HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

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House Resolution 269 - Racial Profiling

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House Judiciary Committee
Subcommittee on Crime and Corrections

Hearing Room No. 1
Ground Floor, North Office Building
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Monday, Oct

- 9:05 a.m.

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BEFORE:

Honorable Lita Indzel Cohen, Majority Chairperson Honorable Harold James, Minority Chairperson Honorable Kathy Manderino Honorable LeAnna Washington

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1 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Good morning. I'd like to 2 call the, this hearing to order. We are the Pennsylvania 3 House of Representatives members of the Judiciary Committee, the Subcommittee on Crime and Corrections 4 hearing on House Resolution 269 dealing with racial 5 6 profiling. My name is Lita Cohen, and I am the Chair of 7 the Subcommittee on Crime and Corrections from the Judiciary Committee of the Pennsylvania House of I'd like to welcome everyone and just 10 Representatives. make a brief opening statement detailing the rules of the 11 12 committee and how we will proceed. This is a fact-finding investigation only. 13 14 We will be taking testimony. We, members of the committee -- and we will be joined later by other members 15 of the committee -- will not be expressing our opinions. 16 We will be taking testimony from the people scheduled to 17 make presentations to us this morning. 18 19 If someone -- and I will make this announcement at the end -- if someone has something to say, 20 21 we are more than happy to take written statements and make them part of the record if you are not scheduled to make a 22 23 presentation today. House Resolution 269 deals with racial 24 25 profiling. Obviously, since September 11 of this year,

much has changed within our Commonwealth, both for the good and the bad. I think because of September 11, the mission of this Subcommittee and the mission of House Resolution 269 has changed somewhat because what we are discovering now is we find that there is racial profiling all over. Particularly, it has been alleged among citizens against citizens.

I wanted to just read to you briefly a portion of an article from Thomas Friedman from the New York Times who attended a PTA meeting in Silver Spring, Maryland. And he said that before the teachers were introduced, the school's choir and orchestra, a Noah's Ark of black, Hispanic, Asian, and white kids, led everyone in God Bless America. There was something about the way those kids sang together and the earnest, if not always melodious, way the school orchestra pounded out the National Anthem that was both moving and soothing. As I took in the scene, it occurred to me how much the Islamic terrorists who just hit America do not understand about America.

He goes on. But he concludes by saying about a society that will dig until it has found everybody in the World Trade Center rubble because at some level it believes every individual is created in the image of God, a society that raises 600 million for the victims in 2 weeks.

And he asks, Is a godless spirit in this

2 They think our strength lies only in the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the twin pillars of our wealth and power 3 and if they can just knock them down, we'll start to fault as if we, like them, have only one truth, one power center. 5 Actually, our strength lies in the slightly dilapidated gym 6 of Eastern Middle School on parent/teacher night and 7 thousands of such schools across the land. That is where you'll find the spirit that built the twin tours and can 9 build them over again any time we please. So in these 10 troubled times, if you want to feel reassured about how 11 strong this country is or what we're fighting to preserve, 12 13 just attend a PTA meeting. It's all there hiding in plain sight. 14 On that basis, I will introduce the Honorable 15 16 Harold James, the Subcommittee Chair. I'd also like to 17 introduce some staff: Dana Alwine, who is counsel to the committee, Majority; and Richard Scott, who is counsel to 18 the Minority Chair. The Subcommittee Chair, the Minority 19 20 Chair, Representative James.

Guess again. These terrorists so misread America.

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REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Thank you, Madam Chair.

I appreciate the opportunity. And I want to welcome and thank everyone for attending this early Monday morning.

Okay. I'm first going to start with my remarks. Good morning. And before I begin, I'd just like to take a brief

moment to express my sympathy and support to the
individuals, friends, and families of the victims of the
attacks on September 11th. My thoughts and prayers are
with them.

One of the outcomes of September 11th is that life as we know it will never be the same. It is also good to see the increased pride and patriotism across this country. We all must work to become united as one United States.

However, one of the other outcomes has been an increase in the profiling of Arab Americans and those who practice the Muslim faith. This is disturbing. And I would like to caution Pennsylvanians from venting their anger and frustration on US citizens, regardless of their ethnic origin or religion.

Our history shows us that during past crises, venting our anger on fellow citizens of a particular ethnic origin only serves our true foes and ultimately results in shame for our nation as a whole. I do not want to see the effects of last month's terrible events to change the civil liberties of any citizen.

Law enforcement must be vigilant of hate groups who may attempt to take advantage of this situation to advance their causes. This new type of profiling is just another reason for us lawmakers to ensure that

Pennsylvania works to prevent racial profiling.

However, today I would like to address my remarks to the issue of racial profiling as it existed prior to September 11 and the need for Pennsylvania to take up this issue and study the prevalence of racial profiling in the Commonwealth as House Resolution 269 directs.

Racial profiling is a practice where minorities -- often African-Americans and Latinos -- are targeted by law enforcement officers -- usually for routine traffic stops -- because they fit a race-based profile.

As a retired Philadelphia police officer, I'm not condemning our law enforcement officers. On the contrary, I seek to make law enforcement stronger, better, and more effective. The majority of police officers are hard working and dedicated. They perform a necessary and dangerous job.

But the perception of racial profiling has created distrust of the police. Seventy-five percent of African-Americans believe that racial profiling occurs frequently, and half of white Americans agree that it is commonplace. These poll results are astonishing.

And if that many people believe racial profiling occurs, then the issue must be addressed. The mere perception can cause as much damage as a real occurrence. As a result, 20 states have responded by

adopting laws to address racial profiling by law enforcement. Pennsylvania is not one of them; although, I have introduced several pieces of legislation in efforts to change that statistic.

President Clinton first began studying this issue, and even President Bush has called racial profiling wrong in America. Legislation has been introduced at the federal level to end racial profiling. Some bills would require the states to ban racial profiling or risk losing up to 10 percent of federal highway funds, while other measures would require states to adopt racial profiling policies in order to receive certain federal grants.

Connecticut and North Carolina were the first 2 states to do something about racial profiling. In 1999, they required that law enforcement collect and record information regarding traffic stops. Four states, California, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and Tennessee, prohibit racial profiling by law enforcement. Tennessee also requires data collection of traffic stops.

The other 14 states establish policies against racial profiling and/or require data collection of stops.

Those states are Kansas, Massachusetts, Missouri, Rhode
Island, Washington, Colorado, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland,
Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, and Texas.

Additionally, while Arizona has no law on the

books regarding racial profiling, in May, Arizona's attorney general issued guidelines to aid law enforcement agencies in combatting racial profiling. And as I mentioned earlier, Pennsylvania has not adopted any laws or policies relating to racial profiling; although, it has agreed to look into the issue. And this is the reason we're all here today.

I have introduced 5 bills similar to laws adopted by other states that would address this issue, and all 5 have the support of Pennsylvania's Chapter of American Civil Liberties Union. House Bill 998 would require the State Attorney General to conduct a study of all traffic stops to determine if and how prevalent racial profiling exists in the Commonwealth.

The study would be conducted in Philadelphia,
Pittsburgh, Erie, Allentown, Harrisburg, Altoona, and 5
other municipalities chosen based on the different
geographic regions and population sizes of the state.
House Bill 999 would make racial profiling illegal and give
the Attorney General authority to investigate and prosecute
such offenses.

House Bill 1000 would require police to maintain records of all stops using the same format. House Bill 1001 would mandate training for State Police, while House Bill 1002 would require training for municipal police

officers. Proper training and adequate discipline of law enforcement officers can prevent racial profiling, restore the public trust, and ensure the protection of every resident.

And as many of you know, racial profiling is an issue I've been working on for a number of years along with the Pennsylvania Legislative Black Caucus and our current Chair, Representative LeAnna Washington. It is my hope that today's hearing is the start of continuing action at the state level to eliminate the practice of racial profiling in Pennsylvania and to bring relief to those who have been victims of it. Thank you, Madam Chair.

The next person, or first person to appear before us will be Lieutenant Colonel Hawthorne Conley, Pennsylvania State Police, Deputy Commissioner of Administration. Welcome, sir. I believe we have a copy of your testimony. You may either read from it or just speak, if you will, because we do have the copy and we can read, whatever is your prerogative to do.

LT. COLONEL CONLEY: Thank you, Madam Chair.

I would like to read from it.

CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Fine. Proceed any time you're ready. Oh, I'm sorry. We also have Dr. Robin Shepard Engel.

1 LT. COLONEL CONLEY: That's correct. CHAIRPERSON COHEN: I believe you're 2 3 testifying together? 4 CAPTAIN MILLER: She'll be following us. 5 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Oh, okay. That's fine. You may proceed, sir. 6 7 LT. COLONEL CONLEY: Good morning, Madam 8 Chair, Minority Chairman James, Honorable members of the House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Crime and Corrections. I am Lieutenant Colonel Hawthorne N. Conley, 10 Deputy Commissioner of Administration for the Pennsylvania 11 State Police. 12 13 On behalf of Colonel Paul J. Evanko, Commissioner of the State Police, I would like to thank you 14 for providing the State Police with an opportunity to 15 16 present testimony before your committee today on House Resolution 269 and the issue of racial profiling. 17 On December 14th, 1999, Colonel Paul J. Evanko 18 testified before this committee regarding the policies and 19 procedures of the law enforcement community within the 20 Commonwealth with respect to traffic stops and the issue of 21 22 racial profiling. At that hearing, Colonel Evanko made several 23 recommendations regarding the need to collect race/gender 24 data for each police/citizen contact. Since that time, the 25

Pennsylvania State Police has taken a number of steps in an effort to ensure that all police actions initiated by members of the Pennsylvania State Police continue to comply with the law and all constitutional protections afforded to citizens of the United States.

Following up on one of the recommendations, following up on one of the Commissioner's recommendations, the Department contacted the Administrative Office of the Pennsylvania Courts, the AOPC. The AOPC is responsible for the promulgation of all traffic citation forms used by law enforcement.

The Department recommended that the AOPC amend the current traffic citation form to include a block to capture the race and ethnicity of the operator of a motor vehicle. Because complete consensus within the law enforcement community could not be reached regarding the amendment to the traffic citation at that time, the AOPC decided not to move forward with changing the traffic citation.

We continue to remain open to working with the AOPC and other law enforcement agencies in this regard. In addition, the Department is currently exploring ways in which new technology may provide a means by which this information could be recorded by the members of the Pennsylvania State Police through the use of automation.

Drawing from the Commissioner's prior testimony, the Department also convened an internal committee to fully examine all issues related to racial profiling. The committee reviewed existing Department policies and procedures in addition to identifying the type of information and means by which this information could be collected.

The committee then recommended that the Department identify an independent external research group to conduct a study that would include the collection and analysis of police/citizen contact data analyzed against appropriate population-specific base rates to allow for policy, administrative, and operational recommendations.

As a result of this search, the Department has recently been approved by the Department of General Services to enter into a sole source contract with Dr. Robin Shepard Engle of the Pennsylvania State University to undertake this task.

Dr. Engle is a highly respected criminal justice researcher who is an affiliate with the Population Research Institute, PRI, at the Pennsylvania State University. The Pennsylvania State University is home to a PRI, 1 of only 13 centers in the country. The Department is currently working to finalize the contract terms with Dr. Engle through the Department of General Services.

In his previous testimony, the Commissioner also identified the need to amend Pennsylvania's Electronic Surveillance Act to permit the use of motor vehicle video/audio recorders by police officers of Pennsylvania. The Department has worked closely with the members of the General Assembly to draft this legislation.

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Specifically, we have worked with Senator

James Gerlach and Representative David Mayernik to draft

legislation that would clearly permit law enforcement

officers to record audio in addition to video at the scene

of a traffic stop or other law enforcement encounter in a

public place.

