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FORCE AND FORESIGHT: MERGING ESIM WITH CLASSICAL POLICING MODELS FOR PROTEST MANAGEMENT

by

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December 2023

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FORCE AND FORESIGHT: MERGING ESIM WITH CLASSICAL POLICING MODELS FOR PROTEST MANAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location and Event Data
AI	Artificial intelligence
BLM	Black Lives Matter
ESIM	Elaborated Social Identity Model
LMPD	Louisville Metro Police Department
LQBTQI+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, etc.
LRAD	Long-range acoustic devices
MCCA	Major Cities Chiefs Association
NYC	New York City
NYPD	New York Police Department
OWS	Occupy Wall Street

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The landscape of protests in the United States (U.S.) has evolved significantly, particularly highlighted by the events of 2020, where movements such as Black Lives Matter (BLM) and various right-wing groups surged in prominence. These groups represent diverse and opposing agendas and underscore the depth of the nation's social-political divide. As the 2024 presidential election approaches, public protest will again highlight this divide. This research endeavors to dissect the complex protest environment in the U.S., clarifying the nuances between demonstrations, protests, and riots, scrutinizing the factors driving protest motivations, examining the instances of protest-related violence, and evaluating the effectiveness of police response to protest events.

Central to the understanding of this landscape is the distinction among key terms. Demonstrations are generally planned events to express opinions on issues; protests are more focused on objecting to specific policies or decisions, often involving civil disobedience, and riots are characterized by violence and chaos, typically resulting from escalated protests. The participation of armed demonstrators has added a new layer of complexity to this dynamic, raising significant concerns about public safety and the role of law enforcement.[1]

As law enforcement agencies face increasing nationwide protests, the limitations of current police responses become more evident. Law enforcement agencies face substantial challenges, from resource allocation to establishing trust within communities.[2] The militarization of police tactics has also been contentious, often perceived as exacerbating tensions rather than quelling them.[3] A critical need emerges to reassess the

[1] "Armed Assembly: Guns, Demonstrations, and Political Violence in America," Everytown Research & Policy, August 23, 2021, https://everytownresearch.org/report/armed-assembly-guns-demonstrations-and-political-violence-in-america/.

[2] Stephen Espinoza, "The Crisis of Legitimacy after Police-Related Civilian Deaths: Applying the Cynefin Framework to Legitimacy-Developing Policies" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2021), https://hdl.handle.net/10945/67128.

[3] Matthew D. Hanley, "Killing Barney Fife: Law Enforcement's Socially Constructed Perception of Violence and Its Influence on Police Militarization" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2015), https://hdl.handle.net/10945/47270.

strategies and tactics employed by police to manage protests effectively, while preserving the public's constitutional rights to peaceful assembly and freedom of speech.

Predicting and managing crowd violence is one of the most challenging tasks for law enforcement. This research evaluates three crowd management models: command and control, negotiated management, and elaborated social identity model (ESIM). The command and control model prioritizes a show of force to maintain order, but lacks the predictive capabilities necessary for preemptive action.[4] In contrast, the negotiated management model, which has found success in the United Kingdom (UK), emphasizes dialogue and collaboration, aiming to establish a rapport with protest leaders to facilitate peaceful outcomes.[5] Finally, ESIM delves into crowd psychology to understand the collective identity and motivations of protesters, aiding in distinguishing potential instigators of violence from peaceful participants.[6]

A qualitative analysis of three protest movements offers insights into the effectiveness and limitations of these models. The BLM, Occupy Wall Street, and Women's March movements were analyzed to determine the presence and effectiveness of each response model. The command and control model showed great strength when an immediate response is needed. However, it can unintentionally escalate violence in peaceful crowds. Though beneficial in creating dialogue, the negotiated management model often struggles with implementation without centralized protest leadership. The ESIM shows unique strengths in understanding crowd psychology, allowing it the best opportunity to predict violence. The same analytical abilities that lend to the strength of ESIM also work to its detriment, with the need for extensive training and the time constraints of real-time analysis.

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[4] Alex Vitale, "The Command and Control and Miami Models at the 2004 Republican National Convention: New Forms of Policing Protests," Mobilization: An International Quarterly 12, no. 4 (2007): 403–15, https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.12.4.97541013681695q5.

[5] H. Gorringe and M. Rosie, "'We Will Facilitate Your Protest': Experiments with Liaison Policing," Policing 7, no. 2 (2013): 204–11, https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pat001.

[6] S. D. Reicher, R. Spears, and T. Postmes, "A Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Phenomena," European Review of Social Psychology 6, no. 1 (1995): 161–98, https://doi.org/10.1080/14792779443000049.

The research shows that when a single model was rigidly applied, the limitations of the model became more evident. In response, a composite model incorporating the strengths of all three models may yield the best results. The composite model integrates the immediate response ability of the command and control model, the collaborative focus of the negotiated management model, and the analytical abilities of ESIM. Such a model provides a dynamic and flexible approach to protest management that can adapt to the specific context of each demonstration, anticipate points of potential violence, and proactively de-escalate situations to prevent peaceful assemblies from spiraling into a violent riot.

The implementation of a composite model is not without inherent limitations. For example, the ESIM requires ample time for police to make crowd observations and complete analysis. This analysis becomes more accurate over extended observation periods when crowd changes become more evident. These time constraints may not align with the urgent timelines often required in real-time scenarios. Consequently, there is an imperative need for further development and training within law enforcement to integrate these models effectively. Agencies must be prepared to invest in the resources and the training required to implement this approach to managing protests.

Ultimately, this research indicates a marked change in the management of public demonstrations is necessary. Law enforcement should not be attached to a single response model; police should adopt more refined, flexible, and human rights-driven approaches. As the U.S. continues to navigate periods of increased civil unrest, the need for equitable management of public protests has never been more evident. The proposed composite model potentially offers a pathway to achieving these goals, with the understanding that it must be continually refined to meet the challenges of an ever-evolving protest landscape.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 2020, as demonstrations against various issues spread nationwide, scenes of burning cars, damaged businesses, looting, and armor-clad police officers facing off with demonstrators filled the evening news. Although most First Amendment demonstrations end peacefully, events that morph into violent riots have tragic outcomes. Protesters are more frequently armed, heightening the risk of violence. This trend has coincided with a rising anti-police sentiment, which hinders law enforcement's ability to ensure safety at protests. The classic police response to these events is proving increasingly ineffective. Understanding crowd psychology and dynamics may aid United States (US) law enforcement in forecasting violence and deescalating tensions to achieve favorable resolutions to public disorder events.

