

CITY OF LOS ANGELES
INTER-DEPARTMENTAL MEMORANDUM

Date: November 30, 2023

To: Honorable City Council
c/o City Clerk, Room 395, City Hall
Attention: Honorable Heather Hutt, Chair, Transportation Committee

From: Laura Rubio-Cornejo, General Manager 
Department of Transportation

Subject: **TRAFFIC ENFORCEMENT ALTERNATIVES PROJECT REPORT (COUNCIL FILE #20-0875)**

SUMMARY

This report provides an overview of the Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Project, the work performed, and presents the report project deliverable. As directed by the City Council (Council), the Los Angeles Department of Transportation (LADOT), with assistance of the City Administrative Officer (CAO), Chief Legislative Analyst (CLA), the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), and the City Attorney, issued a Task Order Solicitation (TOS) seeking a consultant to conduct a study on the feasibility of utilizing civilian enforcement of traffic laws for motorists, cyclists, and other forms of transportation occurring within the City of Los Angeles (City). LADOT convened an Advisory Task Force that met from June 2022 through September 2023 to convene community meetings and make recommendations for traffic safety alternatives based on community needs. The recommendations highlighted in the final report are those the Advisory Task Force agreed to uplift out of the other recommendation concepts. These recommendations provide guidance to the City and the Council on pathways to reduce armed traffic enforcement. As described in the final report, implementing these new policies, programs, and projects will require additional evaluation to assess the feasibility, challenges, and resource needs before they can be implemented.

RECOMMENDATION

That the City Council DIRECT the CAO, CLA, and the City Attorney, with assistance from LAPD and LADOT, to report on the feasibility of implementing the recommendations in the attached report, including any legal, labor, or fiscal challenges and any additional research required.

BACKGROUND

In February 2021, Council directed LADOT, with assistance of the CAO, CLA, LAPD, and the City Attorney to develop and issue a Request for Proposals (RFP) seeking a consultant to conduct a study on the feasibility of utilizing civilian enforcement of traffic laws for motorists, cyclists, and other forms of transportation occurring within the City of Los Angeles (City). They specified that the RFP considers existing state and local laws, existing best practices, and the size and diversity of the City.

In addition to the RFP, Council directed LADOT to convene an Advisory Task Force to make recommendations to the City for traffic safety alternatives and convene community meetings to solicit feedback in regards to community needs.

LADOT received funding in the Fiscal Year 2021-2022 budget to issue the RFP and manage a consultant contract. In partnership with LAPD, CAO, CLA, and the City Attorney, LADOT released a TOS in August 2021, selected a consultant team led by Estolano Advisors in February 2022, and began soliciting for advisory task force participation.

The project kicked off in March 2022 and the advisory task force began meeting in June of that year. From June 2022 until September 2023, the Consultant team facilitated a series of Task Force meetings with the support of a City working group that included LADOT, CAO, CLA, LAPD, and the City Attorney. While the Consultant team led the qualitative and quantitative analysis, the Advisory Task Force informed and ultimately approved the final recommendations included in the report.

The task force finalized their recommendations in September 2023, and Estolano Advisors submitted the final deliverables (Report) to the City in November 2023.

DISCUSSION

The following describes the project activities since kick off in March 2022, and the key elements of the project that informed the project deliverables.

Advisory Task Force

LADOT, in partnership with LAPD and other City departments, conducted an application process and seated 13 task force members. The task force consists of a cross-section of individuals with both personal and professional experience relevant to traffic stops and police enforcement. The task force met approximately once per month via videoconference due to COVID-19 precautions, while the final two meetings were conducted in person. During each meeting, the Task Force discussed topics of concern, heard updates from the research consultant team, and reviewed draft deliverables.

Meeting minutes from the Advisory Task Force meetings can be found on LADOT's website. Please also see **Appendix B** for a roster of Advisory Task Force members.

Research and Analysis

The research team (sub consultants to Estolano Advisors), led by Equitable Cities, conducted quantitative and qualitative research to support the Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Project. The research approach was centered around a defined problem statement and three main research questions:

- What are other cities, counties, police departments, and governmental bodies doing about traffic enforcement nationwide?
- What does the reported LAPD policing data show about near-recent (2019-2021) traffic stops?

- How do Angelenos respond to the potential of removing traffic enforcement responsibilities to an unarmed, civilian government unit?

The consultant team explored these research questions through a three-pronged approach including identifying case studies, analyzing quantitative data, and examining qualitative data.

Case Studies

The consultant team conducted a nationwide scan of publicly available literature and sources that focused on innovative and emerging international, U.S. state and local policies, programs, and initiatives aimed at eliminating discriminatory and biased traffic safety enforcement. The case study review sought to answer the research question: “What are other cities, counties, police departments, and governmental bodies doing about traffic enforcement nationwide?” The cities were identified in three tiers ranging from Tier 1 to Tier 5 based on the status of actions taken to mitigate traffic enforcement. For more information see **Section III. A.** of the Report. See also **Appendix F** for the LAPD memo on the Case Study Review.

Quantitative Analysis

The research team conducted a quantitative analysis to understand trends and patterns of traffic stops in Los Angeles. This analysis provides insight into the “who,” “what,” and “why” behind these stops. The research team coordinated with LAPD and LADOT to receive RIPA (Racial and Identity Profiling Act) and Vision Zero data, respectively. They used these datasets to assess neighborhood-level trends in traffic stop data and traffic safety infrastructure investments. The task force reviewed the data analysis approach on October 24, 2022 and provided feedback through November 17, 2022. See **Section III. B** of the Report for more detail.

Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis of the Report includes three components: community focus groups, expert interviews, and legal research. Community focus groups supplemented the data analysis (see **Attachment H** of the Report for the focus group protocol). Focus groups allowed the research team to hear additional community perspectives on LAPD’s enforcement of traffic laws and any potential changes to enforcement approaches in the City. The research team conducted outreach for these focus groups during late October 2022 and hosted a total of four virtual focus groups in November 2022 and January 2023. Focus group discussions were analyzed by the consultant research team by identifying shared sentiments and common themes to develop five key takeaways. These focus group takeaways were compared by the research consultant team with key takeaways in the quantitative data analysis to identify overlapping themes between the two research approaches.

Expert interviews were also conducted by the consultant team during the project. With the help of the Task Force and City departments, the consultant team identified a list of experts to interview. Interviews were conducted of those who are experts in this field and/or staff and researchers who were closely tied to the efforts implemented in the case study cities.

Lastly, Council requested the Report include a review of relevant state and local laws and interviews with legal experts. The legal analysis is intended to inform the scope of recommendations and the possible need for changes in state or local law. It should be noted that the legal consultants retained for this project did not provide formal legal representation and advice to the City, LADOT, or the Task Force and expects the City Attorney to provide the legal assessment and advice for the implementation of the Task Force Recommendations.

For more information on the qualitative analyses and key takeaways from each of these components, see **Sections III.D - F.** of the Report.

Task Force Recommendations

Along with the consultant team, the Advisory Task Force co-developed the Report recommendations taking into account the research findings and the Task Force's experience. Recommendations included in the Report provide a framework to effectuate next steps, but acknowledge that the City Council and City departments are responsible for assessing feasibility, prioritizing resources, and implementing next steps for each of the recommendations. An analysis of feasibility was not included in this scope of work and the order of listing does not imply priority. The recommendations highlighted in the Report are those the Advisory Task Force collectively decided to uplift out of the other identified concepts.

A high level description of each recommendation is included below. Please see **Section IV** of the Report for detailed description and the methodology used to develop the recommendations. Also of note, **Appendix N** of the Report includes a summary of all recommendations discussed by the Task Force.

- A. Increase and prioritize self-enforcing infrastructure investments (without increasing surveillance) in high-injury network corridors, low-income communities, and communities of color.
- B. Expand on LAPD's 2022 pretextual stop policy to eliminate enforcement of non-moving and equipment-related traffic violations by police; and remove police enforcement of moving violations that do not demonstrably increase safety based on evidence-based best practices.
- C. Consider alternative fine and fee models (e.g., means-based) that advance traffic safety objectives and do not perpetuate enforcement disparities.
- D. Identify local obstacles that limit officer accountability and reduce the ability of the Chief of Police to discipline officers for misconduct (e.g., excessive use of force, racial profiling, and other violations); and identify strategies to overcome these obstacles.
- E. Use unarmed civilians, who are focused exclusively on road safety, to enforce safety-related traffic violations (e.g., speeding). Create care-based teams responsible for responding to traffic-related calls for service.

Next Steps and Considerations

These recommendations provide guidance to the City and the Council on pathways to reduce armed traffic enforcement. As described in the Report, implementing these new policies, programs, and projects will require additional evaluation to assess the feasibility, challenges, and resource needs before they can be implemented. Considerations include:

- Self-enforcing infrastructure is a new concept that requires additional definition and research to incorporate into LADOT's current programs and projects to continue prioritizing safety on high-injury network corridors, and in low-income communities and communities of color. Implementing self-enforcing street design projects may require additional resources. This analysis should also clearly define and prioritize.
- Moving violations should improve traffic safety without undue consequence on low-income communities of color. An evaluation to identify which moving violations do not demonstrably increase safety should inform any changes to existing moving violations. This evaluation can also consider current fines and fees to assess alternative models that continue to improve driver behavior while achieving the City's equity goals. Similarly, an assessment of LAPD's pretextual stop policy as it relates to traffic safety can guide program expansion. These policy changes may have fiscal impacts and/or require additional resources to implement.
- While the City created new unarmed care-based teams, State law limits moving violation enforcement to peace officers. In order to implement this recommendation, the City needs an assessment to identify current classifications that could legally enforce moving violations. Depending on the existing classifications, the City may also need to determine the requirements for a new classification to create an unarmed civilian, care-based team to respond to traffic-related calls for service. As with any new classification or change in job responsibilities, implementing this recommendation will also require an evaluation of labor laws and specialized training to ensure employee safety.

With the recommendations provided in the report, and these additional considerations, the City can identify new policies, programs, and projects that continue to improve traffic safety while minimizing armed enforcement.

FINANCIAL IMPACT

No fiscal impact

LC: PL

ATTACHMENTS

Attachment A - Report



City of Los Angeles

Alternatives to

Traffic Enforcement

and

Community Task Force

Recommendations

November 2023

Prepared for the Los Angeles Department of Transportation



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report explores options for the City of Los Angeles to pursue “alternative models and methods that do not rely on armed law enforcement to achieve transportation policy objectives.”¹ The study is the final deliverable in response to Council Motion CF-20-0875, which directed the Department of Transportation (LADOT) to manage the production of this document. This report represents the culmination of over a year’s worth of work undertaken at the behest of Council and in coordination with the City Working Group, Consultant Team, and Advisory Task Force. This report provides recommendations for the City Council to consider as it studies the feasibility of proposed policy changes.. The executive summary includes context and background for the study, provides an overview of research findings, and summarizes taskforce-led recommendations.

Study Context and Background

This study was initiated in 2020 in the wake of national protests following the murder of George Floyd. In response to communities’ persistent calls for public safety approaches that limit the role of police, the Los Angeles City Council passed a motion in October 2020. The Council Motion (CF-20-0875) directed the Los Angeles Department of Transportation (LADOT) to oversee this study that evaluates opportunities for unarmed traffic enforcement in the city.

Study Participants

This study included participants from three groups: (1) the City Working Group, (2) the Consultant Team, and (3) the Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force. The role of each is summarized below.

City Working Group

The City Working Group includes representatives from City of Los Angeles departments named in the Council Motion, including the Department of Transportation (LADOT), Police Department (LAPD), City Administrative Officer (CAO), City Attorney, and Chief Legislative Analyst (CLA). This working group informed the project’s parameters, supported LADOT in selecting Advisory Task Force members, and reviewed deliverables.

¹ Los Angeles City Council (2021). Council File: 20-0875 – Transportation Policy Objectives/Alternative Models and Methods/Unarmed Law Enforcement. Council Adopted Item. Retrieved March 30, 2023, from <https://cityclerk.lacity.org/lacityclerkconnect/index.cfm?fa=ccfi.viewrecord&cfnumber=20-0875>

Consultant Team

The City Working Group selected the consultant team for this study. The team included the following firms: Estolano Advisors, Equitable Cities, Nelson\Nygaard, and the Law Office of Julian Gross. The consultant team developed the study in collaboration with the City's Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force.

Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force

City Council tasked LADOT with selecting and seating an advisory task force to co-develop recommendations with the consultant team. The advisory body included 13 members with personal and professional experience related to traffic safety, public health, mental health, racial equity, academia, and criminal justice. A full list of task force members is included in Appendix B.

Quantitative Research Findings

The quantitative analysis focused on a descriptive analysis of California Racial and Identity Profiling Act (RIPA) data. RIPA was enacted in 2015 to create a standard set of data that police departments in California must report publicly. LAPD and LADOT provided additional data for the quantitative analysis, including information related to traffic-related collisions, injuries, and deaths.

The consultant team analyzed the last three years of available RIPA data (2019–2021) and did a sub-analysis of data from April–September of 2022 to highlight changes linked to LAPD's revised



Advisory Task Force members, (L-R): Elmer G. Roldan, Benjamin Pezzillo, Patricia Strong-Fargas, Rae Huang, Leslie Cooper Johnson, Moises Gomez, Yolanda Davis-Overstreet, Chauncey Smith (President), Ma'ayan Dembo, Asiyahola Sankara (Vice President), Lin Min Kong. Not pictured: Candyce Kornblum, Jesus M. Garcia.

pretextual stop policy. Please see Section III.B for a detailed methodology. The key findings are summarized below:

- **LAPD is making fewer stops overall, but traffic stops are concentrated in certain neighborhoods.** The total number of traffic stops has dropped since 2019. Stops are concentrated in neighborhoods in and around Hollywood, South Los Angeles, and Downtown. Most stops are related to traffic violations, with speeding being the most common infraction. However, stops for speeding only represent 16% of all traffic violation stops, with slightly more than half of speeding stops resulting in a driver being issued a citation.
- **Data show disproportionate stops by race.** Considering their share of the city's population, Black drivers are stopped more frequently than other racial/ethnic groups. Black travelers are also subject to more actions (e.g., a police officer drawing a weapon or using force against an individual) during stops. While police use of force is uncommon during traffic stops, when these actions do occur, they are used disproportionately against Black drivers.
- **The revised pretextual stop policy shifted traffic stop patterns, but disparities persist.** LAPD's revised pretextual stop policy of March 2022² requires officers to state the reason for initiating a stop. In the six months since the policy change went into effect, a higher percentage of stops were made for moving violations compared to the same six-month period in the prior year. The proportion of Black drivers who were stopped after the policy change declined from the previous year, but Black drivers continue to be pulled over at higher rates.



Qualitative Research Findings

The qualitative analysis focused on a series of community and practitioner stakeholder focus groups. These focus groups were augmented by expert interviews with academics and legal scholars. Please refer to Sections IV.D and IV.E for a more detailed methodology and Appendices H-L for interview protocols and summary presentations.



FOCUS GROUP TAKEAWAYS

While this study was specifically focused on traffic enforcement, many focus group participants shared their perception of safety to be about more than just traffic and traffic violence. For example, some expressed a desire for less enforcement and more human services when discussing traffic safety issues. Below is a summary of focus group feedback.

² Los Angeles Police Department (2022). "Policy – Limitation on Use of Pretextual Stops – Established." Office of the Chief of Police. Retrieved from: https://lapdonlinestrgeacc.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/lapdonlinemedia/2022/03/3_9_22_SO_No_3_Policy_Limitation_on_Use_of_Pretexual_Stops_Established.pdf

- **Traffic stops involve heightened emotions and power imbalances.** Participants acknowledged that both drivers and police officers have heightened emotions during stops. Yet, several participants felt that each stop is rife with power imbalances with officers holding all the power.
- **Speeding and driver aggressiveness are major concerns.** Many participants defined speeding as the top traffic problem in Los Angeles. Most participants expressed the sentiment that speeding got worse during the pandemic.
- **Infrastructure improvements are needed.** This project was initially scoped to only speak to traffic enforcement-related issues. However, in every focus group, the consultant team heard from participants that they wanted to see the streets engineered differently and more infrastructure built to combat the issues they were identifying. Participants identified more protective infrastructure for non-drivers as a key need.
- **We should bolster active transportation to increase safety.** Many participants opined that they felt unsafe in the city when they were not in a car. To improve safety, participants suggested more investments in modes of transportation other than private, single-occupancy vehicles.
- **There are terminology concerns re: “enforcement alternatives.”** Not all participants are sure what “enforcement alternatives” mean. In each focus group, participants asked facilitators to offer more explanation about the term’s definition. After the facilitators offered more context, many participants expressed a desire for the City to be clearer messaging on this topic.

EXPERT INTERVIEW TAKEAWAYS

In addition to the focus groups, the consultant team conducted a series of interviews with traffic safety experts. Interviewees had experience working with jurisdictions attempting to reduce the use of armed police officers performing traffic enforcement. The key takeaways are summarized below:

- **Adopt a comprehensive approach to traffic safety.** Interviewees suggested that traffic safety and Vision Zero frameworks should consider a holistic understanding of traffic violence. In addition to promoting physical safety, this approach would also account for the role that racial discrimination plays in enforcement. It would acknowledge the stress that people experience related to biased enforcement (e.g., an individual’s fear of being stopped by police).
- **Shift the focus from enforcement to prevention.** Interviewees emphasized shifting focus from enforcement to prevention. Prevention could include improving infrastructure

or expanding social programs, and these measures should be treated as an important component of traffic safety. Rather than rely on increased enforcement, police can defer to the department of transportation to solve street design problems and ultimately increase traffic safety.

- **Training has its limits.** Interviewees shared that training alone is an insufficient reform mechanism for addressing the disparities in traffic enforcement. They note that years of training reforms have not had the effect of significantly reducing disparities or meaningfully building community trust. These trainings fail to critically interrogate the history of traffic stops; instead, they focus on improving enforcement agencies' work within the existing context.
- **Bring employee unions into the conversation early.** Bring unions into conversations about shifting staff responsibilities early in the process to mitigate potential conflict and promote successful implementation. Jurisdictions should consider strategies to engage all affected unions to define how (or if) roles will change, surface key labor concerns, and work with union leadership to address issues.

LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS

City Council requested that this study include a review of relevant state and local laws, and interviews with legal experts to assist the consultant team and the Task Force in developing recommendations. The legal team reviewed the Los Angeles Municipal Code, the California Vehicle Code, the California Penal Code and other relevant traffic laws (for a more detailed methodology, please see Section III.F). Please note that references to specific code sections are included in the report's footnotes. The legal backdrop informs the scope of recommendations. The legal team focused on the following: (a) Options to shift enforcement from police, (b) Collective bargaining considerations, (c) Options to reduce fines, and (d) Laws related to automatic enforcement.

- **Options to Shift Traffic Enforcement Authority Away from Police Officers**

The legal team considered mechanisms that the City of Los Angeles may consider if it chooses to move to an alternative traffic enforcement model. Below, is a description of each option:

Utilize local employees who are not “peace officers”—for traffic enforcement generally, or for enforcement of “infractions.” The City may consider full “civilianization” of traffic enforcement – i.e., utilizing workers who do not constitute “peace officers” under state law. Whether the City has discretion to do this broadly under the Vehicle Code is an open question of state law.

Employ “peace officers” outside of LAPD. Another option is to utilize employees outside of LAPD, but with peace officer status to enforce traffic violations. However, only the employees listed in the penal code as peace officers can have peace officer status.

Establish a new unarmed unit of LAPD officers. Third, LAPD could establish a new unit of police officers that enforces traffic laws but does not carry firearms. State law does not require any police officers to carry firearms, but rather permits local agencies to decide if and to what extent they will allow their officers to carry firearms.³

● **Public Sector Collective Bargaining**

Legal experts and legal research indicated that lengthy, contested collective bargaining procedures often delay or sideline efforts to revise or reform law enforcement practices. This issue has affected police reform efforts to the degree that multiple national advocacy organizations have established dedicated public websites and databases to track the effects of police union contracts on reform efforts.⁴ Like every public entity in California, the City of Los Angeles, including both its Department of Transportation and its Police Department, is subject to state law regarding collective bargaining negotiations with employees.⁵

● **City's Authority to Reduce Fines for Various Traffic Violations**

Some recommendations in this report include consideration of reducing fines, or creating progressive or means-based fine structures, for various low-level traffic violations. Within parameters set by the State, local jurisdictions have discretion over the amount of fines and can set fines to amounts below the State-allowed maximums for most infractions. As such, the City may lower fines and/or create a progressive or means-based fine structure as long as the new fine amounts comply with the limitations set forth in the Vehicle Code.

● **State Law Regarding Automated Traffic Enforcement**

Although not reflected in the final recommendations, the task force considered a recommendation related to automation of traffic enforcement. State law permits automated systems at traffic light intersections, commonly known as “red light cameras,”⁶ however it prohibits the use of automated systems to enforce speeding violations.⁷ At this time, the City could only use automated enforcement for red light violations, but not for speeding, unless there is a change in state law.

³ See e.g., *id.* at §§ 830.33(c), 830.3(c)-(k), 830.38.

⁴ See, e.g., [NAACP Legal Defense Fund Toolkit](#), August 2020 ([summary](#)); [Police Union Contracts & Police Bill of Rights Analysis](#), Campaign Zero, 2016 ([summary](#)).

⁵ See Meyers-Millias-Brown Act (“MMBA”) (Gov. Code § 3500 et seq.).

⁶ Vehicle Code § 21455.5(a).

⁷ *Id.* at § 40801.

Recommendations

Below is a summary of the recommendations developed by the community advisory task force and consultant team (see Section IV for a more detailed summary of how the recommendations were developed). In framing the recommendations, task force members acknowledged that robust community engagement should be a guiding principle underpinning each action. Additional research and analysis will also be needed before implementation. If the City Council chooses to move forward with any of the recommendations listed below, the City should engage in broad, authentic, and robust community engagement before, during, and after implementation to ensure sustained community support. These recommendations inform a set potential pilots described in Section IV.C.

● **Prioritize Self-Enforcing Infrastructure**

Increase and prioritize self-enforcing infrastructure investments (without increasing surveillance) in high-injury network corridors, low-income communities, and communities of color. This recommendation calls for increased investment in “self-enforcing infrastructure,” which refers to road features that naturally slow traffic and discourage drivers from breaking traffic rules. These improvements increase safety and reduce the need for active enforcement (See Appendix E for a Task Force-led literature review on this topic).

● **Eliminate Police Enforcement of Non-Moving and Equipment-Related Traffic Violations**

LAPD’s 2022 Pretextual Stop Policy limits traffic enforcement to violations that have a nexus to public safety. We recommend eliminating enforcement of all non-moving and equipment-related traffic violations by police. Ultimately, the goal of this recommendation is to limit interactions between police and motorists by eliminating police enforcement of non-moving and equipment-related violations. This recommendation expands on LAPD’s March 2022 policy change,⁸ which limits pretextual stops. It is also informed by policies enacted in other cities like Philadelphia, where they limited the ability of police to stop motorists for specific minor violations.

⁸ Los Angeles Police Department (2022). “Policy – Limitation on Use of Pretextual Stops – Established.” Office of the Chief of Police. Retrieved from: <https://lapdonlinestrgeacc.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/lapdonlinemedia/2022/03/3_9_22_SO_No_3_Policy_Limitation_on_Use_of_Pretexual_Stops_Established.pdf>

● **Implement Alternative Traffic Fine and Fee Models**

Consider alternative fine and fee models (e.g., means-based) that advance traffic safety objectives and do not perpetuate enforcement disparities. This recommendation aims to ensure that enforcement promotes traffic safety objectives and does not reinforce disproportionate burdens for low-income communities and communities of color. Alternatives to traffic fines can help shift enforcement away from punitive fines and toward prevention. Where possible, Council may consider a system where local fines for safety-related infractions are tied to incomes, a practice that is used in other jurisdictions globally.

● **Improve Local Officer Accountability Mechanisms**

Identify local obstacles that limit officer accountability and reduce the ability of the Chief of Police to discipline officers for misconduct (e.g., excessive use of force, racial profiling, and other violations); identify strategies to overcome these obstacles. This recommendation emphasizes the importance of enforcing penalties for officer misconduct and the removal of local obstacles that limit officer accountability and discipline.

● **Deploy Unarmed Civilians and Care-Centered Teams to Address Traffic Safety Issues**

Use unarmed civilians, who are focused exclusively on road safety, to enforce safety-related traffic violations (e.g., speeding). Create care-based teams responsible for responding to traffic-related calls for service. The main goal of this recommendation is to transfer traffic enforcement responsibilities to unarmed teams as a means of eliminating lethal and less-lethal weapons from traffic enforcement. This recommendation also calls for unarmed teams of care-centered, behavioral health specialists to respond to traffic-related calls for service when a clear behavioral health issue is present. The proposed recommendation builds on efforts in several cities reviewed for this study— (1) Berkeley, California; (2) Oakland, California; and (3) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—that are working to transfer specific traffic enforcement responsibilities to unarmed civilians.

City of Los Angeles

Alternatives to Traffic Enforcement and Community Task Force Recommendations

November 2023

Prepared for the Los Angeles Department of Transportation

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All photos from Nelson Nygaard, except where noted otherwise



I. CONTEXT AND FRAMING

A. Los Angeles City Council Motion and Impetus for This Study

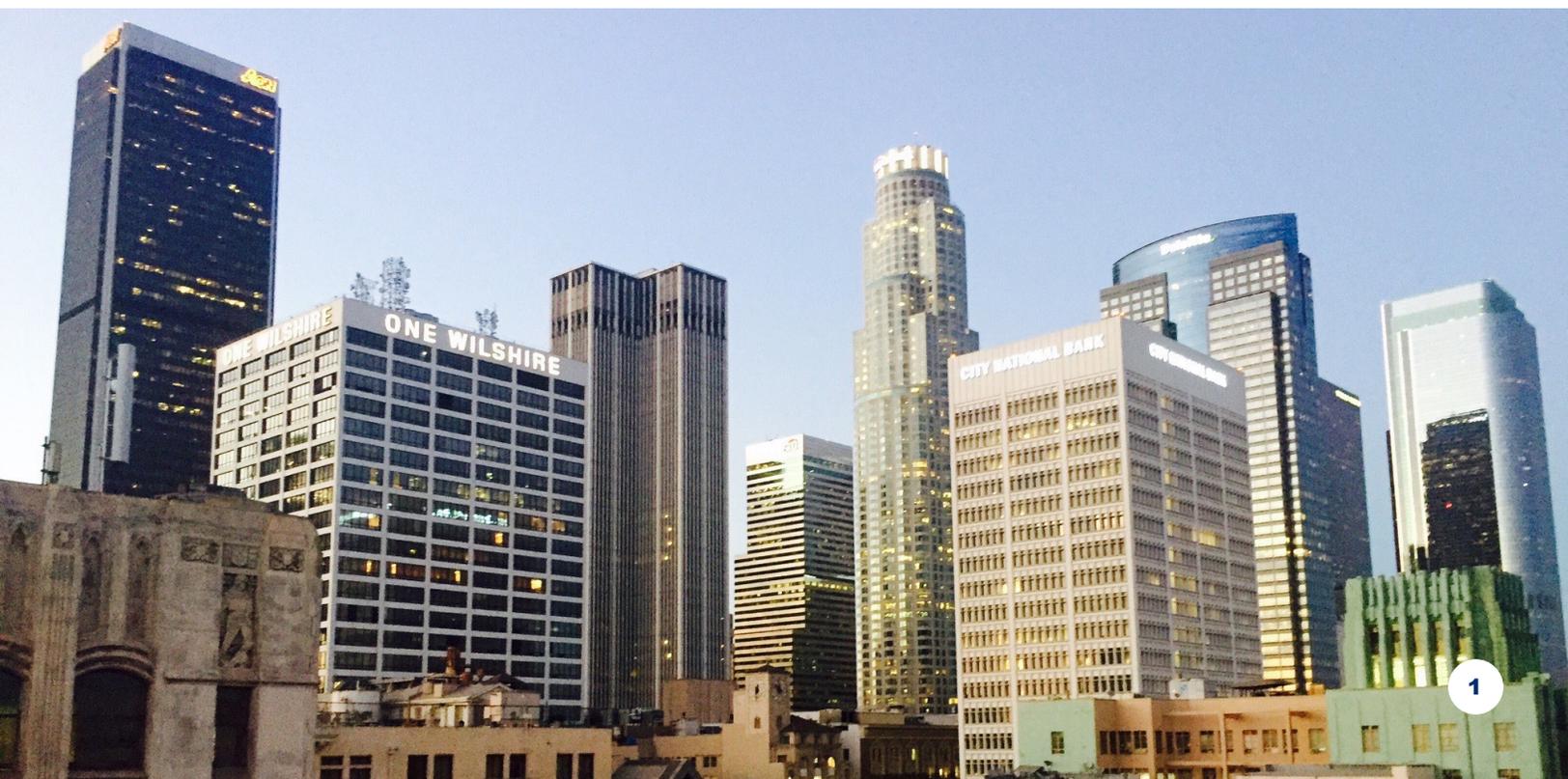


In 2020, the murder of George Floyd, a Black man, by a Minneapolis police officer led to protests across the country, including in Los Angeles.¹ As a result of local protests and persistent calls for non-law enforcement alternatives, the Los Angeles City Council passed a motion in February 2021. The Council Motion (CF-20-0875) directed the Los Angeles Department of Transportation (LADOT) to conduct a study that evaluates opportunities for unarmed traffic enforcement in the city.

Since the launch of this study in February 2022, several developments have influenced the study's findings and approach. In March 2022, the Los Angeles Police Commission approved a policy limiting pretextual stops to safety-related incidents and setting requirements for officers that pursue these types of stops.^{2,3} Further, in October 2022, City Council approved a motion to explore an

Office of Unarmed Response and Safety for the city.^{4,5}

More recently, LAPD's largest employee union noted that they are "looking to have officers stop responding to more than two dozen types of calls, transferring those duties to other city agencies while focusing on more serious crimes."⁶



B. History and Origins of Traffic Enforcement



This report explores options for the City of Los Angeles to pursue “alternative models and methods that do not rely on armed law enforcement to achieve transportation policy objectives.”⁷

In a motion presented to the Ad Hoc Committee on Police Reform, councilmembers noted that the impetus for this study is a legacy of racialized policing in the City of Los Angeles and nationwide, where police officers “have long used minor traffic infractions as a pretext for harassing vulnerable road users and profiling people of color.”⁸ In keeping with Council’s stated intent, this section offers an abridged overview of the history of policing, beginning in the 20th Century with the advent of the automobile. This history is not exhaustive; it is intended to ground readers in the larger historic and social contexts that inform this report’s analysis and the accompanying recommendations. Additional information can be found in Appendix R: History and Origins of Traffic Enforcement.

3. How Cars Transformed Policing

The twentieth century saw the rise of the automobile as a primary mode of travel; with it, came a transformation in how the public interacted with police officers.

In many respects, the ubiquity of the automobile – and the reliance on armed law enforcement to address traffic safety concerns – meant that traffic stops “became one of the most common settings for individual encounters with the police.”⁹

Driving presented new hazards in public spaces, leading local governments to pass a raft of laws to regulate space, assign rights of way, and govern the use of vehicles.¹⁰ The language in these new laws was often vague. For example, California’s Motor Vehicle Act of 1915 “prohibited driving ‘at a rate of speed . . . greater than is reasonable and proper.’”¹¹ Determining what was considered “reasonable” or “proper” necessarily relied on the discretion of the enforcing body. But police enforcement of these norms was not a foregone conclusion, with some police

departments actively resisting the task of enforcing traffic laws.¹² In some cases, “police chiefs complained that traffic control was ‘a separate and distinct type of service’ – i.e., it was not their job.”¹³ While separate bureaucracies had been created to enforce certain types of laws (e.g., postal inspectors and secret service agents), “a lack in political will to foot the bill for yet another bureaucratic entity” meant that traffic regulation would fall on the police.¹⁴

This represented an expansion of police powers over the traveling public. It embedded a system where traffic safety issues are first and foremost handled by police, and it established the broad discretionary powers that police departments use when enforcing voluminous and complex traffic safety laws. Indeed, it represented a transformation in how police and policing showed up in the daily lives of all Americans.¹⁵ Given the history of law enforcement in the U.S., the implications for marginalized groups (e.g., Black communities, Indigenous populations, Latino communities, migrants, low-income communities) were particularly dire.

C. Los Angeles' Context

In Los Angeles, police brutality against Black residents during traffic stops has been tied to multiple uprisings, leading to local, state, and national calls for police reform.



In the 1960s, the Watts Rebellion made headlines as part of the larger, nationwide movement against police brutality. The arrest of a 21-year-old Black man, Marquette Frye, for drunk driving close to the Watts neighborhood, and the ensuing struggle, sparked six days of unrest. The uprising resulted in 34 deaths, over 1,000 injuries, nearly 4,000 arrests, and the destruction of property valued at \$40 million.¹⁶ As a result of the rebellions, Governor Jerry Brown appointed a commission to study the underlying factors and identify recommendations in various policy areas, including police reform. In its report, the Commission cited the lack of job and education opportunities and the resentment of the police as key contributors to the uprisings, which were ignited by the brutal actions taken against Frye during the traffic stop.¹⁷ The report also recommended a strengthened Board of Police Commissioners to oversee the police department. Likewise, the report supported recruiting more Black and Latino police officers as a means of improving the community-police relationship.¹⁸

Despite the lessons gleaned from the Watts Rebellion, the 1990s saw another uprising in response to police brutality during a traffic stop. In 1992, Rodney King, a 25-year-old Black man, was brutally beaten and arrested by four police officers and later charged with driving under influence.¹⁹ The four officers were charged with excessive use of force, but were all acquitted one year later. The widely

circulated video of King's beating and the news about the officers' acquittal ignited days of violent unrest in the city, especially in the Historic South Central neighborhood. The city employed a curfew and the National Guard to respond to the uprising. While the 1992 unrest shared parallels with the Watts uprisings, "the conflagration that took hold after the King trial wasn't constrained to that neighborhood and was not restricted to Black Angelenos."²⁰ Instead, the ensuing unrest "constituted the first multiethnic class riot in American history, an eruption of fury at the socioeconomic structures that excluded and exploited so many in Southern California."²¹

In 2000 the City of Los Angeles entered a consent decree with the federal government. Instead of fighting a federal civil rights lawsuit "alleging a 'pattern-and-practice' of police misconduct, the Mayor, City Council, Police Commission, and Police Department signed a 'consent decree' with the U.S. Department of Justice, giving the Federal District Court jurisdiction to oversee the LAPD's adoption of a series of specific management, supervisory, and enforcement practices."²² In an evaluation of the effectiveness of the decree, researchers found that the strong police leadership and oversight brought by the consent decree have made policing in Los Angeles more respectful and effective, although there is still more to be done.²³ In 2009, 83 percent of residents reported that LAPD was "doing a good or excellent job," up from 71 percent two

years prior. In 2005, 44 percent of surveyed residents reported that the police “treat members of all racial and ethnic groups fairly ‘almost all of the time’ or ‘most of the time.’”²⁴ By 2009, that figure increased to 51 percent. The underlying reforms driving these changes included the following:

- Implementing new data systems to track officers’ performance and proactively alert supervisors if there are indicators that officers are violating protocol.
- Updating policies, rules, definitions, and management strategies to govern the use of force by officers.
- Tracking stops “of motor vehicles and pedestrians, breaking down the patterns by race and ethnicity, by the reasons for the stops, and by the results of the stops in terms of crime detected” (like the data analyzed for this study).

- Implementing new policies and management systems for the anti-gang unit and other special divisions.²⁵

With these updated systems in place, the LAPD reported reductions in use of force incidents, while also seeing reductions in overall crime levels. While the study notes significant improvements, the authors also provide caveats, noting that there are “many LA residents, police officers, and arrestees who remain deeply unhappy with the performance of the police department and who want to see more improvement.” They also note that administrative data indicated some uneven results; “for example, the use of force is down overall, but not in every division.”²⁶ Still, the independent evaluation finds that the overall trend is positive, with growing community trust and reduced use of force incidents overall.

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II. PROJECT OVERVIEW

A. City Working Group

The City Working Group includes representatives from City of Los Angeles departments named in the Council Motion (CF-20-0875) and directed by Council to perform the work (See Appendix A for full Council Motion).



Participating City departments include Department of Transportation (LADOT), Police Department (LAPD), City Administrative Officer (CAO), City Attorney, and Chief Legislative Analyst (CLA). The City Working Group informed the development of the Request for Proposals, supported LADOT in soliciting and selecting members of the Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force, and reviewed draft project deliverables. LAPD, LADOT, and City Attorney's Office consistently attended Task Force meetings, made presentations to the Task Force on various topics related to traffic enforcement, and provided data sources to the consultant team to inform the quantitative and qualitative analyses. The City Attorney's Office attended Task Force meetings, provided legal guidance on an ongoing basis, and guided LADOT on how to approach issues related to the Task Force and the Brown Act. The working group were given the opportunity to review and provide feedback at various stages of the study and project deliverables.

