

NOVEMBER 2024

Improving Traffic Ticket Outcomes: Behaviorally Designed Notices Increase Timely Responses and Reduce Fines

Traffic citations can cost hundreds of dollars, and unpaid tickets can snowball into greater penalties. We redesigned notices that drivers receive to help them better understand their options and obligations, as well as new ability-to-pay options. This led to more people responding to their tickets on time, and to more income-adjusted fine reductions, saving drivers in Tulare County, California, an additional \$1.3 million in the course of a single year.

The Problem of High Fines and Fees

Fines and fees incurred in the legal system disproportionately penalize people with low incomes, saddling them with hundreds or thousands of dollars in debt they cannot afford. Often, the largest volume of fines and fees stem from traffic citations. Though these may seem like minor problems, people who cannot afford to pay them suffer additional consequences. For example, across the country, people who do not pay their fine or go to court to address their traffic citation are often penalized with new fines, suspended licenses, debt collection, and even arrest warrants.

In California, when we began working on this issue with the Judicial Council of California in 2020, people who didn't respond to their citations could receive a \$300 "civil assessment" penalty, suspended license, and eventual debt collection. New state laws reduced the civil assessment to \$100 in July 2022, and removed all use of license suspension for traffic citations in January 2023. These changes reflect the growing understanding that fines and fees disproportionately penalize some people. New approaches to these infractions can help ensure that laws are upheld without inadvertently setting off a cascade of other problems.

Local and state courts around the country are considering policy reform to address economic inequities, including adopting "ability to pay" programs that reduce financial obligations to be (at least somewhat) more proportional to income. In California, the Judicial Council created MyCitations, a new, innovative ability-to-pay system that allows people with traffic and other infraction-level citations to request a reduced fine through an online portal. This process is convenient and quick for users and efficient for courts.

Highlights

- Costly fines and fees for traffic citations create billions in debt for California's drivers.
- We designed new court notices and envelopes to better highlight how to respond to a traffic citation, including the option to apply to have a fine reduced based on ability to pay.
- Improved court notices increased timely response to traffic citations by 7% and take-up of the online ability-to-pay system by 140%.

However, MyCitations is only useful if drivers know about it. To improve awareness of this new system, as well as timely responses to citation deadlines and avoidance of additional penalties, we redesigned mailed notices for one of the counties (Tulare) already using the new system.

Project Approach

In California, people with traffic citations receive mailed notices from the court, and these notices generally provide the deadline, options for resolution (i.e., paying, correcting, or disputing tickets), and consequences for nonresponse. In Tulare County, we redesigned the first two notices sent: 1) a **courtesy notice** sent immediately after the citation is filed and 30 days before the deadline (see Figure 1), and 2) a **civil assessment notice** sent to people who miss the deadline, notifying them of the additional financial penalty if no action is taken within the next 30 days. (While many counties charged the civil assessment upon missing the original deadline, Tulare County gave people an additional reminder notice and grace period.)

We redesigned both notices to help people better understand their obligations, penalties for nonresponse, and ways to resolve their citation, including financial hardship options such as applying for a fine reduction at MyCitations, requesting payment plans, or requesting an extension to their payment deadline. The goal of this redesign was twofold: 1) to help more eligible people use MyCitations, and 2) to encourage more people to respond by the deadline, whether by better understanding actions to be taken or (by knowing of these financial hardship options) feeling less overwhelmed and therefore less likely to avoid taking any action.