Protests are a low-frequency, high-risk event for U.S. law enforcement.[1] The non-profit data consortium Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) analyzed First Amendment demonstrations in the U.S. between May 24–August 22, 2020.[2] Their analysis of 10,600 demonstrations found that ninety-five percent of these events concluded peacefully without violence, reinforcing that protests are generally peaceful.[3] The Major Cities Chiefs Association (MCCA) further supported such a conclusion in its analysis of 8,700 events, involving only seven percent violence.[4] Although most events remain peaceful, those that turn violent carry significant risks.

Demonstrators inherently outnumber law enforcement at these events, creating a significant risk should a peaceful event turn violent. Although the statistical minority, violent events have grave consequences: causing injuries, deaths, and considerable

[1] Gordon Graham, "High-Risk, Low-Frequency Events in Public Safety," *Lexipol* (blog), July 15, 2020, https://www.lexipol.com/resources/blog/high-risk-low-frequency-events-in-public-safety/.

[2] Roudabeh Kishi and Sam Jones, "Demonstrations and Political Violence in America: New Data for Summer 2020," ACLED, September 3, 2020, https://acleddata.com/2020/09/03/demonstrations-political-violence-in-america-new-data-for-summer-2020/.

[3] Kishi and Jones.

[4] Major Cities Chiefs Association, *Report on the 2020 Protests and Civil Unrest* (Salt Lake City, UT: Major Cities Chiefs Association, 2020).

property damage. For example, nineteen protesters died during two weeks at the height of the 2020 protests while participating in demonstrations.[5] From May–June 2020, protesters injured more than 2,000 responding police officers.[6] Although even the most peaceful demonstration has some risk of violence, adding armed protesters heightens this risk and challenges law enforcement's ability to quell outbursts.

Protesters are increasingly armed. From February–June 2021, the number of protests which involved demonstrators with firearms doubled.[7] ACLED examined five hundred and sixty armed demonstrations during this time, and found that one in six included some form of violence.[8] Notably, in August 2020, while at a protest in Kenosha, WI, Kyle Rittenhouse shot and killed a protester who had attacked him with a skateboard.[9] More recently, in 2022, drag shows across the U.S. attracted both armed protesters and supporters.[10] Armed protesters challenge the law enforcement response as any aggression from an armed subject presents few options other than lethal force.

This jump in to armed protests has coincided with an anti-police sentiment. Protests of police-involved homicides have become increasingly tumultuous. Police have become the subjects of several demonstrations, creating difficulties in effectively and safely managing these events.[11] The deaths of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Breonna Taylor, and George Floyd (among others) have incited large public demonstrations throughout the country. In these cases, many demonstrators saw the police, tasked with maintaining order,

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[5] Jemima McEvoy, "14 Days Of Protests, 19 Dead," *Forbes*, June 8, 2020, https://www.forbes.com/sites/jemimamcevoy/2020/06/08/14-days-of-protests-19-dead/.

[6] Major Cities Chiefs Association, *Report on the 2020 Protests and Civil Unrest*.

[7] Everytown Research & Policy, "Armed Assembly."

[8] Everytown Research & Policy.

[9] Everytown Research & Policy.

[10] AP News, "Drag Story Time at Oregon Pub Draws Gun-Carrying Protesters," AP News, October 24, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/entertainment-eugene-oregon-education-c18fdac0c1f8ca137e98fb92c1d5eafe.

[11] Linda Poon, "A History of Protests against Police Brutality," Bloomberg CityLab, June 9, 2020, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-06-09/a-history-of-protests-against-police-brutality.

as the embodiment of the very thing they were protesting.[12] Other social movement protests, such as Black Lives Matter (BLM), Defund the Police, and the Occupy movement, also drew individuals who viewed the police as adversaries rather than public safety protectors.[13] In these situations, rather than responding to a demonstration as an impartial third party, police must maintain order in protests where they are the target of the protester's aggression.

Despite growing trends in protests involving armed individuals and anti-police sentiment, the police response remains essentially the same. These trends lessen the effectiveness of traditional police crowd control tactics.[14] Although demonstrations are generally non-violent, the U.S. law enforcement response primarily prepares for the possibility of violence and fails to keep protests non-violent. Crowd control tactics have been refined heavily from the 1950s; however, they still rely primarily on the show of force to maintain order.[15] Police respond to protest events by planning for the worst and assuming that a display of readiness and power will maintain order.[16] Globally, heavy-handed militarized responses to public demonstrations have proven ineffective in maintaining order; instead, they may increase tensions and contribute to the violence they sought to avoid.[17] As trends in protest movements evolve and lessen the effectiveness of traditional responses, police must evaluate alternative options.

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[12] Vera Takei and Carl Eidelman, "The Response to Protests against Police Brutality Is Not More Brutality," ACLU News & Commentary, June 3, 2020, https://www.aclu.org/news/criminal-law-reform/the-response-to-protests-against-police-brutality-is-not-more-brutality.

[13] Rachel Kleinfeld, *The Rise in Political Violence in the United States and Damage to Our Democracy* (Washington, DC: Carnegiee Endowment for International Peace, 2022), https://carnegieendowment.org/2022/03/31/rise-in-political-violence-in-united-states-and-damage-to-our-democracy-pub-87584.

[14] Takei and Eidelman, "The Response to Protests against Police Brutality Is Not More Brutality."

[15] Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, *POST Guidelines – Crowd Management, Intervention and Control* (Sacramento, CA: Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 2021), https://post.ca.gov/Portals/0/post_docs/publications/Crowd_Management.pdf.

[16] Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training.

[17] Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Militarised Approach to Policing Peaceful Protests Increasing Risk of Violence: UN Expert," OHCHR Press Releases, June 20, 2022, https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/06/militarised-approach-policing-peaceful-protests-increasing-risk-violence-un.

Research conducted in the UK has identified concepts that may help U.S. law enforcement forecast violence and de-escalate tensions. The 2004 UEFA European Football Championship study showed that law enforcement could have used systematic observation to understand crowd behavior better. The study showed the viability of applying the ESIM to large crowds to evaluate the presence or absence of disorder.[18] ESIM recognizes that even a non-violent group may become violent when triggered by precursors, such as negative police interactions or the urging of agitators. Police employ ESIM to identify likely agitators and use police intervention to remove such individuals, if necessary. A similar UK study examining twenty-five years of protest events suggested that understanding crowd psychology will enable law enforcement to anticipate the group's behaviors as a protest progresses.[19] By gaining a greater understanding of the group, police may more efficiently prioritize the group's goals while addressing the negative behavior of agitators.[20] These studies suggest alternative strategies for the current U.S. law enforcement response to protest events.

