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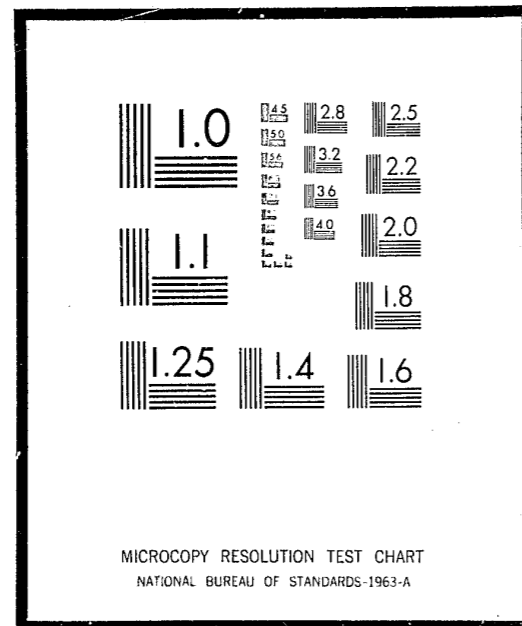
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CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH

PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE

Volume II

Guidelines for
Community Relations Personnel

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ABSTRACT

This project produced a set of operational guidelines for police activities to prevent and control collective violence. The guidelines are based on the techniques and experiences of 14 city police departments and 5 state law enforcement agencies. The guidelines focus on the information required by police for planning, training, operations, and evaluation of both prevention and control measures.

Separate volumes of guidelines were prepared for officers who serve as Chief of Police, Community Relations Personnel, Intelligence Personnel, Patrol Commanders, and Patrol Personnel.

PREFACE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Because of the nature of this project, many individuals were involved in, and contributed to, its success. Mr. George Shollenberger of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration served as the award monitor during the last half of the award period. Mr. Adrian Jones, also of LEAA, served in the capacity during the first half.

A panel of law enforcement specialists selected by LEAA made a much appreciated contribution to the report. They provided a substantive review and criticism of the preliminary draft as well as guidance in adapting the study methods to the needs of the police. The consultants included: Winston Churchill, Chief of Police, Indianapolis; Arthur Grubert, Assistant Chief Inspector, Intelligence Division, New York City Police; John Knox, Chief, Patrol Division West, Los Angeles; Dr. Peter Lejins, Director, Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland; and Colonel Ray Pope, Director, Department of Public Safety for the state of Georgia.

The cooperation of the many police officers in the 14 cities and 6 state police departments visited during the data collection effort is greatly appreciated. Without their cooperation and assistance, this report would not have been possible.

The project team for Operations Research, Inc. (ORI) was headed by Mr. Richard L. Knoblauch, project manager and co-author of this report, and Mr. W. Thomas Callahan, senior author of this report. Dr. Lynn Llewellyn, formerly with ORI, was project manager during the early stages of the project. Administrative support and guidance was provided by Mr. Donald W. Walter, Program Director. Mr. Michael Brown of the ORI technical staff provided assistance in the reorganization and rewriting of the preliminary draft. The authors would particularly like to thank Mrs. Roberta Thompson for her patient assistance in typing and editing the report.

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I. INTRODUCTION

NEED FOR GUIDELINES

While massive civil disorders and violent protest demonstrations have become less frequent in this country over the past year, these and other acts of collective violence continue to threaten public safety and security. Incidents involving ambushes and assaults of police and other public safety personnel, bombings of public and private property, and various types of violent confrontations between police and organized groups persist. This indicates that, while smaller in scope and somewhat less visible, collective violence must continue to be dealt with as a serious national problem. Furthermore, the possibility that massive disturbances will erupt in the future cannot be ignored.

Perhaps the strongest assurance that occurrence of collective violence can be minimized, and that the dangerous effects of such incidents can be reduced rests with the continual improvement of the capabilities of law enforcement agencies. Police departments are increasingly successful in detecting and resolving conflicts before violence erupts, and when it does erupt, in safely containing the situation. The guidelines presented in the volume are intended to strengthen law enforcement agencies in their performance of these tasks.

PURPOSE

The development of these guidelines has been based upon descriptions of prevention and control practices which have already been implemented, and with which some success has already been achieved. The information contained in this volume was obtained from personnel in 14 city police departments and six state law enforcement agencies. Since such a sample does not support

broad generalizations concerning the most appropriate actions to be taken by police across the country, the appropriateness of the guidelines must be judged by each reader based upon his own circumstances and requirements. While some departments and agencies may discover little of value here, it is likely that others will be able to apply these guidelines to their needs for improved planning, training, operations, and evaluation pertinent to their collective violence problems. It should be emphasized that this volume is intended to provoke thoughts and introduce ideas and it in no way intends to stifle initiative.

METHODS OF PREPARATION

The development of these guidelines consisted of five steps.

a. A review was made to identify literature pertinent to topics of collective violence and the police role in prevention and control of CV.

b. A two-day seminar on police methods and organization was held in which four high-ranking police officers and a university professor of criminology— all of national repute—discussed questions of interest to the police regarding CV.

c. A survey of 14 police departments was made in cities with populations between 40,000 and 2,000,000 in the Northeast, Southeast, North Midwest, South Midwest, and Southwest United States; the survey consisted of 120 interviews. Wherever possible, the Chief of Police, intelligence, detective, community relations, patrol and communications personnel were contacted in each city. Although unstructured, the interviews were designed to elicit all information concerning how each department prepared for CV, what actions were taken during CV, and what daily operations were underway to prevent CV. Approximately 190 hours were devoted to interviewing police personnel in the cities.

d. Similar interviews were conducted with members of six state law enforcement agencies to determine how these organizations support local agencies with regard to CV control and prevention. This state agency survey was limited to high ranking officers—a total of 20 nation-wide.

e. A compilation of all descriptions of police decisions and information requirements in support of decision-making culminated in the preparation of the written guidelines which are presented in this document.

BASIC PROPOSITIONS

Certain basic views held by the writers of the guidelines will be observed in the tone and orientation of this volume. These views were developed during the review of the literature at the beginning of the study, and during the interviews which were conducted with police officers. They are listed here to demonstrate that the writers make no pretense of being completely objective.

a. Collective violence is apparently the result of growing tension among groups of communities. The growth of tension can be observed, over a period of time, by police in the performance of their normal duties. Following investigation and analysis of reports and behavior which indicate tension, police can take a number of actions which can serve, in some situations, to prevent violence. Prevention of collective violence in every case, however, is probably not possible.

b. All police officers are decision-makers in the context of their own assignments, and all provide information upon which other officers and unit (precincts, departments, etc.) commanders can base their decisions. The flow of information within law enforcement agencies consists of reports which reflect not only criminal activity but also a wide range of other social conditions including those which may indicate tension.

c. During a CV situation, the primary objective of law enforcement agencies is to end violence and restore order as rapidly as possible, while at the same time minimizing personal injury, property damage, animosity toward police and the likelihood of additional violence.

d. After CV has begun, or when crowds with potential for CV have formed, policemen must achieve their objectives through disciplined teamwork in support of command decisions. As a result, while continuing to maintain law and order to the best of their ability, police may find it necessary to refrain from

making arrests or otherwise enforcing the law when such actions would break up the team effort or provide an opportunity for the escalation of violence. Commanders must make the decisions affecting the nature of police responses based on their estimate of each situation, although it may be said that police efforts should concentrate first on actions against persons who are endangering life (with deadly weapons, fire, etc.).

e. Law enforcement and peace-keeping, although they are the specific duties of police, are general responsibilities of all citizens.

f. Police provide not only law enforcement and peace-keeping services but a number of their services in support of public health, welfare, education, sanitation, etc. Police may find it useful to increase these additional services from time to time in order to decrease tension in the community. Such increased effort—clearly not a duty of police—may be particularly effective when other public and private organizations fail to take action to reduce tension.

g. It should also be emphasized that the writers made no evaluative judgments of police practices, which are described herein as "guidelines." Accordingly, some of the guidelines which are included may be found unacceptable to specific readers.

These guidelines assume, furthermore, that in every law enforcement agency, an individual or individuals fills the roles to be described below. The titles attached to these roles are intentionally general, and may not exist in any given department's table of organization. In very large departments, these roles are divided into more specialized roles. Small law enforcement agencies may require that one or two officers perform the duties entailed in all of these roles.

Chief of Police (Sheriff, Colonel, etc.). The commander and administrator of all law enforcement and peacekeeping forces in a specific jurisdiction. Also, the Chief is the law enforcement officer directly responsible to the overall government administration in the jurisdiction, and the primary point of contact between his agency and other public service departments within the same jurisdiction. The Chief is also the major link with heads of other law enforcement agencies.