B. Consultant Team

The City Working Group selected the consultant team for this study. The team consisted of the following firms with the associated scopes of work:



- **Estolano Advisors:** Consultant team project manager and responsible for providing Task Force meeting facilitation support.
- **Equitable Cities:** Research team responsible for conducting a case study literature review, quantitative analysis, and qualitative analysis.
- **Nelson\Nygaard:** Research team support responsible for leading the expert interviews, supporting Equitable Cities with the focus groups, and identifying next steps for outreach.
- **Law Office of Julian Gross:** Legal team responsible for conducting interviews and research on legal questions arising from the study's proposed recommendations.

The consultant team developed the study and executed the scope of work described above in collaboration with the City's Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force

C. Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force



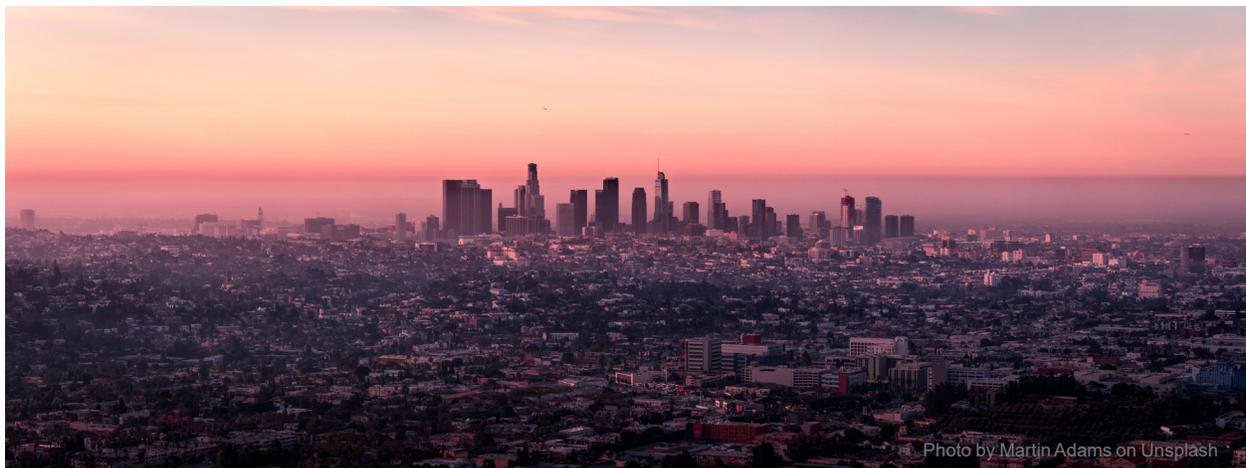
1. Background and Task Force Selection

The City Council motion directed LADOT to develop an advisory task force to provide recommendations on traffic safety alternatives. The resulting Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force provided guidance and feedback on the consultant team’s deliverables and co-developed study recommendations with the consultant team.

The Task Force met eleven (11) times from June 2022 through August 2023.

The Task Force consisted of thirteen (13) members with personal and professional experience in traffic safety, public health, mental health, racial equity, academia, and criminal justice (See Appendix B for a full Task Force roster). Members were selected through a two-step process, which began with a Google Form application, followed by interviews with representatives from the City Working Group (LADOT and LAPD) and the consultant team (See Appendix C for the application form). To recruit participants, LADOT conducted outreach via its existing listserv. The City received 76 applications and interviewed 11 applicants to learn more

information. The City Working Group ultimately selected 13 applicants to serve as Task Force members. Eight applicants were selected on the strength of their initial application; four members went through an interview process conducted by the City Working Group; and one member was appointed from the Community Police Advisory Board (C-PAB). A minimum of three (3) slots were made available for members of the C-PAB, but only one member expressed interest and responded to the call to participate in the Task Force. The applicants were selected based on selection criteria and score (See Appendix C for selection criteria).



2. Public Task Force Meetings

The Task Force served as a public body, which required the City and members to comply with requirements outlined in California’s Ralph M. Brown Act.

These requirements included ensuring that the City posted meeting materials at least 72 hours prior to each meeting and providing time during each meeting for public comment. Task Force members also needed to identify a President and Vice President, whom they elected during the September 2022 meeting (See Appendix B for elected members). Task Force President and Vice President were responsible for facilitating meetings, including calling for the start of each meeting, calling for votes, monitoring timing for general public comment, and calling for meeting adjournment. The consultant team facilitator was also available to facilitate specific agenda items, dependent on the content.

To comply with the AB 361 requirements for teleconferencing for Brown Act bodies, Task Force meetings took place on a roughly monthly basis and lasted between 90 minutes and two hours. To kick start this project, the research team and Task Force held

preparatory meetings starting in June 2022. Meetings covered a range of topics related to the study, including the following (See Appendix D for Task Force meeting summary):

- Task Force responsibilities and administrative requirements
- Problem statement discussion
- Review of and feedback on consultant team deliverables
- LAPD’s existing and new policies, including the March 2022 pretextual stops policy
- Task Force-led self-enforcing streets literature review
- Review of draft study findings and recommendations

3. Task Force Research Subcommittee

To increase coordination with the consultant team and provide a dedicated space for the Task Force to share input on consultant team deliverables, members voted to create a Research Subcommittee during the November 2022 meeting.

The committee, which consisted of five members, met five times between December 2022 and March 2023. Meeting topics were closely aligned with previous or upcoming Task Force meeting topics and were designed to preview consultant team deliverables for

feedback from this smaller group prior to presentations to the full Task Force.

4. Self-enforcing Infrastructure Literature Review

During the October 2022 Task Force meeting, several members called for the study to include discussion and recommendations related to self-enforcing street design as a method of alternative traffic enforcement.

The City’s initial Task Order did not include an analysis of infrastructure-related policies as a component of the study. Members emphasized that street design treatments—including narrower streets, wider sidewalks, enhancements for pedestrian crossings, protected bike lanes, landscaping, etc.—can compel individuals to abide by traffic laws by using design interventions to slow traffic.

In response, the Task Force voted in November 2022 to produce a Task Force-led

literature review for the final study. One member led the development of this study, with feedback from the Task Force and Research Subcommittee at several touch points. The Task Force approved the final literature review during the February 16, 2023 meeting (See Appendix E).



III. RESEARCH FINDINGS

The consultant team worked with the Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force, LADOT staff, and City stakeholders, to develop a research approach focused on providing comprehensive and effective solutions to traffic enforcement disparities that are responsive to Los Angeles' unique context.



As part of the study approach, the consultant team worked with the Task Force to define and confirm the research problem statement. The team utilized the problem statement to build out three main research questions:

- **What are other cities, counties, police departments, and governmental bodies doing about traffic enforcement nationwide?**
- **What does the reported LAPD policing data show about near-recent (2019-2021) traffic stops?**
- **How do Angelenos respond to the potential of removing traffic enforcement responsibilities to an unarmed, civilian government unit?**

The consultant team explored the research questions through a three-pronged approach which included identifying case studies, analyzing quantitative data (e.g., data on traffic stops, demographics, and outcomes), and

examining qualitative data (i.e., community stakeholder focus groups, expert interviews). The following section outlines the research process, methodology, and findings.

The consultant team also conducted research and analysis regarding the legal implications of the recommendations in this report. These findings are described at the end of this section.



A. Case Study Review Findings

1. Purpose

The consultant team conducted a nationwide scan of publicly available literature and sources that focused on innovative and emerging international, U.S. state, and local policies, programs, and initiatives aimed at eliminating discriminatory and biased traffic safety and enforcement.

The case study review sought to answer the research question: “What are other cities, counties, police departments, and governmental bodies doing about traffic enforcement nationwide?”

The purpose of this scan was to compile a set of example cities where city agencies had or were exploring various approaches to transitioning, reducing, or limiting traffic enforcement. Upon review by LADOT, LAPD, and the Task Force, a few cities were identified for further exploration through expert interviews. The expert interview findings are detailed in Section III.E of this report.

2. Methodology

The case studies focused specifically on preventative measures to limit interactions between residents and police under the premise of traffic or vehicle-related stops.

The consultant team categorized the identified case studies into the following tiers:

- **Tier 1:** Government at-large has transitioned powers of police enforcement to a Department of Transportation (DOT) or another municipal unit.
- **Tier 2:** Government at-large is in the process of transitioning powers of police enforcement to DOT or another municipal unit.
- **Tier 3:** Government entities have made policy or protocol changes to reduce traffic safety enforcement via other means such as banning minor traffic enforcement, non-police alternatives, or decriminalizing minor traffic violations.
- **Tier 4:** Government entities are exploring either of the tiers above but have not implemented anything to date.
- **Tier 5:** Non-governmental entities have examined how to decriminalize mobility through guidelines, reports, podcasts, etc.

The tiers are organized based on the status of actions taken to mitigate traffic enforcement. Tiers 1 and 2 include case studies where the city, state, or county has or is actively transitioning police powers of traffic enforcement to a non-police alternative. Tiers 3 and 4 outline case studies where a governmental entity, such as the police

department, has or is actively reducing or limiting the extent of traffic enforcement within their jurisdiction. Altogether, Tiers 1 through 4 can be considered as examples of top-down efforts to ameliorate harm in traffic enforcement. Tier 5 includes case studies of non-governmental organizations that are calling for changes in traffic enforcement through guides, reports, tools, etc. These case studies can be considered as examples of formal, organized community efforts to advocate for changes in traffic enforcement practices. It should be noted that the search included traffic enforcement of all individual transportation mode types, including people using mobility devices, public transit, bicycling, walking, and driving.

3. Findings

The case studies were organized into tiers based on the degree to which the city, state, county, or other governmental agency has made efforts to reduce, limit, or transition traffic enforcement to non-police alternatives.

Where available, this report includes any concrete outcomes or independent analyses of a program or policy's effectiveness. Many of the case studies are in-progress or newly-implemented, so outcomes are not fully documented.

a. Tier 1 and 2 Case Studies

Case studies in New Zealand (Tier 1) and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Tier 2) represent the most advanced examples of harm reduction through shifts in power for traffic enforcement.



Both governmental bodies decided to use non-police alternatives to enforce certain types of traffic laws. In New Zealand, non-moving violations and minor moving violations were enforced by the Traffic Safety Service, a civilian governmental unit, for 30 years. While the unit has since merged with the New Zealand Police, the case study shows that specific traffic enforcement duties can be conducted successfully by unarmed, civilian units.

In Philadelphia, city leadership and residents voted to move towards an adaptation of the New Zealand example where minor traffic violations are enforced by unarmed public safety “officers” housed within the Department of Transportation. Philadelphia restructured traffic violations into “primary” and “secondary” classifications and prohibited police from making traffic stops for “secondary” traffic violations.¹

Table 1 Tiers 1 and 2 Case Studies

Tier/ Location	Key Findings, Policy, Program or Funding Considerations
<p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p>New Zealand</p>	<p>Nationwide, New Zealand used a non-police governmental agency to enforce traffic laws between 1936 and 1992. The agency was tasked with traffic enforcement of non-moving violations and minor moving violations. The non-police governmental agency dissolved due to the personnel costs, not traffic safety concerns, associated with maintaining the agency.</p> <p>It is important to note that the financial constraints were a result of staffing the non-police governmental agency with transferred police officers and not hired civilians. Traffic enforcement remains a responsibility of the New Zealand Police, though it should be noted that New Zealand Police “do not normally carry guns” on their person.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <p>Philadelphia, PA</p>	<p>Under the Driving Equality Act, police are permitted to make traffic stops for “primary” violations that compromise public safety but stops will no longer be used for “secondary” violations, like a damaged bumper or expired registration tags.</p>

b. Tier 3 and Tier 4 Case Studies



There are several examples of cities, states, counties, or other governmental units that have decided (Tier 3) or are considering (Tier 4) limits, reductions, or restrictions in traffic enforcement. A bulk of Tier 3 case studies in the U.S. have altered enforcement practices or policies to reduce the number of potential traffic stops. In several examples, this looks like prohibiting police from making traffic stops solely for non-moving violations – such as a broken taillight – or decriminalizing driving with a suspended license if the reason for suspension was solely for late or non-payment of fines. In addition, other Tier 3 case studies include governmental entities that have repealed or amended laws to decriminalize specific types of traffic violations. By doing so, the potential for pretextual stops by police is decreased overall. The case studies in Tier 4 represent governmental entities that have reviewed police reform recommendations or city-appointed task forces that have provided formal recommendations for police reforms. These examples explicitly outline recommendations to limit, reduce, or transition traffic enforcement from police to non-police alternatives.

Table 2 Tiers 3 and 4 Case Studies

Tier/ Location	Key Findings, Policy, Program or Funding Considerations
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Berkeley, CA</p>	<p>The City of Berkeley passed a package of reforms in February 2021 that included prohibiting police from making traffic stops for minor traffic infractions. The reforms include requiring written consent for searches, precluding police from asking about parole or probation status in most circumstances, looking into the legality of reviewing officers’ social media postings to fire officers who post racist content, and implementing an “Early Intervention System” to get biased officers off the street.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Oakland, CA</p>	<p>Oakland City Council passed the 2021-2023 Fiscal Year budget in May 2021 with several items for investing in policing alternatives. The list included shifting some traffic enforcement responsibilities to the Oakland Department of Transportation (OakDOT). The OakDOT is reorganizing its parking division and is now responsible for identifying and towing abandoned cars, as of April 2022. In addition, the approved budget also dedicates funds for an audit of the Oakland Police Department (OPD), including a goal to assess the feasibility of transitioning minor traffic enforcement duties to civilian traffic officers. It should be noted that OPD significantly reduced traffic stops related to minor traffic violations by changing internal policy in 2016, which resulted in traffic stops of Black drivers decreasing from 61% to 55% in three years.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Pittsburgh, PA</p>	<p>The Pittsburgh City Council voted in December 2021 to prohibit traffic stops for “secondary traffic violations,” such as broken taillights or outdated registrations under a 60-day grace period-- meaning that a driver won't be pulled over for expired registration unless the registration is more than 60 days out of date.</p>

Tier/ Location	Key Findings, Policy, Program or Funding Considerations
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Seattle, WA</p>	<p>The Seattle Police Department updated traffic enforcement practices based on recommendations from an equity-focused working group. As of January 2022, Seattle Police are not allowed to conduct traffic stops solely for minor, non-moving traffic violations. The list of infractions that officers won't actively ticket include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vehicles with expired license tabs. • Riders who are not wearing a bike helmet. • Vehicles with a cracked windshield. • Items hanging from a vehicle's rear-view mirror.
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Portland, OR</p>	<p>The City of Portland, OR no longer allows police to conduct traffic stops for non-moving violations that do not present an immediate public safety threat, as of June 2021. Police are still allowed to make stops for moving violations and stops related to ongoing investigations.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">King County, WA</p>	<p>Residents and visitors in the City of Seattle are no longer required to wear a helmet while riding a bicycle. The King County Board of Health voted in February 2022 to repeal its mandatory helmet laws to reduce the potential for traffic stops related to the law.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Minneapolis, MN</p>	<p>The Minneapolis City Council passed a directive to city staff to form an unarmed Traffic Safety Division housed outside of the Police Department. Minneapolis began operating with new policies on traffic enforcement in August 2021. Police Chief Arradando is instructing officers not to stop drivers for minor traffic violations. The Minneapolis City Attorney's Office will no longer prosecute people for driving with a suspended license, so long as the sole reason for the suspension is failure to pay fines and fees.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Lansing, MI</p>	<p>The City of Lansing enacted new traffic stop guidelines in July 2020 to restrict officers from stopping drivers solely for secondary, or non-moving, traffic violations. Police would still be able to conduct a traffic stop if it is associated with a primary traffic violation and a public safety risk.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Colorado</p>	<p>The state of Colorado passed a law in March 2022 that allows bicyclists to conduct an "Idaho Stop" at intersections unless otherwise stated. An "Idaho Stop" is generally a practice where bicyclists can treat stop-signed intersections as stop-as-yield.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Nevada</p>	<p>The state of Nevada passed bills in 2021 that end license suspensions solely for failure to pay fines and fees, and convert minor traffic violations, such as broken taillights, from criminal offenses into civil offenses. The change in license suspension rules went into effect in October 2021, and the decriminalization of minor traffic offenses will go into effect in 2023.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Idaho</p>	<p>The state of Idaho amended state law in 2018 to shift first or second-time driver's license violations from criminal infractions to civil infractions, punishable by fines. In addition, violations for driving with a suspended license are considered civil violations for specific minor offenses, such as the failure to pay fines.</p>

Tier/ Location	Key Findings, Policy, Program or Funding Considerations
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Virginia</p>	<p>The state of Virginia amended its laws to end debt-based license suspensions in 2020. To address pretextual stops, Virginia passed HB 5058 and SB 5029, which prohibit law-enforcement officers from using common traffic and pedestrian violations as a primary offense for stopping people for things such as jaywalking or entering a highway where the pedestrian cannot be seen, as well as vehicles with defective equipment, dangling lights, or dark window tint. The laws took effect on March 1, 2021.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Brooklyn Center, MN</p>	<p>The Brooklyn Center City Council voted in May 2022 to approve a police reform package, which includes restricting police from making minor traffic stops for non-moving violations, unless required by law.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Kansas City, MO</p>	<p>The Kansas City City Council repealed municipal codes in May 2021 that allowed residents to be stopped by police for jaywalking (Sec. 70-783), not having a clean bike wheel or tires “which carry onto or deposit in any street, highway, alley or other public place, mud, dirt, sticky substances, litter or foreign matter of any kind” (Sec 70-268), or for a bicycle inspection “upon reasonable cause to believe that a bicycle is unsafe or not equipped as required by law, or that its equipment is not in proper adjustment or repair” (Sec. 70-706).</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Washington, DC</p>	<p>The Police Reform Commission of Washington, DC recommended several alternative policing methods for traffic enforcement in DC. The recommendations included prohibiting traffic stops and repealing or revising traffic laws for violations that are not an immediate threat to public safety; restricting police to approved pretextual stops for violent crimes; prohibiting safety compliance checkpoints; and transferring police power for enforcing non-threatening traffic violations to non-police municipal units.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Denver, CO</p>	<p>A police reform task force in Denver provided many recommendations to minimize unnecessary police interactions with residents, including several that specifically address traffic enforcement. Recommendations include decriminalizing minor traffic violations that are often used for pretextual stops, prohibiting searches during vehicle stops for minor offenses or traffic violations, and shifting police power in traffic enforcement to non-police alternatives. The following recommendations call for a fundamental shift in the way traffic stops are handled:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decriminalize traffic offenses often used for pretextual stops. • Prohibit Denver Police from conducting searches in relation to petty offenses or traffic violations. • Remove police officers from routine traffic stops and crash reporting and explore non-police alternatives that incentivize behavior change to eliminate traffic fatalities. • Eliminate the need for traffic enforcement by auditing and investing in the built environment to promote safe travel behavior. • Invest in a community-based, community-led violence prevention strategic plan that includes, but is not limited to, traffic stop violence and government sanctioned violence.

Tier/ Location	Key Findings, Policy, Program or Funding Considerations
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Austin, TX</p>	<p>The Reimagining Public Safety Task Force in Austin, TX released a report with several recommendations, including shifting traffic violations to non-police trained professionals, decriminalizing traffic offenses, and disarming traffic control officers.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Cambridge City</p>	<p>The Cambridge City Council is considering alternatives to traffic enforcement. A proposal reviewed by the City Council would shift traffic stop duties from police to unarmed, trained city staff.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">New York City</p>	<p>In March 2021, The New York City Council approved a bill (File No. Int 2224-2021) that would move the responsibility of traffic crash investigations to the New York Department of Transportation. The intent is to allow officers to “focus on more serious crimes” and shift some responsibilities from the police to civilian municipal units. A separate bill (File No. Int 1671-2019) within the same reform package was also approved in March 2021. It requires a quarterly report on all vehicle stops, including disaggregated demographic data, from NYPD.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Connecticut</p>	<p>The State of Connecticut passed a Police Accountability Bill in 2020 that prohibits police from asking for consent to search the vehicle when conducting traffic stops. However, this does not prevent a vehicle search altogether if the driver gives unsolicited consent or the police acts upon probable cause. Additionally, the bill directed the Police Transparency and Accountability Task Force to consider whether traffic violations should be reclassified into a primary-secondary system.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Los Angeles County, CA</p>	<p>A motion by supervisors Hilda L. Solis and Janice Hahn requested that the Board of Supervisors direct the Director of Public Health to collaborate with Public Works, Sheriff’s Department, County Counsel, California Highway Patrol, Los Angeles County Development Authority, and the Los Angeles County Superior Court to begin implementing the Vision Zero Action Plan recommendations. A Vision Zero Action Plan was adopted by the Los Angeles County Board of Directors to reduce the number of unincorporated roadways and traffic fatalities by 2025. Some recommendations include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediately implement the following recommendations included in the County’s Vision Zero Action Plan in partnership with community stakeholders: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » B-2: Identify process and partners for establishing a diversion program for persons cited for infractions related to walking and bicycling. » B-3: Identify process and partners to consider revising the Los Angeles County Municipal Code to allow the operation of bicycles on sidewalks. • Identify any other recommendations included in the Vision Zero Action Plan that should be implemented in partnership with community stakeholders to further decriminalize and enable the use of non-vehicular and alternative modes of transportation in unincorporated communities. • Instruct the Director of Public Health, in consultation with the Chief Executive Office and relevant County departments, to develop cost estimates and identify funding needs and potential opportunities to support the implementation of these Vision Zero recommendations

Tier/ Location	Key Findings, Policy, Program or Funding Considerations
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p>San Francisco</p>	<p>The San Francisco Police Commission passed a policy to ban police from making nine different types of pretextual stops. The first draft of the policy had proposed 18 types of stops, but the final policy removed five of them and edited seven for additional specificity. It should be noted that this policy would still allow police to make stops for the nine enumerated reasons, but in limited circumstances.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p>Los Angeles, CA</p>	<p>The Los Angeles Police Department approved a pretextual stop policy in February 2022 which prevents officers from initiating a stop solely for a minor traffic violation. LAPD officers are still allowed to make pretextual stops but must do so without basing it “on a mere hunch or on generalized characteristics such as a person’s race, gender, age, homeless circumstance, or presence in a high-crime location.” (LAPD Departmental Manual, Policy 240.06)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p>Fayetteville, NC</p>	<p>In 2013, Police Chief Medlock of Fayetteville shifted traffic enforcement in the department away from non-moving violations and encouraged officers to focus on moving violations of immediate concern to public safety. The number of investigative stops for non-moving violations decreased dramatically for the next four years, as did the number of Black drivers stopped and searched. Peer-reviewed research using data from the Fayetteville, NC case study shows that such changes in traffic enforcement practices reduced traffic fatalities overall because police were focused on moving traffic violations of immediate danger to public safety, such as speeding (Fliss et al, 2020).</p>

c. Tier 5 Case Studies

Finally, examples of non-governmental organizations (Tier 5) that have produced reports directly related to reducing, limiting, or transitioning powers of traffic enforcement from police to non-police alternatives represent calls for action across the U.S. Tier 5 examples use case studies and evidence-based practices to support their recommendations. The audience for these reports range from formal governing bodies to community members. While these reports do not formally or immediately impact traffic enforcement practices, they include deeper and, in some cases, localized recommendations. They can have a direct impact on local needs by presenting supporting data and the lived experiences of people who are affected by inequitable traffic enforcement.



Table 3 Tier 5 Case Studies

Tier/ Location	Key Findings, Policy, Program or Funding Considerations
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>Promoting Unity, Safety & Health in Los Angeles (Los Angeles)</p>	<p><i>Promoting Unity, Safety & Health in Los Angeles (PUSH LA)</i>, works to end the LAPD’s use of pretextual stops to racially profile low-income communities of color and immediate removal of the LAPD’s Metro Division from South Los Angeles. Their recommendations include ending the use of pretextual stops, removing LAPD’s Metro Division from South LA, improving traffic safety through urban design, equitably addressing the root causes of traffic safety issues, holding officers accountable for misconduct, and banning vehicle consent searches.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>Alliance for Community Transit (Los Angeles)</p>	<p>Various policy research, advocacy, and community organizing efforts were undertaken by the Alliance for Community Transit - Los Angeles (ACT-LA) member organizations, partners, and allies to develop an informed report, <i>Metro As A Sanctuary</i>. This includes a community and healthy framework presented for Metro to shift away from policing and create a more equitable and safe transportation system centering on communities of color and those with disabilities. This presents alternative crime prevention measures and methods that do not center police enforcement. Also, recommendations are split into multiple categories: care-centered special tactics, stewardship, programming, support services, public education, and job creation potential.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>TransitCenter (San Francisco, Portland, Philadelphia)</p>	<p>The report <i>Safety For All</i> by TransitCenter portrays how agencies like BART in San Francisco, TriMet in Portland, and SEPTA in Philadelphia are addressing safety concerns by hiring unarmed personnel, developing high profile anti-harassment campaigns, and better connecting riders to housing and mental health services.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>Kansas City, MO</p>	<p>BikeWalkKC in collaboration with the National Safe Routes Partnership, co-authored the Taking on Traffic Laws: A How-To Guide for Decriminalizing Mobility as a starting point for advocates and communities interested in decriminalizing traffic violations related to walking and biking. It draws upon the lessons learned from BikeWalkKC’s experience successfully advocating for legislation to decriminalize walking and biking in Kansas City. The guide covers three key areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to repeal laws leading to racialized traffic enforcement • How BikeWalkKC successfully advocated legislation to decriminalize mobility in Kansas City. • A Call to Action lays out steps advocates can take in their own communities.

Tier/ Location	Key Findings, Policy, Program or Funding Considerations
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Justice Collaboratory- Yale Law School (New Haven, CT)</p>	<p>The report <i>Principles of Procedurally Just Policing</i> by Yale Law School’s Justice Collaboratory explores the inequities surrounding investigatory stops. The Supreme Court ruling in the Terry case, which sought to promote crime prevention, approved police stops on less than probable cause. Despite the ruling’s intent, investigatory stops have continued to cause public distrust of police due to a lack of transparency concerning policies and policymaking processes.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Active Transportation Alliance (Chicago, IL)</p>	<p>Active Transportation Alliance’s <i>Fair Fares Chicagoland: Recommendations for a More Equitable Transit System</i> report explores decriminalizing fare evasion arrests. Additionally, it proposes ways to create a more equitable fare structure, including a reduced transit fare program for low-income residents, fare capping, and integrating transfers from the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA), Pace Suburban Bus (Pace), and Metra Commuter Rail (Metra).</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Community Service Society (New York City)</p>	<p>Community Service Society’s report <i>The Crime of Being Short \$2.75: Policing Communities of Color at the Turnstile</i> explores arrests of low-income New York City residents who are unable to pay the fare for public transit. The report focuses on the arrests as an example of broken windows policing. The report proposes decriminalizing fare evasion, using city resources to help low-income riders instead of arrests, and deinstitutionalized broken windows and enforcement quotas.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Ferguson Commission (St. Louis, MO)</p>	<p>Addressing racial disparities in municipal warrants <i>The Ferguson Commission’s Report</i> entails calls to action related to municipal warrants including those that would decrease the negative consequences of receiving a municipal warrant. These calls to action include creating a municipal court “Bill of Rights,” communicating rights to defendants in person, providing defendants clear written notice of court hearing details, opening municipal court sessions, eliminating incarceration for minor offenses, canceling failure to appear warrants, developing new processes to review and cancel outstanding warrants, scheduling regular warrant reviews, and providing municipal court support services.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Center for Policing Equity- Yale University (New Haven, CT)</p>	<p>The <i>Redesigning Public Safety: Traffic Safety</i> report outlines five overarching themes of recommendations to ameliorate and address harm caused by traffic violence. These include ending pretextual stops, investing in public health approaches to road safety, limiting use of fines and fees, piloting alternatives to armed enforcement, and improving data collection and transparency. The report utilizes peer-reviewed journal articles and local examples to support or describe each recommendation. The recommendations are primarily focused on the issue of traffic safety, and the “harm caused by unjust and burdensome enforcement, including the preventable debt, justice system entanglement, and trauma that too often flow from a single routine traffic stop.” The Center for Policing Equity’s white paper on traffic safety is one of several publications in the <i>Redesigning Public Safety</i> series of papers.</p>

Tier/ Location	Key Findings, Policy, Program or Funding Considerations
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>The Vera Institute of Justice (Brooklyn, NY)</p>	<p>The Vera Institute of Justice’s report on <i><u>The Social Costs of Policing</u></i> aims to describe police interactions, both at an individual level and a community level. The report utilizes peer-reviewed articles to support and detail the social costs of policing within four main facets: (1) health, (2) education, (3) economic well-being, and (4) civic and social engagement. By describing the social cost of policing, the report underlines evidence for policymakers to include when considering public safety investments or the costs and benefits of police reform.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>America Walks (nationwide)</p>	<p>America Walk’s webinar <i><u>How to Take on Harmful Jaywalking Laws - Decriminalizing Walking for Mobility Justice</u></i> includes expert panel members working at the state and local level to decriminalize jaywalking. Kansas City, Virginia, and California recently decriminalized jaywalking. The authors explore data and lived experiences, showing that police disproportionately enforce these laws in Black, Indigenous, and people of color communities, causing more harm than purported safety interests.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practical lessons, knowledge, and tools to advocate for and organize around removing jaywalking laws and enforcement in your community. • Intimate and timely strategies straight from the leaders/advocates who have recently worked to repeal jaywalking laws in their region and those who are in the thick of it. • The nuances of considering place, authentic community engagement and how to gather and use convincing data for your case.
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>The Center for Popular Democracy, Law for Black Lives, and Black Youth Project 100 (nationwide)</p>	<p>The report <i><u>Freedom to Thrive: Reimagining Safety & Security in Our Communities</u></i> examines racial disparities, policing, and budgets in twelve jurisdictions across the country, comparing the city and county spending priorities with those of community organizations and their members. Research and proven best practices show that increased spending on police does not make them safer. However, many cities and counties rely on policing and incarceration. Also, cities and counties continue to under-resource more fair and effective safety initiatives.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>Community Resource Hub for Safety and Accountability (nationwide)</p>	<p><i><u>Research Memo: Alternatives to Policing Community Resource Hub for Safety and Accountability</u></i> by Community Resource Hub assesses work surrounding police abolition and alternatives to policing, focusing on police abolitionist frameworks. This memo provides recommendations for advocates, activists, and organizers working on alternatives to policing as well as a list of resources.</p>

4. Limitations

As noted in the “Key Takeaways” section, the full scope and extent of transitioning traffic enforcement functions to non-law enforcement entities is not fully known in many cases.

These efforts are nascent in the United States and many of the studies, initiatives, and policies highlighted here have not been independently evaluated for efficacy. Based on the consultant team’s landscape scan, it is unclear which, if any, jurisdictions in the U.S. have fully made a shift to an alternative traffic enforcement model.

5. Next Steps

Many jurisdictions contemplating a shift in traffic enforcement practices and policies vary in size, demographics, and physical geographic area.

The consultant team sought to identify case studies and expert interviews as a starting

point for contemplating future changes in traffic enforcement, specifically for the City of Los Angeles. To deepen the case for the City of Los Angeles, the consultant team conducted quantitative and qualitative analyses of traffic enforcement using data from LAPD and with Angelenos.

The consultant team also worked with LADOT and LAPD to identify relevant case studies for further research through expert interviews. Some case study locations were identified based on the degree or extent of the changes in traffic enforcement, while others were identified based on likeness or proximity to the City of Los Angeles. Three case study locations were initially selected as case studies (See Appendix F) for further exploration, including New Zealand; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and [Fayetteville, North Carolina](#). Ultimately, a few other cities were included in the expert interviews, including [Berkeley, California](#) and [Oakland, California](#).

Additional details about the expert interviews are described in Section III.E.

Key Case Study Takeaways

Racially biased traffic enforcement is pervasive: In sum, racially biased traffic enforcement is widely prevalent in cities, states, and counties across the U.S.

Many initiatives are nascent: There are very few case studies that provide examples of transitioning powers of traffic enforcement to non-police agencies. However, numerous government entities, ranging from individual police departments to entire states, are moving forward with changes to existing traffic regulations or traffic enforcement practices.

Promising indicators from limited interventions: These adjustments in how police act upon minor traffic offenses, though limited in scale, have been shown to create a larger impact in decreasing the number of traffic stops overall (i.e., Fayetteville, NC). Altogether, cities, states, counties, and non-governmental entities are finding ways and making progress towards more equitable traffic enforcement practices.



B. Quantitative Data Findings

The quantitative analysis focused on a descriptive analysis of California Racial and Identity Profiling Act (RIPA) data. LAPD and LADOT provided additional data for the quantitative analysis.



These data are largely similar to public information from the RIPA data portal but also include location information.

1. Purpose

Racial differences in policing and traffic stops is a well-documented national trend.^{2,3,4,5}

The Traffic Enforcement Study problem statement describes how police traffic enforcement disproportionately affects people of color and the need to address disparities in traffic safety. Documenting trends in Los Angeles was a critical grounding for this study, even with this background of empirical evidence from national trends. Therefore, the consultant team analyzed the recent trends, spatial patterns, and racial/ethnic dimensions of LAPD traffic stops as a critical component of the Traffic Enforcement Study.

This analysis answers the following questions from the data:

- **Who:** demographic patterns of stops, focusing primarily on racial and ethnic composition;
- **Why:** reasons for stops;
- **What:** actions occurring during the stops and stop results, focusing mainly on citation rates; and
- **Where:** geographic spatial patterns.

In addition, the problem statement details how low-income communities of color are disproportionately affected by traffic violence. The City of Los Angeles is working to address traffic violence through the work of LADOT's Vision Zero Initiative to end traffic fatalities. This citywide effort to eliminate traffic deaths

brings together partners at LADOT, LAPD and others to work towards creating safer streets and understanding that travel speeds are a fundamental predictor of collision risk. The actions to achieve Vision Zero include engineering and planning safer streets and enforcing traffic safety laws in areas with high collision rates. LADOT established the "high-injury network" representing the 6% of city streets that account for most traffic deaths and severe injuries as the geographic representation of areas with higher collision rates. Given this work on Vision Zero, we analyzed the relationship between traffic stops for speeding and high-injury areas using the High-Injury Network (HIN).

Overall, this analysis complements and bridges findings from the qualitative data collection described in the following section of this report and proposes recommendations that connect experiences shared in the focus groups with empirical data about LAPD police stops.

2. Methodology

This analysis relies primarily on stop data collected and maintained by LAPD according to the California Racial and Identity Profiling Act (RIPA).

RIPA was enacted in 2015 to create a standard set of data that police departments in California must record and regularly provide to the Department of Justice. LAPD was included in the first wave of police departments required

to submit data and therefore began collecting and reporting standardized data in mid-2018.

The consultant team made an initial data request to LAPD in mid-2022 for the last three years of RIPA data (2019 – 2021) (See Appendix G for data fields and descriptions). Nearly all this analysis covers that period. The team also requested and included the number of stops for 2022 to document the total number of stops that year. Additionally, we analyzed data from April - September 2022 to capture changes for the six months after LAPD's recent policy change around pretextual stops, which went into effect on April 1, 2022.

This analysis includes specific components from similar studies of police stops by LAPD and other police departments. Relevant reference studies include:

- “An Analysis of the Metropolitan Nashville Police Department’s Traffic Stop Practices” (2018) Alex Chohlas-Wood, Sharad Goel, Amy Shoemaker, Ravi Shroff. Stanford Computational Policy Lab
- “Annual Report 2022” (2022) Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board RIPA
- “Racial Disparities in Traffic Stops” (2022) Magnus Lofstrom, Joseph Hayes, Brandon Martin, and Deepak Premjumar. Public Policy Institute of California
- “Reimagining Traffic Safety and Bold Political Leadership in Los Angeles” (2021) PUSH LA
- “Review of stops conducted by the Los Angeles Police Department in 2019” (2019) Office of the Inspector General, Los Angeles Police Commission

a. Data Comparisons

The consultant team compared the trends within these RIPA data to demographics within the city of Los Angeles using data from the 5-year American Community Survey (ACS) (2017 - 2021). However, these datasets differ in the racial/ethnic and gender categories they use. Further, the racial/ethnic data from the RIPA dataset is based on officer perception (who can record more than one racial identity), while the ACS data uses self-reported racial/ethnic information. The following table outlines these differences and the transformations required to appropriately match the data between the two datasets.

Table 4 Comparison Race/Ethnicity Datasets

RIPA Data	ACS Data	Report approach
Asian	Asian	Asian
Black/African American	Black/African American	Black/African American
Hispanic/Latino	Hispanic/Latino collected as question on ethnicity, separate from race	Anyone who reports being of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity, regardless of race, is included as Hispanic/Latino
Middle Eastern or South Asian	Not included	Middle Eastern and South Asian included in Other
Native American		Native American
Pacific Islander		Pacific Islander
White	White	White
Not included	Other	Grouped within other
	Two or more races	Grouped within other

The consultant team used the LAPD reporting district boundary for the spatial analysis. While the RIPA dataset includes a more specific geographic location, the data often needed to be completed with street suffix (e.g., avenue, street, boulevard etc.) or direction. This would require a great deal of manual cleaning to ensure correct spatial placement. Therefore, the team used the reporting district where the stop took place as an alternative. LAPD reporting districts are small areas (1135 total)⁶ with an average size of 0.5 square miles. The team aggregated these reporting districts to the neighborhood level using the neighborhood boundaries established in the “Mapping L.A.” project from the Los Angeles Times. In cases where the reporting district and neighborhood boundaries did not align exactly, the number of stops were proportionately allocated to the neighborhood boundaries.

b. Task Force Member Input

The consultant team regularly presented this analysis to the Task Force and Research Subcommittee to allow members and other project stakeholders (e.g., LAPD) to provide feedback. The team added these following specific components to this analysis at Task Force members’ requests:

- **Analysis of recent LAPD policy change:** In 2022, LAPD instituted a directive to change enforcement of pretextual stops. The consultant team conducted a sub-analysis comparing a six-month timeframe in 2021 to the same six-month timeframe in 2022 to analyze the effect of this change on stops both in terms of the categories of traffic violation stops (% change in moving vs. equipment vs. non-moving) and related patterns by race/ethnicity.

