INTRADEPARTMENTAL CORRESPONDENCE

April 4, 2019   **BPC #19-0092**
1.0

TO: The Honorable Board of Police Commissioners

FROM: Inspector General, Police Commission

SUBJECT: Public Comments Received During Designated Period (3/12/19 – 3/26/19) in Response to OIG's Review of Selected LAPD Data-Driven Policing Strategies

At the March 12, 2019 meeting of the Board of Police Commissioners (BOPC), the Office of Inspector General (OIG) presented its Review of Selected Los Angeles Police Department Data-Driven Policing Strategies. As announced during that meeting, the public was invited to provide commentary on the OIG's report through March 26, 2019 for further consideration by the BOPC. The collection of that commentary is described below, and the actual responses themselves are included as an addendum.

The OIG received a total of 819 email responses from individuals along with two responses submitted on behalf of organizations.[1]

- Of the 819 emails received:
  - 808 (98.7%) contained identical or nearly identical text[2]
  - 10 (1.2%) contained non-identical written content
  - 1 (0.1%) email did not contain any content

- Of the 819 emails received:
  - 282 (34.4%) were indicated as originating from Los Angeles
  - 474 (57.9%) were indicated as originating from another California municipality
  - 59 (7.2%) were indicated as originating from outside California
  - 4 (0.5%) did not indicate an originating location

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[1] The OIG received an additional 38 emails, all of which appeared to be duplicates of previously-received emails; each of the 38 duplicates came from the same address as a previous email, and each contained the same content as a previous email.
[2] Of these 808 emails, 15 also contained some additional text. Only one of the emails with wholly identical text has been included in the addendum; all 15 of the emails with additional text have been included.

- With regard to the two responses submitted by organizations, one originated from the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition and the other originated from the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California[3]

- All of the responses received by the OIG ranged in content from expressing concern over the use of predictive policing to calling for an end to predictive policing (and to the LASER and PredPol programs, specifically); none of the responses received by the OIG expressed support for predictive policing[4]

I am available to provide any further information the BOPC may require.

E-copy – Original Signature on File with the Police Commission

MARK P. SMITH
Inspector General
Police Commission

Attachment

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[3] Both of these documents have been included in the addendum.
[4] As noted previously, one response received did not contain any content.

ADDENDUM

Public Comments Received During Designated Period (3/12/19 – 3/26/19) in Response to OIG's
Review of Selected LAPD Data-Driven Policing Strategies

Data Driven Policing

From: ████████ ████████████████

Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2019 11:35 AM

To: Data Driven Policing

Subject: End data-driven policing in Los Angeles

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER program and PredPol. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms. For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These program have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles. The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

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██████████████████████████████

Center for Media Justice

████████████████████
████████████████
████████████

MAG-Net, a project of the **Center for Media Justice**, is defending the right to connect and the power to communicate in a digital age. **Join the movement!**

Data Driven Policing

From:	███████ ████████████████████████
Sent:	Thursday, March 14, 2019 9:36 PM
To:	Data Driven Policing
Subject:	Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to strongly urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs and ALL future attempts at speculative ("predictive" or "data-driven") policing, as well as profiling ("chronic offender" programs).

The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department has used predictive policing tools in order to guess where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer. But they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

███████

Los Angeles, CA 90042

Data Driven Policing

From:	███████ ████████████████████████
Sent:	Friday, March 15, 2019 5:36 PM
To:	Data Driven Policing
Subject:	Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

Dearest Police Commission,
It is clear that LASER and PredPol are harmful for the community. The work that the SLAPDS coalition has done, has been extensive mapping out the problems with these programs. It's evident by Soboroff's actions and words last Tuesday that even as the president of the "civilian oversight" commission, he has no clue what's going on with these programs. And I'm not even saying that to be an asshole, it's just clear that that's the case. In the interest of "civilian oversight" and in the interest of true community safety, I hope the Commission hears the community, the "civilians" like SLAPDS coalition, that actually know these programs through and through, and dismantle them. Noore predatory-Predictive Policing. No reforms to programs intent on harm and banishment. Dismantle that shit. If anyone actually reads this email all the way down her, please ask Steve to step down.

Regards,

████████

, CA 90025

From:	▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
Sent:	Saturday, March 16, 2019 4:29 PM
To:	Data Driven Policing
Subject:	Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I demand that the LASER and PredPol programs be dismantled. I reject any recommendation that allows the program to continue. Transparency is a myth and this program cannot be reformed.

Regards,

▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Pasadena, CA 91106

From:

Sent: Saturday, March 16, 2019 5:51 PM

To: Data Driven Policing

Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

First, I'll add something of my own, so you know I'm genuinely concerned about the Fourth Amendment issues your programs raise.

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

Los Angeles, CA 90027

Data Driven Policing

From: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
Sent: Sunday, March 17, 2019 1:55 PM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to demand urgently you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles. These people have been targeted long enough. We need restorative justice.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

San Diego, CA 92103

Data Driven Policing

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

As a born and bred Californian and a former LA county resident, I've seen my community be disproportionately and harshly policed. The cycle of discrimination has to be stopped and the actions your department has taken thus far exacerbate the problem of racial profiling and racism far more than it does to address crime.

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

███████████

Oakland, CA 94609

Data Driven Policing

From: ███████ ████████████████████
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2019 9:37 AM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

When black and brown communities get 90% of pro active policing it is predictable that 90% of arrests will be of black and brown people. This is poor policing strategy.

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

███████ ████
Covelo, CA 95938

Data Driven Policing

From: ███████ ████████████████████████████
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2019 3:53 PM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

This new report on policing in LA is troubling; it appears the department policies are neither forward-looking nor an improvement over what has been: "by relying on historic crime data (i.e. arrest records), predictive policing will always produce racist outcomes—because this data is not a reflection of criminality, but a reflection of who is being policed."

I've read that the most effective policing is for members of law enforcement to build relationships throughout the community and prevent violence BEFORE it has become a crime. That doesn't mean tracking and harassing prior offenders; that means having a positive and proactive presence in and throughout the community when crime is NOT a factor. It means learning about members of the community and helping them achieve their potential, not ignoring them until there is a problem.

