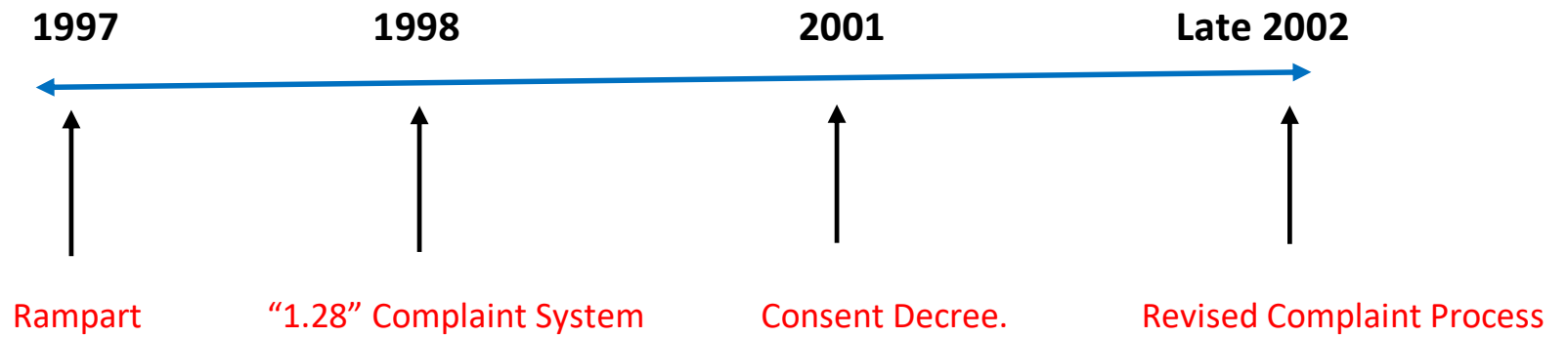


Unintended Consequences of Police Reform

April 2021

- **LAPD police reforms** after the Rampart scandal of 1997.
- Formal oversight rose discretely in 1998, and then fell in late 2002.
- Changing responsiveness to complaints from the public about officer behavior.
- Unusually, we can both measure the oversight changes and the resulting change in officer behavior.

Timeline



1998 change

- **1.28 System:** Internal Affairs Division investigated all complaints against officers.
- Complaints rose: from **2,712** in 1997 to **7,450** in 2001.
- Between 1992 and 1997, **13** officers removed from the force per annum.
- 1999-2000: over **800** officers were disciplined, **113** terminated.

