SENATE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC SAFETY

Senator Steven Bradford, Chair 2021 - 2022 Regular

Bill No: AB 48 **Hearing Date:** July 6, 2021

Author: Lorena Gonzalez Version: March 16, 2021

Urgency: No Fiscal: Yes

Consultant: GC

Subject: Law enforcement: kinetic energy projectiles and chemical agents

HISTORY

Source: California Faculty Association

Prior Legislation: AB 66 (Lorena Gonzalez), 2020, not heard on the Senate floor

AB 392 (Weber), Ch. 170, Stats. of 2019 SB 230 (Caballero), Ch. 285, Stats. of 2019

SB 1347 (Leno), 2009, failed passage on the Senate floor

AB 2973 (Soto), Ch. 556, Stats. of 2008

AB 1237, (Leno), 2005, failed passage on the Asm. floor

Support:

Alliance San Diego; Asian Solidarity Collective; Black Leadership Council; California Attornevs for Criminal Justice; California Black Media; California Broadcasters Association; California News Publishers Association; California Nurses Association; California Public Defenders Association (CPDA); California State PTA; California Teachers Association; Californians for Safety and Justice; Californiahealth+ Advocates; Change Begins With Me Indivisible Group; Change for Justice; City of Alameda; City of Petaluma; Community Advocates for Just and Moral Governance; Consumer Attorneys of California; County of Los Angeles Board of Supervisors; Del Cerro for Black Lives Matter; Democratic Club of Vista; Democratic Woman's Club of San Diego County; Ethnic Media Services; First Amendment Coalition; Health Access California; Hillcrest Indivisible: Legal Services for Prisoners With Children: Los Angeles County: Mission Impact Philanthropy; National Association of Social Workers, California Chapter; Oakland Privacy; Partnership for The Advancement of New Americans; Pillars of The Community; Racial Justice Coalition of San Diego; Riseup; San Diego Progressive Democratic Club; San Francisco Public Defender; SD-OTPOC Colectivo; SEIU California; Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ) San Diego; Showing Up for Racial Justice North County San Diego; Social Workers for Equity & Leadership; Team Justice; Think Dignity; UCSC Student Union Assembly; University of California Student Association; Uprise Theatre; We the People - San Diego

Opposition:

Arcadia Police Officers' Association; Burbank Police Officers Association; California Coalition of School Safety Professionals; California Peace Officers Association; California State Sheriffs' Association; California Statewide Law Enforcement Association; Claremont Police Officers Association; Corona Police Officers Association; Culver City Police Officers Association; Fullerton Police

Officers' Association; Inglewood Police Officers Association; League of California Cities; Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department; Los Angeles Professional Peace Officers Association; Los Angeles School Police Officers Association; Newport Beach Police Association; Palos Verdes Police Officers Association; Placer County Deputy Sheriffs' Association; Pomona Police Officers Association; Riverside Police Officers Association; Riverside Sheriffs' Association; Santa Ana Police Officers Association; Southwest California Legislative Council; Upland Police Officers Association

Assembly Floor Vote:

46 - 19

PURPOSE

The purpose of this bill is to place a general ban on the use of kinetic energy projectiles and specified chemical agents by law enforcement upon public assemblies, subject to specified exemptions. Additionally, this bill increases the requirements that law enforcement agencies report specified uses of force to the Department of Justice.

Existing law states that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. (U.S. Const., 1st Amend.)

Existing law states that every person may freely speak, write and publish his or her sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of this right. A law may not restrain or abridge liberty of speech or press. (Cal. Const. Art., I, Sec. 2, subd. (a).)

Existing law states that the people have the right to instruct their representatives, petition government for redress of grievances, and assemble freely to consult for the common good. (Cal. Const., Art. I, Sec. 3, subd. (a).)

Existing law requires the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) to implement a course or courses of instruction for the training of law enforcement officers in the handling of acts of civil disobedience and adopt guidelines that may be followed by police agencies in responding to acts of civil disobedience. (Pen. Code, § 13151.5, subd. (a).)

Existing law provides that any use of force or violence, disturbing the public peace, or any threat to use force or violence, if accompanied by immediate power of execution, by two or more persons acting together, and without authority of law, is a riot. (Pen. Code, § 405.)