Further, the department should improve training for patrol officers in mental health awareness and prioritize measures to deal with it and disruptive behavior RATHER THAN relying on force, especially deadly weapons. Lethal force should ALWAYS be a last resort, not a pre-determined intention which the PredPol program seems likely to assume.

I urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

████████

Del Sur, CA 93536

Data Driven Policing

From:	███████████ ████████████████████████████
Sent:	Tuesday, March 19, 2019 2:50 AM
To:	Data Driven Policing
Subject:	Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Look at the actual products, the actual results - not just someone's opinions - and see where you should really invest your funds and your energies.

Regards,

███████████

Palo Alto, CA 94301

Data Driven Policing

From:

Sent: Thursday, March 21, 2019 9:28 PM

To: Data Driven Policing

Subject: data driven policing

I am opposed to these algorithm programs and demand that LAPD immediately end Predpol and operation LASER. Put tax money back into social workers and stop trying to do their jobs.(human rights)

Data Driven Policing

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I also urge you to end the business relationship between UCLA, LAPD, and PredPol Inc. LAPD sends the wrong message when they use public funds for secret programs, and disguise it with "science" in order to legitimize these programs.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

████████
████████████████████
Los Angeles, CA 90006

Data Driven Policing

From: █████████   ████████████████████████████
Sent: Sunday, March 24, 2019 8:46 PM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to ask you to end the Operation LASER and PredPol programs, in light of growing awareness about their dubious claims to scientific accuracy, as is expressed by emerging literature that sheds light on the operations of these programs and by members of the Los Angeles community.

Regards,

████████████

Los Angeles, CA 90005

Data Driven Policing

From: ███████ ███████████████████████████
Sent: Sunday, March 24, 2019 11:44 PM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

End the LASER and PredPol programs! Stop criminalizing being black or poor. Having a darker color skin is not suspicious. Being poor is not suspicious. Sleeping on the street is not suspicious. What we need is programs that will HELP Angelenos, not make their lives worse.

Regards,

███████

West Hollywood, CA 90038

Data Driven Policing

From: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
Sent: Monday, March 25, 2019 9:35 AM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

Please, read my whole letter. This is of urgency. Together we have to work towards a better, more just and equitable city.

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Los Angeles, CA 90031

Data Driven Policing

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to ask you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms. LAPD should focus more on the threat of white supremists and Neo-Nazis. This is a huge blindspot for law enforcement in general.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

███████████

, CA 90068

Data Driven Policing

From: ████████████ ██████████████████
Sent: Monday, March 25, 2019 10:34 AM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Data Driven Policing

Dear LAPD OIG,

I am an anthropology student at UCLA, a Pediatric Physician, and my research area is services for people with Serious Mental Illness in Los Angeles, which includes many interactions with law enforcement. Therefore I feel I am well placed to voice concerns about data-driven policing strategies.

I have serious concerns regarding LAPD Data Driven Policing Strategies.

Data-Driven policing is not a neutral or "scientific" approach to policing. It is important to question what exact data is driving the policing. When crime data is used to make policing more targeted it means that communities who are already over-policed will experience an intensification of that policing. Crime intervention via patrol which is the framework for data-driven policing is like a doctor patrolling a neighborhood waiting for a heart attack - it does not work. The "proactive" or "targeted" policing of poor neighborhoods, where black and Latino residents live further embeds the systemic racism of policing and can be experienced as harassment and surveillance by people who have already had bad experiences with over policing.

As a member of the Anthropology Department at UCLA, I am particularly worried about Prof Brantingham's contribution through PREDPOL.

- The team are evaluating an algorithm and company in which he has a direct financial stake - this is obviously terribly biased and a conflict of interest which I believe makes the evaluation invalid.
- I am also troubled by the ethical implications of Prof Brantingham's research as anthropologists have an ethical obligation to "do no harm" and I believe his research is harmful to poor, black and Latino residents in LA as outlined above.

Thank you for taking the time to read my concerns.

Best wishes,

██████

████████████████████

Data Driven Policing

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm a graduate student studying Electrical Engineering with a large focus on inference and statistics. I'm very concerned about "data driven policing" which, despite being considered an unbiased technological solution, only mirror and reinforce existing bias in policing. Instead of predicting where crime will occur, these systems only infer where policing has already occurred. This leads to overpolicied and under-resourced communities facing even more policing, with no actual improvement in public safety.

I urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Los Angeles, CA 90035

From: ███████████ ████████████████████████████████
Sent: Monday, March 25, 2019 1:17 PM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

End Predictive Policing in Los Angeles

Regards,

████████████

Los Angeles, CA 90066

From: ▐▐▐▐▐▐ ▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐
Sent: Monday, March 25, 2019 1:48 PM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

In my years living in Los Angeles, I have only witnessed the police harming communities. I've watched the police harm my neighbor with mental illness, I've watched them take away a 12 year old boy for trying to stop his brother for fighting, I've watched them harass my homeless neighbors day in, day out. I'm tired, I don't want to watch this abuse of my neighbors anymore.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

▐▐▐▐▐▐▐▐

Los Angeles, CA 91405

From: ███████ ████████████████████

Sent: Monday, March 25, 2019 2:25 PM

To: Data Driven Policing

Subject: Predpol and inspector general

Abolish predpol and laser, no reform! And ABOLISH!

██

Data Driven Policing

From: ████████ ████████████████████████████
Sent: Monday, March 25, 2019 5:00 PM
To: Data Driven Policing
Subject: Predictive policing doesn't make LA safer

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

Racist policing is unethical and should be illegal.

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

████████████

Voorhees Township, NJ 94705

Data Driven Policing

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. I am old enough to remember the Rampant scandal and Project Hammer. Project Hammer was billed as a way to prevent crime. It destroyed countless homes of poor people of color. The tools used during the raids under Project hammer have left the scars of PTSD on innocent people. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms.

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles.

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development.

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles.

