City of Tavares: Assessment of Red Light Cameras

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Abstract

Red light cameras have been in use for a few years in certain communities. The initial proposal for installing red light cameras was for safety at intersections and to reduce the amount of vehicle crashes. The first community to employ red light cameras was Oxnard, California. The California Statewide Integrated Traffic Records System used the data for Oxnard and compared it with three cities nearby that did not implement red light cameras. The study lasted a period of 29 months using data before and after implementation of the program in Oxnard. Results revealed that crashes were reduced by 7 percent at signalized intersections within Oxnard. Injuries that resulted from typical crashes at these intersections were reduced by 29 percent as a result of the red light camera. There was also a 32 percent reduction in right-angle collisions, more common crash associated with red light violations and right angle crash injuries were reduced by 68 percent. There was no impact on rear-end collisions, that was noted. The uses of red light cameras have generated a large sum of wealth for Cities. It is usually not spoken of or displayed. There has been discussion of the constitutional right of privacy and the absence of law enforcement officer at the time of the violation. While the concept of red light camera enforcement is valid, it still leaves one wondering if it's right.

Introduction

It is overwhelmingly known that a red traffic light means that a vehicle must stop. This fact is known not only here domestically, but throughout the world by both adults and even children. The main issue is that running these red lights is one of the leading causes of traffic accident fatalities and injuries annually, particularly in the United States. Armed with these statistics, a few companies in the private sector have invested millions of dollars in developing new technology to aid police agencies in red light traffic enforcement, without severely impacting an already fragile budgetary trend. This advanced technology includes red light cameras, which is the main topic of this research.

Currently, red light cameras are being utilized by many jurisdictions throughout the nation to replace or supplement law enforcement officers in issuing citations to drivers who violate traffic laws by not fully stopping when signaled to by a red light. These red light cameras have the ability to capture this violation, thus allowing officials within these jurisdictions to send monetary violation notices to the violators, without any personal contact between violators and law enforcement. The main deterrent factor believed by many in these jurisdictions is that drivers will cease running red lights in fear of being captured on camera and being issued traffic citations electronically with some

hefty fines. These same jurisdiction officials believe that this "deterrent factor" will minimize the running of red lights, decreasing the number of traffic crashes, injuries, and resulting fatalities.

This research will focus on two parts: Are the cameras effective in reducing red light running and subsequently crashes with or without injuries and/or fatalities? Is the public acceptable to the implementation of these video cameras, or will they reject the idea based on its perceived invasion of privacy and constitutionality? This topic is currently being considered by the City of Tavares and it is this writer's intent to research the subject and provide law enforcement feedback to city officials to aid them in their decision.

Literature Review

According to the Insurance Institute of Highway Safety, as of March 2012, a total of 556 cities and municipalities throughout the United States are currently utilizing red light cameras. But before one can assess its effectiveness, we must understand how the red light cameras and their program operate. First, this research will focus on findings from international studies, and lastly on findings from studies conducted within the United States.

Red light cameras were first used in Europe in the early 70s. They became widely used in Australia in the 80s and in the US in the early 90s. The basic technology was actually developed in the 1960s. The initial cameras allowed the recording of images and sound by using still 35 mm "wet-film" cameras. The camera systems respond to the color of the traffic signal through an electronic connection to the traffic signal controller. It uses electromagnetic sensors placed underground in the pavement near the intersection entry point. As soon as the red signal flashes, the camera is activated for as little as a fraction of a second and up to a second. A vehicle beating or crossing the red is photographed twice with a one-second interval. The camera records the image of the vehicle itself and the surrounding scene. The photographs also record the date and time of the offense, the vehicle speed, duration of the yellow signal and the length of time the red signal flashed until the vehicle crossed the red signal. The second photograph records the vehicle proceeding through the intersection while the red signal was on. For example, when a red light violation occurs, the camera records such data as the date, time, and the time elapsed since the beginning of the red signal. A citation showing a photo of the violation is then sent to the registered owner through their registered addresses. Recent technological advances allow the use of video and digital cameras in place of conventional wet-film devices. Video cameras take shots of frames of the violating vehicle as it crosses the intersection. Most video camera systems are portable and can be used at many intersections if the necessary sensors and connections to the traffic signals have been installed. When housing units are installed at many different intersections, each camera can cover more areas.

