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WHAT AFFECT WILL DOMESTIC RIGHT WING TERRORIST GROUPS
HAVE UPON THE RESOURCES OF CALIFORNIA LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES
BY THE YEAR 2002?

An Independent Study
Presented to
The Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of the
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by
Thomas D. Schmidt
Los Angeles Sheriff's Department

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This Command College Independent Study Project is a **FUTURES** study on a particular emerging issue in law enforcement. Its purpose is **NOT** to predict the future, but rather to project a number of possible scenarios for strategic planning consideration.

Studying the future differs from studying the past because the future has not yet happened. In this project, useful alternatives have been formulated systematically so that the planner can respond to a range of possible future environments.

Managing the future means influencing the future -- creating it, constraining it, adapting to it. A futures study points the way.

Executive Summary

A close look at the California population reveals significant changes in ethnic composition and social values during the past ten years.

The combining of the negative factors contained within these two change areas create a strong potential for an increase in organized violence directed toward racial, ethnic and religious groups. Persons who commit these acts of hate motivated violence often support or are members of extremist organizations.

Extremist organizations have a strong, but currently small, following within the state. They have the potential, however, to cause havoc within both our society and government. If they are permitted to reach their full potential, large quantities of law enforcement resources will be expended in countering their illegal activities. The alternative is to develop policies, plans and procedures that will impact the level of occurrence of hate crimes and the influence of extremist organizations.

In this project, futures research techniques were used to create several scenarios. One of the scenarios was the basis for the policy considerations which, if implemented, will impact the issue.

A mission statement is included that is intended to guide law enforcement agencies toward the protection of the rights of minority group members; the protection of our government and society from terrorist and extremist groups; and aggressive enforcement of laws pertaining to these protections.

A comprehensive course of action, based mainly upon successful community and law enforcement policies that are in effect in different parts of the country, is discussed and presented for the readers consideration. The major components of the plan are the development of policies concerning the handling of hate crimes; the participation in statistical gathering systems; the enlargement and use of counterterrorist task forces; the forming and supporting of community human relations groups; the implementation of educational programs; the legislation of a state civil rights act; the broadening of laws related to hate motivated crimes; and the expansion of information gathering capabilities.

The implementation plan identifies persons who have a stake in the issue; techniques to obtain their support; negotiable and non-negotiable issues; and winning strategies for each of the stakeholders.

The project concludes with a complete transition process which includes a commitment plan, goal setting meetings, team development and responsibility charting. The plan is designed to ensure success during the implementation period.

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Chapter One

Project Background

Area Of Interest

During recent years significant changes have occurred in the racial composition and social values of the population of the State of California. The coupling of the negative factors of these changes creates a strong potential for racially motivated violence. The violence could occur in the form of isolated hate type incidents committed by individuals or in the form of organized terrorist acts committed by extremist groups. California law enforcement agencies must develop policies and procedures that will impact the level of frequency of racially motivated incidents and that will control the unlawful activities of domestic right wing terrorist groups.

Population Trends

California is situated in what is now popularly called the Pacific Rim. The Pacific Rim regions comprise North America, Mexico, South America, Antarctica, Australia, Indonesia, East Asia and Siberia. Thirty percent of all United States trade is with these countries and eighty percent of that trade passes through the gateway of California (Security Pacific National Bank, 1984).

The vast majority of Pacific Rim immigrants who enter the United States settle in California. It is estimated that the Asian American population in the United States will increase by 4.7 million by the year 2000. California is presently the home of Sixty-four percent of the Asian population in our country

(Leepson, 1986:57). By the same year, the Hispanic population in the United States will likely increase to 30 million (Trimtab, 1986:4). California will be the home of over 30% of that population.

It is estimated that the population of California will be 31.4 million by the turn of the century. The Asian population will comprise 11.8 percent of the state's total and the Hispanic population 26.6 percent. The Black segment of our society will increase slightly to 7.9 percent. Although the white population will still exceed 53.6 percent, it will decrease by over 8.4 percent between now and the twenty-first century (State of California, 1986b:3).

The National Research Council - National Academy of Science estimated that the undocumented alien population in the United States ranged between 1.5 and 3.5 million in 1980. The estimate of the Census Bureau was slightly higher. It estimated that the illegal alien population ranged between 3 and 5 million in 1986. The yearly influx of undocumented aliens ranges between 100 and 300 thousand persons (Wattenberg, 1987:23-24).

Wattenberg in his study noted that "blacks and Hispanics have substantially higher fertility rates than whites. Further, recent immigrants have higher fertility rates than other Americans, at least for their first generation in residence." Additionally, over 80 percent of the immigrants come from African, Asian, Hispanic and Moslem nations (Wattenberg, 1987:112).

A recent Kiplinger Forecasts indicates that:

Population growth, coming to a total of barely 12% over the next 15 years, will result almost entirely from a high level of immigration and from the higher-than-replacement birthrate of new immigrants. These mostly hispanic new Americans, will give the U.S. a steadily rising percentage of racial minorities (Kiplinger, 1987:21).

Social Changes

The California society, which at one time was known as the "liberal left" throughout the country, is now steadily drifting toward the conservative right. In our last statewide election, voters made socially conservative decisions on at least three significant issues.

Proposition 63 amended the constitution to make English the official language of the State. By its passage the legislature was required to enact laws to preserve English as the state's common language. One of the supporting arguments for the amendment was that "American heritage is now threatened by language conflicts and ethnic separatism. Proposition 63 would affirm California's oneness as a state, and as one of 50 states united by a common bond, the English language" (League of Women Voters: 1986:3). Over 5 million Californians, 73 percent of the those voting, supported the change.

The AIDS Initiative, although soundly defeated by almost 4 million votes, received the support of 29 percent of the ballot casters. If passed, the initiative could have forced isolation or quarantine of AIDS patients and excluded those exposed to the virus from schools. Arguments in favor of the amendment included "the only absolute certain way to protect the uninfected public

is by mass screening", "AIDS is not confined to high risk groups", and "It should not be treated as a civil rights issue" (League of Women Voters, 1986:6).

Finally, voters removed the Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court and two Associate Justices by the majorities of 66, 60 and 57 percents. The soundest defeat was that of Chief Justice Rose Bird who received 4.6 million votes for rejection (Los Angeles Times, 1986).

California Responds

Californians have often reacted violently to changes which have effected their style of living, financial well being or ability to control their environmental surroundings.

Since becoming a state in 1850, individuals from various racial minority groups have been born in or migrated to California, gained employment or established businesses and become productive citizens. Their efforts, however, have not always been accepted and a series of encounters between diverse racial and ethnic groups have occurred. A brief review of our history reveals parallels between past and present displays of racial and ethnic violence.

Native Indians. In the period of time between the mid 18th century and the late 1800's, the population of the native indian in California was reduced from a quarter of a million to no more than twenty thousand remaining in the state. Open acts of violence were committed by miners, farmers and military forces to rid the indian from areas that were rich mineral and agricultural

lands. Although the acts were committed by unscrupulous individuals, they were often supported by the general populous.

"The decimation of the native population was caused partly by the impact of the diseases the settlers imported, and partly through systematic violence . . . amounting to what some California historians describe as a campaign of genocide" (State of California, 1983:11).

Chinese. Significant numbers of Chinese first came to California in 1850. When they discovered that the mining industry was not as profitable as they expected, many turned to farming and work related to the building of railroads.

In 1854 legislation was passed which prohibited Chinese from testifying in court against whites. The Burlingame Treaty, passed in 1868, barred them from becoming citizens of the United States. In 1877 an anti-Chinese riot occurred in San Francisco. In the late 1870's, a mob attack on the Chinese community in Los Angeles left 19 dead. "Violence against California's Chinese continued well into the 20th century. 'No one will ever know,' writes a recent historian of anti-Asian prejudice, 'how many Chinese were murdered in California'" (State of California, 1983:12). The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited immigration for two decades. The Immigration Acts of 1917 and 1924 shut down Chinese Immigration until 1943. Betty Sung wrote that the "The Chinese were the only people specifically named in legislation to be excluded from the United States. It was an affront that still rankles in the hearts of many Chinese" (Sung,

1967:57).

Japanese. There was a general acceptance of the Japanese when they first migrated to California. They began as common laborers and eventually many were able to start their own businesses. They usually lived in the same neighborhoods or near each other in rural areas.

At the turn of the century an anti-Japanese movement began. It further escalated following the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. By 1908 an agreement was made which prohibited the issuance of passports for travel to the United States for labor purposes. The state legislature enacted a law in 1913 that prohibited those who could not obtain citizenship from owning land. The Alien Land Act, 1920, disallowed non-citizens from leasing and sharecropping land. The Immigration Act of 1924 ended all immigration from Asia.

Various organized groups "notably the American Legion . . . actively participated in vigilante efforts that included several mass expulsions from individual rural areas within the State" (State of California, 1983:13).

On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 that resulted in the internment of over 110,000 Japanese men, women and children. The first and perhaps most famous of these camps was Manzanar, the square mile camp which was the home to 10,000 persons who were mostly former residents of the Southern California area. Walter Woodward graphically described the internment experience:

Welcome, citizens, to Manzanar, a barren, forsaken, wind-swept plain where the cold was chilling, the heat was intense, where home was a crowded, semi-public tarpaper shack, and where the future was limited by barbed wire fences and soldiers carrying loaded rifles (Miller, 1987).

Blacks. Before the Civil War, California was looked upon as a potential refuge for Blacks. But, the optimism was not shared by White communities in California. The first Anglo governor, Peter Burnett fought to ban Blacks from the state. Although the effort failed, rigid restrictions were placed upon Black immigrants. They were denied the right to testify in court, to vote, to be on juries and to utilize some public facilities. They were not permitted to ride street cars in San Francisco until 1864 and schools were segregated until 1890 (State of California, 1983:14).

There was a large immigration of Blacks during World War II. On arrival they found restrictions similar to those placed upon them in their former homes. Restrictive housing covenants, job ceilings, segregated schools and housing controls were common.

Reported acts of racial violence and discriminatory practices continued through the sixties.

Hispanics. Most of California's Hispanics are not new immigrants to the state. Early Spanish speaking settlers developed a well established and flourishing society long before the arrival of the White culture and traditions.

Violence against Hispanics has a long history. Lynching was a common practice during the 1800's. Over 30 lynchings occurred between 1854 and 1870. In 1859 Santa Barbara was occupied by

Federal soldiers to prevent a racial war between Anglos and Mexicans. Reported lynchings occurred as late as 1892 in Santa Ana and 1893 in San Bernardino.

As with for the Blacks, housing restrictions, job ceilings, segregated schooling and limited use of public facilities continued into the mid 20th century.

The Zoot Suit riots in 1943 were the climax of the hostility which had developed between the Anglo and Mexican communities. Hundreds of servicemen attacked and beat Mexicans over a several day period in Los Angeles. The riots were finally stopped due largely to the efforts of military authorities.

Our Current Status. One of the findings of the recent Attorney General's report, which was prepared by the Commission on Racial, Ethnic, Religious and Minority Violence was that:

Hate violence persists in California and poses a threat to the peace and safety of our communities. In every region of the state, incidents have occurred in which racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities have been harassed, intimidated, assaulted, and even murdered" (State of California, 1986a:7).

Right Wing Terrorist Groups

For our purposes right wing terrorist groups in the United States are divided into four categories: the Ku Klux Klan, the neo-Nazis, the Identity Church movement and anti-governmental control groups.

The Ku Klux Klan. The dubious honor of founding our country's first formalized terrorist group must be shared by more than one individual. Six young ex-Confederates formed the organization in a law office in the town of Pulaski, Tennessee

less than nine months after Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Although there is some disagreement as to the intent of the group, the reputation of the men who met in secret, rode with their faces hidden and practiced elaborate rituals became widespread. The secret club, who some say was formed out of boredom and for the founders amusement, had a reputation for frivolous mischief and pranks. Shortly after its founding, the acts of the Ku Klux Klan rapidly undertook a sinister side (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1986:6-8). From its inception in 1865 to 1869 the frightening reputation of the Klan became renown. In 1871 President Grant was given Congressional authority to utilize military forces to restore order in areas where the Klan was operating. The actions of the Klan temporarily ceased to exist (Langone, 1984:85).

During this still in Klan history, two major periods of immigration occurred. The first between 1878 and 1897; the second between 1898 and 1914.

Major race riots occurred in Atlanta in 1906, Springfield, Illinois in 1908 and St. Louis and Chicago during World War I.

These two factors, immigration and racial unrest, set the stage for the rally that initiated the second generation of the Klan on Thanksgiving Day, 1915, in Stone Mountain, Georgia. With its rebirth, the Klan developed new targets: Asians, immigrants, and independent women. The highlights of this period in Klan history certainly must include their ability to influence the

election of governors in Georgia, Alabama, California and Oregon in 1922; the 1925 march of forty thousand robed Klansmen down Pennsylvania Avenue; and the following year's repeat march of twenty thousand. During this period Klan membership reached between 2.5 million (Langone, 1984:83) and 4.5 million (Bernstein, 1987).

During the depression of the 1930's the membership of the Klan shrank and did not reach a revival until after World War II.

Interest was renewed when, almost simultaneously, black soldiers returned home and a large immigration of Jewish refugees entered the United States. The Klan reestablished a somewhat short lived following in California, Kentucky, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Georgia, South Carolina, Florida and Alabama. By the early 1950's, internal strife, community opposition and criminal investigations reduced the Klan membership to its lowest level since 1915 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1986:20).

The Civil Rights Movement, whose cornerstone was the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision, began the fourth era of the Klan. Bombings of property was added to the Klan's tools of terror which previously consisted of assaults, murders and arson. Over 130 reported bombing were attributed to the Klan between the years 1956 and 1963.

The Klan's major campaign of terror began in 1965 and lasted over two years. They were responsible for

almost 70 bombings in Georgia and Alabama, 30 black churches burned in Mississippi, the castration of a black

man in Birmingham, 10 racial killings in Alabama, plus the notorious murders of three civil rights workers in Mississippi and the shotgun slaying of a black army colonel near Athens, Georgia (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1986:22).

Due to extensive infiltration by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the success of Congressional hearings and a lack of community support the Klan's influence and popularity again decreased.

Today's Klan consists of three national organizations; the United Klans of America which is headquartered in Tuscaloosa, Alabama; the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan based in Shelton, Connecticut; and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan centered in Tuscumbia, Alabama. Today the strength of the organization has dropped to between 4,500 and 5,500 members (Anti-Defamation League, 1987:4). However, since 1978, more than 600 acts of Klan violence have been documented (Center for Democratic Renewal, 1984:1). The most significant level of Klan activity in the 1980's occurred in Tennessee, North Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Texas and California (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1986:64). The most recent newsworthy acts of violence attributed to the Klan include the 1979 shootout in Greensboro, North Carolina which resulted in the death of five persons and the Forsyth County, Georgia anti-civil rights actions in early 1987.

The Southern Poverty Law Center has identified four basic truths about the Klan organization

. . . wherever the Klan goes violence follows . . . White racism is a serious problem in our society, it is the core of the Klan . . . Many Klan members are ordinary white

people . . . you must discount what they do and say during publicity stunts, and watch instead what they do in the dark of night and listen to what they say to each other (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1986:48-49).

The Neo-Nazis. The American neo-Nazi movement was formed in 1958 and was the creation of George Lincoln Rockwell. It embraces the ideologies of extreme racism, anti-semitism, Aryan supremacy, military posturing and one person leadership. Until his assassination in 1967, by another party member, Rockwell remained the leader. It is estimated that membership, when the party was under his control, was limited to about 150 uniformed storm troopers (California Specialized Training Institute, undated:4). Although the Nazi party has received significant media coverage over the years, their role has been mostly limited to that of purveyors of hate propaganda. Neo-Nazi groups are currently operating in Wisconsin, West Virginia, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Washington and California. Membership in these groups has decreased from a 1978 peak of twelve hundred to less than four hundred today (Anti-Defamation League, 1987b:5).

The Identity Church Movement. The Identity Church movement in the United States can be traced to Anglo Israelism which began in Great Britain in the mid 1800's. The movement identifies Anglo Saxons with the Ten Lost Tribes and claims the promise made by God to Israel for the United States and Great Britain. It contends that Jesus Christ was not a Jew, but an ancestor of the Aryan people (Barker, 1986:11-12). It also offers theological rationalizations for racial and religious bigotry (Anti-Defamation League, 1987a:9).

Reverend Wesley Swift is the best known of the post World War II leaders of the movement. The former Klan organizer, who advocated anti-semitic and anti-catholic violence developed a following in the Los Angeles area. Upon his death in 1970, the leadership of the movement fell heir to its present leader Richard Butler.

There are several organizations which trace their roots to the Identity Church movement. The most well known of these must include the Church of Jesus Christ Christian - Aryan Nations in Hayden Lake, Idaho; the Christian Defense League in Baton Rouge and Arabi, Louisiana; The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord based near Three Brothers, Arkansas; the Mountain Church of Jesus Christ the Savior in Cohoctah, Michigan; and the Church of Israel near Schell City, Missouri.

Anti-Governmental Control Groups. This group of organizations espouse a variety of causes. They are all militant and they are all based on a belief that our government is doing something that it should not or is not doing something that it should.

In order to provide insight into the various causes that are represented, some of the most well known of these groups will be briefly discussed.

The Posse Comitatus is an organization that has groups of armed vigilantes and survivalists around the country that believe that all government power is rooted at the county level.

The Christian - Patriots Defense League is a survivalist

group that believes that the United States government will collapse due to the influence of Communism.

The Arizona Patriots voice a lack of confidence in the government to protect them from invasion.

The Committee of States issued an indictment charging the United States government with various illegal acts.

There are many more names to add to the list. A few of the better known groups include the Freemen, Iowa Society for Educated Citizens and the Oregon Militia.

Linkage. Right wing terrorist groups have been very successful in establishing cooperative relations with each other. Barker, in his paper on the Aryan Nations stated:

Establishing effective, efficient, and ongoing linkages with other organizations is almost as productive in achieving goals as successfully forming a single, unified, organizational structure (Barker, 1986:17).

Close relationships become apparent when one examines the joint efforts conducted by the groups, the use of sophisticated communication techniques and multiple memberships in various extremist groups.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the groups have separate identities and beliefs. Conflicts between leaders of the groups, different group philosophies and competition for recognition have prevented the permanent development of cohesion among them.

