

Analysis of ‘Restricting the generation of surplus funds from traffic contraventions’ call for evidence

Authors: Yasmin Spray, Stacey Link, Beth Graham, Emily Cretch, Anna Marcinkiewicz,
Rachael Owen, Caterina Branzanti

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National Centre for Social Research
35 Northampton Square
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Executive Summary

This report summarises the responses to the Department for Transport's (DfT) 'Restricting the generation of surplus funds from traffic contraventions' Call for Evidence (CfE).

The CfE aimed to:

- gather evidence of current practices to inform possible policy proposals; and
- explore options for restricting a local authority's ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions.

The CfE explored a range of topics including: levels of income, expenditure, and surplus from traffic enforcement; how surplus is managed by local authorities; enforcement practices; views on fairness of enforcement practices; suggestions for changes to enforcement practices; views on restricting authorities' ability to generate surplus and consequences if surplus was repaid to His Majesty's Treasury.

A total of 4,787 unique responses were received, of which 68 came from local authorities (LAs), 40 from organisations (such as road safety organisations; combined authorities; and private companies), and 4,679 from members of the public (individuals).

The data collected presents several caveats and limitations that need to be considered when interpreting and drawing conclusions from the findings. These include:

- The views and information provided by respondents to the CfE may not be representative of the overall population of LAs, organisations and general public.
- The sample sizes changed substantially across the questions (e.g., between 5 and 55 LAs) resulting in some findings with small sample (e.g., below three) being omitted. Sample sizes have been provided throughout to refer to when interpreting the findings. Due to the small sample sizes, free-text response questions have been presented qualitatively rather than quantitatively e.g., most or some LA respondents.
- LAs may have differing accounting practices and standards, making it challenging to draw conclusions about trends and patterns.
- LAs were asked to provide exact figures and amounts (e.g., income, surplus, expenditure) which can be prone to error and misinterpretation.
- Surplus, income and expenditure data provided by LAs for COVID-19 impacted years (2020-2021, and 2021-2022) were excluded from the analysis.

This report presents the themes and recommendations that emerged from the responses, a summary of which is provided below.

Levels of surplus/deficit across traffic contraventions for LAs that responded to the CfE for their most recent accounts

- **Civil traffic enforcement** - 25 LA respondents reported a surplus and ten reported a deficit for their most recent accounts. The median civil traffic enforcement surplus/deficit was £0.6m per annum for the most recent accounts.
- **Parking enforcement** - 26 LA respondents reported a surplus and 12 reported a deficit for their most recent accounts. The median parking enforcement surplus/deficit was £0.2m per annum for the most recent accounts.
- **Bus lane enforcement** - 12 LA respondents reported a surplus and three reported a deficit for their most recent accounts. The median bus lane enforcement surplus/deficit was £0.2m per annum for the most recent accounts.
- **Moving traffic enforcement** - Six LA respondents reported a surplus and two reported a deficit for their most recent accounts. The median moving traffic enforcement surplus/deficit was £1.4m per annum for the most recent accounts.
- **Yellow box junction enforcement** - Two LA respondents reported a surplus and two reported a deficit for their most recent accounts. The median yellow box junction enforcement surplus/deficit was £0.2m per annum for the most recent accounts.

Reasons for generating LAs surplus or deficit in their most recent accounts

- LA respondents reporting a **surplus** for their most recent account (n=49) believed this was due to an increase in the number of penalties issued caused by a range of factors: the current level of penalty charge notices (PCNs) not acting as a deterrent for drivers, with some motorists choosing to receive a PCN rather than paying for daily parking charges; managing and controlling the use of kerbsides through contraventions; and managing a high density of traffic and congestion in urban areas.¹
- LA respondents reporting a **deficit** for their most recent account (n=23) believed that this was due to a wide range of factors including: an increase in the cost of enforcement; PCN cost level not increasing in line with inflation; the impact of COVID-19 that changed people's transport behaviours, i.e. a reduction in driving and parking which led to fewer penalties being issued; enforcement officers spending less time on enforcement duties; and improved motorists' levels of compliance.

How was surplus spent

- LA respondents reported spending their surplus to cover losses and to fund a wide range of public services including: parking and civil enforcement maintenance and improvements; road and highway improvements; environmental improvements; public transport initiatives;

¹ 'n' refers to the sample size for a given question from the CfE. For example, n=49 here refers to 49 LAs who responded to Question 18 and reported a surplus for their most recent accounts.

and implementation of the London Transport Strategy. Any surplus made through civil enforcement is ringfenced under Section 55 of the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984.

Projection for surplus or deficit in the medium term

- Out of 55 LA respondents, 24 expected to generate a surplus in the medium term, 23 expected to break even and eight expected a deficit. LA respondents anticipating a surplus or a deficit felt that this would be aligned with historic trends of non-compliance among motorists.

Warning notices for moving traffic enforcement during first six-months of enforcement

- The median number of warning notices issued by the 11 LA respondents with moving traffic enforcement powers during the first six-months of enforcement was 9,113.
- Alongside issuing warning notices, LA respondents took a wide range of actions including introducing unattended CCTV to ensure ongoing traffic monitoring. LA respondents felt that this allowed them to issue a large number of warnings to first-time offenders for specific sites; to help educate drivers; improving and adding signage; delivering communication campaigns to educate the public; extending enforcement operation hours; and gathering feedback from drivers.

Volume of yellow boxes junction enforcement cameras in operation

- The median number of yellow box junction enforcement cameras in operation across LA respondents was two in 2019 (n=11) and 13 in 2023 (n=14).
- LAs took a range of actions to address yellow box junction sites including: reviewing traffic flow; ensuring markings and warnings are clear; and regular monitoring.

Volume of PCNs for the most recent accounts

- 51 LA respondents provided data on the number of **PCNs issued for parking contraventions** per annum for their most recent accounts. The median number of parking PCNs for these LAs was 39,861.
- 34 LA respondents provided data on the number of challenged PCNs issued for parking contraventions (upheld or cancelled) per annum for their most recent accounts. Of these parking PCNs issued, 10.5% were challenged and upheld and 7% were challenged and cancelled.
- 27 LA respondents provided data on the number of **PCNs issued for bus lane contraventions** per annum for their most recent accounts. The median number of bus lane PCNs for these LAs was 10,590..
- 21 LA respondents provided data on the number of challenged PCNs issued for bus lane contraventions (upheld or cancelled) per annum for their most recent accounts. Of these bus lane PCNs issued, 5% were challenged and upheld and 4% were challenged and subsequently cancelled.
- 15 LA respondents provided data on the number of **PCNs issued for moving traffic contraventions** per annum for most their recent accounts. The median number of moving traffic PCNs was 59,254.

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- Nine LA respondents provided data on the number of challenged PCNs issued for moving traffic contraventions (upheld or cancelled) per annum for their most recent accounts. Of these moving traffic PCNs issued, 15% of PCNs were challenged and upheld and 6.5% were challenged and subsequently cancelled.

Reasons for accepting and rejecting representations and challenges

- The main reasons for LA respondents to accept drivers' representations and challenges included: valid reasons for the contravention (e.g. medical emergency, sign defects, avoid collision); valid exemption (e.g. blue badge and permits); and applying discretion (e.g. first-time offenders, genuine mistake).
- The main reasons for LA respondents to reject drivers' representations and challenges included: clear evidence that contravention occurred and no exemption or mitigation.

Views on leniency of current enforcement practices

- The majority of **LA respondents**² felt the current enforcement practices across all enforcement types were neither lenient nor strict. LA respondents tended to view their current enforcement practices as proportionate and transparent. They felt that each contravention was reviewed, and exemptions and mitigating circumstances consistently applied.

Views on fairness of current enforcement practices

- The majority of **LA respondents** agreed that their current practice is fair across all enforcement types. LA respondents believed that enforcement ensures safety, reduces congestion and helps the reliability of public transport. LA respondents also viewed enforcement as fair as it is based on clear government guidelines and transparent approaches for issuing penalties.
- Most **organisation respondents** agreed that the current practices are fair across all types of enforcement, although around a third of organisation respondents disagreed. Those agreeing saw the current enforcement as essential to help manage traffic flow; support sustainable modes of transport; and ensure safe functioning of local streets. Those disagreeing felt that LAs are motivated by revenue generation and that there is a lack of consistency in enforcement practice. They also felt that drivers are penalised unfairly, particularly with reference to yellow box junction enforcement.
- Over half of **individual respondents** agreed that current practices are fair across all types of enforcement, although around a third of individual respondents disagreed.
 - Individuals agreeing felt that enforcement deters dangerous behaviour; enforcement improves safety for all users; enforcement encourages the use of other modes of transport; enforcement is not strict enough; and motorists are required to obey the law.
 - Individuals disagreeing felt that enforcement is unfair due to issues with infrastructure; LAs see enforcement as more about surplus than safety or compliance; minor infringements should not be penalised; and a fairer appeals process is needed.

² Findings have been reported qualitatively (e.g., some or most LAs) because sample sizes and responses varied across the enforcement types (e.g., 21 out of 30 for yellow box junctions, and 46 out of 50 for parking). Responses numbers and sample sizes for all enforcement types are reported in the relevant sections of the report below.

Views on how to make enforcement practices fairer

- Across all groups, respondents provided a range of suggestions on how to make enforcement fairer. These included: expanding the use of exemptions and mitigating circumstances; ensuring ongoing scrutiny of LAs' enforcement practices; and improving design of roads and junctions, improving infrastructure and management of traffic enforcement, e.g., improving signage; upgrading junction design; and improving management of traffic congestion.

How to help drivers comply with current restrictions

- Across all groups, respondents felt that the following measures could help drivers comply with current restrictions: education and guidance for road users; improved signage and road marking; and increased use of technology-based solutions.
- Other suggestions differed depending on whether respondents wanted to see stricter or less strict enforcement measures. For example, some respondents called for increasing penalty fines to help compliance, while others asked for greater use of exemptions.

Views on whether restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer

- The majority of LA respondents (48 out of 53) disagreed that restricting their ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer. This view was also shared by most organisations (23 out of 37) and individuals (61%). These respondents felt that LAs' ability to generate a surplus had no bearing on fairness as enforcement is carried out in a fair and consistent manner and in line with the legislative framework.
- Around a third of organisation (11 out of 37) and individual respondents (30%) agreed that restricting LA's ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer. These respondents felt this could limit LAs' financial motivation to use traffic enforcement for revenue generation.

Ideas on restricting LAs' ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions

- LA organisation and individual respondents suggested a wide range of actions that could be taken for restricting LAs' ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions, including: more education; ongoing monitoring of high-income sites to support compliance; avoiding issuing PCNs for minor contraventions; and issuing more warning notices.

Impact on LAs if surplus was repaid to His Majesty's Treasury

- LA respondents provided mixed responses regarding the potential consequences for civil enforcement practices if they had to repay surpluses to Treasury. These ranged from no impact to having to scale back on schemes funded or partially funded by enforcement surplus.
- Further potential impacts included increased pressure on LAs finances, and reduced ability to provide services and undertake statutory duties.

Introduction

This report summarises the responses to the DfT's 'Restricting the generation of surplus funds from traffic contraventions' Call for Evidence (CfE) that ran from March to May 2024. A total of 4,787 responses were received.

Background to the CfE

In October 2023, the former Secretary of State (SoS) for Transport announced the Plan for Drivers, which aimed to promote smoother journeys; stop unfair enforcement; promote easier parking; crack down on inconsiderate driving; and help the transition to zero emission driving. The CfE set out the need to explore local authorities (LAs) ability to generate surplus revenue from traffic contraventions as this could create an incentive to exercise excessive enforcement.

The principle of subsidiarity in relation to traffic contraventions has been in place, to various degrees, since the 1990s. London councils were the first to be granted parking and bus lane enforcement powers, this was extended to other councils from 2004. Since 2003, London councils have also had moving traffic enforcement powers. These powers enable authorities to manage traffic flow through the issue of penalty charge notices (PCNs) for contraventions of moving traffic restrictions, such as no entry, no left or right turns, prohibited vehicles, unlawful entry into box junctions and driving in mandatory cycle lanes. This power was extended to any councils outside of London in 2020, via an application to the SoS for Transport. As of March 2024 when the CfE was launched, 52 LAs outside London had been granted powers, which enable them to operate to reduce illegal and irresponsible driving and parking.³ Moving traffic enforcement powers are therefore relatively new to some LAs outside London whereas parking and bus enforcement is well established nationally. Councils that have been granted these powers are required to exercise them genuinely and fairly. This includes avoiding relying on surpluses from excessive enforcement to fund wider spending. Councils are also limited to spending penalty revenue on a handful of ringfenced uses. These include, recouping the costs of enforcement; paying for public transport provisions; paying for highway improvement projects; and paying for environmental improvements in the area⁴.

³ In November 2024, SoS for Transport designated a further 21 LAs with moving traffic enforcement powers, bringing the number of LAs with moving traffic enforcement powers to 106 (73 outside of London).

⁴ House of Commons Library (2022). Councils in England to get new powers over traffic offences. <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/councils-in-england-to-get-new-powers-over-traffic-offences/>

The CfE

The CfE ran between 17 March 2024 and 25 May 2024 and sought to gather data on a range of areas. These included LAs levels of income, expenditure, and surplus from traffic enforcement; how surplus is managed by authorities; and consequences if surplus funds were repaid to His Majesty's Treasury. It also gathered views from LAs, organisations and individuals on the leniency and fairness of enforcement practices, suggestions for changes to enforcement practices, and views on restricting LAs' ability to generate surplus.

Respondents to the CfE included:

- Local Authorities (LAs) (n=68)
- Organisations including road safety organisations; parking and moving traffic organisations; motoring organisations; combined authorities; road enforcement organisations; campaign groups; private companies; and membership organisations (n=40)
- Individuals, members of the public including motorists and other road users (n=4,679)

The CfE was designed to provide an evidence base to inform the DfT's future policy on traffic enforcement, such as possibly requiring surpluses to be repaid to His Majesty's Treasury. Specifically, it sought to answer the following research questions.

- What are LAs' current enforcement practices? How have these changed in recent years?
- What views do LAs, individuals and other organisations hold on the fairness of enforcement practices?
- What are the current levels of revenues and costs associated with enforcement? How have these changed in recent years, and how are surplus funds currently spent?
- What would the impact be if LAs could not spend any surpluses they generated, and these were instead provided to His Majesty's Treasury?
- How can enforcement practices be improved and made fairer?

The DfT invited responses in the form of a questionnaire consisting of around 45 questions. The full list of consultation questions is available in Appendix A. Overall, there were 17 open-ended questions, six tabulated questions, six mixed questions, five closed-ended questions and 11 admin questions (such as links to the councils' published financial accounts, and the year of the most recent accounts). Respondents could take part through an online survey, by email or by post.

Summary of responses

A total of 4,787 submissions to the CfE were received by the DfT. There were 4,743 online survey submissions, 14 submissions by email, and 30 PDF submissions.

68 LAs responded to the CfE out of 311 eligible LAs with civil parking enforcement powers in England. Of the 68 LAs who responded, 38 had been designated the power to civilly enforce moving traffic out of the 85 LAs nationally that had these powers when the CfE was open from March to May 2024.

Approach to analysis

Firstly, the online, email and PDF responses were combined to produce a master data file for analysis. Responses submitted via PDF consisted of one or two-page narrative, which was entered manually into the master data file by the research team. However, some PDF respondents did not answer the questions in the online survey nor followed its structure. Therefore, not all their responses to the PDF version of questions were included in the analysis.

The responses contained a mix of closed-ended and open-ended questions. Therefore, both quantitative and qualitative analysis methods were used, and are described in the following sections.

Quantitative analysis

Firstly, the numerical data (e.g., LAs' enforcement income and expenditure) was checked and prepared for analysis. This involved ensuring all answers were relevant, complete and in a consistent format.

The data was subsequently imported into an analysis software and further quality assurance checks were conducted. The research team then produced a series of data tables which showed frequency data for each question as well as summary statistics such as median, mean, minimum and maximum values.

Thematic analysis of open-text responses from LAs and organisations

Thematic analysis was carried out for long-form responses to open-ended questions provided by LAs and organisations. This involved reading all the answers in full and synthesising the key messages into high level themes and subthemes. The analysis also included selecting quotations where they were relevant and non-disclosive.

AI-assisted coding for opened-text responses from individuals

To analyse the themes and sentiments expressed by 4,679 individuals who responded to the open-ended questions, the responses were coded using AI-assisted software. This approach allows for faster and accurate analysis of large volumes of textual data that would take the research team a very long time to process. This approach involved the research team developing a code frame based on a selection of individual responses. The code frame consisted of high-level codes, exploring the main themes emerging from the responses, and subcodes, exploring each high-level code in greater detail. The code frame was then tested, reviewed and quality assured. This involved the research team reviewing a sample of 100 responses and comparing the codes assigned by AI to those the researchers would assign. Specifically, the team looked for:

- **False Positives**, namely codes assigned where they should **not** be assigned, and;
- **False Negatives**, namely codes not assigned where they **should** be assigned.

Following this, all individual responses were coded to the code frame using AI-assisted software. Data tables were then produced showing percentages of individuals whose responses fitted a given code for each question. High-level codes were used to measure and quantify overall sentiments about specific aspects explored in the CfE and were reported on

quantitatively. Subcodes were used to further elaborate on the high-level codes and were reported on qualitatively.

Note on interpreting the findings

This report is not a formal government response. Therefore, it does not offer a comprehensive list of possible actions that may be considered or taken forward by the DfT.

The data collected presents several caveats and limitations that need to be considered when interpreting and drawing conclusions from the findings. These are presented below.

Caveats and limitations

The findings are based on the views and information provided by respondents to the CfE and may not be representative of the general population (e.g., all LAs in England, all population in England). Moreover, LAs that responded to the CfE varied in geography, population size, and traffic levels. This is important as no information was collected on the number of contraventions per resident, which would enable a like-for-like comparison between LAs with different population size or traffic levels.

Some authorities who undertake civil traffic enforcement sit within upper tier LAs who responded to the CfE. This occurs, for example, when a County Council (upper tier LA) have the power to civilly enforce traffic but have an agreement with the Borough Council (lower tier LA) that the latter will undertake enforcement. Given the upper tier LA does not undertake enforcement, data provided by the upper tier LA could be representing the views of lower-tier authorities who enforce. This also means data provided on surpluses and deficits could represent more than one lower-tier authority's accounts, making it more difficult to accurately report responses and sample sizes.

Although there were 4,787 responses to the CfE across the different respondent groups, the sample size changed substantially across the questions and within question modules. For example, some LA respondents provided data on certain types of enforcement but omitted others. Others provided information on traffic enforcement income and surplus but omitted expenditure. Sample sizes have been provided throughout to refer to when interpreting the findings. Due to the small sample sizes, free-text response questions have been presented qualitatively rather than quantitatively e.g., most or some LA respondents.

It is worth noting that LAs may have different accounting practices and standards, e.g., differing cost attribution or expense categorisation due to shared costs across the different enforcement types. Therefore, data and information submitted as part of this CfE may not be fully comparable, which prevents from drawing definitive conclusions about trends and patterns across LAs.

LAs were asked to provide data for the most recent accounts, as well as 2019-2020 accounts. However, due to different accounting timeframes, data for the most recent accounts were inconsistent and included, 2020-2021; 2021-2022; 2022-2023, and 2023-2024. Between 2020-2021 and 2021-2022, the lockdowns and restrictions imposed to stop the spread of the COVID-19 virus significantly limited how much people could travel. This likely affected traffic enforcement income, expenditure and surplus generated during that period, hindering

consistent comparisons across the years. Therefore, 2020-2021 and 2021-2022 accounts were excluded from the analysis, which slightly reduced sample sizes for some questions.

LAs were asked to report figures and amounts in relation to various indicators, including number of PCNs, income, expenditure and surplus. This may be prone to errors and misinterpretation, e.g., some respondents may have estimated or rounded the amounts, may have misinterpreted the question, or provided incorrect or irrelevant answers. The findings should therefore be viewed as broadly indicative of enforcement data as opposed to an exact snapshot.

Three combined authorities did not identify as LAs when completing the CfE. This meant they did not provide answers to any of the CfE questions for LA only e.g., questions about enforcement surplus/deficits and PCNs issued. These combined authorities are included in the organisation responses, and analysed and reported as organisations throughout the report.

Given the large number of individual responses, AI-assisted software was used to code the responses (full details are provided in the introduction). While the findings accurately represent the overall sentiment of respondents, they may not capture the nuanced and specific views of a smaller subset of respondents.

Structure to the report

The report is structured as follows:

- **Chapter 1** discusses findings on LA respondents' levels of income, expenditure and surplus or deficit across enforcement types, for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. The findings reflect data and information provided by LAs that responded to the CfE.
- **Chapter 2** explores how LAs that responded to the CfE managed the surplus or deficit resulting from income from traffic contraventions. It discusses the reasons for LA respondents making a surplus or deficit, and considers how surplus was spent, or losses managed. It then presents LA respondents' projections for surplus/deficit within their medium-term financial strategy for civil traffic enforcement activities and the reasons behind the projections.
- **Chapter 3** outlines LA respondents' current enforcement practices for parking, bus lanes and moving traffic. It discusses monitoring and reviewing the effectiveness of enforcement, warning notices, yellow box junction enforcement and PCNs.
- **Chapter 4** examines LA, organisation and individual respondents' views on fairness of the current enforcement practices. It firstly describes whether LA respondents perceive their enforcement practice to be lenient or strict. It then goes on to discuss views of all respondent groups on whether the current enforcement practices are perceived to be fair.
- **Chapter 5** presents respondents' suggestions for changes to current enforcement practices. It begins by exploring organisation and individual respondents' views on how enforcement could be made fairer and then examines LAs', organisations', and individuals' ideas on how to help drivers comply with restrictions for all four types of enforcement.
- **Chapter 6** examines LA, organisation and individual respondents' views on restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus from traffic contraventions. It begins by exploring views on whether this change would make traffic enforcement fairer and outlines ideas about how surplus could be restricted. It then considers potential consequences for LAs if surplus generated was required to be repaid to His Majesty's Treasury.
- **Annex A** outlines the full list of consultation questions.

1. Enforcement surplus, income and expenditure

This chapter discusses the findings on the levels of income, expenditure and surplus/deficit across five enforcement types: all civil traffic enforcement, parking, bus lanes, moving traffic (including yellow box junctions), and yellow box junctions. The findings are based on data submitted LAs responding to the CfE for their most recent accounts as well as 2019-2020 accounts.

