

1 STATE OF MISSOURI ATTORNEY GENERAL CHRIS KOSTER'S
URBAN CRIME SUMMIT

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

SEPTEMBER 18, 2013

9

ST. LOUIS

10

DAY 3

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

1	INDEX	
2	Opening remarks and introductions	
	By Attorney General Koster	5:5
3		
	Presentations:	
4		
	Gang Violence in St. Louis	
5	Detective Jerod Breit	30:12
6	Panel Discussion	42:21
7	Youth Employment Programs to Reduce Crime	
	Jonathan Davis	59:17
8	Bridget Flood	71:14
9	Public Safety and Mental Health Resources	
	Daniel E. Isom	80:10
10	Dale Glass	88:3
	Pamela Walker	91:10
11		
	Panel Discussion	102:3
12		
	Effective Policing: Where We Have Been,	
13	And Where We Are Going	
	William J. Bratton	114:3
14		
	Panel Discussion	143:8
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1 STATE OF MISSOURI ATTORNEY GENERAL CHRIS KOSTER'S
URBAN CRIME SUMMIT

2

3

4 THE URBAN CRIME SUMMIT, Day 3, St. Louis,
5 Missouri, September 18, 2013, taken at St. Louis
6 University School of Law, 100 North Tucker, St. Louis,
7 Missouri, before Valerie A. Lehr, a Certified Court
8 Reporter and Notary Public within and for the State of
9 Missouri.

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

APPEARANCES

Panel Participants:

Chris Koster, Attorney General, State of Missouri
Francis G Slay, Mayor of St. Louis, Missouri
Sly James, Mayor of Kansas City, Missouri
Charlie A. Dooley, County Executive of St. Louis County, Missouri
Colonel Samuel Dotson, III, Chief of Police, Metropolitan Police Department, City of St.
Colonel Tim Fitch, Chief of Police, St. Louis County Police Department

Featured Presenters:

Gang Violence in St. Louis
Detective Jerod Breit, STLP
Youth Employment Programs to Reduce Crime
Jonathan Davis, University of Chicago Crime Lab
Bridget Flood, Regional Youth Violence Prevention Task Force
Public Safety and Mental Health Resources
Dale Glass, St. Louis Corrections Commissioner
Daniel E. Isom, E. Desmond Lee Professor of Policing and the Community, UMSL
Pamela Walker, Director of Health for the City of St. Louis Department of Health
Effective Policing: Where We Have Been, and Where We Are Going
William J. Bratton, Chairman and CEO, The Bratton Group; Chairman and CEO, Bratton Technologies; Former Commissioner of New York Police Department and Police Chief of Los Angeles

1 TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

2 * * * * *

3 (Wherein The Urban Crime Summit began at
4 9:07 a.m.)

5 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Good morning,
6 everyone. Good morning, everybody. Could we bring this
7 to order?

8 Good morning. Let me begin by thanking
9 Dean Wolff and Julie Ward and our other friends here at
10 St. Louis University who have opened this extraordinary
11 facility to us. It is simply amazing. I think
12 everybody finds it as breathtaking as we do, and it's
13 exciting to be here to begin this portion of our Urban
14 Crime Summit.

15 So, I want to welcome everyone to day
16 three of this four-day discussion in search of real
17 solutions to the problems of urban crime in our state.
18 Now, day one and day two of The Urban Crime Summit were
19 hosted by Mayor Sly James and Police Chief Darryl Forte
20 in Kansas City, for which I am thankful. Day three and
21 day four of The Summit are being hosted by Mayor Francis
22 Slay and Police Chief Sam Dotson today and tomorrow as
23 we bring this discussion to St. Louis. We are also
24 joined with the St. Louis portion of the Summit by St.
25 Louis County Executive Charlie Dooley and by St. Louis

1 County Police Chief Tim Fitch. We welcome both of you.

2 Each of these individuals, Mayors James
3 and Slay, County Executive Dooley, Police Chiefs Forte,
4 Dotson and Fitch have tremendous responsibilities and
5 extraordinary schedules. The fact that each of them has
6 cleared their schedule, many of them for four
7 consecutive days, to focus on the problem of urban crime
8 is a recognition of the toll that this violence is
9 taking on our two cities. The fact that each of them
10 has agreed to travel across the state to one another's
11 hometown is a recognition that we, as Missourians, are
12 in this all together. The fact that we are here is a
13 statement that we do not accept this violence as the
14 status quo.

15 One hundred and five murders in Kansas
16 City year after year is unacceptable. One hundred and
17 thirteen murders in St. Louis year after year is
18 unacceptable. Young lives destroyed, families broken by
19 grief, children buried by parents, generations --
20 generations raised to believe that this violence is
21 normal is all unacceptable. My hope is this week will
22 be a step on our journey home.

23 In 1990, New York City had a murder rate
24 of 14 murders per 100,000 citizens. Today, it is less
25 than 4 per 100,000. Let me say that one more time. In

1 1990, New York City had a murder rate of 14 murders per
2 100,000 citizens. Over two decades, that murder rate
3 has dropped from 14 to 4. This senseless violence can
4 be stopped if we demand it to be so.

5 Today, Kansas City has a murder rate of 22
6 murders per 100,000 citizens. St. Louis has a rate of
7 35 per 100,000 citizens. Even accounting for geographic
8 anomalies, these homicide rates exceed those that New
9 York City faced even in its most violent era. And as a
10 state, Missouri's murder rate ranks ninth amongst the 50
11 states, ninth worst. These murder rates cannot simply
12 be categorized as inner city problems. They are
13 state-wide problems that concern every Missourian and
14 should occupy the attention of policymakers in Jefferson
15 City and across the state.

16 This conference will serve us well, even
17 if it only forces us to look in the mirror and recognize
18 the ugliness of this situation, but my hope is that it
19 will do much more. So, let's put every solution on the
20 table. Let's listen to the nation's experts, the
21 country's foremost criminologists and police chiefs and
22 let's ask them how do we begin to push back against
23 these obscenely high rates of violence in our
24 communities.

25 We are not afraid of honest discussion of

1 controversial topics. We are not afraid of new
2 approaches that will break old paradigms. We welcome
3 good-hearted people who have travelled here to help us.
4 We are only afraid of the cost of complacency in the
5 face of this violence and for the lost lives and broken
6 families that our inaction will bring.

7 Over these four days, we will listen to
8 law enforcement experts who have faced down the toughest
9 problems in America's largest cities. We will hear from
10 both the current and former Police Commissioners of the
11 City of New York; we will hear from the former Police
12 Chief of Los Angeles; we will hear from leading
13 authorities in the country on evidence-based policing
14 strategies, on gang violence, on hot-spot policing, on
15 the newest computer and camera technologies to keep an
16 eye on our city streets, on prisoner re-entry, on mental
17 health challenges and on the economic costs that crime
18 brings and much, much more.

19 Experts in the field have travelled to our
20 state from New York and California, from Chicago and
21 Washington DC, and we will hear innovators from within
22 our own major cities. This Summit is an extraordinary
23 event, and I'm deeply grateful that so many have shown
24 such enthusiasm to make it a reality.

25 So, let us promise that these efforts will

1 bring measurable results. Let us promise that this week
2 will reduce the violence in our cities as New York has
3 achieved in the past and others have achieved. Let us
4 promise that this week will actually begin the process
5 of saving lives.

6 Every word that is spoken over these four
7 days will be taken down by the court reporter to your
8 left. The transcript will be available to every law
9 enforcement official and every citizen of this state and
10 beyond. And in early December, we will publish a
11 detailed report of recommendations for Missouri law
12 enforcement community, policy makers and legislative
13 leaders that will summarize what we have learned and
14 recognize a concrete path forward.

15 So, with that, let us begin. I'm grateful
16 to be joined in this effort by several individuals that
17 I would like to introduce to you now:

18 Mayor Francis Slay was elected the 45th
19 Mayor of St. Louis in April of 2001 and is the longest
20 serving mayor of this city, having been re-elected to an
21 historic fourth term in April of 2013. Prior to being
22 elected mayor, he practiced law for 20 years, served as
23 St. Louis Alderman for 10 years and then served as
24 President of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen from 1995
25 to 2001.

1 Colonel Sam Dotson joined the Metropolitan
2 Police Department on October 11, 1993. He was selected
3 Chief of Police on December 14, 2012. Prior to being
4 named as Chief of Police, he served as Operations
5 Director for the City of St. Louis and has served in
6 numerous divisions within the department, including
7 Board of Police Commissioners, Office of the Chief,
8 Intelligence Division, Operations, Planning and the
9 Fourth, Seventh and Ninth Police Districts.

10 Sly James, in addition to being an old law
11 partner of mine long ago, was elected Mayor of Kansas
12 City on March 22, 2011. During his 26-year legal
13 career, Mayor James served as the Director of the Kansas
14 City Metropolitan Bar Association and Vice President of
15 the Board of Directors of Legal Aid of Western Missouri,
16 a former partner at the law firm of Blackwell Sanders.
17 He now heads the Sly James Law Firm.

18 Colonel Darryl Forte is not here because
19 there was a -- and has been on the panel throughout but
20 had to attend the funeral, the very unexpected of
21 funeral of a Sergeant, I believe, in the Kansas City
22 Metropolitan Police Department, who died of a heart
23 attack at the age of 43, I believe. But he will be here
24 later today following those services, and I will
25 introduce him at that time.

1 Charlie Dooley was appointed St. Louis
2 County Executive in 2003 and subsequently was elected to
3 the position in November of 2004. He was re-elected in
4 2006 and 2010. Prior to becoming County Executive, he
5 had a 30-year career at McDonnell Douglas. Mr. Dooley
6 has also served as the Mayor of the City of Northwoods
7 and the First District Councilman of St. Louis County.
8 Mr. Dooley is an Army veteran and has served our country
9 in Vietnam.

10 And Tim Fitch -- Chief Tim Fitch was
11 appointed to the position of Chief of Police of St.
12 Louis County in 2009 by the St. Louis County Board of
13 Police Commissioners. Chief Fitch has served the
14 department for more than 30 years. He started his
15 career in 1983 and has worked in every division of the
16 department during his service.

17 I would like to ask each of the mayors and
18 the County Executive to come forward first and then
19 County Executive Dooley and then Chief Dotson and then
20 Chief Fitch to make opening remarks.

21 Thank you for coming and thank you for
22 showing your interest in this important topic.

23 ST. LOUIS CITY MAYOR FRANCIS SLAY

24 MAYOR SLAY: Good morning. It's good to
25 see so many of your here this morning. I would

1 certainly, you know, want to welcome you to St. Louis
2 University Law School. It is my alma mater. I'm very
3 proud to have been a student here and now an alum, and
4 this facility is something we're very proud of in the
5 City of St. Louis. I think it's a very appropriate
6 place to have this.

7 But, you know, first and foremost, I want
8 to thank Attorney General Chris Koster for organizing
9 this, he and his team, this effort -- this cross-state
10 team effort to really address something that's important
11 to all of us, particularly larger cities in the State of
12 Missouri.

13 This is the first time that I can remember
14 that an Attorney General or any state-wide elected
15 official, for that matter, has taken the initiative to
16 address crime in a direct way and a visible way in our
17 cities in St. Louis and in Kansas City in trying to make
18 our cities safer and trying to make our cities better
19 places for all our citizens. So, I can't thank you
20 enough for your leadership.

21 We can also thank our Attorney General for
22 the key role that he played in stopping a really bad
23 piece of gun legislation last week in Jefferson City.
24 Thank you again for your leadership and courage,
25 Mr. Attorney General. We really do appreciate it.

1 I also want to acknowledge my good friend
2 Charlie Dooley who you're going to hear from in just a
3 moment. He and I work closely on a lot of issues,
4 including crime. You're going to hear a little bit more
5 about that, but working together is always a good thing.

6 And to my good friend Sly James, Mayor of
7 Kansas City, we have worked together in the Conference
8 of Mayors and have talked about a number of things, you
9 know, really from different sides of the state, but
10 believe me, the issues that we face here are so -- so
11 similar to the ones in Kansas City, learning, working
12 together, talking and learning about, you know, what
13 works for each other and working together is something
14 that is going to benefit both of our communities. Sly,
15 it's great to have you in St. Louis. I enjoyed my visit
16 in Kansas City.

17 MAYOR JAMES: Thank you.

18 MAYOR SLAY: I always do. As I look out
19 in the crowd, I see so many people in law enforcement,
20 the courts, elected and appointed officials, community
21 leaders and others who are here, and all of you are here
22 because you care about this topic. And you are -- many
23 of you are on the front lines, you know, trying to
24 reduce crime and make our city safer. I want to thank
25 you for the work you do and thank you for being part of

1 this.

2 You know, the two biggest challenges that
3 our city faces here are reducing crime and improving
4 quality education opportunities for our youth, and those
5 two issues are very closely related.

6 Our city is awash in crime. We have a
7 state that has one of the most lax gun laws in the
8 country. Too many people are willing to use them, and
9 there's not enough swift action or strong enough
10 consequences to those who do. The courts have not
11 caught up with times or the demands of our citizens.
12 That's unfortunate, but we're still working on that
13 issue. State and federal budget cuts have forced jails
14 and prisons to become de facto mental facilities. Not
15 enough of our young people have access to good jobs or
16 to quality schools. Too many young males don't have a
17 -- they don't have anyone to teach them how to be a man.
18 And that has resulted in too much violence. Almost all
19 of it is ridiculously pointless.

20 On the plus side, the police department
21 has embraced evidence-based policing that resulted in
22 smarter policing which is driving crime down. Our Task
23 Force on Youth Violence has rallied the best minds and
24 most caring people in our community, and they have
25 created a very good plan to keep more young people out

1 of trouble. We need to support that effort. We have
2 more after-school programs, better recreation
3 opportunities and have dramatically reduced lead
4 poisoning, a major contributor to violence later in
5 life. All of this has resulted in a 46 percent
6 reduction in crime over the last six years, but that
7 isn't enough, not even close.

8 We cannot and we will not rest until every
9 neighborhood is safe, until every child can play outside
10 after school or in the evening without concern of being
11 victimized and until all of our seniors can live in
12 their homes without fear. We need more partnerships
13 like the one we formed with the University of Missouri
14 St. Louis and Washington University and federal law
15 enforcement agencies.

16 Earlier this week, I received a letter
17 from County Executive Charlie Dooley. He proposed in
18 that letter -- and we had talked on the phone ahead of
19 time -- that the City and County and the respective
20 police departments work together to coordinate on
21 policies and standards, that we report crime jointly,
22 and that we figure out how to combine our police
23 training and subrogate our firearms training. Charlie,
24 those are great ideas, and to all of those, I say, yes,
25 yes and yes. Thank you for your leadership as well.

1 This is the kind of regional thing that we
2 need to do to break the back of crime. So, Mr. Attorney
3 General, we have a lot of work to do, but you have my
4 word that I and my staff will work with you and yours to
5 help develop and pass an aggressive agenda in Jefferson
6 City to put some of the ideas that come out at that work
7 and to make all of our neighborhoods a safer place. So,
8 thank you, and I look forward to a productive -- a
9 continued productive conference. Thank you.

10 ST. LOUIS COUNTY EXECUTIVE CHARLIE DOOLEY

11 COUNTY EXECUTIVE DOOLEY: First, let me
12 say good morning. Oh, you can do better. Let's try
13 again. Good morning! Get excited about it! This is
14 really outstanding!

15 To my good friend, Attorney General Chris
16 Koster, I am extremely happy you brought us together for
17 this exciting opportunity. Thank you so very much.

18 To my good friend, Mayor Slay, it's always
19 good to work with you in partnership. It does make a
20 difference in our community.

21 And to my good friend, Mayor Sly James,
22 you need to invite me to Kansas City every now and then.
23 I'll go.

24 MAYOR JAMES: Absolutely.

25 COUNTY EXECUTIVE DOOLEY: Let me say this.

1 I'm going to talk about four things and make it very
2 brief and very quick about it.

3 First, I want to talk about police and
4 courts. As I -- let me state this first. You cannot
5 hire enough police -- we cannot put enough police on the
6 streets to stop crime. It's impossible. That's not
7 going to happen. What we need to look at, quite
8 frankly, is how do we train our police, what equipment
9 and technology do we give them to do a good job in our
10 community and do they feel safe in doing their job.
11 That's an issue that has to be addressed. And what are
12 the training opportunities as well.

13 Then there's the court system. We cannot
14 leave the courts out of this equation in this
15 conversation. There's too many things that need to be
16 done with the state legislature, the courts. Is it the
17 (inaudible) to the courts, the defenders? All of this
18 work that we accomplish when you get someone, criminal
19 or whatever, alleged in a certain situation or they stay
20 in our jails in St. Louis County where people are
21 staying in the county jail for more than 80 days. And
22 four years ago, the average was 52 days. What's the
23 difference? What's going on? That is the cost it costs
24 constituents. We need to look at, again, the courts and
25 the police departments.

1 Second, the community and neighborhoods.
2 My friends, police cannot do their job without the
3 community being involved and engaged in that process.
4 The police can walk up a street and drive up and down
5 the street every single day, 24 hours a day and seven
6 days a week, and they will never see what the people
7 behind the doors see every single day. They need to be
8 engaged, and they need to understand that the police are
9 there to protect them, but it has to be a partnership.
10 There are things in our neighborhoods we need to do. If
11 there are burned down houses, tear them down. If there
12 are evacuated shopping centers, get rid of them, board
13 them up. We need to look at crime prevention in a very
14 positive way. But we need to start thinking about what
15 we've been doing, how we can do it different because the
16 equation has not changed. The issue is still there.
17 St. Louis is the largest county in the state,
18 but, my friends, it is not a rural county. It is an
19 urban county with the same issues that any large
20 metropolitan area has. One million people. Crime does
21 not have any boundaries. They don't know anything about
22 Sieglar Avenue. They don't know about that. It's all
23 around us. People need to feel safe in their
24 communities. Their family needs to feel safe in their
25 community as well.

1 Third -- and Mayor Slay touched on this --
2 education. How can we leave education out of the
3 equation? If young people -- it's my understanding most
4 of the crimes are committed by young people in our
5 communities. If they are not in school not being
6 educated, they feel hopeless, no value. And guess what?
7 They have no skills. What do you think they're going to
8 do? What do you think they're going to do? What's the
9 outcome? Do they feel value in themselves? Do they
10 feel hopelessness? Are they getting the right
11 mentorship? Education, I believe, is a key cornerstone
12 that we have to emphasize. We need those young people
13 today and in our future. America is the greatest
14 country ever known in the world, a great country, but my
15 friends, we're not good to ourselves. It's a global
16 economy, and every person in our community is of value.
17 This means our kids. They are valued. They need to
18 understand that there is hope. There is a tomorrow.
19 They are welcomed into our community. We want them to
20 be successful, but even more importantly, we raise the
21 bar for them. You can do this. We've got to show them
22 something. We have educational opportunities, corporate
23 sponsors. There are things being done but just not
24 enough is being done. That includes myself as well.
25 We've got to do a better job. It is imperative that we

1 save our young people for the future of this great
2 country.

3 Then fourth, it is about perception. We
4 can do all the laws we want to do, all the great
5 policies, but if I, as an individual, feel that it is
6 pointed at the African American communities, the
7 Hispanic community or whatever, it is the wrong
8 perception. We see crime is at an all-time low in the
9 County and City, but yet, there are people in our
10 community that does not feel safe. We're not connecting
11 the dots. Somebody is left out of the equation.
12 Somebody do not feel valued in our community. That is
13 our jobs. Perception. Are they talking about me? Are
14 they protecting me where I live? I hear about it in the
15 paper where they talked about it and on the TV. Well,
16 what about me? How about where I live? Shouldn't I
17 feel safe? Do my family deserve to feel safe in a
18 parking place? Should my family feel that there are
19 opportunities for achievement? Why not me?
20 We need to understand that in order for us to be a
21 successful community, it needs to be all of us together.
22 Everybody here needs to be involved in that process.
23 everybody needs to feel there's some value in it for
24 them.

25 At the end of the day, my friends, it is

1 not about us in this room. It is about the people
2 behind the doors in those different 91 municipalities in
3 St. Louis County and the citizens in Unincorporated --
4 and the 20,000 people in Unincorporated St. Louis
5 County. They want to know do I feel safe? Are they
6 talking about me? That's the bottom line.

7 And people, for whatever reason, they are
8 afraid of change. Change is our challenge. Thinking
9 outside of the box, making a difference. I say it so
10 many times. I mean, consider it. Thirty years ago, I
11 had the afro like this. Today I don't. (Inaudible).

12 We cannot stop change, but we can manage
13 it through our constituency and our census. It is
14 imperative that we do that. Embrace change for the
15 future.

16 So, I say I welcome this conference, this
17 Summit. I'm here to learn, to listen. I don't have any
18 particular silver bullet or golden rules or any
19 preconceived conceptions that I know the answers,
20 because I don't. I'm willing to work with Mayor Slay,
21 Mr. Koster, Mayor James to make a difference. Thank
22 you.

23 CHIEF OF POLICE SAM DOTSON

24 ST. LOUIS METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

25 CHIEF DOTSON: Good morning. I want to

1 begin this morning by thanking Missouri Attorney General
2 Chris Koster for his leadership in putting The Summit
3 together.

4 To keep our community safe, it takes hard
5 work, vision and fortitude to stand firm on tough
6 issues. Our first two days in Kansas City were
7 informative and insightful and gave an opportunity to
8 share some great information, but it's nice to be home
9 in St. Louis, and it's nice to be here in the St. Louis
10 University facility at St. Louis University Law School.
11 We thank you as well for allowing us to be here.

12 To those of you here today in attendance,
13 whatever your interest is in the topic, maybe you're
14 visiting here in the business of public safety or
15 criminal justice or maybe you're a scholar or a student
16 or maybe you're a concerned citizen. Whatever brought
17 you here today, I cannot help share with you the value
18 of the conversations that occurred in Kansas City over
19 the past two days. We were hosted by Mayor Sly James
20 and Chief Darryl Forte. Chief Forte will join us
21 tomorrow. As the Attorney General said, he's attending
22 the funeral of an officer from their police community in
23 Kansas City. Mayor James, thoughts and prayers from our
24 department are with you and your officers in Kansas
25 City. Let me also acknowledge our Mayor Francis Slay

1 for everything he has done to make this possible.

2 As you know, I've been Police Chief for a
3 little more than nine months, and to have a symposium of
4 this caliber to draw from as we form our plans and
5 strategies for future crime reduction is just
6 incredible.

7 Let me also take a moment to recognize the
8 speakers taking part in The Summit. They represent the
9 marquee names in our field, both in theory and in
10 practice of law enforcement. If they made baseball
11 cards for superstars in crime reduction, every kid would
12 want to collect names like Ray Kelly, Bill Bratton,
13 Frank Zimring and our own Rick Rosenfeld. I can't
14 express the importance in our field in any better than
15 that of who those individuals are.

16 In St. Louis, when we talk about crime
17 reduction, we're talking about how to follow up on a
18 pattern of success. Twenty years ago in 1993, St. Louis
19 reported 267 homicides. That was our peak year. Last
20 year, that number was 113. That represents a 58 percent
21 reduction, 58 percent in 20 years. That decrease
22 challenges us to find more ways to continue the
23 reduction of murders. It challenges us to be more
24 impactful in delivering a combination of enforcement,
25 social programs and community involvement. Just

1 for perspective, since the Great Depression, the lowest
2 number of homicides in the City of St. Louis was in 1943
3 with 50 murders. We are much closer to the lower end of
4 that range than the 267 murders we experienced in 1993.

5 Since 2006, crime in the City of St. Louis
6 has seen over a 40 percent reduction. We should be
7 encouraged by our success but also note there is much
8 more work to be done.

9 Let me give you some quick facts about
10 crime in the City of St. Louis. Crimes committed with
11 guns, violent crimes, so far this year, there have been
12 1,686 victims of aggravated assault with firearms; 813
13 robberies all at gunpoint, 63 homicides committed with
14 firearms, and 448 arrests for weapons charges. That's
15 3,010 crimes committed with guns in the City of St.
16 Louis year-to-date. As I said, last year, St. Louis
17 witnessed 113 homicides. That is too many. Indeed, one
18 is too many because we're not talking numbers when we
19 talk about homicides, we're talking about human lives.

20 To address the violence, we value our
21 partnerships with federal agencies, and a special thank
22 you to Attorney General Koster for your leadership and
23 support and the veto of House Bill 436 which would have
24 clearly tied the hands of police officers throughout the
25 State of Missouri.

1 Over the next two days, we will talk about
2 a gun docket and the judiciary here in St. Louis that
3 rejected it. We will not give up on public safety or
4 ever accept mediocrity or complacency. We will seek
5 support in Jefferson City to give direction to the
6 Circuit Court in St. Louis, and because we recognize we
7 cannot do this alone, we will never limit ourselves to
8 crime fighting alone. We involve ourselves in the
9 businesses of relationship building. That's why we do
10 things like spending time and resources coaching youth
11 sports programs with our police advocacy and send
12 academy recruits to read to schoolchildren through a
13 program we call Books and Badges.

14 The four-day conversation is the beginning
15 of a new era of open and candid dialogue about issues
16 that impact all of us personally and economically and
17 socially. That's what we all believe and that's what we
18 believe our mission is here today. Thank you for
19 attending and thank you for caring.

20 CHIEF OF POLICE TIM FITCH,
21 ST. LOUIS COUNTY POLICE DEPARTMENT

22 CHIEF FITCH: Good morning. The best
23 thing about going last is it's always the shortest, so
24 it's a good thing.

25 So, thank you, General Koster for inviting

1 us and having us here in St. Louis and Kansas City. We
2 appreciate all that.

3 One of the things that I wanted to mention
4 is when you parked here today, when you arrived in
5 downtown St. Louis and locked your car, did you think
6 about the possibility that when you got back to your car
7 somebody may have broken into it? How many -- raise
8 your hand if you thought of that possibility. Okay.
9 That's perception of crime. I think you heard the
10 County Executive talk a little bit about perception of
11 crime.

12 So, when we talk about the crime in urban
13 areas, we're aren't just talking about murders and
14 shootings. We're talking about crimes that affect
15 everybody. One of the crimes that affects everybody is
16 things like car break-ins. We've seen a big spike
17 around the metropolitan area, not just the City of St.
18 Louis, but around the metro area. That affects
19 everybody, break-ins, burglaries, somebody comes in your
20 house when you're at work. Not everybody is impacted by
21 violent crime; however, that's going to be a key part of
22 what we talk about today.

23 One of the things that we see in our
24 community is a profound sense of hopelessness. That
25 leads to a lot of violent crime. To give you an

1 example, over the weekend, just this past weekend in
2 Pine Lawn, an eight-year-old boy was shot, shot in the
3 chest by a relative who decided he would take a firearm
4 and shoot at three children for no good reason because
5 he was angry. He was angry, and he said you know what,
6 I'm just going to shoot the first people I see. He shot
7 at three little kids and hit the eight-year-old. What
8 sense can we make out of that? How do we fix that?
9 Clearly, he had some mental issues. There's no doubt
10 about that, but that's a big part of what we'll talk
11 about today is guns and the relationship with mental
12 illness. That's a big part of the problem we have
13 today.

14 You heard Chief Dotson talk about some of
15 the programs the police are involved in in the
16 community. That's a good thing; however, we have to be
17 careful in law enforcement not to have (inaudible)
18 police. We can't do everything. We're the police. A
19 lot of times -- for example, this morning, on one of the
20 TV stations talking about this event today, a man was
21 interviewed and said, I'm tired of hearing the talk.
22 Tell the police to go to work and tell them to do
23 something about the crime. I would say that yes, crime
24 is our problem and crime is our responsibility, but it's
25 not just our responsibility because it's the community's

1 responsibility as well. And to that end, what are we
2 doing differently? What can we talk about in St. Louis
3 County that we're doing differently?

4 I'd like to point out two people that are
5 in the audience today, Captain Troy Doyle sitting in the
6 back here. Troy, raise your hand. Right next to him is
7 Lieutenant Jeff Fuesting. Troy is the commander for our
8 North County Precinct; Jeff is the commander for our
9 Jennings Detail. So, he's in charge of all of the
10 issues and crime problems that arise in the City of
11 Jennings.

12 As you know, Jennings has historically a
13 reputation for violent crime. They have led the program
14 in Jennings and now moving into North County that have
15 had a serious impact on crime. That is our Community
16 Accountability Program. This is a program where we, in
17 concert with our friends at the federal, state,
18 probation as well as the family court, work very closely
19 together and we monitor the probation -- people that are
20 under supervision on probation out in the community. We
21 actually act as probation officers and parole officers,
22 and we will show up at their house at 10:00 at night to
23 make sure they are in, because the rules say they have
24 to be in. That's had a real impact on violent crime in
25 the community. We expect to roll this out to other

1 parts of the community as well because it's been so
2 successful. We'll talk about it more later today and
3 tomorrow. So, welcome. Thank you for
4 being here and thank you for being interested in what we
5 all have to learn today. I'm looking forward to hearing
6 from you as well. Thank you.

7 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Just to give you
8 a sense of what today will bring. We have three topics
9 that we are going to cover before the lunch hour and one
10 topic we will cover after the lunch hour. The three
11 topics before the lunch hour are gang violence, number
12 one; number two, youth employment programs to reduce
13 crime; and number three, mental health resources and the
14 effect of mental health resources on crime. Then this
15 afternoon, after the lunch hour, we will welcome Chief
16 Bill Bratton, who as Chief Dotson, I think, mentioned,
17 may arguably -- certainly, on everybody's list of the
18 most well-known, prominent law enforcement officials in
19 the country, Bill Bratton would be high on that list.
20 He will be talking about Effective Policing: Where We
21 Have Been and Where We Are Going.

22 For those who are not familiar, Bill
23 Bratton is the former Police Chief of the City of
24 Boston, Former Police Commissioner of the City of New
25 York and the former Police Chief of the City of Los

1 Angeles. He has held all three of those positions.

2 So, let's begin this morning with the
3 topic of gang violence. I'll ask Jerod Breit to come
4 forward. Jerod Breit is the intelligence analyst with
5 the Gang Enforcement Team at St. Louis Metropolitan
6 Police Department. In that role, he constantly monitors
7 the threat of gangs in the St. Louis area. Detective
8 Breit is an also instructor of Intelligence, Information
9 and Analysis to the Advanced Gang Investigators
10 Conference sponsored by the National Gang Institute.
11 Detective, we welcome you. Thank you for you coming.

12 DETECTIVE JEROD BREIT

13 DETECTIVE BREIT: Thank you, Mr. Attorney
14 General.

15 This morning I'd like to touch on the
16 subject of regional gang trends that we see in St.
17 Louis and St. Louis County. Before we go in-depth into
18 the trends that we see, I'd like to talk about what
19 exactly it means to be in a gang, what the definition of
20 a gang is.

21 The definition of a gang, according to
22 Missouri Statutes, is an ongoing organization,
23 association or a group of three or more persons, formal
24 or informal, with a common name, common signs or
25 symbols, who individually or collectively engage in a

1 pattern of criminal activity. Keeping the definition in
2 mind, it's important for us to take a look at, as law
3 enforcement officers, what we're able -- what criteria
4 we follow when we're to document individuals and
5 offenders as gang members.

6 The first set of that criteria is
7 self-admission. Does the individual have gang-related
8 tattoos, do they wear gang-related clothing or do they
9 possess gang-related paraphernalia, do they participate
10 in criminal activity with known gang members, and does
11 the police department possess records or have
12 observations of those individuals' involvement with
13 documented members of gangs.

14 The second set is reliable information
15 identifying the subject as a gang member. Has the
16 subject been observed displaying gang hand signals,
17 signs? Do they possess writing or materials or gang
18 graffiti? Does the subject appear in photographs which
19 may indicate gang affiliation and has there been jail or
20 prison correspondence wherein the subject identifies
21 himself or herself as a gang member? While those are
22 our criteria, it's important to remember that if the
23 subject does not admit affiliation, at least two of the
24 above criteria must be met in order to document an
25 individual as a gang member. This preserves, obviously,

1 the integrity of the process which the courts have
2 afforded to law enforcement.

3 Some statistics regionally for the St.
4 Louis area: In St. Louis, we have approximately 8,671
5 documented gang members. 4,140 members have been
6 documented as such since 2008. 207 of those are
7 deceased and approximately 1,777 are in prison. 841 are
8 on Missouri probation or parole. 109 are on federal
9 probation or parole.

10 The one thing to remember when talking
11 about gangs, there is always the opportunity for
12 individuals to remove themselves from that situation and
13 make a better life, and the next two statistics will
14 show that.

15 908 of those documented gang members have
16 not committed a crime in five years, and a total of
17 1,285 have not committed a crime in 10 years.

18 As we look at the actions in some of those individuals'
19 pasts, obviously, they are not committing crimes, they
20 have may have moved. So, there's several factors to
21 take into consideration.

22 Total, there are 5,952 active and
23 documented members of gangs in the St. Louis area. 740
24 is the total of active members who are on probation or
25 parole state or federal, and it's just about .45

1 percent. So, less than one percent of the entire
2 population is a documented gang member.

3 We see a general membership in the St.
4 Louis region of 14 to 19 years old. We see the youngest
5 member of 9 in our past and the oldest of 44.

6 It's important as law enforcement officers
7 to remember that those individuals who are committing
8 crime are members of a gang and are documented, at some
9 point they will enter the Missouri Department of
10 Corrections. We hope they do not, but if they continue
11 on the path they're leading, they will go into the
12 correctional system. So, it's important for us to
13 understand what happens inside of the Missouri
14 Department of Corrections, as they have titled it a
15 security threat risk.

16 Approximately 3,000 offenders are in the
17 Eastern Reception Diagnostic Correctional Center.
18 70 percent of those individuals are a member or
19 monitored for security threat group affiliation.

20 Constantly over time, we see that
21 offenders from the City of St. Louis and St. Louis
22 County enter a correctional institution. One thing
23 we'll talk about today is the trend of hybrid gangs
24 which we're seeing not only here in the St. Louis region
25 but nationwide. For instance, individuals who enter the

1 Department of Corrections may have a specific drug
2 history. They may have knowledge of certain drugs.
3 This is a crime ground for them to experience other
4 factions that maybe are from rural Missouri who have
5 experience with other drugs, and we see a mixture of St.
6 Louis area individuals mixing with members who have ties
7 to cartels and can provide information on drug courier
8 methods of border -- on border patrol.

9 One thing that we'll continue to talk
10 about today are hybrid gangs. A few of those, for
11 instance -- one thing that we see is, for instance, the
12 Obama Boyz, the individual documented gang member from
13 this criminal street gang entered the Department of
14 Corrections. We see that they don't have a large
15 population inside the Department of Corrections. What
16 we're seeing is them -- whether it be the same Blood or
17 Crip affiliation, we see those individuals going and
18 joining other gangs simply for protection or for the
19 skills they might possess.

20 A short history. Obviously, some of the
21 most -- largest gang affiliations in the United States,
22 we see Bloods, Crips and Gangster Disciples. It's
23 important to understand a little bit about the history
24 of these gangs, where they were formed, how they were
25 formed and to remember that at one time, they did have

1 alliances until their peace was shattered on the streets
2 of Los Angeles where they then became two separate
3 groups, which we know today as the Blood and Crips.

4 Our relation to Chicago, we see Gangster
5 Disciples pretty heavily in the Chicago area. I'll
6 refer today to the example of the Gangster Disciples
7 being known as an organization for growth and
8 development. Unfortunately, in St. Louis, we also see a
9 gang of similar nature with the initials YPG, which they
10 will attest mean Young Professional Gentlemen, but on
11 the street, they're known as Young Project Gangsters.

12 One of the common misconceptions about the
13 St. Louis problem of gangs and how our gangs work,
14 between the Blood and the Crips, we don't have a
15 structured organization of these gangs on our streets.
16 It's very unorganized, but one of the common
17 misconceptions is a movie from our past which was very
18 indicative of the gangs in Los Angeles. Unfortunately,
19 the movie did spread. It was very popular. One thing
20 that it doesn't represent in the St. Louis region are
21 those ties to California and those ties to New York and
22 Chicago.

23 I can tell you a Los Angeles Crip known as
24 Snoop Dogg will be the first person to tell you that
25 there are cities in this country he will not go to, even

1 if he is promised ahead of time by his own Crip
2 affiliation in those neighborhoods, protection. He will
3 not attend.

4 One thing that we're seeing in St. Louis
5 are hybrid gangs. It's a nationwide trend, and one of
6 the main -- one of the main forms that it's taking place
7 is with the national phenomenon of twerking, which is a
8 dance. Unfortunately, groups gather. They hold
9 parties. They form teams. In our instance, almost
10 always we see drugs, guns and violence occur at these
11 parties, not only in the City but in the County.

12 The photos that you're seeing are photos
13 of mixed races in gangs that will claim affiliation as a
14 Blood or Crips set. It's something that we see and
15 studies show are a direct correlation between expulsion
16 in our schools and mixed races in Bloods and Crips,
17 which we have not predominantly seen in the past.
18 Nationwide studies of the National Gang Institute also
19 show expulsion does have something to do with those
20 individuals linking up and forming new gangs on our
21 streets.

22 This photograph is an ad for a party that
23 I spoke of earlier in the St. Louis area. The list of
24 initials that you see there, those are gangs. Those are
25 individuals who partake in criminal activities. Some of

1 those are documented gangs with documented members in
2 the tens, twenties, thirties and forties that are
3 attending this. And what we see are lots of -- a lot of
4 cash, guns and narcotics.

5 You can see from these pictures not only
6 do these individuals appear extremely young, but there's
7 no organization to their clothing. They do not have the
8 same color, but I can tell you that they are in a group
9 of three or more, and in this instance in these photos,
10 upward of 50.

11 These photos were taken at the Annie
12 Malone Parade. The majority were juveniles, and the
13 majority partook in criminal activities. They're all
14 members of gangs. They're members of teams who attend
15 these parties and conduct criminal activities. These
16 individuals show, at least in this instance when these
17 photos were taken, no structure.

18 The photos that you're about to see
19 demonstrate the social media aspect of gangs in the
20 United States and certainly here in the City of St.
21 Louis and St. Louis County. The ability to -- the
22 ability to make these photographs, as you can tell, it
23 closely resembles graffiti that you could see on vacant
24 buildings. Five years ago, that graffiti was
25 skyrocketing. Today, we see less graffiti and we see

1 more graffiti, if you will, on the internet on these
2 photographs which also demonstrate gang members'
3 nicknames, clothing, hand signals, affiliations, guns.

4 This individual we find extremely
5 disturbing. These individuals are citizens in the City
6 of St. Louis. Some are documented gang members. They
7 all possess, at least in this photograph, automatic
8 weapons and body armor.

9 These photos can be found on open source
10 information on the internet in the millions. Extremely
11 young. And, again, we see the writing that these
12 individuals make on these photos -- superimpose on these
13 photos are not only used to identify where they're from,
14 their affiliations but also to recruit.

15 This individual, for an example of the use
16 of social media, is in a photograph with no name, no
17 identifying colors, no hand signs, but he is in
18 possession of a gun in this paragraph, and then he'll
19 turn around and post a traffic ticket, which will help
20 us and identify who that individual is.

21 This photograph I put in here as a group
22 of junior high basketball players. One of those
23 individuals also poses in photographs holding guns.

24 One thing that we should look at, at least
25 in the City of St. Louis and the surrounding areas of

1 St. Louis County, are what once were thought of gang
2 sets. This photograph depicts the City's Eighth
3 District. The blue symbolized the Crip affiliated gang,
4 and the red symbolized Bloods. Block by block, these
5 individual gangs claimed a territory, but the reality is
6 -- it's a little hard to see up here, but the reality is
7 this is a photograph of the entire City of St. Louis.
8 The yellow square is a gang set of the Gang Eight Trey
9 Bell. The red dots indicate where the members of Eight
10 Trey Bell actually live. So, those gangs are actually
11 committing crime or hanging out and being social in that
12 square predominantly, but we can see that they don't
13 choose to live in that square.

14 It's important here -- you can't see from
15 the picture, but it's important the relationship between
16 St. Louis City and St. Louis County. Many of those dots
17 are outside the City of St. Louis, and many of those
18 documented gang members are residents of St. Louis
19 County.

20 When we talk about violence, it's
21 important to remember that statistics will show that
22 from January 1 of 2012 to June 1 of 2013, 177 persons
23 were involved in assaults where at least one person
24 died, and of those, 177, 32 people were involved -- 32
25 of those individuals involved were documented gang

1 members.

2 There are 43 persons who are listed as
3 suspects or offenders in assaults where at least one
4 person died, and of those 43, 5 of those were documented
5 gang members.

6 In non-domestic firearm assaults, where
7 there was no death, we had approximately 2,894. In 792
8 separate incidents, 188 involved a documented a gang
9 member as a victim, a suspect or a witness. It's just
10 about 6.4 percent.

11 Of the total 792 incidents, 155 of them
12 had at least one gang member involved.

13 We can talk about the statistics, but what
14 I'd like to talk about next is the St. Louis
15 Metropolitan Police Department's three-pronged unified
16 approach to dealing and combatting gangs in the streets
17 of St. Louis.

18 The first part is enforcement. We have to
19 focus on violent gang members who continue to commit
20 crime in the City and County who use weapons. As the
21 last slide demonstrated, it's a small percentage. So,
22 it is definitely in our ability to target those
23 individuals who, quote, unquote, are identified as
24 shooters, repeat offenders with violent histories.

25 We have the ability to target criminal

1 street gangs using historical cases and following
2 prosecution through with the right intelligence and
3 utilizing Missouri law enhancement for gang sentencing
4 for those members who are documented and choose to
5 commit crime on those historical cases where it asked
6 the courts for enhancements in their sentence.

7 Intelligence, the next approach.
8 Gathering, analyzing, sharing intelligence information
9 is extremely important not only between officers who are
10 analyzing the information but the officers who are on
11 the streets encountering these individuals on a daily
12 basis, to the neighborhoods and those who play an active
13 role in their community to curb the violence before it
14 happens.

15 As an intelligence division in the Gang
16 Enforcement Team, we take the time to conduct
17 neighborhood profiles on gangs and share that
18 information, giving it to the individuals that are
19 dealing with documented gang members on a daily basis.

20 One thing that makes us a little different
21 than other cities in the United States, although it is
22 seen, is something called Gang Days, Gang Celebration
23 Days. In St. Louis City, we see Gang Celebration Day
24 which don't always but have been known to end in
25 violence. An example of this on this chart, most gangs

1 -- for instance, the first one, the 41 Lexington Crips
2 in the Eighth District celebrate their Gang Day on April
3 1st. The Gibbson Posse celebrate their Gang Day on
4 April 3rd, because, again, St. Louis is unique as our
5 gang members identify with the hundred block that they
6 live on. Because you are a Crip on one block does not
7 mean you get along with the Crips two blocks away.

8 And the last -- the last point, diversion.
9 We have to and do constantly work with our community
10 stakeholders and our partners to try to encourage young
11 men and women to divert away from the lifestyle that
12 leads to gang violence and gang participation.
13 Organizations like Better Family Life and the
14 cooperation and close relationship with St. Louis Public
15 Schools. Routinely members from our Juvenile Division,
16 our Housing Authority Unit, our Gang Enforcement Team
17 and Intelligence Division meet with St. Louis Public
18 School safety every month to discuss ways to combat
19 seeing young men and women in school fall in the
20 footsteps of those before them. Thank you.

21 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Thank you,
22 Detective. That was an outstanding presentation, first
23 of all, and we all appreciate it.

24 So, I'm going to ask a -- there is not on
25 the -- if we go to the agenda, initially we were not

1 going to do Q and A at this point, but I think that the
2 presentation was so exceptional that everybody wants to
3 delay the beginning of the next presentation to do Q and
4 A because I think it's an important topic and you've
5 done such an outstanding job.

6 My first question is going to be asked
7 with knowledge that Chief Dotson is the only person who
8 speaks for the St. Louis Police Department, so you might
9 want to watch his eyes when you answer this question.

10 We find at this conference, whether we
11 like it or not, faith and chance have drawn it together
12 with the vote of the judiciary and the larger topic of
13 an armed offender docket.

14 So, let me phrase the question with some
15 delicacy, but I am looking for as candid a response as
16 politically you can give.

17 What tools do you need from public
18 policymakers, what tools do you need from the judiciary
19 understanding that the context in which this conference
20 is being held -- is being held around this issue of
21 armed offender dockets, high cash-only bonds, what is
22 known in the vernacular of the trial world as rocket
23 dockets, giving priority to trial positions within the
24 dockets of the various judges for armed offenders? What
25 tools, you and your colleagues in the St. Louis Police

1 Department, could best serve your interest over the next
2 five years from policymakers in Jefferson City who have
3 influence over the decision-making within the judiciary?

4 DETECTIVE BREIT: I think it's important
5 to remember that so many of us are on the street every
6 day dealing with individuals who have repeated crime
7 over and over with weapons and for us to remember that
8 individuals who commit those crimes often forget about
9 their victims. I think what police officers in our
10 department and street officers look for from the
11 judiciary and future plans for an armed offender docket
12 is understanding its emphasis on the punishment for
13 those who choose to commit those crimes, and I think we
14 see that support here, especially from the mayor and our
15 chief. We see that, and if that could extend to the
16 state capitol that there is emphasis on punishment for
17 those who choose to commit a crime with a gun and affect
18 the life of someone else. So, it's education and
19 understanding that it just doesn't stop on the docket.

20 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Does the high
21 cash-only bond -- right now I think it's \$30,000
22 cash-only bond in the City of St. Louis for armed
23 offenders. Do you think there is recognition within the
24 gang-affiliated world that there is recognition -- is
25 there recognition of a high cash-only bond? If it was

1 moved from 30 to \$50,000, would that impact activity on
2 the streets? To what degree are these policies being
3 recognized in the gang community and are they affecting
4 their behavior?

5 DETECTIVE BREIT: Sure. There are -- it's
6 a two-prong answer. The first answer is those organized
7 gangs who are taking organized criminal activities,
8 whether it be narcotic sales, human trafficking, what we
9 see is is the ability to post a bond no matter what the
10 bond is for those leaders or important members of those
11 gangs.