The Saga of the Order. It is difficult for many to comprehend the level of far reaching violence that a small group

of terrorists can inflict upon our society. One such group of about thirty five persons, The Order, participated in a nationwide crime spree that lasted three years. The Order patterned its activities from a book titled The Turner Diaries (Pierce, 1978), an account of racial warfare in which a white supremacy group overthrew the government. The Order's activities included armed robberies, counterfeiting, armored car robberies, the bombing of a synagogue, the murder of at least one member of their group, the murder of a radio talk show personality, gun battles with law enforcement officers, the killing of a police officer, murder for hire, the hostage taking of 150 school children, the sending of mail bombs, bombings of businesses, the bombing of a minister's residence, the bombing of a federal building, weapons violations, conspiracy to commit a multitude of crimes and racketeering.

A group of this nature could readily establish itself in any California community and would place unusual demands upon the resources of the local law enforcement agency.

Scope of Project

This project will study the general issue utilizing futures research methodologies; it will develop and implement a strategic management process; and it will develop the transition process for the management of the strategic plan.

Uniqueness

The present body of information concerning domestic right wing terrorist organizations is limited. To the extent of my

research, no one has developed a futures study of these groups.

Use of Results

This project will assist California law enforcement managers in the understanding of terrorist organizations and will provide a foundation for planning for the future. Additionally, it will provide alternative approaches to the problem, and will describe alternative policies and their implementation. The information developed in this project will also be of assistance to persons involved in personal protection, industrial security and intelligence gathering positions.

Chapter Two

Objective One

Defining the Future

Statement

The first objective is to factor and study the general issue utilizing futures research methodologies. The outcome will be three futures scenarios. The general issue is stated as follows: "What affect will domestic right wing terrorist groups have upon the resources of California law enforcement agencies by the year 2002?"

Ten major issues have been identified from the past. They were developed in brainstorming sessions with students of Command College Class 5, through interviews with recognized authorities and through a review of current literature. The issues which I have focused upon are:

1. What social and political factors led to the formation of right wing groups?
2. Why did the members of these groups react in anti-social and violent manners to religious and racial minorities?
3. Why did the vast majority of the population permit small numbers of individuals to perform unlawful and immoral acts?
4. Did the criminal justice system openly, or tacitly, permit the groups to perform their activities?
5. How did law enforcement agencies respond to these groups?
6. What impact did these responses have upon law enforcement resources?
7. What type of unusual demands were placed upon law

enforcement agencies because of these organizations?

8. How did the federal and states governments respond?

9. Were members of the criminal justice system part of these groups?

10. Did anyone attempt to counteract the efforts of right wing terrorist groups through futures planning?

Related issues emerging in the present were identified by a similar method. The issues were then subjected to a preliminary screening as an approach to structuring the general issue for research. The criterion was a judgment concerning degree of relatedness. The result was a list of nine issues, that, when considered together, essentially define the parameters of the general issue studied.

There is some concern that social and political changes, in the issue area, have not occurred since the birth of our nation's first domestic right wing terrorist group.

Present issues do not appear to differ from those of the past.

Several issues must be addressed:

1. Does our contemporary society permit the formation and existence of groups that are opposed to democratic principles and that openly voice a hate doctrine?

2. Does society tacitly permit these groups to react in anti-social manners toward specific religious and racial segments of our society?

3. Does society knowingly permit individuals to commit

unlawful acts against religious and racial groups? Does it ignore their actions?

4. Does the criminal justice system knowingly permit these things to happen?

5. Are members of the criminal justice system still part of these organizations or do they support their actions?

6. Does the modern law enforcement community really react differently to hate crimes than its predecessors?

7. Have the responses of law enforcement agencies really had an effect?

8. Have law enforcement managers made futures plans that will counteract the efforts of these right wing groups?

9. Will the plans be effective against hate tactics?

Consideration was given to related issues that might emerge by the year 2002. Future issues were judged to be relevant on the basis of their potential impact upon possible futures scenarios. The initial selection included:

1. How can law enforcement managers affect the level of incidents involving right wing terrorist groups?

2. What will be the role of state and local government?

3. Can the community influence the activities of these groups?

4. How can the mass media become a part of the anti-terrorist team efforts of the community and law enforcement?

5. What steps can law enforcement managers take that will limit the amount of resources expended upon responses to

activities initiated by these groups?

6. What policy decisions will have the greatest impact upon the success or failure of these groups?

7. What steps can be taken to combine efforts to impact the situation to the fullest extent?

Definitions

For purposes of clarity, certain definitions are appropriate:

Terrorism. There are at least three definitions that deserve consideration.

The RAND Corporation's definition contains a number of elements. Terrorism is defined by the nature of the act not by the identity of the persons who committed it. The act involves violence or the threat of violence. The act is directed against a civilian. The motive is usually traced to a political reason. The participants are members of an organized group and claim credit for their actions. The actions are done in a way that will receive mass media coverage and will have long range results (Jenkins, 1980:2-3).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism as, "The unlawful use of force or violence to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (Webster, 1986:11).

Finally, the Southern Poverty Law Center defines terrorism as "The use of violence and extreme fear against others to

achieve a political or social purpose" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1986:65).

Domestic Terrorism. As defined by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, "domestic terrorism involves groups or individuals who are based and operate entirely within the United States and are directed at elements of our government or population" (Pomerantz, 1987:15).

Modern domestic terrorism has been recently characterized by its use of five traits which lead to the accomplishments of its goals:

violence directed against the state and society in general;
an increasing degree of organizational sophistication;
increasing use of high level technology; increasing
sophistication in the choice of targets; sophisticated use
of the mass media to further terroristic goals (National
Governor's Association, 1979:13).

Terrorist Incident. An incident which qualifies as a terrorist incident is defined as:

A violent act or an act dangerous to human life in violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any state to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1986:1).

Right Wing Terrorist Groups. Right wing groups, as defined at a class on Theory and Politics of Terrorism presented at the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy,

represent a belief in the doctrine of the superiority of the White race, and they are strongly anti-Black and anti-Semitic. They strive for White domination in the United States. Some right wing groups, however, exhibit anti-government tendencies as well (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1986:15).

White Supremacy. White supremacy is the "belief in the

superiority of white people over people of color; the belief that whites have a right to subjugate people of other races" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1986:65).

There is a strong relationship between the terms white supremacy, right wing terrorist groups and hate groups. It is clear that persons who commit hate type crime are members of, or are candidates for membership in, white supremacy and right wing terrorist groups. Actions taken against hate type crime perpetrators are actions taken against right wing terrorism.

Resources. It is a commonly accepted definition among law enforcement agencies that resources refer to an agency's funds, facilities, equipment, personnel and time.

Methods: Identification

The following list represents the methods and techniques that were used in this portion of the project:

1. Literature survey.
2. Brainstorming.
3. Futures Wheel.
4. Nominal Group Technique.
5. Events and Trends Matrix.
6. Cross Impact Analysis.
7. Interviews.
8. Scenarios.

Methods: Implementation

Futures Wheel

A futures wheel was developed early in the study to surface trends and events, to identify similar issues and to assist in recognizing interrelated factors (Appendix I).

Nominal Group Technique

In August, 1987, a group was formed to assist in this study through various discussions involving the issue: what affect will domestic right wing terrorist groups have upon the resources of California law enforcement agencies by the year 2002?

The group was composed of the following persons: a policy maker on the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department who has been involved in numerous major planning efforts and has commanded field forces in the 1984 Olympics, numerous natural disaster and major civil disorders - including those of the 1970's in East Los Angeles; a retired Municipal Court Judge who has sat as a Justice at the State Appellate level; a member of the Los Angeles Area Anti-Terrorist Task Force; a Los Angeles Sheriff's Department planner - a former Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation - who was involved in all aspects of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games and who is presently involved in a key middle management and planning position; and a middle manager on the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department who has been formally recognized for his planning accomplishments and who has received his agency's coveted award for innovation, the Distinguished Service Award.

Prior to an organized brainstorming session, interviews were conducted with recognized authorities in the fields of hate crimes and right wing terrorist groups. Their ideas were input into the brainstorming session which was conducted prior to the utilization of the Nominal Group Technique. When appropriate, their contributions are cited.

Emerging Trends. The group's first efforts were directed at identifying emerging social trends that could have an impact upon the issue area. The group generated the following relevant trends:

1. The movement from an industrial to an information society.
2. The increase in foreign ownership of businesses and its influence upon the American worker.
3. The change in US policy, both foreign and domestic.
4. The change in influence of minority political coalitions.
5. The increase in the level of immigration, both documented and undocumented (Kohler, 1987 and Scott, 1987).
6. The increased ability of the mass media, through levels of communication sophistication, to prioritize news events.
7. The increase in the number of minority gangs and their level of violence.
8. The emergence of leaders when groups identify a need (Mewborn, 1987 and Wofford, 1987).
9. The increase in the number of international terrorist

incidents in which Americans or our government are the target.

10. The movement of Californians toward the conservative in social and political matters.

11. The increase in both social and economic polarization.

12. The resurgence of anti-semitic acts and crimes.

13. The success in the prosecution of domestic right wing terrorists (Mewborn, 1987 and Wofford, 1987).

14. The decline of the US as a world economic power.

15. The increase of violent crimes.

16. The growth of fundamentalist religious groups.

17. An increased interest in high level court decisions concerning civil rights, suspect's rights and the death penalty.

18. Changes in level of employment of both the white and minority worker.

19. The growth of interest in the affirmative action movement and in related court decisions.

20. An increased interest in cultural identity and the display of cultural heritage.

21. A public awareness of the inadequacies of the criminal justice system.

22. A clear division of sides on the gun control issue.

23. A public awareness of the farm plight.

24. Widespread interest in the multi-lingual issue.

25. An increase in jail and prison violence.

26. An increase in the political power and financial influence of women.

27. An awareness of the inadequacy of efforts to address the mental health problem.

28. A reemergence of foreign right wing groups (Los Angeles Times, 1987).

29. The US budget deficit.

30. The US foreign trade deficit.

31. An interest in the illiteracy problem.

32. A lack of housing for low and moderate income families.

33. The increase in world conflicts.

34. The decline in the percentage of the white population.

35. The decline in the economic standing of poor whites (Wassmuth, 1987).

36. The status, both performance and pride, of our educational system.

37. A clear divisions of sides on the abortion issue.

38. An increase in scientific bio-technical experiments.

By use of the Nominal Group Technique, the participants in the brainstorming session evaluated their input and the following five trends were chosen as the most relevant to the issue:

1. The change in influence of minority political coalitions.

2. The increase in the level of immigration, both documented and undocumented.

3. The increase in the number of international terrorist incidents in which Americans or our government are the target.

The trend "the increase in world conflicts" was made a part of this trend prior to and as a condition of the final vote by the

group.

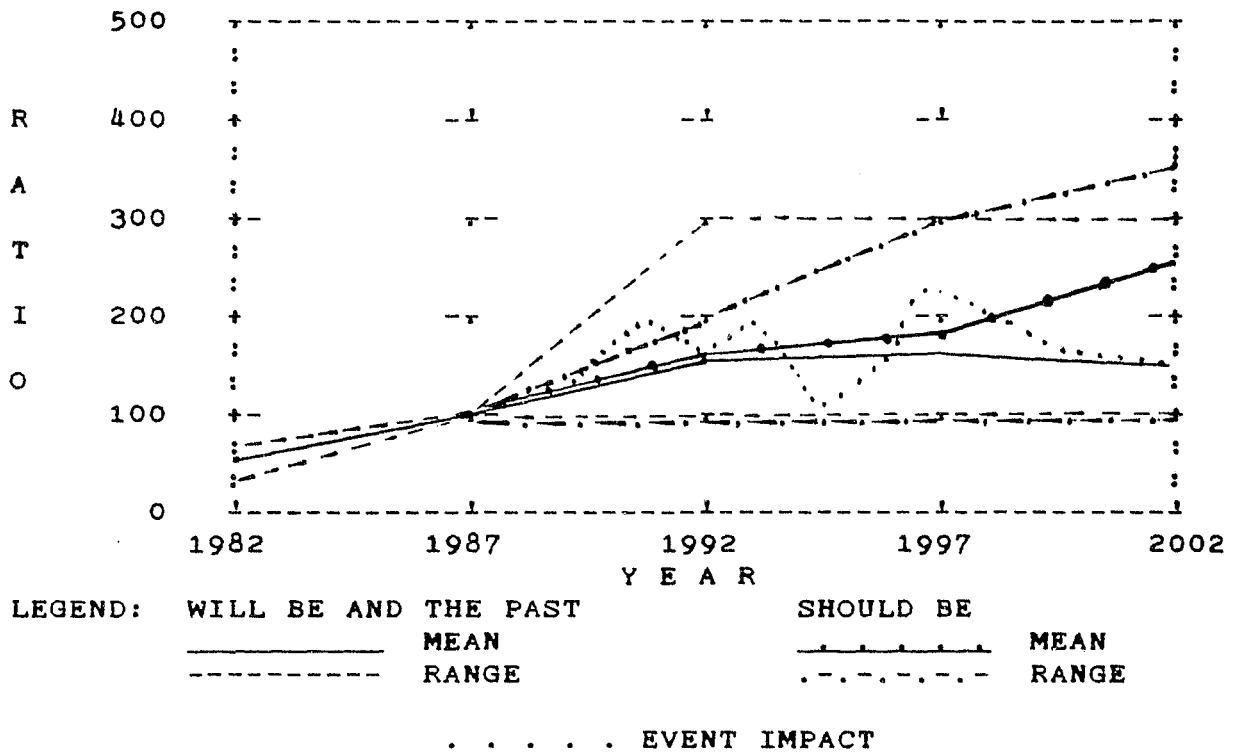
4. Changes in the level of employment of both the white and minority worker.

5. The decline in the economic standing of poor whites.

The group was asked to forecast the status of each of the five trends in five (1992), ten (1997) and fifteen (2002) years. Two areas were involved in the forecast, as they believe that the state of the trend will be and as they believe that, ideally, it should be. The ratio that they forecasted was based upon a value of 100 as the present state. Using the same value, they were asked to evaluate the status of the trends five years ago (1982).

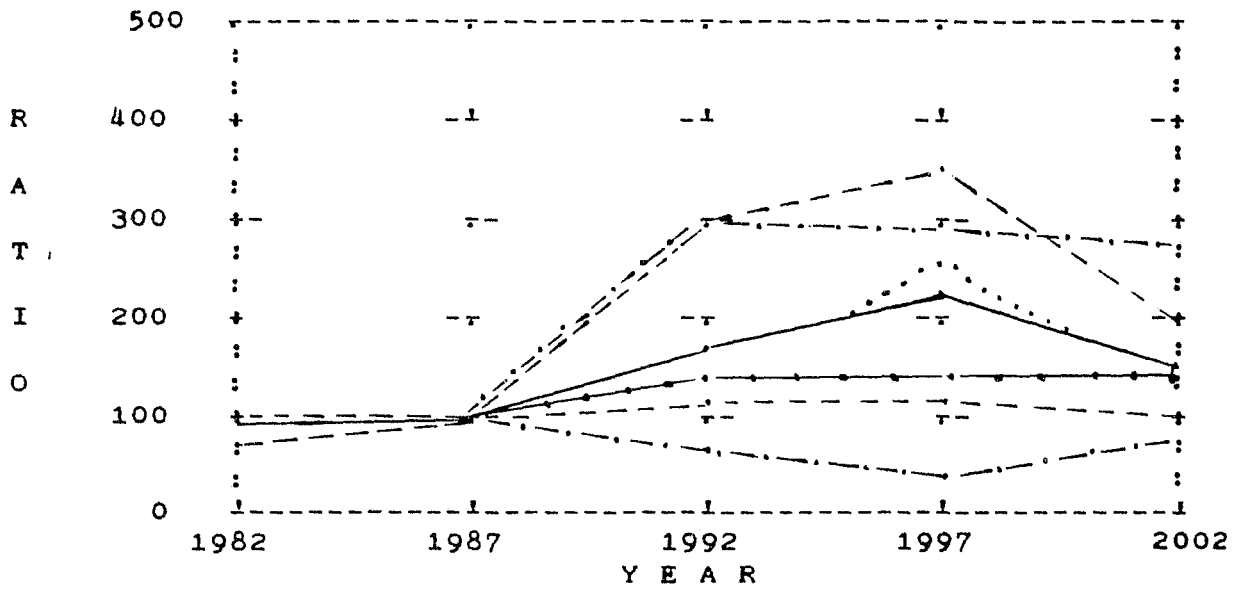
The following charts indicate the results of their forecasts and evaluations. The mean and range in both areas are recorded on the charts. The impacts of possible future events (which will be discussed in the section on significant events) are also recorded.

Trend 1. The change in influence of minority political coalitions.



The group forecasted that there will be a 52.5 percent increase in the influence of minority political coalitions by the year 2002. It further forecasted that the influence should be 157.5 percent higher than 1987.

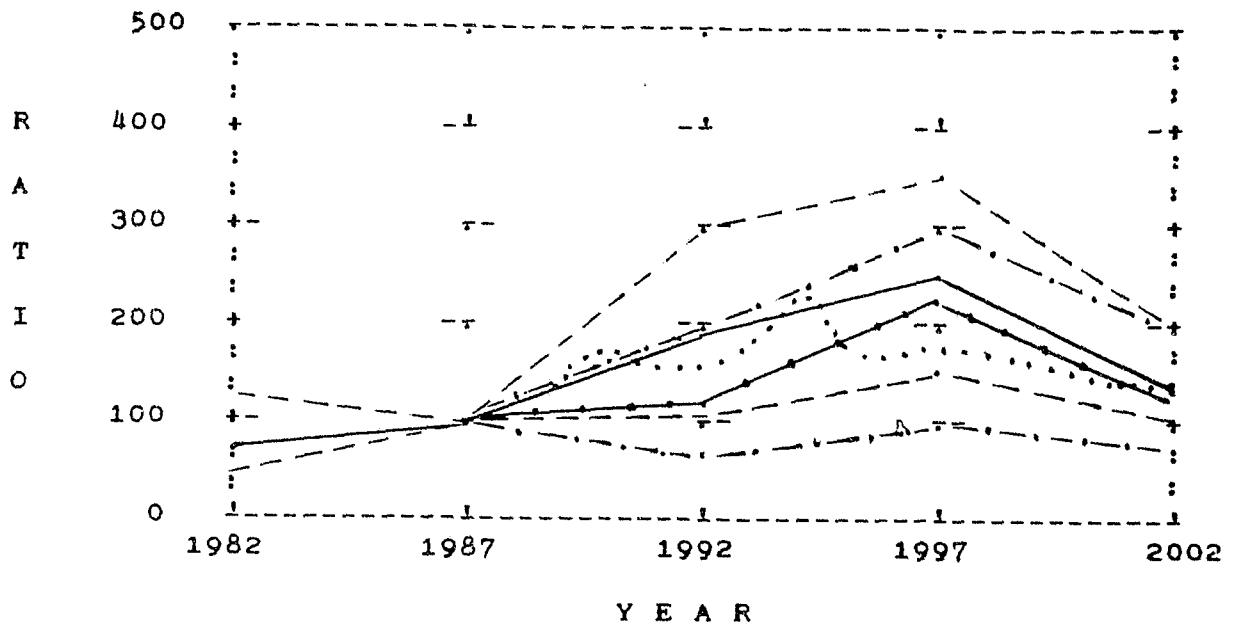
Trend 3. The increase in the number of international terrorist incidents in which Americans or our government are the target.