According to research conducted by A.S. Hakkert and Viktoria Gitelman, the international findings of a study on the effect of red-light cameras in Australia, USA, Great Britain, and Singapore, among other advanced countries, showed an average of 18% reduction in injury accidents at the designated intersections. The reduction was

observed as greater in accidents where the vehicles moved in opposite directions. Injury accidents with vehicles moving in the same direction increased after the installation of the cameras. The average reduction in total accidents was low. In fact, the effects were consistent among all the countries studied (2004).

The study found that the installation of red-light cameras at signalized intersection greatly reduced driver violations of red lights at 40-60% in most of the countries investigated. Other studies conducted on the effects of red light cameras in proximate intersections found similarly significant and positive results on the behavior of drivers.

Hakkert and Giterlman discussed two groups of evaluation studies on driver behavior and accidents. Following previous studies conducted by the Transport Research Laboratory in the United Kingdom, researcher Baguley said that drivers coming to a traffic signal would be caught in what he termed “dilemma zone.” This was the amber period during which the driver would have to choose whether to stop or beat the red light. Baguley saw three groups of drivers in this situation. In the first group were drivers caught in the dilemma zone. In the second group were those who could stop comfortably, but chose to beat the red light. And in the third were those who behaved as if completely unaware of beating the red light.

Studies, which measured the rates of violations before and after the installation of red-light cameras, found substantial reductions in violation rates at these sites or approaching them at 40-60%. A recent Canadian review reported the reductions at 30-50%. Four other studies compared sites with these cameras and other sites without cameras. Findings showed large reductions in violation rates. In areas other than communities at a reasonable distance from these sites, reductions either increased or decreased lightly. In general, findings of studies on red-light running following red light cameras installation showed positive results both in the camera sites and in nearby intersections. Drivers adjusted their behavior towards red-light running. Drivers began adjusting their behavior towards red-lights running, not only on enforced locations but also in proximate or other places.

In assessing its effectiveness domestically, one must review the data collected by many studies conducted on the issue of red light cameras. For instance, Richard Redding from the Insurance Institute of Highway Safety has given three important factors pertaining to red light running. These facts include the following:

- The studies show that a person is more likely to be injured due to a red-light running related crash than any other type of crash,
- Running red lights or other traffic controls is the most common cause of all urban crashes,
- Someone runs a red light an average of every 20 minutes at urban intersections.

Another study conducted by the National Highway Transportation Safety Administration (NHTSA) shows that in the last decade (2000-2009), red-light running crashes killed nearly 9,000 people nationwide, and that car crashes at signaled intersections rank among the leading causes of death in the United States, and the leading cause of death for children, teens and young adults up to age 34. In fact, the

NHTSA study indicate that there are an average of 7 fatal crashes and over 1,000 injury crashes every day at signalized intersections across the United States.

During the time frame of 2005 through 2007, several police officers working in cities located on outskirts of San Francisco, California, authored editorials showing the results of the red light cameras used within or near their jurisdiction. Police officer Dan Harvey wrote about the installation of the first camera system in the City of Fremont in August 2000 at the intersection of Fremont Boulevard and Mowry Avenue. Allegedly, this intersection had the highest rate of collision in the city. However, following the installation of a red light camera at the intersection, traffic collisions decreased by 50 percent.

In another editorial by San Mateo Police Officer T. Ramroop, T (2006), that officer found that the use of red-light cameras for the select intersections of San Mateo Road were in fact a success. According to Ramroop, these intersections had higher accident rates than other intersections. He indicated that from May 1, 2005 to January 1, 2006, the San Mateo police issued more than 6,000 citations on the basis of photographic findings. The state Judicial Council fixed the minimum red-light violation fine at $348.50, but which could increase or decrease, according to individual circumstances. Many other county cities would follow the example from the City of San Mateo to install red-light cameras at their busiest intersections, such as El Camino Real. The police attested to their effectiveness in preventing accidents and catching violators. Subsequently, the Millbrae police would also install these cameras at two major intersections on El Camino Real and Rollins Road. Initially, police officials executed an agreement with the red light camera vendor for a pilot program. The purpose of the pilot program was to measure traffic flow at those intersections, and then makes recommendations for potential expansion. According to city police officials, accidents at the targeted intersections showed a significant decrease, as high as 40 percent. The successful use of red-light cameras by the Millbrae Police Department would lead to an expansion of the program. The city's red light photo enforcement program said that it generated hundreds of thousands of dollars in revenue. However, one of the most common complaints originating from the installation of the red light cameras in these cities was that some believed it to be an invasion of privacy, and many questioned its constitutionality. Since then, other cities have installed these red light cameras within their jurisdiction and they also have encountered the same dilemma of whether this technology violated people's right to privacy.

