, the study assumes night-time/daylight risk differentials associated with seasons. Thus, this assumption may be violated in regions with substantive tourist inflows. To remediate such risks, the study should have focused on occurrence of police arrests, intimidation and seizures within the same season. Secondly, this study may be sensitive to violations linked to regions and an individual's racial identity. Realistically, only a small degree of racial profiling is represented by such contraventions. In case they are of grave concern, then they can be eliminated from this study. Third, this survey was sensitive to the exclusion and inclusion of traffic arrests. A fourth caveat suggests that the test outcomes are limited to the inter-twilight session. This implies that the topic of racial profiling may not be explicitly explored in this analysis during other hours.

Chapter IV: Literature Review

The literature review evaluates journals and other accredited sources of information in an effort to review, analyze and critique scholarly works on a racial profiling by U.S. police departments.

Public Opinion on Racial Profiling

Several studies have previously investigated public opinion on racial profiling that has been—and still—is propagated by U.S. police departments especially along traffic stops and checkpoints. A multivariate analysis was conducted by Weitzer and Tuch (2002) on racial profiling revealed that social class in addition to race played a critical role in influencing the

acceptability and prevalence of racial profiling in the U.S. The findings of the study further demonstrated that personal experience as well as education with profiling unconstructively affected the subjects' perception that American citizens of color are unfairly treated by the police officers. Weitzer and Tuch further demonstrated that age and marital status constructively influenced the perception that American citizens of color are treated unfairly and had unconstructive effect on treatment by local police officers as well as state police.

A New York City's poll analysis regarding racial profiling was conducted by Reitzel, Rice and Piquero (2004). The findings of the study showed that majority of blacks and Hispanics were likely to perceive racial profiling as unjustified and widespread. In addition, citizens of color were likely to have a conviction that they had been profiled. The study also demonstrated that non-Hispanics were less likely than Hispanics to believe that racial profiling was pervasive. A national poll was conducted by Weitzer and Tuch (2005) to establish the tone of public opinion concerning racial profiling. The findings of this study indicated that all ethnic and racial groups acknowledged that racial profiling was rampant and widespread. Seventy percent of the whites, 83 percent of the Hispanics and 90 percent of blacks argued that racial profiling was widespread in the U.S. Besides, the study revealed that very few subjects felt that racial profiling was justified while the majority of the respondents felt the contrary. The subjects who lived in high-crime neighborhood, in the city and who possessed higher level education were more likely to believe that police officers were biased towards citizens of color when conducting searches and traffic stops.

A similar study was carried out by Schuck, Rosenbaum and Hawkins (2008) to explore the neighborhood characteristics and the influence of social class on American citizens' attitude towards police officers. Results from this study indicated that majority of the middle-class

African-Americans had a constructive attitudes towards the police officers. In addition, middle-class African-Americans living in advantaged neighborhoods were more likely to view police officers positive as opposed to their counterparts living in disadvantage communities. The study also examined whether the subjects feared uncalled-for harassment of themselves and their children. The findings of this study revealed that 52 percent of the whites, 59 percent of the Hispanics and 67 percent of blacks feared un-called for harassment of themselves and their kids. Higgins, Gabbidon and Vito (2010) conducted a study to examine public opinion regarding racial profiling. The study produced mixed findings. Higgins et al. (2010) revealed that citizens' perception concerning race relation were more likely to influence public opinion regarding racial profiling. On the other hand, citizens' perception concerning safety was not likely to influence public opinion regarding racial profiling.

Racial Profiling and Police Brutality

Staples (2011) posit that over the last many years, Latinos and black in the U.S. continue to endure stigma associated with racial profiling. Majority of the whites view a predominantly white police force as their frontier of defense in keeping crime confined to Latino barrios and black ghettos. Consequently, the police force is regarded by many scholars as the major source of racial tension in the U.S. A considerable small number of police officers are brought to trial for harassing or murdering Latino or black citizens. Correspondingly, the few who are brought to trial are in most cases not convicted. This is attributed to the fact that the jury is predominantly white and no matter the amount of evidence produced before the court, they rarely get convicted. Staples described a scenario where Rodney King (black) was chased by white police officers for speeding. A film of the white officers kicking and beating him was produced before the court. Despite this evidence, all the four white police officers were found

not guilty by the predominantly white jury in Los Angeles County. After this verdict, race riots erupted leaving property worth billions of dollars destroyed, 16,000 arrests, 2,400 scores of injuries and 60 people dead. This incidence prompted a second trial of the four white police officers. However, this time round, the jury consisted of judges from different racial background. Two of the four white police officers were found guilty and were convicted.