- **Stops by intersectional identity:** Stops examined by multiple dimensions of identity, specifically looking at race/ethnicity, age, and gender.
- **Geographic analysis using reporting districts:** Using the police reporting districts for spatial analysis because specific address location data was not available in an easy-to-use format.

3. Findings

a. All Traffic Stops (2019-2021)

Traffic stops have declined year-over-year since 2019, from nearly 713,000 annually in 2019 to 331,000 in 2022 (Table 5 & Table 6). Most stops (74%) are for traffic violations (Table 7). The percentage of stops for traffic violation purposes remained fairly consistent between 2019 – 2021 and declined slightly in 2022 (Table 8).

Black drivers are disproportionately stopped (27% of all traffic stops, 26% of traffic violation stops; whereas, as a group, Blacks comprise 8% of city population) (Table 9).

Table 5 Number of Police Stops Per Year (2019 – 2021)

	Number of stops per year
2019	712,806
2020	521,487
2021	429,326

Table 6 Distribution of Stops by Race/Ethnicity by Year (2019 – 2021)

	2019 (%)	2020 (%)	2021 (%)
Asian	3.7	3.2	2.9
Black/ African American	27.3	26.9	26.3
Hispanic/ Latino	46	48.5	49.9
Middle Eastern or South Asian	3.6	3.8	4
Native American	0.1	0.1	0.1
Pacific Islander	0.2	0.2	0.2
White	18.6	16.9	16
Two or more races	0.5	0.5	0.6

Table 7 Frequency and Percent of Stops by Reason Stopped (2019 – 2021)

	Frequency	Percent
Traffic violation	1,222,949	73.5%
Reasonable suspicion that person was engaged in criminal activity	391,434	23.5%
Known to be on parole/probation, PRCS, mandatory supervision	24,851	1.5%
Knowledge of outstanding arrest warrant/wanted person	15,722	0.9%
Investigation to determine if person is truant	945	0.1%
Consensual encounter resulting in search	7,705	0.5%
Possible conduct warranting discipline under Education Code	13	0.0%
Total	1,663,619	100.0

Table 8 Percent of Stops for Traffic-Violation Reasons By Year (2019 – 2022)

Year	Number of stops for traffic purposes	% of all stops for traffic purposes
2019	520,872	73.1%
2020	328,204	73.3%
2021	319,873	74.5%
2022	223,646	67.6%

Table 9 Stops by Race/Ethnicity Per Capita (2019 -2021)

	Stops per 100,000 population	Percent of all stops	Percent of city population
Asian	12,491	3.3%	11.5%
Black/African American	148,465	26.9%	7.8%
Hispanic/Latino	42,951	47.8%	48.1%
Native American	17,424	0.1%	0.2%
Other	44,783	4.3%	4.1%
Pacific Islander	59,067	0.2%	0.2%
White	26,783	17.4%	28.1%
Citywide	43,219		

The rate of stops per 100,000 people differs by neighborhood (Figure 1). More stops per capita occur in Greater South Los Angeles and neighborhoods south of Hollywood (Figure 2). Each map displays the data by quantile, displaying the same number of neighborhoods (approximately 20) within each data range demonstrating which neighborhoods experience below average to above average numbers of traffic stops per capita.

Figure 1 Maps of Stops by Neighborhood by Capita

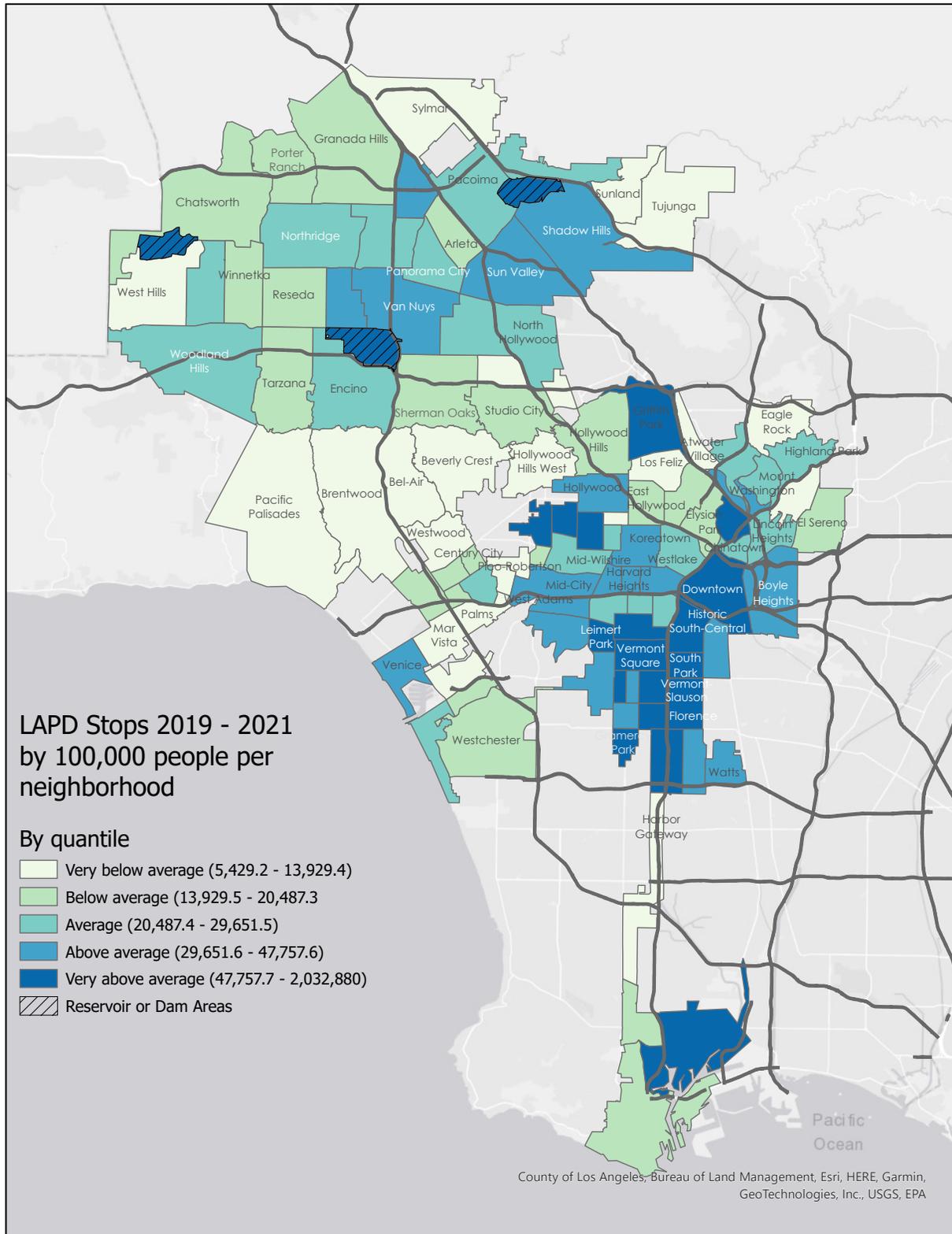
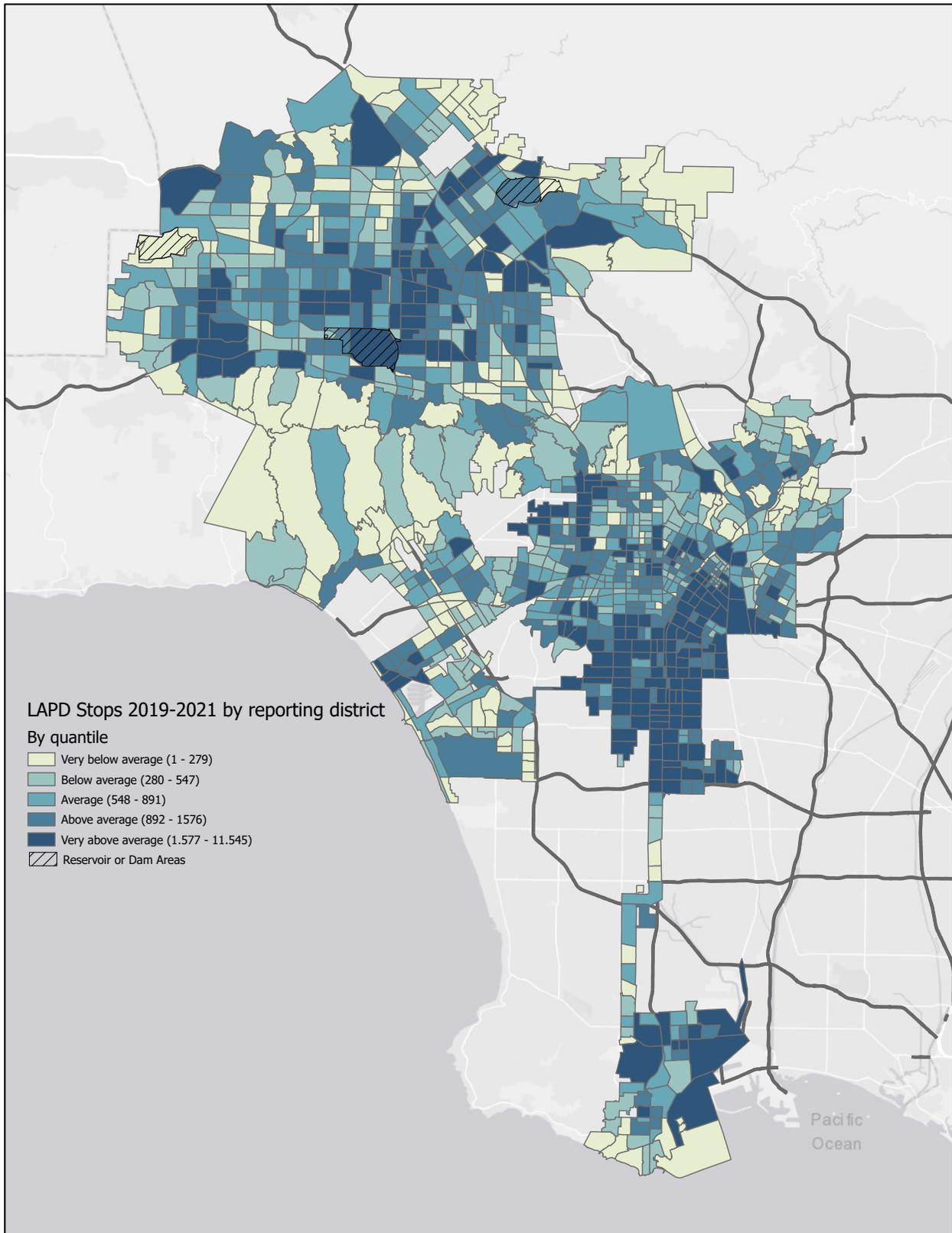


Figure 2 Map of Stops by LAPD Reporting District



b. Stops for Traffic Violations Only

We specifically examined stops for traffic violations as that is the focus of this study.

Most traffic violation stops happen for moving violations (45%), with equipment violations next most common (31%), and non-moving

the least common (24%) (Table 10 & Table 11). Black drivers are stopped at three times the city average in traffic-violation-related stops, a similar rate to police stops overall (Table 12 & Table 13).

Table 10 Percent of Traffic Violation Stops by Category (2019 – 2021)

	Frequency	Percent
Moving	430,085	45.3%
Equipment	292,323	30.8%
Non-Moving	226,016	23.8%
Total	948,424	100%

Table 11 Top 20 Reasons for Traffic-Violation Stops (2019-2021)

Description and mvCJIS	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Speeding (54106)	195,021	15.9%	15.9%
No registration (54657)	144,172	11.8%	27.7%
Display license plate wrong (54644)	129,717	10.6%	38.3%
Window obstruction (54571)	71,100	5.8%	44.2%
Failure to stop for crosswalk (54167)	65,805	5.4%	49.5%
Hand held device violation (54655) ⁷	63,830	5.2%	54.8%
Light equipment violation (Vehicle) (54109)	43,346	3.5%	58.3%
Failure to obey turn signs (54185)	40,520	3.3%	61.6%
Hand held device violation (54566) ⁴¹	35,182	2.9%	64.5%
Failure to stop at stop line at red light (54098)	29,403	2.4%	66.9%
Bike headlight violation (54141)	18,677	1.5%	68.4%
No registration (54099)	17,484	1.4%	69.9%
Seat belt violation (54011)	15,786	1.3%	71.1%
Unsafe lane change (54178)	13,758	1.1%	72.3%
Driving without lights at night (Vehicle) (54191)	13,697	1.1%	73.4%
Illegal u-turn (54186)	12,017	1%	74.4%
Driving without a license (54107)	11,475	0.9%	75.3%
Unsafe turn or no signal used (54115)	9,731	0.8%	76.1%
Double parking (54537)	9,340	0.8%	76.9%
Expired tags/failed to display (54168)	8,363	0.7%	77.6%

Table 12 Traffic Violation Stops by Race/Ethnicity Per Capita (2019-2021)

	Stops per 100,000 Population	Percent of Stops	Percent of City Population
Asian	10,618	3.9%	11.5%
Black/African American	104,217	25.7%	7.8%
Hispanic/Latino	31,550	47.8%	48.1%
Native American	9,070	0.0%	0.2%
Other	38,443	5.0%	4.1%
Pacific Islander	45,204	0.2%	0.2%
White	19,712	17.4%	28.1%
Citywide	31,770		

Table 13 Percent of Stops for Traffic Violations and Non-Traffic Violations by Race/Ethnicity (2019-2021)

	Traffic Stops (%)	Non-Traffic Stops (%)
Asian	3.9%	1.9%
Black/African American	25.7%	30.3%
Hispanic/Latino	47.8%	47.9%
Middle Eastern or South Asian	4.4%	1.8%
Native American	0%	0.1%
Pacific Islander	0.2%	0.2%
White	17.4%	17.3%
Two or more races	0.5%	0.5%

c. Policy Change Sub-Analysis

The early results from the recent LAPD policy update show a change in the percent of stops by traffic violation categories.

The updated policy directs officers to “make stops for minor equipment violations or other infractions only when the officer believes that such a violation or infraction significantly interferes with public safety.”⁸ In the six-months post-change in 2022, the percentage of stops for moving violations rose from 52% (2021) to 71% (2022) (Table 14 & Table 15). The percentage of equipment stops dropped from 29% (2021) to 20% (2022), and non-moving violation-related stops dropped from 20% (2021) to 9% (2022). The percentage of traffic

violation stops for speeding increased from 18-21% (2021 vs. 2022). This policy change has resulted in lower percentages of Black drivers being stopped dropping from 26% of stops to 21% of stops (Table 16).

Table 14 Traffic Violations by Category - 2021 vs. 2022 Policy Change Analysis

Category	2021		2022	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Moving	69,832	52%	61,881	71%
Equipment	38,718	29%	16,980	20%
Non-moving	26,329	20%	7,961	9%
Totals	134,879	100%	86,822	100%

Table 15 Traffic Violations by Type - 2021 vs. 2022 Policy Change Analysis

	2021 (%)	2022 (%)
Speeding	18.1	21
No registration	12.3	5.4
License plate display violation	9.0	4.7
Window obstruction (tint)	8.1	4.2
Failure to stop at crosswalk	6.1	10.7
No hands free device ⁹	5.6	7.2
Failure to obey turn restrictions	2.9	2.8
Light equipment violation	2.8	2.4
Failure to stop before making turn at light	2.8	4
No hands free device	2.1	2.4

Table 16 Stops by Race/Ethnicity - 2021 vs. 2022 Policy Change Analysis

	2021		2022	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Asian	5,440	3.2%	4,189	3.8%
Black/African American	43,727	26.1%	24,449	21.9%
Hispanic/Latino	83,381	49.7%	58,279	52.2%
Middle Eastern or South Asian	8,033	4.8%	5,478	4.9%
Native American	74	0%	53	0%
Pacific Islander	363	0.2%	230	0.2%
White	26,695	15.9%	18,953	17%
Total	167,713	100%	111,631	100

d. Actions, Results, Use of Force

During most traffic violation stops, no actions (searching, use of force, detention, removal from the vehicle, etc.) are taken (73%). (Table 17)

Black drivers are more likely to be subject to more actions (13% one action, 23% two to five actions), including the use of force (Table 18). Use of force only occurs in a small percentage of traffic violation stops (0.4%), with Black drivers receiving a disproportionate use of force (30% of the use of force stops and 33% firearm pointed at a person, with Black residents making up 8% of the city's population) (Table 19 & Table 20).

Most stops end in no result (citation, warning, etc.), and the percentage of stops ending in no result is relatively consistent across racial/ethnic groups (Table 21 & Table 22). Further, a minority of traffic violations result in a citation (31%). Moving violations are more likely to result in a citation (46% of stops); 14% of equipment violations and 23% of non-moving violations result in a citation (Table 23).

Table 17 Number of Actions Occurring During Traffic Violation Stops (2019-2021)

Number of actions	Frequency	Percent
0	88,9986	72.8%
1	135,396	11.1%
2	62,934	5.1%
3	55,809	4.6%
4	42,676	3.5%
5	22,798	1.9%
6	9,078	0.7%
7	3,399	0.3%
8	673	0.1%
9	163	0.0%
10	33	0.0%

Table 18 Number of Actions During Traffic Violation Stops by Race/Ethnicity (2019 – 2021)

	0 actions	1 action	2-5 actions	6-11 actions
Asian	90.0%	7.8%	2.0%	0.2%
Black/African American	62.4%	12.6%	23.3%	1.7%
Hispanic/Latino	70.7%	11.7%	16.5%	1.2%
Middle Eastern or South Asian	87.9%	8.0%	3.8%	0.3%
Native American	77.6%	11.2%	10.6%	0.6%
Pacific Islander	81.3%	10.5%	7.2%	1.0%
White	86.1%	8.7%	4.8%	0.4%
Two or more races	71.9%	10.9%	16.3%	0.8%
Total	72.8%	11.1%	15.1%	1.1%

Table 19 Traffic Violation Stops Where Use of Force Occurred by Race/Ethnicity (2019-2021)

	Traffic violation stops where the use of force occurred		All traffic stops	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Asian	72	1.6%	47,182	3.9%
Black/African American	1,338	30.1%	314,089	25.7%
Hispanic/Latino	2,371	53.3%	584,329	47.8%
Middle Eastern or South Asian	108	2.4%	54,396	4.4%
Native American	0	0.0%	545	0%
Pacific Islander	17	0.4%	2,889	0.2%
White	491	11.0%	213,039	17.4%
Two or more races	51	1.1%	6,480	0.5%
Total	4,448	100.0%	1,222,949	100%

Table 20 Traffic violation stops where firearms are pointed at driver by race/ethnicity (2019 – 2021)

	Firearms pointed		All traffic stops	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Asian	19	0.7	47,182	3.9
Black/African American	876	33.0	314,089	25.7
Hispanic/Latino	1517	57.1	584,329	47.8
Middle Eastern or South Asian	37	1.4	54,396	4.4
Native American	0	0.0	545	0
Pacific Islander	11	0.4	2,889	0.2
White	185	7.0	213,039	17.4
Two or more races	12	0.5	6,480	0.5
Total	2,657	100.0	1,222,949	100

Table 21 Number of results from traffic violation stops (2019 – 2021)

Number of results	Frequency	Percent
0	620,883	50.8%
1	587,064	48.0%
2	14,334	1.2%
3	651	0.1%
4	16	0.0%
5	1	0.0%

Table 22 Number of Results from Traffic Violation Stops by Race/Ethnicity (2019 – 2021)

	0 results	1 result	2+ results
Asian	50.2%	49.5%	0.3%
Black/African American	55.6%	43.2%	1.2%
Hispanic/Latino	49.3%	49.2%	1.5%
Middle Eastern or South Asian	44.0%	55.4%	0.6%
Native American	45.5%	52.8%	1.7%
Pacific Islander	50.8%	47.8%	1.3%
White	49.7%	49.5%	0.8%
Two or more races	46.6%	51.2%	2.3%
Total	50.8%	48.0%	1.2%

Table 23 Percent of Traffic Violation Stops by Category Resulting in a Citation (2019 – 2021)

Type	%
Moving	45.6%
Equipment	14.4%
Non-moving	22.7%
Percent of stops resulting in citations (top 20 reasons)	30.5%
Percent of all traffic violation stops resulting in citations	28%

e. Speed Violations and Relationship to Vision Zero High-Injury Network

The consultant team’s analysis for speeding and Vision Zero found that Black drivers are stopped less for speeding than all traffic stops but still higher than the Black population (Table 24 & Table 25). Most

stops for speeding do not result in a citation (58%) or a warning (11%) (Table 26). The racial trends in speeding stops that result in a citation are closer to racial parity than other components (Table 27).

Table 24 Percent of Stops for Speeding by Race/Ethnicity (2019-2021)

	Speeding related stops		All traffic stops	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Asian	8417	4.3%	47,182	3.9%
Black/African American	35,629	18.3%	314,089	25.7%
Hispanic/Latino	88,217	45.2%	584,329	47.8%
Middle Eastern or South Asian	14,980	7.7%	54,396	4.4%
Native American	88	0%	545	0%
Pacific Islander	622	0.3%	2,889	0.2%
White	46,337	23.8%	213,039	17.4%
Two or more races	731	0.4%	6,480	0.5%
Total	195,021	100%	1,222,949	100%

Table 25 Speeding Stops Per Capita by Race/Ethnicity (2019 – 2021)

	Speeding stops per 100,000 population	Percent of Speeding stops	Percent of city population
Asian	1,894	4.3%	11.5%
Black/African American	11,822	18.3%	7.8%
Hispanic/Latino	4,763	45.2%	48.1%
Native American	1,464	0.0%	0.2%
Other	9,922	8.1%	4.1%
Pacific Islander	9,732	0.3%	0.2%
White	4,287	23.8%	28.1%
Citywide	5,066		

Table 26 Results of Speeding Stops by Frequency (2019-2021)

	Frequency	Percent ¹⁰
Citation	112,774	57.7%
No action	59,990	30.7%
Warning	20,551	10.5%
Field interview card	1,123	0.6%
Arrest without warrant	823	0.4%
Arrest pursuant to warrant	180	0.1%
In-field cite and release	85	0.0%
Psychiatric hold	20	0.0%
Contacted parent/guardian	7	0.0%
Non-criminal or caretaking escort	4	0.0%
Contacted Homeland Security	1	0.0%

Table 27 Citations and Stops for Speeding Per Capita by Race/Ethnicity (2019-2021)

	Citations for per 100,000 population	Percent	Speeding stops per 100,000 population	Percent of Speeding stops	Population
Asian	1,134	4.5%	1,894	4.30%	11.5%
Black/African American	5,696	15.2%	11,822	18.30%	7.8%
Hispanic/Latino	2,796	45.9%	4,763	45.20%	48.1%
Native American	1,048	0.1%	1,464	0.00%	0.2%
Other	6,631	9.3%	9,922	8.10%	4.1%
Pacific Islander	6,102	0.3%	9,732	0.30%	0.2%
White	2,575	24.7%	4,287	23.80%	28.1%
Citywide	2,930		5,066		

Speeding stops are more likely to occur in neighborhoods in the San Fernando Valley (Porter Ranch, Northridge, Lake Balboa, Sun Valley, and others), in Downtown Los Angeles, Pacific Palisades, and Leimert Park (Figure 3, Figure 4, & Figure 5). We analyzed the relationship between the number of speeding stops and miles of high injury network per neighborhood (n=114) and per reporting district. We found only evidence of a weak relationship ($r=.19$) between the miles of streets on the high-injury network and the number of stops for speeding by

neighborhood. The relationship is near eliminated ($r=.0012$) when stops for speeding are normalized by neighborhood population. For a more refined analysis, we also tested this analysis at the reporting district (n=1135) and found a similarly weak relationship ($r=.006$) between stops for speeding and miles of high-injury network streets. This analysis demonstrates room for improvement in the connection between enforcing speeding and areas with high collision rates.



Figure 3 Stops for Speeding Per Capita by Neighborhood

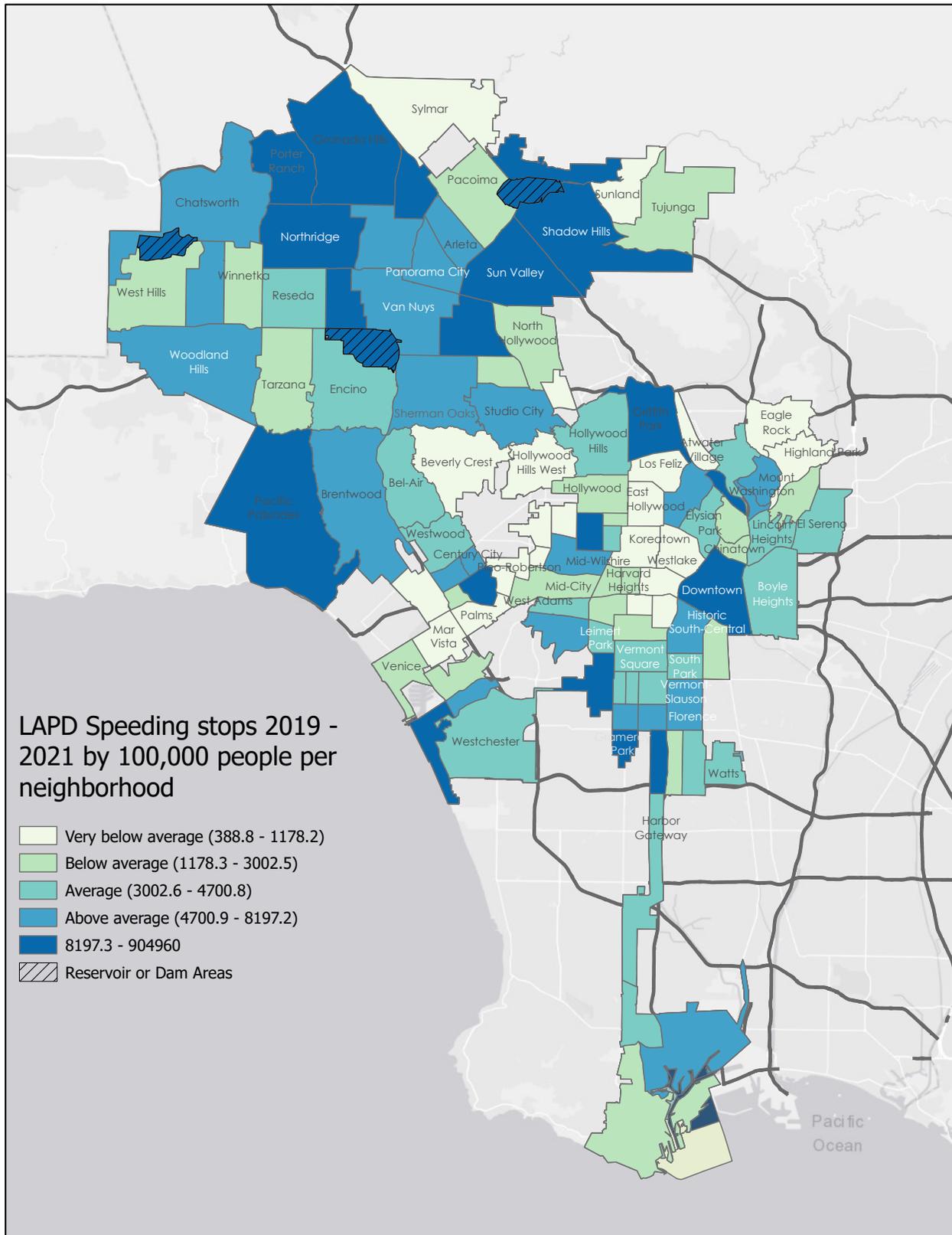


Figure 4 Stops for Speeding Per Capita by Neighborhood with High-Injury Network Overlay

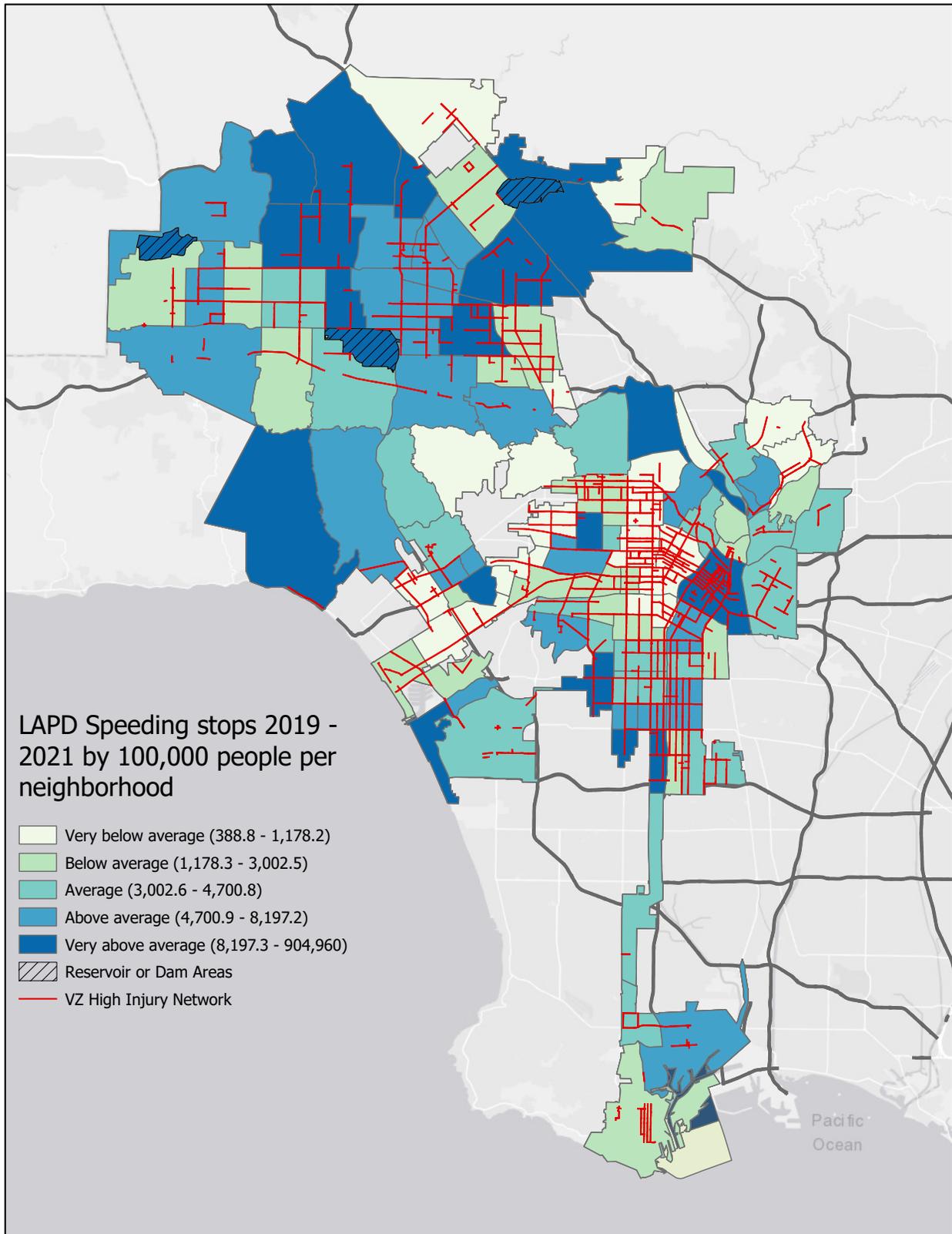
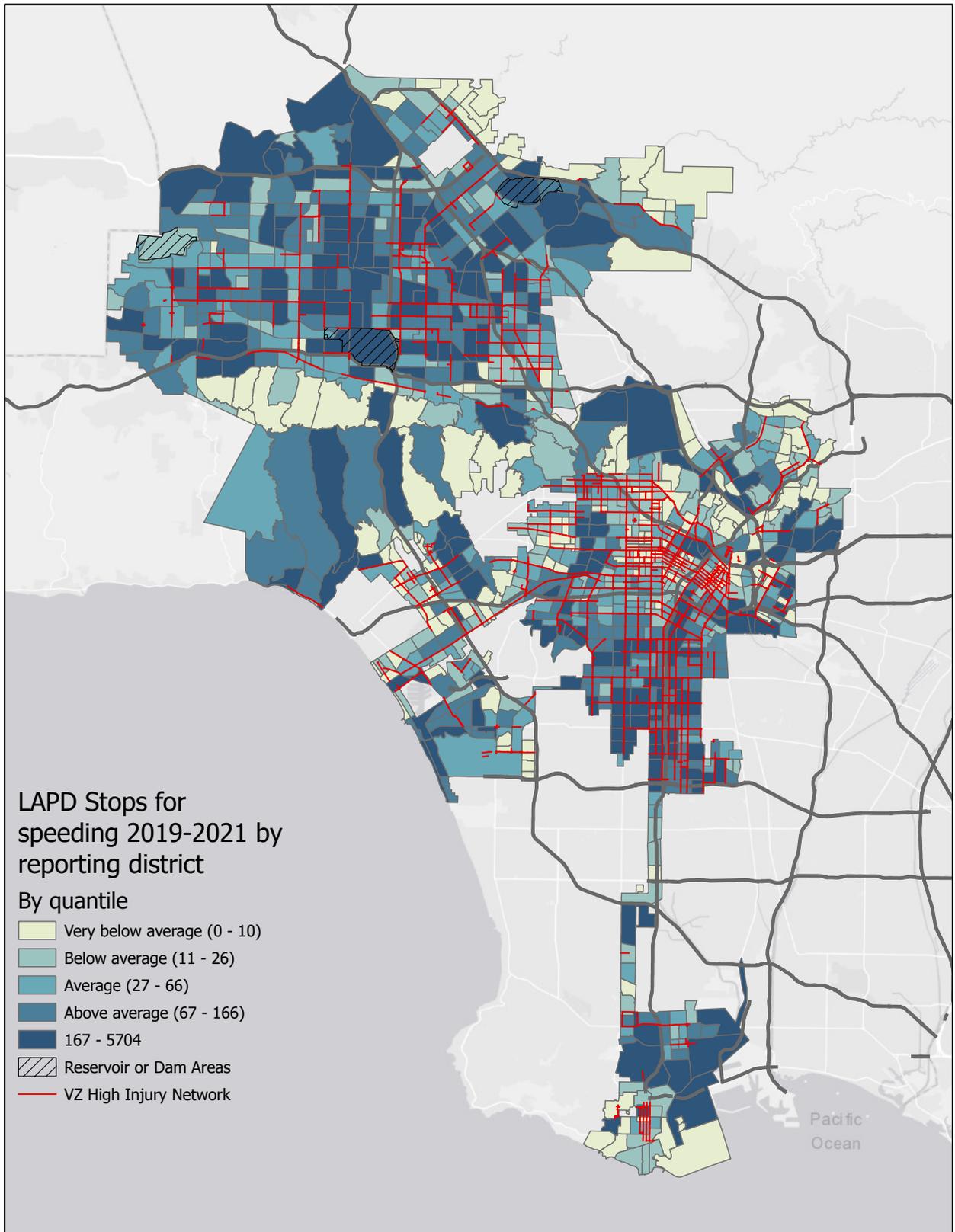


Figure 5 Stops for speeding by LAPD reporting district



4. Limitations

This analysis is not without limitations, including:

- **Police stop data are based on perceived race/ethnicity versus self-reported and slightly different racial/ethnic categories within the census data.** This may limit the findings relative to smaller racial/ethnic categories (e.g., other, Native American, Pacific Islander).
- **The consultant team normalized the number of stops by the population of those racial groups,** but this assumes that similar percentages of racial/ethnic groups do drive.¹¹
- **The spatial analysis assumes that the population across neighborhoods mirrors traffic volumes in those places.** For the spatial analysis, the ideal comparison to stop volumes would be traffic volumes by race/ethnicity. While LADOT collects traffic volumes, they are done at a small percent of intersections throughout the city. This sample does not allow us to generalize volumes to the neighborhood scale.

- **Police activity is not equally distributed throughout the city.** Police deploy officers using a 7/40 model where the goal is to respond to emergencies within 7 minutes and spend 40% of free time on patrol. With this approach, officers spend more time in areas with high volumes of calls and emergencies, which contributes to differences in stops by neighborhood (See Appendix T: “Los Angeles Police Department’s 7-40 Model Summary” for more detail).
- **The number of actions that occurred during stops may be undercounted,** as a 2019 Office of Inspector General audit found that 18% of audited traffic stop records did not record a post-stop action, most often searches.