Some cameras are equipped with new technology which is pushing the ethical envelope. They are now equipped with lenses providing high-quality images from mind-bogglingly long distances and software that instantaneously compares the faces of passers-by to a photographic database of criminal mug shots. Therefore, one may ask what will the next generation of cameras be able to do?

The image will show the signal clearly being red, the vehicle before it enters the intersection, and the amount of amber or yellow time before the light turned red, this is important because people need time to slow down without jamming on the brakes. It also indicates how long the light was red before the system was triggered.

Red Light cameras, help to capture drivers who break traffic laws, however the system has increasingly become controversial. Supporters of these cameras argue that they help to check dangerous behavior, but opponents challenge such conclusions.

Those who are against red light cameras also think that part of the reason why they are installed are economic. Cities and local governments with such systems can raise much needed revenue from the ticket charges.

Some opponents of red light cameras think the idea is equivalent to double taxation, being levied against city and suburban residents. In fact, some members of congress have rallied behind this cause and have testified before the House Transportation Subcommittee on Highways and Transit Hearing on the issue of Red Light Cameras. The resounding defense is that "Our judicial system rests on the principle that one is to be presumed innocent until proven guilty in a court of law. The Bill of Rights adds the guarantee that one has the right to face one's accuser in court as well as the right to avoid self-incrimination".

One of the most serious charges against the use of surveillance cameras deals with question of its constitutionality. Although several rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court on the matter upheld its constitutionality, the matter however remains unsettled. According to The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA): "*Photo* red light enforcement is a relatively new law enforcement tool. Thus, case law is not well established. Although the few cases involving photo red light raised constitutional issues, the decisions were based upon procedural grounds, never answering the ultimate question - is it constitutional? The ruling on the Motion to Dismiss citations issued under San Diego, California's photo red light program found the program constitutional. However, this ruling is not binding and only provides insight into the court's reasoning."

Among several other case studies on the matter, one stands out from the City of Charlotte, North Carolina. On 12 April 2000, Phillip Carriker, President of plaintiff Structural Components Int. Inc., was mailed a red-light citation pursuant to the "Safelight" program initiated and operated by defendants City of Charlotte and Lockheed Martin IMS. The "Safelight" program is authorized in certain designated North Carolina cities and towns. The citation demanded payment of a $50.00 civil penalty, as a vehicle registered to Mr. Carriker was photographed running a red light. According to the "Safelight" program, if the recipient of a citation desires a review hearing, he or she must post a bond equal to the amount of the penalty before a hearing will be scheduled. Thus, after posting his bond, Mr. Carriker was given his hearing on 27 June 2000. As a result of this hearing, the citation was upheld.

Mr. Carriker decided to challenge the ruling in this case; he therefore filed a suit against The City of Charlotte & Lockheed Martin. Lockheed Martin was the company, which installed and operated the City of Charlotte "Red Light Camera Program". Lockheed Martin was contracted with the city of Charlotte to review the pictures collected by the Red Light Cameras, and to subsequently decide whether any traffic laws were broken.

Lockheed Martin would be compensated according to the number of cases successfully processed. Once Lockheed Martin made that determination, then the City of Charlotte would mail citations to the owner of the registered plate number. Recipients of the citation must then pay the $50.00 fine or be subject to an additional monetary penalty. After paying the fine, a recipient of a citation may request a hearing. An officer who works for the program holds this hearing.

Plaintiff Phillip Carriker paid the $50.00 fine, but decided to contest it, and hence demanded a hearing. The hearing officer was completely biased in favor of the program. Carriker was found in violation of the traffic laws. Carriker charged that the defendants were negligent and his civil rights were violated. According to Carriker's petition, defendants were negligent in failing to establish reasonable guidelines. They also failed to govern the Safelight camera program in a reasonable manner. Carriker also charged that the defendants failed to provide a reasonable appeals process to govern appeals taken under the program. Accordingly, Carriker asked for a return of his $50.00 bond, and also for punitive damages in excess of $10,000. Under its violation of civil rights claim, plaintiff alleged that the defendants created and maintained a sham safety program; the objective of the program was not to improve public safety, but to generate revenue. Carriker charged that the program violated the due process as provided by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States.