FIGURE 1: COURTESY NOTICE

ORIGINAL VERSION

Superior Court of California, County of Tulare
Traffic Division
 EventID *EventAdd2*
 EventAddCity *EventAddSt* *EventAddZip*

COURTESY NOTICE

Visalia Division 559-730-5000
 Porterville Division 559-782-3700

YOUR DUE DATE IS: *EventDate*
YOUR CASE NUMBER IS: *CaseNumber*
Citation Number: *CaseRefNum*

SPartyFMUpperCase
 SPartyAddress1 *SPartyAddress2*
 SPartyCity *SPartyState* *SPartyZip*

BAIL FORFEITURE

PLEASE READ THIS ENTIRE FORM CAREFULLY

A Notice to Appear charging one or more violations has been filed with this Court. You must resolve this matter by remitting the amount shown on or before the due date otherwise you must schedule a court date. To address your violation. Options including bail forfeiture, proof of correction, and traffic school are stated below if applicable, with instructions on how to complete each process. The due date is **NOT** your court date. If you would like to appear in court please contact the court at the number listed above. If you wish to contest the citation you may appear for arraignment and subsequent court trial without paying the bail forfeiture amount specified below. If you elect this option, please call the court at the numbers listed above **BEFORE** your due date to schedule your court appearance. Please have your case number available when you call. Alternatively, you can appear in person at the Clerk's Office **BEFORE** your due date to schedule your arraignment. At arraignment, the court will advise you of your rights and options and will then enter your plea. If you plead "not guilty" the court will schedule the date for your court trial. If you wish to contest the citation and avoid multiple court appearances, you may choose to pay the bail forfeiture amount specified below **BEFORE** your due date and the court will schedule the matter for an arraignment and a court trial on the same day. The court will mail you notice of your trial date. If you are found not guilty at trial, the bail forfeiture amount will be returned to you. Failure to comply may result in a referral to a collection agency. Only the options listed in the box below are available to you and you only need to pay for **ONE** option.

SIF_B1 1: Bail Forfeiture *SBailForfeitureAmt* *SEND_IF*
 SIF_B2 2: Show Proof of Correction *SProofCorrectAmt* *SEND_IF*
 SIF_B3 3: Attend Traffic School *STrafficSchoolAmt* *SEND_IF*
 SIF_B4 4: Traffic School and Proof *SSchoolProofAmt* *SEND_IF*

As stated above, if you do not wish to contest the citation, you may complete the reverse side of this form and enclose a check or money order made payable to the Tulare County Superior Court for the amount indicated. No further action is necessary. Forfeiture of bail is the same as a conviction. Moving violations of the California Vehicle Code may result in a point being added to your DMV driving record. Conviction of a misdemeanor may result in a restitution fine of no less than \$150.00 and no more than \$1000.00 pursuant to PC 1202.4.

SHOW PROOF OF CORRECTION
 If option 2 or 4 is shown above, you must do all of the following prior to your due date: 1) make the necessary repair or correction; 2) have the correction inspected and signed off by a peace officer; 3) return the signed off citation to the Court with the proper fees. **NOTE:** Correction of registration or driver's license violations may be signed off at any DMV office or you may submit a photocopy to the Court.

Insurance Violations 16028(g): Bail will only be dismissed with proof of liability insurance that was valid at the time the citation was issued. If you did not have insurance at the date and time of your citation but have since obtained insurance you may be eligible for the minimum fine.

TRAFFIC SCHOOL - IF ELIGIBLE
 If options 3 or 4 are shown above, you may be eligible for traffic school. If you attended within the last 18 months, you are not eligible for traffic school. Upon receipt of the signed waiver on the reverse side of this form and the bail amount indicated above which includes the (Court) Traffic School Administrative fee of \$68.00, you will be mailed a traffic school letter which will include the completion due date. The fee paid to the court **does not** include the tuition for the school. If you choose to attend traffic school it is your responsibility to select a school from the list provided to you by the Court. You shall enroll, complete and file the certificate of successful completion by the due date given by the court. No continuance for completion past the initial 90 days shall be granted. Payment in full is required upon requesting Traffic School. **NOTE:** If you are eligible and decide not to attend traffic school your automobile insurance may be adversely affected. One conviction in any 18-month period will be held confidential and not show on your driving record if you complete a traffic violator school program.

FINANCIAL HARDSHIP AND PAYMENT PLANS

At any time before your final payment, if you experience a change in financial circumstances, you may ask the court to consider your ability to pay. When considering your ability to pay, the court may modify your installment plan, allow you to complete community service (if available) instead of paying the total amount due, or suspend all or part of the fine. The court is **not** required to offer you any of the above options and the court may deny your request.