LEGEND: WILL BE AND THE PAST SHOULD BE
 _____ MEAN _____ MEAN
 - - - - - RANGE RANGE
 EVENT IMPACT

The group forecasted that there will be a 55 percent increase in this trend area by the year 2002. The should be change is again very close at 43.3 percent.

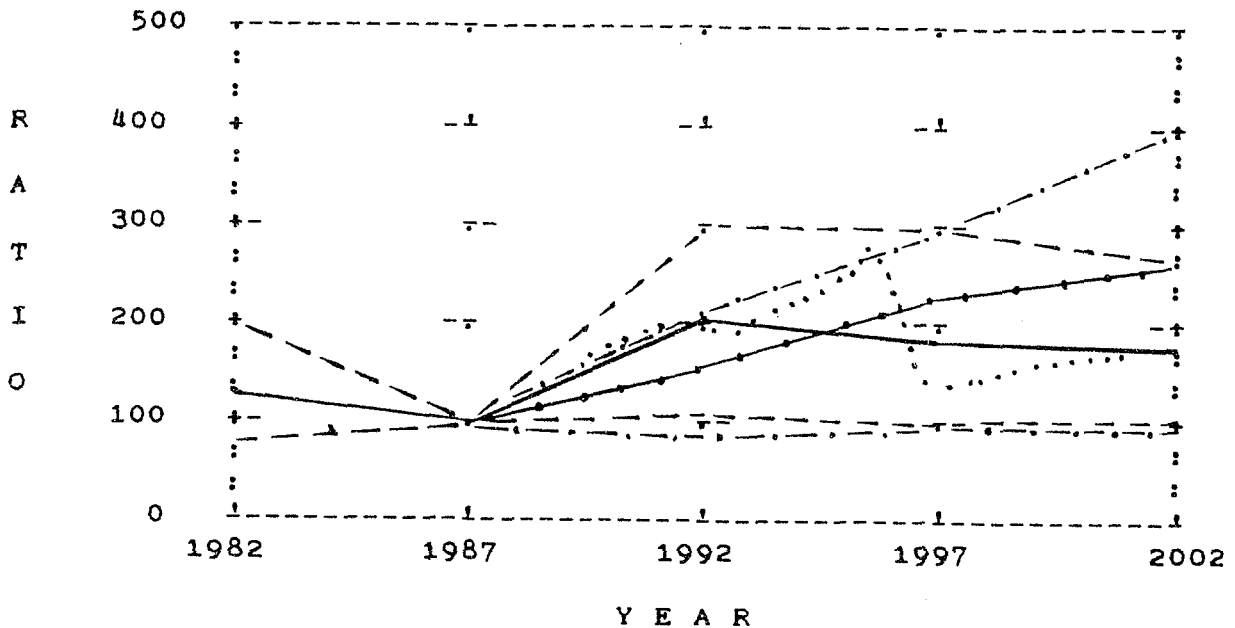
Trend 4. Changes in the level of employment of both the white and minority worker.



LEGEND: WILL BE AND THE PAST SHOULD BE
 _____ MEAN -.-.-.-.- MEAN
 -.-.-.-.- RANGE .-.-.-.-.- RANGE
 EVENT IMPACT

The group forecasted that there will be a 31.7 percent upward change in this trend and that there should be a 21.7 percent change.

Trend 5. The decline in the economic standing of poor whites.



LEGEND: WILL BE AND THE PAST SHOULD BE
 _____ MEAN MEAN
 - - - - - RANGE - . - . - . RANGE
 EVENT IMPACT

The group forecasted that by the year 2002 the decline will continue to increase to 81.2 percent over 1987.

Significant Events. Participants in the group formed to brainstorm emerging trends were later asked to assist in compiling a list of future significant events that might impact the issue. In addition to their input, ideas obtained through research and interviews were inserted into the list. The final list consisted of these events:

1. Urban unrest resulting in civil disorders (Watts riot magnitude) occurs in two of California's three largest cities

(Tafuya, 1986:372).

2. A prolonged hostage situation (Teheran magnitude) occurs in Central or South American.
3. A national economic crisis occurs in which an official declaration of depression is made.
4. Courts establish minority hiring quotas in the blue collar worker job category.
5. An anti-American revolutionary group is formed in rural Mexico.
6. The Social Security System is radically restructured rendering it ineffective as a minimum income safety net.
7. A massive earthquake (7.5 or greater) occurs in California.
8. A sixth conservative United States Supreme Court Justice is appointed by President Reagan, this is a closed end event because of the term of office limitation.
9. A Federal police force is formed or the Federal Bureau of Investigation is expanded by 200 percent.
10. The United States resumes diplomatic relations with Cuba.
11. The United States deploys a combat military advisory group in Mexico.
12. The religious right forms a coalition for political purposes.
13. A California city (population of over 10,000) hires a private company to perform its law enforcement services.

14. The conflict in Central American is resolved (Kohler, 1987 and Scott, 1987).

15. The border between the United States and Mexico is closed and secured by military personnel.

16. Right wing leaders are successfully prosecuted in sedition trial (Mewborn, 1987 and Wofford, 1987), this is a closed end event because trials are scheduled for early 1988.

17. A terrorist act occurs that requires the mobilization of all major California law enforcement agencies.

18. A white supremacist, who is accepted by the identity church groups, the Ku Klux Klan and the neo-Nazis, emerges as a leader (Broadbent, 1987; Mewborn, 1987; Wofford, 1987; and Conley, 1987).

19. A minority is elected to the position of Governor of California or President of the United States.

20. The President, our Governor or a United States Supreme Court Justice is assassinated by a minority.

The participants selected the seven events that they believed would have the greatest impact upon the issue. The seven chosen were:

1. Urban unrest resulting in civil disorders (Watts riot magnitude) occurs in two of California's three largest cities.

2. Courts establish minority hiring quotas in the blue collar worker job category.

3. A massive earthquake (7.5 or greater) occurs in California.

4. A white supremacist, who is accepted by the identity groups, the Ku Klux Klan and the neo-Nazis, emerges as a leader.

5. A minority is elected to the position of Governor of California or President of the United States.

6. The President, our Governor or a United States Supreme Court Justice is assassinated by a minority.

7. The border between the United States and Mexico is closed and secured by military personnel.

Cross Impact Analysis

The group participants assigned numerical values to each event indicating the probability of occurrence by the years 1992, 1997 and 2002.

The chart below indicates the mean probabilities that the events will occur and the impact on the issue and on law enforcement in general.

A number of 0 would indicate that in their opinion the event would not occur. A number of 100 would indicate that they believed that it would absolutely occur.

The section of the chart concerning impact upon the issue and law enforcement uses a different criteria. Participants in the group were asked to evaluate the impact of the event if it occurred. The scoring ranged on a scale from minus (-) 10, meaning that the occurrence would have a strong negative impact; to 0, indicating no impact; to plus (+) 10 a strong positive impact.

Probability - Impact Chart.

Event Number	Probability By			Impact Upon	
	1992	1997	2002	Issue	Law Enforcement
1	25	50	75	+5	+7
2	32	45	57	+5	+3
3	37	45	58	+4	+1
4	48	70	88	+4	+8
5	18	25	40	+5	+2
6	12	28	45	+6	+2
7	13	37	55	+1	+5

Cross Impact Evaluation. Another exercise, in which the group was involved, was a cross impact evaluation. The participants evaluated the impact of each event, if it should occur, upon every other event and the trends. The evaluations were derived from the consensus of group members as to how each event would effect the other. The impact could range from minus 100 (indicated by 100) to plus 100 (indicated by 100). For example, a number 10 would indicate that if the event occurred it would increase the probability of occurrence of the cross event by 10 percent. A number 50 would decrease the probability of occurrence of the cross event by 50 percent.

Cross Impact Evaluation Chart.

: E :	PROBABILITY:	EVENTS							TRENDS				
	PERCENT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5
:1 :	75	x	--	10	--	5	10	10	10	10	--	10	15
:2 :	57	5	x	2	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	--	--
:3 :	58	10	10	x	--	--	20	10	30	5	--	10	5
:4 :	88	10	--	--	x	--	--	5	--	20	--	15	10
:5 :	40	10	20	10	--	x	--	20	20	--	5	--	--
:6 :	45	15	20	10	--	10	x	10	25	2	--	10	5
:7 :	55	10	10	10	--	5	25	x	10	50	5	20	20

Events

- E 1 - Civil Disorder
- E 2 - Leader Emerges
- E 3 - Minority As President or Governor
- E 4 - Earthquake
- E 5 - President Or Governor Killed By Minority
- E 6 - Hiring Quota - Blue Collar
- E 7 - Military Closure - Mexican Border

Trends

- T 1 - Political Coalitions
- T 2 - Immigration Increase
- T 3 - Increase in Terrorist Incidents With Americans
- T 4 - Employment Levels
- T 5 - Decline in Economic Status of Poor White

The cross impact evaluation chart provides the reader an opportunity to interpret and form conclusions about the relationships of events to events and events to trends.

System Change Charts. One method of interpreting the data is to construct hypothetical system change scenario charts. The technique is taught by Wayne Boucher in the Command College

(Boucher, 1987).

The charts in this study were constructed by obtaining, from members of the nominal group, probability evaluations for each of the events for the years 1992, 1997 and 2002. Both the mean and range of their estimates were recorded.

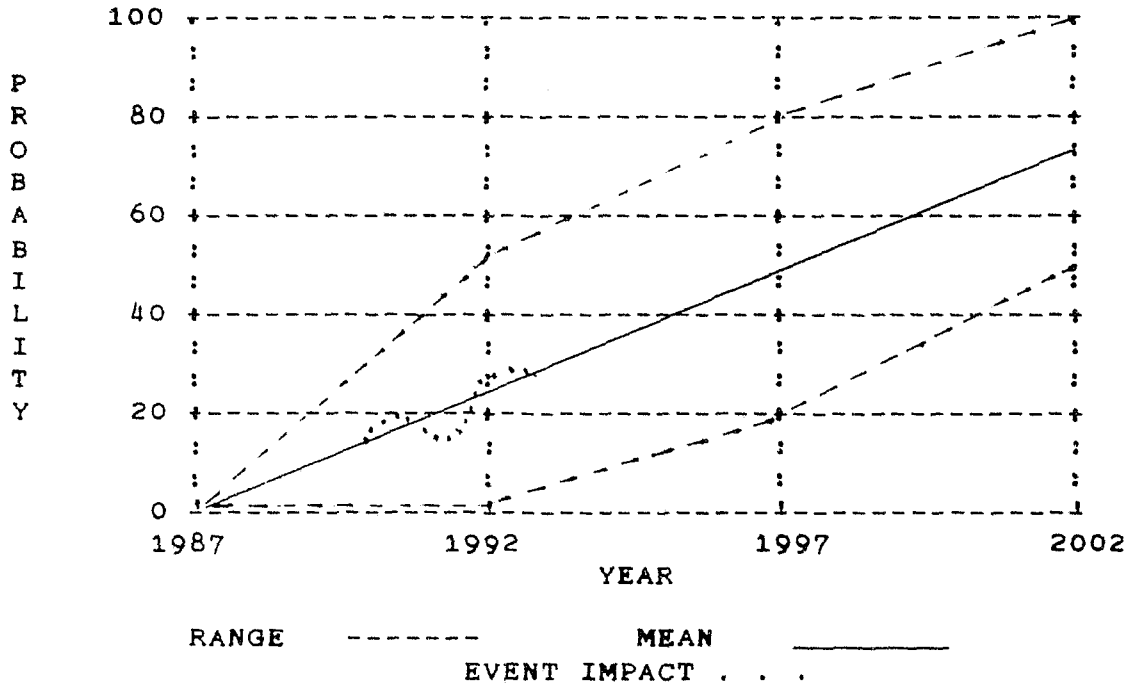
The criterion for the occurrence of the events was then defined. The choices were between a (1) 10 percent probability which is classified as the chaotic future; (2) 30 percent probability which is the turbulent future; (3) 50 percent probability which is nominal; (4) 60 percent probability which is the unsettled future; and (5) 80 percent probability which is the stable future. The criterion for the occurrence of an event in this study was the 30 percent level of probability. The position on the event chart where the mean line crossed the 30 percent probability line was marked. That position indicated the year that the event would occur. The step was performed for each of the seven events.

The events were then listed in order of occurrence.

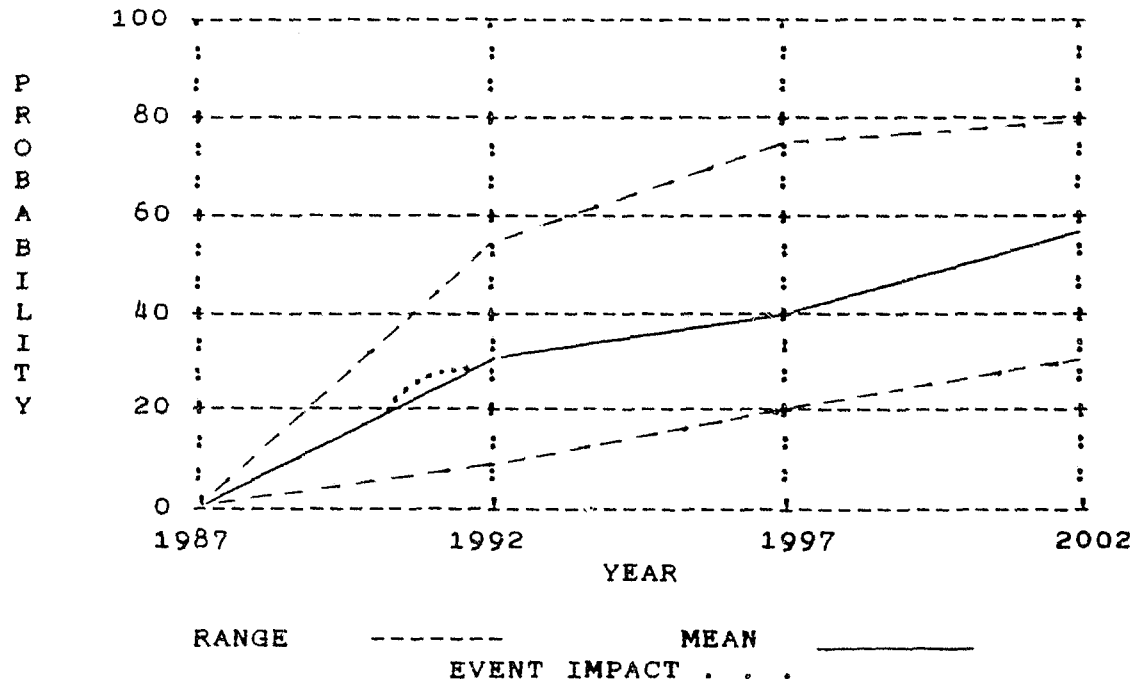
Using information from the cross impact evaluation chart, the probability of occurrence was adjusted for each event in the year that the cross event occurred. Similar steps were taken for each of the trends. The information was recorded on the trend charts that appeared previously in this chapter and on the following event charts.

The interpretation of the charts provides a source for the construction of scenarios.

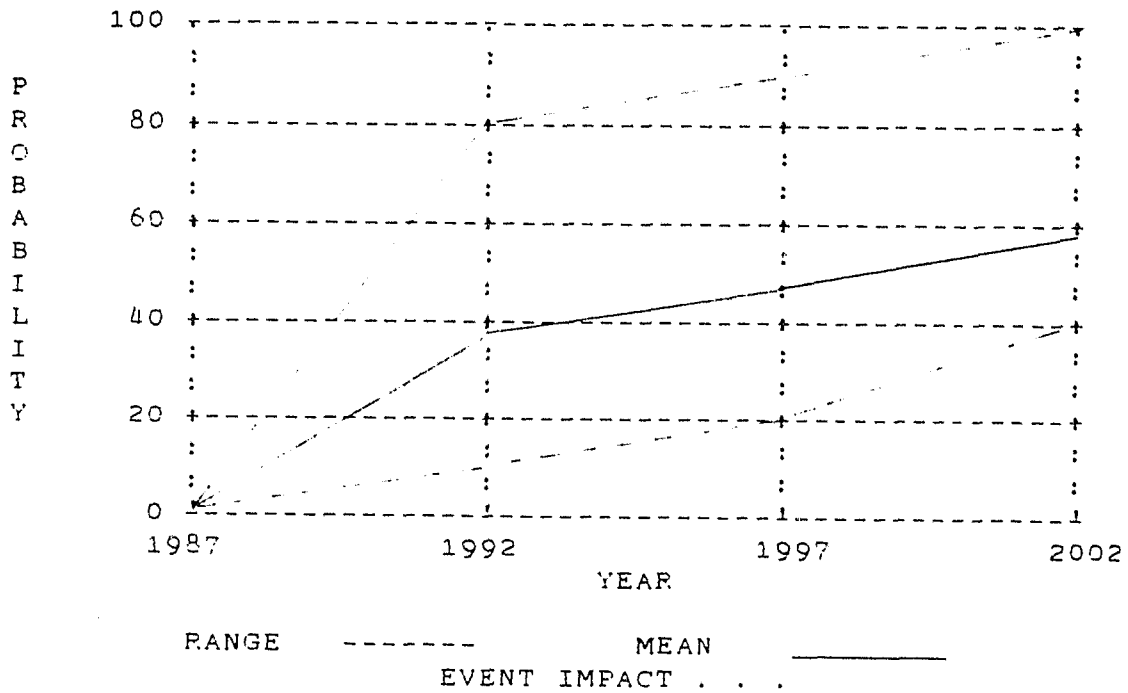
Event 1. Civil disorder - occurs in 1993.



