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Law enforcement and crowd management

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LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CROWD MANAGEMENT

A Thesis

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Masters of Science

by

Christopher K. Dibble

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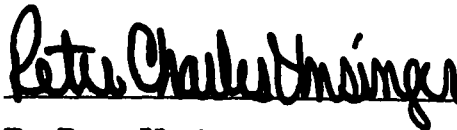
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ABSTRACT

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CROWD MANAGEMENT

This thesis addresses past responses of law enforcement and their inability to properly manage crowds. In the past, law enforcement has only reacted to civil unrest and has not attempted to prevent unrest as recommended by several presidential and independent commissions. Law enforcement must learn from past mistakes and should endorse a Community Policing philosophy to ensure that grievances and concerns are addressed through legitimate means. Law enforcement should implement a formal process to collect and analyze available information. Contingency plans should be established at the earliest signs of civil unrest. Knowledge of individual and group behavior can benefit planners prior to, and while responding to civil disturbances. Law enforcement should respond with the appropriate amount of personnel and equipment and abuses should be avoided. Response to a civil disturbance should be organized, structured, and closely supervised. The Incident Command System (ICS) should be considered as an example policy for responding to critical incidents.

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Susana, and two daughters, Samantha and Jessica. Thank you for your extreme patience and sacrifice that allowed me to accomplish a life-long goal.

Thank you Dr. Holscher, Dr. Unsinger, Professor Kuykendall and Captain Merson for your patience and guidance.

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INTRODUCTION

Lieutenant Michael Moulin arrived at Florence and Normandie, with his limited numbers of officers, and quickly realized that he did not have the resources necessary to quash the growing angry crowd. Lieutenant Moulin quickly assessed the threat to his employees, as well as the public, and made a decision that would be criticized for years to come. Lieutenant Moulin chose to retreat which allowed the crowd to grow, vandalize, maim, riot and kill (Braun 1992; Decter 1992; McMillan 1992; Rohrlich & Berger 1992; Rohrlich & Connell 1992; Rohrlich, Serrano & Connell 1992; Shapiro 1992; Taylor 1992a; Taylor 1992b; and Webster 1992). What occurred in Los Angeles in 1992 was not an isolated incident. At some point in time, most cities suffer from some form of uncontrolled crowd activity.

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss the major areas of crowd management and offer suggestions for law enforcement agencies regarding; prevention of civil disobedience, planning for civil unrest, and response to a riot. To achieve this goal; 1. prior responses to civil disobedience were collected and are analyzed, 2. different areas of civil disorder are discussed, 3. past responses to crowds and crowd related problems are analyzed, 4. individual and group thought processes related to decision making are

analyzed 5. the areas that law enforcement community should spend time and training on are discussed and finally, 6. considerations for future disorder responses are presented.

Law enforcement agencies regularly encounter groups related to sporting events, parades, concerts, youth gatherings and political gatherings. To prevent disorder, law enforcement agencies have learned that there is a great need to develop plans in dealing with crowds well before crowds develop. Sporting events, parades, concerts, youth gatherings, political gatherings and other similar gatherings can potentially become uncontrollable. Lieutenant Kelly of the Pasadena Police Department stated that "Police are criticized more when it comes to Planned Events. Police are expected to anticipate and properly plan for the possibility of a riotous situation" (Kelly 1993).

Studies of international literature reveal a common theme of hooliganism (i.e. fans that are beyond control) at sports events. Recent victory celebrations of sporting teams in the United States have equaled international civil disorder levels. Protection of sporting participants has proved equally difficult. For example, ensuring the safety of World Cup soccer players, Olympic athletes and even tennis stars has become costly and

near impossible. Injuries and death have occurred because of riotous or uncontrolled fans.

Any celebration, such as a Cinco de Mayo parade, can explode in many directions. Warring gangs flash their signs, anti-immigration groups or a drunk and disorderly crowd can turn a simple celebration into a dangerous situation for all involved. Parades bring their own special needs. They can be stretched along several miles and trouble can happen anywhere along the way. Police departments need to anticipate the troubles associated with parades and the members participating in and around the area.

Concerts, especially involving youth, are often difficult to coordinate. For example, "festival" style seating has caused several deaths (Lewis 1992; and Treadwell 1991). In addition, large numbers of people in an enclosed space is a volatile situation. While the reasons why youth are more prone to violence will not be presented in this paper, the recognition of these potential problems is critical. Possible alcohol and/or drug influence creates aggression and has been linked to acts of violence (Collins & Messerschmidt 1993; Taylor 1993; and White, Raskin, Hansell, & Brick 1993). When peer pressure and egos are included, an event may become difficult to control. Many deaths have occurred from concerts that were overbooked or where

security was inadequate. Based upon their lyrics or demeanor, some music groups create a greater potential for violence. One of the largest concert promoters -- Bill Graham Presents -- hires extra security when controversial groups perform. Proper anticipation, intelligence gathering, communications and planning are critical to minimize the potential violence.

Other youth gatherings, such as Spring Break celebrations, have also created riotous situations. Similar to youth concerts, the same combinations can lower inhibitions and raise the risk of civil disorder. Great amounts of damage are often caused as the result of youth gatherings (Clem 1993; Ft. Lauderdale 1992; and Gonis 1993). Huntington Beach, Palm Springs, Newport Beach, Ft. Lauderdale and other towns have suffered losses because of these celebrations. Many agencies have contingency plans for Spring Break or other similar youth gatherings. These agencies have learned the benefit of prior communications, intelligence gathering and planning.

The Los Angeles riots were different in many ways from the infamous Watts riots of the 1960s. However, a review of available literature shows that they shared many similarities to riots that have occurred since the 1900s in the United States and Europe. A review of groups and group dynamics will illustrate how right wing extremist groups and the migration

of African Americans from the South contributed to current hostilities between the races. Civil Rights legislation in the 1960s, along with political protests, added to the image of civil disorder. Right wing extremists created fear that has contributed to attacks on minority groups including African Americans, American Indians and Hispanics (Boskin 1976; and Gurr, Brown, Tilly, Toy, Guillemin, Brooks, O'Brien, McAdam, Moore, Button, Rubenstein & Graham 1989). Groups under attack did not feel that their voices were being heard in the political arena and began to protest and fight back, which further contributed to the violence in America (Gurr et al. 1989). Cultural clashes and lack of communication between groups split community cohesiveness even further (Webster 1992a; Webster 1992b; and Woo & Morrison 1992).

Understanding crowd psychology can be beneficial in predicting or managing a crowd. This thesis discusses the decision process of individuals and groups and their learned psychology, especially related to crowd behavior.

The Los Angeles riot illustrates how far the law enforcement community still needs to go to resolve the problems of disorder management. There has not been dramatic improvements since many police departments

emphasize other training issues and do not address issues related to their response to large crowds or civil disorder.

Some law enforcement agencies have learned that it is important to practice, on a large scale, those skills that are needed to effectively manage a crowd. Law enforcement agencies have not been effective in sharing learned information and standardizing training, equipment, intelligence gathering and skills that have been proven to be effective. Organizations should also be constantly gathering intelligence and developing specialized training and equipment needs, community relations, and a standardized response.