The findings of a study conducted by Center for Constitutional Rights demonstrated that the majority of those people stopped by police officers in New York were mainly Latinos and blacks (Staple, 2011). Whenever police officers stopped citizens, 45 percent of the Latinos and blacks were searched compared to 29 percent of the whites despite the fact that the white were more likely to possess weapons than blacks.

Traffic Violations

In the U.S., police officers initiate vehicle stops. A study conducted by Ruiz (2000) to investigate the overall traffic flow patterns in St. Martin Parish. The findings of this study revealed that 80 percent of all passenger vehicles travelling on Interstate 110 were registered in the State of Louisiana. Nevertheless, a similar study that was carried out by Ruiz and Woessner (2006) demonstrated that 92 percent of individuals arrested for drug associated crimes were travelling in vehicles registered in other states apart from Louisiana. Results from these studies echoed the findings of the FBI investigation which demonstrated that all individual who had lodged a complaint with FBI did not reside in Louisiana. The assumption that can be derived from these findings is that individuals residing outside Louisiana committed more crime as opposed to those individuals living with Louisiana State or individuals living in Louisiana rarely commit crime or traffic violations. A study carried out by Ruiz and Woessner (2006) to investigate the possible causes of arrests and stops demonstrated that majority of individuals

were arrested due to improper use and drug-related issues.

Race Relations

Tuch, Sigelman and MacDonald (1999) argue that over the last many years, race relations have played an integral part in influencing how individuals treat one another. A year Gallup poll discovered that almost half of the subjected interviewed felt that the relationship between the whites and black will always be a concern. Hurwitz and Peffley (2005) argue that the tense relations that exist between whites and black are more likely to influence how people view official action within the criminal justice system. A similar study conducted by Weitzer and Tuch (2002) found out that individuals who come from poor neighborhood are more likely to contend that racial profiling is justified and rampant.

Perception of Safety

Varied studies have been conducted to investigate public opinion regarding safety issues (Reisig & Parks, 2000). Priest and Carter (1999) findings revealed that those individuals who felt that they were unsafe also had unconstructive feeling towards law enforcement officers. They also rate the performance of police officers as poor. Huebner, Schafer and Bynum (2004) examined the aspects that influence local citizens' view of the law enforcement officers. The findings of this study demonstrated that individual views regarding major crime taking place in the neighborhood play an integral role in influencing the subjects' perceptions about the law enforcement officers. Payne and Gainey (2007) found out that the view that an individual is unsafe in the neighborhood increases the chance of someone having negative views towards the law enforcement officers.

Efficient Policing vs. Civil Libertarian Frameworks

Economics and law approach contend that the conduct associated with the propriety of a police officers' search ought to be assessed with respect to efficient policing standards (Persico, 2002). Owing to the fact that the fundamental purpose of searches is to seize and arrest individuals suspected to be drug traffickers, the legality of police officers' search policies must be assessed with respect as to how better they attain their objectives. Some scholars argue that when hit rates among whites and citizens of color are considerably identical, the searches are the outcome of efficient policing as opposed to racial discrimination. On the other hand, when the hit rates are relatively higher for whites as opposed to citizens of color, the searches are seen as an outcome of racial discrimination. Correspondingly, when the hit rates for citizens of color are considerable higher when compared to that of whites, the searches are also a result of racial discrimination.

Harcourt's (2004) opinion is that there is no major difference between the utilization of race in policing and the use of race in other contexts such as employment and education. Instead of placing more focus on hit rates, the evaluation of police efficiency ought to be based on the effects of racial profiling on the entire crime rate, social costs as well as profiled population (Pickerill, Mosher & Pratt, 2009). Furthermore, various studies have been carried out to investigate law enforcement officers lying about drug evidence. Simoneaux (1998) reveals that the police chief of Louisiana was found guilty of planting drug evidence.