1.1 Key findings

Civil traffic enforcement – For the most recent accounts, 25 LA respondents reported a surplus and ten reported a deficit. The median civil traffic enforcement surplus/deficit was £0.6m per annum.

Parking enforcement – For the most recent accounts, 26 LA respondents reported a surplus and 12 reported a deficit. The median parking enforcement surplus/deficit was £0.2m per annum.

Bus Lane enforcement – For the most recent accounts, 12 LA respondents reported a surplus and three reported a deficit. The median bus lane enforcement surplus/deficit was £0.2m per annum.

Moving traffic enforcement – For the most recent accounts, six LA respondents reported a surplus and two reported a deficit. The median moving traffic enforcement surplus/deficit was £1.4m per annum.

Yellow box junction enforcement – For the most recent accounts, two LA respondents reported a surplus and two reported a deficit. The median yellow box junction enforcement surplus/deficit was £0.2m per annum.

1.2 Caveats and limitations

In total, 68 LAs took part in the CfE. However, the sample size changed substantially across questions about levels of income, expenditure and surplus, and across different enforcement types. For example, a total of 42 LAs responded to the question on parking enforcement and a total of four responded to the question on yellow junction box enforcement.

Some authorities who undertake civil traffic enforcement sit within upper tier LAs who responded to the CfE. This occurs, for example, when a County Council (upper tier LA) have the power to civilly enforce traffic but have an agreement with the Borough Council (lower tier LA) that the latter will undertake enforcement. Given the upper tier LA does not undertake enforcement, data provided by the upper tier LA could be representing the views of lower-tier authorities who enforce. This also means data provided on surpluses and deficits could represent more than one lower-tier authority's accounts, making it more difficult to accurately report responses and sample sizes.

There was also significant sample size variation within each question modules, e.g., when asked about all civil traffic enforcement, some LAs provided income and surplus figures but omitted expenditure. This makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions about trends across LA respondents. Sample sizes have been provided throughout to refer to when interpreting the findings. Furthermore, when assessing change over time, LAs did not always report data for both the most recent and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistent comparison, some tables (e.g., Table 1) report findings for LAs that consistently reported data across the two accounts and exclude those that provided only one. Information on any such change has been provided throughout the chapter. It is also worth noting that LAs are likely to have different accounting practices. For example, expenses might be categorised differently, and costs might be shared across other enforcement types. Readers should bear this in mind when interpreting the findings.

The findings in this section are based on data from the most recent accounts submitted by LAs, as well as 2019-2020 accounts. However, when asked to report data for their most recent accounts, LAs did so inconsistently, including 2020-2021, 2021-2022, 2022-2023, 2023-2024. Between 2020-2021 and 2021-2022, the lockdowns and restrictions imposed to stop the spread of the COVID-19 virus significantly limited people's movement and had a major impact on how much people travelled. Private vehicle usage data collected during lockdown periods and during the pandemic was much lower. Due to the impact this anomaly may have on the overall coherence and comparability of the findings, data referring to 2020-2021 and 2021-2022 accounts provided by LAs was removed. This further reduced the questions' sample sizes. For example, after removing COVID-19-impacted years, between one and four LAs reported yellow box junction surplus/deficit, income, and expenditure figures for both accounts. Findings based on such a limited number of responses were not reported as the sample size was deemed too small.

LAs were asked to report the proportion of total enforcement income generated by the three enforcement locations/sites with the highest income for moving traffic, bus lanes and parking enforcements (see CfE question 10 in Annex A). Data for this question presented significant limitations that affected the quality of the analysis. Firstly, the number of LAs responding to the question varied greatly, from 10 for moving traffic to 44 for parking sites. This suggests different degrees of robustness of the findings. Secondly, the question asked LAs to provide the individual proportions of total income generated by the three highest income enforcement sites, across all types of enforcement. These presented some interpretative issues. Some LAs assumed that the sum of the three enforcement types had to tally up to 100%. Others assumed that the three enforcement types were just some of the components that make up total enforcement income. As result, some values were underestimated and therefore uninterpretable. These different assumptions make it difficult to robustly compare data across LAs. Therefore, findings for this question were not reported.

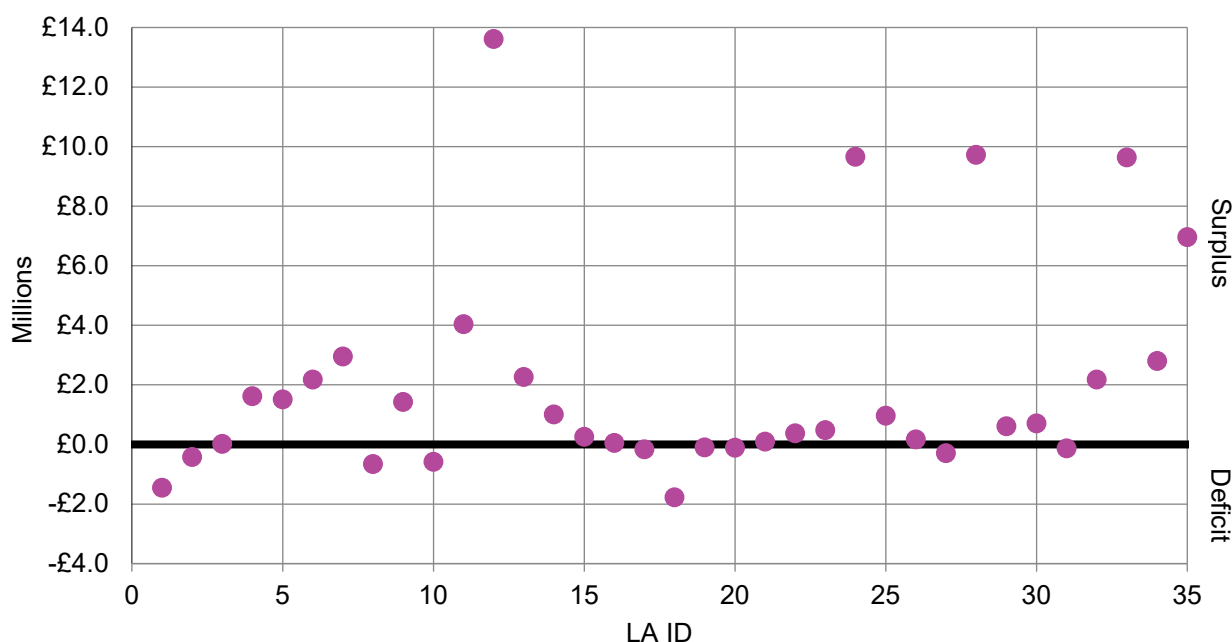
1.3 All civil traffic enforcement

LAs were asked to report their levels of surplus/deficit, income, and expenditure across all types of civil traffic enforcement, for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. Between 19 and 35 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the data and information provided by these LA respondents.

1.3.1. All civil traffic enforcement surplus/deficit for most recent accounts

For the most recent accounts, the enforcement of all civil traffic generated a surplus for 25 out of 35 LA respondents, with ten reporting a deficit. The median surplus/deficit value for the most recent account was £0.6m per annum (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Distribution of surplus/deficit for civil traffic enforcement for the most recent accounts



Base: All LA respondents that reported a surplus/deficit for the most recent accounts (excluding COVID-10 impacted years) (n=35). Note – LA respondents were randomly assigned an ID number and plotted according to their ID number.

1.3.2. All civil traffic enforcement surplus/deficit: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 1 shows levels of all civil traffic enforcement surplus/deficit generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=19). Surplus/deficit figures for the most recent accounts in Table 2 may therefore differ from those shown in Figure 1.

For the most recent accounts, all 19 LA respondents reported a surplus, with a median surplus value of £1.5m per annum. For the 2019-2020 accounts, all 19 LA respondents reported a surplus, with a median surplus value of £1.1m per annum.

Table 1: All civil enforcement surplus/deficit for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Surplus/Deficit – 2019/2020 accounts	Surplus/Deficit – most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	9	8
>£1 to £5m	6	7
>£5m	4	4
Mean	£2.7m	£3.2m
Median	£1.1m	£1.5m
Minimum	<£0.1m	<£0.1m
Max	£13.1m	£13.6m

Base: LA respondents that reported a surplus for both the most recent accounts and the 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=19). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.3.3. All civil traffic enforcement income: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 2 shows levels of all civil traffic enforcement income generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=32).

For the most recent accounts, LA respondents reported levels of all civil traffic enforcement income ranging between a minimum income value less than £0.1m and a maximum income value of £24.3 per annum. The median income value was £4.7m per annum for the most recent accounts.

For the 2019-2020 accounts, LA respondents reported levels of all civil traffic enforcement income ranging between a minimum income value less than £0.1m and a maximum income value of £21.9m per annum. The median income value was £4.9m per annum for 2019-2020 accounts.

Table 2: All civil enforcement income for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Income – 2019/2020 accounts	Income – most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	9	8
>£1 to £5m	9	10
>£5m	14	14
Mean	£5.6m	£6.5m
Median	£4.9m	£4.7m
Minimum	<£0.1m	<£0.1m
Max	£21.9m	£24.3m

Base: LA respondents that reported income levels for both the most recent accounts and the 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=32). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.3.4. All civil traffic enforcement expenditure: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 3 shows levels of all civil traffic enforcement expenditure generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=30).

For the most recent accounts, LA respondents reported levels of all civil traffic enforcement expenditure ranging between a minimum expenditure value of £0.2m and a maximum expenditure value of £13.6m per annum. The median expenditure value was £3.4m per annum for the most recent accounts.

For the 2019-2020 accounts, LA respondents reported levels of all civil traffic enforcement expenditure ranging between a minimum expenditure value less than £0.1m and a maximum value of £12.2m per annum. The median expenditure value was £2.8m per annum for the 2019-2020 accounts.

Table 3: All civil enforcement expenditure for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Expenditure – 2019/2020 accounts	Expenditure – Most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	6	7
>£1 to £5m	15	14
>£5m	9	9
Mean	£3.9m	£4.3m
Median	£2.8m	£3.4m
Minimum	<£0.1m	£0.2m
Max	£12.2m	£13.6m

Base: LA respondents that reported expenditure levels for both the most recent accounts and the 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=30). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

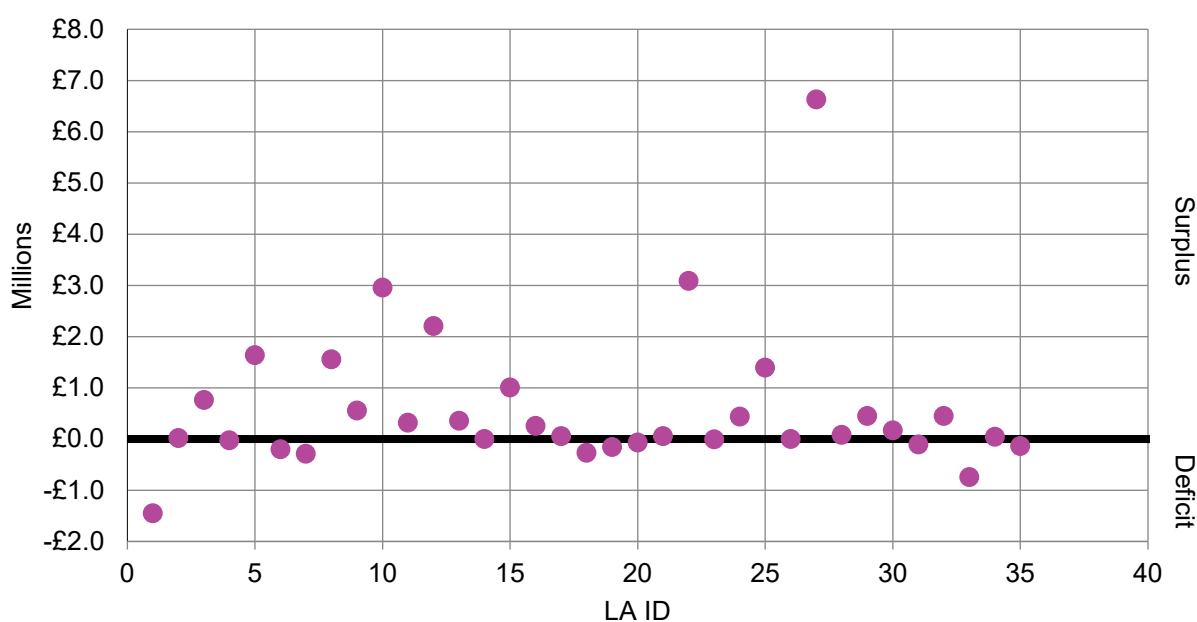
1.4 Parking enforcement

LAs were asked to report their levels of surplus/deficit, income, and expenditure for parking enforcement, for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. Between 19 and 42 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the data and information provided by these LA respondents.

1.4.1. Parking enforcement surplus/deficit for most recent accounts

For the most recent accounts, the enforcement of parking generated a surplus for 26 out of 38 LA respondents, with 12 reporting a deficit. The median surplus/deficit was £0.2m per annum for the most recent accounts (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Distribution of surplus/deficit for parking enforcement for the most recent accounts



Base: All LA respondents that reported a surplus/deficit for the most recent accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=38). Note – LA respondents were randomly assigned an ID number and plotted according to their ID number.

1.4.2. Parking enforcement surplus/deficit: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 4 shows levels of parking enforcement surplus/deficit generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=19). Surplus/deficit in Table 5 may therefore differ from those shown in Figure 2.

For the most recent accounts, all 19 LAs reported a surplus, with a median surplus value of £0.8m per annum. For the 2019-2020 accounts, all 19 LAs reported a surplus, with a median surplus value of £0.9m per annum.

Table 4: Parking enforcement surplus for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Surplus/deficit – 2019/2020 accounts	Surplus/deficit – most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	11	10
>£1 to £5m	7	7
>£5m	1	2
Mean	£1.5m	£1.6m
Median	£0.9m	£0.8m
Minimum	<£0.1m	<£0.1m
Max	£5.6m	£7.1m

Base: LA respondents that reported a surplus/deficit for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=19). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.4.3. Parking enforcement income: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 5 shows levels of parking enforcement income generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=42).

For the most recent accounts, LA respondents reported levels of parking enforcement income ranging between a minimum income value less than £0.1m and a maximum income value of £25.0m per annum. The median income value was £2.9m per annum for the most recent accounts.

For the 2019-2020 accounts, LA respondents reported levels of parking enforcement income ranging between a minimum income value of £0.04m and maximum income value of £20.4m per annum. The median income value was £2.4m per annum for the 2019-2020 accounts.

Table 5: Parking enforcement income for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Income – 2019/2020 accounts	Income – most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	13	13
>£1 to £5m	22	21
>£5m	7	8
Mean	£3.5m	£3.9m
Median	£2.4m	£2.9m
Minimum	<£0.1m	<£0.1m
Max	£20.4m	£25.0m

Base: LA respondents that reported income levels for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=42). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.4.4. Parking enforcement expenditure: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 6 shows levels of parking enforcement expenditure generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=37).

For the most recent accounts, LA respondents reported levels of parking enforcement expenditure ranging between a minimum expenditure value of £0.2m and a maximum expenditure value of £22.0m per annum. The median expenditure value was £2.3m per annum for the most recent accounts.

For 2019-2020 accounts, LA respondents reported levels of parking enforcement expenditure ranging between a minimum expenditure value less than £0.1m and a maximum expenditure value of £19.7m per annum. The median expenditure value was £2.0m per annum for the 2019-2020 accounts.

Table 6: Parking enforcement expenditure for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Expenditure – 2019/2020 accounts	Expenditure. – Most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	11	8
>£1 to £5m	21	25
>£5m	5	4
Mean	£2.8m	£3.2m
Median	£2.0m	£2.3m
Minimum	<£0.1m	£0.2m
Max	£19.7m	£22.0m

Base: LA respondents that reported expenditure levels for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=37). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

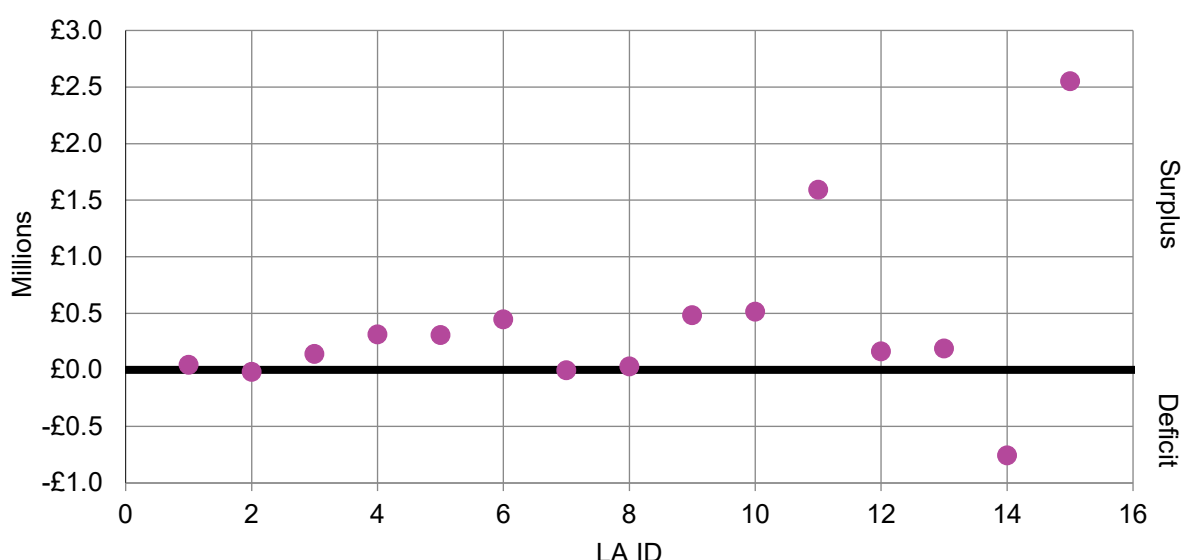
1.5 Bus lane enforcement

LAs were asked to report their levels of surplus/deficit, income, and expenditure for bus lane enforcement, for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. Between ten and 20 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the data and information provided by these LA respondents.

1.5.1. Bus lane enforcement surplus for most recent accounts

For the most recent accounts, the enforcement of bus lane generated a surplus for 12 out of 15 LA respondents, with three reporting a deficit. The median surplus/deficit was £0.2m per annum for the most recent accounts (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Distribution of surplus/deficit for bus lane enforcement for the most recent accounts



Base: All LA respondents that reported a surplus/deficit for the most recent accounts (excluding COVID-10 impacted years) (n=15). Note – LA respondents were randomly assigned an ID number and plotted according to their ID number.

1.5.2. Bus lane enforcement surplus/deficit: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 7 shows levels of bus lane enforcement surplus/deficit generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=10). Surplus/deficit in Table 8 may therefore differ from those shown in Figure 3.

For the most recent accounts, all ten LAs reported a surplus and the median surplus was £0.3m per annum. For the 2019-2020 accounts, all ten LAs reported a surplus and the median surplus was £0.5m per annum.

Table 7: Bus lane enforcement surplus for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Surplus/deficit – 2019/2020 accounts	Surplus/deficit – most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	9	8
>£1 to £5m	1	2
>£5m	-	-
Mean	£0.4m	£0.6m
Median	£0.5m	£0.3m
Minimum	<£0.1m	<£0.1m
Max	£1.1m	£2.5m

Base: LA respondents that reported a surplus/deficit for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=10). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.5.3. Bus lane enforcement income: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 8 shows levels of bus lane enforcement income generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=20).

For the most recent accounts, LA respondents reported levels of bus lane enforcement income ranging between a minimum income value less than £0.1m and a maximum income value of £4.0m per annum. The median income value was £0.5m per annum for the most recent accounts.

For the 2019-2020 accounts, LA respondents reported levels of bus lane enforcement income ranging between a minimum income value of less than £0.1m and a maximum income value of £2.3m per annum. The median income value was £0.7m per annum for the 2019-2020 accounts.

Table 8: Bus lane enforcement income for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Income – 2019/2020 accounts	Income – most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	15	16
>£1 to £5m	5	4
>£5m	-	-
Mean	£0.8m	£0.8m
Median	£0.7m	£0.5m
Minimum	<£0.1m	<£0.1m
Max	£2.3m	£4.0m

Base: LA respondents that reported income levels for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=20). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.5.4. Bus lane enforcement expenditure: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 9 shows levels of bus lane enforcement expenditure generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=15).

For the most recent accounts, LA respondents reported levels of bus lane enforcement expenditure ranging from a minimum expenditure value of less than £0.1m to a maximum expenditure value of £2.0m per annum. The median expenditure value was £0.3m per annum for the most recent accounts.

For 2019-2020 accounts, LA respondents reported levels of bus lane enforcement expenditure ranging from a minimum expenditure value of less than £0.1m to a maximum expenditure value of £1.4m per annum. The median expenditure value was £0.3m per annum for the 2019-2020 accounts.

Table 9: Bus lane enforcement expenditure for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Expenditure – 2019/2020 accounts	Expenditure – Most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	13	13
>£1 to £5m	2	2
>£5m	-	-
Mean	£0.4m	£0.5m
Median	£0.3m	£0.3m
Minimum	<£0.1m	<£0.1m
Max	£1.4m	£2.0m

Base: LA respondents that reported expenditure levels for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=15). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.6 Moving traffic enforcement

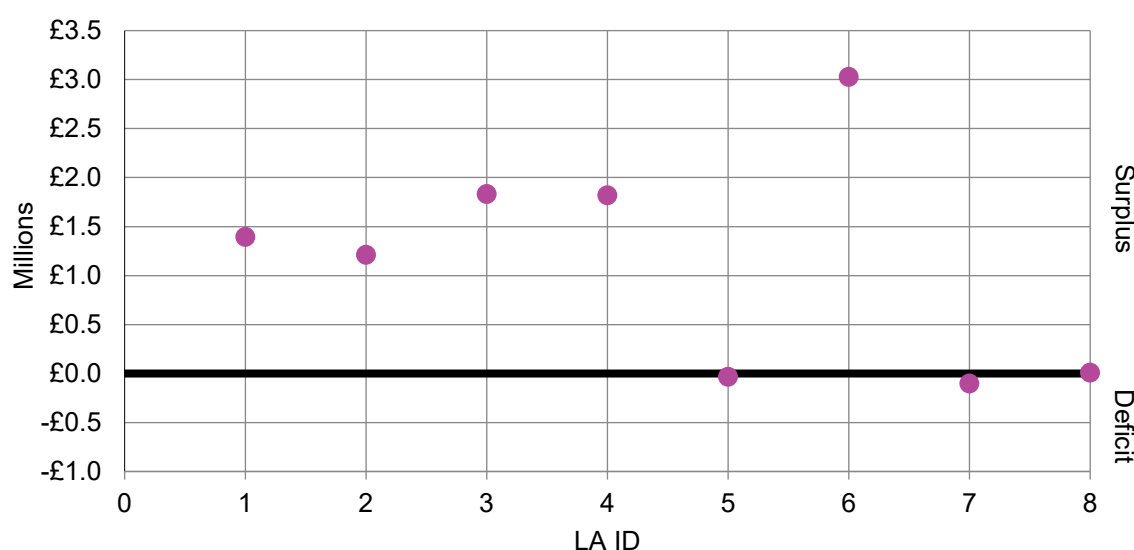
1.6.1. Introduction

LAs were asked to report their levels of surplus/deficit, income, and expenditure for moving enforcement, for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. Between three and eight LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the data and information provided by these LA respondents.