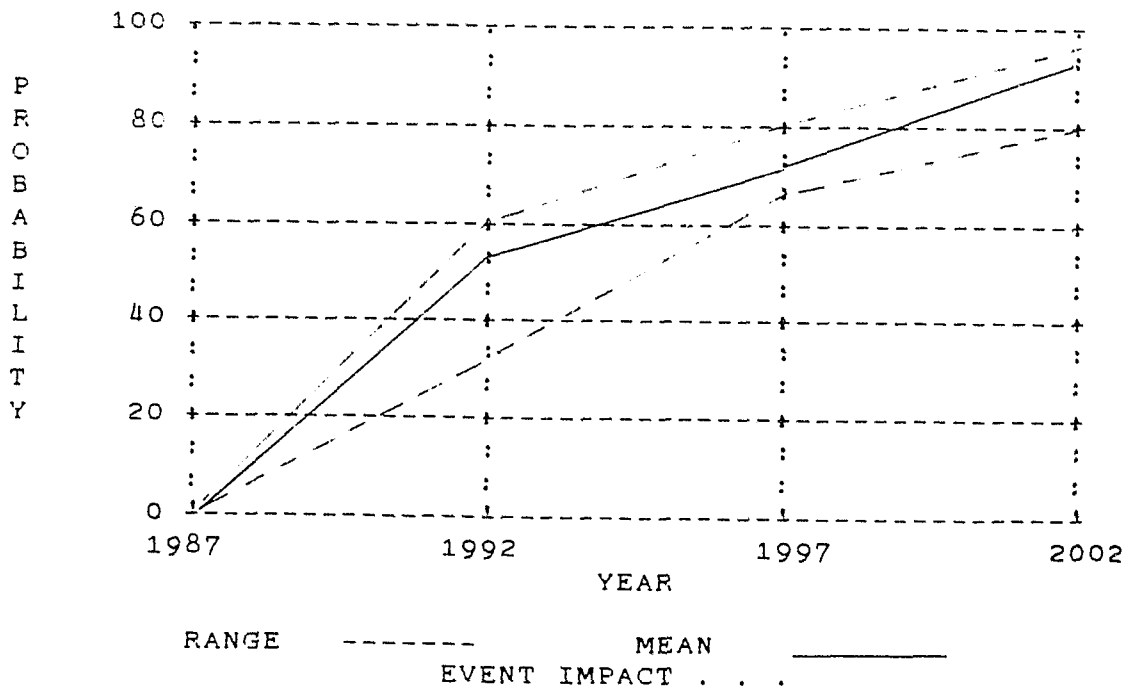
Event 2. Leader emerges - occurs in 1992.



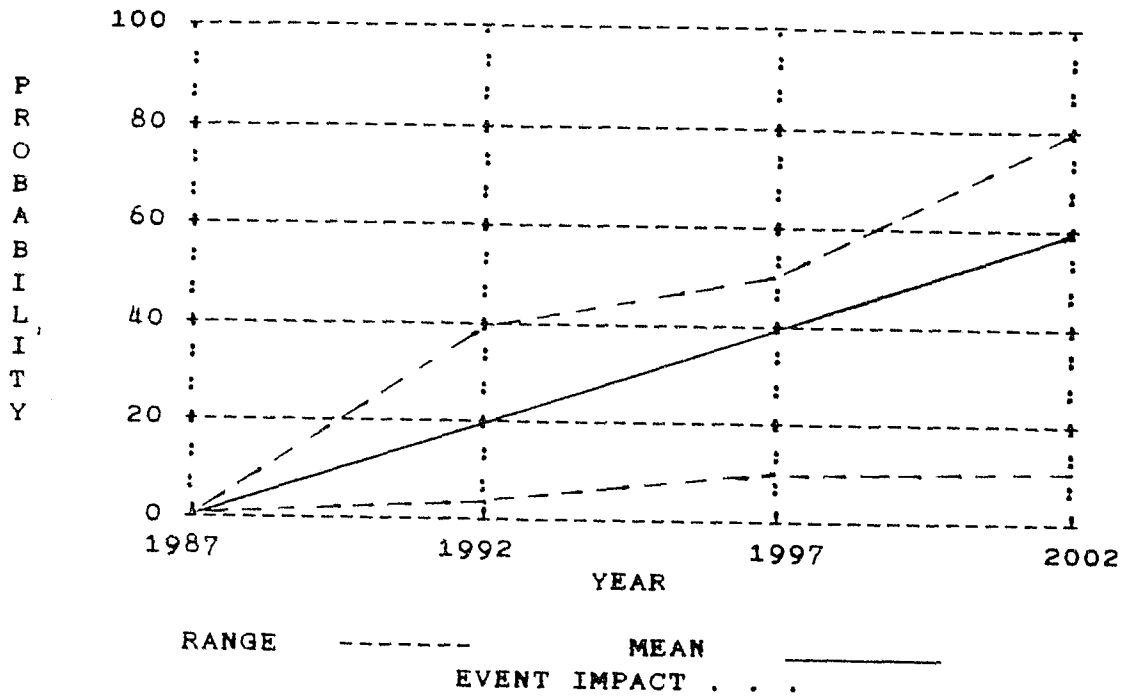
Event 3. Minority as President or Governor - occurs in 1991.



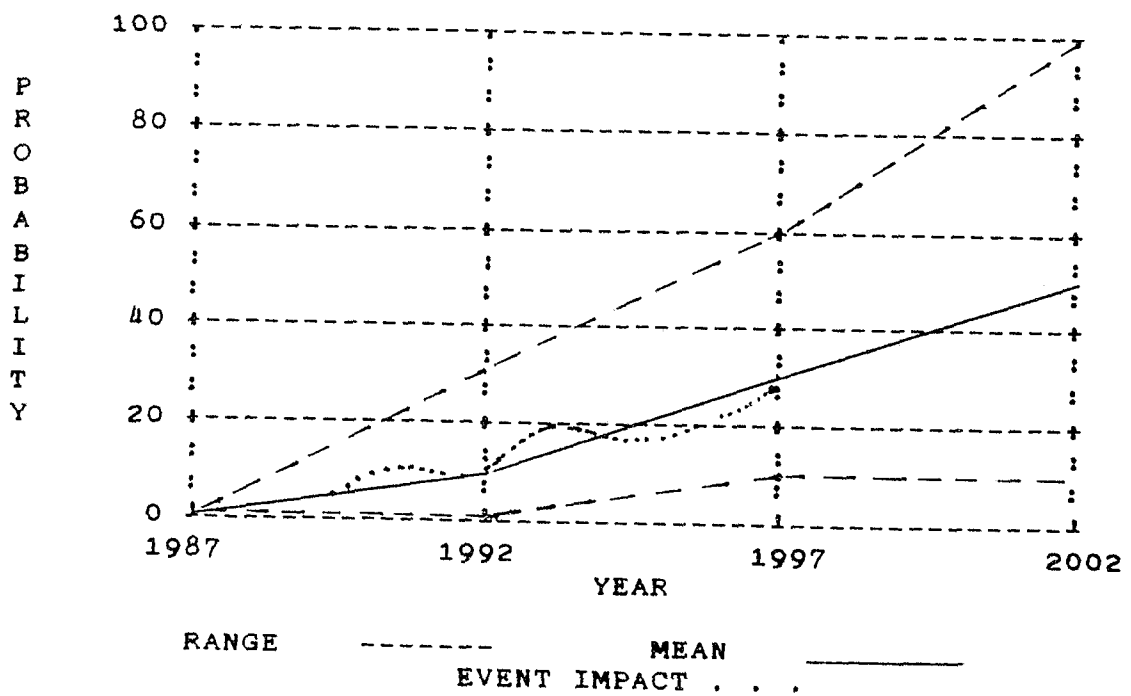
Event 4. Earthquake - occurs in 1990.



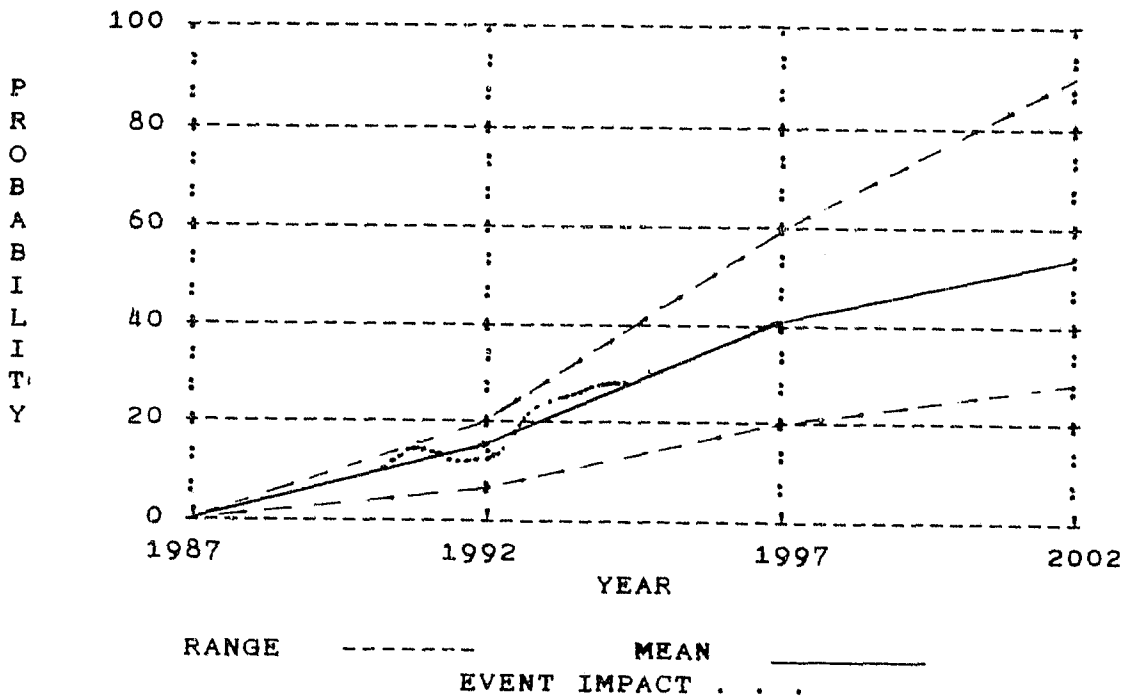
Event 5. President or Governor killed by minority - occurs in 1995.



Event 6. Hiring quota - blue collar worker - occurs in 1997.



Event 7. Military closure - Mexican border - occurs in 1995.



In the turbulent future, 30 percent probability, the events would occur in the following order:

- Event 4 - A massive earthquake - 1990
- Event 3 - A minority elected as President or Governor of California - 1991
- Event 2 - A white supremacist leader emerges - 1992
- Event 1 - Civil Disorder - 1993
- Event 7 - Mexican border closed by military - 1995
- Event 5 - Assassination of President, Governor or Supreme Court Justice by a minority - 1995
- Event 6 - Blue collar job quotas established - 1997

Interaction of Events. Another method of interpreting the cross impact chart is to examine how events interact upon trends

and each other.

Event 4, a massive earthquake, was given a 88 percent probability by the year 2002. Its occurrence in 1990 would increase the chance of a civil disorder (10%) and the closure of the Mexican border by the military (5%). It would significantly impact the level of immigration (-20%), cause further declines in the employment market for our workers (15%) and decrease the economic standing of poor whites (10%).

Event 3, the election of a minority to the office of President or Governor of California was given a probability of 58 percent within the next fifteen years. If this event occurred in 1991, the possibility of urban unrest (-10%), the closure of the Mexican border (-10%) and unemployment (-10%) would decline. The chances of the emergence of a white supremacist leader (10%), the establishment of hiring quotas (20%), the influence of coalition groups (30%), the level of immigration (5%) and the economic standing of poor whites (5%) would increase.

Event 2, the emergence of a white supremacist leader was given a probability of 57 percent by the year 2002. If the event occurred in 1992, the chance of urban unrest (5%) and the assassination of a high official (2%) would increase. The level of immigration (-1%) would decrease slightly. Event 3 would have been impacted had it not occurred in 1991.

Event 1, urban unrest resulting in civil disorder was given a 75 percent chance of occurring by the year 2002. If the event occurs in the year 1993, the chances of the assassination of a

leader (5%), the establishment of hiring quotas (10%), the closing of the border (10%) and the strengths of minority political coalitions (10%) would increase. The level of immigration (-10%), employment (10%) and economic standing (15%) would decline. Event 3 would have been affected had it not previously occurred.

Event 7, the closure of the Mexican border by military forces was given a 55 percent chance of occurring during the period of this study. If it occurs in 1995, the probability of an assassination of a high official (5%), the increase in international terrorist incidents (5%), the level of employment (20%), and economic standing (20%) would increase. The chance of minority hiring quotas (-25%), the influence of political coalitions (-10%) and immigration (-50%) would decrease. Events 1, 2 and 3 would have been influenced had they not already occurred.

Event 5, the assassination of a high ranking official by a minority was given a 40 percent probability by the year 2002. The event would not occur until 1999 if the Mexican border had not closed in 1995. However, that event changed the occurrence to 1995. If it occurs, the influence of minority coalitions (-20%) will decrease and the number of international terrorist incidents (5%) will increase. Events 1, 2 and 3 would have been influenced but they have previously occurred.

Event 6, courts establishing minority hiring quotas for blue collar workers was given a 55 percent chance of occurring by the

year 2002. If it occurs in 1997, the influence of minority political coalitions (25%), the level of employment (10%) and the level of immigration (2%) would increase. There would be a decrease in the standing of poor whites (-5%).

Actor Events. The chart also allows us to identify the events that cause change in the areas of concern. The events which have the most influence are called actor events. These events will be the target of policy actions. The events are identified by the number of times that they impact another event or trend on the cross impact chart. The events in order of influence with the number of times that they occurred are:

1. The closure of the Mexican border (10).
2. Minority hiring quotas (9).
3. Urban unrest resulting in civil disorders (8).
4. Minority elected as President or Governor (8).
5. Assassination of high official by a minority (6).
6. A massive earthquake (5).
7. A white supremacist leader emerges (4).

Reactors. Finally, we are able to identify trends and events which are called reactors. They are identified in the same manner as the actor events. These trends and events are buffeted by the occurrence or non occurrence of actors. In rank order, with the number of occurrences, they are:

1. Urban unrest resulting in civil disorders (6)
2. The increase in the level of immigration (6).
3. Minority elected as President or Governor (5).

4. Closure of the Mexican border (5).
5. The influence of minority coalitions (5).
6. The change in the level of employment (5).
7. The decline in economic status of poor whites (5).
8. A white supremacist leader emerges (4).
9. Assassination of high official by minority (4).
10. Minority hiring quotas for blue collar workers (3).
11. International incidents involving Americans (2).
12. A massive earthquake (0).

Scenarios

Three scenarios were created from the information thus far developed in this paper. The purpose of these scenarios is to describe the future based upon the information developed concerning the selected trends and events. They are written from the perspective of an historian looking back from the year 2002.

The scenarios are the basis for development of policies. By developing policies today, it is possible to influence events and trends so that if the events occur they will have a minimum impact upon law enforcement resources.

Scenario One - Reflections. It was 1800 hours and time to review the desk computer calendar to ascertain the work schedule for Tuesday, March 5, 2002. There is a busy schedule tomorrow including the meeting with the director of the intelligence unit. The meeting will be a brief one, not like the long drawn out meetings of a few years ago. The Chief Deputy always looks forward to the weekly intelligence briefings that he receives and

has a special interest in right wing groups and their activities. He is tired but he can't go home, tonight is his night to instruct in the department's manager training course. He dims the lights in his office, turns on some 80's music and reflects about the past, somewhat turbulent, fifteen years.

In 1986 there were several right wing terrorist organizations that had a small but loyal following. One group started a campaign of terror which resulted in a chain of crimes in the Northwest. Through the combined efforts of local and federal law enforcement agencies, the participants were arrested, tried and sentenced to prison. In 1988 the leaders of several white supremacy groups were also tried for attempting to overthrow the government. Although the federal prosecutors had a strong case, the witnesses they produced - former group members - were not convincing and the leaders were released. The organizations continued to operate and slowly increased in size. The groups had two common bonds, the hatred of minorities and the desire to overthrow the government. Fortunately, they did not have a leader.

The devastating earthquake of 1990 recorded a magnitude of 7.5 on the Richter scale. Its epicenter was downtown Los Angeles and damage was widespread. Fortunately, it occurred on a Sunday in mid-summer and most Angelenos were on picnics, at the beaches or driving on the highways. The death toll of 1500 was considered by the experts as low considering what they had previously forecasted. There was some looting of businesses, but

law enforcement task forces were effective in limiting losses from thefts. The white supremacy groups described the looting as "widespread lawlessness by blacks and mexicans" in their news conferences and in their hate literature.

To the surprise of the doomsayers, residents were prepared. They had taken precautionary measures to protect their property; had stockpiled food, fuel and water; and had prepared themselves emotionally. Many believe that the smaller earthquakes of 1987 and 1988 had prepared everyone for the big one.

Californians elected their first black governor in 1990 and he took office in 1991. The minority communities became more peaceful and unemployment declined. The talk of closing the Mexican border by utilizing military forces was no longer a popular subject of conversation and illegal immigration increased. Minority political coalitions became significantly more influential and the search for a minority Presidential candidate for 1992 was well underway. White supremacy and anti-government groups became more open in their rhetoric and their frantic efforts to find a leader was apparent to everyone.

In 1992, some of the first of the white supremacist that were sentenced to prison in 1986 were released. State parole boards, believing that hate groups could no longer influence our society, released many of the criminals in spite of the recommendations of both the federal and local prosecutors. From this group a leader emerged. His strong leadership resulted in the upswing of unrest in minority communities, talks of

assassination increased and immigration from south of the border slowed. White supremacy groups moved into a small lakeside community in northern California and into a popular ski resort close to the Los Angeles area. The number of racial and religion related crimes increased in proportion to the distribution of hate literature. Counterfeit currency became more common in the large cities and the number of bank and armored car robberies increased.