12 In St. Louis, the overwhelming majority is
13 once that offender is arrested and a bond is placed on
14 them, especially when it's that high, they have no
15 ability to post that bond. They do understand that if
16 they do commit the crime -- and I see it every day on
17 the streets and in the social media -- that they
18 understand that they can be sitting there for quite a
19 while. That does not bother them. The one thing that
20 we do see is that they understand now on a regular basis
21 that the bonds are being set higher. And so, in hopes
22 that those individuals, after they commit one crime with
23 a high bond, get out and do their time, won't recommit
24 another crime for fear of not being able to post that
25 bond and having to sit in a correctional facility.

1 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: There was a
2 point that was raised in Kansas City that it's -- it's
3 obvious, but it's only obvious when you say it out loud.
4 It's something that, I think, policymakers in Jefferson
5 City need to be cognitive of, and I wanted to get your
6 reaction. And that is the need to create a set of tools
7 for you and your colleagues that allow you to
8 effectively enforce the law, and if that means
9 punishment behind bars, then so be it. During the ages
10 17 to 28 -- and that creating a set of policies that
11 create incarceration for gang members in the 45th year
12 has declining value because it is largely an institution
13 of young people, young men as opposed to individuals who
14 -- the social benefit of incarcerating gang members in
15 their 45th year has an obvious decline in benefit to
16 society, that police officers need tools to attack the
17 problem when individuals are between the age of 17 and
18 30. Do you agree with the point that was made in Kansas
19 City?

20 DETECTIVE BREIT: I do. I think a lot of
21 the issues between St. Louis and Kansas City are
22 similar. It may be a different type of gang. It may be
23 a different affiliation, but the one thing that is
24 constant is both in the City of St. Louis and the City
25 of Kansas City is we have officers on the street every

1 day who could use -- whether it be new technology,
2 whether it be a cooperation from the courts with
3 concerned citizens. I definitely agree that the more
4 tools you provide law enforcement officers on the
5 street, our citizens will benefit from safer streets.

6 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Mayor Slay?

7 MAYOR SLAY: Thank you. First of all, I
8 want to thank you for the work that you do and certainly
9 thank you for your commitment to the department and
10 people of St. Louis.

11 This is a similar question. I don't mean
12 it to be the same question. So, my question is what are
13 your biggest frustrations or your biggest frustration in
14 addressing gang violence in the City? What do you find
15 to be your biggest challenges?

16 DETECTIVE BREIT: I think it's constantly
17 evolving, and again, Mr. Mayor, I made many references
18 to social media. It's a way for them to spread their
19 message outside of school where five, six years ago,
20 they only had communicated inside school or on the
21 street. It's extremely frustrating for all of our
22 police officers, our commanders, of course, to see
23 repeat offenders who constantly commit crimes and
24 re-enter, even if it's the St. Louis Justice Center.
25 And again, the solution to that is the higher bonds, the

1 cooperation from the Circuit Attorney's Office, and most
2 importantly, good police work to form the cases in order
3 to prosecute individuals.

4 MAYOR SLAY: First of all, I can tell you
5 that that is a frustration I share. And I've been to a
6 lot of neighborhood meetings and talked to community
7 leaders, and that's a frustration that I also share with
8 you, so I understand that very well.

9 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: County Executive
10 Dooley?

11 COUNTY EXECUTIVE DOOLEY: Just a couple
12 questions. First of all, it's my understanding -- I'm
13 more involved in the prevention. It's my understanding
14 that in a lot of cases a lot of young people are being
15 forced into something for their own protection. How do
16 we address that, because at the of the day, if someone
17 is forcing somebody because they feel they have no
18 choice or their choices are limited -- we all have
19 choices. Have we addressed that in a very valuable way?
20 And secondly, what are the loopholes they're using
21 against a policy that we put in place?

22 DETECTIVE BREIT: You know, I would -- to
23 the first part of your question, I think there are
24 after-school programs, PAL, the Police Athletic
25 Training. In our police department, our Juvenile

1 Division works closely with St. Louis Public Schools
2 Public Safety on a daily basis. So, the one thing that
3 we do and we could do more of, as everyone could do
4 more, especially in school is promote those after-school
5 programs for the Police Athletic League giving those
6 individuals a place to feel safe instead of having to
7 join a group of other individuals to feel that sense of
8 protection.

9 What was the second question?

10 COUNTY EXECUTIVE DOOLEY: The loopholes in
11 that most criminals that I know, they know what the
12 loopholes are. That's a frustration the -- that's a
13 frustration that many people say I pick them up and
14 before I get back in my car, they're back on the street.
15 What are those types of loopholes?

16 DETECTIVE BREIT: Well, I can tell you
17 from a gang enforcement standpoint, it is frustrating to
18 see those individuals enter our correctional system and
19 the court system but then return to the street. The
20 loopholes that they know, while they are young, they're
21 not -- not all of them are uneducated. They're smart,
22 and I referenced social media and the internet. The
23 internet is a place that a lot of these young men and
24 women spend the majority of their time, and they read.
25 And there are web sites for everything including

1 defenses, how to talk to or deal with the police. There
2 are things on the internet that definitely don't stop us
3 from doing our job but can benefit and prohibit us from
4 following the case from (inaudible).

5 COUNTY EXECUTIVE DOOLEY: My last question
6 is -- I think this is a very personal question. If I
7 look at your examples, it's my understanding all of the
8 members are African Americans. How does the African
9 American community talk to the police department to
10 prevent these types of activities because apparently
11 from your examples, it's African Americans. The African
12 American individuals, their community, I'm quite sure
13 there are people that don't want to accept this. Do we
14 need more churches? Is (inaudible) housing -- I mean,
15 better family life? There are some who partner in that
16 community that actually are trying to address that, and
17 what can we do more of to partner with the police?

18 DETECTIVE BREIT: The St. Louis Police
19 Department, I believe, about a year ago or so started a
20 neighborhood ownership model where we partner police
21 officers with community activists and participated in
22 court cases for those individuals who commit a crime in
23 a person's neighborhood. Earlier I showed a map of the
24 City of St. Louis where there was a yellow square and
25 the red dot symbolized individuals who live outside of

1 that so-called gang set. I can assure you that the
2 people that we need to work with are the individuals who
3 live on those streets inside that square. They don't
4 want those gang members there. They will be the first
5 ones to say they've lived there for 50 or 60 years, some
6 longer in the same home, and they've seen repeat actions
7 of these young men and women. The neighborhood
8 ownership model for the City of St. Louis is an amazing
9 opportunity to directly work with citizens and not just
10 citizens but volunteer citizens who have stepped up and
11 said I've had enough. I've had enough. We see that in
12 almost every single neighborhood in the City of St.
13 Louis.

14 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Mayor James?

15 MAYOR JAMES: Detective, thank you for
16 your presentation. A lot of what you said about St.
17 Louis rings true about Kansas City as well.

18 Just a couple of issues, frankly, I'd like
19 to ask you about. The statistics that you provided
20 regarding both homicides and assault with a weapon would
21 indicate that although the numbers are high, the gang
22 members might not be as high as a lot of people might
23 think. I think a lot of people think that all shootings
24 or crime were somehow related to gang members gang
25 banging about drugs, and it certainly isn't the case.

1 But as it does relate to gang members, I'm assuming that
2 the department traces the origin of every gun they find
3 involved in crime to as far back as they can; is that
4 correct?

5 DETECTIVE BREIT: Correct.

6 MAYOR JAMES: What are you finding about
7 how gang members are accessing guns or what role do they
8 play in the event and the gun trafficking issue?

9 DETECTIVE BREIT: It's been my experience
10 that these gang members -- and again, it was a very
11 small number and not every crime that's committed is
12 gang-on-gang violence. It's actually very minimal, even
13 though it may involve a gang member. The thing that we
14 have seen and continue to see are guns that are stolen,
15 and stolen guns come from houses and cars, which is why
16 I constantly spend time educating communities do not
17 leave guns unlocked in unsafe places in your vehicle.
18 Those guns are taken out with a simple smash of a
19 window, and they're used on the street for a crime.

20 The second part of your question,
21 Mr. Mayor, we do see the exchange of weapons on the
22 street between gang members or, again, between
23 individuals who know each other in the same
24 neighborhoods, but eventually, law enforcement, in our
25 department, we're able to know where those guns have

1 been, where those guns have been used and who has had
2 them and prosecute those individuals.

3 MAYOR JAMES: One follow-up, if I might.
4 Do you believe that it would be beneficial to you in
5 enforcing not only issues related to gangs with weapons
6 but weapons in general that to make it mandatory that a
7 person -- an owner of a weapon who has it stolen from
8 them or the weapon is lost is then required to report
9 that theft or that loss to the police department?

10 DETECTIVE BREIT: Yes. All too often, we
11 see individuals who lose their weapon or have it stolen
12 that to them, it's a police report and that's it. And
13 so, it would be my opinion that those individuals who
14 lose their gun or have it stolen, it be mandatory that
15 they report it. We need to know the serial numbers of
16 the guns that are on our streets killing children on our
17 streets are being used in crimes. It comes with that
18 unspoken responsibility that I don't think we talk
19 enough about of gun owners.

20 MAYOR JAMES: Thank you.

21 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Chief Fitch?

22 CHIEF FITCH: Mine is real brief. The
23 dots that you have on the map (inaudible) and the dots
24 in St. Louis County, do you feel like there's a
25 safehaven for some gang members in certain parts of our

1 community where they feel like they evade law
2 enforcement?

3 DETECTIVE BREIT: There are individuals
4 who are documented gang members who made comments that
5 by living in a smaller city outside of the City of St.
6 Louis and travelling back and forth committing crimes in
7 both places, they do feel safer. I can tell you I've
8 worked closely with some of your officers in Jennings
9 who have taken a proactive approach to self-initiated
10 activity in dealings where these gangs that we share a
11 border with the City and County. So, what one day they
12 may have thought would have been a safehaven, we're
13 really seeing proactive police work not only from our
14 North Patrol Division but your northern patrol areas as
15 well.

16 CHIEF FITCH: Any particular municipality
17 we, as a County Police, should concentrate on that
18 you're having difficulties with law enforcement
19 cooperation of those communities?

20 DETECTIVE BREIT: Well, I can tell you at
21 one time it was Jennings, and now, with Jennings, the
22 support -- I just attended a conference last week with
23 some of your officers who take a very proactive
24 approach. The smaller municipalities, Pine Lawn and
25 Northwoods and those areas north of the City of St.

1 Louis, we're not always sure that those individuals rent
2 or own a home there, but they stay there. They may not
3 stay there next week. They may stay in the City, but I
4 think if our departments continue to work together and
5 the officers share information -- I constantly share
6 information with your patrol officers from our Gang Team
7 that they won't -- regardless of where they live that
8 they won't consider that a safehaven. I think they're
9 beginning to realize that.

10 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Chief Dotson?

11 CHIEF DOTSON: I thought your presentation
12 was excellent. I really have a question in two areas.

13 First, I want to talk for a minute about
14 the violence associated with gangs, and (inaudible)
15 criminal enterprises, which is probably a lesser degree
16 but for the personal side of it, if they're personally
17 (inaudible) for personal retaliation, for instance. And
18 to follow up on the Attorney General's question about
19 arrest and incarceration, I think there's a reluctance
20 on the part of the courts in St. Louis to assign those
21 serious decisions and serious consequences to those
22 individuals that are 17 and 18 to cut back on the crime
23 that they are probably committing (inaudible)?

24 DETECTIVE BREIT: Sure. The first part of
25 your question?

1 CHIEF DOTSON: Criminal enterprise versus
2 personal.

3 DETECTIVE BREIT: Absolutely. There are
4 some large gangs in the City. By large, I mean they
5 have an overwhelming membership. Again, constantly
6 looking at the roles those individuals play in that
7 membership, narcotics, the sales of narcotics, can be an
8 enterprising factor. The trend not only in St. Louis
9 but across the United States is that the sale of drugs
10 in certain categories has dissipated and that
11 individuals, regardless of their gang membership, are
12 selling drugs now, which is why we're seeing hybrid
13 gangs form regardless of race, that it's about making
14 the money.

15 CHIEF DOTSON: Is it around the criminal
16 enterprise or is it around personal (inaudible)?

17 DETECTIVE BREIT: In the City of St.
18 Louis, what we see in the overwhelming majority of
19 violence where a gang member commits that violent act,
20 it's that it's not against another gang member. It's
21 typically against a known person, whether it be over a
22 social acquaintance, a girlfriend or boyfriend, not
23 directly related to another gang member, the
24 overwhelming majority is.

25 CHIEF DOTSON: And the Attorney General

1 brought up progressive incarceration. When our
2 department arrests individuals that's 17, 18, 19, do you
3 see those same people re-offending in a relatively short
4 time?

5 DETECTIVE BREIT: On average, yes.
6 Individuals know or adopt a sense of relaxation with the
7 court process in that they don't take it seriously, and
8 so, the minute they're back on the street, they're
9 literally back on the street whether that's constantly
10 committing crime or occasionally committing crime.
11 Officers do, on a regular basis, see the same
12 individuals committing the same crime.

13 CHIEF DOTSON: The last part of that and I
14 believe Chief Finch mentioned it, and where is our role.
15 So, do you see law enforcement's role in the schools as
16 helping with anger management issues, conflict
17 resolution, are the schools the answer or is it more the
18 community-based programs like Better Family Life?

19 DETECTIVE BREIT: You know, I think my
20 opinion is that's a partnership between all and we're
21 seeing -- we're seeing more and more that individuals
22 who were exposed to multiple organizations, not only
23 getting that support inside the school system but then
24 on the weekend attending a rally for Better Family Life
25 or attending meetings with their family. We're seeing

1 them not entering the system or participating. But our
2 schools play a large role, especially in the gathering
3 of information from students so that collectively, we
4 can provide them with the resources so that they don't
5 move forward into the life of gangs and violence.

6 CHIEF DOTSON: Thank you.

7 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Thank you very
8 much, Detective. The take-away for me over the first
9 two days and then your presentation -- which, again, I
10 think it was outstanding -- is a painful one which is
11 that the punishment of -- I'm kind of looking at Chief
12 Dotson as I say this -- the punishment model for armed
13 offenders has to be more front-loaded when it comes to
14 these types of crimes. The punishment model in every
15 other aspect of criminal justice is back-loaded and
16 incremental towards that. It's painful for those of us
17 who have spent our lives in law enforcement to say that
18 the policymaking emphasis needs to be front-loaded. It
19 runs contrary to everything that is in our gut, I think,
20 and yet, logic is inexorably leading us in this
21 direction. Thank you very much, Detective. I

22 appreciate greatly your work.

23 The next topic is Youth Employment
24 Programs to Reduce Crime. I've asked Jonathan Davis and
25 Bridget Flood to come forward.

1 Jonathan Davis is doctoral fellow with the
2 University of Chicago Crime Lab. His research is on the
3 impact of youth summer employment programs on crime
4 reduction, and he was chiefly involved in Chicago's One
5 Summer Plus Program. He's currently a Ph.D. student of
6 public policy at the University with a BA in
7 mathematics, economics and statistics.

8 Bridget Flood is the Executive Director of
9 the Incarnate Word Foundation. In that role, she
10 oversees the foundation's million dollar grant-making
11 funding and works widely between other funds -- other
12 funders to address community issues such as youth
13 development, foster care, collective impact. Ms. Flood
14 has a Master's Degree in Urban Affairs from this
15 university.

16 Mr. Davis, welcome.

17 JONATHAN DAVIS

18 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CRIME LAB

19 MR. DAVIS: Thank you for hosting such a
20 wonderful event that nationally, we're very excited
21 about at the Crime Lab.

22 Again, I'm Jonathan Davis. I'm a doctoral
23 fellow at the University of Chicago Crime Lab.

24 So, today I'm going to talk to you about
25 the potential of youth job programs and preventative

1 measures to reduce fighting crime. So, this is research
2 I've collaborated on with Sara Heller at the University
3 of Pennsylvania. This project, again, is associated
4 with the University of Chicago Crime Lab.

5 So, I'm going to talk to you about three
6 things today. For those of you who were at Kansas City,
7 I'm going to refresh your memory on what the Crime Lab
8 is. I'm going to talk about planning and implementation
9 of the City of Chicago's summer jobs program, One Summer
10 Plus, and then I'm going to go over some exciting
11 results of the jobs program.

12 So, the Crime Lab was launched in 2008 at
13 the University of Chicago with the goal of partnering
14 with the scientific community and with policymakers to
15 have scientifically research-backed policies. We worked
16 towards this goal by partnering with academic
17 researchers around the country, St. Louis, New York,
18 Chicago with policy leaders, like the people who are
19 with us today, in order to have evidence-backed policies
20 and to create better policies.

21 So, we do this by partnering with
22 policymakers to create rigorous evaluations. So, a
23 typical way for many policies to be evaluated is to have
24 youth, for example, apply for the program, offer them
25 the program and then find a similar group of youth who

1 maybe are similar and some that aren't to compare the
2 outcome to. We admit they may or may not actually be
3 comparable.

4 So, our approach and risk we took on this
5 particular evaluation is when a policy is oversubscribed
6 and there are more people who want to participate in the
7 policy than there are slots available, you can allocate
8 a spot using a fair lottery. The only thing that
9 differed between the youth who applied for the program
10 and were selected and these who applied to the program
11 and weren't selected is the result of a coin flip. So,
12 then, like a clinical trial in medicine, any differences
13 between youth who participated in the program and the
14 youth who wanted to participate in the program but were
15 unable to is the result of this. The point is we can
16 contribute -- you can attribute the differences to the
17 participation in the program itself. This provides very
18 consistent evidence throughout the program.

19 That brings us to today's research
20 question. Can youth summer jobs help us reduce violent
21 crime? The Summer Jobs Program adopted in Chicago, the
22 pilot program in St. Louis which we will talk about
23 next, in Boston and New York, but there's surprisingly
24 little convincing evidence on how effective these
25 programs are.

1 So, in Chicago, they're saying that --
2 they're throwing around a lot that nothing stops a
3 bullet like a job. Why might a job, a subsidized job,
4 help reduce crime and violence? First of all, it's
5 going to give you extra income. In previous
6 presentations, we've heard often youth are participating
7 in gang activity because that's the only job they feel
8 like they can find. It gives them legal work
9 experience, which comes with hard skills. They might
10 actually have some work experience and they can create a
11 resume and find a job once the program ends. And soft
12 skills, they learn to show up to work on time, to deal
13 with a supervisor and how to network in finding that
14 next job. And it gives them more self-confidence and
15 higher self-efficacy.

16 So, why bother having the evaluation at
17 all? It sounds great at this point, but the question is
18 is this the most cost-effective policy to reduce
19 fighting crime. In a world of limited resources, we
20 want to make sure that we are using the most effective
21 and cost-effective policies. So, a few things that may
22 reduce the efficacy of the jobs program is that most
23 crime doesn't happen during the workday. So, are the
24 youth going to their summer job and then committing
25 crimes in the evening? The extra income could,

1 unfortunately, be used for drugs and alcohol or buying
2 guns on the street. It increases the time spent
3 travelling, which could cause the youth to go through
4 dangerous neighborhoods and rival gang territories, or
5 it might increase the chance of crimes of opportunity,
6 for example, if you're coming home from your job and you
7 see somebody using their iPhone, you may grab it and run.
8 You're not in your neighborhood, so what's the risk? It
9 could compete with school. If youth had the opportunity
10 to work or go to school, they make pick work. There's a
11 pretty weak track record for adult jobs programs.

12 So, with these challenges in mind, Chicago
13 designed the One Summer Plus Program, which is a pilot
14 program within it's broader One Summer Program that was
15 aimed at reducing violent crime. So, the program
16 focuses on youth. Youth are still making their school
17 and career decisions and they're at a peak age for
18 committing a crime. It's a seven-week program in the
19 summer, so often, it won't conflict with school. And
20 there's higher crime rate in the summer.

21 So, then the last piece, which is
22 something that differentiates Chicago's program from
23 other programs adopted by many cities, is we include
24 social and emotional learning. Social and emotional
25 learning has been shown to be effective in previous

1 studies done by the Crime Lab. It focuses on improving
2 youth's automatic behavior and biased beliefs.
3 That's probably not super clear what that means. I'll
4 give you a really quick example as to what one of these
5 sessions might look at. So, often, the first session,
6 performed by youth guidance as one of the providers in
7 the Chicago Youth Program, is an activity called a FIPS.
8 In this activity, the provider will pair up the youth
9 together and they'll give one of them a basketball, and
10 they'll challenge the other youth to try to get the
11 basketball out of your partner's hands. And so,
12 inevitably, it starts with them yanking on the ball.
13 That doesn't work, so they're like, maybe break the
14 person's thumb. When that doesn't work, they just start
15 punching them in the face. It buys credibility for the
16 youth, but the -- the youth think it's a fun activity.
17 They'd switch hands, and then it's not so fun anymore
18 because they're on the receiving end of the punches.
19 And then the provider -- the counselor walks over and
20 asks them a straight question, how did you go about
21 getting the ball, and they describe well, I broke his
22 finger and I punched him in the face, but I did end up
23 getting the ball. And the counselor will say, did you
24 ask for the ball, and they're like no, I didn't ask for
25 the ball.

1 Why didn't you ask for the ball, because then I'd look
2 like a punk. They're like, what would you have done if
3 they asked for the ball. I would have given them the
4 ball. It's a stupid ball. And this emphasizes this
5 notion of biased beliefs. Youth are out walking around
6 the city thinking everyone is out to get them, everyone
7 has negative intentions. So, this is just training
8 youth to think about whether or not their assumptions
9 about how other people think about them are correct.
10 So, when you think of whether youth deciding to join in
11 a gang or to shoot someone, if they think that person is
12 going to shoot you first, you might start to understand
13 why a youth will make that life-changing decision. And
14 by teaching them that these are biased beliefs which
15 aren't correct and everyone is not out to get you, you
16 can see the effects.

17 So, with those goals, what actually
18 happened is we went to the 13 schools with the most
19 youth at risk of being involved in violent crime and got
20 1,634 applications for 730 slots in the program. So, of
21 those applications, we selected -- we -- the
22 researchers, we implemented this lottery so that
23 everyone had an equal chance, and we chose 366 youth to
24 participate in 15 hours a week on a minimum wage job and
25 10 hours a week of that social and emotional learning

1 that I just described, and then another 364 to
2 participate in 25 hours a week of minimum wage
3 employment. So, because we randomly allocated youth to
4 do -- either receive the job only or the job plus social
5 emotional learning and the remainder were assigned to
6 status quo services. We didn't provide them anything
7 extra. We can actually compare the differences between
8 the job only and the job plus jobs to see if there's a
9 difference.

10 In addition to these services, all youth
11 were given a job mentor. This is someone to help them
12 manage conflicts with supervisors, to call them when
13 maybe they didn't want to wake up at 8:00 a.m. to get to
14 work on time and to talk to them about developing their
15 resume or their future career plans to decide whether or
16 not they wanted to enroll in school in the fall.

17 From the research side, we followed the
18 administrative DF. So, this is Chicago Public Schools'
19 data on the students themselves, the Chicago Police
20 Department's arrest records, and we're currently working
21 on getting employment records so that we can track these
22 youth cheaply and consistently for a long time to
23 evaluate the long-term effects of the policy.

24 So, this table is probably a little
25 difficult to see. The main take-away is that the

1 lottery worked. If you compare the youth, the youth who
2 were selected to participate in the program and the
3 youth who were not selected in the lottery are
4 comparable in every measure that we have. There's
5 similar racial demographics, similar age, similar
6 arrests history, and GPAs and attendance records. So,
7 when we go to make these comparisons, we can be
8 confident that the youth who participated are very
9 comparable to the youth who wanted to participate but
10 were unable to.

11 So, once you've started the program, 75
12 percent of them who were offered -- won the lottery and
13 were offered a spot in the program chose to participate,
14 but once they started, 90 percent of the youth finished
15 the program. This is a very high completion rate in
16 policies. Youth are -- not surprisingly are excited to
17 have the opportunity to have a legal paying job and to
18 get this experience.

19 So, this is a chart of the effect of the
20 program the first nine months after the study began.
21 So, the study began -- the program began in July of
22 2012, and this data covers through March 2013. So, you
23 see that there is a blue bar that are the control group,
24 the kids who did not participate in the program, and the
25 red bar is a result of the kids who did participate in

1 the program. And importantly, we're combining the two
2 groups, the youth who worked 25 hours and the youth who
3 worked 15 hours a week with 10 hours of SEL. Not
4 surprisingly, we see that the youth who had a summer job
5 attended summer school less. So, this may be a good
6 thing; it may be a bad thing. We haven't yet seen
7 whether or not this will affect graduation rates in
8 getting enough credits. We don't really see any --
9 there's no statistical difference between grade
10 retention and re-enrollment after the summer. So,
11 that's ongoing. We're still looking to see any big
12 academic differences.

13 But the reason we're here is to look at
14 its effect on violent crime. Here's where we start to
15 see exciting differences. So, those first two bars show
16 violent crime among the control group, and the red bar
17 is lot shorter than the blue bar. There was a 51
18 percent reduction in arrests for violent crime among
19 youth who participated in this program, and at this
20 point, which is important for thinking about how this
21 emulates to St. Louis' new jobs program, we can't see a
22 difference at this point between youth who had a job
23 only and youth who had the job plus SEL. They both had
24 25 hours of treatment per week. But at this point, they
25 look very similar. But this is exciting. This is a

1 preventative approach that offers youth with a job and
2 it cuts violent crime in half. So, we're going to
3 continue to follow these results to see if the
4 differences persists, but it's an exciting result for
5 us.

6 Somewhat surprisingly, there are small or
7 no difference between -- no statistically significant
8 difference between property crime, drug crime arrests
9 and other arrests. There are many stories you could
10 tell about why there is or is not an effect for these
11 other crimes, but our study wasn't designed to -- and
12 wasn't able to tell us what those differences were
13 (inaudible).

14 So, things we still are working on doing,
15 we're going to follow the youth for at least two more
16 years so we can see how persistent these events are.
17 We're going to look at how the program effects change
18 over time between violent crime programs converted to be
19 permanently -- permanently separated, and somewhat
20 obviously, how did the program affect employment
21 outcomes, if they're offered a job, do they get a job
22 after the program.

23 Finally, an important question is did the
24 program's benefit outweigh the cost. It costs about --
25 it cost Chicago about \$3,000 per participant to offer

1 this program, but with the violent crime reduction, the
2 long-run benefit to society of this program could be
3 much greater than \$3,000. Every murder costs the
4 benefit of one life, which is years work to family,
5 experiences, volunteer work. It's very conceivable that
6 this program's benefit will outweigh the costs, but nine
7 months after the program, it's too early to see. We
8 want to see how persistent the effects of the program
9 are.

10 So, this brings me to my last slide. The
11 subtitle to this presentation is Using Evaluation to
12 Create Better Policy. And the exciting thing about
13 being a part of these evaluations is that these programs
14 are offered every summer and they were effective, and we
15 were able to use our experiences and the results of this
16 study to influence what Chicago did this summer. So,
17 this program achieved its goal. It reduced crime by
18 about 51 percent. So, we scaled it up. It went from
19 730 participants to 1,000 participants. But the big
20 change was we saw that this was a potentially effective
21 strategy for the reason Chicago's sky-rocketing
22 homicides -- or sky-high homicide rate. So, we targeted
23 the most challenging population. We went to the
24 justice-involved youth. These are youth who have
25 already been arrested for some crime, but being arrested

1 at a young age is very critical to being arrested in the
2 future and wanting to participate in violent crime. And
3 again, we selected these youth using a fair lottery.
4 So, now we can see does the program just work for that
5 original population enrolled in school or is it
6 something we can take and offer it to justice-involved
7 youth to really make a bigger dent in violent crime.

8 So, in summary, this study paints an
9 optimistic picture, really optimistic picture of
10 potential summer youth employment programs to
11 significantly reduce violent crime. Thank you.

12 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Thank you very
13 much, Jonathan. Bridget, welcome.

14 BRIDGET FLOOD

15 REGIONAL YOUTH VIOLENCE PREVENTION TASK FORCE

16 MS. FLOOD: Thank you. I'm here to tell
17 you a little bit about STL Youth Jobs. STL Youth Jobs
18 is a summer program -- summer employment program here in
19 the City of St. Louis. It was an outgrowth of Mayor
20 Slay's Regional Youth Violence Prevention Task Force and
21 was a strategy that we decided to implement immediately
22 rather than wait for the task force to finish its work.
23 It was very a proactive response.

24 We started by going to Boston and -- we
25 started by going to Boston, and Robbyn Wahby from the

1 Mayor's office went with me; Ron Jackson, who is the
2 President of the Black Leadership Round Table; and Mike
3 Fitzgerald of my staff. We spent a day and a half
4 learning from our colleagues in law enforcement about
5 their summer jobs program which has been a longstanding
6 program that employs tens of thousands of young people.

7 In St. Louis, we have not had a summer
8 jobs program since stimulus funding ran out, but we do
9 have other -- we do have other youth employment
10 opportunities.

11 Our efforts was a partnership. It was a
12 civic collaboration involved with the Mayor's Office as
13 well as staff and Comptroller Darlene Green, the Board
14 of Aldermen. I see Alderman Schmid is here who came to
15 our end-of-the-summer youth party and pulled the raffle
16 ticket for the iPad. Thank you very much. MERS
17 Goodwill provided all of the job training. They also
18 did all the hiring, the screening and they worked with
19 employers, they provided the case management. They did
20 an outstanding job. We received fiscal services from
21 the greater St. Louis Community Foundation. They held
22 all of our money. Our foundation donated almost
23 \$100,000. The City of St. Louis provided \$100,000
24 Proposition S money. The Missouri Foundation for Health
25 provided \$100,000, and we had more than 50 other donors,

1 including Emerson Electric, the Regional Business
2 Council and the St. Louis Chamber. In total, we raised
3 \$440,000, and our cost per job was \$2,000 per job, so a
4 little less than Chicago. And some of our money is
5 being held for 2014.

6 In terms of our pilot year, under the
7 administration of MERS Goodwill, we had 194 youth, and
8 they ranged in age from 16 to 23. I'll talk a little
9 bit about how we selected our neighborhoods in a minute,
10 but the interesting thing is that our youth were -- some
11 were offenders, some were participants in the juvenile
12 justice system, and other youth were just young people
13 who happened to apply. A lot of our youth came through
14 the St. Louis Public School System.

15 We picked seven neighborhoods, and we
16 picked them because they were a high concentration of
17 young people, high unemployment rate and high crime
18 rates. In South St. Louis, we targeted Dutchtown,
19 Gravois Park and Tower Grove East. It's interesting to
20 me that just last week we had a meeting about having a
21 gun court in St. Louis, and at that time the police
22 department presented some statistics that showed that in
23 August Dutchtown had the highest number of armed
24 robberies at 68. So, we were right in that hot spot in
25 South St. Louis. Here is a map. For those of you from

1 St. Louis, you can see the three neighborhoods, and
2 they're contiguous. In North St. Louis, we selected
3 four neighborhoods: Penrose, O'Fallon, Baden and Mark
4 Twain for similar reasons.

5 In terms of our youth, the youth that
6 participated in the program, we had 60 percent female,
7 40 percent male. 96 percent were African American. And
8 80 percent of those young people reported they wouldn't
9 have had a job without the program. 54 percent said
10 this was their first job, and we had over 1,000
11 applicants, even though the program was not heavily
12 promoted. We purposefully did not heavily promote it.
13 We didn't want a lot of disappointed young people. The
14 other thing that I wanted to note is that MERS Goodwill
15 had an online application process, so young people were
16 able to apply online.

17 We have a program oversight committee. I
18 see Reverend Francis there towards the back. He's one
19 of our oversight committee members. We also have
20 members from government, business, the faith community,
21 the philanthropic community and the non-profit world.

22 In terms of our program administration,
23 I'm not going to go through all the details other than
24 to say MRSA goodwill did a phenomenal job. Without
25 them, I can't even imagine what our job program would

1 have been like. They assigned one of their vice
2 presidents to work on the program faculty full-time.
3 They also donated \$10,000. It was really amazing.

4 We've partnered with banks, the CRA Bank,
5 which is a community-investment banker to facilitate
6 financial education, so we had financial literacy
7 programs as well as the case management. Case managers
8 worked not only to recruit the employers, but they also
9 worked if there was a problem with the young person on
10 the job.

11 In terms of program details, our program
12 was one week longer than the Chicago program. We paid
13 the minimum wage. All the youth had a case manager, as
14 I mentioned before, and we had 60 different work sites.
15 Most of the work sites were in neighborhoods. We did
16 provide bus passes if young people needed
17 transportation.

18 And I had the proud pleasure of meeting
19 some of the young people on the job, and young people
20 ranged from they dropped out of high school to a young
21 man who was going to Rolla to pursue an engineering
22 degree. We had a young woman going to community college
23 who wants to start her own not-for-profit to link young
24 people with seniors to provide yard service.

25 At the end of the program, I talked to two

1 young people. One young man had purchased a car.
2 Another young person had managed to save every dime he
3 had made and was trying to figure out what he would do
4 with his new found fortune.

5 In terms of our program result, 100 people
6 -- 100 percent of the young people completed the job
7 readiness part of the program; 145 attended the
8 financial literacy course; 85 percent of the young
9 people completed the jobs. So, they were on the job
10 site for seven weeks. I'm very proud of that. Out of
11 the 29 young people who left the program, five left for
12 more permanent or higher paying employment. So far, 16
13 young people have reported they're being retained at the
14 work site.

15 We are having an evaluation process done
16 by UMSL. These are the preliminary results, but you can
17 see that 99 percent of the young people reported they'd
18 recommend the program. Most of the young people saw
19 benefits of the program and they gained future
20 references and so on and so forth.

21 In terms of our employers, 100 percent of
22 the employers reported that the program was an asset to
23 their organization and they'd recommend it to other
24 employers. 60 percent reported that the youth are more
25 employable than at the beginning of the program, and 100

1 hundred percent of the employers rated the program as
2 good or very good.

3 What are we going to do next year? Well,
4 before we get to next year, I have to talk about next
5 week when one of our young people, Emanuel, is going to
6 the White House. Through the Mayor's Office, we
7 nominated several of our youth for a program called
8 Champions of Change, and of all the youth across the
9 country, only four were selected and Emanuel is one of
10 those individuals. He worked this summer at Jones
11 Funeral Home. Based on that experience, he has decided
12 to pursue work in a funeral home as his career. He is a
13 student at the Carnahan High School of the Future down
14 in South St. Louis. He lives in North St. Louis. I met
15 his parents. His father works for the City dump, and
16 his mother is an early Headstart teacher. They have
17 five children, one of whom is incarcerated or has been
18 incarcerated. Emanuel also works at Burger King over on
19 Hampton. So, he's a very hardworking young man.
20 The family is very, very proud and so am I. There's a
21 good chance he will get to meet the President, so I'm a
22 little envious, too.

23 Next year, we're going to expand to
24 additional neighborhoods. We're hoping to have 1,000
25 jobs and additional involvement by the Business Center.

1 We're also developing an ongoing relationship with
2 youth. I know you referenced the monitoring component
3 of your program, and we are adding that piece of the
4 program in. Our foundation is going to provide funding
5 to pay someone full-time at MERS Goodwill to administer
6 the program, and we're also going to provide funding for
7 someone to take a leadership role in developing the
8 mentoring component with the business community.

9 We're going to be staying in touch with
10 our young people. I've talked to them and they say
11 texting and email is best, so that's what we'll be
12 doing. I'm looking forward to STLU Jobs 2014. Thank
13 you very much.

14 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Thank you very
15 much. We're going to take a 10 to 15-minute break. It
16 is slightly before 11:00, and we'll reconvene around
17 11:15. Thank you.

18 (Wherein a short break was taken.)

19 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: If everyone
20 could begin to reconvene, that would be helpful. Thank
21 you very much. If everyone could take their seats,
22 please. If everyone could take their seats, please. If
23 we could reconvene.

24 The next topic is -- one housekeeping
25 matter for the panel members particularly, try and speak

1 into the microphone phone a little more, with a little
2 more volume so that our court reporter can get a record
3 of all the comments that are being made.

4 The next topic is public safety and mental
5 health resources. There are three presenters. Dale
6 Glass is the Commissioner of the St. Louis Division of
7 Corrections. The division has more than 450 employees
8 and resources to handle an average daily inmate
9 population of 1,900. Commissioner Glass previously
10 served as Deputy Warden in the Missouri Department of
11 Corrections.

12 Daniel Isom is the Professor of Policing
13 in the Community at the University of Missouri St.
14 Louis. He's an adjunct professor at Harris Stowe
15 University and an instructor at the St. Louis Community
16 College where he teaches criminal justice, criminology
17 and public safety courses. Prior to his current
18 position, we all know Colonel Isom served as the 33rd
19 Police Chief for the St. Louis Metropolitan Police
20 Department.

21 And Pamela Walker is the Director of
22 Health for the City of St. Louis Department of Health,
23 having served in that position in since 2007. She has
24 more than 20 years of experience in public health in
25 both her current role and her previous work at the

1 Missouri Department of Health and Senior Services. She
2 has managed the program in the areas of communicable
3 disease prevention, HIV and STD prevention and community
4 health assessment and epidemiology.

5 So, I welcome all three of you, and I
6 believe, Mr. Glass, you are the first presenter.

7 If the AV gentleman -- is it possible to
8 move the arm of the computer screen so that it's somehow
9 not between Mayor James and so we have a line of sight?

10 DANIEL E. ISOM

11 E. DESMOND LEE PROFESSOR OF

12 POLICING AND THE COMMUNITY, UMSL

13 MR. ISOM: Thank you for inviting me here
14 today to talk about a very important topic. Certainly
15 crime in urban areas is something that we're all
16 concerned about. One of the things that I wanted to do
17 was really approach this from a different point of view
18 and really starting to look at the amount of resources
19 that we need to attack the problem in our community.

20 And so, I wanted to give a little backdrop
21 to the number of people who are coming into our systems
22 who have substance abuse problems and also who are
23 experiencing mental health issues and how that relates
24 to law enforcement in the criminal justice system.

25 Certainly St. Louis, in terms of crime,

1 has been unfairly labeled as one of the most dangerous
2 cities. We've had a lot of discussions about why these
3 factors that are used to make that designation are not
4 appropriate for the City of St. Louis, but the fact is
5 that we do have and we do experience a fairly high crime
6 rate in the City of St. Louis. On average about 35 per
7 100,000 in terms of homicide and aggravated assaults,
8 approximately 100 per 100,000, and violent crime, about
9 17 per 100,000. Those are fairly significant numbers in
10 our community and something that certainly we have to
11 look at in terms of how we address those issues.

12 When we look at the St. Louis policing
13 community, these are rough numbers. There are 1100
14 officers -- police officers serving our community, about
15 400 supervisors and commanders in a 64 square block area
16 with about 320,000 residents, but you know, St. Louis is
17 a business, commercial, cultural and entertainment,
18 sports area of the metropolitan area of St. Louis, so
19 there are a lot of service needs that these officers in
20 the City of St. Louis primarily have to service.

21 MAYOR JAMES: Mr. Isom, is your microphone
22 on?

23 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Would it be
24 possible to bring --

25 (Wherein a conversation occurred out of

1 the court reporter's hearing.)

2 MR. ISOM: Looking at the policing demand
3 -- and these are rough numbers, you know, 300 calls --
4 300,000 calls for service; 20 to 25,000 arrests; 200,000
5 self-initiated calls each year; you've got
6 administrative duties that police officers are
7 responsible for; almost 150,000 reports are written; and
8 then you have directed patrols, you know, in those
9 communities, so huge service demands on our policing
10 organizations.

11 When you look at the prosecution in
12 courts, 4,000 felony cases going through the Circuit
13 Attorney's Office; almost 8,000 misdemeanor cases; and
14 the docket has about 1,900 open cases. Very, very large
15 needs in terms of our criminal justice system in the
16 City of St. Louis. And what we find is that the volume
17 of cases requires that -- people are repeat offenders,
18 and those repeat offenders get long sentences after
19 having many brushes with the law in going through the
20 system many times.

21 When we look at probation and parole,
22 there are about 10 officers in our area, 182 officers
23 with a case load of 35 to 250. We have about 17,000
24 people on probation and parole in our area, and
25 oftentimes only about a 500-bed facility for offenders

1 without housing. Although we've done a good job with
2 recidivism rates in the State of Missouri and they've
3 gone down, for probation and parole. We have a prison
4 population around 31,000, and two percent of offenders
5 that are in our state system serve out their time. So,
6 we have many people who are coming back into our
7 community with significant -- significant needs.

8 Just looking back, when we look at the
9 statistics in looking at the National Alliance for
10 Mental Health, they suggest that about 24 percent of the
11 people who are in prisons have mental health issues, and
12 they say that about 21 percent of the people in our
13 jails have mental health issues. In addition to that,
14 we're looking at a population of individuals who either
15 are using substances or who are addicted to these
16 substances in the area of about 65 percent of
17 individuals who are part of our justice system have some
18 problem with substance abuse or addiction. And
19 certainly, substance abuse, addiction and mental health
20 are factors that go together.

21 So, you know, one of the things I think we
22 have to consider, even when we're talking about mental
23 health and re-entry into our system, is the fact that we
24 have to stop the flow of people into our system. We
25 have a lot of people who are coming into our jails and

1 that the Prosecuting Attorney is dealing with and law
2 enforcement is dealing with that have these issues, and
3 if we can actually divert people from this system and
4 put them in an appropriate service needs, then we can
5 start to make a difference in dealing with mental health
6 issues in law enforcement.

7 Many people will talk about this, but
8 patrol prevention in many areas, hot-spot policing has
9 the effect of reducing crime but also reducing the flow
10 of people into the system, because I believe we have a
11 crisis of capacity. Do we have the capacity to deal
12 with all the mental health, substance abuse and
13 addiction issues that are coming into our jails, and I
14 think based on the statistics that I put up before, we
15 could say that we are overloaded in terms of the numbers
16 of people that are coming into the system and capacity
17 of the system to deal with that. So, one of the things
18 we have to do is reduce the flow of people into that
19 system, and I think hot-spot policing has had
20 significant reduction in crime, which would also reduce
21 the number of people coming into the system. I think we
22 have to continue to do that.

23 I just wanted to look at some numbers in
24 terms of what do we need to do to really make
25 significant reductions in people who are moving into the

1 area. I know Bill Bratton will be in later, but one of
2 the things that people always look at is the number of
3 officers per 100,000. And you can see in St. Louis,
4 just as a figure, St. Louis is lower in terms of
5 officers per 100,000 to New York, but we're also lower
6 in officers per square mile. And so, I think one of the
7 issues we have to look at is, you know, putting officers
8 in those spaces where we can reduce crime but also
9 reduce the number of people coming through the system
10 and also looking at the number of officers we need per
11 square mile in our different places in our community.

12 Just looking at all parts of the process,
13 certainly when we're talking about mental health and
14 substance abuse, we have a very formal process for
15 putting people through the system, and people who have
16 these mental health needs and also have substance abuse
17 needs, sometimes we might need to find a way to simplify
18 the process. So, the Circuit Attorney's Office, defense
19 attorneys, police, probation and parole can work at
20 mediating settlements where we would move people swiftly
21 into the service needs that they have as opposed to
22 going through the traditional system, which in some ways
23 is not adequately structured to deal with some of the
24 problems that we have related to mental illness. We
25 find that many of these people simply go through the

1 process and enter into prisons and jails and don't --
2 and do not get the adequate service needs that are
3 required. That will require community partnerships in
4 this process, more community partnerships where we will
5 be able to divert these people to appropriate service
6 needs.

7 In that same vein, you know, the courts
8 must act to allow sort of the street level officers and
9 prosecutors and defense attorneys to divert people for
10 drug offenses, non-violent offenses, for mental health
11 needs to the appropriate services that are needed. We
12 really have to start thinking about the swift and
13 certain punishment but also swift and certain services
14 and not long sentences and hard sentences, which we've
15 certainly found that swift and certain in all categories
16 is going to be better for our justice system.

17 One of the things that we have to do and
18 need to do in this effort to deal with people who are on
19 probation and were experiencing issues with mental
20 health or substance abuse is to pair police with
21 probation and parole and use police and probation and
22 parole to help manage the case load. As we saw earlier,
23 there's a significant demand on probation and parole to
24 service a large case load, and I think that using law
25 enforcement and pairing law enforcement with probation

1 and parole so we can be out in the community as eyes and
2 ears to assist them with the service needs of people who
3 are on probation and parole is something that we ought
4 to consider and, of course, having the community
5 partners with the judicial process as well.

6 You know, one of the things in terms of
7 re-entry into the community for people with those
8 problems is to also have a better notification process
9 for law enforcement upon release from prison or people
10 who are on probation so we can help in the monitoring
11 process. You know, any information about verification
12 of their residence so that we could work with probation
13 and parole, and as I said, doing case management with
14 police officers and community partnerships.

15 I'm sure it's been mentioned before, but
16 certainly mental health, transitional housing, substance
17 abuse, constantly case management is something that we
18 really need to start diverting people towards because
19 the system does not have the capacity to deal with it,
20 and I think most in law enforcement want to direct most
21 of law enforcement, prosecution, probation and parole
22 and corrections toward people who are committing violent
23 felonies, keeping them in jail, and thereby making our
24 community safe and not having our system overloaded by
25 issue of substance abuse, addiction and mental illness.

1 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Thank you very
2 much, Chief. Dale?

3 DALE GLASS

4 ST. LOUIS CORRECTIONS COMMISSIONER

5 MR. GLASS: Yes. Thank you. My name is
6 Dale Glass, and I'm the Commissioner of Corrections for
7 the City of St. Louis.

8 To piggyback on what the professor has
9 stated, this issue of mental health concerns in the
10 jails and prisons has been ongoing for some time.

11 I've worked approximately 30 years with
12 the Missouri Department of Corrections, both in adult
13 institutions and for the Board of Probation and Parole.
14 Back in the latter '80s, early '90s, we began
15 discussions about what do we do with this increase of
16 inmates that have mental health issues and drug issues,
17 how do we manage their needs and how do we supervise
18 theme in a correctional setting.

19 By 2010, the city jail population, 12
20 percent of them were known to have a history of mental
21 health treatment, and after the closing of the State
22 hospital within the last few years, that percentage has
23 been as high as 24 percent. Currently, today, we're at
24 about 15 percent of our population that we know have
25 been treated for mental health. Approximately 382 of

1 those are actually on psychotropic medications.