Taken together, these limitations demonstrate that the reasons for the racial disparities in stops is not easily understood, in part because using the racial/ethnic city population is an imperfect benchmark. These limitations are similarly highlighted in the 2019 Office of Inspector General Review of Stops by LAPD.

Key Quantitative Data Takeaways

Fewer Stops: The number of stops has declined annually since 2019. Stops are concentrated in neighborhoods in and around Hollywood, South Los Angeles, and Downtown. Most stops are for traffic violation purposes. While speeding is the most common traffic violation type, stops for speeding only represent 16% of all traffic violation stops, with slightly more than half of speeding stops resulting in a driver being issued a citation.

Disproportionate Stops by Race: Relative to the city population, Black drivers are disproportionately stopped and subject to more actions during the stop than other racial/ethnic groups. While police use of force and brandishing their weapon is uncommon in most traffic violation stops, these actions occur disproportionately to Black drivers when they do occur.

Pretextual Stop Policy Update Nets Some Changes: LAPD’s recent policy update wherein officers must articulate the reason for initiating a pretextual stop demonstrates shifts in traffic stop patterns. In the six months since the policy change went into effect, a higher percentage of stops were made for moving violations compared to the same six-month period in the prior year. The proportion of Black drivers who were stopped after the policy change declined from the previous year but remained disproportionate to the population of Black residents.



C. Review of Training Materials



As part of this study, the consultant team was tasked with reviewing relevant training materials to inform recommendations.

Because the training materials for LAPD and LADOT are voluminous, the consultant team was asked to focus on the following:

Incorporate an analysis of how changes to officer training related to the City’s revised pretextual stop policy affects outcomes (see “Quantitative Data Findings”)

Inquire about training best practices, limitations, and considerations as part of

the expert interviews (see “Expert Interview Findings”)

While this study was unable to incorporate a comprehensive review of all training materials and relevant policies at LAPD and other relevant City Departments, Council may consider an additional study that focuses solely on training reforms and best practices.

D. Focus Group Findings



The qualitative analysis focused on a series of community and practitioner stakeholder focus groups.

These focus groups were augmented by expert interviews with academics and legal scholars, as described in Sections IV.E and IV.F.

1. Purpose

The consultant team conducted focus groups to foster a participatory research model based on shared learning.

The team’s goal using focus groups was to center the perspectives of marginalized groups and those disproportionately affected by encounters with law enforcement; the groups were meant to focus on implications that go beyond traffic enforcement to speak to the potential harm communities face under the traditional enforcement model. The team also sought to gather information from participants on the effects of fines, arrest, and imprisonment, as well as surface the different dimensions of discrimination across various

groups (e.g., gender and gender identity, age, race, sexuality, religion, income, immigration status, English proficiency, etc.).

2. Methodology

The consultant team conducted four (4) virtual focus groups in two phases during November 2022 and January 2023.

The consultant team developed an adapted focus group protocol in response to changes in budget and project timeline, and focus group recruitment continued despite the political conversation at the time. The protocol allowed the consultant team to conduct outreach and facilitate focus groups in a consistent, strategic manner to answer the research question, “How do Angelenos respond to the potential of removing traffic enforcement responsibilities to an unarmed, civilian government unit?” (See Appendix H for the Focus Group Protocol).

a. Focus Group Recruitment

The consultant team worked with LADOT to compose an email and social media materials for focus group recruitment.

Approximately 70 emails were distributed to specific populations, targeted geographies, or identified community-based organizations (CBOs) who could assist in identifying participants and conducting outreach. The initial outreach email included a Google RSVP form that collected over 600 initial responses. Several respondents indicated that they learned about the focus group opportunity through social media.

After reviewing the initial responses, the consultant team suspected that the responses were not all human generated. To ensure respondents could be better verified, the research team administered a follow-up participant intake form via SurveyMonkey asking specific questions about each respondent's location in Los Angeles and desire to participate in the focus groups. This survey garnered over 150 responses. To determine whether responses were from qualified participants residing in Los Angeles, the consultant team manually checked each respondent's IP address. Of these, only 23 were humans living in the city of Los Angeles. A follow-up email was then sent to confirm times with the 23 human respondents with IP addresses in Los Angeles. Of the respondents, 15 of 23 indicated a preference to meet virtually, with no one preferring to meet in person. All focus groups were conducted virtually based on respondents' preferences.

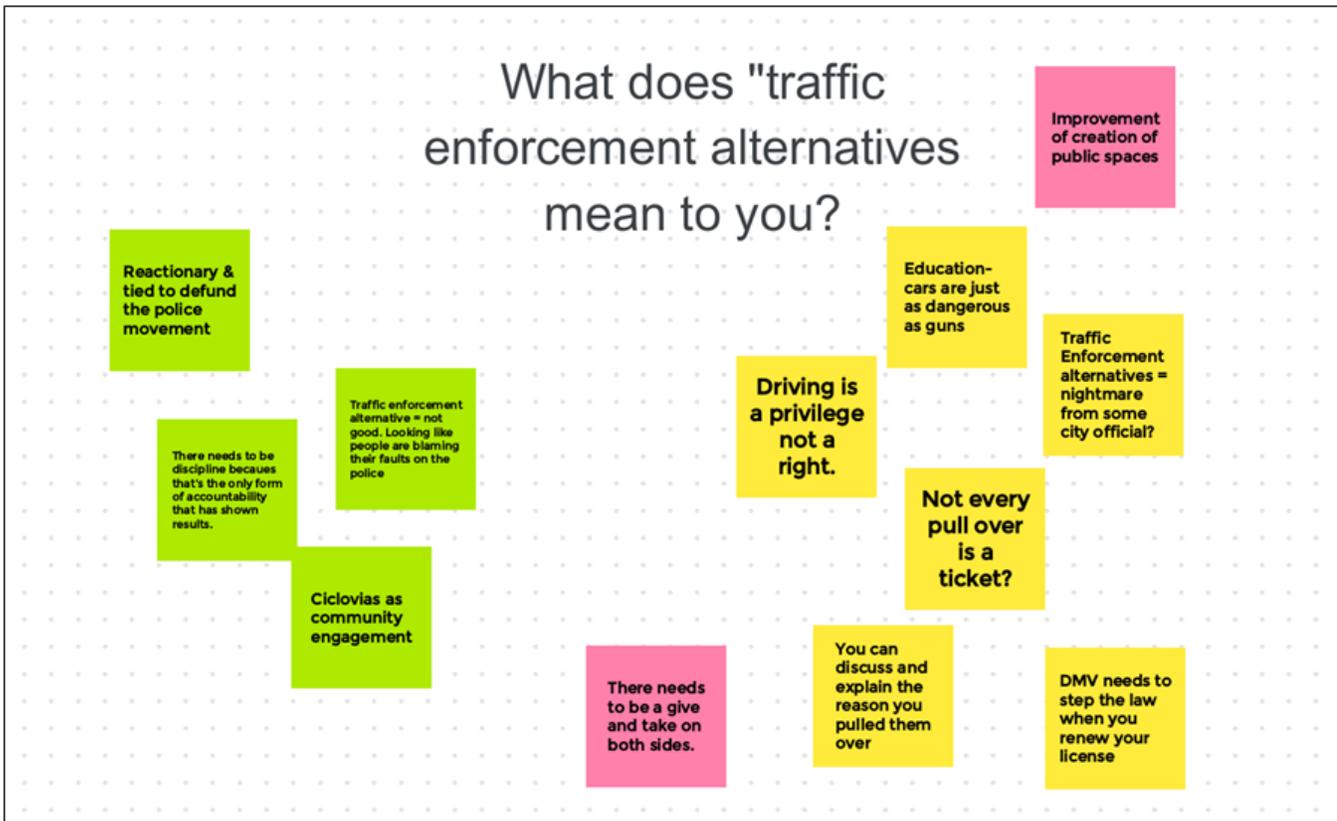
b. Format

All four (4) focus group sessions were 90 minutes and conducted via Zoom. The focus group facilitators started each session with a round of introductions and a brief overview of the study. During introductions, facilitators requested participants to turn on their cameras to confirm their identities. During the focus group discussion, participants were guided through eight (8) questions (See Appendix H for the focus group questions). These discussion questions were developed by the consultant team and confirmed by LADOT prior to recruitment. For focus groups with more than five (5) people, participants were split into two breakout rooms to allow for more discussion time. All participants were able to respond to the questions using the chat feature or by unmuting themselves. Notes were recorded live using Google Jamboard. The Jamboard was shared on screen during discussions to allow participants to follow along in the discussion (Figure 6).

After each focus group, notetakers and facilitators reviewed the transcripts and live notes. They then coded responses and highlighted the major themes for each question. Before developing recommendations, the consultant team presented their initial findings and themes to the Task Force Research Subcommittee and received their initial feedback and thoughts on how these themes could be translated to recommendations (See Appendix I for the full focus group presentation).

Figure 6 Jamboard Sample

Live Notes



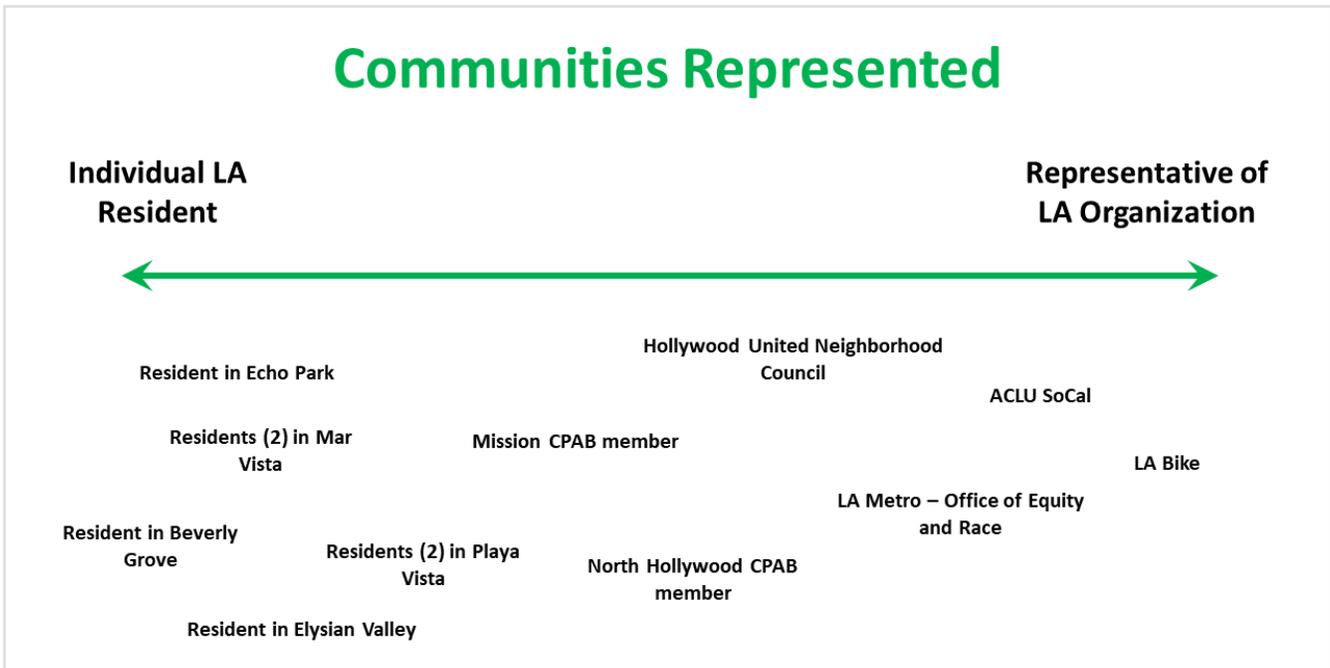
c. Participation

Eight (8) people participated in the first round of focus group sessions in November 2022. Six (6) people participated in the second round of focus groups in late January 2023. Each round consisted of two focus groups. To avoid an overwhelming number of invalid responses for the second round of outreach, email communication and word of mouth was used to recruit potential participants. The consultant team reached out directly to Task Force members and asked them to share the outreach email with organizations and individuals who they felt would be interested in participating in a focus group. Approximately 20 outreach emails were sent through the team’s networks, including a request to distribute the focus group recruitment email to each Los Angeles

Community Police Advisory Board (CPAB) member through LAPD. The Google RSVP form received over 200 responses. The consultant team manually checked IP addresses and made follow-up calls to 15 respondents. Through the calls, the team was able to confirm that only two (2) of the respondents were residents of Los Angeles. The team then sent 10 emails to no-show respondents from the first round of focus groups and opened participation up to Task Force members.

In total, fourteen (14) individual participants participated in a total of four (4) focus group sessions in November 2022 or January 2023. The participants were residents of five (5) different neighborhoods in Los Angeles and represented six (6) organizations (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Community Representation



3. Limitations

a. Project Resources

A specified project timeline and limited resources constrained the consultant team’s ability to get a sample of participants that holistically represented the demographics in Los Angeles, as well as the many different, nuanced opinions on traffic enforcement. The neighborhoods represented by the qualitative sample did not adequately represent low-income communities of color with high numbers of police interactions.

Focus groups were only hosted with English speakers who were available to participate in a virtual remote setting. This did not allow us to talk to Angelenos who speak other languages or are not as comfortable speaking in English. This also reduced the team’s ability to engage in targeted recruitment to certain geographic areas and organizations that fully highlight the diversity of this city and the range of viewpoints on traffic enforcement.

With more resources and time, the consultant team could have hosted focus group sessions primarily in non-English languages. The team could also host in-person focus groups with food during weekend and evening hours. Likewise, the team could have offered other provisions that would facilitate easier participation (e.g., transit passes, childcare, etc.). Finally, with more resources and time, the consultant team could dedicate recruitment efforts with specific attention to communities of color, particularly communities with high Black and Brown populations, and improve outreach methods to better target focus group participants who are Los Angeles residents.

b. Timing of Recruitment

Due to the project timeline, the recruitment of focus group participants ran up to the winter holiday season. Some participants expressed an interest in participating, but noted other priorities in preparation for the end of the year or holiday travel.

The consultant team also ended up conducting important parts of this project during a political transition. Several council members rotated off the City Council, and there is now a new mayor. These transitions resulted in the reshuffling of council assignments and new staff involved in city operations.

4. Next Steps

There are three potential next steps the City can take to gather more qualitative data on traffic enforcement alternatives. Each centers the community and would require an additional investment in time and resources.



a. Conduct More Focus Groups with Increased Funding and Resources

The consultant team recommends conducting additional outreach to gather critical qualitative input. That should not stop the City of Los Angeles from acting on some of this report's initial recommendations. However, with more resources and a longer timeline, the City should ensure that residents from all parts of the City have a chance to participate in the reshaping of traffic enforcement. In particular, the City should prioritize specific focus groups for non-English speakers, and host in-person focus groups across the city. These focus groups should provide food and childcare to increase the number of people able to attend. They should also be transit accessible or have plenty of parking. Finally, the City should consider paying focus groups participants to demonstrate respect for the expertise community members bring to these conversations. Below is a proposed framework for the City to determine how many additional focus groups to host. The consultant team recommends at least 20 additional focus groups, with additional groups targeted to City-defined priority populations:

- **Host one group per Council District** [15 convenings]
- **Host monolingual convenings** for the five most spoken languages citywide (not including English) [5 convenings]
- **Host focus groups with priority populations** (e.g., vulnerable road users, populations that see disproportionate police interactions based on RIPA data, City employees and staff that have a role in traffic safety and enforcement, etc.) [total number dependent on City-defined priorities]

b. Work with Community-Based Organizations

Additionally, the consultant team believes that a mechanism to formally partner with community-based organizations should be implemented for a more impactful outreach effort. Community organizations could be the main hosts of each focus group or town hall. They would be paid for this work and be charged with outreach, organizing, and all logistics for the events. The role of consultants or City staff would be reduced to provide community groups with support as needed. Consultants or City staff could utilize a train-the-trainer model and conduct training sessions where organizations are trained on the project, the decision-making processes at the City, and how to facilitate the focus groups. The goal would be to have at least one community-based partner in each council district. This group could be chosen in consultation with the council office. Communities where police interactions are higher should receive more resources and conduct more focus groups.

c. Create a Town Hall Series

Focus groups are a valuable qualitative research tool, but they are often limited in size. As a way to supplement the feedback received from focus groups, the City should conduct town hall meetings. The City may consider hosting a town hall in each Council District (15 total), with outreach efforts focused on recruiting participants from City-defined priority populations and non-English speakers. To be as impactful as possible, these meetings should include representatives from councilmembers' staff and City of Los Angeles Departments that are focused on street safety and enforcement. These meetings would allow those outside of focus groups or the Task Force to hear directly from City officials on their vision, challenges, and processes to create alternatives to traffic enforcement. Community members would also be able to directly share their experiences and concerns about traffic enforcement and any proposed changes to the current system.

Key Focus Group Takeaways

The consultant team analyzed the focus group discussions by identifying shared sentiments and common themes across the focus groups to develop five (5) key takeaways.



These focus group takeaways were compared with key takeaways in the quantitative data analysis to identify overlapping themes between the two research approaches.

Recommendations to the City of Los Angeles in this section reflect the overlap between the focus groups and quantitative data analysis conducted by the consultant team.

While this study was specifically focused on traffic enforcement, overall, many participants shared their perception of safety to be about more than just traffic and traffic violence. For example, some expressed a desire for less enforcement and more human services when discussing traffic safety issues. Several participants noted “quality of life” as an important component of improving traffic violence, and others noted concerns about, and for, unhoused neighbors. Participants stated that they hoped to see less enforcement for quality-of-life issues and more services, particularly mental health services.

1. Heightened Emotions

Participants acknowledged that both drivers and police officers have heightened emotions during stops. Regardless of a participant’s view on police officers generally, many expressed that stops can be emotionally challenging for both drivers and officers. Yet, several participants felt that each stop is rife with power imbalances with officers having all the power in these interactions.

2. Speeding and Driver Aggressiveness

Many participants defined speeding as the top traffic problem in Los Angeles. In fact, most participants expressed the sentiment that speeding has gotten worse over the course of the pandemic. From actions such as running stop signs to more aggressive street takeovers and races, participants stated that aggressiveness of drivers towards non-drivers, including the unhoused, is a growing problem in Los Angeles.

3. Infrastructure

This project was initially scoped to only speak to traffic enforcement-related issues.

However, in every focus group, the consultant team heard from participants that they wanted to see the streets engineered differently and more infrastructure built to combat the issues they were identifying. Participants identified more protective infrastructure for non-drivers; driver education; more thoughtful, intentional, and consistent community engagement; and community policing as ways to improve traffic safety.

4. Bolstering Active Transportation

Many participants opined that they felt unsafe in the city when they were not in a car.

To improve safety, participants suggested more investments in modes of transportation outside of private vehicles. Participants emphasized the importance of fare-free transit, non-armed first responders, and investments in community services as traffic enforcement alternatives.

Additionally, participants asked for more connectivity between different modes and more investment in biking and walking infrastructure. Participants believe that by investing in active transportation, traveling via other modes will be more realistic, reliable, and safe.

5. Terminology Concerns

Not all participants are sure what “enforcement alternatives” mean. In each focus group, some participants asked facilitators to offer more explanation about what the term means. After explanation and additional explanations, many participants expressed a desire for the City to be clear about what this phrase means and how it might message any changes made because of this work. Many people asked whether “enforcement alternatives” is the same as “defund the police.” Whether people were in support or opposition of that phrase, there was a desire for the City to be direct, clear, and transparent in all of its communications going forward about the topic.

E. Expert Interview Findings



1. Purpose

This section synthesizes findings from a series of interviews with traffic safety experts. Interviewees had experience working with jurisdictions taking actions to reduce the use of armed police officers performing traffic enforcement.

These interviews allowed the consultant team to expand on questions that LADOT, LAPD, and the Task Force raised regarding implementing traffic enforcement alternatives. Following the literature review, which identified cities that are discussing or implementing traffic enforcement alternatives, the consultant team followed up with experts in these jurisdictions who could speak to these shifts. The findings from these interviews are meant to inform this report's recommendations by providing a more in-depth understanding of how these changes were operationalized, surfacing any barriers to implementation, and proposing potential solutions for addressing said barriers.

2. Methodology

The consultant team conducted a scan of national and international examples of jurisdictions implementing or considering traffic enforcement reforms and alternatives (See Section III. A).

This includes jurisdictions in which police departments have or are engaging in specific reforms and attempts to reconfigure their departments, training, and associated outcomes.

Upon completion of this case study review, LADOT, LAPD, and the Task Force read the draft and suggested a series of

expert interview candidates based on the findings. LADOT and LAPD identified police departments and departments of transportation in Fayetteville, North Carolina; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and New Zealand as top priorities for the expert interviews. The consultant team also suggested interviewing a representative from the City of Berkeley, due to a similar effort recently undertaken in that jurisdiction. The Task Force further suggested several transportation practitioners, academics, and community leaders to expand the list of interview candidates, noting that the focus on police departments and departments of transportation was too narrow (See Appendix J for the full list of suggested interviewees).

Ultimately, the consultant team scheduled interviews with experts in three of the recommended locations; none of the individuals interviewed represented police departments. Specifically, the consultant team spoke with:

- University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC)
- City of Berkeley
- Oakland Department of Transportation (OakDOT)

The consultant team drafted the interview questions and protocol based on findings from the case studies. LADOT, LAPD, and the

Task Force reviewed and provided edits to the interview protocol (See Appendix J for the complete protocol).

a. Background on Expert Interview Locations

This section summarizes recent or in-progress traffic enforcement reforms in each of the interview locations:

- In 2013, the Police Chief in **Fayetteville, NC** encouraged officers to focus on moving violations of immediate concern to public safety, such as speeding. This shift away from enforcement of non-moving violations overall resulted in a decrease in the number of investigative stops and the number of Black drivers stopped and searched.¹²
- **Berkeley, CA** announced in 2020 that it would create a Department of Transportation (BerkDOT) which would house an unarmed civilian traffic enforcement unit. Since then, the creation of this new department has stalled, and the City's attempts at implementing civilian traffic enforcement have been blocked by legal hurdles regarding non-peace officers performing traffic stops (See Section III.F for more information on this legal issue). Relatedly, a working group of Berkeley's Police Accountability Board is working to prioritize traffic stops based on safety and "not just low-level offenses."¹³ In January 2022, the working group established an approach to traffic enforcement that focused on primary collision factors, or the main causes of collisions. Some community members have expressed concern that this approach was drafted by a working group made up primarily of police officers (who comprised 10 of the 11 members) and that some primary collision factors (such as

seatbelt violations) may still result in racial profiling.¹⁴

- In 2020, **Oakland, CA**, shifted some traffic enforcement responsibilities – like towing of abandoned vehicles and crossing guards – from the Oakland Police Department (OPD) to the comparatively new Oakland Department of Transportation (OakDOT). Parking enforcement, which was formerly under OPD, has been managed under OakDOT since the department's inception in 2017.¹⁵

3. Findings and Themes

This section describes key interview findings, organized into seven themes:

- Definition of traffic safety
- Community engagement
- Legal and legislative challenges
- Limits of training
- Department reorganization
- Impact on crime and traffic fatalities
- Data tracking and monitoring

See Appendix K for a summary of findings from each interview.

a. Expanding the Definition of Traffic Safety

Interviewees emphasized the importance of a more holistic definition of traffic safety that includes the infrastructure components of programs like Vision Zero and broadens the concept. This expanded definition would encapsulate a road user's physical safety during traffic stops and account for mental health stressors associated with discrimination and traffic violence.

While interviewees generally referenced Vision Zero programs, UNC researchers pointed out several shortcomings in the current Vision Zero framework. For example, Vision Zero does not consider use of force by law enforcement in its definition of traffic safety, nor does it account for other harms such as mental trauma, distrust, or cumulative burdens related to racial profiling in traffic stops. Further, it does not consider fines, impounding cars, Automated License Plate Readers, or the overall policing of poverty. One interviewee noted that data from the Violent Death Reporting System indicates that many police-involved deaths occur after a traffic stop; however, these fatalities are not accounted for in the Vision Zero framework. While they consider zero crashes to be an important goal, interviewees stressed that this metric should not be the only marker of a safe traffic system.

Interviewees from OakDOT and UNC added that traffic safety must also incorporate a more holistic understanding of the impact of traffic violence. This means accounting for the stress that drivers, pedestrians, and community members experience related to speeding; it should encompass the risks to children biking or playing in neighborhood streets, as well as stress related to racial discrimination and an individual's fear of being stopped by police.

Interviewees from the City of Berkeley and UNC also emphasized the need to think about traffic enforcement from a safety paradigm – that is, the goal of traffic enforcement should be to keep people safe, rather than to catch violators. Traffic stops should focus on moving violations (e.g., speeding or running red lights) rather than violations that do not impact public safety (e.g., expired registration tags). A UNC interviewee noted that stops for expired

registration tags often function as informal criminal investigations and that police may use them as opportunities to search a car for contraband. Interviewees emphasized that shifting focus from enforcement to prevention, through safe infrastructure and social programs, is an important component of traffic safety.

b. Responding to Community and Building Trust

Based on several examples from North Carolina, the interviewee from UNC noted that the effectiveness of reforms within police departments depends on the reform's impetus. In Fayetteville, road safety outcomes and community sentiment improved when the police chief directed officers to deemphasize enforcement of offenses like broken taillights and expired tags, and instead focus on violations like speeding and drunk driving at major intersections.¹⁶ For successful reform, interviewees noted that strong internal and external leadership should be combined with institutionalization (e.g., through formal policy changes or directives that go beyond a police chief, mayoral, or council tenure) and community collaboration.

Interviewees reported that some cities in North Carolina created Citizen/Police Advisory Committees (CPACs), or advisory boards made up of police officers and appointed members of the public, to make recommendations to improve police policy and procedure. CPACs, though, are hindered by North Carolina state law which treats police records as personnel records – meaning that only direct supervisors – not outside regulatory bodies – can access police files to investigate complaints.¹⁷ Community activists, including Black Lives Matter organizers, have supported

changing this law, but efforts have been unsuccessful.

In Berkeley, the interviewee noted that reforms were largely driven by advocates like Walk Bike Berkeley. Some community advocates also expressed that the focus should be on abolition and not reform. The City's community engagement efforts focused on soliciting responses to a survey, which overwhelmingly supported reimagining traffic enforcement, but follow-up actions were hampered due to staff capacity shortages.

The Oakland interviewee shared that OakDOT focused on an equitable engagement approach, primarily reaching out to neighborhoods with legacies of disinvestment and residents with the greatest distrust of government. The department worked to create structured partnerships with these communities rather than imposing solutions on them. OakDOT continues to have ongoing conversations to hear frustrations and build trust with members of these focus communities.

c. Addressing Legal and Legislative Challenges

Interviewees raised legal and legislative challenges that jurisdictions faced; namely, whether non-peace officers can conduct traffic enforcement and the implications of state legislation related to automated enforcement.

The Berkeley interviewee explained that the City's attempts to create unarmed traffic enforcement teams was blocked by an interpretation of California state law governing enforcement. The interviewee noted that some interpretations of state code limit traffic enforcement to sworn police officers. There

is some debate on the interpretation of this code, but attempts to clarify or update the legislation have been difficult. Considering this uncertainty, City leaders are looking to advocate for policy change within the state legislature (See Section III.F for more discussion regarding this legal issue).

Interviewees also noted that legislative changes are needed to allow for automated enforcement, but that these require support from diverse groups. Interviewees shared that traffic enforcement cameras, such as California's former red-light program, are often unpopular. The state's now defunct program had significant design flaws that disproportionately burdened low-income and communities of color, including high fees and privacy issues related to personally identifiable information. However, if implementing agencies address privacy and equity concerns, camera systems can be effective tools for speed enforcement. In 2021, the California State Legislature proposed an automated camera-ticketing enforcement program.¹⁸ This bill had support from police unions, but lacked support from transportation advocacy groups, labor unions, and police reform advocates who expressed concerns around surveillance, fines, and fees. The bill ultimately died in assembly.

Further, the Oakland interviewee shared that the Oakland City Council wanted to participate as a pilot city in proposed state legislation for automated speed enforcement. The program would have allowed the city to implement speed cameras that would capture photos of only rear license plates of speeding cars, and not of windshields or drivers' faces. It would also administer fines with the opportunity

for drivers to reduce fines if unable to pay or perform community service in lieu of a fine.¹⁹

d. Limits of Training

Interviewees shared that training alone is an insufficient reform mechanism for addressing the disparities in traffic enforcement. This is borne out from the results of recent efforts; years of training reforms have not created the anticipated changes. UNC noted that some enforcement agencies have implemented racial equity training, but stated that such training was limited in their ability to substantively transform policy. They reported that these trainings largely fail to critically interrogate the history of traffic stops, instead focusing squarely on improving enforcement agencies' work within the existing context of police enforcement. That is, the training may introduce some basic equity concepts, including reviewing disparities in traffic stop data, but do not work to fundamentally shift enforcement.

e. Lessons Learned Related to Department Reorganization

As responsibilities between police departments and administrative branches of municipal government shift, coordination across departments and with employee unions is essential. The Oakland interviewee noted the importance of cross-departmental coordination, sharing that the receiving agency, the department of transportation, needed to coordinate with the police department to gain access to police department-controlled databases with information on a vehicle's status. Specifically, to tow abandoned vehicles, DOT employees needed access to police department data that lists whether that vehicle is stolen, abandoned, or serving as shelter. This interviewee

also noted that transitioning enforcement responsibilities involves administrative challenges. For example, city agencies should be prepared to address staffing realities, including the creation of new civil service classifications, how a new classification differentiates from current classifications, and determinations for how non-sworn personnel will be supervised. For comparison and to set a foundation, a list of non-sworn classes that perform enforcement activities is provided in Appendix S: "List of Civilian Enforcement Classes." Such classes include Park Ranger, Animal Control Officer, Senior Property Inspector, among others.

Union responses to reorganization of police departments and enforcement responsibilities were mixed across Fayetteville, Berkeley, and Oakland. Each interviewee identified police and labor unions as key stakeholders in the process to define how workers' roles would change, if at all. In Fayetteville, for example, the police union raised concerns about proposed changes to officers' enforcement responsibilities. In Oakland, on the other hand, reorganization of non-sworn employees did not trigger a response from the police union since changes did not impact sworn officers' responsibilities.

A key takeaway from interviewees was that bringing unions in early in the process can mitigate potential conflict and promote successful implementation. In Oakland, Service Employees International Union or SEIU (which represents civilian, non-sworn employees of OPD) was given the opportunity to surface concerns with OakDOT management – an intentional approach to facilitate a smooth transition and increase coordination. Other jurisdictions should

consider similar strategies to engage all affected unions to define how (or if) roles will change, surface key labor concerns, and work with union leadership to address issues.

f. Impacts on Crime, Collisions, and Traffic Violence

UNC reported that police departments believe that traffic stops reduce crime, but this is not necessarily supported by evidence or actively tracked or measured.

They shared that other social factors are more effective at lowering crime rates, including policies that help people meet their basic needs (e.g., housing and income support). However, police departments can be resistant to change and skeptical that these kinds of programs or other alternative enforcement approaches would work to reduce crime. UNC noted the example of Fayetteville, in which crime did not increase following the implementation of changes to their traffic stop program. This suggests that while police departments may believe certain traffic enforcement activities are deterring crime, they may not actually do so.²⁰

Relatedly, UNC interviewees stated that crash rates and fatalities in Fayetteville decreased after the city implemented reforms to police stops. (Annual average of crashes dropped from 5,298 to 5,160 and annual traffic fatalities decreased from 62.3 to 48.8.)²¹ They suggested that while changing police practices has reduced crashes in Fayetteville, other policy levers, including public health interventions, are also viable solutions worthy of policymakers' consideration.²² They gave the anecdotal example of a city that stopped offering or renewing liquor licenses for three years in a specific neighborhood, which translated to a reduction in crashes. Like their argument that social policies can

be more effective than police at reducing crime rates, they maintain that public health and other structural solutions, not just incremental reforms implemented within police departments, can effectively reduce crash rates and traffic-related fatalities.

Additionally, a UNC interviewee described how traffic stops are not worth their financial cost for the police department because the success rate for uncovering any serious crimes is very small: less than 1% of traffic stops in North Carolina result in the confiscation of contraband and few result in high-value arrests (such as arms or narcotics).²³ However, there is not currently any hard data calculating the percentage and cost to innocent people that traffic stops affect.

In Oakland, the interviewee described that engineering solutions and safer street design led to lower crash rates in the city. They described the Safe Oakland Streets (SOS) initiative, whose goal is to “prevent serious and fatal traffic crashes and eliminate crash inequities on Oakland’s streets,”²⁴ as a key effort to build partnership between OakDOT and OPD. SOS has encouraged police leadership to understand how OPD can work with OakDOT to address unsafe street conditions and corridors. Rather than rely on increased enforcement, police defer to OakDOT to solve street design problems and ultimately increase traffic safety.²⁵

g. Data Tracking and Monitoring

Also of note, the interviewee from Berkeley stated that the City needs better data to track changes in traffic stops and fatalities. Data collection may be an important consideration for jurisdictions designing and implementing changes to traffic enforcement.

4. Limitations

As noted earlier in this document, the consultant team conducted these interviews with constraints.

These included limited time to identify and contact potential participants and conduct interviews, limited budget for continued coordination and research based on findings, and limited contact information for recommended interviewees. Due to these limitations, the consultant team was only able to conduct three interviews. As the City considers the recommendations put forth in this report, agency staff should follow-up with

all contacts listed on the target interview list and reference the consultant team's interview protocol (See Appendix J) to receive more input from police departments, city officials, advocates, academics, and community members in locations where changes have been discussed and implemented.

Key Interview Takeaways

Adopt a comprehensive approach to traffic safety: Interviewees suggest traffic safety and Vision Zero frameworks should consider a holistic understanding of traffic violence to account for stress that community members experience related to racial discrimination and an individual's fear of being stopped by police.



Shift focus from enforcement to prevention: Interviewees emphasized that shifting focus from enforcement to prevention, through safe infrastructure and social programs, is an important component of traffic safety. Rather than rely on increased enforcement, police can defer to the department of transportation to solve street design problems and ultimately increase traffic safety.

Training has its limits: Interviewees shared that training alone is an insufficient reform mechanism for addressing the disparities in traffic enforcement since years of training reforms have not created the anticipated changes. These trainings fail to critically interrogate the history of traffic stops, instead focusing squarely on improving enforcement agencies' work within the existing context of police enforcement.

Bring employee unions into the conversation early: Bring unions into conversations about shifting staff responsibilities early in the process to mitigate potential conflict and promote successful implementation. Jurisdictions should consider strategies to engage all affected unions to define how (or if) roles will change, surface key labor concerns, and work with union leadership to address issues.

F. Legal Research and Interview Findings



City Council requested that this study include a review of relevant state and local laws, and interviews with legal experts, to assist the consultant team and the Task Force in developing recommendations.

The legal backdrop will inform the scope of recommendations that can be implemented with and without the need for changes in state or local law, and may assist the City and the public in implementing recommendations.

Note that legal consultants retained for this report are not providing formal legal representation and advice to the City, LADOT, or the Task Force. The Office of the City Attorney will be tasked with providing confidential legal assessment and advice during the implementation stage of Task Force recommendations. This report is a public document and cannot contain nuanced legal assessment or complete analysis of uncertain issues. However, this section aims to identify and explain outstanding issues and provide helpful guidance of basic legal parameters relevant to the Task Force’s consideration and the City’s eventual implementation.

1. Methodology

a. Review of Relevant State and Local Codes

The legal team reviewed the Los Angeles Municipal Code, the California Vehicle Code, the California Penal Code and other relevant traffic laws. This review included, but was not limited to, review and internal analysis of the following statutory provisions. References to specific code sections are included in the report’s footnotes.

i. Definition and Powers of “Peace Officers”

The legal team reviewed the California Penal Code to identify the state definition of “peace officers” and the scope of their authorities, including Penal Code sections 830–832.18. This includes review of provisions identifying certain public officials that do not qualify as peace officers, as well as provisions regarding the permissible scopes of their duties.

The legal team also reviewed the Penal Code for provisions on peace officer powers. For example, Penal Code section 830.3 lists several types of peace officers and the laws over which they have enforcement power, and Penal Code Section 836 describes the arrest authority of peace officers. In addition, we reviewed various sections that describe peace officers’ (and other types of officers’) power to issue citations. E.g., Penal Code section 978.5(a)(4) mentions “peace officer[s] or other person[s] authorized to issue citations” when describing the circumstances in which bench warrants of arrest may be issued against criminal defendants.

ii. Review of Traffic Enforcement Roles under California Vehicle and Penal Codes

The legal team reviewed the California Vehicle and Penal Codes in detail, regarding powers and limitations of local

government entities relating to traffic enforcement. As part of this review, we evaluated the Vehicle Code sections that mention peace officers only; those that mention additional types of enforcing officers; as well as the many provisions that do not reference any type of enforcing officer.

iii. Review of local laws related to enforcement of traffic laws.