Carriker also charged that his right to equal protection laws was also violated, in addition to his right to obtain witnesses and to have an effective assistance of a council as guaranteed by the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution. The Mecklenburg County Superior Court (North Carolina) reviewed the complaint and argument by counsel for plaintiff and defendants. Based on this review and consideration, the Superior Court determined that it lacked subject matter jurisdiction to review the subject red light citation issued to Plaintiff, or the procedural or substantive aspects of the administrative proceeding through this action. Honorable L. Oliver Noble heard the case and granted Defendant's order to dismiss. Carriker appealed this decision but the appellate Court upheld the lower court decision to dismiss Carriker's Petition.

Although the above-mentioned studies and research showed many positives on the installation of red light cameras, they were in fact conducted in other states with perhaps different cultural aspects. Therefore, in order to appropriately consider its effectiveness for the City of Tavares, we must look at a local example.

In 2006, the City of Apopka, located in Central Florida, approximately 25 miles south of the City of Tavares, started experiencing tremendous growth in population. But with this growth came traffic complaints, particularly a significant increase in red light running violations. These complaints flooded the police department through residents and police officer's observations. Initially, the police department implemented traffic enforcement strategies by issuing written warnings to violators, public education through the media, and ultimately by issuing monetary traffic citations.

Although their initial campaign seemed successful, police officials soon discovered problems dealing with the issue in the long term. These problems included the fact that these traffic enforcement strategies were manpower intensive, costly, and diverted resources from high crime problem areas. Thus it became apparent that their initial strategy was a temporary solution to their red light running problem. Through some research, city officials felt that an automated red light camera system would aid in the reduction of red light running violations, and as such would allow the police department to re-direct their officers back to patrol problem areas.

City officials and police officers began a campaign seeking support for the program. Subsequently, following the support from city leaders and from the public, the city adopted an Ordinance named "the City of Apopka Traffic Light Safety Act" (No.

1813, April 5, 2006). Soon thereafter, police officials began conducting in-depth research on the matter of red light cameras and identified a couple of problem intersections within their jurisdiction. Subsequent to the issuance of Request for Proposals (RFP), the city contracted with a private vendor to install two red light camera systems at two problem intersections, one being located at Sheeler Road and U.S. Highway 441. During a three month pilot program, the results showed a 50 percent reduction on violations issued.

Since then, the City of Apopka has expanded their red light camera program to other intersections throughout the city, which has proven to be successful in the reduction of red light running, as well as the revenue that the city has received from the violations, which they've been able to utilize to boost the police department's operations. However, the question of its constitutionality by some still lingers.

Method

The purpose of this research was two-fold. First, the researcher wanted to determine if the utilization of Red Light Cameras in other cities across the State of Florida actually reduced crashes, to determine the revenue generated by the municipality from the enforcement of red light violations and how each municipality managed their respective system. The second phase was to assess how the residents from the City of Tavares, and its visitors, perceived the potential utilization of Red Light Cameras to minimize the red light running problem, as well as their opinion on the trustworthiness of the system and the partnership between the public and private sector that operates them.

The researcher first developed a questionnaire/survey that was sent to seven different jurisdictions within the State of Florida currently utilizing the Red Light Cameras. The questionnaire covered specific subjects, such as asking for data to show whether the Red Light Camera Enforcement actually reduced crashes at the targeted intersections within their respondent's jurisdictions, whether the enforcement of said Red Light Cameras provided any significant revenues to the cities, how much revenue was being generated, how the revenue was being allocated, how the municipalities managed their program and how their program works.

The researcher then conducted verbal surveys with several local residents, and visitors alike, in an attempt to obtain a thorough representation of the driving public that utilize the local roadways on a daily basis. Residents and visitors were included in the research because they represent the targeted group subject to receive potential fines for any violations.