METHODOLOGY

The information collected in this thesis was gathered between the years of 1993 to 1996. Information was collected using a variety of methods. Research for this thesis included attending conferences and meetings with law enforcement leaders from across the country. Included in the research phase was the attendance of five conferences hosted by: 1. the California contingent of the National Guard that responded to the Los Angeles riots (May of 1993), 2. the Miami Metro Dade Police Department (July of 1993), 3. the Santa Clara County Sheriff's Department Mutual Aid Seminar (October of 1993), 4. the Contra Costa County's Disaster Preparedness Drill of 1996 (May of 1996) and 5. the State of California's Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (P.O.S.T.) Critical Incident Management class (May of 1996). The above seminars were chosen based on their availability and content during the research period of this thesis.

An independent research project was devised, in conjunction with the Palo Alto Police Department and the State of California's Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (P.O.S.T.), which resulted in the collection of information from several departments that have had crowd control issues and problems. P.O.S.T. is the governing body for the State of

California that regulates all training for the State's policing agencies.

P.O.S.T. was contacted because of their ability to collect information from

throughout the state and the country. The departments that were contacted

had large scale crowd control problems and issues in the past that were

resolved in one fashion or another. Leaders from these departments were

contacted and shared information that was invaluable to this thesis.

Literature, operations plans, videos and news accounts were provided by the

participating agencies and were used in this thesis. The independent

research project included information from the following police and sheriff's

departments: Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, Pasadena, Palm Springs,

Newport Beach, San Luis Obispo County, Westminster plus the State of

California Governor's Office of Emergency Services/California Specialized

Training Institute. In addition, literature and information related to crowd

control issues were collected from the following police departments: San

Francisco, Oakland, Seattle, Ft. Lauderdale, San Jose, plus the California

Highway Patrol, the Stanford Department of Public Safety and the Federal

Bureau of Investigation (FBI). These agencies were contacted because of

their past exposure and ability to manage crowd control issues and problems.

Literature review included the analysis of over 400 books, articles and

video tapes on crowd control related topics. Newspapers surveyed included:

the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post. In addition, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), the National Criminal Justice Research Center (NCJRC) and the State of California's Office of Emergency Services (OES) were contacted for related research, articles, books or tapes.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research for this thesis began in 1993. One area of focus was disorder management related to sporting events. World Cup Soccer came to Palo Alto in 1994 and information in this thesis was shared with the Palo Alto Police Department. Crowd management issues, plans, and policies were discussed with the Palo Alto Police Department and the implementation of the Incident Command System (ICS) was accomplished. Research into "hooliganism" and related problems at sporting events was extensively researched. Buford provides information on crowd and group behavior at sporting events (1991). Pearson discusses how "football" in Europe became a violent pastime (1983). Today, soccer (European "football") has moved beyond Europe and is a world wide sport, sometimes compared to a battle ground (Kuper 1994). When rioting begins the aftermath can result in injury and death (Wren 1991).

Players are treated as national heroes and, tragically, are occasionally

murdered for poor performance (Rule 1990). Articles related to fan violence

before, during and after sporting events proved useful in evaluating past

police responses and planning future responses. Sports celebrations, such as

following the SuperBowl, National Basketball Association (NBA) and the

National Hockey League (NHL) playoffs have become violent and are

examined here (Celebration of Victory is Raucous 1990; Granberry 1993;

Rhoden 1991; and Semple 1991,).

Research and other sources that attempted to explain the reasons for

violence related to sporting events were examined (Armstrong & Harris

1991; Boyle 1989; Hobbsk 1991; Horak 1991; MacLead 1990; Redhead 1991;

Telander 1993; Ward, Murphy, Williams, & Dunning 1990; and Veno & Veno

1992).

In addition, many police organizations were contacted and information

was collected regarding their planning and response to sporting events and

related disorder management. The many events at the Rose Bowl,

supervised by the Pasadena Police Department, provided invaluable

information for this thesis. Contingency plans from the Pasadena Police

Department and the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department (contracted by the

Pasadena Police Department) were collected and analyzed (Los Angeles Sheriff's Department January 1, 1993; Pasadena Police Department. January 1, 1992 and September 12, 1992; and Smith 1993). Los Angeles Police Department provided contingency plans for sporting events in their city, including the 1984 Olympics (Barber 1994). The Seattle Police Department provided planning information for the 1990 Goodwill Games (Seattle Police Department 1990). It is evident that proper planning and preparation can minimize the problems associated with sporting events.

Large gatherings of people often contain a potential for violence and damage to property. Spring break celebrations, concerts and other gatherings associated with youth are often areas where violence and damage occur (Barron December 30, 1991; Barron December 31, 1991; Gamerman 1991; Lewis 1992; Logan 1991; Sharp 1992; Sullivan 1992; Thomas 1990 and Treadwell 1991). Contact with police departments was invaluable in the research of this problem. Police departments provided newspaper articles, video tapes, contingency plans and other materials. Police and sheriff's departments contacted included: Miami's Metro Dade, Ft. Lauderdale, Palm Springs, Newport Beach, Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Santa Clara County and Chico. The previously listed agencies were selected because of their recent problems related to the youth and their necessity to

research these problems. Research in this area also revealed problems with festival seating at concerts (Lewis 1992) and the disaster when concerts are overbooked and related security are understaffed -- for example (Gamerman 1991; Sharp 1992; and Thomas 1990). Much has been learned in planning and preparation for youth related activities. More important, much has been learned on how to recognize and respond to youth activities that are unplanned and spontaneous.

When the research for this thesis began, the impact of the riot in Los Angeles was still being felt around the country. Racial tensions were evident and a primary focus of the research was in the areas of riots and protests that were racially motivated. A survey of the literature resulted in several main books and papers that were helpful in tracing the roots of racial divisions from the start of the United States to present. Hostilities between races and other groups have occurred throughout the history of the United States and major riots have been cataloged (Benyon and Solomos 1987; and Gurr et al. 1989). Boskin explored racial violence in depth and provided further documentation of common themes throughout history that are found in many racially related protests or riots -- and which also existed in the Los Angeles riot of 1992 (1976). Boskin illustrated that government oppression of minority groups through political means, often facilitated by police

departments, leads to a community that eventually explodes over a police action.

Other scholarly works discuss the struggle between races and competition for government attention and funds (Isaac & Kelly 1981; Spilerman 1976; and Wielawski 1992). Recent ballot measures in California have further frustrated race relations in California and throughout the United States. The recent passage of propositions 187 (elimination of social services, medical benefits and welfare programs for illegal aliens) and 209 (elimination of affirmative action programs) have resulted in protests and rallies across the state. Legal challenges to both propositions are still being pursued and their outcome is yet to be seen.

An area often overlooked in disorder management research is the conflict involving moral or religious issues. One of the most basic conflicts occurs when a religious doctrine differs with government statutes. A separation of "church and state" doctrine does not often resolve conflicts that are religiously or morally motivated. It is important to note that the perceptions of persons involved in this type of protest are often very strongly held and can quickly escalate into violent confrontations. Abortion rights freedom of speech for extremist groups, ecological issues and many other

areas have created protests -- (see for example Barringer 1993; Gurr et al. 1989; and Right Wing Youths Riot in Rostock 1992).