You may schedule an appearance in court for an Arraignment without the deposit of bail. If you are unable to pay in full, the Court does offer payment plans. You must appear at the counter to complete an Agreement to Pay and Forfeit Bail in Installments form. Payments are NOT allowed for Traffic School options.

FAILURE TO APPEAR

Failure to appear in court, or pay the bail by the due date indicated above may result in the following:

- A civil assessment up to \$300.00 plus the amount in **Option 1** will be effective against you as a result of your failure to appear. (PC 1214.1 and 853.7, VC40508.5). The civil assessment is enforceable in the manner of a civil judgment including but not limited to wage garnishment, tax intercept and liens on property. Upon showing good cause, in person or in writing, within 20 days of the imposition of the civil assessment the court may consider reducing or vacating the imposed fee pursuant to CHC 4.105.
- Collection of all money amounts due as described above will be referred to a collection agency designated by the court.
- The DMV may be notified pursuant to Vehicle Code Section 40509 and your license may be suspended. Notification to DMV and release will result in the addition of a \$10 fee. (VC40508.6)

OPTION SELECTION

For payment by mail please make your section below, sign, and return this entire form with your check and/or money order payable to Tulare County Superior Court to the address listed on the top of this form. **DO NOT MAIL CASH**. Write your case number on your payment instrument. It is your responsibility to make sure the payment is actually received by the Court **prior to your due date**, postmarks will not be accepted.

Option 1 I choose to post and forfeit bail to close my case. My bail is enclosed
Option 2 My ticket has correctable violations and my proof of correction is enclosed
Option 3 I choose to attend traffic school if I am eligible. My bail is enclosed. I declare that I am not now attending nor am I scheduled to attend Traffic Violators School. I understand that to attend traffic school I must pay a nonrefundable bail and nonrefundable traffic school administrative fee. I must also pay an additional tuition fee to the school when I attend class. I must return to the Court a certificate of completion of the traffic violator's school on or before the assigned completion date. If I fail to return to the Court the certificate of completion on or before the completion date or if I decide not to attend traffic school the bail will be forfeited and no further proceedings will be held and the violation will be shown on my driving record, also my automobile insurance may be adversely affected.
Option 4 I choose to contest my citation.

- If you wish to contest the citation you may appear for arraignment and subsequent court trial without paying the bail forfeiture amount specified. If you choose not to pay you must contact the Clerk's office at the number listed on the top of this notice to schedule your court appearance.
- If you wish to avoid multiple court appearances you may choose to pay the bail forfeiture amount specified and have your arraignment and court trial on the same day.

Arraignment Court Trial - this is a scheduled court appearance before a judicial officer, where both parties are required to appear and both testimony and evidence is presented. - **FULL BAIL IS REQUIRED AND ENCLOSED**
Written Trial By Declaration - If you were cited for an infraction violation of the Vehicle Code you are eligible for a trial by written declaration that does not require you to appear in court, but does require the completion of appropriate paperwork in advance of the date set by the Court - **FULL BAIL IS REQUIRED AND ENCLOSED**

Upon receipt of the full bail amount and this form, the appropriate paperwork will be mailed to you.

Signature: _____ Date: ____/____/____

Should you have any questions regarding this notice, please call the Traffic Division indicated on the top front page:
 *****THE COURT NOW ACCEPTS ALL MAJOR CREDIT CARDS*****
 YOU MAY ALSO PAY ONLINE AT www.tularecountysuperiorcourt.ca.gov

BEHAVIORALLY REDESIGNED VERSION

Superior Court of California
County of Tulare - Traffic Division
«\$EventAdd1» «\$EventAdd2» «\$EventAddCity»
«\$EventAddSt» «\$EventAddZip»

**Traffic Ticket –
Reminder to Act Now**

ABOUT YOUR CITATION:
DEADLINE: «\$EventDate»
Citation Number: «\$CaseRefNum»
Case Number: «\$CaseNumbers»
Date of this Notice:

