ESTABLISHING NON-TRADITIONAL PARTNERSHIPS TO MITIGATE THE FUTURE IMPACT OF WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS

by

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COMMAND COLLEGE CLASS XIV

PEACE OFFICER STANDARDS AND TRAINING (POST)

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

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

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

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

The views and conclusions expressed in this Command College project are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST).

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Abstract

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Abstract

The use of non-traditional partnerships in law enforcement is examined for impact on white supremacist groups. A futures study identifies trends and events expected to provide opportunities for white supremacist groups to increase their size, influence, and activities during the next ten years. Although many of the factors are outside the scope of influence of law enforcement, one event appears to have an overwhelmingly positive effect: the establishment of a cross-disciplinary coalition with a multi-faceted intervention strategy. The conclusions and recommendations of the study suggest: that illegal activities of white supremacist groups will pose a risk to law enforcement and society during the 1990s; that at a regional level, law enforcement executives should take a leadership role in mitigating this threat; that efforts should focus on public-private coalitions including non-traditional partnerships, and; that the approach should consist of training, education, enforcement, victim assistance, media relations, political activism, and evaluation elements. Strategic and transition plans provide generic concepts and implementation systems, a transition management structure, and supporting implementation technologies for a county/region. Appendices include forecasting data, details, graphics, references, and bibliography.

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Executive Summary

SECTION ONE: DEFINING THE FUTURE

The primary issue of this study is: What will be the impact of white supremacist groups on California law enforcement by the year 2002? The sub issue questions are: 1) What will be the impact of crimes committed by white supremacist groups? 2) What will be the impact of political activism by white supremacist groups? 3) What will be the impact of changing hate crimes laws? A scan of the environment revealed many existing trends which will encourage the activities of white supremacists. All but one of the forecasted trends and events suggested a future in which these organizations can thrive. Although many of the factors are outside of the scope of this study (e.g., population demographics, economic conditions, etc.), one actor event was found to positively impact on many of the important trends and events: the formation of a cross-disciplinary coalition against racism. In the normative scenario a desired and attainable future was possible with the establishment of such an organization.

SECTION TWO: STRATEGIC PLANNING

Using the model developed in the normative scenario, a strategic plan is developed for Riverbank County, a renamed but actual California county. Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats are identified and addressed in term of the organizational capability of law enforcement in Riverbank County. Stakeholders are recognized and evaluated. Alternative strategies are developed, and the preferred plan is a cross-disciplinary, coalitions based, multi-tiered intervention strategy. It includes: enforcement activities, educational/training activities, and social activism/advocacy activities. A regional implementation plan is presented which includes a two-year, thirty-six action step design.

SECTION THREE: TRANSITION MANAGEMENT

The current commitment of the critical mass key players compared to the desired level is compared and found favorable. The management structure will consist of an Executive Steering Committee (ESC) to set policy, and a Task Group (TG) to handle administrative assignments. The committee will

have a yearly elected chair from within the ESC, with each member having a single vote. The intent is to empower coalition members who have traditionally felt disadvantaged by the establishment, and possibly by law enforcement. Responsibility charting delineates accountability, and implementation technologies include the organizational confrontation meetings, educational activities, and pilot projects with high viability and probability of success.

SECTION FOUR: CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

The issue and sub-issues are answered.

Primary issue: California can expect to see increased support for the white supremacist agenda among mainstream anglos (i.e., caucasians). Memberships will swell, especially among young people targeted for indoctrination into the racist movement. Law enforcement will feel an impact directly through increased criminal and lawful enterprises (e.g., civil disturbances), and indirectly through the reactive activities of our society (counter-demonstrating, passage of new laws).

Sub-issue 1: White supremacists will continue to commit traditional crimes (e.g., cross-burnings, vandalism, etc.), and will venture into higher tech activities like computer system infiltration and sabotage. It is also possible that they will enter a war to gain control over drug trafficking in anglo communities.

Sub-issue 2: Political activism by white supremacists will include "whites rights" rallies, protests, and demonstrations; election campaigns by racist candidates; and legislative lobbying. These activities are expected to incite counter-actions, and will create very labor-intensive situations for law enforcement to handle.

Sub-issue 3: The California Legislature is political, and therefore very reactive to "hot" issues. It has shown a great interest in curtailing hate crimes, and is likely to continue enacting measures creating new definitions of criminal behavior and new legal directives. As in the past, law enforcement may be presented with unenforceable statutes and unachievable training mandates.

Recommended actions include: regional commitments by law enforcement to target and mitigate white supremacist activities not Constitutionally protected and, regional development and implementation of cross-disciplinary coalition-based, multi-tiered interventions strategies. Such plans include non-traditional partnerships between law enforcement and other public and private entities, jointly developing and implementing components targeting enforcement, education, training, victim assistance, media relations, political activism/advocacy, and ongoing self-evaluation. Ultimately, the vision is one of a statewide association of such coalitions.

INTRODUCTION

A short background on the importance of studying the impact of white supremacist groups.

SECTION ONE: DEFINING THE FUTURE

What will be the impact of white supremacist groups on California law enforcement by the year 2002?

SECTION TWO: STRATEGIC PLANNING

Development of a plan to direct law enforcement's efforts to mitigate the impact of white supremacist activities in California through the year 2002.

SECTION THREE: TRANSITION MANAGEMENT

How does a regional law enforcement community establish and operate a coalition against white supremacy?

SECTION FOUR: CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

What law enforcement should do about white supremacist groups.

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INTRODUCTION

A short background on the importance of studying the impact of white supremacist groups.

At the beginning of the Command College program, each student is assigned the task of compiling a Futures File: a collection of articles and references scanned from a variety of sources in the environment. As this author accumulated material for his File, a disturbing pattern emerged with regard to hate crimes and racism around the world and in the United States. When the decision was made to focus an independent study project on white supremacist groups, a scan of six major newspapers for articles relating to the issue was conducted. The papers were: *Los Angeles Times, New York Times, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor, Chicago Tribune,* and *The Wall Street Journal*. 192 pieces were found to have been written between January 1, 1991 and January 1, 1992.

In his book Blood in the Face, author James Ridgeway traces the evolution and international ties of the white supremacist movement in the United States. Ridgeway's assertion (1990, 8) is that "It has been commonplace to dismiss such ideas of the racist far right as an aberration on the paranoid fringe of American life. But both the political ideas and culture of this far-right revolution ... today remain disconcertingly close to mainstream politics."

It has also been commonplace in California to dismiss white supremacists as a small, insignificant fringe movement which poses no real threat to our society. It has therefore not been a priority in law enforcement planning. Why should it be any different? Here are three reasons:

1. There is evidence to suggest that white supremacism is, and will continue to be, on the rise. For example: in its *"Intelligence Report"* Klanwatch reported "A record number of white supremacist groups were active from coast to coast in 1991...totals surged from 273 in 1990 to 346 in 1991, a 27 percent increase[1]," and; the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) released a report which stated that "A ten year decline in the nationwide strength of the Ku Klux Klan

came to a halt during 1990 and ... (it) may be poised to gain new strength ... especially if the current recession becomes lengthy and severe[2]." Klanwatch estimates that there are at least twenty-nine white supremacist organizations currently operating in California, including the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, Skinheads, and others[3]. And it identifies California as having one of the country's heaviest concentrations of neo-Nazi and Skinhead activities[4].

2. The ADL is not the only authority to tie the economy to the white supremacist movement. One expert, a criminal intelligence specialist, expressed the significance of this trend succinctly: "The economy is the key. If it's bad (like now), then everyone is looking for scapegoats, and the white supremacists are happy to oblige. They point to immigration, to affirmative action, and tell white people that that is where their jobs have gone.[5]" Other experts agreed, conveying an idea like Ridgeway's that economic adversity can push middle class, mainstream people into embracing the white supremacist message and movement (overtly or covertly)[6].

3. If white supremacists are happy to identify scapegoats, California's changing population demographics will supply them in ever increasing numbers. The 1990 federal census reported that California's total population was 29,760,021. Of this, just over 17 million people (57%) were classified as "White, Not of Hispanic origin" (aka: anglo)[7]. In "California Forecasts," the editors of the *Kiplinger California Letter* project that as California's population grows to about 39 million by 2005 (a 31% increase), its anglo population will decrease to approximately 49.5% (a 13% decline). Kiplinger is not alone in its trend forecast. In 1986, the State's Department of Finance, Population Research Unit, projected that anglos would no longer constitute a majority of the 33.7 million Californians it forecasted that the state would have by 2008[8]. Further, it takes no great leap of faith to expect that as our population's

diversity increases, their will be a reflection of this change in the ethnicity and gender of our business and community leaders, and our appointed and elected government officials.

The current situation appears to provide conditions under which the white supremacist could flourish, and California law enforcement must recognize this potential. But what does this mean for California law enforcement over the next ten years? This question will formulate the central issue of this study.

Scope of this Study

The scope of this investigation will be limited to examining the probable future impact of white supremacist groups on California law enforcement, with focus on aspects of the future susceptible to strategic intervention planning at the regional level.

SECTION ONE: DEFINING THE FUTURE

What will be the impact of white supremacist groups on California law enforcement by the year 2002?

Purpose

This section presents the results of the futures forecasting processes employed to examine the emerging issue and sub-issues investigated in this study, including: the identification and forecasting of significant trends and events; an analysis of the impacts of these trends and events upon the issue and each other, and finally; the development of three potential future scenarios.

The Issue and Sub-Issues

The issue and sub issues of this study were developed using a "Futures Wheel" (Appendix A), in a group setting involving three fellow Command College classmates.

The issue is:

> What will be the impact of white supremacist groups[9] on California law enforcement by the year 2002?

The sub-issues are:

> What will be the impact of crimes committed by white supremacist groups?
>
> What will be the impact of political activism by white supremacist groups?
>
> What will be the impact of changing hate crimes laws?

Trends and Events

Methodologies

The following methodologies were employed to identify and assess significant issue-related trends and events for this section: environmental scan (literature search and subject expert interviews) and Nominal Group Technique (NGT). A detailed description of these processes are provided in Appendix B.

Results of Environmental Scan

The environmental scanning process identified four issue-related trends and no events. These trends were not included in the formal forecasting exercises because data was available through other means (e.g., 1990 Census).

S1: California's Changing Demographics (i.e., the expected changes in ethnic demographics of California's statewide population focusing on the changes in anglo versus ethnic minority make-up).

S2: California's Economic Condition (i.e., in general terms, What is California's overall economic state? What will it be?).

S3: New Laws Relating to Hate Crimes (i.e., the expected increase or decrease in the number of new laws or legal mandates which target hate crimes, enacted by California's Legislature, and signed into law by the Governor).

S4: Changes in the White Supremacist Movement (i.e., qualitatively, what changes have been occurring, and what changes are expected).

Results of NGT Process

Through the structured trend and event identification exercise (NGT), a total of sixty-four issue-related items were identified, including thirty-four trends and thirty-one events (Appendix C). Six trends and seven events were selected and formally forecasted for use in this study through the group processes presented in Appendix B.

The six forecasted trends selected are:

T1: Economic Disparity Between "Haves" and "Have Nots" (i.e., the gap between the richest and poorest citizens in California. As this trend increases, the gap widens and the middle class shrinks. When disparity decreases, there is a smaller difference and a larger middle class).

T2: Sophistication of White Supremacist Groups (i.e., the change in sophistication of the tactics, methods, technologies, and approaches used by white supremacist groups to further their causes and interests in California).

T3: Successful Civil Suits Against White Supremacists (i.e., the expected changes in the *rate* per capita, per 100,000 population, etc.) within California of civil law suits filed against white supremacist groups and/or their individual leaders, and won by the plaintiff).

T4: Negative Anglo Response to Ethnic Activism (i.e., ethnic activism can take many forms, from an individual action to an entire community mobilization, and from the peaceful to the violent. This trend looks at negative general Anglo population response, or white backlash. An increase means that the response is more negative (and stronger), a decrease indicates a less negative (and weaker) response).

T5: Media Coverage of White Supremacist Activities (i.e., how much attention these activities get from all news media).

T6: Public Confidence In Police Response to Hate Crimes (i.e., this measures the general public's confidence and trust in law enforcement's sensitivity and responsiveness to reported hate

crimes[10]).

The seven forecasted events (E1 - E7) forecasted are:

E1: Supreme Court Decision Re: Separate But Equal (i.e., U.S. Supreme Court publishes a new decision which re-establishes the principle of "separate, but equal" as constitutional).

E2: Violent Race Riot In Major California City (i.e., a violent race riot occurs in a major California city, involving widespread destruction of property and significant loss of life (similar to Watts in 1965)).

E3: White Supremacist Coalition In State Legislature (i.e., a coalition forms among members of the California State Legislature, with its focus on a white supremacist agenda).

E4: Reversal Of Oregon Civil Ruling Against Metzger (i.e., the multi-million dollar Oregon civil award against white supremacist Tom Metzger is overturned).

E5: Ethnic Drug War Erupts (i.e., an "open street turf war" erupts between ethnic groups/gangs seeking control of drug trafficking in their respective ethnic enclaves, including anglo gangs seeking to control drugs in anglo neighborhoods).

E6: White Supremacists Buy Television Station (i.e., white supremacists buy a commercial television station with the intent of running programming espousing the white supremacist agenda).

E7: Statewide Coalition Forms Against White Supremacists (i.e., a public/private coalition forms to combat white supremacists). Its membership includes: traditional anti-racist organizations (e.g., Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), community groups/associations, and law enforcement.

Forecasting

Methodology

The forecasting methodologies (including the MCD) used to evaluate trends one through six and events one through seven are presented in Appendix D.

Results and Analysis

The following summary is based upon data presented in the Trend Evaluation Table (Appendix E), Event Evaluation Table (Appendix F), and the forecasting graphs completed for the six selected trends and seven events (Appendix G). This analysis summarizes the full forecasting findings (Appendix H) and links the results with the issue of this study.

The results of the forecasting process identified trends and events which would be expected to have negative and positive impacts. More items were identified that would have a detrimental influence than those that would be helpful. One trend was identified as issue-neutral.

Five trends (S3, T3, T4, T5, and T6) and three events (E2, E5, and E7) were identified as susceptible to direct intervention planning within the scope of this study. The three events also were forecasted with higher than 50% (chance) probability of occurrence.

Negative Impact

In order to be identified as negative, a trend's nominal ("will be") forecast, or an event's expected impact, would have to create the potential for increasing white supremacist activities, or be related to white supremacist activities, and create a drain on law enforcement resources.

Those trends meeting the negative criteria are: S1 (California's Changing Demographics), S2 (California's Economic Condition), S3 (New Hate Crimes Legislation), S4 (Changes in the White Supremacist Movement), T1 (Economic Disparity), T2 (Sophistication of White Supremacist Groups), T4 (Negative Anglo Response to Ethnic Activism), and T5 (Media Coverage of White Supremacist Activities). In all cases, the panelists normative ("should be") forecasts expressed a preference for these trends to have a more positive direction in the future.

The negatively charged events are: E2 (Race Riot in Major California City), E3 (White Supremacist Coalition in State Legislature), E4 (Reversal of Oregon Ruling), E5 (Ethnic Drug War Erupts), and E6 (White Supremacists Buy Television Station).

How do these forecasts impact on the issue?

Economic condition (S2) and economic disparity (T1) are related and expected to continue to worsen, and poor economic conditions provide opportunities for white supremacist groups to agitate unrest through scapegoating.

The coming anglo loss of majority status (S1) is expected to result in fears that may push some formerly mainstream anglos into embracing a white supremacist philosophy.

The future approach of white supremacists (S4, T2) is expected to result in the movement presenting a more palatable and legitimate public image of itself, while still advocating and inciting unrest and violence privately (or surreptitiously).

White backlash (T4) is expected to increase, directly with S1, S2, and T1, and; indirectly through the influence of S4 and T2.

New laws (S3) threaten law enforcement because politicians historically tend to be overly reactive to sensational issues, such as hate crimes. As the state's electorate becomes increasingly minority, and this constituency demands an establishment response to white supremacists, the legislature is liable to place an untenable burden upon law enforcement by enacting unenforceable laws or unachievable legal mandates (i.e., specialized training requirements).

Any large-scale disturbance will have a major impact on law enforcement's resources and image statewide, and could be used by white supremacists for propaganda purposes. E2 (Violent Race Riot In Major California City) and E5 (Ethnic Drug War Erupts) were forecasted (with great agreement) as very likely to occur anytime, with a high probability starting almost immediately.

Media Coverage (T5) and the white supremacist purchase of a television station (E6) were ultimately forecasted as negative, but there was divergence of opinion on this. For example, the influence of media exposure could either heighten awareness, or desensitize the public to the issue. E6 showed little probability of occurring, and one panelist cited the relatively unknown existence of Tom Metzger's weekly cable television show "Race and Reason," and the Christian Identity news broadcasts across the midwest aired on KTTL (Dodge City), and questioned what impact these

existing examples have had (suggesting none).

Though negative in nature, E1, E3, and E4 show little probability of occurring, and are therefore not considered to be significant threats.

Positive Impact

To be identified as positive, a trend's nominal ("will be") forecast, or an event's expected impact, would have to create the potential for decreasing white supremacist activities, or create an opportunity for law enforcement to mitigate the impact of white supremacists groups. Only two items met this criteria.

The filing of successful civil suits against white supremacists (T3) is expected to increase slightly through the next ten years. The suits empower victims, and are an avenue for advocating victims' rights. They also can limit the ability of white supremacist groups to fund their activities (both legal and illegal). Panelists' normative forecasts indicated a desire for this trend to increase more than expected.

As the only primarily positive event, the formation of a statewide coalition against white supremacists (E7) has the potential to directly or indirectly influence many of the other trends and events associated with the issue. For example, the coalition could adopt a strategy of having local law enforcement agencies provide victims of hate crimes with legal services referrals to increase the number of civil suits filed against white supremacists. This event was forecasted as almost a certainty to occur (95% probability), with it most likely to happen within five years.

Neutral

In community policing terms, T6 (Public Confidence in Police Response to Hate Crimes) is a barometer of law enforcement success. It is subject to influences which originate from within and without of the scope of this study, but successful intervention strategies could impact it significantly. Panelists expected this trend to increase. It is included as a neutral factor for future measurement/follow-up consideration.

Cross-Impact Analysis

A cross-impact analysis was completed in order to determine which of the trends and events can be considered most reactive to the impact of the forecasted events (i.e., the strongest "reactors"), and which of the forecasted events are expected to have the greatest impact on other events and trends (i.e., the strongest "actors").

Methodology

A description of the methodology is provided in Appendix I.

Summary of Results

The following is a summary of the results found on the Cross-Impact Analysis/Evaluation Table (Appendix J.)

Of those events and trends identified in the forecasting process as candidates for future planning considerations (S3, T3, T4, T5, T6, E2, E5, and E7), all were found to be acceptable for further consideration through the Cross-Impact Analysis.

E2 (Race Riot), E5 (Ethnic Drug War), and E7 (Statewide Coalition) were among the among the most influential events. E7 was the strongest actor, the only strongly positive one, and could become the highest priority for planning consideration.

T4 (Negative Anglo Response/White Backlash), T5 (Media Coverage), and T6 (Public Confidence) were expected to be strong reactors. T4 was the most reactive trend, both in terms of the number of actor events it responded to, and the general magnitude of the actors' impacts.

E2 and E5 are both negatively charged events with a high probability of occurrence. Each one could drive T4, T5, and T6 higher. The question is how long will the influence last. For E2's maximum impact on these trends is expected to peak about one year after it occurs, and E5's will do so after about six months (although each will have a much longer term effect on economic trends not under discussion here).

T4 is important to the issue because the level of white backlash can influence the level of white supremacist activity in California. But, this trend responded well to E7, which could push the trend down toward the preferred (normative) levels of the forecasting panelists.

T5 will be very reactive, but that is the nature of the news media (i.e., coverage is driven by events and transitory). The amount of coverage white supremacists receive will not be as important as the "slant" (or "spin"). Policy planning considerations will therefore focus on qualitative, rather than quantitative, impact.

While fairly reactive to a number of events, T6 will respond well to E7, increasing public confidence

significantly.

Numerically, T3 (Successful Civil Suits) appears to be a weak reactor, but it will be subject to tremendous influence by two events: very negative by E4 (Reversal of Metzger Case), and very positive by E7 (Statewide Coalition). A higher T3 was identified as a desirable trend for this study's issue by the forecasting panelists. Since E4's very negative impact is an extremely low probability occurrence, and E7's exceptionally positive influence is a very high probability occurrence, T3 was retained for further policy planning consideration.

S3 (New Laws) was evaluated separately, and was found to be positively reactive (qualitatively) to E7.

Future Scenarios

Three scenarios are presented using the following modes and assumptions: Scenario One is Exploratory (or Nominal), and develops assuming that none of the forecasted events occur, it follows the nominal ("will be") curves of the forecasted trends, and is only effected by issue-related current events likely to continue; Scenario Two is Normative, and it develops assuming that good actor events identified on the Cross-Impact Matrix occur and influence the normative ("should be") trend forecasts; Scenario Three is Hypothetical, it answers the question "What if each forecasted negative event actually did occur at the estimated point in time?"

Scenario One (Nominal) (Dateline: 1 March 2002)

Middle Class: An Endangered Species? (*Time* Magazine).

White Backlash Blamed on King Verdict Rioting in L.A., Other Factors (*USA Today*).

State Commission to Probe Public Confidence in Police (*Sacramento Bee*)

These headlines reflect how turbulent and challenging the 1990s were for the people of the State of California.

The economic disparity between "haves" and "have nots" increased relentlessly and dramatically. In a January 2002 *Time*/CNN poll of 1000 Californians, the economic gap was perceived to have phenomenally increased from the level in 1987, and concurrently, the percentage of those identifying themselves as "middle class" was significantly lower than what it was in a similar survey conducted fifteen years ago.

One group was able to thrive during this decade of declining economic conditions: the white supremacists. The numbers of groups and overall membership swelled with the influx of newly economically disadvantaged anglos. Even with the threat of criminal prosecutions and civil suits, their activities continued to rise, creating a heavy impact on law enforcement agencies. Increasing resources were required for the response to, and investigation of, white supremacist-perpetrated crimes, and for the countless peace-keeping assignments at racially-centered demonstrations and counter-demonstrations.

As a political force, white supremacists continued their efforts to appear increasingly legitimate. Their messages about restricting immigration, eliminating affirmative action programs, and protecting everyone's (aka: white's) rights, were found within the rhetoric of both "extremist" and "conservative" anglo politicians of the early 1990s (e.g., David Duke, Pat Buchanan, George Bush, Pete Wilson, etc.).

In late 1998, as white supremacists were reaching new highs in their influence in California, they became the subject of an extensive academic study.