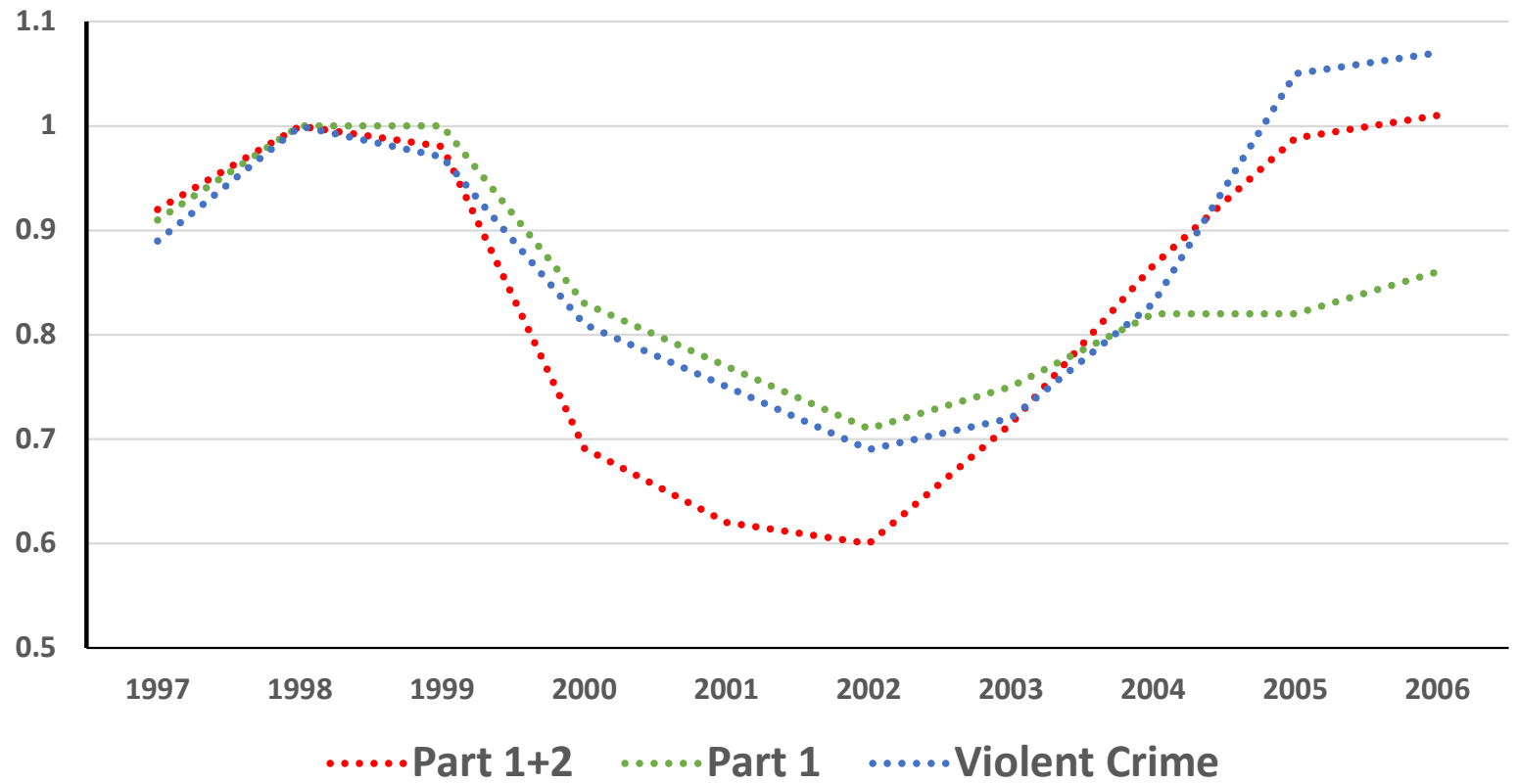
Late 2002 change

- Monitor of Consent Decree: “thousands of complaints per year that required investigation and virtually stagnated/severely slowed the Department’s complaint process.”
- Five days later the process changed: Commanding officers now could designate a complaint as “non-disciplinary”.
- Public not informed.
- Sustained Complaints fell from **5105** in 2002 to **1899** in 2005.
- Resignations fell from **860** to **117**.