The legal team reviewed the Los Angeles Municipal Code provisions related to enforcement of traffic and transportation laws, including current provisions regarding designation of “peace officers” and “public officers” inside and outside of the LAPD, who have varying enforcement responsibilities. See, e.g. designation of Taxicab Administrator and Senior Transportation Engineer as “public officers” with the authority to make arrests for misdemeanors and infractions related to “public transportation,” “parking control,” and some other violations (non-vehicle related, like obstructions to sidewalks/streets, storm drains/sewers, solicitation, excavating/dumping, etc.).²⁶ The legal team also reviewed Chapter VIII of the Los Angeles Municipal Code, which sets forth the City’s traffic laws. The enforcement sections of the chapter are primarily in Division A, “Obedience to Traffic Regulations” and Division O, “Penalties and Effect of Chapter.” The team also reviewed state and local laws related to collective bargaining.

b. Interviews

The legal team conducted interviews with several legal experts presenting a range of perspectives. Interviews focused on the following legal topics:

- State laws related to discretion of local government over approaches to traffic enforcement;
- State and local laws related to public sector collective bargaining, which may be implicated by certain recommendations; and
- Laws concerning the City’s authority to modify fines and fees assessed for minor traffic violations.

Based on these interviews, the consultant team focused their research and analysis on issues raised by the experts and identified additional legal experts to consult. This section summarizes the legal expert interviews, describes LADOT’s legal structure and authority, and shares the findings from the interviews and research as they relate to the recommendations in this report.²⁷

2. Legal Expert Interview Summaries

The consultant team conducted five interviews with attorneys with a range of experience and perspectives related to traffic enforcement alternatives. This section identifies these experts and provides an overview of interview topics.

In January 2023, the consultant team interviewed an attorney with extensive expertise representing local public entities in collective bargaining, labor law, and civil service rules in California. We discussed the potential collective bargaining and labor implications of shifting traffic enforcement. With advice from this interview, the consultant team reviewed the current memorandum of understanding between the City of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles Police Protective

League (“the MOU”), as described further in Section 5 below.

The consultant team also interviewed three attorneys from a nonprofit law firm, who had authored a memo about the potential state law implications of shifting traffic enforcement away from peace officers. They shared their thoughts on the current arguments on both sides of the issue. The consultant team consulted this memo and this interview when developing its findings on state law implications in Section 3 below.

In addition, the consultant team interviewed an attorney who had previously overseen prominent local government police reform and “reimagining” efforts, and who was familiar with statewide and national initiatives to civilianize certain police functions. In this interview, this attorney shared his understanding of the legal implications of some of the recommendations in this report, including shifting traffic enforcement duties and automated enforcement.

In February 2023, the consultant team interviewed two additional attorneys. One had been involved in state legislative efforts related to traffic management; and one had represented clients in litigation related to fines and fees in Los Angeles. These attorneys addressed several policy and legal aspects of enforcement of traffic laws and alternative approaches.

3. LADOT’s Legal Structure and Responsibilities

As noted earlier in this report, other cities in the U.S. have shifted at least some traffic enforcement from their police departments to their departments of transportation.

Although LADOT already has some traffic enforcement responsibilities, as described further below, this study examines the roles LADOT could play in the City’s efforts to civilianize traffic enforcement based on LADOT’s legal structure and authorities.

The City of Los Angeles established LADOT by ordinance in 1979.²⁸ LADOT is the City’s “focal point for the proper planning, coordination, direction, management and operation of the City’s various ground transportation and ground transportation related activities.”²⁹ LADOT’s overall purposes are to (1) plan transportation, traffic regulation, and related uses of the City’s streets and highways; (2) decide on the location, installation, and maintenance of traffic control devices; (3) plan, acquire, and manage City-owned off-street parking facilities; (4) regulate and administer certain railroad franchises; and (5) direct traffic and enforce parking restrictions and remove abandoned vehicles from highways.³⁰

LADOT is a City department under the control of the Mayor and City Council, with the City’s general manager serving as its Chief Administrative Officer.³¹ LADOT’s Transportation Commission is comprised of seven mayoral appointees (subject to Council’s approval) and it advises the general manager.³² The Commission also approves and proposes certain ordinances before the City Council adopts them.³³

With regard to enforcement of traffic laws, the Los Angeles Administrative Code differentiates the responsibilities of LADOT and LAPD as follows: LADOT “shall be responsible for vehicular and pedestrian traffic direction and parking restriction enforcement,” while LAPD “shall be responsible for planning, directing and controlling all matters concerning criminal

conduct and crowd control. Additionally, LAPD has overall responsibility for operational control at the scene of a special event or emergency situation.³⁴ Notably, this provision is silent on which department has responsibility over civil violations of traffic laws, such as infractions.

4. State Law Regarding Use of Police Officers for Traffic Enforcement

Some recommendations (i.e., Recommendation E in Section IV) in this report consider shifting traffic enforcement responsibility for minor violations away from armed police officers to other local employees.

However, the California Vehicle Code (Vehicle Code) envisions police officers (i.e., “peace officers,” generally employed within local police departments and defined below) as the enforcers of traffic laws in most circumstances. As discussed below, whether these provisions of the Vehicle Code prohibit local government from utilizing other types of employees to enforce traffic laws is an open question of law. There are plausible legal arguments that the Vehicle Code does not limit the City’s discretion in this area. More generally, any policy reform efforts involve some legal risk or uncertainty.

Therefore, there is at least some degree of risk that a court would prohibit utilizing employees other than police officers to enforce most traffic laws. The City has some options, each with varying degrees of risk. These options include:

- Enforcing traffic violations with employees who are not “peace officers” (i.e. “civilianizing” traffic enforcement);

- Employing “peace officers” outside of LAPD; or
- Establishing new units of police officers within LAPD, who enforce traffic laws but do not carry firearms.

We therefore encourage the City and the Office of the City Attorney to explore all options thoroughly, with an eye towards maximizing the City’s ability to set policy regarding City employment structures in this important area of public policy.

a. State Law on Peace Officers and their Authority

i. Definition of peace officer

State law defines “peace officers” to include officers of many different positions and roles.³⁵ They include sheriffs and police officers,³⁶ as well as other government officials and employees, ranging from certain employees of various state government agencies³⁷ to community college and school district police.³⁸ Anyone who qualifies as a peace officer must complete peace officer training (also known as “POST training”).

Peace officers have the authority to issue citations,³⁹ serve warrants,⁴⁰ and make arrests.⁴¹ State law does not require them to carry firearms; rather, a peace officer’s employing agency can decide whether and to what extent the officer can do so.⁴²

ii. Peace officers’ roles under the California Vehicle Code (Vehicle Code)

Many expert attorneys believe that the Vehicle Code prohibits local government entities from using any employees other than peace officers to enforce traffic laws, except in narrowly described circumstances. This legal argument is based

on (i) the many references in the Vehicle Code to enforcement by peace officers; (ii) some provisions that explicitly indicate the enforcement ability for employees other than peace officers; and (iii) a general provision indicating that some aspects of the Vehicle Code override conflicting provisions of local law. At least one expert we interviewed stated that, in a Northern California city considering alternative traffic enforcement approaches, a confidential city attorney opinion raised this argument, leading to abandonment of the city's effort to civilianize enforcement.

There are plausible counterarguments to the above position, and in our view this should be treated as an open question of law. The Vehicle Code does not explicitly say that peace officers must be the only enforcers of traffic violations. No state law explicitly limits traffic enforcement to peace officers, and no court decision has found an implicit limitation. The Vehicle Code does prohibit cities from adopting ordinances "that establish regulations or procedures for" Vehicle Code violations "unless expressly authorized by this code,"⁴³ but whether this provision encompasses the choice of which local employees enforce the Vehicle Code is unresolved.

In addition, there are strong "home rule" arguments in favor of local discretion here. Generally, the Vehicle Code seeks to establish a uniform set of regulations, procedures, and penalties for traffic violations.⁴⁴ The California Constitution's "home rule" doctrine allows charter cities, like the City of Los Angeles, "to govern themselves, free of state legislative intrusion, as to the matters deemed municipal affairs."⁴⁵ The California Constitution lists some

examples of municipal affairs, including "the constitution, regulation, and government of the city police force" as well as "the terms for which" municipal employees are hired.⁴⁶ These provisions support an argument that the Vehicle Code should not be interpreted to limit discretion over using local employees.

In addition, the Vehicle Code contains inconsistent provisions on this point. Some Vehicle Code provisions mention peace officers or other types of employees as the primary enforcers of those respective provisions, but others are silent on who enforces the provisions in question.⁴⁷ As such, a local ordinance shifting traffic enforcement authority would not necessarily conflict with state law because one could argue that it is simply authorizing an additional type of employee to carry out state law, and in an area in which the California Constitution has emphasized the strength of home rule authority.

Nonetheless, there is a reasonable argument that the state legislature, through the Vehicle Code, has preempted any local discretion to enforce traffic laws through employees who are not peace officers. The Vehicle Code's repeated references to peace officers and the carefully delineated exceptions support this argument. However, strength of this claim would depend both on the statutory interpretation question, and on the argument that this is a matter of statewide interest, sufficient to overrule the home rule authority of charter cities.

b. Options to Shift Traffic Enforcement Authority Away from Police Officers

i. Utilize local employees who are not “peace officers” – for traffic enforcement generally, or for enforcement of “infractions”

As noted, the City may consider full “civilianization” of traffic enforcement – i.e., utilizing workers who do not constitute “peace officers” under state law. As noted above, whether the City has discretion to do this broadly under the Vehicle Code is an open question of state law. This course would therefore involve at least some degree of legal risk for the City. The Office of the City Attorney can assess the degree of this risk confidentially for consideration by the City’s decisionmakers.

The argument for legal viability of civilianization is strongest if it focuses on low-level traffic violations, or infractions. State law gives police officers and sheriffs the authority to enforce “public offenses,”⁴⁸ but most Vehicle Code violations are “infractions,” rather than “public offenses,” unless otherwise stated.⁴⁹ Thus, the City may have greater discretion to utilize employees who are not peace officers to have enforcement authority over infractions, than it does for traffic enforcement as a whole.

LADOT has already designated “traffic officers” as civilian employees who direct traffic and enforce parking restrictions.⁵⁰ They are not peace officers, but they have the authority to issue parking citations and to “perform other related duties” as LADOT may require.⁵¹ They may also arrest individuals without a warrant for a limited but varying list of civil violations related to taxis and ride-shares and other violations related to streets and sidewalks

such as causing obstructions or dumping of prohibited substances.⁵² They do not currently have authority to enforce local or state traffic laws outside of the parking context and the other listed civil violations.

ii. Employ “peace officers” outside of LAPD

Another option is to utilize employees outside of LAPD, but with peace officer status to enforce traffic violations.

However, only the employees listed in the penal code as peace officers can have peace officer status. One of those roles is a “transit peace officer” whose primary duty is to enforce laws at properties owned or administered by their employing agency.⁵³ This type of officer could focus on enforcing traffic violations on City’s streets and highways, which are “administered” by LADOT. As such, LADOT could employ and utilize these officers instead of officers employed by the LAPD for this limited role. We have not identified any legal issues that threaten the viability of this approach.

iii. Establish a New Unit of LAPD Officers – Possibly Unarmed

Third, LAPD could establish a new unit of police officers that enforces traffic laws but does not carry firearms. State law does not require any police officers to carry firearms, but rather permits local agencies to decide if and to what extent they will allow their officers to carry firearms.⁵⁴ For example, some local agencies have unarmed “reserve officers” within their police departments and they “carry out limited support duties” for addressing traffic law violations “that are not likely to result in physical arrests.”⁵⁵

We have not identified any legal issues that threaten the viability of this approach, but public sector collective bargaining requirements may be implicated during implementation. As described below, any restructuring of an existing department, even adding a new unit, may require “effects bargaining” with current employees, pertaining to effects of the proposed change on their scheduling, supervision, and other aspects of employment. However, this type of transition is a “fundamental managerial decision” that is always within the discretion of the public employer.

5. Public Sector Collective Bargaining

Legal experts and legal research indicated that lengthy, contested collective bargaining procedures often delay or sideline efforts to revise or reform law enforcement practices.

This issue has affected police reform efforts to the degree that multiple national advocacy organizations have established dedicated public websites and databases to track the effects of police union contracts on reform or defund efforts,⁵⁶ and there are numerous law review articles and policy analyses on the issue.⁵⁷

Like every public entity in California, the City of Los Angeles, including both its Department of Transportation and its Police Department, is subject to state law regarding collective bargaining negotiations with employees.⁵⁸ Public sector labor agreements cover terms beyond compensation, and affect numerous aspects of employee duties, work rules, scope of responsibility, and so forth. State law imposes responsibilities on the City of Los

Angeles with regard to actions it takes as an employer within the scope of representation. This is defined as any action that may “have a significant adverse impact on wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment.”⁵⁹

Labor negotiations are relevant to almost any effort to revise policing practices in California. Almost any change that a public employer makes that affects employees, even tangentially, may be subject to collective bargaining duties. Even fundamental managerial decisions that are explicitly exempted from collective bargaining may be subject to what is known as “effects bargaining”: negotiation over the effects that a major decision may have on employees. For example, while the decision to lay off workers and reduce the number of sworn officers in a department is a fundamental managerial decision and therefore not subject to bargaining, the seniority rules for order of layoffs and the nature of revised duties of remaining officers would be subject to “effects bargaining.” For these reasons, implementation of many of the report’s recommendations would require the City to engage in some degree of collective bargaining.

Even in the unlikely situation where a proposed change would conflict with terms of an existing labor agreement, the City could initiate the meet-and-confer process during the term of the existing agreement and implement it after that process and the expiration of the agreement. Within the parameters of state law, City officials ultimately have discretion over City programs.

The consultant team reviewed the current labor agreement covering City of Los Angeles

police officers that have a rank of lieutenant or below. Few, if any, provisions in this agreement seem to conflict with recommendations put forward in this report. Regardless, the agreement expires in 2024, and any needed revisions can be made during that process. Revisions to duties of employees of another City department would be addressed in the MOU process for the proper bargaining sector for that department. A complete assessment of the precise scope of collective bargaining and meet-and-confer obligations is outside the scope of this report; it is complex and within the scope of authority of the Office of the City Attorney. Report recommendations that the City chooses to implement will be subject to standard legal review processes, with City decisionmakers assessing their degree of risk tolerance, while fulfilling their collective bargaining requirements under state law. We wish to emphasize that collective bargaining is valid and an important part of public policymaking, but need not function as a barrier to policy reforms or restructuring of employment arrangements desired by the City.

6. City's Authority to Reduce Fines for Various Traffic Violations

Some recommendations in this report include consideration of reducing fines, or creating progressive or means-based fine structures, for various low-level traffic violations.

The Vehicle Code sets forth the following maximum limits on fines for traffic infractions, unless otherwise stated in the Code⁶⁰:

- \$100 for the first infraction;
- \$200 for the second infraction occurring within one year of a prior infraction conviction; and

- \$250 for the third or subsequent infraction occurring within one year of at least two prior infraction convictions.⁶¹

The Vehicle Code also sets minimum dollar amounts for a few violations⁶² and sets the exact dollar amount for a small number of other violations.⁶³ The Vehicle Code requires local jurisdictions to comply with these limitations.⁶⁴

Within these parameters, local jurisdictions have discretion over the amount of fines and can set fines to amounts below the maximums for most infractions. As such, the City may lower fines and/or create a progressive or means-based fine structure as long as the new fine amounts comply with the limitations set forth in the Vehicle Code.

7. State Law Regarding Automated Traffic Enforcement

Some recommendations in this report concern automation of traffic enforcement.

State law permits automated systems at traffic light intersections, commonly known as “red light cameras,”⁶⁵ however it prohibits the use of automated systems to enforce speeding violations.⁶⁶ As such, the City could only use automated enforcement for red light violations, but not for speeding, unless there is a change in state law.

Chapter 3 Endnotes

- 1 The City of Philadelphia Code §12-1702 defines “primary” violations as any violation within the Pennsylvania Vehicle Code that is not defined as a “secondary” violation. “Secondary” violations, defined within the City of Philadelphia Code §12-1702, reference specific provisions of the Pennsylvania Vehicle Code, including Title 75 Pa. C.S. § 1301, Registration of Vehicles; § 1310.1(c), Temporary Registration Permits; § 1332(a), Display of Registration Plate; § 4302, Periods For Requiring Lighted Lamps; § 4524(c), Other Obstruction; § 4536, Bumpers; § 4703, Operation of Vehicle Without Official Certificate of Inspection; and, § 4706(c) (5), Unlawful Operation Without Evidence of Emission Inspection. https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/philadelphia/latest/philadelphia_pa/0-0-0-285759
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- 3 Roach, K., Baumgartner, F. R., Christiani, L., Epp, D. A., & Shoub, K. (2022). At the intersection: Race, gender, and discretion in police traffic stop outcomes. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 7(2), 239–261. <https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2020.35>
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- 5 Knowles, J., Persico, N., & Todd, P. (2001). Racial Bias in Motor Vehicle Searches: Theory and Evidence. *Journal of Political Economy*, 109(1), 203–229. <https://doi.org/10.1086/318603>
- 6 For reference, there are approximately 1324 census tracts in the City of Los Angeles.
- 7 These are distinct vehicle code violations for similar violations.
- 8 Los Angeles Police Department (2022). “Policy – Limitation on Use of Pretextual Stops – Established.” Office of the Chief of Police. Retrieved from: https://lapdonlinestrgeacc.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/lapdonlinemedia/2022/03/3_9_22_SO_No._3_Policy_Limitation_on_Use_of_Pretextual_Stops_Established.pdf
- 9 These are distinct (but related) vehicle code violations 23123.5 VC NO HND HLD DEVICE W/DRIVE and 23123(A) VC USE CELLPH W/DRIV W/O HFD
- 10 Multiple results could happen during a stop, so the total number of results is more than the total number of stops for speeding and the total percent equals more than 100.
- 11 Stops were normalized using the City of Los Angeles census tract populations from the most recent American Community Survey 5-year data (2017-2021). Census tract population was proportionally allocated by area to the neighborhood and police reporting district boundaries. For the number of stops per 100,000 population, we took the number of stops within police reporting districts or neighborhoods, divided by the population of that census tract or neighborhood, and multiplied this total by 100,000.
- 12 Fliss, M.D. et al. (2020). Re-Prioritizing Traffic Stops to Reduce Motor Vehicle Crash Outcomes and Racial Disparities. *Injury Epidemiology*. Retrieved on April 4, 2023 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338692139_Re-prioritizing_traffic_stops_to_reduce_motor_vehicle_crash_outcomes_and_racial_disparities
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- 19 Cano, R. (2022). Bay Area Cities Want to Use Cameras to Reduce Excessive Speeding. A New Bill Would Allow It. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved on April 4, 2023 from <https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/Bay-Area-cities-want-to-use-cameras-to-enforce-16975885.php>
- 20 Fliss, M.D. et al. (2020). Re-Prioritizing Traffic Stops to Reduce Motor Vehicle Crash Outcomes and Racial Disparities. *Injury Epidemiology*. Retrieved on April 4, 2023 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338692139_Re-prioritizing_traffic_stops_to_reduce_motor_vehicle_crash_outcomes_and_racial_disparities
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- 22 Fliss, M.D. et al. (2020). Re-Prioritizing Traffic Stops to Reduce Motor Vehicle Crash Outcomes and Racial Disparities. *Injury Epidemiology*. Retrieved on April 4, 2023 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338692139_Re-prioritizing_traffic_stops_to_reduce_motor_vehicle_crash_outcomes_and_racial_disparities
- 23 McCann, S. (2023). Low-Level Traffic Stops are Ineffective—And Sometimes Deadly. Why Are They Still Happening? Retrieved on April 4, 2023 from <https://www.vera.org/news/low-level-traffic-stops-are-ineffective-and-sometimes-deadly-why-are-they-still-happening>
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- 25 Russo, R. (2021). Informational Report on Safe Oakland Streets Initiative. Retrieved on April 4, 2023 from https://cao-94612.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/View-Report-2_2021-03-23-000616.pdf
- 26 Los Angeles Municipal Code (hereafter “LA Municipal Code”) § 71.07.1(a).

Chapter 3 Endnotes (continued)

- 27 Note that legal consultants retained for this report are not providing formal legal representation and advice to the City, LADOT, or the Task Force. The Office of the City Attorney will be tasked with providing confidential legal assessment and advice during the implementation stage of Task Force recommendations. This report is a public document and cannot contain nuanced legal assessment or complete analysis of uncertain issues. However, we hope to identify and explain outstanding issues and provide helpful guidance of basic legal parameters relevant to the Task Force's consideration and the City's eventual implementation.
- 28 Los Angeles Administrative Code (hereafter "LAAdmin Code") § 22.480.
- 29 *Id.* at § 22.481.
- 30 *Id.*
- 31 See *id.* (Ch. 20 of Division 22. Departments, Bureaus and Agencies Under the Control of the Mayor and City Council); *id.* at § 22.482.
- 32 *Id.* at § 22.484(a), (b), (c), (g)(1).
- 33 *Id.* at (g)(2)A.
- 34 *Id.* at § 22.486(b).
- 35 Penal Code §§ 830-832.18.
- 36 *Id.* at § 830.1.
- 37 *Id.* at § 830.3 (listing certain employees of the Department of Consumer Affairs, Department of Motor Vehicles, Department of Financial Protection, and more).
- 38 *Id.* at § 830.32.
- 39 See *id.* at §§ 818, 831.4(b), 978.5(a)(4).
- 40 *Id.* at § 816.
- 41 *Id.* at § 836.
- 42 See e.g., *id.* at §§ 830.33(c), 830.3(c)-(k), 830.38.
- 43 Vehicle Code § 21(a).
- 44 *Id.* at § 21(a).
- 45 *City of Huntington Beach v. Becerra*, 257 Cal.Rptr.3d 458, 465 (Cal. Ct. App. 2020).
- 46 Cal. Constitution, Art XI, §5(b).
- 47 Some Vehicle Code sections that mention peace officers as the enforcers include sections 14607.6(c)(1) and 24004. Others that are silent on the enforcer include Division 12, Chapter 2 of the Vehicle Code on vehicle lighting equipment. In addition, some provisions (such as Division 17 on "Offenses and Prosecution") mention other persons, in addition to peace officers, who might enforce some of Vehicle Code violations.
- 48 Penal Code § 830.1.
- 49 Vehicle Code §§ 40000.1, .3.
- 50 L.A. Municipal Code § 80.00(g); see [LADOT Parking Enforcement](#) webpage.
- 51 Vehicle Code § 830.7(g) ("Persons regularly employed as investigators by the Department of Transportation for the City of Los Angeles and designated by local ordinance as public officers, to the extent necessary to enforce laws related to public transportation, and authorized by a memorandum of understanding with the chief of police, permitting the exercise of that authority... Transportation investigators authorized by this section shall not be deemed "peace officers"...."); L.A. Municipal Code § 80.06.
- 52 L.A. Municipal Code § 80.01.1.
- 53 Penal Code § 830.33(c).
- 54 See e.g., *id.* at §§ 830.33(c), 830.3(c)-(k), 830.38.
- 55 *Id.* at § 832.6(a)(3); [Reserve Peace Officer Program](#), California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, at FAQ no. 16 (allowing local agencies to decide whether their reserve officers can carry firearms and noting that some have decided that they cannot).
- 56 See, e.g., [NAACP Legal Defense Fund Toolkit](#), August 2020 ([summary](#)); [Police Union Contracts & Police Bill of Rights Analysis](#), Campaign Zero, 2016 ([summary](#)).
- 57 See, e.g., Stephen Rushin, *Police Union Contracts*, [66 Duke L.J. 1191](#) (2017) ([summary](#)); *Police Reformers' Next Step: a Hard Look at Union Contracts*, [Governing Magazine & Manhattan Institute](#) (2021).
- 58 See Meyers-Milias-Brown Act ("MMBA") (Gov. Code § 3500 et seq.).
- 59 MMBA, Gov. Code § 3504.
- 60 Penal Code § 19.6 (defining infraction as "not punishable by imprisonment"); Vehicle Code § 40000.1 (noting that most violations of the Vehicle Code are infractions, unless otherwise stated).
- 61 Vehicle Code § 42001(a).
- 62 *Id.* at §§ 42001.5 (setting the minimum fine for violating sections on bus passenger loading areas or handicap space/sidewalk access areas at \$250), 42001.8 (limiting the fine for driving an unregistered vehicle to not less than \$50 but not more than \$250).
- 63 *Id.* at § 42001.15 (setting the fine for violating sections related to red lights, lane use control signals, and flashing red traffic signals at \$100).
- 64 Vehicle Code §§ 21100(o)(1), 42000 et seq.
- 65 Vehicle Code § 21455.5(a).
- 66 *Id.* at § 40801.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Overview

The consultant team and the Task Force co-developed the following recommendations based on the consultant team’s research findings (See Section III). To allow for robust discussion with the Task Force, while also complying with Brown Act requirements, the consultant team worked with the Task Force to develop recommendations through the following phases:



1. Preliminary Recommendations Brainstorm and Confirmation of Evaluation Criteria

During the January 26, 2023 Task Force meeting, members participated in an initial brainstorm of recommendations for the study.

The Task Force also discussed a proposed set of criteria for prioritizing the report’s recommendations. The Research Subcommittee, in consultation with the consultant team, developed this proposed set of criteria prior to the meeting. Ultimately, the group refined and approved the following criteria (See Appendix M for more detailed criteria descriptions): (1) Impact, (2) Fit/Feasibility, (3) Movement Alignment, and (4) Racial Equity.

2. Task Force Working Sessions

To allow for more robust discussion, each member participated in one of three, below-quorum Task Force working sessions, which took place in early February 2023.

During these meetings, the consultant team presented preliminary research findings and

report recommendations, and the Task Force provided feedback. Task Force members then had time to review the initial recommendations generated on January 26, 2023 and the consultant team recommendations to identify any gaps (See Appendix N for the full set of Task Force recommendations from these sessions). Each group prioritized their own list of recommendations during these sessions.

3. Recommendations Criteria Survey

Following the working sessions, members individually responded to a survey to consider proposed recommendations from each working session through the group’s agreed upon prioritization criteria.

Findings from this survey helped the consultant team determine which recommendations adhere to the evaluation criteria agreed-upon by the Task Force. The group discussed the findings during the February 16, 2023 meeting.

4. Recommendations Discussion

During the February 16, 2023 Task Force meeting, the consultant team shared updated study findings and recommendations with members (See Appendix O for initial and revised consultant team recommendations).

These updated recommendations reflected Task Force member feedback from the working sessions. Members then discussed the alignment of each updated recommendation with the agreed-upon criteria. The group concluded the meeting by asking the Research Subcommittee to continue refining the set of recommendations with the consultant team.

5. Research Subcommittee Recommendations Meeting

Following the charge set during the February 16, 2023 meeting, the Research Subcommittee met to further discuss the recommendations.

Given limited time, members also completed a follow-up survey to help the consultant team finalize the set of recommendations.

6. Draft Recommendations Presentation

During the April 2023 Task Force meeting, the consultant team presented the draft recommendations to the Task Force for final review and comments.

7. Confirming Final Recommendations

During the final meeting on September 21, 2023, the consultant team presented the final recommendations for the Task Force's consideration.

Members considered the final text, deliberated changes to recommendations language, and confirmed the final text.

Please note that the presentation of the recommendations is not meant to imply priority. The task force understands that City Council and implementing agencies would necessarily be tasked with assessing feasibility and prioritizing resources.

B. Recommendations

Guiding Principle: Provide more opportunities for broad, authentic, and robust community engagement to ensure that there is community buy-in for this report’s recommendations.



This report calls for the City to ground-truth this study’s findings by engaging with local communities, especially those most impacted by policing (See Appendix P for more detailed suggestions on future outreach).

As City Council and implementing agencies consider effectuating these recommendations, it is imperative that the City of Los Angeles considers the varied needs of our diverse communities. While these recommendations provide a framework to effectuate next steps, the City will be charged with adapting policies, programs, and interventions to address community-identified needs.

Robust, authentic, and meaningful community engagement should be a guiding principle that undergirds each of the following recommendations; this engagement should be ongoing and inform planning, implementation, and evaluation efforts. To ensure that there is broad community support for this study’s recommendations, there should be an

emphasis on engagement with the general public, such as through public surveys. The City should also work with community-based organizations who have organized around these issues to engage their constituents. The City can further continue to host small-group listening sessions and focus groups to collect targeted input and feedback. Finally, the City should ensure that there is a place at the table for LAPD and law enforcement to share their perspectives.

In addition, the City of Los Angeles Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force should continue to meet to direct the implementation of this study’s recommendations.

For all of this outreach, there should be a focus on engaging communities most impacted by policing, specifically low-income communities of color. The City and its consultants should also utilize best practices for community engagement.

Recommendation

Increase and prioritize self-enforcing infrastructure investments (without increasing surveillance) in high-injury network corridors, low-income communities, and communities of color.



This recommendation calls for increased investment in “self-enforcing infrastructure,” which refers to road features that naturally slow traffic and discourage drivers from breaking traffic rules. These improvements increase safety and reduce the need for active enforcement (See Appendix E for a Task Force-led literature review on this topic). Self-enforcing infrastructure, similar to programs such as Vision Zero or “complete streets,” may include narrower streets, protected bicycle lanes, or leading pedestrian intervals.¹ However, this recommendation goes beyond Vision Zero by emphasizing that these infrastructure investments should not result in increased surveillance or biased enforcement to produce intended safety outcomes.

Though LADOT’s Vision Zero program is a potential fit for these investments, City Council should consider several critical improvements to ensure that the funds expeditiously reach the communities most affected by policing and traffic violence. The City might consider adapting the existing Vision Zero program to incorporate a “safer road system” approach as it relates to law enforcement. For example, the City may consider forming “cross-disciplinary teams

to investigate every serious crash.”² These teams will document trends and develop infrastructural and/or policy interventions to address safety issues. In addition, LADOT should reassess its methodology for allocating Vision Zero investments to systematically prioritize high-need communities throughout Los Angeles. Faced with rising traffic deaths, the City Council authorized an audit of the Vision Zero program in 2022. Council should consider implementing evidence-based, safety-enhancing recommendations that arise from the audit.³ Likewise, Council may also consider refining the City’s existing Vision Zero framework by adopting a Capital Infrastructure Plan that encompasses the mobility plan and prioritizes projects that advance racial equity.⁴

Recommendation

Expand on LAPD's 2022 pretextual stop policy to eliminate enforcement of non-moving and equipment-related traffic violations by police; remove police enforcement of moving violations that do not demonstrably increase safety based on evidence-based best practices.



LAPD's 2022 Pretextual Stop Policy limits traffic enforcement to violations that have a nexus to public safety. Ultimately, the goal of this recommendation is to limit interactions between police and motorists. We recommend eliminating enforcement of all non-moving and equipment-related traffic violations by police, as well as moving violations that do not demonstrably increase safety. This recommendation expands on LAPD's March 2022 policy change, which limits pretextual stops. This LAPD policy still allows for stops for these violations, but only in cases when the "officer believes that such a violation or infraction significantly interferes with public safety."⁵ Therefore, this recommendation would remove officer discretion by eliminating this type of enforcement from the department's responsibilities. Further, this recommendation seems to align with the spirit of a recent LAPD police union statement that expresses a preference for officers to "focus on violent crime."⁶ While the Los Angeles Police Protective League noted that "it intends to retain traffic enforcement assignments overall," they also signaled a willingness to have other

agencies respond to "non-injury traffic accidents."⁷

This recommendation mirrors the City Council actions taken in Philadelphia, PA in March 2022. However, the recommendation expands on the Philadelphia case study by calling for an end to enforcement of all equipment and non-moving violations, rather than for a list of specific violations. In Philadelphia (see Section III.A), the City Council distinguished between "primary" traffic violations (e.g., reckless driving) and "secondary" violations (e.g., recently expired vehicle registrations, improperly displaying registration permits, unfastened registration plates, a single broken brake or headlight, rearview mirror obstructions, minor bumper damage, unlawful operation without an emission inspection).⁸ Philadelphia's City Council barred police from making traffic stops for secondary violations. This recommendation expands on the Philadelphia example by calling for an end to enforcement of moving violations that do not improve traffic safety.

Recommendation

Consider alternative fine and fee models (e.g., means-based) that advance traffic safety objectives and do not perpetuate enforcement disparities.



This recommendation aims to ensure that enforcement promotes traffic safety objectives and does not reinforce disproportionate burdens for low-income communities and communities of color. Alternatives to traffic fines can help shift enforcement away from punitive fines and toward prevention. Examples of alternative models include means-based fine structures, vouchers to address equipment issues, and vehicle repair events to support safety-related auto improvements (See Appendix I for related focus group findings).

Safety issues that present themselves in traffic enforcement (e.g., broken tail-lights) are often reflective of broader societal issues, such as income inequality, and

systemic disinvestment in low-income communities of color. Therefore, Council should consider fine alternatives that support broader traffic safety goals, while also working in parallel with other efforts to support residents with meeting their basic needs. Where possible, Council may consider a system where local fines for safety-related infractions are tied to incomes, a practice that is used in other jurisdictions globally.⁹ Council may consider rethinking how fees are applied and identify options to reduce the overall cost of traffic tickets. In addition to fines, burdensome fees can disproportionately affect low-income communities.¹⁰

Recommendation

Identify local obstacles that limit officer accountability and reduce the ability of the Chief of Police to discipline officers for misconduct (e.g., excessive use of force, racial profiling, and other violations); identify strategies to overcome these obstacles.



This recommendation emphasizes the importance of enforcing penalties for officer misconduct and the removal of local obstacles that limit officer accountability and discipline. It is in response to observations surfaced during focus groups. Participants noted that police interactions inherently have power imbalances, with “officers having all the power in these interactions” (see Section III.D.3.a). That feeling of powerlessness can be exacerbated when officers found to have committed misconduct are not held to account.

Clear, transparent, and civilian-controlled accountability mechanisms for police officers has the potential to shift power to residents. It can also instill confidence that the people tasked with enforcement are consistently disciplined when they are found to violate policies, procedures, or the law.¹¹ However, civilian-controlled boards must be independent, representative, transparent, and adequately resourced to be effective.¹² The Chief of Police and some City Council Members have recently called for a re-assessment of the Board of Rights.¹³

City Council may consider implementing reforms to the civilian board that align with best practices, including the following: (1) barring past or present police employees from staffing civilian boards; (2) adequately funding civilian boards so they can “perform the full range of oversight necessary” and to ensure that members have the requisite background and expertise; and (3) giving civilian boards “necessary investigatory powers, such as subpoena power.”¹⁴

Recommendation

Use unarmed civilians, who are focused exclusively on road safety, to enforce safety-related traffic violations (e.g., speeding). Create care-based teams responsible for responding to traffic-related calls for service.



The main goal of this recommendation is to transfer traffic enforcement responsibilities to unarmed teams as a means of eliminating lethal and less-lethal weapons from traffic enforcement. This recommendation is informed by the quantitative analysis of LAPD data showing that when force is employed during a traffic stop, it is disproportionately used against Black road users (see Section III.B.3). Removing lethal and less-lethal weapons from safety-related enforcement may reduce the risk that use of force incidents result in death or serious injury. Unarmed civilian teams would also have the option of calling LAPD for backup when necessary. The proposed recommendation builds on efforts in several cities reviewed for this study— (1) Berkeley, California; (2) Oakland, California; and (3) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—that are working to transfer specific traffic enforcement responsibilities to unarmed civilians (See Section III.A and Section III.E).

This recommendation also calls for unarmed teams of care-centered, behavioral health specialists to respond to traffic-related calls for service when a clear behavioral health issue is present. These

social service- and mental health-oriented teams are intended to help address the underlying behavioral health issues that can escalate traffic stops. City Council may consider some existing local models to structure this program, including Metro’s Transit Ambassador program¹⁵ and the Therapeutic Transportation program,¹⁶ which is a collaboration between the City and County. These care-centered teams would live outside of LAPD, but they may work in coordination with law enforcement where needed. Likewise, these teams should operate in a manner that acknowledges that many of the conflicts arising within communities “are not only examples of interpersonal trauma but also the trauma of racism.”¹⁷ Their interventions should incorporate approaches that acknowledge “intergenerational trauma, racist-incident-based trauma, and complex trauma.”¹⁸ Council may consider housing this team in the newly established Office of Community Safety.¹⁹

C. Potential Pilots



Based on the recommendations highlighted above, the quantitative findings, qualitative analysis, expert interviews, and legal analysis, this report recommends the following pilot initiatives for City Council's consideration.

Please note that this study cannot conclusively claim that potential pilots will have the desired public safety outcomes of reducing disparities, increasing traffic safety, and building community trust. Many of the pilots, policies, and recommendations that inform the recommendations have not been independently evaluated for efficacy, and most have been implemented in contexts with substantially different legal, political, and policy frameworks. That said, these pilots have shown some promise and may be applicable in Los Angeles' context.

1. Self-Enforcing Infrastructure

Re-prioritize Investments and Complete Quick Builds in High Need Areas:

City Council may consider piloting a system that fast-tracks safety improvements in high-injury network corridors. These quick-build improvements should prioritize infrastructure investments in low-income communities of color with demonstrated need.

Launch Interdisciplinary Crash

Investigation Teams: City Council may consider piloting deployment of cross-disciplinary teams (e.g., law enforcement, LADOT, StreetsLA, Bureau of Engineering, etc.) to investigate serious crashes.