2 To address this concern, the Division of
3 Corrections has established a special needs unit to
4 house the mental health inmates, and we have one
5 full-time psychiatrist and four full-time mental health
6 specialists to assist with that process. We also man
7 the unit with two correctional officers around the clock
8 that have been trained to monitor and address the needs
9 of this particular population. Basically, they're --
10 we've equipped that unit with the modern equipment like
11 videos, and we also monitor their medication, whether
12 they are in compliance. They also have been trained to
13 detect if there are issues developing where we have to
14 contact professionals to be involved in the treatment or
15 whatever is needed for that particular individual.

16 Our concern is that it's not enough. What
17 we see as a need is treatment, and we don't really
18 address that very well. We're more about observation
19 and reporting. Some of the problems that present for us
20 in the correctional setting is that it's a significant
21 drain on our resources, even though we continue to try
22 to look for more treatment and those kinds of issues
23 that we can address with assistance from the community.

24 The one common thing that my staff have
25 brought to my attention is a lot of those that come

1 through the jail are known to them because they bring
2 them to the jail, and we treat them, stabilize them on
3 their medication, and they're released back into the
4 community only to return to jail and start that process
5 again. So, there's a step that is missing that would
6 help with this recidivism that we're realizing from
7 those same offenders. The thing that they continue to
8 say also is once we get them stabilized, they're
9 well-behaved. We don't have any issues with them. In
10 fact, they're polite and ready to go home and ready to
11 get back to their lives.

12 The other concern is that other than just
13 draining the resources to try to address this issue is
14 that when we try to interact with the family members of
15 those particular inmates, their concern is that we --
16 the way they view our treatment of those that we detain,
17 and what we try to explain to them is once we -- what we
18 try to do is monitor, detect and report, but once their
19 behavior presents a danger to themselves, others or City
20 property, then we have to get to our custom role,
21 restrain them either by cuffs or by isolation. Our
22 concern is that is detrimental to that individual in
23 terms of recovery or their treatment, as it were. So,
24 basically our concern is that we're probably more
25 equipped to do the custody aspect as opposed to the

1 treatment, and that piece is missing, and that piece, to
2 try to address it, which we're going to be doing in the
3 upcoming year with our mental health contract to try to
4 address it as offering a treatment piece to that
5 approach. Again, it's going to be a significant
6 resource drain to try to meet the needs of that
7 particular population.

8 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Thank you very
9 much. Pamela Walker?

10 PAMELA WALKER

11 CITY OF ST. LOUIS DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

12 MS. WALKER: Good morning, everyone. I'm
13 going to talk about three areas. One, I want to try to
14 give you sort of a look at what the potential
15 denominator could be for mental health-related violence,
16 talk about some things we can possibly do about it and
17 then talk about access to mental health service and what
18 the local resources might be.

19 Thank you. I need tech support here.

20 There are three types of mental illness.
21 I think it's important to understand those and keep them
22 in mind. There are a lot of types of mental illness,
23 but the three we tend to think of are the serious mental
24 illnesses such as schizophrenia, bipolar disorder and
25 then there's anxiety disorders and then there are

1 alcohol and substance abuse issues. And all of those
2 sort of create a visceral response and approach when
3 situations occur. And they all need to be handled
4 differently.

5 First, I want to talk about psychiatric
6 disorders. The majority of people with serious
7 psychiatric disorders don't commit violent acts. Only
8 about four percent of violence in the US can be
9 attributed to people with mental illness. That doesn't
10 mean mental illness is not a risk factor for violence.
11 It is. But only certain serious psychiatric illnesses
12 are linked to an increased risk of violence.

13 There was really good epidemiology study
14 that was done by the National Institute of Mental
15 Health. They looked at 18,000 subjects over time, and
16 they found that the lifetime prevalence of violence
17 among people with serious mental illness like
18 schizophrenia and bipolar disorder, 16 percent compared
19 to 7 percent among people without any mental disorders.
20 Anxiety disorders did not seem to increase the risk at
21 all. Alcohol and drug abuse are far more likely to
22 result in violent behavior than mental illness by
23 itself. People with no mental disorder who abuse
24 alcohol or drugs are nearly seven times as likely as
25 those without substance abuse to commit violent acts. I

1 think you've heard that repeatedly this morning. It's
2 one of the biggest issues we're dealing with from our
3 police force to the correction system is alcohol and
4 drug abuse.

5 There are several issues that are raising
6 our awareness about mental illness and violence right
7 now. Mass shootings are constantly in the news. I
8 prepared this slide on Saturday. There were 67 mass
9 shootings in the US since 1982, and as of this week,
10 there are 68. Mental illness, often untreated and
11 diagnosed, have been a factor in the high-profile
12 shootings include Columbine, Virginia Tech, the
13 Gabrielle Giffords incident and the Aurora theatre. All
14 of these shooters had known mental health issues and had
15 sought treatment.

16 In looking at recent mass shootings, the
17 Treatment Advocacy Center in Arlington, Virginia says at
18 least half are associated with serious mental illness.
19 Most of them have certain common traits, a history of
20 anti-social behavior, some sort of mental health
21 problem, often psychosis or depression and a
22 characterization of injustice and likely to blame others
23 for problems.

24 The big issue about mass shootings is how
25 to identify and get treatment for people who have this

1 tendency before they commit the extreme acts of violence
2 rather than label the entire mental health community and
3 respond in that visceral effect I talked about to all
4 mental illnesses.

5 The other issue that's really raising
6 awareness you heard about this morning about gangs, and
7 I'm certainly not an expert in that area. I just wanted
8 to bring up one point that was a real awakening moment
9 for me in this past year around youth violence. SLU
10 here developed a documentary called Blood Brothers,
11 which one of the components of that documentary -- it's
12 really worth watching -- they brought in experts from
13 Chicago, St. Louis, all across the country, but they
14 also conducted a focus group with youth from the City
15 and the focus groups were made up of students from SLU
16 High was one focus group, the public schools were one
17 focus group, there were county schools that were a focus
18 group. And to a person, the males, the boys in these
19 focus groups, when asked if they could kill someone or
20 use a gun to do so, said yes in two instances:
21 Self-preservation and revenge. They clearly said if
22 someone entered my home to hurt my family, I will shoot
23 and kill them to protect my family; if I'm not able to
24 do that, I will seek them out for revenge. It didn't
25 matter what their socioeconomic status was. What

1 matters is the social situation that they're placed in
2 to have to do that. The documentary also found other
3 the socioeconomic indicators were risk factors such as
4 education, lack of employment. You've heard about some
5 of that this morning.

6 The one piece of demographic denominator
7 that I didn't put on the slide is mental health is not a
8 reportable disease. So, I can't get really
9 comprehensive data on who has it and how many people
10 have mental illness. We get our information from
11 hospital discharge data. So, 2 percent of the people
12 that entered the hospitals in the region have a primary
13 diagnosis of mental illness, 17 percent have a secondary
14 diagnosis of mental illness. Let me give a number on
15 this. That means that in Missouri, 65,000 people came
16 into the hospital system with a designated mental
17 illness. About half of those, around 32,000, were in
18 the St. Louis region alone. That's a huge denominator
19 if 32,000 people do not get appropriate treatment and
20 end up committing a violent act and end up in our
21 correctional system. So, there has to be a better way
22 to address this.

23 I think this bears repeating some of the
24 things that Mr. Glass talked about. In '09, he had 125
25 people on suicide watch. In 2012, he had 475 people on

1 suicide watch. In '09, he had 5 percent of his
2 population with a diagnosed substance abuse problem.
3 In 2012, he has 23 percent. Those are huge numbers.
4 They're growing, and it's as both of these gentlemen
5 said, we can't sustain that in the system.

6 So, what can we do about it to keep people
7 out of our system and assist the police with the
8 management of crime? There's basically four legs to the
9 stool, and without any one of those legs, it's going to
10 wobble. Without two of those legs, it's going to
11 collapse. Prevention, intervention, enforcement and
12 re-entry have to work together to address the mental
13 health illnesses related to violence. And by
14 prevention, we're talking about education and outreach,
15 access to primary care, jobs, after-school programs,
16 safe places to play and work. Intervention: Anger
17 management, conflict resolution, access to mental health
18 services, peer counseling, alcohol and drug counseling,
19 domestic violence intervention. All of those are known
20 risk factors. Enforcement: Police presence, arrests,
21 prosecution, alternative sentences, gun sentences, drug
22 enforcement, mental health services. You've heard a lot
23 about those this morning. And re-entry: Health and
24 mental health services, jobs, probation and parole,
25 prevention services listed above. It's iterative. I

1 feel it's cyclical. You have to keep doing it.

2 One of the things Mr. Glass and I talked
3 about is we need to divert people to other places
4 besides the jail system. We need to address involuntary
5 commitment. People do not want to talk about that. If
6 we could involuntarily commit people when they need it,
7 they won't end up in jail. I was working with a judge
8 to involuntarily commit someone for tuberculosis, and he
9 didn't want to do it. The judges do not like to do it.
10 It's a highly contagious disease; the man was not
11 compliant; he had substance abuse, alcohol abuse
12 problems. The judge looked at me and said, the only
13 reason you're committing this man is because he's an
14 alcoholic, and I said uh, yes. If he wasn't an
15 alcoholic, he'd be compliant. He'd take his meds and I
16 wouldn't have to commit him. But he wouldn't commit him
17 for alcohol -- alcoholism. So, you know, we committed
18 him to Mount Vernon where he got TB treatment and
19 alcohol treatment. What we're doing now is committing
20 people to jail for alcohol and substance abuse and
21 treatment. That is not sustainable.

22 The other thing we talked about is
23 involving parole and discharge and having a planned
24 discharge process that includes the community-based
25 organizations and getting people in to care. Okay.

1 So, the issue about access to mental
2 health services, only about 39 percent of all people who
3 have a diagnosis and are in need of treatment actually
4 get treatment in a given year. The Association of
5 Mental Health -- National Association of Mental Health
6 support to increase funding in order to have good
7 assessments and to assure the treatment facilities offer
8 adequate human care. That sounds simple. That's a huge
9 issue. We have slowly dismantled our health care system
10 over the past 10 years. So, the Metropolitan St. Louis
11 Psychiatric Center had 100 beds in 2007. They have 25
12 today. We only have 153 licensed psychiatric beds in
13 the entire St. Louis region. We need to increase the
14 ability to commit people who pose a threat as one
15 option. That needs to be explored more. Even the
16 National Association of Mental Health supports
17 involuntary commitment.

18 The local resources we have available are
19 few and far between. Ninety percent or more of mental
20 health services are diagnosed and provided through a
21 primary care provider who will tell you themselves they
22 are poorly trained and equipped to deal with this
23 problem. Ninety percent of mental health treatment is
24 provided through acute care services. That's emergency
25 room departments or the Psych Stabilization Center where

1 they get a very short stay. They get handed
2 medications, and they get sent out the door. Someone
3 with schizophrenia can take six months of commitment to
4 regulate their medications and make them understand that
5 they need to take them and it's okay to take them and
6 get people on track. This in-the-door/out-the-door
7 treatment does not work for serious mental illness.

8 The Affordable Care Act provides coverage
9 for the first time for many of these mental health
10 patients. No longer is mental health a pre-existing
11 condition. A big barrier to care, people do not want to
12 be diagnosed as having a mental illness because they get
13 kicked off their insurance for a pre-existing condition.
14 That can no longer happen. It's a major step forward in
15 the health treatment in this country. Unfortunately, as
16 you know, Missouri chose not to expand Medicaid, so the
17 people who need this the most who are in and out of jobs
18 and who can't hold jobs, who have to make under 100
19 percent of poverty do not have access to mental health
20 coverage. We have the Gateway to Better Health, which
21 does cover about 25,000 people for specialty care and
22 primary care. It doesn't include mental health.

23 The federal qualified health centers have
24 a staff of primary care doctors who are providing 90
25 percent of mental health diagnoses and care. The Betty

1 Jean Kerr People's Health Center partners with private
2 health centers over the past couple of years to
3 strengthen that relationship between primary care
4 providers and mental health providers. They're
5 embarking on new initiatives that I think are
6 game-changing for youth violence in the City. They want
7 to build a \$6 million youth violence and mental health
8 center. They're trying to raise the funds right now to
9 do that. I think this is critical and, as I said, a
10 game changer for future youth violence.

11 We only have 153 licensed psychiatric
12 beds. The Psych Stabilization Center has been downsized
13 75 percent. There is a SLU Maternal and Mental Health
14 Clinic. I use that as an example. There are lots of
15 small programs like that out there. If you know about
16 them, you can get people into them.

17 The Department of Mental Health has a \$4.2
18 million project in the region called Project Launch.
19 That's focused on educating parents about available
20 mental health resources, identifying gaps among the
21 providers and trying to strengthen the provider network.
22 It's just beginning. We'll see how that works over
23 time.

24 But in order for mental health services to
25 work, people have to access them. Sixty percent of the

1 women in the SLU's Maternal and Health Clinic diagnosed
2 with post partum depression will not accept mental
3 health services, and the reasons they state are stigma,
4 poverty, substance abuse and domestic violence.

5 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Pam?

6 MS. WALKER: This is my last slide.

7 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Okay.

8 MS. WALKER: I want to conclude with a
9 statement from Mr. Friedman from Cornell Medical
10 College, "All of the focus on the small number of people
11 with mental illness that are violent serves to make us
12 feel safer by displacing and limiting those that are
13 violent into a small, well-defined group, but the sad
14 and frightening truth is that the vast majority of
15 homicides are carried out by outwardly normal people in
16 the grips of all-too-ordinary human aggression to whom
17 we provide nearly unfettered access to deadly force."

18 In conclusion, I just wan to remind
19 everyone there's four legs to this stool, and they all
20 have to be there: Prevention, intervention, enforcement
21 and re-entry.

22 I want to really thank Chief Dotson,
23 Charlie Dugan and Dale Glass for reaching out like you
24 have in the past year to public health and to really
25 work on integrating your correctional system with mental

1 health systems. We've made a lot of progress in the
2 last year. Thank you very much.

3 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Thank you very
4 much for three very good presentations.

5 One issue that we have been talking about
6 over the last three days is adjusting criminal justice
7 thinking so that it fits the age groups where the public
8 policy can have the most effect as opposed to simply
9 punishing in a progressive or regressive fashion,
10 whichever adjective you want to use, but the more crimes
11 you commit, the longer your punishment is the historic
12 model that we've used, but the evidence seems to be
13 pointing us toward targeting our public policy solutions
14 towards the age groups where it can most matter.

15 So, with that kind of context, either for
16 Dale or for Pam, it seems to me that it is perhaps -- I
17 don't know if I just feel this anecdotally or whether
18 there's any truth to it. Is there -- is it easier to
19 identify mental health issues in people who as they move
20 closer to middle age, in their late twenties through
21 forties? How much success do we have -- let me flip the
22 question over. How much success do we have in
23 identifying mental health issues in 17 to 23-year-olds?
24 In your experience, are you able to spot mental health
25 issues that early or does it typically take longer for

1 them to manifest?

2 MS. WALKER: One research project I saw
3 assumed that one out of five teenagers have some sort of
4 mental health issue. It depends a lot on the
5 environment that they're in. We've got a lot of
6 research in new history and new knowledge about bullying
7 and the impact that has on mental illness in youth, and
8 it's very easy to diagnose. The problem is once you get
9 your required shots for first grade and your school
10 physical to play sports, you don't see a doctor again
11 until you're a pregnant female or, you know, you're 40
12 years old. And so, the teenagers just simply are not
13 accessing the system, even for primary care let alone
14 psychiatric care.

15 MR. GLASS: The only thing I would add
16 about the incarcerated setting is it's difficult to
17 determine in the younger offender or inmate if it's just
18 them acting out in these behaviors or if they really
19 have mental health issues. It's hard to make that
20 determination.

21 MAYOR SLAY: This one is directed at Pam.
22 You and I have talked about these things quite at
23 length, of course, and I certainly appreciate all your
24 work.

25 You know, one of the things that

1 frustrates me and I know frustrates you and a lot of
2 other people as well is the lack of understanding that
3 apparently that state legislatures have about the cost
4 of not expending Medicaid, not only the -- not only the
5 cost in terms of, you know, dollar amounts but the cost
6 to your community and the social impact it has, and
7 you've identified some of that, particularly in the
8 mental health realm. So, of course, you know, we really
9 need to do a better job, I guess, educating our
10 legislature if that's what it will take.

11 But apart from that, what do you see is
12 needed to help us -- you know, what else is going on in
13 terms of resources and opportunities for mental health
14 support at the state level and the local level that
15 you'd like to see more of? What's happening that's not
16 happening that you'd like to see?

17 MS. WALKER: One of the reasons public
18 health has been brought into the discussion about
19 violence is because of the science and the methods that
20 we use to resolve problems. And right now, there are
21 probably 70 groups in the region that are touching
22 violence somehow through some little grant someplace.
23 We need to get more evidence-driven and have really
24 demonstrated projects that work and fund those. And I
25 know people aren't going to want to hear this, but that

1 means not funding some of the other stuff because we
2 have limited resources. But we don't have real
3 evidence-driven comprehensive approaches that addresses
4 all four of those legs to that stool, and so, this isn't
5 going to be a popular place for me to make the comment,
6 but you could put a thousand other police on the street,
7 but if you're not doing anything about prevention and
8 intervention and re-entry, you just have a revolving
9 door. It's dangerous for the police, and it's dangerous
10 for the correctional system, and it doesn't solve the
11 problem. So, all four of those have to work together.
12 I know I'm repeating myself, but there are -- there's
13 proven evidence in all of those areas of what works and
14 that's what we need to be doing. We need to figure out
15 how to fund it.

16 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Charlie?

17 COUNTY EXECUTIVE DOOLEY: This is to
18 Former Chief Isom. In listening to all the
19 conversations this morning -- in all the conversations
20 this morning, one of the things that I listened to was
21 that we have a jail system that's being used for health
22 care. We have resources that are not properly
23 allocated. We have an issue whereas we know that in
24 education, we spend more money -- more money is being
25 spent in incarceration as opposed to the education of

1 our kids in the public schools. In that context, how
2 are we using the limited resources that are given to
3 effectively address the criminal system?

4 MR. ISOM: I think in relation to this
5 subject in terms of mental illness, you're right. We're
6 putting a lot of resources into certainly law
7 enforcement, prosecution and incarceration which is one
8 of legs of the stool that Pam says is very important,
9 and of course it is. But in the area of intervention,
10 re-entry, those are the areas, I think, that we're
11 falling short. You know, as an example, I had an
12 opportunity to go to Germany and visit one of their
13 training facilities, and one of the exercises they did
14 in training this facility was to respond to a call where
15 a person was having a mental illness crisis. So, the
16 officers went there. They're trying to control the
17 situation. He probably could have been charged with
18 peace disturbance, property damage, but they were able
19 to call a doctor to the scene to evaluate him at the
20 time, and that doctor made an evaluation and committed
21 him to a mental health facility. It was part of the
22 exercise. I had to ask them is that what really happens
23 in normal life in Germany. They said yes, we have made
24 a commitment to provide these resources to people who
25 are in crisis. So, it takes a big discussion, and as

1 the mayor said, a discussion in Jeff City about how are
2 we going to start to allocate our resources. We want to
3 focus on the criminal justice system -- I know the
4 chiefs do -- on criminals and putting those people in
5 jail and trying to avert these people who have either
6 substance abuse or mental health issues to a different
7 process because, as I said earlier, the structure of the
8 criminal justice process is not designed to handle these
9 types of issues. It is a mental health issue. It is a
10 health issue.

11 MR. DOOLEY: Thank you.

12 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Mayor James?

13 MAYOR JAMES: One of the things that we
14 had a lot of discussion on in Kansas City was
15 evidence-based policing, targeting specific issues with
16 specific approaches. So, a couple of questions. One,
17 do you have in St. Louis -- I apologize. I should know
18 this -- specialty courts, drug court, debt court,
19 truancy court, those types of things? Do you have
20 those, mental health court?

21 MR. ISOM: We do have a drug court in St.
22 Louis. So, I guess the issue in terms of having one
23 drug court is does it have the capacity to deal with all
24 the cases that could flow into that court, and so, maybe
25 expanding the capacity of that court is something that's

1 needed.

2 MAYOR JAMES: The other part of my
3 question is -- and this isn't specific to St. Louis. I
4 think it's specific to the state, perhaps the country.
5 Have we spent any time looking at how we prioritize what
6 we're going to enforce? There's a lot of people in jail
7 for a lot of stuff. Sometimes you kind of wonder
8 whether or not the stuff they're in jail for is worth
9 being in jail for, and then there's a whole lot of
10 people that aren't in jail doing a whole lot of stuff
11 where you know darn good and well they should be in jail
12 for doing that and they're not. So, I'm wondering if we
13 aren't kind of bass-ackwards on some of this stuff
14 sometimes. And you know, one area that seems to be
15 gaining in some popularity and it's interesting and a
16 little provocative is are we spending too much time
17 putting people in jail or arresting people for pot
18 versus not enough time putting people in jail for using
19 guns? It seems that with the limited resources you have
20 to be specifically priority-oriented in order to use
21 those resources best, and the resources don't seem to be
22 best spent on some of the lower level stuff that I
23 imagine an officer arresting somebody for pot would have
24 to engage in a significant amount of paperwork in the
25 time that could be spent doing something else. I'm not

1 saying pot ought to be legalized, before somebody takes
2 that and runs with it and then there's a banner flying
3 across the sky here this afternoon. I'm simply using
4 that as an example.

5 MS. WALKER: I'm not admitting anything
6 about pot or any other substance abuse, but there -- you
7 see the police really struggling with trying to --
8 trying to sort out how they're going to manage their
9 resources, and they're the only people that I know that
10 get shot at every day, every single day and still get up
11 and go do their job. They're trying to juggle
12 everything else too, the gang violence. One statistic
13 that's in my mind and I can't get it out of my mind is
14 we had 5500 calls reporting child abuse last year in the
15 City, and only 55 were substantiated. Now, you might
16 convince me that half of them were a spouse or a
17 neighbor or somebody who just wants revenge, but one
18 percent? I mean, that's just because the police can't
19 keep up. They have to do a complete, thorough
20 investigation in that. The Department of Social
21 Services doesn't have enough investigators to deal with
22 that. But if you abuse 500 kids in town in a year,
23 they're going to grow up violent. So, yeah, how do you
24 use evidence to restructure and refocus our resources,
25 you know, even within the police department itself? And

1 you know, like I said, I really admire what Chief Dotson
2 is doing in looking at this in a different way and
3 looking at the data in different ways and still putting
4 the bad guys in jail, because that's what we want. I
5 mean, you know, I live in downtown St. Louis, and you
6 know, I see it -- you know, I see crime committed every
7 day down there, and the police are doing their best, you
8 know, to keep up with it. So, what do they -- you know,
9 what do they finish doing when they get the call, you
10 know, that shots were fired or not, you know? There's
11 not enough resources, and it's kind of all over the
12 place.

13 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Chief Fitch?

14 CHIEF FITCH: One of our challenges in the
15 County, and we've talked about this, is the county jail
16 and talk about the number of people in the jail. That
17 looks like a new building, if you see it. It's already
18 more than 200 people over capacity. So, where do all
19 these -- where are they going to go? We continue to
20 bring them in. They continue to try to figure out how
21 to get people out of there. So, a big number of them
22 are in there for substance abuse. We know it's going to
23 cost about three times as much to incarcerate somebody
24 for a substance abuse violation than it does to treat
25 them for that violation, but the problem is people are

1 willing to pay for jails but they're not willing to pay
2 for treatment centers. So, it really is a discussion
3 that we have to have in Jefferson City with funding some
4 of these things that aren't popular, to be honest with
5 you. Just a statement, not a question.

6 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Chief Dotson, do
7 you want to ask the last question before lunch break?

8 CHIEF DOTSON: This is a kind of a
9 follow-up along the lines of Chief Fitch and Mayor
10 James.

11 Law enforcement is often the service
12 provider or first and last resort in mental health
13 issues. When we do arrest individuals, I'm talking
14 about evidence-based, are we seeing results in the drug
15 courts, the mental health courts, the veterans courts?
16 Are those good diversion tactics? Should we be putting
17 more money into those courts, those processes to try and
18 keep from re-offending? I think Pam and Chief Isom are
19 probably the best.

20 MS. WALKER: Well, I think we need more
21 resources, not necessarily diverted resources. That
22 seems to be a conversation we don't want to have. It
23 needs -- you know, why do you -- you know, why should we
24 have a discussion of taking money away from police to
25 fund alcohol and treatment centers? You know, those

1 four legs need to be addressed equally, and they all
2 need funded. We end up ending up fighting over the
3 pieces of the pie instead of the size of the pie. And
4 if we're really going to address the violence, then the
5 pie has got to get bigger.

6 CHIEF DOTSON: So, the veterans courts,
7 our drug courts, the mental health courts, the homeless
8 court, are those places we should be investing?

9 MS. WALKER: Yeah, I think so.

10 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Thank you very
11 much for a good morning session. We'll start up at 1:00
12 after the lunch hour.

13 I want to remind people who are interested
14 that Chief Bill Bratton, who is the former Police Chief
15 of the City of Boston, City of New York and the City of
16 Los Angeles, one of the most renowned police officials
17 in our nation will be here at 1:00 p.m. Thank you very
18 much.

19 (Wherein a lunch recess was taken.)

20 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Welcome again
21 for this afternoon's session, everyone. The topic of
22 this afternoon's session is Effective Policing: Where
23 Have We Been, and Where are we Going.

24 I am honored and all of us are honored to
25 have with us this afternoon William Bratton.

1 Mr. Bratton is the Chairman and CEO of Bratton Group as
2 well as Bratton Technologies and the Chairman of Kroll,
3 one of the world's leading risk consulting companies,
4 which provides a broad range of investigative
5 intelligence, financial due diligence, security and
6 technology services.

7 Mr. Bratton served as the Boston Police
8 Commissioner, the New York City Police Commissioner and
9 the Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department. He's
10 the only person to have served as the top law
11 enforcement official in all three of these major cities.

12 In New York, he led the development and
13 deployment of CompStat, which has revolutionized
14 policing throughout the United States and countries
15 around the world.

16 Mr. Bratton holds of Bachelor's of Science
17 from Boston State College and has graduated the FBI
18 National Executive Institute and is a senior -- and the
19 Senior Executive Fellow Program from Harvard's John F.
20 Kennedy's School of Government. He's a United States
21 Army veteran who served in Vietnam. He proudly began
22 his police career in 1970 as an officer with the Boston
23 Police Department. His critically-acclaimed
24 autobiography The Turnaround was published by Random
25 House in 1998.

1 Bill, we are honored to have you in St.
2 Louis. Welcome. The microphone is yours.

3 WILLIAM J. BRATTON

4 THE BRATTON GROUP, BRATTON TECHNOLOGIES

5 MR. WILLIAM BRATTON: Good afternoon.

6 Thank you for the opportunity to return to St. Louis.

7 (Wherein a discussion concerning
8 microphone interference was held off the
9 record.)

10 MR. WILLIAM BRATTON: I want to make you
11 stay awake, but I don't want you to lose your eardrums.
12 Am I better stationary? We'll give it another try.

13 Good afternoon. It's been quite a while
14 since I've had the privilege and the opportunity to be
15 in St. Louis. The last time was, I think, during the
16 tenure of Mayor Harmon, and previous to, when he was
17 Police Chief. It's great to be back. Thank you to the
18 Attorney General and the Mayors of Kansas City and St.
19 Louis for the opportunity to talk with you about
20 policing.

21 I've had the privilege to be either in or
22 associated with the police profession for the last
23 approximately 46 years, and it's been an extraordinary
24 journey, one that is continuing. During that period of
25 time, I've seen the equivalent of revolutions in that

1 evolution.

2 What I want to talk with you about today
3 is where we've been, where we are and where we're going
4 from my perspective. I've had a quite broad breadth of
5 experiences and opportunities in the police profession
6 and as a part of the larger criminal justice system,
7 which the police are such an essential component of. My
8 remarks are truly my remarks based on my experiences.
9 I'm very proud of the profession to the extent that a
10 mantra that I've used for many years is that cops count;
11 police matter.

12 In a democracy -- we are privileged to
13 live in the first democracy and arguably the most
14 successful democracy in the world. But in a democracy,
15 the first obligation of government is public safety.
16 It's defined in our Constitution and our Declaration of
17 Independence. It is what we are all about. It is
18 clearly understood that without public safety, that all
19 the other pillars of democracy, all the other promises
20 of democracy cannot be safely or adequately met. But
21 the challenge for police in the distinctive role that we
22 have in that democracy, the challenge always falls is to
23 police constitutionally. You cannot beak the law to
24 enforce the law.

25 I'm going to apologize for the sound

1 system. Better?

2 (Wherein a discussion was held off the
3 record regarding the sound system.)

4 MR. BRATTON: Sorry about that. Are we
5 back on? Is the mic on? Okay. Thank you.

6 In a democracy, the challenge for policing
7 at all times is to police constitutionally. We cannot
8 break the law under any circumstances to enforce it. We
9 need to police compassionately and respectfully or the
10 term very much en vogue now is with legitimacy, that we
11 need to police in such a way that we get what we give.
12 That if we give respect, if we give compassion, that we
13 would get it in return and that most importantly, we
14 would get the trust that's so essential to being police
15 in a democracy. Thirdly, we need to police
16 consistently. The term that we're using most recently
17 is procedural justice. The idea that in every
18 neighborhood in every community, no matter what the
19 race, no matter what the ethnic background, that we
20 police in a way that we are proceeding within the law
21 compassionately, respectfully and within the limits of
22 the law.

23 I've had the opportunity of policing since
24 1970 when I joined the Boston Police Department just
25 back from three years in the military as a military

1 police officer with a tour of duty in Vietnam. I always
2 wanted to be a cop. You might recognize a few of those
3 shows from 1950, Dragnet, 1 Adam-12. Those were the
4 influences. Nobody in my family had ever been a police
5 officer, and it's unlikely unless my grandchildren
6 decide they want to go in that direction.

7 I came into policing with ideals, the
8 ideal that police make a difference, that it was a
9 career where you could have a life of significance, a
10 life that mattered, where you could have a good life,
11 good salary, good pension benefits. But very quickly
12 upon entering policing, I went through a period of
13 significant disillusionment because it wasn't quite what
14 was portrayed on 1 Adam-12 or Badge 714. In fact, the
15 reality was very different than the TV portrayals.

16 Realities were very much in evidence in
17 the 1960s, a time of phenomenal societal change in our
18 country; a time of the Civil Rights Movement and Martin
19 Luther King; a time when the anti-war movement against a
20 very unpopular war, the Vietnam War; a time of societal
21 movement where it was felt that the government was not
22 doing enough to deal with the causes of what were
23 thought to be crime but what were thought to be causes
24 of crime. And those causes reflected the demographics,
25 a lot of young people, racism, poverty, the economy,

1 lack of jobs, people would resort to crime, the weather.
2 There were many reasons that crime was on the growth in
3 the 1960s and continuing into the '70s and '80s. So,
4 our society was going through a phenomenal change going
5 into 1970 when I joined the Boston Police Department.

6 Policing, for most of its history, had
7 been focussed around the issue of prevention, a goal of
8 prevention. So, Robert Peel in the 1830s and '40s
9 created the Metropolitan Police in London. The goal of
10 police -- there's nine principles of policing. One of
11 the first and foremost, that police exist to prevent
12 crime, that they should be measured on their ability to
13 prevent it rather than being seen as the enforcer of the
14 laws and the ordinances. That's the way policing went
15 for most of the next hundred years.

16 But moving into the '50s and '60s,
17 policing in this country lost its way. It became, in
18 many instances, brutal; it became, in many instances,
19 corrupt. It was lacking many of the basic tenants of
20 professionals: Highly educated leadership, educated
21 workforce, values, standards. And in many respects,
22 much of the societal concern in the '60s, the police
23 were center place in terms of those concerns.

24 So, coming out of the '60s as the great
25 society and American political leadership sought to

1 address all the societal issues that had been protested
2 against in the '60s, they said the role of the police
3 needs to change. And the role they wanted the police to
4 assume was that of becoming much more professional, that
5 the absences of professionalism that had been displayed
6 in the '50s and '60s led to what they labeled the rise
7 in crime, the rising dissatisfaction with police, and
8 the role of the police in dealing very ineffectively
9 with race issues in this country.

10 When we moved into the 1970s, police were
11 required and encouraged and supported in becoming more
12 of a professional. We had adopted and began the first
13 evolution and revolution in policing, the adoption of
14 the professional model of policing.

15 George Kelling, the co-author of Broken
16 Windows writes eloquently about it. He speaks about
17 professionalism was based on three assumptions: That
18 police needed to improve their response to crime because
19 we're excused from having any responsibility for dealing
20 with crime in terms of preventing it because our society
21 had come to the belief that the causes of crime -- I
22 emphasize this -- the causes of crime were of racism,
23 poverty, the demographic, the economy. What could
24 police be expected to do about those societal issues?
25 Society and government would figure those out. The role

1 of the police was to improve our skills, to respond to
2 crime with the professional model. Professional model
3 emphasized the end of patrol. We got into cars instead
4 of walking the beat.

5 When I started with the police profession,
6 I had six weeks in the Boston Police Academy walking a
7 beat in an all-black neighborhood with a six-shot
8 revolver, my handcuffs, my (inaudible), no
9 walkie-talkie, and I was out there protecting the
10 citizens of Boston by my presence, by my actions in the
11 neighborhood.

12 Very quickly, we moved into police cars
13 where we could cover much larger areas, random patrol,
14 keep the criminals off guard, never knowing when we were
15 coming, rapid response when get calls for service.
16 Calls for service began to increase dramatically in the
17 '70s because they created 911. 911, which was
18 well-intentioned, initially improved the response of
19 police, with coordination, with information, the
20 gathering of data. It quickly consumed us. So, the
21 rest of society began to pull back in delivering
22 services, and the police became the catchall in the '70s
23 and '80s. You'd call and most times we would come and
24 most times we would try to get there in a reasonable
25 response time.

1 We had random response, rapid response and
2 reactive investigations. Good old Joe Friday. We were
3 going to improve the forensics, we're going to improve
4 the skill of responding to crime and solving crime. We
5 were going to be measured -- and this very important.
6 We were going to be measured on our response to crime,
7 how long did it take us to get to call for service, how
8 many arrests did we make, how many successful
9 prosecutions, how many clearances, how many people
10 incarcerated, all responses. There's an adage that I
11 support very strongly, you can expect what you inspect.
12 After a hundred years of being inspected for our role in
13 preventing crime, we were excused from that role. We
14 were now going to be inspected on our ability to respond
15 to crime, a very significant shift in the way we policed
16 our country.

17 And we were shifting at a time, again,
18 with continuing phenomenal societal change because in
19 the '60s and then moving into the '70s and continuing in
20 the '80s, crime was beginning to increase. Not only was
21 crime beginning to increase, but what was also beginning
22 to happen, particularly in our inner cities and then
23 eventually spreading into our suburban areas also in the
24 '80s was that in addition to serious crime growing every
25 year without exception, so was quality of life types of

1 crimes, the broken windows that George Kelling and Jim
2 Wilson wrote so eloquently about in the 1982 monthly
3 magazine article. The idea that because the police were
4 so busy measuring our response to serious crime and
5 measuring our response to calls for service and we were
6 also declining in numbers in the '70s overall in many
7 cities in the country as a whole, that we were not
8 effectively dealing with other types of minor crime,
9 street prostitution, growing street narcotics issues,
10 the abandoned cars, the graffiti, the gang on the
11 corner, all the things that were victimless crimes
12 so-called, but we didn't understand that that victim was
13 the neighborhood itself, the community, the city. As a
14 government and its agency, the police, we were not
15 dealing with those minor issues. We were effectively
16 compounding the growth of more significant issues. If
17 you don't weed the garden, that garden is eventually
18 going to be taken over by the weeds. That was what
19 began to happen in our cities and our inner cities. We
20 were no longer taking care of what the walking-the-beat
21 officer, what the police departments had taken care of
22 for years, although, in many instances, had taken care
23 in inappropriate ways, use of brutality, use of
24 corruption, use of the third degree.

25 So, as we move into the '70s, we had other

1 elements at work, other societal changes. George
2 Kelling also speaks of these. We had the three R's of
3 the professional police model, we had the three D's
4 contributing to that deterioration in our city and urban
5 life: Decriminalization, deinstitutionalization and
6 depolicing.

7 Depolicing. Many of the laws that police
8 had used to enforce street order, many of the laws they
9 had used to enforce societal mandates, we had abused.
10 Through a series of Supreme Court decisions, some of
11 those tools were taken away. Some of the operations of
12 the police were severely tabled. The Miranda Warning,
13 Escobedo, the Exclusionary Rule all were now coming
14 under constitutional review and requirement imposed on
15 us by the Supreme Court, all very important to the
16 professionalization of the police, all very important to
17 our legitimacy in building trust in the community but
18 were a phenomenal change. That depolicing, if you will,
19 not only reduced some of the tools we had to work with
20 but was compounded by the fact that the style of
21 policing we were now adopting, response rather than
22 prevention-focused. The police were taken off the beats
23 of the neighborhood where they were known by the
24 community. Community knew the police; the police knew
25 the community, good guys and bad guys. We now were in

1 our police cars. In 1975, we got air conditioning. We
2 could roll our windows up, and we were effectively
3 depolicing our neighborhoods because the police were not
4 the presence they had once been, particularly in the
5 urban environment.

6 Deinstitutionalization. Compounding the
7 loss of police presence and the police effectiveness was
8 the new phenomenon that came to be called the homeless
9 problem. The homeless problem, in effect, was three
10 things: It was individuals with mental conditions,
11 alcoholic conditions or increasingly drug conditions.
12 The street people of the '30s and '40s and '50s and the
13 skid rows of the country were now vastly increased by
14 this new population, military veterans returning back
15 from Vietnam War with drug addictions and post traumatic
16 stress that was unrecognized. Increasing numbers, tens
17 of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of poor souls
18 who had been in mental institutions state-run,
19 fortress-like, prison-like, not receiving very good
20 care, and the well-intended societal effort to deal with
21 that, they're going to be returned to neighborhood
22 treatment centers, they're going to be returned to
23 families for self-medication and treatment under
24 supervision. (Inaudible), those neighborhood centers
25 weren't built, self-medication, self-supervision and

1 family care did not happen. The streets very quickly
2 began to fill with people with significant mental issues
3 and compounding now with the drug problem, particularly
4 in the inner city once again with the various types of
5 drugs: Heroin in the '60s. We had military veterans
6 coming back now with hallucinogens. As we moved into
7 the '80s, the drug problems exploded as the sale of
8 drugs on our streets and a deterioration in our
9 neighborhoods were impacted by drugs and drug use
10 amongst the residents.

11 We had deinstitutionalization, depolicing
12 and decriminalization all occurring at the same time
13 that police were attempting to shift to response-focused
14 rather than prevention-focused.

15 In the '80s, it compounded because we now
16 had a growing surge in weapons and embracing in America,
17 unheard of in past times, of embracing the need for
18 firearms, the need to have firearms, support for
19 firearms not only by legitimate communities but
20 increasingly more aggressively in the criminal community
21 oftentimes in support of the drug industry, drug trade.
22 Increasing numbers of young people coming out into
23 society that was losing control of the schools, its
24 control of young people, the influence of the church,
25 many broken homes compounded by issues of drugs and

1 alcoholism. We have now tens of thousands, again, if
2 not hundreds of thousands of young men and women drawn
3 into the drug trades and the violence of drug trades.
4 Weapons were increasingly becoming available,
5 semiautomatic weapons, TEC 9 type of machine pistols.
6 So, in the '80s, for a period of time, the law
7 enforcement and American police were effectively
8 outgunned by the criminal population, particularly the
9 criminal population acting around the issues of drugs
10 and drug violence. To the extent that by 1990, we as a
11 society and a country, as a profession, police
12 profession, in the larger criminal justice profession
13 had really lost our way.

14 The worst crime year in the history of the
15 country was in 1990. In the City of New York, a city I
16 know quite well that Commissioner Kelly talked about in
17 the earlier presentation this week, 2,245 murders in
18 that city of seven and a half million people; 700,000
19 reported part one crimes, and the huge amount of
20 unaddressed for 25 years
21 quality-of-life-broken-windows-type crimes; 6,000 subway
22 cars totally covered with graffiti. The city looked
23 like a third world county in terms of graffiti. The
24 prostitution and the street narcotics, the aggressive
25 panhandling, the homeless population estimated living on

1 the streets of 40 to 50,000 people take over many of the
2 city's parks. 5,000 homeless -- again, homeless being
3 the overall phrase, but a population that was largely
4 made up in New York certainly some of whom were
5 legitimately homeless but many street people with mental
6 conditions, alcohol conditions and drug conditions that
7 were contributing to the sense of fear that was
8 overwhelming, in the case of New York, but also
9 throughout America. In city after city, including, I
10 would dare say Kansas City, St. Louis were experiencing
11 the same thing. But fortunately -- fortunately,
12 beginning at the local level, American police chiefs,
13 some academics, political leadership began to recognize
14 that we're failing. We needed to do something else.
15 So, the leadership at that time embraced a concept that
16 is now known as community policing. I am a strong
17 community policing advocate.

18 During the '70s and '80s, I was growing up
19 in policing. I started as a police officer. By 1975, I
20 was a sergeant in the Boston Police Department, one of
21 the whiz kids that helped to develop a lot of computer
22 programs. In '77, I was put in charge of a neighborhood
23 policing program where I first got to fully appreciate
24 that being armed with all types of statistics about
25 serious crime meant nothing in communities that were

1 being overwhelmed not only by the serious crime but the
2 so-called quality of life crimes, that we, the police,
3 were failing in our ability to address both. We were
4 certainly failing in our ability to address serious
5 crime, but our total neglect of minor crime was
6 contributing to it, too. Even years before Kelling and
7 Wilson wrote about broken windows, I was living it, and
8 I understood the importance of beginning to focus on it.
9 I also began to understand the importance of all of the
10 police in terms of dealing with the problems at a
11 neighborhood level. There were oftentimes not
12 necessarily criminal problems but problems that if not
13 addressed by the police could eventually lead to crime.
14 I began very early on in my development phase, so by the
15 time I was Superintendent of Police, the number two
16 position in the in Boston Police Department in 1980, I
17 had come to appreciate and embrace the concept of
18 policing called neighborhood policing. We're going to
19 work with the community on establishing what were their
20 priorities that were creating fear. If it was quality
21 of life, that's what we, the police, would work to
22 address with them. If it was serious crime, that's what
23 we would work to address with them and the rest of the
24 criminal justice system, but we were going to be
25 partners. More importantly, we were going to attempt to

1 identity very early on the growth of these problems when
2 they were in the (inaudible) stage. So, if there's a
3 crime pattern of three or four robberies, then we're
4 going to try to identify that very quickly through
5 mapping. So, we could put cops very quickly into the
6 area to stop it before it became 30 or 40 robberies. We
7 were going to try to effectively, in the '70s in Boston,
8 develop what came to be known in the '90s as community
9 policing.

10 I was very fortunate in my early and
11 formative years of not wrapping myself in a cocoon of
12 just thinking police had all the answers. I was
13 fortunate because the approaches from the best academic
14 and the best research and some of the best thinking at
15 the time that as we went into the '80s and really began
16 to lose our way, I understood that there was basically a
17 light at the end of the tunnel. I was not alone.
18 Fortunately, there were many other chiefs, many other
19 political leaders, who, out of frustration of the '80s,
20 began to form around at the executive sessions of
21 Harvard University funded by the federal government
22 under Ronald Reagan and the Attorney General that was
23 then going to analyze what had gone wrong and what could
24 we try to fix in the '90s. What we came up with was
25 community policing. Executive sessions developed the

1 term.

2 Community policing, which I had been
3 practicing under the name neighborhood policing, now was
4 going to be become the new philosophy. How was it
5 different than the professional model? Well, we
6 couldn't do away with the professional model. We still
7 wanted the police to give a rapid response, you still
8 wanted to have patrol of the police, but you wanted it
9 more focussed and more directed rather than random, and
10 you certainly wanted effective investigations of crimes
11 that occurred, proof forensics, proof investigative
12 tools. You didn't want to lose that as ineffective as
13 it had been in the '70s. You wanted to improve on it.
14 What you wanted to do was embrace it within the
15 community policing model.

16 The community policing model emphasized
17 three elements: Partnership, police working within the
18 criminal justice system, partnership police working in
19 communities to identify in this neighborhood what was
20 creating fear and disorder, in this neighborhood, fear,
21 crime and disorder, understanding that we were dealing
22 with many different patients with many different ills.
23 There was not a monolithic patient that we attempted to
24 deal with in the '70s and '80s. We were going to have
25 to learn to deal with the different neighborhoods in

1 different priorities. So, the promise of community
2 policing was that it was going to address that
3 significant failure of American policing in the '70s and
4 '80s. The emphasis on partnership was going to be
5 focussed on problems, not just the individual incident,
6 the 911 chasing calls had done but rather a scientific
7 evaluation of what was causing crime to increase, what
8 would cause it to decrease, what would cause it to tip
9 more quickly. So, as the casualties have gone up in an
10 epidemic or disease, what were the remedies, what were
11 the fixes, what were the medicines we can apply to very
12 quickly tip it and have it go down the other way.

13 The third element of community policing,
14 and the most important, was the return of police to the
15 goal of preventing crime; the return of the criminal
16 justice system to the goal of prevention of crime; the
17 return to the responsibility of investigation in a
18 democracy of public safety.

19 What changed was what we were going to
20 inspect. If you inspect for prevention, you're going to
21 have a different set of expectations than if you're
22 inspecting for response.

23 So, in New York City, first in the transit
24 system -- I went there in 1990 from Boston. Then in
25 1994, I was working with Mayor Giuliani as his first

1 Police Commissioner. The mandate was to deal with the
2 serious crime. One of every 10 New Yorkers had been the
3 victim of a serious crime in 1990, but every one of them
4 had been victimized day in and day out by the quality of
5 life signs of crime. We were going to attack both as we
6 had done in the subway successfully in the early 1990s.
7 Giuliani saw that and asked can it be done in the
8 streets. I said I believe it can, and during the time
9 of 1994 to 1996, for two years, it was effective to
10 address it. Homicides were down 50 percent. Overall,
11 serious crime was down by 40 percent, but maybe as
12 importantly, the sense of fear and safety. Fear was
13 reduced and safety and increased. Why? Because with
14 the police working in partnership with the communities,
15 with more police, New York benefitted from the term of
16 office of Mayor David Dinkins, who lost to Giuliani, of
17 hiring 6,000 more officers to deal with that crisis in
18 the year of 1990.