Published in late 2001, the UC Fresno investigation of California's widespread white supremacist movement traced the roots of this phenomenon to four key factors: fear in anglos created by the demographics trend data from the 1990 Census (that they would lose their majority status in California by 2005); the strong negative anglo feelings about ethnic minorities since the April 1992 riot in Los Angeles (aka: the Rodney King Verdict Riot); California's depressed economy and increase in economic disparity (which displaced large numbers of anglos downward from the middle class during the last 15 years), and; the steady increase in the sophistication of white supremacist groups.

This combination of economic hardship, demographic threat, and existing hostilities created a receptive audience among anglos for the white supremacist's "polished" delivery of their old messages of scapegoating, fear, and hate.

The study also concluded that the reactive/laissez faire posture assumed by California law enforcement toward the potential problems presented by white supremacist groups during the 1990's had contributed to the level of their influence today. Another consequence of this strategy has been a continuing lack of public confidence in law enforcement's ability to protect citizens from white supremacists, and in its effectiveness in enforcing the dozens of hate crime laws passed in the last decade. This judgment resulted in the assignment (this month) of the State's "Little Hoover" Commission to investigate California law enforcement's approach, commitment, and resources allocated to the activities of white supremacist groups.

Scenario Two (Normative) (Dateline: 2 December 2002)

State Marks Decade of Ethnic Peace (*Los Angeles Times*)

Skinheads, Neo-Nazis, Klansmen Face Financial Ruin (*USA Today*)

The California Approach After Ten Years: Coalitions Winning Against Racism (*Time* Magazine)

C-CAWS, California Coalitions Against White Supremacy, was formed in December 1992. When first established, C-CAWS was the first law enforcement initiated, large-scale, public-private partnership constituted to address a complex societal problem. It brought representatives from a broad spectrum of organizations and interests together under a single "umbrella" structure. The result was a confederation in which diverse constituencies (e.g., ethnic, religious, sexual orientation, etc.) united with each other, and created non-traditional establishment alliances, such as with law enforcement. With its tenth anniversary celebration set for later this month, this is an appropriate time to review the coalition's many accomplishments.

A Rand Corporation study, completed and published in 2001, examined C-CAWS's impact on the white supremacist movement in California during the 1990's. Here is a summary of Rand's major findings and conclusions:

- C-CAWS provided victims of white supremacist crimes with increased access to legal resources. The result was an almost immediate 50% rise in the rate of successful civil law suits against white supremacists, their leaders, and their organizations.

- C-CAWS programs have reduced negative anglo response to ethnic activism (white backlash) by up to 25% in California. The impact was first apparent in 1994 (about two years after C-CAWS was formed, and just over two years after the L.A. Rodney King Verdict riot), and

has continued during a time when anglos are a diminishing percentage of the state's population.

- C-CAWS was consistently able to lobby the State Legislature to avoid the enactment of over-reactive and unrealistic laws and mandates. Rather, the Legislature's approach eventually complemented the resources of the coalition.

- Law enforcement's proactive role in the founding of C-CAWS, and its visibility in C-CAWS programs, contributed to an almost 50% rise in public confidence regarding police response to hate crimes. This change began to manifest itself in 1994.

This study's overall conclusion was that the foundation for the success of C-CAWS was laid ten years ago, when California's law enforcement community: recognized the significant threat to the quality of life in the State posed by the white supremacist movement, and the crimes associated with hate; made mitigating this threat a high, long term priority; embraced a proactive, future planning orientation, and; devised and committed to a non-traditional, cross-disciplinary, collaborative alliance (C-CAWS) to implement change.

Scenario Three (Hypothetical) (Dateline: 30 April 2002)

Massive Flight From State Continues (*Los Angeles Times*)

National Guard Predicts Victory Against Ongoing Street Violence (*Sacramento Bee*)

White Backlash in Permeates Anglo California (*USA Today*)

Beginning with the 1992 Rodney King Verdict Riot in Los Angeles, the 1990's were the most violent and devastating decade in the modern history of California. The other milestone events of the period

have left an indelible mark on the state: the East Bay (Oakland/Richmond) riots, the reversal of the Tom Metzger civil judgement, John Metzger's acquisition of KZZZ-TV in Bakersfield, ongoing ethnic drug turf wars, the formation of the White Power Coalition (WPC) in the State Legislature, and the U.S. Supreme Court re-establishment of the "separate, but equal" standard.

When the East Bay riots began in late 1993, the immediate impact was an exacerbation of the fear and anger in the anglo community directed at ethnic minorities, feelings which had been incited by the King Verdict Riot in Los Angeles earlier in the year, and which have persisted and grown further through the decade.

The white supremacist movement was able to capitalize on rising white backlash. After Tom Metzger's Oregon civil judgement was overturned in mid-1994, he and his son John used their re-claimed assets to buy KZZZ-TV, a commercial television station in the Bakersfield area. The Metzgers immediately began airing racist programming and "news." Having learned lessons from the media coverage of the King Verdict Riot, in which the broadcasts themselves spawned further carnage, they focused their "news" on live "reporting" of ethnic violence in the State. One of their favorite "stories" was the ongoing drug turf wars in California's largest communities.

All of the violence, fear, and anger contributed to increasing white-flight and business-flight from California. Economic conditions steadily worsened, and disparity between the classes reached the point where the middle class is now almost non-existent. In 1997 the White Power Coalition (WPC) in the Legislature formed to tap into anglo despair and misery, and push for legislation to protect "white rights." The very existence of the WPC increased hostilities between all segments of California's ethnic population, which further drove anglos to embrace it and legitimize a racist

political agenda.

The "last straw" was the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1998 (from a California case) that reinstated the "separate, but equal" standard. Evoking memories of segregation, this event enraged the state's entire African American community, and created a strong sense in economically depressed communities that this decision would close the door of opportunity for new generations, crating a permanent economic "caste" system.

Earlier this year the ultimate legacy of the 1990s appeared. In January economically disadvantaged ethnic minority communities in southern California, the Bay Area, and Sacramento responded to their anger by commencing weekly mass demonstrations blocking major intersections and freeways. In February the WPC organized counter-demonstrating, and within two weeks a brawl at a demonstration in L.A. erupted into uncontrolled violent rioting, which spread throughout the state. Because of the steadily declining economic conditions, there were insufficient resources available for law enforcement to quell the disorder, resulting in a National Guard activation and response (the third in ten years). At this time there is open warfare in the streets of California's major urban communities between economically depressed ethnic minorities, ethnic gangs vying for control of drugs markets, and a federalized National Guard supported by active duty Army and Marine troops.

Results

Scenario Two (Normative) presents a future in which the negative impacts of white supremacist groups on California law enforcement are mitigated to a satisfactory degree. Section Two: Strategic Planning will develop and present a plan to influence the future toward the normative one presented Scenario Two.

SECTION TWO: STRATEGIC PLANNING

Development of a plan to direct law enforcement's efforts to mitigate the impact of white supremacist activities in California through the year 2002.

In Scenario Two, California law enforcement is able to mitigate the impact of white supremacist groups by participation in the formation and activities of a coalition against white supremacy. This results in a decrease in white backlash, a rise in successful law suits against white supremacists, an increase in public confidence in police response to hate crimes, a reduction in the probability of a violent race riot, and a positive influence on the quality of new laws relating to hate crimes. This future is the one selected for policy planning consideration.

Purpose

The purpose of this section is to develop a strategic plan for a regional coalition against white supremacist activities. This process will include development of a mission statement; a WOTS-UP analysis; a SAST analysis of issue-related stakeholders[11] and snaildarters[12]; development of alternative strategies, and; selection of a preferred strategy, and; development of an implementation plan.

Setting

The setting for this section on strategic planning is the fictional county of Riverbank. It has a population of just over 1.1 million, covers approximately 7,100 square miles, and is located about 70 miles east of Los Angeles in Southern California. The western end of the county is more populous, urban/suburban in nature, providing homes for many workers commuting into L.A. and Orange Counties. The eastern end is less densely populated, and is home to agribusiness and desert recreational and resort destinations. There are thirteen law enforcement agencies in Riverbank County, ranging in size from the sixteen sworn University of California Police to the over 1,000 sworn Sheriff's Department.

There has traditionally been friendly cooperation and collaboration between all jurisdictions, but

recently some factions have developed: the chiefs in the east end tend to feel geographically and politically isolated, and group together; the chief in the middle of the county tend to work collaboratively on major projects without taking any particular "sides," and the chiefs on the west end represent substantial departments and populations. The Sheriff is a willing collaborator with all his administrative peers, but is somewhat independent as the elected head of the largest agency, representing the largest constituency (all unincorporated areas and ten contract cities, including the second biggest in the County). Currently, the major disruption between agencies is the implementation of fees by the county for formerly free services provided to the cities (e.g., booking fees). The Riverbank County law enforcement community will be the focus of the strategic planning study.

Mission Statement

Prior to the formation of a strategic plan, the specific mission of the organization must be presented in a manner that defines the areas of operation, communicates effectively both inside and outside of the organization, expresses values, provides a foundation for strategies and decisions, guides behavior, builds commitment, insures consistency, and states the organization's priorities clearly. As a first step in the strategic planning process, the following statement of Riverbank County's future mission regarding white supremacist groups is presented.

The individuals and departments that comprise the state's law enforcement profession are dedicated to protecting all of the diverse People of California.

The illegal activities of white supremacist groups present a clear and present danger to life, liberty, property, and the quality of life in our local communities and our State. It is therefore consistent with the fundamental duty of law enforcement to mitigate this threat, while simultaneously protecting and

supporting the exercise of lawful, constitutional rights afforded to all citizens (such as the freedoms of speech and of assembly).

Our ultimate goal is for Riverbank County to be a comfortable and welcome place for all people.

We in law enforcement therefore pledge ourselves to provide timely and compassionate responses to victims of white supremacist groups crimes; to thoroughly investigate and prosecute white supremacist groups' crimes and criminals; and to reduce the incidence of white supremacist groups' crimes through vigorous prevention and education programs.

WOTS-UP

The WOTS-UP process examines the weaknesses, opportunities, threats, and strengths that underlay planning. The following sections summarize the complete analysis provided in Appendix K.

Environment

Overall, the situational analysis revealed an environment which is favorable for law enforcement achieving its mission relating to white supremacist groups. The opportunities identified in the analysis create a climate conducive to law enforcement taking bold steps to address a social problem which victimizes minorities (ethnic, religious, sexual, etc.). The majority of threats are manageable with existing organizational capabilities, or offset by opportunities.

The major opportunities and threats are summarized below.

Law enforcement can position itself to take advantage of these significant favorable conditions: the

internal (professional) and external (community) pressure for widespread adoption of the community policing model; increasing societal focus on reducing inter-ethnic/cultural violence in schools; continuing development of new technologies; the social and political focus on environmental/quality-of-life issues; successful civil law suits against white supremacist groups, and; the public support by politicians, at all levels, of any program combating hate crimes.

The major environmental threats that law enforcement faces include: negative anglo response to ethnic activism (i.e., white backlash); the increasing incidence of inter-ethnic conflict; the fallout from the Rodney King beating incident, and; the increasing economic gap between "haves" and "have nots."

Organizational Capability

This analysis of organizational capability focuses on the paradigm defined as Riverbank County law enforcement (RCLE). RCLE is capable of achieving its mission relating to white supremacist groups. The following section will summarize the relationships between environmental threats and opportunities, and RCLE's strengths and weaknesses, as they are associated with accomplishing the organizational mission.

Minimizing Threats and Maximizing Opportunities

RCLE can exploit the opportunity provided by pressure for widespread adoption of the community policing model. A bold move, such as embracing the community's quality-of-life as a major consideration of this approach, and expanding RCLE's role in social activism and advocacy, would allow RCLE to moderate the effects of the major threats identified. Additionally RCLE can work to increase the diversity of its own workforce and adopt applicable general law enforcement operating recommendations contained in the Christopher Commission Report (many departments have already

implemented programs that meet or exceed the Report's suggestions).

An important aspect of RCLE becoming involved in social activism and advocacy would be its participation in the formation of coalitions with representatives from diverse constituencies (future political allies). An example would be a cross-disciplinary coalition against white supremacists involving RCLE and groups which represent those most often targeted and victimized (e.g., Anti-Defamation League, NAACP, Urban League, MALDEF, GLAD, etc.). Other measures include: joining with community groups working on the prevention of inter-ethnic violence; applying new technology to the delivery of mission-relevant training; redefining (and further legitimizing) societal environmental quality/quality-of-life issues (e.g., inter-cultural/ethnic violence, racism, etc.) as crime prevention problems; providing support and community resources (e.g., legal aid) referrals to victims of white supremacist crimes (as is done in domestic violence cases), and; taking an advocacy role with legislators, to assure that enacted laws and mandates do not create untenable burdens or unachievable goals for RCLE (or law enforcement in general).

Organizational Strengths and Weaknesses

RCLE has more internal strengths than weaknesses available to successfully address the potential impact of white supremacist groups. A summary follows.

The key strengths of RCLE include: the mission is consistent with the fundamental duty of all law enforcement professionals, as established in the Law Enforcement Code of Ethics; the movement toward Community/Problem/Neighborhood/Service-oriented/centered policing is philosophically consistent with the mission; changes occurring in law enforcement recruitment and hiring practices (e.g., increasing diversity, a more service-oriented personality profile) are creating a workforce whose

members may be more likely to "own" a community problem such as the illegal activities of white supremacist groups; individual law enforcement leaders, their local and statewide professional organizations (RCCSA[13], CPOA[14], Cal Chiefs[15], etc.) are becoming more inclined to take public stands on important societal issues, and to be actively involved in public policy advocacy and political lobbying, and; an established and responsive structure exists for designing and delivering training on almost any topic (P.O.S.T.). Another important consideration is that RCLE executives have a history of collaboration and cooperation, especially when projects originate within Riverbank County Chiefs' and Sheriff's Association (RCCSA).

The primary weaknesses identified within the RCLE organization are: scarcity of budgetary resources; role and Constitutional conflicts (e.g., law enforcement has the responsibility to protect the civil and Constitutional rights of all citizens, and there are potentially sensitive Bill of Rights issues involved in the mission); the majority of RCLE departments are small and do not have the resources to closely follow or monitor the activities of white supremacist groups; the ability of RCLE providers to deliver currently mandated training is strained; in some locations the mission will not be a priority to the community/jurisdiction served, and; RCLE is a still basically a loose confederation of autonomous or semi-autonomous agencies and jurisdictions. Many, if not all of these constraints can be mitigated to varying degrees by collaboration within the RCCSA organization and cross-disciplinary coalitions.

SAST

Before strategies can be developed and considered, those with an interest in the issue and mission have to be identified. The Strategic Assumption Surfacing Technique (SAST) is used to identify stakeholders to the strategic issue being addressed. Sixteen stakeholders in the accomplishment of the mission have been recognized, including three snail darters. Ten of the stakeholders will support the

mission, although in varying degrees. A complete analysis of the probable assumptions of each stakeholder about the issue, including an Assumption Map, is provided in Appendix L. The following is a summary of that analysis.

The stakeholders expected to provide the staunchest support for the mission are ethnic/cultural/minority organizations (e.g., ADL[16], NAACP[17], MALDEF[18], GLAD[19]), local ethnic community/ neighborhood leaders, and traditional Judeo-Christian religious leaders. Other, somewhat less vigorous supportive stakeholders include: public schools, and politicians (local, county, and state). Local anglo communities may quietly support the mission, with some dilution of the impact due to the effect of white backlash. Individual police chiefs and sheriffs will support the mission if the need exists within the communities they serve. Professional law enforcement organizations at the regional and statewide level (RCCSA, CPOA, Cal Chiefs/Sheriffs[20]) are expected to respond with support only as a result of pressure (lobbying) from their memberships and constituencies.

Those identified as being the most strongly opposed are: white supremacist groups, and the ACLU (based on potential for infringement of constitutionally protected activities).

The three snaildarters in this situation are POST[21], civil libertarians, and the Reverend Louis Farrakhan/Nation of Islam. POST is expected to be officially neutral, but may covertly lobby politicians against creating new training mandates. Civil libertarians will oppose the mission, fighting to preserve personal freedoms. The Rev. Farrakhan and his Nation of Islam will oppose the mission, in support of the white supremacist groups with which they have been cooperating and collaborating (e.g., White Aryan Resistance (Tom Metzger)). He may also attempt to mobilize segments within African American communities against the mission.

Once the important stakeholders and their assumptions have been reviewed, it is possible to begin the development of the strategic plan.

Development of Alternative Strategies

Through the use of a modified policy delphi process (Appendix M), a total of twelve candidate policies for achieving RCLE's mission were identified. The panel constructed three strategies for detailed analysis, each a combination of associated policies.

Strategy One was exclusively focused on enforcement measures. In Strategy Two, the emphasis was on a community-oriented, coalition-based, multiple-level intervention strategy. Strategy Three's approach revolved around a combination of education and training. Each plan was analyzed for apparent pros, cons, and stakeholder perceptions associated with it. The panel rejected all three, and developed a preferred strategy which was a synthesis of elements from all three of them.

Preferred Strategy

The preferred plan is primarily based upon Strategy Two, and will be referred to as C-CAWS (California Coalitions Against White Supremacy). This approach was selected for implementation because its components meet many of the stakeholders' needs, and it confronts the issue effectively. C-CAWS presents a community-oriented, cross-disciplinary, coalition-based, multi-tiered intervention strategy with both short-term and long-term components. It creates tangible results (e.g., arrests and prosecutions), and shared ownership of the mission. Funding and staffing are flexible issues, and there are measures to provide some cost recovery and victim compensation. This plan calls for:

Enforcement Activities - thorough and timely investigations; vertical prosecutions[22]; extension of

asset forfeiture provisions to white supremacist crimes; formation of regional hate crimes investigative associations and task forces, and; expansion of WE TIP[23] programs to include white supremacist crimes.

Educational Activities - (using the D.A.R.E. model) having sworn officers teaching classes in the appreciation of diversity, and increased entry-level and continuing professional training law enforcement training about white supremacist crimes.

Social Activist/Advocacy Activities - establishing and participating in coalitions between law enforcement, community groups, and regional organizations (e.g., NAACP, Urban League, MALDEF, GLAD, ADL, etc.); legislative advocacy to assure that issue-related legislation enacted is realistic and supportive of the strategy, and; facilitating increased victim access to civil legal assistance.

The C-CAWS plan is ambitious, and will eventually require the investment of resources at all levels (state, regional, local). However, it is intended to maximize the use of existing resources, and to encourage public-private partnerships. For example: existing D.A.R.E. officers can be trained to deliver C-CAWS curricula; POST provides a funded mechanism for delivering training; associations are expected to be part-time commitments for existing personnel; professional law enforcement organizations already have experienced, full-time lobbyists on retainer in Sacramento (CPOA, Cal Chiefs, and Cal Sheriffs share the same one); volunteers can be trained and utilized where needed and appropriate, and; necessary funding could be allocated from a mix of public and private grants/resources.

Implementation Plan

The vision presented in Scenario Two is of a cross-disciplinary coalition against white supremacy. This is also the premise of the C-CAWS strategy.

The results of the situational analysis (WOTS-UP and SAST) describe an environment rich in opportunities, a capable organization, and a majority of primary stakeholders ready to support the mission. It is therefore appropriate to focus the implementation plan on a regional approach, using the fictitious county, Riverbank, as a regional model for a transition management plan.

The thirty-six action steps that have been identified for plan implementation (and their respective time-lines) are provided in Appendix N. The basic assumption is that RCCSA will approve and adopt the C-CAWS concept, and take the lead in implementing it in Riverbank County. A summary of the steps follows.

Within the first year after the C-CAWS concept is adopted by RCCSA:

1. An Executive Steering Committee (ESC) will be formed to set policy and a Task Group (TG) will be established to handle assignments from the ESC;
2. Baseline evaluation instruments will be designed and delivered to gather baseline (pre-plan) data;
3. Specialized training will be developed and delivered to law enforcement personnel; investigators will be assigned and an association for them established;
4. Existing D.A.R.E. staff (or other sworn officers) will be assigned and trained to deliver the diversity curriculum in schools;
5. A media campaign will be planned and implemented; the victim assistance programs will be

designed and implemented, and;

6. Vertical prosecutions will be planned and started.

During the second year:

1. The diversity training in schools commences;
2. Lobbying activities begin;
3. WE TIP expands;
4. Other organizations are solicited for support and participation;
5. Follow-up evaluation instruments are delivered and analyzed, and (possibly);
6. Integration/linking with other similar programs into a statewide association.

In the next section a transition management plan is developed for Riverbank County to move into the C-CAWS plan.

SECTION THREE: TRANSITION MANAGEMENT

How does a regional law enforcement community establish and operate a coalition against white supremacy?

Purpose

The end state has been identified in Scenario Two. The strategy for influencing the future toward the desired state has been identified as the C-CAWS plan. And now a blueprint must be developed for RCCSA to implement C-CAWS. That is the purpose of a transition management plan, which will include: policies and strategies, design of a management structure, a commitment plan, responsibility charting, critical mass identification and analysis, a readiness/capability assessment of key players, technologies to be used, and a feedback process for evaluation of progress.

Critical Mass Players and Commitments

Critical mass identifies those few key players (*Stakeholders*) who are critical to the success of the strategic plan. In Riverbank County, there are eight critical mass players. In Appendix O each one is presented with a description of what they contribute to the mission; their current level of commitment; their necessary level of commitment to ensure success, and; an individual approach to achieve the required commitment (including a Critical Mass Players' Levels of Commitment Table). The results are summarized below.

Joyce Adamson, Chief of Police in Desert Palms (*east end of county*) is current president of *RCCSA*. Adamson represents all the chiefs of the county, and the "east end". Without white supremacist activities in Desert Palms, her commitment will be to **let change happen.** Her position in RCCSA requires a higher profile. She must therefore **move to a help change happen position**. After endorsement by RCCSA of C-CAWS, president Adamson will be approached to serve as a role model via membership on the C-CAWS Executive Steering Committee.

Bob Banks, Sheriff of Riverbank County, is a member of the POST Commission. He brings the

resources of the largest law enforcement agency in the county, and the broadest area and population base. His participation seeds C-CAWS throughout the county, and his support may prevent *snaildarter POST* from obstructing the C-CAWS plan. Because of white supremacist activities in the county, Banks has professional and political interests in change, and his initial commitment will be to **make change happen**. His position does not need to move. He should be offered membership on the Executive Steering Committee to insure his full participation.

George Cutter, Chair of the Riverbank County *Chambers of Commerce* Board. Cutter represents the mainstream anglo business community, and will be inclined to stand by, or **let change happen**. C-CAWS will rely on support from the business community to succeed. Cutter must **move to a help change happen** position. He will be approached to treat a hurting system (the strained relations between the predominantly anglo chamber and various ethnic chambers), by taking a more active role in C-CAWS.