2. Alternative Fine and Fee Models

Reduced Fines and Fees: City Council may consider piloting a reduced fee and fine structure for individuals with limited means.

Community Partnerships to Address

Equipment Repairs: City Council may consider pilots that partner with community-based organizations to offer vouchers so that drivers can address equipment violations and free or low-cost vehicle repair events.

3. Unarmed Civilian Enforcement & Care-Based Teams

Transferring Safety-Related Functions to Unarmed Civilians:

City Council may consider piloting a transfer of safety-related traffic enforcement duties to an unarmed civilian department. This pilot would need to account for the legal and legislative considerations articulated in earlier sections of this study.

Establishing Care-Based Teams:

City Council may consider piloting care-based teams in the context of traffic enforcement. These teams may incorporate facets of the Metro's Transit Ambassador and/or the Therapeutic Transportation program.

Endnotes

- 1 LivableStreets Alliance. (2022). Dismantling Law Enforcement's Role in Traffic Safety: A Roadmap for Massachusetts. https://www.livablestreets.info/dismantling_law_enforcements_role_in_traffic_safety
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Prepared for the Los Angeles Department of Transportation

City of Los Angeles

Alternatives to Traffic Enforcement and Community Task Force Recommendations

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

City Council Motion CF-20-0875

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON POLICE REFORM REPORT relative to alternative models and methods that do not rely on armed law enforcement to achieve transportation policy objectives.

Recommendation for Council action, as initiated by Motion (Harris-Dawson - Bonin - Price - Wesson - Ryu):

1. DIRECT the Los Angeles Department of Transportation (LADOT), with assistance of the City Administrative Officer (CAO), Chief Legislative Analyst (CLA), Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), and the City Attorney, to develop and issue a Request for Proposals (RFP) seeking a consultant to conduct a study on the feasibility of utilizing civilian enforcement of traffic laws for motorists, cyclists, and other forms of transportation occurring within the City of Los Angeles.
2. DIRECT that City departments consider the following in the development of the RFP detailed above in Recommendation No. 1:
 - a. A review of the Los Angeles Municipal Code, the California Vehicle Code, and other relevant traffic laws for any outdated enforcement sections that could be decriminalized or removed.
 - b. A review of unarmed traffic enforcement techniques from around the United States as well as any international models.
 - c. The size of the City of Los Angeles in population and square mileage. d. The diversity of the City, including but not limited to:
 - i. Racial demographics.
 - ii. The number of languages spoken.
 - iii. The number of people living in poverty.
 - iv. Any other factors that may be relevant to developing this type of program to meet the needs of City residents.
3. DIRECT the LADOT to create an advisory task force to make recommendations to the LADOT for traffic safety alternatives and convene community meetings to solicit feedback in regard to community needs.
4. DIRECT the LAPD to report in regard to the top five most cited traffic violations, as well as the number of vehicle stops and arrests for traffic enforcement/violations including data on the gender and ethnicity of those cited or arrested, broken down by bureau, traffic division, and station for 2018-19 and 2019-20.

Fiscal Impact Statement: Neither the CAO nor the CLA has completed a financial analysis of this report.

Community Impact Statement: Yes

For:
Arroyo Seco Neighborhood Council

Summary:

On October 23, 2020, your Committee considered a Motion (Harris-Dawson - Bonin - Price - Wesson - Ryu) relative to alternative models and methods that do not rely on armed law enforcement to achieve transportation policy objectives.. According to the Motion, people of different races and ethnicities have different access to, experiences with, and feelings of safety with mobility in Los Angeles, especially in interactions with law enforcement. In the transportation industry, national experts are increasingly recognizing that policing of public spaces reduces mobility for some members of the public, particularly Black and Latino people. These barriers to mobility have cascading impacts on access to job and educational opportunities, healthcare, and parks and open space, all of which contribute to the wide disparities in income, health, and well being experienced in Los Angeles. Low-income communities of color bear the brunt of traffic violence in Los Angeles due to decades of disinvestment in safe streets infrastructure and policies that prioritize through traffic over local residents' mobility needs. In 2015, when the City endorsed the Vision Zero Initiative to end traffic fatalities through a combination of education, engineering, and enforcement strategies, mobility justice advocates immediately feared yet another campaign to over-police their communities and lack of follow-through on investment in tangible safety improvements. These consistent critiques, many from leaders based here in Los Angeles, have now grown into a broad consensus among transportation industry' leaders that police involvement can actually undermine traffic safety goals and that a police-led response to what is fundamentally a disinvestment issue is harmful, costly, and counterproductive. After consideration and having provided an opportunity for public comment, the Committee moved to recommend approval of the Motion as amended and detailed in the above recommendations. This matter is now submitted to Council for its consideration.

Respectfully Submitted,

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON POLICE REFORM

<u>MEMBER</u>	<u>VOTE</u>
WESSON:	YES
KORETZ:	YES
LEE:	ABSENT
CEDILLO:	YES
HARRIS-DAWSON:	YES

ARL
10/23/20

-NOT OFFICIAL UNTIL COUNCIL ACTS-

APPENDIX B

Task Force Roster

Appendix B: Task Force Roster

TASK FORCE ROSTER

City of Los Angeles Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force

Task Force Members

1. Chauncey Smith (President)
2. Asiyahola Sankara (Vice President)
3. Benjamin Pezzillo
4. Candyce Kornblum
5. Elmer G Roldan
6. Jesus "Chuy" Garcia
7. Leslie Cooper Johnson
8. Lin Min Kong
9. Ma'ayan Dembo
10. Moises Gomez
11. Patricia Joyce Strong-Fargas
12. Rae Huang
13. Yolanda Davis-Overstreet

APPENDIX C

Task Force Application Form

Appendix C: Task Force Application Form

LADOT Traffic Enforcement Study Community Advisory Task Force Application

Application period closes Friday, December 10, 2021. Applications may be submitted online using the web form, via email to ladot-advisory-tf@lacity.org or in-person at LADOT HQ 10th Floor ATTN: Vision Zero/Traffic Enforcement Advisory Task Force, 100 S. Main St., Los Angeles, CA 90012. Resumes can be emailed to ladot-advisory-tf@lacity.org but shall not replace an application. If assistance is needed in completing the application please contact: 213-972-4973. ***In accordance with Los Angeles City Ordinance 187134, candidates must meet the minimum requirement of being fully vaccinated against COVID-19 or receive an exemption and report their vaccination status prior to being hired by the hiring City department. The ordinance is available at https://clkrep.lacity.org/onlinedocs/2021/21-0921_ord_187134_8-24-21.pdf

* Required

1. Email *

2. Full Name *

3. Street Address *

4. City *

5. Zip Code *

6. Phone Number *

7. Do you have any relationships (professional, financial, organization affiliation, or otherwise) that may present a potential conflict of interest in working with the City or the Traffic Enforcement Study Advisory Task Force? *

8. Are you a current or former member of any other City committees? If yes, please describe: *

9. What mode of transportation do you use? *

10. How often do you travel in the City of Los Angeles? *

Mark only one oval.

- Once per week
- Twice per week
- Three times per week
- More than three times per week

11. Please identify your experience or areas of interest. Check all that apply. *

Check all that apply.

- Academia
- Equitable Transportation
- Judiciary/Law Enforcement
- Public Health
- Public Safety
- Racial Justice
- Social Services

Other: _____

12. Describe the experience, knowledge, technical skills, and/or education, professional or otherwise which you possess regarding the area(s) selected above.

*

13. Please state your reason(s) for applying to the LADOT Traffic Enforcement Study Advisory Task Force. *

14. What are your top three goals for your tenure on the Advisory Task Force if your application is accepted? *

15. Optional Resume

Files submitted:

This content is neither created nor endorsed by Google.

Google Forms

APPENDIX D

Task Force Meeting List

TASK FORCE MEETING SUMMARY

City of Los Angeles Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force

Meeting Dates

1. June 23, 2022
2. August 11, 2022
3. September 28, 2022
4. October 24, 2022
5. November 17, 2022
6. December 15, 2022
7. January 12, 2023
8. January 26, 2023
9. February 2, 2023
10. February 16, 2023
11. April 20, 2023
12. August 2023

Meeting Topics

The following is a summary of meeting topics. In some cases, these topics were covered or revisited over a series of meetings. Topics are listed in rough chronological order.¹

1. Task Force responsibilities and administrative requirements
2. Project context + Traffic Enforcement Study scope of work
3. Alignment on study's problem statement
4. Review of and feedback on the following consultant team deliverables:

¹ All agendas, minutes, and reports for Brown Act meetings are here: <https://ladot.lacity.org/about/advisory-committees>

- a. Literature review findings and proposed case study approach
 - b. Proposed quantitative analysis approach and preliminary findings
 - c. Expert interview protocol and interviewee list
 - d. Legal interview protocol and interviewee list
 - e. Draft study findings and recommendations
5. Task force-led self-enforcing streets literature review
 6. LAPD's existing and new policies, including the March 2022 pretextual stops policy
 7. Task force-led recommendations criteria
 8. Discussions on study recommendations
 9. Consideration of study recommendations and final report text

APPENDIX E

Self-Enforcing Streets Literature Review

Appendix E: Self-Enforcing Streets Literature Review

Date: February 13, 2023

To: Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Advisory Task Force

From: Advisory Task Force Research Subcommittee Members

Re: Recommendation to Include Self-Enforcing Street Design in the LADOT Study

The purpose of this memo is to provide task force members with research and key findings on self-enforcing street design as an alternative to armed law enforcement. The task force may recommend that LADOT include self-enforcing street design in the LADOT study.

RECOMMENDATION GOAL

This memo evaluates the effectiveness of using civilian engineering, planning, and design methods to compel individuals to obey traffic laws without the use of armed police. While the study researchers develop recommendations that will reduce police violence against individuals, we want to emphasize recommendations that would also result in a significant reduction in serious and fatal traffic crashes. It is not our desire to co-develop a study that focuses solely on whether the City of Los Angeles should civilize an inherently inequitable, ineffective, and predatory system of fines and fees. Traffic stops, whether conducted by police or unarmed civilians, are often harmful and may not prevent serious and fatal traffic accidents. This is why we hope to include in the study at least some recommendations that would reduce police violence and increase traffic safety if implemented.

This memo will briefly discuss whether City Council's motion includes civilian-led traffic-calming strategies within the scope of its legislative purpose, which would enable the research team, the task force, and/or LADOT staff to dedicate a section (or subsection) to design and infrastructure changes. In addition, the memo will summarize the existing body of research contrasting these interventions with armed traffic policing. Again, the purpose of the proposed memo is to ensure that this recommendation, if adopted by the task force, is appropriately informed by research and key findings regarding feasible strategies to decouple law enforcement from traffic safety.

QUESTIONS PRESENTED

1. Is self-enforcing street design a method of civilian enforcement of traffic laws?
2. What research has already been done on self-enforcing design as a civilian-led enforcement model that does not rely on police to achieve transportation policy objectives?

SHORT ANSWER

1. Based on the text of motion and context in which it passed, it appears reasonably likely that City Council intended for LADOT to include civilian-led design and infrastructure methods within its definition of "civilian enforcement."
2. There is a growing body of research on self-enforcing infrastructural solutions as a civilian-led alternative to armed law enforcement. Further analysis is needed to determine

obstacles to LADOT implementing self-enforcing street design as a nonpolice safety strategy, and ways to overcome them.

DISCUSSION

A. LA City Council Motion Definition of “Enforcement”

The motion is titled “A motion relative to alternative models and methods that do not rely on armed law enforcement to achieve transportation policy objectives” and directs LADOT to “conduct a study on the feasibility of utilizing civilian enforcement of traffic laws.”¹ Confusion about whether the scope of Council’s legislative purpose includes self-enforcing street design as a method of civilian enforcement can be resolved in the affirmative by reading the plain text of the motion and considering the context in which it passed.

Regarding that context, this motion was introduced in June 2020 during a city-wide and nation-wide popular uprising demanding that public officials reimagine public safety (hence the title of the motion) by shifting approaches from enforcement by punishment to enforcement by prevention. Transportation and mobility-focused community advocates across the country specifically called for divesting from police enforcement and reinvesting in self-enforcing streets in that context. Specifically, this motion came about in the context of PUSH-LA advocacy, which in its report on racially biased stops specifically called for "enhancing urban design to improve traffic safety" in the context of advocacy by Black Lives Matter-Los Angeles and People’s Budget-Los Angeles, who reported that the vast majority of Angelenos surveyed want to see greater investment in the built environment and divestment from police in the city budget.

With that context, it appears reasonably likely that council did not grant LADOT discretion to exclude civilian-led design and infrastructure methods from its definition of “civilian enforcement” or its scope of work.

B. Literature/Case Study Review

<u>Dismantling Law Enforcement’s Role in Traffic Safety: A Roadmap for Massachusetts</u>	
Date published	April 2022
Main topic	This article proposes that traffic enforcement interventions should be moved upstream, focusing on infrastructure and design solutions that will measurably reduce serious and fatal crashes.
Link	https://assets.nationbuilder.com/livablestreetsalliance/pages/7390/attachments/original/1649863050/Dismantling_Law_Enforcements_Role_in_Traffic_Safety_report.pdf?1649863050

¹ https://clkrep.lacity.org/onlinedocs/2020/20-0875_rpt_ahpr_10-23-20.pdf

<p>Context</p> <p>(geographic location, demographic profile, etc.)</p>	<p>The paper, authored by LiveableStreets Alliance, offers “practical steps” transportation experts and elected officials can take to dismantle law enforcement’s role in traffic safety in Massachusetts. Some of the recommendations are specific to Massachusetts but most are applicable to other states and cities.</p>
<p>Key statistics or talking points</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The authors discuss the inequities and harms associated with traffic stops and note “the growing body of evidence that traffic stops do not deter crime and have a limited impact on dangerous driving.” (p. 9) ● The report explains why infrastructure and design is the “first and best” strategy to encourage or force desired motorist behaviors and reduce the chance of serious and fatal crashes. (p. 11) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “When streets are designed to protect vulnerable road users and prevent risky driving behavior, fatalities and serious injuries can be dramatically reduced and potentially eliminated, making police enforcement of traffic violations unnecessary.” (<i>Id.</i>) ● Unarmed civilian traffic monitors and automated enforcement can be considered. However, the report recommends them as “stop-gap measures” that should be “phased out” as infrastructure and design improvements are made. (p. 12) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “The goal is to build the infrastructure to effectuate safer streets and to employ community-driven measures of accountability, rather than rely on punitive measures that have failed to reduce traffic fatalities and cause untold harms.” (<i>Id.</i>)
<p>Specific Proposals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Decision makers should ask the following questions to analyze the purpose and effectiveness of specific traffic safety measures: (p. 19) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Could the safety outcomes of the violation be achieved through design or infrastructure changes? Policy changes? Increased education or outreach? 2. What data and research are available around the purpose or outcomes of the violation, including the racial or economic disparate impact? 3. Could enforcement of this violation be conducted without a police officer?

	<p>4. What would the impact on safety be if the violation were removed entirely?</p> <p>The report uses three examples to illustrate how this framework can be used. Below is an excerpt from “Example 3: Speeding.”</p>
<p>Misc. notes/comments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Throughout this white paper, the importance of preventative enforcement measures is emphasized. Although the report does not exclude the possibility of civilian monitoring of traffic stops, it argues that civilianization treats symptoms rather than root causes. Overall, the report supports the argument that self-enforcing design interventions should replace criminalizing police interactions.

EXAMPLE 3: Speeding

Speeding increases crash likelihood because it takes longer for drivers to stop or slow down, and makes crashes more deadly because crash energy increases exponentially as speeds increase.⁵¹ Speeding endangers everyone on the street nearby, but particularly vulnerable road users because they are not protected by the structure of a vehicle. More than 26% of all fatalities from car crashes in 2019 occurred in speed-related crashes,⁵² demonstrating that a reduction in the number of drivers speeding will directly increase safety.

As noted on page 9 of the report, some research demonstrates that high visibility traffic enforcement campaigns do not meaningfully change drivers' behavior or reduce speeds in the long term.

Design and infrastructure changes are the most effective and equitable way to decrease speeding. A myriad of proven traffic-calming strategies are available, including narrowing vehicle travel lanes, timing signals to encourage lower speeds, and adding pinch points, chicanes, speed humps, or raised crossings, among many other tactics.⁵³ Many of these interventions can be installed quickly and with inexpensive materials like paint and cones.

Automated enforcement is another strategy that can increase safety until infrastructure can be installed, or on certain roads where traffic calming may not be feasible. *Please refer to Appendix A (page 45) for a more detailed analysis of automated enforcement.*

OUTCOME: In order to ensure the intended safety outcomes are met, design and infrastructure changes should be implemented to curtail dangerous driving behavior, and automated enforcement could be considered as a step toward removing direct police interactions in areas where immediate infrastructure improvements aren't possible.

51. Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, Highway Loss Data Institute, "Speed"

52. Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, "Speed"

53. NACTO Global Designing Cities Initiative, "Global Street Design Guide."

EXAMPLE 3: Speeding

Does the law increase safety?

Speeding increases crash likelihood because it takes longer for drivers to stop or slow down, and makes crashes more deadly because crash energy increases exponentially as speeds increase.

YES

Speeding endangers everyone on the street nearby, but particularly vulnerable road users because they are not protected by the structure of a vehicle.

Would there be a negative impact if the law were removed?

Does the law disproportionately affect vulnerable populations?

Traffic stops disproportionately impact vulnerable populations, by way of police violence and punitive measures like fees.

YES

Design and infrastructure changes are the most effective and equitable way to decrease speeding. Automated enforcement is another strategy that can increase safety until infrastructure can be installed, or on certain roads where traffic calming may not be feasible.

Are there alternatives to police enforcement?

**OUTCOME:
PURSUE ALTERNATIVE
STRATEGIES**

[The Case for Self-Enforcing Streets: How Reallocating a Portion of the NYPD Budget to the DOT Can Reduce the Harm of Racial Bias and Improve Safety for All New Yorkers](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5cab9d9b65a707a9b36f4b6c/t/5ee c1235fe73d720da412589/1592529462229/CaseForSelfEnforcingStreets .pdf)

Date published	June 2020
Main topic	This paper by Transportation Alternatives seeks to demonstrate how New York City can reduce traffic violence and racial bias in police enforcement by prioritizing self-enforcing street design.
Link	https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5cab9d9b65a707a9b36f4b6c/t/5ee c1235fe73d720da412589/1592529462229/CaseForSelfEnforcingStreets .pdf
Context (geographic location, demographic profile, etc.)	This paper was released as part of a budget justice advocacy campaign by Transportation Alternatives “together with several elected officials and other legal and advocacy organizations.” (p. 1)
Key statistics or talking points	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● “By shifting resources to infrastructural solutions, which work 24/7, are free from implicit bias, and are unable to harass or cause violence, the City can lessen the need for armed police enforcement (e.g. all non-civilian members of the NYPD), reduce traffic injuries and fatalities, and save money.” (p. 2)● The authors put together a very helpful framework by comparing the efficacy of specific DOT-led design and infrastructure improvements to the efficacy of police officer-based enforcement:<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ “For example, in 2017, there were 46,000 hit-and-run crashes in New York City. Yet police officers arrested just one percent of all hit-and-run drivers. In the past five years, hit-and-run crashes in New York City have increased by 26 percent. By comparison, DOT infrastructure projects designed to reduce these traffic crashes have proven effective and scalable. Changing traffic signals to ‘leading pedestrian intervals’ reduced the number of people killed or seriously injured by drivers failing to yield by over 50 percent. Protected bike lanes have produced as much as a 94 percent drop in cycling on the sidewalk. Automated speed cameras reduced the number of people killed or seriously injured by as much as 50 percent, and reduced speeding by over 60 percent. Furthermore, these interventions afford no privileges to police union ‘courtesy card’ holders, nor do

	<p>they carry biases that may lead to police harassment or violence.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The authors consider the social costs of defunding transportation budgets in favor of police budgets: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “Consider just the NYPD fleet. Over a three-year period ending in 2018, the NYPD grew its fleet of squad cars and SUVs by over 1,300 vehicles. It is the largest vehicle fleet of any city agency, and there are plans to spend \$80 million to upgrade the fleet in the next five years. As a point of comparison, Mayor de Blasio recently cut \$7.9 million from a program that would build new bus lanes (which would serve, in large part, the essential workers who make up nearly half of bus riders). These cuts halve the pace of bus lane installation and risk worsening the commute of New York City health care workers who already have the longest commute of any group in the city. To restore budget cuts to bus lanes would cost, at most, half of what the city plans to spend on police vehicles this year alone.” (p. 5)
<p>Specific Proposals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “Transportation Alternatives recommends reallocating a portion of the NYPD budget to the design and construction of ‘self-enforcing’ streets. In addition to the redesign of streets to include self-enforcing elements such as protected crosswalks, protected bike lanes, protected bus lanes, narrowed roadways, bulb-outs, leading pedestrian intervals, and curb cuts, the redesign of curbs with loading zones should also be prioritized to lessen the need for parking enforcement.” (p. 13)
<p>Misc. notes/comments</p>	<p>For more information on infrastructural efficacy, see the 2005 to 2018 before/after injury analysis conducted by NYC DOT, comparing crash data before safety treatment installation to crash data after installation:</p> <p>https://www1.nyc.gov/html/dot/downloads/pdf/safety-treatment-evaluation-2005-2018.pdf</p> <p>Below is an excerpt from the analysis.</p>



Safety Treatment Evaluation (2005-2018)

2022 – New York City Department of Transportation

All Road Users

Safety Treatment	Injury Change	KSI Change
Road Diets	-16.6%	-30.0%
Conventional Bike Lanes	1.1%	-15.3%
Protected Bike Lanes	-14.8%	-18.1%
Pedestrian Islands	-15.1%	-35.5%
Curb & Sidewalk Extensions	-10.4%	-34.1%
Turn Calming	0.3%	-16.2%
Leading Pedestrian Intervals (LPIs)	-13.5%	-29.6%

Pedestrians

Safety Treatment	Ped Injury Change	Ped KSI Change
Road Diets	-12.5%	-31.7%
Conventional Bike Lanes	-1.4%	-16.2%
Protected Bike Lanes	-17.8%	-29.2%
Pedestrian Islands	-10.2%	-29.9%
Curb & Sidewalk Extensions	-16.5%	-44.7%
Turn Calming	-17.5%	-32.7%
Leading Pedestrian Intervals (LPIs)	-18.1%	-34.3%

Motor Vehicle Occupants

Safety Treatment	MV Injury Change	MV KSI Change
Road Diets	-19.3%	-33.8%
Conventional Bike Lanes	-1.1%	-25.1%
Protected Bike Lanes	-19.0%	-13.1%
Pedestrian Islands	-18.1%	-52.0%
Curb & Sidewalk Extensions	-10.1%	-24.1%
Turn Calming	13.6%	50.7%*
Leading Pedestrian Intervals (LPIs)	-13.5%	-28.5%

*Motor Vehicle KSI at Turning Calming locations rose from an annual average of 7.3 KSI in the before period to 11 KSI in the after period. Due to this small sample size of severe injuries, it is likely that this large increase (50.7%) is not as accurate as other report findings.

[Redesigning Public Safety: Traffic Safety](#)

Date published	September 2022
Main topic	This report discusses how to redesign traffic safety by investing in evidence-based strategies that simultaneously reduce traffic violence and police violence. The recommendations center racial equity, public health, and community power rather than surveillance and punishment.
Link	https://policingequity.org/traffic-safety/60-cpe-white-paper-traffic-safety/file
Context (geographic location, demographic profile, etc.)	This white paper is part of the Redesigning Public Safety Resource Series.
Key statistics or talking points	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● The recommendations in the report “aim to address the physical, psychological, and economic harms caused by unjust and burdensome enforcement, including the preventable debt, justice system entanglement, and trauma that too often flow from a single routine traffic stop.” (p. 3)● Disinvestment driven by systemic racism, including redlining, leads to “infrastructure failures” that increase crash risk in Black neighborhoods. The report recommends “a public health approach to traffic safety [that] focuses on creating environments that lead to safe driving.” (p. 6)<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ “To do so, this approach aims to shift the focus of safety efforts from identifying and punishing individual reckless behaviors to establishing and enhancing the systems that determine traffic safety, including how cars and human-made surroundings are built.” (p. 6)● This report identifies Complete Streets and Vision Zero as two frameworks with a systemic approach to traffic safety “rather than regulating individual behavior alone.” However, the authors note that Vision Zero’s historic emphasis on increased traffic enforcement by police has been challenged by racial justice advocates. (p. 8)● The authors recommend cities and states limit the use of fines and fees and instead prioritize and fund programs to address road safety issues. (p. 11)
Specific Proposals	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● The proposals related to self-enforcing street design include: lowering speed limits, speed bumps, raised crosswalks,

	roundabouts, turning lanes, and increasing yellow light length.
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<u>Self-Enforcing Roadways: A Guidance Report</u>	
Date published	January 2018
Main topic	This publication provides guidance for transportation professionals, departments of transportation, and researchers on how to produce self-enforcing roadways. The report defines self-enforcing roadways (or “self-explaining” roads) as roadways that are “planned and designed to encourage drivers to select operating speeds in harmony with the posted speed limit.” (p. i)
Link	https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/publications/research/safety/17098/17098.pdf
Context (geographic location, demographic profile, etc.)	The report was sponsored by the Federal Highway Administration and written by the Institute of Transportation Engineers.
Specific Proposals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Chapter 4 describes six self-enforcing road concepts and the processes needed to implement the concepts when designing or assessing two-lane rural highways: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ (1) the speed feedback loop process, (2) the inferred design speed approach, (3) design consistency methods, (4) the application of existing geometric design criteria, (5) the combination of signs and pavement markings, and (6) the setting of rational speed limits.
Misc. notes/comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Because crashes in rural areas represent most total crashes due to speeding, the authors focus on methods to mitigate speeding on rural roadways. As a result, while the study is largely supportive of self-enforcing street design, it is less useful for transportation planners in urban areas. Additionally, the report does not analyze the role and responsibility of armed law enforcement.

<u>National Roadway Safety Strategy</u>	
Date published	January 2022

Main topic	U.S. DOT description of the “major actions” it will take as part of its Safe System Approach to improve roadway safety.
Link	https://www.transportation.gov/sites/dot.gov/files/2022-02/USDOT-National-Roadway-Safety-Strategy.pdf
Context (geographic location, demographic profile, etc.)	The Bipartisan Infrastructure Law passed by Congress in 2021 includes funding for street safety.
Key statistics or talking points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Self-enforcing streets: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “Roadway design and other infrastructure factors play a significant role in managing speeds and can deter excessive speeding behaviors from occurring in the first place. Design can help to make roads and streets ‘self-enforcing,’ offering drivers contextual encouragement – via lane width, intersection design, pedestrian and bicyclist infrastructure, and other features – to drive at safer speeds.” (p. 26)
Specific Proposals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In this strategy document, U.S. DOT identifies self-enforcing street design as a “key departmental action to enable safer speeds.” ● The agency recommends FHWA revise its guidance and regulations to encourage “creating roadways that help to ‘self-enforce’ speed limits.” In addition, it recommends FHWA identify “noteworthy practices for re-engineering roads to slow down vehicles rather than relying primarily on enforcement to manage speeding.” (p. 28)
Misc. notes/comments	FHWA is supposed to complete the above revisions by 2024.

[Investing in Evidence-Based Alternatives to Policing: Non-Police Responses to Traffic Safety](#)

Date published	August 2021
Main topic	This short policy brief presents five ways states and cities can more equitably and safely enforce traffic laws without relying on police.

Link	https://www.vera.org/downloads/publications/alternatives-to-policing-traffic-enforcement-fact-sheet.pdf
Context (geographic location, demographic profile, etc.)	This is a white paper by Vera Institute of Justice.
Specific Proposals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Build non-police first responder teams whose mission is traffic and road safety, not criminal law enforcement. ● Implement voucher programs for minor traffic violations as an alternative to civil enforcement. ● Improve transportation infrastructure and public transit networks. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “Jurisdictions can reduce collisions by investing in transportation infrastructure—like implementing best practices in road and vehicle design and engineering. These investments should also be used to expand public transit systems that are a safer alternative to driving. As part of this process, jurisdictions should solicit diverse perspectives from residents and experts to inform road design and transportation rules to better address the underlying causes of traffic accidents.” (p. 2) ● Use automated traffic enforcement systems to promote safety and reduce disparities
Misc. notes/comments	Mode shifting is one of the recommendations.

[Safety of Vulnerable Road Users \(RS7\)](#)

Date published	1998
Main topic	This report by the OECD examines the safety of vulnerable road users in OECD Member countries.
Link	https://safety.fhwa.dot.gov/ped_bike/docs/oecd_safety.pdf
Context (geographic location, demographic)	“The study was started in 1995 by a Scientific Expert Group of the OECD Road Transport Research Programme. Based on a problem-oriented approach, the report sets the main safety problems faced by vulnerable road users taking full account of their social, regulatory and physical environments.” (p. 4)

profile, etc.)	
Key statistics or talking points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Describing developments in transportation planning theory during the 1970s and 1980s: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “Professionals became aware that publicity and police enforcement were not the key to inducing more adequate speed behaviour, and that physical design of the road environment could play a much more efficient role... The concepts of mixed traffic and traffic calming – obtained through physical self-enforcing speed reduction measures – spread and extended from the previous schemes in residential areas to the treatment of urban thoroughfares with heavy traffic.” p. 12.
Misc. notes/comments	This OECD report does not offer concrete policies for civilian-led alternatives to armed traffic policing. But the language on self-enforcing streets, and the specific comparison to ineffective police enforcement, may be useful to quote.

[Response and Recommendations to NICJR Report by the Reimagining Public Safety Task Force](#)

Date published	March 2022
Link	https://berkeleyca.gov/sites/default/files/legislative-body-meeting-agendas/RPSTF%20Agenda%20Packet-%20February%2010%202022.pdf
Key statistics or talking points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “Police maintain that the purpose behind traffic enforcement is to increase traffic safety and decrease crime. However, there is, at best, mixed evidence showing that traditional traffic enforcement by police in the US is effective in creating sustained increases in traffic safety. Re-engineering roadway design and geometry to create self-enforcing streets, on the other hand, has consistently been shown to increase traffic safety and decrease severe and fatal collisions. Data also show that traffic stops do little to prevent crime, and when stops are focused on safety violations only, crime does not increase. The Berkeley City Manager estimates that moving traffic enforcement and other transportation-related duties out of BPD would reduce BPD staffing by approximately 100 full time positions and reduce BPD’s budget by nearly \$50 million. The reduced police staff time allocated to transportation-related work that is non-criminal in nature and better addressed by other city

	professionals like transportation planners and engineers will allow remaining BPD staff to focus on the prevention of and response to violent offenses that are of greatest importance to the community.” (p. 87)
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<u>Speeding in America: A Critique of, and Alternatives to, Officer-Initiated Enforcement</u>	
Date published	November 2015
Main topic	This study analyzes whether police-led speed limit enforcement deters speeding and if it does so “in a cost-efficient manner.”
Link	https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0734016815614057
Key statistics or talking points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “For example, constructing a speed bump entails an initial one-time cost that may result in a speed-reducing benefit indefinitely. By contrast, paying officers to enforce speed limits results in ongoing costs that do not necessarily, or typically, lead to consistent enforcement.” (p. 64) ● “... ticketing carries with it potential harms that may offset putative benefits. For example, fines may have disproportionate effects both on lower income individuals and on upper income individuals. Across states, maximum speeding ticket fines range from US\$50 in Tennessee to US\$2,500 in Georgia and Virginia (NHTSA, 2013a, pp. vi–ix). Fines, as a percentage of income, will be higher for lower income individuals and may be especially burdensome for those who reside in or close to poverty. They also may not be able to afford to challenge their ticket. Transportation costs and missing part of a workday to attend a court proceeding, for example, would be cost-prohibitive or simply not feasible for many lower income individuals.”

APPENDIX F

LAPD Memo on Case Study Review



A note from . . .

CAPTAIN STEVEN A. RAMOS
Commanding Officer
Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Division
(213) 792-9963

July 20, 2022

DIRECTOR LIZABETH RHODES
OFFICE OF CONSTITUTIONAL POLICING AND POLICY

SUBJECT: LA DOT EQUITABLE ENFORCEMENT LITERATURE & CASE STUDY REVIEW

On July 7, 2022, Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Division (DEID) was tasked to review a memorandum titled "LA DOT [Department of Transportation] Equitable Enforcement Literature & Case Study Review". The memorandum from Equitable Cities summarizes nationwide and international case studies where action was taken to reduce the presence of armed police officers conducting traffic enforcement. A review of the case studies was conducted to determine which should be further evaluated by the City of Los Angeles Research and Consulting Team, assigned to the Traffic Enforcement Alternatives Project. The case studies were divided into the following five tiers:

- Tier 1: Government entity has transitioned powers of police enforcement to a DOT municipal unit.
- Tier 2: Government entity is in the process of transitioning powers of police enforcement to DOT a municipal unit.
- Tier 3: Government entities have agreed to reduce traffic safety enforcement via other means.
- Tier 4: Government entities are exploring the above tiers but not have implemented any policies to date.
- Tier 5: Non-governmental entities have examined how to decriminalize mobility through guidelines, reports, podcasts, etc.

We recommend the City of Los Angeles conduct further research of the following case studies:

New Zealand (Tier 1) - New Zealand used a country wide non-police government agency to enforce traffic laws between 1936 and 1992, when it was dissolved due to costs. During that time, the non-police agency was tasked with enforcing on non-moving and minor moving violations. New Zealand Police continued to investigate traffic accidents that resulted in injuries and enforce driving under the influence laws.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Tier 2) - Philadelphia is currently transitioning powers of traffic enforcement to a non-police municipal entity. In 2019, Philadelphia voters approved the creation of unarmed civilian public safety “officers” tasked with issuing citations for minor traffic violations, the officers would report to the Philadelphia Office of Transportation rather than the police department. Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic, the program was delayed and has yet to be implemented. The City of Philadelphia also passed two related bills in November 2021. The first bill separated traffic violations into “primary” and “secondary” violations and prohibited police officers from conducting traffic stops for “secondary” violations. The second bill requires the police department to report information collected during vehicle stops to a public database which was to be updated on a monthly basis.

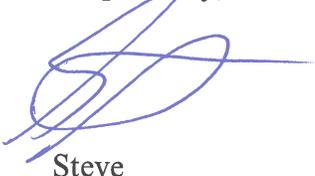
Fayetteville, North Carolina (Tier 3) - In 2013, the Fayetteville Police Chief shifted traffic enforcement away from non-moving violations and encouraged officers to focus on moving violations of immediate concern to public safety. The number of investigative stops for non-moving violations decreased for the next four years, as did the number of Black drivers stopped and searched. Additional research showed the change in focus of traffic violations reduced the overall fatalities overall due to officers' attention being focused on moving violations.

These three case studies DEID selected align with the studies the research team determined had the greatest potential for meeting the stated goal to “reduce the presence of armed police officers performing traffic enforcement.” Each case study should be further evaluated for the following factors and how they would be addressed in the City of Los Angeles:

- Cost of implementation;
- Potential legal implications (i.e. who is permitted to conduct a traffic stop in the state of California);
- Necessary training and equipment to support implementation;
- Memorandum of Agreement between different entities (i.e. will the Los Angeles Police Department need to assist in any complaints or use of force investigations if they occur);
- Labor/union considerations;
- If there is a change on how traffic violations are enforced, what impacts will it have on traffic collisions resulting in injuries and fatalities; and,
- Any observed impact on crime rates.

Please let me know if you have any questions or need additional information.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be the name 'Steve', written over a blue horizontal line.

Steve

APPENDIX G

Data Fields and Treatment

Data Fields and Treatment

This appendix outlines the fields within the RIPA dataset used for this study and any categorization or treatments used before analyzing the data.

Perceived Race/Ethnicity

Asian
Black/African American
Hispanic/Latino
Middle Eastern or South Asian
Native American
Pacific Islander
White
Two or more races

Perceived Gender

Male
Female
Transgender man/boy
Transgender woman/girl

Reason for Stop

Traffic violation
Reasonable suspicion that person was engaged in criminal activity
Known to be on parole, probation, PRCS, mandatory supervision
Investigation to determine if person is truant
Consensual encounter resulting in search
Determine if student violated school policy
Possible conduct warranting discipline under education code

Traffic violation type

While the data include categories of “moving”, “equipment”, and “non-moving violation”, LAPD advised the research team not to use these categories because they may not be consistent across officers and reasons for the stop. Instead, we coded the traffic violation type based on the type of CJIS offense code and categorized these into these traffic violation type categories. Because of the volume of different CJIS offense codes within the data, and the need to do this rematching process, the research team only categorized traffic violation type for the top 20 CJIS codes. These top 20 reasons represent 77.1% of stops analyzed.