Racial Profiling and Law

As argued by Tamir (2009), racial profiling poses many challenges to various guarantees enshrined in the United States Constitution. An example of constitutional guarantee is the fourth amendment right of protection against unwarranted seizures and searches.

This amendment posits that:

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized (43).

A 1996 Supreme Court ruling held that the legitimacy of law enforcement officers stopping a vehicle does not rely on the officers' subjective motive; provided that there is an existence of an objective cause, the action is indeed legitimate (Tamir, 2009). To this effect, a law enforcement officer stopping a car running a red light does not violate the fourth amendment even if the stop is grounded on race. This evidence demonstrates that courts have played a critical role in enhancing racial profiling.

Racial Profiling and Rewards

Results from some studies have demonstrated that if some activities such as making arrests, making search and arresting law breakers are highly rewarded by a particular police department, police officers will be encouraged to carry out these activities. Engel and Worden (2001) confirms this hypothesis by arguing that in this rewarding system, if the perception of police officers is that minority citizens such as blacks and Latinos are more involved in drug related charges and other offences, then they are more likely to arrest them with an objective of getting more rewards.

A study conducted by Ramirez et al. (2000) found that police officers in New Jersey were trained and highly rewarded for making more arrests and since the perception of police officers is that colored people are likely to be more involved in drug trafficking as opposed to whites, more Asians, Hispanics, African Americans and other individuals from minority groups are arrested more in New Jersey than whites. Ramirez et al. asserts that:

The New Jersey experience shows that allegations of racial profiling may be part of larger structural or organizational problems within a police organization. For example, in New Jersey, the state police were trained and rewarded for high numbers of arrests, as opposed to making quality arrests (36).

Nationwide empirical evidence suggests that white drivers were less likely to be stopped, searched and arrested by police officers than colored drivers (Armentrout et al. 2007). In particular, 2.1 percent of white drivers were stopped, searched and arrested in 2005 compared to 4.5 percent black drivers. Correspondingly, 56.2 percent of white drivers in the same year were stopped, searched and arrested compared to 65 percent of Hispanic drivers. Besides, further empirical evidence indicate that 13.7 percent of black drivers were less likely to be given a verbal warning compared to 18.6 percent who were likely to be given verbal warning. On the same note, 5.9 percent of Hispanic drivers were less likely to be given a written warning by police officers compared to 9.7 percent of the whites. In addition, white drivers were searched at a considerable lower rate (3.6 percent) compared to the rate of blacks (8.8 percent) (Leadership Conference, 2012).

A study conducted by Weitzer and Tuch (2002) demonstrate that social class and race influence the acceptability and prevalence of racial profiling in the United States. The whites in their attempt to safeguard their social status are more likely to employ racial profiling. Staples (2011) highlight a scenario where a black American citizen, Rodney King, was profiled and beaten by white police officers. Some of the evidence produced in court included a film of the white officers beating and kicking Rodney. However, the court rejected this evidence and all the four white police officers were acquitted and charges against them dropped.

Ruiz et al. (2010) are of the opinion that operation pipeline partly depends on the training officers to employ attributes to establish potential individuals involved in drug trafficking and as such, it is critical to apprehend that this program designed to seize and arrest individuals

suspected to be involved in drug trafficking does allow law enforcement officers to use ethnic or race background to seize and arrests potential drug traffickers. However, Ruiz et al. (2010) affirms that citizens of color are viewed by police officers as more involved in drug trafficking as opposed to whites and as such, they are stopped more often than whites. Law enforcement officers are trained to identify a number of unique indicators that will assist them in seizing and arresting individuals suspected of taking part in drug trafficking. In the course of training, police officers are exposed to audio and visual indicators that will enable them identify drug traffickers. Susswein (2005) reveals some few examples of unique indicators that can assist law enforcement officers to nail down a potential drug trafficker. They include furtive movements, nervousness, avoiding eye contact with law enforcement officers as well as watching the carotid artery of the potential drug trafficker. However, Ruiz et al. (2010) notes that some law enforcement officers have openly acknowledged that they have been coached and trained to use race to conduct stops on highways.