Tom Deviny, *District Attorney* of Riverbank County. Deviny, like Banks, has professional and political interests in the change. He brings the resources of his office for: vertical prosecutions, and assistance in avoiding potential First Amendment conflicts that can invite opposition from the ACLU. His position will be to **help change happen**, and it need not move. He should be offered a position on the Executive Steering Committee to insure his commitment of resources.

Frank Evans, university professor and Chair of Riverbank Coalition Against Discrimination (RCAD - a *community organization with membership from the county Human Relations Commission, NAACP, MALDEF, ADL, GLAD, and the local clergy*). Evans is in a **make it happen** position, and he need not move. He brings with him support from a wide variety of groups and constituencies. His

continuing support and participation will be ensured by offering him membership on the Executive Steering Committee.

Sharon Gale, City Manager, President of the County Association of *Local Governments* (CALG). She represents the majority of cities in the county. Recent conflicts between the cities and the county (e.g., booking fees, etc.) have created a climate of distrust. Gale's position will be to **block the change** if the county is part of the program. Her opposition could eliminate the regional nature of the program. Her cooperation must be assured, and she must **move to a let it happen** position. The approach to changing Gale's position will be two-fold. Initially, she will be approached to raise her awareness (education). If this is unsuccessful, then a forced collaboration will be used, by having representatives of RCAD start attending city council meetings to raise the issue of non-participation.

Pam Ingersoll, member County Council on Education (*public schools*). Because of problems in the county regarding white supremacist recruitment and activities in the schools, Ingersoll is expected to have a **make it happen** commitment. Her support promotes an important facet of the C-CAWS strategy: educational intervention. This level is appropriate, and her continued participation should be encouraged through membership on the Executive Steering Committee.

Joshua David, Chief of Police (west end of county), chair of RCCSA C-CAWS Implementation Committee. As chair of the C-CAWS Implementation Committee, David's **make it happen** level of commitment is appropriate and need not change.

Transition Management Structure

Chief David will be presenting the C-CAWS concept to RCCSA. Once RCCSA endorses C-CAWS,

and commits to support it, a committee will be appointed (volunteer) to assist David with the management of transition. David will act as project manager until the formal board is established.

After the committee completes initial contacts with potential partners, interested parties will form an informal, interim C-CAWS board (IB). This IB will negotiate agreement on the issue, mission, a general operating plan, and the configuration of a formal board: the C-CAWS Executive Steering Committee (ESC). Potential members will be recruited to fill six to eight positions, and the management structure will be established.

The ESC is expected to consist representation from a variety of constituencies and interests (e.g., law enforcement, education, ethnic minorities, etc.), and it should be headed by an annually elected "chair" from within the ESC. Each member will have only one vote. This type of structure is appropriate because C-CAWS is intended to be community-oriented and coalition-based. Successful plan implementation is therefore dependent upon positive internal and external perceptions.

Internally, the coalition will best survive, and operate most effectively, if constituency representatives perceive that the Committee operates under a philosophy of shared vision, shared legitimacy and shared power. This will be especially important because some of the members will come from traditionally less empowered positions and some from very powerful ones. Externally, the Committee's political clout will be measured by the perceptions that the community and elected officials have about the unity, cohesiveness, and legitimacy of the coalition.

This type of management structure has been successfully applied within many paradigms: regional law

enforcement Cal-I.D. "RAN" Boards, public sector inter-agency Joint Powers Authorities (JPAs), and in public/private sector foundations.

The ESC will receive operational and planning support from the C-CAWS Task Group (the folks who will do much of the task oriented work).

Responsibility Charting (RASI)

A "RASI" chart was completed (Appendix P) to determine the required behaviors of actors/players towards decision or actions necessary for implementation of the C-CAWS strategy. RASI stands for responsibility (not necessarily authority), approval (right to veto), support (put resources toward), or inform (to be consulted). The results are summarized below.

Until the establishment of the C-CAWS ESC, the RCCSA C-CAWS Committee, and Chief David, will have the majority of the responsibility of completing action items. During this time, RCCSA will have the ultimate right of approval. Once the C-CAWS boards are established (both the IB and ESC), they will set policy and have the power to veto most all decisions/actions. After this point, except when an action or decision impacts directly on his/her own home organization, Chief David and RCCSA primarily become supporting and/or consulting players. Other who play a similar role are: DA Deviny, Sheriff Banks, Chambers of Commerce, Schools, POST, and RCAD.

Readiness/Capability of Key Actors

Of those actors identified in the RASI analysis, all show an acceptable level of readiness for change, with the exception of George Cutter, for whom an approach has been described. All of the players are capable of change. There is one other group whose readiness and capability to change is important to

the success of C-CAWS: the sworn officers (patrol and investigators) who will have to implement the plan at its most basic level. This group's capability is high, but its initial readiness is expected to be low. Readiness will be increased by the delivery of professional mission-relevant training, and issue-consciousness raising educational programs. This group will not be alone in its need for a "jump-start" into C-CAWS implementation.

Supporting Implementation Technologies

In order to most effectively implement this transition plan, the following technologies and methods will be employed: the organizational confrontation meeting, educational activities, and pilot projects with high viability and probability of success.

Organizational Confrontation/Goal Setting Meeting

This technique, which is actually used for goal setting and not for conflict resolution, would be used as a type of team-building exercise for the Executive Steering Committee. An uninvolved third-party would act as the facilitator. This process would produce the following positive results in a relatively short period of time: tangible results of an initial collaborative effort (e.g., shared goals, an action plan, and delegation of responsibilities); a sense of accomplishment for the group; an insight into each member's perspective, sincerity and commitment; some opportunity for informal socializing; establishment of task teams/subgroups; a contract for accountability (e.g., follow-up meetings for progress reports); and a beginning of the process of building trust between the committee members.

Educational Activities

These would include: informational meetings within constituencies, neighborhoods, effected work groups, with civic leaders, politicians, and media; printed brochures and pamphlets; press conferenc-

es; targeted mass-mailings; pre-recorded audio and video tapes for Public Service Announcements (PSAs); and delivery of prepared lesson plans in schools. The activities would be used to keep community members and targeted stakeholders well-informed, to manage anxiety and uncertainty, and to build consensus within constituencies (and the general community) during the transition. The key to the effectiveness of this "campaign" will be providing as much personal contact by Executive Steering Committee members and other involved leaders as possible (i.e., MBWA)[24], especially with those who will be impacted most by the changes (i.e., those who have to carry out the plan).

Pilot Projects with High Viability and Probability of Success

The scope of these initial projects will be determined by the Executive Steering Committee, after consultation with represented constituencies and communities. This technique builds-in predictable, early successes in the implementation process. The timely solving of community/constituency identified problems builds confidence and ownership in the overall plan, the coalition/Committee, the new process, and in those who implement the new process. Further, these initial victories create positive results: they build confidence in those who have to complete/execute the projects, and ownership of the overall plan; they provide excellent opportunities for positive press/media coverage; they deliver a message to political leaders/ politicians about the efficacy of the plan and its implementation; success tends to breed success and backing (everybody likes to support a winner); they increase the legitimacy of the coalition and strategic plan in the eyes of the general public; and they reduce anxiety and uncertainty by showing that the plan really works.

Evaluation Processes

As with any other public safety issue, the community's perceptions will be as important as the actual numbers of incidents. It is expected that each component of the proposed implementation plan will be

evaluated, and that an overall public attitudinal survey be conducted pre and post implementation of the C-CAWS plan. All feedback instruments will require the approval of the Executive Steering Committee for adoption and use. The C-CAWS Task Group will be delegated responsibility to develop the general survey instrument, disseminate it, and analyze the results.

All training and educational programs will be accompanied by a pre and post delivery attitudinal survey delivered to students, and a post presentation critique/evaluation instrument. For professional law enforcement training, the results of the POST evaluation will be included as part of the feedback process.

In assessing the delivery of services, the Task Group will develop, receive and analyze, a standardized service delivery feedback form (questionnaire) to be provided to all white supremacist crime victims contacted by C-CAWS member agency personnel (e.g., law enforcement, victim assistance, prosecution, etc.).

And from a criminal activities perspective, there will be a need for pre and post analysis of numbers and rates of white supremacist crimes, civil law suits (successful and not), and numbers and success of vertical prosecutions.

The described measures will provide an evaluative framework within which the ESC can make future policy-planning decisions about the C-CAWS plan.

SECTION FOUR: CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

What law enforcement should do about white supremacist groups.

Purpose

This section will answer the questions posed in the primary issue and sub-issues of this study. It will also present recommendations about managing toward a favorable future, and suggest other related issues for future study.

Conclusions - Answering The Questions

The primary issue of this study is: What will be the impact of white supremacist groups on California law enforcement by the year 2002?

Results of the literature scan, expert interviews, and futures forecasting process describe the 1990s as a decade during which social conditions that support the white supremacist movement will flourish. These include deteriorating economic conditions for anglos, a coming majority population status for ethnic minorities, and increasing white backlash against "entitlement" programs and immigration. As has been seen in the strong showing of new-age racial politicians like David Duke, a polished image and subtle hate message plays well under these circumstances. California can therefore expect to see increased support for the white supremacist agenda among formerly mainstream, middle class anglos. Memberships will swell, especially as a result of the targeting of young people in high schools for indoctrination into the racist movement.

Any growth in white supremacist activities will impact law enforcement directly through an increase in criminal and lawful enterprises, and indirectly through the reactive activities of our society. For a clearer picture, let us now turn to the sub-issues of this study.

The sub-issues are: What will be the impact of crimes committed by white supremacist groups? What

will be the impact of political activism by white supremacist groups? What will be the impact of changing hate crimes laws?

Through the next decade, white supremacists' crimes will encompass traditional activities (cross burnings, vandalism, personal violence), newer "high tech" operations (computer system infiltration and sabotage, automated telephonic threats/harassment, etc.), and quite possibly a "war" over drug markets in anglo communities. Many of these crimes will be committed by young people recruited by Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance's subset, the White Students' Union. All white supremacist criminals will be more difficult to identify and apprehend because the movement will continue to become more covert and sophisticated. Wherever and whenever white supremacist crimes terrorize victims, there will follow a demand for law enforcement response and resources.

The lawful enterprises of white supremacists in the 1990s will include legitimate political activism, including "whites rights" rallies, protests, demonstrations, election campaigns by white supremacist political candidates, and legislative lobbying. Many of these actions will invite/incite counter-activities by unsympathetic organizations (as has occurred elsewhere in the U.S., France, and Germany). Civil disturbances, whether violent or not, are very resource-intensive for law enforcement. And, unless criminal activities can be associated with purportedly peaceful events (e.g., inciting to riot), the white supremacist political activities will be Constitutionally protected activities under the Bill of Rights.

The rise in white supremacist visibility will generate a response from California's Legislature, which has proven itself to be very interested in curtailing hate crimes. Through the next ten years, it is likely to enact measures that further criminalize the activities of hate groups and/or individuals (including white supremacists). New mandates for enforcement, reporting, and training are expected

to be directed at law enforcement statewide. As in the past, much of this legislation will be driven by individual or group special interest lobbying, and will result in a fair amount of unenforceable laws and/or unachieveable training mandates (e.g., recently proposed legislative mandates for post-partum depression training).

The impact of white supremacist groups on California law enforcement through the year 2002 will be reactively driven and significant. The alternative is for the profession to design and adopt a proactive strategy that makes the law enforcement community a partner in influencing its future. This plan should be a cross-disciplinary, coalition based, multi-tiered intervention strategy such as C-CAWS. C-CAWS is cross-disciplinary because its approach includes enforcement, education, training, victim assistance, and social activism. It is coalition-based, involving non-traditional public and private partners. And it is a multi-tiered intervention strategy because it includes prevention, education, enforcement provisions to attack the problems at different levels.

Recommendations

As demonstrated in this study, during the next decade our state faces the challenge of white supremacist groups straining resources and disrupting our society. Law enforcement must not ignore this issue or avoid taking a proactive role in addressing it. It is also important for this effort to be undertaken in partnership with other interested parties, both inside and outside of traditional law enforcement circles. With this in mind, the author makes the following recommendations:

1. At the regional level, law enforcement executives should join together, make a commitment to target and mitigate white supremacist activities not Constitutionally protected, and to take a leadership role in the community on this issue.
2. These same executives should adopt a mission statement and develop a multi-facted interven-

tion strategy like C-CAWS, which includes public-private partnerships. These confederations should include community groups which have traditionally felt disassociated from law enforcement, such as local chapters of NAACP, MALDEF, GLAD, etc. Further, it should be the law enforcement representatives that take the initiative and make the first overtures. The vision should be long-term, with the intent of creating lasting partnerships and ongoing programs.

3. That the adopted intervention strategy minimally include the following elements:

   a. TRAINING for law enforcement professionals with a curriculum designed to raise issue consciousness, suggest investigative and enforcement strategies, and emphasize the impact that even non-violent white supremacist hate crimes have on victims.

   b. EDUCATION for school children with a curriculum designed to go beyond inter-ethnic tolerance, and teach appreciation of diversity. As in the "D.A.R.E.[25]" model, the ideal application of this component will involve the use of uniformed peace officers as teachers. The utilization of sworn officers will emphasize the importance of the message, and show children of all ethnicities that law enforcement cares about everyone.

   c. ENFORCEMENT, including the high prioritization of all hate crimes calls and investigations. This should include a sworn, uniformed response to all calls (no telephonic reports), thorough crime scene investigations, neighborhood checks, timely follow-up (on case and with victim) by assigned investigators, establishment of hate crimes investigative associations and/or regional task forces, intelligence gathering activities, and vertical prosecutions of offenders.

   d. VICTIM ASSISTANCE, whether directly provided or referred/brokered, including: counseling, support through investigations and prosecutions, access to legal services

for civil actions and temporary restraining orders, "safehouses" or shelters. Most importantly, first responders must be empathetic and caring (see TRAINING).

e. MEDIA RELATIONS, to assure the proper (i.e., mission supportive) "spin" (slant) is applied by the press to stories related to white supremacist activities.

f. POLITICAL ACTIVISM, including legislative lobbying in concert with coalition partners, aimed at the passage of realistic and achievable legal mandates.

g. EVALUATION INSTRUMENTS to measure pre (baseline) and post plan implementation changes. The surveys should target the general public, training and educational programs attendees/students, and victims, as well as a statistical analysis of issue-related activities (e.g., crimes, convictions, etc.).

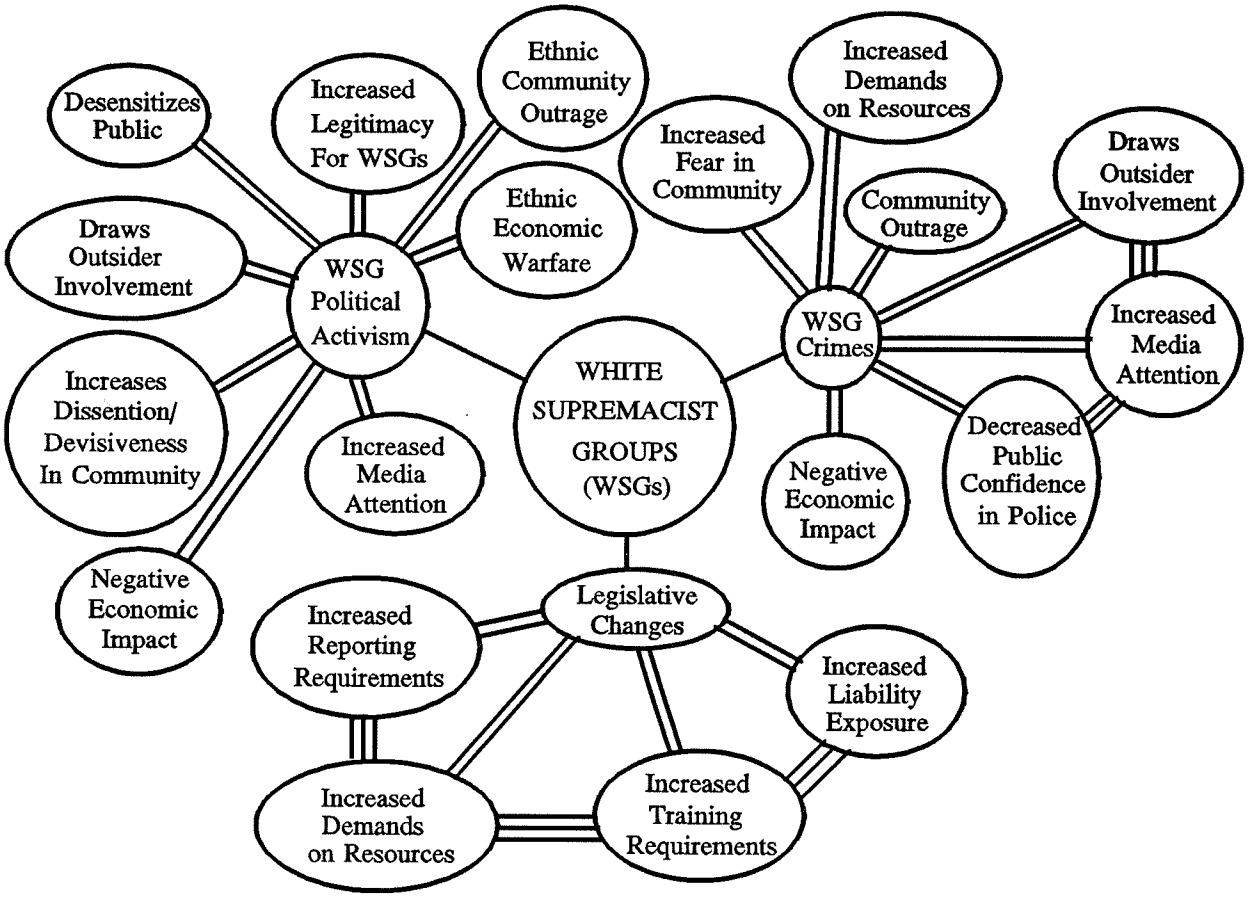
4. At the state level, California's professional law enforcement associations/ organizations should publicly support measures to combat the illegal activities of white supremacist groups, and assist in the political advocacy (lobbying) efforts originating from local/regional programs.

Related Issues for Future Study

In the course of conducting research for this study, other issues were identified which appeared worthy of future study:

- What will be the impact of sworn peace officers belonging to white supremacist groups?
- What will be the impact of media influences on white backlash in California?
- What will be the impact of the changing ethnicity of the personnel in California law enforcement agencies?
- What will be the impact if rape is re-defined as a hate crime?

Appendix A - Futures Wheel



Appendix B - Trend and Event Development Methodologies

The trends and events developed for this study were done so utilizing an Environmental Scan and a Nominal Group Technique (NGT).

Environmental Scan

This process included literature searches at a major university library, and through its automated inter-library search systems; a search of the POST Library; scanning newspapers, magazines and other periodical publications, and; interviews with subject matter experts. The interviews were conducted informally, both in-person and over the telephone, with Criminal Intelligence Specialists at the California Department of Justice, a Researcher - Current Events/Hate Crimes at the Simon Weisenthal Center, a hate crime investigator for the San Francisco Police Department, a Senior Regional Mediator for the U.S. Department of Justice-Community Relations Service, a Special Agent of the FBI - Civil Rights Division, an Investigator for the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, and a researcher for the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. The result of this process was the identification of current trends S1-S4.

NGT

A panel was convened to identify and forecast important trends and events associated with the emerging issue. The panel consisted of eight people: three municipal police lieutenants; one municipal police chief; a (recently) retired Affirmative Action Officer for a University of California (U.C.) campus (and demographics specialist); a professor of psychology and ethnic studies at a U.C. campus; a professor of education at a California State University campus, who is also a well-known Inland Empire anti-discrimination activist; and a U.C. campus police chief (your author).

Utilizing a formal Nominal Group Technique (NGT) process, the panel identified a preliminary list of important associated trends and issues. The NGT process involved a strict protocol requiring private, individual work, combined with structured group interactions, and provided for some group synergy. This format was used in order to maximize panel work (and time) efficiency and effectiveness. The protocol included: private generation of ideas, open round table listing of ideas (including any new ones "synergized" by the group), clarification, private vote on most important items, vote tally and discussion, final vote (if necessary). The initial result of this process was a list of sixty-four candidate trends and events, which was reduced to the final five trends and six events selected by the panel for forecasting:

Trends

T1 Economic Disparity Between "Haves" and "Have Nots."

Examines changes in the gap between the richest and poorest citizens, and the size of the middle class. As this trend increases, the gap widens and the middle class shrinks. When disparity decreases, there is a smaller difference and a larger middle class.

T2 Sophistication of White Supremacist Groups

The change in sophistication of the tactics, methods, technologies, and approaches used by white supremacist groups to further their causes and interests. An increase indicates greater sophistication, and a decrease means a less refined approach.

T3 Successful Civil Suits Against White Supremacists

This reflects changes in the rate (within California) of law suits filed against white supremacist individuals and/or groups, and won by the plaintiff. The rate means that for a dynamic population, absolute numbers of cases are meaningless unless a relationship is established (e.g., per capita, per 100,000 population, etc.). An increase means a higher rate and a decrease indicates a lower one.

T4 Negative Anglo Response to Ethnic Activism

Ethnic activism can take many forms, from an individual to an entire community, and from the peaceful to the violent. This trend looks at negative general Anglo population response. An increase means that the response is more negative (and stronger), a decrease indicates a less negative (and weaker) response.

T5 Media Coverage of White Supremacist Activities

The interest here is in how much attention these activities get from all news media. An increase is more coverage and a decrease is less coverage.

Events

E1 U.S. Supreme Court decision (reversing itself) which re-institutes the "Separate But Equal" principle in educational systems.

E2 Occurrence of large-scale, violent race riot in major California city.

E3 A white supremacist coalition is formed within the California State Legislature.

E4 A major economic collapse occurs within California (i.e., dramatic, more than 50% drop).

Appendix B - Continued

E5 Eruption of open, violent drug wars between ethnic gangs for control of drug market/trafficking.

E6 A verdict is reached in the trial of the L.A.P.D. police officers accused of the March, 1991 beating of Rodney King.

All of these items were forecasted by the same panel, but there was doubt about the reliability of all the forecasts, especially those of E4 and E6, because they were poorly written and insufficiently defined. Consequently, a Modified Conventional Delphi (MCD) was used to re-forecast all items but E4 and E6, which were replaced by the events in the final project, E4 (Reversal Of Oregon Civil Ruling Against Metzger) and E6 (White Supremacists Buy Television Station).

The MCD panel also completed a forecast of one additional event E7 (Statewide Coalition Forms Against Racism) and one additional trend T6 (Public Confidence In Police Response To Hate Crimes).