19 So, as Police Commissioner, I had the
20 luxury that many of my colleagues today particularly
21 don't have of having enough cops to put on all the dots.
22 The idea was to start using information to identify
23 where were we going to put the cops, to start using
24 information to hold police commanders, particularly in
25 the City of New York with 76 individual precincts,

1 individual precinct commanders responsible. If we give
2 you enough resources, you need to be able to track crime
3 and disorder in your community. You need to work with
4 your community, and you will be held accountable for
5 crime going up and crime doing down. We wanted to know
6 why it went it up in your perspective and we wanted to
7 know why it went down in your perspective.

8 The system we developed -- you can
9 reference it (inaudible). It was CompStat,
10 computer-aided statistics called CompStat, eight
11 letters, because the initial computer we used to track
12 it was a Tandy RadioShack for \$149. We bought it at
13 RadioShack because the huge mainframe computers at the
14 NYPD, they told me took six months to reprogram, and we
15 didn't have six months. So, we bought a Tandy and we
16 began to track every day, from every precinct, all the
17 crime reports so that we had a city-wide focus on crime.

18 What was so dramatic and revolutionary
19 about that? In hindsight, it seems like, well, isn't
20 that what police are supposed to do? It is, but it's
21 not what we were doing, certainly not in New York and
22 not in Boston. We were tracking crime to report to the
23 FBI twice a year, the National Crime Statistics Report,
24 but on a department basis and on a local precinct basis,
25 we were not basically tracking crime for purposes of

1 assigning our resources to try and do something about
2 responding and preventing it. That was the reality of
3 the issues and situation in New York City when I got
4 there in 1994 as Commissioner. The country's largest
5 police department was effectively not focussed on crime.

6 You can expect what you inspect. What
7 were they inspecting in New York? The number one
8 priority was fighting corruption in 1970s when the
9 department was systematically corrupt.

10 Twenty years later, that was still the number one
11 priority that we focussed on. As a precinct commander,
12 you knew the surest way to your lose your command was
13 have corruption in your precinct.

14 Each precinct each year was required to
15 submit their five goals and priorities of the next year.
16 In 1994, when we came into office and looked and
17 reviewed those goals, the majority of those did not even
18 mention crime. The largest police department in America
19 with one of the most crime ridden cities was not
20 focussing on crime. What CompStat did was focus it back
21 on crime.

22 CompStat has four basic elements. Let me
23 just lay these out very quickly for you. You hear the
24 term very often because it is a system that truly
25 revolutionized policing, whether police departments

1 practice it or not. It's because police were back to
2 the business of focussing on being measured on their
3 ability to prevent crime as well as to respond to it.

4 Timely accurate intelligence. Gather up
5 the crime report as quickly as you can. Back in those
6 days, you'd fax them in every day. Each precinct had to
7 keep track of their own. Gather up that information.
8 The information is incredibly valuable. Timely accurate
9 intelligence.

10 Rapidly responding. Cops on the dots,
11 hot-spot policing. Terms that we now use so
12 commonplace, they were revolutionary. They were brand
13 new back then. Get a path (inaudible) when it's 3 or 4,
14 not 30 or 40.

15 Timely accurate intelligence, rapid
16 response, cops on the dots and effective tactics.

17 Problem-oriented policing. What's going
18 to work to stop the growth of crime and what's going to
19 stop it from coming back again.

20 Lastly, relentless follow-up. The last
21 one would be relentless follow-up because crime, like
22 illness, always has the potential to come back. Because
23 what we did in policing was we basically engaged in
24 carousel policing. Remember those little slide
25 projectors, the carousels? We focussed on what was in

1 front of us, and then for the next 49 slides, we didn't
2 pay much attention to it. CompStat required police to
3 be paying attention all the time.

4 What's CompStat kind of modelled after, if
5 you think about it? Most of us will go to the doctor
6 once a year for an annual physical exam. Timely
7 accurate intelligence. You go to the doctor, I'm not
8 feeling well. You say blase this, blase that. He runs
9 a whole series of tests. He's going to rapidly respond
10 to the discovered illnesses. You've got something on
11 your skin. He does a biopsy. Oh, melanoma. Timely
12 accurate intelligence and rapid response. Effective
13 tactics, chemo, radiation, surgery. And lastly, once he
14 believes he has cured you, he's going to have you come
15 back every six months.

16 So, effective policing that began to
17 engage in the '90s is what medicine has always done.
18 The challenge for policing, like medicine, also was in
19 doing what we're going to do because it was going to be
20 a more assertive form of policing, even though it was
21 being done in partnership with the community in
22 identifying what the community wanted to address. It
23 was the idea to do no harm in the process. Isn't that
24 a part of the oath that they have, to do no harm? Well,
25 similarly in policing, that is the challenge and the

1 obligation for us.

2 And one that is being so much debated
3 today around the issue of stop-and-frisk in New York and
4 elsewhere around the country. The idea that in the case
5 of New York, which Commissioner Kelly may have addressed
6 this in his remarks, ironically after 40 years of his
7 time in office and 20 years going back to my time in
8 office, crime has gone down every year in that city,
9 down 80, 85 percent, 90 percent in the category of
10 stolen cars, for example, and the city is certainly a
11 safer place, feels safer, looks safer, 50 millions
12 tourists versus 25 million 20 years ago, hundreds of
13 thousands of jobs still being created, but in the city's
14 minority communities, all of which are arguably much
15 safer based on the numbers -- you can't go from 2045
16 burglaries to about 400 this year; you can't go from
17 700,000 reported crimes down to about 140,000 this year
18 with a vast majority of that decrease is in the poor
19 minority neighborhoods where unfortunately the vast
20 majority of whatever crime is still exists without even
21 those communities feeling the difference, but what they
22 also felt is like the doctor who has now dealt
23 successfully with your cancer, with your chemo, with
24 radiation and you're starting to feel better, he keeps
25 it away with less and less of a dose. Well, chemo and

1 radiation in and of themselves are very harmful to the
2 body. The success of a successful physician and doctor
3 is knowing the right amount to give to a particular
4 patient. Similarly for police leadership for mayors,
5 policing is understanding what is the appropriate amount
6 of policing necessary to reduce crime, reduce disorder,
7 increase legitimacy of trust and use procedural justice
8 while doing it. So much of the stop-and-frisk
9 controversy in New York -- and I'm currently working in
10 Detroit, Baltimore and Oakland on a consultant project
11 for those, I stay very actively involved in some of the
12 major police organizations around the country, the
13 stop-and-frisk issue, as I'm looking at it, is the
14 absolute essential tool of American policing. You can't
15 police without it, but it's so fundamentally
16 misunderstood at the moment. It's going to take a very
17 significant effort to clarify and explain it and have
18 everyone, including the police and community and media,
19 understand it. The idea is that it is an essential,
20 appropriate tool, but it also needs to be modified to
21 changing conditions. And some of, I think, what
22 happened in New York was that the level of it, like the
23 level of chemo that you're giving to a cancer patient,
24 as the patient was getting better, much better, 70, 80
25 percent decline in crime, the numbers of stops went up.

1 150,000 when they first started documenting it back 2001
2 to 2002 to about 6 or 700,000 at the time when crime was
3 going down.

4 What was thought was more, well, more
5 stops meant less crime. Not necessarily because about a
6 year or so ago when the numbers stopped in response to
7 proper leadership, community concern, media focus began
8 to go down dramatically, crime continued to go down.
9 So, the great debate right now in New York and around
10 the country is the balance. What is the appropriate
11 balance? In the '90s, we began to get it right. In the
12 21st century, the challenge is beginning to understand
13 how do we use appropriate levels to effectively deal
14 with the different patients in the different cities and
15 the different communities.

16 So, CompStat began a revolution around the
17 idea of use of information and data. So, we moved from
18 professional era to the community policing era, and then
19 we're beginning to move, certainly with the advance in
20 ability to acquire information, to what I describe as
21 the information/intelligence era, which was accelerated
22 phenomenally after the events of 9/11, the idea being
23 that to prevent a terrorist attack, the best way to do
24 it is to prevent it through the gathering of
25 information, making intelligence to effectively thwart

1 those plots and efforts, get them before they get us, if
2 you will. Similarly, in traditional American policing
3 dealing with traditional crime and disorder, gathering
4 of information making it into intelligence moved us into
5 -- even as the world was moving to the era of big data,
6 American policing was in the forefront of using data to
7 put cops on the dots, to basically improve our
8 capabilities, the use of shot spotters technology which
9 you had a briefing on, the use of cameras and police
10 tools and cars and armed police officers themselves.
11 All of the technologies that I'd like to see one police
12 department have it all just to see what would the impact
13 be to have the benefits of all of these technological
14 and big data innovations in one place at one time.

15 But as we're moving into the 21st century,
16 the other revolution that is not an evolution -- and I'm
17 going to close my remarks with this. We're now moving
18 into the era of predictive policing, a phenomenal
19 potential, the idea in city after city realtime crime
20 centers first pioneered by Commissioner Kelly in New
21 York. I had the second one in LA in the country. Now,
22 the term is pretty much more commonplace than CompStat
23 was. But realtime crime centers are effectively taking
24 advantage of big data technology and with algorithms
25 that are, in fact, now very real, they're not pie in the

1 sky. They have been developed. There is an increasing
2 capability to, with some degree of certainty, predict
3 that during this period of time in this certain location
4 that a crime will likely be committed unless you put a
5 cop there. Cop on the dot. The cop doesn't have to be
6 there for hours on end, so you make sure it's studied,
7 research is done. You put a cop there for 15 minutes,
8 and the ripple effect in terms of the impact lasts for
9 several hours of his time in that particular position.

10 The excitement of where we're going versus
11 where we are and certainly where we've been is a
12 phenomenal time in the history of American policing,
13 American criminal justice system. It is a time of
14 phenomenal challenge also. As we see about the debates
15 at the national level, the NSA in their efforts to
16 combat terrorism, how far do you go and what are the
17 regulations. The challenges for American policing is
18 going to be very similar to the challenge of American
19 government dealing with terrorism, dealing with policing
20 to do no harm, in the use of our information to do no
21 harm. And in doing it, that we need to increasingly
22 involve the public. Transparency, including the idea of
23 web sites that metro police departments now have. They
24 spent over a million dollars on the web site of the LAPD
25 so the people living the community can punch in the

1 address of their home and see where in the last 24 hours
2 what has happened in their neighborhood that the Los
3 Angeles Police Department had responded to or dealt
4 with. The idea of using the eyes and ears. If you see
5 something, say something. The idea of 911 was
6 originally created to have people to be able to dial one
7 number universally around the country to work with the
8 police. That's where we're going, but the challenge is
9 going to be to do it constitutionally, do it
10 compassionately, with legitimacy and to do it with
11 procedural justice consistently. Everything old is new
12 again. There's nothing new about that. The founding
13 father's Robert Peel's principles, the ideals coming out
14 of the '60s moving into the '70s to create the police
15 professionalism. Everything old is new again and what a
16 fascinating time to be beginning my 47th year being or
17 associated with American policing. I just see and
18 marvel at how far we've come but also see and am
19 intrigued by how far we still have to go.

20 Thank you for the opportunity to give my
21 sense of where we've been, where we are and I think,
22 like Johnny Carson's Carnac the Magnificent, looking in
23 the crystal ball, I think that we're going to be able to
24 accept those challenges moving into that 21st century
25 with predictive policing; that we won't abuse it and

1 we'll use it in partnership with each other, federal
2 state and local, in partnership with communities that we
3 work with, in partnership with the political leadership,
4 that we will be able to do it in such a way that the
5 promises of democracy that have been ensured by
6 effective constitutional policing are, in fact,
7 guaranteed. Thank you.

8 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Thank you very
9 much, Chief, and we have some time for Q and A. I'd
10 like to begin with Major Slay.

11 MAYOR SLAY: First of all, I'd like to
12 first of all thank you and tell you how much we
13 appreciate you being a part of this important effort in
14 St. Louis, Kansas and the State of Missouri and
15 congratulate you on all of your accomplishments and the
16 notoriety that you've been able to establish with your
17 great reputation. It's an honor to have you in St.
18 Louis.

19 A recurring issue here and I'm sure in
20 police departments all across the nation is how many
21 uniformed police for a particular department is the
22 right number. And you know, what is the --

23 MR. BRATTON: Ask the politician that's
24 responsible for budgets.

25 MAYOR SLAY: From your standpoint, you

1 know, we deal with resources, but you know, our number
2 one budgetary priority and our number one policy
3 priority and our most important issue is public safety
4 and particularly law enforcement. So, what I'd like to
5 know and I'd like to hear your thoughts about is how do
6 you determine the appropriate number of police,
7 uniformed police.

8 MR. BRATTON: There is not a state of the
9 art. To give you two examples, that in New York City in
10 the 1990s, for their horrific crime problem, I had
11 38,000 police officers to work with in a city of seven
12 and a half million people. The size of the force
13 eventually -- on 9/11, there were 41,000 New York City
14 Officers.

15 During my first two years, as the
16 department was growing and we merged three separate
17 departments: City Transit, City Housing and City Police
18 together, that went from 31,000 in the city police to
19 now 38,000. I could put cops on every dot. Every one
20 of the 76 precincts in the city got an additional 70 or
21 80 police officers. My precinct commanders, as they
22 were being held accountable through CompStat for dealing
23 with crime and disorder, they had resources to work with
24 as miniature police chiefs, basically. I had 76 police
25 departments that they could -- they didn't have to call

1 on headquarters for additional resources.

2 In Los Angeles, in 2002, when I went to
3 that department, they had 9,211 officers in a city of 4
4 million people, and one of the country's most horrific
5 gang problems compounded it, as well as the fact that
6 there was 486 square miles to police versus New York's
7 relatively compact 300 square miles. To have, just on a
8 mathematical equivalent, a number of officers to compare
9 with New York, I would have had to have 18,000 police
10 officers in L.A. I didn't have them.

11 With two good mayors, we grew the
12 department by a thousand officers. It certainly wasn't
13 18,000. But effectively, while it took longer to reduce
14 crime in LA over the next several years and it's now
15 been the last fours since I left there, and the crime
16 rate has continued to go down every year. The crime
17 rates in LA has gone down almost as drastically as they
18 have in New York with many fewer cops.

19 And so, it's like the doctor that's got
20 two different patients, you have two different levels of
21 medicine. A lot of it is how you apply it in terms of
22 skill set of leadership, political leadership, mayor,
23 skill set of the police leadership team, his or her
24 team, and there is no magic number as to the number of
25 cops any police agency has.

1 We see the ratio 4 for every 1,000, 3 for
2 every 1,000. I'm working in Oakland right now. Oakland
3 has 1.1 officers for every 1,000 residents. I'm working
4 in Baltimore. It's close to about 4 officers to every
5 1,000. I'm working in Detroit where it's about 2.5 for
6 every 1,000 residents. All three cities have horrific
7 crime rates. Baltimore is one of the highest ratios;
8 Oakland is one of the lowest ratios. So, the number of
9 police -- while every police chief in America would like
10 more cops -- is an important component, it is not the
11 silver bullet, if you will. I've seen that clearly.
12 It's how they are used and how they're supported. I
13 support -- I'm talking about technology available to
14 them. I'm a big, big fan of technology. Cameras on
15 cars, cameras on cops, technology. That can basically
16 make up for the numbers of officers. But ultimately, it
17 still comes down to the issue of how those cops are used
18 as much as how many.

19 At the same time, I could have been, I
20 believe, in Los Angeles, if I had several thousand more
21 officers than I had, then I could have got that crime
22 rate down instead of seven years in probably two or
23 three, as we did in New York. The number of cops maybe
24 allows the process to accelerate the rate of decline, if
25 it's used effectively.

1 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Mayor James?

2 MAYOR JAMES: Well, first of all, thank
3 you for being here. We really appreciate your comments.

4 Two questions, if I might. In this era of
5 community policing and predictive policing with law
6 enforcement, crime centers, things of that nature, on
7 what factors should the public or the political
8 leadership judge the effectiveness of a police
9 department and the police chief? What are the things
10 that we're looking for? Surely it can't just be
11 numbers, but surely numbers play a role.

12 MR. BRATTON: A number of things:
13 Transparency, the willingness to share information. I'm
14 a great believer in if I've got it, you should have it,
15 certainly certain forms of investigations, etc. Most of
16 what we do, there's no reason to hide it.

17 For years, policing has been very
18 exclusionary. It's very exclusive. The ideal of in
19 terms of what's happening in your neighborhood or when
20 conducting a raid in a neighborhood, officers are
21 certainly breaking down the door going in to take out
22 the drug dealer or to get a wanted fugitive. At the
23 same time, have additional officers in the neighborhood
24 explaining what we're doing instead of that move on, get
25 off the streets. The idea of collaboration.

1 I had a book that came out earlier this
2 year with a colleague of mine from the Kennedy School of
3 Harvard called Collaborate or Perish. Community
4 policing, as we're moving into the 21st century, might
5 be more appropriate than collaborative policing.
6 The idea of each of us keeping ownership of, in this
7 case, of the police department. It's a responsibility
8 in terms of the community keeping ownership of its
9 identity, but we all need to collaborate collectively to
10 basically deal with the issues that we want to address,
11 crime disorder, fear. So, in terms of effective
12 policing and collaborative policing, it's about
13 transparency, it's about inclusion, it's about optimism,
14 the idea that you can, in fact, change, sometimes
15 rapidly with a lot of resources like we have in New
16 York, you can tip it very quickly.

17 Malcolm Gladwell, if I may, just a quick
18 aside, wrote a book The Tipping Point, the first of a
19 series of book. It's the idea that like an epidemic
20 will increase rapidly exponentially, two people have it,
21 then four people have it and then eight people.
22 If you can find the right vaccine, you can just as
23 quickly knock it down. Polio is a good example.

24 He got the idea for that book from riding
25 the subways in New York City in 1990 from the Chief of

1 Police because every day in New York City, 250,000
2 people a day were not paying their fares. They were
3 going around turnstiles, under turnstiles. Most of the
4 turnstiles were vandalized anyway. In any event, there
5 was a loss of \$80 million a year to the Transit
6 Authority. A single incident was a buck-fifteen theft
7 of service. Police did not want to pay attention to a
8 buck-fifteen theft of service because that would pull
9 the officer off the street for over 24 hours to process
10 that warrant of arrest. It was one of those broken
11 windows because it wasn't addressed. It kept growing
12 and growing and growing. So, not only was the problem
13 the fare but the sense is, hey, if nobody's going to
14 patrol people coming in without paying any fare, how
15 safe is this system, how safe is this system, and it
16 wasn't safe. So, what Gladwell saw was when we began to
17 apply creative problem-solving collaborative efforts to
18 the problem how quickly fare evasion dropped away, to
19 the extent that within a year the Transit Authority
20 didn't count it any longer because it cost more to count
21 it than was actually being lost to it. So, the idea for
22 his book Tipping Point came from what he had seen on the
23 subways. (Inaudible) when you applied the right
24 medicine, it declines.

25 So, the right medicine in policing today,

1 particularly in this era of big data and this era of
2 social media is we have tremendous opportunities to
3 collaborate with each other, the ability to do reverse
4 911 in emergencies. We can push out information,
5 there's a tornado coming. Push out information, a crime
6 alert in the neighborhood. What are the alerts they put
7 on the highways now for kidnapped kids? Amber Alerts.
8 The opportunities to all of us of being included in
9 making our community safer that is, again, a phenomenal
10 time.

11 Police agencies, by and large, are
12 recognizing that the more successful ones are inclusive
13 ones, the transparent ones, rather than the old days of
14 hiding everything under the rug.

15 We used to joke in the Boston Police
16 Department in the '70s and '80s -- the Police
17 Commissioner I worked for was totally bald, and we used
18 to joke that the reason he was bald was because he put
19 so much stuff under the rug under his desk that his head
20 was rubbing against the ceiling all the time. That was
21 the style of policing in that era, hide everything from
22 the public, particularly if it made the department look
23 bad. Hell if it makes the department look bad. Deal
24 with the damn thing and move on. It's like an illness:
25 If you ignore it and hope it's going to go away, it's

1 not going to go away. It's just going to get worse. In
2 today's day and age, one thing we certainly know is
3 there are no secrets. You'd have been to be deaf, mute
4 and not speak or see anything to keep a secret today.
5 So, get it out there and get it out there as quickly as
6 you can, good news and bad news.

7 MAYOR JAMES: Thank you. Yesterday in
8 Kansas City we heard about a situation involving
9 technology, specifically the use of cameras.

10 MR. BRATTON: Use of?

11 MAYOR JAMES: Cameras.

12 MR. BRATTON: Cameras.

13 MAYOR JAMES: Where in Arizona --
14 someplace in Arizona -- I forget exactly where -- they
15 had it all set up, they had the money, they had the
16 cameras, they were looking forward to installing them,
17 but they kind of got to talking to the community about
18 it, and so, when they went to do it, they couldn't do
19 it. The community backlash was huge, privacy, civil
20 liberty, the whole schtick. So, if you use that as zero
21 and then you use London perhaps as one of the most
22 surveilled cities in the world as 100, where along that
23 continuum is the sweet spot for using technology such as
24 cameras, shot spotters, listening devices, license plate
25 readers, those types of things to either deter, prevent

1 or solve crime versus interfering with people's civil
2 rights and privacy?

3 MR. BRATTON: I may take the liberty of
4 answering that question with reference to my book
5 Collaborate or Perish where it starts in dealing with
6 that issue because it is an issue that is going to be
7 coming to the front of the stage. It starts with
8 leadership that, in the case of police and my own
9 situation, that believes in its value when it's
10 appropriately used. So, as a leader, police leader,
11 whether I advise or if I had to come back in policing,
12 my vision of use of technology being that of cameras
13 would be one, where are the negatives, where are the
14 positives. And in terms of building the platform that I
15 want people to come to, police officers, their unions,
16 the public, the media, political leadership, who would
17 be footing the bill for it besides tax money, the
18 platform has to be one in which you explain it all,
19 pluses, the minuses and the ultimate benefits in whether
20 you decide to use it and do it. I'm a big believer in
21 it, particularly it's very commonplace in American
22 policing today cameras in police cars not only facing
23 out but facing in for the issues involving abuse of
24 prisoners or allegations of abuse of prisoners. I'm
25 becoming a very big fan and supporter of officer-mounted

1 technology. Those are all things the devil is the
2 detail, the policies and procedures, the control
3 mechanisms and how you effectively sell it and explain
4 it to get the people to come on the platform to support
5 the vision.

6 There are eight elements in my book that I
7 talk about that are essential to a successful
8 partnership: Leadership, vision, a platform that you
9 can draw people to. And in today's day of social media,
10 whether there's the Egyptian uprising or flash mobs or
11 whatever, through social media, you're able to get a lot
12 more exposure with your ideas and your thoughts. Very
13 quickly, that's your platform. What you're looking for
14 is there's got to be something in it for everybody. I
15 would argue that in terms of the essential role that
16 police have to play in resolution of crime, race
17 tensions in this country, lack of trust in government,
18 police would usually be the flash-point for the
19 disruption, the violence, the disturbances, the lack of
20 trust, that using these mechanisms, because we are
21 saying we want to be open to being reviewed, we want to
22 be transparent, we have nothing to hide, that through
23 technology, you can do that through your web sites,
24 through your camera systems. And I look to the
25 experiences of a number of departments that put camera

1 systems in place, oftentimes it's resisted not so much
2 by the community, oftentimes in response to a court
3 order. The New Jersey State Police, for example, in
4 response to racial profiling in 1990s when the term
5 first became to be known. One of the things that many
6 agencies have found when they put camera systems in
7 place is that the crucial benefits are the police
8 officer who oftentimes, when an individual is making a
9 complaint against the officer either doesn't know the
10 law, that what the officer was doing was appropriate and
11 was within the guideline or in some instances, the
12 citizen is mad at getting the ticket and just lies about
13 it, and that you now have -- instead of a he said/she
14 said situation, you now have the ability to go to the
15 camera. They're doing it in sports, football, baseball.
16 There's really no reason not to do it. You have to move
17 forward at a pace that the majority of people get and
18 understand and appreciate the benefit. It's a benefit
19 from an officer safety standpoint. It's a benefit to
20 public safety. If you have an abusive police officer in
21 your community, eventually he's going to get caught on
22 that camera. If you have somebody in your community
23 that's seeking to rile up against the police based
24 around an incident, if there's a camera involved, you'll
25 have the ability to go to the camera and see if you can

1 determine fact from fiction.

2 So, I'm a big proponent, a big embracer of
3 technology as a way of improving that collaboration.

4 But oftentimes, it's how the system is sold. Most cops
5 didn't want cameras in their cars, and by the time they
6 began to see that it accrues to our benefit -- a lot of
7 cops didn't want locator systems in their vehicles. My
8 city of Los Angeles, some nights I might only have three
9 or four vehicles patrolling 40 square miles. If those
10 two cops got in trouble and we didn't know where they
11 were, with the locator in their car, we would have the
12 ability as we sought to send help to them that was going
13 to have to come some distance away. That car was here,
14 then they must be somewhere in this vicinity. A lot of
15 cops would think that the boss was able to spy on me.
16 Where are they. I looked at it basically as an officer
17 safety feature, particularly in a city like Los Angeles
18 where my wife and I used to joke when we were driving
19 around the city. Every once in a while, we'd see black
20 and white, and my wife would say, oh look, Bill, a
21 siting. There were so few police cars out there, it was
22 very unusual to actually see one of them. So, it was a
23 real safety feature to have those cameras go in cars and
24 have the locator systems, the GPS systems.

25 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Chief Fitch?

1 CHIEF FITCH: Yes, sir. It's about the
2 fourth time I've had an opportunity to hear you, and
3 I've been able to implement a lot of the things you've
4 talked about today, which has worked well for us. So,
5 thank you for those ideas.

6 I'm curious, though, on what's going on in
7 this country, particularly most recently with what we
8 saw in Washington and Colorado with the legalization of
9 marijuana. Coming from a state like California where
10 medical marijuana is legal, what's your feelings and
11 thoughts on the long-term impact on crime as more states
12 head in that direction?

13 MR. BRATTON: I see three things going on
14 at the moment that are of concern. Gun control and the
15 -- in many respects, the loss of that battle to have
16 meaningful gun control. The fact that we can't get
17 universal ID, if you will, to go buy a gun is
18 problematic.

19 In the area of marijuana, I'm a strong
20 advocate of the idea that it's an entranceway drug into
21 more serious drug use. Different analyses has been done
22 during my time as well, the IDA federal program where
23 every arrestee was basically tested for drugs, and
24 invariably, marijuana was the most common drug, usually
25 in conjunction with something else. And at the same

1 time, I'm very supportive of the medicinal use of it.
2 I'm a strong believer for many ill people that it is an
3 appropriate medicine, but when you have Looney Tune laws
4 like California had when I went out there as Chief of
5 Police, where pretty much it's a state that prides
6 itself in being so healthy had the sickest population in
7 America, based on its use of medicinal marijuana in
8 terms of the amount of people that were using out there.
9 The regulation of it was obscene in the sense it was so
10 bad. So, marijuana, I think, is one of those ones the
11 scales have tipped. We're moving in that direction in
12 law enforcement, and we're going to have to deal with it
13 and the various different regulations, and I think
14 that's unfortunate because I think it's a compound that
15 has problems going forward and it's going to compound
16 the problems of many families in the sense of their kids
17 getting access to it. And I think access to that nature
18 of drug, they always want the next high. What's the
19 next -- jeez, I like the high here. I like that and you
20 tell me this is going to give me a better high. That's
21 the growth pattern. Again, one person's perspective.

22 That issue with the issue of guns is going
23 to continue to be problematic for policing going
24 forward. Guns, I think we've truly lost any momentum at
25 all trying to get more meaningful (inaudible). 800,00

1 million, we're never going to be able to get rid of
2 them. I could really support how you buy them and how
3 you basically maintain them.

4 Similarly, with marijuana, the issue is
5 the hodgepodge of laws now developing, it's confusing
6 for policing in terms of trying to enforce it and also
7 the fact that there's, you know, you can buy it legally
8 in Colorado, but the next state over, you cannot. You
9 can buy it Colorado, you drive next door, and the cop
10 arrests you for it. It just creates an awful lot of
11 confusion among public, among law enforcement also.
12 Not the best of times at the moment.

13 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Chief Dotson?

14 CHIEF DOTSON: I have a series of
15 questions. I've heard you speak several times before.
16 I appreciate you being in St. Louis.

17 Many of the senior commanders (inaudible)
18 and I wanted to have kind of an in-depth conversation or
19 at least hear your thoughts on -- I asked the same
20 questions to Commissioner Kelly. Stop, question and
21 frisk, you've seen it in New York, probably a version in
22 LA. Let's have a conversation about how is it
23 applicable to law enforcement and where is the line to
24 racial profiling?

25 MR. BRATTON: First off, it's -- speaking

1 from experience in LA, in New York and currently
2 Baltimore, Detroit and Oakland, the current controversy
3 in New York has created phenomenal confusion, I think,
4 around the country in that some cities claim they don't
5 do it. They don't use it. Well, they'd have to be the
6 most dangerous city in the America if your police
7 officers aren't doing stop, question and frisk. Then
8 what the hell are they doing? What do you want your
9 police to do? You might not use those terms, but those
10 are the terms used in the Supreme Court decision Terry
11 versus Ohio that set out the mandate of reasonable
12 suspicion to first conduct a stop, then you could move
13 to the questioning and then to the frisk, the pat-down.

14 The unfortunate aspect of the current
15 debate controversy in New York really has clouded the
16 issue so that there was several mayoral candidates in
17 New York that, if elected, they were going to do away
18 with it. If they were elected, one of the first people
19 to leave that city would be me, because I want my cops
20 to be stopping you if you're engaged in or they suspect
21 that you may be able to engage in a crime, if they have
22 reasonable suspicion.

23 The obligation of police leadership of
24 policing is to ensure that police officers are
25 effectively trained relative to their powers because it

1 is the most basic but also the most intrusive powers
2 they have beyond the ability to use force to take a life
3 in the course of their duties.

4 It's like asking a doctor to basically
5 examine you without ever touching you. You know,
6 basically when you go for your examination, he puts his
7 hands on you, he checks your thyroid, because you want
8 that skill. It's the same for police. It is a skill.

9 The first class I ever had as a Boston
10 police officer in October 1970 was Captain Billy Hogan
11 coming in. He had a big chart up on the board with an
12 outline of a hand. He said remember, boys, because we
13 were all boys. There were no women in Boston Police
14 Department until 1978. He said remember, boys, always
15 remember the hand, and the hand was basically his way of
16 explaining the new Terry versus Ohio stop, question and
17 frisk provisions, all the elements of it. I still
18 remember that class.

19 It's ironic that everything old is new
20 again and here we are 40 years later and the issue of
21 Terry versus Ohio is back again. First off, there needs
22 to be a general understanding it's what police do. It's
23 what you want them to do.

24 In New York City, for 25 years, they
25 didn't do it. In Los Angeles, when I went there in 2002

1 for three years, they weren't doing it. They had the
2 discretion to drive by and wave. The idea of one of the
3 most assertive police departments in America and one of
4 the most abusive to the minorities in '70s, '80s and
5 '90s when they start policing all together, the crime
6 rate in that city was going through the roof.

7 So, stop, question and frisk we need to
8 first understand that it is an essential tool
9 constitutionally protected for police but
10 constitutionally outlines for citizens as to how it
11 should be done.

12 My own sense of what happened in New York
13 -- this is one person's perspective, one police
14 professional's perspective -- is that over the last 12
15 years, the size of the police force was reduced by 6,000
16 officers, all of those officers that it grew by in the
17 early '90s. A political decision by the mayor to deal
18 with budget issues, the city is 78 percent safer, I can
19 get by with fewer cops. So, a political decision by a
20 mayor to reduce the budget by reducing the number of
21 police, I think, was a big mistake. I think what
22 happened is in the 75, 76 precincts, each precinct lost
23 effectively 70 or 80 police officers out of his or
24 command. So, they no longer had sufficient resources
25 within their precinct. They were now going to have to

1 rely on headquarters when they were having crime spikes
2 to send in reinforcements, if you will, surges.

3 Remember Iraq with the surge?

4 Commissioner Kelly came up with a very
5 good idea, but it had unintended consequences. He made
6 reference to Operation Impact. Twice a year, they
7 graduate 1500 to 2,000 kids out of the academy. They
8 take those kids and put them into the 10 or 15 highest
9 crime precincts, so you surge into the most dangerous
10 highest crime precincts in the city that are usually
11 minorities, the majority is African American and
12 Latinos. You're taking the least experienced police
13 officers in the department, right out of the academy.
14 The majority had never lived in New York City. They
15 lived in the suburbs of Long Island and now they are in
16 what are arguably a lot safer than the '90s but still
17 pretty dangerous areas. But more importantly, they
18 don't know anybody. You have a sergeant assigned to 12
19 officers, six pairs of two, brand new kids, and they go.
20 And they're being encouraged if you see something that
21 you think rises to the level of reasonable suspicion,
22 then do your stop, do your questioning, and if
23 necessary, do your frisk. But most of them are doing it
24 unsupervised in their first couple of weeks out of the
25 academy because that sergeant cannot be everywhere.

1 So, the situation in New York in terms of
2 seeing it going from 150,000 stops to 6 or 700,000 was
3 -- a significant part of it was the Impact Program, the
4 surging. My own sense of it is that it was the idea of
5 -- well-intended to deal with the growing crime problem,
6 but by moving officers into the neighborhood, every
7 black kid wearing a long white T-shirt, whether a gang
8 member or not, to these kids, they couldn't tell a
9 difference because they didn't know anybody. That's the
10 idea of having as much as possible consistent
11 enforcement. Robert Peel put a cop in the neighborhood
12 who knows good guys from bad guys (inaudible) and trust
13 that cop, and that was the unintended side effect of, I
14 think, what happened in New York.

15 The belief in LA at the same time --
16 during the same period of time, the LAPD were getting
17 back into the streets again in a very assertive way and
18 fortunately doing as many stop, question and frisks as
19 New York, but it never rose to a significant complaint
20 level in the minority communities. In fact, during that
21 period of time, the crime went down. The polling in the
22 minority communities by the LA Times and others was that
23 over two-third of the Latino and African American
24 communities thought the police were doing a good to very
25 good job.

1 So, effectively, a tale of two cities. I
2 think effectively what it was, I think, in LA, a cop
3 coming out of the academy for the first year works with
4 a field training officer. He or she never worked by
5 themselves for that first year. They worked with
6 specially trained officers. So, the intimacy of working
7 with an officer who was assigned to a division for
8 years, knows the gang members, knows the gang, knows the
9 good kids versus the New York model with much larger
10 numbers they have to deal with. I think the ultimate
11 resolution of the city is, one, they're going to end up
12 changing the way they train and assign officers in New
13 York with the next administration. Just to keep in
14 perspective, Commissioner Kelly will probably
15 disagree (inaudible) and arguably should be very proud
16 of the program that's kept crime going down. It had
17 unexpected consequences, at the same time raising racial
18 tension. That's the last thing you want to do with your
19 programs.

20 CHIEF DOTSON: Another question is you
21 spoke several times about the Broken Windows Theory.
22 We heard from the Mayor of Kansas City that kind of
23 questioned the validity of broken windows. From your
24 experiences in New York and LA, do you think the Broken
25 Windows Theory is true and is it something law

1 enforcement should focus on?

2 MR. BRATTON: First off, you have to
3 understand that broken windows which is -- I think of
4 policing somewhat as a -- the police chief as a
5 carpenter who has been asked to build a structure.
6 Well, he's going to need a lot of things to build a
7 structure. He needs a blueprint plan and he needs
8 tools, hammer, nails, saws. And the same for me as a
9 police chief, I use a lot of tools. I'm known for
10 CompStat. I'm known for broken windows policing,
11 embracing the quality of life effort. I'm known for
12 hot-spot policing, cops on the dots. Any one of those
13 tools by itself is probably not going to solve the crime
14 problem of any city. It's like a doctor has scalpels,
15 he has knives. He needs all of those things. The skill
16 is applying them appropriately to his or her respective
17 patient.

18 So, in the case of New York City, I had a
19 very ill patient where it was going to require a lot of
20 tools to focus on quality of life. That's what 8
21 million people saw every day that the police were doing
22 nothing about things that were creating great fear:
23 (Inaudible), aggressive begging, street prostitution,
24 graffiti going on aggressively, (inaudible). At the
25 same time, a horrific crime problem, so I also had to

1 have hot-spot policing. I had to have very assertive
2 policing. So, it's the idea as a police leader of --
3 two of you are police leaders -- really staying abreast
4 of all the ideas that are out there.

5 That's what CompStat was all about.
6 CompStat was the idea of bringing the police leadership
7 of the NYPD together a couple times a week to talk about
8 what? Crime. Why? Because for 20 years, they really
9 didn't talk about crime. They talked about corruption,
10 they talked about this, they talked about that, but get
11 them all in the room with what's working, what's not
12 working. What can I learn from that success? What can
13 I learn from that failure? And so, there are those that
14 would say broken windows policing is what eventually
15 turned New York around. It was one of eight strategies.

16 To emphasize my point in New York, when we
17 went in, we took a look at what was creating fear and
18 disorder in the city, and we identified eight areas that
19 we were going to have to focus on: Guns, drugs, an
20 youth crime, and the three of them together, because so
21 many young people were involved in either the use of
22 drugs or using guns during the commission of crime
23 related to the drugs. And so, a lot of specialized
24 units were developed. We initially called them Street
25 Narcotics Units; SNEU, Street Narcotics Enforcement

1 Units. Within six months, we changed that to Street
2 Narcotics and Guns Units because we found anyplace we
3 went on drugs, we were finding guns. So, we had drugs,
4 guns, narcotics. We had domestic violence. A woman was
5 six times more likely to be assaulted in the home than
6 on the streets or subways of the City of New York. We
7 had auto theft, 110,000 auto thefts a year. Now, they
8 have less than 10,000. We had issues of police
9 corruption, significant issues, not in a real organized
10 fashion like the '70s where most of the department was
11 engaged in it, but there was significant pockets of it
12 in precincts. That had to be addressed because it
13 diminished public trust in the department. We addressed
14 auto theft and New York City traffic. Traffic is a
15 crime in New York. It's always so bad, so you had to
16 address that because that was also something that was
17 creating automobile fatalities, injuries. It was
18 causing almost as much death and destruction as
19 traditional crime. So, those were the eight strategies.
20 No one of those eight, although there's a lot of focus
21 on quality of life enforcement, but that was a linchpin
22 strategy. No one of those eight was responsible for
23 crime turnaround. It was 38,000 cops applying and
24 focussing on those eight strategies.

25 CHIEF DOTSON: One final question. It's

1 very topical to St. Louis right now. We talked about
2 our armed offender docket and having a specific court
3 path for individuals who are arrested for unlawful use
4 of a weapon or robbery with a firearm. In your
5 experiences in New York and Los Angeles, gun laws there
6 seem much more conservative and the sentencing seems
7 much more conservative than here in St. Louis and
8 Missouri where there are very little gun laws and
9 (inaudible). Do you think a program like an armed
10 offender docket with a specific path for criminals that
11 are arrested would have an impact, and how appropriate
12 do you think the consequences for gun crimes are?

13 MR. BRATTON: Again, this comes from the
14 issue of different patients with different medicine.
15 You have to work with your state and what you have to
16 work with, which is probably very -- certainly very
17 different than what New York State and New York City,
18 Los Angeles and California have to work with. Both of
19 those states, from my perspective, are very conservative
20 in their approach to gun laws and pretty strong gun
21 laws, mandatory penalties.

22 In the case of California, Los Angeles, in
23 particular, very significant enhancements on penalties
24 for gang members using guns during the commission of
25 their crimes. So, for their particular patient, their

1 particular set of illnesses, they have developed a set
2 of interference tools that have been very effective, and
3 I think in a significant way, very responsible for the
4 almost 60 percent reduction in gang crime and homicide
5 in LA over the last 10 years.

6 Similarly, in New York, I think that --
7 Garry, the Chief of Police in Chicago, he recovers more
8 guns each year in his city for two and a half million
9 people than recovered in the City of New York every year
10 with 8 million people. It's not the fact that his guys
11 are doing a better job, it's just there are a hell of a
12 lot more guns in Chicago. Why? Because their gun laws
13 are awful. As a matter of fact, they just weakened them
14 again because of state law.

15 So, your situation, I'm not intimate or
16 can't speak intimately with what you're trying to do
17 here, but my suggestion or comment would be is that each
18 community, city, state, really your police leadership,
19 you as political leadership, you as the community can't
20 do anything alone on this issue. It requires
21 collaborative effort, a vision that's able to get
22 leadership, a part of vision that gets people to the
23 platform with the voters or support certain legislation.
24 It's, again, different times and different states and
25 you get things done in more a comprehensive way than you

1 do other times.

2 CHIEF DOTSON: One follow-up question was
3 mandatory minimums, do you think they have an impact on
4 recidivism?

5 MR. BRATTON: I'm sorry?

6 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Mandatory
7 minimums have an impact on the citizens.

8 CHIEF DOTSON: Mandatory minimum sentences
9 on recidivism.

10 MR. BRATTON: I'm not a supporter at all
11 of three strikes and you're out legislation. I
12 participated in a campaign in California with the
13 District Attorney of Los Angeles who led the effort to
14 do away with theirs because theirs is so draconian. It
15 is one of the reasons it has one of the largest prison
16 populations in the United States and is now going
17 through a huge depopulation of their prison system is
18 because of the federal court saying that it's too
19 overcrowded is the fact of three strikes and you're out
20 set of laws which are draconian. Draconian.

21 Similarly, in New York, I'm not a
22 supporter of those either. My opinion on it is enhanced
23 sentencing for a specific individual for a specific type
24 of crimes, for example, gang enhancements, that I'm
25 supportive of, you know, if the punishment fits the

1 crime, but they had a famous case the caused a
2 significant movement to do away with three strikes. It
3 was an individual who stole a slice of pizza or a pizza.
4 I think that was his third offense. Under the
5 circumstances, it rose to a felony for some reason.
6 It was just -- there was (inaudible) spend the rest of
7 his life at age 30 for the next 45 years and California
8 was going to spend \$85,000 a year incarcerating him.
9 It's -- you know, again, but that's left up to the
10 individual cities and states. That's one of, I guess,
11 the (inaudible) depending on the region of the country.
12 I support enhancements, but I don't support the
13 mandatories.

14 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Mayor James?

15 MAYOR JAMES: Mr. Bratton, could you
16 describe for me what you believe to be some of the more
17 effective youth intervention strategies of what you
18 might be aware?

19 MR. BRATTON: Sure. When I was in New
20 York City that in dealing with that city's problem --
21 you have to remember in 1990, John Yulo, an academic
22 researcher working for President Bush was describing at
23 that time what the growth of the youth population that
24 was surging and the amount of crime that population was
25 involved in was describing the idea of superpredators,

1 that we were going to have this burst in crime by the
2 mid 1990s because this young population -- that since
3 that -- that -- what was thought to be the cause of
4 crime was actually an influence but that belief was the
5 cause that we were going to have all these young kids
6 known as superpredators. That didn't happen. One of
7 the reasons it didn't happen particularly in New York, I
8 can speak to, because I was there at that time.
9 We put a lot of effort into youth issues, both in terms
10 of ways to try to have police engage with the youth in
11 positive ways, the police athletic-type activities.
12 There's just so many things that you can do when dealing
13 with that population from a preventative standpoint or a
14 reaction to crime already committed.

15 One of the things I proposed doing in New
16 York, we had an issue of trying to get minority officers
17 into the department, and we also had this issue of so
18 many young people that basically were being pulled into
19 gang life, drug life, etc. was the idea of creating --
20 and New York has specialized magnet schools, high
21 schools -- of creating magnet high schools for kids that
22 want to go into law enforcement as police officers and
23 crime analysts, etc. and to start with explore programs
24 at 11, 12 years old and explore programs with the police
25 engaged in mentoring. I'm a great believer in

1 mentoring, administering and monitoring.

2 There was a study (inaudible) article back
3 in the '90s that shows fairly conclusively if you get a
4 mentor into a young kid's life, the chances of keeping
5 him out of the life is much more significant. If you
6 can get ministering into these individuals that are
7 already involved in the criminal justice system, there's
8 a strong likelihood you can pull them out of it
9 (inaudible) parole and probation. I'm (inaudible)
10 technology that is increasingly available, cuffs, etc.

11 Studies show also conclusively that (inaudible) to pull
12 people out of that life and try to keep them out of it.

13 In California, in Los Angeles, I had no
14 public money for this, all of the youth programs in Los
15 Angeles were funded by private moneys that we raised. I
16 spent a lot of my time out raising money. But we had
17 explore programs. We had several thousand young kids do
18 that. We had five magnet high schools that had -- there
19 was about 1500 kids in them at any time. The graduation
20 rates out of those magnet high schools was close to 100
21 percent in a city that graduated about 45 percent out of
22 their high schools. Kids going on to college from that
23 program were almost at 100 percent. This was a program
24 where we started getting these kids at 11 or 12 in a
25 society that was loaded with gangs. Every neighborhood

1 had a gang, 40,000 gang members, 140 active gangs in the
2 city. We tried to keep the kids out of getting sucked
3 into the gang life. These programs worked for that.
4 Kids wore uniforms on the school property. And that
5 program was so phenomenal in terms of graduation. And
6 police made the decision to work with mothers that were
7 trying raise single-family homes. The kids that were
8 problematic were able to basically have counseling
9 programs working with them to get the kids into
10 bootcamps, then basically getting them into a school
11 program and hopefully getting them into law enforcement
12 magnet schools. We had fire department magnet schools,
13 we had all type of magnet schools that kids could go to
14 to have a clear path where they had mentors.

15 We have since established, before I left,
16 a junior college program that kids could graduate from
17 the high school and go directly into the junior college,
18 which was located at our police academy. So, the idea
19 if you wanted to be a police officer, what better
20 stimulation to be in a police environment with all these
21 recruits going through police academy training. So,
22 they've now -- this program has been in existence about
23 15 years. They are now starting to cycle kids which
24 started at age 12 into policing.