This combination of video and audiotape will not only provide an invaluable investigative tool for law enforcement, but it will also ensure that all troopers are properly exercising their informed discretion in accordance with the law and departmental regulations when interacting with the public in an official capacity.

The New Jersey State Police and Ohio Highway
Patrol have recently equipped all patrol vehicles with
mobile video recorders, MVRs. And in each case, the
program has received tremendous support from officers and
members of the community.

The International Association of Chiefs of
Police has recently called for mobile video recorders to be

placed in all police vehicles to protect against the practice of racial profiling. Senate Bill 369 introduced 2 by Senator Gerlach and House Bill 1933 introduced by 3 Representative Mayernik are supported by the Pennsylvania State Police, the Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police 5 Association, the Pennsylvania District Attorneys Association, the Fraternal Order of Police, the 7 Pennsylvania State Troopers Association. We urge your support in passing this vital 9 10 legislation to provide Pennsylvania law enforcement officers with the tools necessary to deliver both efficient 11 law enforcement services and a sense of comfort for 12 community members who perceive that racial profiling may be 13 a problem in their communities. 14 The Pennsylvania State Police continues to 15 emphasize, through training and management directives, that 16 17 we will not condone or tolerate the use of racial profiling 18 or any other type of bias-based policing. An examination of our internal affairs complaints over the last 5 calendar 19 20 years indicates that the Department has received a total of 20 complaints of racial profiling over that period of time 21 or approximately 4 complaints per year. 22

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only be based upon observed behavior and not on the 1 appearance of the individual being interacted with. 3 To quote a portion of the Pennsylvania State Police call of honor, quote, It is my duty to obey the law and to enforce it without any consideration of class, 5 color, creed, or condition, unquote. We will remain 6 steadfast in our commitment to this creed and to the premise that all individuals should be treated equally 8 9 under the law. Thank you again for providing me with the 10 opportunity to address this committee. I am now prepared 11 12 to answer any questions you may have. Thank you, Colonel Conley. CHAIRPERSON COHEN: 13 14 We appreciate your testimony. Before we proceed, I'd like to introduce Representative Kathy Manderino from 15 Philadelphia, who has joined us this morning. Thank you. 16 I just have one quick question. 17 On page 6, you talked about exercising 18 19 training and management directives, et cetera. And then I 20 think as a compliment to the State Police, you've said over the last 5 calendar years, there have been only 20 21 complaints. You said it should be noted that none of these 22 complaints has been sustained. What does that mean? 23

LT. COLONEL CONLEY: By the adjudicator of the

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Sustained by whom?

1 complaint itself, a member of the Pennsylvania State 2 Police, a supervisor in that individual's chain of command. 3 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: I see. Thank you. 4 Representative James, do you have any questions? REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: 5 Yes. Thank you, Madam And thank you for testifying. And I do remember 6 Chair. the hearings in December of '99 when at that time the 8 Police Commissioner said that they was going to make that request. And I'm glad that you did bring that out that 10 you, that you tried. What I can't understand is what happened. 11 12 other words, you said that -- what's it called? -- APOC or, 13 that AOPC, that you made the request, you the State Police, you made the request for the agency to change something and 14 15 they didn't do it because they couldn't agree with 16 somebody? The problem here was the 17 LT. COLONEL CONLEY: 18 AOPC makes the traffic citation form. We, the Pennsylvania 19 State Police, we actually produce our own. However, there was an attempt to have all agencies, all police agencies 20 21 within the Commonwealth use the same form. And we could 22 not come to a consensus on how to put that form together. 23 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: I see. Well, does that 24 stop you from changing your form even though the other law enforcement didn't agree? 25

1 LT. COLONEL CONLEY: No, it does not. 2 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Okav. So is it 3 possible that you can proceed to go ahead and at least do 4 vours? 5 LT. COLONEL JAMES: That's a possibility. 6 CAPTAIN MILLER: Representative, one of the 7 things that we, that we're using --8 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Just for the record, could 9 you please introduce yourself? We know who you are but --10 CAPTAIN MILLER: Captain Jeffrey B. Miller. 11 Just to support what Colonel Conley just said, one of the 12 other things we're looking at -- and I think at the time 13 those meetings were held with the AOPC in an attempt to get 14 a unified traffic citation form, there was some concern by other law enforcement groups at that time early on in the 15 16 process that they weren't sure of, you know, how is this thing going to play out. 17 18 So number one, they weren't sure about what 19 data to gather; and they didn't really know how to compare 20 that data to interpret it properly. And that's one of the 21 things that I think Dr. Engle is going to touch on this 22 morning. 23 But secondly, it's really not appropriate that 24 we just modify a traffic citation. What we'd like to do is 25 holistically look at the citizen contacts that we have.

that would include traffic citations, written warnings, or 1 any time that we interact with a member of the community 3 that is initiated by some sort of police action. So we're looking at maybe devising a form in-house that will capture across the board that type of 5 data rather than relying on only one measurement which would be faulty when you try to apply that principle across 7 the board. REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Well, that's correct 9 because we don't want to lose the focus and say that we 10 only want you to do this when you make a traffic stop. 11 12 should be in all contacts because that's exactly what the Philadelphia police do, in all contacts, whether it's 13 14 pedestrian warnings. And I think, and as you indicate, that that 15 would be a greater measure of doing that. So I want to 16 commend you if you're looking in that view of trying to 17 accomplish that. That brings me to another bill that I've 18 introduced which is to try to have the similar type form 19 used by all police officers. 20 Have you all looked at the Philadelphia 21 7548-A, which is the new form that they adopted? 22 LT. COLONEL CONLEY: I have not seen that 23 24 form.

I haven't either, sir.

CAPTAIN MILLER:

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Okay. Well, that's the REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: 1 2 form. And it's in the bill. I don't know if I have it 3 attached to the bill. But I just hope that you would look at that because with theirs, they have changed it -- I think maybe 2 years now, at least a year -- they've changed 5 the form where it would include all that kind of information. 7 And that's -- and my bill would suggest that 8 if all law enforcement would adopt at least something 9 10 similar to that, it would encompass what you just described. 11 12 CAPTAIN MILLER: Right. And we're going to also look at all of the forms of the contiquous states like 13 New Jersey State Police, Ohio Highway Patrol, and other 14 15 agencies --REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: New Jersey State 16 Police, though, watch them. 17 18 CAPTAIN MILLER: I'm sorry? REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: I said watch that New 19 Jersey State Police. 20 CAPTAIN MILLER: Well, no. I mean just the 21 format because obviously they're under the most stringent 22 23 quidelines because they're under a federal consent decree. 24 So looking at that as the max that we would require to collect, that would give us a good baseline to look at in 25

addition to what some other departments are doing.

And the Colonel has asked that Dr. Engle provide us with different types of forms and also different means by which we can scan those forms. And we're hoping that with the advent of some of the technology initiatives that we have, that we're going to be able to collect this data without having to be too cumbersome, you know, with regard to collecting it and then collating it, et cetera.

So if we can scan it, that would be even easier so we can just fill it out quickly. It can be scanned, and the data can be used.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Okay. And another point you -- and I think the Chair commended you on that also -- is the fact that you emphasized the training and management directives that you're going to implement or have implemented.

One of the other bills I introduced was that we have, conduct some kind of training as it relates to sensitivity, cultural diversity, and racial profiling in terms of our training with the State Police. So you're amenable to do that?

LT. COLONEL CONLEY: Absolutely,

Representative James. And actually, that's ongoing within

our organization, cultural diversity training and the needs

and policy of the agency. Recently, we conducted a survey.

And I had an opportunity to look at the rough draft of that 1 survey. And one of the questions that indicated were 3 asked our people, are they aware of the Pennsylvania State Police policy on racial profiling? And 80 percent of the 5 individuals responded that they were aware of our policy. 6 7 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Do you have a copy of that policy? Can we have it for the committee? 8 LT. COLONEL CONLEY: I'll get you a copy. 9 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: As long as it's not 10 security breaching or anything like that. All right. 11 Thank you. 12 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Would you please send it 13 to the Chair so we can circulate it. Thank you. 14 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Thank you. Thank you, 15 Madam Chair. 16 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: I'd like to welcome 17 Representative LeAnna Washington from Philadelphia. 18 19 have time for a short question from Representative Manderino. 20 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Just quickly 21 because I am confused about the AOPC's responsibility for 22 promulgating all traffic citation forms used by law 23 enforcement, which led me to believe in your initial 24 25 testimony that there was one form used by everybody and

AOPC promulgates it. 1 But then in answer to a question, it sounded 2 3 like you have your own form. Can you clarify that for me? 4 LT. COLONEL CONLEY: It's the same form; however, we produce it ourselves. 5 6 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: But it has to be 7 approved by them? LT. COLONEL CONLEY: That's correct. 8 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Okay. Thank you. 9 Just a comment to Representative James. I share your 10 I actually thought from testimony of the 11 12 Commissioner during appropriations this last time that we were moving right along with this happening. 13 And so I am disappointed that it's not. 14 And T am volunteering, if you need me, to be a part of an 15 emissary to the AOPC to see if we can rectify the 16 situation. 17 18 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Representative 19 Manderino. Gentlemen, thank you. Colonel Conley, Captain Miller, we appreciate you appearing before us this morning. 20 Thank you. 21 22 LT. COLONEL CONLEY: Thank you very much. 23 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: The next person to make a presentation to us is Dr. Robin Shepard Engle, Assistant 24 25 Professor, Crime, Law, and Justice from Pennsylvania State

University, University Park, Pennsylvania. Dr. Engle, thank you for joining us.

And as I said to Colonel Conley, you may read from your written testimony or just make a presentation to us, whichever you prefer. Your written testimony is part of the record.

DR. ENGLE: Thank you. I prefer to read it.

CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you. You may

proceed at any time.

DR. ENGLE: Thank you. Good morning. My name is Dr. Robin Engle. And I am an Assistant Professor of Crime, Law, and Justice and a research associate with the Population Research Institute at the Pennsylvania State University.

I am pleased to present testimony before your committee on House Resolution 269 and the issue of racial profiling. Attached to my written testimony is a copy of my curriculum vitae where I have documented my research in the area of policing and criminal justice more generally.

Despite the decline in the crime rate over the last decade, there remains a persistent level of mistrust and tension between citizens and police. These tensions are particularly high for minority segments of the population who feel that they unduly receive a disproportionate amount of attention from police.

The perception of racial profiling has received national attention undermining police departments' attempts to restore and rebuild trust with their constituents. Indeed, one of the most salient public policy issues currently facing police administrators involves differential patterns of police/citizen contact based on citizens' race and ethnicity.

I have recently conducted analyses examining data collected for the Police/Public Contact Survey by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The Police/Public Contact Survey is a national survey conducted in 1999 of US residents regarding their most recent contact with police.

My research shows that nationwide, citizens reported disproportionate outcomes by race after being stopped by police officers while driving a motor vehicle. Specifically, after statistically controlling for other factors, including the initial reason for the stop, evidence available, and a host of other legal and extralegal factors, African-Americans and Hispanics were significantly more likely to receive a citation compared to whites.

African-Americans were also significantly more likely to report being arrested, having physical force threatened or actually used against them, and having their individual persons or vehicles searched by police compared

to white respondents.

In addition, 31.3 percent of African-Americans indicated that they perceived that the initial stop made by police was illegitimate or that the police behaved improperly during the stop compared to only 17 percent of whites and 21 1/2 percent of Hispanic citizens. These figures represent statistically significant differences among groups.

The perception that officers make discretionary decisions based on citizens' race and ethnicity have led to widespread criticism and political crises at the local, state, and national level. The rising tension between officers and citizens is extremely important because the public's perception of legitimacy is a key precondition for the effectiveness of authorities.

Citizens' global perceptions of the police and justice more generally are most strongly influenced through personal contacts with police officers. Importantly, citizen contact with the police is most likely to occur via traffic stops.

