

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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https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/los_angeles/latest/lamc/0-0-0-164634

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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

<https://cityclerk.lacity.org/lacityclerkconnect/index.cfm?fa=ccfi.viewrecord&cfnumber=20-0875>

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

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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.