The reason police officers are more likely to believe that blacks are more involved in drug tracking than whites is attributed to relative ease of searching drugs and arresting culprits in minority urban areas, racial profiling, police allocation of resources, degree of community complaints and demographics. As Fellner (n.d.) asserts:

Racial profiling is almost inevitable. Race becomes one of the readily observable visual clues to help identify drug suspects, along with age, gender and location. There is a certain rationality to this-if you are in poor black neighborhoods, drug dealers are more likely to be black. Local distribution networks are often monoracial; downscale markets are often neighborhood-based; and downscale urban neighborhoods are often segregated The law and practice of drug enforcement is market-specific, and the markets are divided by race and class (271).

Fellner (n.d.) further indicate that according to Lee Brown (former New York Police Commissioner), police officers place more focus on the location where there is conspicuous

behavior of drug use is more likely to be used and where they receive majority of the complaints. Unfortunately, people in low-income neighborhoods (where most blacks reside) generally use drugs as opposed to rich white neighborhood. Consequently, more blacks are stopped, searched and arrested for drug use or trafficking when compared with the whites. At least 25 million adults have been arrested and charged in court with drug related charges from 1980 to 2007. Studies indicate that a relatively high number of blacks have been arrested on drug charges compared to the whites. Figure 1 below shows the rate of drug arrests according to race.

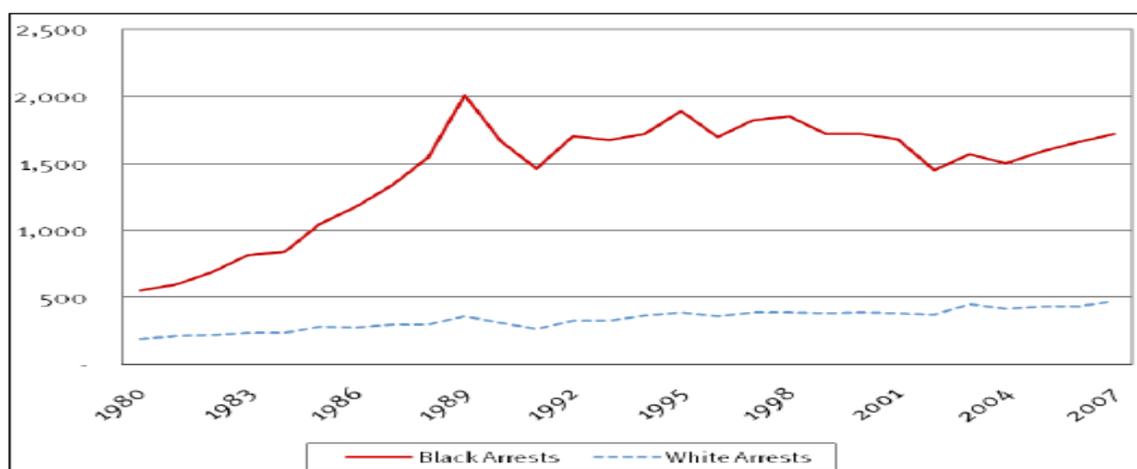


Figure 1. Rate of drug arrest according to race. Source: Fellner (n.d., p. 272).

Evidence from UCR database

However, UCR database reveals that in 2011, 6.3 percent of American citizens were arrested for abusing heroin or cocaine, 6.2 percent for marijuana, 1.8 percent for synthetic or manufacturing drugs. Besides, 16.7 percent were arrested for being in possession of cocaine or heroin, 43.3 percent for marijuana, 4.6 percent for manufactured or synthetic drugs and 17.2 percent for nonnarcotic drugs. In 2011, a total of 1,531,251 people were arrested for drug abuse violations charges. Out of the total number of those arrested in 2011 with drug abuse charges, 63.7 percent of whites, 34.8 percent of blacks, 0.7 percent of Native Americans and 0.8 percent