This thesis will help law enforcement better understand how to forecast violence and proactively de-escalate tensions to minimize incidents of peaceful protests from becoming violent. The research will qualitatively examine several recent U.S. events to find commonalities where events ended peacefully compared to those that ended violently. This thesis will explore how understanding crowd psychology and dynamics may aid U.S. law enforcement in forecasting violence and deescalating tensions to resolve public disorder events peacefully.

[18] Clifford Stott et al., "Variability in the Collective Behaviour of England Fans at Euro2004: 'Hooliganism', Public Order Policing and Social Change," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37, no. 1 (2007): 75–100, https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.338.

[19] Stephen Reicher et al., "An Integrated Approach to Crowd Psychology and Public Order Policing," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 27, no. 4 (2004): 558–72, https://doi.org/10.1108/13639510410566271.

[20] Reicher et al.

A. RESEARCH QUESTION

How can theories and findings from research on crowd dynamics and crowd psychology be applied to public demonstrations in the U.S. to aid in forecasting violence and suggest tactics to de-escalate tensions?

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature concerning the relationship between crowd violence and the police response regularly converges on the idea that an overt show of force catalyzes crowd violence. Crowd psychology models, notably the Elaborated Social Identity Model (ESIM), suggest that better understanding the group would help identify individuals seeking to incite violence and allow police to address them appropriately. Police in the UK have successfully implemented these models; however, the U.S. response has not adopted crowd modeling and forecasting. Balancing the necessity of public safety and protecting citizens' constitutional right to free speech are the chief concerns of law enforcement responding to First Amendment demonstrations. As violence in protests continues across the U.S., police require every available tool to safeguard these events and minimize the risks of violence. This literature review focuses on the turbulent state of crowd violence in the U.S. and the ability to better understand crowd behavior through the ESIM.

1. The State of Crowd Violence in the United States

Protests involving anti-police sentiment are increasingly arduous for police to manage. The growth of these incidents requires that law enforcement seek more effective ways to address crowd violence, particularly when the crowd does not recognize the legitimacy of its authority. Anti-police sentiments began echoing through the Occupy movement, BLM, and Alt-Right Demonstrations.[21] Protests of police-involved shootings, primarily those with white police officers and Black victims and/or suspects, have raised national attention.[22] Tracy Avelar argues in her thesis that many peaceful protests, such as

[21] Hanley, "Killing Barney Fife," 23.

[22] Tracy A. Avelar, "A Race to Force the Issue: A Use-of-Force Doctrine in Policing" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2017), 23, https://hdl.handle.net/10945/52988.

those in Ferguson, MO, turned violent and drew sympathetic attention from the media and political pundits, furthering the divide between police and protest groups.[23] According to Avelar, in the simplest sense, the police have become the 'bad guy' in the overwhelming narrative.[24] By rejecting the authority of police, protests that invoke anti-police sentiments arguably leave responding law enforcement with few options to control crowds outside of force, such as attempts at physical control and chemical munitions.

The relationship between police and protesters has become increasingly strained, escalating the likelihood of violence. The media portrayal of police responding to protests regularly shows a militarized police force with armored vehicles, military-style weapons, and uniforms. This militarization of police is a long-held debate in the U.S. Proponents cite the need for such equipment to respond to extreme acts of violence, and opponents argue that such approaches create a divide between police and their communities.[25] Most policing occurs through traditionally uniformed officers driving marked patrol vehicles and interacting with citizens through initiated contacts and calls for service. However, images of police militarization on television and social media create a perception of increased police violence.[26] In his thesis, Matthew Hanley asserts that in protest groups with an anti-police sentiment, this repeated messaging reinforces the notion that any contact with police will end poorly, likely in violence.[27] The strained relationship between protesters and responding police is seen globally as well. In a 2021 journal article addressing public attitudes to protest events in Hong Kong, Alex Yue Feng Zhu warns that public sympathy for a protest will cause uninvolved citizens to begin to view police as the adversary despite violent actions on the part of demonstrators.[28] Further, Hanley asserts that police officers in units with narrowed missions, such as crowd control units and tactical teams, are

[23] Avelar, 23.

[24] Avelar, 23.

[25] Hanley, "Killing Barney Fife," 3.

[26] Hanley, 28.

[27] Hanley, 23.

[28] Alex Yue Feng Zhu and Kee Lee Chou, *Public Attitude towards Militant Protest in Hong Kong: An Investigation Based on the Elaborated Social Identity Model* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2021), 189, https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paab073.

predisposed to the idea that crowd control situations require physical force and directed violence.[29] In this sense, the literature concurs that police and protesters contribute to conditions sparking violence in protest events, and other response options require further exploration.

Protest events can be best managed when police find common ground with protesters and include organizers in pre-planning for a safe event. The literature strongly recommends against a one-size-fits-all approach to crowd and protest management, and also suggests evaluating each event independently. The most significant commonality among successful events, according to Herbert Reiter, is the police establishing early rapport with organizers.[30] This open rapport will likely not lend to the concrete planning for the event; however, it will provide some level of predictability as to the crowd's initial intentions.[31] Additionally, Reiter asserts that groups with pre-established rapport with police who have attempted to understand them, will often be more flexible in complying with police directions such as marching routes and locations.[32] Although each event is unique, a study of three events revealed commonalities that contributed to triggering violence. An analysis of the failed response to OWS, Occupy Oakland, Occupy Portland, and Occupy Dallas by Stephen Geron shows that police who severely restrict the movements of demonstrators—and fail to garner cooperation from organizers—quickly lose the ability to influence the crowd as the demonstration progresses.[33] A study of the Million Man March and the Unite the Right Rally by Elizabeth Moten verified this pattern.[34] Primarily, the analysis finds that non-violent protests follow extensive planning

[29] Hanley, "Killing Barney Fife," 23.

[30] Donatella Della Porta and Herbert Reiter, eds., *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

[31] Della Porta and Reiter.

[32] Della Porta and Reiter.

[33] Stephen Max Geron, "21st Century Strategies for Policing Protest: What Major Cities' Responses to the Occupy Movement Tell Us about the Future of Police Response to Public Protest" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014), 112, https://hdl.handle.net/10945/41382.