Appendix C - Issue Related Trends and Events Identified in NGT Process

TRENDS

1. Changes in sophistication of white supremacists' approach, tactics, technology
2. Media influence on changing school curriculum from Eurocentric to multi-cultural
3. Societal tolerance for civil disobedience
4. Negative Anglo response to ethnic activism
5. Anglo response to changing ethnic diversity in neighborhoods
6. Immigration from countries south of U.S.
7. Ethnic bloc voting
8. White supremacist involvement in organized sales of illegal drugs
9. Shift in political orientation of high courts
10. Ethnic bloc activism
11. Immigration from Pacific Rim countries
12. Economic disparity between "haves" and "have nots"
13. Changing job market
14. California population demographics (% Anglos)
15. Media coverage of white supremacist activities
16. Global economic conditions
17. Changing emphasis on community policing approach
18. Changes in ethnically-targeted printed media
19. Changes in state support for citizen/social services
20. Changes in white supremacist political activism
21. Usage of public services by immigrants
22. Ethnic consumerism
23. Law enforcement membership in white supremacist groups
24. Changes in global politics (e.g., "new world order")
25. Law enforcement membership in organized ethnic groups
26. Issue-specific changing/shifting political coalitions
27. Acceptance of white supremacist art forms
28. Changes in inter-ethnic conflict
29. Change in global role of U.S. military
30. California law enforcement political activism
31. Public confidence in law enforcement sensitivity and responsiveness to hate crimes
32. Strongly opinionated talk radio (ethnocentric)
33. Successful law suits against white supremacists/groups

EVENTS

1. Definition of refugee is liberalized
2. Reversal of Oregon court ruling against White Aryan Resistance
3. White supremacists bomb State Capitol while Legislature in-session
4. Race riot in major California city
5. Major economic collapse in California

Appendix C - Continued

6. Organized campaign of violence by white supremacists
7. Ethnic drug wars
8. Tom Metzger hires well known N.Y. P.R. firm to represent his cause
9. IRS reports middle income drops to less than 10% of population (in CA.)
10. Election of person of color to national executive government position
11. State eliminates funding for citizen support services
12. State budget cuts eliminate ethnic studies from UC/CSU systems
13. Verdict in Rodney King case
14. San Jose appoints Asian Chief of Police
15. Openly white supremacist coalition forms in State Legislature
16. *Washington Post* produces 6-part series sympathetic to white supremacists
17. Privatization of residential neighborhood reported
18. Passage of new civil rights legislation by U.S. Congress
19. Involvement by U.S. military in prolonged war
20. Membership in California KKK reaches 100,000
21. White supremacist given own prime-time talk show
22. White supremacist group seizes control of communications satellite for own broadcast
23. 8.0 earthquake along San Andreas Fault producing major widespread damage
24. Government sponsored vigilantes form
25. White supremacists buy TV station in major California market
26. White turf gang commits act of violence on minority community member
27. White supremacists declare economic war on non-Anglo-owned businesses
28. Metzger sues ACLU and wins
29. U.S. Supreme Court decision reinstates "separate but equal"
30. White supremacists demonstrate through ethnic neighborhood
31. Statewide Coalition Forms Against Racism

Appendix D - Forecasting Methodologies

The initial forecasting of trends and events was conducted by the same panel that participated in the NGT process: three anglo male municipal police lieutenants; one anglo male municipal police chief; a (recently) retired anglo female Affirmative Action Officer for a University of California (U.C.) campus, and demographics specialist; an African American female professor of psychology and ethnic studies at a U.C. campus; a gay anglo male professor of education at a California State University campus, who is also a well-known Inland Empire anti-discrimination activist; and an anglo male U.C. campus police chief (your author).

Initial Methodology

A "Trend Evaluation Form" was distributed to each member of the panel (see appendix C). The members were instructed to complete the form individually and privately, evaluating each of the five selected trends. They were asked to complete a nominal ("will be") and a normative ("should be") future forecast for each event, projecting 5, 10, and 15 years[1] into the future. The nominal forecast also required a past estimate of the trend level for 5 years ago.

The panel was given examples of rising and falling trends to clarify the forecasting/estimating process.

After the members completed their forecasts, the forecasts were recorded. The nominal high, low, and median scores, as well as the normative median score, were posted and range of forecasts was discussed.

Due to a lack of consensus, the panel decided to proceed with a second round of forecasts for all of the trends. This process followed the same protocol as the first, and the panel expressed comfort with the results.

"Event Evaluation Forms" (see appendix D) were then distributed to the panel members. Prior to completing the forms, the panel received instructions and explanations for completing the required probability estimates.

As with the trend evaluation process, a future estimate was required for 5, 10, and 15 years.

After completing the forms, the panel's estimates were collected. The high, median, and low estimates for the first three forecasts (probability of occurrence), as well as the medians of the impact estimates, were reported to the group. After a brief discussion, there was no desire to complete a re-forecast of the events.

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[1] A 15 year forecast was added to provide some sense of the direction of trends, and probability of events, after 10 years in the future, toward the year 2005. These results are reflected on the curves of the graphed trend and event data.

Appendix D - Continued

This forecast was completed about nine months prior to the Modified Conventional Delphi (MCD) process completed for this study. For the final study, the 15 year projections were discarded because they go beyond the scope of the project.

Modified Conventional Delphi (MCD) Process

The MCD was selected because the previous forecasts were "old" and needed updating, and because the author was concerned about the validity of the initial forecasts (as noted in Appendix B). Therefore the MCD panel was required to forecast only the final list of trends and events, and not those items (original E4 and E6) which were identified as problematic.

The MCD panel initially consisted of 10 members: a researcher of current events and hate crimes for the Simon Weisenthal Center, two criminal intelligence specialists for the California Department of Justice, a hate crimes investigator for San Francisco Police Department (and founding member of the Bay Area Hate Crimes Investigators' Association), a chief investigator for the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, an FBI Special Agent assigned to civil rights investigations, a member of the San Francisco Lawyers' Committee and Co-Chair of the Bay Area Hate Crimes Investigators' Association, the Director of University Relations/Public Information Office for a UC campus, a Senior Regional Mediator for the US Department of Justice - Community Relations Service, and a counsel for the Assembly Public Safety Committee.

The forecasting process was conducted via FAX (see attached sample letters), with each person working independently. Two rounds of forecasting were completed, with the second round including an opportunity for each member to see the results of the first round before completing a second forecast. A total of six responses were received from the ten MCD panelists.

The results of the forecasting of T1-T5, E1-E3, and E5 therefore reflect N=14, the combined results of the original group and the MCD panel. For T6, E4, E6 and E7 N=6, since they were only forecasted by the MCD process.

Appendix D - Continued

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA POLICE RIVERSIDE

900 University Avenue Riverside, CA. 92521

Dear ---,

As you know, I am currently involved in my final project for the POST Command College, and you have been kind enough to assist me in this endeavor. At the present stage I am working on the futures forecasting section of the paper, which will address the question: "What will be the impact of white supremacist groups[2] on California Law Enforcement by the year 2000?" As part of my examination, I will be examining sub-issues related to my main topic question. They are:

1. What will be the impact of crimes committed by white supremacist groups?

2. What will be the impact of white supremacist groups' political activism?

3. What will be the impact of changes in hate crimes laws?

Attached you will find lists of trends and events that could impact the issue or sub-issues. This lists were developed through research, interviews with subject experts, and through a nominal group technique exercise. The lists include a select number of trends and events that will likely impact the development of management methods and strategies; that will guide the development of a strategic plan, and; can be impacted by implementation of local, regional, and/or statewide intervention policies.

While this process may appear complicated, I have provided an explanation and definition of the

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[2] For the purpose of this study, a white supremacist group is defined as any ongoing organization, association, or group of three or more persons, whether formal or informal, having as one of its primary activities the promotion of white supremacy through criminal acts (e.g., Ku Klux Klan, White Aryan Resistance, etc.).

Appendix D - Continued

terms trend and event, and rather detailed instructions for completing this forecasting process known as a Modified Conventional Delphi. If you have any questions, please call me at work (714) 787-4427, or at home (714) 242-3187.

The Modified Conventional Delphi methodology of futures forecasting consists of two rounds of forecasts or estimates by the participants. The first round will consist of the attached documents being completed and forwarded to me via FAX. I will then compile the data I receive during the first round and then send you results of the first round for review. You will then be given an opportunity to change your first round responses, if you wish to do so.

After you have read through the instructions, each round will take about fifteen to twenty minutes of your time. Since I am working on a short time line, I would appreciate your timely completion of the forms. As soon as you have completed them, please FAX them to me at (714) 683-1639.

Please evaluate the trends and events based upon your personal experience, knowledge, and back-ground. Please keep and use my primary and sub-issues as the context in which you analyze theses items.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR MODIFIED CONVENTIONAL DELPHI

Trend Evaluation

A trend is a series of related occurrences. Trends are ongoing. When stated, as trend is non-directional (i.e., the trend statement does not imply direction up or down). Attachment One is a trend evaluation form. The form asks you to make an estimate on each trend, using the figure of **100** for the level of the trend **today**. You are asked to estimate the level of the trend at three points in time: what **you think** the level of the trend was *five years ago*, what **you think** the level of the trend will be *five years from now*, and what level **you think** the trend will be *ten years from now*.

Additionally, in the blocks for your five years from now and ten years from now forecasts you will find a diagonal line. The portion of the block above the diagonal line is for your estimate of what level the trend will be. The lower portion of the block (under the diagonal line) is for your forecast of what level the trend should be (i.e., where would you like it to be).

An example of a trend forecast follows:

No.	Trend	5 Years Ago	Today	5 Years From Now	10 Years From Now
1	Economic Class Disparity	75	100	135 / 85	160 / 50

This sample trend forecast, assuming 100 equals the level of the trend today, expresses:

1. that the level of **the trend was 75 five years ago** (*less than today*);
2. the level of **the trend is expected to be 135 five years from now** (*more than today*), and;
3. that **the level of the trend is expected to be 160 ten years from now** (*more than today, and more than five years from now*).

It also says that the forecaster :

1. *would like* **the level of the trend in five years to be 85** (*less than today*), and;
2. *prefers* **the level in ten years to be 50** (*less than today, and less than five years from now*).

Overall, the forecaster has indicated that the trend has steadily climbed from five years ago through today and expects it to continue increasing for the next ten years. He/she would like the trend to steadily decrease from today through the next ten years.

When you have completed your trend evaluations, your forms will reflect your opinions, forecasts.

Event Evaluation

Events differ from trends in that an event is an individual occurrence at a specific time and place. While a trend would be a series of related events (e.g., the increase or decrease over time of the stock market, based upon individual daily closing marks), an event stands by itself, and can be a milestone (e.g., the "crash" of the stock market in October 1929).

Attachment two is an event evaluation form. The events are related to the issue and sub-issues of my study. You will be asked to make three different types of forecasts: 1) **Years until probability of the event occurring first exceeds zero** (i.e., *at what point in time from today do you think that the event first has a chance to occur*, fractions of years are acceptable); 2) **Probability (in percent) of the event occurring during the next five years, and during the next ten years** (i.e., *how likely is the event to occur in the next five years, or in the next ten years*).

1. Your estimate must be in the form of a percentage, from 0 - 100%.

2. This forecast measures cumulative probability. Therefore, your ten year estimate cannot be less than your five year estimate, however, it can be the same (e.g., 45% within five years and 45% within ten years).

3. A forecast of 50% means forecasts that an event is as likely to happen as not (i.e., it's a toss-up).

4. A forecast of less than 50% means that an even is not likely to occur, and greater than 50% means that it is more likely.

The third forecast for events is an **estimate of the impact on the issue if the event occurs.**

This is accomplished using a **scale of 0 - 10, with ten representing the highest impact.** Events can

have an impact which is positive *and/or* negative. An example of an event forecast follows:

Event		Years Until Probability First Exceeds Zero	Probability of Event Occurring		Impact on the Issue Area if Event Occurred	
No.	Statement		Five Years From Now 0 - 100%	Ten Years From Now 0 - 100%	Positive 0 - 10	Negative 0 - 10
2	Violent Race Riot Occurs in Major CA. City	0.5	45	60	1	7.5

In this example the forecaster believes that the event can occur anytime after .5 years (six months) from now; that the probability of the event occurring within five years is 45% (a little less than likely to happen, and less than an even "50-50 bet"); that the event has a 60% chance of occurring during the next ten years (i.e., that the probability increases 15% between five and ten years), making it more likely to occur than not over a ten year period, and; that the impact on the issue would be strongly negative (7.5), and slightly positive (1) (again, the forecaster could have foreseen, and noted, only a positive or a negative impact).

I want to thank you for your patience and assistance with this process. I look forward to your response (again, via FAX please!).

Sincerely,

Henry O. Rosenfeld
Chief of Police
Command College Class #14

Appendix D - Continued

ENCLOSURE ONE **PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN VIA FAX TO: (714) 683-1639 - ATTENTION: CHIEF HENRY ROSENFELD**

IMPORTANT: PLEASE READ ATTACHED EXPLANATION OF TRENDS *BEFORE* COMPLETING FORECASTS.

TREND EVALUATION FORM

		LEVEL OF THE TREND (TODAY = 100)			
#	TREND STATEMENT	5 YEARS AGO	TODAY	5 YEARS FROM NOW	10 YEARS FROM NOW
1	ECONOMIC DISPARITY BETWEEN "HAVES" AND "HAVE NOTS"		100		
2	SOPHISTICATION OF WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS		100		
3	SUCCESSFUL CIVIL SUITS AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS		100		
4	NEGATIVE ANGLO RESPONSE TO ETHNIC ACTIVISM		100		
5	MEDIA COVERAGE OF WHITE SUPREMACIST ACTIVITIES		100		
6	PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN POLICE RESPONSE TO HATE CRIMES		100		

NAME OF FORECASTER: _____

TITLE: _____

DATE OF FORECAST: _____

PHONE NUMBER: _____

FAX NUMBER: _____

Appendix D - Continued

Explanation of Trends (T1-T6)

T1 Economic Disparity Between "Haves" And "Have Nots"

Examines changes in the gap between the richest and poorest citizens in California, and the size of the middle class. As this trend increases, the gap widens and the middle class shrinks. When disparity decreases, there is a smaller difference and a larger middle class.

T2 Sophistication Of White Supremacist Groups

The change in sophistication of the tactics, methods, technologies, and approaches used by white supremacist groups to further their causes and interests in California. An increase indicates greater sophistication, and a decrease means a less refined approach.

T3 Successful Civil Suits Against White Supremacist Groups

This reflects the changes in *rate* (within California) of civil law suits files against white supremacist groups (and/or their individual leaders), and won by the plaintiff. The rate means that for a dynamic population, absolute numbers of cases are meaningless unless a relationship is established (e.g., per capita, per 100,000 population, etc.). Therefore, an increase of this trend means a higher rate, and a decrease indicates a lower rate.

T4 Negative Anglo Response To Ethnic Activism

Ethnic activism can take many forms, from an individual action to an entire community mobilization, and from the peaceful to the violent. This trend looks at negative general Anglo population response. An increase means that the response is more negative (and stronger), a decrease indicates a less negative (and weaker) response.

T5 Media Coverage Of White Supremacist Activities

The interest here is in how much attention these activities get from all news media. An increase is more coverage, and a decrease is less coverage.

T6 Public Confidence In Police Response To Hate Crimes

This trend is intended to measure the public's confidence and trust in law enforcement's sensitivity and responsiveness to hate crimes. An increase means that the public is more satisfied, had greater confidence in law enforcement's response to hate crimes. A decrease indicates greater dissatisfaction and a lack of confidence in law enforcement's response (i.e., general insensitivity to victims and ineffectiveness in responding to crimes).

Appendix D - Continued

ENCLOSURE TWO **PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN VIA FAX TO: (714) 683-1639 - ATTENTION: CHIEF HENRY ROSENFELD**

IMPORTANT: **PLEASE READ ATTACHED EXPLANATION OF EVENTS *BEFORE* COMPLETING FORECASTS.**

EVENT EVALUATION FORM

EVENT		YEARS UNTIL PROBABILITY 1ST EXCEEDS ZERO	PROBABILITY OF EVENT OCCURRING		IMPACT ON ISSUE IF EVENT OCCURS	
#	STATEMENT		FIVE YEARS FROM NOW (0 - 100%)	TEN YEARS FROM NOW (0 - 100%)	POSITIVE (0 - 10)	NEGATIVE (0 - 10)
1	SUPREME COURT DECISION RE: SEPARATE BUT EQUAL					
2	VIOLENT RACE RIOT IN MAJOR CALIFORNIA CITY					
3	WHITE SUPREMACIST COALITION IN STATE LEGISLATURE					
4	REVERSAL OF OREGON CIVIL RULING AGAINST METZGER					
5	ETHNIC DRUG WAR ERUPTS					
6	WHITE SUPREMACISTS BUY TELEVISION STATION					
7	STATEWIDE COALITION FORMS AGAINST RACISM					

NAME OF FORECASTER: _____

TITLE: _____

DATE OF FORECAST: _____

PHONE NUMBER: _____

FAX NUMBER: _____

Appendix D - Continued

Explanation of Events (E1-E7)

E1 Supreme Court Decision Re: Separate But Equal

U.S. Supreme Court publishes a new decision which re-establishes the principle of "separate, but equal" as constitutional.

E2 Violent Race Riot In Major California City

A violent race riot occurs in a major California city, involving widespread destruction of property and significant loss of life (similar to Watts in 1965).

E3 White Supremacist Coalition In State Legislature

A coalition forms among members of the California State Legislature, with its focus on a white supremacist agenda.

E4 Reversal of Oregon Civil Ruling Against Metzger

The multi-million dollar Oregon civil award against white supremacist Tom Metzger is overturned (i.e., his appeal is successful).

E5 Ethnic Drug War Erupts

An "open street turf war" erupts between ethnic groups/gangs seeking control of drug trafficking in their respective ethnic enclaves, including anglo gangs seeking to control drugs in anglo neighborhoods.

E6 White Supremacists Buy Television Station

White supremacists buy a commercial television station (with intent of running programming espousing the white supremacist agenda.

E7 Statewide Coalition Forms Against Racism

A public/private coalition forms to combat racism, its membership includes: traditional anti-racist organizations (Anti-Defamation League, NAACP, Urban League, etc.), community groups, and law enforcement (e.g., local and state professional associations).

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA POLICE RIVERSIDE

900 University Avenue Riverside, CA. 92521

Dear -----,

Thank you for your assistance in completing phase one of the forecasting process. The second, and final, phase will probably take about twenty minutes to complete. The purpose of this procedure is to provide you with the opportunity to review and compare your forecasts to those of the modified conventional delphi group. This phase consists of the following steps:

1. Your review of the attached summary tables of the trend and event forecasts completed by the modified conventional delphi group. Each table lists the **high, median, and low forecasts** for each item. The high forecast is the highest received, the lowest is the lowest received, and the median is the "middle" forecast (there are an equal number of forecasts above and below this number).

2. Your review of your own first round forecast.

3. Your completion of a new set of forecasts, in which you may either repeat your original forecasts, or make changes. **You have the absolute right to re-submit your original forecasts without alteration**.

Again, please bear in mind that I am under severe time constraints, and would appreciate a prompt reply, via FAX (**by Tuesday, 4/28/92, noon, please**). I cannot express my gratitude to you for taking time out of your busy schedule to help me complete my project.

Sincerely,

Henry O. Rosenfeld
Chief of Police
Command College Class #14

RESULTS OF ROUND ONE TREND FORECASTS

TREND EVALUATION FORM ROUND ONE SUMMARY TABLE

#	TREND STATEMENT	LEVEL OF THE TREND (TODAY = 100)										
		5 YEARS AGO			TODAY	5 YEARS FROM NOW			10 YEARS FROM NOW			
		HI	MED	LO		HI	MED	LO	HI	MED	LO	
1	ECONOMIC DISPARITY BETWEEN "HAVES" AND "HAVE NOTS"	100	82.5	65	100	150	125	110	200	150	125	W
						100	80	65	80	67.5	50	S
2	SOPHISTICATION OF WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS	90	80	25	100	150	115	70	200	130	60	W
						80	45	25	70	27.5	25	S
3	SUCCESSFUL CIVIL SUITS AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS	100	72.5	50	100	125	102.5	50	150	102.5	25	W
						150	125	80	200	137.5	85	S
4	NEGATIVE ANGLO RESPONSE TO ETHNIC ACTIVISM	100	90	50	100	175	125	100	300	145	90	W
						110	50	20	100	37.5	10	S
5	MEDIA COVERAGE OF WHITE SUPREMACIST ACTIVITIES	100	77.5	75	100	120	110	50	140	115	50	W
						140	75	40	150	65	25	S
6	PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN POLICE RESPONSE TO HATE CRIMES	175	92.5	20	100	120	92.5	70	150	102.5	50	W
						140	100	50	160	100	25	S

HI = HIGHEST FORECAST OF MODIFIED CONVENTIONAL DELPHI GROUP (MCDG)

MED = MEDIAN FORECAST OF MCDG

LO = LOWEST FORECAST OF MCDG

W = MCDG "WILL BE" FORECASTS

S = MCDG "SHOULD BE" (WHERE YOU WOULD LIKE THEM) FORECASTS

PLEASE LOOK AT WHERE YOUR FIRST ROUND FORECAST FALLS IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE FORECASTS OF THE OTHER PANELISTS.

IF YOU FEEL COMFORTABLE WITH YOUR FORECAST, YOU NEED NOT CHANGE IT. IF YOU FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE, YOU MAY CHANGE IT.

WHETHER YOU CHANGE YOUR FORECASTS OR NOT, PLEASE COMPLETE A NEW FORM FOR ROUND TWO, AND FAX IT BACK IMMEDIATELY.

THANK YOU.

RESULTS OF ROUND ONE EVENT FORECASTS

EVENT EVALUATION FORM ROUND ONE SUMMARY TABLE

EVENT		YEARS UNTIL PROBABILITY 1ST EXCEEDS ZERO			PROBABILITY OF EVENT OCCURRING						IMPACT ON ISSUE IF EVENT OCCURS					
					FIVE YEARS FROM NOW (0 - 100%)			TEN YEARS FROM NOW (0 - 100%)			POSITIVE (0 - 10)			NEGATIVE (0 - 10)		
#	STATEMENT	HI	MED	LO	HI	MED	LO	HI	MED	LO	HI	MED	LO	HI	MED	LO
1	SUPREME COURT DECISION RE: SEPARATE BUT EQUAL	10	.5	0	75	0	0	100	0	0	5	0	0	10	2.5	0
2	VIOLENT RACE RIOT IN MAJOR CALIFORNIA CITY	.5	.15	.01	80	60	50	80	65	50	5	.5	0	10	9.5	5
3	WHITE SUPREMACIST COALITION IN STATE LEGISLATURE	15	3.5	0	60	21	0	75	25	0	6	0	0	10	6.5	4
4	REVERSAL OF OREGON CIVIL RULING AGAINST METZGER	5	1.75	0	45	35	20	45	37.5	25	1	0	0	10	7.75	7.5
5	ETHNIC DRUG WAR ERUPTS	.5	.3	.01	100	72.5	60	100	90	70	5	1.5	0	10	8.25	5
6	WHITE SUPREMACISTS BUY TELEVISION STATION	10	1	1	100	40	0	100	55	0	2.5	0	0	10	7	6
7	STATEWIDE COALITION FORMS AGAINST RACISM	2	.25	0	100	87.5	30	100	95	60	10	9	7.5	3	.5	0

HI = HIGHEST FORECAST OF THE MODIFIED CONVENTIONAL DELPHI GROUP (MCDG)
MED = MEDIAN (MIDDLE) FORECAST OF THE MCDG
LO = LOWEST FORECAST OF THE MCDG

PLEASE LOOK AT WHERE YOUR FIRST ROUND FORECAST FALLS IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE FORECASTS OF THE OTHER PANELISTS.