Existing law provides that an "unlawful assembly" occurs whenever two or more persons assemble together to do an unlawful act, or do a lawful act in a violent, boisterous, or tumultuous manner. (Pen. Code, § 407.)

Existing law provides that every person who participates in any rout or unlawful assembly is guilty of a misdemeanor. (Pen. Code, § 408.)

Existing law provides that every person remaining present at the place of any riot, rout, or unlawful assembly, after the same has been lawfully warned to disperse, except public officers

and persons assisting them in attempting to disperse the same, is guilty of a misdemeanor. (Pen.Code, § 409.)

Existing law provides that any peace officer who has reasonable cause to believe that a person to be arrested has committed a public offense may use objectively reasonable force to effect the arrest, to prevent escape, or to overcome resistance. (Pen. Code, § 835a, subd. (b).)

Existing law defines a "less lethal weapon" as any devise that propels ammunition that is designed to immobilize, or incapacitate, or stun a human being through the infliction of any less than lethal impairment of physical condition, function or senses, including physical pain or discomfort. (Penal Code, § 12601(a).)

Existing law defines "less lethal ammunition" as any ammunition that:

- Is designed to be used in any less lethal weapon or any other kind of weapon (including, but not limited to, firearms, pistols, revolvers, shotguns, rifles, and spring, compressed air, and compressed gas weapons); and
- When used in the less lethal weapon or other weapon is designed to immobilize or incapacitate or stun a human being through the infliction of any less than lethal impairment of physical condition, function, or senses, including physical pain or discomfort. (Penal Code, § 12601(b).)

This bill mandates that, except as specified, kinetic energy projectiles and chemical agents shall not be used by law enforcement agencies to disperse assemblies, protests, or demonstrations.

This bill specifies that projectiles and chemical agents may only be deployed under limited circumstances. Specifically, they may only be deployed by a peace officer that has received training on their proper use by the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) for crowd control when the use is objectively reasonable to defend against a threat to life or serious bodily injury to an individual, including the peace officer, and with the following requirements:

- De-escalation techniques and use of force alternatives have been attempted, when objectively reasonable, and failed.
- Repeated, audible announcements are made of the intent to use kinetic energy projectiles
 and chemical agents and the type to be used. The announcements shall be made from
 various locations if necessary and in multiple languages if appropriate.
- Persons are given an objectively reasonable opportunity to disperse and leave the scene.
- An objectively reasonable effort has been made to identify persons engaged in violent acts and those who are not, and kinetic energy projectiles or chemical agents are targeted toward those individuals engaged in violent acts. Projectiles shall not be aimed indiscriminately into a crowd or group of persons.
- Kinetic energy projectiles and chemical agents are used only with the frequency, intensity, and in a manner that is proportional to the threat and objectively reasonable.
- Officers shall minimize the possible incidental impact of their kinetic energy projectiles and chemical agents on bystanders, medical personnel, journalists, or other unintended targets.
- An objectively reasonable effort has been made to extract individuals in distress.

- Medical assistance is promptly procured or provided for injured persons.
- Kinetic energy projectiles shall not be aimed at the head, neck, or any other vital organs.

This bill specifically disallows the use of energy projectiles or chemical agents, even with the exemptions, solely due to any of the following:

- A violation of an imposed curfew.
- A verbal threat.
- Noncompliance with a law enforcement directive.

This bill permits only the commanding officer at the scene of an assembly to authorize the use of tear gas.

This bill defines "kinetic energy projectiles" as any type of device designed as less lethal, to be launched from any device as a projectile that may cause bodily injury through the transfer of kinetic energy and blunt force trauma. For purposes of this section, the term includes, but is not limited to, items commonly referred to as rubber bullets, plastic bullets, beanbag rounds, and foam tipped plastic rounds.

This bill defines "chemical agents" as any chemical which can rapidly produce sensory irritation or disabling physical effects in humans, which disappear within a short time following termination of exposure. For purposes of this section, the term includes, but is not limited to, chloroacetophenone tear gas, commonly known as CN tear gas; 2-chlorobenzalmalononitrile gas, commonly known as CS gas; and items commonly referred to as pepper balls, pepper spray, or oleoresin capsicum.

This bill exempts correctional facilities.

This bill does not prohibit law enforcement agencies from adopting more stringent policies.