Community Relations Personnel. The police officers whose primary responsibilities consist of maintaining an accurate, positive image of the police department and police officers in the minds of citizens, and assisting police in understanding the community. They are not involved in law enforcement activities directly, but support the actions of other officers by attempting to create an atmosphere in which police effectiveness will be high. They interact directly with citizens face-to-face or indirectly through the mass media. Community relations officers may also enlist the assistance of other police officers in fostering and supporting community development and human relations programs.

Intelligence Personnel. These include officers who are specifically assigned to the support of decision-making by gathering, analyzing and disseminating information pertaining to potential or actual collective violence. These also include detectives or agents who, in the course of investigations of criminal offenses other than CV, may collect information pertaining to CV.

Patrol Commander. This category consists of commanders of patrol shifts and all police officers who serve as commanders of police during crowd control and CV control operations. It should be noted that no particular rank is implied by the title "patrol commander."

Patrol Personnel. This group of police officers, for the purposes of this volume, consists of officers whose primary duties involve patrol of streets and initial police response to illegal activity, complaints, or requests for assistance. Furthermore, this group includes officers who may not be assigned to patrol except during crowd control or CV control operations.

Separate guidelines have been prepared for each of these police roles. Readers of this volume may wish to read the others as well, since the roles of police in prevention and control of CV clearly overlap. Law enforcement officers whose duties may extend across several of the roles mentioned above may find it especially useful to read all of the volumes. Care was taken to state all guidelines as concisely as possible, in an effort to minimize the size, and thus facilitate the practical use of each volume.

DISCUSSION OF TERMS

a. Collective Violence—(a) any group activity which interrupts legal patterns of behavior and causes property damage or personal injury, or (b) any

activity of an individual or group which interrupts legal patterns of behavior and causes multiple incidents of property damage and personal injury.

b. Groups—Conceivably, any group has the potential of causing or becoming involved in CV. Most police efforts which were observed, however, have been keyed to preventing and controlling violence among the following:

1. Political Activists—persons who demonstrate their belief that the Federal, state, or local government, or a huge range of government policies, should be changed. This group potentially includes all Americans who may choose to exercise the right of assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment. Accordingly, this group cuts across all others which are mentioned below, and includes persons who favor or permit violence, although most are committed to non-violent action as a political tactic.

2. Students—Within the general area of campuses, students have protested the administration of their schools and various other political issues. By far, the majority have chosen to be non-violent, but some have employed violent methods including the use of lethal weapons.

3. Urban Minorities—The most striking cases of large-scale street violence has occurred among members of urban minority groups, especially urban blacks. The underlying causes of violence and the incidents which triggered these disturbances have been widely studied by police. Again, only a small percentage of urban minorities were connected with the disorders, and an even smaller number were actively violent.

4. Violent Extremists—Especially in recent years, a number of groups have developed which are openly dedicated to the use of any means, including violence, to achieve their goals. Most of these groups are small in any one community, but they may be linked to similar groups in other areas. They may or may not have a well articulated political ideology on the far left or far right. They may be of a single race, ethnic or religious group, or a mixture of several. Bombings, ambushes, shoot-outs with police and planned destruction of property are tactics of these groups.

5. Labor Unions—Strikes, especially at very large factories or in the streets continue to present the potential for violence.

6. Gangs—Youth street gangs and motorcycle clubs, especially when rivalries between gangs develop, can generate violence, sometimes over an extended period.

7. Crowds—Persons drawn by various kinds of entertainment such as music concerts or athletic contests have, at times, become violent.

c. Prevention of Collective Violence—Prevention is the result of all actions taken by citizens, including police, in order to

1. Reduce tension among members of the community

2. Neutralize the influence of persons or groups who have expressed or demonstrated an inclination towards violence

3. Abort the planned violent activities of persons or groups

4. Protect, pacify or disperse crowds which may generate violence

5. Avoid triggering violence by intentional or inadvertant abuse of police authority.

d. Control of Collective Violence—Control is the result of all actions taken by citizens, especially police, in order to

1. Limit the geographical area and the number of persons affected by CV

2. Disperse violent groups

3. Minimize personal injury and property damage

4. Restore the rule of law and the value of order

5. Minimize the probability of the recurrence of CV.

INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS FOR PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Police officers gather information on events and trends in the community on a continual basis. Such information, if it has any significance for CV at all, will be applicable to both prevention and control, since police act in a "preventive" capacity even when they are "controlling" a full-scale CV incident. Furthermore, intelligence produced during control operations may be used in preventing future outbreaks of violence. Why, then, is it useful to separate pevention from control at all? The answer focuses on the context in which police operations occur as is described by the following observations:

- Prevention activities are extremely valuable if effective, since control activities presume that some personal injury or property damage is occurring

- Prevention activities include all police actions accomplished in the course of normal police operations

- Prevention operations may address long-run community problems, while control operations focus on one short-run problem—violence—and the need for restoring order

- Many elements of information gathered during times when the local jurisdiction is quiet can be used to plan in advance for control operations

- Control operations require extensive planning and a high level of training

- Control operations demand disciplined, coordinated efforts of police officers working as a team

- Control operations occur in an atmosphere of pressure which magnifies the necessity for rapid gathering, processing and dissemination of intelligence, efficient communication and pre-planned command and control procedures.

Having stated these primary differences between prevention and control operations, it is now appropriate to discuss both types of activities, including their similarities and differences in terms of the elements of information required to support them.

Locations of CV

General Locations. Police know from long experience the general neighborhoods that have presented the threat of CV in the past. Through constant monitoring and analysis of tension indicators (i.e., public opinion and social and economic conditions), police can identify other potentially troublesome areas.

The relationship of likely CV areas to the entire jurisdiction must also be considered. An incident of CV in a small area, for example, may affect traffic flows in a much larger area of the jurisdiction. Furthermore, the whole jurisdiction must be considered in terms of its closeness to other jurisdictions where persons known to favor violence reside. Clearly, then, police planning and action relative to CV control must extend beyond the boundaries of the areas in which violence actually occurs.

Particular Locations. Within the neighborhoods which present a general threat of CV, certain locations may be identified as important. These places may be considered as three types.

- Areas where crowds are regularly present. Taverns, pool halls, threatres, housing projects, college student unions. These areas commonly attract large numbers of people for recreation and other social functions. The potential for CV increases, especially when criminal operatives, political dissidents, youth gangs and juveniles frequent these places.

- Areas when crowds assemble less often. Public parks, government building, college quadrangles, business establishments (such as banks and factories), sports stadiums and open fields are sometimes centers of social and political activity. Political demonstrations and protests, labor picketing, and "rock concerts" usually occur at or near these places.

- Areas which may become targets of CV. Police can identify potential targets, primarily through intelligence activities, but sometimes from public announcements from dissidents themselves. Government buildings (especially defense facilities), police stations, public utilities, etc., have been targets. After widespread CV has broken out, liquor, grocery, clothing, appliance and furniture stores may become targets.

<u>Location Characteristics</u>. Police also consider the ways that the characteristics of locations affect control operations. Each neighborhood will present a number of hiding places for persons and weapons and perches for snipers, and some buildings may affect radio transmissions.

Reasons for CV

Historical trends, the social and economic environment, the physical environment and competition for leadership contribute to increasing the potential for CV.

<u>Historical Trends</u>. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Indian-Americans, Orientals, and other minorities are attempting <u>as groups</u> to make social and economic progress. They raise the level of tension among their own group by recalling their heritage as victims of persecution and oppression.

Although many people agree that minority groups should seek social and economic improvement, many also disagree with the way in which the minority groups work. Individuals and groups take action to oppose the minority group movements. They often use racial or ethnic stereotypes to fortify their opposition to the emerging minority groups. These stereotypes and the actions taken by the opposition groups raise the level of tension further and increase the potential for violence.

A third important historical trend is the fact that police departments are improving in many ways, but the attitudes of people toward police is changing less rapidly. In some areas, among some groups, the police of today represent all the mistakes which police have made in the past.

<u>Social and Economic Environment</u>. In urban areas, people often feel and are victimized by merchants, politicians and police. Especially in slum areas, the whole "system" seems to prey on the people. Poverty brings ignorance and illness—which breed more poverty. All kinds of criminals—drug pushers, robbers, burglars, loan sharks, extortionists, pimps, con men, etc.—all seem to thrive in the poor areas. The merchants are endangered by crime and bad debts, so they raise prices and anger more citizens. The politicians promise rapid social changes, but they seldom deliver. The police seem to bring trouble when they do their job of enforcing the law, but they never <u>seem</u> to enforce the law enough to protect citizens from crime.

On college campuses, the social and economic view is brighter, but the potential for violence can be just as great. Unlike a community, a college population is a very select group. Everyone is young, wanting to have fun, wanting to impress each other, wanting to find a way to make a living and possibly improve society. They want to assert their independence from parents and from other authorities. They want to demonstrate that they have their own ideas, their own interests, their own "life style."