of Asian Americans. In 2010, 63.4 percent whites, 35.1 percent blacks, 0.6 percent Native Americans and 0.9 percent Asian Americans were arrested for drug related charges. Of all the offences charged in 2010, whites topped the list except for offences relating to robbery, non-negligent manslaughter and murder where the blacks took a relatively small lead. The same case was in 2009 where 61.8 percent whites, 36.8 percent blacks, 0.6 percent Native Americans and 0.8 percent Asian Americans were arrested for drug related charges. Overall, drug abuse violations topped the list with the highest counts of arrests. In 2009, arrests related to drug abuse charges were estimated at 1,663,582. This was closely followed by arrests relating to driving under influence (1,440,409 arrests) and arrests associated with larceny-theft (1,334,933 arrests). The same case applied in 2010 and 2011. With respect to hate crime, 58.6 percent whites, 18.4 percent blacks, 1.1 percent Asian Americans, 1.0 percent Native Americans and 12.0 percent people of unknown race were arrested.

The data from UCR refutes the assumption that citizens of color are more involved in drug trafficking than whites. The tables and graphs below demonstrate that more whites are arrested for drug related offence than citizens of color.

Year	Total	White	Black	American	Asian
2011	869,266	553,669	302,757	5,846	6,994
2010	941,447	596,719	330,565	6,801	8,082
2009	983,934	607,678	361,976	5,981	7,399
Total	2,794,647	1,758,066	995,298	18,628	22,475
Percentage		62.90	35.63	0.67	0.80

Table 1. *Arrests by race for drug related offence from 2009 to 2011. Source: URC (2009, 2010, & 2011).*

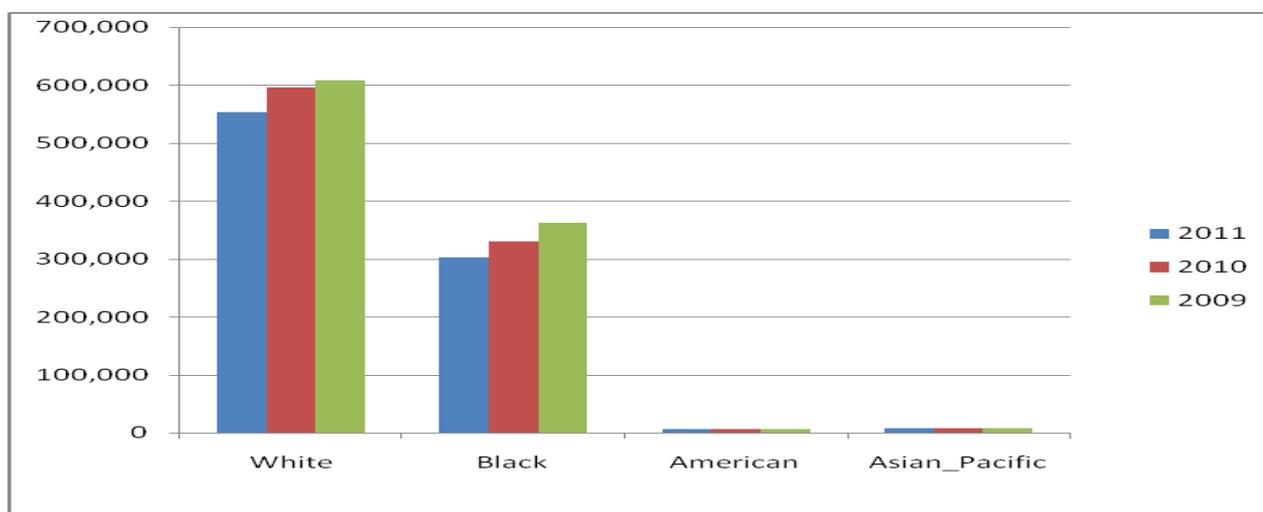


Figure 2. Graph showing arrests by race for drug related offence from 2009 to 2011. Source: UCR (2009, 2010, 2011).

Year	White	Colored
2011	55,366	31,559
2010	59,671	34,544
2009	60,767	37,535

Table 2. Summary of whites vs. colored citizens arrested in 2009, 2011 and 2011. Source: UCR (2009, 2010 & 2011).