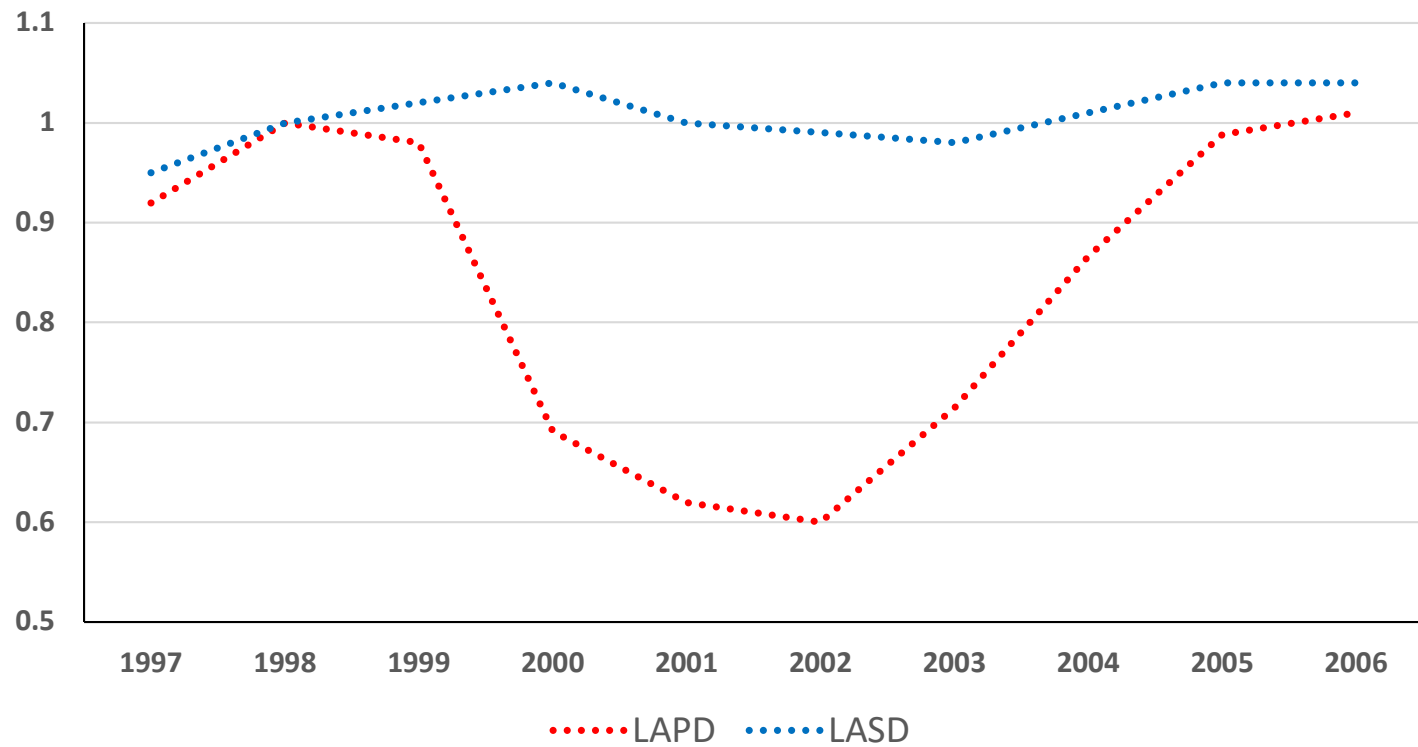
Outcomes

- Arrest to Crime Rates:
 - Part 1 + Part 2
 - Part 1
 - Violent Crime
- Comparison to the Los Angeles Sheriff Department