1.6.2. Moving traffic enforcement surplus for most recent accounts

For the most recent accounts, the enforcement of moving traffic generated a surplus for six out of eight LA respondents, with two reporting a deficit. The median surplus/deficit was £1.4m per annum for the most recent accounts (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Distribution of surplus/deficit for moving traffic enforcement for the most recent accounts



Base: LA respondents that reported a surplus/deficit for the most recent accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=8). Note – LA respondents were randomly assigned an ID number and plotted according to their ID number.

1.6.3. Moving traffic enforcement surplus/deficit: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 10 shows levels of moving traffic enforcement surplus/deficit generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=3). Surplus/deficit figures in Table 11 may therefore differ from those shown in Figure 4.

For the most recent accounts, all three LAs reported a surplus from moving traffic enforcement and the median surplus value was £1.8m per annum.

For the 2019-2020 accounts, all three LAs reported a surplus from moving traffic enforcement and the median surplus value was £1.4m per annum.

Table 10: Moving traffic enforcement surplus/deficit for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Surplus/deficit – 2019/2020 accounts	Surplus/deficit – most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	-	-
>£1 to £5m	3	3
>£5m	-	-
Mean	£1.7m	£2.1m
Median	£1.4m	£1.8m
Minimum	£1.3m	£1.4m
Max	£2.3m	£3.0m

Base: LA respondents that reported a surplus/deficit for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=3). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.6.4. Moving traffic enforcement income: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 11 shows levels of moving traffic enforcement income generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=7).

For their most recent accounts, LA respondents reported levels of moving traffic enforcement income ranging from a minimum income value of £1.7m to a maximum income value of £12.4m per annum. The median income value was £4.1m per annum for the most recent accounts.

For the 2019-2020 accounts, LA respondents reported levels of moving traffic enforcement income ranging from a minimum income value of £1.4m to a maximum income value of £4.7m per annum. The median income value was £3.3m per annum for 2019-2020 accounts.

Table 11: Moving traffic enforcement income for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Income – 2019/2020 accounts	Income – most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	-	-
>£1 to £5m	7	5
>£5m	-	2
Mean	£3.0m	£5.0m
Median	£3.3m	£4.1m
Minimum	£1.4m	£1.7m
Max	£4.7m	£12.4m

Base: LA respondents that reported income levels for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=7). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.6.5. Moving traffic enforcement expenditure: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 12 shows levels of moving traffic enforcement expenditure generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=4).

For the most recent accounts, LA respondents reported levels of moving traffic enforcement expenditure ranging from a minimum expenditure value of less than £0.1m to a maximum expenditure value of £2.3m per annum. The median expenditure value was £1.5m per annum for the most recent accounts.

For 2019-2020 accounts, LA respondents reported levels of moving traffic enforcement expenditure ranging from a minimum expenditure value of less than £0.1m to a maximum expenditure value of £1.5m per annum. The median expenditure value was £1.1m for the 2019-2020 accounts.

Table 12: Moving traffic enforcement expenditure for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Expenditure – 2019/2020 accounts	Expenditure – Most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	2	1
>£1 to £5m	2	3
>£5m	-	-
Mean	£0.8m	£1.4m
Median	£1.1m	£1.5m
Minimum	<£0.1m	£0.4m
Max	£1.5m	£2.3m

Base: LA respondents that reported expenditure levels for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=4). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.7 Yellow box junction enforcement

1.7.1. Introduction

LAs were asked to report their levels of surplus/deficit, income, and expenditure for yellow box junctions, for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. Between one and four LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the data and information provided by these LA respondents. As mentioned in the caveats and limitation section, some findings had to be omitted due to limited sample sizes.

1.7.2. Yellow box junction enforcement surplus/deficit for most recent accounts

For the most recent accounts, the enforcement of yellow box junctions generated a surplus for two LA respondents (out of four), with two reporting a deficit. The median surplus/deficit was £0.2m per annum for the most recent accounts.

Due to the small sample size (n=4), the yellow box junction enforcement surplus/deficit data has not been included in a figure.

1.7.3. Yellow box junction enforcement surplus/deficit: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Findings in this section were omitted due to severely limited sample size (n=1).

1.7.4. Yellow box junction enforcement income: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 13 shows levels of yellow box junction income generated by LA respondents for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. To ensure consistency, the table only presents figures for those LA respondents that reported data for both accounts (n=3).

For their most recent accounts, LA respondents reported levels of yellow box junction enforcement income ranging from a minimum income value of less than £0.1m to a maximum income value of £3.3m per annum. The median income value was £1.7m per annum for the most recent accounts.

For the 2019-2020 accounts, LA respondents reported levels of yellow box junction enforcement income ranging from a minimum income value of less than £0.1m to a maximum income value of £4.1m per annum. The median income value was £1.4m per annum for the 2019-2020 accounts.

Table 13: Yellow box junction enforcement income for the most recent accounts and 2019-2020

	Income – 2019/2020 accounts	Income – most recent accounts
>£0 to £1m	1	1
>£1 to £5m	2	2
>£5m	-	-
Mean	£1.9m	£1.7m
Median	£1.4m	£1.7m
Minimum	<£0.1m	<£0.1m
Max	£4.1m	£3.3m

Base: LA respondents that reported income levels for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts (excluding COVID-19 impacted years) (n=3). Note – Due to the omission of data from LAs that did not provide data for both accounts, this table does not include LAs that reported a deficit.

1.7.5. Yellow box junction enforcement expenditure: most recent and 2019-2020 accounts

Findings in this section were omitted due to severely limited sample size (n=1).

2. Surplus Management

This chapter examines how LA respondents managed the surplus or deficit resulting from income from traffic contraventions. It begins by exploring the reasons for making a surplus or deficit. It then considers how surplus was spent, or losses managed. Lastly, it presents LA respondents' projections for surplus/deficit within their medium-term financial strategy for civil traffic enforcement activities and the reasons behind the projections.

2.1 Key Findings

- LA respondents who generated a surplus in their most recent accounts (n=49) believed that this was due to an increase in the number of contraventions issued, caused by: the current level of penalty notices not acting as a deterrent for drivers with some motorists choosing to receive a PCN rather than paying for daily parking charges; having to manage and control the use of kerbsides; and managing a high density of traffic and congestion in urban areas.
- LA respondents who generated a deficit in their most recent accounts (n=23) believed that this was due to: an increase in the cost of enforcement; PCN costs not increasing in line with inflation; the impact of COVID-19 that changed people's transport behaviours; enforcement officers spending less time on enforcement duties; and improved levels of compliance from motorists.
- Out of 55 LA respondents, 24 expected to generate a surplus in the medium term. This was followed by an almost equal proportion of LAs (23 out of 55) that expected to break even and eight anticipating a deficit.
- Some LA respondents who anticipated a surplus or a deficit felt that this would be aligned with historic trends.
- LA respondents indicated that surplus was spent on a wide range of services, including maintenance and improvements to civil enforcement; road and highway improvements; environmental improvements; public transport initiatives; covering losses; and implementation of the London transport strategy.

2.2 Caveats and limitations

The sample sizes changed substantially across the questions in the following section e.g., between 5 and 55 LAs. This makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions about trends across LA respondents. Sample sizes have been provided throughout to refer to when interpreting the findings. Moreover, due to the small sample sizes, free-text response questions have been presented qualitatively rather than quantitatively e.g., most or some LA respondents.

The findings are only the views of LAs that responded to the CfE and may not be representative of all LAs.

2.3 Reasons for LAs making a surplus or deficit

LAs were asked to explain the reasons why they made a surplus or a deficit. Between 23 and 49 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views of these LA respondents.

2.3.1. Reasons for surplus

LA respondents reporting a surplus in their most recent financial accounts attributed it to an increased number of PCNs issued. Respondents reported that the volume of PCNs issued had increased because:

- PCN costs had not risen for over 20 years and were no longer considered a deterrent to some motorists. e.g., some motorists were choosing to receive a PCN rather than paying for daily parking charges;
- Of the need to manage and control use of kerbside and associated impacts, such as the obstruction of carriageways and footways and road safety; and
- To manage high density of traffic and congestion in urban areas and ensure effective traffic flow.

2.3.2. Reasons for deficit

LA respondents reporting a deficit in their most recent financial accounts felt that this was due to several factors, including:

- The cost of enforcement had increased in recent years due to inflationary pressures on staff salaries and increases in the National Living Wage, alongside increased costs for contractors, supplies and services, such as CCTV and ICT systems;

“The last two years in particular have seen increasing civil parking enforcement (CPE) service provision costs which needed to be met – for example District/Borough Council staff pay awards and the increased costs associated with digital processing payments. The reality is that PCN income does not increase in line with these costs.” (LA)

- The cost of enforcement had increased due to challenges with recruiting and retaining enforcement staff;
- PCN costs had not increased in line with inflation, limiting the levels of income generated by LAs through traffic contraventions;
- The COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns had severely restricted freedom of movement, which resulted in significant income decreases, which have not fully recovered;
- Increasingly, enforcement officers had been assigned to non-enforcement duties (e.g., providing motorists with information and education), restricting the amount of time spent undertaking enforcement duties and reducing the income generated from enforcement;

- Where LAs had prioritised educating motorists and encouraging compliance over issuing PCNs, this resulted in higher levels of compliance which generated lower income from enforcement.

2.4 How surplus was spent

LAs were asked to explain how the surplus generated was spent across a range of different services, including covering losses, transport services, highway improvements, and environmental improvements. LAs are required under Section 55 of the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984 to ringfence any surplus made from traffic contraventions. Between 6 and 25 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views of these LA respondents.

Table 14 provides a summary of how LA respondents reported having spent the surplus generated. Some of the recurring areas of spend included:

- Road and highway maintenance and improvements, including street lighting, pavements, traffic signage;
- Public transport improvements, including infrastructures and concessionary fares; and
- Covering losses in other areas of spend.

Table 14: How surplus was spent

Parking and civil enforcement service maintenance and improvements	• Installing new parking ticket machines; • Introducing parking apps; • Introducing new electric enforcement vehicles; • Introducing tablets used by enforcement officers and new IT systems; • Introducing enforcement in a new district.
Road⁵ and highway improvements	• School crossing patrols; • Replacement and renewal of signs and lines; • Road and footway maintenance; • Street lighting and CCTV; • Repairing potholes; • The maintenance of traffic systems and signals.
Environmental improvements⁶	• Parks and green space projects; • Flooding and drainage works; • Street scene improvements; • Air quality monitoring; • Street cleansing.

⁵ For moving traffic offences inside London only

⁶ For inside London only and does not apply to bus lane and moving traffic enforcement

Public transport initiatives	• Park and ride schemes; • Bus shelters and stops; • Concessionary travel; • Bike parks and pedestrian zones; • School transport.
Covering losses	• From operating the civil enforcement service in previous years e.g., during COVID-19 pandemic when LAs had to continue funding contractors despite a loss of income due to restrictions to freedom of movement; • From Park and Ride sites that were not self-sustaining.
London transport strategy⁷	• Transport planning and traffic management; • Research on Controlled Parking Zones.

2.5 How loss was managed

LAs reporting a deficit were asked to explain how the loss was managed. The findings below reflect the views of the 23 LAs that responded to the question.

LAs reporting a deficit explained that this was managed in three main ways: using income from other sources, expanding enforcement, and reducing expenditure. These are summarised in Table 15.

Table 15: How loss was managed

Using income from other sources to cover loss	• Internal reserve funds; • Surplus generated by underspending in other council budget areas (e.g., Pay and display); • Parking permit charges; • Parking bay suspensions.
Expanding enforcement	• Recruitment of additional enforcement officers; • Increasing fees and charges mirroring inflation.
Reducing expenditure	• On highway maintenance and road safety schemes; • Cutting the number of new schemes to be brought forward.

⁷ Inside London only

2.6 Projections for surplus/deficit from civil traffic enforcement

LAs were asked whether they expected a surplus, deficit or neither in their medium-term financial strategy. Between 23 and 55 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views of these LA respondents.

As shown in Figure 5, out of 55 LA respondents, 24 expected a surplus, eight expected a deficit, and 23 expected enforcement activities to be cost neutral, i.e. the cost is not higher than the revenues it generates.

Figure 5: LA respondents' expectations of a surplus/deficit in the medium term



Base: LA respondents (n=55)

2.6.1. Reasons for expecting a surplus

LA respondents anticipating a surplus felt that this would be aligned with their historic trend of making a surplus based on levels of non-compliance among motorists, which LAs expected to remain unchanged. However, they highlighted that the volume of future costs associated with enforcement activities was unpredictable, making any surplus prediction uncertain.

2.6.2. Reasons for expecting a deficit

Similarly, LA respondents expecting a deficit felt that this would follow a historic trend of operating at a loss each year, which was expected to continue. They also believed that increasing wages and costs related to enforcement activities, both existing and new, may outweigh the income they generate, thereby creating a net loss.

2.6.3. Reasons for expecting neither surplus nor deficit

LA respondents expecting to break-even explained that any surplus generated would be used to cover operating costs, or maintenance and improvement schemes. Conversely, a deficit would be covered by the wider parking budget, so that overall, the budget would be balanced.

“The aim would be that our civil enforcement provision would cover itself from a financial viewpoint. Whilst the preference would be for a cost neutral service, history shows that it doesn’t. The awareness of the risk that the service could operate in a deficit, is mitigated by the fact that it is encompassed by the wider

parking budget, leaving income generated from parking charges from off street spaces able to cover any deficit” (LA)

Some LA respondents felt that the same level of enforcement had, over the years, produced varying levels of compliance. Therefore, it was not possible to anticipate whether there would be a surplus or deficit as the level of compliance is variable.

3. Enforcement practices

This chapter discusses the enforcement practices for parking, bus lanes and moving traffic described by LAs that responded to the CfE. It covers monitoring and reviewing the effectiveness of enforcement; number of warning notices, lessons learned, and actions taken; number of yellow box junction enforcement cameras in operation between 2019-2023, and any actions taken when reviewing yellow box junction enforcement activity in locations where a disproportionately high number of PCNs were issued; and PCNs attributed to parking, bus lanes and moving traffic.

3.1 Key findings

Civil traffic enforcement

- The majority of LA respondents reviewed the effectiveness of the design and signing of traffic enforcement once implemented. 12 LA respondents carried out such review at least once a year.

Warning notices for moving traffic enforcement in first six months of enforcement

- The median number of warning notices issued by the 11 LA respondents with moving traffic enforcement powers during the first six-months of enforcement was 9,113. Six LA respondents issued below 10,000 warning notices and five issued between 10,000 to 50,000.
- LA respondents took a range of actions as part of the process of issuing warning notices over the first six months of enforcing moving traffic. These included introducing unattended CCTV; improving and adding signage; delivering communication campaigns to educate the public; extending enforcement operation hours; and gathering feedback from drivers.

Yellow box junction enforcement cameras in operation

- The median number of yellow box junction enforcement cameras in operation across LA respondents was two in 2019 (n=11) and 13 in 2023 (n=14). This increase may be due to the extension of yellow box enforcement powers to LAs outside of London from 1 June 2022.
- LA respondents reported taking a range of actions to address high income yellow box junction sites, including reviewing traffic flow, ensuring markings and warnings are clear, monitoring regularly.

PCNs

Parking

- 51 LA respondents provided data on the number of PCNs issued for parking contraventions per annum for their most recent accounts. The median number of parking PCNs for these LAs was 39,861 per annum for the most recent accounts.
- 34 LA respondents provided data for their most recent accounts on the number of challenged PCNs (upheld or cancelled). Out of all parking PCNs issued by these LAs, 10.5% were challenged and upheld and 7% were challenged and cancelled per annum for the most recent accounts.

Bus Lanes

- 27 LA respondents provided data on the number of issued PCNs issued for bus lane contraventions per annum for their most recent accounts. The median number of bus lane PCNs for these LAs was 10,590 per annum for the most recent accounts.
- 21 LA respondents provided data for their most recent accounts on the number of challenged PCNs (upheld or cancelled). Out of all bus lane PCNs issued by these LAs, 5% were challenged and upheld and 4% were challenged and subsequently cancelled per annum for the most recent accounts.

Moving traffic

- 15 LA respondents provided data on the number of PCNs issued for moving traffic contraventions per annum for most recent account. The median number of moving traffic PCNs was 59,254 per annum for the most recent accounts.
- Nine LA respondents provided data for their most recent accounts on the number of challenged PCNs (upheld or cancelled). Out of all moving traffic PCNs issued by these LAs, 15% of PCNs were challenged and upheld and 6.5% were challenged and subsequently cancelled per annum for the most recent accounts.

Representations and challenges

- LA respondents indicated a range of reasons for accepting drivers' representations and challenges. These included: valid reasons for the contravention (e.g., medical emergency, sign defects, avoid collision); valid exemption (e.g., blue badge and permits); and applying discretion (e.g., first-time offenders, genuine mistake).
- LA respondents indicated a range of reasons for rejecting drivers' representations and challenges. These included: clear evidence that contravention occurred and no exemption or mitigation.

3.2 Caveats and limitations

The sample sizes changed substantially across the questions in the following section e.g., between 11 and 56. This makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions about trends across LA respondents. Sample sizes have been provided throughout to refer to when interpreting the findings. Moreover, due to the small sample sizes of LA and organisation respondents,

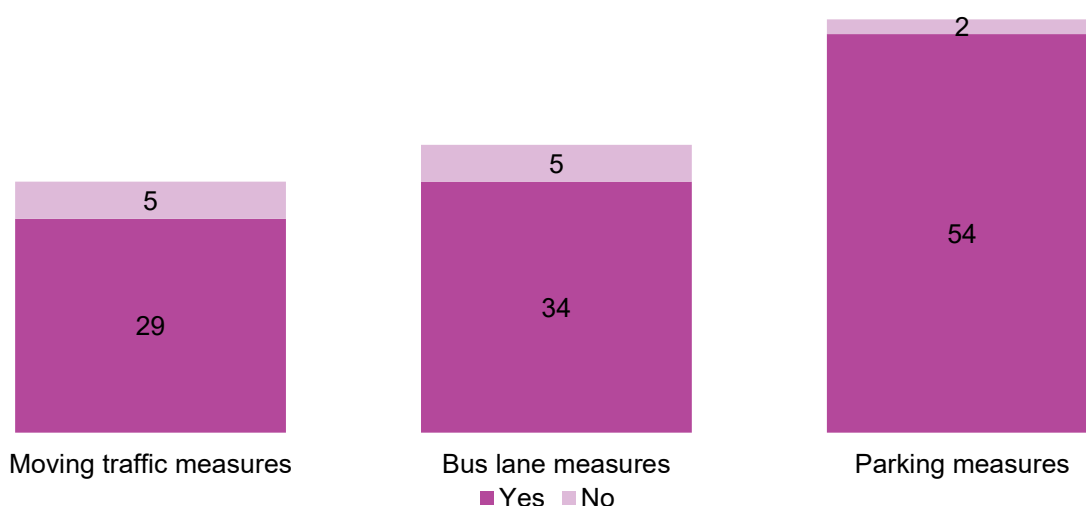
free-text response questions have been presented qualitatively rather than quantitatively e.g., most or some LA respondents.

3.3 Monitoring and reviewing the effectiveness of enforcement

LAs were asked whether they reviewed the effectiveness of traffic enforcement once implemented, and if so, how frequently. Between 34 and 56 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

As shown in Figure 6, the majority of LA respondents reported that they reviewed the effectiveness of the design and signing of traffic enforcement once implemented. Nearly all LA respondents (54 out of 56) reported reviewing the effectiveness of parking measures. Similarly, a large proportion reported conducting such reviews for moving traffic (29 out of 34 LAs) and bus lanes (34 out of 39 LAs).

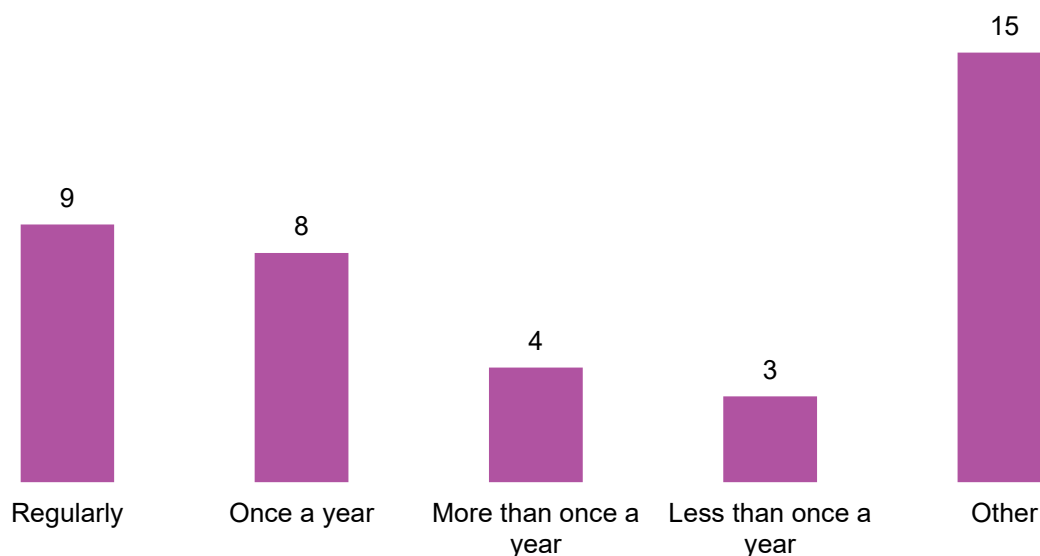
Figure 6: Number of LAs that reported reviewing the effectiveness of the traffic contravention once implemented



Base: LA respondents, moving traffic measures (n=34), bus lane measures (n=39), parking measures (n=56)

As shown in Figure 7, eight LA respondents reported that their enforcement practices were reviewed once a year, four reported more than once a year, and three reported less than once a year. 15 LA respondents did not provide responses about the frequency of reviews but suggested that their enforcement practice was reviewed immediately upon implementation, on an ad-hoc basis (e.g., if there was a problem or a review was specifically requested).