[34] Elizabeth C. Moten, "Demonstrations in America: An Assessment of the Factors Motivating Non-Violence at the Million Man March and Violence at the Unite the Right Rally" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2018), https://hdl.handle.net/10945/60441.

on the part of the organizers and embody peaceful messaging and rhetoric.[35] Conversely, Moten notes that violent demonstrations are disorganized or impromptu, and frequently elicit inappropriate law enforcement responses.[36] As such, according to the literature, law enforcement will likely fail to gain cooperation from a crowd by controlling their movements alone; instead, initial efforts to understand the group's goals and intentions with the demonstration will likely lead to success.

2. Evaluating Crowd Behavior

The literature suggests that crowd psychology models may offer opportunities to improve the law enforcement response to public demonstrations and minimize risks of crowd violence. Research by Christopher Barney finds that classical law enforcement responses treat the protest group as one singular, irrational body.[37] Barney asserts that police may deride crowds based on the assumption that the cause of the protest is invalid or frivolous, creating a superiority dichotomy.[38] Like Reiter, Barney suggests that police could recognize a crowd's intergroup dynamics using the Elaborated Social Identity Theory and avoid mislabeling the entirety of the group based on one bad actor.[39] Gregory Mammana agrees with Barney's arguments and simplifies its application to crowd violence as it "manages individuals, not the crowd."[40] Law enforcement's customary practice of dealing with hostile individuals rather than hostile groups simplifies crowd management. Law enforcement can avoid mislabeling the crowd as violent based on singular agitators by treating the group as a collection of individuals rather than one mass, Mammana suggests.[41] The application of ESIM provides a promising tool for evaluating individuals

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[35] Moten, 57.

[36] Moten, 59.

[37] Christopher J. Barney, "The 'English Disease' and Political Protest: How Social Identity Theory Can Enhance Public Safety at Crowd Events" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2019), 11, https://hdl.handle.net/10945/63495.

[38] Barney, 13.

[39] Hanley, "Killing Barney Fife"; Della Porta and Reiter, *Policing Protest*.

[40] Gregory N. Mammana, "Sports-Related Riots: Understanding Group Behavior to Improve Police Strategy" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2016), 104, https://hdl.handle.net/10945/48553.

[41] Mammana, 107.

in the crowd. Clifford Stott, a predominant authority on crowd violence, cites ESIM as the leading crowd behavior theory.[42] Stott validates the claim that police action on an individual can significantly affect the group itself.[43] For example, removing an agitator may calm a group, whereas unnecessarily engaging an individual protester may antagonize the group.

Similarly, action on the group as a singular body, such as attempting to corral the group in a small area, may also drive the whole group to violence.[44] More recently, in 2021, Stott conducted further research showing that the perception of negative police actions will prolong a demonstration event and likely cause the group to grow.[45] ESIM alone may not accurately predict violence; however, it may allow police to respond sooner, addressing a violent individual rather than a violent mass of people.

In addition to ESIM, competing models provide alternative evaluative tools for police responding to demonstrations. Robert Leverone asserts that police should evaluate crowds as complex adaptive systems.[46] In this sense, groups comprise unique individuals who transform into a collective mass, in Leverone's summation.[47] According to Leverone, through this model, even a small number of individuals in the crowd have the power to direct and influence that crowd's overall actions.[48] He further advises that this influence may be positive in deescalating tensions with a rowdy section of the group or negative by instigating aggression with a previously non-confrontational group in the crowd.[49] Leverone cites a 2004 Boston Red Sox celebration as an example when one fan groped the

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[42] Clifford Stott, *Crowd Psychology & Public Order Policing: An Overview of Scientific Theory and Evidence.* (Liverpool, UK: University of Liverpool, 2009), 2.

[43] Stott, 2.

[44] Stott, 2.

[45] John Drury et al., *How Riots Spread between Cities: Introducing the Police Pathway* (Malden, MA: International Society of Political Psychology, 2021).

[46] Robert H. Leverone, "Crowds as Complex Adaptive Systems: Strategic Implications for Law Enforcement" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2016), 41, https://hdl.handle.net/10945/48549.

[47] Leverone, 41.

[48] Leverone, 39.

[49] Leverone, 56.

chest of a female spectator, immediately driving the previously celebratory gathering to violence.[50] His analysis of crowds through a systems model is somewhat novel; however, it complements the ESIM model and concurs that groups cannot be policed as one body.

In sum, through the literature review, a common theme emerged: law enforcement cannot simply respond to a demonstration with a show of force alone to maintain peace because the public will push back against it. Law enforcement must consciously work to maintain stability in a crowd, recognizing that small actions may lead to unintended consequences. The ESIM and, to a lesser degree, crowd systems models present options for law enforcement to more adequately address crowd violence and forecast it before it erupts. This literature review highlights the changing climate of protests in the U.S. and the need to use all available tools to protect constitutional free speech and public safety, even in defense of groups who rebuff the police's public safety mission.

The literature presents strong arguments showing the diminishing effectiveness of classic crowd control tactics and persuasive arguments showing how applying ESIM would help police to manage these events better. Numerous case studies show how ESIM can serve in this role. Although ESIM helps assist police in managing crowds with a lighter touch, academic research could address what happens when it is inappropriately applied. This thesis will explore how law enforcement can implement systems such as ESIM while still preparing for the possibility of violence. Although more "hands off" tactics, such as not restricting crowd movements, as Geron suggests, may help to minimize clashes with police, to what degree do such tactics fail to safeguard other individuals' right to their property?[51] The ineffectiveness of the classical law enforcement response highlighted by the literature necessitates further research of more flexible response options that can adapt to the changing climate of protests.

[50] Leverone, 39.

[51] Geron, "21st Century Strategies for Policing Protest," 56.

C. RESEARCH DESIGN

This paper will rely heavily on thematic and gap analysis to address the research question. The data on this topic is widely qualitative; therefore, an apples-to-apples comparison of one event to another is not feasible. Each protest event is a unique organism with intricate workings created by the group and their interaction with law enforcement. Making direct comparisons of events is difficult, if not impossible. More general analysis considering incalculable variables will help reveal broad themes and commonalities. As Virginia Braun defines, thematic analysis allows for flexibility and qualitative analysis of themes and patterns.[52] Thematic analysis will analyze the law enforcement response to three protest incidents: OWS, BLM, and the Women's March. Using thematic analysis, common themes and patterns will likely emerge to show whether ESIM or a similar system was used in the response or whether the study would have been beneficial in predicting violence.