25 What's so important about it also? These

1 are inner city residents, so that these are kids coming
2 into policing with college education from the inner
3 city. So, it's not being done through affirmative
4 action programs. The program is able to educate them
5 and basically allow them to basically come into the
6 police department and keep them out of gangs.

7 The youth initiative, I'm big on anything
8 that can focus on the kids, because isn't it broken
9 windows that if you can get them when they're young,
10 they're not going to grow into criminals? If you can
11 find a way to nurture and mentor them so they don't
12 become criminals, showing them the way. And it is about
13 the idea also of looking at these problems. You're
14 never going to be 100 percent successful, but you have
15 to think it's satisfactory with each success, each
16 single success and then the multiplication of the single
17 success.

18 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: Mr. Bratton, I
19 want to thank you again for the --

20 MR. BRATTON: Thank you.

21 ATTORNEY GENERAL KOSTER: -- generous
22 contribution you have made to this series of meetings
23 this week. And so, on behalf of the folks here in St.
24 Louis and the police department and Mayor's Office, all
25 of us, I hope everyone will join me in a warm round of

1 thanks to the Commissioner.

2 That will conclude the discussion for
3 today. We will reconvene here tomorrow morning at 9:00
4 a.m. for the final day of discussion. The armed
5 offender docket will be a significant part of tomorrow's
6 dialogue. You are welcome back. Thank you again for
7 your interest and attention.

8 (Wherein the Urban Crime Summit adjourned
9 at 2:33 p.m. on September 18, 2013.)

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

NOTARIAL CERTIFICATE

STATE OF MISSOURI)
) SS
COUNTY OF ST. LOUIS)

I, VALERIE LEHR, Certified Court Reporter,
the officer before whom the foregoing Urban Crime Summit
was taken, do hereby certify that the aforementioned
presentations were taken by me, to the best of my
ability and capability to hear said proceedings, and
thereafter reduced to typewriting under my direction.

VALERIE A. LEHR, CCR (MO)
Notary Public in and for
The State of Missouri

My commission expires: March 18, 2016

A				
abandoned 122:10	abusive 154:20 161:4	acquaintance 56:22	12:16 24:20 48:16 50:16	109:5
ability 37:21,22 40:22,25 45:9 45:15 98:14 118:12 121:14 128:3 128:4 135:3 139:20 150:3 154:14,25 155:12 160:2 177:9	academic 60:16 68:12 129:13 171:21	acquire 139:20	59:12 81:11 89:2,8,18,23 90:13 91:2,4 95:22 96:12 97:4 106:3 112:4 119:1 128:3,4,22,23 131:2 132:10 136:22 142:1 148:10 167:16	adopt 57:6 adopted 61:21 63:23 119:12
able 31:3 45:24 52:25 69:12 70:15 74:16 86:5 94:23 102:24 106:18 133:2 142:6,23 143:4,16 153:11 155:15 156:3 158:1 159:21 169:21 174:8 175:4	academics 127:13	act 28:21 56:19 86:8 95:20 99:8		adopting 123:21
abreast 166:3	academy 25:12 120:6 162:7 162:13,25 164:3 174:18 174:21	acting 103:18 126:9		adoption 119:13
absences 119:5	access 14:15 91:17 96:15 96:17 98:1 99:19 100:25 101:17 157:17,17	action 14:9 175:4		adult 63:11 88:12
absolute 138:14	accessing 52:7 103:13	actions 32:18 51:6 120:10		advance 139:19
Absolutely 16:24 56:3	accomplish 17:18	active 32:22,24 41:12 174:1		Advanced 30:9
abuse 80:22 83:18,19 84:12 85:14 85:16 86:20 87:17,25 92:1 92:21,23,25 93:4 96:2 97:11,11,20 101:4 107:6 109:6,14,22 110:22,24 142:25 152:23,24	accomplishm... 143:15	actively 138:11	addressed 17:11 48:19 112:1 128:13 137:5 149:11 167:12,13	advantage 140:24
abused 123:9	Accountability 28:16	activists 50:21	addresses 105:3	advise 152:11
	accountable 133:4 144:22	activities 36:25 37:13,15 45:7 50:10 172:11	addressing 47:14	advocacy 25:11 93:17
	accounting 7:7	activity 31:1,10 45:1 54:10 62:7 64:7,8 64:16	adequate 86:2 98:8	advocate 127:17 156:20
	accrues 155:6	acts 92:7,25 94:1	adequately 85:23 115:20	Affairs 59:14
	accurate 135:4 135:8,15 136:7,12	acute 98:24	adjective 102:10	affect 26:14 44:17 68:7 69:20
	achieved 9:3,3 70:17	ad 36:22	adjoined 176:8	affiliated 39:3
	achievement 20:19	adage 121:10	adjunct 79:14	affiliation 31:19,23 33:19 34:17 36:2,13 46:23
	acknowledge 13:1 22:25	Adam-12 117:3 117:14	adjusting 102:6	affiliations 34:21 38:3,14
		add 103:15	administer 78:5	affirmative 175:3
		addicted 83:15	administering 173:1	Affordable 99:8
		addiction 83:18,19 84:13 87:25	administration 73:7 74:22 164:13	afforded 32:2
		additions 124:15	administrative 66:18 82:6	aforemention... 177:7
		adding 78:3	admire 110:1	afraid 7:25 8:1 8:4 21:8
		addition 10:10 66:10 83:13 121:24	admit 31:23 61:2	African 20:6 50:8,8,11,11 74:7 162:11 163:23
		additional 77:24,25 144:20 145:1 147:23	admitting	afro 21:11
		address 12:10		afternoon

29:15 109:3 112:25 114:5 114:13 afternoon's 112:21,22 after-school 15:2 48:24 49:4 96:15 age 10:23 46:17 63:17 67:5 71:1 73:8 102:7,14,20 151:2 171:7 174:24 agencies 15:15 24:21 150:11 154:6 agency 122:14 145:25 agenda 16:5 42:25 ages 46:9 aggravated 24:12 81:7 aggression 101:16 aggressive 16:5 126:24 165:23 aggressively 125:20 165:24 ago 10:11 17:22 21:10 23:18 37:24 47:19 50:19 137:12 139:6 agree 46:18 47:3 agreed 6:10 ahead 15:18 36:1 Aid 10:15 aimed 63:15 air 124:1 alcohol 63:1	92:1,21,24 93:3 96:18 97:11,17,19 97:20 111:25 127:6 alcoholic 97:14 97:15 124:11 alcoholism 97:17 126:1 Alderman 9:23 72:14 Aldermen 9:24 72:14 alert 150:6 alerts 150:6,7 algorithms 140:24 allegations 152:24 alleged 17:19 Alliance 83:9 alliances 35:1 allocate 61:7 107:2 allocated 66:3 105:23 allow 46:7 86:8 175:5 allowing 22:11 allows 146:24 all-black 120:7 all-time 20:8 all-too-ordin... 101:16 alma 12:2 alternative 96:21 alum 12:3 amazing 5:11 51:8 75:3 Amber 150:7 America 19:13 125:16 127:9 134:18 146:9 157:7 159:6 161:3	American 20:6 50:9,12 74:7 118:25 126:7 127:12 131:3 138:14 140:2 140:6 141:12 141:13,17,18 142:17 152:21 162:11 163:23 Americans 50:8,11 America's 8:9 amount 80:18 108:24 126:19 138:3 138:5 157:8 171:24 amounts 104:5 analyses 156:21 Analysis 30:9 analyst 30:4 analysts 172:23 analyze 129:23 analyzing 41:8 41:10 anecdotally 102:17 Angeles 4:21 8:12 30:1 35:2,18,23 112:16 113:9 142:3 145:2 146:20 155:8 155:17 160:25 168:5 168:18,22 170:13 173:13,15 anger 57:16 96:16 angry 27:5,5 Annie 37:11 annual 136:6	anomalies 7:8 another's 6:10 answer 43:9 45:6,6 57:17 answering 152:4 answers 21:19 129:12 anti-social 93:20 anti-war 117:19 anxiety 91:25 92:20 anybody 162:18 163:9 anymore 64:17 anyplace 167:2 anyway 149:4 apart 104:11 apologize 107:17 115:25 apparently 50:10 104:3 appear 31:18 37:6 APPEARAN... 4:1 applicable 158:23 applicants 74:11 application 74:15 applications 65:20,21 applied 61:9,10 149:23 apply 60:24 73:13 74:16 131:11 145:21 149:17 applying 165:16	167:23 appointed 11:1 11:11 13:20 appreciate 12:25 26:2 42:23 58:22 103:23 127:23 128:17 143:13 147:3 154:18 158:16 approach 40:16 41:7 54:9,24 61:4 69:1 80:17 91:5 92:2 168:20 approaches 8:2 105:3 107:16 129:13 appropriate 12:5 81:4 84:4 86:5,11 95:19 138:5 138:20 139:10,13 144:6 148:5 154:10 157:3 168:11 appropriately 152:10 165:16 approximately 32:4,7 33:16 40:7 81:8 88:11,25 114:23 April 9:19,21 42:2,4 area 18:20 26:17,18 30:7 32:4,23 34:6 35:5 36:23 81:15,18,18 82:22,24
--	---	--	---	---

94:7 106:9 108:14 129:6 156:19 areas 26:13 38:25 54:14 54:25 55:12 80:2,15 84:8 91:13 105:13 106:10 120:13 121:23 162:17 166:18 arguably 29:17 115:13 137:14 162:16 164:15 argue 153:15 Arizona 151:13 151:14 Arlington 93:17 arm 80:8 armed 43:13 43:21,24 44:11,22 58:12 73:23 127:24 140:10 168:2 168:9 176:4 armor 38:8 Army 11:8 113:21 arrest 55:19 66:20 111:13 149:10 arrested 45:13 70:25,25 71:1 168:3,11 arrestee 156:23 arresting 108:17,23 arrests 24:14 57:2 67:6 68:18 69:8,9	82:4 96:20 121:8 158:10 arrived 26:4 art 144:9 article 122:3 173:2 aside 148:18 asked 41:5 43:6 58:24 65:3 94:19 132:7 158:19 165:5 asking 160:4 asks 64:20 aspect 37:19 58:15 90:25 159:14 assault 24:12 51:20 assaulted 167:5 assaults 39:23 40:3,6 81:7 assertive 136:20 161:3 163:17 166:1 assessment 80:4 assessments 98:7 asset 76:22 assign 55:20 164:12 assigned 66:5 75:1 162:18 164:7 assigning 134:1 assist 87:2 89:6 96:7 assistance 89:23 associated 55:14 60:3 93:18 114:22 142:17 association 10:14 30:23 98:4,5,16	assume 119:4 assumed 103:3 assuming 52:1 assumptions 65:8 119:17 assure 51:1 98:7 Athletic 48:24 49:5 athletic-type 172:11 attack 10:23 46:16 80:19 132:5 139:23 attempt 128:25 attempted 130:23 attempting 125:13 attend 10:20 36:3 37:14 attendance 22:12 67:6 attended 54:22 68:5 76:7 attending 22:21 25:19 37:3 57:24,25 attention 7:14 89:25 136:2,3 149:7 176:7 attest 35:10 Attorney 1:1 2:2 3:1 4:3 5:5 12:8,14 12:21,25 16:2 16:15 22:1,21 24:22 29:7 30:13 42:21 44:20 46:1 47:6 48:9 51:14 53:21 55:10,18 56:25 58:7 71:12 78:14 78:19 81:23	84:1 88:1 91:8 101:5,7 102:3 105:16 107:12 110:13 111:6 112:10,20 114:18 129:22 143:8 147:1 155:25 158:13 170:6 170:13 171:14 175:18,21 attorneys 85:19 86:9 Attorney's 48:1 82:13 85:18 attribute 61:16 attributed 92:9 audience 28:5 August 73:23 Aurora 93:13 authorities 8:13 Authority 42:16 149:6 149:19 auto 167:7,7,14 autobiography 113:24 automatic 38:7 64:2 automobile 167:17 AV 80:7 available 9:8 61:7 98:18 100:19 126:4 146:13 173:10 Avenue 18:22 average 17:22 57:5 79:8 81:6 avert 107:5 awake 114:11	awakening 94:8 aware 171:18 awareness 93:6 94:6 awash 14:6 awful 158:10 169:13 a.m 5:4 66:13 176:4 <hr/> B <hr/> BA 59:6 Bachelor's 113:16 back 7:22 16:2 26:6 28:6 49:14,14 52:3 54:6 55:22 57:8,9 74:18 83:6,8 88:14 90:3,11 114:17 116:5 116:25 120:21 124:14 125:6 134:20 135:1 135:5,13,19 135:22 136:15 137:7 139:1 152:11 160:21 163:17 173:2 176:6 backdrop 80:20 background 116:19 backlash 151:19 back-loaded 58:15 bad 12:22 68:6 110:4 123:25 150:23,23 151:6 157:10
---	---	---	--	--

163:12	172:18 174:8	92:22 93:20	32:13 42:13	155:19 163:7
167:15	174:10 175:5	behaviors	50:15 57:18	Blackwell
Baden 74:3	175:5	103:18	57:24 60:20	10:16
Badge 117:14	basis 41:12,19	belief 119:21	70:12 86:16	blame 93:22
Badges 25:13	45:20 49:2	163:15 172:4	87:8 95:21	blase 136:8,8
balance 139:10	57:11 133:24	beliefs 64:2	99:20 104:9	block 39:4,4
139:11	133:24	65:5,14	114:12 116:1	42:5,6 81:15
bald 150:17,18	basketball	believe 6:20	137:24	blocks 42:7
ball 64:12,21	38:22 64:9,11	10:21,23	138:24,24	Blood 34:16
64:23,24,25	bass-ackwards	13:10 19:11	157:20	35:3,14 36:14
65:1,3,4,4	108:13	25:17,18	169:11	94:10
142:23	battle 156:15	50:19 53:4	174:19	Bloods 34:22
Baltimore	beak 115:23	57:14 80:6	Betty 99:25	36:16 39:4
138:10 146:4	bears 95:23	84:10 132:8	beyond 9:10	blue 39:3 67:23
146:7 159:2	beat 120:4,7	146:20	160:2	68:17
banging 51:25	beats 123:22	171:16	biased 64:2	blueprint
Bank 75:4	becoming 11:4	believer 147:14	65:5,14	165:7
banker 75:5	119:4,11	152:20 157:2	big 26:16 27:10	board 9:24
banks 75:4	126:4 152:25	172:25	27:12 68:11	10:7,15 11:12
banner 109:2	beds 98:11,12	believes 136:14	70:19 93:24	18:12 72:13
bar 10:14	100:12	152:9	99:11 106:25	88:13 160:11
19:21 67:23	began 5:3	Bell 39:9,10	110:21 140:5	body 38:8
67:25 68:16	67:20,21,21	beneficial 53:4	140:14,24	138:2
68:17	88:14 113:21	benefit 13:14	146:14,14	bond 44:21,22
barrier 99:11	119:12	46:14,15 47:5	150:1 152:20	44:25 45:9,10
bars 46:9 68:15	120:16,21	50:3 69:24	152:25 155:2	45:13,15,23
baseball 23:10	122:19 125:2	70:2,4,6	155:2 160:11	45:25
154:15	127:13 128:9	154:18,18,19	161:21 175:7	bonds 43:21
based 77:11	128:14	155:6	bigger 71:7	45:21 47:25
84:14 115:8	129:15,20	benefits 76:19	112:5	book 148:1,18
119:17	133:16	117:11	biggest 14:2	148:19,24
137:15	136:16 139:7	140:13	47:13,13,15	149:22 152:4
154:23 157:7	139:11,16	152:19 154:7	93:2	153:6
basic 118:19	149:16 155:6	benefitted	bill 23:12 24:23	Books 25:13
134:22 160:1	begging 165:23	132:15	29:16,19,22	bootcamps
basically 89:9	beginning	best 14:23	85:1 112:14	174:10
90:24 96:8	25:14 43:3	25:22 44:1	114:1 152:17	border 34:8,8
129:16	55:9 76:25	78:11 108:21	155:20	54:11
133:25	100:22	108:22 110:7	Billy 160:10	boss 155:15
135:23 140:7	121:20,21,21	111:19	biopsy 136:11	Boston 29:24
144:24	127:12 128:8	129:13,14,14	bipolar 91:24	61:23 71:24
146:15	139:12,19	139:23	92:18	71:25 112:15
148:10	142:16	158:12 177:8	bit 13:4 26:10	113:7,17,22
155:16	behalf 175:23	better 12:18	34:23 71:17	116:24 118:5
156:23 158:3	behavior 45:4	15:2 16:12	73:9	120:6,10
160:4,6,15	64:2 90:19	19:25 23:14	black 72:2	127:20

128:16 129:7 131:24 133:22 150:15 160:9 160:13 bother 45:19 62:16 bottom 21:6 bought 133:12 133:15 boundaries 18:21 box 21:9 boy 27:2 boyfriend 56:22 boys 94:18 160:12,13,14 Boyz 34:12 brand 135:12 162:19 Bratton 2:13 4:19,19,20 23:12 29:16 29:19,23 85:1 112:14,25 113:1,1,2,7 113:16 114:3 114:4,4,5,10 116:4 143:23 144:8 147:12 151:10,12 152:3 156:13 158:25 165:2 168:13 170:5 170:10 171:15,19 175:18,20 breadth 115:4 break 8:2 16:2 64:13 78:15 78:18 111:7 116:8 breaking 147:21 break-ins	26:16,19 breathtaking 5:12 Breit 2:5 4:10 30:3,4,8,12 30:13 44:4 45:5 46:20 47:16 48:22 49:16 50:18 52:5,9 53:10 54:3,20 55:24 56:3,17 57:5 57:19 Bridget 2:8 4:12 58:25 59:8 71:13,14 brief 17:2 53:22 briefing 140:9 bring 5:6,23 8:6 9:1 29:8 81:24 90:1 94:8 110:20 bringing 166:6 brings 8:18 61:19 70:10 broad 113:4 115:4 broader 63:14 broke 64:21 broken 6:18 8:5 26:7 119:15 122:1 125:25 128:7 149:10 164:21,23,24 165:3,10 166:14 175:8 Brothers 94:10 brought 16:16 22:16 57:1 89:25 94:12 104:18 brushes 82:19 brutal 118:18 brutality	122:23 buck-fifteen 149:6,8 budget 14:13 161:18,20 budgetary 144:2 budgets 143:24 build 100:7 165:5,6 building 25:9 110:17 123:17 152:14 buildings 37:24 built 124:25 bullet 21:18 62:3 146:11 bullying 103:6 Burger 77:18 burglaries 26:19 137:16 buried 6:19 burned 18:11 burst 172:1 bus 75:16 Bush 171:22 business 22:14 73:1 74:20 77:25 78:8 81:17 135:2 businesses 25:9 busy 122:4 buy 156:17 158:2,7,9 buying 63:1 buys 64:15	call 25:13 66:12 106:14 106:19 110:9 120:23 121:7 144:25 called 41:22 64:7 77:7 94:10 100:18 124:8 128:18 133:10 148:3 166:24 calls 82:3,4,5 109:14 120:15,16 122:5 131:6 camera 8:15 153:24,25 154:6,15,22 154:24,25 cameras 140:9 146:14,15 151:9,11,12 151:16,24 152:12,22 155:5,23 campaign 170:12 cancer 137:23 138:23 candid 25:15 43:15 candidates 159:16 capabilities 140:8 capability 141:2 177:9 capacity 84:11 84:11,16 87:19 107:23 107:25 110:18 capitol 44:16 Captain 28:5 160:10 car 26:5,6,16	49:14 76:1 155:11,13 cards 23:11 care 13:22 59:13 96:15 97:25 98:8,9 98:21,24 99:8 99:11,21,22 99:24,25 100:3 103:13 103:14 105:22 122:20,21,22 124:20 125:1 career 10:13 11:5,15 63:17 66:15 77:12 113:22 117:9 careful 27:17 caring 14:24 25:19 Carnac 142:22 Carnahan 77:13 carousel 135:24 carousels 135:25 carpenter 165:5 carried 101:15 cars 52:15 120:3,12 122:10 124:1 126:22 137:10 140:10 146:15 152:22 155:5 155:21,23 Carson's 142:22 cartels 34:7 case 50:4 51:25 72:19 75:7,7 75:13 82:23
---	--	--	---	--

C

caliber 23:4
California 8:20
35:21 156:9
157:4 168:18
168:22
170:12 171:7
173:13

86:22,24	centers 18:12	136:18,25	67:19 160:11	147:9 148:25
87:13,17	99:23 100:2	139:12	chasing 131:6	155:25 156:1
127:8 137:4	111:2,25	141:14,18	cheaply 66:22	157:4 158:13
148:7 152:8	124:22,24	142:8	checks 160:7	158:14
165:18	140:20,23	challenges 8:17	chemo 136:13	164:20 165:4
168:22 171:1	147:6	14:2 23:22,23	137:23,25	165:9 167:25
cases 41:1,5	century 139:12	47:15 63:12	138:23	169:7 170:2,8
48:2,14 50:22	140:15	110:14	chest 27:3	chiefly 59:4
82:12,13,14	142:24 148:4	141:17	Chicago 4:11	chiefs 6:3 7:21
82:17 107:24	CEO 4:19,20	142:24	8:20 35:4,5	107:4 127:12
cash 37:4	113:1	challenging	35:22 59:2,18	129:18
cash-only	certain 17:19	70:23	59:23 60:4,13	144:24
43:21 44:21	34:2 53:25	Chamber 73:2	60:18 61:21	child 15:9
44:22,25	56:10 86:13	Champions	62:1 63:12	109:14
casualties	86:13,15	77:8	64:7 66:18,19	children 6:19
131:9	92:11 93:19	chance 43:11	69:25 70:16	27:4 53:16
catchall 120:22	141:3 147:15	63:5 65:23	73:4 75:12	77:17
categories	169:23	77:21	94:13 169:7	choice 48:18
56:10 86:15	certainly 12:1	chances 173:4	169:12	choices 48:18
categorized	29:17 37:20	change 21:8,8	Chicago's 59:4	48:19
7:12	47:8 51:25	21:12,14	60:9 63:22	choose 39:13
category 137:9	80:14,25	69:17 70:20	70:21	41:4 44:13,17
caught 14:11	81:10 83:19	77:8 117:17	chief 4:6,7,21	chose 65:23
154:21	85:13 86:15	118:4 119:3	5:19,22 6:1	67:13 99:16
cause 63:3	87:16 94:7	121:18	8:12 10:3,4,7	Chris 1:1 3:1
131:8,8 172:3	103:23 106:6	123:18	11:10,11,13	4:3 12:8
172:5	127:4 128:4	148:14	11:19,20	16:15 22:2
caused 171:1	130:10	changed 18:16	21:23,25	church 125:24
causes 117:22	133:21	131:19 167:1	22:20,20 23:2	churches 50:14
117:23,24	137:10	changer 100:10	25:20,22	Circuit 25:6
119:21,22	139:19	changes 123:1	27:14 29:15	48:1 82:12
causing 131:7	141:11	changing	29:16,23,25	85:18
167:18	145:12	138:21	43:7 44:15	circumstances
CCR 177:12	147:15,21	164:12	53:21,22	116:8 171:5
ceiling 150:20	151:2 168:16	characterizat...	54:16 55:10	cities 6:9 8:9,22
celebrate 42:2	certainty 141:2	93:22	55:11 56:1,15	9:2 12:11,17
42:3	CERTIFICA...	charge 28:9	56:25 57:13	12:18,18
Celebration	177:1	127:22	57:14 58:6,11	35:25 41:21
41:22,23	Certified 3:7	charged 106:17	79:19 88:2	63:23 81:2
census 21:13	177:5	charges 24:14	101:22	113:11
center 33:17	certify 177:7	Charlie 4:5	105:18 110:1	121:22 122:7
47:24 77:25	Chairman 4:19	5:25 11:1	110:13,14	122:19,19
93:17 98:11	4:20 113:1,2	13:2 15:17,23	111:6,8,9,18	134:19
98:25 100:1,8	challenge 21:8	16:10 101:23	112:6,14,14	139:14 146:6
100:12	64:10 115:21	105:16	113:9 114:17	151:22 159:4
118:23	115:22 116:6	chart 41:25	143:9 146:9	164:1 171:10

citizen 9:9 22:16 154:12	122:13 123:4 125:4 126:15	27:9 94:21 115:18	148:9	125:22
citizens 6:24 7:2,6,7 12:19 14:11 21:3 38:5 47:3,5 51:9,10,10 120:10 161:10 170:7	126:15,18,22 127:9,9,10 131:23 132:25 134:3 137:8,10 140:19,19 144:9,11,13 144:17,17,17 144:18,20 145:3 148:25 149:1 151:8 155:8,17,19 159:6,19 160:24 161:6 161:18 162:10,14 164:11,22 165:14,18 166:18 167:6 167:14 168:17 169:8 169:9,18 171:20 173:21 174:2 175:1,3	Clinic 100:14 101:1 clinical 61:12 clock 89:7 close 15:7 42:14 140:17 146:4 173:20 closely 13:3 14:5 28:18 37:23 49:1 54:8 closer 24:3 102:20 closing 88:21 clothing 31:8 37:7 38:3 clouded 159:15 coaching 25:10 cocoon 129:11 cognitive 46:5 coin 61:11 collaborate 148:3,9 150:3 152:5 collaborated 60:2 collaboration 72:12 147:25 155:3 collaborative 148:5,12 149:17 169:21 collapse 96:11 colleague 148:2 colleagues 43:25 46:7 72:4 132:20 collect 23:12 collective 59:13 collectively 30:25 58:3 collectivity	79:16 101:10 113:17 173:22 174:16,17 175:2 Colonel 4:6,7 10:1,18 79:18 color 37:8 Colorado 156:8 158:8,9 colors 38:17 Columbine 93:12 combat 42:18 141:16 combatting 40:16 combination 23:24 combine 15:22 combining 68:1 come 11:18 16:6 30:3 52:15 58:25 89:25 119:21 120:23 128:17 135:22 136:14 142:18 152:11,15 153:4 155:13 175:5 comes 26:19 53:17 58:13 62:9 146:17 168:13 coming 11:21 30:11 63:6 80:21 83:6,25 84:13,16,21 85:9 118:24 120:15 123:13 125:6	135:19 142:13 149:14 150:5 152:7 156:9 160:11 164:3 175:1 command 134:12 161:24 commander 28:7,8 134:11 commanders 47:22 81:15 132:24 133:1 144:21 158:17 comment 105:5 169:17 comments 54:4 79:3 147:3 commercial 81:17 commission 166:22 168:24 177:16 Commissioner 4:14,20 29:24 79:6,9 88:4,6 113:8,8 126:16 132:1 132:19 134:4 137:5 140:20 150:17 158:20 162:4 164:14 176:1 Commissione... 8:10 10:7 11:13 commit 40:19 41:5 44:8,13 44:17 45:16 45:22 47:23 50:22 92:7,25 94:1 97:6,8

97:16,16 98:14 102:11 commitment 47:9 97:5 98:17 99:3 106:24 commits 56:19 committed 19:4 24:10,13 24:15 32:16 32:17 52:11 97:17 106:20 110:6 141:4 172:14 committee 74:17,19 committing 32:19 33:7 39:11 54:6 55:23 57:10 57:10,12 62:24 63:18 87:22 95:20 97:13,19 common 30:24 30:24 35:12 35:16 89:24 93:19 156:24 commonplace 135:12 140:22 152:21 communicable 80:2 communicated 47:20 communities 7:24 13:14 18:24 19:5 20:6 52:16 54:19 82:9 125:19 127:25 130:19 132:14 137:14,21	139:15 143:2 163:20,22,24 community 4:16 9:12 13:20 14:24 16:20 17:10 18:1,3,25 19:16,19 20:7 20:10,12,21 22:4,22 23:25 26:24 27:16 28:15,20,25 29:1 41:13 42:9 45:3 48:6 50:9,12 50:16,21 54:1 59:12 60:14 72:21 74:20 74:21 75:22 78:8 79:13,15 80:3,12,19 81:10,13,14 83:7 85:11 86:3,4 87:1,4 87:7,14,24 89:23 90:4 94:2 104:6 116:18 122:13 123:17,24,24 123:25 125:20 127:16,17 128:19 129:8 129:25 130:2 130:15,16 131:1,13 133:3,4 136:21,22 138:18 139:7 139:18 141:25 147:5 148:3,8 150:9 151:17,19 154:2,21,22 169:18,19	community's 27:25 community-b... 57:18 97:24 community-i... 75:5 compact 145:7 companies 113:3 comparable 61:3 67:4,9 compare 61:1 66:7 67:1 145:8 compared 92:18 comparisons 67:7 compassion 116:12 compassiona... 116:9,21 142:10 compete 63:9 complacency 8:4 25:4 complaint 154:9 163:19 complete 109:19 completed 76:6 76:9 completion 67:15 compliance 89:12 compliant 97:11,15 component 78:2,8 115:7 146:10 components 94:11 compound 157:14,15 compounded	123:20 125:15,25 145:5 compounding 122:16 124:6 125:3 comprehensive 95:9 105:3 169:25 CompStat 113:13 133:9 133:10 134:20,22 136:2,4 139:16 140:22 144:22 165:10 166:5 166:6 Comptroller 72:13 computer 8:15 80:8 127:21 133:11 computers 133:13 computer-ai... 133:10 conceivable 70:5 concentrate 54:17 concentration 73:16 concept 127:15 128:17 conceptions 21:19 concern 7:13 15:10 89:2,16 90:12,15,22 90:24 118:22 139:7 156:14 concerned 22:16 47:3 80:16	concerning 114:7 concerns 88:9 118:23 concert 28:17 conclude 101:8 176:2 conclusion 101:18 conclusively 173:3,11 concrete 9:14 condition 99:11,13 conditioning 124:1 conditions 124:10,11,11 127:6,6,6 138:21 conduct 37:15 41:16 159:12 conducted 94:14 conducting 147:20 conference 7:16 13:7 16:9 21:16 30:10 43:10 43:19 54:22 confident 67:8 conflict 57:16 63:19 96:17 conflicts 66:12 confusing 158:5 confusion 158:11 159:3 congratulate 143:15 conjunction 156:25 connecting 20:10 consecutive 6:7
---	---	--	--	---

consequences 14:10 55:21 162:5 164:17 168:12	contiguous 74:2	69:18	34:1,14,15	126:11,15
conservative 168:6,7,19	continue 23:22 33:10 34:9	convince 109:16	79:7,11 87:22	137:4 138:12
consider 21:10 55:8 83:22 87:4	40:19 52:14	convincing 61:24	88:4,6,12	139:10
consideration 32:21	55:4 69:3	cooperation 42:14 47:2	89:3	140:21 142:7
consistent 61:18 163:10	84:22 89:21	48:1 54:19	correlation 36:15	153:17 156:7
consistently 66:22 116:16 142:11	90:7 110:19	coordinate 15:20	corresponde... 31:20	159:4 171:11
constant 46:24	110:20	coordination 120:19	corrupt 118:19 134:9	country's 7:21 134:4 145:4
constantly 30:6 33:20 42:9	157:23	cop 117:2 141:5,5,5,7	corruption 122:24 134:8	county 4:5,5,7 5:25 6:1,3
47:16,23	continued 16:9 139:8 145:16	158:9 163:11	134:13 166:9	11:2,4,7,12
52:16 55:5	continuing 114:24 118:3	163:13 164:2	167:9	11:12,18,19
56:5 57:9	121:18,19	cops 115:10 129:5 132:21	cost 8:4 17:23 69:24,25 73:3	15:17,19
87:17 93:7	continuum 151:23	132:23	104:3,5,5	16:10,11,25
constituency 21:13	contract 91:3	135:10,16	110:23	17:20,21
constituents 17:24	contrary 58:19	140:7 144:19	149:20	18:17,18,19
Constitution 115:16	contribute 61:16	145:18,25	costs 8:17 17:23 69:24	20:9 21:3,5
constitutional 123:14 143:6	contributing 123:4 127:7	146:10,15,17	70:3,6	25:21 26:10
constitutiona... 115:23 116:7	128:6	146:23 155:4	cost-effective 62:18,21	28:3,8,14
142:9 161:9	contribution 175:22	155:7,10,15	Council 73:2	30:17 33:22
161:10	contributor 15:4	159:19	Councilman 11:7	36:11 37:21
consultant 138:10	control 67:23 68:16 106:16	161:19	counseling 96:18,18	39:1,16,19
consulting 113:3	125:23,24	165:12	174:8	40:20 48:9,11
consumed 120:20	153:2 156:14	167:23	counselor 64:19,23	49:10 50:5
contact 89:14	156:16	Cornell 101:9	count 115:10 149:20,20	53:24 54:11
contagious 97:10	controversial 8:1	corner 122:11	countries 113:14	54:17 94:17
context 43:19 102:15 106:1	controversy 138:9 159:2	cornerstone 19:11	country 8:13 11:8 14:8	105:17
	159:15	19:22	counsellor 64:19,23	110:15,15
	conversation 17:15 25:14	correct 52:4,5 65:9,15	count 115:10 149:20,20	126:23 177:3
	81:25 111:22	correction 93:3 33:12,17,22	counties 113:14	couple 48:11 51:18 100:2
	158:18,22	45:25 49:18	country 8:13 11:8 14:8	107:16
	conversations 22:18 105:19	88:18 89:7,20	count 115:10 149:20,20	162:24 166:7
	105:19	95:21 101:25	countries 113:14	courage 12:24
	converted	105:10	country 8:13 11:8 14:8	courier 34:7
		corrections 4:14 33:10,14	19:14,14 20:2	course 47:22 76:8 87:4
			29:19 35:25	103:23 104:8
			60:17 77:9	106:9 160:3
			94:13 99:15	courses 79:17
			108:4 117:18	court 3:7 9:7 17:13 25:6
			118:17 119:9	28:18 49:19
			121:16 122:7	50:22 57:7
			124:13	73:21 79:2
				82:1 107:18

107:18,19,20	crime 1:1 2:7	121:20,21,24	126:19,21	crucial 154:7
107:21,23,24	3:1,4 4:11,11	122:4,8	128:2 130:10	crystal 142:23
107:25 112:8	5:3,14,17,18	126:14	137:17	cuffs 90:21
123:10,15	6:7 8:17	127:25 128:1	168:12,25	173:10
154:2 159:10	12:16 13:4,24	128:5,5,13,22	170:24	cultural 81:17
168:2 170:18	14:3,6,22	129:3 130:21	criminal 17:18	curb 41:13
177:5	15:6,21 16:2	131:7,15,16	22:15 31:1,10	cured 136:14
courts 13:20	17:6 18:13,20	132:2,3,5,11	34:13 36:25	curious 156:6
14:10 17:4,14	20:8 23:5,11	133:2,5,5,17	37:13,15	current 8:10
17:16,17,24	23:16 24:5,10	133:17,22,23	40:25 45:7	79:17,25
32:1 41:6	25:8 26:9,11	133:25 134:5	55:15 56:1,15	159:2,14
47:2 55:20	26:12,21,25	134:18,19,20	58:15 79:16	currently 59:5
82:12 86:7	27:23,23,24	134:21 135:3	80:24 82:15	66:20 88:23
107:18	28:10,13,15	135:5,18,21	102:6 106:3	138:9 159:1
111:15,15,15	28:24 29:13	137:8,20	107:3,8 115:6	custody 90:25
111:17 112:6	29:14 32:16	138:6,25	125:20 126:8	custom 90:20
112:7,7	32:17 33:8	139:2,5,8	126:9,12	cut 55:22
cover 29:9,10	34:3 39:11	140:3,19,23	128:12,24	cuts 14:13 69:2
99:21 120:13	40:20 41:5	141:4 144:10	130:18	cycle 174:23
coverage 99:8	44:6,17 45:16	144:23	131:15	cyclical 97:1
99:20	45:22,24	145:14,15,16	141:13 173:7	
covered 126:22	50:22 51:24	146:7,21	criminals 49:11	D
covers 67:22	52:3,11,19	147:6 148:11	107:4 120:14	daily 41:11,19
co-author	55:22 57:10	150:5 152:1	168:10	49:2 79:8
119:15	57:10,12	153:16	175:10,12	Dale 2:10 4:14
CRA 75:4	58:24 59:2,3	156:11	criminologists	79:5 88:2,3,6
create 46:6,11	59:18,21,23	159:21 161:5	7:21	101:23
60:20,22	60:1,4,7,12	162:1,9,10	criminology	102:16
62:10 70:12	61:21 62:4,19	163:5,21	79:16	damage 106:18
92:2 142:14	62:23 63:15	164:16	Crip 34:17	damn 150:24
created 14:25	63:18,20 64:1	165:13,25	35:23 36:1	dance 36:8
118:9 120:17	65:19 68:14	166:8,9,20,22	39:3 42:6	danger 90:19
137:13 142:6	68:16,18 69:2	167:15,19,23	Crips 34:22	dangerous 63:4
159:3	69:8,8,18	169:4 171:1	35:3,14 36:14	81:1 105:9,9
creates 158:10	70:1,17,25	171:24 172:1	36:16 42:1,7	159:6 162:9
creating 46:10	71:2,7,11	172:4,14,23	crisis 84:11	162:17
128:20	73:17 80:15	176:8 177:6	106:15,25	Daniel 2:9 4:15
130:20	80:25 81:5,8	crimes 19:4	132:17	79:12 80:10
165:22	84:9,20 85:8	24:10,11,15	criteria 31:3,6	dare 127:10
166:17	96:8 110:6	26:14,15	31:22,24	Darlene 72:13
167:17	117:23,24	32:19 44:8,13	critical 71:1	darn 108:11
172:19,21	118:1,2,12	47:23 53:17	100:9	Darryl 5:19
creative 149:17	119:7,18,20	54:6 58:14	critically-acc...	10:18 22:20
credibility	119:21,22	62:25 63:5	113:23	data 66:19
64:15	120:2 121:4,4	69:11 102:10	cross-state 12:9	67:22 95:9,11
credits 68:8	121:6,13,15	122:1,11	crowd 13:19	110:3 120:20

139:17 140:5 140:6,14,24 150:1 David 132:16 Davis 2:7 4:11 58:24 59:1,16 59:17,19,22 day 1:10 3:4 5:15,18,18,20 5:21 18:5,5,7 20:25 41:23 42:2,3 44:6 45:16 47:1 48:16 54:11 72:3 109:10 109:10 110:7 132:4,4 133:16 135:6 149:1,2 151:2 153:9 165:21 176:4 days 6:7 8:7 9:7 17:21,22 18:6 22:6,19 25:1 41:22,23 58:9 102:6 135:6 150:13 DC 8:21 de 14:14 deadly 101:17 deaf 151:3 deal 50:1 62:12 84:11,17 85:23 86:18 87:19 98:22 107:23 109:21 117:22 124:20 130:24,25 132:1,17 139:13 144:1 148:10 150:23 157:12 161:17 163:5	164:10 dealer 147:22 dealing 40:16 41:19 44:6 84:1,2,5 93:2 119:8,19 122:8,15 128:10 130:21 140:3 141:19,19 144:22 152:5 171:20 172:12 dealings 54:10 dealt 137:22 142:3 Dean 5:9 death 40:7 167:18 debate 139:9 159:15 debated 137:2 debates 141:14 debt 107:18 decades 7:2 deceased 32:7 December 9:10 10:3 decide 66:15 117:6 152:20 decided 27:3 71:21 77:11 deciding 65:10 decision 65:13 159:10 161:17,19 174:6 decisions 55:21 63:17 123:10 decision-mak... 44:3 Declaration 115:16 decline 46:15 138:25 146:24	declines 149:24 declining 46:12 122:6 decrease 23:21 131:8 137:18 decriminaliz... 123:5 125:12 deeply 8:23 defenders 17:17 defense 85:18 86:9 defenses 50:1 defined 115:16 definitely 40:22 47:3 50:2 definition 30:19,21 31:1 degree 45:2 55:15 59:14 75:22 122:24 141:2 deinstitution... 123:5 124:6 125:11 delay 43:3 delicacy 43:15 delivering 23:24 120:21 demand 7:4 82:2 86:23 demands 14:11 82:9 democracy 115:12,13,14 115:14,19,20 115:22 116:6 116:15 131:18 143:5 demographic 95:6 119:23 demographics 67:5 117:24 demonstrate 37:19 38:2	demonstrated 40:21 104:24 denominator 91:15 95:6,18 dent 71:7 department 4:6 4:7,17,20 10:2,6,22 11:14,16 14:20 21:24 22:24 25:21 30:6 31:11 33:9,14 34:1 34:13,15 43:8 44:1,10 47:9 48:25 50:9,19 52:2,25 53:9 57:2 73:22 79:10,20,22 80:1 88:12 91:11 100:17 109:20,25 113:9,23 116:24 118:5 127:20 128:16 133:24 134:5 134:9,18 140:12 142:3 143:21 144:16 145:3 145:12 147:9 148:7 150:16 150:22,23 160:14 162:13 167:10,13 172:17 174:12 175:6 175:24 departments 15:20 17:25 55:4 98:25 122:21 134:25 141:23	143:20 144:17,25 153:25 161:3 Department's 40:15 66:20 depending 171:11 depends 103:4 depicts 39:2 deployment 113:13 depolicing 123:6,7,18 124:3 125:11 depopulation 170:17 depression 24:1 93:21 101:2 Deputy 79:10 describe 64:21 139:20 171:16 described 66:1 describing 171:22,25 deserve 20:17 designated 95:16 designation 81:3 designed 63:13 69:11 107:8 desk 150:19 Desmond 4:15 80:11 destroyed 6:18 destruction 167:18 detail 28:9 153:2 detailed 9:11 details 74:23 75:11 detain 90:16 detect 89:13
---	--	--	--	---

90:18 Detective 2:5 4:10 30:7,11 30:12,13 42:22 44:4 45:5 46:20 47:16 48:22 49:16 50:18 51:15 52:5,9 53:10 54:3,20 55:24 56:3,17 57:5,19 58:8 58:21 deter 151:25 deterioration 123:4 125:8 determination 103:20 determine 103:17 144:6 155:1 detrimental 90:22 Detroit 138:10 146:5 159:2 develop 16:5 127:21 129:8 developed 94:10 129:25 133:8 141:1 166:24 169:1 developing 66:14 78:1,7 89:13 158:5 development 35:8 59:13 113:12 128:14 devices 151:24 devil 153:1 DF 66:18 diagnose 103:8 diagnosed 93:11 96:2 98:20 99:12 101:1	diagnoses 99:25 diagnosis 95:13 95:14 98:3 Diagnostic 33:17 dial 142:6 dialogue 25:15 176:6 died 10:22 39:24 40:4 differed 61:9 difference 16:20 17:23 21:9,21 66:9 68:9,22 69:7 69:8 84:5 117:8 137:21 163:9 differences 61:12,16 66:7 68:12,15 69:4 69:12 different 13:9 18:15 21:2 41:20 46:22 46:23 75:14 80:17 85:11 107:6 110:2,3 117:15 130:5 130:22,22,25 131:1,21 139:14,14,15 145:20,20 156:21 157:13 168:14,14,17 169:24,24 differentiates 63:22 differently 28:2,3 92:4 difficult 66:25 103:16 difficulties 54:18	diligence 113:5 dime 76:2 diminished 167:13 Dinkins 132:16 direct 12:16 36:15 87:20 directed 82:8 103:21 130:9 direction 25:5 58:21 117:6 156:12 157:11 177:10 directly 51:9 56:23 174:17 Director 4:17 10:5,13 59:8 79:21 Directors 10:15 disagree 164:15 disappointed 74:13 discharge 95:11 97:23 97:24 Disciples 34:22 35:5,6 discovered 136:10 discretion 161:2 discuss 42:18 discussion 2:6 2:11,14 5:16 5:23 7:25 104:18 106:25 107:1 107:14 111:2 111:24 114:7 116:2 176:2,4 discussions 81:2 88:15 disease 80:3 95:8 97:10	131:10 disillusionme... 117:13 dismantled 98:9 disorder 91:24 92:18,23 130:20,21 133:3 138:6 140:3 144:23 148:11 166:18 disorders 91:25 92:6,7,19,20 displacing 101:12 displayed 119:5 displaying 31:16 disruption 153:19 dissatisfaction 119:7 dissipated 56:10 distance 155:13 distinctive 115:21 District 11:7 39:3 42:2 170:13 Districts 10:9 disturbance 106:18 disturbances 153:19 disturbing 38:5 diversion 42:8 111:16 divert 42:11 84:3 86:5,9 97:3 diverted 111:21 diverting 87:18	division 10:8 11:15 41:15 42:15,17 49:1 54:14 79:6,7 89:2 164:7 divisions 10:6 docket 25:2 43:13 44:11 44:19 82:14 168:2,10 176:5 dockets 43:21 43:23,24 doctor 103:10 106:19,20 136:5,7 137:22 138:2 145:19 160:4 165:14 doctoral 59:1 59:22 doctors 99:24 document 31:4 31:24 documentary 94:10,11 95:2 documented 31:13 32:5,6 32:15,23 33:2 33:8 34:12 37:1,1 38:6 39:18,25 40:4 40:8 41:4,19 54:4 documenting 139:1 Dogg 35:24 doing 17:10 18:15 28:2,3 50:3 69:14 78:12 87:13 91:2 97:1,19 105:7,14 108:10,12,25 110:2,7,9 117:22 133:5
---	--	---	--	---