The Police/Public Contact Survey found that of the 21 US residents who had a contact with police in the previous year, over half, 52 percent, of these occurred during traffic stops. As a result, many police agencies have begun gathering demographic information on

police/citizen contacts, particularly during traffic stops.

Some police departments have voluntarily implemented data collection strategies, while other local and state agencies were mandated by the courts or by legislative statute to comply with data collection efforts.

A survey of State Police conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics in 1999 reported that 9 of the 49 State Police agencies required officers to collect demographic information; for example, sex, race, and ethnicity, of citizens for all traffic stops and that 31 state agencies required officers to collect this information for citizens who received traffic-related citations.

Attached to my written testimony is a table that summarizes the main findings of 13 of the most prominent police/citizen data collection efforts to date. In line with this trend, the Pennsylvania State Police have recently entered into contract negotiations with myself and others affiliated with the Population Research Institute at the Pennsylvania State University to conduct an independent study of police/citizen contacts.

The methodological and empirical issues involved in such a data collection effort are numerous and complex. However, many of the problems associated with data collection and interpretation can be avoided with a

carefully developed research strategy.

Our research plan for collecting

police/citizen contact data for the State Police represents

3 components: First, data collection of the police/citizen

contacts; second, data collection of appropriate base

rates; and third, analyses of these data sources that

produce legitimate reports with consistent policy

recommendations.

methodological and statistical issues must be considered. In the interest of time, I will address only one of these issues, the development of appropriate base rates, in my testimony before this subcommittee. However, I will be happy to answer any questions you may have regarding the other components of our research methodology.

Researchers have struggled with the issues surrounding the proper base rates; that is, the expected rate of stops of black drivers assuming no racial prejudice by police officers whatsoever, and whether or not detected differences reflect racial discrimination by police officers.

Comparisons made with the data collected are often inappropriate and easily misinterpreted by researchers, police administrators, and the public. The controversy over this issue is overwhelmed by the

unsupported assumption that all race-based decision-making by police officers is motivated by individual police officer racial prejudice.

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Many of the summaries and conclusions in previous reports describing racial profiling data are inappropriate and inaccurate descriptions of the data. The problem with interpretation is that the mere presence of disparity in the aggregate stops does not in itself demonstrate racial prejudice.

Thus, researchers grapple with the issue of the appropriate base rate; that is, once researchers have determined how often officers stop, question, warn, search, cite, and arrest nonwhite suspects, they must create ratios or comparisons to some other population.

It is this comparison that is problematic for researchers. Should these rates be created by comparing the percent of suspects stopped by police who are nonwhite to the percent of nonwhite citizens in the population, the percent of nonwhite drivers, the percent of nonwhite drivers who engage in traffic offenses or other illegal behavior, or some other denominator?

While data interpretation is sometimes subjective, it can gain considerable legitimacy by utilizing the appropriate statistical comparisons.

Implementing research designs that capture racial

differences in driving behavior is more difficult than using aggregate level population figures, which are readily available from the Census Bureau.

Working with specialists from the geographic information systems core within the Population Research Institute, our research team will develop more specialized demographically-based information to establish more reliable and valid base comparisons.

Nevertheless, population figures alone do not fully address who is actually using the roadways and, more importantly, who is violating traffic and other laws on the roadways. Few studies have examined differences in law-violating driving behavior based on race or ethnicity.

Some national transportation and travel surveys have indicated racial differences do exist for driving frequency. For example, findings from the Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey administered by the Federal Highway Administration and studies conducted by the Bureau of Transportation suggest that minorities are more likely than whites to use public transportation rather than personal vehicles as their primary means of transportation.

In addition, African-Americans were considerably more likely to live in households where a vehicle, or without a vehicle and significantly less likely

than both whites and Hispanics to have a driver's license.

These findings suggest that African-Americans may be less

likely than whites to be driving overall. Thus, racial

disparity in traffic dispositions may be more serious than

it appears.

The question of whether racial groups differ in their rate and degree of driving frequency and law-violating driving behavior is an important race-neutral explanation of disparity that researchers need to fully examine.

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Dr. Lamberth from Temple University initiated the first efforts to establish a base rate of law-violating driving behavior in separate studies in New Jersey and Maryland. Described as a rolling survey, observers rode in cars that were moving at 5 miles per hour over the speed limit in New Jersey and exactly at the speed limit in Maryland.

The observers counted the cars that passed them and the cars that they passed, also recording the race of the driver in each vehicle. Using this technique, Dr. Lamberth reported that whites and African-Americans drove indistinguishably.

As other experts have noted, however, on major highways, most drivers speed to some degree or another. In fact, Dr. Lamberth's study reported that 98 percent of

drivers in New Jersey and 93 percent of drivers in Maryland were traffic violators using these criteria. Thus, the 3 degree of law-violating behavior measured in these 2 studies likely did not capture all motorists' real risk of being stopped.

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Research in progress in North Carolina conducted by Dr. Matthew Zingraff and his colleagues at the North Carolina State University improves upon Dr. Lamberth's technique by better estimating the degree and severity to which drivers violate the speed limit.

Their research efforts represent the leading example to date of the most accurate base rates of law-violating driving behavior. Dr. Zingraff has agreed to serve as a consultant on our proposed research project with the Pennsylvania State Police.

Thus, the best available methodologies for determining base rate information will be utilized in our study. These and other important methodological issues will be thoroughly considered by our research team prior to our data collection and interpretation.

In summary, many of the problems with the interpretation of empirical data are partially due to data collection efforts that have not addressed why officers engage in decision-making based on citizens' race.

25 Researchers have simply counted things; that is, they have counted the number of traffic stops, citations, and searches conducted by police against white and nonwhite suspects.

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Instead, research must be conducted under the larger theoretical context of explaining police behavior.

Therefore, our objective for the research to be provided to the Pennsylvania State Police is to gather reliable and valid police/citizen contact data analyzed against appropriate base rates to enable specific policy recommendations.

These recommendations will be made by our independent external research group to ensure credibility and legitimacy. The program implemented will be timely, cost-effective, and minimally disruptive to the daily responsibilities of Pennsylvania State Police officers.

Given the catastrophic events of September 11, 2001, our society will be entering a new collective dialogue regarding the proper balance between individual rights and societal protection. Racial and ethnic profiling by law enforcement will undoubtedly be at the forefront of that discussion.

The complex issue of whether certain forms of profiling are simply good planning will also be at the heart of that debate. Public opinion polls recently conducted after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade

Center and the Pentagon suggest that the public's
perception of what is appropriate in regards to law
enforcement and security have dramatically changed.

While politicians and policymakers like yourself across the country struggle to maintain the delicate balance between preserving individual rights and maintaining public security, the debate will continue regarding where that line should be drawn.

In this vein, researchers need to conduct theoretically guided, methodologically sound inquiries that generate reliable findings to better inform policy. It is only when we seek to explain officer behavior that we may then take steps to effectively control it.

Colonel Paul Evanko, Lieutenant Colonel

Conley, and other administrators within the Pennsylvania

State Police are insightfully aware of the need to examine current practices. Their commitment and resolve regarding the collection of police/citizen contact data will greatly benefit citizens of the Commonwealth.

It is my pleasure to be working with the Pennsylvania State Police as they address this important issue. Thank you for the opportunity to speak before this committee. I welcome your questions.

CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Dr. Engle. But you lucked out because we only have time for one short

1 question from Representative James. I would hope, however, because of our time constraints -- and there are other members of the panel that would like to ask you some 3 questions -- that you will remain available so that we can 5 ask you questions at a later time. DR. ENGLE: Certainly. 6 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you. Representative 7 8 James. REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Yes. Thank you, Madam 9 10 Chair. And thank you for testifying. DR. ENGLE: Certainly. 11 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Now, your study -- I 12 just want to be clear -- is this going to be an 18-month 13 study? And if so, you're only studying what State Police 14 are doing; or does it have anything to do with any other 15 16 police throughout the state? DR. ENGLE: This proposed contract is strictly 17 with the Pennsylvania State Police. It is not with any 18 other agency within the state. That's not to say that 19 other agencies couldn't engage in this type of data 20 collection effort. But my resources will be spent directly 21 with the Pennsylvania State Police. 22 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: And the time? 23 24 DR. ENGLE: The time frame we are trying to 25 work out, negotiate back and forth exactly what works.

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once a policy is put in place and the data collection
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   effort begins, even after the end of the contract, if the
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   State Police choose, they can continue to collect that
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   research. And you can see it over time what the trends
   will look like.
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                 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: That's good to hear.
   What's the contract time?
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                 DR. ENGLE: The contract has not been put in
               A sole source contract has been approved.
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   place yet.
   We're negotiating currently the details of that contract.
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   I anticipate it will be an 18-month contract.
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                 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Okay. Thank you.
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                 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you.
                                                 Thanks, Dr.
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   Engle.
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                 DR. ENGLE:
                             Thank you.
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                 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: The next person to appear
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   before us is Michael J. Carroll, Vice President,
   Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association, Chief of Police,
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   West Goshen Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, our
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   neighbor.
                 Chief Carroll, welcome. And we appreciate you
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                 You can choose -- as you can see, we are under
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   being here.
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   time constraints. You can choose to read from your
    statement or just give us a summary of your statement and
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   then be available for questions, whatever you like.
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1 MR. CARROLL: It's a relatively short 2 statement, Madam Chairman. 3 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: That's fine. You may 4 proceed. Thank you. MR. CARROLL: Good morning, Madam Chairman, 5 6 members of the Subcommittee. My name is Michael J. Carroll. I have been involved in law enforcement since my 7 discharge from the United States Air Force in 1965. 8 9 35-year veteran of the law enforcement, I have been privileged to serve the public in a variety of capacities, 10 currently as Chief of Police of West Goshen Township in 11 12 Chester County. I'm appearing this morning in my capacity as 13 the First Vice President of the Pennsylvania Chiefs of 14 15 Police Association. And I'm also privileged to serve on the executive committee of the International Chiefs of 16 Police Association. 17 18 I am sure the members of the subcommittee know 19 the Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association is a professional organization of chiefs of police and other 20 executives of police, public safety, and private law 21 enforcement organizations across the Commonwealth of 22 23 Pennsylvania. 24 The Association promotes the professional and 25 personal development of its members through innovative

services, training, peer counseling, and comradeship. The Association provides a vehicle through which its members can come together, examine issues of concern to law enforcement professionals and the general public, address the needs of the law enforcement community in better serving the public at large.

The Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police are pleased to participate in the public hearing in connection with House Resolution 269 and to offer this brief testimony on behalf of Pennsylvania's local law enforcement executives. We are aware that the scope of today's inquiry is to obtain input as to whether the practice known as racial profiling exists in any significant level in Pennsylvania.

Let me begin by stating that the Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association has not conducted or commissioned any formal studies or surveys on this subject. Accordingly, we have no reports or data to submit to the subcommittee.

Fundamentally, the Pennsylvania Chiefs of
Police Association believes that any form of police action
that is based solely on race, gender, ethnicity, age of
socioeconomic status of an individual is unethical and
contrary to what we stand for in law enforcement.

As an organization, we strongly encourage law enforcement agencies to adopt and implement

anti-discriminatory policies against bias-based police
practices. As part of an ongoing mission to raise the bar
and strive for professionalism in law enforcement, the
Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association has been pleased
to have organized and sponsored, in conjunction with our
friends at the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and
Delinquency, the Pennsylvania Law Enforcement Accreditation
Commission.

This commission has been in development over the past year and was officially unveiled at the Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association Annual Education and Training Conference in July of 2001. Pennsylvania is now 1 of 10 states that have a state-specific police accreditation program.

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A fundamental part of the accreditation process is an evaluation of the procedures and policies in place within each municipal police department as it seeks professional accreditation through the Commission. The Commission has developed a complete manual of accreditation program standards that describes and illustrates a comprehensive set of professional standards applicable to law enforcement, whether in a small rural department or a police agency of thousands of law enforcement professionals.