As S. I. Hayakawa, President of San Francisco State College, has pointed out, college students are very good with words. Ability with words got them into college in the first place. Words enabled them to score high marks on high school tests and entrance exams. At college, students learn about life mostly through words—in books, in classrooms, in rap sessions, in rallies. Soldiers know about war and its horror because they have seen it in terms of jungle, rain, bullets and blood. Students see the same things—in words. Poor people know about poverty because they have felt hunger and sickness. They may have seen rats in the kitchen and muggings in the street. Students know these things exist—because they read about them. Police have witnessed crimes and have interviewed criminals. Students read the newspaper reports of crime. In each case, students are at a great disadvantage, because events like war, poverty and crime are complex, while words are simple. Consequently, students can gain <u>real</u> knowledge of events without necessarily facing all the difficulties which these events really entail. This is one reason why students are very good at discussing social problems, less good at providing solutions.

The combination of group pressures, youthful enthusiasm, growing knowledge and social impatience can increase the potential for violent action among students. The potential is increased even more when a large number of students on a campus are away from home. If they were arrested in their home towns, they would bring community disgrace on themselves and their families. The campus, on the other hand, may be far away from this social pressure. After college years, students will probably have relatively little contact with the university or the town. Accordingly, students from out-of-town are more willing to participate in potentially violent protests.

<u>Physical Environment</u>. A number of aspects of the physical environment also tend to raise the potential for CV. Apparently unequal public services can cause citizens, especially taxpayers, to become angry. In many areas, citizens are disturbed by the quality of street maintenance, trash collection, fire protection, police services, public transportation and recreation. Especially among tenants in low-income housing areas, dissatisfaction with public enforcement of building codes is deep and vocal. Failure of these public services gives residents the impression that society has physically isolated them in a holding camp for second-rate citizens.

Other aspects of the physical surroundings also increase tension. Crowding and abandoned buildings where rats breed and criminals hide sometimes lead people to think of themselves as helpless victims of "the system." When these physical conditions are removed by "urban renewal," the local environment actually becomes worse, at least temporarily. The demolition and re-construction of buildings, or the construction of highways and rapid transit facilities further disrupts the area, often without consideration of area residents. When new facilities, such as super-highways or

railways are completed, they become boundaries between communities. Those "on the other side of the tracks" may be depressed or feared. All of these physical conditions extend the potential for violent actions by residents.

Leadership Competition. The existence of organized political groups does not itself increase the potential for violence. Many groups and their leaders utterly oppose violence. But whenever an extremist group which advocates or condones violence emerges, competition for political leadership begins. The end result may be an increase in the potential for violence among all concerned.

Each group leader seeks political advantage by attracting as much attention as possible. In order to compete with other leaders, politicians tend to make hard, striking, and even outrageous statements which will be spread by the mass media and by word of mouth. These statements, even if completely non-violent, often create tension because they usually promise things which make current society look dismal.

When extremists enter the picture, the whole competition changes. They may actually advocate, incite, or perpetrate violence against society. Even if they only threaten violence repeatedly, they may be eventually forced, to take violent action. Otherwise, they may look foolish before their supporters, and their leadership status may be eroded.

During the control phase of CV operations, police have little opportunity to consider or influence the underlying reasons for violence. Police may be able to assist, however, in establishing meetings between community leaders who can reduce violence and government officials who can directly affect the conditions which led to violence. Furthermore, the fairness with which police control violence will affect the basic feelings of citizens toward police and society in the future.

Information must be collected even while violence is occurring to determing the reasons for continued violent action. The following paragraphs describe some of the reasons for the persistince of violent disturbances which have been reported by police.

a. An organized group, devoted to violence for its own sake or as an acceptable political tactic, is encouraging the continuation of the incident.

b. An organized group, devoted to a political or social change, is encouraging violence in the belief that it will further their cause.

c. Rumors are creating continuing tension.

d. Persons or groups believe that cases of apparent police misconduct will go unnoticed or unpunished and that "the people" must take their own revenge.

e. The general violence itself provides a mask for personal violent behavior which in "normal" times is prohibited by the customs and social pressures of the community.

f. Opportunities for looting or "rip-offs" encourage individuals to take advantage of the situation.

Time Considerations in CV

Collective violence can occur at any time, but police experience has shown that the potential for violence increases at the following times.

a. On Weekends. Time off from work means that people are free to gather in the streets. Since paydays are often on Fridays, many people have a surplus of cash on weekends. Weekend evenings are traditional times for drinking and recreation for many people. This leads to crowds, police involvement with traffic and other illegal actions, and perhaps, carless behavior by people "having fun."

b. During Hours of Darkness. Darkness provides a mask for vandals and persons intent on violent crimes such as arson to hide behind. People can shout at police, throw bottles and rocks or break into store fronts much more easily in the dark than during daylight hours. Crowds partially obscure the identities of individuals. At night, persons in a large group become almost anonymous.

c. After the Public Arrest (especially when physical coercion is necessary) of a Member of the Community. This may lead from charges of police brutality, to the formation of crowds, and finally to violence.

d. After or During Collective Violence in Other Areas of the City or Country. Most experts believe that the city riots of the 1960's were partially contagious. When dissident citizens of one city saw riots occurring elsewhere, they started "sympathy" demonstrations or riots in their own area. The best example of this kind of behavior was the widespread violence which followed the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968.

e. After or During Local, National or International Events in Which Groups Have a Clear Interest. Spectacular incidents other than collective violence may become the occasion for CV. The treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union, the United States incursion into Cambodia and other events have produced a collectively violent response among some groups. Such events are of great concern to many people, and consequently they receive extensive coverage in the media. Certain groups, such as militant American Jews or militant students may respond to these incidents with violence or with mass action which increases the potential for violence.

f. After or During Political Meetings or Demonstrations. Although they have been less frequent recently, mass political meetings and demonstrations are part of American life, and in most cases are non-violent.

The time of an outbreak can also have important effects on CV control efforts. Nightfall, rush hour traffic, convention or spectator crowds, groups of people leaving taverns at closing times—all of these exert extra pressures on police if violence breaks out at these times.

During the control phase, the most important aspect of time involves the rapidity with which police move from their normal operations, which emphasize individual decisiveness, to a CV control mode, which stresses disciplined, coordinated team effort.

The changeover to control operations is somewhat aided by the tendency of CV outbreaks to develop over a period of time. Prevention operations provide much information upon which decisions can be based during the control phase. Even the "triggering event" in a CV situation sometimes precedes overt violence by hours or even days. In the period between the first clear indication of violence and a large-scale outbreak, police can begin to execute control plans while intensifying preventive efforts as well.

Persons Involved in CV

The members of the community who are involved in CV and are of interest to law enforcement agencies include both those who are participating and those who are opposing the violence.

Participants in CV. The persons who may produce or participate in violence are listed here based on the level of their probable threat, and are described by the behavior which may indicate their potential danger.

- Persons may come to the area from outside for the purpose of confronting the police in the streets or for the purpose of committing another illegal act such as a bombing.

- Local groups may advocate violence and death for police, especially when these groups are fighting within themselves. Such groups are generally involved with isolated bombings and killings. They participate in mass violence only when the costs to them are low and the benefits high.

- Local individuals may have demonstrated animosity toward police or society and seek public support for their position.

- Ambitious political activists may attempt to gather large crowds in order to attract attention to their cause or to themselves.

- Juvenile gang leaders and members may try to draw attention to themselves.

- Group leaders may become convinced that collective violence is the correct way or at least an acceptable way to achieve benefits for the group. These leaders may hold their position of leadership because of their material wealth in the midst of poverty, because they have achieved material success in the past or simply because they can act effectively as spokesmen for their groups (they need not be clergymen, club presidents or student body officers). They may even be involved in gambling, prostitution or more serious crimes and are leaders because they have expressed interest in group advancement. The group they represent may be as large as a whole race or class, or simply the "regulars" at the tavern or pool hall.

- Any other person may decide that his background and beliefs do not prohibit collective violence for the sake of personal or supposed community gain.

Opponents of CV. Since the prevention of CV is a relatively long-run effort, many citizens can be recruited by police to support programs that will reduce tension in the community.

Any person who has a clear interest in preserving the community or in frustrating those who seek violence can help. Even criminal operatives and political extremists may help to prevent violence if they can see that peace, at least temporarily, is in their best interests. More often, assistance to police in preventing CV will come from community action leaders, local businessmen, religious leaders, youth groups, and administrators of health, welfare, housing and education programs. Representatives of the mass media can also be very helpful.

During the control phase, police must determine who has actually become involved in participating in CV. These persons will include all those who have fostered, planned or committed acts of violence—perhaps to achieve a goal—and other citizens who have joined in the violence for their own reasons.