Research Methods Employed in Racial Profiling

1-The multivariable analysis technique

This technique makes it possible to hold the implications of many research factors constant concurrently. For instance, more traffic stops, searches and police deployments characterized low-neighborhood, high crime areas. Since such neighborhoods often happen to be minority neighborhoods in the U.S., rather than police bias, it is likely that the high rates of police deployment patterns are the cause of disproportionately high stop rates in such regions.

2-The use of nested tables

This technique made it easy to investigate the direction of casualty as well as establish the collective effect of multiple factors leading to racial profiling. For instance, while exploring

unreasonable searches and seizures on various ethnic populations/races, this method focused on their operation within traffic stops/residential searches within different neighborhoods and (e.g. shopping malls and central business districts) and for different times (e.g. evening, daytime or rush-hour). In this respect, it was possible to drive more evidence about multiple influences that may necessitate traffic stops/police seizures by studying the basic measures of a crime-infested region or car stops. In this analysis, the tables simplified the process of calculating different determinants of racial profiling as defined in cells (e.g. police arrest based on racial victimization in driving or criminal-related incidences within a city).

3-Regression analysis

The analysis embodied neighborhood-specific data on the number of deployed officers, income of populations and race. In addition, the potential effect of these correlated factors measures a regression analysis. A good example related to racial profiling along U.S. traffic stops. Several studies confer with the fact that black drivers in the United States are more likely to ignore safety belt rules than their counterparts from other races (Schwab, 2004; Williams, 2000; American Civil Liberties Union, 2003; U.S. Department of Transportation, 2000; Dworkowitz, 2004). Therefore, if arrests on traffic violations based on safety belt ignorance, then the majority of arrests are likely to disproportionate constitute of black drivers. Hence based on traffic stops, it would be important to conduct racial profiling studies based on controls for violations. Ideally, analytical investigation (regression analysis) would provide feasible data.

Qualitative and quantitative research methods

Kothari (2008) indicates that quantitative research entails the use of statistical techniques to extract information from measurable variables. Qualitative methods help identify indefinable factors such as gender, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, social norms, factors with no

apparent role in the research topic. Giorgi (2009) suggests that quantitative analysis methods provide a comprehensive and better understanding of the complicated reality of a specified situation by using qualitative research. It is the sole responsibility of a qualitative research to provide a complex understanding of the exact social context. Kohler (2010) maintained that qualitative research presents a distinctive way of understanding the world without testing the inherent hypothesis.

The use of secondary method of data collection may pose challenges and ultimately affect the validity of the research outcome. Sometimes it may be difficult to trace data from peer-reviewed research journals, reports and professional criminal justice websites. However, by using databases such as EBSCOhost, ProQuest and other extensive research databases, the limitation delimits. The researcher will also employ key search terms to locate peer-reviewed research journals, reports and professional criminal justice websites.

The Idealized Approach as a Test for Racial Profiling

For one to be predisposed to a risk, this analysis assumes that the driving subject is committing a traffic offense while exposed to the police, prompting police officers to stop the speeding automobile. Assessment placed on whether an officer's decision to halt a vehicle arrived on the visibility of race influences. In this context, visibility by definition is an officer's ability to distinguish a driver's race prior to commanding a stop. Despite the fact that visibility as a function of light-related conditions may continuously vary consequently, the relative risk of a driver being stopped by traffic police would not necessarily be dictated by race visibility.

Regression Results from the Idealized Approach

From the perspective of a regression analysis, two significant properties are established from proposition (one) in the test. First, it demonstrates that, unlike the idealized test, the

feasible test does not adequately indicate the quantitative degree of racial profiling by the U. S. Police Department. In quantifying the extent of racial profiling as evident from the *K-ideal* model, the intuition is relatively simplistic. While a restriction on the actual magnitudes is required in qualitative measurement, a qualitative analysis only demands limitations on the sign difference between racial profiling occurring in the dark and racial profiling taking place at daylight. Additionally, the conditions under which the null hypothesis can be applied to test, proposition one provides the extent of racial non-profiling.