Regards,

▮▮▮▮▮▮

Los Angeles, CA 90026

Data Driven Policing

Dear Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners,

I'm writing to urge you to end both the LASER and PredPol programs. The Office of Inspector General's audit has highlighted some glaring problems with both programs that can't be addressed through simple reforms. ****** THERE have been so many stories in the news, nationwide---that show that many police people shot before they would need to, and why are so many of the suspects always black people? When I look at places where bail money is an incentive for towns to make money---or racial profiling---then not even white people will trust you anymore.***************

For close to a decade, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has used predictive policing tools in order to predict where crime will happen and who will commit the crime. These programs have not made our communities any safer, instead they've reinforced racist policing practices that are criminalizing people of color, youth and poor people in Los Angeles. ***********************AND if police were actually fair, they would find much more illegal work being done in banks and corporate offices; I suppose it seems easier to suspect a person out walking at night, or a bunch of men standing on a corner----but are the police really trained to know what to look for? And if there was a better communication between police and the communities where they work---and if police were familiar faces to the people of a community---maybe people in the community would trust the police more.*********

The resources that are being wasted on these expensive programs could instead be redirected to fund initiatives that promote real public safety: employment, education, public housing, health centers and youth development. *******************I am also wondering what training is actually involved in becoming a police officer. What skills do trainers look for, and how important is listening as compared to shooting?***********

I urge you to please end predictive policing in Los Angeles********* It just seems that if more people in the community could trust you, then you would have more people in the community helping you.*********

Regards,
██████████
Altadena, CA 91001

From:	███████████ ███████████████
Sent:	Tuesday, March 26, 2019 4:48 PM
To:	Data Driven Policing
Subject:	ACLU comments re: LAPD predictive policing program
Attachments:	ACLU Letter to LAPD re Removal of Predictive Policing Programs (Mar 25 2019) .docx

Please find attached a letter from the ACLU of Southern California regarding the LAPD's predictive policing program.

████████████████████

ACLU of Southern California

███████████████

Los Angeles, CA 90017

███████████████

████████████

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ACLU SoCal: *STAND FOR JUSTICE* >> *Download our mobile app at mobilejusticeca.org*

March 25, 2019

Commissioner Steve Soboroff, President
Commissioner Eileen Decker, Vice President
Commissioner Dale Bonner
Commissioner Sandra Figueroa-Villa
Commissioner Shane Murphy Goldsmith
Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners
100 West First Street, Suite 134
Los Angeles, CA 90012

Dear Board of Police Commissioners:

The ACLU of Southern California ("ACLU SoCal"), urges the Los Angeles Police Department ("LAPD" or the "Department") to cease its predictive policing programs, including Operation LASER, the Chronic Offender Bulletin, and PredPol. As the Office of Inspector General's ("OIG's") report revealed, despite the fact that some of these programs have been operating for nearly a decade,[1] there is no evidence that their use has led to any reduction in crime. Their existence, however, has an undeniably negative effect on communities that are targeted by these programs, and their relationship with the LAPD. If Chief Moore and the Department are serious about their stated commitment to repair community trust and ensure that Black and Latino communities in Los Angeles do not bear the brunt of aggressive suppressive policing tactics, then the Department must cease the use of these programs.

As the ACLU SoCal has stated in its prior comments to the Police Commission on this topic, the Department should approach the use of predictive policing methods—which depend heavily on surveillance, rely on labeling, and solely focus on the use of punitive intervention tools—with as much skepticism and concern as they do when similar methodologies are directed at its own personnel. The Department understands that individuals who are the subject of monitoring, labeling, surveillance, and targeting absent reasonable suspicion, feel violated, dehumanized, and hostile as a result, because when LAPD officers are the object of surveillance, interventions, or discipline—such as with the use of GPS tracking on vehicles, deployment of body cams, and early-warning disciplinary systems to identify problem officers—these concerns are recognized, taken seriously, and acted upon. The Department and the Commission should approach its treatment of community members with equal care and concern for their dignity and privacy as they do those of its own officers.

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[1] LASER was in its early research phases in 2009 and was actively deployed in 2011. *See* Office of Inspector General, "Review of Selected Los Angeles Police Department Data-Drive Policing Strategies" (March 12, 2019) (Hereinafter "OIG Report").

I. The OIG's report identified fatal flaws in the Department's predictive policing programs.

The stated goal of the OIG's report was to review each of the predictive policing programs, assess how they operate, and evaluate their impact on the community. The report was valuable in showing the significant divergence between how these programs actually operate and the way they have been described publicly by the Department. Particularly troubling was the Department's use of the Chronic Offender Bulletin ("Bulletin") and its individualized-targeting, which it sold to the public as focusing only "violent repeat offenders,"[2] who have been carefully identified, screened and assigned points reflecting their relative "threat" to the community through "in-depth analyses" including their criminal histories, gang affiliations, and previous detentions.[3] Setting aside the separate and significant concerns about the Department's ability to accurately, and without bias, identify individuals who pose a "threat" to the community based on those criteria, the OIG report revealed that this description of how the program operates is completely false. Rather than targeting "violent repeat offenders," nearly half of those included in the Bulletin had zero or one past arrest for a violent crime.[4] And many individuals were added to the Bulletin and subjected to monitoring and tracking merely based on the suggestions of officers, without any consideration of whether the individual met the Department's own criteria for inclusion.[5]

The significant discrepancies between the Department policies and the actual implementation of these highly-intrusive programs, as well as the failure to identify any significant correlation with a reduction in crime, should alone be sufficient to justify terminating these programs.

II. The OIG's report does not consider the significant negative impacts on the communities and individuals targeted by the Department's predictive policing tools and corresponding use of suppressive tactics.