Figure 7: Frequency of reviewing enforcement practices



Base: LA respondents (n=39). Note – ‘Other’ refers to reviews of enforcement practices on an ad-hoc basis

3.4 Warning notices for moving traffic enforcement

LAs were asked how many warning notices for first time contraventions were issued during the first six months of moving traffic enforcement. They were then asked to describe any lessons learnt over the period where warning notices were issued, and actions taken as a result. Between 11 and 16 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

Statutory guidance on moving traffic enforcement requires that, for the first six months of operation, LAs only issue warning notices to first-time offenders, to help educate drivers.

LAs were asked to provide the number of warning notices for first-time contraventions issued in the first six-months of moving traffic enforcement (Table 16). The median number of warning notices issued by the 11 LA respondents with moving traffic enforcement powers during the first six-months of enforcement was 9,113. During the first six-months of moving traffic enforcement, six LAs issued below 10,000 warning notices and five issued between 10,000 and 50,000.

Table 16: Number of warning notices issued for first-time contraventions in first six-months of moving traffic enforcement

	Number of warning notices in first six-months of enforcement for first-time contraventions
>0 to 10,000	6
>10,000 to 50,000	5
Base	11
Mean	11,829
Median	9,113
Minimum	213
Maximum	38,068

Base: 11 LA respondents with moving traffic enforcement powers

3.4.1. Lessons learned and actions taken

LA respondents described the lessons learned and actions taken as part of the process of issuing warning notices over the first six months of enforcing moving traffic. These included:

- Moving from using a CCTV vehicle to unattended CCTV cameras to enforce warning notices to ensure ongoing traffic monitoring. LA respondents felt that this allowed them to issue a large number of warnings to first-time offenders for specific sites, to help educate drivers.
- Introducing advanced and supplementary signage, beyond the requirements of legislation, to ensure restrictions were clear for motorists.
- Continuous review of challenges and representations to ensure all the necessary signs and lines were in the correct locations to advise drivers of the restrictions.
- Educating the public through media and communications to increase compliance. Examples included communications plans; newspaper articles; social media; updating websites with information; FAQs; and providing a map of camera locations.
- Gathering feedback from motorists to make improvements where necessary to improve compliance.
- Ensuring PCNs were not issued before a warning had been given.
- Issuing multiple warning notices to allow drivers to become aware of restrictions. Some LA respondents felt that this approach had reduced the number of PCNs issued.
- Extending warning notice periods when new schemes were introduced. Some LA respondents believed that this was particularly effective when implemented as part of a wider communications plan.

3.5 Yellow box junction enforcement

LAs were asked to report how many yellow box junction enforcement cameras were in operation between 2019-2023. They were then asked to outline any actions taken when reviewing yellow box junction enforcement activity in locations where a disproportionately high number of PCNs were issued. Between 11 and 37 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

3.5.1. Number of yellow box junction enforcement cameras in operation

The median number of yellow box junction enforcement cameras in operation was two in 2019 (n=11) and 13 in 2023 (n=14). Consistently across the five years, most LAs reported more than 11 yellow box junction enforcement cameras in operation (Table 17).

Table 17: Number of yellow box junction enforcement cameras in operation between 2019-2023

	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
0	3	3	2	2	1
1	1	1	2	2	3
2 to 5	2	1	2	3	2
6 to 10	1	2	3	-	1
11+	4	5	4	7	7
Mean	9	9	9	10	11
Median	2	9	8	13	13
Minimum	0	0	0	0	0
Maximum	25	25	24	22	28
Base	11	12	13	14	14

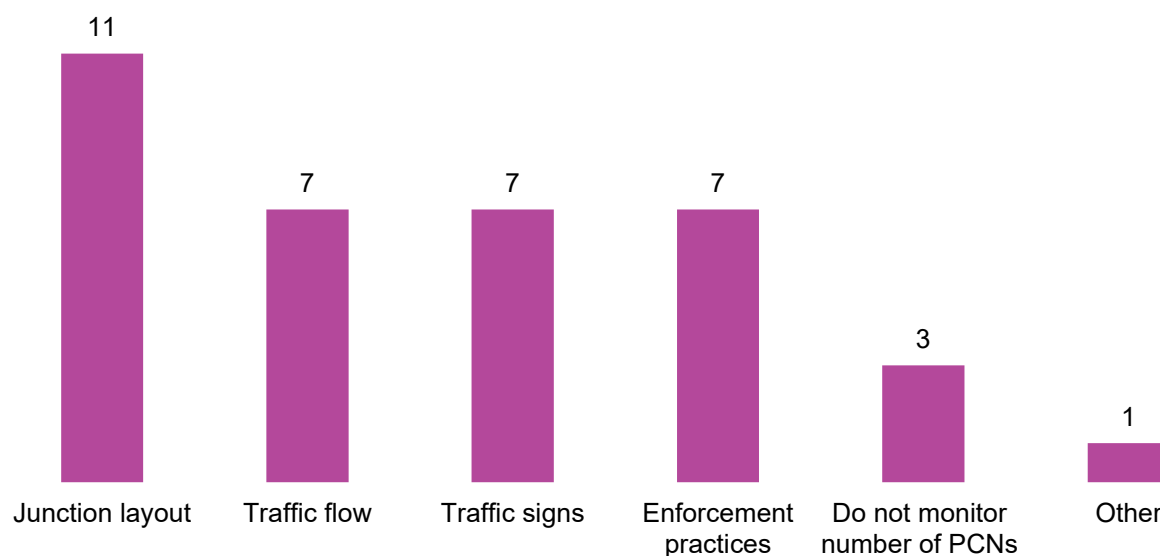
Base: LA respondents

3.5.2. Reviewing yellow box junction enforcement

LAs were asked to select actions taken at locations where they identified a disproportionately high numbers of PCNs when reviewing yellow box junction enforcement.

Out of 12 LA respondents, 11 reviewed the junction layout. Seven LA respondents reviewed traffic flow, traffic signs and enforcement practices. Three did not monitor the number of PCNs issued.

Figure 8: Actions taken at locations with disproportionately high numbers of yellow box junction PCNs



Base: LA respondents (n=12). Note – LAs may take multiple actions, so the total number of actions may exceed the number of LAs that responded to the question. ‘Do nothing’ was an additional response option for this CfE question, but no LA respondents chose this response option.

LA respondents provided further detail on the actions taken. The key points from LA responses are summarised below. LA respondents that selected junction layout did not provide further details on actions taken. These were, therefore, not included below.

Reviewing traffic flow

As part of the process of reviewing traffic flow, LA respondents indicated that they would check for any traffic flow issues such as road closures in surrounding streets, traffic accidents, and emergency diversions from police. Special events e.g., protest marches and festivals, which may have resulted in an increase in PCN issued, would also be taken into account. Any PCNs issued between a traffic flow incident and before a review took place would be cancelled and refunded.

Ensuring yellow box junction markings and warning signs are clear

In cases where LA respondents thought that there was a disproportionate number of PCNs issued, LAs would check that the yellow box junction markings and warning signs were clearly marked and not misleading in any way for drivers.

Continuing regular monitoring of the number of PCNs issued in high income enforcement sites

Two LA respondents carefully monitored the number of PCNs issued in high income enforcement sites in the following ways:

- Using a business intelligence and data visualisation software that monitored PCNs issued regularly.
- Carrying out ongoing reviews through regular fortnightly meetings with their Highways and enforcement contractors.

3.6 PCNs

This section presents findings on the PCNs issued attributed to parking, bus lanes and moving traffic for LAs most recent financial accounts and for the year 2019-2020 accounts. It presents the number of PCNs issued across LA respondents and the proportion of PCNs which were challenged and cancelled or upheld at pre-appeals stage for the same time frames.

3.6.1. Parking PCNs

LAs were asked to report the number of PCNs issued for parking in relation to their most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts. Between 34 and 51 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

Table 18 shows the number of parking PCNs issued by LA respondents for the most recent financial accounts. This varied greatly between LAs, between a minimum of 1,938 and a maximum of 359,865 issued PCNs per annum for the most recent accounts. The median value was 39,861 per annum for the most recent account.

Table 18: Number of parking PCNs issued (the most recent accounts)

Number of parking PCNs issued	
>0 to 20,000	14
>20,000 to 60,000	19
>60,000 to 100,000	10
>100,000	8
Mean	60,114
Median	39,861
Minimum	1,938
Maximum	359,865

Base: 51 LA respondents

34 LAs provided data for their most recent accounts on the proportion of parking PCNs which were challenged, and subsequently either upheld or cancelled per annum for their most recent accounts. Out of all parking PCNs issued by these LAs, 10.5% were challenged and upheld and 7% were challenged and cancelled per annum for the most recent accounts.

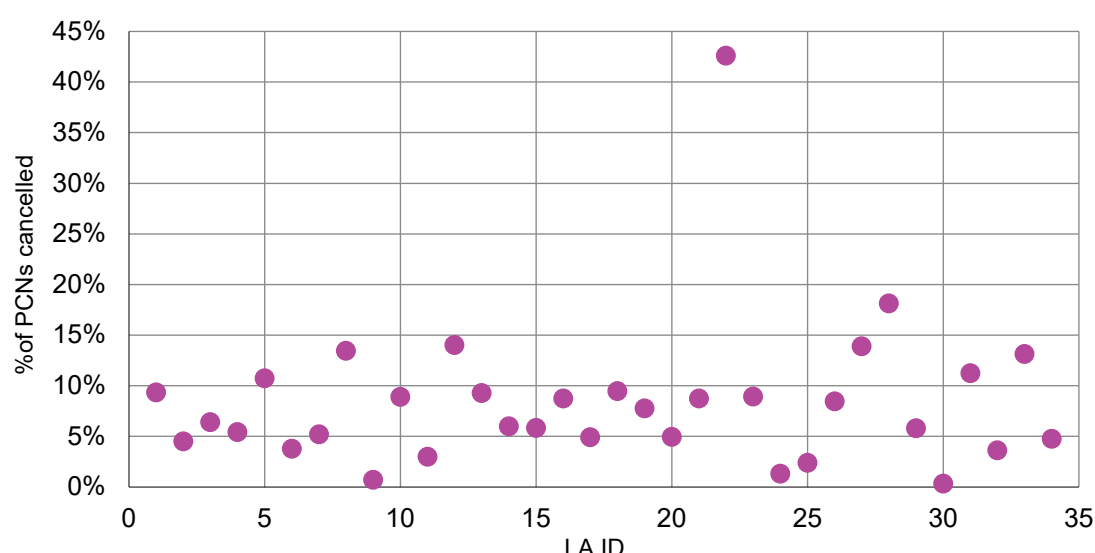
Table 19: Proportion of PCNs challenged (cancelled/upheld) out of all PCNs issued for parking (the most recent accounts)

Proportion of parking PCNs challenged	
PCNs challenged and upheld	10.5%
PCNs challenged and cancelled	7%

Base: 34 LA respondents

Figure 9 below presents the proportion of parking PCNs challenged and cancelled out of PCNs issued for each LA respondent. The proportion of cancelled PCNs per annum for the most recent accounts varied between LAs. Some cancelled less than 1% of PCNs issued, while other closer to 15% per annum for their most recent accounts. There was also one outlier LA which reported cancelling over 40% of PCNs issued per annum for their most recent accounts.

Figure 9: Proportion of parking PCNs challenged and cancelled out of PCNs issued (for each LA respondent)



Base: LA respondents who provided data for both number of PCNs challenged and cancelled for parking (n=34)

43 LAs provided data for the number of parking PCNs issued for their most recent and 2019-2020 accounts. For the most recent accounts, the median number of PCNs issued by these LAs was 37,445 per annum. For the 2019-2020 accounts, the median number of PCNs issued was 37,803 per annum.

Table 20: Number of parking PCNs issued

	2019-2020	Most recent accounts
>0 to 20,000	14	13
>20,000 to 60,000	14	14
>60,000 to 100,000	10	9
>100,000	5	7
Mean	55,163	60,076
Median	37,803	37,445
Minimum	1,744	1,938
Maximum	273,289	359,865

Base: 43 LA respondents that provided data for both their most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts

27 LAs provided data on the number of parking PCNs which were challenged and either upheld and cancelled, for both their most recent accounts and 2019-2020.

Table 21 shows the proportion of parking PCNs challenged, either upheld and cancelled for LAs which provided data for both the most recent accounts and 2019-2020. For the most recent accounts, the proportion of challenged and upheld PCNs out of those issued was 10% per annum. In 2019-2020, this proportion was at the same level of 10% per annum.

For the most recent accounts, the median proportion of parking PCNs that were challenged and cancelled out of all PCNs issued was 7% per annum. In 2019-2020, this proportion was 8% per annum.

Table 21: Proportion of parking PCNs cancelled/upheld out of number of PCNs issued

	2019-2020	Most recent accounts
PCNs challenged and upheld	10%	10%
PCNs challenged and cancelled	8%	7%

Base: 27 LA respondents that provided data for both their most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts

3.6.2. Bus lane PCNs

LAs were asked to report the number of bus lane PCNs, in relation to their most recent accounts and for 2019-2020. Between 23 to 27 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

Table 22 shows the total number of bus lanes PCNs issued by LA respondents, for their most recent financial accounts. This varied greatly between LAs, between a minimum of 1,174 and a maximum of 134,304 issued PCNs per annum for the most recent accounts. The median value was 10,590 per annum for the most recent accounts.

Table 22: Number of bus lane PCNs issued (the most recent accounts)

Number of bus lane PCNs issued	
>0 to 20,000	19
>20,000 to 60,000	6
>60,000 to 100,000	-
>100,000	2
Mean	22,436
Median	10,590
Minimum	1,174
Maximum	134,304

Base: 27 LA respondents

21 LAs reported on the number of bus lane PCNs that received challenges and were either upheld or cancelled, per annum for their most recent accounts. Out of all bus lane PCNs issued by these LAs, 5% were challenged and upheld and 4% were challenged and subsequently cancelled per annum for the most recent accounts.

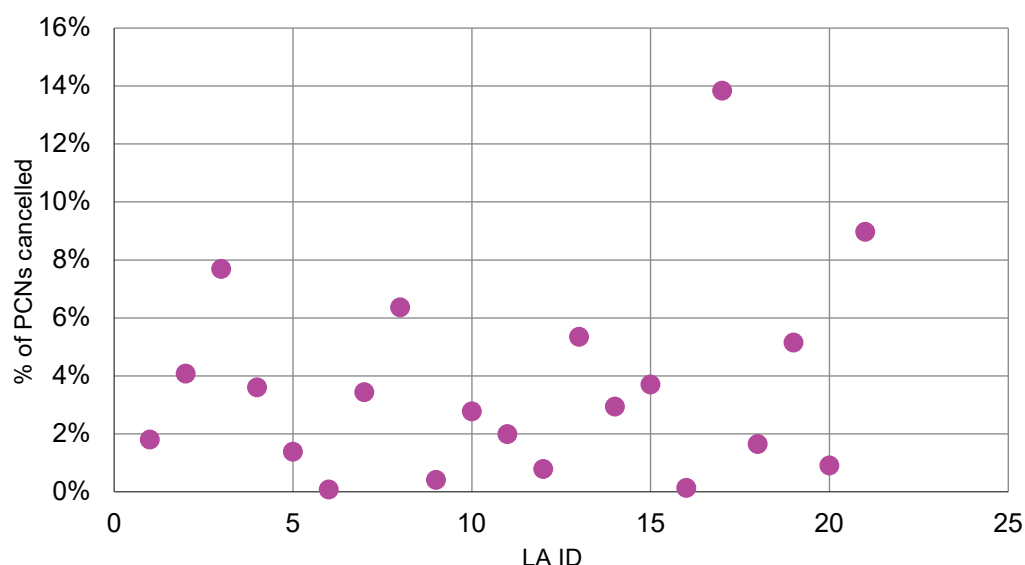
Table 23: Proportion of bus lane PCNs challenged (cancelled or upheld) out of all PCNs issued

Proportion of bus lane PCNs challenged	
PCNs challenged and upheld	5%
PCNs challenged and cancelled	4%

Base: 21 LA respondents

Figure 10 presents the proportion of bus lane PCNs challenged and cancelled by PCNs issued for each LA respondents per annum for their most recent accounts. The scatterplot shows that the proportion of challenged and cancelled PCNs out of those issued varied across LA respondents, with some cancelling below 1% of their PCNs issued and one LA cancelling around 14% per annum for the most recent accounts.

Figure 10: Proportion of bus lane PCNs challenged and cancelled out of PCNs issued for bus lanes (for each LA respondents)



Base: LA respondents who provided data for both number of PCNs issued and cancelled (n=21)

23 LAs provided data for both their more recent and their 2019-2020 accounts. For the most recent accounts, the median number of bus lane PCNs issued by these LAs was 12,155 per annum. For the 2019-2020 accounts, this median number was 16,723 per annum.

Table 24: Number of bus lane PCNs issued

	2019-2020	Most recent accounts
>0 to 20,000	14	16
>20,000 to 60,000	8	5
>60,000 to 100,000	1	-
>100,000	-	2
Mean	21,927	24,093
Median	16,723	12,155
Minimum	1,530	1,235
Maximum	68,332	134,304

Base: 23 LA respondents that provided data for both their most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts

Table 25 shows the proportion of bus lane PCNs challenged, either upheld and cancelled for LAs which provided data for both their most recent accounts and 2019-2020. For their most recent accounts, the proportion of challenged and upheld PCNs out of those issued was 4% per annum. In 2019-2020 this proportion was 5% per annum. For their most recent accounts, the median proportion of PCNs that were challenged and cancelled out of all PCNs issued was 3% per annum. In 2019-2020, this proportion was 4% per annum.

Table 25: Proportion of bus lane PCNs cancelled/upheld out of number of PCNs issued

	2019-2020	Most recent accounts
PCNs challenged and upheld	5%	4%
PCNs challenged and cancelled	4%	3%

Base: 18 LA respondents that provided data for both their most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts)

3.6.3. Moving traffic PCNs

LAs were asked to report the number of moving traffic PCNs, in relation to their most recent accounts and for 2019-2020. Between 11 and 15 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

Table 26 shows the number of moving traffic PCNs issued by LA respondents, for their most recent financial accounts. This varied greatly between LAs, between a minimum of 5,952 and a maximum of 242,416 issued PCNs per annum. The median value was 59,253 per annum for the most recent accounts.

Table 26: Number of moving traffic PCNs issued (the most recent accounts)

Number of moving traffic PCNs issued	
>0 to 20,000	2
>20,000 to 60,000	6
>60,000 to 100,000	3
>100,000	4
Mean	81,140
Median	59,254
Minimum	5,952
Maximum	242,416

Base: 15 LA respondents

Nine LAs reported the number of PCNs that received challenges and were either upheld or cancelled for their most recent accounts. Out of all moving traffic PCNs issued by these LAs, 15% of PCNs were challenged and upheld and 6.5% were challenged and subsequently cancelled.

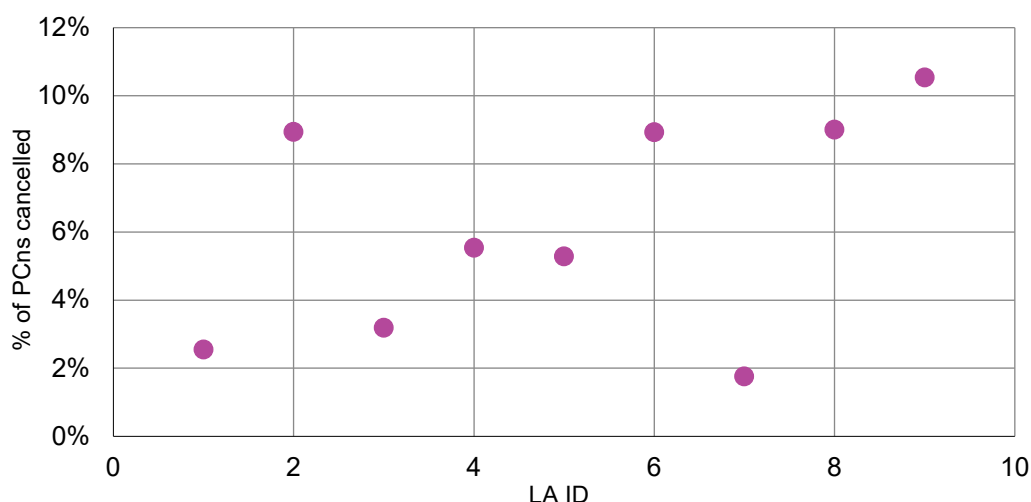
Table 27: Proportion of moving traffic PCNs challenged (cancelled/upheld) out of all PCNs issued

Proportion of moving traffic PCNs challenged	
PCNs challenged and upheld	15%
PCNs challenged and cancelled	6.5%

Base: 9 LA respondents

Figure 11 below presents the proportion of PCNs challenged and cancelled by PCNs issued for each LA respondent per annum for their most recent accounts. The number of PCNs cancelled, out of those issued, varied between LA respondents, with one cancelling below 2% of their PCNs issued and one over 12%.

Figure 11: Proportion of PCNs challenged and cancelled out of PCNs issued for moving traffic (for each LA respondent)



Base: LA respondents who provided data for both number of PCNs challenged and cancelled (n=9)

11 LAs provided data for moving traffic PCNs issued for both their most recent and 2019-2020 accounts. For the most recent accounts, the median number of PCNs by these LAs was 63,002 per annum. In 2019-2020, the median number of PCNs issued per annum was 43,952.

Table 28: Number of moving traffic PCNs issued

	2019-2020	Most recent accounts
>0 to 20,000	1	-
>20,000 to 60,000	7	5
>60,000 to 100,000	1	2
>100,000	2	4
Mean	54,760	100,468
Median	43,952	63,002
Minimum	14,083	28,368
Maximum	129,115	242,416

Base: 11 LA respondents that provided data for both their most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts)

Eight LA respondents provided data on the number of moving traffic PCNs which were challenged, either upheld and cancelled, for both their recent and 2019-2020 accounts. For the most recent accounts, the proportion of challenged and upheld PCNs out of those issued per annum was 16%. In 2019-2020, this proportion was 23.5% per annum. For the most recent accounts, the median proportion of PCNs that were challenged and cancelled out of all PCNs issued per annum was 6%. In 2019-2020, this proportion was 14% per annum.