Although less informative relative to quantitative measurements, qualitative tests are tools of considerable significance. Indeed, a good number of law enforcement agencies as well as interest groups have embraced “zero-tolerance” to racial disdain. This clearly explains that a remedial action would be necessary when the *K-deal* exceeds 1 (Schwab, 2004; Williams, 2000; American Civil Liberties Union, 2003; U.S. Department of Transportation, 2000; Dworkowitz, 2004). The significance of testing no racial profiling from the null hypothesis underscores from the consent language between U.S. Department of Justice and the Los Angeles Police Department. As stipulated in the decree, police officers are barred from conducting any forms of detentions or traffic stops on the basis of victims’ ethnicity, color, nationality or race are police officers (Los Angeles Police Department, 2000).

Some discussions are merited from the assumptions underscored in proposition one. Obviously, racial profiling must be present in proposition one. Under assumption two, visibility is more pronounced during daylight than nighttime. However, this doesn’t necessitate absolute race distinction during daylight or race-blindness in darkness. However, this test would have been more accurate if *K-deal* equals *K-vod* and if V and d correlated perfectly.

Unfortunately, this wouldn't be the case. Literature evidence supports the sign limitation imposed on assumption two. For instance, Fridell (2004) documented a traffic analysis whereby in 90 percent of the vehicles, a driver's race could be distinguished. Yet, auxiliary lighting was required in nighttime observations. On the other hand, Kohler (2010) cancelled surveys at dusk after only 6 percent of drivers' race could be identified. Generally, racial profiling remains wholly unproven, but provided visibility largely diminishes at the onset of darkness, this assumption strongly holds. In assumption three, we assume that probability risks are constant. Ideally, for the population at risk, the probability risks do not change with alternating dark and daylight periods. Since this assumption is unrealistic, that limits the analysis to the first two mentioned earlier.

Theoretical Frameworks

The study was based on different models from various social science disciplines and views such as management and organization views, interactionist views, social psychology, conflict and sociology perspectives in an attempt to elucidate the three fundamental dependent variables established: overall rate of conduct, conducts of police departments and conducts of individual police officers (Calnon & Bernard, 2002).

Model of Reasoned Action

The model of reasoned action suggested by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) was utilized in this study to explain the diversities that exist in the field stops and traffic rates for black citizens and white citizens. This model stipulates that subjective norms and attitude play a critical role in influencing intentions which later influence conduct. However, Calnon and Bernard (2002) argue that majority of quantitative researches have not found strong link between officers' behaviors and their attitudes. The model further posits that individual intentions are grounded on

two fundamental determinants: (1) one reflecting subjective norms (social influence) and (2) one that mirrors attitudes (individual influence). Subjective norms are grounded on the individual conviction that certain groups or individuals think they should not behave in a particular way (Calnon & Bernard, 2002).

Model of Coercive Action

The model of coercive actions that has been suggested by Felson's (1994) will be utilized in this study in explaining police officers' conduct (Calnon & Bernard, 2002). This model insinuates that the social dynamics involved in interactions between citizens and police officers may play a vital role in influencing the conduct of the police officers. In adopting this model, it can be projected that the dynamics vary for black/citizens of color and white citizens and police officers. The model further stipulates that an individual desire to safeguard his/her social identity in most cases results to the utilization of coercive action (Calnon & Bernard, 2002).

Expectancy Model

The expectancy model explores the effort and outcome of employees within an organization and it may also apply to police departments (DeJong, Mastrofski & Parks, 2001). This model argues that employees' views regarding the resourcefulness of certain work activities are influenced by several aspects. As the aspects transform, so is the employee's view of the resourcefulness of their work and may ultimately lead to change in their behaviors. While adopting this model to police officers' conduct, this study will assume that as these aspects changes, the police officers' willingness to carry out a certain task such as issuing citations, make pedestrian and traffic stop will also change (DeJong et al. 2001). The model can be employed to demonstrate the racial disparity demonstrated by police officers in regards to stops (Engel & Worden, 2001).

Chapter V: Results

The review has revealed that social class in addition to race played an important role in influencing the acceptability and prevalence of racial profiling in the U.S. Other studies have demonstrated that personal experience as well as education with profiling unconstructively affected the subjects' perception that American citizens of color are unfairly treated by the police officers. Correspondingly, age and marital status constructively influenced the perception that American citizens of color are treated unfairly and had an unconstructive effect on treatment by local police officers as well as state police. The findings of this literature review indicate that the majority of blacks and Hispanics were likely to perceive racial profiling as unjustified and widespread. In addition, citizens of color were likely to have a conviction that they had been profiled. The review also found out that non-Hispanics were less likely than Hispanics to believe that racial profiling was pervasive.