The OIG's report does not capture the full impact of these predictive policing tools and tactics on the community. The report summarily concludes that only a single use of force incident—and no uses of deadly force—were connected to the use of Operation LASER and the Chronic Offender Bulletin,[6] and it considers no other potential impacts on community members. More importantly, because the OIG relies on the Department's data, the Commission lacks any input from residents, targeted individuals, or the community organizations that help them through the aftermath of these policing activities who can shed light on the way in which these suppressive policing tactics affect the communities in which they operate—whether conducted as part of a predictive policing strategy or at the hands of the Metro Division. When the LAPD deploys suppressive policing tactics, they disproportionately harm Black and Latino residents, routinely

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[2] Bureau of Justice Assistance U.S. Department of Justice, "Los Angeles, California Smart Policing Initiative: Reducing Gun-Related Violence through Operation LASER" (Oct. 2012), p. 2. *Available at* http://newweb.jssinc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Spotlight-on-Operation-LASER.pdf. (Hereinafter "Smart Policing").

[3] *Id.* at p. 6.

[4] OIG Report at p. 16.

[5] Id. at p. 15.

[6] *Id*. at p. 19.

result in the violations of their rights—whether under the law or the tenets of procedural justice—and extend far beyond the purported purposes of the programs.

The Commission should not evaluate the Department's predictive policing program in a vacuum, removed from the context of larger concerns about racial targeting. This predictive policing report must be considered along with the reports of disproportionate policing experienced by Black Angelenos at the hands of the Metropolitan Division,[7] the OIG's gang enforcement report that showed that Black and Latino residents are more often subjected to stops and searches that violate the law or Departmental policies when compared to white Angelenos stopped for the same purpose of gang suppression,[8] and the decades of complaints and concerns raised by members of South Los Angeles communities that they felt targeted and violated by LAPD's aggressive policing methods.[9] The Department's own report on Biased Policing Reduction also flagged that many of the complaints about officers' conduct arose from officers' unnecessarily escalating interactions with the public. This is an inevitable result of policing tactics that encourage officers to view entire neighborhoods as war zones, presence in public spaces as suspicious, and residents as merely suspects that have yet to be caught.

The impact of these programs extends far beyond simply whether a specific individual listed on the Bulletin is stopped, or if an arrest occurs in an active PredPol hotspot—the types of measures that were the focus of the OIG Report. The labeling of communities and large swaths of their members as "threats" directly impacts the way in which LAPD officers interact with these communities and its members, as reflected in the reports above. Residents in these communities are simply treated differently than residents elsewhere. And when people and places are labeled as threatening, officers will respond by thinking every act is suspicious, and be primed to respond with aggressive, and sometimes violent conduct. LAPD officers killed Ezell Ford in a stop that they initiated because they believed he appeared "suspicious" simply for existing as a young Black man in his own community. The officers responsible explicitly stated it was his presence in what they deemed a high-crime neighborhood and the proximity of other individuals they had labeled as likely gang members that viewed them to see him as a suspect of an unknown crime, rather than an innocent resident walking in his own community.

Even as PredPol hotspots shift one or two blocks, or individuals cycle off the Bulletin, officers will continue to view these areas as high crime zones occupied by criminals, and the young Black and Latino men they encounter as likely offenders—and conduct themselves accordingly. Thus, these labeling and targeting programs inevitably impact entire communities and their residents and should not continue.

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[7] Cindy Chang, "Mayor calls for audit of LAPD unit," LA Times (Feb. 1, 2019).

[8] Office of Inspector General, "Review of Gang Enforcement Detail Stops," (Feb. 5, 2019).

[9] See, e.g., Community Coalition, "The People First Platform," at p. 10. Available at http://2j61yv256vxd12hdls206jrv.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/PFP-FNL2-web.pdf; Los Angeles Police Department, Report of the Los Angeles Police Department on the Prevention and Elimination of Biased Policing," (Nov. 15, 2016) at p. 10-11. Available at http://www.lapdpolicecom.lacity.org/111516/BPC_16-0391.pdf.

III.   The Department's predictive model is likely to be full of error and reinforce racial bias, making it an ineffective and dangerous policing tool.

The OIG's report does not engage the underlying data relied upon in the Department's predictive policing methods, but the inability to create bias-free data on crime should also weigh heavily against continuing these programs. First and foremost, the Commission must understand that there is no objective and accurate measure of crime. The information within any predictive model is no more than the Department's ability to measure crime, which diverges from reality in a host of ways.   For example, arrests are not a reliable indicator because they are a product of decisions about where officers will be deployed, who they approach and on what grounds, their discretion on how to respond to an incident, their responsiveness to service calls, and the public's willingness or desire to solicit officers' intervention. Crime reports are also unreliable. Among other things, they are subject to underreporting from victims and manipulation within the Department. Even just within the LAPD, there have been recurrent reports of crimes being classified or under-reported in ways that fit various Department narratives—whether it is that crime is increasing or decreasing for certain offenses or in certain communities.[10]

Bias is also baked into any crime-related criteria. Even if race is not explicitly included into the analysis, almost any measure is going to be impacted by the dramatically different treatment that blacks and Latinos often receive throughout the criminal justice process. For instance, predictive models include the reported rates of certain crimes or the presence of individuals on probation to determine the neighborhood risk score. But those numbers are products of historical practices. The same act can be legally characterized in different ways—or dropped completely from a charge for a defendant viewed as sympathetic. So these measures are not reflecting an objective fact, but rather the consequences of a lifetime of inequitable criminal justice judgments. As a result, we should recognize that these predictions are not objective. Placing this data into an "algorithm" just provides a veneer of legitimacy and neutrality, sometimes referred to as "mathwashing," but the products of a biased system remain biased.

Similarly, the Department's gang member designations are also apt to be rife with error and lead to faulty conclusions. Multiple courts already have recognized that the way that law enforcement, including the LAPD, identifies people as gang members for inclusion on a gang injunction is likely to be prone to error.[11] And the California state legislature recognized that individuals were inappropriately being added to the statewide gang database known as CalGang on the basis of incorrect criteria and even law enforcement claims that contradicted the evidence used to support them.[12] Yet both of these programs are subject to more scrutiny and more rigorous vetting than LAPD's internal designations of gang membership. This inaccuracy, and the possibility that police actions predicated on this faulty data can lead to damaging—if not deadly—consequences for community members also should be sufficient alone to insist that the

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[10] *See, e.g.*, Ben Poston, Joel Ruben and Anthony Pesce, "LAPD underreported serious assaults, skewing crime stats for 8 years," LA Times (Oct. 15, 2015).