Central among these professional standards are

policies aimed at making certain that traffic law
enforcement is applied in a uniform and consistent manner
as the best means of ensuring public confidence in its
police agencies. Our accreditation process requires
municipal police departments to have such
anti-discriminatory policies in place and to implement
these policies and directives as they train and mentor
their officers.

Having now discussed what law enforcement professionals are doing to self-regulate the ranks, we now turn to what the General Assembly might do in this area and what effect this legislation might have on our ability to serve the public.

First, we offer that the very definition of bias-based policing requires special care so that in prohibiting contact in which -- I'm sorry -- in prohibiting conduct in which a law enforcement contact is based solely by the individual's race, gender, ethnicity, age or socioeconomic level, we don't preclude law enforcement consideration of race and ethnicity when it is part of a suspect's description or is otherwise validly related to an officer's investigation of criminal activity.

Second, we have concerns about data collection programs to address bias-based policing. And we applaud the Pennsylvania State Police for its leadership in

engaging professional assistance to study the subject before undertaking a data collection program.

We trust that this process will seek to identify the need for data collection and if some collection of data is deemed necessary to develop reasonable parameters for the types of data to be collected, the means by which it is collected, and the uses to which the collected data may be put.

You must be aware that the burdens placed on law enforcement have not lessened. Rather, they have increased despite the expansion of more advanced information technology into the field of law enforcement. In addition to the burdens that have always faced municipal police, including small officer complements and limited budgets, we also face federal and state mandates and limitations.

An example of these increased burdens are the new 8-page crash reporting form which is mandated by the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation for reportable accidents and the continuing refusal of the General Assembly to allow local law enforcement to use modern speed technology such as radar.

Thus, local police departments are concerned about potentially onerous data collection mandated in the area of bias-based policing. We are also concerned about

the intrusiveness of data collection on the citizens with whom our officers interact.

We recommend that the best means of data collection would involve driver self-identification of their race and ethnicity on their driver's license application and the bar coding of this information on the license so that the officer does not have to ask the question or, even worse, presume the race and ethnicity based on personal observation.

Finally, any legislative approach to regulating bias-based policing should provide law enforcement with the required tools for implementation. Foremost among those tools is the availability of in-car video/audio equipment as the most effective way to document interaction between officers and drivers and passengers and as a deterrent to false claims of bias-based stops.

Additional examples would include funds for data collection systems and additional funding opportunities for enhanced training. The values of local law enforcement professionals and the Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police will not tolerate selective or discriminatory enforcement of the law.

I appreciate the opportunity afforded to share this information and these thoughts with you as you undertake your consideration of this important subject. We

look forward to working with the subcommittee and other law 1 enforcement stakeholders as we continue to consider the 2 3 subject of bias-based policing. Thank you for the opportunity to speak today. CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Chief Carroll. 5 We appreciate you being here. Representative James has a 6 7 question for you. 8 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Thank you. Thank you for testifying. In your capacity as the Vice President of 9 10 the Association, would you have any problems with training being implemented through the municipal police officer 11 training, Education and Training Commission as relates to 12 sensitivity, cultural diversity, and prevention of racial 13 14 profiling? MR. CARROLL: 15 No. 16 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Would you have any problems with police officers using the same similar type 17 18 form as it relates to traffic stops, pedestrian stops, or warnings? 19 MR. CARROLL: Well, I think the answer to the 20 21 question, the general answer, is no. We use the same forms I think in order to do --22 now. 23 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: All police use the same 24 forms? 25 MR. CARROLL: Well, we use the same forms in

traffic citations as the State Police and every municipal 1 2 department in the state, the same form that the AOPC offers to us. Any change to that form obviously would take some 3 consideration because of the type of change, what length that would add to a traffic stop. 5 And what our main concern in collecting this 6 type of data is the confrontational style of the traffic 7 8 stop caused by the questions we would be required to ask. REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: And such as an example, 9 what question would you ask that would cause a 10 confrontation? 11 MR. CARROLL: Well, you're going to ask 12 questions such as race obviously. What race are you? Ιt 13 can be done, obviously, through observation. 14 In many cases, it can't. And some people are sensitive enough that 15 16 they are upset by the question. 17 We then put that police officer in the 18 position of defending the question as opposed to the traffic stop. 19 20

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Well, I've heard that before. And my view is just that police officers years before never asked no questions about what race a person was. They just put down there what they thought or used their judgment. But I think -- would you be opposed to having race on the form?

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1 MR. CARROLL: No, I would not be opposed to 2 having race on the form. I also would not be opposed to 3 having race on the driver's license so that the 4 confrontational issue would not be faced. REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: All right. 5 Thank you. 6 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Representative 7 James. Representative Manderino. 8 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Thank you. Ι 9 actually think you may have just answered my question. I 10 just want to make a comment. I hear what you're saying 11 about how the data is used. It's very much the same point 12 that Dr. Engle was making in terms of what the base is. 13 But I think I just heard you agree that in 14 order to make any analysis, we do have to have the raw 15 data. I think that's true. 16 MR. CARROLL: 17 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Okay. Thank you. CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Representative 18 19 Manderino. Chief Carroll, we appreciate your being here 20 and making a presentation to us. Thank you very much. 21 MR. CARROLL: Thank you for your time. 22 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: The next person to appear 23 before us is Francis T. Healy, the Special Assistant to the 24 Chief, Commissioner of Police Timoney in the Philadelphia 25 Police Department. Welcome. Sir, you may begin at any

time. Do you have written testimony? MR. HEALY: I didn't have written testimony 2 3 prepared. CHAIRPERSON COHEN: That's fine. That's fine. Any time you're ready, you may proceed. 5 6 MR. HEALY: First of all, I'd like to, Commissioner Timoney would like to convey his apologies for 7 not being able to be present here today. Obvious events 8 precluded him from coming to Harrisburg. 10 He sent me basically because I've been the officer involved primarily in his office -- I'm also an 11 attorney -- with the racial profiling issue and the data 12 collection issues within the Philadelphia Police 13 Department. And what we've done so far, we believe, is 14 probably one of the most aggressive stances in 15 investigating whether racial profiling exists or not 16 17 exists. 18 First, when we looked at this issue, there's 2 basic things that's become clear today. It's the data 19 collection process and the analysis process. Both are 20 21 separate and actually independent but obviously related issues. Our first step is to actually collect accurate 22 23 data. In Philadelphia, what we did is we designed a 24

separate form called, it's our form 7548-A, which is the

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vehicle and pedestrian investigation form. It's an 8 1/2, 2-page form, 8 1/2 by 11 double-sided form. It forces the officer not only to include the race that he perceives the individual to be. It also includes the basis for the stop.

not -- we can evaluate whether or not he had the minimum reasonable suspicion or the probable cause for the stop. The form goes into whether or not the individuals are searched and/or frisked as well. And we make the distinction between a search and a frisk, which is the pat-down, for very good reasons. And I'll get to that point.

Designing the form actually wasn't the easiest process in the world. And what we did is, to make sure our officers bought into this process -- we have 7,000 police officers that we're looking to change behavior with. And actually, I think we've been very effective.

What we've done is, when we implemented the form, we did so in a division-wide basis at a time. As opposed to just me designing a form and throwing it on top of the officers to use, what we did is we came up with a sample. We put it into a division.

And then what we did is focus groups after that division. And we tweaked the form and made it better each time. So by the time this form was actually

implemented, I believe in July of 1999 in full, every police officer in the city was able to at least comment or put their input into the form.

So what it really did is it accomplished a lot of buy-in. So the officers understood what we were doing. We weren't trying to gather data to hurt them in any way because that's usually the attitude of a police officer when you're starting to collect data. So the idea was the officers bought into the program.

The next step what we did is I went out to almost each and every roll call as a sergeant myself and as the attorney background, tried to explain to the officers why it's so important that they document the reasonable suspicion; probable cause, if any; the reason for the frisk or the search.

Those efforts were actually very successful. However, in addition to that, what we did is we produced a videotape. We got contributions. And each and every officer in the police department received a training video on racial profiling, basically not to do it. So that went out to every officer, I believe, in the fall of 1999.

So as of this date, we have a data collection system in place in Philadelphia that actually has been recognized by the United States Justice Department as one of the best practices in policing across the nation. So

we're very proud of that fact.

Now moving on to actually the harder part.

We're capturing good data. The good part is to make sure that our data is accurate. We didn't just put a form out there and assume the data to be good. What we did is Commissioner Timoney dedicated, I believe it was, 10 lieutenants to the Internal Affairs Unit of the police department and created what we call the Integrity Control Unit.

One of the primary functions of this unit is to audit the 7548 forms to make sure they are in compliance with the Commissioner's orders. What we designed -- actually, what I designed for them actually was an audit report, very similar to an audit report you would receive from a CPA firm.

But the auditors, when they examine the forms, they'll take a statistical sampling of the forms from each district. And they will opine on whether or not the forms meet the Commissioner's agenda, whether or not they're lacking, or whether or not the forms are not being completed correctly.

So what happens -- what's most important there is we have responsibility on to the captain of the district, who's ultimately responsible. So that's, that's a key to making sure these forms are done correctly. So we

do have the oversight from the Internal Affairs.

And this moves us into the analysis part of it. A lot of people; namely, the ACLU in one of their last monitoring reports, did try to compare our stop data with census data. Now, there's a lot of individuals, a lot of organizations trying to compare, like, what does raw data mean. And that's really the state that the police department is in right now.

Comparing stop data to census data is basically an inaccurate method of comparison because census data includes people that aren't on streets when cops are making the stops. So it's really -- you're -- using an accounting analogy, you're counting apples and oranges.

So what we tried to do is -- and actually, I believe a lot of the other police departments throughout the country are starting to go this way -- is we're trying to establish internal benchmarks where we can see whether or not people are being treated differently.

The fact that more African-Americans may be stopped in one district versus another on its face is not a prima facie case that racial profiling exists. There is a great many other layers that are involved. And it's going to take the work of probably, a lot of work of law enforcement, a lot of work of social sciences and those, and those in academia to come up with the answers of why

certain things occur.

But these are the efforts that we've done so far. We're probably on the cutting edge in Philadelphia. We not only compare the raw data with the number, like I'm saying the number of African-American stops, white stops, or Latino stops versus the whole to come up with raw percentages.

What's more importantly we found is we compare with any trace. So, for example, if we stop African-Americans -- and the audits that are done can actually tell me whether or not the stops had reasonable suspicion, yes or no; whether or not the frisks that were conducted, if any, had the reasonable suspicion that were necessary under law; whether or not the search was done or that problem cause existed.

So what I can evaluate is whether or not, within a certain race class, certain people are either being stopped illegally or being frisked without reasonable suspicion or searched without reasonable suspicion. We think these indicators are more indicative actually of whether or not an individual officer or group of officers or district are targeting minorities or ethnic, ethnics for special treatment.

Now, what we're not going to come up with is conclusions as of yet. We're coming up with data. And the

most important thing is we don't know 100 percent what this
means. And like I said, academia is going to play a big
part in this because there's a lot of social sciences and
ergonomics involved on why certain people are stopped more
than others.

So the idea here is we want to collect as much data, analyze it as much as we can. And basically, we've opened ourselves up to the nation through the Police Executive Research Forum. They've identified Philadelphia as a test, as a test city to try to help analyze this information.

So we've already agreed to submit any stop
data that they request once they get their program up and
running to help further analyze it. So basically, from
Philadelphia's perspective, I can say without any
hesitation that we've taken this issue of racial profiling
to heart and we've taken probably some of the most
aggressive steps not only in Pennsylvania but in the nation
on capturing the data and trying to analyze it as well.
I'd be happy to answer any questions.

CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you very much, Mr. Healy. We appreciate that. Lieutenant Colonel Conley referred to 2 bills that are before the Legislature. One is a Senate bill. And we're members of the House. So we'll deal with House Bill 1933.