The often discussed riots in Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego occurred in 1993. Prior to the disorder, law enforcement managers believed that their agencies were well prepared to handle any type of riot. But, the riots lasted several weeks and over 150 persons died. Afterwards, there was much talk about establishing minority hiring quotas for blue collar workers. The increase in the number of illegal immigrants and the level of narcotics being transported across the Mexican border renewed the talk about closing the border. White supremacists blamed the riots on minorities and supported the border closure idea. The size of their organizations exceeded that of the civil rights era.

Two years after the riot, following the elections of both a white Governor and President, the border between the United States and Mexico was closed. Military personnel were assigned to posts on the border to prevent the movement of illegal aliens and narcotics into our country. Immigration dropped to its lowest level in twenty five years. Employment levels and the

economic status of poor whites raised significantly. The influence of minority political coalitions and the possibility of hiring quotas receded. White supremacy groups were now very influential. Their efforts to illegally obtain funds for their activities, open criticism of our government and propensity to commit violent crimes directed toward minorities and religious groups clearly placed them into the classification of terrorist organizations.

That same year, our President was assassinated by a convicted criminal who was released from a mental institution. The assassin was a minority. The right wing terrorist groups played the event to the extreme. They continued to gain support here and abroad. Attacks against Americans and our embassies increased in foreign countries.

It took four years to regain control over the right wing terrorist groups. We resorted to tactics similar to those that were successful during the mid 1980s. It was a long hard battle. We are now socially where we were just prior to the earthquake. The courts supported the 1995 legislation that required the establishment of minority hiring quotas for blue collar workers. The influence of minority political coalitions is increasing rapidly, employment levels are up and immigration is once again beginning to increase.

When I think back over my law enforcement career, it appears that there is a cycle of events which continues to repeat. If only there was something we could do about it.

It's getting late, my students will be waiting for my final lecture on long range planning.

This scenario identifies several problem areas that were not addressed by the Chief Deputy. They include (1) a reliance upon past successes; (2) a failure to plan for future events; and (3) an inability to learn from failures.

Scenario Two - Status Quo. The year twenty hundred and two is stable as far as law enforcement's ability to control resources expended in response to activities related to domestic right wing terrorist groups. There have been several events in the past fifteen years that have taxed our resources. We have prepared contingency plans and for the most part have been very successful in protecting our communities. In many cases, residents have assisted law enforcement with new ideas, in the forming of task forces and in support of legislative matters. We haven't always been ready to deal with problems but we are good reactors and we get the job done.

In 1990 we had an earthquake that registered 7.5 on the Richter scale. The quake claimed 3500 lives and property damage was extensive. There could not have been a worse time for it to occur, a Tuesday at 1:30 in the afternoon in mid-November. It centered in the financial district of Los Angeles. Schools were in session and workers had returned from lunch. Law enforcement agencies had prepared themselves and their communities for a disaster of this type. The loss of life and the panic following this type of event could have been much worse. We expected some

looting but not the extreme level that occurred. Adjacent agencies assisted during the early days of the looting but, their limited resources forced them to leave long before the city was under control. Some white supremacy groups were able to obtain mass media coverage and blamed the lawlessness totally upon minorities. By the time that responsible leaders were able to respond, the looting was no longer a newsworthy item. There was increased unemployment and significant financial losses in the business community.

In 1991, a minority was elected as Governor of the State of California. Many changes took place. There was talk of hiring quotas for blue collar workers, unemployment decreased and the level of influence of the minority coalitions increased dramatically. There was less talk about the rising level of illegal aliens and closing the border between the United States and Mexico. The mere thought of a minority leading our state was more than the white supremacist could handle. A search for a new leader began.

The following year, the emergence of a white supremacist leader was a reality. Our intelligence sources advised us that the right wing terrorist groups had purchased properties in the areas of northern California, near San Diego, in the San Gabriel Mountains and near Yosemite. Their funds came from a series of crimes involving counterfeiting, hijacking and robbery. The level of hate related crimes increased and the supremacy literature was found almost everywhere. A task force was

established to track their activities and to investigate crimes which we felt they had committed. The efforts of the law enforcement group was very successful and the activity of the terrorist decreased. We later found that they had moved underground. Community task forces were also formed in that year to combat the efforts of the terrorist groups and to lend support to their victims of hate.

In 1993, urban unrest resulting in civil disorder in the state capitol, San Jose, San Diego and Los Angeles occurred within a six month period. Unemployment, unfair hiring practices, mistreatment of immigrants and the homeless problem was the source of the unrest. We learned the necessary steps to take to control the rioters from the looting experience following the 1990 earthquake. Well trained law enforcement officers from throughout the state saturated the problem areas and the situation was soon under control. We also learned that we had to inform the mass media of the underlying causes of the riots, the racial makeup of the rioters and of our responses. We took away an opportunity for the white supremacist to use the riots for their gains. Efforts were made at all levels to resolve the problems that caused the civil disorder.

In 1995, due to the large number of illegal aliens entering the United States through Mexico and because of the extent of drug trafficking, the border was closed. Military personnel were assigned to secure the border and to prevent the access of aliens and narcotics. This event acted as a catalyst for the domestic

terrorist groups. Their spokesmen related that the federal government had supported their belief that nonwhites were inferior and that they should not be permitted into the country. Activity among white supremacy groups increased and membership soared.

Another event which occurred in the same year had an even bigger influence upon the groups. Our reelected minority governor was assassinated, in 1995, by another minority whose organization had conflicting beliefs with the party in power. It was not a racial crime. It was the result of a political and personal conflict between the governor and his killer. The conflict was related to the closing of the Mexican border. The domestic groups obtained support from foreign groups which resulted in an increase of incidents involving Americans and our embassies.

During the next two years, several lawsuits resulted in a United States Supreme Court Decision which established minority hiring quotas for blue collar workers. The success of the minority political coalitions in this matter raised their influence considerably. The minority employment level increased and pressure was taken off border enforcement. A bulk of law enforcement resources are still being spent to control the activities of domestic terrorist groups.

Law enforcement managers know that planning is an important factor in the control of their resources. They feel comfortable about the way that their agencies respond to unusual events when they occur. But, they have not yet been exposed to the

advantages of futures research.

Several problems were identified in the scenario. The agency (1) relied upon reactive responses; (2) prepared very limited contingency plans; (3) assumed that they were successful; and (4) displayed satisfaction with the status quo.

Scenario Three - The Futurists. It is exciting to look back over the past fifteen years. In 1985 law enforcement managers were first exposed to a new concept called futures research. The research that was conducted from that year to the present has had a significant impact upon the expenditure of resources and the way that agencies accomplish law enforcement tasks. One example is very clear in my mind.

In the late 1980's white supremacy groups in California had a very small following, but many social changes and events occurred during the following fifteen year period that could have changed their status.

The State in 1987 was going through change. There was a large influx of immigrants both legal and illegal; unemployment was high among non-skilled and blue collar workers; minority political coalitions were gaining strength; there was world conflict, including international terrorist incidents; and the status of the poor white was declining.

The once liberal Californian was slowly becoming socially and politically conservative. Through the ballot box, he voiced opposition to victims of AIDS, use of written foreign languages in state publications and judicial records of state Supreme Court

Justices.

In 1990 a destructive earthquake hit California. It registered 7.5 on the Richter scale. To the surprise of most it didn't occur in Los Angeles, but in San Jose. The citizens of that community were ready. Services groups, city government and utility companies had prepared the city for just such a disaster. There was extensive damage, but the loss of life was held to a minimum. Medical aid, fire services and law enforcement came from throughout the state. There was talk of looting, but it did not occur. Unemployed persons were utilized to assist in the rebuilding of damaged areas. There was a drop in the level of employment and immigration from Mexico dwindled to practically zero. Members of right wing groups searched in vain for events that they could utilize in their racist rhetoric. The city survived the disaster because it was ready.

The San Jose experience had a meaningful impact upon California. The chance to work toward the successful rebuilding of the city brought our state's population together. In 1991 a minority was elected as Governor. Many good things happened to the state. Unemployment declined and the talk of urban unrest was seldom heard. The influence of minority political coalitions increased and there was hope that a minority candidate for President would emerge. Economic conditions improved and the immigration level rose. White supremacy organizations tried to reestablish in California but could not gain support. Their target group, the poor white portion of the population, was also

benefiting from the change.

The system wasn't perfect. In 1992 several right wing domestic terrorists, who were imprisoned in 1986 for a variety of serious offenses, were released. From this group a leader emerged that was able to draw together the Identity Church Movement, the Ku Klux Klan, the neo-Nazis and the anti-government control groups. The common purpose was to establish an all white state. The state chosen was California. Community human relations task forces were established throughout the state. The mass media purposely avoided the groups' attempts at voicing their dogma. Law enforcement agencies joined together in task forces to gather information and investigate crimes linked to the groups. Extensive efforts were made to determine the perpetrators of hate crimes and community organizations banded together to support the victims. State and Federal legislation was enacted to counteract the endeavors of the terrorist coalition. Nevertheless a following was developed. Some small towns were practically taken over by the groups. Hate crimes increased.

In 1993 urban unrest resulting in civil disorder occurred in Los Angeles, San Diego and Sacramento. The riots were dissimilar to ones that occurred in the past. They were not spontaneous. Intelligence gathering sources were able to supply information about the riots weeks prior to the occurrences. Law enforcement agencies, who had prepared for years, were ready. Task forces similar to those established after the earthquakes responded and

in less the forty eight hours order was restored. Those responsible for the riots were prosecuted under the special federal legislation written and passed in 1992. There were bad effects from the unrest. The levels of immigration, employment and economic standing of the poor decreased. But, on the positive side the level of influence of the minority political coalitions and movements directed toward establishing quotas for blue collar jobs increased.

The drug problem in the United States, especially in the major cities, increased at an alarming rate. Programs directed at drug education for children, established in the late 1980, had not yet impacted the society as hoped. After long debates in congress a law was passed in 1995 to close the border between the United States and Mexico. To insure that drug traffickers could not cross the border, military personnel were assigned to maintain security. Even though the law was not designed to do so, many people interpreted the action as an attempt to stop immigration from Mexico. Immigration dropped at a drastic rate. White supremacy groups supported the action and distributed race literature about the inferior minorities. By that time the groups had very little support. Several terrorist incidents, directed at Americans and their embassies, occurred in Mexico, Central and South America. Both the employment rate and the economic standing of the poor increased sharply.

In the same year, the President of the United States was assassinated. The right wing terrorist groups quickly made a

race issue out of the assassination. The assassin, a member of a Columbian drug family, was quickly apprehended by a task force composed of law enforcement officers from across the nation. Law enforcement agencies had developed joint planning groups in the early 1990's and contingency plans were developed to handle a variety of terrorist acts - including the killing of a high ranking official. The new President, our nation's first black, at first had some difficulty in obtaining the support of Congress. Consequently, the once strong minority political coalitions lost some influence. A small band of domestic terrorist attempted to assassinate the new president. They too were quickly apprehended. It took only a few months for the Congress to realize the talents of the new president and support rapidly returned. The status of America changed upwardly in the eyes of the world. There was an increase in terrorist incidents directed at Americans in foreign countries but they were in response to the hard line stand of the new President.

In 1997 Congress passed several bills which improved both the level of employment and the economic standing of the poor. One of the bills established hiring quotas for blue collar workers. The laws were challenged and subsequently supported by Federal courts up through the Appellate level.

Right wing domestic terrorist groups no longer have any significant influence. They still exist and hate still exists, but the level of their power and the intensity of hate is lower than it has ever been.

Law enforcement has taken giant steps since the middle of the 1980's. Futures research, strategic planning and the ability to implement sound plans have certainly had an influence.

Policy Considerations

One of the most important parts of this project is the identification of policies that can in fact alter trends so that the future is more likely to be one that is advantageous to us. Based upon the trends and events that have been identified and upon the scenarios that were developed, there are a number of policies that should be considered.

1. Law enforcement agencies should sponsor and support all legislation concerning the statistical compilation of crimes related to race, religion, sex and ethnic background.

2. Law enforcement agencies should develop policies concerning the reporting, investigation and prosecution of hate related crimes.

3. Efforts should be made at all levels of government to broaden intelligence gathering authority in incidents involving domestic terrorism.

4. Specific laws regarding hate related crimes should be sponsored and supported by law enforcement managers.

5. Plans for local, regional, statewide and federal task forces to combat activities of domestic terrorist groups should be developed. Executives of agencies should be trained in the purposes of the task forces and how to cause immediate activation of them.

6. Responsibility for coordination of task forces should be placed at a state government level.

7. Local human relations task forces, composed of community members, should be established to evaluate efforts in combatting hate related incidents.

8. Efforts should be expended to form neighborhood organizations which can lend support to victims of hate type crimes.

9. The effectiveness of human relations commissions should be evaluated and the groups reorganized, if necessary, to obtain maximum results.

10. Prosecutors should encourage victims of hate crimes and terrorist organizations to seek civil action to recover losses caused by the groups.

11. Judges should require reimbursement of the victim's losses and court costs by all persons who are convicted of this type of crime.

12. Information concerning domestic terrorist groups should be compiled by a state agency and the information should be made available through a computer network to all law enforcement agencies.

13. Curriculum concerning ethnic groups and hate crimes should be developed by the state. The dissemination of the information should be yearly at all grade levels in our educational system.

14. Training concerning the causes, investigation and

prosecution of hate crimes should be required, by the POST Commission, in basic law enforcement training programs.

The identification of these major policy considerations prepares the basis for the development of a strategic management plan.

Chapter Three

Strategic Management

Statement

The objective of this chapter is to develop and implement a strategic management process which includes strategic decision making, strategic planning and policy considerations.

Because strategic management is not linear, the items are interactive in the process.

The outcome is a strategic plan which bridges the gap from an analysis defined present to a scenario defined future.

Methods: Identification

The following methods were used in the strategic management portion of this project:

1. Situation, Mission, Execution, Administration and Communications Process.
2. Opportunity and Threat Evaluation.
3. Capabilities Analysis.
4. Conflict Management.
5. Negotiation Strategy.
6. Policy Development.
7. Policy System Evaluation.
8. Stakeholder Evaluation.

Methods: Implementation.

Situation, Mission, Execution, Administration and Communication Process

Situation

Environment. In the current social state, our population is

changing from a liberal trend setting status to one of a conservative status quo. This condition, coupled with a transformation in the composition of our racial makeup, sets the stage for and encourages racially motivated violence.

Certain trends which impact hate crimes, white supremacy groups and domestic terrorism are clearly developing. The trends coupled with a wide range of possible events could result in undesired changes. The changes would significantly affect the resources of law enforcement agencies in California.

Law enforcement executives have the ability to alter the direction of trends by developing strategic plans that control or channel events in directions that have the least amount of negative impact on organizational operation.

Certain trends were chosen, by the participants in the nominal group technique, as those which would have the most influence on the issue in the year 2002. It is advantageous to view each trend in two perspectives. Does the trend provide an opportunity or a threat to law enforcement in the accomplishment of their mission, goals and objectives?

Trend 1. The power of minority political coalitions has become very influential during the past decade. The ability of the coalitions to lead, convince, manipulate and control issues is apparent in all three branches of government. Generally speaking, the coalitions have been supportive of matters pertaining to the expansion of criminal codes, fiscal needs of law enforcement agencies and the activities of the

officers on the street.

This trend impacts the issue in several ways. First, hate groups do not like even the thought of minorities being able to govern, legislate or judge members of the white majority. Next, persons involved in the coalitions tend to be liberal or moderate thinkers. White supremacist certainly are not. Third, efforts of these groups are directed to support minorities, not those who are not members of the protected classes. Fourth, the coalitions have made minorities as powerful as whites in most political and financial matters. Finally, the coalitions are a definite threat to everyone who opposes equal rights.

The response of hate groups, white supremacists and right wing terrorists is to take actions that reduce the power, confidence and status of minorities. The actions or threat of actions force a law enforcement response. The response redirects resources that could be utilized in proactive and creative law enforcement activities.

This trend creates a tremendous opportunity for law enforcement agencies. The demonstrated support displayed by minority coalitions that has been received in the past is encouraging and law enforcement agency heads can look upon these groups as allies in their efforts to control right wing terrorist organizations.

Trend 2. Immigration into the United States is increasing at a rapid rate. A major portion of the immigrants are from the Pacific Rim nations and pass through the gateway of

California.

Massive changes are taking place in our state. Metropolitan areas are expanding, new cultures are displayed, opportunities for everyone are unfolding and the once predominantly white population is declining in percentage.

Although we believe that the major portion of the immigrants are here legally, we are not able to obtain accurate information on the number of those who are undocumented.

This trend must be viewed as both a threat and an opportunity. A clear threat exists with the issue. Historically, during periods of high immigration Klan groups have increased in size. It is safe to say that immigrants will continue to be targets of the white supremacists. Their actions will be used as examples in hate literature. They will become victims of crime. It will be necessary to direct additional resources toward the problems caused by white supremacists. On the positive side, the immigrants provide an opportunity to further increase the support needed to combat the actions of the hate groups. They provide new cultural inputs into our society that further strengthen our social structure.

Trend 3. International terrorist incidents directed at Americans, our government buildings and businesses continue at a steady rate.

The most serious incident involving Americans was the bombing of the Marine Barracks in 1983. There were 241 deaths in that incident. The worst terrorist incidents, however, do not

compare to major disasters. Deaths caused by airline crashes, explosions, fires, marine disasters, floods, tidal waves and earthquakes have all far exceeded that number. Acts of terrorism are not, however, threats measured by the number of deaths involved. The threats are subjective. When a terrorist incident occurs everyone lives in fear.

Statistics indicate that terrorist incidents leveled off in 1986 after reaching a peak in 1985. However, Robin Wright, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace believes that "Terrorism, in the long term, will probably get worse . . ." (Lamb, 1987).

The future targets of terrorists, according to Brian Jenkins,

will be much the same as those preferred today: representatives and symbols of nations and governments -in particular, diplomats and airlines, of economic systems such as corporations and corporate executives, of policies and presence such as military officials (Jenkins, 1986:21).

International terrorist incidents do present a threat to law enforcement and to the issue area. Domestic terrorist groups are well aware of the value of the publicity that incidents receive. They know that the mass media will carry, as headline stories, all incidents that are related to their groups. These stories cause more fear to Americans than those on the international level. The fear consequently reduces the level of confidence in our government's ability to handle terrorist incidents. It is both a challenge and opportunity provided to law enforcement to obtain a level of cooperation from the press that results in

downgrading the social and political causes of terrorist organizations. As pointed out by Abraham Kaplan "terrorism, to a significant degree, is a product of the mass media, and might not survive without the media. The terrorist act must have an audience, or who will be terrorized" (Kaplan, 1983:15)?