Labor disputes in this country began well before the creation of labor unions. Unfair labor practices of large organizations lead to the creation of unions throughout the United States (Gurr et al. 1989). Unfortunately, the struggle between unions and businesses can result in strikes and violence. Labor violence was more prevalent in the 1920s and 1930s when labor unions were struggling for power and recognition, however labor violence has existed since the beginning of this country. Labor unions are still prevalent today and incidents of violence are still common as in earlier decades (Chavez 1993; Godard 1992; Grant & Wallace 1991; and Gurr et al. 1989).

Political gatherings have created arenas of chaos and are potentially volatile. Opposing political views and philosophies are the basis of the democratic process upon which this nation has been founded. This nation was born of violent political protest and that violence continues today (Gurr et al. 1989). Areas in which groups struggle for political control have been previously mentioned, however they will often manifest themselves during political rallies and protests. Many of the collected books and articles allude to the constant struggle for political control and government recognition. For

example, Albritton describes in depth the struggles of groups with government and the government's response (1979). One area that is discussed in this thesis is how groups with less political power have gained government recognition through violence and protest (Berquist 1991; Gurr et al. 1989; Shin 1983; and Sunstein 1991).

Theories of individual and group decision making are abundant, unlike discussions of groups involved in riots or civil protest. Decision making processes are examined in this thesis based upon individual and group choices. The importance of collective action and behavior theories, learning theory and the choice process theory, and crowd psychology are explored and discussed.

Past and present police responses to disorder are explored. Information about mistakes and successes police departments shared have been collected from previously listed sources. The Kerner Commission and the Christopher Commission reports were essential in revealing and evaluating past responses and the many complex reasons for the community's reactions. Much information was also collected from police departments and secondary sources, such as periodical articles and

newspaper articles . Traditional training, community relations, intelligence gathering, planning and lessons learned are discussed.

Recommendations for prevention, planning and responses are introduced along with several concepts, including: media relations, intelligence gathering, legal ramifications, equipment and training needs, and the Incident Command System (ICS). ICS was created by the U.S. Forest Service in response to major fires in the United States (Fire Protection Publications 1983). The program was designed to coordinate the efforts of many agencies to resolve a large scale problem. ICS has evolved and has now been applied to law enforcement related matters. This author produced an ICS manual for the Palo Alto Police Department and currently instructs others on the ICS concept (Dibble 1994).

VIOLENCE RELATED TO SPORTS

The research for this thesis began in 1993 and was an attempt to gain information for the Palo Alto Police Department's planning and preparation for the 1994 World Cup soccer games. The sport of soccer (football in most of the world) has been marred by violence. Different soccer clubs, especially in England, have violent fans that are better known as "hooligans" (Buford 1991). Some sports are prone to some level of violence, whether it be from the fans or the participants. Football, hockey and other sports gain some of their audience draw from the "heavy hits" or the accepted level of violence that are "a part of the game." In addition to the violence contained within the sport, fans bring their own level of violence. Fans can become violent and fighting has been widely reported at sporting events. In the United States violence related to sporting events occurs in many cities. The Detroit Piston's 1990 NBA victory celebration in Detroit left several people dead (IACP/BJA 1992). The Chicago Bull's 1992 victory celebration in Chicago resulted in rioting where vandalism and injuries occurred. Local law enforcement agencies were caught unprepared (IACP/BJA 1993). In 1993, the University of Wisconsin's football team defeated the University of Michigan and "A melee of fans rushing the field resulted in many injuries" (Schneider 1992; and Telander 1993).

The bombing at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta is a reminder that violence may happen at any sporting event is prone to violence. Planning for the Olympics is especially difficult because of the different sites used, transporting athletes to and from each site, Olympic village security, the many different languages spoken, coordination of all agencies involved, medical emergencies, arrest and prisoner processing procedures, bomb details, personnel management, and media relations (Barber 1984; Gates 1984; and Hannigan 1984).

The difficult task for law enforcement is to limit the spectator violence at sports related events with the available personnel. Lieutenant Kelly of the Pasadena Police Department explained that sporting events are usually classified as "Planned Events." Lieutenant Kelly explained that contingencies and logistics are expected to be handled prior to the event. He stated that the community will be more critical if the crowds of a sporting event are not managed correctly (1993). Contingency plan for sporting events often include safety for the athletes, stadium or site security, perimeter security, crowd control and traffic control. Planning for large sporting events, including the NFL's SuperBowl, Worldcup Soccer, NHL's Stanley Cup, NBA's Championship game and other college and professional sporting events require detailed advanced planning to be successful.

Sporting events pose a unique challenge to law enforcement. Proper planning, training and deployment limits the risk law enforcement agencies incur when managing sporting events and their fans.

VIOLENCE RELATED TO YOUTH GATHERINGS

Violence and crime related to juveniles and young adults includes: Spring Break celebrations, concerts, political protests and gang related activities. Police agencies are sometimes left with the aftermath and responding to newspaper headlines similar to "Nobody Took Charge in Virginia Beach Violence" (Thomas 1990) or "Blame Enough for All in N.Y. Deaths; Report Faults Police and Concert Promoters" (Miller et al 1992).

Prior planning for events involving youth is critical. During Spring Break vacation youth gather together in large numbers. Cities that have been the gathering points for youth include many coastal or resort towns. The revenue generated from vendors, including bars, are often outweighed by the damage and destruction that are left behind. Several cities that have experienced the benefits, and eventual downfall, of Spring Break celebrations are Palm Springs, California; Newport Beach, California; Chico, California;

Miami Beach, Florida; and Ft. Lauderdale Florida. Each of these cities have eventually restricted the number of youth permitted into their town and controlled the amount of alcohol allowed at sites and locations (Clem 1993; Ft. Lauderdale 1992; and Gonis 1993). Spring Break vacations for youth have been difficult to manage. Proper planning and training have proven beneficial. Anticipation and contingency planning have prevented large losses in property damage.

Palm Springs, California eventually eliminated the Spring Break celebrations by routing a state highway around the town and limiting the access of youth during Spring Break (Clem 1993; and Gorman 1993). Newport Beach, California has developed a set of contingency plans for the Spring Break vacation and regularly conducts training for officers prior to the vacation time. Other cities limit the hours that bars may remain open and implement their staffing levels with reserve officers and citizen volunteers. Hotel and motel managers, who regularly suffer some of the greatest losses, have devised special screening questionnaires for potential customers. Effective planning can eliminate many of the problems that have been experienced by some cities. Sullivan describes in his article the inability of small police agencies in handling large crowds. Sullivan described an MTV festival that erupted into violence and injuries, in large

part because the small town police agency refused to utilize their mutual aid

agreements (Sullivan 1992). Police agencies are reluctant to use mutual aid

agreements that "require a host town to declare that a situation is beyond its

control before it activates the system". Mutual aid agreements should be

written to eliminate barriers in calling for assistance and then should be

utilized more often to avoid similar problems (Sullivan 1992).

It is difficult to manage thousands of juveniles and young adults that

gather at concerts. Considerations that need to be addressed include ticket

sales (festival or reserve seating), the group or artist performing and their

fans, medical emergencies, the size of the crowds, use and sales of alcohol

and/or drugs, gang conflicts, parking, traffic control and criminal activity.