Right now, Pennsylvania law permits video 1 interception devices. But what House Bill 1933 does is authorize police officers to use oral interception devices. 3 Could we have your opinion on that? MR. HEALY: From a municipal police 5 6 perspective such as Philadelphia, a majority of the 7 interactions we have with people are outside of the car. The cameras in cars with the audio are excellent devices. 8 They capture a lot of information. But a lot of the work 9 we do is not necessarily on traffic stops. 10 11 What's important to say here is actually, racial profiling is actually becoming a misnomer in the 12 country. It's really more so racially biased policing. 13 So we want to know whether or not -- we capture not only the 14 traffic data stops on our forms, we also capture the, what 15 we call pedestrian investigation stops. So those would be 16 out of the view of any camera or microphone. 17 So although I support any microphones -- I 18

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mean, it would be great to have them -- in a city setting, a lot of our -- whether or not you're going to capture biased policing, it's a much broader concept than just traffic stops. But I do support the traffic cameras and They are good for officer safety. the audio.

CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you. Chairman James has a question.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Thank you. Thank you 1 for testifying. And thank the Commissioner on behalf of 2 I just want to commend Philadelphia for 3 the committee. taking a lead and coming out with changing the form, doing 5 the study. And it's good to hear that -- you say you've been recognized by the Justice Department. 6 7 Have any other, if you know, have any other State Police or municipal police officers in Pennsylvania 8 have been interested in the new form that you have adopted? 9 MR. HEALY: Off the top of my head, I can't 10 say specifically in Pennsylvania. But I know we've had 11 about 75 different jurisdictions ask for copies of our form 12 and our training tape to either use it whichever way they 13 14 want. REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Can that be provided to 15 16 the committee? MR. HEALY: Sure. 17 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Both the copy of the 18 form and the training tape? 19 MR. HEALY: Absolutely. Actually, I'll also 20 include the instructions that go along with the form 21 because they're very important. 22 23 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Great. Okay. Again, I just want to -- I appreciate it. That's why one of the 24 bills I made is exactly the 7548, asking that all police 25

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officers throughout the state adopt that form. And I took
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   that from the Philadelphia form. Thank you. Thank you,
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   Madam Chair.
                             Thank you.
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                MR. HEALY:
                 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Chairman James.
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   Don't leave. We're not done. Mr. Healy.
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                 MR. HEALY:
                            I'm sorry.
                 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Please, could you stay a
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   little while longer? We have more questions.
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                 MR. HEALY: Oh, absolutely. I thought you
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   were done.
               I'm sorry.
                            I apologize.
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                 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you. Representative
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   Manderino has questions.
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                 MR. HEALY:
                             I'm sorry.
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                 CHAIRPERSON COHEN:
                                    That's all right.
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                 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO:
                                           Good morning.
                 MR. HEALY: Good morning.
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                 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: As has come up in
   earlier testimony, data collection is critically important
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   and also a sensitive issue. Can you tell us, since you
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   moved to this 2-page form, what did you move from; how much
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   longer is it taking officers in paperwork or field work to
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   collect the data?
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                 MR. HEALY: Well, like I had mentioned, we did
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   focus groups when we first implemented the form. And one
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of the biggest problems from police officers were that I'm never going to get anything done with this form. So we took that to heart.

And actually, what we did is I gave it to the Commissioner and said, Head stop me. Ask me the questions that are on there. It took about 3 to 4 minutes to actually complete the form. Now, the form has a lot of information on it; but sometimes it's not relevant.

For a ped stop, you're not going to include all the vehicle information, if you understand what I'm saying. A lot of the form is there for what that specific need is. But you're not going to fill out the entire form. It won't be necessary in every situation.

We tried to design a form that could be used in every situation. And your question, what we did before that, I don't know if you're familiar with our standard 48, which is our incident report. It's a 6-inch by 9-inch form that we do for every incident in Philadelphia.

The officers did back -- before this form was implemented, they would fill out the information on this form. Now, what happens, in the narrative section of the form, either you could have a lot of information from a very aggressive police officer or an officer who didn't think something was so important and wouldn't include it.

So if you tried to capture data off of those

forms alone, you wouldn't be able to do it. One officer might forget the weight and height; one officer might forget the age. What we did with the form that we developed, it's mandatory.

The officers have to go through and fill in the blocks. And that's more importantly what the Integrity Control Unit goes through and checks, makes sure the officers are filling in all boxes. And if not, they're held accountable. More so the supervisors and the captains are held accountable.

So we have like a check and balance system to make sure the data we do capture is there and correct. And the officers in the integrity control unit will randomly call the individuals that were stopped to make sure that they are the people that were stopped. So they do random audits to make sure that some of the information is actually correct.

REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Quick follow-up.

So the old way of gathering data may have taken 3 or 4

minutes or may have taken less depending on how much detail

the officer chose to include with that particular stop?

MR. HEALY: I would probably say, in all honesty, it probably took less. You could probably be done a car stop or a ped stop in Philadelphia in about a minute and a half, 2 minutes. But that didn't capture all of the

1 data that was needed.

If I frisked the individual, it probably wouldn't have showed up there. Had I searched him, it wouldn't have showed up on that form.

REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Now that you've been using this for almost 2 years, how are complaints from the officers with regard to paperwork or time constraints?

MR. HEALY: Well, officers, they'll always complain. Okay? But what we're seeing is the newer officers that are coming up know no different. I mean, so this is what they grew up with. A lot of the old-timers, it took them a while to kick and scream.

But they're -- everybody seems to be on board.

And what was more important to get them on board, I went to each and every roll call. I wasn't like an outsider trying to say, This is a form you must do. I didn't ram it down them. I explained to them why it was important. It protected them from accusations of wrong doing.

I said, It's very important that the forms are on there. The sensitive issue of race was brought up, whether or not we should include the race and do you ask the individual what his race is. We don't really -- not being disrespectful -- care what the person thinks his race is. What's more important is what the officer perceives that race to be.

1 I mean, so we don't really ask the person to 2 get them out of the car and look him up and down. On this 3 very form, we also have biological information of the officers to capture if he can, height, size, weight. 4 the biggest thing I ever tell an officer is never, never 5 ask a woman their weight on a highway. That could be very I said, Guess. Okay? Whatever you do, guess. 7 hazardous. It's just a general approximation so the 8 9 officer can identify that person if they need to in the 10 future. So we're sensitive to those type of issues, and we try to train that to our officers. 11 12 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Just a last Is the perceived race a checkoff box or a 13 14 written description? And given what we know now, do you also have the ability to catch Middle Eastern descent or 15 anything like that? 16 MR. HEALY: The original boxes we had were 17 18 African-American, white, Latino. But the question of 19 Latino was actually -- this was a lot of problem. Latinos white and black. I mean, Latinos from a different 20 21 part of the world are very light-skinned. So a lot of times, we may be getting a Latino 22 23 checked as white who may be black. The idea was, it's the 24 officer's perception. Specifically, we don't have a box

for Indians or anything like that. I'm sorry. We do have

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a box for Indians. But we don't actually specifically 1 state Middle Eastern. 3 It's a -- off the top of my head, I can't remember what it was. But there is a box for that 4 classification of ethnicity. 5 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Thank you. 6 7 you, Madam Chairman. 8 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Representative Manderino. Representative Washington also has a question. 9 10 REPRESENTATIVE WASHINGTON: Thank you, Madam 11 Chair. Did I hear you say that once the integrity department gathers information, if there's any discrepancy 12 in filling out the form, then that person is called in? 13 MR. HEALY: That's correct. 14 REPRESENTATIVE WASHINGTON: Then is there also 15 16 a mechanism in place where you can determine whether or not a specific police officer is doing this in a certain area 17 and getting more of the same race of people? 18 19 MR. HEALY: Yes. REPRESENTATIVE WASHINGTON: And what do you do 20 21 when you find that out? MR. HEALY: Well, like I said at first, the 22 23 data collection process is one issue and the analysis is 24 another. And actually, we do both. The data collection issues a lot of times are the officer forgets to put things 25

1 in or corrects, puts things in the wrong boxes.

Those are more so training issues that, just they're training issues. Some officers are quicker than others to pick up certain things. Those responses are usually handled by the district level supervisor. Usually, they're the first level supervision that captures these type of errors.

Now, the more important thing is -- and what I think you're trying to get at -- is whether or not we're analyzing this and responding if we find something. Like I said, we don't really understand 100 percent how to analyze the data. But that's not going to stop us from analyzing the data, if you understand the difference.

What we'll do is -- we have several ways to do this. The Integrity Control Unit as well as the General Internal Affairs Office responds to complaints of profiling. They'll do a full internal investigation if a complaint, if an individual says he believes he was stopped merely because of his race or his ethnicity.

The data that we're collecting is analyzed to see whether or not officers are making, I'll say for lack of a better word, bad stops. How many bad stops were made during the period under review? That indicates the officer may have a training issue, or it also may mean he's targeting a special race or ethnicity. We're not sure.

It could just be an error; it could be intentional. Either way, the matter is brought forward from the Integrity Control Unit to the immediate supervisor of the officer as well as his commanding officer. But in addition, we also do random samplings in the district. They may just evaluate 1 or 2 squads of a district.

If there's an accusation that was made out there that, let's say, 2 squads in the 35th district is doing something different, they will basically do a sting in that district. We do those as well. So we really have taken a lot of aggressive steps to try to identify.

Now, if we do see an officer that does appear to have a pattern, since it's very hard to get to the intent, what was his true intention when he stopped the individual, what we'll do is we will bring him in and show them the statistics and say, Are you aware that you are stopping, 90 percent of your stops are a certain race or ethnicity?

In fact, when we first began this, our
Internal Affairs identified 2 officers in our highway
patrol who were apparently stopping a high percentage of
African-Americans. So what they did as a preemptive thing
to see whether or not anything was going on, they brought
the 2 officers in and just basically laid the data out.

Well, at this point in time, it kind of

confused Internal Affairs that the 2 officers that were 1 brought in were 2 African-American highway officers. 3 that's not an excuse. I mean, so the idea was this is a I mean, it's not white on white. very complicated issue. It's not African-American on African-American. 5 It's very complicated. So what we did is we did bring the officers 7 8 in. And what we found out was where they were assigned was almost 90 percent African-American. So the stops did actually match the geographical area where they were 10 assigned. But the statistics, it jumped off the page for 11 12 one of the investigators. 1.3 And they brought them in, and they gave them 14 additional counseling. And they just said, you know, these are statistics. 15 16 REPRESENTATIVE WASHINGTON: But in a case 17 where there were 2 Caucasian police officers and they were 18 stopping African-Americans, would you bring them in and 19 just talk to them as well; or is there something in place 20 for training --MR. HEALY: Well, that would be the first 21 22 step. REPRESENTATIVE WASHINGTON: -- or whatever in 23 24 place for them? 25 MR. HEALY: To be honest with you, I wouldn't

make the distinction because there's been claims out there that police officers, African-American, white, Latino, are blue, for lack of a better word. I mean, it doesn't matter what their race is. It's what their results are.

So actually, I believe -- I would kind of subscribe to that theory that we're more concerned whether or not the impact of policing, whether it be by a white officer, African-American officer, or Latino officer, the impact of what their actions are are more important than what their race is.

So we'll treat them both the same. We'll tell the African-American officer. We'll counsel, train, and ultimately discipline if we find it's intentional. We do the same for the white officer as well.

REPRESENTATIVE WASHINGTON: Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.

CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Representative Washington. Thank you, Mr. Healy. We appreciate your being here. Now we're done. I would just like to suggest that in addition to not asking a woman her weight, you don't ask her age either. Thank you very much.

The next person to make a presentation before us is William T. Valenta, Jr., the Commander of the City of Pittsburgh Police. Mr. Valenta, welcome. And you may begin at any time. And again, we do have your written

1 statement.