Table 29: Proportion of moving traffic PCNs cancelled/upheld out of number of PCNs issued

	2019-2020	Most recent accounts
PCNs challenged and upheld	23.5%	16%
PCNs challenged and cancelled	14%	6%

Base: 8 LA respondents that provided data for both their most recent accounts and 2019-2020 accounts)

3.7 Drivers' representations and challenges

LAs were asked to outline the common reasons for accepting and rejecting drivers' representations and challenges for moving traffic, bus lane and parking contraventions. Between 13 and 51 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

The most common reasons for LAs to accept drivers' representations and challenges included:

- There were valid reasons for which the contravention occurred (e.g., medical emergencies, sign defects, emergency works, avoiding a collision, breaking down, vehicle being stolen or cloned).
- There were exemptions (hire agreements, vehicle being authorised to use the bus lane, valid blue badge, a parking permit or a resident's permit, and evidence of loading or unloading).
- Applying discretion (contravention a genuine mistake, a first-time offence, receiving multiple PCNs on the same day or within a short period of time, contravention not seen by the enforcement officer, incorrect location or Vehicle Registration Mark (VRM) on their ticket, a blue badge or parking ticket being displayed incorrectly, forgetting to renew a permit, errors with 'pay by phone', not understanding the signage).

The most common reasons for LAs to reject drivers' representations and challenges included:

- There was clear evidence that the contravention occurred.
- There was not enough evidence to prove that the contravention did not occur.
- There was no exemption or mitigation (e.g., ignoring regulations, deliberately contravening e.g., for convenience, not seeing or understanding signs, having invalid documents, not having a paid parking ticket or permit, parking on yellow or double yellow lines)
- The evidence or reasons given do not meet the grounds for cancellation.

4. Views on fairness of current enforcement practices

This chapter presents LAs', organisations' and individuals' views on fairness of the current enforcement practices. It firstly describes whether LAs perceive their enforcement practice to be lenient or strict. It then goes on to discuss LAs', organisations' and individuals' views on whether the current enforcement practices are perceived to be fair.

4.1 Key findings

Views on leniency of current enforcement practice

- The majority of LA respondents felt that their current enforcement practice were 'neither lenient nor strict' or 'lenient'. They tended to view their enforcement practices as proportionate and transparent. Some LA respondents also felt that their practices were fair as they applied exemptions and mitigating circumstances and carefully considered whether contraventions took place or not.

Views on fairness of current civil traffic enforcement

- The majority of LA respondents agreed that their current practice is fair across all types of enforcement. Some felt that enforcement ensures safety, reduces congestion and helps the reliability of public transport. They also viewed enforcement as fair as it is based on clear government guidelines and transparent approaches for issuing penalties.
- The majority of organisation respondents agreed that the current practice is fair across all types of enforcement, although around a third of organisations disagreed.
 - Organisations agreeing felt that enforcement is essential to help manage traffic flow, support sustainable modes of transport and ensure safe functioning of local streets.
 - Organisations that disagreed felt that LAs are motivated by revenue generation and that there is a lack of consistency in enforcement practice. They also felt that drivers are penalised unfairly, particularly with reference to yellow box junction enforcement.
- Over half of individual respondents agreed that the current practice is fair across all types of enforcement, although around a third of individual respondents disagreed.
 - Individuals agreeing felt that: enforcement deters dangerous behaviour; enforcement improves safety for all users; enforcement encourages the use of other modes of transport; enforcement is not strict enough; and motorists are required to obey the law.
 - Individuals disagreeing felt that: enforcement was unfair due to issues with infrastructure; LAs see enforcement as more about surplus than safety or compliance; minor

infringements should not be penalised; a fairer appears process is needed; and enforcement is not strict enough.

4.2 Caveats and limitations

The sample size of responses for each respondent group changed substantially across and within questions about different enforcement types. Sample sizes have been provided for each respondent group and set of questions to refer to when interpreting the findings. Moreover, due to the small sample sizes of LA (between 30 and 51) and organisation (n=38) respondents, free-text response questions have been presented qualitatively rather than quantitatively e.g., most or some LA respondents.

Three combined authorities did not identify as LAs when completing the CfE. These combined authorities are included in the organisation responses, and analysed and reported as organisations.

Given the large number of individual responses (between 4,624 and 4,635), AI-assisted software was used to code the responses (full details are provided in the introduction). While the findings accurately represent the overall sentiment expressed by respondents, they may not capture the nuanced and specific views of a smaller subset of respondents.

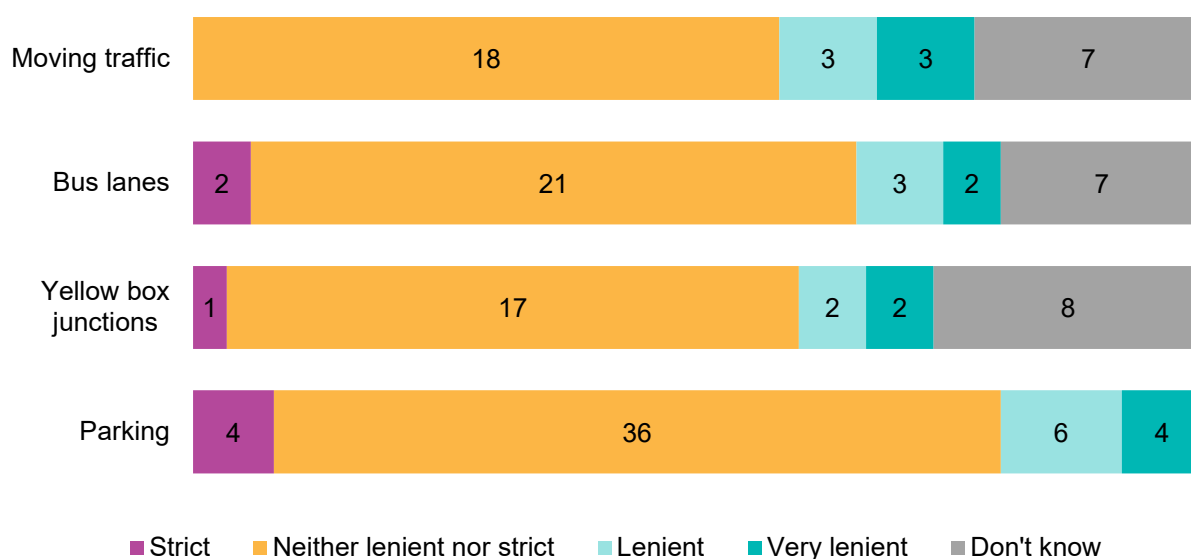
Similarly, the findings represent the views of respondents to the CfE and may not be representative of the overall population of LAs, organisations and general public.

4.3 Views on leniency of current enforcement practice

LAs were asked to indicate how lenient they felt they were when conducting enforcement for bus lanes, parking measures, moving traffic and yellow box junctions. They were then asked to explain their answer, with examples of when leniency would be shown. Between 30 and 50 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

The majority of LA respondents felt that current enforcement practice across the four types of enforcement were neither lenient nor strict (see Figure 12). A minority of LA respondents considered their approach as lenient or strict.

Figure 12: LAs' views on leniency of current enforcement practices



Base: LA respondents, moving traffic (n=31), bus lanes (n=35), yellow box junctions (n=30), parking (n=50). Note – ‘Very strict’ was an additional response option for this CfE question but no LA respondents chose this response option.

Against this backdrop, LAs were asked to explain their answers. A summary of their views is provided below.

4.3.1. Proportionate and transparent approach to enforcement

Some LA respondents described their approach across the four types of enforcement as proportionate and reasonable. They felt that enforcement was carried out on the grounds of road safety and to support traffic flow, acting in accordance with a legal framework and a code of practice published on LAs websites.

Furthermore, some LA respondents considered their approach as transparent, reporting that enforcement rules were clearly communicated to the public, including issuing warning notices and awareness notices.

“[The] council has put in place clear policies and instructions that make up the basis for staff training. These policies are published on the council's website. Our officers are trained to enforce parking controls fairly, accurately, and consistently, following statutory guidelines, [council] policies, and formal training. Whenever a new enforcement scheme or parking zone is introduced, our officers ensure that warning notices or awareness notices are served to residents and motorists.” (LA)

4.3.2. Exemptions and mitigating circumstances

Some LA respondents indicated that they apply a range of mitigating circumstances as a key feature of their approach to enforcement. These included a five-minute grace period at the start and end of enforcement periods, and warning notices issued instead of PCNs over the first months of a new moving traffic enforcement scheme. In the case of bus lanes, some LA respondents noted that they do not typically carry out enforcement on limited-service days or when buses are not running.

Furthermore, some LA respondents reported that discretion is also applied in specific cases, such as issuing only one penalty if multiple ones were issued at the same location over a short period of time. Other examples include:

- Blue badge holders exempted from a number of Low Traffic Neighbourhood restrictions;
- Motorists are permitted to enter a bus lane to allow an emergency vehicle to pass;
- For yellow boxes, PCNs are not issued in certain circumstances, such as when a vehicle is turning right.

“Operators only progress to PCN stage if all requirements are met, which includes that footage shows the vehicle approaching, entering, stopping and leaving the box junctions. We would not issue a penalty where the vehicle is forced to stop in the junction when their exit upon initially entering the junction was clear or where the vehicle is turning right” (LA)

4.3.3. Reviewing cases of potential contraventions

Some LA respondents indicated that the review of potential contraventions involves considering whether this restricted traffic flow or caused safety concerns. When this is not the case a penalty would not be issued, for example when only one or two wheels of a vehicle crossed into a bus lane, without affecting traffic flow. Some noted that other factors, such as the quality of signs and lines, are also taken into account when deciding whether to issue a PCN. Moreover, all contraventions enforced by cameras are reviewed by operators and video clips manually inspected to determine whether there is a case for leniency.

4.4 Views on fairness of current civil traffic enforcement

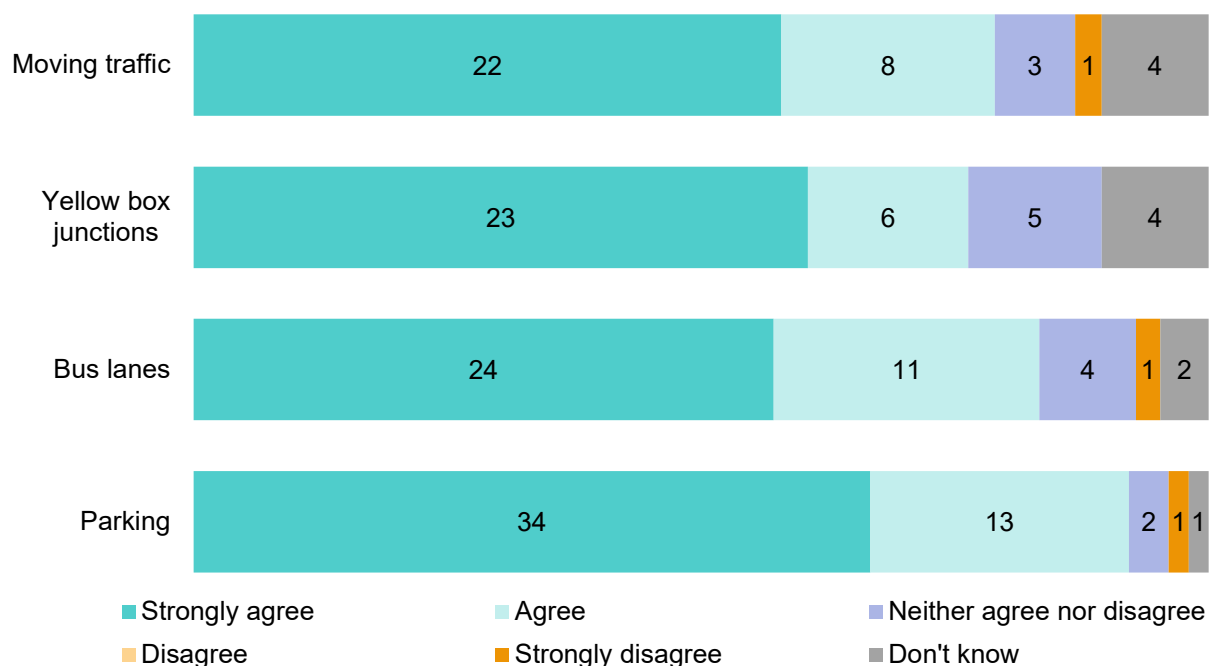
LAs, organisations and individuals were asked whether they considered their current civil traffic enforcement to be fair, for each area of enforcement - bus lanes, parking, moving traffic and yellow box junction enforcement.

4.4.1. The perspective of LAs

LAs were asked whether they considered their current civil traffic enforcement for moving traffic, yellow box junctions, bus lanes, and parking to be fair. They were then asked to explain their answers. Between 38 and 51 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

As shown in Figure 13 below, the majority of LAs agreed or strongly agreed that the current practice is fair across all types of enforcement.

Figure 13: LAs views on fairness of current civil traffic enforcement



Base: LA respondents, moving traffic (n=38), yellow box junctions (n=38), bus lanes (n=42), parking (n=51)

LAs were asked the reasons why they perceived their practice to be fair. Responses have been thematically analysed and summarised below.

Enforcement ensures streets are safe, reduces congestion and helps reliability of public transport

- Some LA respondents believed that enforcement ensures streets are kept safe. They felt that enforcement is put in place to ensure compliance and to protect the interests of different groups - highway users, other drivers, pedestrians and cyclists.
- Some LA respondents believed that enforcement is required to allow traffic to move and reduce congestion. They felt that taking enforcement away would lead to significantly more congestion and increased pollution.
- Some LA respondents believed that enforcement helps the reliability and punctuality of public transport. In doing so, they felt it encourages the use of public transport, reduces car journeys and in turn, reduces traffic pollution and congestion.

There is a clear enforcement process for drivers

- LA respondents believed that enforcement adheres to clear civil traffic enforcement legislation and guidelines which set out the rules and standards. These guidelines help ensure consistency and fairness in the enforcement process, as well as provide clarity to both the enforcing authorities and the public.

-
- LA respondents believed that road markings and signage are accessible and displayed in advance to give road users appropriate information to adhere to enforcement rules.
 - LA respondents indicated that before any new enforcements come into force a consultation is conducted. They felt that this ensures that the public is aware of what is being enforced and why. Drivers are given advance warning about new legislation and enforcement soon after it has gone through consultation. Announcements about new schemes are published on council websites. In some cases, LAs provide warning notice periods to give drivers the opportunity to be educated if new cameras are set up.

Fair approach to issuing PCNs

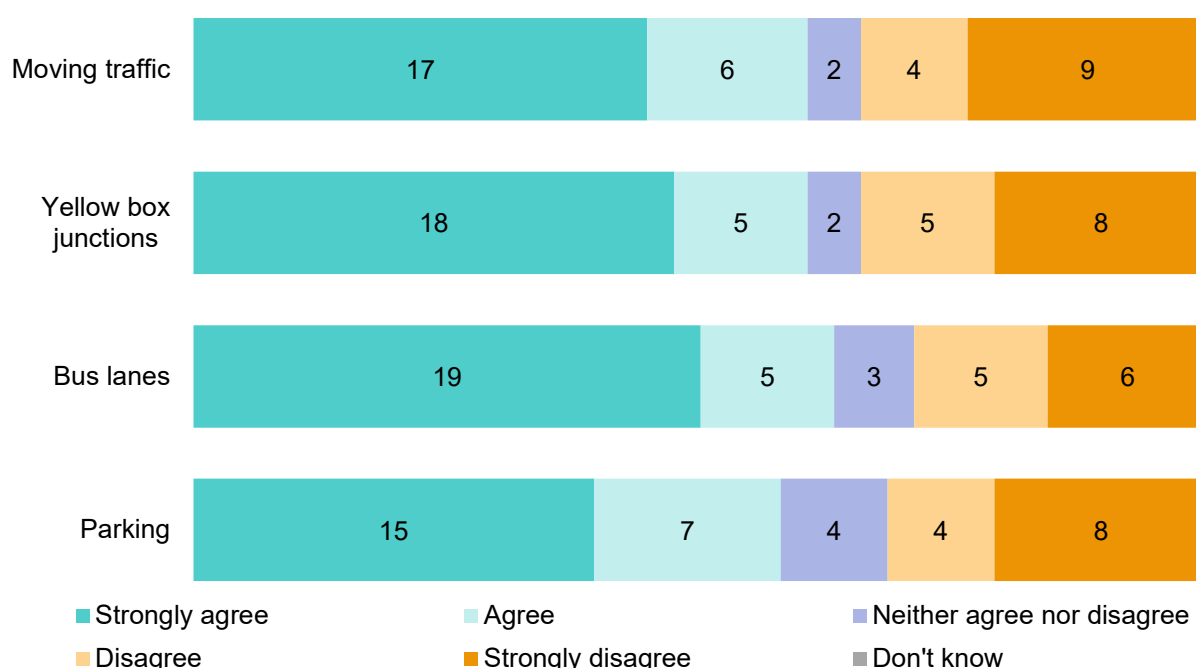
- LA respondents reported that PCNs are issued only when a contravention has occurred and when a driver does not comply with the rules or restrictions in place. They reported that for a PCN to be issued, there must be available evidence at the time of the event.
- LA respondents indicated that CCTV is used to capture all movements and any external factors that may have affected someone committing a contravention, which is taken into account before issuing a PCN.
- LA respondents indicated that they allow motorists to challenge PCNs where they feel that councils have acted unreasonably or where other circumstances apply. Each case is dealt with in line with national guidance and local policy.
- LA respondents believed that they do not operate incentives when issuing PCNs and are not subject to targets in terms of PCN volumes.

4.4.2. The perspective of organisations

Organisations were asked whether they considered current civil traffic enforcement for moving traffic, yellow box junctions, bus lanes, and parking to be fair. They were then asked to explain their answers. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by 38 organisations responded to these questions.

As shown in Figure 14 below, most organisations that responded to the CfE tended to agree or strongly agree that the current practice is fair across all types of enforcement. Although around a third disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Figure 14: Organisations' views on fairness of current civil traffic enforcement



Base: Organisation respondents, moving traffic (n=38), yellow box junction (n=38), bus lanes (n=38), parking (n=38). Note – 'Don't know' was additional response option for this CfE question but no organisation respondents chose this response option.

Organisations were asked the reasons why they perceived LAs' practices to be fair. These have been thematically analysed and summarised below.

Views of organisations which considered traffic enforcement fair

Organisation respondents who felt that current traffic enforcement is fair gave the following justifications for their views:

- Some organisation respondents believed that enforcement is essential to help manage traffic flow, support sustainable modes of transport and ensure safe functioning of local streets.
- Some organisation respondents felt that the current measures for traffic management and enforcement are based on identified need and in line with wider policy aims e.g., improving road user safety or addressing environmental issues.
- Some organisation respondent indicated that the current traffic enforcement is a set of simple rules (clearly marked signs, proportional fines, fair appeals process).
- Some organisation respondents believed that enforcement is fair and fines must be set at a level which provides a deterrent for drivers breaking the rules.

Views of organisations which disagreed that current enforcement is fair

Organisation respondents who felt that current traffic enforcement is unfair gave the following justifications for their views:

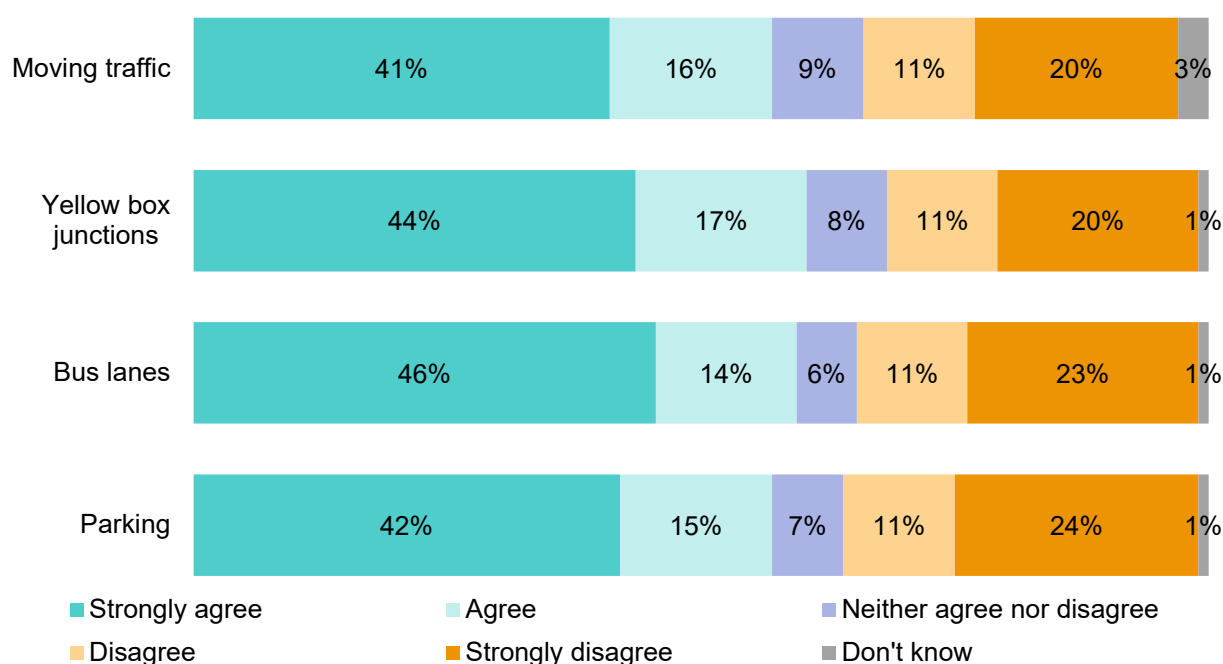
- The majority of organisation respondents felt that LAs are more motivated by the need to generate revenue rather than by the desire to regulate traffic.
- The majority of organisation respondents felt that there is a lack of consistency in enforcement across LAs.
- Some organisation respondents indicated that in light of the large proportion of PCNs being overturned, they felt a high volume of PCNs are likely issued incorrectly.
- Some organisation respondents believed that areas with a high number of PCNs issued tend to have poor signage. These organisation respondents suggested to introduce an obligation to assess signage and/or road layout in these areas.
- Some organisation respondents felt that enforcement is too harsh as, often, simple oversights by drivers incur a penalty.
- Some organisation respondents felt that in regard to moving traffic, weight limits are sometimes used inappropriately to exclude HGVs in areas where they need access for deliveries.
- Some organisation respondents felt that bus lanes are unnecessary and generally do not improve the total capacity of the route, however they account for a high number of PCNs issued every year.
- Some organisation respondents believed that there is a lack of evidence on whether yellow box junction enforcement improves traffic flow. They felt that some boxes are unnecessary, others are too large and not always visible. Moreover, they felt that junctions are not designed properly, e.g., HGV vehicles do not always fit into the boxes and are unfairly charged.
- Some organisation respondents called for the government to refresh its advice to LAs for yellow box junctions. They felt that the guidance does not clearly state the specific purpose of box junctions or show how to design them in relation to vehicle movements at junctions. Moreover, they felt that the guidance lacks information on how boxes should be maintained and enforced.