Festival seating is a method of ticket sales that does not designate a specific

space or seat for the ticket holder and leads to many problems (Antee &

Swinburn 1990; and Lewis 1992). There is a potential conflict between

concert promoters that wish to sell more tickets versus how many people can

be properly managed at a venue. Lewis mentioned the many deaths that

have occurred at concerts due to overcrowding or not properly managing

crowds. Finally, the issue of liability that is attached to cities and

auditoriums that allow concerts is discussed. Liability issues begin at the

design of the venue or facility. Are enough exits provided and how are those

exits designed? How are crowds allowed to gather and does the site prevent spectators from being crushed? Has the event been properly booked or have too many tickets been sold that prevent proper crowd management by the available staff? Has proper consideration been given to whether to allow general admission, festival seating, or combination seating been given considering the crowd and artist performing? Have proper considerations been given to alcohol management? Should alcohol be served inside the facility? What happens to intoxicated patrons? Are managers willing to accept responsibility for alcohol related incidents; at the venue and after patrons leave the venue? Have servers been properly trained? Have security staff and other staff been properly trained? Has appropriate planning taken place prior to the event and have those plans been properly followed? Each of these areas creates a potential for liability that should be considered (Antee & Swinburn 1990; and Lewis 1992).

Law enforcement agencies should be gathering information on performers and their fans well before the performance. Groups that incite their fans, through lyrics or suggestive statements, can be more difficult to manage and need more contingency planning and personnel (Antee & Swinburn 1990; Gamerman 1991; and Lewis 1992). Site location, banning

alcohol sales and appropriate staffing levels are all considerations for law enforcement (Antee & Swinburn 1990; Lewis 1992; and Sharp 1992).

Juveniles and young adults have often been the advocates of political protest. Campus protests and sit-ins have been prevalent since the 1960s (Johnson 1990). Student protests of the Viet Nam war were broadcasted over television sets and published in newspapers. Police response to student protests have often created a poor image of the police (Johnson 1990). Many headlines have been generated from student protests at college campuses (for example "Students Seek Probe of Clash with Police" and "Students Continue Takeover of Pomona College Building"). Special issues face law enforcement agencies when responding to political protest involving juveniles or young adults. First Amendment rights are to be protected while ensuring the safety of all involved and preventing damage to property. Collecting information and creating liaisons with student groups before protests are held can prevent catastrophes. Indiscriminate uses of force must be avoided and proper planning, training and implementation of contingency plans must be utilized (Odenthal 1993).

Many conflicts have occurred between groups of different races and have occurred since before the Zoot Suit riots of 1942 (Appier 1990). Youth

violence and conflict continues to occur. Neighborhood youth separated into groups later became "gangs" and often formed together to protect themselves from outside violence (Sanoff & Minerbrook 1993). However, notorious gangs (such as the Los Angeles based Bloods and Crips) eventually became violent (Johnson 1992). Current day gangs have been likened to the Italian Mafia of old, participating in illegal activities including drug sales, counterfeiting, and murder (California Office of Emergency Services 1994; Gurr et al. 1989; and U.S. Department of Justice 1993). Gang violence has been a popular subject for writers (Katz 1992; Mitchell 1992; and Sanchez 1992). Often gangs will "fuel the fires" of the community or will "spark" an incident into occurring (Gest, Duffy, Tharp, Streisand, Guttman & Cooper 1992; Metro-Dade Police Department 1993; Webster 1992a and Webster 1992b). Police departments need to consider the influence of gangs when planning special events or when responding to riotous situations where gang influence may be prevalent (Metro-Dade Police Department 1993).

RACE RELATIONS

Prior to the Los Angeles Riot of 1992 much analysis and study had been performed in an attempt to determine why similar riots had been occurring and how to prevent them. Four major presidential commissions

focused on this are in a single decade. The commissions studied the crime, conflict and violence generated by the riots that occurred throughout the 1900s: President's Commission on the Assassination of John Kennedy (Warren Commission), President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Katzenbach Commission), National Advisory Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (Eisenhower Commission) and the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission). In addition there was the Governor's Commission on the (1960s) Los Angeles Riot (McCone Commission) (Boskin 1976). In 1991 there was an additional Independent Commission that studied the Los Angeles Police Department and the citizens of Los Angeles (Christopher Commission) (Christopher 1991). Understanding the complexities of the issues that each of these commissions faced necessitates tracing the roots of urban unrest or violence.

Three books were paramount in the task of tracing the urban issues in the United States, and comparing these roots with Great Britain. Urban Racial Violence by Joseph Boskin traced the riots of the "Ghettos" and inner cities in the United States through the 1970s (1976). The Roots of Urban Unrest by John Benyon and John Solomos chronicled riots and uprisings in Great Britain and the United States and compared similarities (1987). A

major work edited by Ted Robert Gurr et al. addressed many of the issues that the previous two books had detailed, however it expanded on these issues to add many more groups to the arguments presented (1989). Historical patterns outlined revealed that the mechanization and industrialization of countries in the late 1800s to early 1900s drove minority groups into inner cities looking for jobs. Many jobs occupied by minority groups were minimal and less desirable. However, when the Great Depression eliminated jobs for many, a backlash occurred against the minority groups that were employed. Development of right wing extremist groups became prevalent and the further oppression of minority groups continued. Minority groups found that they had no political voice and often succumbed to government and laws that they did not have representation in. Riots began in the inner cities. The Harlem uprisings of 1935, 1943 and 1964; the Watts riot of 1965, the Newark riot of 1968, the Detroit riot of 1967 and the East Los Angeles riot of 1970 had similar causes and similar outcomes (Barnard 1990; Gurr et al. 1989; and Major U.S. Racial Disturbances Since 1965 1992).

Boskin states that of the major riots that occurred in the twentieth century, "all were caused by a multiplicity of factors; however, certain patterns of the riots do emerge:" 1. The most important variable appears to

be the aggressor group ... it was the white group that sparked the incident by attacking members of the minority group; 2. In the majority of the riots, some extraordinary social condition prevailed at the time of the outbreak; 3. Extenuating social conditions were intensified by climatic factors (e.g., hot humid summer, increased numbers of young people were out of school and were on the streets or a large idle population); 4. The role of rumor was extremely important in reinforcing the prior assumptions held about the group being assaulted (in each case the incident which preceded the riots - that is, a robbery or physical abuse of or by a single member of the non-white group - was sufficient to justify the acts of the majority); 5. More than any other institution, the police force was invariably involved either as a precipitating cause or as a perpetuating factor in the riots; and 6. In almost every instance, the fighting occurred within the borders of the minority-group community, thereby causing considerable damage in the area which could least afford it (1976).

Great Britain experienced similar problems with minority groups in the 1980s. Five common characteristics advanced in Benyon and Solomos' book are: 1. Racial disadvantage and discrimination are major afflictions; 2. Unemployment is high, and particularly affects youth, and especially black people; 3. Deprivation is widespread, environmental decay, poor educational

and social service provision, inadequate recreational facilities and crime are problems; 4. Political exclusion and powerlessness are evident, in that there are few institutions, opportunities and resources are articulating grievances and bringing pressure to bear on those with political power; and 5. Mistrust of, and hostility to, the police is widespread among certain sections, particularly the young (1986).