Website: www.tulare.courts.ca.gov
Court Phone: (559) 730-5000
Hours: Mon-Fri, 8:30am to 4pm

«\$PartyFMLUpperCase»
«\$PartyAddress1» «\$PartyAddress2»
«\$PartyCity» «\$PartyState» «\$PartyZip»

«\$PartyName2», below are **options** to resolve your traffic ticket, including how to request a **fine reduction or payment plan**. We want to help! To avoid new penalties, **choose ONE of the three options** below and take action **BEFORE** «\$EventDate».

YOUR OPTIONS	YOUR NEXT STEPS – DO ONE OF THE BELOW BEFORE «\$EventDate»
1: REDUCE YOUR FINE OR ASK FOR MORE TIME?	<p>Request a fine reduction or community service with MyCitations: It takes less than 10 minutes online, and your fine may be lowered by 40-70% if you receive benefits (like CalFresh or MediCal) or have a low income or other financial hardship. Apply online at MYCITATIONS.COURTS.CA.GOV <i>No access to internet or want to attend traffic school? Contact the court to help adjust your ticket.</i></p> <p>Ask for a 60-day extension and/or payment plan. Visit or call the court to request. You can ask for a payment plan and/or extension and also apply for a MyCitations reduction.</p> <p>Choose and complete only ONE of the following way(s) to resolve your ticket:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pay your ticket: \$ OR: Show proof of correction and pay a reduced fine: \$. You can give your ticket to any law enforcement officer and show them you fixed your violation. The officer will sign your ticket. Then, by mail or in person, pay and show the court your signed ticket. OR: Request traffic school to avoid points on your record and pay the ticket plus a \$68 court admin fee: \$. Traffic school tuition is a separate fee. Can't pay all now? Contact us to set a court date, where you can ask for more time to pay before attending traffic school. OR: Show proof of correction AND request traffic school: \$ <p>Payment: Online: Click "Payment Portal" on the home page at www.tulare.courts.ca.gov Mail: See reverse side. Call or Visit: Use contact information at top of this page.</p>
2: PAY OR CORRECT YOUR TICKET?	<p>Choose and complete only ONE of the following way(s) to resolve your ticket:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pay your ticket: \$ OR: Show proof of correction and pay a reduced fine: \$. You can give your ticket to any law enforcement officer and show them you fixed your violation. The officer will sign your ticket. Then, by mail or in person, pay and show the court your signed ticket. OR: Request traffic school to avoid points on your record and pay the ticket plus a \$68 court admin fee: \$. Traffic school tuition is a separate fee. Can't pay all now? Contact us to set a court date, where you can ask for more time to pay before attending traffic school. OR: Show proof of correction AND request traffic school: \$ <p>Payment: Online: Click "Payment Portal" on the home page at www.tulare.courts.ca.gov Mail: See reverse side. Call or Visit: Use contact information at top of this page.</p>
3: DISPUTE THIS TICKET?	<p>Contest the ticket before the deadline: You can contest the ticket at court or in writing. If your ticket is dismissed, you do not need to pay. If you are found guilty, you can ask for time to pay. <i>See reverse side for more information for about contesting your ticket.</i></p>

CAUTION! If you don't act by «\$EventDate», you will receive an additional \$300 fine. Don't let that happen! Choose the option above that is best for you!

ANY QUESTIONS? OUR JOB IS TO HELP YOU! Visit www.tulare.courts.ca.gov/divisions/traffic or call us at (559) 730-5000 for more information about your options.

HOW TO: PAY YOUR TICKET

Online: Go to www.tulare.courts.ca.gov and click on Payment Portal box on home page. Pay by credit or debit card. If you have a financial hardship, go to MYCITATIONS.COURTS.CA.GOV.

Mail: See instructions below and send payment with this ENTIRE FORM. Pay by check or money order. NO CASH.

Call or Visit: Use contact information at top of front page. Pay by credit/debit card, or by cash if in person.