Mv CJIS	CJIS Description	Plain Description	Category	Violation Code
54098	FAIL STOP LINE/ETC AT RED	Red light violation	Moving	21453(A) VC FAIL STOP LINE/ETC AT RED
54106	UNSAFE SPEED:PREVAIL COND	Speeding	Moving	22350 VC UNSAFE SPEED:PREVAIL COND
54115	UNSAF TURN &/OR NO SIGNAL	Unsafe turn or no signal used	Moving	22107 VC UNSAF TURN &/OR NO SIGNAL
54167	FAIL STOP VEH:XWALK/ETC	Failure to stop for crosswalk	Moving	22450(A) VC FAIL STOP VEH:XWALK/ETC
54178	UNSAFE LANE CHANGE/ETC	Unsafe lane change	Moving	21658(A) VC UNSAFE LANE CHANGE/ETC
54185	FAIL TO OBEY TURN SIGNS	Failure to obey turn signs	Moving	22101(D) VC FAIL TO OBEY TURN SIGNS
54186	ILEGAL UTURN:BUS DIST/ETC	Illegal u-turn	Moving	22102 VC ILEGAL UTURN:BUS DIST/ETC
54011	SEATBELT VIOLATION	Seat belt violation	Equipment	27315 VC SEATBELT VIOLATION
54109	FAIL MAINT VEH LITE EQUIP	Light equipment violation	Equipment	24252(A) VC FAIL MAINT VEH LITE EQUIP
54141	BIKE HEADLIGHT/ETC VIOL	Bike headlight violation	Equipment	21201(D) VC BIKE HEADLIGHT/ETC VIOL
54191	DRIVE WITHOUT LIGHTS:DARK	Driving without lights at night	Equipment	24250 VC DRIVE WITHOUT LIGHTS:DARK
54571	OPR VEH:WINDOW OBSTRUCTED	Window obstruction	Equipment	26708(A)(1) VC OPR VEH:WINDOW OBSTRUCTED
54644	DISPLAY LIC PLATES WRONG	Display license plate wrong	Equipment	5200(A) VC DISPLAY LIC PLATES WRONG
54099	NO REG:VEH/TRAILER/ETC	No registration	Non-moving	4000(A) VC NO REG:VEH/TRAILER/ETC
54107	DRIVE W/O LICENSE	Driving without a license	Non-moving	12500(A) VC DRIVE W/O LICENSE
54168	EXPIRED TABS/FAIL DISPLAY	Expired tabs/failed to display	Non-moving	5204(A) VC EXPIRED TABS/FAIL DISPLAY
54537	PARK UNLAW:DOUBLE PARKING	Double parking	Non-moving	22500(H) VC PARK UNLAW:DOUBLE PARKING
54566	USE CELLPH W/DRIV W/O HFD	Hand held device violation	Non-moving	23123(A) VC USE CELLPH W/DRIV W/O HFD
54655	NO HND HLD DEVICE W/DRIVE	Hand held device violation	Non-moving	23123.5 VC NO HND HLD DEVICE W/DRIVE
54657	NO REG:VEH/TRAILER/ETC	No registration	Non-moving	4000(A)(1) VC NO REG:VEH/TRAILER/ETC

Actions Taken

The first column includes all potential actions taken during the stop. These data were used in three ways. First, we counted the number of actions that occurred during each stop because each stop could have multiple responses within the 'action' field. Second, we created a new field for any actions that we categorized as including use of force. Finally, we created another field if a firearm was pointed at a person, discharged or used during the stop.

Action	Categorized as Use of Force
Baton or other impact weapon used	Yes
Canine bit or held person	Yes
Chemical spray used (e.g., pepper spray, mace or other chemicals)	Yes
Electronic control device used	Yes
Firearm discharged or used	Yes
Firearm pointed at person	Yes
Impact projectile discharged or used (e.g., blunt impact projectile, rubber bullets or bean bags)	Yes
Other physical or vehicle contact	Yes
Person removed from vehicle by physical contact	Yes
Asked for consent to search person	
Asked for consent to search property	
Canine removed from vehicle or used to search	
Curbside detention	
Field sobriety test conducted	
Handcuffed or flex cuffed	
Patrol car detention	
Person photographed	
Person removed from vehicle by order	
Search of person was conducted	
Search of property was conducted	

Results of the Stop

No action
Warning (verbal or written)
Citation for infraction
In-field cite and release
Custodial arrest pursuant to outstanding warrant
Custodial arrest without warrant
Field interview card completed
Noncriminal transport or caretaking transport
Contacted parent/legal guardian or other person responsible for the minor
Psychiatric hold
Contacted U.S. Department of Homeland Security
Referral to school administrator
Referral to school counselor or other support staff

APPENDIX H

Focus Group Protocol

Focus Group Protocol

Ideas for overall flow:

1. Personal experiences with police stops
2. Experiences they've heard from others about police stops
3. Traffic safety concerns they want to see addressed in their neighborhoods
4. Traffic safety improvements they like
5. Address what we know - Black and Latino people are disproportionately stopped by police in traffic stops and are also the victims of traffic violence. Discuss ideas how to address both of these issues
6. Consider rapid fire of some suggestions for improvements
7. Magic wand/overall recommendations
8. Final thoughts

A. Introduction

Good *[morning/afternoon]* and welcome. Thank you for taking the time to talk with us today.

My name is Tamika Butler and I will be serving as the facilitator for today's interview/focus group. I am an independent consultant that the Los Angeles Department of Transportation has hired to guide the group through a series of questions to support its work related to reimagining policing and traffic enforcement in the city of Los Angeles. Our team is charged with collecting and analyzing data about police stops in Los Angeles and other places. These focus groups are intended to gather information about how people have experienced police stops. Your contributions during this focus group will help this research team and a community advisory task force develop recommendations related to how or if traffic enforcement in Los Angeles may be conducted in the future.

As the Facilitator, my job is to make sure everyone has an opportunity to share their experiences and ideas and to keep track of the time.

I'm here with my team member(s) XXXXX who will be taking notes from today's conversation. As the notetaker, XXXX will help to make sure we capture the important insights that you provide in response to our questions.

While we will keep your individual responses private, to support the development of a Summary, we will be recording today's interview/focus group. Only members of the consultant team will have access to the notes.

This is the first/second/third/last of four focus groups. . Separately, we'll be conducting interviews with experts from across the country who have been part of reimagining policing in their local communities. When we are done, we will take all of the responses from the interviews and the focus groups, thematically cluster the responses we received, and provide a summary report with what we heard over the course of this study. We will then work with the City of LA Traffic Alternatives Advisory Task Force to develop recommendations for future traffic enforcement in Los Angeles. Your individual responses will not be connected back to you.

This focus group will be about 90 minutes of active discussion with around 8 questions. To thank you for your time and energy, each of you will receive a cash-equivalent \$50 gift card at the end of our time together.

B. Purpose of the Interview/Focus Group Conversation

Our purpose in meeting with all of you today is to learn your thoughts, feelings, and experiences related to public safety, policing, and transportation in Los Angeles. Your insights will shape our recommendations to the LA Department of Transportation and LA City Council for traffic enforcement alternatives.

There are no wrong answers to the questions we ask. Please feel free to share your point of view even if you think it might differ from what other people might say.

C. Are There Any Questions?

You can ask questions for clarifications on anything I've said so far, or questions. Any questions?

D. Introduction of Participant

Please share with us the following:

- **Name**
- **Your favorite place to go in your neighborhood**

E. Focus Group Questions

1. Personal Experiences with Police Stops

- a. Let's dive right into what we want to discuss today, tell us about your experiences with traffic stops by the LAPD. You can share whether this is something that happens a lot or less or more now than in other points in your life, what happened when you were stopped during and after (warning, ticket, etc) and tell us a little bit about how you felt during and after?

- i. *Facilitation Probes:*

1. *Does this happen more in certain neighborhoods than others?*

2. Experiences You've Heard from Others About Police Stops

- a. Tell us about what you've heard about others' experiences with traffic stops by the LAPD.

- i. *Facilitation Probes:*

1. *Are there certain groups of people you hear more stories about? More neighborhoods where you hear about stops?*

3. Traffic Concerns in Your Neighborhood

- a. Where do you live and what are some of the most common traffic and safety concerns you and your neighbors have?

- i. *Facilitation Probes:*

1. *Do you have ideas on how to address these concerns?*

4. Things You Like

- a. What is going well with transportation safety in Los Angeles? What should be lifted up and expanded upon?

5. Suggestions for Improvement (consider asking for rapid fire responses)

- a. What does “reimagining public safety” mean to you?
 - i. *What would have to happen for this to be possible?*
 - ii. *What would it look like in your neighborhood?*

6. Racial Disparities

- a. We know that Black and Latino people are disproportionately stopped by police in traffic stops and are also disproportionately the victims of traffic violence. What ideas do you have to address both of these issues?
- b. How can trust be improved when it comes to traffic enforcement in Los Angeles?
 - i. *If you could only prioritize one area/thing to build more trust, what would that be?*
 - ii. *Would having LADOT charged with this enforcement improve trust?*

7. Magic Wand/Wrap-up

- a. If you were writing this report, what types of things would you suggest to address traffic safety besides police stops?
 - i. *Facilitation Probe: What are your thoughts for sustaining the work after the consultant team is gone?*
 - ii. *What important steps should the city take to move towards this idea?*

If time permits:

- What would you like to see change about traffic enforcement in LA based on your participation in this project?
- Is there anything else you would like to share that I haven't asked you about?

APPENDIX I

Focus Group Summary Presentation

Focus Groups' Report

Los Angeles Department of Transportation
December 1, 2022



tamika i. butler consulting

Data Collection



Focus Groups:

Space for screened community members to share their views about how people have experienced police stops and how or if traffic enforcement in Los Angeles should be conducted in the future.

- **Round 1: ~70 emails sent**
- **Initial Google RSVP Form had over 600 responses**
- **Follow up survey via SurveyMonkey with over 150 responses**
 - Mostly BOTS or scammers!
 - Only 23 were actual people
- **Follow-up email to confirm times with the 23 human respondents with IP addresses in LA**
 - 15 out of 23 responded with a preference to meet virtually, with no one asking to meet in person
- **Debrief between focus groups**





Focus Groups:

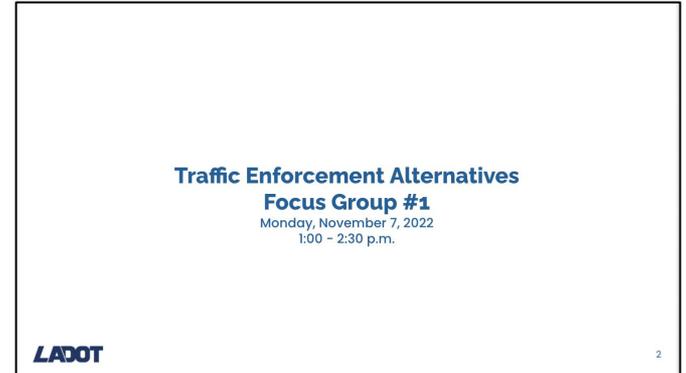
Space for screened community members to share their views about how people have experienced police stops and how or if traffic enforcement in Los Angeles should be conducted in the future.

- **Round 2: ~20 emails sent**
 - Share to CPAB members and through Task Force networks
- **Initial Google RSVP Form had over 200 responses**
 - Mostly BOTS or scammers!
- **Follow up calls to ~15 respondents**
 - Confirmed 2 as LA residents
- **~10 emails sent to no-show respondents from Round 1**
- **Open participation to Task Force members**



Format

- **90 mins**
- **Camera on at the beginning**
- **Chat and oral responses**
- **Short presentation**
- **Discussion**
 - Breakout rooms staff by Nelson/Nygaard and Equitable Cities
- **Notes**
 - Recorded
 - Transcript



Communities Represented

Individual LA Resident

Representative of LA Organization



Resident in Echo Park

Hollywood United
Neighborhood Council

ACLU SoCal

Residents (2) in
Mar Vista

Mission CPAB
member

LA Bike

Resident in
Beverly Grove

Residents (2) in
Playa Vista

LA Metro - Office of
Equity and Race

North Hollywood
CPAB member

Resident in Elysian Valley



Questions Asked

- **Question 1:** What are your experiences with traffic stops by the LAPD? You can share whether this is something that happens a lot or less or more now than in other points in your life, what happened when you were stopped during and after (warning, ticket, etc) and tell us a little bit about how you felt during and after?
- **Question 2:** Tell us about what you've heard about others' experiences with traffic stops by the LAPD.
- **Question 3:** Where do you live and what are some of the most common traffic and safety concerns you and your neighbors have?
- **Question 4:** What is going well with transportation safety in Los Angeles? What should be lifted up and expanded upon?

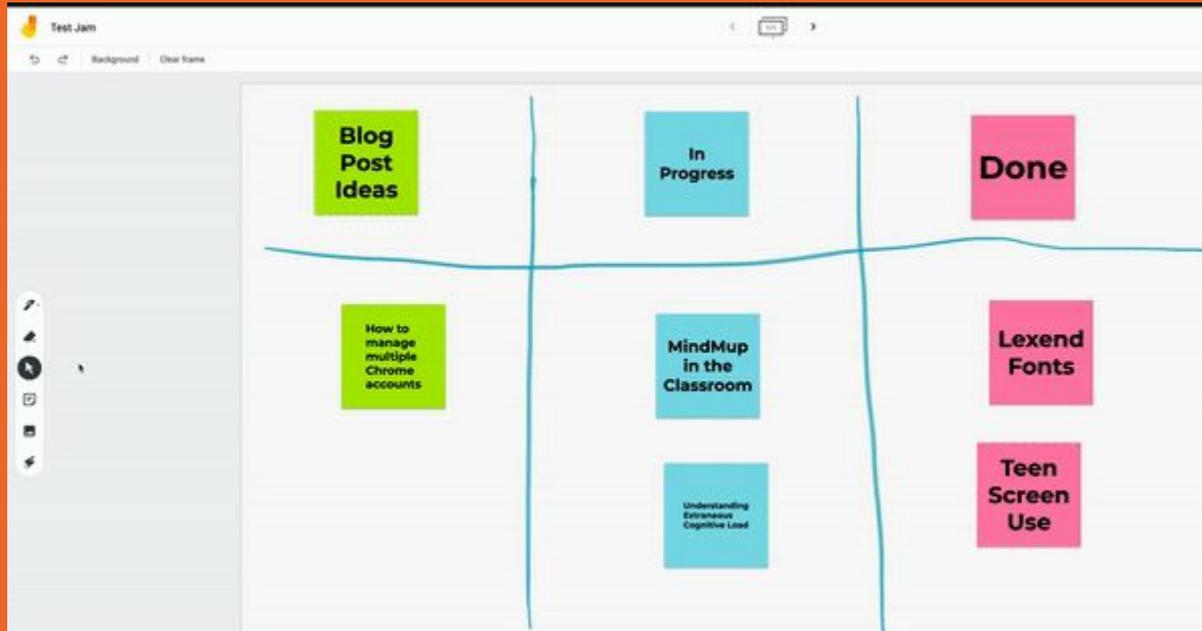


Questions Asked

- Question 5: What does “traffic enforcement alternatives” mean to you?
- Question 6: We know that Black and Latino people are disproportionately stopped by police in traffic stops and are also disproportionately the victims of traffic violence. What ideas do you have to address both of these issues?
- Question 7: How can trust be improved when it comes to traffic enforcement in Los Angeles?
- Question 8: If you were writing this report, what types of things would you suggest to address traffic safety besides police stops?



Raw Notes



Live Notes



Post Session

Tell us about what you've heard about others' experiences with traffic stops by the LAPD.

Within the bike community, it's not infrequent hearing people interacting with law enforcement following collisions (e.g., cop didn't take input before determining fault, bias against people not in car, dismissed for reporting hit and run if no vehicle information is gathered). General sense **PD is not there to help people not in cars at all**. People not in cars are not treated the same way as those who drive.

Ex. Bike repair ban by City Council - people cited by new leg. Seems to be used against community members to clear out homeless encampments and confiscate their belongings. **Lack of interest in doing things that benefit community** and literal interpretation of legislation and impact of actions. Not addressing intending purpose of dealing with chop shops.

Hear people don't want to bike because they don't want to be seen by LAPD (look for excuse to stop them). Terrible place to start from.

+1

In certain neighborhoods, where people have been stopped by LAPD, experiences of tailing/ being followed even for non-moving violations (e.g., tinted windows). **Interactions and following are intrusive**. Passengers interrogated, car or person is searched, people physically grabbed/pulled out of car. Humiliating experience.

Results in tickets and **people feeling they can't live their lives**. Being held up on way to **+1** pick up kids. Causing **fear and trauma**

Hear from South LA from Black and brown folks

Feeling of **being stalked**. Ex. young Black man with backpack coming on buses and trains with law enforcement presence. Will get approached/asked to see bag without probable cause. Hear this from people in high school/teenagers.

Key points: Negative bias towards people not in cars; people avoid biking and walking to not interact with PD; surveillance/being stalked in neighborhood/transit



Overview + Emerging Themes



Themes

Question 1: Your Experiences

Question 2: Others' Experiences

Question 3: Neighborhood Concerns

Question 4: Going Well

Question 5: "Traffic Enforcement Alternatives"

Question 6: Disproportionate Stops

Question 7: Improve Trust

Question 8: Report Suggestions



Question 1: Your Experience



Focus Group Insights: *Fear & Anxiety*

Many participants articulated a belief that **both drivers and police officers have heightened emotions during stops:**



Most participants stopped when younger and while driving

Less able to speak to their own stops by hear about a lot of stops

Seems like officers are reluctant to stop people due to fear of escalation

Some spoke of being empathetic and trying to see it from officer POV

People get nervous, defensive, and/or anxious when stopped

Try to avoid interactions

Found police polite and respectful

Awareness of and palpable feeling of power imbalance/authority

Don't feel safe, respected or protected by LAPD



Question 2: Others' Experience



Focus Group Insights: *Stops Depend on Behaviors and Characteristics*

Participants have heard about stops being both good and bad. **Some blame the people being stopped and others blame police officers:**



Usually the "good" or "bad" experience depends on the behavior that leads to the interaction

Opinion that when stopped drivers should be honest and respectful and stop will be okay

People feel profiled based on mode of transportation, condition of vehicle, neighborhood, etc.

Desire to see more stops

Stops cause trauma and fear

Bias against people not in cars and young people

People avoid biking and walking to not interact with police

Feelings of being surveilled/being stalked in neighborhood or in transit



Question 3: Neighborhood Concerns



Focus Group Insights: *Infrastructure and Policy, not Enforcement*

Many participants **defined speeding as the top problem, but said more than police enforcement is needed to combat it:**



Speeding, street races, and street takeovers are increasing

Infrastructure (roads, paint, signs, lighting, etc.) are old and need consistent maintenance

Stop signs don't work consider lowering speeds, roundabouts, and other changes

Some believe more police walking the street and engaging in community policing would help

Unhoused people present safety concerns, but they need mental health services, not police

Even more substandard conditions and lack of infrastructure for non-car modes of transportation

Lack of connectivity (between modes and communities) and conflict between modes built into infrastructure

People think conditions got worse during pandemic (more app drivers, more aggression, more speeding, etc.)

Seems to be a lack of enforcement (lights, stop signs, crosswalks, etc.)

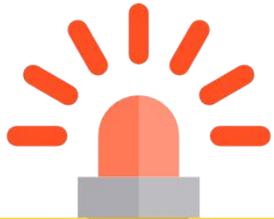
Driving near schools feels terrifying

Question 4: Going Well



Focus Group Insights: *Engaging People Works*

People expressed that sessions like this one are **elevating the topic and providing the opportunity for thoughtful, consistent, and intentional** community engagement:



Besides engagement, infrastructure improvements are key

Areas with more bike paths and trees

Models that do not rely on armed officers on transit (e.g., Metro Ambassadors)

Traffic calming measures that have worked in parts of LA

Kudos to transportation advocates engaging in policy and showing up at government meetings

Better bus service (reliable and free) and bike lanes will mean fewer people driving

Shift from using law enforcement (armed officers) dealing with traffic stops. Perception that it's a waste of time and resources.



Question 5: Traffic Enforcement Alternatives



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Focus Group Insights: *Creative Potential or Scary Alternative*

Understanding of the phrase varies widely– some understand it as policy and protocol changes while other hear it simply as police-centered improvements. There is a **universally strong reaction to the phrase**, but different people have very different feelings and thoughts when they hear it:



Shifting traffic enforcement to DOTs or Public Works Departments

Equitable use of camera-based technology

Progressive fines based on infractions and income

Remove law enforcement pensions if proven record of police misconduct

There needs to be a give and take on both sides

People are trying to blame their faults on police

Better coordinated traffic lights and infrastructure

Warnings or community service instead of tickets

Shift framing from punishment to prevention, more public education and PR

Reactionary and effort to 'defund the police'



Question 6: Disproportionate Stops



Focus Group Insights: *People Stopped Need to Take Accountability*

Many **participants got stuck on fact that this might not be true or that people of color are bringing it on themselves** other acknowledged it was true, but were unsure what to do about it:



Need clearer data to show if this is true

Bring back driver's education in high schools

Education between LAPD and citizens (e.g., citizen/community academy)

Better maintenance of traffic infrastructure

More community engagement

Encourage people to have different vehicles using stats of what colors, types, get pulled over most

Not sure if it is appropriate to talk about race in traffic stops

Researchers should learn how to explain research in way that is relevant to community



Question 7: Improve Trust



Focus Group Insights: *Larger Systemic Issue*

People think that **engagement will help**, but fear that this is too large of a systemic issue:



Officers should engage with and learn from community

Data should be shared transparently with public in easily accessible way

Shift money from officers to resources in areas of historical disinvestment

Require police officers to live in neighborhoods where they're assigned

Need to address larger systemic issues (e.g., moving officers to different groups following misconduct)

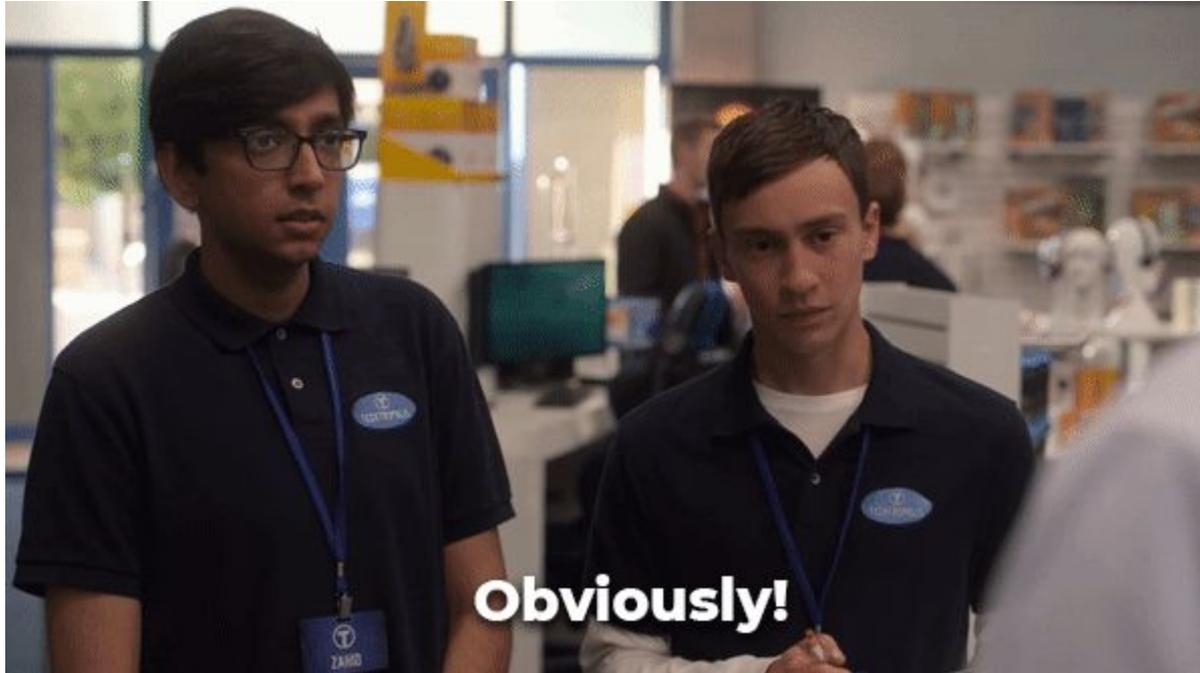
Change one-sided media narrative—LAPD comms and union have strong relations with media

Two-way education or conversations needed between police and community.

More officers on foot walking the community



Question 8: Report Suggestions



Focus Group Insights: *More Interaction with Community*

Many of the ideas suggested for other questions apply here, **namely community engagement, community policing, and education rather than enforcement:**



Better coordinated traffic flow

Use technology to tow any vehicle without insurance

Building relationship outside of stops

Ensure there are opportunities for positive interactions with police

People have to have understanding that police are just doing their job

LA is large, so having smaller districts/areas covered by police would allow for more community policing

Better infrastructure and maintenance of that infrastructure

Create opportunities for DOT engineers and patrol officers to get together and talk about how design can be used instead of enforcement



Other Emerging Themes



Focus Group Insights: *Engagement, Technology, Infrastructure & Accountability*

Community engagement, use of technology, infrastructure investments and personal and department accountability were themes throughout all questions:



Need to invest in infrastructure

Elected officials need to hear directly from communities on this

Police need to be in community and interacting with people outside of traffic stops

Services for unhoused populations and providing mental health services will help those not driving

City needs to pay attention to quality of life issues generally (e.g., noise, litter, street takeovers)

People need to take personal accountability when they break the law

City can better use technology for enforcement

If there is transition to new department, needs to be adequate time and process

City needs to invest more in getting people out of cars

Anything I missed



Focus Group Insights: ???

Anything else?



Next Steps

What's Next?



- **Two more focus groups**
 - Relying on this group
 - Only virtual
- **Add these insights to final report**
 - This is an internal (*research team*) facing document, but major insights or themes could be incorporated into the final report as appropriate



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APPENDIX J

Expert Interview Protocol

Expert Interview Protocol and Interviewee List

Interview Protocol and Questions

Introduction [15 min]

Hi [Interviewee's Name]. My name is [Interviewer's Name] I am a [Role] from Nelson\Nygaard working with several other consulting firms and the Los Angeles Department of Transportation, or LADOT, on the LADOT Alternatives to Traffic Enforcement Project. LADOT is a municipal agency that oversees transportation planning, design, construction, maintenance, and operations within the city of Los Angeles. In 2022, the Los Angeles City Council directed LADOT to conduct a study and develop strategies for reevaluating how to best structure and fund efforts to provide public safety in an effective, equitable manner within the public right-of-way. This call to action is in response to broad public support for creating alternatives to armed law enforcement response in a variety of situations.

The LADOT Alternatives to Traffic Enforcement Project seeks to:

- Examine alternative traffic law enforcement techniques in the United States and globally;
- Compare the traffic safety outcomes with other entities that have implemented civilian traffic enforcement strategies; and
- Present alternatives to traditional traffic law enforcement, including methods that are consistent with unarmed enforcement opportunities.

As part of this project, we are interviewing a diverse group of subject matter experts to learn more about alternative traffic law enforcement techniques applied in different contexts, the steps taken to implement such techniques, and any lessons learned following implementation.

I am here with [Co-Interviewer's Name] who will also be listening, learning, and taking notes during this discussion. Thanks again for participating in this initial data gathering effort to inform our work.

This conversation will take up to 60 minutes. I will ask a series of questions about your organization's awareness of alternative traffic law enforcement techniques within your local context, how it relates to your work, and any challenges and lessons learned resulting from this work.

Before we begin, [Co-Interviewer's Name] will highlight a few guidelines for today's session.

- **There are no right or wrong answers.** We know that everyone's experiences are different, and everyone has an opinion or perspective that is different than what someone else says. Please share what you think or have observed or experienced!
- **There are no "gold stars" or competition.** This initiative is about learning, growing, and sharing lessons learned to inform what LADOT and the City of Los Angeles is doing. We understand that everyone's stage of development in this work will be different. It is hard not to compare and even more difficult to have the discipline to pause and reflect on our own learnings.

- **Personal stories and experiences will be kept confidential. Lessons learned will be shared for LADOT and their partners' growth and learning.** We will summarize what is said but will not be sharing identifiable information or attributing anything that is said to/about an individual.
- Finally, please let us know if you cannot hear me or if anything we say is unclear or confusing.

How do these guidelines sound to you? Do you have any questions before we begin?

Questions [35 minutes]

In thinking about the changes your organization made or are thinking of doing as it relates to change the enforcement of traffic violations:

- How would you and/or your department define traffic safety? Have any of the changes you've made shifted that definition for you?
- How did you engage with the community or community partners if at all to design, shape, implement, and track the outcomes of these changes?
- What were some of the legal implications for implementing these changes?
 - Follow-up: Did this result in transitioning responsibilities from one group to another to conduct enforcement? If so, did this impact any public-facing reporting protocols?
- What was the cost of implementing these changes? What factors were accounted for in calculating these costs (internal and external costs? Positive and negative?)
- How did these changes impact internal training protocols and procurement of equipment?
- What was the process or mechanism used for transitioning responsibilities to partner entities? How did you delineate roles and responsibilities following this change (e.g., was there a Memorandum of Agreement)? Who oversees and/or tracks changes and how is it reported?
- Were there any concerns among alternative enforcement staff about their safety? Were those safety concerns similar to those voiced by police officers when conducting traffic enforcement activities?
- What impact did these changes have on existing labor or union agreements?
- Was there any impact on traffic collisions, specifically those resulting injuries and fatalities?
- Did you notice a change in the number of traffic stops that did NOT escalate due to the presence of an alternative enforcement officer instead of a police officer?
- Were there any observed impacts on crime rates or frequency of violations resulting from these changes? Were there any mechanisms to track changes in rates across various populations?
- How did members of the community, public oversight committees, or community partners respond to these changes? Were there any observed impacts to the relationship between your department and the broader community?
- Have there been any recent discussions internally or externally within your jurisdiction to expand on the changes you've already implemented?

Closing [10 min]

Is there anything else you would like to share to help build understanding around what you/your organization did for alternatives to traffic enforcement/?

Again, thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview today. If you have any questions regarding this session, please reach out to me. For questions about the overall project, please contact Richard France of Estolano Advisors.

APPENDIX K

Expert Interview Summary

February 2023

Initial Takeaways

**Expert Interviews- Traffic
Enforcement Alternatives**

Nelson\Nygaard

Where we are

- Reached out to all recommended police departments and task force recommendations
- Conducted three interviews:
 - UNC as a mini-focus group (3 people)
 - Berkeley City Councilmember
 - Former OakDOT director

Takeaways from UNC Interview

- Recommend looking at traffic safety through an expanded vision zero framework
 - Expand vision zero definition to include public health and use of force (no violence or fatalities due to police), including fatalities AFTER stops
 - Collect better data around real reasons for stops and consequences
- Think about the total cost in long term– determine the real value (vs perceived value) of major arrests from traffic stops, vs. cost to public health, mental health, trust, etc.
- Need to be more holistic– include land use, infrastructure, density of related concerns (such as number of alcohol establishments), social factors that affect crime
- Need leadership and institutionalized change
 - Resistance from internal and external forces
 - Non-institutionalized change disappears when leadership changes
- Need real accountability and benchmarking

Takeaways from City of Berkeley

- Currently addressing pretext stops through ongoing work with Police Dept, BerkDOT, and Berkeley Community members
- State law has been an obstacle in allowing unarmed traffic enforcement
- City wanted to move parking enforcement out of Police Department into BerkDOT but blocked by the SEIU which represents parking enforcement officers
 - Parking enforcement wanted the connectivity to PD; easier to call for back-up enforcement if assistance is needed
 - Officers valued the uniform which gave them a sense of authority and trust in the community
- Need to connect Police Dept and DOT in their work around traffic safety: connect the philosophy of street safety (Vision Zero) with the practice

Takeaways from Oakland Dept of Transportation

- Oakland Department of Transportation (OakDOT) oversees parking enforcement, crossing guards, and abandoned vehicle towing
 - These services were previously managed by the Oakland Police Department
 - Parking enforcement under OakDOT has a stronger focus on safety (e.g., cars parked in red zones near crosswalks which decreases pedestrian visibility) rather than revenue generation
- City Council wanted to pilot automated speed enforcement with cameras:
 - Proposed state legislation emphasized that cameras would capture photos of rear license plates instead of windshields or drivers' faces and ticketed drivers could reduce fines if unable to pay
 - Community engagement revealed lack of support particularly from communities of color who thought cameras would result in less police patrol and more unsafe driving
 - Lacked support from advocacy groups, labor unions, and police advocates in state legislature

APPENDIX L

Legal Interview Protocol

Los Angeles Department of Transportation Alternatives to Traffic Enforcement Study

Legal Scholar Interview Protocol

Objectives

The legal scholar interviews for LADOT's Alternatives to Traffic Enforcement Study aimed to identify and evaluate legal requirements and implications of the study's proposed recommendations. Those legal requirements and implications included the following:

- limitations under California law, including statutes that arguably limit traffic enforcement to sworn officers and statutes that impose penalties for moving violations based on the severity of the infraction;
- City of Los Angeles Municipal Code provisions that impose penalties for moving violations based on the severity of the infraction;
- state and local requirements regarding public sector collective bargaining, labor law, and regulations; and
- LADOT's legal structure and authority under the City of Los Angeles' Administrative Code.

Interviews also explored any state and local legislative changes that could be necessary to implement the recommendations.

Structure

The interviews proceeded iteratively, with the first set of interviews identifying legal issues that need research (including from the categories listed above), and additional legal scholars to consult. The interview questions evolved as the Task Force modified its recommendations and initial interviews were performed. As such, the legal interviewers drafted tailored questions for each interviewee and are considering follow-up interviews with some based on the iterative research findings and Task Force recommendations.

Each interview was about 45 minutes. In the first 5 minutes, the interviewers introduced themselves and the LADOT study. In the next 25 minutes, the interviewers asked tailored questions to each interviewee based on their relevant expertise. In the remaining 15 minutes, the interviewers asked follow-up questions and the interviewees had a chance to provide additional suggestions and ideas.

Timeline and Logistics

The interviews took place by Zoom. The first round of interviews occurred during the week of January 30, 2023 and the second round occurred during the weeks of February 6 and 13. Julian Gross and Shajuti Hossain conducted the interviews and a notetaker was present. Julian and Shajuti will synthesize notes from each interview to highlight key takeaways and next steps.

Interviewee Backgrounds

The interviewees had various roles and expertise related to traffic enforcement as follows:

1. a managing partner of a small law firm that represents local public entities; an expert in collective bargaining, labor law, and civil service rules in California;
2. two attorneys of a non-profit who drafted a legal memo on the limitations of civilianizing traffic enforcement under California law;
3. a senior attorney who has participated in several public safety and criminal justice reform efforts in California;
4. a directing attorney of a non-profit whose work relates to the City of Los Angeles' police practices and California law on collection of police stop data; and
5. an attorney of a legal services organization whose work relates to the City of Los Angeles' criminal fines.

APPENDIX M

Task Force Recommendations Criteria

TASK FORCE CRITERIA

(confirmed during 1/26 Task Force meeting)

Impact

(i.e., does this recommendation have a positive impact on populations most affected by policing?)

Fit/Feasibility

(i.e., can the City of Los Angeles realistically carry out this recommendation?)

Movement Alignment

(i.e., does this align with the recommendations for nonpolice traffic safety alternatives put forward by LA groups advocating for social, racial, and economic justice?)

Racial Equity

(i.e., does this recommendation reduce racial disparities in outcomes?)