Gurr et al. states that the urban riots that occurred between 1940 - 1960 were predominantly a result of a backlash of the established government. Gurr et al. states that minority groups began to organize and gain political legitimacy which caused a backlash from the "white" organization. When political means did not accomplish the advancements sought by minority groups, collective action and rioting occurred. Collective action, which is later covered in this paper, has been successfully used to bring attention to different issues. Gurr et al. states that collective action is best used when there is also a political network also in place (1989). Gurr et al. states that forms of collective violence, a possible outcome of collective action, vary according to who is involved and what is at issue. "They have changed profoundly in Western countries over the last few centuries, as those countries have built big cities, massive governments, and complex industries." Gurr et al. further states that words such as "riot," "disorder"

and "disturbance" reflect the views of authorities, rivals and unsympathetic observers (1989). All three sources outline the breakdown of the political process for minority groups throughout the 1950s and especially in the 1960s. Collective action among minority groups broke down into collective violence and rioting.

In the article "Civil Disturbances" prepared by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), collective violence is addressed:

> ... it has become clear that collective violence and civil disturbances are an unfortunate part of the American landscape and a matter that all law enforcement agencies must be prepared to handle. There are several textbook varieties of civil disturbances of both organized and disorganized varieties such as the classical lynch mob or labor riot. However, the trend toward relatively spontaneous and destructive riots with indefinite or scattered focus is the most serious current trend facing police officers. Riots of this type - such as those experienced in Watts in the 1960s and most recently in Los Angeles, Chicago and Detroit - are more spontaneous and geared more heavily towards looting, destruction and general acquisition.
>
> Typically, these disturbances begin with an economically frustrated population, predominantly minority based, who perceive that they have been individually and collectively deprived of the privileges, rights and powers of other citizens. Under such conditions, individuals develop a bitterness toward established society, seeing it as the system that has thwarted their ambitions and desires. Individuals in these circumstances often develop a lack of respect for the law and for law enforcement officers. When these and related conditions prevail, all that is needed is an unusual incident to encourage individuals to act out their frustrations.
>
> The triggering incident often, but not always, involves a confrontation between a member of the minority group and a police officer. Typically, as a result, a hostile crowd assembles and taunts or attacks officers, who then withdraw in an attempt to avoid further confrontation. Subsequently, rumors develop and spread, further galvanizing community members and causing persons to congregate. Should police withdraw from the area or give the appearance of being helpless in the face of the confrontation, control of the assemblage often

breaks down and vandalism and looting begins. If the crowd is not dispersed and order restored, arson and wholesale destruction and violence often follow (1992 p. 138).

Throughout the previously cited sources, law enforcement often performed the enforcement role of the established government. Minority groups often battled law enforcement in their attempt at collective action, or collective violence. Law enforcement has often been referred to as the "oppressive arm of government" (Boskin 1976). Law enforcement has had the difficult task of enforcing laws that are later found to be oppressive (for example the "Jim Crow" laws) (Boskin 1976). While law enforcement has attempted to deal with the tough issues of race relations of the past, the future holds as many - if not more - challenges. California's passage of two controversial propositions (proposition 187 and proposition 209) will cause challenges to law enforcement. Proposition 187 (elimination of social services, medical benefits and welfare programs for illegal aliens) and 209 (elimination of affirmative action programs) will be seen by minority groups as further eroding the advances they had made until recent years. If history is any indicator, frustration with the established government will certainly grow and minority groups will probably resort to collective violence in an attempt to draw attention to their cause. Large crowds have already gathered in protest to the propositions, however future implementation of

the propositions will certainly cause protest. The recent passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) also resulted in nation-wide protests. Future challenges to affirmative action programs, elimination of social services to minority groups and perceived loss of jobs to other countries can cause further problems in race relations. Law enforcement will need to handle these challenges and more.

MORAL/RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

There are issues that do not relate to any other in this paper, however they create many of the civil disturbance problems in the 1980s and 1990s. Issues that challenge the beliefs of people based upon moral or religious values which often become emotionally charged. Prevalent issues in this area include gay rights, abortions, ecological preservation, groups demanding freedom of speech and political rallies.

Lieutenant Kelly and Lieutenant Odenthal spoke about the planning for the A.B. 101 demonstration (the elimination of sexual orientation as a means for discrimination) and the Gay Parade plan. They spoke about concerns of safety for the participants and spectators at each of these events. Opposition to these issues are often from the religious right wing groups and

will often use extreme measures to disrupt the activities. Lieutenant Kelly and Lieutenant Odenthal stated that meeting with as many of the groups affected prior to the event and discussing their ability to fulfill their objectives, without creating civil disturbances, is paramount to a successful conclusion to the event. They also stated that by addressing each group that expresses concern over the activity, most will abide by most of the rules or guidelines established beforehand. This can be very beneficial, especially when dealing with First Amendment rights and volatile situations (Kelly 1993; Odenthal 1993; and Waldman 1992).

Abortion rights activists, including the Pro-Life movement and Operation Rescue, have proven to very controversial. The usual method of Operation Rescue workers is to display graphic photos of babies that have been aborted in front of schools, shopping centers and abortion clinics (Whitely 1997). The Planned Parenthood movement, often the target of Operation Rescue members, can also create civil disturbance incidents. Recently, Anti-Abortion activists have claimed responsibility for several bombings and fires at abortion clinics - resulting in injury and death (Barringer 1993; Brenton 1992; Burden & Burden 1992; Gale 1990; and Guasch-Melendez 1996). San Jose Police Department responded to the Operation Rescue protest in July of 1993 of local abortion clinics. One of the

issues that San Jose Police Department addressed was the feelings of individual officers and allowed those officers with strong feelings - in either direction - to not participate in the law enforcement response. San Jose Police Department called for Mutual Aid to prepare for an effective and efficient response (Bailey & Torriero 1993). Allowing officer's feelings to dictate their ability to respond to an incident is counterproductive to the overall goal of police departments and to the basic job that any officer is expected to perform. While San Jose Police Department chose to allow this specific case, it is not usual for their department and is not recommended as a goal of this thesis.

Both sides of the issue have politicized their beliefs. The issue has become so complex that no solution is in sight and more protests are evident. The violence associated with these protests have escalated in recent years. Chief Johnston and Captain Loesch discuss their experiences with Operation Rescue supporters in 1989 in New York city. Johnston and Loesch explain that only through extreme preparation were they able to effectively deal with the 1,200 members of the group (Johnston & Loesch 1989).

The destruction of the rain forests in South America, the harvesting of old growth forests in the United States, fishing for endangered species, and

other related issues have involved law enforcement personnel. Many of these issues seem to be global and it would not appear that local law enforcement would often encounter these issues. However, this is not true. Protesters or activists will find many ways to publicize their cause which may result in civil disruption to a community. Greenpeace, Earth First and radical organizations, especially with limited funds, exploit media attention as a means of political protest (Berlet 1992).

Controversial extremist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Communists Workers Party, the American Nazis, Posse Commitatus and the Order - to name just a few - have demanded the First Amendment rights and have demanded to lead rallies and protests while broadcasting their opinions. These groups' opinions are not widely held and are often controversial. In addition, views expressed by extremist groups are those likely to provoke a violent reaction from the community (Burden & Burden 1992; Gurr et al. 1989; U.S. Department of Justice 1993).