Note: Paying this ticket is the same as a guilty conviction and, if for a moving violation, may add points to your license and affect your car insurance. To avoid points, see if traffic school is listed as a way to resolve your ticket, under option #2.

HOW TO: CONTEST YOUR TICKET – IN PERSON OR IN WRITING

IN PERSON (go to court): Contact the court to schedule a court date. You will have two court dates: first an arraignment and then a court trial on a later date. You do not need to pay your ticket to contest it. However, you can request the convenience of having your court dates (arraignment and trial) on the same day. To request same-day court dates, you must pay your ticket now. If you are found not guilty, your ticket amount will be refunded.

At arraignment, your rights and options will be explained. You will not be arrested for this citation or need to pay that same day. If you plead "not guilty," a date will be set for a court trial. To understand the process, see sections *Court Trial* and *Frequently Asked Questions About Infraction Trials* at www.tulare.courts.ca.gov/divisions/traffic.

IN WRITING (use Form TR-205): Pay the full amount due and request a Trial by Declaration. You will need to submit Form TR-205 to the court to contest your ticket. You can get this form by email when you pay online and mark Trial by Declaration, or by mail when you pay over the phone, by mail, or in-person at the court.

HOW TO: RESPOND TO THIS TICKET BY MAIL

Check the appropriate box below. Send payment with this ENTIRE FORM to address listed at top of front page – it must be received **before the due date**. Include your **case number** on your check or money order and make payable to **Tulare County Superior Court**. DO NOT MAIL CASH. Or, use our online Payment Portal with a credit card (instructions above).

Pay the ticket in full: I choose to pay the ticket and close my case. I am including the full amount due.

Show proof of correction: I have fixed my correctable violations. I am including my proof of correction and fees.

Complete traffic school: I choose to attend traffic school if eligible. I am including the full amount due plus a \$68 administrative fee. I understand that I must also pay tuition for traffic school, in addition to the ticket fines.
I will have 90 days to complete traffic school and submit my certificate of completion to the court. If I don't return the certificate of completion or decide not to attend traffic school, the violation will show on my DMV record and my car insurance may be affected.

CONTEST THE TICKET:

IN WRITING: I'm paying the ticket, and the court will send me Form TR-205 to complete and return to contest it.

IN PERSON with same day court dates: I'm paying the ticket, and the court will send me a court date to contest it. I understand I may be found guilty and forfeit any payment if I do not appear at my court date.

Remember, include this entire form in your envelope and write your case number on check or money order!

ANY QUESTIONS? OUR JOB IS TO HELP YOU! Visit www.tulare.courts.ca.gov/divisions/traffic or call us at (559) 730-5000 for more information about your options.

In addition to the notices, we redesigned the **envelopes** to encourage people to open them immediately (see Figure 2). The front includes the message, “The court needs to hear from you. Open today.” The back flap advertises MyCitations to further highlight this option. All court materials were designed with **insights from behavioral science** to avoid overwhelming citation recipients, help them better navigate their options for resolving a citation, and encourage action by the deadline to avoid additional consequences.

FIGURE 2: REDESIGNED ENVELOPE

FRONT



BACK

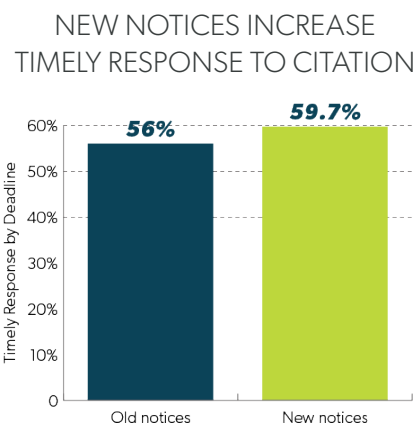


The Superior Court of California County of Tulare launched the new court notices for citations issued on or after June 2022. While we originally intended to launch the updated envelopes at the same time, supplier delays led to a later rollout in April 2023. We received detailed information for all new traffic citations filed with the county court between February 2022 and July 2023, approximately 55,000 citations in total. To measure impacts on timely response and payment, we matched that initial data to follow-up data for each citation after six months. To measure outcomes with the MyCitations system, we collected data on applications submitted through January 16, 2024.