IF YOU FEEL COMFORTABLE WITH YOUR FORECAST, YOU NEED NOT CHANGE IT. IF YOU FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE, YOU MAY CHANGE IT.

WHETHER YOU CHANGE YOUR FORECASTS OR NOT, PLEASE COMPLETE A NEW FORM FOR ROUND TWO, AND FAX IT BACK IMMEDIATELY.

THANK YOU.

Appendix D - Continued

ENCLOSURE ONE **PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN VIA FAX TO: (714) 683-1639 - ATTENTION: CHIEF HENRY ROSENFELD**

IMPORTANT: PLEASE READ ATTACHED EXPLANATION OF TRENDS *BEFORE* COMPLETING FORECASTS.

TREND EVALUATION FORM

		LEVEL OF THE TREND (TODAY = 100)			
#	TREND STATEMENT	5 YEARS AGO	TODAY	5 YEARS FROM NOW	10 YEARS FROM NOW
1	ECONOMIC DISPARITY BETWEEN "HAVES" AND "HAVE NOTS"		100		
2	SOPHISTICATION OF WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS		100		
3	SUCCESSFUL CIVIL SUITS AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS		100		
4	NEGATIVE ANGLO RESPONSE TO ETHNIC ACTIVISM		100		
5	MEDIA COVERAGE OF WHITE SUPREMACIST ACTIVITIES		100		
6	PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN POLICE RESPONSE TO HATE CRIMES		100		

NAME OF FORECASTER: _____

TITLE: _____

DATE OF FORECAST: _____

PHONE NUMBER: _____

FAX NUMBER: _____

Appendix D - Continued

Explanation of Trends (T1-T6)

T1 Economic Disparity Between "Haves" And "Have Nots"

Examines changes in the gap between the richest and poorest citizens in California, and the size of the middle class. As this trend increases, the gap widens and the middle class shrinks. When disparity decreases, there is a smaller difference and a larger middle class.

T2 Sophistication Of White Supremacist Groups

The change in sophistication of the tactics, methods, technologies, and approaches used by white supremacist groups to further their causes and interests in California. An increase indicates greater sophistication, and a decrease means a less refined approach.

T3 Successful Civil Suits Against White Supremacist Groups

This reflects the changes in *rate* (within California) of civil law suits files against white supremacist groups (and/or their individual leaders), and won by the plaintiff. The rate means that for a dynamic population, absolute numbers of cases are meaningless unless a relationship is established (e.g., per capita, per 100,000 population, etc.). Therefore, an increase of this trend means a higher rate, and a decrease indicates a lower rate.

T4 Negative Anglo Response To Ethnic Activism

Ethnic activism can take many forms, from an individual action to an entire community mobilization, and from the peaceful to the violent. This trend looks at negative general Anglo population response. An increase means that the response is more negative (and stronger), a decrease indicates a less negative (and weaker) response.

T5 Media Coverage Of White Supremacist Activities

The interest here is in how much attention these activities get from all news media. An increase is more coverage, and a decrease is less coverage.

T6 Public Confidence In Police Response To Hate Crimes

This trend is intended to measure the public's confidence and trust in law enforcement's sensitivity and responsiveness to hate crimes. An increase means that the public is more satisfied, had greater confidence in law enforcement's response to hate crimes. A decrease indicates greater dissatisfaction and a lack of confidence in law enforcement's response (i.e., general insensitivity to victims and ineffectiveness in responding to crimes).

ENCLOSURE TWO **PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN VIA FAX TO: (714) 683-1639 - ATTENTION: CHIEF HENRY ROSENFELD**

IMPORTANT: **PLEASE READ ATTACHED EXPLANATION OF EVENTS *BEFORE* COMPLETING FORECASTS.**

EVENT EVALUATION FORM

EVENT		YEARS UNTIL PROBABILITY 1ST EXCEEDS ZERO	PROBABILITY OF EVENT OCCURRING		IMPACT ON ISSUE IF EVENT OCCURS	
#	STATEMENT		FIVE YEARS FROM NOW (0 - 100%)	TEN YEARS FROM NOW (0 - 100%)	POSITIVE (0 - 10)	NEGATIVE (0 - 10)
1	SUPREME COURT DECISION RE: SEPARATE BUT EQUAL					
2	VIOLENT RACE RIOT IN MAJOR CALIFORNIA CITY					
3	WHITE SUPREMACIST COALITION IN STATE LEGISLATURE					
4	REVERSAL OF OREGON CIVIL RULING AGAINST METZGER					
5	ETHNIC DRUG WAR ERUPTS					
6	WHITE SUPREMACISTS BUY TELEVISION STATION					
7	STATEWIDE COALITION FORMS AGAINST RACISM					

NAME OF FORECASTER: _____

TITLE: _____

DATE OF FORECAST: _____

PHONE NUMBER: _____

FAX NUMBER: _____

Appendix D - Continued

Explanation of Events (E1-E7)

E1 Supreme Court Decision Re: Separate But Equal

U.S. Supreme Court publishes a new decision which re-establishes the principle of "separate, but equal" as constitutional.

E2 Violent Race Riot In Major California City

A violent race riot occurs in a major California city, involving widespread destruction of property and significant loss of life (similar to Watts in 1965).

E3 White Supremacist Coalition In State Legislature

A coalition forms among members of the California State Legislature, with its focus on a white supremacist agenda.

E4 Reversal of Oregon Civil Ruling Against Metzger

The multi-million dollar Oregon civil award against white supremacist Tom Metzger is overturned (i.e., his appeal is successful).

E5 Ethnic Drug War Erupts

An "open street turf war" erupts between ethnic groups/gangs seeking control of drug trafficking in their respective ethnic enclaves, including anglo gangs seeking to control drugs in anglo neighborhoods.

E6 White Supremacists Buy Television Station

White supremacists buy a commercial television station (with intent of running programming espousing the white supremacist agenda.

E7 Statewide Coalition Forms Against Racism

A public/private coalition forms to combat racism, its membership includes: traditional anti-racist organizations (Anti-Defamation League, NAACP, Urban League, etc.), community groups, and law enforcement (e.g., local and state professional associations).

Appendix E

TREND EVALUATION TABLE

#	TREND STATEMENT	LEVEL OF THE TREND (TODAY = 100)			
		5 YEARS AGO	TODAY	5 YEARS FROM NOW	10 YEARS FROM NOW
1	ECONOMIC DISPARITY BETWEEN "HAVES" AND "HAVE NOTS"	77.5	100	130 / 80	152.5 / 65
2	SOPHISTICATION OF WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS	72.5	100	117.5 / 50	137.5 / 40
3	SUCCESSFUL CIVIL SUITS AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS	67.5	100	105 / 120	112.5 / 135
4	NEGATIVE ANGLO RESPONSE TO ETHNIC ACTIVISM	82.5	100	125 / 65	140 / 55
5	MEDIA COVERAGE OF WHITE SUPREMACIST ACTIVITIES	82.5	100	112.5 / 75	120 / 62.5
6	PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN POLICE RESPONSE TO HATE CRIMES	92.5	100	92.5 / 100	102.5 / 100

Future forecasts reflect both the median nominal (will be) and the median normative (should be) in this format: nominal/normative.

For trends #1 through #5, N=12 (combined results of Nominal Group Technique/Forecasting panel and Modified Conventional Delphi panel)

For trend #6, N=7 (Modified Conventional Delphi panel only)

Appendix F

EVENT EVALUATION TABLE

EVENT		YEARS UNTIL PROBABILITY 1ST EXCEEDS ZERO	PROBABILITY OF EVENT OCCURRING		IMPACT ON ISSUE IF EVENT OCCURS	
#	STATEMENT		FIVE YEARS FROM NOW (0 - 100%)	TEN YEARS FROM NOW (0 - 100%)	POSITIVE (0 - 10)	NEGATIVE (0 - 10)
1	SUPREME COURT DECISION RE: SEPARATE BUT EQUAL	6	0	25	0	8
2	VIOLENT RACE RIOT IN MAJOR CALIFORNIA CITY	0	50	57.5	0	8.5
3	WHITE SUPREMACIST COALITION IN STATE LEGISLATURE	5	5	20	0	8.5
4	REVERSAL OF OREGON CIVIL RULING AGAINST METZGER	1.5	35	37.5	0	7.5
5	ETHNIC DRUG WAR ERUPTS	1.5	50	55	0	8
6	WHITE SUPREMACISTS BUY TELEVISION STATION	1.0	40	55	0	7
7	STATEWIDE COALITION FORMS AGAINST RACISM	0.5	87.5	95	9.0	1

The results reported are the median (middle) estimates.

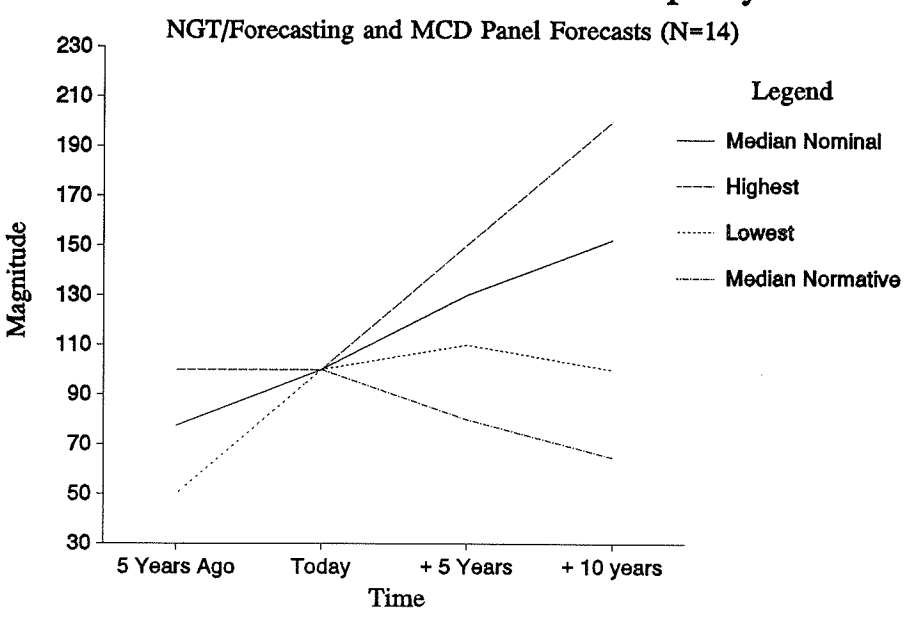
For events #1, #2, #3, and #5, N=12 (combined results of Nominal Group Technique/ Forecasting panel and Modified Conventional Delphi panel).

For events #4, #6, and #7, N=7 (Modified Conventional Delphi panel only)

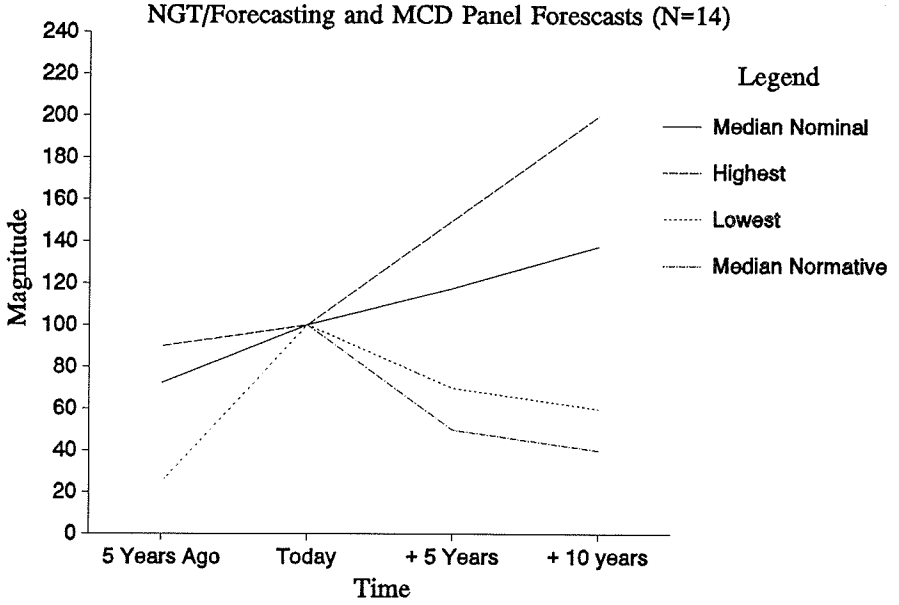
Appendix G - Trend and Event Graphs

The trend graphs present the highest, lowest and median Nominal ("Will Be"), and the median Normative ("Should Be") forecasting data.

Trend #1 - Economic Class Disparity

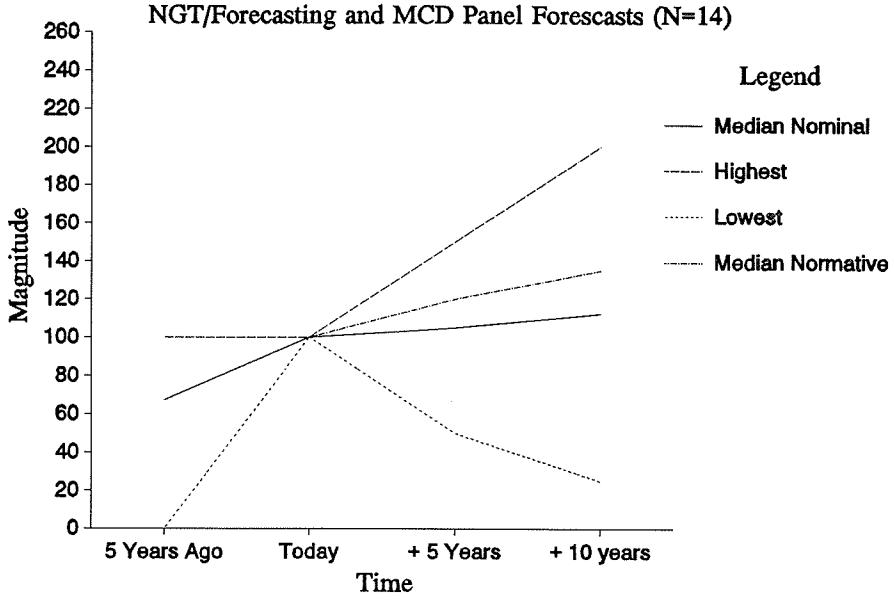


Trend #2 - Sophistication of White Supremacist Groups



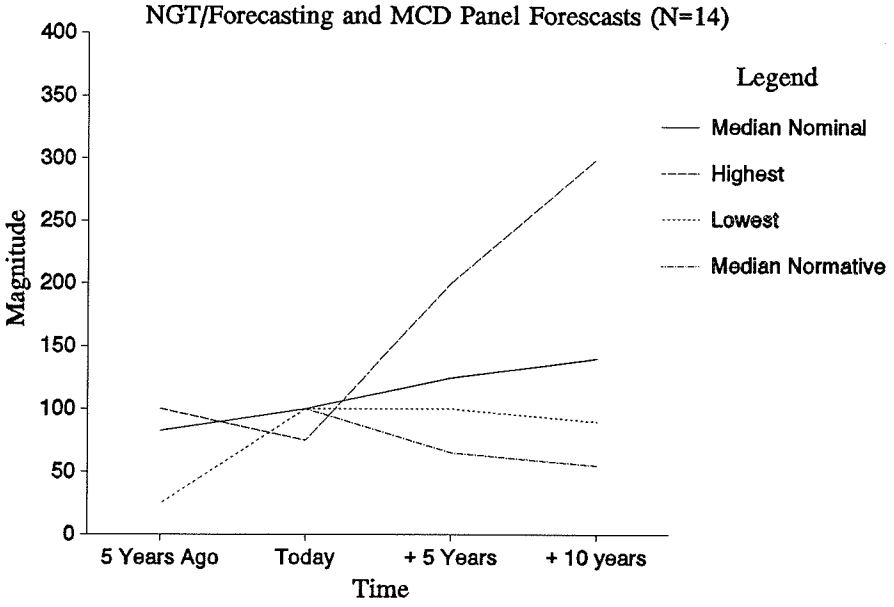
Trend #3 - Successful Civil Suits Against WSGs

NGT/Forecasting and MCD Panel Forescasts (N=14)



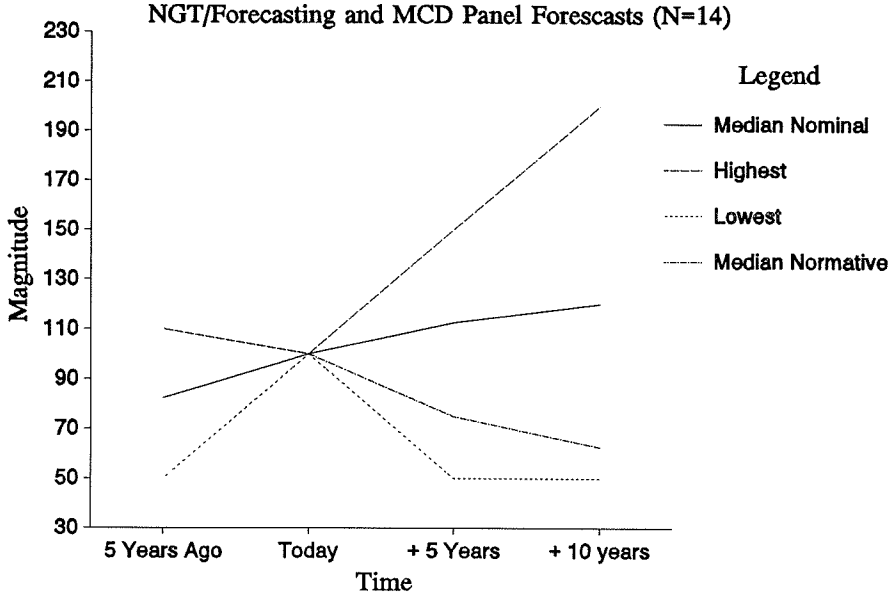
Trend #4 - Negative Anglo Response

NGT/Forecasting and MCD Panel Forescasts (N=14)



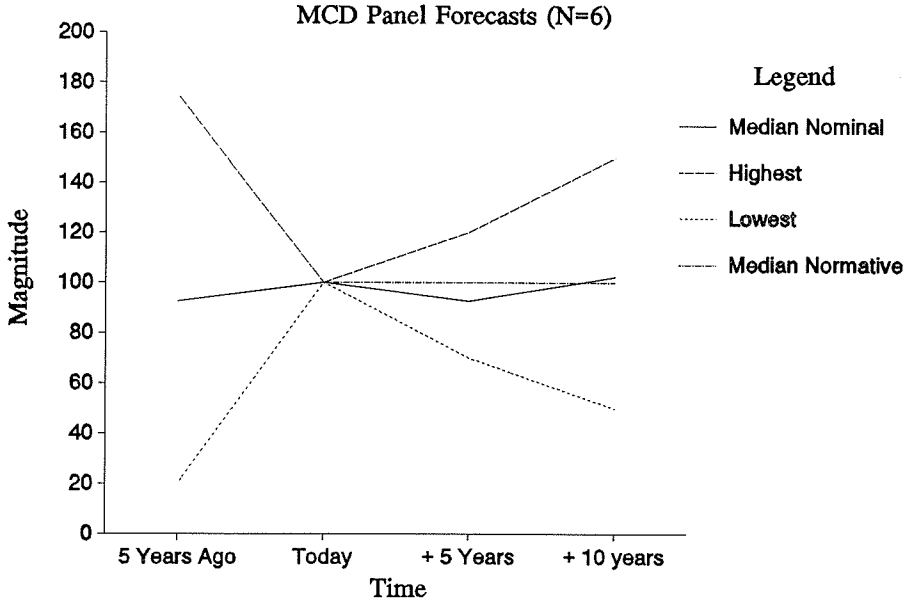
Trend #5 - Media Coverage

NGT/Forecasting and MCD Panel Forescasts (N=14)



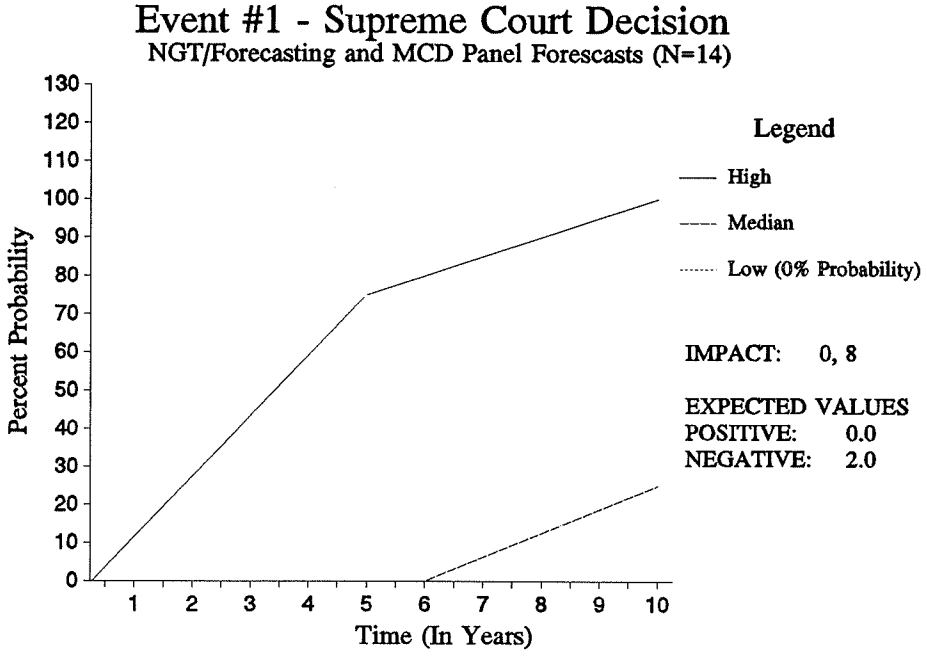
Trend #6 - Public Confidence

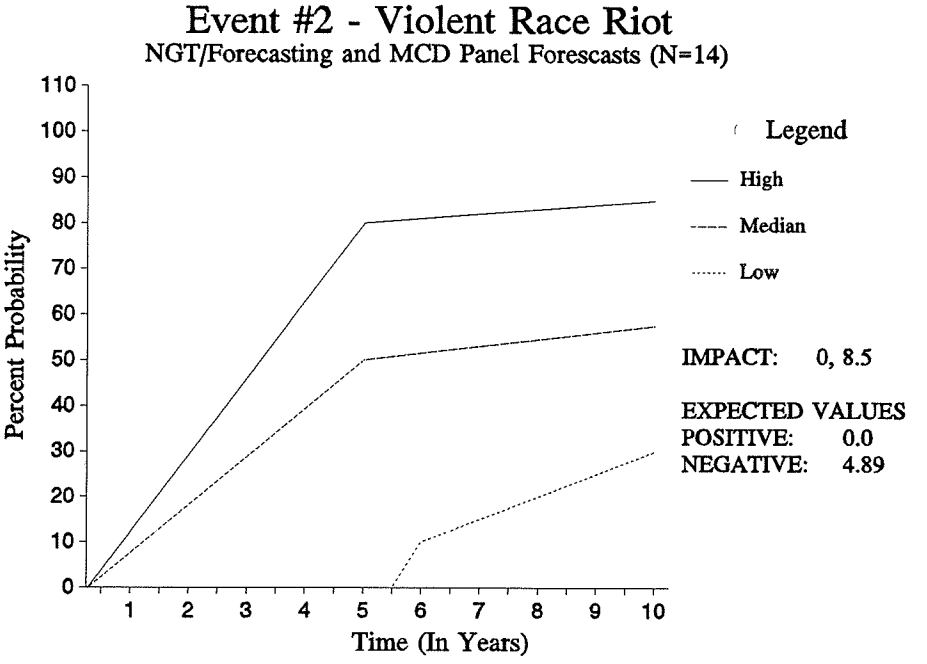
MCD Panel Forecasts (N=6)