[11] *See, e.g.*, Order Granting Plaintiff Peter Arellano's Motion for Preliminary Injunction, *Youth Justice Coalition, et al. v. City of Los Angeles*, No. CV 16-7932-VAP (RAOx), p. 20-24 (Sept. 7, 2017).

[12] *See, e.g.*, California State Auditor, "The CalGang Criminal Intelligence System: As the result of its weak oversight structure, it contains questionable information that may violate individuals' privacy rights," (Aug. 2016), *available at* https://www.auditor.ca.gov/pdfs/reports/2015-130.pdf.

Department cease its predictive policing programs and that any interventions based on purportedly predictive algorithms should be non-punitive.

IV.   Community- and individual-level interventions based on "predicted" criminal activity should not be focused on punitive measures.

To the extent the Department's predictive policing program claims to identify at-risk individuals, we should not focus energies on finding ways to pre-emptively penalize people for fitting certain criteria, and the interventions adopted should be supportive, not punitive. Social services interventions can help address problems for at-risk individuals and communities before crimes occur and are a more productive use of resources than punitive measures. It is always difficult to understand what actually causes increases or decreases in crime because there are so many diverse factors that impact the causes of crime. In addition, there are serious accuracy problems with the way crime is defined, observed, and measured. But where predictive algorithms have been most effective in other jurisdictions is when interventions that occurred included provision of social services or other non-policing efforts.

For instance, in New Orleans, the NOLA for Life program identified individuals that they believed were at risk of being future victims and areas in need of social services or with infrastructure in need of repair. The interventions adopted included things like repairing streetlights, cleaning streets, providing violence prevention within schools, and funding other local services like mentoring and parenting programs, job training, violence interruption, and other social services. As time went on, however, the focus became more punitive, and the provision of social services waned, while the police continued to rely upon the data in their enforcement work. The earlier period of holistic intervention coincided with a nearly 22% decrease in homicides,[13] while homicides increased as the focus shifted.[14]

Richmond's Operation Peacemaker Fellowship, provided targeted services and even stipends to those identified to be most at-risk. This coincided with an overall decrease in firearm assaults in homicides of 61% in the first 5 years after it was adopted.[15] This is in addition to the growth of human capital and productivity resulting from the skills, education, and jobs earned by those within the program.

V.   The Department should cease its use of predictive policing programs.

In its predictive policing efforts, the Department is asking the community to trust that its predictions of future crime are so accurate that they should tolerate the suppression tactics, the stops of individuals without evidence of criminal activity, and the labeling and targeting of fellow community members. But there simply is not a basis for that trust. At the March 12,

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[13] ANDREW GUTHRIE FERGUSON, THE RISE OF BIG DATA POLICING 40-42 (2017).

[14] Ali Winston, "Palantir has secretly been using new Orleans to test its predictive policing technology," The Verge (Feb. 27 2018), *available at* https://www.theverge.com/2018/2/27/17054740/palantir-predictive-policing-tool-new-orleans-nopd.

[15] City of Richmond California Office of Neighborhood Safety, "An Innovative Government Solution to Reducing Gun Violence," p. 4, *available at* https://www.ci.richmond.ca.us/DocumentCenter/View/27569/Innovative-Government-Solution_ONS2013?bidId=.

2019 meeting of the Police Commission when the OIG presented its report, Chief Moore stated that the LAPD's goal was "building trust through the absence of crime." But the Department must build trust through the way that it interacts with the community and responds to its concerns, and cannot focus myopically on immediate crime rates as the only indicator of success. Moreover, the significant discrepancies between the Department's representations of its predictive policing programs and the way in which they operate, as well as the Department's documented failure to apply its policies equitably across communities and populations, have further decimated any claim that LAPD has to the public's trust. It is the Department, not the community, that must take the first step in demonstrating that it is trustworthy and cares about the wellbeing of the community by disinvesting from these damaging predictive policing programs.

The OIG's report suggests that the Department refine its individual- and community-based targeting programs and try again. But this ignores the fundamental flaws in any predictive policing programs and ignores the real impact of these policies on the community without appreciable benefit. The human cost of these programs—which has not been considered at all in the OIG's report—cannot be overstated. Communities, primarily Black and Latino, cannot continue to be made test subjects in hopes that its costly investment in predictive policing may one day be associated with a decrease in crime.

Too often police departments and their oversight agencies are willing to sanction the use of surveillance and predictive policing technologies because they think they will be exempt from its use. But, for instance, when Fresno was considering the use of a technology that created threat scores for individuals and addresses for police when responding to calls, that technology was rejected when it returned a yellow warning for a City Council member based on faulty information.[16] And when the Pasadena Police Department was being trained on the use of Spokeo for social media monitoring, officers requested specific training on how to be excluded from the database. As entities responsible for the wellbeing of the communities they police, the Department and the Commission must look at these predictive policing tools as though they themselves and their communities would be subject, and consider whether they would sanction the information and the consequences that flow from them if they presumed they would be on the receiving end.

A truly bold leadership move for this Department, and one that would speak volumes about its commitment to positive outcomes for the community, would be cease its use of predictive policing programs, reject additional City funding for more police-led interventions, and insist that funds be funneled directly to organizations that are better suited to provide support and alternatives and are also more likely to elicit a net positive response.

Sincerely,

Melanie Ochoa
Staff Attorney
ACLU of Southern California

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[16] Justin Jouvenal, "The new way police are surveilling you: Calculating your threat 'score'," The Washington Post (Jan. 10 2016).