Groups and individuals must be identified, as well as their addresses and vehicles. The number of persons who are participating must also be estimated since police employ formations and tactics which are suited to crowd size. The number of participants will also indicate whether reserve forces should be readied or deployed.

An accurate assessment of who is involved may be hindered by two factors.

a. The sudden, apparently unorganized nature of many large civil disorders may disguise the characteristics of the groups and individuals involved.

b. Police may encounter difficulty in attempts to infiltrate groups who advocate violence; even though such infiltration may be necessary for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the triggering and sustaining of civil disorders. Infiltration is considered the single most effective way to determine who is involved in a violent event.

Assistance for police control operations is likely to come first from individuals or groups who attempted to help police in preventing CV. In some localities, active community relations boards—with many contacts in the community—have supplemented the police in taking rapid action to effectively control efforts. Members of such boards as well as other citizens can be asked to help, if circumstances permit, by taking direct action, especially in rumor control and other community relations efforts. It should be emphasized that the use of community resources can serve to prevent unfounded accusations of arbitrary police action or police brutality following the CV incident.

Types of CV Events

CV events and events which have been included in CV in the past consist of bombings, ambushes, shoot-outs, demonstrations, strikes and crowds. After any of these events has produced widespread violence or other illegal activity, they may be referred to as riots or mobs. It should be stressed that many demonstrations, strikes and crowds are completely legal gatherings in which police activity is devoted both to the protection of life and property and the guarantee of rights of free speech and assembly. Thus, these events should not be viewed beforehand as essentially violent, although each should be reviewed in terms of its potential for causing or providing the setting for violent activity.

Bombings may be the result of conspiracies, although some have been carried out by individuals. Bombings and ambushes usually require extensive planning and secrecy. Shoot-outs appear to be the result of general plans which can be enacted at any time, usually against police.

Demonstrations vary greatly in size and are organized in support or protest of government or institutional policies. Although most demonstrations are legal and intended to be peaceful, violence may develop within them on a small- or large-scale. Some demonstrations, furthermore, are essentially illegal, such as traffic disruption or the occupation of public or private buildings. A very small number of demonstrations have been not only illegal, but intentionally violent.

Strikes have the same characteristics as demonstrations, except that they are undertaken by persons who are very well organized (over many years, perhaps) and usually involve action of specific labor groups against specific business organizations or public service agencies.

Crowds vary greatly in size and usually are disorganized. Violence in crowds is usually not planned, and is small-scale, although it may grow.

Ways in Which CV Occurs

Actions which are most likely to require police action are listed in the following paragraphs in the order of their urgency.

Planned violence may be organized by individuals or groups against persons or property, especially against groups of persons. The bombing or burning of buildings, ambushes and ritual murders can be considered in this category which takes first priority for police preventive action.

Planned confrontations with police or confrontations with groups of citizens may occur. These will require police action to restore traffic flow or public order.

Spontaneous formation of groups of citizens to protest police action may follow public arrests. Whether the police action was correct or mistaken, crowds may react violently. Thus, in every case when arrests or other police work leads to spontaneous confrontation between police and groups, prompt action is required to prevent violence.

Crowds may grow or move beyond the limits of police capability to protect lives and property. This requires direct intervention by police to provide for orderly crowd growth and direct movement. When police intervention occurs, a confrontation between citizens and police can develop, and violence may result.

Violent reaction to the words of speakers or violent acts incited by speakers may occur at meetings and rallies. Potentially inflammatory speech, although protected from abridgment by the First Amendment, is reason for police to prepare to take action to prevent violence.

Tension may grow within a group in a place where potential for violence is high. This may occur, for example when performers fail to appear for concerts, and at athletic contests which excite feelings of participants.

If violence actually begins to occur, a virtually limitless number of different violent acts may be performed. Some of the most significant actions which have been reported by police include those in the following list.

- Threats to life are posed by snipers, arsonists, and persons with incendiary and explosive bombs.

- Fire and explosive also threaten real property.

- Rioters attempt to destroy police vehicles with fire or other means.

- Violent persons throw a wide variety of missiles at police and other passers by, both in vehicles and on foot.

- Large or small groups attempt to break through police lines by force.

- Barricades are built to hinder traffic flow and to conceal and cover persons who are throwing missiles or sniping.

- Vandals break windows and may attempt to loot retail business stores or warehouses.

- Non-violent militants illegally block streets and building entrances or occupy buildings or offices. Although these acts are not violent in themselves, violence often results when police attempt to remove these persons who are breaking the law.

OUTLINE OF THE REMAINDER OF THIS VOLUME

Chapter II consists of introductory notes for the personnel for whom the volume was prepared. Chapters III, IV, V, and VI are entitled Planning, Training, Operations, and Evaluation, respectively. Relative to each of these activities, each chapter discusses the information which police require in support of decisions regarding both prevention and control of CV. Within each chapter, prevention and control guidelines are listed separately. Prevention and control guidelines are further broken down into categories based upon six essential intelligence elements:

- Locations of CV

- Reasons for CV

- Time Considerations in CV

- Persons Involved in CV

- Types of CV Events, and

- Ways in Which CV Occurs.

A similar format has been used in all the volumes of this series: Volume I, Chief of Police; Volume II, Community Relations Personnel; Volume III, Intelligence Personnel; Volume IV, Patrol Commander; and Volume V, Patrol Personnel.

Although the prevention and control of CV is not the primary purpose of community relations activities, community relations officers are in a unique position to sense tension in the community. Reports of such tension, when thoroughly verified and communicated to community leaders and police can be extremely valuable in the prevention of CV.

Furthermore, community relations officers can recruit other policemen to support various community development and action projects and, thus, increase the number of avenues of communication between citizens and police. These lines of communication may increase in importance if joint action of police and citizens is required to prevent or control CV.

The role of community relations personnel in planning, consists primarily of identifying priority targets for preventive action and organizing a police-citizen team for control operations. Especially important during the control phase is citizen action to quash rumors, through a rumor control center, for example, and by direct personal appeals to members of the community to refrain from violence.

Community relations officers also can serve in a training capacity. All police officers, but especially those who are assigned to patrol duties, can improve their performance if they have a deep understanding of the problems of the community and a broad knowledge of the places and indivi- duals that may present a threat of CV. Community relations personnel can also familiarize other officers with persons who have demonstrated their willingness to help police.

Because community relations units are a relatively new concept in police work, the need for evaluation of the effectiveness of the programs is very important. The results of such evaluation will be needed to improve the program and may be necessary for defending the community relations approach against outside critics.

One final point must be emphasized. The job of the community relations officer should not be confused with that of the intelligence agent. If the community believes that community relations is essentially an investigative or espionage activity, cooperation with police is likely to decline. Accordingly, community relations projects should focus on open operations to improve citizen understanding of police and police officers' understanding of their community.

III. PLANNING

Planning for prevention consists of all analyses and decisions undertaken by police to prepare operations which will reduce tension among normally nonviolent persons and to interrupt the potentially violent activities of persons who see violence as necessary or acceptable. Planning efforts include identification of needs, organization of action groups, formulation of preventive strategies, generation of tactics, selection and purchase of equipment and materials, and recruitment and training of personnel. Specific CV planning supplements a variety of police general orders, regulations and procedures which are inherent in routine police operations.

Planning for control includes all of the steps of planning for prevention, but is oriented toward preparing operations to restore order rapidly and to decrease the likelihood of further violence. Planning for control emphasizes the development of standard procedures which can be exercised swiftly and coordinated effectively. A recommended product of planning for control is an Emergency Operations Manual which prescribes Personnel, Intelligence, Operations, Logistics and Command and Control practices to be used during violent incidents. This manual is supported by all other police planning documents and procedures which are used by police during periods when CV is not occurring.

PLANNING FOR PREVENTION

Potential Locations of CV

1. Identify the areas of the jurisdiction which are likely to produce violence.

2. Develop a specific violence prevention plan for each area.

3. Include in the plan the resources available from police, school systems, other public services, and from private groups and individuals in each area.

4. Make the need for more and/or different resources known to the Chief of Police.

Reasons for CV Potential

5. In planning a program to attack the basic reasons for collective violence potential in the community, remember that the first task is securing an effective bond between citizens and police.

6. Police have a long record of effective programs for youth, especially in programs of recreation. Recreational programs are highly recommended in jurisdictions where poverty coincides with a lack of leisure time facilities. Athletic leagues, youth centers (some in mobile homes), camping trips, dances, movies, tutorial programs and other youth oriented activities have been successfully operated or sponsored by police departments.

Athletic and outdoor activities have a distinct advantage for police community relations programs. Some police officers, who would not otherwise desire to become involved in community relations, will agree to share their expertise at sports or outdoor living with youths. Policemen who question their own ability to relate to youth or members of minority groups may feel much more confident with them when participating in cooperative outdoor activity in which they (the policemen) are proficient.