This paper will use gap analysis to evaluate opportunities in current response policies to implement the ESIM and similar processes that may aid in the law enforcement response to demonstrations/protests. From an operational perspective, Gary Langford notes that gap analysis is helpful to identify "deficiencies in operational concepts, current or projected operational disadvantages, technologies, and understood future needs."[53] This research is less concerned with identifying failures of current policy and more driven to determine opportunities to complement and refine existing guidelines.

D. CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In Chapter II, this thesis examines the current dynamics of protest movements in the U.S., specifically focusing on emergent protest trends and the expected increase of protest activities as the 2024 general election approaches. A clear foundation is established

[52] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (January 2006): 77–101, https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

[53] Gary O. Langford et al., *Gap Analysis: Rethinking the Conceptual Foundations*, NPS-AM-07-051 (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 2008), https://doi.org/10.21236/ADA477982.

by defining and differentiating often interchanged terms: demonstration, protest, and riot. This groundwork facilitates a more precise and informed analysis throughout the thesis.

Introduced in Chapter III, the core of this thesis involves an extensive exploration of three crowd control models: command and control, negotiated management, and crowd psychology. These models are examined in detail to understand their methodologies, principles, and application strategies in various protest scenarios. A comparative analysis evaluates each model to determine overall strengths, weaknesses, and the ability to influence crowd behavior and predict crowd violence.

Chapter IV provides a practical perspective, examining case studies of three notable protest movements: OWS, BLM, and the Women's March. Each case study is a real-world application of the models, highlighting their strengths and limitations in diverse protest environments. This analysis offers insights into the applicability and effectiveness of each model and underscores the challenges and requirements of different protest scenarios.

In Chapter V, this thesis highlights the limitations of a rigid single model approach and proposes a composite model that integrates elements from all three examined models. This proposal is based on the premise that a more holistic and adaptable approach is required for effective protest management. The composite model combines each model's best aspects, offering a more versatile and comprehensive strategy for managing protests.

Concluding with Chapter VI, this thesis addresses the implications of adopting this composite model for law enforcement agencies and protesters. It explores how this integrated approach could reshape the landscape of protest management, potentially leading to more effective and balanced interactions between protesters and law enforcement. Finally, practical recommendations and strategies for future protest management are presented, underscoring the importance of flexibility and a diverse approach to adapt to the continuously changing dynamics of public demonstrations and protests in the US.

II. THE LANDSCAPE OF PROTESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

In 2020, the U.S. witnessed a significant increase in protests nationwide. Activities from the BLM movement and right-wing groups accounted for most of the protests, with both groups calling for opposing socio-political reforms. These groups' activities have continued and are likely to increase as the 2024 presidential election nears again.[54] Understanding the nature of protest in the U.S. requires standard definitions, a deeper analysis of protest motivations, identifying factors that cause protest violence, and identifying shortfalls in the police response. This chapter delves into the landscape of protests within the U.S. Three terms that are frequently interchanged but bear distinct meanings are clarified: "demonstration," "protest," and "riot." Following this, the increase of protests nationwide and limitations in police response methods are addressed. Finally, the recent emergence of armed demonstrations and the dichotomy of police viewed as the enemy is highlighted.

A. DEMONSTRATION VS. PROTEST VS. RIOT

The terminology surrounding crowd violence is often used interchangeably in everyday conversations and media coverage. Terms such as "demonstration," "protest," and "riot" become somewhat obscure due to a lack of clear universal definition. This ambiguity allows the terms to be used transversely, adding confusion when discussing a specific event. One such recent example surrounded a school board meeting in Glendale, CA. The June 6, 2023 meeting convened to discuss Pride Month and other LGBTQI+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, etc.) issues. A crowd swelled outside the meeting, resulting in three arrests for refusing to cooperate with police. Subsequently, police issued a dispersal order after the crowd refused to comply with police orders.[55] News outlets across the country and internationally covered this story. One such report by the Associated Press headlined the article with, "Protesters brawl as Southern

[54] Sam Jones, "US Crisis Monitor Releases Full Data for 2020," ACLED, February 5, 2021, https://acleddata.com/2021/02/05/us-crisis-monitor-releases-full-data-for-2020/.

[55] Sergeant Jackson, "Glendale Unified School District Protest," GPD Press Releases, June 7, 2023, https://www.glendaleca.gov/Home/Components/News/News/8794/5438.

California school district decides whether to recognize Pride Month."[56] Another report by the podcast *Clay and Buck* described the event by headlining "Antifa Riot Breaks Out at Glendale School Board Meeting."[57] Similarly, when discussing the U.S. Capitol events of January 6, 2021, individuals of the same political party struggled for a definition, with Republican lawmakers debating whether the event was a protest or a riot.[58] Such discrepancies in describing crowd violence beg for a clearer definition of the terms. A demonstration, a protest, and a riot are distinct forms of collective action, each characterized by different levels of organization, intent, and behavior.

A demonstration is a public gathering or event where individuals or groups express their views or opinions on a particular issue. In one formulation from The Community Toolbox, a civil society advocacy resource maintained at the University of Kansas, demonstrations are peaceful and intended to raise awareness, advocate for change, or show support for a cause. Participants may carry signs, chant slogans, and engage in peaceful marches.[59] Demonstrations often involve obtaining permits or authorization from authorities to ensure the event proceeds in an organized and lawful manner.[60] In many areas, a demonstration may be a regularly scheduled recurring event and rarely impromptu. A clear example of such a demonstration is the White House Peace Vigil, which has maintained a constant, twenty-four hour vigil outside of the White House for forty-two years.[61]

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[56] "Protesters Brawl as Southern California School District Decides Whether to Recognize Pride Month," AP News, June 7, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/glendale-school-district-pride-month-protests-fighting-adcb1e4f9051256a4f35fb3174137229.

[57] George Prayias, "WATCH: Antifa Riot Breaks Out at Glendale School Board Meeting," *The Clay Travis & Buck Sexton Show* (blog), June 7, 2023, https://www.clayandbuck.com/antifa-riot-breaks-out-at-glendale-school-board-meeting/.

[58] Aaron Blake, "More Republicans Now Call Jan. 6 a 'Legitimate Protest' Than a 'Riot,'" *Washington Post*, July 7, 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/07/07/many-republicans-no-longer-call-jan-6-an-insurrection-or-even-riot/.