133:21	56:15,25	125:21 126:3	25:16	164:2
136:19 138:8	57:13 58:6,12	126:3,10	economics 59:7	effectiveness
141:21	101:22 110:1	127:6 147:22	economy 19:16	124:7 147:8
147:24	111:6,8 112:6	156:20,21,24	117:25	effects 65:16
154:10,15	158:13,14	157:18	119:23	66:23 69:17
159:7,8 161:1	164:20	172:19	educate 175:4	70:8
162:23	167:25 170:2	drugs 34:2,5	educated 19:6	efficacy 62:22
163:18,24	170:8	36:10 51:25	118:20,20	effort 9:16 12:9
165:21	doubt 27:9	56:9,12 63:1	educating	12:10 15:1
169:11	Douglas 11:5	92:24 125:5,8	52:16 100:19	86:18 124:20
172:15	downsized	125:9,25	104:9	138:17
dollar 59:10	100:12	126:9 156:23	education 14:4	143:13
104:5	downtown 26:5	166:19,22,23	19:2,2,11	165:11
dollars 141:24	110:5	167:3,3	44:18 75:6	169:21
domestic 96:19	Doyle 28:5	due 113:5	95:4 96:14	170:13 172:9
101:4 167:4	draconian	Dugan 101:23	105:24,25	efforts 8:25
donated 72:22	170:14,20,20	dump 77:15	175:2	72:11 140:1
75:3	Dragnet 117:3	Dutchtown	educational	141:15
donors 72:25	drain 89:21	73:18,23	19:22	149:17
Dooley 4:5 5:25	91:6	duties 82:6	effect 29:14	Egyptian
6:3 11:1,5,8	draining 90:13	160:3	67:19 68:14	153:10
11:19 13:2	dramatic	duty 117:1	69:10 84:9	eight 39:8,9
15:17 16:10	133:18	D's 123:3	94:3 102:8	133:10
16:11,25	dramatically		124:9 141:8	148:21 153:6
48:10,11	15:3 120:16	E	163:13	166:15,18
49:10 50:5	139:8	E 2:9 4:15,15	effective 2:12	167:19,20,22
105:17	drastically	80:10,11	4:18 29:20	167:24
107:11	145:17	eardrums	61:24 62:20	Eighth 39:2
door 99:2	draw 23:4	114:11	63:25 70:14	42:2
105:9 147:21	153:9	earlier 15:16	70:20 112:22	eight-year-old
158:9	drawn 43:11	36:23 50:23	130:10 132:9	27:2,7
doors 18:7 21:2	126:2	86:22 107:7	135:16	either 66:4
dose 137:25	drive 18:4	126:17 148:1	136:12,16	83:14 90:21
dot 50:25 141:5	158:9 161:2	early 9:10 70:7	143:6 148:11	102:15 107:5
144:19	driving 14:22	77:16 88:14	169:2 171:17	114:21
dots 20:11 39:9	155:18	102:25	effectively 46:8	151:25 154:9
39:16 53:23	dropped 7:3	128:14 129:1	106:3 122:8	166:21
53:23 132:21	75:20 149:18	129:10 132:6	122:15 124:2	170:22
135:10,16	drug 34:1,7	161:17	126:7 129:7	elected 9:18,22
140:7 165:12	69:8 86:10	ears 87:2 142:4	134:5 139:13	10:11 11:2
Dotson 4:6	88:16 92:21	easier 102:18	139:25	12:14 13:20
5:22 6:4 10:1	93:4 96:18,21	East 73:19	140:23	159:17,18
11:19 21:23	107:18,21,23	Eastern 33:17	145:13	Electric 73:1
21:25 27:14	111:14 112:7	easy 103:8	146:25 153:3	element 131:13
29:16 43:7	124:11,15	economic 8:17	159:25	elements 123:1
55:10,11 56:1	125:3,7,9,21	economically	161:23 164:1	130:17

134:22 153:6 160:17 eloquently 119:16 122:2 email 78:11 Emanuel 77:5 77:9,18 embarking 100:5 embrace 21:14 128:17 130:14 embraced 14:21 127:15 embracer 155:2 embracing 125:16,17 165:11 emergencies 150:4 emergency 98:24 Emerson 73:1 emotional 63:24,24 65:25 66:5 emphasis 44:12 44:16 58:18 131:4 emphasize 19:12 119:22 166:16 emphasized 120:3 130:16 emphasizes 65:4 employable 76:25 employees 79:7 employers 72:19 75:8 76:21,22,24 77:1 employment 2:7 4:11	29:12 58:23 59:3 66:3,21 69:20 71:10 71:18 72:9 76:12 95:4 employs 72:6 emulates 68:21 en 116:10 encountering 41:11 encourage 42:10 encouraged 24:7 119:11 162:20 ends 62:11 end-of-the-su... 72:15 enforce 46:8 108:6 115:24 116:8 123:8,9 158:6 enforcement 8:8 9:9,12 13:19 15:15 23:10,24 27:17 29:18 30:5 31:3 32:2 33:6 40:18 41:16 42:16 47:4 49:17 52:24 54:2,18 58:17 72:4 80:24 84:2,6 86:25 86:25 87:9,20 87:21 96:11 96:20,22 101:20 106:7 111:11 113:11 126:7 144:4 147:6 157:12 158:11,23 163:11 165:1 166:25	167:21 172:22 174:11 enforcement's 57:15 enforcer 118:13 enforcing 53:5 engage 30:25 108:24 136:17 159:21 172:10 engaged 18:3,8 135:23 159:20 167:11 172:25 engineering 75:21 enhanced 170:22 enhancement 41:3 enhancements 41:6 168:23 170:24 171:12 enjoyed 13:15 enroll 66:16 enrolled 71:5 ensure 159:24 ensured 143:5 enter 33:9,22 33:25 49:18 86:1 entered 34:13 94:22 95:12 entering 58:1 117:12 enterprise 56:1 56:16 enterprises 55:15 enterprising 56:8	entertainment 81:17 enthusiasm 8:24 entire 33:1 39:7 94:2 98:13 entranceway 156:20 envious 77:22 environment 103:5 124:5 174:20 epidemic 131:10 148:19 epidemiology 80:4 92:13 equal 65:23 equally 112:1 equation 17:14 18:16 19:3 20:11 equipment 17:8 89:10 equipped 89:10 90:25 98:22 equivalent 114:25 145:8 era 7:9 25:15 139:18,18,21 140:5,18 147:4 150:1,1 150:21 Escobedo 123:13 especially 44:14 45:14 49:4 58:2 essential 115:7 116:14 138:14,19 153:7,15 161:8 establish 143:16	established 89:3 174:15 establishing 128:19 estimated 126:25 ethic 116:19 evacuated 18:12 evade 54:1 evaluate 66:23 106:19 evaluated 60:23 evaluation 61:5 62:16 70:11 76:15 106:20 131:7 evaluations 60:22 70:13 evasion 149:18 evening 15:10 62:25 event 8:23 27:20 52:8 59:20 149:4 events 69:16 139:22 eventually 52:24 121:23 122:17 128:13 144:13 154:21 166:14 everybody 5:6 5:12 20:22,23 26:15,15,19 26:20 43:2 153:14 everybody's 29:17 evidence 61:18 61:24 102:12 105:13 109:24
---	--	---	---	--

117:16	123:13	164:24 168:5	F 113:19	familiar 29:22
evidence-bac...	147:18	experiencing	face 8:5 13:10	families 6:18
60:19	exclusive	80:23 86:19	64:15,22	8:6 124:23
evidence-based	147:18	127:10	faced 7:9 8:8	157:16
8:13 14:21	excused 119:19	expert 94:7	faces 14:3	family 18:24
107:15	121:13	experts 7:20	facilitate 75:5	20:17,18
111:14	executive 4:5	8:8,19 94:12	facilities 14:14	28:18 42:13
evidence-dri...	5:25 6:3 11:2	expires 177:16	98:7 106:13	50:15 57:18
104:23 105:3	11:4,18,19	explain 90:17	facility 5:11	57:24,25 70:4
evolution 115:1	15:17 16:10	138:17	12:4 22:10	77:20 90:14
119:13	16:11,25	152:18 153:3	45:25 82:25	94:22,23
140:16	26:10 48:9,11	explaining	106:14,21	117:4 125:1
evolving 47:17	49:10 50:5	147:24	facing 152:22	famous 171:1
exactly 30:19	59:8 105:17	160:16	152:23	fan 146:14
151:14	113:18,19	exploded 125:7	fact 6:5,9,12	152:25
exam 136:6	129:20,25	explore 172:23	81:4 83:23	far 24:11 52:3
examination	exercise 106:22	172:24	90:10 117:14	76:12 92:21
160:6	exercises	173:17	123:20	98:19 141:16
examine 160:5	106:13	explored 98:15	140:25 143:6	142:18,19
example 27:1	exist 118:11	exponentially	145:5 148:14	fare 149:13,14
27:19 35:6	existence	148:20	155:1 156:16	149:18
38:15 41:25	174:22	exposed 57:22	158:7 163:20	fares 149:2
60:24 63:6	exists 137:20	exposure	169:10,13	fascinating
64:4 100:14	expand 77:23	153:12	170:19	142:16
106:11 109:4	99:16	express 23:14	factions 34:4	fashion 102:9
137:10	expanding	expulsion	facto 14:14	167:10
148:23 154:3	107:25	36:15,19	factor 56:8	fatalities
170:24	expect 28:25	extend 44:15	92:10 93:11	167:17
examples 50:7	121:11 134:6	extent 115:9	factors 32:20	father 77:15
50:11 144:9	expectations	126:10	81:3 83:20	father's 142:13
exceed 7:8	131:21	149:19	95:3 96:20	fax 135:6
excellent 55:12	expected	extra 62:5,25	147:7	FBI 113:17
exception	119:24	66:7	facts 24:9	133:23
121:25	expending	extraordinary	faculty 75:2	fear 15:12
exceptional	104:4	5:10 6:5 8:22	failing 127:14	45:24 127:7
43:2	experience	114:23	128:3,4	128:20
exchange 52:21	34:3,5 52:9	extreme 94:1	failure 131:3	130:20,20
excited 16:13	62:9,10 67:18	extremely	166:13	132:12,12
59:20 67:16	77:11 79:24	16:16 37:6	fair 61:8 71:3	148:11
excitement	81:5 102:24	38:4,10 41:9	fairly 81:5,9	165:22
141:10	159:1	47:21	173:3	166:17
exciting 5:13	experienced	eye 8:16	faith 43:11	feature 155:17
16:17 60:10	24:4 162:12	eyes 43:9 87:1	74:20	155:23
68:15,25 69:4	experiences	142:4	fall 42:19 66:16	Featured 4:8
70:12	70:5,15 115:5		falling 106:11	federal 14:13
exclusionary	115:8 153:25	F	falls 115:22	15:14 24:21

28:17 32:8,25	76:8 113:5	139:1 140:20	165:1,20	48:2 56:13
99:23 129:21	Finch 57:14	143:11,12	166:19	129:20
143:1 156:22	find 23:22 38:4	144:15 147:2	167:20 175:8	136:20
170:18	43:10 47:14	148:18 154:5	focused 100:19	formal 30:23
feel 17:10	52:2 60:25	158:25	focuses 63:16	85:14
18:23,24 19:6	62:8,11 82:16	159:12,18	64:1	formative
19:9,10 20:5	85:17,25	160:9,21	focussed 118:7	129:11
20:10,12,17	148:22	161:8 162:24	130:9 131:5	formed 15:13
20:17,18,23	175:11	164:3,5 165:2	134:5,11	34:24,25
21:5 48:17	finding 52:6	fiscal 72:20	135:25	former 4:20
49:6,7 53:24	62:13 167:3	Fitch 4:7 6:1,4	focussing	8:10,11 10:16
54:1,7 62:7	finds 5:12	11:10,10,13	134:20 135:2	29:23,24,25
97:1 101:12	finger 64:22	11:20 25:20	167:24	105:18
102:17	finish 71:22	25:22 53:21	folks 175:23	112:14
137:24	110:9	53:22 54:16	follow 23:17	forming 36:20
feeling 136:8	finished 67:14	110:13,14	31:4 55:18	forms 36:6
137:21	FIPS 64:7	111:9 155:25	69:3,15	147:15
feelings 156:10	fire 174:12	156:1	followed 66:17	Forte 5:19 6:3
feels 137:11	firearm 27:3	fits 102:7	following 10:24	10:18 22:20
fellow 59:1,23	40:6 168:4	170:25	41:1 50:4	22:20
113:19	firearms 15:23	Fitzgerald 72:3	follow-up 53:3	forth 54:6
felonies 87:23	24:12,14	five 6:15 32:16	111:9 135:20	76:20
felony 82:12	125:18,18,19	37:24 44:2	135:21 170:2	forties 37:2
171:5	fired 110:10	47:19 76:11	football 154:15	102:21
felt 117:21	firm 10:16,17	77:17 103:3	footing 152:17	fortitude 22:5
137:22	22:5	134:15	footsteps 42:20	fortress-like
female 74:6	first 11:7,18	173:18	force 4:13	124:19
103:11	12:7,13 16:11	fix 27:8 129:24	14:23 71:15	fortunate
fewer 145:18	17:3,4 22:6	fixes 131:11	71:20,22 93:3	129:10,13
161:19	27:6 31:6	flash 153:10	101:17	fortunately
fiction 155:1	35:24 40:18	flash-point	144:12 160:2	127:11,11
field 8:19 23:9	42:1,22 43:6	153:18	161:15	129:18
23:14 164:4	45:6 47:7	flip 61:11	forced 14:13	163:18
fighting 25:8	48:4,12,23	102:21	48:15	fortune 76:4
60:1 62:19	51:4 55:13,24	Flood 2:8 4:12	forces 7:17	forward 9:14
112:2 134:8	58:8 62:4	58:25 59:8,13	forcing 48:17	11:18 16:8
figure 15:22	64:5 65:12	71:14,16	forefront 140:6	29:5 30:4
76:3 85:4	67:20 68:15	flow 83:24 84:9	foregoing	58:5,25 78:12
105:14	74:10 80:6	84:18 107:24	177:6	99:14 151:16
110:20	92:5 99:9	flying 109:2	foremost 7:21	154:17
119:25	103:9 111:12	focus 6:7 40:19	12:7 118:11	157:15,24
fill 125:2	115:13,15	94:14,15,16	forensics 121:3	foster 59:13
final 167:25	118:11	94:17,17,19	130:11	found 38:9
176:4	119:12	101:10 107:3	forget 44:8	76:4 86:15
Finally 69:23	127:23	128:8 133:17	151:14	92:16 95:2
financial 75:6,6	131:23,25	134:20 139:7	form 23:4 36:9	154:6 167:2

foundation 59:9 72:21,22 72:24 78:4	front-loaded 58:13,18	Gabrielle 93:13	36:20,24 37:1	107:12
foundation's 59:10	frustrates 104:1,1	gained 76:19	37:14,19 39:5	110:13 111:6
founding 142:12	frustrating 47:21 49:17	gaining 108:15	39:10 40:16	112:10,20
four 5:21 6:6 8:7 9:6 17:1 17:22 74:3 77:9 89:5 92:8 96:8 101:19 105:4 105:11 112:1 129:3 134:22 148:21 155:9	frustration 47:13 48:5,7 49:12,13 129:19	game 100:10	41:1,17,25	114:18
fours 145:15	frustrations 47:13	game-changi... 100:6	45:7,11 53:5	129:22 143:8
fourth 9:21 10:9 20:3 156:2	Fuesting 28:7	gang 2:4 4:9 8:14 29:11 30:3,5,9,10 30:16,19,20 30:21 31:5,10 31:15,16,17 31:19,21,25 32:5,15 33:2 33:8 34:12,13 34:21 35:9 36:18 38:2,6 39:1,3,8,8,18 39:25 40:5,8 40:12,19 41:3 41:15,19,22 41:22,23 42:2 42:3,5,12,12 42:16 45:3 46:11,14,22 47:14 49:17 51:1,4,21,24 51:24 52:1,7 52:10,13,22 53:25 54:4 55:6 56:11,19 56:20,23 62:7 63:4 65:11 109:12 122:10 145:5 163:7 164:8,8 168:24 169:4 170:24 172:19 174:1 174:1,3	54:10 55:14	147:1 155:25
four-day 5:16 25:14	fund 104:24 105:15 111:25	gang-related 31:7,8,9	56:4,13 58:5	158:13
Francis 4:4 5:21 9:18 11:23 22:25 74:18	fundamentally 138:15	gaps 100:20	94:6 173:25	160:22 170:6
Frank 23:13	funded 112:2 129:21 173:15	garden 122:17 122:17	174:1 175:6	171:14
frankly 17:8 51:18	funders 59:12	Garry 169:7	Gangster 34:22 35:4,6	175:18,21
Friday 121:2	funding 59:11 72:8 78:4,6 98:6 105:1 111:3	Gateway 99:20	Gangsters 35:11	General's 55:18
Friedman 101:9	funds 59:11 100:8	gather 36:8 135:4,7	gang-affiliated 44:24	generations 6:19,20
friend 13:1,6 16:15,18,21	funeral 10:20 10:21 22:22 77:11,12	gathering 41:8 58:2 120:20 139:24 140:3	gang-on-gang 52:12	generous 175:21
friends 5:9 18:2,18 19:15 20:25 28:17	future 19:13 20:1 21:15 23:5 44:11 66:15 71:2 76:19 77:13 100:10	general 1:1 2:2 3:1 4:3 5:5 12:8,14,21,25 16:3,15 22:1 22:21 24:22 25:25 29:7 30:14 33:3 42:21 44:20 46:1 47:6 48:9 51:14 53:6,21 55:10 56:25 58:7 71:12 78:14 78:19 81:23 88:1 91:8 101:5,7 102:3 105:16	gang-related 31:7,8,9	gentleman 80:7
frightening 101:14	G		gaps 100:20	gentlemen 35:10 96:4
frisk 158:21 159:7,13 160:17 161:7 162:23	G 4:4		garden 122:17 122:17	geographic 7:7
frisks 163:18	gab 63:7		Garry 169:7	George 119:15 122:1 123:1
front 13:23 136:1 152:7			Gateway 99:20	Germany 106:12,23

95:14 114:12 116:11,12,12 130:7 133:1 138:3 142:20 144:9 157:20 given 65:3 66:11 98:4 106:2 gives 62:8,14 giving 41:18 43:23 49:5 138:23 Gladwell 148:17 149:16 Glass 2:10 4:14 79:6,9 80:6 88:3,5,6 95:24 97:2 101:23 103:15 global 19:15 go 16:23 27:22 30:17 33:11 35:25 42:25 60:10 63:3,10 64:20 67:7 74:23 83:20 85:25 90:10 106:12 109:11 110:19 117:6 131:12 136:5 136:7 137:15 137:16 139:8 139:8 141:16 142:19 145:16 150:25 151:1 154:14,25 155:23 156:17 160:6 162:19 172:22 174:13,17 goal 60:13,16	70:17 118:7,9 131:15,16 goals 65:17 134:15,17 going 2:13 4:19 13:2,4,14 17:1,7,23 19:7,8 25:23 26:21 27:6 29:9,21 34:17 42:24 43:1,6 59:24 60:5,7 60:8,10 62:5 62:24 65:12 69:2,15,17 71:24,25 74:23 75:21 75:22 77:3,5 77:23 78:4,6 78:9,15 82:12 82:19 85:22 86:16 91:2,5 91:13 96:9,10 104:12,25 105:5 107:2 108:6 109:8 109:23 110:19,22 112:4,23 115:3,25 118:4,4 121:3 121:3,5,6,14 122:18 124:21,22 128:18,24,25 129:4,7,23 130:4,24 131:2,4,19,20 132:5,23 133:5 135:17 135:18 136:9 136:14,19,19 137:7 138:16 139:3 140:17 141:10,18 142:8,9,23	147:21 149:3 149:13 150:25 151:1 151:1 152:6 154:21 155:12 156:6 156:13 157:12,15,15 157:20,22,23 158:1 159:17 161:6,25 163:2 164:11 164:16 165:6 165:13,19,24 166:19 170:16 171:8 172:1,5 173:22 174:21 175:10,14 golden 21:18 good 5:5,6,8 11:24,24 13:1 13:5,6 14:15 14:25 16:12 16:13,15,18 16:19,21 17:9 19:15 21:25 25:22,24 27:4 27:16 48:2 68:5 77:2,2 77:21 83:1 91:12 92:13 98:6 102:4 108:11 111:16 112:11 114:5 114:13 117:10,11,11 121:2 123:25 124:19 145:11 148:23 151:6 162:5 163:12 163:24,25 164:9	goodwill 72:17 73:7 74:14,24 78:5 good-hearted 8:3 government 74:20 113:20 115:15 117:21 119:25 122:14 129:21 141:19 153:17 GPs 67:6 GPS 155:24 grade 68:9 103:9 graduate 162:7 174:16 graduated 113:17 173:21 graduation 68:7 173:19 174:5 graffiti 31:18 37:23,24,25 38:1 122:10 126:22,23 165:24 grandchildren 117:5 grant 104:22 grant-making 59:10 grateful 8:23 9:15 Gravois 73:19 great 13:15 15:24 19:14 20:1,4 22:8 24:1 62:17 114:17 118:24 139:9 143:17	147:14 165:22 172:25 greater 70:3 72:21 greatest 19:13 greatly 58:22 Green 72:13 grew 145:11 161:16 grief 6:19 grips 101:16 ground 34:3 group 4:19 30:23 33:19 37:8 38:21 49:7 60:25 67:23 68:16 94:14,16,17 94:18 101:13 113:1 114:4 groups 35:3 36:8 68:2 94:15,19 102:7,14 104:21 Grove 73:19 grow 109:23 175:10 growing 96:4 121:24 122:9 125:16 127:18 144:16 149:11,12,12 163:5 growth 35:7 118:2 122:16 129:1 135:18 157:21 171:23 guaranteed 143:7 guard 120:14 guess 19:6 104:9 107:22
---	---	---	---	---

171:10 guidance 64:6 guideline 154:11 gun 12:23 14:7 25:2 38:18 44:17 52:2,8 53:14,19 73:21 94:20 96:21 156:14 156:16,17 168:5,8,12,20 168:20 169:12 gunpoint 24:13 guns 24:11,15 27:11 36:10 37:4 38:3,23 52:7,14,15,17 52:18,25 53:1 53:16 63:2 108:19 157:22,24 166:19,22 167:2,3,4 168:24 169:8 169:12 gut 58:19 guys 110:4 123:25,25 163:12,12 169:10	160:12,15,15 handcuffs 120:8 handed 99:1 handle 79:8 107:8 handled 92:3 hands 24:24 64:11,17 160:7 hanging 39:11 happen 17:7 62:23 99:14 121:22 122:19 125:1 172:6,7 happened 65:18 73:13 138:22 142:2 161:12,22 163:14 happening 104:15,16 147:19 happens 33:13 41:14 106:22 happy 16:16 hard 22:4 39:6 62:9 86:14 103:19 hardworking 77:19 harm 136:23 136:24 141:20,21 harmful 138:1 Harmon 114:16 Harris 79:14 Harvard 129:21 148:3 Harvard's 113:19 head 150:19 156:12 headquarters	145:1 162:1 heads 10:17 Headstart 77:16 health 2:9 4:14 4:17,17 8:17 29:13,14 72:24 79:5,22 79:22,24 80:1 80:4,23 83:10 83:11,13,19 83:23 84:5,12 85:13,16 86:10,20 87:16 88:9,16 88:21,25 89:4 89:5 91:3,11 91:17 92:15 93:14,20 94:2 95:7 96:13,17 96:22,23,24 98:2,5,5,9,16 98:20,23 99:9 99:10,15,19 99:20,22,23 99:25 100:1,2 100:4,7,13,17 100:20,24 101:1,3,24 102:1,19,23 102:24 103:4 103:19 104:8 104:13,18 105:21 106:21 107:6 107:9,10,20 111:12,15 112:7 healthy 157:6 health-related 91:15 hear 8:9,11,12 8:21 13:2,4 20:14 104:25 134:23 144:5 156:2 158:19	177:9 heard 26:9 27:14 62:6 93:1 94:6 95:4 96:22 151:8 158:15 164:22 hearing 27:21 29:5 82:1 heart 10:22 heavily 35:5 74:11,12 held 30:1 43:20 43:20 72:21 73:5 114:8 116:2 133:4 144:22 hell 150:23 159:8 169:11 Heller 60:2 help 8:3 16:5 22:17 38:19 61:20 62:4 66:11 86:22 87:10 90:6 104:12 155:12 helped 127:21 helpful 78:20 helping 57:16 Heroin 125:5 hey 149:13 he'll 38:18 hide 147:16 150:21 153:22 hiding 150:14 high 7:23 29:19 38:22 43:21 44:20,25 45:14,23 51:21,22 67:15 73:16 73:17,17 75:20 77:13 81:5 88:23	94:16 157:18 157:19,20 172:20,21 173:18,20,22 174:17 higher 45:21 47:25 62:15 63:20 76:12 highest 73:23 146:7 162:8 162:10 highly 97:10 118:20 highways 150:7 high-profile 93:11 hindsight 133:19 hire 17:5 hiring 72:18 132:17 Hispanic 20:7 historic 9:21 102:11 historical 41:1 41:5 historically 28:12 histories 40:24 history 34:2,20 34:23 67:6 88:20 93:19 103:6 118:6 126:14 141:12 hit 27:7 HIV 80:3 hodgepodge 158:5 Hogan 160:10 hold 36:8 99:18 132:24 holding 38:23 holds 113:16 home 6:22 22:8
--	--	---	--	---

H

51:6 55:2	hot 73:24	ID 156:17	illness 27:12	39:14,15,21
63:6 77:11,12	hot-spot 8:14	IDA 156:22	85:24 87:25	41:9 43:4
90:10 94:22	84:8,19	idea 116:17	91:20,22 92:9	44:4 45:10
142:1 167:5	135:11	122:3 132:22	92:10,17,22	68:20 69:23
homeless 112:7	165:12 166:1	136:23 137:4	93:6,10,18	80:14 91:21
124:8,9	hour 29:9,10	138:19	95:10,13,14	106:8 121:5
126:25 127:2	29:11,15	139:17,22	95:17 99:7,12	123:15,16
127:2,5	112:12	140:19	101:11 103:7	131:14
homes 15:12	hours 18:5	141:22 142:4	106:5,15	143:13 144:3
125:25 174:7	65:24,25 66:2	142:5 147:25	135:22	146:10
hometown 6:11	68:2,3,3,24	148:6,14,19	150:24	174:25
homicide 7:8	141:6,9 142:1	148:24	illnesses 91:24	importantly
70:22 81:7	149:9	149:21	92:11 94:4	19:20 48:2
169:4	house 24:23	156:20 161:2	96:13 136:10	68:1 116:13
homicides	26:20 28:22	162:5 163:4	169:1	128:25
23:19 24:2,13	77:6 89:4	163:10 166:2	ills 130:22	132:12
24:17,19	113:25	166:6 171:25	imagine 74:25	162:17
51:20 70:22	housekeeping	172:19	108:23	imposed
101:15	78:24	174:18	immediately	123:14
132:10	houses 18:11	175:13	71:21	impossible 17:6
honest 7:25	52:15	ideal 117:8	impact 25:16	improve
111:4	housing 42:16	147:18	28:15,24 45:1	119:18 120:1
honor 143:17	50:14 83:1	ideals 117:7	59:3,13 103:7	121:3,3
honored	87:16 144:17	142:13	104:6 140:12	130:13 140:7
112:24,24	huge 82:9	ideas 15:24	141:8 156:11	improved
114:1	95:18 96:3	16:6 153:12	162:6 163:3	120:18
hope 6:21 7:18	98:8 126:19	156:5 166:4	168:11 170:3	improving 14:3
19:18 33:10	133:13	identified	170:7	64:1 155:3
150:25	151:19	40:23 104:7	impacted 26:20	inaction 8:6
175:25	170:17	166:18	125:9	inappropriate
hopefully	human 24:19	identifies 31:20	impactful	122:23
174:11	45:8 98:8	identify 38:13	23:24	inaudible
hopeless 19:6	101:16	38:20 42:5	imperative	17:17 21:11
hopelessness	hundred 6:15	93:25 102:19	19:25 21:14	27:17 50:4,14
19:10 26:24	6:16 42:5	129:4 130:19	implement	53:23 55:14
hopes 45:21	77:1 118:15	132:22	71:21 156:3	55:17,23
hoping 77:24	121:12	identifying	implementati...	56:16 69:13
horrific 144:10	hundreds	31:15 38:17	60:8	120:8 124:24
145:4 146:6	124:17 126:2	100:20	implemented	129:2 133:9
165:25	137:12	102:23	65:22	135:13
hospital 88:22	hurt 94:22	136:22	importance	149:23
95:11,16	hybrid 33:23	identity 129:1	23:14 128:8,9	157:25
hospitals 95:12	34:10 36:5	148:9	important	158:17
hosted 5:19,21	56:12	ignore 150:25	11:22 12:10	163:12
22:19	<hr/> I <hr/>	III 4:6	31:2,22 33:6	164:15
hosting 59:19		ill 157:2 165:19	33:12 34:23	165:23,24

168:9 171:6 171:11 173:2 173:9,9,11 incarcerate 110:23 incarcerated 77:17,18 103:16 121:10 incarcerating 46:14 171:8 incarceration 46:11 55:19 57:1 105:25 106:7 Incarnate 59:9 incident 93:13 131:5 149:6 154:24 incidents 40:8 40:11 include 63:23 93:12 99:22 included 150:8 includes 19:24 97:24 including 10:6 13:4 49:25 73:1 127:9 138:18 141:22 inclusion 148:13 inclusive 150:12 income 62:5,25 increase 63:5 88:15 92:20 98:6,13 120:16 121:20,21 131:7 138:7 148:20 increased 92:12 124:13 132:13	increases 63:2 increasing 124:16 125:22 141:1 increasingly 124:11 125:20 126:4 141:21 173:10 incredible 23:6 incredibly 135:8 incremental 58:16 Independence 115:17 INDEX 2:1 indicate 31:19 39:9 51:21 indicative 35:18 indicators 95:3 individual 20:5 31:7,25 34:12 38:4,15,20 39:5 89:15 90:22 131:5 132:25 133:1 154:8 170:23 171:3,10 individually 30:25 individuals 6:2 9:16 23:15 31:4,12 32:12 32:18 33:7,18 33:25 34:6,17 36:20,25 37:6 37:16 38:5,12 38:23 39:25 40:23 41:11 41:18 44:6,8 45:22 46:13 46:17 48:3 49:6,7,18 50:12,22,25	51:2 52:23 53:2,11,13 54:3 55:1,22 56:6,11 57:2 57:6,12,21 77:10 83:14 83:17 111:13 124:10 168:3 173:6 industry 125:21 ineffective 130:12 ineffectively 119:8 inevitably 64:12 inexorably 58:20 influence 44:3 70:16 125:24 172:4 influences 117:4 informal 30:24 information 22:8 30:8 31:14 34:7 38:10 41:8,10 41:18 55:5,6 58:3 87:11 95:10 120:19 132:22,24 135:7,8 139:17,20,25 140:4 141:20 147:13 150:4 150:5 information/i... 139:21 informative 22:7 initial 133:11 initially 42:25 120:18 166:24	initials 35:9 36:24 initiative 12:15 175:7 initiatives 100:5 injuries 167:17 injustice 93:22 inmate 79:8 103:17 inmates 88:16 89:4 90:15 inner 7:12 121:22 122:19 125:4 175:1,2 innovations 140:14 innovators 8:21 inside 33:13 34:15 47:20 51:3 57:23 insightful 22:7 inspect 121:11 131:20,20 134:6 inspected 121:12,14 inspecting 131:22 134:7 installing 151:16 instance 33:25 34:11,11 36:9 37:9,16 42:1 55:17 instances 94:20 118:18,18 122:22 154:11 Institute 30:10 36:18 92:14 113:18 institution 33:22 46:12	institutions 88:13 124:18 instructor 30:8 79:15 insurance 99:13 integrating 101:25 integrity 32:1 intelligence 10:8 30:4,8 41:2,7,8,15 42:17 113:5 135:4,9,15 136:7,12 139:25 140:4 intentions 65:7 interact 90:14 interest 11:22 22:13 44:1 176:7 interested 29:4 112:13 interesting 73:10,19 108:15 interference 114:8 169:2 interfering 152:1 internet 38:1 38:10 49:22 49:23 50:2 intervention 96:11,16,19 101:20 105:8 106:9 171:17 interviewed 27:21 intimacy 164:6 intimate 169:15 intimately 169:16 intrigued 142:19
---	--	--	---	---

introduce 9:17 10:25	iPad 72:16	88:16 89:13	147:2 151:7	99:17,18
introductions 2:2	iPhone 63:7	89:22 90:9	151:11,13	118:1 137:13
intrusive 160:1	Iraq 162:3	92:1 93:2,5	171:14,15	Joe 121:2
invariably 156:24	ironic 160:19	93:14 102:19	January 39:22	John 113:19
investigation 109:20 131:17	ironically 137:6	102:23,25	Jean 100:1	171:21
investigations 121:2 130:10 147:15	Island 162:15	103:19 107:6	jeez 157:19	Johnny 142:22
investigative 113:4 130:11	isolation 90:21	107:9,15	Jeff 28:7,8	join 22:20 49:7 65:10 175:25
investigators 30:9 109:21	Isom 2:9 4:15	111:13 119:1	107:1	joined 5:24 9:16 10:1
investing 112:8	79:12,18	119:9,24	Jefferson 7:14	9:16 10:1
invite 16:22	80:10,13	122:9,15,16	12:23 16:5	116:24 118:5
inviting 25:25 80:13	81:21 82:2	125:2,25	25:5 44:2	joining 34:18
involuntarily 97:6,8	105:18 106:4	126:9 134:3	46:4 111:3	jointly 15:21
involuntary 97:4 98:17	107:21	148:10	Jennings 28:9	joke 150:15,18 155:18
involve 25:8 52:13 141:22	111:18	152:23	28:11,12,14	Jonathan 2:7 4:11 58:24
involved 18:3 20:22 27:15 39:23,24,25 40:8,12 48:13 52:3 59:4 65:19 72:12 89:14 138:11 154:24 166:21 171:25 173:7	issue 14:13 17:11 18:16 43:20 52:8 87:25 88:9 90:13 93:24 94:5 98:1,9 102:5 103:4 105:23 107:9 107:10,22 118:7 137:3 138:13 143:19 144:3 146:17 152:6 152:6 157:22 157:22 158:4 159:16 160:20 168:14 169:20 172:16,17	161:18 167:8 167:9 172:9	54:8,21,21	jointly 15:21
involvement 23:25 31:12 77:25	issues 13:3,10 14:5 18:19 22:6 25:15 27:9 28:10 46:21 51:18 53:5 57:16 59:12 80:23 81:11 83:11 83:13 84:2,6 84:13 85:7 86:19 88:16	iterative 96:25	Jerod 2:5 4:10 30:3,4,12	joined 5:24 9:16 10:1 116:24 118:5
involving 97:23 151:8 152:23		J	Jersey 154:3	joining 34:18
in-depth 30:17 158:18		J	Jim 122:1	jointly 15:21
in-the-door/o... 99:6		J	job 17:9,10 18:2 19:25 43:5 50:3 59:25 62:3,3 62:3,7,11,14 62:24 63:6 65:24 66:4,4 66:8,8,11 67:17 68:4,22 68:23 69:1,21 69:21 72:17 72:20 73:3,3 74:9,10,24,25 75:10,19 76:6 76:9 83:1 104:9 109:11 163:25 169:11	joke 150:15,18 155:18
		J	Jersey 154:3	Jonathan 2:7 4:11 58:24 59:1,17,22 71:13
		J	Jim 122:1	Jones 77:10
		J	job 17:9,10 18:2 19:25 43:5 50:3 59:25 62:3,3 62:3,7,11,14 62:24 63:6 65:24 66:4,4 66:8,8,11 67:17 68:4,22 68:23 69:1,21 69:21 72:17 72:20 73:3,3 74:9,10,24,25 75:10,19 76:6 76:9 83:1 104:9 109:11 163:25 169:11	journey 6:22 114:24
		J	Jersey 154:3	judge 97:7,12 147:8
		J	Jim 122:1	judges 43:24 97:9
		J	job 17:9,10 18:2 19:25 43:5 50:3 59:25 62:3,3 62:3,7,11,14 62:24 63:6 65:24 66:4,4 66:8,8,11 67:17 68:4,22 68:23 69:1,21 69:21 72:17 72:20 73:3,3 74:9,10,24,25 75:10,19 76:6 76:9 83:1 104:9 109:11 163:25 169:11	judicial 87:5
		J	Jersey 154:3	judiciary 25:2 43:12,18 44:3 44:11
		J	Jim 122:1	juggle 109:11
		J	job 17:9,10 18:2 19:25 43:5 50:3 59:25 62:3,3 62:3,7,11,14 62:24 63:6 65:24 66:4,4 66:8,8,11 67:17 68:4,22 68:23 69:1,21 69:21 72:17 72:20 73:3,3 74:9,10,24,25 75:10,19 76:6 76:9 83:1 104:9 109:11 163:25 169:11	Julie 5:9
		J	Jersey 154:3	July 67:21
		J	Jim 122:1	June 39:22
		J	job 17:9,10 18:2 19:25 43:5 50:3 59:25 62:3,3 62:3,7,11,14 62:24 63:6 65:24 66:4,4 66:8,8,11 67:17 68:4,22 68:23 69:1,21 69:21 72:17 72:20 73:3,3 74:9,10,24,25 75:10,19 76:6 76:9 83:1 104:9 109:11 163:25 169:11	junior 38:22 174:16,17
		J	Jersey 154:3	justice 22:15 47:24 58:15 73:12 79:16 80:24 82:15 83:17 86:16 102:6 107:3,8 115:6 116:17 126:12 128:24 130:18

131:16 138:7 141:13 142:11 173:7 justice-invol... 70:24 71:6 juvenile 42:15 48:25 73:11 juveniles 37:12	Kennedy's 113:20 kept 149:11 164:16 Kerr 100:1 key 12:22 19:11 26:21 kicked 99:13 kid 23:11 163:7 kidnapped 150:7 kids 19:17 27:7 67:24,25 106:1 109:22 127:21 150:7 157:16 162:7 162:8,19 163:8 164:9 172:5,21 173:17,19,22 173:24 174:2 174:4,7,9,13 174:16,23 175:1,8 kid's 173:4 kill 94:19,23 killing 53:16 kind 16:1 58:11 102:15 108:7 108:13 110:11 111:8 136:4 151:17 158:18 164:22 kinds 89:22 King 77:18 117:19 knew 123:24 123:24 134:12 knives 165:15 knock 148:23 know 12:1,7 13:9,12,23 14:2 18:21,22 21:5,19 23:2	27:5 28:12 35:3 48:22 49:11,11,20 52:23,25 53:15 57:6,19 78:2 79:18 81:16 82:3,8 83:21 85:1,7 86:7 87:6,11 88:24 97:17 99:16 100:15 102:17 103:11,25 104:1,5,8,12 104:25 105:12,23 106:11 107:3 107:17 108:11,14 109:9,25 110:1,5,6,6,8 110:8,10,10 110:22 111:23,23,25 126:16 133:5 133:7 143:22 144:1,1,5 151:2 154:9 155:10 158:7 160:5 162:18 163:9 170:25 171:9 knowing 120:14 138:3 knowledge 34:2 43:7 103:6 known 19:14 31:10 35:7,11 35:23 41:24 43:22 56:21 88:20 90:1 93:14 96:19 123:23 127:16 129:8 154:5 165:9	165:10,11 172:6 knows 163:12 164:8,8,8 Koster 2:2 4:3 5:5 12:8 16:16 21:21 22:2 24:22 25:25 29:7 42:21 44:20 46:1 47:6 48:9 51:14 53:21 55:10 58:7 71:12 78:14,19 81:23 88:1 91:8 101:5,7 102:3 105:16 107:12 110:13 111:6 112:10,20 143:8 147:1 155:25 158:13 170:6 171:14 175:18,21 KOSTER'S 1:1 3:1 Kroll 113:2	153:19 lacking 118:19 LAPD 141:24 163:16 large 18:19 34:14 56:4,4 58:2 82:14 86:24 150:11 largely 46:12 127:3 larger 12:11 43:12 115:6 120:13 126:12 164:9 largest 8:9 18:17 34:21 134:4,18 170:15 lastly 135:20 136:13 lasts 141:8 late 102:20 Latino 163:23 Latinos 162:12 Launch 100:18 launched 60:12 law 3:6 8:8 9:8 9:11,22 10:10 10:16,17 12:2 13:19 15:14 22:10 23:10 27:17 29:18 31:2 32:2 33:6 41:3 46:8 47:4 52:24 54:1,18 57:15 58:17 72:4 80:24 82:19 84:1,6 86:24,25 87:9 87:20,21 106:6 111:11 113:10 115:23,24 116:8,20,22 126:6 144:4	
K					
Kansas 4:4 5:20 6:15 7:5 10:11,13,21 12:17 13:7,11 13:16 16:22 22:6,18,23,24 26:1 46:2,18 46:21,25 51:17 60:6 107:14 114:18 127:10 143:14 151:8 164:22 keep 8:15 14:25 22:4 91:21 96:6 97:1 109:19 110:8 111:18 120:14 135:7 151:4 164:13 173:12 174:2 175:6 keeping 31:1 87:23 148:6,8 173:4 keeps 137:24 Kelling 119:15 122:1 123:2 128:6 Kelly 23:12 126:16 137:5 140:20 158:20 162:4 164:14 Kennedy 148:2					
L					
			LA 140:21 145:14,17 158:22 159:1 163:15,22 164:2,24 169:5 Lab 4:11 59:2 59:18,21,23 60:4,7,12 64:1 label 94:2 labeled 81:1 119:6 lack 95:4 104:2 118:1 153:17		

147:5 154:10 157:12 158:11,23 164:25 169:14 172:22 174:11 Lawn 27:2 54:24 laws 14:7 20:4 118:14 123:7 123:8 157:3 158:5 168:5,8 168:20,21 169:12 170:20 lax 14:7 lay 134:23 lead 15:3 128:13 leader 152:10 152:10 166:2 leaders 9:13 13:21 45:10 48:7 60:18 129:19 166:3 leadership 12:20,24 15:25 22:2 24:22 72:2 78:7 118:20 118:25 127:13,15 138:4 139:7 143:3 145:22 145:22,23 147:8 152:8 152:16 153:8 159:23 166:6 169:18,19,22 leading 8:12 33:11 58:20 113:3 leads 26:25 42:12 League 49:5	learn 21:17 29:5 62:12 130:25 166:12,13 learned 9:13 learning 13:11 13:12 63:24 63:25 65:25 66:5 72:4 leave 17:14 19:2 52:17 159:19 led 28:13 113:12 119:6 170:13 Lee 4:15 80:11 left 9:8 20:11 76:11,11 145:15 171:9 174:15 legal 10:12,15 62:8 67:17 156:10 legalization 156:8 legalized 109:1 legally 158:7 legislation 12:23 169:23 170:11 legislative 9:12 legislature 17:16 104:10 legislatures 104:3 legitimacy 116:10 123:17 138:7 142:10 legitimate 125:19 legitimately 127:5 legs 96:8,9,10 101:19 105:4 106:8 112:1	Lehr 3:7 177:5 177:12 length 103:23 lessor 55:15 letter 15:16,18 letters 133:11 let's 7:19,20,22 16:12 30:2 158:22 level 86:8 104:14,14 108:22 127:12 128:11 138:22,23 141:15 162:21 163:20 levels 139:13 145:20 Lexington 42:1 liberty 151:20 152:3 license 151:24 licensed 98:12 100:11 lies 154:12 Lieutenant 28:7 life 15:5 32:13 42:13 44:18 50:15 57:18 57:24 58:5 70:4 106:23 117:9,10,10 121:25 123:5 128:2,21 132:5 160:2 165:11,20 167:21 171:7 172:19,19 173:4,5,12 174:3 lifestyle 42:11 lifetime 92:16 life-changing	65:13 light 129:17 likelihood 173:8 limit 25:7 limited 48:18 62:19 105:2 106:2 108:19 limiting 101:12 limits 116:21 linchpin 167:21 line 21:6 80:9 158:23 lines 13:23 111:9 link 75:23 linked 92:12 linking 36:20 list 29:17,19 36:23 listed 40:2 96:25 listen 7:20 8:7 21:17 listened 105:20 listening 105:18 151:24 literacy 75:6 76:8 literally 57:9 little 13:4 23:3 26:10 27:7 34:23 39:6 41:20 61:24 66:24 71:17 73:4,8 77:22 79:1,1 80:20 104:22 108:16 135:24 168:8 live 15:11 20:14,16 39:10,13 42:6 50:25 51:3	55:7 110:5 115:13 lived 51:5 162:14,15 lives 6:18 8:5 9:5 24:19 58:17 77:14 90:11 living 54:5 126:25 128:7 141:25 load 82:23 86:22,24 loaded 173:25 local 91:18 98:18 104:14 127:12 133:24 143:2 located 174:18 locater 155:7 location 141:3 locator 155:11 155:24 locked 26:5 logic 58:20 London 118:9 151:21 long 10:11 66:22 82:18 86:14 121:7 162:15 163:7 longer 51:6 75:12 99:10 99:14 102:11 102:25 122:20 145:13 149:20 161:24 longest 9:19 longstanding 72:5 long-run 70:2 long-term 66:23 156:11 look 7:17 13:18
--	--	--	--	---