7. Recently, police have taken a far more active role in education. Parents have recognized that for too many years schools have neglected to teach youths the importance of good police work, the difficulties of policing, and the potential dangers of an unprofessional, uncontrolled police force. A growing number of school systems have welcomed policemen into the schools. Some give classes in the nature of police work and even in the scientific skills of policing. All the police in the schools provide an additional opportunity for students to receive counselling, especially about family troubles and juvenile delinquency. Although community relations officers in the schools are sometimes required to maintain peace and order, they generally avoid investigations, arrests or patrolling within the school.

8. Education of adults in police work is also a needed activity in many communities which have developed animosity toward police. Officers from all sections of the police department may be willing to give talks to citizen groups and answer their questions. These talks inevitably gain sympathy for police and may increase citizen involvement in law enforcement. PTA's, fraternal organizations, service organizations, human relations councils and other groups may be interested in such presentations.

9. Many jurisdictions have instituted police car ride programs in which volunteer citizens observe police patrol work for one or two hours. Some university and college student organizations have cooperated in such programs. Although the citizen volunteers may be persons who are already devoted to supporting police, the existence of the programs provides a non-threatening opportunity for contact of police with citizens.

10. Besides a direct approach to reducing the potential for violence by improving police community relations, indirect action by police may also contribute to the solution of social problems. Community relations officers may act as a spur to other governmental agents to perform more effectively. A call from police may improve the speed or care with which health, welfare, housing and sanitation departments serve the public.

11. Set up a procedure and network for stopping rumors. Imagined reasons for taking violent action can in some situations become as dangerous as reasons which have foundation in fact.

Times When CV May Occur

12. Try to outline a yearly calendar of events which various groups usually observe as rallying days. Schedule community relations efforts to plan and participate in these observances if possible.

13. Plan special programs for youths during summer and other vacation periods.

14. Set up a regular schedule for reviewing the "straight" and "underground" newspapers for reports of upcoming social and political events. Subscribe to such newspapers when possible.

15. When demonstrations or entertainments are scheduled even months in advance, start to contact the planners of the demonstrations as soon as possible to assure them of police protection and cooperation in prevention of violence.

Persons Who May Be Involved in CV

16.   Develop a plan for dealing with imminent violence. (The same plan may work in some cases where violence has already broken out.) One plan which has worked involves an attempt to meet with the leaders of the potential violence. The meeting should include as many of these leaders as are willing to attend, community relations personnel _and_ the police officer who is responsible for reviewing police action. The review officer is important because he demonstrates police concern about preventing or investigating cases of alleged police brutality or other wrongdoing.

One department experienced such a meeting which began with shouting of bold "demands" by a group of dissidents. The dissident leaders shouted inflammatory epithets and accusations, apparently intended to rattle the police. After a period, however, the serious dissidents assumed the leadership of the meeting, and the shouting subsided. The serious leaders began to moderate their demands, at which point the "shouters" angrily left the meeting. The meeting then moved into a real bargaining stage during which the police were able to write down a list of true, real grievances pertinent to the police department and other public services, as well as issues entirely outside local government control. The police made no promises concerning the grievances, except that they would relay the grievances to the Chief who could consult with other authorities. Before leaving, the police made sure to set an exact time and place for a meeting the following day. The choice of the location for such meetings is very important. Most departments preferred Police Headquarters or a neutral location. A place designated by the groups leaders should not be used.

There are several crucial aspects to this type of meeting. The Chief must fully support the practice. The community relations officers must know in advance, preferably on a speaking basis, some of the important dissidents. The police who enter the meeting must be prepared for extreme verbal abuse or even physical attack. Finally, a procedure must be set up for around-the-clock work to prepare responses to the list of grievances (demands).

The conference following the meeting with dissidents should consist of the Chief of Police, community relations and internal review personnel, intelligence personnel, and patrol commanders. A representative of the local executive administration may also be present, or the Chief may wish to deal with the local executive privately.

The meeting should begin with a review of the original meeting with the dissidents. Principal leaders should be identified, their willingness to use violence, and their strength, estimated, and their primary interests described. The group should make a tentative identification of the "key leaders," and the "demands" of these key individuals should then be discussed.

When any of the "demands" are felt to be reasonably achievable by the local government, the conference should prepare a brief outline of a plan for taking steps to achieve those and to consider the others. This outline should not include any timetable for action that cannot be fulfilled with available resources. For example, a more vigorous investigation of narcotics trafficking may be promised, but complete success in wiping out drug abuse cannot be promised.

Each "demand" should be treated with concern, and a carefully worded statement concerning each demand prepared. Unachievable demands, e.g., to free convicted felons, must be answered with a firm statement that such action is beyond the reasonable competence of any executive agency without extensive legal action. Even so, that demand or similar demands (e.g., to increase welfare payments), however unreasonable in the situation, must never be ridiculed, especially in public statements. A member of the department or another citizen who knows the dissidents very well may help with the wording of replies.

The Chief and the local executive will probably be able to prepare a response to the demands which will satisfy the dissidents and be sufficient to prevent violence, at least temporarily, by presenting dissidents with a list of priorities for local development. When this time is gained and some grievances are redressed in the interim, the potential for violence may subside.

The Chief and local executive may wish to attend the next meeting with the dissidents, especially if one of them appears to be a leader who could be of possible future help to police. Or, the Chief may ask community relations and internal evaluation personnel to attend the meeting and speak for him. If the Chief or local executive attend, they should be briefed in advance on the personalities of each of the dissidents. Which of them hates police officers? Which of them understands that bargaining is a give-and-take process? Which of them understands that community development does not occur instantly, that future success will depend partially on relations with police and the local government? Which have real influence over a group or people?

17.   When potentially violent groups are identified, plan community relations activities to suit their needs and preference. Teenagers usually like sports, dances, outings, and music. They may also like to discuss drugs, police work and the life of the policeman. College students and teachers can be enlisted under police sponsorship to teach special courses to teenagers, to tutor them, or simply talk to them about campus life, social problems, opportunities in life, etc. This arrangement with college students is especially helpful because it also increases sympathy for law enforcement officers on the campus.

18.   Plan a long-run approach as well. Very young children in elementary school can be visited in schools by policemen (sometimes called "Officer Friendly"). The policemen talk about traffic safety, especially about bicycle safety. Police display their side arm, their shield and the other parts of their uniform and equipment. These visits can also be accompanied by slide or movie presentations, but the important aspect is the personal contact of young students with police.

19.   College-age youth and police have many interests in common. Many young police officers are very close to them in age. Police are often students in colleges. Police are often interested in sports and other outdoor activities. Some police and young people share interest in community development, decrease in drug traffic, prevention of venereal disease, court reform, traffic safety engineering, decline in racism, family crisis intervention, education for poor people, etc. Although some college-age youth have often been difficult for policemen to approach, creative ideas for programs which are organized around these and other common interests can draw these youths and police together and decrease the potential for violence.

20.   Funding for community relations programs may be obtained from local public funds, or through the state from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Funding, material and manpower support can also be obtained from human relations councils, service organizations and from the Community Relations Service of the United States Department of Justice.

Events Which May Lead to CV

21.   Develop plans for assisting community organizations in holding joint meetings or setting up rumor control centers.

22.   Devise ways of guiding groups who are planning demonstrations or other events to maintain order. Gather materials on methods of training marshals, providing toilet facilities, medical aid, etc.

23.   In coordination with the Chief of Police, intelligence, and patrol personnel, prepare a set of routes which groups can use for parades, and areas that can be used for rallies while keeping the potential for violence at a minimum.

Ways in Which CV May Develop

24.   Review from reports of local CV, or of CV which has occurred in other areas, the types of tactics that led to CV. Stories of the dangers of these tactics can be used to discourage groups from employing them. These stories may be presented when the necessity for community relations prevention operations arises.

PLANNING FOR CONTROL

Although many of the prevention guidelines (above) are clearly applicable to control planning as well, the following discussion specifically oriented to control planning should be considered.

Planning for control consists primarily of three major steps: (1) the development of a set of written operational procedures for use by the local department during crowd control and CV (these written procedures will be referred to as the Emergency Operations Manual and Plan); (2) the institution of a mutual aid arrangement with other nearby law enforcement agencies; and (3) the design of a centralized, well equipped command center. Many police departments have achieved success with these three steps.

From the community relations viewpoint, planning for control involves devising ways to support the emergency procedures, the mutual aid plan and the command center. The following guidelines concern those three topics.

Locations Of CV

25.   Determine from contacts within the community those places that are most likely to be the locations for confrontations and other potential CV events. Plan intense efforts for the most dangerous areas.

Reasons For CV

26.   Develop priority lists of persons who can be called to work together if CV erupts, to stop rumors and to urge citizens to avoid violence. Plan ways of achieving the confidence of these community leaders now so that they will trust police during times of crisis.