To measure the impact of redesigned court materials, we used a quasi-experimental design approach called regression discontinuity in time, whereby we compared outcomes for citations just before and after the change in redesigned court materials. For the updated notices, our study included citations issued over almost five weeks before and nine weeks after the introduction of the new forms. Our control group consisted of 3,481 citations filed between May 3, 2022, and June 5, 2022, and our treatment group of 2,710 citations issued between June 6, 2022, and July 30, 2022.¹ For the updated envelopes, our control group consisted of 10,701 citations issued from January 1, 2023, to April 2, 2023. Our treatment group consisted of 8,805 citations issued from April 3, 2023, to June 30, 2023.²

Project Results

The redesigned court notices **increased timely response by the deadline by 3.7 percentage points**³ (a 7.1% increase compared to a baseline of 56% of cases). Drivers who received the new courtesy notice were more likely to respond by the initial deadline, thereby avoiding a civil assessment notice and subsequent late penalty that would increase their total amount due. However, among those who did not respond by the deadline and received a Civil Assessment notice, timely response for the second deadline decreased by 4.5 percentage points⁴ (a 12.9% decrease from a base rate of 34.7% of cases sent civil assessment notices). The increase in timely response by the deadline outweighs the decrease in response to the Civil Assessment notice because 6,191 drivers received courtesy notice and 2,604 received the civil assessment notice; however, this suggests that at least some of the increase in timely response for the initial deadline is due to shifting drivers who would have otherwise been responsive to the civil assessment notice to instead respond on time. Overall, **fewer people (27% vs. 29%) incurred a civil assessment penalty** due to the net increase in response by the first and second deadlines.



¹ While our original sample included citations issued over the 12 weeks before and after the new notices launched, both the control and treatment samples were reduced due to the abrupt change in the civil assessment penalty from \$300 to \$100 on July 1, 2022. This allowed us to compare citations where the courtesy notice said \$300 and the civil assessment notice said \$100, whereas all before and after this time period would have differing amounts listed

² This sample unintentionally coincided with a second change in civil assessment penalty from \$100 to \$0 on March 31, 2023.

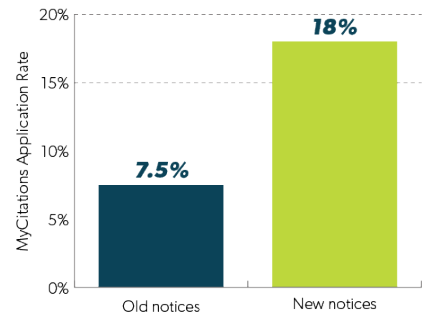
³ Statistically significant at the 1% level ($p > 0.01$).

⁴ Statistically significant at the 5% level ($p > 0.05$).

MyCitations applications increased by 10.5 percentage points⁵

(a 140% increase from base rate of 7.5% of cases) for drivers who received the new court notices. Specifically, 260 drivers receiving the old notices applied to MyCitations and saved a total of \$82,660 in ability-to-pay adjustments. Among the group receiving the new notices, 472 drivers applied and received \$104,179 in total adjustments. The total savings for drivers increased with more applications, while the average savings decreased. This is because as more people used MyCitations, the average fine amount per applicant decreased (from \$535 in the old notices group to \$395 in the new notices group), while the average original fine amount due in the new (\$394) and old (\$418) notices groups overall were largely similar. Additionally, both the MyCitations approval rates (97% compared to 95%) and adjustment rates (58% vs. 62%) were comparable before and after the notices were redesigned.