Existing law requires that each law enforcement agency annually furnish to DOJa report of all instances when a peace officer employed by that agency is involved in any of the following: (Penal Code, § 12525.2.)

- An incident involving the shooting of a civilian by a peace officer.
- An incident involving the shooting of a peace officer by a civilian.
- An incident in which the use of force by a peace officer against a civilian results in serious bodily injury or death.
- An incident in which use of force by a civilian against a peace officer results in serious bodily injury or death.

Existing law specifies that for each incident reported under subdivision (a), the information reported to the Department of Justice shall include, but not be limited to, all of the following: (Penal Code, § 12525.2.)

- The gender, race, and age of each individual who was shot, injured, or killed.
- The date, time, and location of the incident.
- Whether the civilian was armed, and, if so, the type of weapon.

- The type of force used against the officer, the civilian, or both, including the types of weapons used.
- The number of officers involved in the incident.
- The number of civilians involved in the incident.
- A brief description regarding the circumstances surrounding the incident, which may
 include the nature of injuries to officers and civilians and perceptions on behavior or
 mental disorders.

This bill requires that local law enforcement agencies report specified information related to use of force by their agencies to the California Department of Justice (DOJ) on a monthly basis rather than on a yearly basis as specified under current law.

This bill specifies that commencing January 1, 2023 that local law enforcement must also report to DOJ (on a monthly basis) all incidents in which peace officers use kinetic energy projectiles or specified chemical agents that result in a reported injury to any person. For the incidents reported under this provision the agency must detail the following:

- The type of energy projectile of chemical agent deployed.
- The number of rounds fired or quantity of chemical agent dispersed.
- The justification for using the projectile or chemical agent.
- Whether any person was injured as a result of the deployment.

This bill also requires that annually, commencing March 31, 2024, law enforcement agencies shall publish a summary of incidents that must be reported to DOJ related to uses of force by its officers.

COMMENTS

1. Need for This Bill

According to the author:

Rubber bullets, plastic and foam tipped bullets, and beanbag rounds – also called kinetic energy projectiles or kinetic impact projectiles (KIPs) – along with chemical agents such as pepper spray and tear gas are considered "less lethal" weapons and are often used by law enforcement for crowd control during protests. Kinetic projectiles are not only rubber, plastic or foam, but often contain metal pellets or a metal core. Although the U.S. stopped using rubber bullets for crowd control after a fatality in 1971, they were re-introduced in the early 1980s. Tear gas, a chemical agent banned in warfare in 1997 by the Chemical Weapons Convention, is still allowed to be used by law enforcement.

Numerous reports of peaceful protestors, bystanders, health care professionals, and reporters, seriously injured by KIPs and chemical agents used by law enforcement against protesters surfaced even though the U.S. Crisis Monitor found that 93 percent of racial justice protests were peaceful. Police were five

times more likely to respond with force to these protests than the anti-lockdown protests. At least 115 people were shot in the head or neck between May 26 and July 27 of 2020 at protests immediately following George Floyd's death. In

addition, at least 20 people have suffered severe eye injuries, including seven people who lost an eye, according to the American Academy of Ophthalmology. In May 2020, a grandmother from La Mesa, CA was hospitalized in an intensive care unit after being hit between the eyes with a beanbag round. She lost sight in her left eye and will face a lifetime of recovery from the injuries. Additionally, at least 100 law enforcement agencies across the country, including 11 in California, have used some form of tear gas against civilians protesting police brutality and racism.

The use of "less-lethal" weapons by law enforcement can cause serious injuries and harmful long-term health impacts. When kinetic projectiles are fired at a close range, as seen in many of the recent protests, they can penetrate the skin, break bones, fracture the skull, and explode the eyeball, cause traumatic brain injuries, serious abdominal injury, internal bleeding and major blood vessel injuries. At longer distances, they can unintentionally injure bystanders and non-violent demonstrators. A 2017 British Medical Journal study found that 3% of people hit by rubber bullets died of their injuries, and 15% were permanently disabled. Over 85% of all eye injuries resulted in permanent blindness and 91.5% of head and neck, eye, nervous, cardiovascular, pulmonary, and thoracic and urogenital injuries were severe.

