House Committee on the Judiciary
Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security
Hearing on ECPA, Part 2: Geolocation Privacy and Surveillance

Written Testimony of
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1. Introduction and Background

Thank you for the opportunity to provide some background about location technology in current and emerging wireless networking. I hope my remarks will be helpful in understanding how location information is calculated and the direction that this important and yet rather complex technology is taking. I offer this statement today on my own behalf and do not represent any other party or organization.

As I will discuss below, geolocation is an area that is enjoying a period of rapid technological innovation and competition among different technologies. Many assumptions that might have been true several years ago, such as that GPS satellites always provide higher precision location information than the cellular network does, are no longer universally true today. For any legislation that seeks to regulate the use or disclosure of location tracking technology to
remain meaningful in the years to come, it is critical that it avoid defining terms in ways that are likely to become obsolete soon after it becomes law.

In sum, my primary messages to policy makers considering how best to legislate in the area of location tracking are:

- The accuracy and precision with which a cellular telephone handset can be located by network-based (non-GPS) techniques depends on a range of factors, but has been steadily improving as technology has advanced and as new infrastructure is deployed in cellular networks. Under some circumstances, the latest generation of this technology permits the network to calculate users’ locations with a precision that approaches that of GPS.
- A mobile user, in the course of his or her daily movements, will periodically connect to cell towers serving large and small geographic sectors. Even if the network only records cell tower data, the precision of that data will vary widely for any given customer over the course of a given day, from the relatively less precise to the relatively very precise, and neither the user nor the carrier will be able to predict whether the next data location collected will be relatively more or less precise. For a typical user, over time, some of that data will inevitably reveal locational precision approaching that of GPS.
- Network-based geolocation can often be more revealing than GPS tracking, because new and emerging cell location techniques can work
indoors and in places not typically accessible to GPS receivers, and the increasingly high resolution that that cell site tracking can achieve in densely populated areas -- and the ability to provide this data even when the handset is indoors -- can paint an even richer picture of an individual’s movements than GPS.

I am currently an associate professor of computer and information science at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, where I serve as director of the Distributed Computing Laboratory and conduct research on computer security, cryptography, network communication, and surveillance technology. Prior to joining the faculty at Penn, I was for 12 years a member of the research staff at AT&T Labs (previously known as AT&T Bell Labs) in New Jersey. I have a PhD in computer science from Princeton University, a Masters degree from Columbia, and I completed my undergraduate studies at the City University of New York.

A focus of my research is on the properties and capabilities of surveillance technology (both lawful and illicit) in the context of modern digital systems and communications networks. This research aims to strengthen our critical infrastructure against criminals and other unauthorized eavesdroppers and to help ensure that authorized surveillance systems work as intended in the rapidly changing environments in which they must reliably collect evidence and investigative intelligence. Sometimes, this work has led to surprising observations about real-world surveillance systems. For example, in 1994, I
discovered weaknesses in the NSA’s “Clipper” key escrow encryption system that led to that system’s abandonment before it was widely deployed. More recently, my graduate students and I found previously undiscovered vulnerabilities in analog telephone wiretaps used by law enforcement, and we identified ways for law enforcement agencies to harden their CALEA intercept systems against a variety of surveillance countermeasures.

There is perhaps no more ubiquitous symbol of our highly connected society than the cellular telephone. Over the course of only a few short decades, mobile communication devices have evolved from being little more than an expensive curiosity for the wealthy into a basic necessity for most Americans, transforming the way we communicate with one another, do business, and obtain and manage the increasing volume of information that is available to us. According to recent estimates, there are today more than 331 million active wireless subscriber accounts in the United States. Many households now forgo traditional “landline” telephone service, opting instead for cellular phones carried by each family member. Wireless carriers have strained to keep up with the explosive demand for cellular service, in many areas deploying new infrastructure (most visibly cellular antenna towers) as quickly as they can find places to put it.

As difficult as it may be to imagine modern life without the cell phone, it is sometimes easy to forget how rapidly the technology has come about and how quickly new research ideas in wireless communication can advance into
products and services that we take for granted. Over the last 25 years the mobile telephone has transformed from an analog voice-only service (originally available in only a few markets) into a high-bandwidth, always-on Internet access portal. “Smartphones”, such as the latest iPhones and Android devices, act not just as voice telephones, but as personal digital organizers, music players, cameras, email readers, and personal computers, in a package that fits in our pocket. We now carry our phones with us wherever we go, and we expect them to have service wherever we happen to be.