[59] Community Tool Box, "Section 14. Organizing Public Demonstrations," Community Tool Box Chapter 33, accessed June 8, 2023, https://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/advocacy/direct-action/public-demonstrations/main.

[60] Community Tool Box.

[61] Margaret Hartigan, "Nearly 41 Years in, the White House Peace Vigil Perseveres," Georgetown Voice, April 29, 2022, https://georgetownvoice.com/2022/04/29/nearly-41-years-in-the-white-house-peace-vigil-perseveres/.

A protest is a specific type of demonstration in which demonstrators are expressing dissent, opposition, or disapproval regarding a particular issue, policy, or action. Protests can take various forms, such as marches, rallies, sit-ins, or strikes; they are generally intended to bring attention to an issue and pressure those in power to address concerns. Protesters often seek social or political change and may use civil disobedience or other non-violent methods to make their voices heard.[62] Protest groups may or may not cooperate with local governments in advance of events; similarly, these events may be planned ad-hoc and so, be an impromptu event. As the Anti-Defamation League cites, protests are powerful mechanisms to "provide inspiration (to participants) to be a part of a larger movement."[63] As a demonstration may morph into a protest when opinions become more contrary, a protest may become more volatile and evolve into violence, giving rise to a riot.

In contrast to a demonstration or protest, a riot is a chaotic and often violent disturbance involving a group of people. Riots typically involve losing control of a crowd, destroying property, and clashes with law enforcement. Riots can erupt spontaneously or result from underlying social tensions, grievances, or perceived injustices. Unlike demonstrations and protests, which often have specific goals or messages, riots are characterized by widespread disorder and may lack a clear political or social objective. The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution guarantees the right to free speech and is universally understood to make non-violent protest in public spaces a constitutionally protected activity. A riot makes a clear departure from a constitutionally protected activity. Moreover, under 18 U.S. Code § 2101, riots are not constitutionally protected and are declared unlawful.[64] A specific example is the Rodney King Riots, encompassing several

[62] Community Tool Box, "Section 14. Organizing Public Demonstrations."

[63] Anti-Defamation League, "The Purpose and Power of Protest," Anti-Defamation League, June 12, 2020, https://www.adl.org/resources/tools-and-strategies/purpose-and-power-protest.

[64] U.S. Code, "Riots," 18 2011 § (1986), https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/2101.

events in Los Angeles from April–May 1992. These events included property damage over a billion dollars, the death of more than fifty people, and the injury of 2,300 others.[65]

The definition of terms to describe collective actions—such as "demonstration," "protest," and "riot"—often blurs in media narratives and public discourse. This indistinct use leads to the mislabeling of events and underscores the need for precise definitions. Formally peaceful demonstrations raise awareness or show support for causes, like the White House Peace Vigil. Protests, a subset of demonstrations, express dissent, potentially escalating into more confrontational scenarios. Conversely, riots are tumultuous, often violent gatherings, generally lacking clear objectives, like the Rodney King Riots of 1992. This distinction is essential as, while the First Amendment protects peaceful protest rights, riots depart from this protection and are deemed unlawful. While small demonstrations, such as a solitary candlelight vigil, may likely require no police intervention, larger protests demand police attention to preserve peace and quell violence.

B. RISE OF PROTESTS

The U.S. has witnessed a surge in protest events nationwide in recent years. These incidents have highlighted grievances within American society and reignited deep-seated societal divisions. Protest in the U.S. is often attributed to a combination of factors, chief among them social and political polarization and racial injustice.[66] These causes have gained momentum more than ever due to increased communications technology and social media.

Social and political polarization has become a pervasive issue in the U.S. The deepening divide in ideologies and beliefs has influenced public discourse, frequently resulting in demonstrations seeking change.[67] This polarization becomes evident in political policies and social values.[68] Social issues such as LGBTQI+ awareness/rights,

[65] Jeff Wallenfeldt, "Los Angeles Riots of 1992 | Summary, Deaths, & Facts | Britannica," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 18, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/event/Los-Angeles-Riots-of-1992.

[66] Della Porta and Reiter, *Policing Protest*.

[67] Anti-Defamation League, "The Purpose and Power of Protest."

[68] Graham, "High-Risk, Low-Frequency Events in Public Safety."

immigration reform, and healthcare access have emerged as volatile and divisional subjects that often move groups to public demonstrations and protests.[69] These demonstrations are powerful platforms for individuals and groups to express grievances, raise awareness and support, and push for social and change. Similar to social issues, the political spectrum in the U.S. has become a polarizing topic often leading to public demonstrations.

Political division manifests in public demonstrations frequently, with both ends of the political spectrum demonstrating simultaneously. Two years after leaving office, President Donald Trump continues to draw droves of supporters and antagonists to his public events.[70] Along with political and social issues, demonstrations for racial injustice ignite demonstrators, often with co-occurring themes.

The movement against racial injustice has continued as a pivotal and unifying theme in recent protests within the U.S. The BLM movement, which gained significant momentum after the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's killer in 2013, and further surged following the killing of George Floyd in 2020, has galvanized nationwide demonstrations against racial discrimination and police brutality.[71] These high-profile incidents have exposed deep-seated issues ingrained within society, igniting a collective outcry for justice and equality. The protests have served as a platform to raise awareness about the pervasive nature of systemic racism, calling for immediate action to address its roots and consequences. Central to these demonstrations is the demand for accountability, urging authorities to be held responsible for their actions and to rectify the systemic biases embedded within the criminal justice system.[72] The protests have sought comprehensive reforms that address the individual cases that have garnered attention and the underlying structures that perpetuate racial injustice.[73] Like social and political issues, the call for

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[69] Kleinfeld, *The Rise in Political Violence*.

[70] Steven Simon and Jonathan Stevenson, "The Threat of Civil Breakdown Is Real," Politico, April 21, 2023, https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2023/04/21/political-violence-2024-magazine-00093028.

[71] Takei and Eidelman, "The Response to Protests against Police Brutality Is Not More Brutality."

[72] "Our Six Demands for Accountability for This Moment," Black Lives Matter, January 14, 2021, https://blacklivesmatter.com/our-six-demands-for-accountability-for-this-moment/.