The 1968 Democratic National convention in Chicago was infamous for the suppression of protesters by law enforcement. The conference was disrupted by anti-war protesters who were then beaten, arrested and gassed by law enforcement (Gurr et al. 1989). The Republican National convention

in San Diego also gained notoriety when large numbers of protesters congregated outside the convention hall and in the convention hall. Large numbers of protesters were arrested during this convention (Guasch-Melendez 1996). Political rallies of national, state or local origin are those places that political protest flourish. The groups previously discussed are drawn to political rallies to attempt to influence political leaders and to maximize on media exposure (Berlet 1992; Goodwin 1991; Gurr et al. 1989; and Shin 1983).

Law enforcement must be prepared to protect the rights of property owners against protesters, but also able to protect the rights of protesters and their freedom of speech. Law enforcement must have contingency plans to deal with the provisions of many of these issues.

LABOR VIOLENCE

Labor violence is almost as old as the United States. While the introduction of the American labor movement has made significant advances for workers, violence has often followed. The industrialization of America led to the creation of several strong unions; the Knights of Labor, American Railway Union, American Federation of Labor, United Mine Workers,

Western Federation of Miners, and the Industrialization Workers of the
World (IWW) (Gurr et al. 1989). Violence followed the creation and advances
of each of these unions. The labor unions were not solely to blame for the
violence, "capitalists in regard to wages, hours, and working conditions
inspired union activity and precipitated strikes. The violent attempts by
capitalists to suppress unions and break up strikes frequently incited
workers to violence" (Gurr et al. 1989 p. 46 - 47). While labor related
violence began in the 1800s, a resurgence occurred in the 1960s. The
violence surrounding labor and management continues to flare up (Gurr et
al. 1989).

Union workers have learned to use strikes and work stoppages as
leverage against management. Law enforcement agencies must be concerned
with the injuries sustained by non-union workers (or union workers who
choose to cross picket lines) and ensure the safety of all. Freedom of speech
issues usually arise at picket lines. Many unions and workers are resorting
to picketing and will continue as long as this is seen as a successful form of
protest (Chavez 1993; Godard 1992; and Grant & Wallace 1991).

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP BEHAVIOR

No single theory can possibly resolve the many complex issues involved in individual or group decision making. A survey of available literature will provide a better understanding of the interrelationships between individuals and groups. An understanding of how individuals and groups form, interrelate, and function can benefit law enforcement agencies when creating prevention programs, contingency plans and predicting the outcome of civil disturbances.

Individuals place differing values on the many different decisions they make. Informational cascades are the processes that occur in the decision making process. Individuals will watch others, and their success or failure in similar situations, to evaluate the strength of their potential decision. In addition, informational cascades are created by individuals utilizing information provided by others and will not usually research provided information further - depending upon the importance of the decision, the emotional level the individual places on the decision and the credibility the individual gives to the provider of the information (Bikhchandani, Hirshleifer & Welch 1992). This is important when considering that an influential speaker can change the decisions and opinions of many who are

not originally emotionally charged. In addition, the representation of an argument or cause by a highly recognizable figure can influence the decisions of many. Once influenced and emotionally bound, individuals will need much persuasion to return to their original position. When applied to collective action, protests or riotous situations, it is beneficial for law enforcement agencies to recognize that identification of group "leaders" and their ability to influence the group should immediately be addressed. Very often, in prevention of collective violence, violent protests and riotous situations -- identification and discussion with group "leaders" can prove beneficial. In helping groups with an appropriate forum to voice their frustrations, arguments or causes law enforcement can minimize the possibility of violent outbreaks (Odenthal 1993).

Individuals will assess their ability to achieve goals independently or within a group depending upon which is perceived to be more beneficial. An individual's decision to become part of a group depends upon: 1. whether the choice process fosters a high sense of control and produces positive emotion, 2. such positive emotion strengthens affective attachments to groups perceived as most responsible for the choice opportunity, and 3. such positive emotion strengthens attachments to proximal subgroups more than to larger more encompassing collectiveness. The Choice-Process theory suggests

conditions likely to produce behavior directed at the collective welfare (Lawler 1992). One of the important aspects of this theory is that "positive emotion" was interpreted to also mean positive in relation to current standing. The theory presented by Lawler specifically states that a positive emotion can be pride in rising from a perceived oppressed standing (1992). The theory states that individuals will attach themselves to groups that most closely associate with their struggles, standing or position on decisions (Lawler 1992).

The strength of groups are influenced by many factors, including; the groups ability to resist outside influence, the groups resistance to members that do not fully participate, the individuals ability to reach common understandings from communal bonds, the ability of members to be collectively orientated and the ability of the group to perform at a greater level than that of any individual (Driskell & Salas 1992; Issac &Kelly 1981; Laughlin, Vanderstoep, & Holling 1991; Macy 1990; Macy 1991; McPhail & Tucker 1990; Miller, Verna, & McAdams 1992; Mummendey, Simon, Dietze, & Grunert 1992; and Schrager 1985). Law enforcement agencies can influence a group's behavior by providing information (or education) to a group that supersedes previous beliefs. A groups is influenced by outside information when more of a positive or less of a negative outcome is perceived

or when less of a positive or more of a negative outcome is perceived away from the group (Lawler 1992; and Mummendey et al. 1992). Law enforcement could benefit by highlighting more of a positive, or less of a negative outcome for a group through alternative means. Communication with individuals prior to any formal group formation is the optimal outcome of understanding law enforcement.

Groups do not always need a legitimate or established framework to exist. Two main environments for groups to form are when cooperation is sustained by decentralized strategies of reciprocity (anarchy) and cooperation enforced by central authority (the state) (Bendor & Mookherjee 1987). Bendor and Mookherjee stated that the potential for success of a group's cause or demands increases when both the decentralized and centralized forms exist (1987). Gurr et al. illustrated that in the 1960s, many of the civil rights causes were successful because both the radical and legitimate forms of protest were utilized and there was a political process that was seeking to make changes in civil rights (1989).

Most available information regarding collective action studied the outcomes of the action and the effects on AFDC and welfare benefits. The many theories argued whether collective action led to more benefits in areas

where collective action, especially through protest and riots, occurred. The most prevalent information supports the argument that protests and riots led to an increase in benefits to impoverished areas, however the benefit was not an immediate result of the collective action and therefore not readily accepted as a success by the group. The immediate cause by groups that rioted was not to sustain benefits, but rather to express frustration with established policies that did not benefit their cause or position (Flood 1991; Gurr et al. 1989; Iris 1983; Issac & Kelly 1981; Lichbach 1991; McCrone & Hardy 1978; McPhail & Tucker 1990; Schneider 1992; and Schrager 1985). Law enforcement can only be a mediator for larger causes that can only be solved through political action. Law enforcement's primary role is to enforce established laws. Social welfare programs and the distribution of available funds to impoverished neighborhoods are issues beyond the ability of any single law enforcement agency to solve. Law enforcement agencies should, however, consider the group's frustrations and goals when preparing to speak or respond to the group or their actions.

Not all collective action and resulting violence is part of a perceived wrong done to an individual or group. Collective violence can erupt during a large gathering of people. LeBon (1960) stated that in riots, a herd instinct is activated that arises from a regression to an animalistic, pre-human state.