Appendix G - Continued

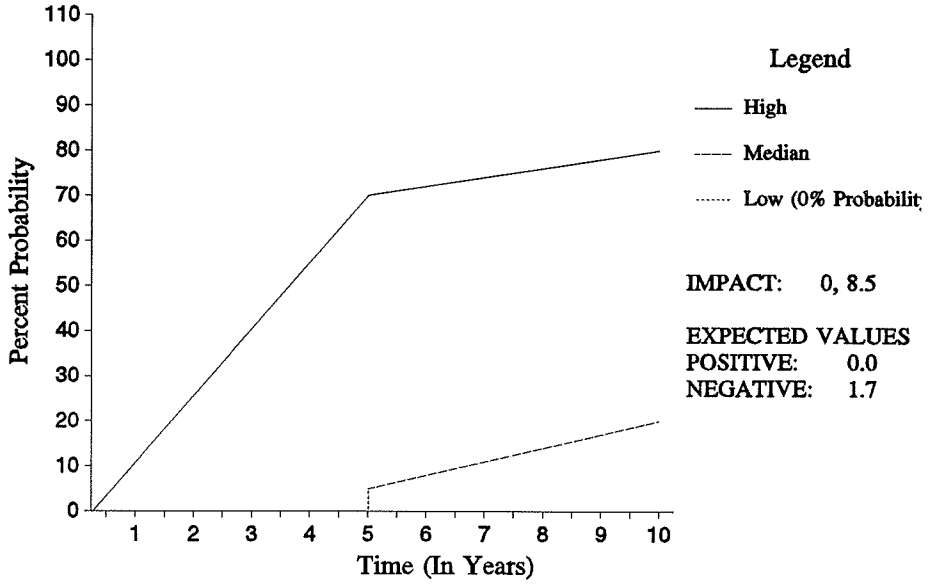
The event graphs present the highest, lowest, and median forecasting data.





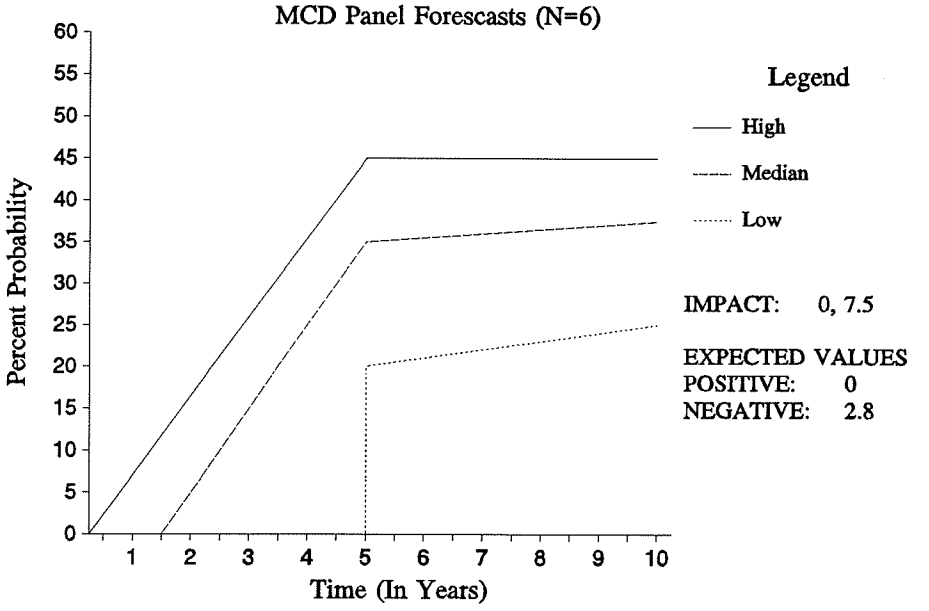
Event #3 - White Supremacist Coalition

NGT/Forecasting and MCD Panel Forecasts (N=14)



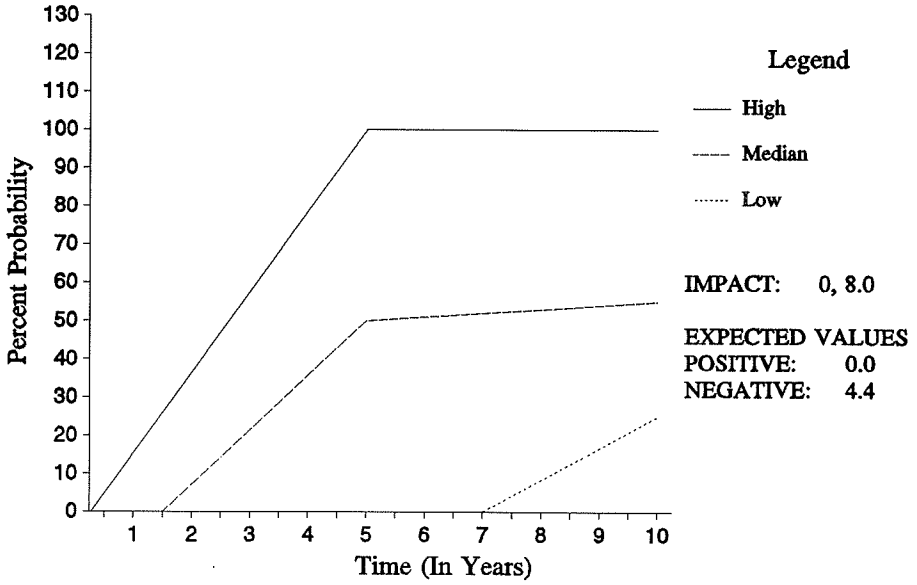
Event #4 - Reversal of Oregon Civil Ruling

MCD Panel Forescasts (N=6)



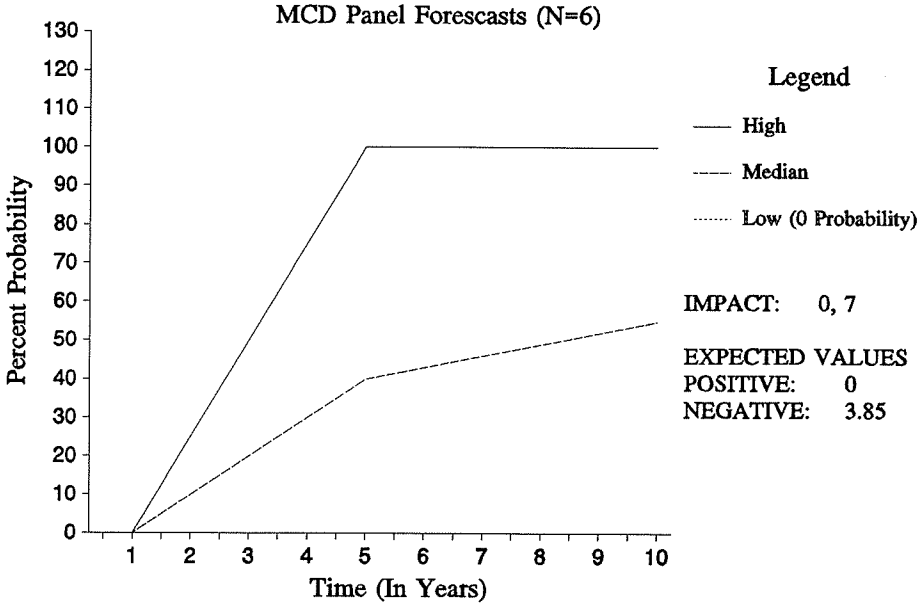
Event #5 - Ethnic Drug War

NGT/Forecasting and MCD Panel Forecasts (N=14)

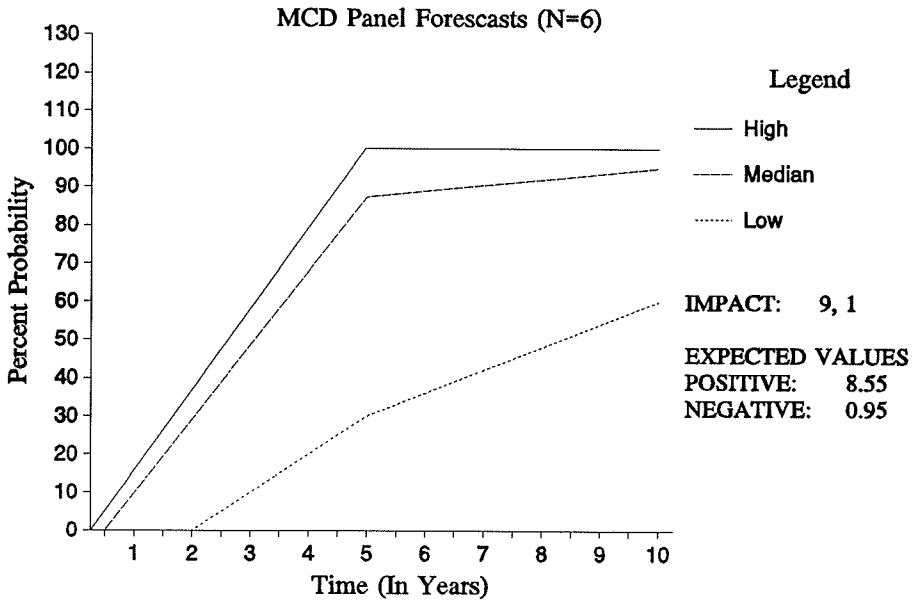


Event #6 - White Supremacists Buy Television Station

MCD Panel Forecasts (N=6)



Event #7 - Statewide Coalition Forms Against Racism



Appendix H - Complete Trend and Event Forecasting Results and Analysis

Results of Environmental Scan

The environmental scanning process identified four issue-related trends and no events. These trends were not included in the formal forecasting exercises because data was available through other means (e.g., 1990 Census).

S1: California's Changing Demographics (i.e., the expected changes in ethnic demographics of California's statewide population focusing on the changes in anglo versus ethnic minority make-up).

Although planning an intervention strategy for California's changing demographics is not within the scope of this study, it is an important trend to note.

As has been forecasted by demographers for many years, California's population growth has outpaced national gains, and the percentage of California's population which is of ethnic minority heritage has steadily increased. Concurrently, and of major importance to white supremacist groups, the State's anglo population is decreasing in percentage, size, and influence.

The 1990 federal census reported that California's total population was 29,760,021. Of this, just over 17 million people (57%) were classified as "White, Not of Hispanic origin" (aka: anglo). In "California Forecasts," the editors of the *Kiplinger California Letter* project that as California's population grows to about 39 million by 2005 (a 31% increase), its anglo population will decrease to approximately 49.5% (a 13% decline). Kiplinger is not alone in its trend forecast. In 1986, the State's Department of Finance, Population Research Unit, projected that anglos would no longer constitute a majority of the 33.7 million Californians it forecasted that the state would have by 2008[26]. Further, it takes no great leap of faith to expect that as our population's diversity increases, their will be a reflection of this change in the ethnicity of our business and community leaders, and our appointed and elected government officials.

The impact of this trend upon the issue is that it creates opportunities for white supremacist groups to illustrate and support their hate and fear filled messages, which suggest that "white people" are outnumbered, have no voice or representation in government, that immigrants are "taking over," etc. Most all of the subject experts agreed that the influence of this trend on white supremacist groups' activities will be very dependent upon California's economy (it will work for them if the economy is down, and not (as much) if it is strong).

S2: California's Economic Condition (i.e., in general terms, What is California's overall economic state? What will it be?).

Whether the term used is difficulties, downturn, recession, or depression, California has experienced significant economic troubles for approximately three years, and is expected to continue to do so for at least two more years. The long-term forecast (five to ten years) in literature (e.g., *California Business* magazine, the *Kiplinger California Letter*, *Future Scan*, business sections of major newspapers, etc.) is that California will recover, and prosper.

This trend, like the previous one, is not a candidate for intervention policy planning within the scope of this study, but it could have a notable impact on the issue under investigation. One expert, a criminal intelligence specialist, expressed the significance of this trend succinctly: "The economy is the key. If it's bad (like now), then everyone is looking for scapegoats, and

the white supremacists are happy to oblige. They point to immigration, to affirmative action, and tell white people that that is where their jobs have gone.[27]" Other experts agreed, further expressing the idea that economic adversity can push formerly middle class, mainstream people into embracing the white supremacist message and movement (overtly or covertly), which gives the appearance of legitimizing it.

As more people support and join white supremacist groups to protect their interests, then the government comes under increasing pressure to define the boundaries between protected Constitutional behavior and criminal acts.

A related trend, T1 ("Economic Disparity Between "Haves" and "Have Nots") is forecasted in the following section.

S3: New Laws Relating to Hate Crimes (i.e., the expected increase or decrease in the number of new laws or legal mandates which target hate crimes, enacted by California's Legislature, and signed into law by the Governor).

Any laws aimed at defining or limiting the illegal activities of white supremacist groups will fall under the general category of "hate crimes." As a reaction to the increase in public concerns and awareness about racism in our society, there has been a proliferation of legislation creating a new body of laws throughout the United States specifically targeting hate-motivated crimes. In its "*Hate Crimes Statutes: A 1991 Status Report*," the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) relates that 46 of the 50 states have enacted some form of hate crimes laws. This is in addition to the federal hate crimes reporting law passed by Congress, and signed by President Bush in April 1990.

Since 1987, there have been approximately twenty sections of the California Civil and Penal Codes either enacted, enhanced, or modified to address hate crimes. In 1991, four measures were passed and signed into law. In 1992, there will be up to sixteen bills under consideration in the Legislature.

According to staff of the State Senate and Assembly members, this trend upward, and is expected to continue increasing. Its impact on this study is meaningful because of its impact on law enforcement. New laws must be enforceable. New legal mandates for training or record-keeping must be achievable. Proactive political activism by law enforcement could influence this trend, and it will be a consideration for future intervention policy planning.

S4: Changes in the White Supremacist Movement

This is actually two trends: one is quantitative and the other qualitative. Since they are internal to the movement's organizations, neither one is subject to direct intervention policy planning, but their potential impact must be considered for other related actions (i.e., consideration of priority of intelligence gathering).

Quantitative. There is evidence and data to suggest that white supremacism is, and will continue to be, on the rise. For example: in its *"Intelligence Report"* Klanwatch reported "A record number of white supremacist groups were active from coast to coast in 1991...totals surged from 273 in 1990 to 346 in 1991, a 27 percent increase[28]," and; the Anti-Defamation League released a report which stated that "A ten year decline in the nationwide strength of the Ku

Klux Klan came to a halt during 1990 and ... (it) may be poised to gain new strength ... especially if the current recession becomes lengthy and severe[29]."

Klanwatch estimates that there are at least twenty-nine white supremacist organizations currently operating in California, including the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, Skinheads, and others[30]. Its report also identifies California as having one of the country's heaviest concentrations of neo-Nazi and Skinhead activities[31]. Any sustained increase in white supremacist groups' activities could well have a direct impact on law enforcement resources, whether those activities are lawful (i.e., Constitutionally protected) or not.

Qualitative. This trend has to do with tactics, strategies, and approaches. The News media, and watchdog agencies like the ADL, Klanwatch, and California's Department of Justice (DOJ) have reported the dichotomy between the methods and messages of the white supremacist movement: while the media savvy and public relations tactics of these groups is increasingly sophisticated, the message is becoming more basic and more violent.

The California DOJ reported that the most prominent figures in California's white supremacist leadership (Tom and John Metzger) are becoming more sophisticated in their communications, and more violent in their rhetoric[32]. They now use hot line numbers, a computer bulletin board and data base, their own racist television talk-show, a movement newspaper, and major inter-organizational white supremacist events to assist in their recruitment and propaganda efforts[33]. The methods of transmission are not the only thing that has changed.

Tom Metzger is quoted James Ridgeway's 1990 book Blood in the Face as embracing new allies and new positions, including: opposition to "the nuclear arms race, armaments, and war in general;" ecology and the environment, and; "a lot of the positions of the left." He has formed alliances with former Marxists, anti-Vietnam war protesters, animal rightists, and the Earth First! movement. All of this has been driven by a pragmatic idea of what will further his white supremacist/separatist agenda. Metzger has run for political offices including County Supervisor (1978), Congressman (1980), and Senator (1982, in which he received more than 75,000 votes).

The message is old, familiar, and clear from the new name of California's leading white supremacist organization: White Aryan Resistance, or WAR. WAR is a racial separatist group which intends to create a homeland on the North American continent for white people. WAR, the Ku Klux Klan, and Skinheads, advocate violence as a means to an end, and to oppose those who pose a threat to the white supremacy/separatist movement, including: Asians, Blacks, Latinos, Jews, and government entities[34].

These trends deliver an important forecast to law enforcement. The escalating finesse of white supremacy's public leaders (e.g., Metzger, David Duke, etc.) to expand their recruitment and support base, plus the increasingly violent internal organizational message, create a potential for law enforcement to be confronted with a vicious, fanatical, well-funded, and politically/publicly connected movement in the streets of California.

A related trend, "T2 (Sophistication of White Supremacist Groups)" is forecasted in the following section.

Appendix H - Continued

Trends

T1: Economic Disparity Between "Haves" and "Have Nots"

The panelists' view was that the disparity between economic classes has been, and will continue to be, steadily and significantly increasing. Many panelists expressed concerns that this trend, even more than inter-ethnic conflicts, could result in violent civil unrest and/or riots. The panels would prefer to see a continually shrinking difference (lower trend).

This forecast indicates that California may be headed into an extended period of economic class struggle, with a shrinking middle-class. This trend is an important one in contributing to a social climate ripe for white supremacist groups to foment civil unrest (many groups are hoping and preparing for "race wars"). Such activities will severely strain law enforcement's resources. An intervention strategy to influence the trend toward the lower, normative (preferred) levels of the panelists might well decrease potential white supremacist groups' activities. However, this trend does not readily lend itself to future policy planning or interventions (within the scope of this study).

T2: Sophistication of White Supremacist Groups

This trend was also forecasted as steadily increasing over time, from five years ago through ten years hence. There was significant agreement that increases in white supremacist groups' sophistication could result in the successful targeting and recruitment of traditionally mainstream, moderate, former members of the middle class, who have been economically disadvantaged and displaced by T1. As with T1, the panelists would like to see this trend decrease.

White supremacist groups give every indication of becoming increasingly sophisticated and more adept at targeting their audiences and delivering their racist messages. They can be expected to increase their influence, support, memberships, and possibly their "legitimate" activities, including participation in the political process. Any increase in white supremacist groups' activities is likely to produce an increase in counter-activities by groups opposed to the white supremacist movement. As the involved groups become larger, and possibly more vigorous, the resources of law enforcement, again, are subject to strain. Since it is very unlikely that any present day special interest group will become less sophisticated over time, the panelists preferred trend levels are not likely to occur, either naturally or through the influence of outside sources. Therefore, this trend is not a viable candidate for future intervention policy planning.

T3: Successful Civil Suits Against White Supremacist Groups

The panelists saw this trend as increasing from five years ago, through today, and into the future, with its greatest increase having already occurred. There was some significant divergence about the future, as some panelists expressed doubts about the how these cases would hold-up on appeal (and the effect of these reversals). Generally, the panels would like to see the trend increase more dramatically than they expect that it will.

Successful civil suits against white supremacist groups have been proven as a successful means of holding white supremacist groups (and their members/leaders) accountable for their actions. Further, they empower victims, and are an avenue for advocating victims' rights. The number of civil suits filed against white supremacist organizations may be dependent upon factors such as increased victim accessibility to information, legal resources, and support services. Making referrals, providing

information, and "brokering" services for victims may be appropriate endeavors for law enforcement, and could require a minimum of resources. This trend, therefore, may be subject to influence, and is a candidate for future policy planning, with the focus on intervention(s) to increase it toward the higher, preferred level of the panelists.

T4: Negative Anglo Response To Ethnic Activism

The panelists tended to view this trend as an indicator of "white backlash" against activism, and against government programs like affirmative action, welfare, etc. (which are perceived as benefiting ethnic minorities at the "expense" of anglos), and as a fear-inspired anglo reaction to the changing demographics of California (with "minorities" becoming the "majority"). The trend was seen as steadily increasing over time, with its greatest increases (and volatility) occurring in the ten-year period beginning five years ago and ending five years from now. The panelists preferred that the negative response would diminish over time, and their decreasing normative (preferred) trend level reflected this ideal.

California may well be headed for increased "white backlash," bringing with it a higher probability of conflicts and violence between anglos and other ethnicities, creating increased demands on law enforcement resources. At a minimum, California may see decreasing tolerance among anglos, and possibly more counter-demonstrating and political pressure for anglo rights. Since fear of ethnic minorities has been identified as a factor in this trend, then this trend is a candidate for future policy planning purposes aimed at reducing fear (i.e., ignorance), and decreasing the trend to the levels preferred by the panelists.

T5: Media Coverage of White Supremacist Activities

Panelist generally saw this trend as climbing over time, with its greatest gains having already occurred. This normative (preferred) forecasting for this trend was very diverse. Their was disagreement between panel members about the impact of increased or decreased media exposure. For example: does increased exposure "glorify" and advertise white supremacism for potential recruits, does it equal "over-exposure"/"over-kill" which de-sensitizes the public, is the "slant" of stories important, etc. Generally, the panels favored a decreasing trend, but some individuals felt that an increasing trend was preferable. All panelists were struggling to identify a nominal trend level that would be least beneficial for white supremacist groups.