The population of Tavares, according to the U.S. Census 2010, is 13,950. This particular survey was conducted verbally with 20 residents and/or visitors randomly selected from different areas within the city limits. At no time, did the researcher disclose his affiliation with law enforcement. This was purposely done so the respondent would not feel pressure to respond in a certain way as to favor one way or the other. The researcher asked the questions and documented the answers for further analysis.

Results

The researcher submitted a survey, which included a series of questions deemed to assess the current Red Light Camera programs from seven different jurisdictions. Of the seven targeted jurisdictions, only four responded to the questionnaire. The first two questions were asked to establish a basic knowledge of the existing Red Light Camera programs on each respective jurisdiction. Two of the respondents indicated that their program has been in existence for a period of 1 to 3 years, while the other two respondents stated that they have been utilizing Red Light Cameras for a period of 3 to 6 years. However, all four respondents indicated that their cameras are installed in more than 6 intersections throughout their jurisdictions.

The respondents were then asked the crucial question of whether the usage of the Red Light Cameras has resulted in any significant reduction of crashes at the targeted intersections. As shown on Table 1, three respondents (75%) answered affirmatively, while one respondent (25%) indicated that the cameras have not reduced such traffic crashes.

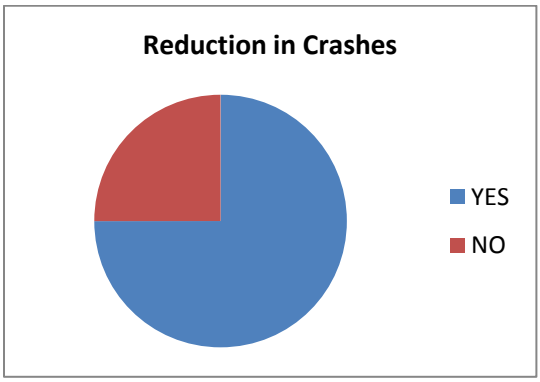

Table 1

The respondents were then asked who actually reviews the potential Red Light Camera violations at their jurisdictions, to which all indicated that sworn officers review the incidents and determine whether a violation has been committed. When asked what occurs when a violation has been identified, all respondents indicated that the information is sent to the vendor, who then issues a civil penalty to the violator. The respondents were then asked when is a violator subject to receive a Uniform Traffic Citation (UTC). Three of the respondents indicated when the violator fails to pay the civil penalty within 30 days of issuance, while one respondent indicated after 40 days have passed from the delivery of the civil penalty.

The respondents were then asked another vital question as to the revenue produced by their existing Red Light Camera Programs. As shown on Table 2, one respondent stated that his/her jurisdiction produces under $500,000 in annual revenue, while two respondents stated that they produce up to $5,000,000 in annual revenue, and the last respondent indicated over $5,000,000 in annual revenue.

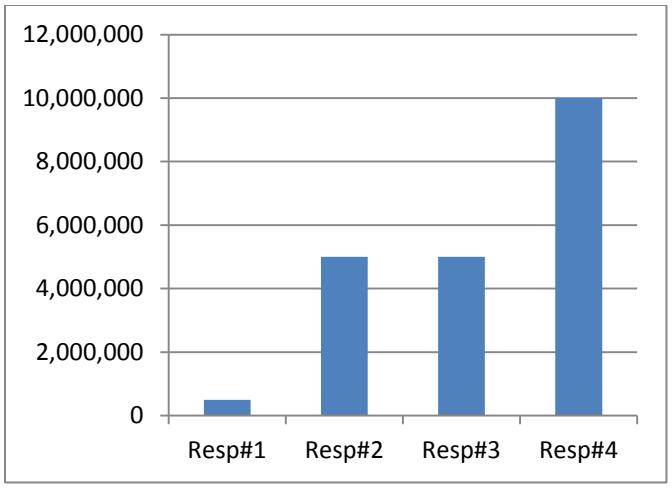

Table 2

When asked about the changes in revenue over a period of time, two of the respondents indicated that revenue from each of their cameras has not decreased. One respondent indicated that he/she did not know any changes in revenue from each of the cameras, while the last respondent stated that as each camera is installed, once a period of time goes by the revenue seems to decrease. The researcher then asked about the appeal process and it appears by the replies by all respondents that if a violator wishes to contest the infraction, he/she must do so through their respective clerk's offices and the case is assigned to traffic court or to a traffic supervisor.

