



Law, Probability and Risk (2009) 8, 257–276 Advance Access publication on July 28, 2009 doi:10.1093/lpr/mgp013

Painting the target around the matching profile: the Texas sharpshooter fallacy in forensic DNA interpretation†

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Forensic DNA analysts tend to underestimate the frequency of matching profiles (and overestimate likelihood ratios) by shifting the purported criteria for a 'matchi' or 'inclusion' after the profile of a suspect becomes known – a process analogous to the well-known texas sharpshotter fallacy. Using examples from casework, informal and naturalistic experiments, and analysts' own testimory, this article demonstrates how *post hore* target shifting occurs and how it can distort the frequency and likelihood ratios statistics used to characterize DNA matches, making matches appear more probative than they actually are. It concludes by calling for broader adoption of more rigorous analytical procedures, such as sequential unmasking, that can reduce the sharpshooter fallacy by fixing the target before the shots are taken.







Case context impact		
Include	2	1
Exclude		12
Inconclusive		4















Cognitive bias

Illogical thinking affects decisions

• Anchoring – rely on first information

- Apophenia perceive meaningful patterns
- Attribution bias find causal explanations
- Confirmation bias interpretation confirms belief
- Framing social construction of reality
- Halo effect sentiments affect evaluation
 Oversimplification simplicity trumps accuracy
- Self-serving bias distort to maintain self-esteem

Contextual bias

Background information affects decisions

- Academic bias beliefs shape research
- Educational bias whitewash damaging evidence
- Experimenter bias expectations affect outcomes
- Inductive bias tilt toward training examples
- Media bias selecting mass media stories
 Motivational bias reaching desired outcome
- Reporting bias under-report undesirable results
- Social desirability bias want to be seen positively















Why labs choose mixture software

- Puts analyst in charge
- Results confirm beliefSimplifies the problem
- Gets desired answer
- The FBI uses it
- Familiar process

Confirmation bias Confirmation bias Oversimplification Motivational bias Social desirability bias Social desirability bias



Cross examination

Hundreds of effective questions can elicit bias

"Did you know the defendant's genotype during your analysis of the evidence?"

"Doesn't knowing your customer's desired answer bias your decisions?"

"Have any scientific studies demonstrated otherwise?"

Sequential unmasking

Human DNA review proposal (reduce bias):

- 1. First analyze the crime scene data, without knowing context or references
- **2. Then** compare with reference samples

But there is potential **bias** in choosing data, conducting analysis, and making comparisons.

Human analysts can always introduce bias. Why is a human even involved in this process? Why not use an unbiased computer instead?

Unbiased interpretation

Use an objective **computer** to:

- 1. Examine all DNA data, without having suspect's genotype
- 2. Separate genotypes of each DNA mixture
- contributor, considering *all* possible solutions3. Compare genotypes only *afterwards* to calculate match statistics

Eliminate all human involvement to overcome cognitive & contextual bias in DNA mixture interpretation











No software bias – true stats

Accurate, objective, thorough, validated

- Puts analyst in charge
 Results confirm belief
 Simplifies the problem
 Gets desired answer
 The FB1 uses it
 Fantiliar process

without human choice Ţ Separate genotypes consider all solutions

Examine all the data

Ţ

Compare genotypes stats decide outcome