In May 2018, the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition released its community-based report, "Before The Bullet Hits The Body: Dismantling Predictive Policing in Los Angeles," triggering a series of events that included the Los Angeles Police Commission public hearings on July 2018. In August 2018, the commission passed a motion instructing the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) to conduct an audit on LAPD Data Driven Policing programs including PredPol, Operation LASER (Los Angeles Strategic Extraction and Restoration), and the Suspicious Activity Reporting (SAR) program. Additionally as a result of the coalition's and the community's efforts LAPD suspended its Chronic Offender program and it's tracking database in August 2018 but kept it secret.

The OIG publicly released its audit on March 8, 2019 and will present it to the Police Commission on March 12, 2019. However, while the OIG audit reveals significant flaws in these programs, it nevertheless fails to name the human and civil rights violations inherent in the programs and their impacts. Furthermore, a number of key components were missing from the OIG audit, including appraisal of the critical SAR program, which has a history of intense racial profiling and disparately impacts Los Angeles's Black community.

■ OTHER CONCERNS AND HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDE:

- The OIG looked at less than 10% of LAPD's Chronic Offender Bulletins
- "Chronic offender" status is purportedly determined by a point system based on encounters with law enforcement, however, 100 individuals listed as Chronic Offenders had zero points.
- The audit exposes tremendous inconsistencies in data collection, record keeping, and procedures by LAPD
- Failure of command staff supervision
- In auditing Predpol, the OIG paints a picture that place-based policing is inherently benign. However, hotspot data obtained by the coalition exposes how communities like Skid Row are being quarantined in de facto containment zones.

The OIG audit further illustrates that the story of data-driven policing is not just a story about the emergence of an ostensibly new mode of practice, nor is it simply a story about the collusion among police, academia, and profit-driven private enterprises. It is also a story about who has the power to produce knowledge; a story about how the racialized other is created and then targeted for dispossession and death and a story about colonization, exclusion, and access to space. It is also a story about how policing has become even deadlier, its power and control further intensified, its practices even more invasive. It is a story about the further sanitization of racism, the deepening of cumulative disadvantages, and the increased masking of state-organized racial violence.

Data-driven policing programs deconstruct Black bodies and their spatial movements into data points to be harvested and indeterminately stored. At any future time, these data may then be extracted, expropriated, queried, cross-referenced, rearranged, edited, and fused—abstracted entirely from their original contexts—in order to retroactively construct a coherent and detailed narrative regarding which persons, populations, behaviors, and spaces are criminal, threatening, and require policing. Beyond just describing and labeling, these constructed narratives actively create and propel individuals along a predetermined path—piecing together disparate behaviors and thoughts to give the appearance of criminal wrongdoing as inevitable. These narratives are presented as fact and said to suggest a longstanding record of suspicious activity—that is, a predisposition to criminal activity—even where no crime has occurred and even where there is no intent or willingness to engage in criminal activity, and in this way, police are creating the very signs of criminal behavior that are being analyzed. While police have always played an active role in creating and perpetuating this narrative that reinforces Blackness as criminal and the inferior "other" worthy of ostracism, data-driven programs greatly expand the pool of available "evidence" for constructing such a story. For example, police use software to locate individuals within a larger social network that then allows them to tie individuals to others that are of interest to police, such that one's own purported criminal disposition is then strengthened by these connections, irrespective of whether they have ever actually met or even know of the individuals with whom they have been linked. Not only then is there an increase in the innocuous

factors that are alleged to warrant police attention, but these programs then work to fast track individuals into increased police scrutiny and surveillance and broaden the pool of potential individuals and locations to be targeted—all of which now occurs at even earlier stages than ever before.

Because these constructed narratives are marshalled as evidence that particular persons and places are in need of increased police attention, they also rationalize further diffusion of crime-suppression tactics and technologies, such that the program continually expands itself as more data are collected and fed into the program. This fuels another core function of data-driven policing programs: to reconfigure the removal and eradication of people, and the seizure of property and land, as a rational and logical response to the constructed threat posed by the populations that inhabit those spaces. Abatement actions and evictions issued through the collaboration between LASER and the Los Angeles Citywide Nuisance Abatement Program, ostensibly as a response to alleged crime or a perceived criminal propensity, are granted a renewed air of legitimacy by buzzwords like "technology," "data," and "algorithms," which work to mask the human agency and subjectivity inherent in these decisions. Data-driven policing programs do not use data simply to inform the policing of behavior defined as criminal or threatening, but also to police the boundaries between colonizer and colonized, between property ownership and people as property, and between life and death.

■ CHRONIC OFFENDER BULLETINS

The Chronic Offender Program shares in the long history of actuarial profiling in criminology, alongside now debunked categories of "a criminal class," "career criminals," and "super-predators." As the latest incarnation of this discourse, "chronic offender" status is ever-changing, discretionary, self-reinforcing, and varies—even amongst LAPD divisions. This experimental mode of policing is by definition conjectural and speculative; its harms, however, are actual. Police encounters, at the scale of person-to-person contact, are structured by the range of actions available to officers by law, policy, and departmental norms, and by the knowledge and information that shape how they choose to exercise their discretion and adhere to these constraints. Chronic Offender Bulletins are a mode of institutional knowledge and a structuring condition of police encounters. As disseminated to line officers, they are scaffolded by the authority of "science" as well as "expert" vetting by commanding officers and Crime Intelligence Detail (CID). How an officer is preconditioned to perceive individuals is of fundamental concern for procedural justice, and in an encounter with individuals so convincingly branded as "chronic offenders," officers are bound to begin with a heightened sense of threat—substantially increasing the likelihood of violence and harm.

The OIG's review of the Chronic Offender program, however, was unconcerned with this structural threat. Framed almost entirely around questions of design and implementation, the audit attempted to understand the program solely through the documentation and informatic practices enacted by the LAPD, rather than by its material impact on the community. Unsurprisingly, this approach revealed inconsistencies in both policy and practice at all levels of the program. This lack of rigor allows LAPD to use the existence of a policy as a shield against what would otherwise be recognized as racist behavior, while simultaneously taking advantage of policy gaps to enact that behavior; the OIG even notes that officers in some divisions were instructed to manufacture ("develop") reasonable suspicion to justify stopping persons listed on the bulletin. When it came to the program's "effectiveness," the OIG claimed that a lack of reliable data precluded any meaningful conclusions. When it came to community impact, the OIG baselessly speculated that the program was harmless.