[73] McEvoy, "14 Days Of Protests, 19 Dead."

racial justice often permeates the online space, garnering support for the cause and related demonstrations.[74]

As mixed motivations and narratives continue to ignite protests in the U.S., access to digital tools has revolutionized how protests are organized and executed. The advent of social media platforms and other digital communication tools has facilitated the coordination, promotion, and mobilization of demonstrations.[75] Recent social movements such as BLM have heavily relied on social media to gain traction and reach a wider audience.[76] Through online platforms, organizers can disseminate information rapidly, engage supporters, and coordinate collective actions more efficiently than ever.[77] Spreading misinformation and disinformation campaigns online can exacerbate tensions and escalate confrontations.[78] The accessibility and widespread usage of digital tools have empowered individuals and communities to amplify their voices and raise awareness about various social and political issues.[79] The fragmentation of media sources has created echo chambers, where individuals are exposed to information that aligns with their pre-existing beliefs, further exacerbating ideological divisions.[80] With their algorithmic targeting and filters, social media platforms have amplified this effect, reinforcing biases and fostering an "us versus them" mentality.[81] As a result, citizens are more likely to engage in protests

[74] Black Lives Matter, "Our Six Demands for Accountability for This Moment."

[75] Drury et al., *How Riots Spread*.

[76] Devan Rosen, Jang Hyun Kim, and Yoonjae Nam, "Birds of a Feather Protest Together: Theorizing Self-Organizing Political Protests with Flock Theory," *Systemic Practice and Action Research* 23, no. 5 (2010): 419–41, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11213-010-9167-3.

[77] Esma Aïmeur, Sabrine Amri, and Gilles Brassard, "Fake News, Disinformation and Misinformation in Social Media: A Review," *Social Network Analysis and Mining* 13, no. 1 (2023): 30, https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-023-01028-5.

[78] David Cunningham, "Policing White Supremacy: Asymmetry and Inequality in Protest Control," *Social Problems*, February 23, 2022, spac010, https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spac010.

[79] Aïmeur, Amri, and Brassard, "Fake News, Disinformation and Misinformation in Social Media."

[80] Joseph DiGrazia, "The Social Determinants of Conspiratorial Ideation," *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1–9, https://doi.org/10.1177/2378023116689791.

[81] Cass R. Sunstein, *#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017).

to express their grievances and seek redress for perceived injustices, further deepening the divide between opposing factions.[82]

C. FACTORS OF VIOLENCE

The dynamics of protests can vary greatly, with some remaining peaceful while others turn violent. Understanding the factors contributing to these divergent outcomes is crucial in comprehending the complex nature of demonstrations. Protests can serve as powerful platforms for expressing grievances and advocating for social change, but how they unfold depends on a multitude of factors, including the nature of the cause being protested, the response from law enforcement, the presence of extremist elements, the strategies of protest organizers, the presence of counter-protesters, media coverage and public perception, and the level of communication and dialogue among stakeholders. Examining these factors can provide insights into why some protests maintain a peaceful character while others become marked by violence.

A key determinant in the potential for a protest to turn violent is the nature of the protest's cause. When protesting issues evoke strong emotions and deep divisions within society, violence is more likely due to heightened tensions and passion.[83] Causes which touch upon deeply ingrained societal issues, such as racial injustice or political polarization, tend to evoke strong emotional responses from all corners of U.S. society.[84] This emotional intensity may lead to a more volatile atmosphere during protests, making it more likely for confrontations, causing peaceful demonstrations to escalate into violence. The passionate commitment to these causes often fuels a sense of urgency and frustration, increasing the likelihood of clashes between protesters, counter-protesters, and even law enforcement.[85] In August 2020, the alt-right Proud Boys group planned counter-protests to BLM events across the country. Many of these events resulted in violence, necessitating

[82] Sunstein.

[83] Poon, "A History of Protests against Police Brutality."

[84] Poon.

[85] Police Executive Research Forum, *Rethinking the Police Response to Mass Demonstrations: 9 Recommendations* (Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum, 2022).

police intervention.[86] The deeply rooted divisions and the emotional significance attached to these causes create an environment where peaceful dialogue and understanding may be more challenging, further contributing to the potential for violence during protests. Understanding the diverse nature of the protest issues is crucial in comprehending why specific demonstrations are more prone to violence than others.

The response from police during protests plays a significant role in determining whether demonstrations remain peaceful or escalate into violence. Heavy-handed or aggressive tactics by law enforcement can escalate tensions and provoke a violent response from protesters. A Seattle, WA, panel examined the 2020 protest incidents and determined that the Seattle Police Department often used force unnecessarily and intensified tensions in the initially peaceful crowds. One such action was an attempt to corral a peaceful crowd into a confined space, in a tactic known as "kettling." Protesters retaliated by hurling bricks and other objects at the police, resulting in a sustained escalation of violence.[87] Conversely, when authorities demonstrate restraint, engage in dialogue, and prioritize de-escalation, it can contribute to maintaining peaceful demonstrations. In Wilmington, DE, protest leaders attributed the lack of violence at a very volatile event (while protesting police violence) to the frequent face-to-face negotiations between protest leaders and police commanders.[88] Open lines of communication, active listening, and a commitment to protecting constitutional rights helped establish trust and created an environment conducive to peaceful expressions of dissent.[89] Utilizing effective crowd control strategies and observing respect for individual liberties are crucial for reducing the potential for violence and encouraging meaningful dialogue between protesters and law enforcement authorities.

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[86] Joel Shannon, "Far-Right Demonstrators, Counter-Protesters and Police Clash in Multiple States," *USA Today*, August 15, 2020, https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2020/08/15/proud-boys-blm-counter-protesters-police-clash-fights/5592437002/.

[87] Mike Carter, "SPD Should Apologize for Violence against Black Lives Matter Protesters, Panel Says," *Seattle Times*, April 18, 2023, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/law-justice/spd-should-apologize-for-violence-against-black-lives-matter-protesters-panel-says/.

[88] Jeanne Kuang and Karl Baker, "Negotiations, Restraint, Little Intervention: How Police Responded to Wilmington Protest, Riot," *Delaware News Journal*, June 2, 2020, https://www.delawareonline.com/story/news/2020/06/02/negotiations-restraint-how-police-responded-wilmington-protest-riot/5310940002/.

[89] Police Executive Research Forum, *The Police Response to Mass Demonstrations: Promising Practices and Lessons Learned* (Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2018).