16:8 17:7,24	168:18,22	100:14	72:23 73:2,14	66:25
18:13 31:2	170:13	lottery 61:8	73:18,21,25	mainframe
32:18 38:24	173:13,14	65:22 67:1,3	74:1,2 77:14	133:13
44:10 50:7	lose 53:11,14	67:12 71:3	77:14 79:6,14	maintain 158:3
64:5 65:1	114:11	loud 46:3	79:15,19,22	major 8:22
68:13,25	129:16	Louis 1:9 2:4	80:25 81:4,6	15:4 99:14
69:17 80:18	130:12	3:4,5,6 4:4,5	81:12,16,18	113:11
81:11,12	134:12	4:7,9,14,17	81:20 82:16	138:12
82:11,21 83:8	losing 125:23	5:10,23,24,25	85:3,4 88:4,7	143:10
84:23 85:2,7	loss 53:9 124:7	5:25 6:17 7:6	91:11 94:13	majority 37:12
89:22 91:14	149:5 156:15	9:19,23,24	95:18 98:10	37:13 45:12
150:22,23	lost 8:5 53:8	10:5 11:1,7	98:13 107:17	49:24 56:18
153:24	118:17	11:12,12,23	107:22 108:3	56:24 92:6
155:20	126:13	12:1,5,17	110:5 114:2,6	101:14
166:17	132:16	13:15 15:14	114:15,19	134:17
looked 92:15	149:21	16:10 17:20	127:10	137:18,20
97:12 126:22	157:24	18:17 21:3,4	143:14,18	154:17
134:16	161:22	21:24 22:9,9	158:16 168:1	162:11,14
155:16	lot 13:3 16:3	22:10 23:16	168:7 175:24	makers 9:12
looking 29:5	26:25 27:19	23:18 24:2,5	177:3	making 21:9
43:15 56:6	37:3 46:20	24:10,16,16	low 20:8	56:13 63:16
58:11 68:11	48:6,14,14	25:2,6,21	lower 24:3 85:4	87:23 139:25
78:12 82:2	49:23 51:16	26:1,5,18	85:5 108:22	140:4 150:9
83:8,9,14	51:22,23 62:2	28:2 30:5,7	lowest 24:1	154:8
85:10,12	68:17 73:13	30:17,17 32:4	146:8	Malcolm
93:16 108:5	74:13 81:2,19	32:4,23 33:4	lunch 29:9,10	148:17
110:2,3	83:25 89:25	33:21,21,24	29:11,15	male 74:7
138:13	91:22 96:22	34:6 35:8,13	111:7 112:12	males 14:16
142:22	102:1 103:4,5	35:20 36:4,23	112:19	94:18
147:10	104:1 106:6	37:21,21 38:6	Luther 117:19	Malone 37:12
151:16	107:14 108:6	38:25 39:1,7	luxury 132:20	man 14:17
153:13	108:7,9,10	39:16,16,17	L.A 145:10	27:20 75:21
175:13	117:25	39:18 40:14		76:1 77:19
looks 110:17	127:21	40:17 41:23	M	89:6 97:10,13
137:11	145:21	42:4,14,17	machine 126:5	manage 21:12
Looney 157:3	148:15	43:8,25 44:22	mad 154:12	66:12 86:22
loopholes	153:11 155:6	45:12 46:21	magazine	88:17 109:8
48:20 49:10	155:14 156:3	46:24 47:10	122:3	managed 76:2
49:12,15,20	158:10	47:24 49:1	magic 145:24	80:2
Los 4:21 8:12	162:16 165:6	50:18,24 51:8	magnet 172:20	management
29:25 35:2,18	165:9,19	51:13,17	172:21	57:16 72:19
35:23 112:16	166:23	53:24 54:6	173:18,20	75:7 87:13,17
113:9 142:2	167:20	55:1,20 56:8	174:12,12,13	96:8,17
145:2 146:20	169:12 172:9	56:18 60:17	Magnificent	manager 75:13
155:8,17	173:16	61:22 68:21	142:22	managers 75:7
160:25 168:5	lots 37:3	71:19 72:7,21	main 36:6,6	mandate 132:1

159:11	9:19,20,22	64:3 95:15	meetings 48:6	91:15,17,20
mandates	10:11,13 11:6	105:1	57:25 175:22	91:22,23 92:9
123:9	11:23,24 13:6	meant 127:25	melanoma	92:10,14,17
mandatories	13:17,18	139:5	136:11	92:19,22,23
171:13	16:18,21,24	measurable 9:1	member 31:15	93:6,10,14,18
mandatory	19:1 21:20,21	measure 67:4	31:21,25 33:2	93:20 94:2,4
53:6,14	22:19,23,25	measured	33:5,18 34:12	95:7,10,13,14
168:21 170:3	44:14 47:6,7	118:12 121:5	40:9,12 52:13	95:16 96:12
170:6,8	47:17 48:4	121:6 135:2	56:19,20,23	96:17,22,24
manifest 103:1	51:14,15 52:6	measures 60:1	163:8	98:1,5,5,16
mantra 115:10	52:21 53:3,20	measuring	members 31:5	98:19,23 99:7
map 50:23	71:19 80:9	122:4,5	31:10,13 32:5	99:9,10,12,19
53:23 73:25	81:21 103:21	mechanisms	32:5,15,23,24	99:22,25
mapping 129:5	107:1,12,13	153:3,20	33:8 34:6	100:4,7,13,17
March 10:12	108:2 111:9	media 37:19	37:1,14,14	100:20,24
67:22 177:16	114:16	38:16 45:17	38:2,6 39:9	101:2,11,25
marijuana	131:25	47:18 49:22	39:18 40:1,5	102:19,23,24
156:9,10,19	132:16	138:18 139:7	40:19 41:4,19	103:4,7,19
156:24 157:7	143:11,25	150:2 152:16	42:5,15 45:10	104:8,13
157:10 158:4	145:22 147:1	153:9,11	46:11,14 50:8	106:5,15,21
Mark 74:3	147:2 151:7	mediating	51:4,22,24	107:6,9,20
marquee 23:9	151:11,13	85:20	52:1,7,10,22	111:12,15
Martin 117:18	161:17,20	Medicaid 99:16	53:25 54:4	112:7 124:10
marvel 142:18	164:22	104:4	74:19,20	124:18 125:2
mass 93:7,8,16	171:14,15	medical 101:9	78:25 90:14	127:5
93:24	mayoral	156:10	164:8 168:24	mention 26:3
Master's 59:14	159:16	medication	174:1	134:18
mater 12:2	mayors 6:2	89:11 90:3	membership	mentioned
materials 31:17	11:17 13:8	medications	33:3 56:5,7	29:16 57:14
Maternal	114:18 138:4	89:1 99:2,4	56:11	75:14 87:15
100:13 101:1	145:11	medicinal	memory 60:7	mentor 66:11
mathematical	Mayor's 72:1	157:1,7	men 42:11,19	173:4 175:11
145:8	72:12 77:6	medicine 61:12	46:13 49:23	mentoring 78:8
mathematics	175:24	136:17,18	51:7 126:2	172:25 173:1
59:7	McDonnell	145:21	mental 2:9 4:14	mentors 174:14
matter 12:15	11:5	149:24,25	8:16 14:14	mentorship
45:9 78:25	mean 21:10	157:3 168:14	27:9,11 29:13	19:11
94:25 102:14	35:10 42:7	medicines	29:14 79:4	merged 144:16
115:11	47:11 50:14	131:11	80:23 83:10	MERS 72:16
116:18,19	56:4 92:10	mediocrity	83:11,13,19	73:7 74:14
169:13	109:18 110:5	25:4	83:22 84:5,12	78:5
mattered	meaningful	meds 97:15	85:13,16,24	message 47:19
117:10	156:16	meet 42:17	86:10,19	met 31:24
matters 95:1	157:25	77:21 91:6	87:16,25 88:9	77:14 115:20
mayor 4:4,4	means 19:17	meeting 73:20	88:16,20,25	methods 34:8
5:19,21 9:18	30:19 46:8	75:18	89:4,5 91:3	104:19

metro 26:18 141:23	minimums 170:3,7	misunderstood 138:16	67:20 70:7 99:3 133:14	municipality 54:16
metropolitan 4:6 10:1,14 10:22 18:20 21:24 26:17 30:5 40:15 79:19 81:18 98:10 118:9	ministering 173:6	mixed 36:13,16	133:15 136:15 167:1	murder 6:23 7:1,2,5,10,11 70:3
mic 116:5	minor 122:8,15 128:5	mixing 34:6	morning 5:5,6 5:8 11:24,25	murders 6:15 6:17,24 7:1,6 23:23 24:3,4 26:13 126:17
microphone 79:1 81:21 114:2,8	minorities 161:4 162:11	MO 177:12	16:12,13 21:25 22:1 25:22 27:19 30:2,15 91:12	mute 151:3
mid 172:2	minority 137:14,19	mobs 153:10	93:1 94:6 95:5 96:23	<hr/> N <hr/>
middle 102:20	minuses 152:19	model 50:20 51:8 58:12,14 102:12	105:19,20 112:11 176:3	nails 165:8
Mike 72:2	minute 55:13 57:8 73:9	modelled 136:4	mother 77:16	name 30:24 38:16 88:5 130:3
mile 85:6,11	minutes 141:7	modern 89:10	mothers 174:6	named 10:4
miles 145:6,7 155:9	Miranda 123:12	modified 138:20	Mount 97:18	names 23:9,12
military 116:25 116:25 124:14 125:5	mirror 7:17	moment 13:3 23:7 94:8	move 58:5 80:8 85:20 102:19 122:25	narcotic 45:8
million 18:20 59:10 100:7 100:18 126:18 137:12 141:24 144:12 145:4 149:5 158:1 165:21 169:8 169:10	misconceptio... 35:12,17	momentum 156:14 158:12	139:19 147:24 150:24 154:16 159:12	narcotics 37:4 56:7,7 122:9 126:24 166:25,25 167:2,4
millions 38:10 137:11	missing 90:5 91:1	money 56:14 72:22,24 73:4 105:24,24 111:17,24 151:15 152:17 173:14,16	moved 32:20 45:1 119:10 120:12 125:6 139:17 140:4	nation 112:17 143:20
mind 31:2 63:12 91:22 109:13,13	mission 25:18	monetor 28:19 89:8,11 90:18	movement 117:18,19,21 171:2	national 30:10 36:7,18 83:9 92:14 98:5,16 113:18 133:23 141:15
minds 14:23	Missouri 1:1 3:1,5,7,9 4:3 4:4,4,5 9:11 10:15 12:12 15:13 22:1 24:25 30:22 32:8 33:9,13 34:4 41:3 72:24 79:10 79:13 80:1 83:2 88:12 95:15 99:16 143:14 168:8 177:2,14	monitored 33:19	movie 35:17,19 84:25 118:16 121:19 140:5 140:15,17 142:14,24 148:4 157:11 163:6	nationally 59:20
mine 10:11 53:22 148:2	misdemeanor 82:13	monitoring 78:2 87:10 173:1	moving 28:14 121:19 140:5 140:15,17 142:14,24 148:4 157:11 163:6	nationwide 33:25 36:5,18
miniature 144:24	missing 90:5 91:1	monitors 30:6	MRSA 74:24	nation's 7:20
minimal 52:12	Missourians 6:11	monolithic 130:23	multiple 57:22	nature 35:9 147:6 157:17
minimum 65:24 66:2 75:13 170:8	Missourian 7:13	month 42:18	multiplication 175:16	nearly 92:24 101:17
	Missouri's 7:10	monthly 122:2	municipalities 21:2 54:24	necessarily 111:21 128:12 139:5
	mistake 161:21	months 23:3		necessary 138:6 162:23

need 15:1,12 16:2,22 17:7 17:15,24 18:7 18:8,10,13,14 18:23 19:12 19:17 20:20 43:17,18 46:5 46:6,16 50:14 51:2 53:15 80:19 84:24 85:10,17 86:18 87:18 89:17 91:19 92:3 97:3,4,6 98:3,13 99:5 99:17 104:9 104:23 105:14,14 111:20 112:1 112:2 116:9 116:11,15 125:17,18 133:2,3 141:21 148:9 161:7 165:6	neglect 128:5 neighbor 109:17 neighborhood 15:9 41:17 48:6 50:20,23 51:7,12 63:8 116:18 120:7 120:11 122:13 123:23 124:21,24 127:22 128:11,18 130:3,19,20 142:2 147:19 147:20,23 150:6 163:6 163:11 173:25 neighborhoods 16:7 18:1,10 36:2 41:12 52:24 63:4 73:9,15 74:1 74:3 75:15 77:24 124:3 125:9 130:25 137:19 network 62:13 100:21 never 18:6 25:7 120:14 158:1 162:14 163:19 164:4 175:14 new 4:20 6:23 7:1,8 8:1,11 8:20 9:2 25:15 29:24 35:21 36:20 47:1 60:17 61:23 68:21 76:4 85:5 100:5 103:6,6 110:17	112:15 113:8 113:12 124:8 124:14 126:15 127:4 127:8 130:4 131:23 132:2 132:15,25 133:21 134:3 134:7 135:13 137:3,5 138:9 138:22 139:9 140:20 142:11,12,15 144:9,13 145:6,9,18 146:23 148:15,25 149:1 154:3 158:21 159:1 159:3,15,17 160:16,19,24 161:12 162:14,19 163:1,14,19 164:9,12,24 165:18 166:15,16 167:6,14,15 168:5,17,17 169:6,9 170:21 171:19 172:7 172:15,20 newest 8:15 news 93:7 151:6,6 nice 22:8,9 nicknames 38:3 night 28:22 nights 155:8 nine 23:3 67:20 70:6 118:10 Ninety 98:19 98:23 ninth 7:10,11	10:9 nobody's 149:13 nominated 77:7 non-domestic 40:6 non-profit 74:21 non-violent 86:10 normal 6:21 101:15 106:23 north 3:6 28:8 28:14 54:14 54:25 74:2 77:14 northern 54:14 Northwoods 11:6 54:25 NOTARIAL 177:1 Notary 3:8 177:13 note 24:7 74:14 notification 87:8 notion 65:5 notoriety 143:16 not-for-profit 75:23 November 11:3 NSA 141:15 number 13:8 23:20 24:2 29:11,12,13 52:11 73:23 80:21 84:21 85:2,9,10 95:14 101:10 110:16,21 128:15 134:7 134:10 142:7 143:22 144:1	144:2,6 145:8 145:24,24 146:8,23 147:12 153:25 161:20 numbers 24:18 51:21 53:15 81:9,13 82:3 84:15,23 96:3 122:6 124:16 125:22 137:15 138:25 139:6 146:16 147:11,11 164:10 numerous 10:6 nurture 175:11 NYPD 133:14 166:7 <hr/> O <hr/> Oakland 138:10 146:2 146:2,8 159:2 oath 136:24 Obama 34:12 obligation 115:15 137:1 159:23 obscene 157:9 obscenely 7:23 observation 89:18 observations 31:12 observed 31:16 obvious 46:3,3 46:15 obviously 31:25 32:19 34:20 69:20 occasionally 57:10 occupy 7:14
--	--	---	--	---

occur 36:10 92:3	164:7 174:19 177:6	old 8:2 10:10 33:4 103:12	116:23 142:20 156:2	21:9 39:17 47:19 50:25
occurred 22:18 81:25 130:11	officers 22:24 24:24 28:21	121:2 142:11 142:15	opposed 46:13 85:21 90:25	54:5 outstanding
occurring 125:12	28:21 31:3 33:6 41:9,10	150:13 160:19	102:8 105:25	16:14 42:22 43:5 58:10
October 10:2 160:10	44:9,10 46:16 46:25 47:4,22	172:24 oldest 33:5	optimism 148:13	72:20 outwardly
offender 43:13 43:21 44:11	50:21 54:8,23 55:5,6 57:11	once 39:1 45:13 62:11 67:11	optimistic 71:9 71:9	101:15 outweigh 69:24
45:13 103:17 168:2,10	81:14,14,19 82:6,22,22	67:14 90:8,17 90:18 103:8	option 98:15 order 5:7 20:20	70:6 overall 122:6
176:5	85:3,5,6,7,10 86:8 87:14	124:4 125:4 136:6,13	31:24 48:2 60:19 98:6	127:3 132:10 overcrowded
offenders 31:5 33:16,21 40:3	89:7 106:16 132:17	155:19 ones 13:11 51:5	100:24 108:20 123:8	170:19 overloaded
40:24 43:24 44:23 47:23	140:10 144:11,14,21	150:12,13,13 157:10	154:3 ordinances	84:15 87:24 oversees 59:10
58:13 73:11 82:17,18,25	145:3,8,10,12 146:3,4,16,21	ongoing 30:22 68:11 78:1	118:14 organization	oversight 74:17 74:19
83:4 90:7	147:20,23 152:15 159:7	88:10 online 74:15,16	30:22 35:7,15 37:7 76:23	oversubscrib... 61:5
offense 171:4	159:24 161:16,16,23	open 25:15 38:9 82:14	organizations 42:13 57:22	overwhelmed 128:1
offenses 86:10 86:10	162:13,19 163:6 164:6	153:21 opened 5:10	82:10 97:25 138:12	overwhelming 45:12 56:5,18
offer 60:24 69:25 71:6	164:12 172:16,22	opening 2:2 11:20	organized 45:6 45:7 167:9	56:24 127:8 owner 53:7
98:7	officer-moun... 152:25	Operation 162:6	organizing 12:8	owners 53:19 ownership
offered 67:12 67:13 69:21	official 9:9 12:15 113:11	operations 10:4 10:8 123:11	origin 52:2 original 71:5	50:20 51:8 148:6,8
70:14	officials 13:20 29:18 112:16	opinion 53:13 57:20 170:22	originally 142:6	O'Fallon 74:3
offering 91:4	oftentimes 82:25 125:21	opportunities 14:4 15:3	ought 87:3 109:1	<hr/> P <hr/>
offers 69:1	128:11 154:1 154:2,8 155:4	17:12 19:22 20:19 72:10	outcome 19:9 61:2	pace 154:17 paid 75:12
office 10:7 48:1 72:1,12 77:6	oh 16:12 136:11	104:13 115:5 150:2,8	outcomes 69:21 outgrowth	painful 58:10 58:16
82:13 85:18 132:16	155:20 Ohio 159:11	opportunity 16:17 22:7	71:19 outgunned	paints 71:8 pair 64:8 86:20
134:16 137:7 137:8 175:24	160:16,21 okay 26:8	32:11 51:9 63:5,9 67:17	126:8 outline 160:12	pairing 86:25 pairs 162:19
officer 22:22 108:23	97:25 99:5 101:7 116:5	106:12 114:6 114:14,19	outlines 161:10 outreach 96:14	PAL 48:24 Pam 101:5
113:22 117:1 117:5 122:21			outside 15:9	102:16
127:19 149:9 154:8,9,10,19				
154:20 155:16				
160:10 164:4				

103:21 106:8 111:18 Pamela 2:10 4:17 79:21 91:9,10 panel 2:6,11,14 4:2 10:19 78:25 panhandling 126:25 paper 20:15 paperwork 108:24 Parade 37:12 paradigms 8:2 paragraph 38:18 paraphernalia 31:9 parents 6:19 77:15 100:19 Park 73:19 parked 26:4 parking 20:18 parks 127:2 parole 28:21 32:8,9,25 82:21,24 83:3 85:19 86:21 86:22,23 87:1 87:3,13,21 88:13 96:24 97:23 173:9 part 13:25 23:8 26:21 27:10 27:12 40:18 48:23 52:20 55:20,24 57:13 70:13 76:7 83:17 106:21 108:2 115:6 126:19 136:24 143:13 163:3 169:22 176:5 partake 36:25	participant 69:25 participants 4:2 70:19,19 73:11 participate 31:9 61:6,14 65:24 66:2 67:2,9,13,24 67:25 71:2 participated 50:21 61:13 67:8 68:19 74:6 170:12 participating 58:1 62:6 participation 42:12 61:17 particular 21:18 54:16 61:5 89:9,15 90:15 91:7 138:3 141:9 143:21 168:23,25 169:1 particularly 12:11 78:25 104:7 121:22 124:4 125:3 126:8 132:20 132:24 144:4 150:1,22 152:21 155:17 156:7 172:7 parties 36:9,11 37:15 partner 10:11 10:16 50:15 50:17,20 partnered 75:4 partnering 60:13,16,21 partners 42:10 87:5 100:1	128:25 partnership 16:19 18:9 57:20 72:11 130:17,18 131:4 132:14 136:21 143:1 143:2,3 153:8 partnerships 15:12 24:21 86:3,4 87:14 partner's 64:11 partook 37:13 parts 29:1 53:25 85:12 partum 101:2 party 36:22 72:15 pass 16:5 passes 75:16 pasts 32:19 path 9:14 33:11 135:13 168:3 168:10 174:14 patient 130:23 138:4,23,24 165:17,19 168:25 patients 99:10 130:22 139:14 145:20 168:14 patrol 34:8 54:14,14 55:6 84:8 120:3,13 130:8 149:14 patrolling 155:9 patrols 82:8 pattern 23:18 31:1 129:3 157:21 pat-down 159:13	pay 78:5 111:1 111:1 136:2 149:7 paying 67:17 76:12 136:3 149:2,14 peace 35:1 106:18 peak 23:19 63:17 Peel 118:8 163:11 Peel's 142:13 peer 96:18 penalties 168:21,23 Pennsylvania 60:3 Penrose 74:3 pension 117:11 people 8:3 13:19 14:8,15 14:24,25 17:20 18:6,20 18:23 19:3,4 19:12 20:1,9 21:1,4,7 27:6 28:4,19 39:24 46:13 47:10 48:14 49:13 50:13 51:2,22 51:23 57:3 60:18 61:6 65:9 72:6 73:12,17 74:8 74:13,15 75:16,19,19 75:24 76:1,5 76:6,9,11,13 76:17,18 77:5 78:10 80:21 82:17,24 83:6 83:11,12,24 83:25 84:3,7 84:10,16,18 84:21,25 85:2	85:9,15,15,20 85:25 86:5,9 86:18 87:2,7 87:9,18,22 92:6,9,17,19 92:23 93:25 95:9,11,15,19 95:25,25 96:6 97:3,5,6,20 97:25 98:2,14 99:6,11,17,21 100:16,25 101:10,15 102:19 104:2 104:25 106:24 107:4 107:5 108:6 108:10,17,17 108:18 109:9 110:16,18,21 110:25 112:13 117:25 118:1 121:9 124:12 125:2,22,24 126:18 127:1 127:5 141:25 142:6 144:12 145:4 148:20 148:21,21 149:2,14 152:15 153:4 153:9 154:17 157:2,8 159:18 165:21 166:21 169:9 169:10,22 172:18 173:12 people's 100:1 152:1 percent 15:5 23:20,21 24:6 33:1,1,18 40:10 67:12
--	---	--	---	--

67:14 68:18	106:15	37:17,18 38:9	165:7	10:22 11:11
70:18 74:6,7	113:10	38:12,13	planned 97:23	11:13 14:20
74:7,8,9 76:6	personal 50:6	phrase 43:14	planning 10:8	15:20,22 17:3
76:8,17,21,24	55:16,17 56:2	127:3	60:8	17:5,5,8,25
77:1 83:4,10	56:16	physical	plans 23:4	18:2,4,8
83:12,16	personally	103:10 136:6	44:11 66:15	21:23,24
88:20,23,24	25:16 55:16	physician	plate 151:24	22:22 23:2
92:8,18,19	persons 30:23	138:2	platform	24:24 25:11
95:11,13 96:1	39:22 40:2	Ph.D 59:5	152:14,18	25:20,21
96:3 98:2,19	person's 50:23	pick 49:13	153:4,8,13	27:15,18,18
98:23 99:19	64:14 157:21	63:10	169:23	27:22 29:23
99:25 100:13	161:13	picked 73:15	play 15:9 41:12	29:24,25 30:6
100:25	perspective	73:16	52:8 56:6	31:11 40:15
109:18	24:1 115:4	picture 39:15	58:2 96:16	43:8,25 44:9
132:10,11	133:6,7	71:9,9	103:10	46:16 47:22
137:9,9	157:21	pictures 37:5	147:11	48:2,24,25
138:25	161:13,14	pie 112:3,3,5	153:16	49:5 50:1,9
161:18 169:4	164:14	140:25	played 12:22	50:17,18,20
173:21,21,23	168:19	piece 12:23	players 38:22	53:9,12 54:13
175:14	phase 128:14	63:21 78:3	please 78:22,22	54:17 66:19
percentage	phenomenal	91:1,1,4 95:6	pleasure 75:18	73:21 79:19
40:21 88:22	74:24 117:17	pieces 112:3	plots 140:1	79:19 81:14
perception	118:4 121:18	piggyback 88:8	plus 14:20 59:5	82:6 85:19
20:3,8,13	123:18	pillars 115:19	60:10 63:13	86:20,21
26:9,10	140:18	pilot 61:22	66:4,8 68:23	87:14 93:3
performed	141:12,14	63:13 73:6	pluses 152:19	96:7,20 105:6
64:6	150:9 159:3	Pine 27:2 54:24	pockets 167:11	105:9 109:7
period 114:24	174:5	pioneered	point 28:4 33:9	109:18,25
117:12 126:6	phenomenally	140:20	42:8 43:1	110:7 111:24
141:3 163:16	139:22	pistols 126:5	46:2,18 61:15	112:14,16
163:21	phenomenon	pizza 171:3,3	62:17 68:20	113:7,8,9,22
Perish 148:3	36:7 124:8	place 12:6 16:7	68:22,24	113:23
152:5	philanthropic	20:18 36:6	80:17 94:8	114:17,22
permanent	74:21	48:21 49:6,23	148:18	115:5,7,11,21
76:12	philosophy	105:5 110:12	149:22	115:23 116:7
permanently	130:4	118:23	166:16	116:9,11,14
69:19,19	phone 15:18	137:11	pointed 20:6	116:15,20,24
persistent	79:1	140:14 154:1	pointing	117:1,4,8
69:16 70:8	photograph	154:7	102:13	118:5,9,10,11
persists 69:4	36:22 38:7,16	placed 45:13	pointless 14:19	118:22 119:2
person 19:16	38:21 39:2,7	95:1	poisoning 15:4	119:3,7,8,10
35:24 39:23	photographs	places 12:19	police 4:6,6,7,7	119:18,24
40:4 43:7	31:18 37:22	52:17 54:7	4:20,20 5:19	120:1,5,6,12
53:7 56:21	38:2,23	85:11 96:16	5:22 6:1,3	120:19,22
65:11 75:9	photos 36:12	97:3 112:8	7:21 8:10,11	122:3,14,21
76:2 94:18	36:12 37:9,11	plan 14:25	10:2,3,4,7,9	123:3,7,12,16

123:22,24,24	172:24 174:6	150:21	91:7 96:2	potentially
124:1,3,7,7	174:18,19,20	152:11,22	124:14 126:8	70:20
125:13 126:7	174:21 175:6	157:23 158:6	126:9,25	poverty 99:19
126:11	175:24	159:24 161:5	127:3 157:6	101:4 117:25
127:12,19,20	policed 121:15	165:4,10,12	171:23,24	119:23
128:2,10,13	policies 15:21	166:1,2,14	172:2,13	powers 159:25
128:15,16,21	20:5 45:2	174:24 175:2	populations	160:1
129:12 130:7	46:10 60:15	policy 9:12	170:16	practice 23:10
130:8,17,18	60:19,20,23	48:21 59:6	portion 5:13,24	135:1
131:14 132:1	62:21 67:16	60:18 61:5,7	portrayals	practiced 9:22
132:14,15,19	153:2	62:18 66:23	117:15	practicing
132:24	policing 2:12	70:12 102:8	portrayed	130:3
133:20 134:5	4:15,18 8:13	102:13 144:2	117:14	prayers 22:23
134:18,25	8:14 14:21,22	policymakers	pose 98:14	precinct 28:8
135:1 136:2	29:20 79:12	7:14 43:18	poses 38:23	133:1,16,24
138:4,12,15	80:12 81:12	44:2 46:4	position 11:3	134:11,13,14
138:18 140:9	82:2,9 84:8	60:14,22	11:11 79:18	135:6 144:21
140:10,11	84:19 107:15	policymaking	79:23 128:16	161:22,25
141:23 142:3	112:22	58:18	141:9	precincts
142:8,14	113:14	Polio 148:23	positions 30:1	132:25
143:20,21	114:20 116:6	polite 90:10	43:23	144:20
144:6,7,11,17	116:23 117:7	political 118:25	positive 18:14	161:22 162:9
144:18,21,24	117:12 118:6	127:13	172:11	162:10
144:24 145:6	118:10,14,17	129:19 143:3	positives	167:12
145:9,23,25	119:13,14	145:22 147:7	152:14	preconceived
146:9,9 147:8	123:21	152:16	Posse 42:3	21:19
147:9 148:7	127:16,17,19	161:17,19	possess 31:9,11	predict 141:2
149:1,7	127:23	169:19	31:17 34:19	predictive
150:11,15,16	128:18,18	politically	38:7	140:18
152:8,10,15	129:9,25	43:16	possession	142:25 147:5
152:22	130:2,3,15,16	politician	38:18	predominantly
153:16,18	131:2,3,13	143:23	possibility 26:6	36:17 39:12
154:3,7,20,23	134:25	polling 163:21	26:8	pregnant
155:21 157:5	135:11,17,23	poor 124:17	possible 23:1	103:11
159:6,9,23,24	135:24	137:18	80:7 81:24	preliminary
160:8,10,13	136:16,18,20	poorly 98:22	163:10	76:16
160:22 161:3	136:25 138:5	poplar 35:19	possibly 91:16	prepared 93:8
161:9,13,15	138:6,14	popular 105:5	post 38:19 45:9	presence 96:20
161:21,23	139:18 140:2	111:4	45:15,24	120:10 124:4
162:12	140:6,18	popularity	101:2 124:15	124:7
163:24 165:4	141:12,17,19	108:15	pot 108:17,23	present 89:19
165:9,21	142:17,25	population	109:1,6	presentation
166:2,3,6	143:6 147:5,5	33:2 34:15	potential 59:25	42:22 43:2,3
167:8 169:7	147:17 148:4	70:23 71:5	71:10 91:14	51:16 55:11
169:18	148:5,12,12	79:9 83:4,14	135:22	58:9 70:11
172:10,11,22	149:25	88:19,24 89:9	140:19	126:17

presentations 2:3 62:6 102:4 177:8	114:16 previously 79:9 pre-existing 99:10,13 prides 157:5 primarily 81:20 primary 95:12 96:15 98:21 99:22,24 100:3 103:13 principles 118:10 142:13 Prior 9:21 10:3 11:4 79:17 priorities 128:20 131:1 134:15 prioritize 108:5 priority 43:23 134:8,11 144:2,3 priority-orie... 108:20 prison 31:20 32:7 83:3 87:9 170:15 170:17 prisoner 8:16 prisoners 152:24,24 prisons 14:14 83:11 86:1 88:10 prison-like 124:19 privacy 151:19 152:2 private 100:1 173:15 privilege 114:14,21 privileged 115:12 proactive 54:9	54:13,23 71:23 probably 55:15 55:23 64:3 66:24 90:24 104:21 106:17 111:19 146:22 158:21 164:14 165:13 168:16 probation 28:18,19,20 28:21 32:8,9 32:24 82:21 82:24 83:3 85:19 86:19 86:21,21,23 86:25 87:3,10 87:12,21 88:13 96:24 173:9 problem 6:7 27:12,24 35:13 46:17 75:9 80:19 83:18 93:21 96:2 98:23 103:8 105:11 110:25 124:9 124:9 125:3 144:10 149:12,18 163:5 165:14 165:25 171:20 problematic 156:18 157:23 174:8 problems 5:17 7:12,13 8:9 28:10 80:22 85:24 87:8 89:19 93:23	97:12 104:20 125:7 128:10 128:12,12 129:1 131:5 145:5 157:15 157:16 175:13 Problem-orie... 135:17 problem-solv... 149:17 procedural 116:17 138:7 142:11 procedures 153:2 proceeding 116:20 proceedings 5:1 177:9 process 9:4 18:3 20:22 32:1 57:7 74:15 76:15 85:12,14,18 86:1,4 87:5,8 87:11 89:6 90:4 97:24 107:7,8 136:23 146:24 149:9 processes 111:17 productive 16:8,9 profession 114:22 115:5 115:9 120:5 126:11,12,12 professional 35:10 119:4 119:12,14 120:2,2 123:3 130:5,6 139:18 professionali...	119:5,17 142:15 professionali... 123:16 professionals 89:14 118:20 professional's 161:14 professor 4:15 79:12,14 80:11 88:8 profiles 41:17 profiling 154:4 158:24 profound 26:24 program 25:13 28:13,16,16 59:5 60:9,11 60:24,25 61:9 61:10,13,14 61:17,18,21 61:22 62:11 62:22 63:13 63:14,14,15 63:18,22 64:7 65:20 67:2,11 67:13,15,20 67:21,24 68:1 68:19,21 69:17,20,22 70:1,2,7,8,17 71:4,18,18 72:5,6,8 74:6 74:9,11,17,22 74:25 75:2,11 75:11,12,25 76:5,7,11,18 76:19,22,25 77:1,7 78:3,4 78:6 80:2 113:19 127:23 156:22 163:3 164:16 168:9 173:23,23
---	--	---	---	---

174:5,11,16 174:22 175:4 programs 2:7 4:11 15:2 23:25 25:11 27:15 29:12 48:24 49:5 57:18 58:24 59:3,25 61:25 63:11,23 69:18 70:13 71:10 75:7 96:15 100:15 127:22 164:19 172:23,24 173:14,17 174:3,9 175:4 program's 69:24 70:6 progress 102:1 progressive 57:1 102:9 prohibit 50:3 project 35:11 60:3 100:18 100:18 103:2 138:10 projectors 135:25 projects 104:24 prominent 29:18 promise 8:25 9:1,4 131:1 promised 36:1 promises 115:19 143:5 promote 49:4 74:12 promoted 74:12 proof 130:11 130:11 proper 139:7 properly	105:22 property 69:8 90:20 106:18 174:4 proponent 155:2 proposed 15:17 172:15 Proposition 72:24 prosecute 48:3 53:2 Prosecuting 84:1 prosecution 41:2 82:11 87:21 96:21 106:7 prosecutions 121:9 prosecutors 86:9 prostitution 122:9 126:24 165:23 protect 18:9 94:23 protected 161:9 protecting 20:14 120:9 protection 34:18 36:2 48:15 49:8 protested 119:1 proud 12:3,4 75:18 76:10 77:20 115:9 164:15 proudly 113:21 proven 105:13 provide 34:7 47:4 58:4 66:6 75:16,24 78:4,6 101:17 106:24	provided 51:19 72:17,19,23 72:25 98:20 98:24 provider 64:8 64:19 98:21 100:21 111:12 providers 64:6 100:4,4,21 provides 61:17 99:8 113:4 providing 99:24 provisions 160:17 provocative 108:16 Psych 98:25 100:12 psychiatric 92:5,7,11 98:11,12 100:11 103:14 psychiatrist 89:5 psychosis 93:21 psychotropic 89:1 public 2:9 3:8 4:14 22:14 25:3 42:14,17 43:17 49:1,2 59:6 66:18 73:14 79:4,17 79:24 94:16 101:24 102:7 102:13 104:17 106:1 115:15,18 131:18 141:22 144:3 147:7 150:22 152:16	154:20 158:11 167:13 173:14 177:13 publish 9:10 published 113:24 pull 120:21 149:8 173:8 173:11 pulled 72:15 172:18 punch 141:25 punched 64:22 punches 64:18 punching 64:15 punishing 102:9 punishment 44:12,16 46:9 58:11,12,14 86:13 102:11 170:25 punk 65:2 purchased 76:1 purposefully 74:12 purposes 133:25 pursue 75:21 77:12 push 7:22 150:4,5 put 7:19 16:6 17:5 38:21 48:21 84:4,14 95:7 105:6 127:22 129:5 132:21,23 140:7 141:4,7 144:19 150:6 150:18 153:25 154:6 162:8 163:11	172:9 puts 160:6 putting 22:2 85:7,15 106:6 107:4 108:17 108:18 110:3 111:16 p.m 112:17 176:9 <hr/> Q qualified 99:23 quality 14:4,16 121:25 128:2 128:20 132:4 165:11,20 167:21 quality-of-lif... 126:21 question 43:6,9 43:14 47:11 47:12,12 48:23 49:9 50:5,6 52:20 55:12,18,25 61:20 62:17 64:20 69:23 102:22 108:3 111:5,7 152:4 158:20 159:7 160:16 161:7 163:18 164:20 167:25 170:2 questioned 164:23 questioning 159:13 162:22 questions 48:12 107:16 147:4 158:15 158:20 quick 17:2 24:9 64:4 148:17 quickly 117:11
---	--	--	--	---

120:12,20 125:1 129:4,5 131:9,12 134:23 135:5 148:16,23 149:18 151:5 153:13 quite 17:7 45:18 50:12 103:22 114:13 115:4 117:13 126:16 quo 6:14 66:6 quote 40:23	120:13 121:1 130:9 randomly 66:3 range 24:4 113:4 ranged 73:8 75:20 ranks 7:10 rapid 120:15 121:1 130:7 135:15 136:12 rapidly 135:10 136:9 148:15 148:20 rate 6:23 7:1,2 7:5,6,10 63:20 67:15 70:22 73:17 81:6 145:16 146:22,24 161:6 rated 77:1 rates 7:8,11,23 68:7 73:18 83:2 145:17 146:7 173:20 ratio 146:1 ratios 146:7,8 Ray 23:12 reaching 101:23 reaction 46:6 172:14 reactive 121:2 read 25:12 49:24 readers 151:25 readiness 76:7 ready 90:10,10 Reagan 129:22 real 5:16 28:24 53:22 94:8 105:2 140:25 155:23 167:9 Realities	117:16 reality 8:24 39:5,6 117:15 134:2 realize 55:9 realizing 90:6 really 12:10,22 12:25 13:9 16:14 54:13 55:12 64:4 68:8 71:7,9 75:3 80:17,18 84:24 86:12 87:18 89:17 92:13 94:5,12 95:8 101:22 101:24 103:18 104:8 104:23 106:22 109:7 110:1 111:2 112:4 126:13 129:15 147:3 154:16 158:2 159:15 166:3 166:8 169:18 realm 104:8 realtime 140:19,23 reason 21:7 27:4 68:13 70:21 97:13 147:16 150:18 154:16 171:5 reasonable 120:24 159:11,22 162:21 reasons 74:4 101:3 104:17 118:2 170:15 172:7 receive 66:4 received 15:16 72:20	receiving 64:18 124:19 Reception 33:17 recess 112:19 recidivism 83:2 90:6 170:4,9 recognition 6:8 6:11 44:23,24 44:25 recognize 7:17 9:14 23:7 25:6 117:2 127:13 recognized 45:3 recognizing 150:12 recommend 76:18,23 recommenda... 9:11 recommit 45:23 reconvene 78:16,20,23 176:3 record 63:11 79:2 114:9 116:3 records 31:11 66:20,21 67:6 recovered 169:9 recovers 169:7 recovery 90:23 recreation 15:2 recruit 38:14 75:8 recruits 25:12 174:21 recurring 143:19 red 39:4,9 50:25 67:25 68:16	reduce 2:7 4:11 9:2 13:24 29:12 58:24 60:1 61:20 62:4,18,22 71:11 84:18 84:20 85:8,9 138:6,6 145:13 161:20 reduced 15:3 70:17 123:19 132:13 161:15 177:10 reducing 14:3 63:15 84:9,9 161:20 reduction 15:6 23:5,11,17,21 23:23 24:6 59:4 68:18 70:1 84:20 169:4 reductions 84:25 refer 35:6 reference 133:9 152:4 162:6 referenced 49:22 78:2 references 47:17 76:20 reflected 117:24 refocus 109:24 refresh 60:7 regarding 51:20 116:3 regardless 55:7 56:11,13 region 33:4,24 35:20 95:12 95:18 98:13 100:18 104:21
---	---	---	--	---

171:11	137:6 140:17	23:20	98:18 100:20	responsibility
regional 4:12	remedies	reprogram	104:13 105:2	27:24,25 28:1
16:1 30:16	131:10	133:14	105:22 106:2	53:18 119:19
71:15,20 73:1	remember	reputation	106:6,24	131:17 148:7
regionally 32:3	12:13 31:22	28:13 143:17	107:2 108:19	responsible
regressive	32:10 33:7	require 86:3	108:21,21	82:7 133:1
102:9	34:25 39:21	165:19	109:9,24	143:24
regular 45:20	44:5,7 135:24	required 53:8	110:11	167:22 169:3
57:11	160:12,14,15	86:3 103:9	111:21,21	rest 15:8
regulate 99:4	160:18 162:3	119:11	133:2 134:1	120:21
regulation	171:21	134:14 136:2	144:1,23	128:23 171:6
157:9	remind 101:18	requirement	145:1 148:15	restrain 90:21
regulations	112:13	123:14	161:24	restructure
141:17	remove 32:12	requires 82:17	respect 116:12	109:24
157:13	renowned	169:20	respectfully	result 61:11,15
reinforcements	112:16	research 59:2	116:9,21	67:25 69:4
162:2	rent 55:1	60:1 61:19	respective	76:5 92:22
rejected 25:3	repeat 40:24	66:17 103:2,6	15:19 165:16	resulted 14:18
relate 52:1	47:23 51:6	129:14 141:7	respects 118:21	14:21 15:5
related 14:5	82:17,18	researcher	156:15	results 9:1
51:24 53:5	repeated 44:6	171:22	respond 94:3	60:11 69:3
56:23 85:24	repeatedly 93:1	researchers	106:14 120:1	70:15 76:16
96:13 166:23	repeating	60:17 65:22	121:14 135:3	111:14
relates 80:23	95:23 105:12	research-bac...	136:9	resume 62:11
relation 35:4	report 9:11	60:15	responded	66:15
106:4	15:21 53:8,12	resembles	142:3	retained 76:13
relationship	53:15 90:18	37:23	responding	retaliation
25:9 27:11	133:22,23	residence 87:12	121:4 134:2	55:17
39:15 42:14	135:5	residents 39:18	135:10	retention 68:10
78:1 100:3	reportable 95:8	81:16 125:10	response 43:15	return 49:19
relative 27:3	reported 23:19	146:3,6 175:1	71:23 92:2	90:4 114:6
159:25	74:8 76:13,17	resisted 154:1	119:18	116:13
relatively 57:3	76:22,24	resolution	120:15,18,25	131:14,15,17
145:7	126:19	57:17 96:17	121:1,1,6	returned
relaxation 57:6	137:17	153:16	122:4,5	124:21,22
release 87:9	reporter 3:8	164:11	123:21 130:7	returning
released 90:3	9:7 79:2	resolve 104:20	131:22	124:14
relentless	177:5	resort 111:12	135:16	revenge 94:21
135:20,21	reporter's 82:1	118:1	136:12 139:6	94:24 109:17
reliable 31:14	reporting	resource 91:6	154:2,4	Reverend
reluctance	89:19 109:14	resources 2:9	responses	74:18
55:19	reports 82:7	4:14 25:10	121:10	reverse 150:3
rely 162:1	133:17	29:13,14 58:4	response-foc...	review 123:14
remainder 66:5	represent 23:8	62:19 79:5,8	125:13	reviewed
remarks 2:2	35:20	80:18 89:21	responsibilities	134:17
11:20 115:8,8	represents	90:13 91:18	6:4	153:21

revolution 119:13 139:16 140:16	rile 154:23 rings 51:17 ripple 141:8 rise 119:6	round 72:2 175:25 Routinely 42:15	144:3 154:19 154:20 155:17,23 said/she 154:13	66:16 68:5 71:5 73:14 75:20 77:13 103:9 113:20 148:2 174:4 174:10,17
revolutionary 133:18 135:12	rises 162:21 rising 119:7 risk 33:15 61:4	rows 124:13 rubbing 150:20 rug 150:14,19 Rule 123:13	salary 117:11 sale 56:9 125:7 sales 45:8 56:7 Sam 5:22 10:1	schoolchildren 25:12 schools 14:16
revolutionized 113:13 134:25	63:8 65:19 92:10,12,20 95:3 96:20 113:3	rules 21:18 28:23 run 63:7 runs 58:19	21:23 Samuel 4:6 Sanders 10:16 Sara 60:2	satisfactory 66:18 94:16 94:17 106:1 125:23 172:20,21,21 173:18,20,22 174:12,12,13
revolutions 114:25	rival 63:4	run 63:7 runs 58:19	Saturday 93:8 save 20:1 76:2 saving 9:5 saw 70:20	schtick 151:20 science 104:19 113:16 scientific 60:14 131:6 scientifically 60:15 screen 80:8 screening 72:18
revolver 120:8 revolving 105:8 re-elected 9:20 11:3	robberies 24:13 73:24 129:3,6 robbery 168:4 Robbyn 71:25 Robert 118:8	109:2 136:8 rural 18:18 34:4 R's 123:2	76:18 86:22 103:2 132:7 149:16 156:8 165:21 saws 165:8 saying 62:1 109:1 153:21 170:18 says 93:17 106:8	search 5:16 seats 78:21,22 second 18:1 31:14 49:9 52:20 140:21 secondary 95:13 secondly 48:20 secret 151:4 secrets 151:3 security 33:15 33:19 113:5 see 11:25 13:19 18:6,7 20:8 26:23 27:6 30:16,18 33:3 33:4,20 34:5 34:11,14,17
re-enrollment 68:10	robbery 168:4 Robbyn 71:25 Robert 118:8	<hr/> S <hr/>	Saturday 93:8 save 20:1 76:2 saving 9:5 saw 70:20	schtick 151:20 science 104:19 113:16 scientific 60:14 131:6 scientifically 60:15 screen 80:8 screening 72:18
re-enter 47:24 re-entry 8:16	142:13 163:11 rocket 43:22 role 12:22 30:6	S 72:24 sad 101:13 safe 15:9 17:10	76:18 86:22 103:2 132:7 149:16 156:8 165:21 saws 165:8 saying 62:1 109:1 153:21 170:18 says 93:17 106:8	schtick 151:20 science 104:19 113:16 scientific 60:14 131:6 scientifically 60:15 screen 80:8 screening 72:18
83:23 87:7 96:12,23 101:21 105:8 106:10	41:13 52:7 57:14,15 58:2 59:9 78:7 79:25 90:20 115:21 119:2 119:3,8,25 121:12,13 147:11 153:15	18:23,24 20:10,17,17 21:5 22:4 49:6 87:24 96:16 149:15 149:15,16 safehaven 53:25 54:12 55:8 safely 115:20 safer 12:18	103:2 132:7 149:16 156:8 165:21 saws 165:8 saying 62:1 109:1 153:21 170:18 says 93:17 106:8	screen 80:8 screening 72:18 search 5:16 seats 78:21,22 second 18:1 31:14 49:9 52:20 140:21 secondary 95:13 secondly 48:20 secret 151:4 secrets 151:3 security 33:15 33:19 113:5 see 11:25 13:19 18:6,7 20:8 26:23 27:6 30:16,18 33:3 33:4,20 34:5 34:11,14,17
re-offending 57:3 111:18 Rick 23:13 rid 18:12 158:1 ridden 134:19 ridiculously 14:19	roles 56:6 roll 28:25 124:2 Rolla 75:21 Ron 72:1 Ronald 129:22 roof 161:6 room 21:1	13:24 16:7 47:5 54:7 101:12 137:11,11,11 137:15 150:9 161:18 162:16 safety 2:9 4:14 22:14 25:3 42:18 49:2 79:4,17 115:15,18 131:18 132:12,13	103:2 132:7 149:16 156:8 165:21 saws 165:8 saying 62:1 109:1 153:21 170:18 says 93:17 106:8	screen 80:8 screening 72:18 search 5:16 seats 78:21,22 second 18:1 31:14 49:9 52:20 140:21 secondary 95:13 secondly 48:20 secret 151:4 secrets 151:3 security 33:15 33:19 113:5 see 11:25 13:19 18:6,7 20:8 26:23 27:6 30:16,18 33:3 33:4,20 34:5 34:11,14,17
143:22 146:2 148:22 149:23,25 162:13 168:1 rights 117:18 152:2 rigorous 60:22	98:25 166:11 rose 163:19 171:5 Rosenfeld 23:13 rough 81:13 82:3	161:18 162:16 safety 2:9 4:14 22:14 25:3 42:18 49:2 79:4,17 115:15,18 131:18 132:12,13	103:2 132:7 149:16 156:8 165:21 saws 165:8 saying 62:1 109:1 153:21 170:18 says 93:17 106:8	screen 80:8 screening 72:18 search 5:16 seats 78:21,22 second 18:1 31:14 49:9 52:20 140:21 secondary 95:13 secondly 48:20 secret 151:4 secrets 151:3 security 33:15 33:19 113:5 see 11:25 13:19 18:6,7 20:8 26:23 27:6 30:16,18 33:3 33:4,20 34:5 34:11,14,17