4.4.3. The perspective of individuals

Individuals were asked whether they considered current civil traffic enforcement for moving traffic, yellow box junctions, bus lanes, and parking to be fair. They were then asked to explain their answers. Between 4,624 and 4,635 individuals responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these individual respondents.

As shown in Figure 15 below, around 60% of individual respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the current practice is fair across all types of enforcement, although around a third disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Figure 15: Individuals' views on fairness of current civil traffic enforcement



Base: Individual respondents, moving traffic (n=4625), yellow box junctions (n=4624), bus lanes (n=4635), parking (n=4624) - Note: Response percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Views of individuals which agreed that current enforcement is fair

Of those individual respondents that agreed that current civil traffic enforcement is fair, 41% felt that enforcement deters dangerous and/or illegal behaviour (Figure 16). This included dangerous passing; speeding; using mobile phones; blocking access; and driving under the influence.

38% of individuals who agreed felt that it is fair that motorists are required to obey the law. They believed that laws are in place to ensure the safety for all road users, including vulnerable road users, cyclists and pedestrians.

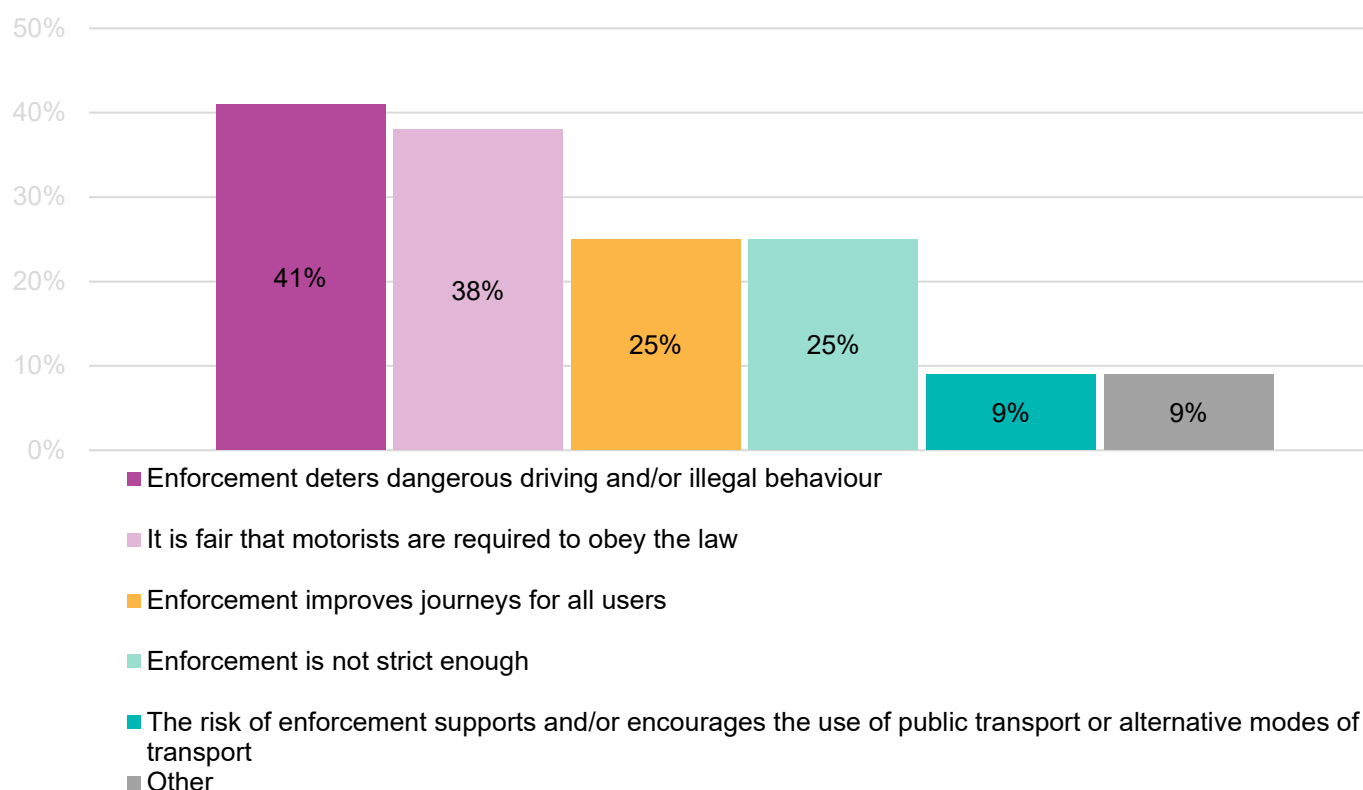
A quarter (25%) felt that enforcement improves journeys for all users (e.g., motorists, public transport, cyclists, pedestrians) due to reduced congestion and increased safety.

Civil traffic enforcement of moving traffic and yellow box junctions helps ensure that individual drivers do not cause traffic to build up. Enforcement of bus lanes means buses get to where they go quicker encouraging use of public transport thereby reducing total numbers of cars in the road and making all journeys quicker. Parking enforcement prevents individual drivers from blocking roads and makes travel for pedestrians and cyclists safer. (Individual)

A quarter (25%) felt that enforcement is not strict enough. They felt that there should be an increase in wardens, cameras and the cost of fines.

Lastly, 9% of individual respondents felt that the risk of enforcement supports and/or encourages the use public transport or alternative modes of transport. For example, they felt that enforcement encourages people to use active modes of transport such as walking and cycling.

Figure 16: Views of individuals that consider traffic enforcement fair



Base: Individual respondents (n=1913). Note: 'Other' includes codes that less than 5% respondents mentioned, responses were unclear or did not fit into a theme. Response percentages may exceed 100% as responses could have included references to multiple themes.

Views of individuals which disagreed that current enforcement is fair

Of individuals that disagreed that current civil traffic enforcement is fair, 37% felt enforcement was unfair due to issues with signage, markings, road design and infrastructure (Figure 17). For example, they felt that faded or unclear signage and road marking do not allow motorists sufficient time to adapt to the changing restrictions. Moreover, they felt that motorists end up spending too much time concentrating on the changing restrictions rather than focusing on driving safely.

A third (34%) felt that enforcement seems to be more about the generation of surplus than safety or compliance.

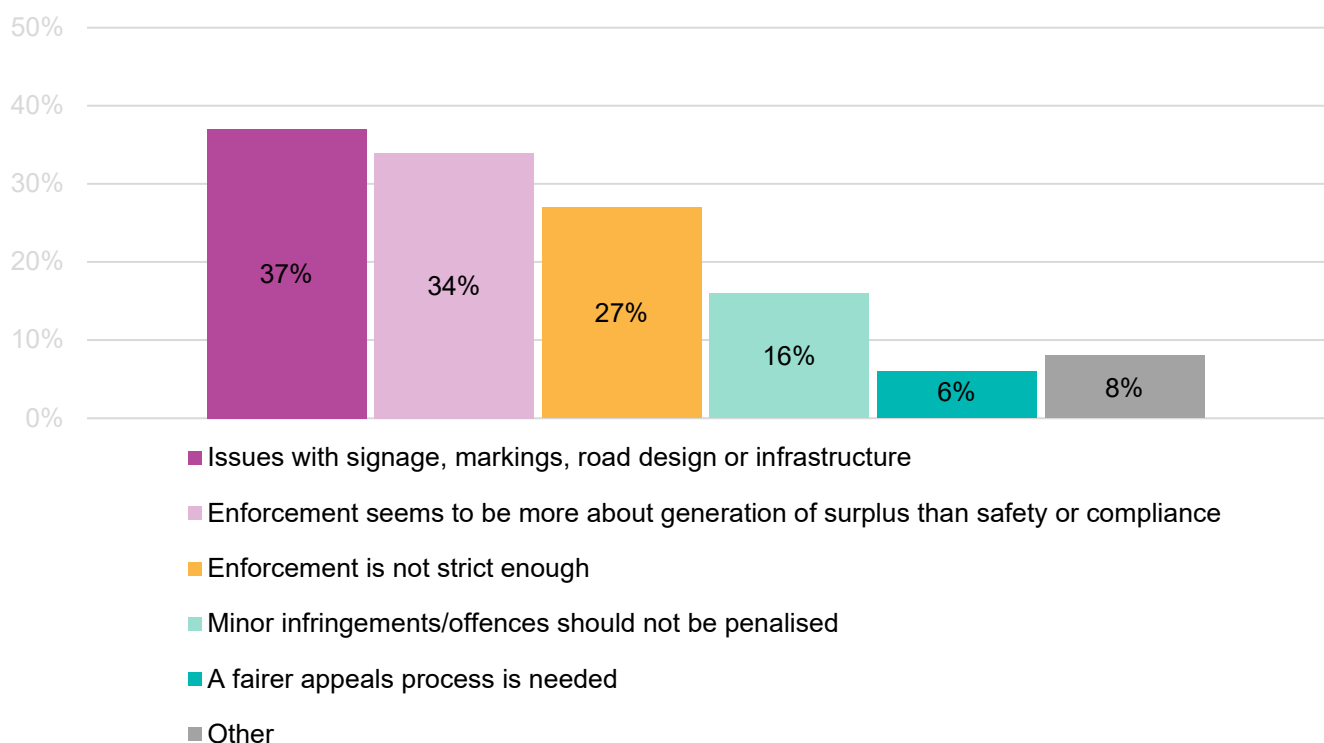
They [LAs] are over-zealous and enforcement seems to be more about raising revenues than ensuring safety or smooth traffic flow. (Individual)

A quarter (27%) of respondents that disagreed also felt that enforcement is not strict enough.

A further 16% of respondents that disagreed felt minor infringements/offences should not be penalised. For example, motorists driving into a bus lane or yellow box junctions to avoid an obstruction on the road should not be penalised.

Lastly, 6% felt that a fairer appeals process is needed. They felt the current appeals process was unclear, intimidating and time consuming.

Figure 17: Views of individuals that consider traffic enforcement unfair



Base: Individual respondents (n=688). Note: 'Other' includes codes that less than 5% respondents mentioned, responses were unclear or did not fit into a theme. Response percentages may exceed 100% as responses could have included references to multiple themes.

5. Suggestions for changes to current enforcement practices

This chapter presents suggestions for changes to current enforcement practices. It begins by exploring suggestions for how to make enforcement fairer. It then examines LAs', organisations', and individuals' ideas for how to help drivers comply with restrictions across all four types of enforcement.

5.1 Key findings

Views on how to make enforcement fairer

- The majority of LA respondents felt that current enforcement practices are fair and did not offer suggestions on how to make them fairer.
- Organisation respondents' suggestions to make enforcement fairer included: expanding the use of exemptions and mitigating circumstances; improving signage; introducing user-friendly systems and processes; ensuring ongoing scrutiny of LAs' enforcement practices; ensuring greater level of consistency across LAs; and increasing road users' awareness and understanding of restrictions.
- Individual respondents' suggestions to make enforcement fairer included: better design of roads and junctions; improved infrastructure; and management of traffic enforcement, e.g., improving signage; upgrading junction design; and improving management of traffic congestion.
 - Individual respondents were split on whether enforcement would be fairer by making restrictions stricter or less strict. Around a third wanted to see stricter enforcement through LAs increasing fines and the use of camera-based enforcement and employing more enforcement staff. A similar proportion wanted to see greater leniency, including allowing further exemptions and mitigating circumstances; issuing warning notices over penalties for first offence; and only targeting intentional violations.

Measures to help drivers comply with current restrictions

- There was consensus among all respondent groups around a range of measures that can help drivers comply with current restrictions. These included: education and guidance for road users, improved signage and road marking, and increased use of technology-based solutions.
- Other suggestions varied depending on whether respondents wanted to see stricter or less strict enforcement measures. For example, some groups called for increasing penalty fines to help compliance, while others asked for greater use of exemptions.

5.2 Caveats and limitations

The sample size of responses for each respondent group changed substantially across and within questions about different enforcement types. Sample sizes have been provided for each respondent group and set of questions to refer to when interpreting the findings. Moreover, due to the small sample sizes of LA (between 29 and 51) and organisation respondents (between 10 and 26), free-text response questions have been presented qualitatively rather than quantitatively e.g., most or some LA respondents.

Three combined authorities did not identify as LAs when completing the CfE. These combined authorities are included in the organisation responses, and analysed and reported as organisations.

Given the large number of individual responses (between 1104 and 2931), AI-assisted software was used to code the responses (full details are provided in the introduction). While the findings accurately represent the overall sentiment expressed by respondents, they may not capture the nuanced and specific views of a smaller subset of respondents.

Similarly, the findings represent the views of respondents to the CfE and may not be representative of the overall population of LAs, organisations and general public.

5.3 Views on how to make enforcement fairer

This section focuses on the views of organisations and individuals. The vast majority of LAs felt that the current system is fair and, therefore, did not offer ideas on how to make enforcement fairer.

5.3.1. The perspective of organisations

Organisations were asked how enforcement could be made fairer for moving traffic, yellow box junctions, bus lanes and parking. Between 10 and 13 organisations responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these organisation respondents.

Expand the use of exemptions and mitigating circumstances

Organisation respondents offered a range of ideas around exemptions and mitigating circumstances when issuing penalties to make enforcement fairer.

Some organisation respondents recommended that motorists should be exempt from penalties in cases where a vehicle moves into a bus lane to let through an emergency vehicle, or a vehicle is forced to stop in a yellow box because of traffic. They felt that vehicles should be allowed to stop in a yellow box or a bus lane for a short amount of time before they receive a penalty, and that motorists should only be penalised if they caused an obstruction

“Sometimes a driver in front can be too slow to move out of a yellow box, which means the driver behind can get stuck in the box when the lights change. When the driver stops in a yellow box because of something that another driver has

done, this should be taken into account when deciding whether to issue a penalty.” (Organisation)

Some organisation respondents also highlighted the importance of introducing concessions for those carrying out emergency work or those stopping for a short period of time to load or unload. They suggested granting permits to such groups and explained that they would need to be granted in a timely manner, as it is often difficult for contractors to predict where they will be working on a given day.

Improved signage and markings

One of the themes mentioned by organisation respondents was that signage and road markings should be clearer and provided sufficiently in advance so that approaching drivers have enough time to understand the restriction that lies ahead.

“Increase the clarity of signage and ensure signage is provided to drivers in advance to allow them to take appropriate action. This will allow drivers to more easily understand the rules and will be less likely to make a mistake by accident.”
(Organisation)

Another theme explored by organisation respondents was that road markings should be well maintained and visible to motorists, e.g., yellow boxes. They suggested that the size and design of yellow box junctions should be assessed independently to ensure it is proportionate and not designed to entrap motorists unfairly, e.g., by being larger than necessary.

Some organisation respondents felt that signs for bus lanes and bus gates were often difficult to see in busy traffic, especially for drivers less familiar with the local area and its roads. They suggested that bus lane restrictions should apply at all times, not only when buses are in service, to avoid any confusion around when the rules are in effect.

User-friendly systems and processes

A few organisation respondents felt that some processes need improving to enable the public to better engage with the enforcement system. For example, having to pay a PCN fee via an automated telephone line was challenging for older people and those who struggle to use automated services.

Some organisation respondents also felt that the appeals process is overly complex and burdensome for motorists to navigate, calling for the introduction of a more accessible and easier-to-use process.

“The current appeals process is cumbersome and not fit for purpose, e.g., the majority of PCNs are overturned on appeal but not until the case reaches adjudication, which means the driver has to go through an arduous process of appeal.” (Organisation)

Stricter enforcement

Organisation respondents who felt that enforcement should be made stricter provided suggestions on how to do so, including:

- Making parking on pavements illegal;
- Installing more CCTV; and
- Employing more enforcement officers to resource stronger enforcement practice.

Education and awareness-raising

To increase compliance, organisation respondents welcomed measures aimed at improving drivers' awareness and understanding of restrictions through community education campaigns. Suggested topics for communication campaigns included the dangers posed by illegal parking and communicating changes to parking restrictions in advance.

Increase consistency of enforcement practice

Some organisation respondents suggested that there should be a greater level of consistency across and within LAs, for example around grace periods for parking. They felt this would ensure consistent and fairer enforcement across the country.

Organisations also suggested that enforcement officer's training should be reviewed to ensure it was consistent across the country. They highlighted the importance of preventing biased enforcement practices that targeted particular demographics or geographical areas unfairly.

Scrutiny and transparency of enforcement practice

Some organisation respondents felt it was important to ensure ongoing scrutiny of LAs' enforcement practices to identify areas for improvement. They suggested that areas with high levels of PCNs issued should be investigated to explore whether measures could be taken to support compliance, for example by improving signage and road layout.

A few organisation respondents also highlighted the need to enhance transparency and accountability of the enforcement process. They called for LAs to provide clear information and guidelines on their enforcement process and penalty system, including how individuals can challenge a PCN.

Automation of enforcement

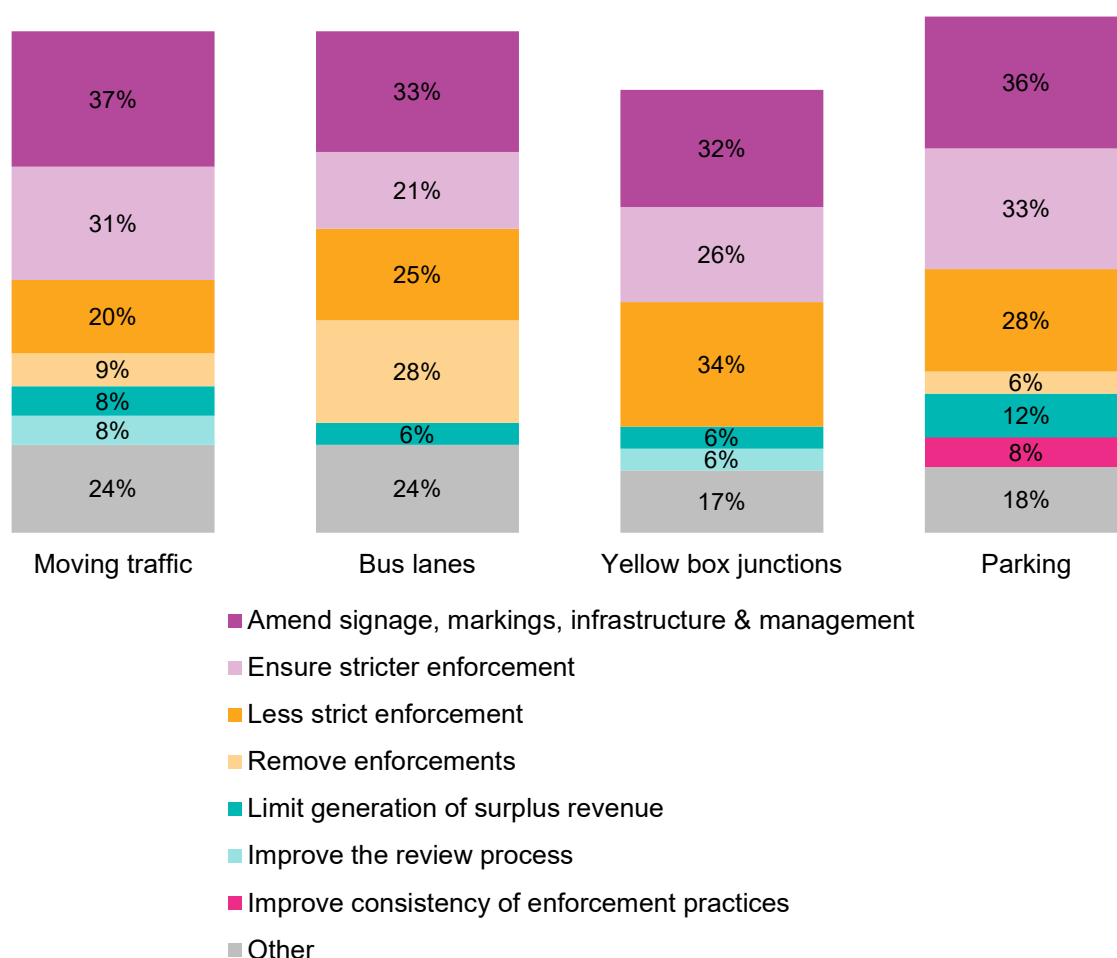
There were contrasting views on what level of automation would make enforcement fairer. Some organisation respondents felt that the circumstances of each issued penalty should be subject to human scrutiny and verification rather than only relying on CCTV to determine the instances when a driver should be penalised. Others stressed the need to introduce stricter enforcement, with additional use of CCTV and sensors, for example to enforce yellow box junction rules.

5.3.2. The perspectives of individuals

Individuals were asked how enforcement for moving traffic, yellow box junctions, bus lanes and parking could be made fairer. Between 1128 and 1312 individuals provided responses to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these individual respondents.

Figure 18 below illustrates the views of individuals on how to make traffic enforcement fairer. These are separately analysed in the following sections.

Figure 18: Individuals' views on how to make traffic enforcement fairer



Base: Individual respondents that provided views on moving traffic (n=1128), bus lanes (n=1312), yellow box junctions (n=1157), parking (n=1297) - Note: 'Other' includes codes that less than 5% respondents mentioned, responses were unclear or did not fit into a theme. Response percentages may exceed 100% as responses could have included references to multiple themes.

Amend signage, markings, infrastructure and management

Across all enforcement types, around a third of respondents (between 32% and 37%) wanted to see changes to the design, infrastructure and management of current enforcement to make it fairer.

Improved signage and markings

As with organisations, some individual respondents suggested that signage and road markings should be made clearer and more visible to motorists to ensure they have sufficient warning to respond appropriately to the upcoming restrictions, e.g., ensuring signage is not obstructed by overgrown trees or hedges.