Due to the panelists forecasts of this trend, and those of the preceding trends, it is very likely that white supremacist activities will receive increasing news media coverage. This development's impact on law enforcement is not clear. Setting editorial policy for the news media exceeds the scope of this study. However, influencing coverage and/or story slants (the "spin") through press releases, press conferences, etc. makes this trend worthy of consideration for future policy planning purposes aimed at reducing coverage (lowering the trend towards the normative level), and "spinning" the stories away from the white supremacists' advantage.

T6: Public Confidence In Police Response To Hate Crimes

This forecast was somewhat confusing. The panelists did not estimate significant change (only "10%") over the course of the fifteen years of the trend (from five years ago to ten years from now), but they did expect the trend to increase. Of note, one panelist (who is a police officer specializing in hate crimes investigations and who is actively involved in an innovative hate

crime response program), forecasted the lowest trend levels for all three time frames. This panelist also forecasted a steady increase, with the greatest change (improvement) occurring during the last five years. The panelists did not, as a group (i.e., the median, or middle, normative/desired forecast), express a desire for this trend to increase, but individually their forecasts all reflected an upward trend over time.

This trend is important because it looks at the public's perception of how well law enforcement handles a growing concern which primarily effects the ethnic minority communities. These are the segments of society usually experiencing a sense of disempowerment, disenfranchisement, and disassociation from the "power structure" of society (including law enforcement), and from which law enforcement is usually the most estranged. This trend is a strong candidate for consideration for future policy planning purposes aimed at increasing public, and particularly ethnic minority community, confidence to a level consistent with the normative forecast.

Events

E1: Supreme Court Decision Re: Separate But Equal

This event was forecast as having a highly negative effect on the issue (---), but a very low probability of occurrence (less than 50%). Those panelists with the highest probabilities expressed a concern that this negative milestone could occur primarily because of the conservative appointments made to the Supreme Court by Presidents Reagan and Bush.

This negatively charged event has little probability of occurring. If it happened, it could be a factor which increases the probability of E2 (Race Riots), which then directly impacts law enforcement and its resources. However, given the scope of this study, it does not lend itself to any intervention policy planning.

E2: Violent Race Riot In Major California City

There was great agreement among the panelists that this is an extremely negative event (---) which is very likely to occur, with a high probability starting almost immediately. Panelists identified a number of contributing factors associated with their high forecasts, for example: California's economic downturn (recession/depression), growing economic class disparity (T1), unemployment, illegal drugs, economic exploitation, poor police-community relations, and the Rodney King beating incident.

There is a high likelihood of this event occurring, and it is most apt to occur in an economically depressed, ethnic minority area. This event could easily provide opportunities for the white supremacist movement to use to their advantage (as previously noted, many groups are eagerly anticipating a "race war"). An event such as this will have a major impact on law enforcement's resources and image statewide. Although many of the factors which contribute to the high probability forecast of this event are outside the scope of this study, one is definitely not: police-community relations. This highly negative event is therefore a candidate for future intervention policy planning, with the objective to reduce the probability of the event from occurring.

E3: White Supremacist Coalition In State Legislature

Panelists forecasted a very low probability of this very negative event (---) occurring (less than 25%

overall).

This event is neither likely to occur, nor is intervention within the scope of this study.

E4: Reversal Of Oregon Civil Ruling Against Metzger

As with events one through four, this event was given a very negative impact rating (7.75). It has been forecast with a low probability of occurrence (less than 40%).

This event is neither likely to occur, nor is intervention within the scope of this study.

E5: Ethnic Drug War Erupts

This event was forecasted with a high probability of occurrence (over ---%), starting almost immediately, with the greatest likelihood that it will happen in the next five years. If it occurs, it is expected to have a highly negative effect (8.25) on the issue (i.e., it will provide further opportunities for white supremacist groups to engage in activities impacting on law enforcement).

The eruption of ethnic drug wars, by themselves, will strain law enforcement resources. The involvement of white supremacist groups may take many forms, from inciting fighting to engaging in the battles themselves to gain a piece of the drug action. Regardless, this event can potentially increase the probability of E2 (Race Riots) occurring, and the level of T1 (Economic Disparity), T4 (Negative Anglo Response), and T5 (Media Coverage). This event is a community and law enforcement concern, and it is therefore an appropriate one for future intervention policy planning considerations directed at lowering its probability of occurrence.

E6: White Supremacists Buy Television Station

Panelists gave this event little more than an even-money probability of occurring (55%) within the ten-year time-frame of this study, with the greatest likelihood that it would happen within five years. It was viewed as having a strong and completely negative impact (7) on the issue. One panelist dissented on the importance and impact of this event. The panelist cited the existence of Tom Metzger's weekly cable television show "Race and Reason," and the Christian Identity news broadcasts across the midwest aired on KTTL (Dodge City), and questioned what impact these existing examples have had (suggesting none).

This is another event that has a relatively low probability of occurrence. A white supremacist commercial television station could, by its very existence, could have an impact on increasing T5 (Media Coverage). However, planning an intervention for this event is beyond the scope of this study.

E7: Statewide Coalition Forms Against Racism

The formation of a statewide coalition was forecasted as almost a certainty to occur (95% probability), with it most likely to happen within five years. The panelists rated this event as overwhelmingly positive (9), with the potential to, directly or indirectly, constructively impact *E2 (Race Riot), E3 (White Supremacist Coalition), E5 (Ethnic Drug Wars), E6 (White Supremacists Television Station), T2 (Sophistication of White Supremacist Groups, T3 (Successful Civil Suits), T4 (Negative Anglo Response), T5 (Media Coverage), and T6 (Public Confidence).*

This event is very significant because: it is the only positively impacting event selected and forecasted and it potentially impacts a variety of trends and events. This event could create an increased demand on law enforcement resources, but it is definitely appropriate for future intervention policy planning.

In summary, the forecasting process identified four trends (T3, T4, T5, and T6) and three events (E2, E5, and E7) that appeared susceptible to intervention planning within the scope of this study. The three events also were forecast with high (greater than 50%) probability of occurrence.

Appendix I - Cross-Impact Analysis Methodology

The Cross-Impact Analysis was completed by a panel using the consensus approach. The members included: the author (a UC campus police chief), a medium sized (300 sworn) municipal agency lieutenant and captain, and a UC campus assistant chief of police.

Appendix J

CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS/EVALUATION TABLE

MATRIX (Consensus, N=4) — Maximum Impact (% Change ±) / Years to Maximum Impact

*	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	"IMPACT" TOTALS
E1	X	±40 10	±05 10	X	±05 10	X	X	±50 10	X	X	±40 0.5	±10 0	X	E1 6
E2	X	X	±05 1.0	X	±25 0.5	±10 1.0	±25 0.5	±30 4.0	X	X	±50 0	X	-10 0.5	E2 7
E3	X	±25 0.5	X	X	X	±10 1.0	±25 0.5	X	±25 0	X	±20 0	±40 0	-05 0	E3 7
E4	X	X	±10 0	X	X	±15 0	X	X	-10 0	-75 0	±20 0	±15 0	-05 0	E4 7
E5	X	±25 0.5	±10 0.5	X	X	±05 0.5	±10 0.5	±15 2.0	X	X	±20 0	X	-10 0.5	E5 7
E6	X	±05 1.0	±05 1.0	X	±05 1.0	X	±10 1.0	X	±10 0.5	±20 0	±05 0.5	±10 0	X	E6 8
E7	X	-20 0.5	-25 1.0	X	-10 5.0	X	X	-05 10	±10 2.0	±50 0	-25 2.0	-05 1.0	±50 2.0	E7 9

"IMPACTED" TOTALS

E1 0 E2 5 E3 6 E4 0 E5 4 E6 4 E7 4 T1 4 T2 4 T3 3 T4 7 T5 5 T6 5

* Legend

Ei: Supreme Court Decision Re: Separate But Equal
E2: Violent Race Riot In Major California City
E3: White Supremacist Coalition In State Legislature
E4: Reversal Of Oregon Civil Ruling Against Metzger
E5: Ethnic Drug War Erupts
E6: White Supremacists Buy Television Station
E7: Statewide Coalition Forms Against Racism
T1: Economic Disparity Between "Haves" & "Have Nots"
T2: Sophistication Of White Supremacist Groups
T3: Successful Civil Suits Against White Supremacist Groups
T4: Negative Anglo Response To Ethnic Activism
T5: Media Coverage Of White Supremacist Activities
T6: Public Confidence In Police Response To Hate Crimes

Appendix K - WOTS-UP

Situational Analysis

Environment

A situational analysis, or environmental scan of trends and events, has revealed both opportunities and threats which can effect the ability of Riverbank County Law Enforcement (RCLE) to achieve its mission relating to white supremacist groups. This appraisal is organized utilizing the S.T.E.E.P. model (i.e., Social, Technological, Environmental, Economic, Political).

For those items which do not inherently appear related to the mission, a short explanation follows.

Social Opportunities:

Media coverage of white supremacist activities is expected to increase. Based on the liberal history of the media, it is very unlikely that media coverage of white supremacist groups or activities will be presented in anything but an unfavorable light.

Mounting pressure from ethnic/cultural minorities for improved, community-oriented policing (with a quality-of-life focus), combined with a movement within the law enforcement profession in the same direction.

The 1990 Census which has reported that in California, people of color are now the majority of the population (this item is carried as both an opportunity and a threat). Over time, this event will reinforce the idea that the ethnic community (which is a major target of white supremacist groups) is a significant constituency.

Increasing community focus on reducing inter-ethnic/inter-cultural violence in schools.

Social Threats:

An anticipated growth of negative anglo response to ethnic activism (individual or collective/institutional, peaceful or violent), or "white backlash." Other identified threats associated with this trend are: *The present potential for a violent race riot in a major California city*; *The 1990 Census report that in California, people of color are now the majority of the population* (this item is carried as both an opportunity and a threat); *Growing incidence of conflicts and violence between people of color (inter- and intra-ethnic/culture)*; *Migration of inner-city type street gangs and crimes into more rural areas*; *Influx of ethnic/cultural criminal gangs along with refugees/immigrants ("foreigners") from other countries* (e.g., triads from Hong Kong); *Increased ethnic representation in elected/appointed government offices*; *Increased visibility of an ethnic political/social agenda.*

The Rodney King beating incident involving L.A.P.D. In the short term, this event paints a racist picture of law enforcement.

The sophistication of white supremacist groups is growing (i.e., their tactics, methods, technologies, and approaches are becoming more refined).

An increasing tolerance for extremist group activities, from lawful civil disobedience to terrorism (e.g., animal rightists, ecological "eco-" terrorists, right-to-lifers). Associated with this trend is *the growth of hate crimes internationally.*

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Technological Opportunities:
The continuing development of new educational technologies presents RRCLE with a new opportunity to provide mission related educational and training programs.

Improvements in criminal forensics (e.g., DNA identification).

Technological Threats:
Continuing advances in genetics research could lead to a general societal movement for creating a genetically engineered "pure/super race," playing into the hands of white supremacist groups.

Increasingly widespread uses/applications of computer networks and automated systems creates the potential for white supremacist groups to engage in technological terrorism, attacking databases and network systems (e.g., hacking, infecting with viruses, etc.).

Environmental Opportunities:
The continuing social and political focus on environmental quality issues, including the legal requirement for comprehensive Environmental Impact Reports (EIRs), validates governmental involvement in the assessment and mitigation of quality-of-life risks/threats.

Environmental Threats:
None identified.

Economic Opportunities:
Successful civil law suits against white supremacist groups.

The recovery of the nation's economy.

Economic Threats:
An increasing trend of economic disparity between "haves" and "have nots" (with a concurrent shrinking of the middle class). Other identified threats associated with this trend: *The continuing internal migration of Americans into California; S&L and bank failures; Exodus of large employers from California (e.g., aerospace); Increasing white collar unemployment; White resentment of business and hiring affirmative action programs; White resentment of ethnic Chambers-of-Commerce, The continuing economic recession.*

Incidence of inter-cultural economic conflicts (e.g., Koreans vs. Blacks).

Political Opportunities:
Ongoing interest, and action, from U.S. politicians at all levels (local, state, federal) to combat hate motivated, related crimes.

Political Threats:
None identified

Appendix K - WOTS-UP

Organizational Capabilities

The following analysis examines at RRCLE's capabilities to maximize strengths and opportunities, and minimize weaknesses and threats.

Environmental Threats
Negative anglo response to ethnic activism (i.e., "white backlash"). RCLE is not able to directly effect all the factors which influence this trend. RCLE is capable of dealing with some of the contributing elements by: Increasing the diversity of its own workforce; Implementing programs that improve law enforcement relations within all communities (anglo and minority); Continuing collaborations with other agencies to address issues which underlie the attraction of youths to gang identification and affiliation; and to target, prosecute, and imprison career gang criminals; Accepting community social problems (such as inter- and intra-ethnic conflicts) as appropriate for law enforcement intervention (e.g., "community/quality-of-life policing" model). This tactic will also work to mitigate the threat presented by *the increasing incidence of inter-cultural conflicts.*

The Rodney King beating incident. This event's impact on all of law enforcement has been substantial. RCLE can mitigate some of this threat by studying and adopting applicable general law enforcement operating recommendations contained in the Christopher Commission Report. (There are no revolutionary ideas or great insights contained in it, and many departments have already implemented programs that meet or exceed the Report's suggestions).

Increasing societal tolerance for extremist activities. RCLE can ameliorate the threat of this trend through an information campaign to educate the public about the consequences of extremist crimes.

Environmental Opportunities
Increasing media coverage of white supremacist activities. This trend is not readily influenced by RCLE, but its existence will allow RCLE to mount an organized mission-related informational campaign. A further RCLE advantage (previously noted) is that the press will not be likely to provide white supremacist groups with a sympathetic slant, or "spin", to these stories.

Mounting pressure from ethnic/cultural minorities for community-oriented policing, with a movement within the law enforcement profession in the same direction. RCLE can influence this trend, and maximize this opportunity by forming coalitions with community advocates of this approach. These proponents could become community resources to assist in overcoming political obstructions on many issues.

The 1990 Census. This event is beyond the influence of RCLE. RCLE can reap the benefit of this opportunity by creating meaningful partnerships and coalitions with people of color.

Increasing focus on reducing inter-ethnic/cultural violence in schools. By joining those community groups working on the prevention of these incidents, RCLE can use this opportunity to palliate this community problem and to mitigate some of the threat created by the "white backlash" trend.

Continuing development of new educational technologies. This trend runs its course independent of RCLE influence, but RCLE is capable of applying new technology to the delivery of mission-relevant training.

Improvements in criminal forensics. RCLE can continue taking advantage of these scientific advances. RCLE will have to work jointly with prosecutors to assure judicial validation of new procedures/technologies occurs.

Continuing societal and political focus on environmental quality issues. RCLE can use this opportunity as a segue for "quality of life" issues becoming RCLE concerns.

Successful civil law suits against white supremacist groups. This trend is subject to some influence by RCLE. RCLE can provide WSG victims with community resources (e.g., legal aid) referrals, as is done in domestic violence cases.

The recovery of the nation's economy. This trend is not subject to RCLE influence, its unpredictable and fluctuating nature, and its subjective definition/measure, make it a bad "bet" for strategic planning purposes.

Ongoing interest, and action, from politicians to combat hate motivated, related crimes. RCLE can influence this trend by keeping white supremacist groups in front of the public eye (see media coverage). RCLE can benefit from taking an advocacy role with legislators, to assure that enacted laws and mandates do not create untenable burdens or unachievable goals for RCLE.

RCLE is very capable of achieving its mission. It has more internal strengths than weaknesses available to successfully address the issue of illegal white supremacist groups' activities. A discussion of key aspects will follow.

<u>*Organizational Strengths*</u>:
The mission is consistent with the fundamental duty of all law enforcement professionals, as established in the Law Enforcement Code of Ethics.

RCLE has demonstrated a history of successfully dealing with both internally and externally generated police issues.

The movement toward "Community," "Problem," "Neighborhood," or "Service" oriented/centered policing (depending on your local terminology), is philosophically consistent with the mission.

Significant changes are occurring in law enforcement recruitment and hiring practices. Factors like *increasing diversity, and a more service-oriented personality profile*, are creating a workforce whose members (anglo or ethnic) may be more likely to personalize (own) the problem of illegal white supremacist groups' activities.

RCLE's emerging advocacy role. Today, individual law enforcement leaders are more inclined to take public stands on important community issues. Further, professional law enforcement organizations (e.g., CPOA[1], PORAC[2], etc.) are becoming more actively involved in advocacy and political lobbying.

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[1] California Peace Officers Association

[2] Peace Officers Research Association of California

Appendix K - WOTS-UP

A growing numbers of RCLE executives and managers are either attending or graduates of the Command College. This experience is creating a new professional leadership sub-culture that tends to share values
like: future orientation; risk-taking; problem-prevention/avoidance; broad, eclectic environmental scanning; community service orientation; and innovation (where there is shared culture and values, there is a greater likelihood of team-work in actions).

An established and responsive structure exists for designing and delivering training on almost any topic (coordinated and monitored by P.O.S.T.).

<u>Organizational Weaknesses</u>:
Scarcity of resources. Throughout California public sector budgets at all levels are shrinking, and along with them, public safety is experiencing everything from minor cutbacks to entire departments being disbanded.

Role and Constitutional conflicts can weaken RCLE's efforts. Law enforcement has the responsibility to protect the civil and Constitutional rights of <u>all</u> citizens. There are potentially sensitive Bill of Rights issues involved in the mission.

The majority of RCLE departments are small (fewer than 25 sworn), and do not have the resources to closely follow or monitor the activities of white supremacist groups. This could be mitigated establishing working liaisons with the appropriate larger local, state or federal agencies.

The ability of RCLE training providers to deliver the currently mandated training is strained.

In some locations, a law enforcement service approach can mean that if the mission is not a priority to the community, it will not get local attention or resources.

RCLE is not a single entity, nor is it a singularly minded organization. It is a loose confederation of autonomous or semi-autonomous agencies and jurisdictions. Therefore, there may be a number of RCLE professionals who will not be willing to buy into the mission, or participate in achieving it.

Appendix L - Stakeholder Analysis and Assumption Map

Stakeholder Analysis

Sixteen primary stakeholders identified are listed with probable assumptions each is expected to have about the issue.

1. County Board of Supervisors
   a. Will support mission, in principle
   b. Will respond to constituent pressure (i.e., lobbying) re: mission
   c. Will commit to local law enforcement programs
   d. Will allocate some resources for responding to more violent or offensive WSG activities
   e. Will seek additional resources from State (i.e., lobby) for addressing issue

2. Local Politicians/City Councils
   a. Will support mission
   b. Will respond to constituent pressures re: white supremacist groups issues
   c. Will commit to local law enforcement programs
   d. Will allocate some resources for responding to more violent or offensive WSG activities
   e. Will seek additional resources from State (i.e., lobby) for addressing issue

3. Ethnic/Cultural/Minority Organizations (ADL, NAACP, MALDEF); local ethnic communities/neighborhoods/leaders; traditional Judeo-Christian religious leaders
   a. Will enthusiastically support mission
   b. Will press issue with local politicians and local law enforcement
   c. Will initiate lobbying of Legislature/Governor for action
   d. Will push for strongest possible measures
   e. Will join in political coalition with Stakeholder #4

4. Riverbank County Chiefs' and Sheriff's Association (RCCSA)
   a. Will support mission, if sufficient pressure to do so exists within membership
   b. As long as issue remains localized, responses will be individual, not organizational
   c. Will join in coalition with Stakeholder #3 if organization adopts plan
   d. Will lobby legislature with coalition partners, or independently, against unenforceable measures or untenable mandates

5. P.O.S.T. (Snaildarter)
   a. Will take neutral official position on issue
   b. Will informally/covertly lobby #15 and #16 against the creation of new burdens/mandates on the training system
   c. Will seek additional resources for any new training mandates resulting from issue

6. White Supremacist Groups (e.g., KKK, Aryan Brotherhood (prison gang), White Aryan Resistance, etc.)
   a. Will vehemently, publicly oppose issue
   b. Will enlist and get support/assistance of ACLU
   c. Will file law suits to prevent strategy implementation
   d. Will challenge new mission-related laws
   e. Will target and terrorize mission supporters
   f. Will invoke religious legitimacy of its movement through its own unconventional

"churches," trying to rally "true Christian" support

7. ACLU
   a. Will likely oppose mission as one that appears to infringe on Bill of Rights protections
   b. Will represent WSGs in court challenges
   c. Will challenge new laws with or without WSG participation

8. Local anglo communities
   a. Will generally *quietly* support mission
   b. May show some backlash against people of color

9. Public Schools
   a. Will support mission
   b. Will support mission-related educational programs
   c. Will involve PTA, teachers' unions, State Superintendent of Schools in mission
   d. Will seek additional resources for any newly mandated programs

10. Civil Libertarians (Snaildarter)
    a. Will oppose issue
    b. Will mount public campaign against government infringements on personal "freedom"

11. Individual Riverbank Police Chiefs and Sheriff
    a. Will support mission if need exists within community served
    b. Will work within professional organizations to influence direction of legislation
    c. Will work individually to influence direction of legislation
    d. Will seek additional resources for meeting any additional demands for services and/or legal mandates

12. Rev. Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam (Snaildarter)
    a. Will oppose issue, and support WSGs
    b. Will try to mobilize widespread black opposition to issue
    c. Will try blame Jewish community influence for issue

13. Business Leaders (e.g., Chambers of Commerce)
    a. Will support mission, if it makes good business sense
    b. Will have concerns about fiscal impact on government budgets, and about what the private sector might have to contribute

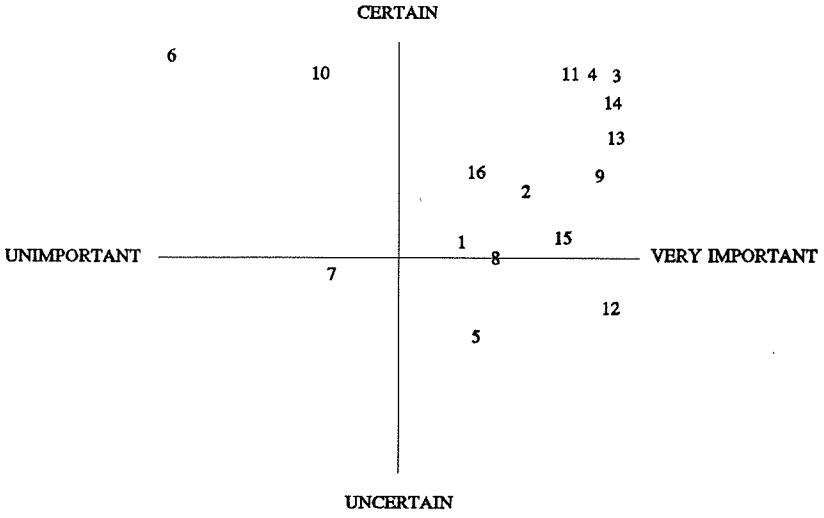
14. District Attorney
    a. Will support mission
    b. Will respond to constituent pressures re: white supremacist groups issues
    c. Will commit to local law enforcement programs
    d. Will allocate some resources for responding to more violent or offensive WSG activities
    e. Will seek additional resources from State (i.e., lobby) for addressing issue

15. Statewide Professional Law Enforcement Associations/Organizations (CPOA, Cal Chiefs/Sheriffs)
    a. Will support mission, if pressure to do so exists within membership

b. As long as issue remains localized, responses will be individual, not organizational
c. Will join in coalition with Stakeholder #3 in lobbying legislature for measures
d. Will lobby legislature independently against unenforceable measures or untenable mandates

16. State Legislature/Governor
a. Will support the mission, in principle
b. Will respond to constituent pressure (i.e., lobbying) re: mission, but may pass meaningless, unachievable, or unrealistic mandates
c. Will not allocate new resources for new responsibilities

STAKEHOLDER ASSUMPTION MAP



Appendix M - Modified Policy Delphi Process

The Modified Policy Delphi (MPD) process was conducted using a group of four: the author (a UC campus police chief), a lieutenant and captain from a medium size municipality (300 sworn), and a UC campus assistant chief of police. The MPD was held in a business office, and was completed on a face-to-face basis. Initial data (ideas) was collected openly, from written submissions, but there was little anonymity. Critical input was collected verbally.