Given their focus and priority, the OIG's recommendations are similarly procedural; the collateral effects of this include:

- **In wrongly assuming that better documentation implies better policy, the OIG has deferred the question of impact assessment and surrendered it to the police themselves—the very body it has criticized for producing incomplete, compromised, and institutionally biased data.[2]**

- **The LAPD, now accountable to itself for program assessment, will continue to translate their ad hoc informatic practices into OIG-sanctioned protocols, removing any community recourse for police abuse.**

- **The OIG legitimates and naturalizes the category of Chronic Offender, casually suggesting that it could be operationalized as "high-risk parolees or probationers with search conditions."[3] That this is a poorly defined, loosely designated category is no accident; it has been and continues to be a discursive strategy used to validate what the OIG itself reveals to be highly discretionary, often violent encounters with historically and structurally marginalized people.**

- **The centralized, uniform, presumably interoperable data protocols the OIG recommends will allow the LAPD to freely circulate the stigmatized status of Chronic Offender—a category we reject wholesale for its pseudoscientific and racially fraught connotations—throughout the information-sharing environment, ossifying this classification with no due process. These harms are compounded by the LAPD's records modernization initiative and ambitions to make individuals' data widely available to various state actors.**

■ LASER ZONES

In its examination of LASER Zones, the OIG compares changes in "dosage" (police time spent in the area) and reported violent crime over time. Besides reinforcing the false notion that police activity and predictive policing programs' "effectiveness" can be measured by short-term observation of reported crime rates, this comparison is completely useless to the community because it is based on a set of assumptions and definitions regarding "crime" and "safety" that the community does not accept. Moreover, the LAPD and the OIG both present increased police visibility as a fundamentally harmless method of deterring crime, when it in fact functions to displace residents from their communities and create cycles of trauma.

Directed by LAPD supervisors, officers are assigned "missions" of spending time in LASER Zones and other areas with "recent crime activity." Officers are instructed to record the number of Field Interviews (FIs), Citations, RFC, Arrests, Traffic Warnings, and Pedestrian Stops conducted per shift. Recently obtained LASER Patrol Mission[4] sheets from 77th Street Division demonstrate how mission sheets also make note of "Hood Days," which District Attorney Jackie Lacey describes as a day that "generates an increase in gang and criminal activity in the affected area."[5]

Other patrol missions detail assignments of "robbery suppression" within and around LASER Zones, for example 77th Street Division. Patrol mission sheets describe the "suspect" as simply M/B, for Male/Black.[6] Separate documents recording the activity of Metro Police patrols note missions from CSOC and Commander Dennis Kato as simply, "Crime suppression in 77th Division."[7]

In LASER Zones and other "high crime" or "known gang areas," officers surveil the community and profile people that are there. Some known police activity:

• June 10, 2016: Gang Enforcement Division (GED) Officer Kumlander stopped a car in a 77th Street area LASER Zone as a person in the car was wearing a white Black Sox baseball cap on what the DA's report[8] describes as a "Hood Day." During the stop Kumlander killed Keith Bursey, a 31-year-old Black man, shooting him once in the chest and twice in the back.

• October 16, 2016: Metro Officer Guillen was "conducting pedestrian and vehicular code
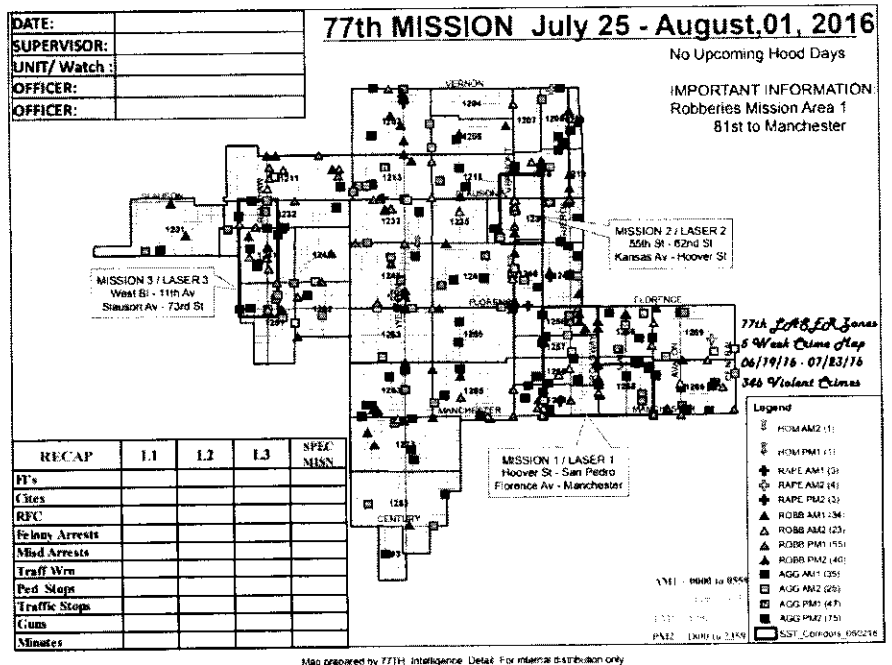
enforcement in high-crime areas," per "crime suppression" assignment in 77th Street area. Officers passed a car containing 18-year-old Black youth Carnell Snell Jr. and initiated a chase after he looked in their direction, "appeared startled, then leaned forward towards the front passenger seat." Guillen killed Snell by shooting him in the back.[9]

• December 18, 2016: Metro Officer Ruiz was patrolling a "known gang-area" in an unmarked car, "assigned to a crime suppression detail in 77th Street area." Officers passed Ryan Joseph, a 20-year-old Black man, and initiated a stop that ended when Ruiz killed Joseph by shooting him twice in the middle of his back. [10]

These are but a few of the lives stolen by police who have been empowered and instructed to "suppress crime" in areas LAPD and their research partners deem "high crime" and/or a "known gang area." Be it through the constant, oppressive surveillance of communities and patrols that view even the act of turning away (of not wanting to be surveilled) as an act of suspicion that demands pursuit,[11] or through the rigid expectation of stops, citations, and arrests that structure police encounters and confrontations, or through the dehumanization of people and entire social groups by references to community members in official documents as "tumors"[12] or "the worst of the worst,"[13] LASER Zones empower officers to regard everyone within them as suspicious, and to take whatever actions they deem necessary to "restore safety" and eliminate the threat.