The riot situation supports the formation of a mass soul, which fosters a heightened influencability of the mass, a transfer of emotion, and a reduction of the feeling of responsibility in the individuals. Branscombe and Wann (1992) specifically studied reactions during competitions and their related outcome. They discuss that that the stronger the group identifies with the competing individual or team, and the resulting loss or win, a physiological arousal states can be triggered. They further discuss the dangers when these arousal states can not be legitimately released and the potential for aggression towards competing groups. Schneider discusses the potential for violence from large crowds. He advances a theory of psychoanalytical social contagion where participants of riots are carried away "by their subconscious, by their feelings, affects, or instincts" (1992 p. 179). Schneider also states that individuals will fall into three levels at the scene of a riot; bystander, protester and others who take advantage of a chaotic situation (1992).

The U.S. Department of Treasury Federal Law Enforcement's Crowd Control Training manual (1991) addresses theories of collective behavior. The manual addresses crowds and defines a crowd as a group of people gathered together who may have a common interest. The manual then describes a demonstration as a group of people exhibiting sympathy with or against authority usually for some political, social, economic, environmental

or other movement. A mob is described as a crowd whose members, under
stimulus of intense excitement or agitation, lose their sense of reasoning and
respect for law. A riot is described as the most severe form of collective
behavior and is a breach of the peace committed in violence against anyone
who opposes the common goal or purpose of the crowd. The manual presents
five evolutionary stages of riots; rising tensions, initial confrontations
because of tensions rising, initial violence, spread of violence, and riotous
actions. Rising tensions may be the result of unresolved incidents of local or
national concern, rumors or agitations (1991). The manual states that
psychological influences of individuals within a crowd include; anonymity,
impersonality, imitation/suggestibility, emotional contagion and release from
repressed emotions. Psychological factors influencing the group include;
propaganda and spread of rumors, excessive publicity, forceful speeches,
appearance of important persons or symbols, panic and prodding (1991).

Law enforcement agencies can affect the decision of individuals to form
groups, and the ability of groups to form, by providing a legitimate forum for
the expression of grievances and concerns. Through a Community Policing
model, law enforcement agencies provide such a forum that allows the
collection of information that may be valuable in predicting an area of
concern for the community and law enforcement. Government and elected

officials have much to do with providing a "voice" for those with concerns through a political process. Frustration with the political process can cause a situation where collective action may become necessary for a group. Law enforcement agencies can meet with groups to assure that they can voice their opinions in a safe and organized manner. Through conversations and pre-planning, law enforcement agencies can minimize the potential for an outbreak of collective violence. Law enforcement agencies should also be prepared with contingency plans and training to address those times when the groups concerns are beyond the ability of law enforcement to mediate. Law enforcement should be prepared to respond to crowds and their actions swiftly.

LAW ENFORCEMENT RESPONSE

Throughout the history of the United States law enforcement has carried the difficult task of enforcing federal, state and local laws. Laws have continued to change and have required law enforcement to change with them. Law enforcement response to previous incidents of civil unrest have often resulted in injury, death and damage to property. The riots in Harlem of 1935, 1943 and 1964; the Watts riot of 1965, the Newark riot of 1968, the Detroit riot of 1967 and the East Los Angeles riot of 1970 had similar causes

and similar outcomes. Discussed earlier, riots were a result of a multiplicity of reasons. Law enforcement was often seen by protesters, rioters and others as the enforcement arm of the government (Benyon & Solomos 1987; Boskin 1976; Deacon 1992; Gurr et al. 1989; and Tafoya 1991). Law enforcement in past has responded to protests and riots with very basic crowd control preparation. These preparations often limited law enforcement agencies in their ability to address the many different types of crowds. With the limited resources and training available, officers often used too much force for the situation, or too little, which was later scrutinized by the media and the public. Today the same applies to law enforcement agencies that have not availed themselves of updated training and advances in crowd control, disorder management, riot control, political protest, and civil disturbance training. Many cities still utilize the civil disturbance plans formulated during the 1960s (Lewis 1993). An effective response to crowds, protests and riots will enhance the ability of law enforcement to quickly resolve situations while minimizing the dangers to officers, civilians, protesters/rioters and property. Previous responses to the above situations were usually not planned for and no strategic planning would take place. Officers were often overwhelmed by the initial crowds, forced to retreat and the mayhem spread and the crowds became uncontrollable. The initial response is one of the

most important factors when responding to civil disturbance calls (Metro-Dade Police Department 1993).

Planning for an eventual response to a civil disturbance call is important, however, preventing the need to respond to any such call would greatly benefit the community and law enforcement. Community Policing and similar models advocate establishing communications with different communities within a city or county. The Kerner Commission and the Christopher Commission (previously discussed) recommended that law enforcement agencies provide a legitimate channel of communication for members of the community to voice their opinions and grievances. Only through an answer to their pleas will the community truly feel that the law enforcement agency supports them (Trojanowicz 1989). The IACP/BJA specifically states that in times of potential unrest law enforcement should solicit information from different communities, including: clergy, merchants, influential community members; media (radio, television and newspaper); and officers contacting citizens and a rumor hot-line or other intelligence gathering tools (1992). Information that should be solicited includes; the concerns that are at conflict, what the goal of the group may be, what would resolve the conflict, the groups involved and how many people are involved in these groups, the groups' potential for violence and whether they possess, or

can obtain, weapons and what specific targets the group will attack. Law enforcement agencies can prevent disorder and violence by addressing many of these issues. If prevention does not occur, law enforcement agencies can properly respond with the information collected.

Law enforcement should have a means to gather intelligence of potential disorder through different means. Law enforcement has not been, and continues not to be, effective in this area. Proper intelligence collection can benefit a department from prevention to response to a disorder incident (IACP/BJA 1992; Metro-Dade Police Department 1993; and Schmidt 1991). Intelligence sources include: other local, state or federal law enforcement agencies; community leaders; police officers; informants or snitches; juveniles; gang members and former gang members; other agencies. The internal report system should provide valuable information (e.g., burglaries of gun stores, theft of explosives, assaults, assaults against police officers, firearms discharge, looting, hate crimes, incidents against motorists, incidents against firefighters, theft of vans). Other early areas that should be monitored include: ethnic tensions, criminal groups and gangs; minority based newspapers, television stations, and radio stations; citizen complaints; lack of citizen willingness to assist police in routine matters; sales of gasoline in glass or cans and stock piles of rocks and bottles or debris on street

corners. The collection of intelligence in a department should be centralized and should also be responsible for dissemination of information (IACP/BJA 1992; and Metro-Dade Police Department 1993).

All law enforcement agencies should be planning for a civil unrest situation and should continually practice these plans. However, with shrinking department budgets, it is difficult to convince many departments of this fact until after they have attempted to respond to a riotous situation (Dixon 1993; Fritsch 1992; Gruber 1990; Henderson 1992; and Metro-Dade Police Department 1993). Planning for a potential riot should involve several different types of plans. Specific plans cover everything and all contingencies. A disadvantage of a specific plan is that it is extensive, is costly to provide training for and is not flexible. Specific plans are beneficial for events which are usually reoccurring and in which many factors are known (e.g., sporting events, concerts and community functions). General planning is non-specific and flexible. Training covers many situations and can be utilized for more situations. The decisions when utilizing general plans is left to field commanders and supervisors. General plans are most often used for basic crowd control and riot response teams. Specialty teams that also respond with the crowd control teams are provided more detailed

and specific training (James 1990; Odenthal 1993; and Metro-Dade Police Department 1993).