MR. VALENTA: I'll speak to you. I know the subject pretty well. So --

CHAIRPERSON COHEN: That's great. Thank you.

MR. VALENTA: Madam Chair and distinguished members of the committee, on behalf of Chief Robert McNeilly, thank you very much for giving us the opportunity to speak before the subcommittee.

In 1996, the United States Department of
Justice entered into an investigation with the Pittsburgh
Bureau of Police looking into allegations of abuse by
members of the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police. In 1997, after
a series of negotiations wherein we attempted to discuss
with Justice what our plans were under Chief McNeilly to
look into some of the concerns of Justice, we entered into
a federal consent decree.

We have been under that federal consent decree for now 4 1/2 years. And under an independent auditor, we are seeking that -- and we are on track -- that we will be out of the decree in the spring of 2002. Central to that decree was the formation of what was then termed an early warning system, which we now call the Personnel Assessment and Review System or the PAR system.

It's my understanding this was speaking specifically to racial profiling and traffic stops. I'll

speak to that segment of it. But understand that the PAR system captures over 18 indices wherein we can track an officer's behavior.

Insofar as traffic stop information is concerned, the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police now collects data on every traffic stop from every officer on a form.

And the traffic stop indicates not only the gender and race of the driver, it also indicates the reason for the initial stop.

This information is then given to the officer's supervisor at the end of their shift. The supervisor reviews this information. The information is then put into a data base. And at any time, the supervisor of the officer has, then has the ability to go into the PAR system and then in to check what, whether it be arrest data, which we also capture by gender and ethnicity, but also by traffic stop data on gender and ethnicity.

We also wrestled with the question of comparison data. As you have heard from other speakers this morning, it is incredibly difficult to come up with bases and benchmarks based on census data with how to compare officers.

Through our research -- and this is going back into 1997 in discussions with Justice -- what we have found as the best measure for reviewing officers' behavior is to

look within their individual peer groups. What we are able to do is when we click into the PAR system to observe an officer's traffic stops, we are able then to see the officer's breakdown of their traffic stops or arrests and then what their comparison peer group would be as well.

The supervisor then can make, the initial supervisor can make some determination whether that falls within, within guidelines or not. This, this becomes very important because along with the PAR system, what we are able to do, we also conduct a quarterly trend analysis of our officers.

With that, each supervisor is required to do an analysis of all the officers under their command for all 18 indices of the PAR system based on benchmarks. Any allegation of bias, be it through a citizen's complaint, if it appears that the officer is falling, their traffic stop or their arrest is falling out of what their peer group should be results in an investigation by the supervisor to look into search and seizure data, citizen stop data, subject resistance data, use of force to see if in fact there are disparate treatments that are also being conducted by the officer under the theory that if the officer is exhibiting some bias in one area, we would expect to see it in all areas.

Currently, we believe that the PAR system is

the leading system for tracking officer behavior in the nation. We have received inquiries from major police departments across the country looking into the work that we are doing.

In that, we also believe that data collection is essential. And I say that based upon our experiences and the initial discussions with Department of Justice. To this day, we maintain that we did not believe that Justice had sufficient grounds to bring the initial lawsuit.

Unfortunately, we lack the data to refute that. What we have now is, is that we have data that is showing that by and large, our officers are conducting traffic stops and arrests within their particular peer groups.

We are finding that use of force data is -- within less than one percent of our arrests, officers are using force. So we are able now to counter claims of officers, against officers or against the Bureau of Police. Along with that, we have been able to identify officers that do require additional counseling, retraining, discipline because certainly we don't want them on our police department as well.

The value of these systems, though, is going to be seen as time goes on. I recently testified at another proceeding that one, that we can't begin to

understand how important this becomes not for identifying 1 the potentially roque officer but the equally devastating 3 claim of a false claim against an officer or a police bureau. And for that reason, the only thing we have in 5 our hands is the data that we collect. And without that, 7 it becomes incredibly difficult to convince anybody that the officer is in fact a good officer; that, you know, the Bureau of Police isn't tolerating any type of racial bias. 9 10 With that, we are now able to collect that data. We continue to improve upon those systems. 11 believe now, under the guidance of Chief McNeilly, that we 12 have the best system for tracking officer behavior in the 13 14 nation. And with that, I'd be -- there's usually a lot 15 of questions. I usually like to keep it short. I'll be 16 happy to answer questions. 17 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Captain 18 19 Valenta. I believe that Chairman James has some questions. 20 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Thank you, Madam Chair. And thank you for testifying. It was good to hear you say 21 that you also have one of the best systems and the Justice 22

MR. VALENTA: That's correct. We had to work

Department contacted you in regards to that system.

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their agency as we were going through the consent decree. 1 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Now, do your police 2 3 officers, if they stop someone not in a traffic stop but stop a pedestrian for whatever reason, do they fill out any 4 information or write out anything? 5 They have the ability to, sir. 6 MR. VALENTA: 7 If they stop them and would search them, yes. They also have the ability -- we have what's called a field contact 8 search and seizure form, that the officers can have the option of filling the form out just for a routine, a mere 10 11 encounter. If in fact, though, they would conduct a 12 search of some type, then they're required to fill the form 13 14 out. REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: So then it's the 15 16 officer's judgment if they stop someone because they believe they committed some crime and they ask them some 17 questions and then the officer feels, though, that he 18 19 didn't, the officer does not have to fill out any --They're not required to do so. 20 MR. VALENTA: REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: That's one of the 21 questions I forgot to ask the State Police. I know one 22 time, the State Police did have, it was up to the 23 discretion whether or not they filled out any form. Ι 24

didn't know if that was required.

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Also, have -- in your -- you said that you 1 2 have the -- in tracking the officers' behavior with your system, have you, has it resulted in any discipline or the 3 dismissal of any officers yet? MR. VALENTA: The system itself has not. 5 I think it's important to understand the system as it is. 6 It's very much an intuitive type of system. Specific 7 instances that have occurred certainly have resulted in the 8 9 dismissal of officers. The numbers I don't have at hand. But if memory serves, it's been over 20 police 10 officers have been dismissed over the past 4 or 5 years. 11 12 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: As a result of that --MR. VALENTA: Well, part is as a result of the 13 And part is the result of when Chief McNeilly 14 oversight. took over, there was an absolute need to install a better 15 sense of discipline in the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police. 16 17 And that was the result of that. Maybe to explain a little bit better, we 18 have -- on a quarterly basis, our command staff meets. 19 20 I'm sure you've heard in New York where they have comstat meetings talking about crime statistics, we do the same on 21 22 a monthly basis. On a quarterly basis, the Pittsburgh Bureau of 23 Police holds a comstar meeting. And the comstar meeting is 24 for the basis of discussing personnel issues. We all meet. 25

And all the commanders get together, and we discuss the 1 officers that have given indicators on our PAR system. 2 3 And we discuss them with the chief, the deputy chief, the assistant chiefs. And we're required then to 4 justify whether we think a specific officer needs to be 5 monitored more closely by a supervisor, if they require 7 counseling, if they require some retraining based upon not only what we see in the PAR system but on our discussion with supervisors. 9 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: All right. Thank you. 10 11 Thank you, Madam Chair. CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you. Representative 12 Manderino has a question. 13 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Thank you. Good 14 morning. 15 16 MR. VALENTA: Good morning. 17 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: You explained to us that the PAR system compares officers to their peer group 18 19 and would identify somebody or persons who are outside the 20 norm of that peer group. You also made a brief reference to quidelines. But -- and maybe this is where it comes in. 21 22 But my question is, How do you know that the peer group itself is appropriate or is following guidelines 23 24 that would be perceived as racially or genderly neutral or 25 not having its own bias?

MR. VALENTA: So in other words, you're looking for the issue of sort of the road turn, if you would, or something to that degree or --

example, we've heard from a couple of different levels of law enforcement. And I don't want to use any by name. But say the State Police have a reputation of being better or worse than the Pittsburgh Police Department or better or worse than the Philadelphia Police Department in terms of whether or not their force is actually or is perceived to be harsher with regard to racial profiling or something like that.

So how do we know? What are our guidelines?
We know with your system if an officer is acting out of the norm of his fellow officers within the Pittsburgh Police
Department. How do we know under what guidelines we're following that the Pittsburgh Police Department itself is not outside of the norm of law enforcement with regard to racial stops or racial profiling, et cetera, under this system we're talking about?

MR. VALENTA: I guess the difficulty in this is, as previous speakers have stated, is that trying to determine exactly what the norm is is probably the most vexing question for any one of us. As Mr. James said earlier, I mean, part of this is that we have to understand

that the vast majority of police officers are out there and are doing their job as they are, as they are supposed to be.

So you would expect that as a group, you would, you would see some norming -- and that might be for 100 officers; it might be for 200 officers -- that you would expect to see some normalization of the data. That was the premise we had to go under. We continue to seek to, if we can improve upon that.

Understand as we were going through this, we were required to come up with a fairly, a fast answer. And to that degree, what I can say is our complaints regarding either motorists who have been stopped or citizen contacts have been relatively few, perhaps 3 to 5 a year in Pittsburgh where somebody has specifically stated that they were stopped specifically because of their ethnicity, which leads us to believe that at that point our peer group data is then appropriate.

REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Just one quick follow-up. And I don't mean to tell you how to do your job. You know it better than I do. I guess my one concern is that human nature is human nature. And I think that when we look at just our nation's response and individual citizen response since September 11th and just some of the anxiety that's been in the Arab community and the

Arab-American and the Middle Eastern community, we know
that a human response -- and we're still struggling right
now to figure out what is appropriate profiling in that
case and what is inappropriate profiling.

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And I think it will take some time to work through that. But I think in this whole equation, we have to recognize that human nature is human nature. And we ought to have guidelines that protect against inappropriate but perhaps natural or human response to different kinds of profiling.

MR. VALENTA: And I agree. And what I would say at least my experience has been insofar as in Pittsburgh with the allegations of profiling with persons of Middle Eastern descent has been through citizens contacts.

Unfortunately, officers have been compelled to answer calls for those types of contacts. So we are put in the very uncomfortable situation of a citizen purporting something suspicious and the officer having to report it, or the officer having to go investigate it, thus explaining to the other person.

So how do you counter that? I think part of that is with training. And we do sensitivity training. We do verbal de-escalation techniques. We've done that voluntarily as well as through our community outreach,

which we've done as well. 1 2 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Thank vou. 3 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you. We appreciate 4 your being here. 5 MR. VALENTA: Thank you. 6 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you. The next 7 person to make a presentation before us is Professor John C. Lamberth, Temple University in Philadelphia. 8 9 Lamberth, again, you may read from your testimony or make a 10 presentation to us. 11 DR. LAMBERTH: Thank you for the opportunity to be here and to address some of these issues that are 12 13 really quite vexing in the country and are particularly 14 vexing today, I think. Since 1993, when I was involved in the 15 definition of what racial profiling is or how to go about 16 17 scientifically investigating and measuring racial 18 profiling, I have wrestled with many of the questions you 19 are wrestling with today and not quite in as public a forum 20 as you must wrestle with them. But nevertheless, I have dealt with them. 21 22 And since that time, the methodology that was first developed in New Jersey has been utilized in Maryland 23 24 and in Arizona and, in addition, has been utilized by

academic counterparts in North Carolina and Rhode Island.

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In 1998, I began work on issues beyond the racial profiling that goes on on highways and in attempting to determine how we scientifically measure racial profiling in urban and suburban areas. And that is even a more vexing problem than the highway issue. And yet, nevertheless, as I say, I have worked on that.

And I am here today to talk to you about some of the experiences that I've had and some of the things that I've learned. You do have my written testimony here; and therefore, I would like to expand upon it a bit rather than stick to exactly what is here.