Tear gas and pepper spray can also have significant health impacts. The main effect of tear gas and other chemical agents is to irritate sensitive tissues in the nose, mouth and lungs and cause an intense burning pain in the eyes. However, if deployed in enclosed spaces, it can cause more severe injuries such as chemical burns, blurred vision, corneal erosions, ulcers, nerve damage and permanent vision loss. Tear gas is by design indiscriminate and can affect not only the intended targets but also peaceful demonstrators, bystanders, and nearby communities and residences as well. In addition, a 2014 study from the U.S. Army found that recruits who were exposed to tear gas as part of a training exercise were more likely to become sick with respiratory illnesses like the common cold and flu. A recent peer-reviewed study confirmed a link between tear gas and abnormal menstruation after nearly 900 people reported abnormal menstrual cycles, including intense cramping and increased bleeding, that began or persisted days after their initial exposure to the tear gas.

Medical professionals have called for an end to the use of rubber bullets and tear gas on peaceful protestors due to their potential to cause serious injury, disability, or death. It is clear that these "less lethal" weapons are inappropriate for crowd control as Californians are exercising their rights to assemble and peacefully protest. While most police departments have their own policies on their use of force of less lethal devices, there are no statewide or national standards. In order to increase the safety of Californians exercising their right to assemble and protest, Assembly Bill 48 would set clear minimum standards for the use of KIPs and chemical agents by law enforcement on protestors and require data on the use of and any resulting injuries from these weapons.

¹ Haar RJ, Iacopino V, Ranadive N, et al. Death, injury and disability from kinetic impact projectiles in crowd-control settings: a systematic review. BMJ Open 2017.

2. Uses of Force by Law Enforcement

When it comes to use of force by law enforcement against a member of the public, the general rule for how much force a law enforcement officer can use in response to a given situation is determined by a reasonableness test. It requires the careful balancing the nature and quality of the force against the countervailing government interest at stake. (*See Graham v. Connor* (1989) 490 U.S. 386, 396.) In other words, was the amount and type of force reasonably necessary in light of the police need to prevent the person from doing whatever it was that they were doing at the time the use of force happened. Three important factors to that test are 1) the severity of the crime at issue, 2) whether the suspect poses an immediate threat to the safety of the officers or others, and 3) whether the person is actively resisting arrest or attempting to evade arrest by flight. (*Ibid.*)

Recently California refined its use of force statutes in order to apply clearer guidance to law enforcement and the public regarding the when the use of deadly force is appropriate. Specifically, AB 392 (Weber), Chapter 170, Statutes of 2019, provided that an officer may use deadly force in order to prevent an imminent threat of death or serious bodily injury to the officer or to another person, or to apprehend a fleeing person for any felony that threatened or resulted in death or serious bodily injury, if the officer reasonably believes that the person will cause death or serious bodily injury to another unless immediately apprehended. AB 392 further specified situations in which deadly force would not be appropriate. In addition, the Legislature also passed SB 230 (Caballero), Chapter 285, Statutes of 2019, which required law enforcement agencies to update their training and policies relating to the use of force.

3. Uses of "Less-Lethal" Weapons for Crowd Control in California

The primary objective of this proposal is to delineate when and how it is appropriate for law enforcement to deploy "less lethal" weapons, such as kinetic energy projectiles (KIPs) (rubber bullets) and chemical agents (tear gas canisters and pepper spray) against the public when it has gathered during a mass protest or gathering. Current law does not establish statewide standards for the use of "less lethal" measures, but POST has a training manual on crowd control situations that includes training on less lethal munitions and chemical agents. The most recent version of the POST manual on crowd management was published in 2012, but according to POST, a new version is expected to be released this year. Although POST provides guidelines for when and how to use KIPs and chemical agents in crowd management and control situations, it is up to the individual law enforcement agencies to develop their own standards and policies for the use of such crowd control tools.

Kinetic energy projectiles, or "Kinetic Impact Projectiles" (KIP) are ammunition that is shot from a firearm and designed to be less lethal than a traditional lead bullet. One well known example of a KIP is referred to as a rubber bullet. Despite the name, a "rubber bullet" is actually a generic term for a variety of projectiles that are made out of rubber compounds, PVC (polyvinyl chloride), hard plastics, and foam. Some "rubber bullets" contain a metal core.³ Other kinetic energy projectiles include "bean bag rounds" and "cloth-cased shot." Courts have

² "Crowd Management, Intervention, and Control," POST, March 2012, available at: https://post.ca.gov/Portals/0/post_docs/publications/Crowd Management.pdf [as of March 15, 2021].