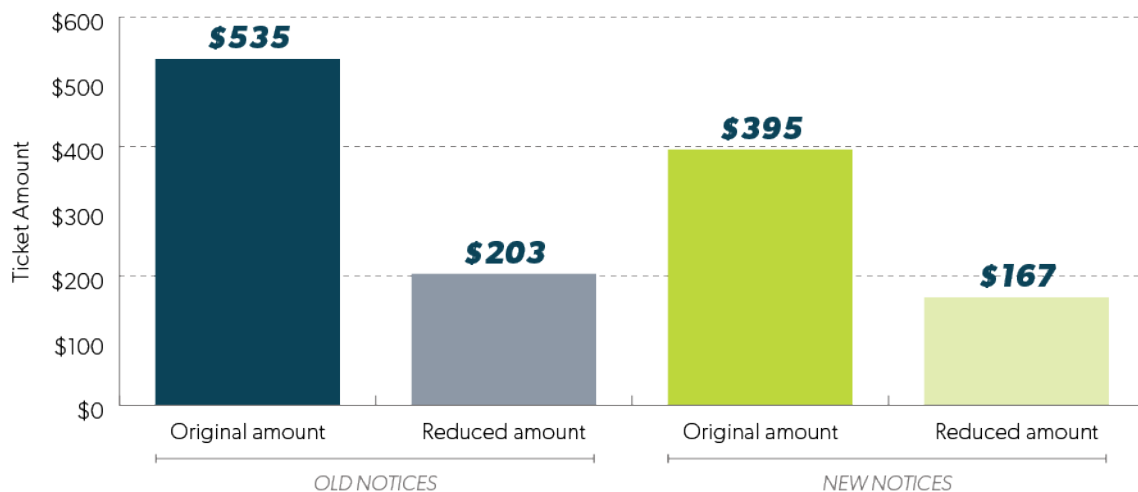
NEW NOTICES INCREASE USE OF MYCITATIONS



Overall, the adjusted average amount due for approved MyCitations applicants was \$203 (down from \$535) for the old notices group and \$167 (down from \$395) for the new notices group.⁶

From July 1, 2022, to June 30, 2023, the 7,232 drivers who successfully applied to MyCitations saved an average of \$302.70 each. Since the updated court notices increased applications by an additional 10.5 percentage points, this means that the new notices generated approximately **4,219 additional applications to MyCitations**, totaling \$1.3 million in **new** savings.