The first set of data you've heard a lot about already that are necessary to determine whether racial profiling is going on are the data from police departments, the stop data. Those data are absolutely crucial. They must be there, and they must be in enough specificity to be able to know a great deal about the particular stops.

We've heard already today from the

Philadelphia Police Department, which has a form that has a

great deal of information, and evidently -- although, I've

not seen it -- the Pittsburgh Police Department, which also

collects a great deal of data. And these endeavors are to

be commended.

However, the second set of data which are absolutely necessary to making a determination as to

racial, whether racial profiling is going on are the benchmark data, if you will. What are the appropriate data to compare the stop data to?

And in many instances, what we have seen is that these particular stop numbers are compared to census data. The -- and these are inappropriate data. And I can -- I have had that same feeling that you have heard earlier this morning from the police departments that these are inappropriate data.

And just recently over the summer, I completed a research, the first research project -- and there are now several more that have been completed -- that have data to show that indeed my feelings and the feelings of the police department are exactly accurate.

If you will look on the second page of my testimony, you will see some actual data from a Michigan county sheriff's department in which we took surveys of traffic at specific locations and compared them to those specific locations since its track date.

And as you can see, those particular estimates from the census track, from the census data overestimate the actual traffic of African-American motorists in 4 different locations and underestimate it at 7. And those differences in estimation run from a 6 percent overestimation to 303 percent underestimation of the

1 traffic data.

There appears to be no rhyme or reason in going from census data to actual traffic data. Therefore, I would encourage you as you are thinking about this to be sure that there are traffic data that are available to compare the stop data to.

While I applaud the Pittsburgh Police

Department -- and certainly, I have been in a number of meetings with executives from the Pittsburgh Police

Department. And they are to be complimented for what they have done -- the complementary approach to the internal benchmarks; that is, the peer benchmarks, must be traffic surveys from which the officers are actually picking people to stop. And if those comparisons are not made, then we cannot have an accurate assessment of whether profiling is actually going on.

During the course of this past year, I would like to, I had been working with the state of Kansas. And I would like to recommend to you that you consider what has been done in the state of Kansas as a statewide approach to investigating the issue of whether racial profiling is going on.

In 2000, the Kansas Legislature passed a bill informing the governor and the attorney general that they needed to take action to determine whether racial profiling

was occurring in the state. The state then considered several scientific proposals to make that determination.

And during the course of this past year, we have been involved in assessing racial profiling in 10 departments in

the state of Kansas.

One of the reasons that I would recommend that you consider this model is that it is an integrated approach throughout the state. In other states, the legislature has decreed that the various police departments collect data but have not informed them as to exactly which data to collect or how to analyze it.

And there is a great deal of frustration among police departments when they are faced with this sort of a situation. So I would encourage you to consider what the appropriate data to collect are and what the appropriate analyses are as we, as you move forward.

Secondly, the Kansas approach was to then turn to the Department of Justice. And they received funding from the Department of Justice from COPS, the community-oriented policing division of the Department of Justice, for this particular study.

And the study will be completed in the spring of 2002. And then they will make a determination as how to proceed with other police departments. If it is found that profiling is going on in this randomly selected sample of

police departments, then their intention, I think, is to proceed with more assessment.

If it is found that racial profiling is not going on among these departments, then it is their intention to work with the communities in Kansas who are convinced that racial profiling is going on and have that perception because there is, there are both sides of this issue.

There is not only the issue of whether it is going on or not but the perception that it is going on among certain parts of the community. I would therefore strongly recommend that you adopt something that incorporates an ability to, for the police departments to know what they should do and also, if at all possible, to have a funded mandate rather than an unfunded mandate, which is very frustrating to police departments.

Finally, let me talk about just a bit of research that I have been doing since 1995 and that we are emphasizing at this particular point, which goes to the point of racial profiling. In the late -- in the mid-1980s, the, at least the perception and, to a great extent, the assumption that racial profiling was going on became associated with the war on drugs.

And there was a great perception that one of the reasons that police were stopping minority group

members was that they were more likely to be carrying contraband than were nonminority group members.

I have now put together both a, an Op-Ed piece with Professor David Cole from Washington -- pardon me -- from Georgetown University School of Law. And I have given you the supporting data in my handout that has, that denotes 10 different studies now of the contraband found when minority and nonminority group members are searched by the police. And you can see that this ranges widely.

The first study occurred in 1995, which I conducted in the state of Maryland. And it goes through to the year 2000 of a study in Oakland, California. And there is a study from London, a study in traffic. There is a New York study of stop-and-frisk, which were pedestrians. There is a customs data, which are also not traffic studies.

The amazing thing about all of these studies is that they find the same thing: Minority group members, when searched, are not, not any more likely to be carrying contraband and in several instances are less likely to be carrying contraband than nonminority group members.

CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Excuse me. Dr. Lamberth, if you could summarize because we do have --

DR. LAMBERTH: I'm on my last sentence.

25 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you.

1 DR. LAMBERTH: My -- the import is here that 2 not only does the stopping of minority group members cause problems and frustrations within minority communities, but 3 it also turns out that it does not gain a thing even if it were constitutionally permissible. Thank you. CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you very much. I believe that Representative James has some questions. 7 REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Thank you, Madam Chair. 8 9 Thank you, Professor Lamberth, for testifying. And I don't know if you were here earlier. You were quoted by the 10 11 State Police. So that shows your expertise. What I'm going to ask you is -- and if you 12 know -- if it's possible, let's say, if the Pennsylvania 13 14 State Police or any police department in the state of Pennsylvania, you think they can ask for funds from the 15 federal government such as happened in the other state you 16 17 described, that maybe they can get money to help in terms of addressing racial profiling or conducting studies? 18 19 DR. LAMBERTH: Yes, I do. And if I may take a moment, I recently had a conversation with the Deputy 20 Director of COPS, who indicated to me that some of their 21 22 discretionary, more of their discretionary money this year 23 would be spent for, for projects of this sort. And so I, I firmly believe that there are more 24

funds available and that they would be available to either

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1 the State Police or various police departments or states if
2 they wish to apply for them.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Well, thank you.

4 That's good to know. That will help us in our

5 appropriations, with our appropriation this year. Okay.

6 Thanks.

James. Dr. Lamberth, thank you very much. We appreciate you being here. We've been advised that the next person scheduled to testify, Burrell Brown, Esquire, the State Chapter of the NAACP, has been injured and will not appear before us.

So we'd like to welcome the Honorable State
Representative Linda Bebko-Jones from Erie. We thank you
for taking the time to be with us today. You may either
read from your prepared remarks or just make a presentation
to us, whichever.

REPRESENTATIVE BEBKO-JONES: Thank you. Good morning, Madam Chairman, members of the committee. First, I want to applaud the subcommittee on a very important issue and having these hearings here. I'm very honored to be one of the cosponsors of the resolution.

I'm also here not just wearing a hat as a
State Rep. but the hat of the Mayor of the City of Erie and
the hat of the Police Chief of the City of Erie. You have

packets in front of you with the Mayor's written testimony
and our Police Chief's testimony.

But I think it's important to know that I might be quoting some remarks from the Mayor's testimony later on because I think they're very important for you to understand what we have been doing in the City of Erie.

I'm very excited. I think what we have done in the City of Erie can serve as a model program.

Almost a year ago, we began meeting with different groups in our community regarding racial profiling. And as a result of meeting with different groups, we formed an alliance to see how we can begin to have a pilot program in Erie.

And as the Mayor indicated and so that everybody understands what we have begun in the City of Erie, I want to read what she has said about the alliance. "The alliance on the racial profiling study was established earlier this year in Erie.

The alliance is composed of the City of Erie; the Office of the Mayor; the Chief of Police; and the Erie Police, or the Erie Bureau of Police; the FOP; the local chapter of the NAACP; and the African-American Clergy of Erie"; and also our neighborhood watches, which we have 123 of them in the City of Erie.

"The alliance came together largely because of

the national attention being focused on the issue of racial profiling. The local chapter of the NAACP and the concerned African-American clergy in the area met with me to express their opinion that racial profiling was occurring in our city.

I, along with the Chief of Police, held as strong an opinion that it was not and had never seen evidence to show the same. Rather than continue with dialogue where neither side could give hard evidence nor proof of such profiling, we took the joint position that we did not want such profiling to occur in Erie and the only manner in which to move from opinion or perception was to gather data.

In order to do so in a legal or constitutional manner, we developed an approach, found a nationally available informational gathering form that could be easily utilized by the police without being time consuming and found the hardware that could scan these forms easily and on a daily basis.

We also contacted various cities in the country who were employing racial profiling data gathering and programming to determine the basis of the best practices in implementing such a pilot program in Erie.

The alliance then forwarded this information to our local district attorney, the State Attorney General, and Homer

Floyd of the State Human Relations Commission asking to review that information and asking for their input.

The alliance then sought a third party who could provide an objective analysis of the gathered data as well as formation of the data base and a structured program that would build in the appropriate variables that would need to be considered to receive an accurate and reliable analysis and determination of whether or not racial profiling was occurring in Erie. The third or neutral party selected was the Civic Institute at Mercyhurst College in Erie headed by Dr. Tom Gamble.

The pilot study has begun since September 1st of this year and is projected to run until September of 2002. Regular meetings of the alliance have occurred both before and since the initiation of the pilot program. Eric City Council has also endorsed the pilot program by a resolution and has supported it financially both through the purchase of needed equipment and by the contract with the Civic Institute.

All police officers were trained in the use of the survey forms prior to the event of the pilot program." And you will see those forms that are included in our police chief's testimony. So, you know, Erie, I believe, began this without a mandate. And I'm really proud of my city for going forward with this. I wanted to commend the subcommittee for addressing this matter. I realize that law enforcement agencies face daunting and challenging tasks in keeping us safe from crime. The horrible events of September 11th have certainly heightened this tremendous responsibility, and I'm sure that law enforcement agencies everywhere are under greater pressure from the public to do what it takes to protect them.

But equal treatment under the law is paramount to our democratic society. The residents of Pennsylvania must have confidence in the men and women whose job it is to protect and to serve. We've seen what happened in our neighboring state of New Jersey when lawmakers chose to ignore evidence of racial profiling.

Their failure to end this discriminatory
practice forced the state to settle a costly lawsuit. But
the reality that not all New Jersey residents had equal
rights under the law cost the state even more. And there
is evidence that law enforcement agencies in other states
are using the tactic of race-based profiling as well.

Through the hearing process, members of the subcommittee have learned that racial profiling is a problem in Pennsylvania. We might not know yet if racial profiling is a systemic problem or one that is more prevalent in certain areas of the state than others.

1 But how widespread a problem it is I believe is irrelevant. The very perception itself that 2 African-Americans, Latinos, and now possibly people of Middle Eastern descent are targeted by law enforcement for no other reason than they fit a race-based profile erodes 5 the trust the people must have in law enforcement. 6 7 If we are to restore that confidence, we must develop effective policies that stop this act of 8 9 discrimination. We owe it not only to the people of 10 Pennsylvania but to the police officers who sacrifice their safety on a daily basis to ensure our public safety. 11 I support a package of bills introduced by my 12 colleague from Philadelphia, Representative Harold James, 13 that would require police training and studies to end the 14 practice of racial profiling in Pennsylvania. And I would 15 ask the members of the subcommittee and the General 16 Assembly to do the same. 17 18 We must not tolerate racial profiling anywhere In these difficult times, law enforcement 19 in Pennsylvania. 20 must have the unwavering support of the general public. To ensure that, we must put an end to discriminatory law 21 enforcement. 22

And, you know, besides the vehicle stops that we are doing in this pilot program in Erie, we are also doing pedestrian stops, if you've seen that in the Mayor's

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testimony and the police chief's testimony. And some of
you might know, some of you might not know -- and that's
included in your package -- an article that appeared in our
Erie paper where an expert credited Erie for our profiling
study and what we are doing.