A few individual respondents also felt that moving traffic enforcements, yellow box junctions and bus lanes were difficult to see in busy traffic and when travelling behind a truck or van. They also suggested that the size and location of yellow boxes should be assessed to ensure they are appropriate for the junction and do not unfairly entrap motorists.

Amend junction designs

Similarly, some individual respondents felt that the design of junctions needed to be assessed to ensure that motorists were not unfairly penalised. For example, they stressed the need to improve the traffic light timings, such as filtering for right turns to allow motorists sufficient time to exit yellow box junctions.

Some individuals also suggested avoiding placing bus lanes preceding left turns as this contributed to traffic congestion during peak times and unfairly penalised motorists.

"When turning left, there is hardly any space before the bus lane and only for couple of cars. This makes the right lane severely congested. Driver are often caught when their car wheel steps on the bus lane while turning left." (Individual)

Improve management of traffic congestion

There was a view among individual respondents that congestion could be handled better to ensure better traffic flow. Some believed that the increase in the number of blocked roads and traffic diversions contributed to bottlenecks and traffic congestion.

A few individual respondents also suggested that speed restrictions, particularly the 20mph limits on main roads, needed to be reviewed. They felt that the low-speed limits contributed to further traffic congestion and were unnecessary during non-peak times (e.g., weekends, outside school hours).

Improve parking systems and infrastructure

Some individual respondents were of the view that there should be an increase in parking spaces, alongside expanding resident parking permit eligibility. They also recommended that parking machines should still accept cash payments and an increase in the adoption of mobile phone apps to pay for parking across LAs.

Ensure stricter enforcement

Across all enforcement types, between 26% and 33% of individual respondents recommended stricter enforcement to ensure motorists obey the rules. This included:

- Increasing the cost of fines;
- Increasing the use of camera-based enforcement; and
- Employing more traffic and parking wardens.

Reflecting on moving traffic, some believed that there needs to be more rigorous policing of dangerous driving, such as driving while impaired (e.g., drugs and alcohol), use of mobile phones, and tailgating.

Less strict enforcement

Between 20% and 34% of individual respondents felt that enforcements should be more lenient for motorists, across all enforcements. They suggested that this should take the form of:

- Considering a range of exemptions and mitigating circumstances when issuing penalties;
- Issuing warning notices rather than a penalty for first traffic offences;
- Targeting only intentional violations, not safety manoeuvres drivers make, e.g., driving into a bus lane or yellow box to avoid an obstruction on the road;
- Using grace periods and waivers for parking, e.g., allowing a ten-minute grace period for motorists to return to their vehicle before being penalised;
- Reducing fines for parking enforcements; and
- Ensuring penalties are proportionate and scaled to the offence severity.

"Definitely needs a 2 or 3 tier tariff. £20 for overstaying under an hour. £80+ for parking that obstructs the highway." (Individual)

Remove enforcements

Between 6% and 28% of individual respondents felt that some of the enforcements currently in place should be removed or limited as they interfered with the traffic flow, e.g., Low Traffic Neighbourhoods, yellow boxes and bus lanes. Some also pointed to the need to modify the regulation of bus lanes, such as reducing bus lane operating hours and permitting non-peak time bus lane usage for motorists. This contrasts with the suggestion from organisation respondents to apply bus lane restrictions at all times, to ensure consistency and avoid confusion.

Limit generation of surplus revenue

Across all enforcement types, between 6% and 12% of individual respondents felt that surplus revenue from enforcements should be limited or banned. They felt that LAs are increasingly using enforcements to generate income rather than road maintenance and safety.

Improve the review process

Between 6% and 8% of individual respondents pointed to the need to improve the review process for moving traffic, bus lane and yellow box junction enforcements. Specifically, they felt this should involve the use of video rather than still images and a degree of human review.

Improve consistency of enforcement practices

Around 8% of individual respondents stressed the need to improve consistency in parking enforcement practices across different geographies, e.g., consistent enforcement practices on pavement parking.

"The biggest challenge in parking today is variation in parking restrictions between counties, councils - even between boroughs in London." (Individuals)

5.4 Measures to help drivers comply with current restrictions

LAs, organisations and individuals were asked their suggestions on supporting greater compliance with current restrictions. Across all respondent groups, key suggestions included: raising levels of education and awareness; modifying penalties; increasing LAs enforcement powers; addressing issues from unregistered and cloned vehicles; improving signs and road lines; and increasing the use of technology. Their perspectives are further explored in the following sections.

5.4.1. The perspective of LAs

LAs were asked to describe any ideas they have for measures that would help drivers comply with current restrictions for moving traffic, yellow box junctions, bus lanes and parking. Between 29 and 41 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

Education and awareness-raising

Some LA respondents felt that improving the provision of information, education and guidance for drivers was key in supporting compliance. Information provision included raising awareness of the current legislation; the highway code; the signs that restrict vehicle movements; and the benefits of parking controls for improving road safety. Information could be disseminated by enforcement officers, as well as through national advertising campaigns and councils' websites. Some also suggested a mandatory highway code refresher training to allow people to continue to hold a driving license.

"Better education of road users and reminding them of the highway code. Drivers are only mandated to look at the highway code when undertaking their driving theory test, so will forget some of this information which can cause confusion"

over interpreting restrictions / signage. Refresh of highway code training for drivers, videos that show the implications for contraventions.” (LA)

Changes to the penalty

Some LA respondents believed that increasing PCN costs levels could act as a stronger deterrent, ultimately increasing compliance. They felt that drivers who continually contravene regulations should face incrementally higher PCNs.

Increasing LAs' enforcement powers

A few LA respondents felt that they should have greater enforcement powers to help them tackle motorists who persistently contravene restrictions and those who are wilfully non-compliant. This could include:

- Having the right to remove vehicles to a car pound without providing notice;
- Being able to use automatic number-plate recognition (ANPR) cameras to carry out enforcement; and
- Increasing the number of enforcement officers.

Tackling issues with unregistered vehicles and cloned vehicles

Concerns were raised by some LA respondents around the number of vehicles unregistered with the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency (DVLA). They felt this warranted urgent action as it currently allows unregistered owners to remain unaccountable for their behaviour. Similarly, addressing the problem of cloned vehicles⁸ was expected to support compliance with restrictions as it would make it easier to carry out enforcement against drivers who are currently not traceable.

Clear and consistent signs and road lines

A few LA respondents hold the view that signs and road lines should be clear, well-maintained and consistent across the UK. For example, they suggested ensuring there is clear directional signage for drivers when approaching bus lanes.

Increased use of technology

Some LA respondents felt that there was a wealth of new, untapped technology, such as smart parking schemes and driving navigation tools that provide information on parking restrictions which could be adopted to support compliance. They suggested introducing a national parking online platform that would allow drivers to set up auto-pay methods to make compliance easier for drivers.

⁸ When a car is given the identity of another by replacing the number plates with those from an almost identical vehicle – same make, model and colour.

5.4.2. The perspective of organisations

Organisations were asked to describe any ideas they have for measures that would help drivers comply with current restrictions for moving traffic, yellow box junctions, bus lanes and parking. Between 20 and 26 organisations responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these organisation respondents.

Similarly to LAs, organisation respondents' suggestions included raising levels of education and awareness; improving signs; increasing PCN cost levels; and increasing the use of technology. Further detail on the perspective of organisations is provided below.

Education and awareness-raising

Some organisation respondents felt that increasing drivers' awareness of the rules and their responsibilities, and the reasons why different types of enforcement are carried out, would help them to comply with restrictions. They suggested national communication campaigns to educate motorists around rules and regulations.

Others highlighted that any changes to restrictions should be communicated locally, well in advance of the change coming into effect. Similarly, when introducing new enforcements, some organisations felt that LAs should provide motorists with information and guidance amply ahead to ensure they are prepared and able to comply.

Local engagement in design of parking strategies

A few organisation respondents suggested that local communities should be effectively engaged in decision-making to develop parking management strategies that address local needs and concerns.

Improved signage and markings

As with LAs, a view among organisation respondents was that that signage and markings must always be clear to help drivers navigate the roads and understand how to comply with restrictions.

Increased use of technology-based solutions

Some organisation respondents suggested that technology-based solutions would help drivers comply with restrictions, including smart traffic lights, more wide-spread use of enforcement cameras and digital parking apps. The latter could provide real-time information on parking availability, restrictions and payment options.

Scrutiny and transparency of enforcement practice

Some organisation respondents also believed that restrictions should be reviewed regularly to check that they are still fit for purpose. They felt that for locations where a high number of PCNs are issued, restrictions should be reviewed to ensure that enforcement is proportionate. One organisation felt that enforcement should be overseen by an official watchdog.

Stronger enforcement

Some organisation respondents held the view that increasing PCN cost levels and publicising the increase widely, could act as a strong deterrent and may help drivers to be more compliant with restrictions. In addition, it was suggested that non-compliant parking should result in vehicles being removed or impounded. Organisations also suggested that bus lanes should be physically separated from other lanes to make it more difficult for motorists to enter them.

Exemptions

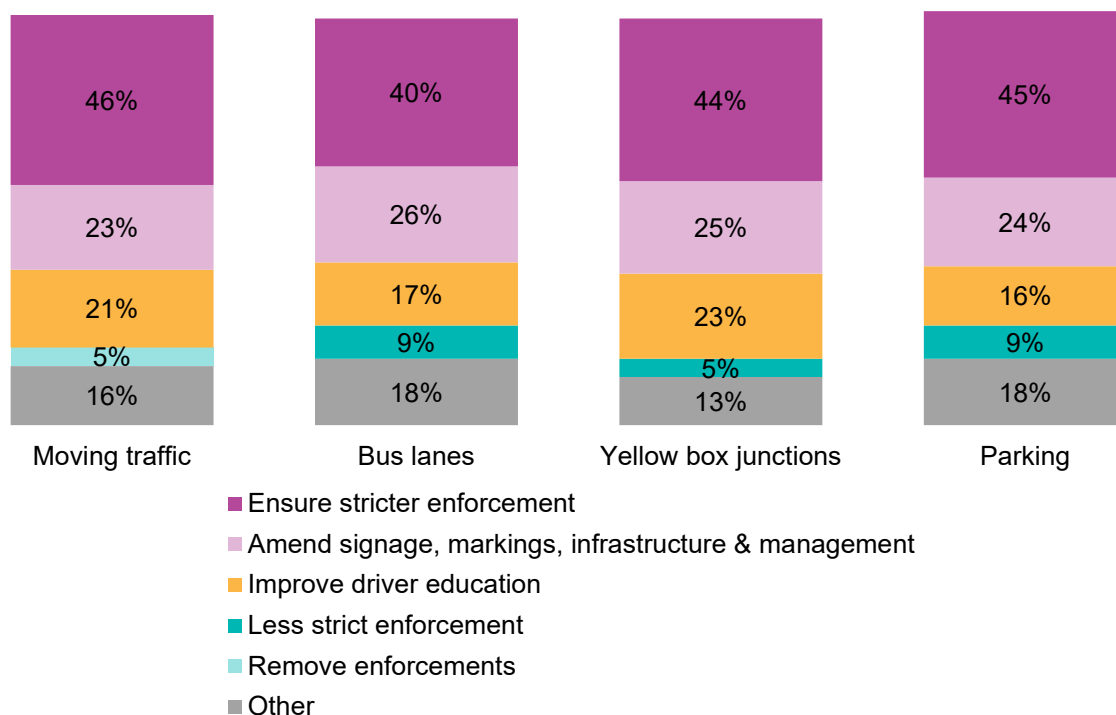
It was felt that HGV and commercial vehicles should be subject to exemptions. These included allowing use of bus lanes and allowing kerbside access for loading and unloading when servicing businesses.

5.4.3. The perspective of individuals

As with LAs and organisations, individuals were asked to describe any ideas they have for measures that would help drivers comply with current restrictions for moving traffic, yellow box junctions, bus lanes and parking. Between 2777 and 3046 individuals provided responses to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these individual respondents.

Similarly to LAs and organisations, individual respondents' suggestions included improving signs; increasing PCNs; and improving levels of education and awareness (Figure 20). Further detail on individuals' suggestions is provided in the following sections.

Figure 19: Individuals' ideas for measures that would help drivers comply with traffic restrictions



Base: Individual respondents that provided ideas for moving traffic (n=2777), bus lanes (n=3046), yellow box junctions (n=2820), parking (n=3017) - Note: 'Other' includes codes that less than 5% respondents mentioned, responses were unclear or did not fit into a theme. Response percentages may exceed 100% as responses could have included references to multiple themes.

Ensure stricter enforcement

Across all enforcement types, just under half of individual respondents (between 40% and 46%) suggested stricter enforcement to deter motorists. Some suggested imposing bigger fines on motorists. In addition, they felt that increased levels of enforcement from officers and wardens would ensure motorists follow the rules. Some also suggested installing additional cameras to monitor and enforce restrictions to cover times when officers and wardens are not present.

Amend signage, markings, infrastructure and management

Around a quarter of individual respondents across all enforcement types (between 23% and 26%) felt that signage must always be clear and visible to help motorists navigate the roads. They indicated that signage should be appropriately placed to ensure motorists have sufficient time to respond to any changing restrictions.

As with LA and organisations, some individual respondents suggested the use of technology-based solutions such as digital signs, along the lines of those used for smart motorways. They felt that this could update motorists on current traffic conditions and restrictions in real time.

"Digital signs (similar to smart motorways) indicating whether the Bus Lane can currently be used by other vehicles." (Individual).

Individual respondents also held the view that road markings (e.g., bus lanes, yellow boxes, road lines) needed to be well maintained to help motorists navigate the roads. For example, motorists may not see yellow boxes because of faded road markings. It was also felt that yellow box sizes should be reviewed to ensure they are the appropriate size and not positioned to unfairly entrap motorists.

Some individual respondents suggested investment into more parking infrastructure and to make parking more affordable for motorists. This included requests for more free parking or subsidised parking; more paid parking spaces; and reducing the cost of parking.

Less strict enforcement

Across all enforcement types, between 5% and 9% of individual respondents recommended more lenient enforcement, such as reducing the cost of penalties for all traffic infringements. Some felt that yellow box junctions should only be enforced during peak hours. Others suggested reducing bus lane operating hours to allow motorists to use them during non-peak hours.

Remove enforcements

For moving traffic enforcements, 5% of individual respondents made suggestions to reduce and/or limit Low Traffic Neighbourhoods. They felt that these were not always necessary and contributed to greater traffic congestion and air pollution rather than improving them.

Improve driver education

Across all enforcement types, approximately a fifth of respondents (between 16% and 23%) believed it was important to improve driver education, e.g., increasing awareness of the Highway Code and signage. A few made suggestions to introduce a regular Highway Code (e.g., every 5 to 10 years) or 'after traffic violations' refresher theory and driving tests for drivers.

6. Views on restricting LAs' ability to generate surplus from traffic contraventions

This chapter examines the views of LAs, organisations and individuals on restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus from traffic contraventions. It begins by exploring views on whether this change would make traffic enforcement fairer and outlines ideas about how surplus could be restricted. It then considers potential consequences for LAs if surplus generated was required to be repaid to His Majesty's Treasury.

6.1 Key findings

Views on whether restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer

- All LA respondents disagreed that restricting their ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer. This view was also shared by most organisations and individuals. A minority of organisations and individual respondents agreed.
- Those disagreeing indicated that LAs' ability to generate a surplus had no bearing on fairness as enforcement is carried out in a fair and consistent manner and in line with the legislative framework. Conversely, those agreeing felt that restricting the ability to make a surplus would limit LAs' financial motivation to use traffic enforcement for revenue generation.

Ideas for restricting LAs ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions

- LA, organisation and individual respondents suggested a wide range of actions that could be taken for restricting LAs ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions. It is worth noting that respondents tended to suggest ways of reducing the PCNs issued rather than ideas for restricting surplus per se, including more education; ongoing monitoring of high-income enforcement sites to support compliance; avoid issuing PCNs for minor contraventions; and issuing more warning notices.

Potential consequences for LAs if any surpluses generated were required to be repaid to His Majesty's Treasury

- LA respondents provided mixed responses regarding the potential consequences to civil enforcement practices if they had to repay surpluses to Treasury. These ranged from no impact to having to scale back on schemes funded or partially funded by enforcement surplus.
- Further potential impacts included increased pressure on LAs finances, and reduced ability to undertake statutory duties.

6.2 Caveats and limitations

The sample size of responses for each respondent group changed substantially across and within questions about different enforcement types. Sample sizes have been provided for each respondent group and set of questions to refer to when interpreting the findings. Moreover, due to the small sample sizes of LA (between 44 and 56) and organisation (between 34 and 41) respondents, free-text response questions have been presented qualitatively rather than quantitatively e.g., most or some LA respondents.

Three combined authorities did not identify as LAs when completing the CfE. These combined authorities are included in the organisation responses, and analysed and reported as organisations.

Given the large number of individual responses (between 1333 and 4585), AI-assisted software was used to code the responses (full details are provided in the introduction). While the findings accurately represent the overall sentiment expressed by respondents, they may not capture the nuanced and specific views of a smaller subset of respondents.

Similarly, the findings represent the views of respondents to the CfE and may not be representative of the overall population of LAs, organisations and general public.

6.3 Views on whether restricting LAs ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer

This section outlines organisations', LAs' and individuals' views on whether restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer.

6.3.1. The perspective of LAs

LAs were asked whether they agreed or disagree that restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer. LAs were then asked to explain their answers. Between 53 and 56 LAs responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

All LA respondents disagreed that restricting their ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer. They believed that whether or not a surplus is generated and how it is used has no bearing on the fairness of enforcement practice. A dominant view was that enforcement is already fair and consistent, as is undertaken within a strict legislative framework.

Some LA respondents felt that restricting surplus would effectively put a cap on enforcement, which would need to be reduced or ceased. This would result in increased levels of non-compliance, reduced road safety and increased congestion.

"The primary beneficiaries we can see emerging from this kind of action would be repeat offenders and motorists who choose not follow the rules of the road"
(LA)

Some LA respondents were concerned that such a restriction would affect their ability to address the significant demands from the public to increase enforcement in problem areas, such as in and around residential areas and town centres.

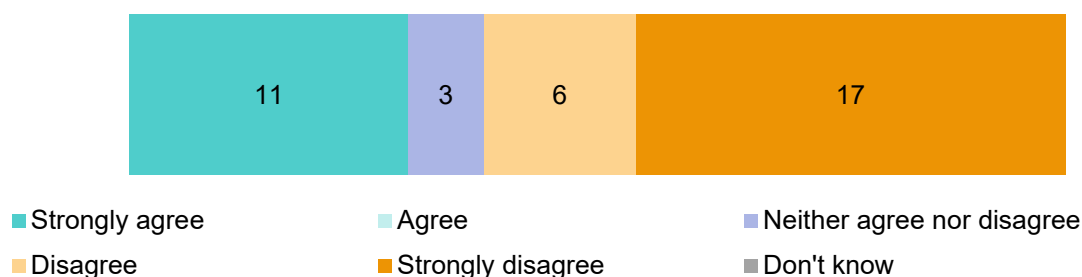
Other LA respondents held the view that such a change would negatively impact current and future investments in public transport and highways improvement schemes, as well as environmental improvement programmes. They felt that surplus restriction would result in higher costs to taxpayers to finance schemes and services that are currently funded by enforcement surplus.

6.3.2. The perspective of organisations

Similarly to LAs, organisations were asked whether they agreed or disagreed that restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer. Organisations were then asked to explain their answers. Between 37 and 41 organisations responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these organisation respondents.

As shown below in Figure 21, the majority of organisations (23 out of 37) disagreed that restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer. A further 11 agreed with the statement and three neither agreed nor disagreed.

Figure 20: Organisations' views on whether restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer



Base: Organisation respondents (n=37) Note – 'Agree' and 'Don't know' were additional response option for this CfE question but no organisation respondents chose these response options.

Some organisation respondents that disagreed felt that there was no link between fairness of enforcement and an LA's ability to generate a surplus as this was dictated by the behaviour of motorists and their level of compliance with regulations.

Furthermore, some organisation respondents felt that the ability to generate a surplus ensures revenue can be reinvested in schemes to improve traffic flow and road safety for all road users.

“If revenue from fines is reinvested in active travel or other benefits such as making roads safer, that is a good thing. LAs need the revenue because they are underfunded.” (Organisation)

These organisations viewed LAs as better placed than central government to guide local policy on how surplus should be spent in their local area. In line with views expressed by LAs, some organisation respondents felt that taking surplus away could have a detrimental impact on the range of schemes and public services that LAs are funding. This could lead to slower response to traffic violations, alongside reduced social, health and wellbeing outcomes from concessionary and public transport schemes, which are funded by surplus generated from traffic enforcement.

Conversely, a minority of organisation respondents (11 out of 37) organisations strongly agreed that restricting LAs’ ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer. They explained that this would ensure that LAs are not motivated by revenue generation when issuing PCNs.

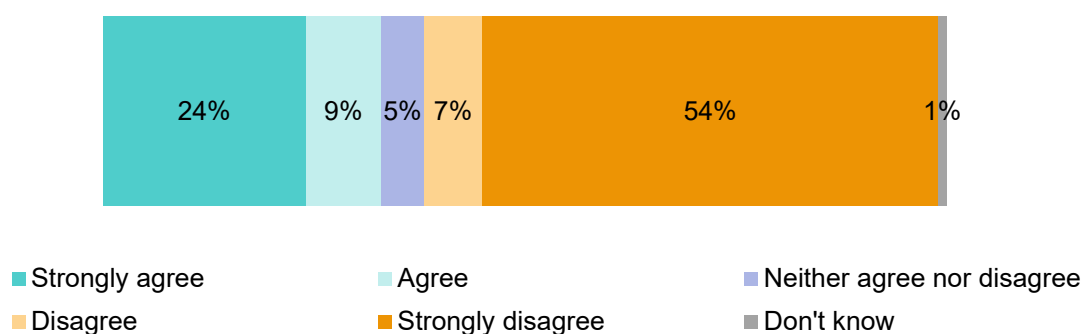
“It currently feels like councils have targets for issuing PCNs and will issue them for ‘silly’ faults rather than taking a consistent, common-sense approach to enforcement. The current system favours the LAs that do not ‘play fair’ – who introduce confusing restrictions and don’t check signage and don’t correct issues highlighted by motorists.” (Organisation)

6.3.3. The perspective of individuals

Similarly to LAs and organisations, individuals were asked whether they agreed or disagree that restricting LAs’ ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer. Individuals were then asked to explain their answers. 4585 individuals responded to these questions. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these individual respondents.