Trend 4. The level of employment effects both the issue and law enforcement. When unemployment is prevalent in a society there are clear signs of unrest and dissatisfaction. These factors readily lend themselves to increases in violent, property and so called victimless crimes. When crime increases, resources must be allocated directly to the problem areas. Funds that could be used for crime prevention, equipment and community programs are no longer available.

During periods of unemployment, white supremacy groups are afforded a common ground to develop followers to their causes. Unemployment can be used as an example of our government's failure to meet the needs of the people.

Trend 5. The decline in the level of employment, the homeless issue, low minimum wages, the apparent failure of the social security program, inadequate retirement preparation and the competition with immigrants for low paying jobs have contributed to the low economic standing of the poor whites. The situation is definitely a threat to both the issue area and to law enforcement. The problems which are related to unemployment levels hold true in this trend.

Persons who fall within this economic category have frequent

contacts with law enforcement. They are also an ideal recruitment bank for white supremacy and right wing terrorist groups.

This category, like the previous, provides little hope of opportunity for law enforcement agencies.

Present Capabilities. A survey was conducted of supervisory and management personnel on the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department (LASD). The first area surveyed was the present capabilities of both LASD and law enforcement in general within the state. Twenty seven categories were evaluated. A score ranging from one to five was given to each category. The scoring was based upon the following criteria:

- 1 = Superior, better than any one, beyond current needs.
- 2 = Better than average, suitable performance, no problems.
- 3 = Average, acceptable, equal to competition.
- 4 = Problems here, not as could be, deteriorating.
- 5 = Cause for concern, situation bad, crisis, needs help.

A mean score was determined for each category and the score was placed within one of three categories; strength, average or weakness.

Strengths. There were three areas in which both LASD and the state showed strengths - image, specialties and community support. For the state, equipment was also a strength. Included in the LASD list was calls/service, management skills, officer skills, supervisors, training, council support, city manager support, growth, specialties, management flexibility and

complaints.

Weaknesses. The major concern of those who participated in the survey was the lack of funding to finance programs for the LASD. No other weaknesses were identified for either entity. The complete survey can be found in the appendix (Appendices II and IV).

Ability To Change. The second area of the survey was the ability of LASD and California law enforcement in general to change. The persons involved in the survey numerically rated (1 being low and 5 high) law enforcement in the areas of top management, organizational climate and organizational competence. The mean scores were placed within the appropriate position on the following rating scale:

- 1 = A custodial mode - rejects change.
- 2 = A production mode - adapts to minor change.
- 3 = A marketing mode - seeks familiar change.
- 4 = A strategic mode - seeks related change.
- 5 = A flexible mode - seeks novel change.

California law enforcement, including the LASD, was rated in the marketing mode. This suggests that agencies will seek change if it is in a familiar setting. The survey supports one taken a year and a half ago with a similar group of participants.

In one area, the resources subsection of organizational climate, both entities were rated in the strategic area. An area which indicates that related change is sought. Additionally, in middle management - a subsection of organizational competence-

the LASD was rated as strategic.

This survey indicate that California law enforcement agencies are prone toward change. But, recommended policy changes must be familiar in design and can't be too radical in nature. The complete survey is in the appendix (Appendices III and V).

Mission.

Law Enforcement. For this study, a general law enforcement mission and a specific issue mission is discussed. The general law enforcement mission, in this case, is broad by necessity. The specific mission identifies a particular need not encompassed in the overall statement.

The Los Angeles Sheriff's Department (LASD) developed a mission statement several years ago that included a broad spectrum of objectives.

The department is very large and has a wide variety of responsibilities. Part of their duties include operating the county jail system (25,000 prisoners); providing law enforcement services for the unincorporated area of the county and 36 contract cities (2 million population); performing certain major criminal investigations as a countywide service; providing bailiffs and process servers for the Superior Court; transporting in custody prisoners throughout the county and state; operating the crime laboratory, the CAL ID fingerprint system and area records systems; and handling its own administrative functions.

Its mission could be adapted to almost any other county law

enforcement operation and portions of the mission could be utilized for city agencies.

The mission of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department is to provide

. . . a broad range of public safety services with the following objectives: (1) To furnish to the citizens of Los Angeles County superior law enforcement service, including the highest levels of patrol and investigative capabilities; (2) To support the County criminal justice system through responsible leadership and by effectively utilizing quality resources in the areas of prisoner custody, court services, training and technological specialties; (3) To strive for continued recognition as an outstanding, fiscally responsible law enforcement agency, maintaining excellence of performance in managing the delivery of human and logistical resources required to meet our responsibilities" (Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, 1985).

Issue Mission. The specific issue mission, which was developed by the researcher, is adaptable to all law enforcement agencies within the state. It is based partially upon the model policy statement recommended by the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives. Their policy is, in part,

. . . to ensure that rights guaranteed by state laws and the U.S. Constitution are protected for all citizens regardless of their race, color, ethnicity or religion. When such rights are infringed upon by violence, threats or other harassment, the Department will use every necessary resource to rapidly and decisively identify the perpetrators, arrest them and bring them before the court (Scott, 1986:3).

It is also partially based upon the law enforcement mission of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department and the policy considerations developed in the previous objective.

For the purposes of this issue, the following mission has been prepared.

It is the mission of this agency (1) To protect the civil rights of all persons regardless of their sex, race, color, ethnicity or religion. (2) To protect our government and the civilian population from any group which attempts to intimidate or coerce in furtherance of political or social objectives. (3) To aggressively seek to identify, arrest and prosecute those who commit acts which oppose these protections.

This mission is consistent with the department mission.

Execution.

Alternative Courses Of Action. The alternative courses of action were developed through research, interviews with recognized authorities, personal observations and discussions with those who participated in the Nominal Group Technique. Most of the alternatives are not mutually exclusive. The courses of action include:

1. To alter the social attitudes and racial biases of the population through educational means. The goal is to reduce the future following and membership of white supremacy groups.

2. To train law enforcement employees to recognize patterns of hate crimes, take positive police actions and to support laws pertaining to violations of civil and personal rights. The objective is to make law enforcement more sensitive to this type of crime. In doing so hate groups will face officers that will respond in a firm, rather than a nonchalant, manner to racially motivated crimes.

3. To promote legislation that specifically applies to hate

type crimes. The intent of this response is to prosecute all persons who commit crimes related to the race, religion, sex or ethnic background of the victim. This type of law has been very successful in prosecuting violators of hate crimes in both Idaho and Washington (Broadbent, 1987).

4. To place the responsibility of the investigation of all hate type crimes and criminal activity related to white supremacy groups upon a federal law enforcement agency. Presently, because of their policy, the Federal Bureau of Investigation assumes control of incidents linked to known right wing terrorist groups.

5. To place full responsibility upon the state to utilize its resources in the compilation of statistics, investigation and prosecution of crimes related to right wing groups. One of the goals of these groups is to cause change in government through threats or violence. It could be argued that it is the state's responsibility to take action against these groups. This alternative would remove all responsibilities from local law enforcement and thus would not tax their resources. This alternative could also be adapted to the federal government.

6. To request additional funding from local government to be utilized for the investigation of hate related crimes, crimes by white supremacy groups and intelligence gathering on right wing terrorist activities. A variation would be to eliminate some existing programs to free funds for this purpose.

7. To develop policies that ensure that when hate related crimes occur, law enforcement officers take positive actions and

properly investigate the incidents. Many law enforcement agencies across the country have developed such policies. Noteworthy policies include those of the Boston, Montgomery County (Maryland), Prince George's County (Maryland) and Baltimore County Police Departments. Policies of this nature establish procedures to ensure that action is taken, send a message to the community that law enforcement is protecting them and place hate groups on notice that their actions will not be tolerated.

8. To organize community human relations task forces to meet local needs in handling racially and religiously motivated crimes. These task forces would provide human relations education; support victims; promote human relations legislation; monitor and document racist activities; and promote an accurate image of the community (Wassmuth, 1987). Groups of this type have been successful in the Northwest.

Each alternative was evaluated by weighing its feasibility and desirability. Alternatives 4, 5 and 6 were clearly eliminated. Portions of alternative 2 were included into alternative 7. Portions of alternative 3 were included into alternative 8. Three alternatives remained. They are listed in their order of popularity as chosen by the group.

1. To develop law enforcement policies that insure positive actions when racial and religious related incidents occur. Included in this alternative would be the training of law enforcement officers in the issue area.

2. To alter social attitudes and racial bias through education.

3. To organize community human relations task forces to meet local needs in handling racially and religiously motivated crimes. The promotion of legal remedies would be included in this alternative.

Existing policies and agreements between federal and local agencies would not be altered by the implementation of any of the alternatives.

Stakeholders. Prior to choosing a preferred alternative or combination of alternatives, it is necessary to identify those persons, groups or organizations who have a vested interest in decisions concerning the issue.

Additionally, certain assumptions concerning these stakeholders must be formed. It is safe to assume, in this case, that the stakeholder's values would be constant and that they would react to each alternative in a similar manner. Making assumptions about the stakeholders is critical to the strategic management process.

Eighteen stakeholders were originally identified. The following list contains the assumptions involving the most significant stakeholders:

1. Law Enforcement Management. This group consists of the most influential law enforcement agency heads within the state.

- o Display concern about the cost of the program.
- o Question validity of problem.

- o Support program that will improve system.
- o Attempt to shift implementation to another level of government.

- o Submit to desires of most influential leaders.

2. Peace Officers Standards and Training (POST). The POST Commission is composed of law enforcement executives, line level personnel, civilians and staff personnel.

- o Support program.
- o Identify cost and its impact on funds.
- o Request an extensive study.

3. Legislators. This groups consists of legislators at the state level. If federal legislation is desired it can be assumed that the members of Congress will react in a similar manner.

- o Request a study.
- o Identify funding responsibility.
- o Weigh impact on constituents.
- o Identify support and opposition.
- o Voice full support.
- o Identify political advantages.

4. State Attorney General.

- o Programs support findings of his Commission.
- o Support civil rights programs.
- o Advantages politically.
- o Good for citizens.
- o Will attempt to control.

5. Governor.

- o Good politically.
- o Good for citizens.
- o Funding an issue.
- o Question validity of problem.

6. Educators. This group of stakeholders includes members of the state education system, local boards of education and teachers at all levels.

- o Question validity of problem.
- o Too many programs already existing.
- o No funding to accomplish.
- o Another program to prepare and present.
- o Lottery funds should be used.
- o Not enough time.
- o Support by minority, liberal and moderate educators.

7. Law Enforcement Officers.

- o Another new program.
- o Question validity of problem.
- o Too many policies.
- o This will take away field time.
- o Will submit to higher authority.

8. Minority Groups, Ethnic and Religious Organizations.

- o Finally.
- o Support of program.
- o Provide input.
- o Volunteer to assist.

9. White Supremacy Groups.

- o Open opposition.
- o Attempts to hinder change.
- o Blame minorities and religious groups.
- o Display of strength.
- o Retaliation.

10. United States Department of Justice

- o Open support of principles.
- o Attempt to control and direct.
- o Changes in number of civil rights violations.
- o Fear of loss of control of enforcement functions.

Stakeholders Map. In determining the appropriate alternative to utilize as a strategy, it is necessary to consider two factors for each stakeholder; the level of certainty of support or opposition and the level of importance to them that the change occurs.

In the following chart, each stakeholder is identified by a number. On the vertical scale, the term certain indicates that the stakeholders have made up their minds, either in support or opposition. On the bottom end of the scale, the term uncertain indicates that the stakeholders have not committed to a position or that their position is unknown.

The horizontal scale indicates the level of importance to the stakeholders in causing the change to be made.

Stakeholders in the upper left of the chart clearly oppose the change (white supremacy groups), are not clearly concerned about the change (law enforcement officers) or are willing to

support change if it is beneficial (POST Commission).

Those in the upper right of the chart clearly support the change (minority groups, law enforcement management and the attorney general).

The lower left contains a group (educators) that is difficult to evaluate either as to certainty or change.

The bottom right contains stakeholders (Governor, Legislators and the Department of Justice) that are prone to make change, but it is uncertain how they will respond to the issue.

Efforts need to be made to obtain support from those stakeholders in the lower portion of the chart.

STAKEHOLDERS

CERTAIN

9 : 1
 : 4 8
 2 :
 7 :

NO CHANGE -----+----- CHANGE

: 5 10
 6 :
 : 3
 :

UNCERTAIN

Legend

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Law Enforcement Management | 2. POST Commission |
| 3. Legislators | 4. Attorney General |
| 5. Governor | 6. Educators |
| 7. Law Enforcement Officers | 8. Minority Groups |
| 9. White Supremacy Groups | 10. Department of Justice |

Recommended Strategy. All three alternatives have positive aspects. Standing alone each would have some impact on the issue.

Alternative 1. To develop policies that ensure that, when hate related crimes occur, law enforcement officers take positive measures and thoroughly investigate the incidents. This alternative has numerous strengths.

This strategy is consistent with the previous discussions on environment, resources and mission.

The opportunities and threats identified in the trends

involving coalition groups, immigration, international terrorist incidents, unemployment and economic status would be positively impacted by this alternative.

The Los Angeles Sheriff's Department and other law enforcement agencies within the state have the resource capabilities to implement this alternative. The one area of weakness -funding- would not significantly affect this choice.

Agencies within the state are familiar with change involving policies, training and reporting. If mandated by the state, it is unlikely that objections would be voiced.

This alternative is consistent with both the law enforcement and issue mission.

Alternative 2. The second alternative is to alter social and racial attitudes through education. This choice is also consistent with the environment, resources and mission. It has been previously attempted and has had some degree of success. Many racially and religiously oriented organizations including the Anti-Defamation League, the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Center for Democratic Renewal conduct research and publish extensively in this subject area. It is an absolutely necessary part of any program that attempts to impact hate crimes, the actions of white supremacist and domestic terrorism. It can be made a part of law enforcement training, but the bulk of this type of education must be conducted through the school system and churches.

Standing alone this alternative probably would not impact

our issue.

Although law enforcement managers can recommend this alternative, their influence would be somewhat limited.

Alternative 3. The final alternative that is to be considered is the formation of community task forces to meet local needs in handling racially and religiously motivated crimes. This type of group was very successful in Idaho during the active days of The Order. In addition to small community groups, a five state task force has since developed.

This alternative is consistent with the environment, resources and mission of law enforcement.

It is very similar to the previous alternative in as much as law enforcement can recommend and participate in the groups, but is limited in the ability to make them be effective.

Course of Action. The recommended course of action involves the development of policies that ensure the protection of the civil rights of all persons regardless of sex, race, color, ethnicity or religion; and the protection of our government and the civilian population from attempts to intimidate or coerce in furtherance of political or social objectives. This course involves the implementation of alternatives one, two and three. Additionally, existing programs involving federal agencies, civil remedies and community efforts must be expanded or adapted to our use.

In summary, law enforcement efforts must include the following:

1. The development of hate crime policies.
2. The gathering of statistics involving race and religious crimes.
3. The expansion of multi-jurisdictional terrorist task forces.
4. The organization of community task forces.
5. The encouragement of civil remedies against persons committing hate crimes and terrorist acts.
6. The development of educational programs for law enforcement officers and the public.
7. The expansion of state informational gathering capabilities.
8. The promotion of a state civil rights act.
9. The sponsoring of laws related to hate type crimes.

This course of action is an approach that impacts the entire issue area. It is directed at gathering information, educating, ensuring enforcement efforts, encouraging interagency cooperation, discouraging hate crimes, encouraging community participation and protecting civil rights.

It is a complicated approach that requires participation at all levels of government. It is an approach that piecemeal has had limited success. It is an approach that can impact hate crimes, the influence of white supremacists and the activities of right wing terrorist organizations. It is an approach that is well within the capabilities of law enforcement managers in California.

On a short term basis (within five years) this approach will set the ground rules for persons who have the desire to infringe upon the human and civil rights of others. It will provide statistical information to assist in allocating resources at the local and state level. It will ensure the continuance of existing law enforcement task forces to combat ongoing activities of organized groups.

In the medium and long range future (over five years) social and racial beliefs might be altered. More intensive civil rights laws will be enacted and protections expanded. Groups that involve their members in white supremacy activities and terrorist crimes will face civil actions in addition to criminal prosecution.

Administration and Logistics.

To implement this strategic plan, a joint cooperation of the executive and legislative branches is required.

Certain agencies, such as the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, have the capabilities to manage the implementation of this plan. Their involvement in that manner, however, would not be the most effective approach.

Initially, the executives of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department must be convinced of the seriousness of the problem and the need to develop appropriate policies. After implementation, the policies involving statistical gathering and enforcement procedures must be discussed with executives from

other agencies. A statewide adoption of these policies would be beneficial to the overall plan.

Community groups, human relations commissions and civic organizations should be encouraged to form task forces that direct their efforts toward incidents involving racially and religiously directed crimes. Law enforcement managers should assist in the formation of these groups and participate in their meetings. The groups will be of assistance in promoting legislation that expands civil rights, limits actions of paramilitary organizations and strengthens hate crime laws. The groups will also be used in developing and supporting educational programs. Community, regional, statewide and multi-state task forces could eventually be formed.

Elected officials in city and county government would be requested and encouraged to sponsor legislation, appoint effective human relations commissioners, fund pertinent programs and sustain law enforcement efforts.

State legislators would be asked to sponsor and enact laws that expand civil rights.

The Governor and Attorney General would be encouraged to support the overall program. They will be needed to obtain the development of educational programs within the state program.

There should not be any significant expenditure of funds, on the part of law enforcement, in the development and implementation of this strategic plan.

Planning System

In order to evaluate the appropriate planning system two factors must be considered.