Kell, "Are crowd-control weapons dangerous? Very, says UC Berkeley expert," UC Berkley News, June 5, 2020, available at: https://news.berkeley.edu/2020/06/05/are-crowd-control-weapons-dangerous-very-says-uc-berkeley-expert/, [as of March 15, 2021].

interpreted the use of these kinetic projectiles as falling short of deadly force, despite their ability to cause serious injury and even death if they are used a short range and impact the head or the chest area near the heart. (*See Deorle v. Rutherford* (9th Cir. 2001) 272 F.3d 1272, 1279-80.) Chemical agents, as defined in this proposal, include pepper spray and tear gas canisters. Pepper spray has been described by courts as "intermediate force" in that it is "less severe than deadly force, nonetheless present a significant intrusion upon an individual's liberty interests." (*Young v. County of Los Angeles* (9th Cir. 2011) 655 F.3d 1156, 1161-62.)

A recent research paper compiling the available literature on deaths, injuries and permanent disability from rubber and plastic bullets, as well as from bean bag rounds, shot pellets and other projectiles used in arrests, protests and other contexts was published by experts in the fields of public health, medicine, and epidemiology.⁴ The conclusions of that research were as follows:

"We find that these projectiles have caused significant morbidity and mortality during the past 27 years, much of it from penetrative injuries and head, neck and torso trauma. Given their inherent inaccuracy, potential for misuse and associated health consequences of severe injury, disability and death, KIPs do not appear to be appropriate weapons for use in crowd-control settings. There is an urgent need to establish international guidelines on the use of crowd-control weapons to prevent unnecessary injuries and deaths." (*Ibid.*)

The same group of experts that published the research paper on KIPs in crowd control scenarios, did a similar report on chemical agents.⁵ The conclusions generated as a result of that research were: "Although chemical weapons may have a limited role in crowd control, our findings demonstrate that they have significant potential for misuse, leading to unnecessary morbidity and mortality. A nuanced understanding of the health impacts of chemical weapons and mitigating factors is imperative to avoiding indiscriminate use of chemical weapons and associated health consequences."

The use of chemical agents has drawn particular criticism during the COVID-19 pandemic. According to a United States Army study done in 2014, recruits that were exposed to CS gas were much more likely to contract acute respiratory illness such as the cold and the flu. In the nationwide demonstrations that followed the police killings of George Floyd and other black Americans, protesters were frequently pepper-sprayed or enveloped in clouds of tear gas. Critics denounced the use of tear gas and pepper spray on large groups of people during the global crisis as a recipe for disaster.

⁴ Haar, "Death, Injury and Disability from Kinetic Impact Projectiles in Crowd-Control Settings: a Systematic Review," (2017) BMJ Journals, Vol. 7, Iss. 12, available at: https://bmjopen.bmj.com/content/7/12/e018154, [as of March 15, 2021].

⁵ Haar, "Health Impacts of Chemical Irritants Used for Crowd Control: a Systematic Review of the Injuries and Deaths Caused by Tear Gas and Pepper Spray," (2017) BMC Public Health, Vol. 17, Art. 831, available at: https://bmcpublichealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12889-017-4814-6, [as of March 15, 2021].

⁶ Hout, "O-chlorobenzylidene malononitrile (CS riot control agent) associated acute respiratory illnesses in a U.S. Army Basic Combat Training cohort," Mil Med. July 2014, Vol. 179, Iss. 7, available at: https://academic.oup.com/milmed/article/179/7/793/4259353, [as of March 16, 2021].

⁷ Stone, "Tear-Gassing Protesters During An Infectious Outbreak Called 'A Recipe For Disaster," NPR, June 5, 2020, available at: https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2020/06/05/870144402/tear-gassing-protesters-during-an-infectious-outbreak-called-a-recipe-for-disast, [as of March 16, 2021].