■ PEOPLE, PROPERTY, AND PREDPOL

The OIG audit continues its trend of rationalizing and justifying LAPD inept-itude and harm through the analysis of Predpol's operationalization and its sub-sequent impact. Its emphasis on "person/offender-based" strategies as the practices requiring oversight implies that "place-based" strategies, by contrast, are benign.

A few highlights the audit fails to expose:

- The significant and continued relationships among LAPD, UCLA staff, and Pred-pol in which crime data is used as a form of currency for services: In exchange for providing proprietary technology to the LAPD free of charge, LAPD made data available to Predpol for research and product development purposes. The program is not free; we pay for it, unknowingly, with our data.
- The OIG cites only two reports that purportedly evaluate Predpol, but fails to disclose that these re-ports were authored by the co-creators and stock-holders of the program.
- Just as with the dashboard cameras in 2014[14], it appears that LAPD has sabotaged the dosage data of the 10-year-old Predpol program with impunity.

The audit claims that officer activity in hotspots consist only of one-minute drive-bys designed to increase visi-bility, therefore constituting "deterrence" strategies.[15] We know that in fact, high police visibility is a tool of displace-ment as well as containment of Black, Brown, and poor communities. The Coalition received hotspot data from June 2015 through December of 2015, as well as June 2018, for LAPD's Central Area. Below are two density maps of Predpol hotspots from the Central Area with a focus on Skid Row. We know Skid Row to be the most highly policed area in the world[16], so why is it not a hotspot? Why is there blank space? The distribution of hotspots around Skidrow, but nowhere within it, illustrate how the area is effectively quarantined: Police patrol the borders, making their presence known, signifying that they are watching the "other" to ensure that they don't cross the divide, but stay in their place and don't move. In the end, land and whiteness are what the Predpol program serves to hoard and protect. Like generations of policing strategies before it, it is a tool of banishment and apartheid for Black, Brown, and poor people.
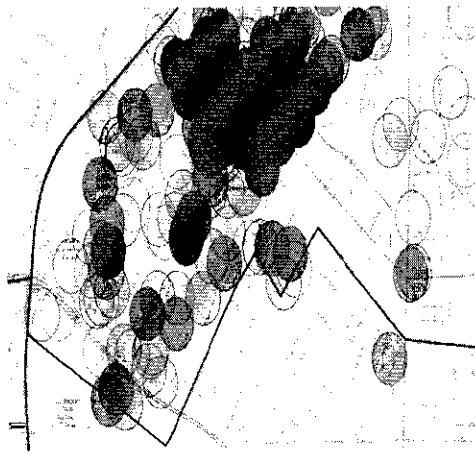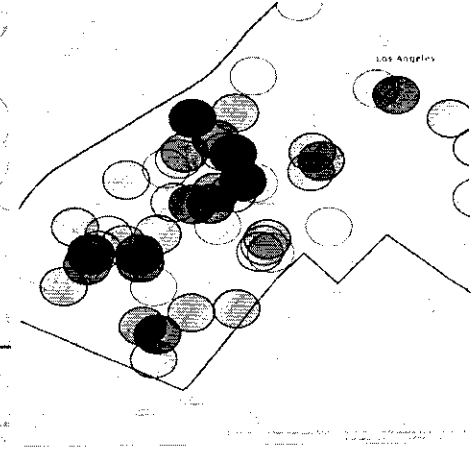
■ DEMANDS

We demand that the LA Board of Police Commissioners stop legitimizing harmful predictive policing programs by attempting to "reform" them. We demand that the Com-missioners heed the concerns and stories of the community and eliminate this arm of state surveillance. Remember, it is under your watch that these inherently dangerous predic-tive policing programs, made still more dangerous by in-competence, are running rampant in our city. We demand:

1. Immediate ban on deployment and use of predictive policing tactics and programs Operation LASER and Predpol;
2. Full reparations for individuals and organizations whose human and civil rights have been violated;

The Stop LAPD Spying Coalition joins communities across the United States in organizing against racist police brutal-ity and systems of oppression that foster state violence, and the continuing marginalization and murders of Black and Brown people. Change and transformation can only hap-pen through sustained grassroots efforts to dismantle and abolish systems of oppression.

NOTES
1 Before the Bullet Hits the Body
2 Before the Bullet Hits the Body
3 Audit Pg. 24
4 77th MISSION June 27-July 4, 2016
5 Officer Involved Shooting of Keith Bursey, Los Angeles Police Department
6 Patrol Mission: Vice Robbery Mission from 2017-06-19 to 2017-06-22
7 Metropolitan Platoon Division Recap Sheet
8 Officer Involved Shooting of Keith Bursey, Los Angeles Police Department
9 Officer Involved Shooting of Carnell Snell Jr., Los Angeles Police Department
10 Officer Involved Shooting of Ryan Joseph, Los Angeles Police Department
11 Big Data on the Beat: Predictive Policing Has Arrived,' David Black, 2016
12 Smart Policing in Los Angeles, Dr. Craig Uchida
13 GMS Report Smart Policing Initiative (SPI) 2009-DG-BX-0115 Reporting Period: July 1 - December 31, 2011
14 http://articles.latimes.com/2014/apr/07/local/la-me-lapd-tampr-20140408
15 This claim of 1 minute drive by is based on LAPD faulty dosage reporting statistics the OIG himself is unable to use to analyze the effectiveness of Predpol.
16 http://peoplestribune.org/pt-news/2015/09/safer-cities-initiative-creates-most-heavily-policed-area-in-world%E2%80%A8%E2%80%A8/

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