27.   Learn the social issues that are most controversial in each area of the community. This knowledge will be helpful during CV outbreaks in enabling you to calm citizens in each neighborhood.

Persons Who May be Involved in CV

28.   Prepare lists of community leaders, student activist leaders, and others likely to be influential in the community. Such a list will be very useful for organizing meetings, after CV has broken out, to air grievances and develop mutually acceptable solutions. Submit this list to the Chief of Police. Then contact each of the persons on the list to cultivate their support.

Types of Events

29.   Find out what kinds of protests and demonstrations are planned, or are most in line with the thinking of members of the community, or by outside organizations. Set up procedures for maintaining contact with leaders or spokesmen if such situations should get out of hand and CV results.

IV. TRAINING

Training for the prevention of CV consists of all efforts to prepare police for preventive operations. Training familiarizes police with underlying causes of tension in the community with local groups which exploit or increase tension, the wasy in which violence develops, and the times and places where CV may occur. The goal of training is to prepare officers to recognize and reduce tension, detect approaching violence and thwart the attempt of individuals or groups to commit violence. Training for prevention of CV can be incorporated into police recruit training, and it can be given as supplemental training to experienced officers. A large number of universities, colleges and adult evening schools also support police training for prevention of CV with courses in the fields of sociology, psychology, and economics.

Although police at higher ranks may have a high level of professional expertise, opportunities for in-service or school training in both prevention and control of CV should be made available whenever time and budgetary constraints permit. Advances in law enforcement techniques are occurring at a rapid rate, and the problems which police are asked to address are increasing in number and complexity. In such an environment, all officers are likely to benefit from training, and all officers, including community relations personnel, can provide inputs to such training.

TRAINING FOR PREVENTION

Potential Locations of CV

1. Provide the training program with information concerning areas where people are "uptight," especially about dealing with police.

2. Define for trainees the areas that are considered "the territory" of youth gangs and racial or ethnic groups. For example, in manufacturing areas, certain taverns sometimes become the meeting places of one race or national origin group. "Outsiders" of another race or ethnic group may be harassed when they pass by or enter these taverns.

3. In the community relations input to training, stress that every area of the jurisdiction includes many people who are helpful to police. No area should ever be seen as completely hostile.

Reasons for CV Potential

4. Take an active, leading role in providing information to the training program on the current social trends in the community, and on the ways these trends affect police action. Community realtions officers are proof to trainees that a policeman can be both a professional law enforcement officer and an agent for social development. Anecdotes and descriptions of community relations successes can be used to show the relationship between good police community relations, willingness of citizens to help police, effectiveness of law enforcement efforts, and the decline in the likelihood of collective violence.

5. Suggest to police trainees that they are the guardians and agents of some historic changes in American life. Policemen can assist in combatting prejudice by giving an example to other people of dignified equal dealings with members of minorities as well as with others. Policemen can help to organize the community to attack its educational, recreational, narcotics and other health problems. Most of all, policemen can be seen in the community as the protectors of the people from crime, and as trained keepers of the peace. No other public servant is asked to face so many challenges. No other public servant is presented with so many daily opportunities for making concrete contributions to the community.

6. Suggest to the Chief the names of community leaders who are capable and willing, to support police training by providing explanations and analyses of the problems of the community.

7. Suggest and help arrange field trips for police trainees to socially and economically deprived areas of the community, perhaps on weekends. During these trips, the trainees can practice gathering information not only concerning apparent crime, but also indicating social deprivation and the potential for violence.

8. Discuss the special problems of dealing with college students. Discuss the influence of the academic environment, the influence of age and peer group pressures, and the temptation of students from "out of town" to behave without regard for feelings of parents.

Ways in Which CV May Develop

9. Explain some ways that trouble can get started in the community. Use examples from the local area if possible. Otherwise, use studies of violence in other cities. The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, and the Report of the National Advisory Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence are good sources. Many other descriptive studies can also be obtained.

10. Emphasize that many incidents of violence result from a perverse kind of "game" in which some citizens tempt police to exceed their authority. Verbal abuse or other actions intended to embarrass and provoke police are used, especially when representatives of the news media are present. The abusive citizens actually desire police overreaction, and they believe that they will be able to escape, or at worst, spend one night in jail. They are willing to accept such short-term punishment, which they see as minor, in order to gain attention for their cause. Further, their suffering in jails gains them boasting points within their peer group, if that is what they desire.

The very fact that such behavior occurs, even if police handle the situation properly, indicates trouble developing in the community. Police, therefore, must report all incidents through proper channels, and as accurately as possible. Was the incident essentially "showing off?" Was it organized and serious? Was there a flavor of deep hatred, as well as deep devotion to a cause?

TRAINING FOR CONTROL

Training for control consists of familiarizing police personnel with the Emergency Operations Manual and exercising the instructions contained in the Manual until proficiency is achieved. Police also require familiarity with various types of crowd control formations and with the kinds of threats which may be encountered during a violent incident. As opposed to training for daily police work which emphasizes individual judgment and action, training for CV control

stresses coordinated, disciplined team work. Training in conjunction with other law enforcement agencies who are components of a mutual aid plan may be required. Some departments have provided special training for a small number of personnel, sometimes called a "Tactical Patrol Force." Training for control may also be supplemented by courses such as the Civil Disturbance Orientation Course (CDOC) given by the U.S. Army at Ft. Gordon, Georgia.

Locations of CV

11.   Review with all personnel (during training sessions and roll-call briefings) those areas within the jurisdiction that are likely locations for confrontations. These briefings will help the officers to review and assess their control tactics and their control assignments relative to these areas.

Reasons for CV

12.   Emphasize that police discipline and confidence during control operations reassures all citizens that violence will soon be ended, and that any wrong-doing will be stopped. Police overreaction and apparently uncontrolled use of physical coercion degrades police effectiveness, enrages the community, leads to charges of police brutality and, probably, to violent acts of retaliation against police.

13.   Stress the role that media can plan in either supporting or hindering police attempts at control. Inform all officers that it is advisable to refer any reporters from the media to the police community/public relations officer located in the command post. Police officers often become very excited during control operations, and excitement can lead to misstatements. On television, where the context of violence cannot be accurately reproduced, police statements can often lead to misunderstanding in the community.

14.   From reports of previous violence in the local jurisdiction or in other areas, describe how violent groups sometimes threaten or brag beforehand concerning violence they intend to commit. Citizens may hear of these plans (or bluffs), and report them to police, if citizens believe that police are trying their best to end violence without oppressing citizens.

15.   Trainees can profit by a practical lesson in the dynamics of rumors and rumor control. Examples should be given to show how rumors can spread and lead to serious consequences. The trainee should learn why he should never repeat rumors and always be sure of the information he relates to his fellow officers.

Persons Involved in CV

16.   From contacts within the community, find out who is most likely to be helpful in controlling CV. Use this information to prepare before-the-fact lessons for trainees on the groups and individuals that can be expected to lead the community in fighting CV.

V. OPERATIONS

Operations for prevention of CV include all efforts by police or encouraged by police to detect and reduce tension and to repel attempts at initiating violence. These operations include community relations, press relations, information collection, verification, processing and dissemination, street patrol, crowd control and various types of community services. Although some extraordinary actions may be required to prevent CV, most preventive efforts are part of daily police work.

Operations for control includes the deployment, movement, command, control and support of police officers to end violence, protect persons and property, restore order and preclude the recurrence of violence. During control operations, patrol, intelligence, community relations and command functions focus on curtailing violence while continuing to perform law enforcement and other services outside of the area of violence.

OPERATIONS FOR PREVENTION

Potential Locations of CV

1.   Respond to requests from the Chief, patrol commanders, intelligence personnel and patrolmen to devote attention to specific areas with high potential for violence.

2.   Identify, on own initiative, the specific locations of trouble spots such as taverns, student unions, high schools, etc. These will become targets for community relations efforts.

3.   Identify specific locations of persons or groups which may be helpful in community relations, such as "underground" newspaper offices, political party centers, youth centers, community action programs, etc.

4.   Identify locations of youth gangs' "territories" and meeting places.

5.   In areas of potential violence, identify physical facilities which may be used for expansion of recreation, health, welfare, and other community services. These may be developed in order to promote better police community relations.

6.   Identify the physical locations of all public service agencies within problem areas specifically, and for the town or city as a whole. Personnel at these locations can often aid police community relations by taking better care of sanitation, road maintenance, street lighting, etc. Personal involvement of these public servants with police efforts may be of mutual benefit to everyone. Visit them at their places of work.

7.   Report to public service officials the locations of broken street lights, malfunctioning traffic lights, and other breakdowns in public equipment. Report to building owners and public servants the locations of piles of trash which should be removed. Also attempt to have abandoned cars removed.

8.   Identify physical locations of all media offices, newspapers, magazines, radio and television. Personal contact with members of the media may introduce them to community police work as a subject for their stories.