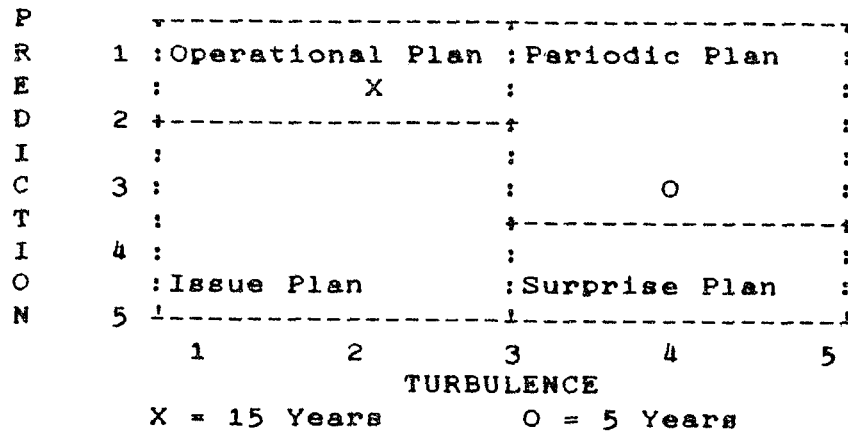
The first is the level of predictability of the future. This level ranges from a high degree of assurance that events will occur (one on the chart) to a completely unpredictable future (five on the chart). Intermediate positions include forecast by extrapolation (two), predictable future (three) and partially predictable future (4).

The second factor considers the level of turbulence or number of changes that will occur. The level ranges from no change (one on the chart) to continuous change (five on the chart). In between are occasional change (two), change on a required basis (three) and many changes (four).

There are four basic planning systems: operational and tactical planning, issue planning, periodic planning and signal or surprise planning.

By choosing the level of both predictability and turbulence, it is possible to identify the type of planning that will be utilized. The following chart indicates the planning modes that will be effective in the implementation of our strategy.

PLANNING SYSTEM CHART



The chart indicates that environmental turbulence on this issue for the next five years will likely be one of many changes (level four on the chart) and the future will be predictable (level three on the chart). The planning process will be one of periodic planning.

Looking at a long range period (fifteen years), which would follow the implementation of our policy changes, the turbulence level should be one of few or occasional changes (level two on the chart) and predictability will be forecasted by extrapolation (level two on the chart). Planning will be operational and tactical in nature.

At this point in the project it is appropriate to discuss the implementation portion of the strategic plan. Policy considerations, the mission, the course of action and the planning process must be accepted and supported by the stakeholders. This is accomplished through negotiations.

Negotiable and Non-negotiable Issues

A number of years ago the Committee for the Judiciary of the United States Senate released a study which in part stated that

the

. . . success of negotiations depends upon whether (a) the issue is negotiable; (b) the negotiators interested not only in taking but also in giving are able to exchange value for value, and are willing to compromise; or (c) negotiating parties trust each other to some extent (Nierenberg, 1981:17).

It is doubtful that successful negotiations would ever take place if the conditions were a requisite to discussion. The issues involved in this case certainly fall within all three of the Committee's criteria and there is a strong likelihood of success.

Although, on the surface it appears that all portions of the course of action may be negotiable, a careful analysis identified certain strategic issues which are essential to the implementation of the plan and certain strategic issues which are not.

Not Willing to Give On. Strategic points which are not open for negotiation include:

Policy Development. It is essential that law enforcement managers develop the written plans for their own agencies. Communities are unique, and policies and procedures must be relevant to the geographic area in which the agency provides law enforcement services. Improper procedures, according to Scott "can ignite a whole community and can lead to retaliation if the victims do not feel that local law enforcement is acting in their interest" (Scott, 1986:10).

Community Task Forces. A necessary element of the organized fight against hate crimes, actions of white supremacy groups and domestic right wing terrorism is an organized community effort.

The task forces must be established initially to provide emotional support and assistance to victims of religious, ethnic and racial violence. Eventually, the groups will probably restructure as did the Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations. They have organized into standing committees on education, community response, victim support, law enforcement, legislation and speaker's bureau (Wassmuth, 1987). The formation of this type of group is crucial to the success of this plan.

Educational Programs. A basic requisite for achievement in this chosen course of action is the changing of attitudes and beliefs concerning racial, ethnic and religious matters. In the words of Martin Luther King:

Through education we seek to change attitudes; through legislation and court orders we seek to regulate behavior. Through education we seek to change internal feelings; through legislation and court orders we seek to control the external effects of those feeling . . . One method is not a substitute for the other, but a meaningful and necessary supplement (King, 1983:40).

Educational programs concerning hate crimes, white supremacy groups and terrorism presented to students in all levels of public schools would be beneficial. Similar programs taught to law enforcement officers at the basic and advanced levels is imperative.

State Civil Rights Act. One of the findings of the Attorney General's Commission on Racial, Ethnic, Religious and Minority Violence was the need to enact a comprehensive civil rights statute with criminal penalties (State of California, 1986a:7).

Several states have enacted comprehensive legislation

specifically designed to curtail violence against racial, ethnic and religious minorities. Law enforcement officials in states which have specific legislation appear to be more sensitive to the problem. A model statute can be found in the Massachusetts Civil Rights Law (Scott, 1986:27-28).

Willing to Give On. Strategic points which are open to negotiation include:

Statistical Information. The gathering of statistical information concerning hate crimes would be beneficial to both local and state governments during periods of planning when priorities must be established.

There is legislation pending in California which would require local law enforcement agencies to compile statistical information concerning crimes which are motivated by race, religion, sexual orientation or ethnicity of the victim (California Senate, 1987 and California Assembly, 1986). The bills require that the state fund local agencies for their compliance. Funding would be insignificant compared to the value of the statistical information. Local agencies could fund the matter without serious impact.

Terrorist Task Forces. The use of terrorist task forces has been successful in major metropolitan areas such as New York City, Chicago and Los Angeles. The groups are comprised of personnel from federal and local agencies who specialize in working cases and gathering information related to terrorist groups.

Expansion of the groups to other metropolitan areas can be delayed. As in the case of The Order, when patterns of terrorist activity are recognized the Federal Bureau of Investigation will concentrate personnel in those geographic areas.

Civil Remedies. The use of civil remedies against white supremacy groups has been successful in the past few years. Noteworthy are actions by the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Center for Constitutional Rights (Center for Democratic Renewal, 1984:66). Although law enforcement should encourage these actions against white supremacists, the task could be handled by public interest law groups.

Information Gathering. The problems related to the gathering of information has increased considerably over the past few years. The restrictions placed on local law enforcement has hampered their efforts to effectively track and monitor activities of domestic right wing organizations. The expansion of state information gathering capabilities would increase the efficiency of local agencies. Actions that would be required to implement changes would no doubt be costly and lengthy. Movement in this area can be temporarily delayed.

Hate Laws. The sponsoring of laws related to hate crimes will be necessary to voice to the citizenry that law enforcement agencies are concerned about this type of incident. Present laws are probably sufficient for now, but as our program progresses efforts must be made in this area.

Primary Stakeholders Points Of Negotiation

The six stakeholders identified for this analysis are those which were previously considered to be the ones that are most change motivated. There are two exceptions. Minority groups are excluded because of the threat of an allegation concerning bias and educators are included because of the influence which they can generate.

The stakeholders are law enforcement management, educators, legislators, the state Attorney General, the Governor and the United States Department of Justice.

Law Enforcement Management. As either appointed or elected agency executive officers, members of this group of stakeholders would be concerned with (1) the fulfillment of their responsibilities to their governing body and the community; (2) the efficient and effective management of their agency; and (3) the influence that they have upon California law enforcement in general.

It is expected that they would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o Policy changes that will positively influence the operational effectiveness of their agencies.
- o Policy changes that will improve their agencies' image and relationship with their communities.
- o Policy changes that will reduce crime and tension within their communities.
- o Levels of participation in multi-agency task forces.

- o Levels of participation in the promotion of a civil rights act and hate crime laws.

It is not expected that they would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o The compromise of any management prerogatives.
- o Involvement in programs that would negatively impact their resources.
- o The release of confidential information or tactical plans outside the law enforcement structure.
- o Matters that would interfere with the accomplishment of their agencies' missions.

Educators. Educators, which include members of the state and local boards of educations and teachers at all levels possess two traits that are beneficial to the accomplishment of our objective. They are supportive of law enforcement efforts and they tend to lean toward moderate to liberal social beliefs.

It is expected that educators would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o Programs that reinforce civil and personal liberties.
- o Law enforcement efforts to participate in developing educational programs that support equal rights and protection.
- o The instruction of classes regarding hate crimes, white supremacy groups and right wing domestic terrorism.

It is not expected that educators would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o The reduction of existing classroom time.

o Programs that would reduce budgeted funds for existing programs.

Legislators. Members of the state legislature have shown strong support of law enforcement during the past few years. Individual members have been willing to author legislation sponsored by various law enforcement managers.

It is expected that the state legislature would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

o The writing of legislation sponsored jointly by law enforcement managers within the state.

o The enactment of a state civil rights act.

o The enactment of hate crime legislation.

It is not expected that the state legislature would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

o Legislation that would involve appropriation of state funds.

o Legislation that would have a negative impact on their individual standing with their own special interest groups.

o Legislation that would stand a strong possibility of being overturned by state or federal courts.

o Legislation that doesn't have the support of the majority of law enforcement executives within the state.

The California Attorney General. The Attorney General is a strong supporter of law and order, the protection of civil rights and individual liberties. He appointed a commission to evaluate the level of racial, ethnic, religious and minority violence in

California. The commission made several recommendations that coincide with the policies discussed in this project.

It is expected that the Attorney General would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o Legislation directed at the protection of civil rights and individual protections.

- o Law enforcement policies directed toward the control of hate type crimes, white supremacy and right wing terrorist groups.

- o Programs that are directed toward the accomplishment of the recommendations of his commission.

It is not expected that the Attorney General would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o Legislation that would have the possibility of being overturned by state or federal courts.

- o Programs that protect one special interest group at the expense of another group.

- o Programs that do not have a strong probability of success.

Governor. The Governor of California was a former Attorney General. He is a strong supporter of law enforcement and civil rights.

It is expected that the Governor would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o Legislation supported by the majority of law enforcement managers within the state.

- o State civil rights legislation.

- o Programs that are directed at controlling activities of hate groups, white supremacist and right wing terrorists.

It is not expected that he would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o Legislation that would impact the state budget.

- o Legislation that would have a strong possibility of being overturned by the state or federal courts.

The United States Department of Justice. This stakeholder includes the Attorney General and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Both the Attorney General and the FBI have displayed a willingness to assist local law enforcement agencies in this issue area.

It is expected that the Department of Justice would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o State civil rights legislation.

- o Any program which is directed toward the control of white supremacy groups and right wing terrorist groups.

- o Multi-agency task forces.

- o Policies that would improve the efficiency of law enforcement agencies at the local level.

- o Educational programs which are directed at improving relationships between ethnic, racial and religious groups and the majority population.

It is not expected that the Department of Justice would agree with or be willing to negotiate the following issues:

- o Programs that would eliminate participation by federal agencies in incidents involving white supremacy groups and right wing terrorist organizations.

- o Programs that would reduce the level of authority of the federal agencies.

- o Legislation that would have a strong possibility of being overturned by a federal court.

Negotiation Strategy

Nierenberg states that we should think of "negotiation as a cooperative enterprise. If both parties enter the situation on a cooperative basis, there is a strong likelihood that they will be persuaded to strive for goals that can be shared equally" (Nierenberg, 1981:34-35).

In this negotiation, the team approach would probably be the most successful. With the team approach the negotiator would be able to (1) utilize a number of people with varied backgrounds, (2) pool judgments and (3) present the other side with a united opposition.

The negotiator would be using a need theory of negotiations. The approach would involve application, need and level of approach. In this situation he would be utilizing a medium to high risk variety of application in which the negotiator works for the opposer's and his own needs; directs their efforts toward the fulfillment of esteem and self actualization; and deals at an interorganizational level.

A variety of strategies are available to the negotiator.

They include forbearance, surprise, fait accompli, bland withdrawal, apparent withdrawal, reversal, limits, feinting, participation, association, disassociation, crossroads, blanket randomizing, random sample, salami and bracketing (Nierenberg, 1981:146-153).

Individual Strategies

Because negotiations are between people, not positions, it is not possible to develop individual strategies with the stakeholders at this time. Individual strategies are unique to the parties involved in negotiations.

Thus far the problem has been discussed, the future has been defined and a strategic management plan has been developed. The final step in this project is to develop a transition plan.

Chapter Four

Transition Management

Statement

The objective of this chapter is to develop the transition process by which the strategic plan is managed in a manner that will produce the selected future scenario.

The course of action which will be taken involves the development of policies that ensure the protection of the civil rights of all persons regardless of sex, race, color, ethnicity or religion; and the protection of our government and the civilian population from attempts to intimidate or coerce in furtherance of political or social objectives.

Methods: Identification

The following methods were used in the development of the transition plan:

1. Commitment Planning.
2. Critical Mass.
3. Commitment Analysis.
4. Defining Management Structures.
5. Process Planning.
6. Identification of Supporting Technology.
7. Responsibility Charting.

Methods: Implementation

Commitment Plan

A commitment plan is an approach involving a series of actions which are necessary for a change effort. The steps in developing a commitment plan, as described by Beckhard and

Harris, are:

1. Identify target individuals or groups whose commitment is needed;
2. Define the critical mass;
3. Develop a plan for getting the commitment from the critical mass;
4. Develop a monitoring system to assess the progress (Beckhard and Harris, 1977:54).

Critical Mass. Critical mass is defined by the same writers as "those individuals or groups whose active support will ensure that the change will take place" (Beckhard and Harris, 1977:53).

The critical mass is composed of the key leaders, relevant domains and individuals who ensure the success of a program. If a portion of the group is against the selected course of action, it will not be possible to attain the desired results.

The number of constituents is usually limited to 10 persons, but size itself is not relevant. In this project the actors are composed of law enforcement management, the Attorney General, the state legislators, the POST Commission, the Governor, educators, law enforcement officers, minority groups and the Department of Justice.

The critical mass contains all of the stakeholders, except white supremacy groups.

Generic terms are used for the players for simplicity, to avoid possible misunderstandings and to allow time to later identify the actual individuals that will execute the plan.

The current and desired levels of commitment for the individuals and groups in the critical mass were assessed. There are four possible levels of commitment: make it happen, help it

happen, let it happen or block the action.

The following chart indicates the present and desired positions for those in the critical mass.

COMMITMENT ANALYSIS

<u>PLAYER</u>	<u>BLOCK</u>	<u>PERMIT</u>	<u>HELP</u>	<u>MAKE</u>
LAW ENFORCEMENT MANAGEMENT			X	O
POST COMMISSION		X	O	
LEGISLATORS		X	O	
ATTORNEY GENERAL		X	O	
GOVERNOR		X	O	
EDUCATORS	X		O	
LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS		XO		
MINORITY GROUPS			O	X
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE		XO		

Legend: X indicates present position, O indicates desired position.

Commitment Assessment. There are several alternatives that can be used to gain commitment from those within the critical mass. The alternatives that were identified by Beckhard and Harris are:

1. Problem finding activities.
2. Educational activities.
3. Treating hurting systems.
4. Changing the rewards.
5. Functioning as a role model.
6. Forced collaboration mechanisms (Beckhard and Harris, 1977: 54-57).

The appropriate alternatives will be discussed for each player.

Law Enforcement Management. Law enforcement management in California is composed of elected sheriffs and appointed chiefs of police. For the most part, they are popular in their communities and with their personnel. Many of the managers have worked with legislators in developing laws that benefited law enforcement in general, their departments or communities and the residents of California. They are members of committees within their own jurisdictions and throughout the state. They have the power, authority and knowledge to make things happen, but they are very busy people. Most major projects will remain within their control, however they will probably be delegated to a lower level command position. The alternative that would be most effective in getting commitment is the treating hurting systems approach.

A hurting system is one in which a condition exists which has caused serious problems either organizationally or within the issue area.

Post Commission. The Commission is comprised of appointed law enforcement officers of all ranks and members of the community. The Commission has a paid full time support staff of talented individuals who possess a broad variety of experiences and skills. The Commissioners and staff are supportive of change and expend considerable sums of money on training, research and program development. It is imperative that the Commission helps in the effort. The approach that would have the greatest impact would be the problem finding approach.

This method is utilized when parts of the system are not aware that a problem exists. By providing information about the problem and the course of action, it should be possible to obtain the commitment of the Commission.

Legislators. Most of the California State Senators and Assemblymen have written and sponsored measures for law enforcement agencies. The legislation, however, is not always supported and passed in both houses. The key to success is to limit the requests to bills that do not require state funding and do not affect the legislator's special interest groups. The legislature will help make the change if the right approach is used. The solution to the problem of obtaining commitment is through two methods; changing the hurting system and educational activities. Educational activities consist of training and exposure to events that heighten interest and increase knowledge about the issue.

Attorney General. The Attorney General, almost by definition, is a law and order person. The past and present Attorney Generals have supported proactive law enforcement programs. Our present Attorney General's commission submitted a report in April, 1986 which identified problems and made recommendations which were similar, in some ways, to the ones in this study (State of California, 1986a). It is safe to say that he would be committed to this project. A commitment to help through contributing to the project is imperative. His commitment could be obtained and demonstrated through three

alternatives: treating hurting systems, functioning as a role model and forced collaboration.

Functioning as a role model would enable his office to demonstrate a leadership role concerning this issue. In forced collaboration his office could, to a small degree, compel law enforcement managers to support, contribute to and administer the program.

Governor. The Governor, a former prosecutor and attorney general, is committed to good law enforcement for the people of California. It has been said that if funding and special interest groups were not a consideration, he would support virtually all legislation supported by law enforcement managers. His commitment to the accomplishment of this project must be changed from a permit mode to that of helping. The best alternative available to obtain his commitment is his functioning as a role model. His outspoken support would provide the necessary boost toward success.

Educators. Educators in our state have been very cooperative with law enforcement agencies and with the implementation of instructional programs which they have developed. Several programs, such as Student and the Law and Substance Abuse and Narcotics Education, have been very successful in both interest and effect. But, all persons in the educational system are not excited with the possibility of spending valuable time and resources on programs which they have not assisted in developing. Some educators, might make efforts

to delay or block any additional non-basic materials which are introduced for adoption into the system. It is necessary to change the commitment from a block mode to one of help or contribution. The use of educational activities would probably be the best option to secure a commitment from this group.

Law Enforcement Officers. Law enforcement officers in California are well trained professionals. They are supportive of almost all programs that improve their effectiveness. Throughout their careers they have received a large quantity of training and are receptive of new methods and ideas as long as they are presented in a persuasive manner. They were placed in the permit column of the commitment analysis and should remain in that position. That placement should be reinforced through training activities.