34:22 35:4,8	146:11	86:14,14	149:7,8	shoot 27:4,6
36:10,14,24	149:22	96:21,21	services 10:24	65:11,12
37:3,5,18,23	158:21	170:8	66:6,10 72:20	94:22
37:25,25	SEL 68:3,23	sentencing 41:3	80:1 86:11,13	shooters 40:24
38:11 39:6,12	selected 10:2	168:6 170:23	96:18,22,24	93:14
39:14 41:23	61:10,11	separate 35:2	96:25 98:2,20	shootings
44:14,15 45:9	65:21 67:2,3	40:8 144:16	98:24 100:24	26:14 51:23
45:16,20	71:3 73:9	separated	101:3 109:21	93:7,9,12,16
47:22 49:18	74:2 77:9	69:19	113:6 120:22	93:24
51:11 52:14	self-admission	September 1:8	serving 9:20	shopping 18:12
52:21 53:11	31:7	3:5 176:9	81:14	short 34:20
56:18 57:3,11	self-confidence	sergeant 10:21	session 64:5	57:3 78:18
57:15 63:7	62:14	127:20	112:11,21,22	99:1 106:11
65:16 66:8,25	self-efficacy	162:18,25	sessions 64:5	shorter 68:17
67:23 68:4,8	62:15	serial 53:15	129:20,25	shortest 25:23
68:11,15,21	self-initiated	series 123:10	set 31:6,14	shot 27:2,2,6
69:3,16 70:7	54:9 82:5	136:9 148:19	36:14 39:8	109:10 140:8
70:8 71:4	self-medicati...	158:14	45:21 46:6,10	151:24
72:14 74:1,18	124:23,25	175:22	51:1 131:21	shots 103:9
76:17 85:3	Self-preserva...	serious 28:15	145:22,23	110:10
89:17 100:22	94:21	55:21,21	151:15	show 19:21
103:10	self-supervisi...	91:23 92:6,11	159:11 169:1	28:22 32:14
104:11,15,16	124:25	92:17 93:18	169:1 170:20	36:15,19
109:7 110:6,6	sell 153:3	99:7 121:24	sets 39:2	37:16 39:21
110:17	selling 56:12	122:4 127:25	setting 88:18	62:12 68:15
140:11,12	semiautomatic	128:1,4,22	89:20 103:16	173:11
141:14 142:1	126:5	132:2,3,11	settlements	showed 50:23
142:4,17,18	send 25:11	156:21	85:20	73:22
146:1 151:4	155:12 162:2	seriously 57:7	seven 18:5	showing 11:22
154:25 155:6	senior 80:1	serve 7:16 44:1	73:15 76:10	175:12
155:19,22	113:18,19	83:5	92:24 126:18	shown 8:23
156:13	158:17	served 9:22,23	144:11	63:25
162:20	seniors 15:11	10:4,5,13	146:22	shows 117:3
seeing 33:24	75:24	11:6,8,13	Seventh 10:9	173:3
34:16 36:4,12	sense 26:24	79:10,18,23	seven-week	sickest 157:6
42:19 54:13	27:8 29:8	113:7,10,21	63:18	side 14:20
56:12 57:21	49:7 57:6	serves 101:11	severely 123:12	55:16 66:17
57:21,25	127:7 132:12	service 11:16	share 22:8,17	163:13
111:14 163:2	142:21	75:24 81:19	41:17 48:5,7	sides 13:9
seek 25:4 94:24	149:13 157:9	81:20 82:4,9	54:10 55:5,5	Siegler 18:22
seeking 154:23	157:16	84:4 85:21	147:13	sight 80:9
seen 24:6 26:16	161:12 163:4	86:2,5,24	sharing 41:8	signals 31:16
36:17 41:22	senseless 7:3	87:2 91:17	shattered 35:1	38:3
51:6 52:14	sent 99:2	111:11	shift 121:15	significance
68:6 114:25	sentence 41:6	120:15,16	125:13	117:9
118:13	sentences 82:18	121:7 122:5	shifting 121:17	significant 69:7

81:9 83:7,7	141:24	22:25 47:6,7	123:9 124:20	77:14
84:20,25	sites 49:25	48:4 103:21	society 46:16	so-called 51:1
86:23 89:20	75:14,15	143:10,11,25	70:2 118:4,25	122:12 128:2
91:5 108:24	141:23	Slay's 71:20	119:20,25	spaces 85:8
117:13	153:23	slice 171:3	120:21	speak 78:25
121:15	siting 155:21	slide 40:21	125:23	151:4 158:15
122:16 125:2	sitting 28:5	70:10 93:8	126:11	169:16 172:8
131:3 138:17	45:18	95:7 101:6	173:25	speakers 23:8
163:3,19	situation 7:18	135:24	socioeconomic	speaking
167:9,11	17:19 32:12	slides 136:1	94:25 95:3	158:25
168:23 169:3	95:1 106:17	slightly 78:16	soft 62:11	speaks 43:8
171:2 173:5	134:3 151:8	slots 61:7 65:20	sold 155:4	119:16 123:2
176:5	152:9 154:14	slowly 98:9	solution 7:19	special 24:21
significantly	163:1 169:15	SLU 94:9,15	47:25	89:3
71:11	situations 92:3	100:13	solutions 5:17	specialists 89:6
signs 30:24	six 15:6 47:19	SLU's 101:1	102:13	specialized
31:17 38:17	99:3 120:6	Sly 4:4 5:19	solve 105:10	166:23
132:5	133:14,15	10:10,17 13:6	152:1 165:13	172:20
silver 21:18	136:15	13:14 16:21	solving 121:4	specially 164:6
146:11	162:19 167:1	22:19	somebody	specialty 99:21
similar 13:11	167:5	small 40:21	20:11,12 26:7	107:18
35:9 46:22	Sixty 100:25	52:11 69:6	26:19 48:17	specific 34:1
47:11 60:25	six-shot 120:7	100:15	63:7 108:23	107:15,16
61:1 67:5,5,5	size 112:3	101:10,13	109:1,17	108:3,4 168:2
68:25 74:4	144:12	smaller 54:5,24	110:23	168:10
141:18	161:15	smart 49:21	154:22	170:23,23
similarly	skid 124:13	smarter 14:22	someplace	specifically
136:25 138:4	skill 121:4	smash 52:18	104:22	108:20 151:9
140:2 158:4	145:22,23	SNEU 166:25	151:14	spend 49:24
169:6 170:21	160:8,8	Snoop 35:24	somewhat 69:6	52:16 105:24
simple 52:18	165:15	social 23:25	69:19 165:4	171:6,8
98:8	skills 19:7	37:19 38:16	sorry 116:4	spending 25:10
simplify 85:17	34:19 62:9,12	39:11 45:17	170:5	108:16
simply 5:11	120:1	46:14 47:18	sort 86:8 91:14	spent 58:17
7:11 34:18	skin 136:11	49:22 56:22	92:2 93:20	63:2 72:3
85:25 102:8	ski-rocketing	63:24,24	103:3 109:8	105:25 108:5
103:12 109:3	70:21	65:25 66:4	sought 93:15	108:22,25
single 18:5,7	sky 109:3 141:1	95:1 104:6	118:25	141:24
51:12 109:10	skyrocketing	109:20 150:2	155:12	173:16
149:6 175:16	37:25	153:9,11	souls 124:17	spike 26:16
175:16	sky-high 70:22	socially 25:17	sound 115:25	spikes 162:1
single-family	Slay 4:4 5:22	societal 117:17	116:3	spoke 36:23
174:7	6:3 9:18	117:20	sounds 62:17	164:21
sir 156:1	11:23,24	118:22 119:1	98:8	spoken 9:6
sit 45:25	13:18 16:18	119:24	source 38:9	sponsored
site 76:10,14	19:1 21:20	121:18 123:1	South 73:18,25	30:10

sponsors 19:23	38:25 39:1,7	stand 22:5	statement 6:13	STL 71:17,17
sports 25:11	39:16,16,17	standards	101:9 111:5	STLP 4:10
81:18 103:10	39:18 40:14	15:21 118:21	states 7:11	STLU 78:12
154:15	40:17 41:23	standpoint	34:21 37:20	stole 171:3
spot 61:8 67:13	42:4,14,17	49:17 143:25	41:21 56:9	stolen 52:14,15
73:24 102:24	43:8,25 44:22	154:19	113:14,20	53:7,11,14
151:23	45:12 46:21	172:13	156:11	137:10
spotters 140:8	46:24 47:10	start 18:14	168:19	stool 96:9
151:24	47:24 49:1	64:14 65:12	169:24	101:19 105:4
spouse 109:16	50:18,24 51:8	68:14 75:23	170:16	106:8
spread 35:19	51:12,16	84:5 86:12	171:10	stop 17:6 21:12
47:18	53:24 54:5,25	87:18 90:4	state-run	44:19 50:2
spreading	55:20 56:8,17	107:2 112:11	124:18	83:24 129:6
121:23	60:17 61:22	132:22,23	state-wide 7:13	135:18,19
spy 155:15	68:21 71:19	161:5 172:23	12:14	158:20 159:7
square 39:8,12	72:7,21,23	started 11:14	stationary	159:12
39:13 50:24	73:2,14,18,21	50:19 67:11	114:12	160:16 161:7
51:3 81:15	73:25 74:1,2	67:14 71:24	stations 27:20	162:22
85:6,11 145:6	77:14,14 79:6	71:25 120:5	statistic 109:12	163:18
145:7 155:9	79:13,15,19	127:19 139:1	statistical 68:9	stopped 7:4
SS 177:2	79:22 80:25	173:24	statistically	139:6
St 1:9 2:4 3:4,5	81:4,6,12,16	174:24	69:7	stopping 12:22
3:6 4:4,5,6,7	81:18,20	starting 80:18	statistics 32:3	159:20
4:9,14,17	82:16 85:3,4	137:24	32:13 39:21	stops 62:2
5:10,23,24,24	88:4,7 91:11	174:23	40:13 51:19	138:25 139:5
5:25 6:17 7:6	94:13 95:18	starts 64:12	59:7 73:22	163:2
9:19,23,24	98:10,13	152:5,7	83:9 84:14	stop-and-frisk
10:5 11:1,7	107:17,21	state 1:1 3:1,8	127:24	137:3 138:8
11:11,12,23	108:3 110:5	4:3 5:17 6:10	133:10,23	138:13
12:1,5,17	114:1,6,15,18	7:10,15 8:20	status 6:14	stories 69:9
13:15 15:14	127:10	9:9 12:11	66:6 94:25	Stowe 79:14
16:10 17:20	143:14,17	13:9 14:7,13	Statutes 30:22	straight 64:20
18:17 21:3,4	158:16 168:1	17:4,16 18:17	stay 17:19 55:2	strategies 8:14
21:24 22:9,9	168:7 175:23	24:25 28:17	55:3,3 99:1	23:5 166:15
22:10 23:16	177:3	32:25 44:16	114:11	167:19,24
23:18 24:2,5	Stabilization	83:2,5 88:21	138:11	171:17
24:10,15,16	98:25 100:12	101:3 104:3	staying 17:21	strategy 70:21
25:2,6,21	stabilize 90:2	104:14 108:4	78:9 166:3	71:21 167:22
26:1,5,17	stabilized 90:8	113:17 143:2	STD 80:3	street 18:4,5
28:2 30:5,7	staff 16:4 72:3	143:14 144:8	step 6:22 90:5	34:13 35:11
30:16,17 32:3	72:13 89:24	154:3 156:9	99:14	41:1 44:5,10
32:4,23 33:3	99:24	157:5 158:8	stepped 51:10	46:25 47:5,21
33:21,21,24	stage 129:2	168:15,17	stigma 101:3	49:14,19
34:5 35:8,13	152:7	169:14,18	stimulation	52:19,22 57:8
35:20 36:4,23	stakeholders	177:2,14	174:20	57:9 63:2
37:20,21 38:6	42:10	stated 88:9	stimulus 72:8	86:8 105:6

122:9,9 123:8 124:12 126:24 127:5 149:9 165:23 166:24,25 167:1 streets 8:16 17:6 35:1,15 36:21 40:16 41:11 45:2,17 47:5 51:3 53:16,17 125:1,8 127:1 132:8 147:25 163:17 167:6 strengthen 100:3,21 stress 124:16 strikes 170:11 170:19 171:2 strong 14:9 127:16 156:19 157:2 168:20 173:8 strongly 121:11 structure 37:17 107:7 165:5,7 structured 35:15 85:23 struggling 109:7 student 12:3 22:15 59:5 77:13 students 58:3 66:19 94:15 studied 141:6 studies 36:15 36:18 64:1 173:11 study 67:20,21 69:11 70:16 71:8 92:13 173:2 stuff 105:1 108:7,8,10,13	108:22 150:19 stupid 65:4 style 123:20 150:21 subject 30:16 31:15,16,18 31:20,23 106:5 subjects 92:15 submit 134:15 subrogate 15:23 subsequently 11:2 subsidized 62:3 substance 80:22 83:18 83:19 84:12 85:14,16 86:20 87:16 87:25 92:1,25 96:2 97:11,20 101:4 107:6 109:6 110:22 110:24 substances 83:15,16 substantiated 109:15 subtitle 70:11 suburban 121:23 suburbs 162:15 subway 126:21 132:6 subways 148:25 149:23 167:6 success 23:18 24:7 102:21 102:22 138:2 166:12 175:15,16,17 successful 19:20 20:21	29:2 115:14 121:8 138:2 150:12 153:7 175:14 successfully 132:6 137:23 sucked 174:2 sufficient 161:24 suggest 83:10 suggestion 169:17 suicide 95:25 96:1 summarize 9:13 summary 71:8 summer 59:3,5 60:9,9 61:20 61:21 62:24 63:13,14,19 63:20 68:4,5 68:10 70:14 70:16 71:10 71:18,18 72:5 72:7 77:10 Summit 1:1 3:1 3:4 5:3,14,18 5:21,24 8:22 21:17 22:2 23:8 176:8 177:6 super 64:3 superimpose 38:12 Superintend... 128:15 superpredat... 171:25 172:6 superstars 23:11 supervise 88:17 supervision 28:20 124:24 supervisor 62:13	supervisors 66:12 81:15 support 15:1 24:23 25:5 44:14 54:22 57:23 91:19 98:6 104:14 121:11 125:18,21 146:13 153:4 158:2 169:23 171:12,12 supported 119:11 146:12 supporter 152:25 170:10,22 supportive 157:1 170:25 supports 98:16 supposed 133:20 Supreme 123:10,15 159:10 sure 28:23 45:5 50:12 55:1,24 62:20 87:15 141:6 143:19 171:19 surely 147:10 147:11 surest 134:12 surge 125:16 162:3,9 surgery 136:13 surges 162:2 surging 163:4 171:24 surprisingly 61:23 67:16 68:4 69:6 surrounding 38:25 surveilled	151:22 suspect 40:9 159:20 suspects 40:3 suspicion 159:12,22 162:21 sustain 96:5 sustainable 97:21 sweet 151:23 swift 14:9 86:12,13,15 swiftly 85:20 switch 64:17 symbolized 39:3,4 50:25 symbols 30:25 symposium 23:3 system 17:13 33:12 49:18 49:19 57:23 58:1 73:12,14 80:24 82:15 82:20 83:5,17 83:23,24 84:3 84:10,16,17 84:19,21 85:9 85:15,22 86:16 87:19 87:24 93:3 95:16,21 96:5 96:7 97:4 98:9 101:25 103:13 105:10,21 106:3 107:3 115:6 116:1,3 128:24 130:18 131:16,24 133:8 134:24 141:13 149:15,15 155:4 170:17
--	--	---	---	---

173:7	39:20 40:13	teach 14:17	tenure 114:16	30:11,13
systematically	40:14 50:1,9	teacher 77:16	term 9:21	42:20,21 47:7
134:9	53:18 55:13	teaches 79:16	116:10,16	47:8,9 51:15
systems 80:21	59:24 60:5,8	teaching 65:14	130:1 132:15	53:20 58:6,7
102:1 153:24	61:22 66:14	team 12:9,10	134:24	58:21 59:19
154:1,6 155:7	73:8 77:4	30:5 41:16	140:22 154:4	71:11,12,16
155:24,24	80:14 84:7	42:16 55:6	terms 73:6 74:5	72:16 78:12
	91:13,16,17	145:23,24	74:22 75:11	78:14,17,20
	92:5 97:5	teams 36:9	76:5,21 80:25	80:13 88:1,5
	110:16	37:14	81:7,11 82:15	91:8,19
	114:19 115:2	tear 18:11	84:15,24 85:4	101:22 102:2
table 7:20	153:7 166:7,9	TEC 126:5	87:6 90:23	102:3 107:11
66:24 72:2	talked 13:8	tech 91:19	104:5,13	112:10,17
tabled 123:12	15:18 20:15	93:12	106:5 107:22	114:6,17
tactics 111:16	48:6 75:25	technological	118:23	116:5 142:20
135:16	78:10 94:3	140:13	119:20	143:7,8,12
136:13	95:24 97:2,22	technologies	126:23	147:2 151:7
take 23:7 27:3	103:22	4:20 8:15	128:10	156:5 175:19
31:2 32:21	110:15	113:2 114:4	135:11 141:8	175:20 176:6
41:16 54:23	126:16 156:4	140:11	145:21	thankful 5:20
57:7 71:6	166:9,10,10	technology	147:19 148:8	thanking 5:8
78:7,15,21,22	168:1	17:9 47:1	148:11	22:1
97:15 99:3,5	talking 13:12	113:6 140:8	152:14	thanks 176:1
99:5 102:25	20:13 21:6	140:24	153:15 157:8	theatre 93:13
104:10 121:7	23:17 24:18	146:13,14,15	158:6 159:9	theft 53:9
127:1 138:16	24:19 26:13	151:9,23	159:10 163:1	149:6,8 167:7
147:21 152:3	26:14 27:20	152:12 153:1	172:9 174:5	167:14
160:2 162:8	29:20 32:10	153:23 155:3	territories 63:4	thefts 167:7
taken 3:5 9:7	83:22 85:13	173:10	territory 39:5	theirs 170:14
12:15 37:11	96:14 102:5	teenagers	terrorism	170:14
37:17 52:18	111:13	103:3,12	141:16,19	theme 88:18
54:9 78:18	146:13	tell 27:22,22	terrorist	theory 23:9
112:19	151:17	35:23,24 37:8	139:23	164:21,25
122:18,21,22	Tandy 133:12	37:22 48:4	Terry 159:10	they'd 64:17
123:11,22	133:15	49:16 54:7,20	160:16,21	76:17,23
177:7,8	target 40:22,25	69:10,12	tested 156:23	159:5
takes 22:4	targeted 70:22	71:16 98:21	tests 136:9	thing 13:5 16:1
106:25 109:1	73:18	143:12	texting 78:11	25:23,24
take-away 58:8	targeting	157:20 163:8	thank 11:21,21	27:16 32:10
66:25	102:13	tenants 118:19	12:8,19,21,24	33:22 34:9,11
tale 164:1	107:15	tend 91:23	13:17,24,25	35:19 36:4
talk 17:1,3	task 4:12 14:22	tendency 94:1	15:25 16:8,9	38:24 41:20
23:16 24:19	71:15,20,22	tens 37:2 72:6	16:17 21:21	45:19 46:23
25:1 26:10,12	tattoos 31:8	124:16 126:1	22:11 24:21	49:2 52:13
26:22 27:10	tax 152:17	tension 164:18	25:18,19,25	61:8 68:6,6
27:14,21 28:2	TB 97:18	tensions 153:17	29:3,4,6	70:12 73:10
29:2 30:18				
33:23 34:9				

74:14 89:24	106:4,10	thousands 72:6	49:24 52:16	170:1
90:7 97:22	108:4 111:18	124:17,17	54:21 57:4	tip 131:8,12
103:15	111:20 112:9	126:1,2	62:12 63:2	148:16
127:11	114:15 136:5	137:13	66:14,22	tipped 157:11
150:24 151:2	138:21	threat 30:7	69:18 73:21	Tipping 148:18
164:18	142:21,23	33:15,19	83:5 88:10	149:22
things 13:8	155:15	98:14	92:15 99:9	tired 27:21
17:1,15 18:10	157:10,13,14	three 5:16,20	100:23	titled 33:14
19:23 25:10	157:17,24	27:4,7 29:8	106:20 108:5	toady 29:8
26:3,16,23	159:3 161:21	29:10,13 30:1	108:16,18,25	132:20
50:2 60:6	161:21	30:23 37:9	114:15,25	today 5:22 6:24
62:21 69:14	162:21	60:5 74:1	117:17,18,19	7:5 10:24
80:16 83:21	163:14 164:2	79:5 80:5	117:20	19:13 21:11
84:17 85:2	164:2,10,24	91:13,20,23	120:25	22:12,17
86:17 87:6	165:3 168:9	102:4,6	121:17	25:18 26:4,22
91:16 95:24	168:12 169:3	110:23	125:12 126:6	27:11,13,20
97:2 103:22	169:6 170:3	113:11	127:15	28:5 29:2,5
103:25	171:4 175:15	116:25	128:15	33:23 34:10
105:20	thinking 18:14	119:17 123:2	129:15 132:8	35:3,6 37:25
107:13,19	21:8 65:6	123:3 124:9	136:3 137:7,7	59:24 60:6,19
111:4 122:11	68:20 86:12	129:3 130:17	139:2 140:14	80:14 88:23
124:10 147:6	102:7 129:12	144:16 146:6	141:3,9,12,13	98:12 115:2
147:9,12	129:14	146:23 155:8	142:16 143:9	137:3 149:25
151:25 153:1	third 19:1	156:13 161:1	146:19	151:4 152:22
154:5 156:3	122:24	166:20	147:23	156:4 176:3
156:13 165:6	126:23	170:11,19	150:10,20	today's 61:19
165:15,22	131:13 171:4	171:2	155:5 156:2	151:2 153:9
169:25	Thirdly 116:15	three-pronged	156:22 157:1	told 133:14
172:12,15	thirteen 6:17	40:15	163:15,16,21	toll 6:8
think 5:11 12:5	thirties 37:2	throwing 62:2	164:17	tomorrow 5:22
19:7,8 26:5,9	Thirty 21:10	thumb 64:14	165:25	19:18 22:21
29:16 43:1,4	thorough	thwart 139:25	171:23 172:8	29:3 176:3
44:4,9,13,21	109:19	thyroid 160:7	173:16,19	tomorrow's
44:23 46:4,20	thought 26:8	ticket 38:19	Timely 135:4,8	176:5
47:16 48:23	39:1 54:12	72:16 154:12	135:15 136:6	tool 138:14,20
50:6 51:23,23	55:11 117:23	tied 24:24	136:11	161:8
51:23 53:18	117:23 139:4	ties 34:6 35:21	times 14:11	tools 43:17,18
55:4,8,19	163:24 172:3	35:21	21:10 27:19	43:25 46:6,16
57:19 58:10	thoughts 22:23	Tim 4:7 6:1	82:20 92:24	47:4 123:11
58:19 64:16	144:5 153:12	11:10,10	110:23 116:7	123:19
65:8,9,10,11	156:11	25:20	120:23,24	130:12
83:21 84:14	158:19	time 6:25 10:25	125:17	140:10 165:8
84:19,21 85:6	thousand 105:6	12:13 15:19	158:12,15	165:9,13,20
86:24 87:20	145:12	25:10 33:20	163:22	169:2
91:21,23 93:1	146:20	34:25 36:1	164:21 166:7	top 113:10
95:23 100:5,9	173:17	41:16 45:23	167:5 169:24	topic 11:22

13:22 22:13 29:10 30:3 43:4,12 58:23 78:24 79:4 80:14 112:21 topical 168:1 topics 8:1 29:8 29:11 tornado 150:5 total 32:16,22 32:24 40:11 73:2 128:5 totally 126:22 150:17 touch 30:15 78:9 touched 19:1 touching 104:21 160:5 tough 22:5 toughest 8:8 tour 117:1 tourists 137:12 Tower 73:19 town 109:22 traces 52:2 track 63:11 66:21 99:6 133:2,11,16 135:7 tracking 133:22,25 trade 125:21 trades 126:3,3 traditional 85:22 140:2,3 167:19 traffic 38:19 167:14,14 trafficking 45:8 52:8 train 17:8 164:12 trained 89:8,12 98:22 159:25 164:6	training 15:23 15:23 17:12 48:25 65:7 72:17 106:13 106:14 164:4 174:21 traits 93:19 transcript 5:1 9:8 transit 131:23 144:17 149:5 149:19 transitional 87:16 transparency 141:22 147:13 148:13 transparent 150:13 153:22 transportation 75:17 traumatic 124:15 travel 6:10 travelled 8:3 8:19 travelling 54:6 63:3 treat 90:2 110:24 treated 88:25 treatment 68:24 88:21 89:14,17,22 90:16,23 91:1 91:4 93:15,17 93:25 95:19 97:18,19,21 98:3,4,7,23 99:7,15 111:2 111:25 124:22,23 tremendous 6:4 150:2	trend 33:23 36:5 56:8 trends 30:16,18 Trey 39:8,10 trial 43:22,23 61:12 tried 174:2 trouble 15:1 155:10 Troy 28:5,6,7 truancy 107:19 true 51:17 164:25 truly 115:8 134:24 157:24 trust 116:14 123:17 138:7 153:17,20 163:12 167:13 truth 101:14 102:18 try 16:12 42:10 64:10 78:25 89:21 90:13 90:14,17,18 91:2,3,6,13 110:20 111:17 114:12 120:24 129:4 129:7,24 134:1 172:10 173:12 trying 12:17,18 13:23 50:16 76:3 100:8,21 106:16 107:5 109:7,8,11 157:25 158:6 169:16 172:16 174:7 tuberculosis 97:8 Tucker 3:6	Tune 157:3 tunnel 129:17 turn 38:19 turnaround 113:24 167:23 turned 166:15 turnstiles 149:3 149:3,4 TV 20:15 27:20 117:15 Twain 74:4 twenties 37:2 102:20 Twenty 23:18 134:10 twerking 36:7 twice 133:23 162:6 two 5:18 6:9 7:2 14:2,5 22:6,19 25:1 28:4 29:12 31:23 32:13 35:2 42:7 55:12 58:9 68:1,15 69:15 75:25 83:4 89:7 94:20 96:10 128:15 132:9 144:9 144:15 145:11,20,20 146:22 147:4 148:20 155:10 162:19 164:1 166:3 169:8 two-prong 45:6 two-third 163:23 type 46:22 126:5 170:23 174:13 types 49:15 50:10 58:14	91:20,22 107:9,19 121:25 122:8 125:4 127:24 151:25 typewriting 177:10 typical 60:23 typically 56:21 102:25 T-shirt 163:7 <hr/> U <hr/> ugliness 7:18 uh 97:14 ultimate 152:19 164:10 ultimately 146:16 UMSL 4:16 76:16 80:12 unable 61:15 67:10 unacceptable 6:16,18,21 unaddressed 126:20 understand 18:8 19:18 20:20 33:13 34:23 45:15 45:18,20 48:8 65:12 91:21 99:4 122:12 128:9 138:19 139:12 154:18 161:8 165:3 understanding 19:3 43:19 44:12,19 48:12,13 50:7 104:2 130:21 138:5 160:22 understood
--	---	--	---	--

115:18 128:8 129:16 uneducated 49:21 unemployment 73:17 unexpected 10:20 164:17 unfairly 81:1 unfettered 101:17 unfortunate 14:12 157:14 159:14 unfortunately 35:8,18 36:8 63:1 99:15 137:19 unheard 125:17 unified 40:15 uniformed 143:21 144:7 uniforms 174:4 Unincorpora... 21:3,4 unintended 162:5 163:13 unions 152:15 unique 42:4 unit 42:16 89:3 89:7,10 United 34:21 37:20 41:21 56:9 113:14 113:20 170:16 units 166:24,25 167:1,2 universal 156:17 universally 142:7 university 3:6 4:11 5:10 12:2 15:13,14	22:10,10 59:2 59:6,15,18,23 60:2,4,13 79:13,15 129:21 unlawful 168:3 unlocked 52:17 unorganized 35:16 unpopular 117:20 unquote 40:23 unrecognized 124:16 unsafe 52:17 unspoken 53:18 unsupervised 162:24 untreated 93:10 unusual 155:22 upcoming 91:3 uprise 153:10 upward 37:10 urban 1:1 3:1,4 5:3,13,17,18 6:7 18:19 26:12 59:14 80:15 123:4 124:5 176:8 177:6 use 14:8 38:15 40:20 47:1 70:15 86:21 94:20 100:14 102:10 104:20 108:20 109:24 122:23,23,24 125:9 135:11 138:7 139:13 139:17 140:8 140:9 141:20 143:1 151:9	151:10,20,21 152:12,20 156:21 157:1 157:7 159:5,9 160:2 165:9 166:21 168:3 usually 153:18 156:24 162:10 utilizing 41:3 <hr/> V <hr/> vacant 37:23 vaccine 148:22 Valerie 3:7 177:5,12 validity 164:23 valuable 48:19 135:8 value 19:6,9,16 20:23 22:17 24:20 46:12 152:9 valued 19:17 20:12 values 118:21 vandalized 149:4 various 43:24 125:4 157:13 vast 101:14 137:18,19 vastly 124:13 vehicle 52:17 vehicles 155:7 155:9 vein 86:7 verification 87:11 vernacular 43:22 Vernon 97:18 version 158:21 versus 56:1 108:18 137:12	141:10 145:6 152:1 159:11 160:16,21 164:9 veteran 11:8 113:21 veterans 111:15 112:6 124:14 125:5 veto 24:23 vice 10:14 75:1 vicinity 155:14 victim 40:9 122:12 132:3 victimized 15:11 132:4 victimless 122:11 victims 24:12 44:9 videos 89:11 Vietnam 11:9 113:21 117:1 117:20 124:15 view 80:17 90:16 violation 110:24,25 violence 2:4 4:9 4:12 6:8,13 6:20 7:3,23 8:5,14 9:2 14:18,23 15:4 24:20 29:11 30:3 36:10 39:20 41:13 41:25 42:12 47:14 52:12 55:14 56:19 58:5 62:4 71:15,20 91:15 92:8,10 92:12,16 93:6 94:1,9 96:13 96:19 100:6,7	100:10 101:4 104:19,22 109:12 112:4 126:3,10 153:19 167:4 violent 7:9 24:11 26:21 26:25 28:13 28:24 40:19 40:24 56:19 61:20 63:15 65:19 68:14 68:16,18 69:2 69:18 70:1 71:2,7,11 81:8 87:22 92:7,22,25 95:20 101:11 101:13 109:23 Virginia 93:12 93:17 visceral 92:2 94:3 visible 12:16 vision 22:5 152:12 153:5 153:8 169:21 169:22 visit 13:15 106:12 visiting 22:14 vogue 116:10 volume 79:2 82:16 volunteer 51:10 70:5 vote 43:12 voters 169:23 <hr/> W <hr/> wage 65:24 66:2 75:13 Wahby 71:25 wait 71:22 wake 66:13
--	--	--	--	---

Walker 2:10 4:17 79:21 91:9,10,12 101:6,8 103:2 104:17 109:5 111:20 112:9	wanted 26:3 46:5 61:14 66:16 67:9 74:14 80:16 80:20 84:23 94:7 117:2 119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	131:12 134:12 139:23 143:4 155:3 160:15 163:17 164:12 169:3 169:25 175:11,12	21:16 29:3,15 30:11 59:16 71:13 80:5 112:20 114:2 176:6	34:16 36:4 52:25 54:12 55:1 56:12 57:20,21,25 59:20 66:20 68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
walkie-talkie 120:9	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
walking 65:5 120:4,6	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
walking-the-... 122:20	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
walks 64:19	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
wan 101:18	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
want 5:15 12:1 12:7 13:1,24 17:3 19:19 20:4 21:5,25 23:12 43:9 47:8 50:13 51:4 55:13 61:6 62:20 66:13 70:8 74:13 87:20 91:13 92:5 97:5,9 99:11 100:6 101:8 101:22 102:10 104:25 107:2 110:4 111:7 111:22 112:13 114:10,11 115:2 117:6 130:12 148:10 149:7 152:15 153:21,21 155:5,7 157:18 159:8 159:19 160:7 160:23 164:18 172:22 175:19	wanting 71:2 wants 43:2 75:23 109:17 war 117:20,20 124:15 Ward 5:9 Warden 79:10 warm 175:25 Warning 123:12 warrant 149:10 Washington 8:21 15:14 156:8 wasn't 69:11 69:12 97:14 117:13 145:12 149:11,16 watch 43:9 95:25 96:1 watching 94:12 wave 161:2 way 12:16,16 18:14 47:18 48:19 60:23 85:17 90:16 95:21 110:2 116:11,20 118:14,17 121:15 126:13 129:16	weakened 169:13 weapon 51:20 53:7,8,11 168:4 weapons 24:14 38:8 40:20 44:7 52:21 53:5,6 125:16 126:4,5 wear 31:8 wearing 163:7 weather 118:1 web 49:25 141:23,24 153:23 weed 122:17 weeds 122:18 week 6:21 9:1,4 12:23 15:16 18:6 54:22 55:3 65:24,25 66:2 68:3,24 73:20 75:12 77:5 93:9 126:17 166:7 175:23 weekend 27:1,1 57:24 weeks 76:10 120:6 162:24 welcome 5:15 6:1 8:2 12:1	21:16 29:3,15 30:11 59:16 71:13 80:5 112:20 114:2 176:6	34:16 36:4 52:25 54:12 55:1 56:12 57:20,21,25 59:20 66:20 68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,13 130:14 133:5 133:6 136:22 147:22 158:18 174:19	ways 23:22 42:18 85:22 110:3 122:23 172:10,11	welcomed 19:19	68:1,11,13 69:2,15,17 77:23,24 78:1 78:6,9,15 80:15 83:14 83:22 85:5,13 88:23 89:18 90:6,24 91:2 93:2 96:14 97:19 106:5 106:10 108:6 112:4 115:3 116:16 119:19 121:3 127:14 128:18 129:3 136:19 139:19 140:15,17 141:10 142:8 142:23 147:10,24 148:4 157:11 157:12 158:1
	119:3 130:7,8 130:8,10,1			

wife 155:18,20	51:2,9 54:13	works 13:13	121:25	yellow 39:8
William 2:13	55:4 58:22	49:1 59:11	126:14	50:24
4:19 112:25	62:8,10,12	77:15,18	132:18	Yesterday
114:3,5,10	63:10,10	100:22	133:23	151:7
willing 14:8	64:13,14	105:13 164:3	134:14,15	York 4:20 6:23
21:20 111:1,1	66:14 70:4,5	world 19:14	136:6 137:8	7:1,9 8:11,20
willingness	71:4,22 75:2	43:22 44:24	137:16,17	9:2 29:25
147:13	75:14,15	62:19 74:21	139:6 142:16	35:21 60:17
Wilson 122:2	76:14 77:12	113:15	145:16 148:2	61:23 85:5
128:7	79:25 85:19	115:14	149:5,19	112:15 113:8
window 52:19	87:12 96:12	126:23 140:5	162:6 164:3,5	113:12
windows	96:16 99:7	151:22	167:7 169:8,9	126:15 127:4
119:16 122:1	100:25	world's 113:3	171:8	127:8 131:23
124:2 128:7	101:25	worse 151:1	years 9:22,23	132:15,25
149:11	103:24	worst 7:11	11:14 15:6	133:21 134:3
164:21,23,25	104:24	126:14	17:22 21:10	134:7 137:3,5
165:3,10	105:11 123:1	worth 94:12	23:18,21	138:9,22
166:14 175:9	123:19	108:8	32:16,17 33:4	139:9 140:21
witness 40:9	128:19,21,23	wouldn't 74:8	37:24 44:2	144:9,13
witnessed	133:3 135:18	97:16,16	47:19 51:5	145:9,18
24:17	142:7 143:3	wrapping	69:16 70:4	146:23
wobble 96:10	144:11,23	129:11	79:24 88:11	148:16,25
Wolff 5:9	168:15,16,18	writes 119:16	88:22 98:10	149:1 158:21
woman 75:22	174:6	writing 31:17	100:2 103:12	159:1,3,15,17
167:4	workday 62:23	38:11	114:23	160:24
women 42:11	worked 11:15	written 82:7	115:10	161:12
42:19 49:24	13:7 54:8	wrong 20:7	116:25	162:14 163:1
51:7 101:1	60:15 67:1	129:23	118:15	163:14,19
126:2 160:13	68:2,3 72:18	wrote 122:2	121:12	164:9,13,24
won 67:12	75:8,9 77:10	128:7 148:18	122:22	165:18
wonder 108:7	88:11 150:17		126:20 128:6	166:15,16
wonderful	156:4 164:4,5	Y	129:11 132:9	167:6,14,15
59:20	174:3	yanking 64:12	134:10 137:6	168:5,17,17
wondering	workforce	yard 75:24	137:7,12	169:6,9
108:12	118:21	yeah 109:23	144:15	170:21
word 9:6 16:4	working 13:5	112:9	145:14	171:20 172:7
59:9	13:11,13	year 6:16,16,17	146:22	172:16,20
wore 174:4	14:12 66:20	6:17 23:19,20	147:17	Yorkers 132:2
work 13:3,25	69:14 97:7	24:11,16	160:20,24	York's 145:6
15:20 16:3,4	130:17,18	46:11,15	161:1,15	young 6:18
16:6,19 17:18	131:25	50:19 73:6	164:8 166:8	14:15,16,25
21:20 22:5	132:14 138:9	77:3,4,23	169:5 171:7	19:3,4,12
24:8 26:20	146:2,3,5	82:5 91:3	172:24	20:1 35:10,11
27:22 28:18	164:6 166:11	94:9 98:4	174:23	37:6 38:11
35:13 42:9	166:12	101:24 102:2	year-to-date	42:10,19
47:8 48:2	171:22 174:9	109:14,22	24:16	46:13,13

48:14 49:20	171:17,23	78:15 82:22	1500 162:7	144:10 154:4
49:23 51:7	172:9,10	98:10 132:2	173:19	172:2
71:1 72:6	173:14 175:7	162:8 169:5	153 98:12	1993 10:2
73:12,17 74:8	youth's 64:2	10,000 167:8	100:11	23:18 24:4
74:13,15 75:9	YPG 35:9	10:00 28:22	155 40:11	1994 131:25
75:16,19,19	Yulo 171:21	100 3:6 76:5,6	16 73:8 76:12	132:9 134:4
75:20,22,23		76:21,25 81:8	92:18	134:16
76:1,1,2,6,8	Z	98:11 99:18	17 46:10,17	1995 9:24
76:11,13,17	zero 151:20	151:22	55:22 57:2	1996 132:9
76:18 77:5,19	Zimring 23:13	173:20,23	81:9 95:13	1998 113:25
78:10 117:25		175:14	102:23	
125:22,24	\$	100,000 6:24,25	17,000 82:23	2
126:2 166:21	\$10,000 75:3	7:2,6,7 81:7,8	177 39:22,24	2 95:11
172:2,5,18	\$100,000 72:23	81:9 85:3,5	18 1:8 3:5	2,000 162:7
173:4,17	72:23,25	102:3 2:11	55:22 57:2	2,245 126:17
175:9	\$149 133:12	109 32:8	176:9 177:16	2,894 40:7
younger 103:17	\$2,000 73:3	11 10:2 172:24	18,000 92:15	2.5 146:5
youngest 33:4	\$3,000 69:25	173:24	145:9,13	2:33 176:9
youth 2:7 4:11	70:3	11:00 78:16	182 82:22	20 9:22 23:21
4:12 14:4,23	\$30,000 44:21	11:15 78:17	1830s 118:8	79:24 82:4
25:10 29:12	\$4.2 100:17	110,000 167:7	188 40:8	137:7,12
58:23 59:3,12	\$440,000 73:3	1100 81:13	19 33:4 57:2	166:8
59:25 60:24	\$50,000 45:1	113 23:20	194 73:7	20,000 21:4
60:25 61:9,13	\$6 100:7	24:17	1943 24:2	200 110:18
61:14,20 62:6	\$80 149:5	114:3 2:13	1950 117:3	200,000 82:4
62:24 63:3,9	\$85,000 171:8	12 88:19	1960s 117:17	2001 9:19,25
63:16,16 64:6		161:14	118:3	139:1
64:7,8,10,16	0	162:18	1970 113:22	2002 139:2
64:16 65:5,8	09 95:24 96:1	172:24	116:24 118:5	145:2 160:25
65:10,13,19		173:24	160:10	2003 11:2
65:23 66:3,10	1	174:24	1970s 119:10	2004 11:3
66:22 67:1,1	1 39:22,22	125 95:24	134:8	2006 11:4 24:5
67:3,8,9,14	117:3,14	13 65:18	1975 124:1	2007 79:23
67:16 68:2,2	1st 42:3	14 6:24 7:1,3	127:19	98:11
68:4,19,22,23	1,000 70:19	10:3 33:4	1978 160:14	2008 32:6
69:1,15 70:24	74:10 77:24	140 174:1	1980 128:16	60:12
70:24 71:3,7	146:1,2,3,5,6	140,000 137:17	1982 93:9	2009 11:12
71:10,15,17	1,285 32:17	143:8 2:14	122:2	2010 11:4
71:17,20 72:9	1,634 65:20	145 76:7	1983 11:15	88:19
72:15 73:7,10	1,686 24:12	15 65:24 68:3	1990 6:23 7:1	2011 10:12
73:12,13 74:5	1,777 32:7	88:24 141:7	126:10,15	2012 10:3
74:5 75:13	1,900 79:9	162:8 174:23	131:24 132:3	39:22 67:22
76:24 77:7,8	82:14	15-minute	132:18	95:25 96:3
78:2 94:9,14	1.1 146:3	78:15	148:25	2013 1:8 3:5
100:6,7,10	1:00 112:11,17	150,000 82:7	171:21	9:21 39:22
103:7 166:20	10 9:23 32:17	139:1 163:2	1990s 132:6	67:22 176:9
	65:25 68:3			

2014 73:5 78:12	32 39:24,24 32,000 95:17,19	49 136:1	70 33:18 104:21	126:6 127:18 129:15,19
2016 177:16	320,000 81:16	<u>5</u>	138:24	130:24 131:4
2045 137:15	33rd 79:18	5 40:4 96:1	144:20	150:16 161:4
207 32:6	35 7:7 81:6	5,000 127:2	161:23	80:10 2:9
21 83:12	82:23	5,952 32:22	70s 118:3	800,00 157:25
21st 139:12	364 66:1	5:5 2:2	120:17,22	813 24:12
140:15	366 65:23	50 7:10 24:3	121:19 122:6	841 32:7
142:24 148:4	38,000 144:11	37:10 51:5	122:25	85 76:8 137:9
22 7:5 10:12	144:19	72:25 132:10	127:18 129:7	88:3 2:10
23 73:8 96:3	167:23	137:11	130:13,24	<u>9</u>
23-year-olds	382 88:25	50s 118:16	131:3 142:14	9 33:5 126:5
102:23	39 98:2	119:6 124:12	150:16 161:4	9,211 145:3
24 18:5 83:10	<u>4</u>	50,000 127:1	167:10	9/11 139:22
88:23 142:1	4 6:25 7:3	500 109:22	700,000 126:18	144:13
149:9	135:13 145:3	500-bed 82:25	137:17 139:2	9:00 176:3
25 66:2 68:2,24	146:1,4	51 68:17 70:18	163:2	9:07 5:4
98:11 126:20	4,000 82:12	52 17:22	71:14 2:8	90 67:14 99:24
137:12	4,140 32:5	54 74:9	714 117:14	137:9
160:24	40 24:6 74:7	55 109:15	730 65:20	90s 88:14 129:8
25,000 82:4	103:11 127:1	5500 109:14	70:19	129:24
99:21	129:6 132:11	58 23:20,21	740 32:23	136:17
250 82:23	135:14 137:6	59:17 2:7	75 67:11	139:11 161:5
250,000 149:1	155:9 160:20	<u>6</u>	100:13	161:17
26-year 10:12	40s 118:8	6 139:2 163:2	161:22	162:16 173:3
267 23:19 24:4	124:12	6,000 126:21	76 132:25	908 32:15
28 46:10	40,000 174:1	132:17	144:20,24	91 21:2
29 76:11	400 81:15	161:15	161:22	91:10 2:10
<u>3</u>	137:16	6.4 40:10	77 127:22	911 120:17,17
3 1:10 3:4	41 42:1	60 51:5 74:6	78 161:18	131:6 142:5
135:13 146:1	41,000 144:13	75:14 76:24	792 40:7,11	150:4
3rd 42:4	42:21 2:6	169:4	<u>8</u>	96 74:7
3,000 33:16	43 10:23 40:2,4	60s 118:16,22	8 165:20	99 76:17
3,010 24:15	436 24:23	118:24 119:2	169:10	
30 11:14 45:1	44 33:5	119:6 121:19	8,000 82:13	
46:18 88:11	448 24:14	125:5 142:14	8,671 32:4	
129:6 135:14	45 32:25 171:7	63 24:13	8:00 66:13	
171:7	173:21	64 81:15	80 17:21 74:8	
30s 124:12	45th 9:18 46:11	65 83:16	137:9 138:24	
30-year 11:5	46:15	65,000 95:15	144:21	
30:12 2:5	450 79:7	67 93:8	161:23	
300 82:3 145:7	46 15:5 114:23	68 73:24 93:10	80s 88:14 118:3	
300,000 82:4	47th 142:16	<u>7</u>	120:23	
31,000 83:4	475 95:25	7 92:19	121:20,24	
144:18	486 145:6		125:7,15	