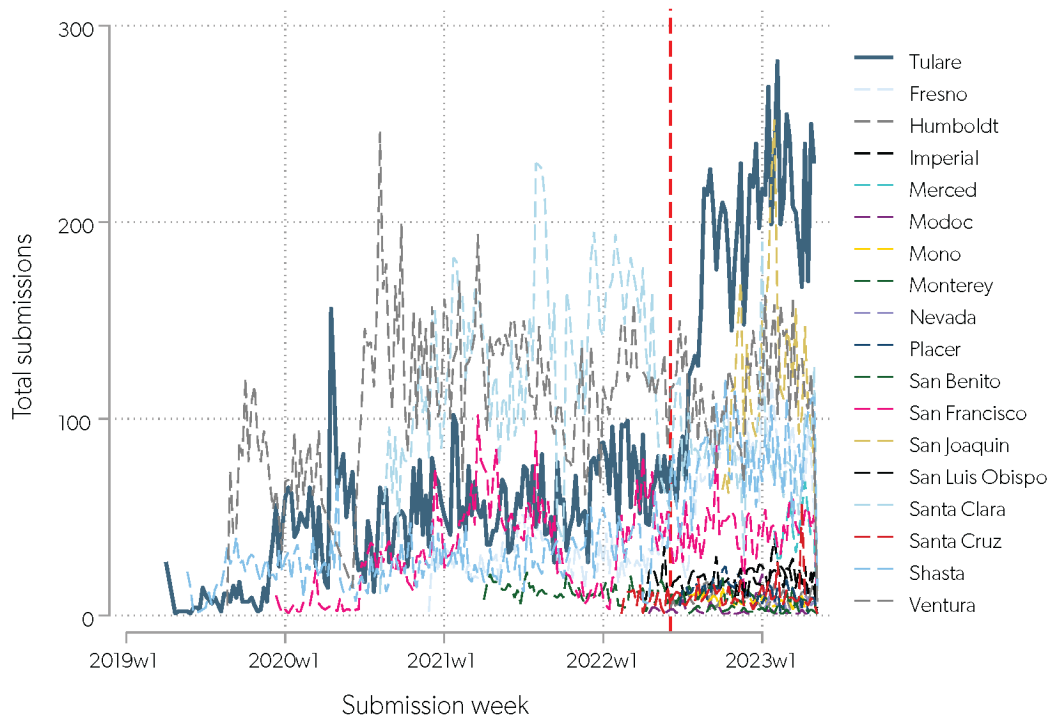
FINE REDUCTIONS FOR MYCITATIONS APPLICANTS



⁵ Statistically significant at the 1% level (p>0.01).

⁶ While the data is able to track ability-to-pay adjustments via MyCitations, it cannot track ability-to-pay adjustments made in court. Therefore, we are unable to determine what portion, if any, of the new MyCitations applications are new adjustments that would not have otherwise occurred versus adjustments that are now more convenient and less costly (time, travel) for people to request.

FIGURE 3: APPLICATION SUBMISSIONS TO MYCITATIONS ACROSS PARTICIPATING COUNTIES
Red vertical dotted line = date of change from old to new notices in Tulare County



While drivers saved more and responded faster on average, we did not find a significant effect on whether drivers made any payment (in part, in full, or as a proportion of the total amount due) to their citation amount in response to either the redesigned notices or envelopes. However, these results are measured six months after the date of citation (while MyCitations applications continue over time). Therefore, we are unable to observe the long-run ticket resolution for drivers who applied to MyCitations (since ticket resolution takes longer for drivers who apply to MyCitations), so these payment outcomes may be underestimated.

For the updated envelopes, we found a 2.4 percentage point increase in response to the civil assessment notice and a 1.3 percentage point increase in MyCitations applications. However, the envelopes were not only rolled out *in addition* to the already improved notices, they were also implemented *concurrently* with a policy change removing the civil assessment penalty entirely in Tulare (from \$100 to \$0). This unplanned overlap with the penalty removal makes it impossible to distinguish the effects of the envelope from the policy change (whose effects may be opposite), and therefore we are unable to draw clear conclusions about the impact of the envelopes from this study.

For all the above outcomes, the redesigned court materials have similar impact across drivers of different income groups (based on census tract data for zip codes). Additionally, the effects are similar regardless of fine amount. This suggests that improving court materials helps all drivers, while even more can be done to address the economic burden of citations for drivers with lower incomes.

Project Takeaway

Ticketed drivers are responsive to clearer communication about how to respond to their traffic citations, and we see a substantial desire to participate in ability-to-pay adjustment programs. In Tulare County, drivers ticketed between July 1, 2022, and June 30, 2023, saved \$2.2 million thanks to MyCitations reductions.⁷

To estimate how much MyCitations could save drivers across California, we assume that drivers across California would apply to MyCitations (and be approved) at the same rate. Between July 1, 2022, and June 30, 2023, California drivers received 2,621,465 traffic and infraction tickets, which would be the equivalent of 487,200 approved MyCitations applications across California. Assuming the same average adjustment as Tulare citations received in that period (\$302.70), this would **translate to over \$147 million in total savings to California drivers over one year.**⁸ While this estimate makes strong assumptions about how representative Tulare is for the state of California in terms of eligibility for MyCitations income-based adjustments, this gives us a sense of scale for total annual savings across the state.

Beyond Tulare County, our results suggest that improving the clarity of citation notices, making the consequences of inaction explicit, and emphasizing the opportunity for fine reductions can increase response rates and improve take-up of fine reduction systems.

⁷ From July 1, 2022, to June 30, 2023, there were 7,232 approved MyCitations applications with average adjustments of \$302.69 per citation.

⁸ This assumes 18.6% of cited drivers successfully applied to MyCitations and received an average adjustment amount of \$302.69.