Reasons for CV Potential

9.   Respond to requests from the Chief and other police for assistance in identifying the causes of potentially violent problems which have developed.

10.   Identify situations and conditions which are creating tension in the community. Decide which of these problems can be corrected by police action.

11.   Assist in communicating the problems identified to all members of the police force. Some of the police may not care to listen. Be aware that community relations means helping the police understand the community as well as helping the citizens understand the police.

12.   Analyze the problems of the community from the citizens' viewpoint. What are they angry about? What are they afraid of? What are their goals and needs? What stands in the way of their progress? What is their attitude toward police? In what ways would they like to see police service improve?

13.   Attempt to break down barriers to communication between citizens and police and among groups of citizens. This can be done by recreational programs, police appearances at schools and fraternal organizations, and community relations visits to youth groups, "underground" newspaper offices, political party headquarters, church groups, etc.

14.   Attempt to find out why CV does not occur in a community. This will often enable community relations officers to identify important sources of strength in the area, such as churches, youth groups or specific individuals. Think of ways of increasing the power of these strong groups or individuals. This will not be easy, for although these people oppose violence, they may also disagree with police policies and procedures.

15.   Do not consider citizen complaints about community conditions as a complete reflection of problems in the community. Further investigation may show that specific complaints are only symptoms of more general problems which community relations personnel, acting in conjunction with other public servants, may help to solve.

16.   If a lack of recreation facilities is causing dissatisfaction, encourage polica to become involved in recreation for youth. Policemen in some cities have opened youth centers in troubled neighborhoods. Others have taken city youth on camping trips. In order to support the recreation programs, policemen have enlisted local athletes to help them.

17.   Attempt in every way possible to show that the official police position is completely opposed to racial or ethnic prejudice. Offer to help minority groups with any programs for community development that are planned or operational.

18.   Actively represent the local government to the people. Listen to their complaints; try to have their grievances resolved. Pay attention first to complaints about police, but also try to solve any problems with other public services. Meet with employees of other public service agencies. Explain the role they play in preventing the build-up of potential violence. Learn the limits of the ability of public service agencies to respond to your requests.

Times When CV May Occur

19.   Consult with community members more intensively whenever an event with the potential for CV is approaching, or after any widely publicized incident. Let the people know that the police are trying to avoid violence in every possible way, that the police cannot tolerate lawbreaking, but will cooperate in any way short of allowing people to break the law.

20.   Listen to determine at which points during planned events police will most probably be needed. Will the group move from one location to another? Will a list of grievances or demands be presented to an official? Will members of the group attempt to enter a closed builr'ing, or block entry to buildings or streets? Is there any indication that the close of the event will be used as a starting point for vandalism or other illegal activity?

Persons Who May Be Involved in CV

21.   Identify all of the leaders in the community. Know their names, their faces, their specific interests, their home addresses, their phone numbers and where they can be located most often. Include the leaders of education, health, and welfare services, community action organizers, businessmen, heads of youth groups, churches, church groups, youth gang chiefs. Do not overlook peer group leaders, whose wealth, good looks, daring and ability make them important within their peer groups. Some of these leaders may not be acceptable to society in general. Some may have criminal re-cords or may be suspected of being involved in criminal operations currently. They may, however, be interested in preventing CV, and they may be able to help now or in the future.

22.   Contact the leaders in the community. Let them know that the police recognize their leadership role. They may react with verbal abuse or other hostility, but the initial contact itself increases the probability of future contacts.

· 23.   Whenever the police department performs an important service, make sure that community leaders hear about it. If the police department has a public information unit, this public relations function may be a standard,

formal job. If no public information unit exists, community relations officers must do the work. Newspapers, radio and television stations and local action groups may all be willing to publish feature stories of police service to the community. Whenever stories are published that are even partially favorable to police, thank the writers of the article.

24.   Always respond to questions and requests from community leaders. Often these questions will concern police action. Tell the story as truth-fully as possible. In most cases, the questions arise from rumor or mis-information or because of the personal attitudes and behaviors of specific policemen. The citizens who call for explanations are usually seeking reassurance that the police department is concerned about performing their service to the community in a sensitive, professional way.

Events Which May Lead to CV

25.   Intervene in all situations in which groups are forming to protest police action. Determine if any community leaders who have dealt with police in the past are members of the group. Talk to them first.

26.   Deal with members of demonstration groups and other "underground" organizations. Caution them to avoid violence at all costs, since the po-lice will be there to protect everyone and must intervene if violence breaks out.

27.   Suggest to leaders of demonstrations, parades or entertainments that they themselves assign and train marshals. These marshals can protect the property of participants against theft and can assist in keeping order when the crowd moves or breaks up. It may be possible for police to arrange a way in thich they can assist in the training of marshals.

28.   Offer the assistance of the police department in planning upcoming activities so that violence can be avoided.

29.   Let the leaders know that they are known to the police and that police attention will be focussed on them during the event.

30.   Explain to the leaders the dangers which may arise during the event. Police intelligence personnel will know about these. Although many people organize crowds for the specific purpose of disrupting routine even to the point of danger, some are unaware of the possible consequences. Several rock festivals were good examples of events which were innocent in form and intent but which led to destruction of property and even to violent death.

31.   Test the attitude of the people to the upcoming event and their reaction to police interest. Advise the Chief whether community relations is apparently sufficient to forestall violence or if more help is needed.

Ways in Which CV May Develop

32.   Intervene quickly whenever any violence occurs in an effort to prevent escalation. Call on all persons who are community leaders for help in limiting violence. Let these leaders know if they can help to prevent trouble. The leaders will want to know the nature of the threat in order to plan their response.

OPERATIONS FOR CONTROL

The control phase, in general, consists of impelmenting the Emergency Operations Plan and Manual, the Mutual Aid Plan, when necessary, and the supervision of the Emergency Operations Center.

From the viewpoint of community relations personnel, implementation of these measures requires intensive efforts to penetrate the community in order to exert a calming influence on citizens or to contact community leaders who can reduce violence. The guidelines which are discussed below are oriented to steps that community relations officers may take to achieve those objectives.

Locations of CV

33.   Keep the Chief and patrol commander informed of likely or possible locations of additional renewed CV activity in the troubled area.

34.   Provide estimates of tension/anger based on observations in each of the various locations that are involved or likely to become involved.

Reasons for CV

35.   In contacts with the citizenry, continue to attempt to determine why CV has erupted. Urge everyone that something can and will be done to redress just grievances but that CV will improve nothing. Attempt to determine if additional causal factors have been added since the initial outbreak.

36.   Often the reasons that were identified as potential causes of CV do not include the reason that caused a particular outbreak. Prevailing economic and social conditions determine the climate of an area, but an isolated incident, even though unrelated to the social climate, may trigger violence. Be alert in the community after CV has erupted to determine the prime contributory factors as well as the "trigger" event.

37.   Try to determine if there is continued hope for success in achieving the short-run objectives of the CV outbreak among the individuals involved and their passive supporters.

38.   If the cause of the violence is, or is believed by citizens to be, unfair or brutal police action, reassure people that the internal review section will investigate any charges against police. Police brutality is often the subject of rumor, and such rumors can be a cause of trouble. Stifle the rumors as quickly as possible, utilizing news media assistance and that of community organizations such as the Urban League.

Persons Involved in CV

39.   Cultivate contacts with those individuals who can help restore order. Do not forget that often a group leader formerly hostile to police may be willing to help with control operations.

Types of CV Events

40.   Try to determine what group members plan to do as well as what they appear to be doing.

41.   Report to the Chief of Police exactly what the crowd members are doing. Be precise in reporting numbers of people involved as well as the exact nature of their activities.

Ways in Which CV is Occurring

42.   Determine how group members and leaders intend to act in ongoing and future interactions with the police. If escalation of the violence and illegal activities are planned, immediately notify patrol commander and Chief. If a lessening of activities is anticipated by the participants and their leaders, also notify the Chief.

VI. EVALUATION

This section will discuss ways in which community relations personnel support the Chief of Police in conducting assessments of prevention and control actions. Evaluation is undertaken to determine how well police are conforming with prescribed procedures and how effective their actions are. Inadequacies will indicate the need for an increase or reordering of operations.

The evaluation function is a responsibility of command. The Chief of Police may delegate the task of evaluation to a Deputy Chief, to a separate internal review section, to a strategic intelligence or community relations unit or to another high-ranking officer. In smaller departments, or as needed, the Chief may perform the evaluation on his own.

Each policeman should make an evaluation of his own performance. Any inadequacies should be identified, with no implication of fault or guilt necessary. Supervisory and command personnel should also evaluate the capabilities of their subordinates without implying the necessity of assessing blame or prescribing punishment. Improvement in performance is the primary objective of evaluation.