- Narcotics and Prostitution
- Racial Inequities (Neighborhoods)

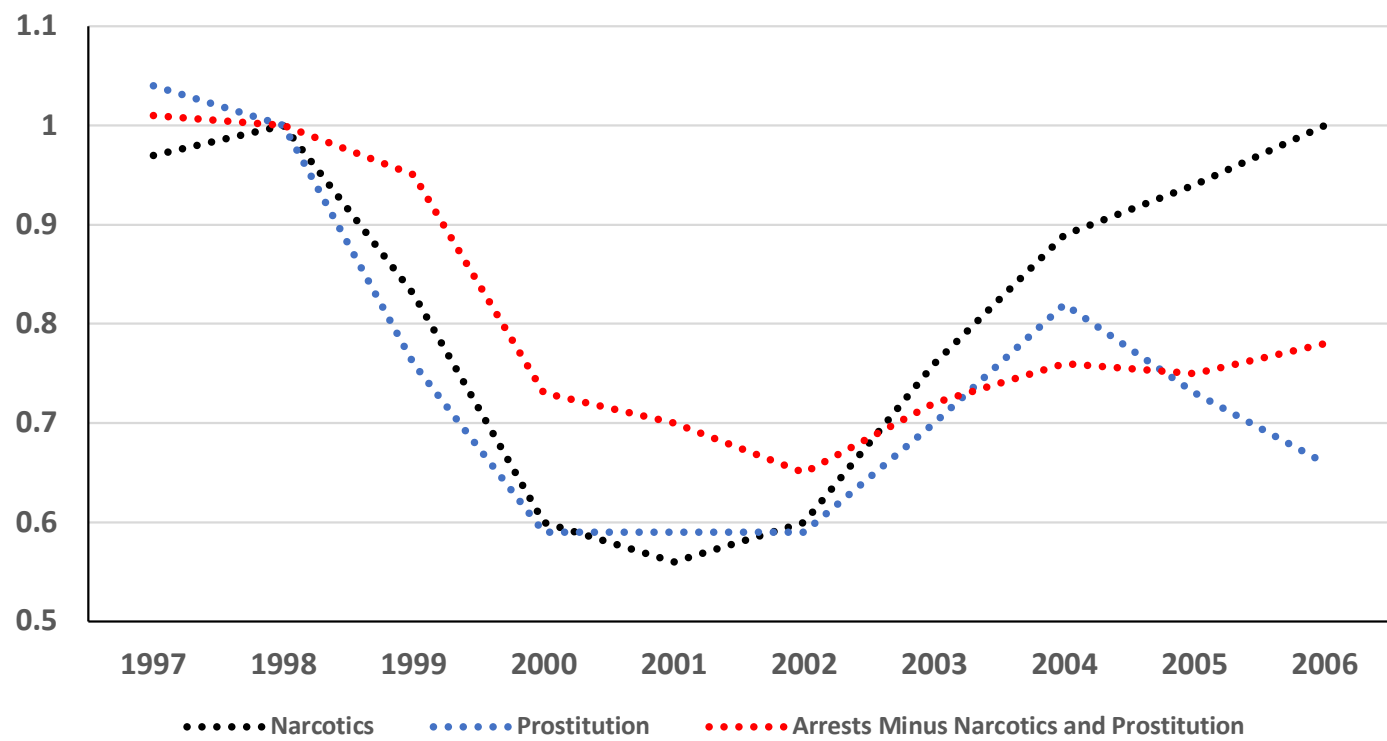
Arrest to Crime Rate (1998 = 1)