This bill would place a general prohibition on the use of kinetic energy projectiles and chemical agents with a number of guidelines, limitations, and procedures for agencies to follow in order to utilize these "less lethal" weapons. Primarily the officers using the weapons must be trained in their use upon crowds, and the use must be objectively reasonable to defend the life or threat of serious bodily injury to a person. This would limit the use to threats against persons, and not include threats to property. Additionally, this bill sets forth a number of guidelines that must be followed in order for the less lethal alternatives to be deployed. These guidelines are extensive and detailed. The intent of these guidelines are to insure that the deployment of "less lethal" weapons for crowd control are done in the safest and most narrowly tailored manner possible.

4. Monthly Reporting of Use of Force Incidents to DOJ

A separate provision of this bill deals with the existing requirement that California law enforcement agencies submit annual reports to the Department of Justice (DOJ) regarding police shootings and use of force incidents that result in serious bodily injury or death. Current law requires law enforcement agencies to submit a yearly report to the DOJ on any shootings of civilians by peace officers and vice versa, as well as violent interactions between civilians and peace officers that result in death or serious bodily injury, even if no firearm was used. This bill would increase to the frequency of this report from once per year to once per month. It would also add the use of kinetic energy projectiles or chemical agents that results in any injury to the reporting requirements. In addition to the monthly report, under the provisions of this bill, law enforcement agencies would be required to submit a yearly summary report to the DOJ as well.

5. Argument in Support

According to the California Faculty Association:

This bill will set clear standards on the use of rubber bullets and other "less lethal" weapons by law enforcement, prohibit law enforcement's use of tear gas for crowd control, and prohibit their use to facilitate curfews. Furthermore, the bill would also require data collection on the use of these weapons and any resulting injuries.

Kinetic energy projectiles or kinetic impact projectiles (KIPs), along with chemical agents such as pepper spray and tear gas, are used by law enforcement for crowd control during protests as "less lethal" weapons compared to live bullets. They include rubber bullets, beanbags, and foam rounds. Rubber bullets are rubber on the outside but often contain a metal center. The use of these weapons can cause serious injury and long-term health impacts when used by law enforcement. When fired at close range, as seen in many recent protests, rubber bullets can penetrate the skin, break bones, fracture the skull, explode the eyeball, cause traumatic brain injuries and severe abdominal injury. At longer distances, they can unintentionally injure bystanders and non-violent demonstrators.

Tear gas is also still allowed to be used by law enforcement, despite having significant health impacts. A 2014 study from the U.S. Army found that recruits exposed to tear gas as part of a training exercise were more likely to get sick with respiratory illnesses like the common cold and flu. Tear gas and pepper spray irritate cells and activate pain receptors, leading to intense burning pain in the

eyes, throat, lungs, skin, and mucous membranes. In particular, tear gas is by design indiscriminate and can affect not only the intended targets but also peaceful demonstrators, bystanders, and nearby communities and residences. At least 98 law enforcement agencies across the country, including 11 in California, use some form of tear gas against civilians protesting police brutality and racism. AB 48 will increase the safety of Californians exercising their right to assemble and protest by prohibiting the use of kinetic energy projectiles and chemical agents on peaceful protestors and facilitating curfews, prohibiting the use of tear gas by law enforcement to disperse crowds, and creating clear standards for the use of "less-lethal" weapons. AB 48 would also require data collection on the use of these weapons and any resulting injuries. Exercising the constitutionally protected right to peacefully protest should not result in a disability, injury, or death at the hands of law enforcement.

6. Argument in Opposition

According to the California State Sheriffs' Association:

Restricting the use of less-lethal options limits the tools that are at an officer's disposal to protect public safety in certain situations. Different circumstances may call for different responses and more or less force may be required. However, by restricting when and under what conditions an officer may use those tools, their response to a particular situation may end up being guided by choices about practices that may be acceptable or unacceptable to some instead of what measure is most appropriate in the context of the event.

We are also concerned about mandating specific tactics directly in statute as AB 48 would. Again, it is difficult to legislate around situations that are rarely identical, and a "standard" approach may neglect a situation's unique features and the training of peace officers to assess and respond to these events. Experienced law enforcement practitioners and regulators are better positioned to set out guidelines through policy that steer officer practices and recognize the fluidity of situations that are prone to rapid evolution.

Finally, additional use of force reporting will add workload and costs that are not accounted for in this bill.