EVALUATION OF PREVENTION

Evaluation of any preventive activity in CV is always difficult, because when problems do not become acute, there is usually little solid evidence that CV would have occurred if police had not intervened effectively. The evaluation criteria listed below, therefore, are numerous, and although each is related to tension in the community, estimates of a small number of them will probably suffice for evaluation of the prevention activities of most departments.

Recently, many departments have developed and implemented "Management Information Systems (MIS)." These systems, which emphasize rapid storage, retrieval and dissemination of accurate data, would be very compatible with the evaluation criteria mentioned below.

Suggested Evaluation Criteria

1.   When violence does not occur at the scene of a crowd, police performance may be judged entirely successful if:

    a.   Community relations personnel made contact with leaders or members of the crowd before and during the gathering

    b.   Community/public relations officers coordinated actions with news media as needed.

2.   Even if violence in crowds is avoided, and even if crowds seldom assemble in a jurisdiction, evaluation of efforts to prevent collective violence can proceed. The focus of this evaluation will be brought to bear on the capability of the department to deal with long-run community problems, and to recognize growing tension.

Measures which might be provided to the Chief to use to judge such capabilities are:

    a.   The number of police who have received training which is specifically designed for dealing with community problems

    b.   The number of police studying formal courses in police-related subjects in schools, colleges or universities

    c.   The number of police who are members of or advisors to community service organizations such as Boys' Clubs, Boy Scouts, PTA's, etc.

    d.   The number of presentations by police to public meetings, and the number of police involved.

If all of these are growing, success can be claimed in improving the capability of the department to take part in confronting local problems outside of law enforcement _per se_.

3.   In order to appraise the ability of the department to detect rising tension, the following information is required:

    a.   The number of community leaders with whom police community relations officers have contact, especially in dangerous areas

    b.   The number of community leaders who refuse to assist police

    c.   The number of community leaders who encourage others to thwart police efforts.

4.   Some other measures will be ambiguous. It may be difficult to separate increased indications of trouble from the increased willingness of people to help police by reporting. Some examples of ambiguous responses from the people are:

    a.   Number of complaints made to police about public services. These may indicate greater dissatisfaction with local government. On the other hand, increased reporting may also indicate improved reliance on the police and on local government to correct local conditions.

    b.   Number of youths who ask for police help, especially in schools, in order to solve personal problems or to reduce the severity of criminal prosecution for minor offenses. Increases in this number are probably a favorable indication because they imply that the police are gaining the confidence of youth.

    c.   Number and intensity of rumors reported to police. These should be expected to increase when a rumor control center is established. Thereafter, the number of rumors should level off until tension increases.

    d.   Number of complaints of police corruption or incompetence. The tone and accuracy of these reports will indicate their value. If most of the complaints appear to be highly emotional or deliberately false, tension is probably increasing. If most of the reports are correct, or at least plausible, citizens are probably displaying their confidence that police are interested in improving the department.

Potential Locations of CV

5. Evaluate the degree to which officers have penetrated each area of the jurisdiction. In which areas are persons hostile to police, generally reluctant to talk to police or to cooperate in community projects in which police have a role? Relate the answers to these questions to the characteristics and behavior of community relations and other police personnel.

6. Report the results of the evaluation and recommendations for improvement in specific neighborhoods to the Chief.

Reasons for CV Potential

7. Consider the shifts in the objectives and hopes of citizens. Have any of the disruptive issues within the community been resolved? Do people continue to talk about fighting in the streets to achieve social goals? Do citizens believe that policemen are trying to improve their services?

8. Have the media helped or hindered community relations?

9. Report all estimates to the Chief.

Times When CV May Occur

10. Is there a standard procedure for identifying upcoming events that community relations personnel should cover? Are the principal newspapers, school bulletin boards, etc., checked on a regular basis which is reasonable for the level of activity in the area?

11. Have enough contacts been made in the community to assure that community relations personnel are informed of important community meetings in time to attend them?

12. Are any citizens willing to act as listening posts for community relations personnel to make sure that no opportunities are missed? How were these persons recruited? Can others be recruited in the same way?

13. Report your assessments and suggestions to the Chief.

Persons Who May be Involved in CV

14. Has the basic philosophy of the community relations approach to preventing crime and CV been accepted by most of the officers in the police department? Policemen who oppose the community relations approach will accept this philosophy when they begin to see greater citizen support for police efforts. Is such citizen interest increasing?

15. Have all the leaders of the community been contacted by community relations officers and/or the Chief of Police?

16. Is there at least one reporter in every media office who is willing and able to do a professional (objective as possible) job of reporting on police law enforcement and community service activities? Can at least one community relations officer (called the public relations officer, perhaps) contact these media representatives quickly?

17. Do other police officers know the names of organizations who are dedicated to community development and who oppose CV?

Events Which Might Lead to CV

18. Was any success achieved in pacifying persons who were known to be planning violence? Were the planners of demonstrations contacted and successfully convinced to avoid violence at all costs? Did community relations personnel go into action quickly when events of minor scope raised the possibility of "spontaneous" outbreaks? Consider the possibility that the community relations approach will almost certainly not work to prevent some types of violence—clandestine bombings, for instance. What should be done in those cases?

19. Are community relations personnel adequately trained to take different approaches to each type of threat of violence?

20. Report results of evaluation and suggestions to the Chief of Police.

Ways in Which CV May Develop

21. Has community relations reduced any threat of violence by helping to plan security for demonstrations or entertainment events?

22. Have community relations personnel successfully encouraged persons to give up plans or ideas for violence or to talk against violence among persons who will not listen to police?

23. Has community relations helped to provide a way for fugitives from justice to surrender to police peacefully?

24. Is there any indication that community relations programs within schools or among youth has helped to deter juvenile delinquency or to soften hostility toward police? Are police receiving more requests from youths for help in ending trouble?

.25. Report your assessments to the Chief of Police.

EVALUATION OF CONTROL

Evaluation of control operations, of course, begins while violence is still occurring. Based upon this type of evaluation, the Chief of Police and patrol commanders make decisions concerning the deployment and tactics of control forces. These considerations were mentioned in the "Operations for Control" section of this volume.

The type of evaluation which is discussed below begins after violence has ended and is intended to support decisions concerning changes in the organization, equipment, training and operational procedures of control forces.

The essence of the evaluation which follows control operations is the "after-action report." This report should be a detailed, overall description of the violence itself, the actions which police and other forces took to end the violence and the level of effectiveness which was achieved. The preparation of this overall report, in some departments, has been assigned to a single high-ranking officer who is then responsible for compiling and supervising reports from patrol, intelligence, community relations and command personnel who were directly involved in control operations. Some departments have made such a task more efficient by instituting a separate evaluation unit—independent of all other operational units. This independent unit is designed to function at all times, but may be particularly important during CV operations when charges of misconduct are often levied against police.

In cases where very serious incidents of CV occur, evaluation of control operations by agencies outside of the law enforcement community may be necessary. In recent years, the bulk of collective violence has emanated from political issues. In such a context, the community and the entire nation need an in-depth view of the achievements of law enforcement agencies in dealing with CV. Many persons, including members of the mass media, the academic community, legislative bodies, etc., have attempted to produce such evaluations, and police have solicited other studies. Such investigations by persons outside of law enforcement may often assist police, and they may be accomplished by local groups or by persons from outside the jurisdiction. Many experts have worked extensively to understand collective violence, and many other persons representing public opinion discussion and thought may be available to evaluate serious outbreaks of CV.

At whatever level the evaluation is undertaken, community relations personnel can support the process by providing the types of information mentioned in the guidelines included in the following paragraphs.

Locations of CV

26. Determine if areas other than the one actually involved in violence have similar conditions or grievances. If dissatisfaction is widespread, prevention operations are appropriate in those other areas. Affirmative action should be taken to rectify the conditions which precipitated the CV.

Reasons for CV

27. Determine why citizens were willing to participate in overt acts of CV. Was their willingness, for example, a reflection of deep-seated dissatisfactions or were they convinced by an effective leader or known agitator?

28. Determine if and why non-participants were tolerant of those who committed acts of violence.

29. Were efforts made during the violence to combat rumors by "rapping" with citizens, by televised statements from local leaders, and by willingness of the media to make sure that rumors were not repeated?

30. Did any presentation by the media oversimplify the situation so much that tensions were raised?

Persons Involved in CV

31. Consider which organizations and individuals were most helpful in acting to end the violence. Some may have been persons whom police had counted on in the past. Others may be newly identified people who are willing to help. A third group may consist of persons who are inciting or committing violent acts.

32. Make a point of expressing police appreciation (probably through the Chief) to those persons who were especially helpful.

Ways in Which CV Occurred

33. Did citizens seem to respond to community relations advice that the use of certain weapons and tactics would necessitate immediate police response?

34. Did citizens express approval, disapproval or fear of the weapons and tactics used by violent persons or of the reactions of police?

END