Lastly, the respondents were asked if the cameras were able to identify the drivers of the vehicles, would the appeals decrease. As shown on Table 3, three respondents (75%) felt the identification of the drivers would in fact reduce the number of appeals, while one respondent (25%) indicated that the number of appeals would remain stagnant.

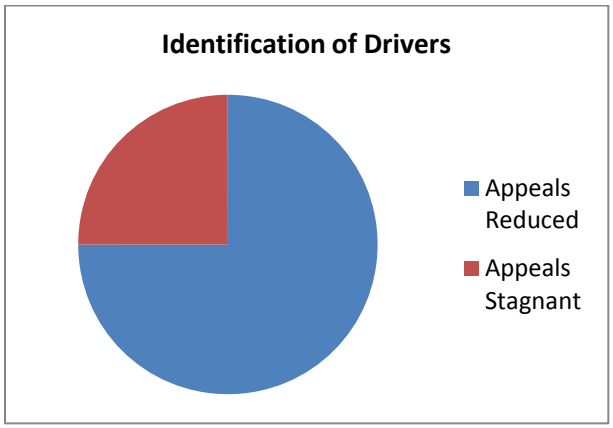

Table 3

During verbal surveys with 20 residents from the city of Tavares, 14 residents (70%) support the use of Red Light Cameras and view their use as constitutional, while 6 residents (30%) opposed them and viewed them as unconstitutional. However, as shown on Table 4, when asked if the Red Light Camera programs were an effective Law Enforcement tool for traffic safety, or a way for cities to raise revenue, an overwhelming 18 residents (90%) answered “both”.

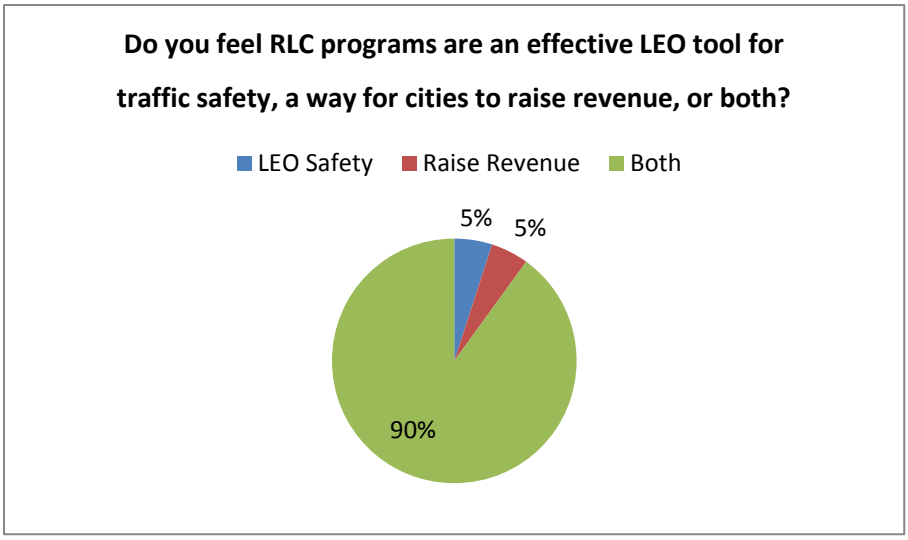

Table 4

Discussion

During these surveys, the researcher found an obvious split on people’s perception on the effectiveness of the Red Light Camera programs. The initial reason given by jurisdictions across the nation to justify the installation of Red Light Cameras is to reduce red light running violations and in turn reduce the number of crashes at targeted intersections. The survey showed that 75% of the respondents have experienced significant reductions in crashes at targeted intersections. However, the interesting point is that all the respondents indicated that there has not been any decrease in the revenue made from the Red Light Cameras, which means that red light running violations are continuing at the same rate or have increased. This finding ties in to the growing public perception that Red Light Cameras are just a revenue maker for the cities and/or counties.

Although residents like the idea of making streets safer and proactively enforcing traffic laws, some don’t like the idea of being watched. Of course, people in general understand that running a red light is a violation of the law, even when there’s no police officer present to witness the violation. However, some believe that without the officer witnessing the violation there would not be any way to explain any extenuating circumstances that might have exonerated the driver.