Through the use of this modified delphi process, a total of twelve candidate strategies for achieving CLE's mission were identified.

In order to meet the requirements of this process, the (modified delphi) panel was instructed to narrow the list to no more than three strategies for detailed analysis. The panel then developed criteria for selection of the finalists: each one must contain, in whole or part, elements of one or more of the strategies found in the initial list; if a combination is selected, it must include a complementary grouping of elements, at least one of the highest rated approaches, and only the best attributes of other, related candidate strategies.

The panel successfully narrowed the list to three final strategies: Strategy #1 (Enforcement), Strategy #2 (California Coalition Against White Supremacist crimes (CCAWS)), and Strategy #3 (Education).

Each approach will now be analyzed in terms of the pros, cons, and stakeholder perceptions associated with it.

Strategy #1 (Enforcement)
This strategy focuses on enforcement measure. It includes the following elements: establishing a statewide, WSG specific criminal intelligence network; local vertical prosecution of WSG suspects, with no plea bargaining allowed; physical investigative law enforcement infiltration of WSGs; creating regional, interagency WSG task forces; and extending asset seizure/forfeiture provisions to include WSG activities (to help fund strategy-related programs).

Pros: California Department of Justice (DOJ) already gathers information on WSG activities, so some resources are in-place; there are existing models for intelligence networks and regional task forces; this approach can result in more arrests, better cases, more successful prosecutions, better identification of career WSG criminals, and the prevention of some crimes (through improved intelligence gathering); positive tangible attributes can lead to favorable press/media coverage and public relations; a cooperative CLE effort could mean shared costs; it is a proactive rather than reactive enforcement strategy; it identifies a potential funding source for the plan.

Cons: It is very expensive and very labor intensive; asset seizure will not begin to cover the costs; it is difficult, if not impossible to infiltrate any group without having to participate in its activities (which taints investigation and prosecution); results of long term investigations can be inconclusive or negative (then perceived as a waste of resources); it will increase

overcrowded jail and prison populations, and add to the backlog of pending criminal court cases; it would add more racists to the prison population, exacerbating existing problems; it only deals with the symptoms of the problem, not the causes; CLE's ability to carry-out covert portions of this plan may be compromised by infiltration of WSGs into law enforcement itself.

Stakeholder Perceptions: Generally, most of the stakeholders who support the issue would not have major objections to the philosophy and approach of this strategy (the ACLU and civil libertarians excepted). It is a tangible effort, which shows CLE "doing something" about a terrible societal problem (appeasing some citizens, community leaders, and politicians at all levels). Since it is only a single level intervention, it will not satisfy those inside or outside of CLE who are pressing for adoption of community policing. Most significantly, in a time of fiscal constraints, the major expense of this approach will not be acceptable to those whose workloads will increase without a concurrent increase in resources.

Strategy #2 (CCAWS)
This plan includes the following components: CLE legislative advocacy regarding issue-related laws, training mandates, etc.; educational programs in public schools, with law enforcement officers teaching classes in citizenship and appreciation of diversity; expansion of the WE T.I.P. programs to include WSG crimes; changing laws to make civil suits against WSGs easier; establishment of coalitions between law enforcement, community
groups, and regional organizations (including NAACP, ADL, MALDEF, etc.); and extending asset seizure/forfeiture provisions to include WSG activities (to help fund strategy-related programs). This is a community-oriented, coalition-based, multiple-level intervention strategy.

Pros: It is not public sector labor intensive or dependent, so the costs will be manageable; community/organizational involvement keeps the issue visible and in the proper priority; asset forfeiture and civil suits can provide both public and private costs recovery; community involvement and ownership creates a collaborative, cooperative environment, a positive image for law enforcement, and support from elected officials; networks already exist for supporting this type of approach (e.g., Office of Criminal Justice Planning (OCJP)); it is proactive and holistic in its approach; it creates shared responsibility for problem-solving (the monkey is not just on law enforcement's back); it reinforces the changing image of law enforcement toward the community based policing, and is consistent with that model; it creates opportunities for professional CLE organizations to assume a positive societal leadership/advocacy posture.

Cons: It could create the impression among anglos of CLE "playing favorites" with minorities, causing a backlash and increase in racism; if full-time political advocates are needed, it could strain limited resources; it could create the impression of CLE over-politicizing itself; there could be conflicts between CLE professional associations whose philosophies may be different (e.g., PORAC tends to have a line perspective and CPOA tends toward manage-

ment); this approach conflicts with traditional law enforcement roles.

Stakeholder Perceptions: This approach could meet with general acceptance from the stakeholders. There are some potential problems with stakeholders. Some concerns might be raised by minority groups who have traditionally had an adversarial relationship with CLE (e.g., MALDEF, NAACP), and may see this strategy as an attempt to "co-opt" them. Louis Farrakhan could perceive it as an attempt to subjugate the black cause and advance an anglo or mixed agenda, and therefore become a snaildarter here. Some elected officials might perceive CLE as treading on their turf by social advocating and joining political coalitions. The ACLU would probably have no position on it. This approach is also vulnerable to possible to the identified clerical snaildarters (e.g, Rev. Sharpton) because they didn't formulate it. Since it is a collaborative, broad-based, multi-level plan, it meets the many of the needs of most of the issue-supporting stakeholders, and is likely to get their support.

Strategy #3 (Education)
This strategy is composed of the following elements: educational programs in public schools, with law enforcement officers teaching classes in citizenship and appreciation of diversity; rehabilitation/education programs in prisons aimed at the reduction/elimination of racism among prisoners; providing basic academy and in-service training about WSGs crimes for all law enforcement officers, and creating specialty training for investigators assigned to WSG crimes.

Pros: In-service training is relatively inexpensive to deliver; better training leads to better service delivery, investigations, cases, prosecutions, and more convictions; the plan is a long term investment; addresses causes, not symptoms; it could avoid problems created by changing demographics (e.g., the new anglo minority might feel less threatened by this approach); it address some tangential issues (e.g., prevention or reduction of some inter-cultural school violence, mitigation of problems associated with integration programs like busing); it could increase cross-cultural understanding; it is a long-term approach to solving a long-term problem (no "quick-fix").

Cons: The prisoner rehabilitation component is not likely to work; it takes a long time to see results and make social changes (the public is impatient); the focus is somewhat narrow; the direct issue of criminality is ignored to some extent; results will not be very tangible (they may be invisible to the public); it is not a multi-tiered intervention strategy.
Stakeholder Perceptions: In many ways, this strategy appears be the most innocuous one to the stakeholders. It is also the lowest in profile. Those stakeholders who support the issue will not object to this strategy, unless it is the only one adopted. They will demand more immediate relief, and more tangible efforts. It will be perceived by community groups and ethnic organizations as a cop-out, brush-off, and shine-on by CLE to their immediate problems. Snaildarters could include: Corrections (who won't want to have to commit resources to a worthless program), Farrakhan (who will see this as an attempt to brainwash black youth out of their identity), and prisoner WSGs (who will see this as an attempt to brainwash them out of their pure, white identity).

Preferred Strategy

The preferred strategy is a synthesis of elements from all three of the panel's final selections, primarily based upon #2 (CCAWS). This plan includes all of those items found in the CCAWS proposal, plus these components from the others: vertical prosecutions of WSG suspects (with no plea bargains) from #1, and; increasing CLE WSG training from #2. It will be referred to as the California Coalition Against White Supremacists crimes (CCAWS) Plan.

This approach was selected for implementation because the preceding analyses of the three strategies suggest CCAWS' components meet many of the stakeholders needs, and it confronts the issue effectively. It presents a community-oriented, coalition-based, multi-tiered intervention strategy with both short-term and long-term components. It creates tangible results (e.g., arrests and prosecutions), and shared ownership of the mission. Funding and staffing are not critical issues, and there are measures to provide some cost recovery and victim compensation.

Appendix N - Thirty-Six Action Steps of Implementation Plan - Commencing 7/1/92

1. Presentation of C-CAWS concept to RCCSA[1] (by 9/1/92)
2. RCCSA approval of C-CAWS concept (by 11/1/92)
3. Appointment of RCCSA body (committee and chair) to implement C-CAWS (by 11/1/92)
4. Establish preliminary contacts with potential coalition partners/stakeholders (by 3/1/93)
5. Formation of interim informal C-CAWS board (IB) (by 3/1/93)
6. Identify needs and secure funding and other resources (public/private) (ongoing, commences 3/1/93)
7. Design of mission/issue-related professional training of investigators, patrol officers (by 3/1/93)
8. Negotiate agreement on the issue, mission, and overall plan (by 6/1/93)
9. Identify optimal size and configuration of formal board (by 6/1/93)
10. Plan vertical prosecution strategies (by 6/1/93)
11. Development of victim assistance strategy (by 6/1/93)
12. Design of evaluation tools for measurement of program effectiveness and success (by 6/1/93)
13. First delivery of evaluation tools to establish baseline levels (by 10/1/93)
14. Approach potential members (by 7/1/93)
15. Formation of formal C-CAWS oversight/governing board (Executive Steering Committee (ESC)) - C-CAWS commences (by 7/1/93)
16. Formation of C-CAWS Task Group (by 7/1/93)
17. Assignment of specialized investigators (by 7/1/93)
18. Plan formation of regional investigators' association (by 7/1/93)
19. Deliver training (begin by 7/1/93)
20. Assignment of sworn diversity instructors for schools (by 7/1/93)
21. Plan media campaigns and strategies, and design publications (by 7/1/93)
22. Commence media campaigns (by 7/1/93)
23. Implementation of victim assistance (by 7/1/93)
24. Formation of investigators' association (by 9/1/93)
25. Development of diversity curriculum for schools (by 9/1/93)
26. Plan expansion of WE TIP program (by 9/1/93)
27. Development of lobbying strategy (by 9/1/93)
28. Implementation of victim assistance (by 9/1/93)
29. Commencement of vertical prosecutions (by 9/1/93)
30. Implementation of diversity training (by 10/1/93)
31. Delivery of diversity curriculum (commences by 10/1/93)
32. Commencement of lobbying activities (by 10/1/93)
33. Continue formation of formal and informal coalitions with other organizations/groups for collaboration on the mission (ongoing)
34. Expansion of WE TIP (by 1/1/94)
35. Follow-up with evaluation tools for measurement of program effectiveness and success (repeats annually) (by 1/1/94)
36. Integration/linking of regional C-CAWS programs into statewide association (commences 1/1/94)

[1] Riverbank County Chiefs' and Sheriff's Association

Appendix O - Critical Mass Players

Critical Mass Players and Commitments

Critical mass identifies those few key players (*Stakeholders*) who are critical to the success of the strategic plan. In Riverbank County, there are eight critical mass players. Each one is presented with a summary of what they contribute; their current level of commitment; their necessary level of commitment to ensure success, and; an individual approach to achieve the required commitment.

Joyce Adamson, Chief of Police (*east end of county*) is current president of *RCCSA*. Adamson symbolically represents the all the chiefs of the county, and especially the "east end". Adamson's community is not experiencing problems with white supremacist activities, and her commitment will be to **let change happen** (leave the work to someone else). Since visible law enforcement participation is a component of the C-CAWS strategy, her position in RCCSA requires a higher profile. She must therefore **move to a help change happen position** (there will be a make change happen representative from RCCSA). After RCCSA endorses C-CAWS, president Adamson will be approached to serve as a role model via membership on the C-CAWS Executive Steering Committee.

Bob Banks, Sheriff of Riverbank County, is a member of the POST Commission. He brings the resources of the largest law enforcement agency in the county, and represents the law enforcement interests in unincorporated areas, as well as a dozen contract cities (including the second largest in the county). If he takes an active role, he seeds C-CAWS throughout the county, and his support may prevent *snaildarter POST* from obstructing the C-CAWS plan. There is a general problem with white supremacist activities in the county, including recruitment and instigation of violence against ethnic minorities in local high schools. Banks has professional and political interests in change, and his initial commitment will be to **make change happen**. His position does not need to move. He should be offered membership on the Executive Steering Committee to insure his full participation.

George Cutter, Chair of the Riverbank County *Chambers of Commerce* Board. Cutter's interests revolve around business. He represents the mainstream anglo business community. He will be inclined to stand by, watch, make no commitments, and **let change happen**. C-CAWS is a public-private partnership, and will rely on support from the business community to succeed. Further, relations are strained between the mainstream, predominantly anglo chambers, and the various ethnic chambers of commerce in the county. Cutter must move to a **help change happen** position. He will be approached to treat a hurting system (the strained relations), and by educational activities to raise his awareness of how business can help itself by actively addressing concerns in ethnic communities.

Tom Deviny, *District Attorney* of Riverbank County. Deviny, like Banks, will have professional and political interests in the change. He brings the assets of his office, which can provide important resources for C-CAWS re: vertical prosecutions and avoidance of First Amendment conflicts between C-CAWS programs and white supremacist activities, possibly preventing the impact of the ACLU. His position will be to **help change happen**, and it need not move. He should be offered a position on the Executive Steering Committee to insure his commitment of resources.

Frank Evans, university professor and Chair of Riverbank Coalition Against Discrimination (RCAD - a *community organization with membership from the county Human Relations Commission, NAACP, MALDEF, ADL, GLAD, and the local clergy*). Evans is in a **make it happen** position, and he need not move. He brings with him support from a wide variety of groups and constituencies. His continuing support and participation will be ensured by offering him membership on the Executive Steering Committee.

Sharon Gale, City Manager, President of the county association of *local governments*. She brings with her a commitment from the majority of cities (managers and councils) in the county. Recent fiscal conflicts between cities and the county (e.g., booking fees, property tax revenue withholding, criminal justice computer transaction fees, etc.) have created a climate of distrust for any joint endeavors. Gale's position will be to support the change within each local jurisdiction, or a small grouping of local entities, but **block the change** if the county is part of the program. Her opposition could cost the participation of many of the chiefs, as well as the regional nature of the program. Her cooperation must be assured, and she must move to a **let it happen** position. The approach to changing Gale's position will be two-fold. Initially, she will be approached to raise her awareness (education). If this is unsuccessful, then a forced collaboration will be used, by having representatives of RCAD start attending city council meetings to raise the issue of non-participation.

Pam Ingersoll, member County Council on Education (*public schools*). Inasmuch as there are problems in the county regarding inter-ethnic violence, including white supremacist recruitment and activities in the schools, Ingersoll is expected to have a **make it happen** commitment. Her support promotes an important facet of the C-CAWS strategy: educational intervention (similar to the D.A.R.E. program). This level is appropriate, and her continued participation should be encouraged through membership on the Executive Steering Committee.

Joshua David, Chief of Police (west end of county), chair of RCCSA C-CAWS Implementation Committee. As chair of the C-CAWS Implementation Committee, David's **make it happen** level of commitment is appropriate and need not change.

CRITICAL MASS PLAYERS' LEVELS OF COMMITMENT TABLE

ACTORS IN CRITICAL MASS	TYPE OF COMMITMENT TO CHANGE (IMPLEMENTATION OF C-CAWS)			
	BLOCK CHANGE	LET CHANGE HAPPEN	HELP CHANGE HAPPEN	MAKE CHANGE HAPPEN
CHIEF ADAMSON		X ⇨ O		
SHERIFF BANKS				X ⇨ O
GEORGE CUTTER		X ⇨ O		
DA DEVINY			X ⇨ O	
FRANK EVANS				X ⇨ O
SHARON GALE	X ⇨ O			
PAM INGERSOLL				X ⇨ O
CHIEF DAVID				X ⇨ O

KEY: X = Present level of commitment
O = Necesary level of commitment
⇨ = Direction of change

Appendix P - "RASI" Chart

RASI Responsibility Chart (For major action items condensed from the Implementation Plan)

Action Item	Chief David *	RCCSA *	C-CAWS Int Bd *	C-CAWS ESC *	C-CAWS Task Grp *	DA Devine	Sheriff Banks	Chamb of Comm *	School Districts	POST *	RCAD *
Presentation of C-CAWS to RCCSA	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Approval of C-CAWS concept	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Formation of Interim Board	R	A	-	-	-	I	I	I	I	-	I
Negotiate Agreement on Plan	R	I	A	-	-	I	I	I	I	-	I
Formation of Formal ESC	R	I	AS	-	-	S	S	S	S	I	S
Formation of Task Group	S	S	-	ARS	-	S	S	S	S	S	S
First Evaluation for Baseline	S	I	-	A	R	I	I	I	I	I	I
Professional Training	S	A	-	A	R	S	S	I	S	RS	S
Investigators' Association	S	RA	-	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Diversity Curriculum	I	S	-	A	R	I	A	I	R	I	I
WE TIP Program	I	S	-	A	S	S	S	R	I	-	S
Vertical Prosecutions	I	I	-	S	S	AR	I	I	I	I	I
Victim Assistance Program	I	SR	-	S	S	AR	SR	S	S	-	S
Political Lobbying Program	I	S	-	A	R	S	S	S	S	I	S
Media Strategies	I	S	-	A	R	S	S	S	S	-	S
Funding/Resource Acquisition	S	R	-	RA	R	S	S	R	S	-	S
Annual Follow-Up Evaluation	S	I	-	R	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
Statewide Coalitions Integration	R	S	-	R	S	S	S	S	S	I	S

LEGEND

R = Responsibility (not necessarily authority)
A = Approval (right to veto)
S = Support (put resources toward)
I = Inform (to be consulted)
- = Irrelevant to this item

*** KEY**

Chief David - Chair, RCCSA C-CAWS Implementation Committee
RCCSA - Riverbank County Chiefs' and Sheriff's Assoication
C-CAWS Int Bd - C-CAWS Interim Board
C-CAWS ESC - C-CAWS Executive Steering Committee
C-CAWS Task Grp - C-CAWS Task Group
Chamb of Comm - Chambers of Commerce
POST - State Commission of Peace Officers Standards and Training
RCAD - Riverbank Coalition Against Discrimination

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84. "Wilson Assails Bigotry in Talk on King Day," Los Angeles Times, 22 January 1991, section A.

Note: For newspaper articles entries with "section unknown," articles were taken from author's future file, where the article was found, with a date of publication, but no section indication.

NOTES

1. Southern Poverty Law Center, Klanwatch Intelligence Report : Special Year End Edition: 1991, (Southern Poverty Law Center, February 1992/#59).

2. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Law Enforcement Bulletin - A periodic update from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Issue #7 (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Spring 1991); Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, An ADL Special Report The KKK Today: A 1991 Status Report (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1991).

3. Southern Poverty Law Center, Klanwatch Intelligence Report : Special Year End Edition: 1991, (Southern Poverty Law Center, February 1992/#59).

4. Ibid.

5. Hedy Immoos, Criminal Intelligence Specialist III, California Department of Justice.

6. Expressed by panelists during Nominal Group Technique (NGT) process.

7. United States Department of Commerce, economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, 1990 Census of Population and Housing : Summary Population and Housing Characteristics California, 1990 CPH-1-6, 1991.

8. California Department of Finance, Population Research Unit, Sacramento, Projected Total Population for California By Race/Ethnicity : July 1, 1980 to July 1, 2020, report 86 P-4, February 1986.

9. A white supremacist group is any ongoing organization, association, or group of three or more persons, whether formal or informal, having as one of its primary activities the promotion of white supremacy through the commission of criminal acts (e.g., Ku Klux Klan).

10. As defined by criminal law.

11. Stakeholders are those with a vested interest in the goals of the mission, and who are likely to become directly involved in the process of achieving it.

12. A less obvious or generally unexpected stakeholder who might surface and endanger the accomplishment of the mission.

13. Riverbank County Chiefs' and Sheriff's Association

14. California Peace Officers' Association

15. California Police Chiefs' Association

16. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

17. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

18. Mexican American Legal Defense Fund

19. Gays and Lesbians Against Discrimination

20. California Police Chiefs' Association and California Sheriffs Association

21. The California Commission on Peace Officers Standards and Training.

22. Vertical prosecutions involve using a single prosecutor to handle cases from the time they are first filed, through all phases of adjudication. It is a tactic which has proven itself successful in narcotics and gang prosecutions.

23. WE TIP (Turn In Pushers) is an ongoing private program which allows citizens to anonymously report narcotics activity to law enforcement.

24. Management By Wandering/Walking Around

25. Originally an LAPD anti-drug abuse and anti-gang program, Drug Awareness and Resistance Education is now used across the U.S.

26. California Department of Finance, Population Research Unit, Sacramento, Projected Total Population for California By Race/Ethnicity : July 1, 1980 to July 1, 2020, report 86 P-4, February 1986.

27. Hedy Immoos, Criminal Intelligence Specialist III, California Department of Justice.

28. Southern Poverty Law Center, Klanwatch Intelligence Report : Special Year End Edition: 1991, (Southern Poverty Law Center, February 1992/#59).

29. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Law Enforcement Bulletin - A periodic update from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Issue #7 (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Spring 1991); Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, An ADL Special Report The KKK Today: A 1991 Status Report (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1991).

30. Southern Poverty Law Center, Klanwatch Intelligence Report : Special Year End Edition: 1991, (Southern Poverty Law Center, February 1992/#59).

31. Ibid.

32. Office of the Attorney General, California Department of Justice, Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence, Criminal Information Bulletin, January-March 1990.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.