Minority Groups. This group of stakeholders should have a firm commitment to support any program that enhances their civil rights and liberties. Their present position on the commitment analysis is in the make it happen category. Tactically, this may not be the best position for the group. In spite of the discrimination which occurs involving minorities, there are those in our society who might voice an opinion that their involvement is self serving. However, the support that this group can provide in the help category could be invaluable. The change in positions can be accomplished through educational activities.

Department of Justice. The Department of Justice is charged with the protection of human and civil rights. The role of the

agency is to be ". . . the servant of the law, the twofold aim of which is that guilt shall not escape or innocence suffer" (Berger v. United States, 1935:88). Its support of local programs, involvement in civil rights prosecutions and display of willingness to assist law enforcement agencies in investigations which are centered upon white supremacy and right wing terrorist groups is well documented. Its involvement in any program involving this issue area is imperative. But, its role should be somewhat limited. It should not extend beyond that of permitting the change to occur. This stakeholder is in the same position of possible criticism as the minority groups. The position can be enhanced through their functioning as a role model.

Transitions Management

Management Structure. During a transition period relationships between individuals are different than they were in the past and than they will be when the plan is finally implemented. It is necessary, prior to beginning the transition, to decide how this period will be managed and who will be managing the change. Depending upon the change to be made, different types of resources and mechanisms would be appropriate to accomplish the task. The following list of alternative structures for management were identified by Beckhard and Harris:

1. The chief executive becomes the project manager.
2. A project manager.
3. The hierarchy.
4. Representatives of constituencies.
5. Natural leaders.
6. A diagonal slice throughout the organization.
7. The kitchen cabinet (Beckhard and Harris, 1977:47-48).

The alternative that would be the most suitable for this project is one that involves representatives from the different constituencies. The management structure, therefore, will be a group of individuals that can voice the interests of those they represent. The representatives will be able to contribute a wide variety of information due to their varied interests and levels of responsibility.

Process Plan. After determining the management structure, it is essential to develop a plan that specifies tasks and a timetable for landmark events that must be completed in order to reach the objective. An effective plan, according to Beckhard and Harris, is purposeful, task specific, integrated, temporal, adaptable, agreed to and cost effective (Beckhard and Harris, 1977:51-52).

The tasks that must be accomplished in the transition plan are divided into four phases. Each phase includes several steps.

Plan and Organize. During this phase six major processes will take place.

The first process will include the decision to go with the project and the distribution of the announcement to that effect. The management structure will be selected, its participants will be chosen, the plan will be designed and timetables will be developed.

Next, there will be a period of time directed at building commitment to the project and at understanding the roles within the organizational structure.

The third process involves the development of the communications strategy and plan. Plans for media exposure, public appearances and presentations will be made.

Next, the structure of the new organization will be analyzed. Tasks, work flows, processes, personnel, skills, political factors, legal considerations and cultural impacts will be reviewed.

Fifth, roles and processes will be established for the interim management period.

Finally, design selection processes will be appraised. Considerations concerning systems, task and job descriptions and plan evaluation will be examined.

Implement. The implementation phase involves three steps.

The first step is to implement phases of change. This involves personnel and job changes, reallocation of resources, training and the establishment of committees.

Second, studies involving new processes, communication networks and roles must be completed.

Finally, the new systems entailing finance, resources and procedures must be fused together.

Formalize. This phase involves the actual formalization of the working team functions, its administration and the communications processes.

Evaluate. Throughout the transition period there must be a continuous evaluation and monitoring process.

Events and Timetable. Landmark events and an estimate of

the month that they will occur in the timetable is the next consideration.

The major events that can be placed within a definable timetable include the following:

1. Support is secured from an executive representing a major law enforcement agency - will occur by month 3.

2. Support is acquired from stakeholders - will occur by month 6.

3. Commitment is obtained from the management team - will occur by month 8.

4. Strategic plan is accepted as modified by stakeholders and management team - will occur by month 10.

5. Agreements concerning multi-jurisdictional task forces are expanded - will occur by month 15.

6. Policies concerning procedure and statistical gathering are implemented - will occur by month 20.

7. State directed information gathering capabilities are expanded - will occur by month 24.

8. Training is funded by POST - will occur by month 24.

9. Legislation concerning a civil rights act is enacted - will occur by month 30.

10. Community centered task forces are initiated - will occur by month 36.

11. Educational programs are implemented in public schools - will occur by month 48.

12. Laws concerning hate crimes are enacted - will occur by

month 48.

13. Civil remedies are encouraged by prosecutors in cases involving hate crimes, white supremacy actions and right wing terrorism - will occur by month 48.

14. The course of action concerning the issue is completely implemented - will occur by month 48.

15. The program evaluation is completed and a monitoring system is in place - will occur by month 60.

The implementation of the entire program should occur within five years from the date that it is formally introduced.

Supporting Technologies

Another issue for inquiry is the choice of technologies or means that will move the process toward the target. Several means will be utilized to support and facilitate the transition. They will include goal setting meetings, educational programs, team development and responsibility charting.

Goal Setting Meetings. Goal setting meetings will be conducted which involve those who are a part of the critical mass or their selected representatives. The group, which will be limited to about twenty persons, will be led by a facilitator.

Goal setting meetings will be effective with this group. For the most part, those in the critical mass have positions that require meetings with others that involve discussions concerning subjects of mutual interest. This approach should form good working relationships and will be beneficial to the program that has been developed.

Education and Training. Prior to, during and after the goal setting meetings a continuing effort will be made to formally train the players and their staffs in the areas of hate crimes, white supremacy groups and right wing domestic terrorist organizations.

Consultants, individual research and joint projects will be used to increase the group's knowledge of the issue area.

Team Development. Efforts will be made to develop a strong team concept within the group. Teambuilding activities will concentrate on the following areas:

- o Goals - futuring, strategic planning and goal setting.
- o Roles - role clarification, responsibility charting and action planning.
- o Policies and procedures - problem solving, communication mechanisms and work process analysis.
- o Relationships - conflict resolution and planning.
- o Individuals - experiential exercises.

The leader of the team development process must be committed to leading the group toward the desired outcome; obtaining an outcome that is related to the overall purpose; preparing interesting and pertinent materials for the meetings; and maintaining currency in group participation methods.

Team development will sharpen the skills of the team and will strengthen interpersonal relationships.

Responsibility Charting. Responsibility charting will be very useful in this project. It is a time tested technique which

focuses on allocating work responsibilities.

The procedure requires the construction of a grid. The decisions and actions to be taken are listed on one side of the grid. The persons who might play a part in the decision making are listed on the opposing side of the grid. A behavior is assigned to each of the persons opposite each of the decisions and actions. The behaviors are (1) the responsibility to see that the decisions or actions occurs; (2) the overall approval of actions or decisions, with a right to veto; (3) supporting the actions or decisions by providing resources; and (4) being informed of actions or decisions.

Each action or decision is considered and behaviors are assigned. There can only be one person responsible for each decision.

The process involves the identification of actions, decisions and activities; individual conceptions of levels of responsibilities; consensus of ideas; clarification; and a checklist to determine appropriate behavior.

It is a tool that would probably be accepted by the critical mass.

Technology Summary. The combined use of these four supporting technologies appears to be the approach that will ensure some degree of success in the transition period. The techniques provide an ample range of concepts and increase the possibility of the emergence of new ideas, dedicated involvement, openness and - most important - a workable program.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

During recent years significant changes have occurred in the racial composition and social values of the population of the State of California. The combination of the negative portions of these changes creates a strong potential for racially motivated violence. The violence could occur in the form of isolated hate type crimes committed by individuals or in the form of organized terrorist acts committed by extremist groups.

The geographic location of the state places it in the hub of the Pacific Rim. It is the gateway to the United States for commerce, tourism and immigration. At the present rate of immigration, both documented and undocumented, the once majority white population will soon become a minority.

The liberal society, which once was the trademark of the state, no longer exists. Our levels of tolerance regarding immigration, individual lifestyles and the justice system have been altered dramatically.

Violence directed at racial, ethnic and religious minorities persists within California.

Historically, the combination of social conservatism, high levels of immigration and acts of minority directed violence have led to serious social problems.

There are certain emerging trends which were identified, in addition to immigration, that could also influence the situation. Changes in the power of minority political coalitions, international terrorist incidents involving Americans, level of

employment and economic status will also cause some impact upon the issue.

There are no indications that any of these factors or trends will change. It appears that the stage is set for a renewal of interest in belonging to white supremacy groups and the right wing terrorism which will inevitably follow.

As part of this research, several scenarios were originated from the information generated during the construction of the background section, identification of emerging trends and significant events and analysis of possible interrelationships between the trends and events.

In "the futurist" scenario, law enforcement was viewed, in the year 2002, through the eyes of an individual who first conducted futures research in 1987. The fifteen year period was a turbulent one that could have completely depleted the resources of law enforcement agencies. Planning, community involvement, preparation for the unexpected and the sharing of resources minimized the impact of the events that occurred. Through the use of futures research, strategic planning, the implementation of sound concepts and the choice of an appropriate transition plan, the influence of white supremacists and right wing terrorists was reduced to a minimum.

The scenario provided the basis for the major policy considerations which were necessary for the development of the strategic plan. Included in the considerations were legislation concerning the gathering of hate crime statistics; agency policy

development concerning the handling of hate crimes; expansion of information gathering authority; sponsoring laws related to hate crimes; utilization of counterterrorist task forces; supporting community human relations task forces; and dissemination of materials concerning hate crimes within our educational system.

California law enforcement agencies have both the capabilities and the inclination to make changes that will improve their level of performance and credibility within their communities.

As a guide for law enforcement agencies, a mission statement was prepared to direct their efforts. The mission is to (1) protect the civil rights of all persons regardless of their sex, race, color, ethnicity or religion; (2) protect our government and the civilian population from any group which attempts to intimidate or coerce in furtherance of political or social objectives; and (3) aggressively seek to identify, arrest and prosecute those who commit acts which oppose these protections.

Several alternative courses of action were evaluated to determine the most feasible approach to the accomplishment of the mission. Prior to the determination of the recommended course of action, stakeholders and certain assumptions about them were considered. The major stakeholders included in the study were law enforcement management, the Peace Officers Standards and Training Commission, legislators, the Attorney General, the Governor, educators, law enforcement officers, minority groups,

white supremacists and the United States Department of Justice.

The recommended course of action would require efforts in the following areas:

1. The development of hate crime policies.
2. The gathering of statistics involving crimes related to race and religion.
3. The expansion of counterterrorist task forces.
4. The organization of community human relations task forces.
5. The encouragement of civil remedies against persons committing hate crimes and terrorist acts.
6. The development of educational programs concerning hate crimes, white supremacy groups and right wing terrorist organizations.
7. The expansion of informational gathering capabilities.
8. The promotion of a state civil rights act.
9. The sponsoring of laws related to hate crimes.

The key group that can be instrumental in causing the implementation of this course of action is law enforcement management. It must take the leadership role and must manage the change. A commitment of support must be obtained from the Peace Officers Standards and Training Commission, legislators, the Attorney General, the Governor, minority groups and the Department of Justice.

Each group is unique and different approaches must be taken to obtain their commitments.

The management structure that probably would be the most suitable during the transition period is one that involves representatives from the different constituencies. This type of structure will permit a wide variety of interests, ideas, and concerns to be expressed. Several means will be utilized to support and facilitate the transition. They will include goal setting meetings, educational programs, team development and responsibility charting.

The problem of racism exists in California. It is not unique to our state, it can be found throughout our country. There has always been segments of our society that have chosen to express hatred toward racial, religious and ethnic minorities. Extreme hatred leads to involvement with organized groups of persons who have similar beliefs. These groups, in turn, commit criminal acts directed at minorities. Organized acts of terrorism subsequently occur.

Historically, law enforcement agencies do not normally become involved in social problems until a crime has been committed. Consequently, efforts have not been made to address this issue area in a proactive manner. Instead, the responses have been reactive in nature. Because of this traditional approach, it is difficult to budget resources for the solution of problems of this type. The implementation of this plan will assist agency heads in the determination of the level of funding needed to forestall future problems involving hate crimes.

This project has identified a course of action that will

cause an impact upon the issue area. It would be unrealistic to believe that crimes directed toward minorities and religious groups will cease to exist with this plan. It is realistic, however, to believe that an impact can be made. It is also realistic to believe that law enforcement agencies can prepare for criminal acts committed by white supremacist and domestic terrorism. By being prepared, the expenditure of law enforcement resources directed toward the activities of these groups will be minimized.

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Appendix II

CAPABILITY ANALYSIS
RATING CHART I
Los Angeles Sheriff's Department

CATEGORY	I	II	III	IV	V
Manpower	0	6	2 <3.0>	6	0
Technology	0	4	6 <3.0>	4	0
Equipment	0	2	6 <3.3>	6	0
Facility	0	4	<2.9> 8	2	0
Money	0	0	4 <3.9>	8	2
Calls Service	4	<1.9> 8	2	0	0
Supplies	0	4	<2.7> 10	0	0
Mgmt Skills	0	10	<2.3> 4	0	0
Officer Skill	4	<1.9> 8	2	0	0
Supervisors	0	8	<2.4> 6	0	0
Training	2	8	<2.1> 2	0	0
Attitudes	0	6	<2.7> 6	2	0
Image	2	8	<2.3> 2	2	0
Council Support	4	6	<2.0> 2	0	0
City Mgr Support	4	6	<2.0> 4	0	0
Board Support	0	6	<2.7> 6	2	0
Growth	4	<1.7> 10	0	0	0
Specialties	4	6	<2.1> 2	2	0
Mgmt Flexibility	2	4	<2.4> 8	0	0
Sworn/Civilian	0	4	8 <3.0>	0	1
Salaries	0	4	<2.7> 10	0	0
Benefits	0	4	<2.7> 10	0	0
Turnover	0	4	6 <3.1>	1	1
Community Support	4	<1.9> 8	2	0	0
Complaints	2	6	<2.3> 6	0	0
Sick Leave Rates	0	2	10 <3.0>	2	0
Morale	0	6	<2.7> 6	2	0

CRITERIA

- I Superior; better than any one else; beyond present need.
- II Better than average; suitable performance; no problems.
- III Average; acceptable; equal to competition; not good/bad.
- IV Problems here; not as it could be; deteriorating.
- V Cause for concern; situation bad; crisis; needs improvement.

Strength - <1.0> to <2.4>
Average - <2.5> to <3.5>
Weakness - <3.6> to <5.0>

Appendix III

CAPABILITY ANALYSIS
RATING CHART II
Los Angeles Sheriff's Department

CATEGORY	I	II	III	IV	V
TOP MGMT					
Mentality/ Personality	0	4	4 <3.1>	6	0
Skill/ Talents	0	4	4 <3.1>	6	0
Knowledge/ Education	0	4	4 <3.1>	6	0
ORG CLIMATE					
Culture/ Norms	0	2	8 <3.1>	4	0
Rewards/ Incentives	0	4	8 <3.0>	0	2
Power Structure	0	6 <2.7>	6	2	0
ORG COMPETENCE					
Structure	0	2	4 <3.4>	8	0
Resources	0	2	2 <3.6>	10	0
Mid Mgmt	0	0	6 <3.6>	8	0
Line Pers	0	2	10 <3.0>	2	0

CRITERIA

- I Custodial; rejects change.
- II Production; adapts to minor change.
- III Marketing; seeks familiar change.
- IV Strategic; seeks related change.
- V Flexible; seeks novel change.

Appendix IV

CAPABILITY ANALYSIS
RATING CHART I
California

CATEGORY	I	II	III	IV	V
Manpower	0	6 <2.7>	6	2	0
Technology	0	4 <2.7>	10	0	0
Equipment	0	8 <2.4>	6	0	0
Facility	0	6 <2.7>	6	2	0
Money	0	6	2 <3.0>	6	0
Calls/Service	0	2	10 <3.0>	2	0
Supplies	0	4 <2.9>	8	2	0
Mgmt Skills	0	4	6 <3.0>	4	0
Officer Skill	0	6 <2.9>	4	4	0
Supervisors	0	4	6 <3.0>	4	0
Training	0	8 <2.7>	2	4	0
Attitudes	0	6 <2.9>	4	4	0
Image	4	6 <2.3>	0	4	0
Council Support	0	6 <2.8>	8	0	0
City Mgr Support	0	6 <2.8>	8	0	0
Board Support	0	6 <2.8>	8	0	0
Growth	0	6	2 <3.0>	6	0
Specialties	2	6 <2.3>	6	0	0
Mgmt Flexibility	0	2 <2.9>	12	0	0
Sworn/Civilian	0	0	12 <3.1>	2	0
Salaries	0	6 <2.7>	6	2	0
Benefits	0	8 <2.8>	4	2	0
Turnover	0	2	6 <3.3>	6	0
Community Support	0	10 <2.3>	4	0	0
Complaints	0	4 <2.8>	8	2	0
Sick Leave Rates	0	2 <2.9>	12	0	0
Morale	0	6 <2.7>	6	2	0

CRITERIA

- I Superior; better than any one else; beyond present need.
- II Better than average; suitable performance; no problems.
- III Average; acceptable; equal to competition; not good/bad.
- IV Problems here; not as it could be; deteriorating.
- V Cause for concern; situation bad; crisis; needs improvement.

Strength - <1.0> to <2.4>
Average - <2.5> to <3.5>
Weakness - <3.6> to <5.0>

Appendix V

CAPABILITY ANALYSIS
RATING CHART II
California

CATEGORY	I	II	III	IV	V
TOP MGMT					
Mentality/ Personality	0	2	4 <3.4>	8	0
Skill/ Talents	0	2	8 <3.1>	4	0
Knowledge/ Education	0	2	6 <3.4>	4	2
ORG CLIMATE					
Culture/ Norms	0	6	2 <3.0>	6	0
Rewards/ Incentives	0	2	6 <3.3>	6	0
Power Structure	2	2 <2.9>	6	4	0
ORG COMPETENCE					
Structure	2	4 <2.6>	6	2	0
Resources	0	2	6 <3.6>	2	4
Mid Mgmt	0	4	6 <3.0>	4	0
Line Pers	0	4	8 <3.0>	0	2

CRITERIA

- I Custodial; rejects change.
- II Production; adapts to minor change.
- III Marketing; seeks familiar change.
- IV Strategic; seeks related change.
- V Flexible; seeks novel change.