APPENDIX N

Task Force Recommendations Summary

Appendix N: Task Force Recommendations Summary

Prioritized Recommendations (across all groups)	Groups	Theme	Final/Consolidated Version for Review	Areas for Further Task Force Discussion
Invest more in roadway improvements	G1, G2, G3	Structural Changes (City Agencies)	Increase and prioritize self-enforcing infrastructure investments (without increasing surveillance) in high-injury network corridors, low-income communities, and communities of color.	The group may want to revisit the phrase "without increasing surveillance" since this only came up during one of the working sessions.
More safety infrastructure: Speed limit signs, reflectors, traffic signal synchronization	G1	Structural Changes (City Agencies)		
Self-enforcing streets as a means of prevention	G1	Structural Changes (City Agencies)		
Prioritize investments in self-enforcing infrastructure (without increasing surveillance) in high-injury network corridors, low-income communities, and communities of color	G2	Structural Changes (City Agencies)		
Stop these interactions altogether (stop the stops)	G2	Reducing Disparities and Stops	Stop the stops. (i.e. stop interactions between enforcement entities and drivers altogether)	Review alongside the following recommendation: Use unarmed civilians for enforcement rather than police (not necessarily through a new department)
Eliminate enforcement and/or decriminalize these activities.	G3	Reducing Disparities and Stops		
Eliminate enforcement of low-level violations by the police	G2	Reducing Disparities and Stops		
Review local enforcement ordinances and determine efficacy	G2	Reducing Disparities and Stops	Review local traffic enforcement ordinances to determine their efficacy at improving safety outcomes.	
Identify alternative approaches to fees	G1, G2, G3	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes	Identify alternative approaches to fees for moving and non-moving violations (e.g. repair vouchers) that foster increased safety.	
Use unarmed civilians for enforcement (not necessarily through a new department)	G1	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes	Use unarmed civilians rather than police for traffic enforcement.	The group may want to revisit whether to call out the creation of a new department in this recommendation or leave it out since this approach differed by group.
More civilian enforcement (as opposed to police enforcement)	G1	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes		
Create a new department for civilian enforcement.	G3	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes		
Transfer enforcement of non-moving violations to parking attendants.	G3	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes		
Build non-police first responder teams (including medical professionals) whose mission is traffic and road safety, not criminal law enforcement.	G3	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes	Build non-police first responder teams whose mission is traffic and road safety, not criminal law enforcement. These should be care-centered first responders, including mobile behavioral health crisis response teams comprised of medical professionals and behavioral health providers.	Review alongside the following recommendation: Increase funding for and availability of mental health professionals who partner with LAPD to respond to emergency calls.
Consider the Mayor's proposed Office of Community Safety as a potential home for a proactive repair voucher program	G2	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes	Consider the Mayor's proposed Office of Community Safety as a potential home for a proactive repair voucher program.	
Eliminate the use of lethal and less-lethal weapons during traffic stops.	G3	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes	Eliminate the use of lethal and less-lethal weapons during traffic stops.	
Hold officers accountable for excessive use of force	G1	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes	Hold officers accountable for excessive use of force.	
Increase funding/availability of mental health professionals partnering with LAPD to respond to calls	G1	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes	Increase funding for and availability of mental health professionals who partner with LAPD to respond to emergency calls.	Review alongside the following recommendation: Build non-police first responder teams whose mission is traffic and road safety, not criminal law enforcement. These should be care-centered first responders, including mobile behavioral health crisis response teams comprised of medical professionals and behavioral health providers.
Allocate training funds toward Vision Zero rather than LAPD.	G3	Improvements to Experience & Outcomes	Provide funding for traffic safety training for Vision Zero staff, rather than LAPD, to avoid allocating additional funds to LAPD.	
Help people meet their basic needs	G2	Holistic Approach	Help people meet their basic needs.	
Shift modes (active transportation, public transit) and make them competitive with cars.	G3	Holistic Approach	Implement policies and conduct additional research to encourage travel mode-shifts away from cars and to make other modes (active transportation, public transit) more competitive.	
Ensure that there is community buy-in for any report recommendations	G1, G3	Project Next Steps	Provide more opportunities for authentic, robust community engagement and listening sessions and ensure that there is community buy-in for this report's recommendations.	
Community listening sessions	G1	Project Next Steps		

Note: At the start of each working session, the Consultant team presented key takeaways from research conducted to date and a set of preliminary recommendations. The slide deck can be found here: <http://bit.ly/3K8uNID>

Additional Recommendations (across all groups)	Origin	Prioritized Recommendation	Group(s) that Prioritized
Align other policies (i.e. related to housing, commute patterns) with traffic safety goals.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Annual vehicle inspections to reduce equipment-related stops.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Collect anonymous feedback from citizens after traffic stops.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Collect better, more up-to-date demographic information to educate LAPD and City on diversity of communities.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Create a new department for civilian enforcement.	1/26 mtg	YES	G3
Educate motorists about the risks of driving to encourage behavior change.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Eliminate enforcement and/or decriminalize these activities.	1/26 mtg	YES	G3
Eliminate the use of lethal and less-lethal weapons during traffic stops.	1/26 mtg	YES	G3
Ensure that there is community buy-in for any report recommendations.	1/26 mtg	YES	G1, G3
Follow through on existing infrastructure plans, such as the Mobility Plan.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Help people meet their basic needs to alleviate need for enforcement.	1/26 mtg	YES	G2
Hold officers accountable for excessive use of force, how they engage citizens, and how they utilize bodycams.	1/26 mtg	YES	G1
Identify alternative approaches to fees for moving and non-moving violations that foster increased safety (e.g. repair vouchers).	1/26 mtg	YES	G1, G2, G3
Increase/improve officer training (i.e. related to implicit bias, interactions with communities, and impact of stops) and require test.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Invest more in roadway improvements.	1/26 mtg	YES	G1, G2, G3
Lobby the state to reduce the speed that cars can physically drive.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Prevent City Council members from blocking traffic safety improvements.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Provide information on what to expect during a traffic stop in the DMV handbook.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Review local enforcement ordinances and determine efficacy for improving safety outcomes.	1/26 mtg	YES	G2
Streamline the process for implementing safety improvements by consolidating City departments.	1/26 mtg	NO	
Transfer enforcement of non-moving violations to parking attendants.	1/26 mtg	YES	G3
Add dedicated infrastructure to protect non-driving road users and promote other transportation modes.	G1	NO	
Address officer misconduct that results in changed behavior or fewer interactions with communities.	G1	NO	
Alleviate procedures/behaviors/ infrastructures that contribute to traffic danger.	G1	NO	
Alternatives to fines.	G1	NO	
Camera speed enforcement in high density areas + school zones (AB43).	G1	NO	
Community listening sessions.	G1	YES	G1
Create opportunities for officers to engage with and learn from communities.	G1	NO	
Further advance policy changes to target highest risk moving violations.	G1	NO	
Increasing funding/availability of mental health professionals partnering with LAPD to respond to calls.	G1	YES	G1
More civilian enforcement (as opposed to police enforcement).	G1	YES	G1
More crossing guards in more places.	G1	NO	
More safety infrastructure: Speed limit signs, reflectors, traffic signal synchronization.	G1	YES	G1
Provide extensive police training on de-escalation, discriminatory bias, fragile masculinity and systemic understanding of traffic safety issues.	G1	NO	
Reconsider the allocation of stops from call for service approach towards high-injury network corridors.	G1	NO	
Reduce time needed for infrastructure approvals/implementation.	G1	NO	
Regularly convene community meetings to dialogue about the effects of police stops.	G1	NO	
Self-enforcing streets as a means of prevention.	G1	YES	G1
Third-party evaluation on effectiveness of future policy changes regarding police stops and provide ongoing monitoring/reporting to the community.	G1	NO	
Use unarmed civilians for enforcement (not necessarily through a new department).	G1	YES	G1
Discuss/reform police enforcement approach (including tactics) in low-income communities and communities of color.	G2	NO	
Eliminate enforcement of "low-level" violations by police (e.g. Philadelphia example).	G2	YES	G2
Identify the procedures/training/approach in communities of color that results in fatal outcomes.	G2	NO	
Mayor's proposed Office of Community Safety as a home for a proactive Repair voucher program.	G2	YES	G2
Prioritize investments in self-enforcing infrastructure (w/o increasing surveillance) in high-injury corridors/communities or color/low-income comm.	G2	YES	G2
Stop police from citing non-moving violations (i.e. parking violations).	G2	NO	
Stop these interactions altogether ("Stop the stops").	G2	YES	G2
Transform institutions (rather than working in them) b/c history continues to show that these systems don't accomplish purported purposes equitably.	G2	NO	
Work with the County to create a county-wide, separate line to send notice to EMTs and social workers first.	G2	NO	
Allocate training funds toward Vision Zero rather than LAPD.	G3	YES	G3
Build non-police first responder teams (including medical professionals) whose mission is traffic and road safety, not criminal law enforcement.	G3	YES	G3
Expand the window of time to apply for a ticket diversion/forgiveness program.	G3	NO	
Research policy needed to enable car technology to limit the speed that cars can drive.	G3	NO	
Shift modes (active transportation, public transit) and make them competitive with cars.	G3	YES	G3

APPENDIX O

Consultant Team Recommendations Summary

Consultant Team Draft Recommendations

Methodology

Equitable Cities developed an initial set of draft recommendations based on the findings from the quantitative data analysis and the qualitative focus groups. Takeaways from each analysis were aligned with the other to find similarities that would structure a draft recommendation. Other recommendations were developed based on additional findings from either the focus groups or the RIPA data analysis.

Table 1: Focus Group and Quantitative Analysis Takeaway Overlap

Focus Groups	Quantitative Analysis
Drivers and police officers have heightened emotions during stops and imbalance of power	A number of actions can happen during the stops and after leading to financial or emotional consequences
Traffic enforcement is observed to be almost non-existent in some areas of LA compared to others.	Stops are heavily concentrated in South LA.
Speeding is a top problem and enforcement does not resolve the issue.	Less than one in five traffic stops is for speeding and most speeding stops do not result in citations.
Interactions during stops differ depending on the neighborhood and perceived class or race of the driver.	Racial disparities are present across entire analysis.
Drivers and police officers have heightened emotions during stops and imbalance of power	A number of actions can happen during the stops and after leading to financial or emotional consequences
Traffic enforcement is observed to be almost non-existent in some areas of LA compared to others.	Stops are heavily concentrated in South LA.

Equitable Cities presented draft recommendations to the Task Force over a series of formal Task Force meetings and below-quorum, small group recommendations workshops in January and February 2023. Equitable Cities utilized the feedback from Task Force members to revise, refine, or deprioritize initial draft recommendations.

Feedback from Task Force members emphasized the need to disinvest in additional police training or police-focused programs. Members expressed the preference to focus on enhancing and investing in programs to support ongoing community work, or in projects that are community-focused. Additionally, Task Force members stated the need to emphasize or include non-police methods of improving traffic safety. Based on the full set of feedback from Task Force members, Equitable Cities developed the full set of proposed recommendations shown below.

Table 2: Revised Recommendations

Recommendation	Category	Enforcement vs. safety vs. financial effects of enforcement	Potential impact (low, medium, high)
Prioritize investment of self-enforcing infrastructure on high-injury network corridors.	Structural changes (city agencies)	Enforcement and safety	High
Further advance LAPD procedural policy changes to target highest risk moving violations (speeding). Akin to procedure changes for pre-textual stops	Structural changes (city agencies)	Enforcement	High
Use unarmed personnel to conduct moving violation stops for reducing stop actions and use of force; determine if there are unarmed field officers at LAPD or consider expanding role of traffic control officers who currently control intersections and conduct parking enforcement and are unarmed; build upon new models like LA Metro ambassadors.	Reducing disparities and stops	Enforcement	High
Increase funding and use of mobile care response units to assist with crisis situations. Have a separate phone line that sends notice to EMTs and social workers first.	Reducing disparities and stops	Safety	Medium
Continue to add dedicated infrastructure to protect non-driving road users and promote other transportation modes.	Reducing disparities and stops	Safety	Medium
Create or increase accessibility to ticket diversion programs, modify to a progressive fine structure based on infractions and income (keeping in mind administrative burdens on people), consider increasing time to contest	Improvements to experience and outcomes	Financial	Medium
LAPD create a program where people receive vouchers to fix equipment issues rather than issuing tickets (LightsOn! program) or use “fix-it ticket” approach.	Other	Financial	Medium
Engage community partners to hold vehicle repair events (akin to smog test and repair events).	Other	Enforcement	Medium
Provide training to community members on basic emergency response and care using the CERT LA model of community emergency response	Other	Safety	Medium
Have a third party evaluate effectiveness of future policy changes regarding police stops.	Other	Enforcement	Medium
Use technology to consistently enforce speeding and unsafe behavior; includes things that are currently legal in CA (red light cameras), explore legislative changes for currently not-legal state regulations (speeding cameras) and work with state to explore car technology options like speed governor's in vehicles, even as there are federal implications (i.e., need for waiver)	Reducing disparities and stops	Enforcement and safety	Medium

Address officer misconduct that results in changed behavior or fewer interactions with communities.	Improvements to experience and outcomes	Enforcement	Low
Regularly convene community meetings to dialogue about the effects of police stops and gather input about how to improve approaches.	Other	Safety	Low
Create two-way dialogue or training opportunities between LAPD and Vision Zero staff and engineers	Structural changes (city agencies)	Safety	Low
Enhance standard driver awareness of the rights of people walking and cycling; rights to ride on streets and sidewalks, road positioning etc.	Reducing disparities and stops	Safety	Low
Police training on de-escalation, discriminatory bias, fragile masculinity and systemic understanding of traffic safety issues.	Improvements to experience and outcomes	Safety	Low
Create opportunities for officers to engage with and learn from communities where stops occur frequently through relationship building outside of traffic stops.	Improvements to experience and outcomes	Safety	Low

APPENDIX P

Summary of Outreach Next Steps



MEMORANDUM

To: Los Angeles Department of Transportation

From: Sahar Shirazi, Carolyn Chu, Nelson\Nygaard

Date: March 9, 2023

Subject: Outreach and Engagement Scope of Work

The purpose of continued outreach and engagement scope of work is to ensure community members have ample opportunity to provide input on traffic enforcement alternatives and proposed solutions to address traffic violence in Los Angeles. The Traffic Enforcement Study includes a recommendation focused on continued engagement and coordination with community members. This recommendation calls for additional focus groups and listening sessions, broad outreach through public surveys and community-based organization engagement, and the continuation of the Task Force. This memo builds on those recommendations to support the City of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles Department of Transportation (LADOT) in their continued efforts to eliminate traffic violence and fatalities.

LADOT can leverage community connections and resources gathered during the Traffic Enforcement Study, such as existing relationships with current Task Force members and the existing expert interview protocol. Those relationships and resources provide a strong baseline for continued and enhanced engagement with communities, including those most impacted by traffic enforcement. Recommended methods to inform and engage with community are below.

PHASE I: INFORM

Work with existing Task Force members to share information and solicit feedback

- Work with Task Force members to create outreach materials that are accessible and user-friendly
- Distribute information about the Traffic Enforcement Study and solicit feedback via multiple methods
 - Include option to sign up for future engagement

Create channel for ongoing, citywide distribution of information, including City's responses to collected feedback

- Include images, data, and graphics
- Translate to multiple languages based on City demographics
- Share project updates, impacts, and research throughout research and implementation phases
- Build and maintain trust and accountability with community

PHASE II: ENGAGE, LISTEN, LEARN

Host focus groups to actively seek feedback and engage with community members and community-based organizations.

- Recruit community members from neighborhoods that face legacies of disinvestment; engage community-based organizations that represent these communities
- Remove barriers to participation in focus groups by:
 - Providing food, childcare, and language interpretation
 - Hosting at locations that are transit accessible and/or have plenty of parking
- Compensate focus group participants for their time (e.g. via gift cards)
- Offer at least two meeting dates at different times of day to accommodate participants' schedules
- Value community members' perspectives and respect their expertise

Provide support for community-based organizations to host focus groups and listening sessions

- Allow community groups to serve as the event hosts
- Compensate community-based organizations for this work and allow them to handle all logistics and organizing
- Contract with consultants to provide support as needed.
- Use train-the-trainer model to have consultants train organizations on how to facilitate the focus groups and offer additional project context to maintain consistency across focus groups
- Increase funding/resources to support specific focus groups for non-English speakers

Create series of town hall meetings with representation from various City of LA departments and County partners focused on addressing traffic enforcement alternatives.

- Gather input and respond to community questions and concerns

Conduct interviews with diverse set of policy and implementation experts.

- Interviews should be with experts who bring diverse experiences, including police officers, city officials, academics, advocates, policy analysts, and community members.
- Schedule ample time and appropriately allocate budget to identify and contact a robust list of potential interviewees.

PHASE III: MAINTAIN TRUST AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Continue to engage the existing Task Force for project continuity and continued engagement with community partners.

- Strengthen existing relationships with key stakeholders who have already invested their expertise and time as community consultants
- Ask existing members if expanding or alternating membership can help reduce burnout and fatigue or contribute to Task Force dynamics
- Create a clear scope of work for Task Force members and be transparent about how their feedback will be incorporated into LADOT policies and practices

Regularly convene community meetings to dialogue about the effects of police stops and implemented actions and gather input about how to improve approaches.

- Engage community partners to hold vehicle repair events (akin to smog test and repair events).

APPENDIX Q

Task Force Resource Library

Task Force Resource Library

The following resource library consists of articles, video clips, books, and other publications shared by Task Force members throughout the project period.

Resources

Akbari, M., B Lankarani, K., Heydari, S. T., Motevalian, S. A., Tabrizi, R., & J M Sullman, M. (2021). Is driver education contributing towards road safety? a systematic review of systematic reviews. *Journal of injury & violence research*, 13(1), 69–80.
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APPENDIX R

History and Context Section

Appendix R: History and Context Section (full text)

HISTORY AND ORIGINS OF TRAFFIC ENFORCEMENT

This report explores options for the City of Los Angeles to pursue “alternative models and methods that do not rely on armed law enforcement to achieve transportation policy objectives.”¹ In a motion presented to the Ad Hoc Committee on Police Reform, councilmembers noted that the impetus for this study is a legacy of racialized policing in the City of Los Angeles and nationwide, where police officers “have long used minor traffic infractions as a pretext for harassing vulnerable road users and profiling people of color.”² In keeping with Council’s stated intent, this section offers an overview of the history of policing. It summarizes how modern policing in the U.S. evolved from the colonial era and provides context for twentieth and twenty-first century policing in Los Angeles. This history is not exhaustive; it is intended to ground readers in the larger historic and social contexts that inform this report’s analysis and the accompanying recommendations.

Policing as a Tool to Regulate and Restrict the Movement of Black Americans, Indigenous Communities, and Migrants

The genesis of modern policing in the United States can be traced back to slavery in colonial America, where the economy relied on the involuntary labor of enslaved Africans and their descendants.³ Southern landowners established slave patrols to maintain this system of chattel slavery. The patrols aimed to control the population of Black people by capturing people attempting to flee the conditions of forced labor, and by maintaining a system of terror that sought to quell persistent Black resistance.⁴ During Reconstruction, “slave patrols were replaced by militia-style groups” who were charged with enforcing Black Codes that “restricted access to labor, wages, voting rights,” and limited the movement of formerly enslaved people.⁵ Although those patrols and militias are distinct from police forces that are common today, it is important to recognize that they were a precursor that was largely dedicated to criminalizing Black people – a goal that was often achieved through force, threats, and intimidation.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, municipalities began establishing police forces that resemble modern police departments. However, police were generally not the lead entity charged with enforcing social norms. In this era, “communities largely policed themselves through customs and common-law suits.”⁶ The role of patrolling officers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries largely focused on racially biased policing designed to constrain opportunities and the physical movement of non-whites.

In Los Angeles during this era, Native Americans, Chinese and Latino migrants, as well as Black Americans in Los Angeles were specific enforcement targets. Local law enforcement used selective enforcement of public order laws to arrest disfavored populations. In the case of Chinese residents, local representatives of federal law enforcement authorities enforced racist and xenophobic federal immigration laws – namely, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and its successor, the 1892 Geary Act.⁷

¹ Los Angeles City Council (2021). Council File: 20-0875 – Transportation Policy Objectives/Alternative Models and Methods/Unarmed Law Enforcement. Council Adopted Item. Retrieved March 30, 2023, from <https://cityclerk.lacity.org/lacityclerkconnect/index.cfm?fa=ccfi.viewrecord&cfnumber=20-0875>

² Los Angeles City Council (2020). Council File: 20-0875 – Transportation Policy Objectives/Alternative Models and Methods/Unarmed Law Enforcement. Motion Document(s) Referred to the Ad Hoc Committee on Police Reform. Retrieved March 30, 2023, from

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³ Bhattar, K. (2021). The History of Policing in the US and Its Impact on Americans Today. Retrieved from <https://sites.uab.edu/humanrights/2021/12/08/the-history-of-policing-in-the-us-and-its-impact-on-americans-today/>

⁴ Bhattar, K. (2021). The History of Policing in the US and Its Impact on Americans Today. Retrieved from <https://sites.uab.edu/humanrights/2021/12/08/the-history-of-policing-in-the-us-and-its-impact-on-americans-today/>

⁵ NAACP (n.d.). The Origins of Modern Day Policing. Retrieved on March 14, 2023 from <https://naacp.org/find-resources/history-explained/origins-modern-day-policing#:~:text=The%20origins%20of%20modern%20day,runaway%20slaves%20to%20their%20owners.>

⁶ Seo, S. (2016). The New Public. Yale Law Journal. Retrieved on April 3, 2023 from

https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3825&context=faculty_scholarship: p. 1624

⁷ Hernández, K.L. (2017). City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles 1771 – 1965. The University of North Carolina Press

A mixture of racial animus, economic conditions, and the need to quell moral panics influenced which marginalized groups were on the receiving end of heightened scrutiny. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, local law enforcers (i.e., marshals and rangers) subjected Native Americans to “aggressive and targeted enforcement of state and local vagrancy and drunk codes” at the behest of the Los Angeles Common Council.⁸ During the Panic of 1893, the Los Angeles Federated Trades Union coordinated with U.S. marshals to conduct deportation raids targeting Chinese residents.⁹ Amidst a labor shortage in 1917, Los Angeles’ mayor “ordered the chief of police to force unemployed Mexicans back to work by ‘arrest[ing] all Mexicans unemployed in the Plaza District, as vagrants.’”¹⁰ During the Prohibition era, the Central Avenue district was a predominantly Black neighborhood where “gambling, drinking, prostitution, and late-night clubs” were permitted to thrive under a rampantly corrupt Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).¹¹ While the LAPD has evolved, the description of how this majority-Black community was policed in the 1930s – and the effects said policing had on residents – describes the reality that many low-income Black and Brown communities in Los Angeles face today:

“[T]he heavy concentration of LAPD officers in the Central Avenue District exposed both African American men and women residing in the district to high levels of everyday policing on public order charges. The result was serial arrests and constant cycling in and out of the local jails for African American residents, especially the poor and working class who lived much more of their lives in public than the economically secure.”¹²

How Cars Transformed Policing

The twentieth century saw the rise of the automobile as a primary mode of travel; with it, came a transformation in how the public interacted with police officers. In many respects, the ubiquity of the automobile – and the reliance on armed law enforcement to address traffic safety concerns – meant that traffic stops “became one of the most common settings for individual encounters with the police.”¹³

Driving presented new hazards in public spaces, leading local governments to pass a raft of laws to regulate space, assign rights of way, and govern the use of vehicles.¹⁴ The language in these new laws was often vague. For example, California’s Motor Vehicle Act of 1915 “prohibited driving ‘at a rate of speed . . . greater than is reasonable and proper.’”¹⁵ Determining what was considered “reasonable” or “proper” necessarily relied on the discretion of the enforcing body. But police enforcement of these norms was not a foregone conclusion, with some police departments actively resisting the task of enforcing traffic laws.¹⁶ In some cases, “police chiefs complained that traffic control was ‘a separate and distinct type of service’ – i.e., it was not their job.”¹⁷ While separate bureaucracies had been created to enforce

⁸ Hernández, K.L. (2017). *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles 1771 – 1965*. The University of North Carolina Press: 36.

⁹ Hernández, K.L. (2017). *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles 1771 – 1965*. The University of North Carolina Press: 82-83.

¹⁰ Hernández, K.L. (2017). *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles 1771 – 1965*. The University of North Carolina Press: 148.

¹¹ Hernández, K.L. (2017). *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles 1771 – 1965*. The University of North Carolina Press: 167.

¹² Hernández, K.L. (2017). *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles 1771 – 1965*. The University of North Carolina Press: 171-72.

¹³ Seo, S. (2016). *The New Public*. Yale Law Journal. Retrieved on April 3, 2023 from https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3825&context=faculty_scholarship: p. 1625

¹⁴ Seo, S. (2016). *The New Public*. Yale Law Journal. Retrieved on April 3, 2023 from https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3825&context=faculty_scholarship: p. 1635

¹⁵ Seo, S. (2016). *The New Public*. Yale Law Journal. Retrieved on April 3, 2023 from https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3825&context=faculty_scholarship: p. 1636

¹⁶ Seo, S. (2016). *The New Public*. Yale Law Journal. Retrieved on April 3, 2023 from https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3825&context=faculty_scholarship: p. 1637

¹⁷ Seo, S. (2016). *The New Public*. Yale Law Journal. Retrieved on April 3, 2023 from https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3825&context=faculty_scholarship: p. 1637

certain types of laws (e.g., postal inspectors and secret service agents), “a lack in political will to foot the bill for yet another bureaucratic entity” meant that traffic regulation would fall on the police.¹⁸

This represented an expansion of police powers over the traveling public. It embedded a system where traffic safety issues are first and foremost handled by police and designated as criminal matters, and it established the broad discretionary powers that police departments use when enforcing voluminous and complex traffic safety laws. Indeed, it represented a transformation in how police and policing showed up in the daily lives of all Americans.¹⁹ Given the history of law enforcement in the U.S., the implications for marginalized groups (e.g., Black communities, Indigenous populations, Latino communities, migrants, low-income communities) were particularly dire.

Los Angeles’ Modern Context

In Los Angeles, police brutality against Black residents during traffic stops has been tied to multiple uprisings, leading to local, state, and national calls for police reform. In the 1960s, the Watts Rebellion made headlines as part of the larger, nationwide movement against police brutality. The arrest of a 21-year-old Black man, Marquette Frye, for drunk driving close to the Watts neighborhood, and the ensuing struggle, sparked six days of unrest. The uprising resulted in 34 deaths, over 1,000 injuries, nearly 4,000 arrests, and the destruction of property valued at \$40 million.²⁰ As a result of the rebellions, Governor Jerry Brown appointed a commission to study the underlying factors and identify recommendations in various policy areas, including police reform. In its report, the Commission cited the lack of job and education opportunities and the resentment of the police as key contributors to the uprisings, which were ignited by the brutal actions taken against Frye during the traffic stop.²¹ The report also recommended a strengthened Board of Police Commissioners to oversee the police department. Likewise, the report supported recruiting more Black and Latino police officers as a means of improving the community-police relationship.²²

Despite the lessons gleaned from the Watts Rebellion, the 1990s saw another uprising in response to police brutality during a traffic stop. In 1992, Rodney King, a 25-year-old Black man, was brutally beaten and arrested by four police officers and later charged with driving under influence.²³ The four officers were charged with excessive use of force, but were all acquitted one year later. The widely circulated video of King’s beating and the news about the officers’ acquittal ignited days of violent unrest in the city, especially in the Historic South Central neighborhood. The city employed a curfew and the National Guard to respond to the uprising. While the 1992 unrest shared parallels with the Watts uprisings, “the conflagration that took hold after the King trial wasn’t constrained to that neighborhood and was not restricted to Black Angelenos.”²⁴ Instead, the ensuing unrest “constituted the first multiethnic class riot in

¹⁸ Seo, S. (2016). The New Public. Yale Law Journal. Retrieved on April 3, 2023 from https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3825&context=faculty_scholarship: p. 1637-8

¹⁹ Seo, S. (2016). The New Public. Yale Law Journal. Retrieved on April 3, 2023 from https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3825&context=faculty_scholarship: p. 1638

²⁰ Stanford University. (2018, June 5). Watts Rebellion (Los Angeles). The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute. Retrieved March 7, 2023, from <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/watts-rebellion-los-angeles>

²¹ California. Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots. (1965). Violence in the city: An end or a beginning?: A report. HathiTrust. The Commission. Retrieved 2023, from <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433081793618&view=1up&seq=12>.

²² California. Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots. (1965). Violence in the city: An end or a beginning?: A report. HathiTrust. The Commission. Retrieved 2023, from <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433081793618&view=1up&seq=12>.

²³ Krbechek, A. S., and Bates, K. G. (2017, April 26). When La erupted in anger: A look back at the Rodney King Riots. NPR. Retrieved March 7, 2023, from <https://www.npr.org/2017/04/26/524744989/when-la-erupted-in-anger-a-look-back-at-the-rodney-king-riots>

²⁴ Muhammad, I. (2022). What Were the L.A. Riots? The New York Times Magazine. Retrieved on April 4, 2023 from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/28/magazine/la-riot-timeline-photos.html>

American history, an eruption of fury at the socioeconomic structures that excluded and exploited so many in Southern California.”²⁵

In 2000 the City of Los Angeles entered a consent decree with the federal government. Instead of fighting a federal civil rights lawsuit “alleging a ‘pattern-and-practice’ of police misconduct, the Mayor, City Council, Police Commission, and Police Department signed a ‘consent decree’ with the U.S. Department of Justice, giving the Federal District Court jurisdiction to oversee the LAPD’s adoption of a series of specific management, supervisory, and enforcement practices.”²⁶ In an evaluation of the effectiveness of the decree, researchers found that the strong police leadership and oversight brought by the consent decree have made policing in Los Angeles more respectful and effective, although there is still more to be done.²⁷ In 2009, 83 percent of residents reported that LAPD was “doing a good or excellent job,” up from 71 percent two years prior. In 2005, 44 percent of surveyed residents reported that the police “treat members of all racial and ethnic groups fairly ‘almost all of the time’ or ‘most of the time.’”²⁸ By 2009, that figure increased to 51 percent. The underlying reforms driving these changes included the following:

- Implementing new data systems to track officers’ performance and proactively alert supervisors if there are indicators that officers are violating protocol.
- Updating policies, rules, definitions, and management strategies to govern the use of force by officers.
- Tracking stops “of motor vehicles and pedestrians, breaking down the patterns by race and ethnicity, by the reasons for the stops, and by the results of the stops in terms of crime detected” (like the data analyzed for this study).
- Implementing new policies and management systems for the anti-gang unit and other special divisions²⁹

With these updated systems in place, the LAPD reported reductions in use of force incidents, while also seeing reductions in overall crime levels. While the study notes significant improvements, the authors also provide caveats, noting that there are “many LA residents, police officers, and arrestees who remain deeply unhappy with the performance of the police department and who want to see more improvement.” They also note that administrative data provided some uneven results; “for example, the use of force is down overall, but not in every division.”³⁰ Still, the independent evaluation finds that the overall trend is positive, with growing community trust and reduced use of force incidents overall.

Los Angeles City Council Motion + Impetus for This Study

In 2020, the murder of George Floyd, a Black man, by a Minneapolis police officer led to protests across the country, including in Los Angeles.³¹ As a result of local protests and persistent calls for non-law enforcement alternatives, the Los Angeles City Council passed a motion in October 2020. The Council

²⁵ Muhammad, I. (2022). What Were the L.A. Riots? The New York Times Magazine. Retrieved on April 4, 2023 from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/28/magazine/la-riot-timeline-photos.html>

²⁶ Stone, C., Foglesong, T., and Cole, C. M. (2009). (rep.). Policing Los Angeles Under a Consent Decree: The Dynamics of Change at the LAPD. Harvard Kennedy School. Retrieved 2023, from <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/policing-los-angeles-under-consent-decree-dynamics-change-lapd>: 2.

²⁷ Stone, C., Foglesong, T., and Cole, C. M. (2009). (rep.). Policing Los Angeles Under a Consent Decree: The Dynamics of Change at the LAPD. Harvard Kennedy School. Retrieved 2023, from <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/policing-los-angeles-under-consent-decree-dynamics-change-lapd>.

²⁸ Stone, C., Foglesong, T., and Cole, C. M. (2009). (rep.). Policing Los Angeles Under a Consent Decree: The Dynamics of Change at the LAPD. Harvard Kennedy School. Retrieved 2023, from <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/policing-los-angeles-under-consent-decree-dynamics-change-lapd>: 1.

²⁹ Stone, C., Foglesong, T., and Cole, C. M. (2009). (rep.). Policing Los Angeles Under a Consent Decree: The Dynamics of Change at the LAPD. Harvard Kennedy School. Retrieved 2023, from <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/policing-los-angeles-under-consent-decree-dynamics-change-lapd>: 5.

³⁰ Stone, C., Foglesong, T., and Cole, C. M. (2009). (rep.). Policing Los Angeles Under a Consent Decree: The Dynamics of Change at the LAPD. Harvard Kennedy School. Retrieved 2023, from <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/publications/policing-los-angeles-under-consent-decree-dynamics-change-lapd>: 2.

³¹ City of Minneapolis. (2023). 38th and Chicago. 38th and Chicago - City of Minneapolis. Retrieved March 7, 2023, from <https://www.minneapolismn.gov/government/programs-initiatives/38th-chicago/>

Motion (CF-20-0875) directed the Los Angeles Department of Transportation (LADOT) to conduct a study that evaluates opportunities for unarmed traffic enforcement in the city.

Since the launch of this study in February 2022, several developments have influenced the study's findings and approach. In March 2022, the Los Angeles Police Commission approved a policy limiting pretextual stops to safety-related incidents and setting requirements for officers that pursue these types of stops.³² Further, in October 2022, City Council approved a motion to explore an Office of Unarmed Response and Safety for the city.³³

³² Rector, K. (2022, March 2). New limits on 'pretextual stops' by LAPD officers approved, riling police union. Los Angeles Times. Retrieved March 7, 2023, from <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2022-03-01/new-limits-on-pretextual-stops-by-lapd-to-take-effect-this-summer-after-training>

³³ KCAL-News Staff. (2022, October 8). La City Council to consider 'office of unarmed response'. CBS News. Retrieved March 7, 2023, from <https://www.cbsnews.com/losangeles/news/la-city-council-to-consider-office-of-unarmed-response/>

APPENDIX S

List of Civilian Enforcement Classes

List of Non-sworn classes with involved with enforcement activities

1. Animal Control Officer
2. Detention Officer
3. Park Ranger
4. Property Officer
5. Senior Animal Control Officer
6. Senior Park Ranger
7. Senior Property Officer
8. Senior Traffic Supervisor
9. Senior Traffic Supervisor
10. Senior Transportation Investigator
11. Traffic Officer
12. Transportation Investigator
13. Building Inspectors, Electrical Inspectors (etc.)

APPENDIX T

Los Angeles Police Department's 7-40 Model Summary

7/40 Plan

This is to serve as a brief history of the 7/40 plan. The 7/40 plan refers to the expectation of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) to deploy its patrol resources to meet a 7 minute response time to all emergency (Code-3) calls, while allowing 40 percent (or 24 minutes) of each hour available for proactive policing.

In 1987 the Los Angeles City Council and Los Angeles Police Commission Hired Police Administration Services (PAS) to study patrol operations and staffing in the LAPD. The LAPD had been using the Uniform Deployment Formula (UDF) to deploy its patrol resources since the 1940s. Ultimately, the study found that the UDF was flawed beyond repair and that a new system should be adopted. The study found that there were *two* major police service deficiencies that could be remedied by a new-deployment plan: 1) **Response time to emergency calls** and 2) **Sufficient proactive policing time.**

In 1989 the LAPD adopted a new system for deploying and staffing their patrol operations. That system was called Patrol Plan, and is the system still used today. Patrol Plan is a computer program that aides the LAPD in deploying its patrol resources to meet the 7/40 plan by conducting analysis on myriad of variables such as past response time, average calls for service, etcetera.

The seven minute response time is a result of the Kansas City Policing Study (1971-1972). The study found that a reasonable response time to a police emergency is seven minutes from the time the citizen calls for help (and actually speaks to an operator) to the time the police officers first arrive on scene. This standard allows for the following:

- 1 minute for the operator to speak with the caller and get pertinent information;
- 1 minute to locate and dispatch a unit to the call; and,
- 5 minutes for the unit to arrive on scene (from the time of dispatch).

The seven minute response time was self-imposed by the LAPD prior to the implementation of Patrol Plan in 1989. However, there was no standard or policy holding the LAPD to that response time, nor were there any criteria in place to ensure the LAPD could actually respond to code-3 calls within the seven minutes until Patrol Plan.

In 2011 the average response time to Code-3 calls was 5.7 minutes.

The 40 percent of each hour, or 24 minutes, of proactive policing is a result of Patrol Plan. Prior to Patrol Plan the LAPD still subscribed to the principals of the “Random Preventive Patrol Era,” which (among other things) set the expectation of patrol officers to use 33 percent of each hour, or 20 minutes, for proactive policing. In the late 1970s the International Association of Chiefs of Police set the 33 percent of each hour dedicated to proactive policing as an acceptable standard.

In studying the UDF and creating Patrol Plan, the team working with PAS believed the expectation of how much time was being utilized for proactive policing could be increased to 40 percent from 33 percent with the implementation of Patrol Plan.

It is important to note that there is not a process in place to actually measure how much time a patrol units spend on proactive policing. This has proven exceptionally difficult to quantify. There are too many intangibles such as high visibility and non-investigative consensual encounters that help deter crime and build relationships within the community. Those activities are not necessarily recorded, but are important components to proactive Community Policing.

Since the 1940's, the LAPD deployed its personnel using a system called the Uniformed Deployment Formula (UDF.) Following community concerns regarding deployment, in 1987, the Los Angeles City Council and Los Angeles Police Commission Hired Police Administration Services (PAS) to study patrol operations and staffing in the LAPD. The study found issues with the process that was being utilized at the time and recommended that a new system should be adopted. As a result of this study, the LAPD adopted a new system for deploying and staffing their patrol operations. That system was called Patrol Plan, and is the system still used today.

An additional study had been conducted in 1971-1972 called the Kansas City Policing Study which found that a reasonable response time to a police emergency is seven minutes from the time the citizen calls for help (and actually speaks to an operator) to the time the police officers arrive on scene.

LAPD adopted the seven-minute response time goal as established by this study and incorporated it into the Patrol Plan.

In addition to the importance of responding to emergency radio calls, officers are also tasked with proactive policing activities. Prior to the adoption of the Patrol Plan, LAPD subscribed to the principals of the "Random Preventive Patrol Era," which set the expectation that officers would use 33 percent of each hour, or 20 minutes, for proactive policing and crime prevention efforts. This was the general policing standard in the late 1970's.

When creating and implementing the Patrol Plan, however, LAPD believed it could do better and that proactive policing could be increased from 33 percent of a patrol officer's time to 40 percent.

Both the 7-minute response time and 40% proactive policing goals were adopted as essential elements of proactive Community Policy and incorporated as the "7/40 performance standard" into the LAPD Patrol Plan.



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