Many of the most important and innovative new applications and services that run on mobile devices take advantage of the ability to quickly and automatically detect the user's location to provide location-specific information and advice. At the same time, cellular providers calculate where phones in their networks are located (and how they move) to manage various network functions and to plan where new infrastructure is required.
2. Wireless Location Technologies

Unlike conventional wireline telephones, cellular telephones and cellular data devices use radio to communicate between the users’ handsets and the telephone network. Cellular service providers maintain networks of radio base stations (also called “cell sites”) spread throughout their geographic coverage areas. Each base station is responsible for making connections between the regular telephone network and nearby cellular phones when they make or receive calls. Cell phone handsets periodically (and automatically) identify themselves to the nearest base station (that with the strongest radio signal) as they move about the coverage area. If a phone moves away from the base station with which it started a call and nearer to a different base station, the call is “handed off” between base stations without interruption. This process of “registration” between a phone and the nearest cellular base stations happens automatically whenever a cellular handset is turned on; no intervention by the user is required. The effect is that phones will generally work any time they are within radio range of at least one base station, which allows users to use their phone at any location in their provider’s geographic coverage area.

There are two different technical approaches that can be used for calculating the location of a cell phone. In the first approach, the user’s phone calculates its own location using special GPS satellite receiver hardware built in to the handset. In the second approach, the cellular system infrastructure calculates
the location of the phones that are active in the network, using the normal cellular radio interfaces and without explicit assistance from the users’ handsets.

### 2.1 Handset-based GPS

For smartphone applications that run on the user’s handset, the most prominent location technology is GPS. In GPS location, a user’s phone contains special hardware that receives signals from a constellation of global position satellites. This allows a phone handset to calculate its latitude and longitude whenever it is in range of the satellites. GPS technology can achieve very high spatial resolution (typically within ten meters). In the latest phone models that incorporate GPS chipset hardware, GPS location features are integrated into applications for mapping, street directions, and to obtain information about local services and merchants.

Whether or not the calculated GPS location of a handset is sent to the network (or any other third party) depends on the application software that the phone is running. Some applications, as a matter of course, may periodically transmit their location to external services. For example, a mapping application might send its current GPS-calculated location to a network-based service in order to discover, say, the locations of nearby businesses that might be of interest to the user. Network-based services that make use of a phone's GPS location
might be offered by the cellular carrier or by a third party, internet-based entity.

Unfortunately, GPS, for all its promise, has a number of fundamental limitations. It relies on special hardware in the phone (particularly a GPS receiver chip) that is currently included only in the latest handset models and that generally is enabled for location tracking only when the phone user is explicitly using it to run a location-based application on the phone. Perhaps most importantly, GPS works reliably only outdoors, when the handset is in “view” of several GPS satellites in the sky above.

2.2 Network-based location

GPS is only one technology for cell location, and while it is the most visible to the end user, GPS is neither the most pervasive nor the most generally applicable cellular phone location system, especially in the surveillance context. More ubiquitously available are techniques that (unlike GPS) do not depend on satellites or special hardware in the handset, but rather on radio signal data collected and analyzed at the cellular providers’ towers and base stations. These “network-based” location techniques can give the position of virtually every handset active in the network at any time, regardless of whether the mobile devices are equipped with GPS chips and without the explicit knowledge or active cooperation of the phone users.
The accuracy and precision with which a handset can be located by network-based (non-GPS) techniques depends on a range of factors, but has been steadily improving as technology has advanced and as new infrastructure is deployed in cellular networks. Under some circumstances, the latest generation of this technology permits the network to calculate users’ locations with a precision that approaches that of GPS.

Network-based location techniques work by exploiting the cellular radio infrastructure that communicates between the network and the users’ phones. All cellular systems have an extensive network of base stations (“towers”) spread throughout their areas of service such that a cell phone in any locations in the coverage area is within radio range of at least one base station. This arrangement essentially divides the carrier’s coverage area into a mosaic of local “sectors”, each served by an antenna at a local cellular base station. Network-based location enables a cellular provider to identify the sector in which a user’s phone is located, and, in some cases, to further pinpoint their location within a sector.