Asians, Hispanics and African-Americans and other individuals from minority races are perceived by police officers to be more likely to get involved in drug trafficking and as such, they are arrested more by police officers compared to whites. In New Jersey, police officers are highly rewarded for arresting individuals involved in drug trafficking. This reward system encourages police officers to make more stops, more searches and more arrests with an objective of being rewarded. The ever-rising pressure to address the issue of drugs in the U.S. have led some police officers to arrest Asians, Hispanics, African Americans and other people from minority group whom they highly suspect are involved in drug trafficking than whites. The review also found out that Latinos and blacks in the U.S. over the last many years continued to endure stigma associated with racial profiling. Many whites view a predominantly white police force as their gatekeeper and as such, they are more likely to employ racial profiling

without any fear. The jury which is also predominantly white is perceived to be more likely to safeguard the status quo of the white. Many people are of the opinion that whites and their counterpart police officers who are brought before the jury are less likely to be convicted regardless of the amount of evidence presented.

However, the data from UCR refutes the assumption that citizens of color are more involved in drug trafficking when compared to the whites. In 2011, 63.7 percent whites were arrested for drug related charges compared to 34.8 percent of blacks. Correspondingly, in 2010, 63.4 percent whites were arrested for drug related charges compared to 35.1 percent blacks. The same case was in 2009 where more whites were arrested for drug related charges than the blacks.

Testing was commenced by describing an analytical model that not only evaluates racial profiling but also provides a quantitative measurement of its manifestation. The “idealized model” is however infeasible because knowledge of race visibility—a function of observable aspects such as night-time, daylight and angle of traffic distance—is required. In spite of its shortcomings, the idealized test provides promising insights of a viable test that is inclined to observable darkness and daylight rather than mere visibility (Fridell, 2004). Since darkness is a visibility proxy, our idealized veil doesn’t provide a substantive quantitative measure of the degree of racial profiling. In a real sense, this is because the extent of our statistical test largely depends on the relationship between darkness, visibility and race distribution among stopped drivers between darkness and daytime. Nonetheless, it has been demonstrate that racial profiling is consistent with the idealized approach (veil of darkness test).

There is similar race distribution of drivers at risk of being impounded by traffic police officers during darkness and daytime. Through regression model accounts light flexibility was controlled as well as limits of the sample study to the mid-twilight session of the day to

demonstrate how the two collectively account for probable arrest risks emanating from travel time differences. Further, the argument that the model revealed implicit controls for underlying variations in relative risks arose from place exposure and driving behavior. Lastly, it was shown that the regression model cannot explicitly deal with the non-reporting problem (Engel & Worden, 2000).

In addressing the non-reporting problem, it begins by stating the most relevant conditions for the model to yield precise outcomes. Subsequently, assessment of the extent of these conditions/factors would be futile in reverse qualitative conclusions found through a sensitivity test.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

The findings of this review refute the claim that citizens of color are more involved in drug trafficking when compared to the whites. Data from UCR demonstrates that actually more whites are arrested for drug related charges than blacks and other citizens of color, including the Hispanics, Asian Americans and Native Americans. Since the assumptions based on the qualitative connection is between visibility (an officer's ability to distinguish a driver's race prior to commanding a stop) and darkness (an officer's inability to distinguish a driver's race before commanding a stop), only a qualitative test can be computed from this review relative to a quantitative assessment on the degree of racial profiling. Albeit consistent, the strength of the analysis can be weakened by any parameter that lowers the correlation between darkness and visibility. In two important examples: car characteristics and street lighting, the strength/validity of the test in assessing racial profiling could be boosted through additional data collection.

Chapter VII: Recommendations

While there are some commendable research efforts on this topic, truly useful/definitive results will not be available until effective nationwide data collection systems are developed.

Additionally, the review limits the extent of racial profiling to traffic stops and highway patrols.

Further studies need to assess racial profiling in post-stop results, such as search rates and stop durations.

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