The Pasadena Police Department and Los Angeles Sheriff's Department have had a long working relationship when responding to crowd related incidents (Kelly 1993; Odenthal 1993; Los Angeles Sheriff's Department 1990 - 1993; Oliver 1991 - 1993; Pasadena Police Department 1992 - 1993; and Smith 1993). Many problems have been avoided by the city of Pasadena (home of the RoseBowl) because of the extensive planning and efficient staffing provided by both the Pasadena Police Department and the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department. Lieutenants Odenthal and Kelly both stated that it is not only important to properly plan for large events, but a structured format for planning should be used consistently. The benefit is not only do other city and county departments become accustomed to their roles, but law enforcement personnel also become familiar with their responsibilities. Lieutenants Odenthal and Kelly then stated that the Incident Command System should be utilized to outline General or Specific plans (1993).

The Incident Command System (ICS) is part of the Standardized Emergency Management System (SEMS) that is utilized by California Office of Emergency Services. The California Office of Emergency Services

has mandated the use of SEMS for all emergency agencies in the state of

California. The ICS was first developed in 1970 by the U.S. Forest Service.

ICS is a flexible tool that is now utilized by emergency personnel to respond

to critical incidents of any nature. The benefits of ICS are that it can be

utilized within a single agency response or with several different agencies -

even from different disciplines (e.g., a fire department and police

department). Common terminology is created for all emergency personnel.

The ICS is a modular design that has a unified command structure, utilizes

collective goals from the different responding agencies and uses the

traditional field command post. The operations plan is consolidated with

other agencies to minimize the use of personnel and equipment and

eliminates duplication of tasks. The modular design ensures a manageable

span-of-control (no more than five to seven subordinates at any part of the

operation). Predesignated incident facilities and vendors can be established.

Comprehensive resource management is utilized ensuring mandatory check-

in procedures, all resources, equipment and personnel are accounted for and

all changes are promptly reported and recorded. The ICS utilizes an Incident

Commander and a command staff. The command staff consists of the

Incident Commander, the Deputy Incident Commander, the Public

Information Officer (PIO), the Incident Scribe, the Liaison Officer, and the

Agency Representative (from the other agencies that are involved). Below

the Command Staff are four other major areas of responsibility; the Planning and Intelligence section; the Operations section; the Logistics section and the Finance section. Each section has many sub-groups that are responsible for the planning, deployment, support and accounting of resources, equipment and personnel (Dibble 1994; and Fire Protection Publications 1983).

It is important that a department's chain-of-command already be established, that the command post to be used is not the same as the Emergency Operations Center (EOC). Very often dignitaries and high ranking officials will want status updates and will check into the EOC to gain this information. The command post is where the decisions on how to deploy personnel and plans that have been established occur. The command post is usually staffed by the Incident Commander and the Command Staff. The Incident Commander is usually the rank of Lieutenant or above. The command post should be situated at a safe distance from the incident. The location should have ample communications lines and methods of egress.

Mutual Aid agreements should be addressed immediately. Most cities have mutual aid agreements with county law enforcement agencies. Usually the first mutual aid call is to the county agency. The county agency then has the responsibility to call the state's mutual aid agency. Agreements should

be made within departments regarding whose responsibility it is to call the county mutual aid contact (Metro-Dade Police Department 1993; Santa Clara County Sheriff's Office February 1993; and Santa Clara County Sheriff's Office October 1993).

Training for civil disturbances should take several different forms. Training should be conducted to cover four areas: 1. Prevent individual police actions which may precipitate a hostile crowd situation, 2. Prepare the officers and commanders for riot control operations, 3. Practice coordination with other agencies, and 4. Prepare the officers to be sensitive to community problems as rebuilding occurs after civil disorder and follow-up investigations are conducted to arrest and prosecute rioters. The entire police department (sworn personnel) should be trained in basic crowd control techniques. The basic crowd control response is different than the routine patrol that officers are accustomed to. The basic response requires officers to work in teams to accomplish their goal. Specialized training should occur for a limited number of officers. In addition to the Specialized Weapons and Tactics teams (SWAT), officers may be trained in tactics of response to sniper calls (especially while assisting firefighters), officer down calls (rescue operations to save citizens or officers from a crowd), Mobile Field Force (utilizing cars, trucks, horses or helicopters to repel crowds) and any other

training need specific to the area In addition, officers should be educated in local, state and federal laws that are often addressed, and challenged, during protests and riots. Laws that apply during these situations may include: Emergency Powers (may include the imposition of curfews and restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages, gasoline and other items), Arrest Charges (which local, state or federal law will apply and which will be used), and Mass Arrest Procedures (specific booking and detention procedures to be used) (Beene 1992; Bessmer 1989; IACP/BJA 1992; Lewis 1993; and Metro-Dade Police Department 1993).

Proper equipment is essential to accomplishing the tasks. Basic equipment should include: Communications equipment (multi-channel radios, batteries, ear plug attachments), flashlights and batteries, other lighting equipment, vests (ballistic and safety), helmets and face shields, ballistic and field shields, handcuffs and flex cuffs, gas masks, gloves, crowd barriers, riot uniforms, chemical munitions (for specially trained personnel), aircraft, specialty vehicles, and medical supplies (IACP/BJA 1992; Lewis 1993; Metro-Dade Police Department 1993; and Pilant 1993).

Response to a civil disturbance should be immediate with an adequate amount of personnel and equipment. An immediate assessment should occur

for additional resources, equipment and personnel. A decision of whether to call in additional department personnel or to call for mutual aid should be immediately made based upon the intelligence gathered. Decisions need to be made quickly. Replacement schedules should be next decided upon and contingency plans should be established for the situation. Plans that are established should be deployed. Immediate and decisive actions should occur and enforcement of laws should occur, including arrests, whenever possible. Specialty teams should be assembled and deployed when ready. Liaisons should occur with the media, community leaders and other agencies. Order should be established as soon as possible.

Law enforcement agencies should consider the issues discussed in this paper and assess their readiness for a major civil disturbance. Whether responding to their own problem or a problem of a neighboring jurisdiction, most agencies will be involved in a civil disturbance within the coming years. Law enforcement agencies should look at their existing contingency plans, training and equipment. They should assess their mutual aid agreements and evaluate their preparedness for a riotous situation.

CONCLUSION

It is impossible for law enforcement to plan for every contingency for the many different types of crowds and the actions they may choose. The beginning of this thesis discussed the major crowd groups and the outcome to some of their actions. Law enforcement in the past has responded to crowds and their actions inefficiently and with antiquated methods. In the past, law enforcement has only reacted to civil unrest and has not attempted to prevent unrest as recommended by several presidential and independent commissions. Law enforcement must learn from past mistakes and should endorse a Community Policing philosophy to ensure that grievances and concerns can be addressed through legitimate means. Collection and analysis of information has not been a priority of law enforcement in the past. Very often, indicators were available that signaled unrest in the community. Law enforcement should implement a formal process to collect and analyze information that is collected through the many different sources previously mentioned. Contingency plans should be established at the earliest signs of civil unrest to prevent possible targets from being injured or damaged. Knowledge of individual and group behavior can benefit planners prior to, and while responding to civil disturbances. Past responses have taught us that law enforcement should respond with the appropriate amount

of personnel and equipment and abuses should be avoided. Response to a

civil disturbance should be organized, structured and closely supervised. The

Incident Command System (ICS) should be considered as an example policy

for responding to critical incidents.

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