2.2.1 Sector identification

At a minimum, cellular providers record the identity of the particular base station (or sector) with which a cellular phone was communicating every time it makes or receives a call and whenever it moves from one sector to another. How precisely this information by itself allows a phone to be located depends
on the size of the sector; phones in smaller sectors can be located with better accuracy than those in larger sectors.

Historically, in the first cellular systems, base stations were generally placed as far apart from one another as possible while still providing adequate radio coverage across the area terrain (effectively making the sector areas they cover as large as technically possible). In early cellular systems, a base station might have covered an area several miles or more in diameter (and in sparsely populated, rural areas, this may still be true today). But as cellular phones have become more popular and as users expect their devices to do more and to work in more locations, the size of the “typical” cell sector has been steadily shrinking.

The reason for this trend toward smaller cell sectors is the explosive growth in the demand for wireless technology. A sector base station can handle only a limited number of simultaneous call connections given the amount of radio spectrum “bandwidth” allocated to the wireless carrier. As the density of cellular users grows in a given area, the only way for a carrier to accommodate more customers is to divide the coverage area into smaller and smaller sectors, each served by their own base stations and antennas. New services such as 3G and LTE/4G Internet create additional pressure on the available spectrum bandwidth, usually requiring, again, that the area covered by each sector be made smaller and smaller. At the same time, users increasingly rely on their mobile devices to work wherever they happen to be, indoors and out, on the
street, in offices and residences, even in basements and elevators. The only way to make service more reliable in more places under varying radio conditions is to add base stations that cover “dead spots”. Adding base stations to eliminate dead spots further reduces the area of a typical sector's coverage.

As a result of these pressures, the number of cellular base stations has been growing steadily, with a corresponding decrease in the geographic area served by each. According to a recent Cellular Telecommunications Industry Association (CTIA) study, the number of cellular base stations in the United States tripled over the most recent ten year period. Indeed, this trend has been accelerating rapidly, with the deployment of the latest generation of smaller and smaller-scale cellular base stations (called, variously, “microcells”, “picocells” and “femtocells”). These small cells are designed to serve very small areas, such as particular floors of buildings or even individual homes and offices. By some estimates, the number of these small-scale cellular base stations equaled or outstripped the number of conventional cells in the US in 2010, and their deployment continues to grow at a very fast rate.

The effect of this trend toward smaller cell sectors is that knowing the identity of the base station (or sector ID) that handled a call is tantamount to knowing a phone’s location to within a relatively small geographic area. In relatively unpopulated areas with open terrain, a sector might cover an area miles in diameter. But in urban areas and other environments that use microcells, a
sector’s coverage area can be quite small indeed, sometimes effectively identifying individual floors and rooms within buildings.

2.2.2 Enhanced location with time- and angle- of arrival

The decreasing size of cell sectors is not the only factor making cellular network-based location more accurate. New technology allows cellular network providers to locate not just the sector in which the users' wireless device is located, but its position within the sector. By correlating the precise time and angle at which a given device’s signal arrives at multiple sector base stations, new technology now makes it practical for a network operator to pinpoint a phone’s latitude and longitude at a level of accuracy that can approach that of GPS.

A variety of “off-the-shelf” products and system upgrades have recently become available to cellular providers that use enhanced time- and/or angle- of arrival calculations to collect precise location information about users’ devices as they move around the network. Current commercially available versions of this technology can pinpoint a phone's location to an accuracy of within 50 meters or less under many circumstances, and emerging versions of the technology can increase accuracy even beyond that. This is accomplished without requiring any new or special hardware (such as GPS chips) to be installed on the end-users' phones. Accurate locations can be tracked with this technology even when no calls are being made or received, as long as the
user’s phone is turned on and is within a coverage area. (Whether locations are routinely tracked and recorded at times other than when calls are made or received depends on the policy of the particular carrier).

Although these enhanced location technologies are not yet universally available in every network, wireless carriers are deploying them because they provide information that is extremely valuable in managing their networks and businesses. By tracking more precisely where mobile devices are located within sectors (and their patterns of movement), a carrier can better identify where new infrastructure might be required, where old infrastructure might be redundant, and how and where their customers use different service offerings.