Most individual respondents (61%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that restricting LAs’ ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer, although around a third agreed or strongly agreed (33%).

Figure 21: Individuals' views on whether restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer



Base: Individual respondents (n=4585) – Note: Response percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Views of individuals that disagreed restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer

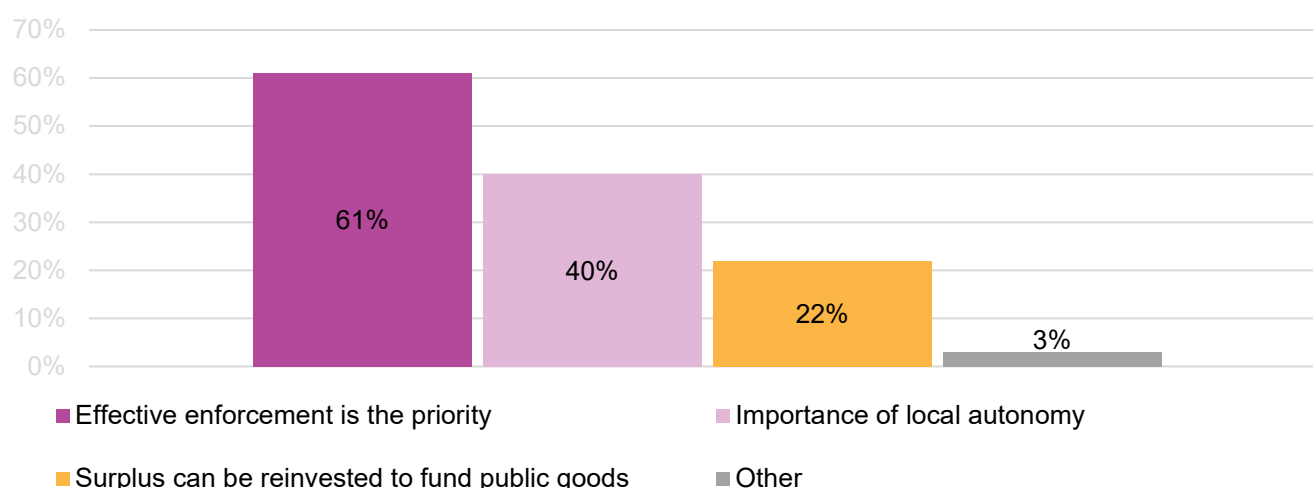
Of those individual respondents that disagreed that restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer, 61% felt that effective enforcement should be the priority and is necessary to deter dangerous behaviours and law breaking (Figure 23).

Similarly to organisations, a further 40% of individual respondents who disagreed felt that it was important to ensure LAs' autonomy to implement effective enforcement based on local needs, without government overreach.

*"It makes sense for LAs to address local issues with bespoke solutions. Some villages benefit from speed reductions, others from access restrictions."
(Individual)*

One in five (22%) felt that surplus generated from traffic enforcement should be used to fund a wide range of services. This included transport and infrastructure improvements, e.g., fixing potholes; support to local communities; active travel schemes; and improvements to the local built environment.

Figure 22: Views of individuals that disagreed to restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus



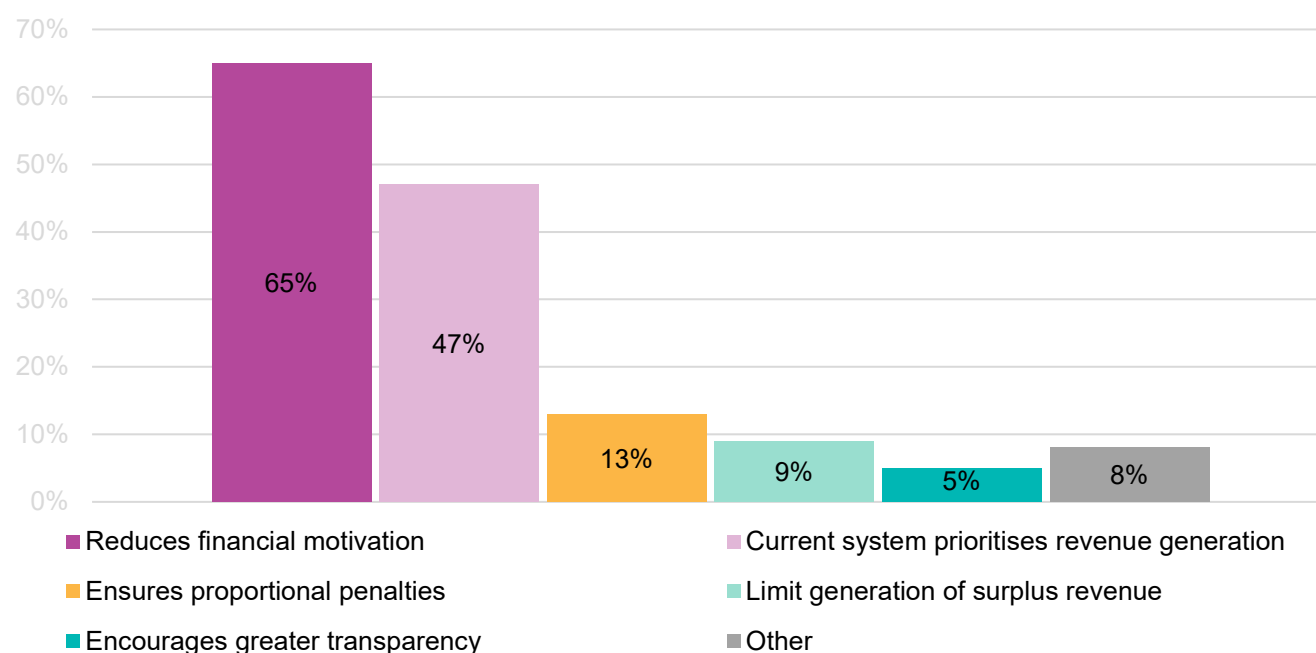
Base: Individual respondent (n=2671) – Note 'Other' includes codes that less than 5% respondents mentioned, responses were unclear or did not fit into a theme. Response percentages may exceed 100% as responses could have included references to multiple themes.

Views of individuals that agreed restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer

Of those individual respondents that agreed that restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer, 65% felt this would reduce LAs financial motivation to use traffic enforcement to generate surplus. They believed this would stop motorists being unfairly targeted through traffic enforcement. Some individual respondents also felt that this would limit councils' dependency on fines to fund other operations. For example, surplus could be reinvested into road safety improvements rather than using it to cover budget deficits in other areas such as housing.

Around half (47%) of individual respondents that agreed believed that the current system prioritises revenue generation over improving traffic flow through targeted road measures, improving safety and improving the design of roads. A minority (13%) believed that the current cost of penalties is too high and unaffordable for many. 9% of individual respondents felt LAs ability to generate a surplus should be limited. Lastly, 5% of individual respondents felt that restricting the ability to generate a surplus would encourage greater transparency with the public around how funds from traffic contraventions are generated and spent by LAs.

Figure 23: Views of individuals' that agreed to restricting LAs' ability to generate a surplus



Base: Individual respondents (n=1333) - Note: 'Other' includes codes that less than 5% respondents mentioned, responses were unclear or did not fit into a theme. Response percentages may exceed 100% as responses could have included references to multiple themes.

6.4 Ideas for restricting surpluses from traffic contraventions

This section outlines organisations', LAs' and individuals' suggestions on ways to restrict LAs' ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions.

6.4.1. The perspective of LAs

LAs were asked to provide ideas for restricting a LA's ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions. The findings below reflect the views and information of 44 LAs that responded to this question.

Although all LA respondents disagreed that their ability to generate surplus from traffic contraventions should be restricted, a few offered some ideas on how to lower the number of PCNs issued, and as a result limit surplus generated. Ideas included:

- More education and regular retests for drivers, particularly for those that regularly contravene restrictions;
- Increasing the PCN costs level to improve compliance among drivers and reduce the number of PCNs issued; and
- Assessing high income enforcement sites to understand the reasons for non-compliance.

6.4.2. The perspective of organisations

Similarly to LAs, organisations were asked to provide ideas for restricting a LA's ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions. The findings below reflect the views and information of the 34 organisations responded to this question.

Organisation respondents suggested a range of actions and measures that could be taken to limit the surplus generated. These included:

- Lowering parking charges;
- Not issuing PCNs for very minor contraventions;
- Issuing warning notices rather than PCNs for a first contravention in a particular location;
- Monitoring the number of PCNs issued to identify high income enforcement sites and take action to support motorists to be more compliant;
- Offering skills training courses as an alternative to PCNs; and
- Fining LAs if any PCNs were unfairly issued (for example when an appeal against a PCN was upheld).

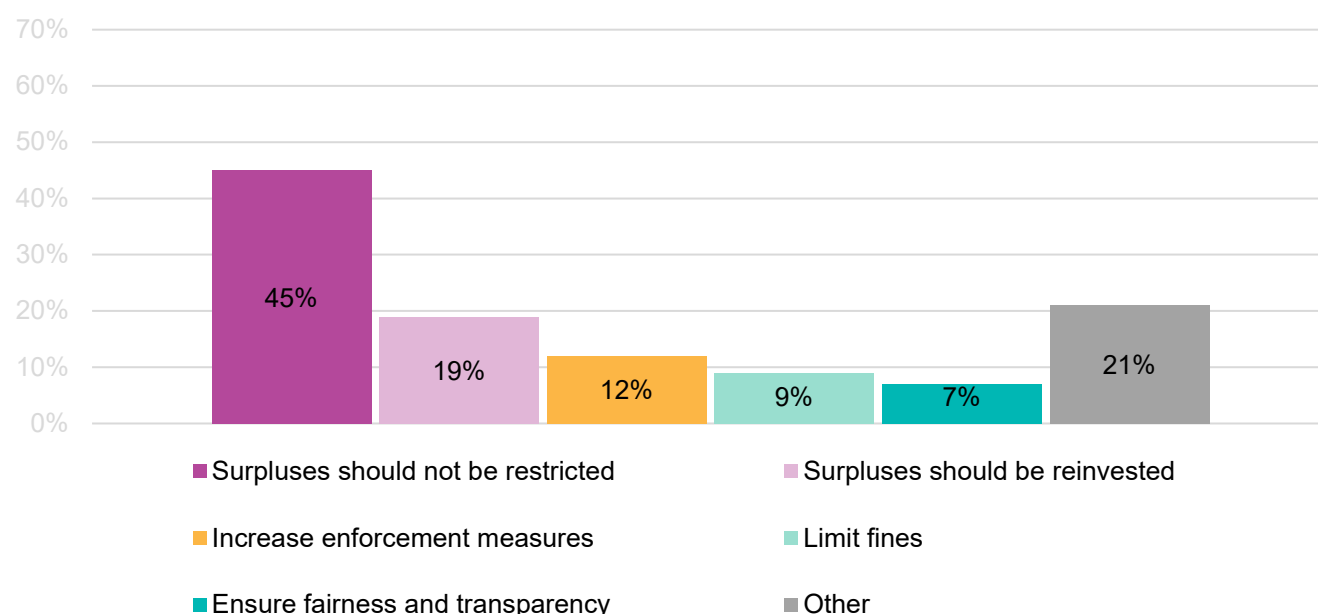
Others organisation respondents felt that that enforcement should be stricter to more effectively deter non-compliance. They felt that this would lead to increased levels of compliance and lower revenue from PCNs, which would in turn diminish surplus generated.

6.4.3. The perspective of individuals

Similarly to LAs and organisation, individual respondents were asked to provide ideas for restricting a LA's ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions. The findings below reflect the views and information of the 3278 individuals that provided responses to this question.

As shown in Figure 25, just under half of individual respondents (45%) disagreed that LAs' ability to generate surplus from traffic contraventions should be restricted.

Figure 24: Individuals' ideas on restricting a LA's ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions



Base: Individual respondents (n=3278) - Note: 'Other' includes codes that less than 5% respondents mentioned, responses were unclear or did not fit into a theme. Percentages may exceed 100% as responses could have included references to multiple themes.

Around a fifth of individual respondents (19%) felt that surpluses should be reinvested in a range of services, including:

- Ensuring ongoing road maintenance, such as fixing potholes;
- Repainting road markings;
- Expanding and improving public transport options;
- Introducing new and improving existing environmental schemes; and
- Introducing new and improving existing community enhancements schemes.

One in eight individual respondents (12%) felt that stronger enforcement measures (e.g., increasing warden presence and installing more cameras) should be put in place to ensure motorists' compliance, which would reduce surplus over time. A further 9% felt that fines should be limited, for example by establishing a cap on the total amount of revenue that can be generated from traffic contravention within a set window of time. Lastly, 7% wanted to see a more transparent approach from LAs on how the surplus funds from traffic contraventions are used.

"Require LAs to publicly report their revenue from traffic enforcement, including how these funds are used. This can help build public trust and ensure transparency. Provide detailed breakdowns of revenue sources, types of

contraventions, and expenditures, allowing the public to scrutinise and understand how enforcement impacts the community." (Individual)

6.5 Impact on LAs if surplus was repaid to His Majesty's Treasury

LAs were asked what the consequence for enforcement practices and schemes and projects funded by surpluses would be if any surpluses generated were required to be repaid to His Majesty's Treasury. Between 47 and 50 LAs responded to this question. The findings below reflect the views and information provided by these LA respondents.

LA respondents felt such a change could either have no impact at all or affect the volume of enforcement and other services provided by LAs.

6.5.1. No impact

Some LA respondents felt that there would be no impact if the surplus generated was to be repaid to His Majesty's Treasury. They explained that they would expect a surplus to be revenue left over after the costs of providing all necessary civil enforcement service were covered. Therefore, repaying any surplus to Treasury would not affect service provision.

6.5.2. Impact on enforcement levels and other services

Those LA respondents that anticipated an impact from repaying surplus to His Majesty's Treasury felt that this would lead to a reduction in enforcement services and other schemes they currently provide. They explained that any surplus generated was reinvested into civil enforcement equipment, technology and staffing, improvement schemes, parking and highway maintenance. Repaying the surplus to Treasury would therefore hinder their ability to deliver these services, which would in turn reduce road safety and worsen traffic flow.

"Such an action would have significant impact on our Highways Services, reducing key investment into maintaining our highways and carriageways leading to further degradation in the highway/reduced repairs to improve the Highway. Furthermore, such reductions would impact delivery of road safety impacting on casualty reduction and safety." (LA)

Some LA respondents added that additional funding for a range of schemes and services would need to be sourced from elsewhere if the surplus was paid to His Majesty's Treasury, putting increased pressure on their already stretched finances. Some held the view that, failing to find additional funding, some schemes and services may need to be scaled back or not go ahead at all. Examples of scheme funded wholly or partially by enforcement surplus that may be at risk include:

- New car parks and car park improvements;
- Concessionary travel schemes;
- School transport;
- Cycling infrastructure;

-
- Road repair and maintenance projects;
 - Evaluations to assess the effectiveness of schemes and identify areas for improvement;
 - New ticketing machine services;
 - Road safety schemes; and
 - Maintenance of and subsidies for park and ride services.

Some LA respondents also felt that repaying surplus to His Majesty's Treasury could potentially affect LAs' ability to undertake statutory duties such as highway safety, flood risk management and duty to protect. They added that this would significantly limit LAs' ability to deliver policy objectives set by government, such as the London Plan and the Net Zero Strategy. Some LAs highlighted that they currently use surpluses to invest into schemes such as air quality improvement plans, EV charging and environment plans.

A few LA respondents also thought that successful parking schemes delivered in collaboration with neighbouring LAs and partners could cease to exist as there would be greater risk for partners to cover the cost of any deficit.

Appendix A. Full list of consultation questions

1. What is your name?
2. What is your email address?
3. Are you responding on behalf of an organisation?
4. Your organisation name is?
5. Is your organisation a local authority?
6. For your most recent financial accounts, how much (a) income, (b) expenditure and (c) surplus or deficit was allocated to:
 - all civil traffic enforcement
 - moving traffic enforcement (including yellow box junctions)
 - yellow box junctions enforcement only
 - bus lane enforcement
 - parking enforcement
7. What financial year do these figures relate to?
8. Provide a link to your published financial accounts.
9. For your 2019 to 2020 financial accounts, how much (a) income, (b) expenditure and (c) surplus or deficit was allocated to:
 - all civil traffic enforcement
 - moving traffic enforcement (including yellow box junctions)
 - yellow box junctions enforcement only
 - bus lane enforcement
 - parking enforcement
10. For your most recent financial accounts, what was the (a) name and location and (b) percentage of total enforcement income from each type of enforcement raised by each of the top 3 sites for:
 - moving traffic site with the highest enforcement income (include the specific contravention code/suffix)
 - moving traffic site with the second highest enforcement income (include the specific contravention code/suffix)

- moving traffic site with the third highest enforcement income (include the specific contravention code/suffix)
- bus lanes with the highest enforcement income
- bus lanes with the second highest enforcement income
- bus lanes with the third highest enforcement income
- parking site with the highest enforcement income
- parking site with the second highest enforcement income
- parking site with the third highest enforcement income

11. What financial year do these figures relate to?

12. Provide a link to your published accounts.

13. For your 2019 to 2020 financial accounts, what was the (a) name and location and (b) percentage of total enforcement income from each type of enforcement raised by each of the top 3 sites for:

- moving traffic site with the highest enforcement income (include the specific contravention code/suffix)
- moving traffic site with the second highest enforcement income (include the specific contravention code/suffix)
- moving traffic site with the third highest enforcement income (include the specific contravention code/suffix)
- bus lanes with the highest enforcement income
- bus lanes with the second highest enforcement income
- bus lanes with the third highest enforcement income
- parking site with the highest enforcement income
- parking site with the second highest enforcement income
- parking site with the third highest enforcement income

14. Do you review the effectiveness of the design and signing of moving traffic, bus lane and parking measures once they have been implemented?

15. In the past 5 years, how many times have you reviewed the effectiveness of the design and signing of each site you have listed in your answer to question 10?

16. Where your local authority made an overall surplus on parking, bus lane or moving traffic enforcement, how was it spent (specify the 3 projects or schemes with the highest costs in each category, including the value of each scheme or project, and whether they were partly or wholly funded by a surplus) in terms of:

- using surpluses to cover any losses from civil enforcement activity in the past 4 years
- meeting costs incurred in the provision or operation of, or of facilities for, public passenger transport services
- highway improvement projects
- environmental improvements (does not apply to bus lane enforcement and moving traffic enforcement inside London only)

-
- costs of anything that facilitates the implementation of the London transport strategy
 - road maintenance (for moving traffic offences inside London only)
 - contribution(s) to another authority for any of the above purposes (for moving traffic and bus lane offences inside London only)
 - other
- 17.If any surpluses generated were required to be repaid to His Majesty's Treasury, what would be the consequence for your local authority in terms of:
- civil enforcement practices
 - schemes and projects that are partly or wholly funded by surpluses
- 18.What are the reasons for your local authority making a surplus?
- 19.If your local authority made an overall deficit in question 6 how was this loss managed?
- 20.What are the reasons for your local authority making a deficit?
- 21.For each financial year within your medium-term financial strategy, describe whether you expect your civil traffic enforcement activities to deliver an overall:
- Surplus
 - Deficit
 - neither surplus nor deficit (cost neutral)
 - Explain your answer.
- 22.If your local authority enforces yellow box junctions, how many yellow box junction enforcement cameras were in operation on 1 June 2019 and on 1 June for each year up to 2023?
- 23.For the year of your most recent financial accounts (the same years you entered for question 6), how many of the following were attributed to (a) moving traffic, (b) bus lanes and (c) parking:
- PCNs issued
 - PCNs that were unchallenged and paid
 - challenges and representations (pre-appeals stage)
 - PCNs cancelled as a result of challenges and representations at the pre-appeal stage
 - PCNs upheld as a result of challenges and representations at the pre-appeal stage
- 24.What financial year do these figures relate to?
- 25.Provide a link to your published financial accounts.
- 26.For your 2019 to 2020 financial accounts, how many of the following were attributed to (a) moving traffic, (b) bus lanes and (c) parking:
- PCNs issued
 - PCNs that were unchallenged and paid
 - challenges and representations (pre-appeals stage)
 - PCNs cancelled as a result of challenges and representations at the pre-appeal stage
 - PCNs upheld as a result of challenges and representations at the pre-appeal stage

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27. What were the common reasons for your local authority to accept drivers' representations and challenges for:
- moving traffic
 - bus lanes
 - parking
28. What were the common reasons for your local authority to reject drivers' representations and challenges for:
- moving traffic
 - bus lanes
 - parking
29. Describe any ideas you have for measures that would help drivers comply with moving traffic, yellow box junctions, bus lanes or parking restrictions.
30. How lenient do you feel your local authority is when conducting moving traffic enforcement?
31. How lenient do you feel your local authority is when conducting yellow box junction enforcement?
32. How lenient do you feel your local authority is when conducting bus lane enforcement?
33. How lenient do you feel your local authority is when conducting parking enforcement?
34. When reviewing yellow box junction enforcement activity, what action does your local authority take at locations where you identify that a disproportionately high number of PCNs are issued at a particular location?
- do nothing
 - review traffic flow
 - review junction layout
 - review traffic signing
 - we do not monitor the number of PCNs being issued
 - review enforcement practices
 - other
35. In the first 6 months of moving traffic enforcement, how many warning notices for first-time contraventions did you issue?
36. Describe any lessons learnt over the period when you issued warning notices and actions you took as a result?
37. Do you consider that current civil traffic enforcement by local authorities is fair for:
- moving traffic (excluding yellow box junctions)
 - yellow box junctions
 - bus lanes
 - parking

-
- 38.If you disagreed or strongly disagreed that moving traffic enforcement was fair, describe how moving traffic enforcement could be made fairer.
 - 39.If you disagreed or strongly disagreed that yellow box junction enforcement was fair, describe how yellow box junction enforcement could be made fairer.
 - 40.If you disagreed or strongly disagreed that bus lane enforcement was fair, describe how bus lane enforcement could be made fairer.
 - 41.If you disagreed or strongly disagreed that parking enforcement was fair, describe how parking enforcement could be made fairer.
 - 42.To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement – “restricting local authorities’ ability to generate a surplus would make traffic enforcement fairer”?
 - 43.Why do you think this?
 - 44.Do you have ideas for restricting a local authority’s ability to generate surpluses from traffic contraventions?
 - 45.Describe any ideas you have for measures that would help drivers comply with moving traffic, yellow box junction, bus lane or parking restrictions.