Arrest to Crime Rates (Part 1 + 2)



Narcotics and Prostitution



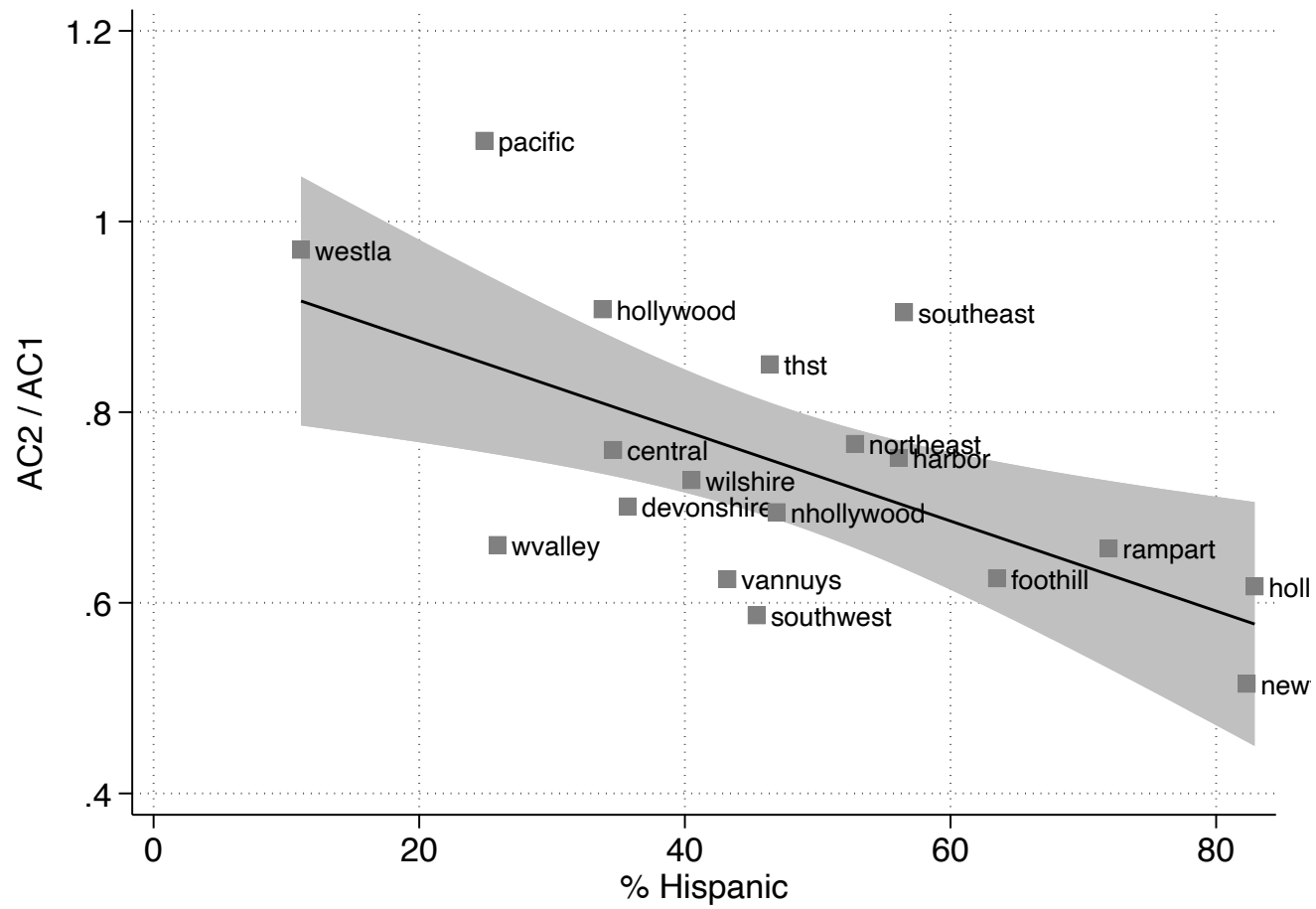
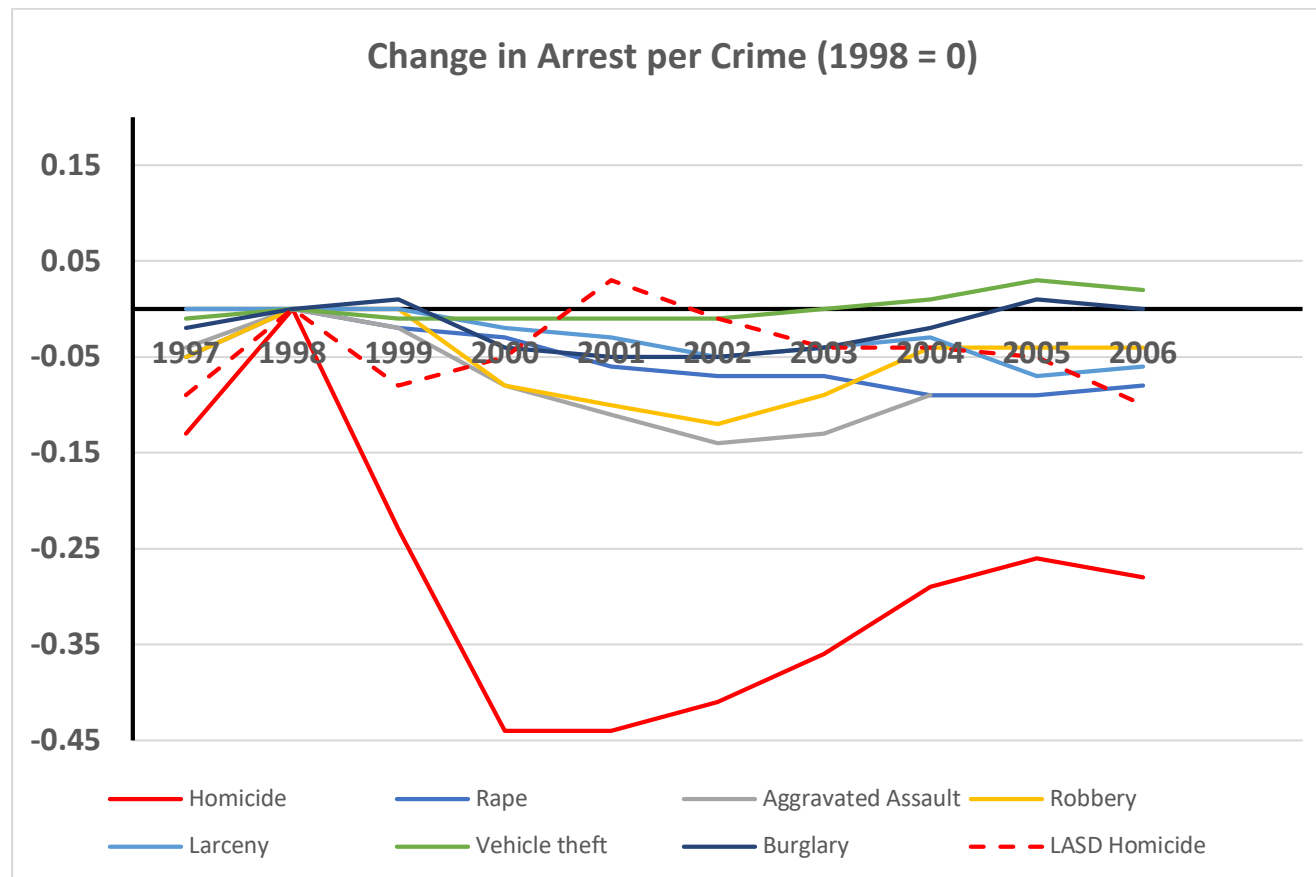
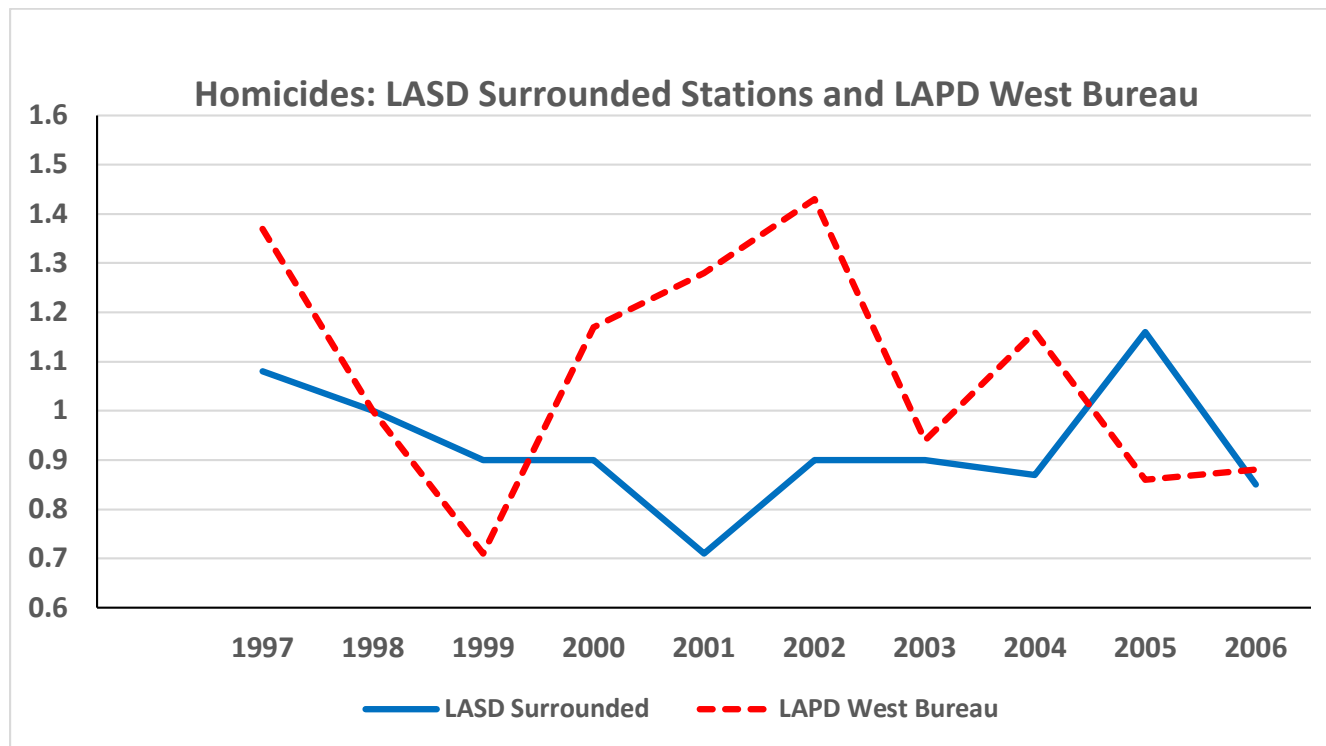
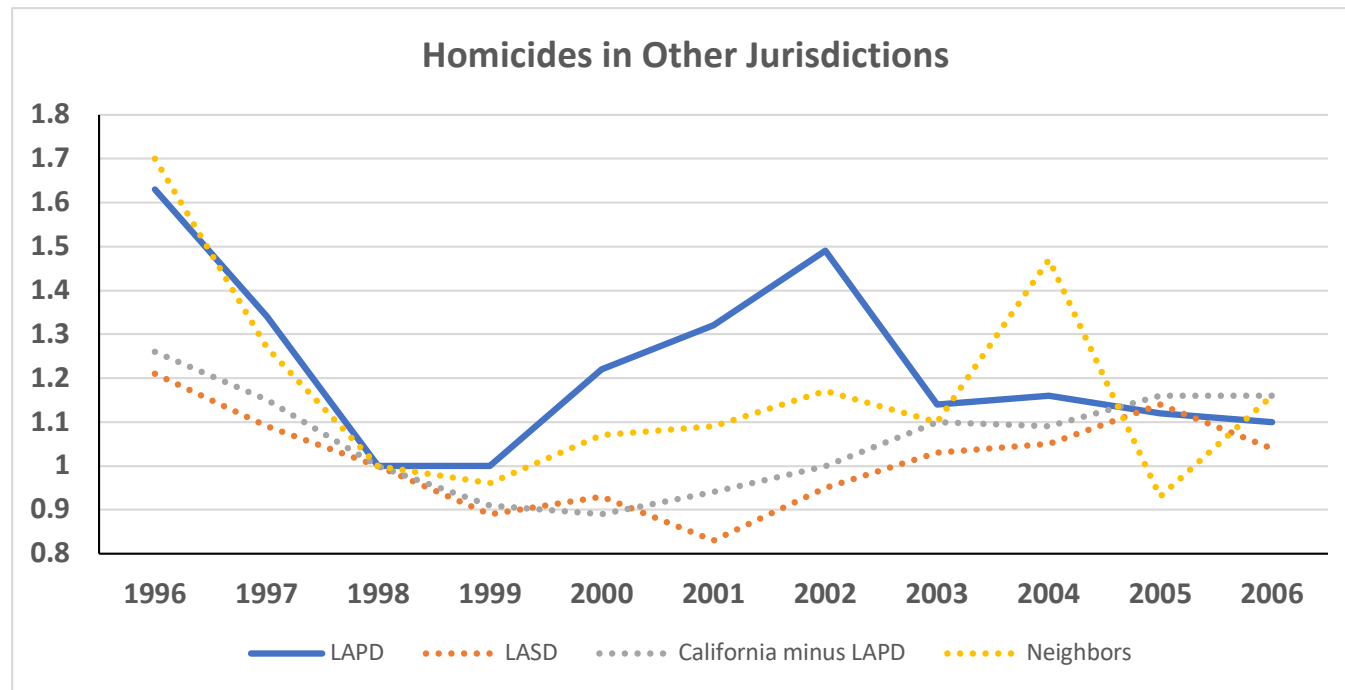


Figure 5: Response by Neighborhood

Crime







Police Reform

- “Devil is in the Details”
- Police officers have a mandate to respect the rights and objectives of many constituents:
 - Victims
 - Suspects
 - Community
 - General Public
- When oversight increased in 1998, many of penalties were based on interactions with potential suspects.
- Officers responded not by necessarily doing their jobs better, but rather by increasingly ignoring the rights of victims and other constituencies (Neglect of Duty complaints).