While each carrier has its own data collection and retention practices, carriers typically create “call detail records” that can include the most accurate location information available to them. Historically, before more advanced location techniques were available, carrier call detail records typically have included only the cell sector or base station identifier that handled the call. As discussed in the previous section, the base station or sector identifier now carries with it far more locational precision than it once did.

As even more precise location information becomes available, cellular records increasingly (now and in the future) can effectively include what amounts to the customer’s latitude and longitude along with the sector IDs traditionally used in cellular carrier databases. Some carriers will also store this location information not just when calls are made or received, but also about “idle”
phones as they move about the network. Creating and maintaining detailed records about the locations of phones as they move from place to place makes good engineering sense, and we should expect the trend toward more, and more precise, location data collection to continue as part of the natural progression of commercial wireless technology. Once the infrastructure to collect it is installed, the marginal cost of collecting and storing high-resolution location data about every customer is relatively small. Such information will be collected because it is extraordinarily valuable for network management, for marketing, and for developing new services.
3. Cell Phone Location and Law Enforcement Surveillance

As noted above, even on networks that do not employ time-of-arrival or angle-of-arrival location enhancements, the base station or sector location now identifies the location of a surveillance target with increasing specificity as cellular sectors become smaller and smaller and as microcells, picocells, and femtocells are being deployed to provide denser coverage. In legacy systems or in rural areas, a sector ID might currently specify only a radius of several miles, while in a dense urban environment with microcells, it could identify an individual floor or even a room within a building. How precisely the sector ID locates a target depends on the layout of the particular carrier’s network and where in the network the target is located, but the industry trend is moving inexorably toward sectors that cover smaller and smaller areas.

Most carriers’ systems use a variety of large and small sector configurations that vary based on the different terrain and densities they must cover. A mobile user, in the course of his or her daily movements, will periodically move in and out of large and small sectors. Even if the network only records cell tower data, the precision of that data will vary widely for any given customer over the course of a given day, from the relatively less precise to the relatively very precise, and neither the user nor the carrier will be able to predict whether the next data location collected will be relatively more or less precise. For a typical user, over time, some of that data will inevitably reveal locational precision approaching that of GPS.
As cellular carriers roll out better location technologies in the course of their business, the location information sent to law enforcement (as transmitted from the carrier’s call database in (near) real time in response to a wiretap order) is, inherently, becoming more and more precise. As sectors become smaller, the locational information they reveal becomes more intrinsically precise. And as networks improve, sector data is increasingly being linked to or supplanted by even more accurately calculated position information about each customer’s handset.

In the past, when cell sectors were widely spaced and before the availability of the enhanced network-based location technologies now being deployed by wireless carriers, it may have been technically sound to distinguish between location based on the cellular network (at presumably low accuracy) and that based on GPS (at higher accuracy). Today, however, this distinction is increasingly obsolete, and as cellular networking technology evolves, it is becoming effectively meaningless. As microcell technology and enhanced location techniques become more widely deployed in cellular networks, the information revealed by the cell sector identifier pinpoints, under many circumstances, a user’s location to a degree once possible only with dedicated GPS tracking devices. It is no longer valid to assume that the cell sector recorded by the network will give only an approximate indication of a user’s location. The gap between the location precision in today’s cellular call detail records and that of a GPS tracker is closing, especially as carriers incorporate the latest technologies into their networks.
Because the precision provided by cellular network-based location techniques approaches that of GPS-based tracking technology, cellular location tracking has significant advantages for law enforcement surveillance operations over traditional GPS trackers. New and emerging cell location techniques can work indoors and in places not typically accessible to GPS receivers. Cellular location information is routinely and automatically calculated by the network, without triggering any suspicious or alerting behavior on the handset that might be noticed by the subject. And the “tracking device” is no longer a hidden box that must be surreptitiously installed and that might be discovered, but a benign object that is deliberately carried by the target: his or her own telephone, computer, or tablet.

These characteristics -- ubiquitous and continuous availability, lack of alerting, and high precision -- make network-based cellular tracking an extremely attractive and powerful tool for law enforcement surveillance. The increasingly high resolution that that cell site tracking can achieve in densely populated areas -- and the ability to provide this data even when the handset is indoors -- can paint an even richer picture of an individual’s movements than can vehicle-based GPS devices.