The one aspect that stood out from the research was that a vast majority of people feel that even though they see red light running as a legitimate problem, they also view the Red Light Camera approach as a revenue maker for cities. Perhaps this is due because many see that the camera programs are typically run by for-profit corporations**.** They realize that these cities outsource camera installation and enforcement to those companies, and in turn, the companies receive a percentage of the fines those cameras bring in. The general sentiment seems to be that camera systems are purely designed to drive revenue, and the corporations that install them are outsiders, profiting from hardworking locals. And worse, they're making those profits from the comfort of their offices, without putting in the same hard work that police officers do.

Some of these same residents feel that the monetary penalties are just a double taxation and unconstitutional. Some others argue that these types of camera systems are similar to those used at toll facilities, the only difference being that the penalties associated with toll violations are much smaller. In the end, the majority feels that Red Light Cameras are an effective tool for law enforcement, but cities strapped for money in these hard economic times are becoming more and more dependent on the revenues from them, which in theory has make them overlook what the cameras were initially intended for.

Recommendations

As previously stated, this research has shown that Red Light Cameras are an effective tool to Law Enforcement and not limited to traffic safety. The key factor now is to work on increasing public acceptance of such program. As such, this researcher feels that Red Light Cameras could be a successful program in the City of Tavares, but several factors must take place in order to allow for its achievement:

- The Tavares Police Department, in partnership with city government, must first implement an aggressive plan to educate the residents about the red light running and traffic crashes problems within their jurisdiction. They should provide actual data that shows the number of crashes at target intersections. Perhaps, they should go as far as to obtain some of the cameras on loan for a pilot program that will allow the police and city officials to show the public the number of violations and actual footage of such violations. This will ensure that the residents identify the existence of the problem and ultimately become more accepting to the plan.
- Once installations of the cameras are completed, the City of Tavares should implement a specific “grace period” (i.e. 60 days) where only warnings will be issued to violators as a mean to raise awareness and continue to educate the residents, who ultimately will be the targeted group subject to receive monetary penalties for their violations.
- Police officials should only issue citations to those violations that are clear cut. Those incidents that may be deemed “close” or “perhaps” should only receive

warnings. This will maintain the integrity of the program and will keep the residents from thinking that the focal point of the program is revenues.

- City officials must monitor the targeted intersections, and upon a significant decrease of violations and/or crashes, the cameras should be removed. If City and police officials are unable to identify any other “true trouble” intersections to re-install the previously removed camera, they should turn over the camera back to the vendor.
- The city must also engage in a public relations campaign not only advertising the installation of the cameras at certain intersections, but the removal of them as well so the public is aware of the success of the camera. This will also ensure that the perception of “revenue maker” is minimized. Furthermore, the City should educate the residents as to how the revenue from the program are being used.
- Just as any other government program, the process must stay transparent in order for the public to accept it. City and police officials must maintain the public’s trust. This will require for the implementation of a checks and balances system that is visible to the public.

Lieutenant Jason Paynter has served the Tavares Police Department for 23 years. He has been assigned to many different units to include Patrol, Criminal Investigations and Community Relations.

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Appendix A

Red Light Camera Survey To Existing Agencies

1. How long have you had red light cameras?

    - 1 to 3 years
    - 3 to 6 years
    - 6 or more years

2. How many intersections have red light cameras?

    - 1 to 3
    - 3 to 6
    - 6 or more

3. Has there been a significant reduction in crashes at those intersections with red light cameras?

    - Yes
    - No

4. Who reviews the red light camera violations?

5. What is the action of your agency when a red light violation is determined?

6. When does a violator receive a UTC?

    - Immediately
    - After 30 days
    - Other (explain)_____

7. How much revenue is generated annually from red light cameras?

    - Up to $500,000
    - $500,000 to $5,000,000
    - Over $5,000,000

8. Has revenue decreased since inception of the red light cameras at your agency?

    - Yes
    - No

9. How does a person contest the red light violation?

10. Do you feel that if the driver was identified by the camera it wouold reduce appeals?

    - Yes
    - No

Appendix B

Red Light Camera Survey to Tavares Residents

1. Do you feel red light cameras are constitutional?

    - Yes
    - No

2. Do you feel red light camera programs are:

    - An effective law enforcement tool for traffic safety
    - A way for cities to increase revenue
    - Both

3. Do you support or oppose the use of red light cameras to detect red light running violations?

    - Support
    - Oppose