And that person is Ronald Davis, who is a 38-year-old captain with the Oakland, California Police Department. And Davis came to Mercyhurst College and addressed the entire group of us that formed this coalition and really gave us credit for what we are doing.

And he also gave us suggestions of what we can do. And so after you review what I presented to you, I would really ask this committee to look seriously of what Erie is doing because I think we are in the forefront of this pilot program.

I know there's some communities around this Commonwealth who have not even begun to deal with this issue. They have been resistant. And that is natural. I think we had that with all the meetings that I attended. There was some resistance, obviously.

And I really believe this issue is just simply an issue of ignorance and nothing else. And I think we just need to educate more. So I thank you for the opportunity for me to present this information. I will take any questions from any members and be happy to answer

them if I can. 1 2 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Representative 3 Bebko-Jones. We are indeed honored to have you present 4 with us today. I believe that Representative Manderino has 5 a comment or a question. REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: 6 Just a quick 7 I notice that the form which was put into effect prior to September 11th actually has a classification for 8 Middle Eastern. Did Erie develop the form, or did I hear you say you got the form from some national place? 10 11 REPRESENTATIVE BEBKO-JONES: What the Mayor and the Police Chief did was search out different national 12 organizations for input, and that's where I believe that 13 they got that information from to include that on the form. 14 REPRESENTATIVE MANDERINO: Thank you. 15 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Representative 16 17 Manderino. Representative Washington. REPRESENTATIVE WASHINGTON: 18 Thank you, Madam 19 Chair. We'd just like to thank our Representative for coming in and testifying today and for representing the 20 Mayor and the Police Chief, and we want to just applaud you 21 for the work that Erie has done in the area of racial 22 23 profiling. REPRESENTATIVE BEBKO-JONES: Thank you. 24 25 CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you. Thank you very

Again, we appreciate you being here. The last person to make a presentation to us will be Larry Frankel, 2 Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union in 3 Philadelphia. You may proceed at any time. 4 Thank you. MR. FRANKEL: Thank you, Chairwoman Cohen and 5 6 the other members of the subcommittee who are here today. I do not have written testimony. But I believe you've all 7 been provided, through the House Judiciary Committee, a volume of information that my office has collected. 9 10 Largely, this contains copies of statutes from other states so that you would have some sense of how far 11 behind Pennsylvania is in some regards with addressing this 12 issue. And I also didn't prepare testimony because I was 13 eager to hear what other witnesses had to say today. 14 And it seems to me, since the last hearing on 15 this subject in December of '99, progress has been made. 16 17 And I think we've heard about that progress today. And I think it points us all in directions where further progress 18 19 can be made.

We heard about the voluntary efforts of the State Police and the City of Erie and the efforts being undertaken by Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Those efforts may be indeed the result of lawsuits that were brought, but efforts are being undertaken to address the issue.

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But I think it's also very valuable to recall

the testimony, at least of Professor Lamberth but alluded
to by others, that I think is critical to reinforce and to
begin to permeate throughout the Commonwealth. Not only is
racial profiling unconstitutional, unethical, immoral, it's
bad police practice.

It is not an effective means for necessarily identifying the real perpetrators on a consistent basis because it does not focus on conduct but rather focuses on appearance. Many perpetrators of crimes may elude the police because of that focus.

And I think if the training program includes really educating existing police and new police officers that it's not the most effective way of enhancing public safety, that understanding will become more central to the police function.

And there really will be less resistance to the data collection or some of the training methods once it's understood that what we're really trying to do is not only provide justice for everybody, which is important, but also promote public safety and promote, you know, the most effective method of policing.

So I think it's been tremendously important that we heard that testimony today and that that be repeated repeatedly so that it really does become part of what the public understands.

I think the training component is very important. I'm glad to hear that it's being undertaken. I think it does have to include diversity and sensitivity. But I also think it has to be much more specific like the Philadelphia video that just, this is wrong, you don't do it, and be very clear about it because all the sensitivity training may not mean much if people don't understand that it is not to be undertaken.

And while I don't think the Legislature can get into the minutiae of what is included in the training program, one hopes that the development of more materials that demonstrate to police officers why it's bad, how it may indeed be inadvertently engaged in would be valuable.

I'm also encouraged to hear about efforts to change the forms and the commitment of the members of this committee I think to prompt, to prompt AOPC to also move forward to changing the forms because without a change in forms, the data collection is really going to be very difficult.

Unless there's some place on the forms to indicate the perceived race -- and I would agree that the perceived race is what is important -- then it's going to be difficult to actually look at an aggregate amount of data if you don't know what is the perception of the arresting officer.

The development of new forms that include information not only as to race but whether somebody was searched, whether there was, what was the basis for the stop, what was the basis for the search, whether a citation or some other kind of document was issued and if not, some indication why not, all of that is important for really effective data collection.

The commitment that I hear to developing data collection -- and I'm tremendously encouraged by the fact that the State Police are undertaking a, you know, an external study, an external review -- that is the key to rooting out the problem.

It is very difficult to look at isolated incidents. And maybe there were only 20 complaints over 5 years to the State Police. But how many people never thought that there was any place to complain to? I mean, I don't think that's really the indication.

I think it's the kind of external review of data collection that will make a difference. And I'm encouraged that the State Police are doing it, encouraged that the City of Erie is doing it, pleased that it's going on in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

But that means there's a whole lot of the rest of the state where it's not going on at the moment. And we need to encourage, if not compel, that kind of data

collection elsewhere.

The analysis is also important, and it's also very encouraging to hear that more sophisticated analysis is being undertaken. Maybe there were indeed problems with census data as the comparison, but it takes time to really develop the sophisticated methods. And we've heard that testimony today.

And to the extent that the Legislature can encourage further development of appropriate comparative data, I think that is very valuable. How does the Legislature do that? Probably through funding or probably through suggesting to the appropriate officials there may be federal funding. That may actually be an easier task than the state funding at this point.

But I think funding will be critical. Funding will be critical for departments to voluntarily undertake data collection and voluntarily undertake new training programs. Or if you compel them, funding will definitely be absolutely critical because you don't want to be, have this become an unfunded mandate and then resented by departments all over the state.

But I think what's also important is there have to be real consequences and not just data collection and not just analysis but real consequences. Consequences, when it's determined that there is a pattern of practice,

whether it's within individual officer units,

department-wide, if there isn't consequences, all the

analysis, all the data collection isn't going to matter in

the end.

There also have to be consequences for not completing the forms. One of the problems we saw with the first go-around in reviewing data from Philadelphia Police Department is that many of the forms were not completed.

Much of the critical information was not included.

So if there is to be legislation or even if this can be accomplished without legislation, unless there is some enforcement and discipline associated with it, it's probably not going to accomplish everything that could be accomplished.

That discipline may take the form of we're going to bring in officers, show them the data and talk about further training, further counseling. Repeated violations may require other discipline. But it's important that that be a component of whatever package of legislation or recommendations come forth.

I would also like to address, since it came up with regard to a couple of witnesses, the legislation regarding the audiotaping, the videotaping. And my recollection from legislation similar to this from the last 2 sessions is there's a couple of very important issues to

look at as that legislation proceeds, whether as originally written or as amended through the process.

And the 2 factors that I recall more specifically at this point is looking at who controls when that audiotape goes on, making sure it goes on and cannot be shut off. It's an audiotape. It's a tape recording, and it can be real convenient to shut it off when you don't want things heard. And it's never been clear to me in some of the bills that have passed that there's some real control mechanism there.

The second aspect that showed up -- and I think this was when the bill was in the Senate last session toward the end -- were exceptions for use of those audiotapes and that they could not be used in certain disciplinary proceedings.

So we were going to have audiotapes to be used to rebut false claims of bias, but they couldn't be used if management thought that police officers had done something inappropriate and it was caught on the tape. It may sound like a good tool. But unless there are proper controls on it, it will indeed be very, very subject to abuse and may not actually accomplish what one would hope it would accomplish.

And then as a final comment just in reflection on the events, the tragic events of September 11th, while

that may require us to rethink some issues with regard to airports -- although, I am sceptical even with regard to airports because from what I've read -- and we don't know everything -- there was plenty of conduct engaged in by at least some of the alleged perpetrators that should have triggered somebody asking questions without regard to their ethnicity, you know.

Showing up with cash for tickets for a one-way flight and the kind of nervousness that was displayed in an airport have always been indicators that, you know, you stop and take a look. I think that we need to keep in mind that the tragic events of September 11th had nothing to do with what goes on on highways and sidewalks in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and should not be used as any kind of rationale or justification for not addressing what goes on on the highways and sidewalks of Pennsylvania.

And I don't think anybody here today suggested that it should. I haven't heard that in this room, but I have heard it elsewhere. And I think that it should be time to say no, you know, this is not -- that is truly mixing apples and oranges.

And the other factor is going back to the whole notion of it being ineffective police procedures.

There are some -- and I happen to be one at this point -- thinking that ethnic profiling in airports is

going to very soon prove to be an ineffective police procedure.

And some people are going to figure out what the profile is and figure out real quickly and real easily how to evade it. I mean, it strikes me the kind of people who can -- I don't know how their minds work -- but can put together the kind of horrific scheme of September 11th can easily figure out how to get around any type of ethnic profiling scheme in an airport.

It's not going to be an effective tool. We need to focus on conduct. We need to focus on how to develop the kind of resources that will help us prevent this. And it's not clear that profiling really prevents those kind of crimes from occurring.

So thank you. I commend you for your work. I particularly commend Representative James for his persistence on this issue because I think what I have heard today makes me feel that that work, that his persistence, with a little help from my organization, has paid off in moving some departments in this state forward. And hopefully we can move others forward as well.

CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you, Mr. Frankel. I certainly, after that comment, would not deny
Representative James an opportunity to make a statement.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: Thank you, Madam Chair.

1 And thank you, Larry Frankel and the ACLU, for all your hard work and help keeping me along with this persistence. 2 And I think that I just would encourage that you continue 3 to work with us and all of those that testified continue to work with us. 5 I just also -- in terms of the Philadelphia 6 Police and the lawsuit, how has that -- I mean, is that 7 still ongoing and you're still monitoring that? And does 8 it seem to be working out? The lawsuit, which was a 10 MR. FRANKEL: settlement agreement, is still being under court 11 I think that not only was it as a result of 12 supervision. our lawsuit; but I think that the Police Commissioner 13 Timoney has a very contemporary, or even, even more 14 forward-thinking in a contemporary sense about changes that 15 need to be made for effective policing. 16 I think between the judge in that case, a 17 forward-looking attitude on the part of the Police 18 19 Commissioner, and a little bit of prodding from, you know, 20 the lawyers from our organization, that progress has been made, that more progress will need to be made. 21 You're trying to root out practices that go 22 23 back many, many, many years and attitudes that go back many years. But it's still under court supervision, and there 24

are still aspects that are being worked on.

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CHAIRPERSON COHEN: Thank you again. 1 2 appreciate your being here. And my thanks to all of those 3 who came early this morning and made presentations to us. As I mentioned at the beginning of the hearing, if there is anyone here that would like to make a presentation to us. 5 6 you're more than, if you're willing to send us written 7 statements, we will add those statements to the record. 8 Additionally, we will be holding other So if there's anyone that is here present today 9 or anyone that's watching us on television that would like 10 1.1 to have their voices heard, by all means, please contact me 12 as the Chair of this committee, of the subcommittee. we will schedule your presentations at future hearings. 1.3 Again, our thanks to everyone. This hearing 14 is adjourned. 15 16 (Whereupon, at 11:16 a.m., the hearing adjourned.) 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

1	I hereby certify that the proceedings and
2	evidence are contained fully and accurately in the notes
3	taken by me during the hearing of the within cause and that
4	this is a true and correct transcript of the same.
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11	JENNIFER P. McGRATH
12	Registered Professional Reporter
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17	My Commission Expires:
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