The presence of extremist elements infiltrating protests can lead to violence as these individuals or groups intentionally seek to disrupt the peaceful intentions of most protesters. They may incite violence or engage in destructive behavior, diverting attention from the protest's core issues.[90] During a BLM protest in Manhattan in November 2020, police identified a group of agitators within the otherwise peaceful crowd. Police believed these individuals intended to provoke violence, evidenced by the discovery of hammers, fireworks, and a taser.[91] Addressing these elements requires vigilance from protest organizers and participants, collaboration with law enforcement, and effective communication to prevent the influence of extremists and maintain the focus on the legitimate grievances being raised.[92] By actively countering their tactics, peaceful protesters can reclaim the narrative and ensure that their voices are heard without the overshadowing specter of violence.

If organizers fail to advocate a non-violent atmosphere openly, protests are likelier to become violent.[93] Participants may resort to aggressive tactics without clear guidance and emphasis on peaceful behavior, leading to confrontations with counter-protesters, law enforcement, or even among themselves.[94] The absence of non-violent rhetoric can undermine the legitimacy of the protest and overshadow the message being conveyed, potentially alienating public support and diminishing the impact of the movement. Additionally, the lack of a non-violent atmosphere may provide opportunities for extremist elements or individuals seeking to incite violence to infiltrate the protest, further exacerbating tensions and potentially causing harm to participants and bystanders. A November 2020 protest in Nashville, TN became so volatile based on the initial violent rhetoric that police could not discern between the initial twenty agitators and the rest of the

90 Simon and Stevenson, "The Threat of Civil Breakdown Is Real."

91 "NYPD Says Outside Agitators Again Infiltrate Peaceful Protests, More Arrests Made Thursday Night In Manhattan," CBS News New York, November 5, 2020, https://www.cbsnews.com/newyork/news/new-york-city-protests-manhattan-nypd-outside-agitators/.

92 Simon and Stevenson, "The Threat of Civil Breakdown Is Real."

93 Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements in Times of Austerity: Bringing Capitalism Back into Protest Analysis* (Cambaridge, UK: Polity, 2015).

94 Della Porta.

crowd.[95] Neglecting a clear call for non-violence risks overshadowing a protest's message. Blurred lines between genuine protesters and agitators cause difficulties in the police response and erode any public understanding and support of the protest.

The presence of counter-protesters with opposing views is another factor that can contribute to escalating tensions and the potential for violence during demonstrations. In the last decade, counter-protests have become more common as an effective way to gain visibility for opposing viewpoints.[96] When groups with conflicting ideologies converge in the same protest space, the likelihood of clashes increases, particularly if communication and understanding between the groups break down. In such situations, the inherent differences in beliefs and values can create a volatile atmosphere where emotions run high, and confrontations become more likely.[97] The lack of dialogue and mutual respect between these opposing groups can exacerbate the situation, leading to verbal or physical altercations. Open-source information, such as social media, has made it increasingly easier for groups with opposing views to locate events from other groups and plan counter-protests. Inherently, when groups with opposing views converge, the propensity for violence increases exponentially.[98] In April 2023, a group of Donald Trump supporters demonstrating outside a convention hall in Fort Meyers, FL were interrupted by a group of counter-protesters, forcing a police intervention to maintain peace as tempers flared.[99] These clashes not only pose a risk to the safety of protesters but also detract from the overall message and purpose of the demonstration.

Media coverage and public perception wield significant influence over the behavior of protesters and authorities during demonstrations. How protests are portrayed in the

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[95] Adam Tamburin, "Exclusive: Nashville Police Looking for 20–30 People They Say Drove Violence During Saturday Protest," *The Tennessean*, May 31, 2020, https://www.tennessean.com/story/news/local/2020/05/31/nashville-police-violent-agitators-saturday-protest/5300173002/.

[96] Lesley Wood, "Policing Counter-protest," *Sociology Compass* 14, no. 11 (November 2020): 1–10, https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12833.

[97] Wood.

[98] Wood.

[99] Gage Goulding, "Donald Trump Supporters, Counter-Protestors Clash in Downtown Fort Myers," NBC2 News, April 22, 2023, https://nbc-2.com/news/local/2023/04/22/donald-trump-supporters-counter-protestors-clash-in-downtown-fort-myers/.

media, mainly when coverage focuses on negative aspects or sensationalizes events, can have far-reaching consequences.[100] Negative portrayals can heighten tensions, amplify existing divisions, and contribute to an atmosphere of hostility. When protests are sensationalized, it can distort the public's perception and erode trust between the public and protesters and between protesters and authorities. Biased reporting or selective framing can further exacerbate these tensions and create a climate of distrust, making it more challenging to maintain peaceful interactions.[101] For instance, media coverage highlighting aggressive police actions at a protest without adequately covering the initial violence triggering such a response might unintentionally fuel further protests. The media coverage of protests can amplify tensions and shape public perceptions, potentially undermining trust between protesters, the public, and the police, highlighting the need for balanced reporting.

The lack of communication between police and protesters significantly contributes to violent escalations during protests. When dialogue is absent or insufficient, misunderstanding and misinterpretation of intent can quickly occur, leading to a potentially volatile environment.[102] Communication gaps can create an "us versus them" mentality, wherein the police and protesters view each other as adversaries rather than as parties with a shared interest in maintaining peaceful demonstrations.[103] A lack of communication can contribute to the perception that the police are not responsive to the protesters' rights and concerns. This perception can foster resentment and heighten frustrations, making protesters more likely to engage in violent behavior. Miscommunication became a clear issue in protests in support of the Defund the Police movement. While some groups were, in fact, anti-police, other groups were pro-police and wanted non-law enforcement issues such as mental health transferred to more suitable organizations. However, due to a lack of

100 Aïmeur, Amri, and Brassard, "Fake News, Disinformation and Misinformation in Social Media."

101 Sunstein, *#republic*.

102 Jennifer Earl, Sarah A. Soule, and John D. McCarthy, "Protest under Fire? Explaining the Policing of Protest," *American Sociological Review* 68, no. 4 (2003): 581–606, https://doi.org/10.2307/1519740.

103 Hugo Gorringe, Clifford Stott, and Michael Rosie, "Dialogue Police, Decision Making, and the Management of Public Order During Protest Crowd Events," *Journal of Investigative Psychology & Offender Profiling* 9, no. 2 (2012): 15, https://doi.org/10.1002/jip.1359.

communication between protest groups and law enforcement, these events often began with an adversarial relationship between police and protesters.[104] Effective communication is paramount between police and protesters to prevent misunderstandings and reduce adversarial tensions; the absence of dialogue can distort intentions and fuel resentment.

Similarly, when police cannot effectively communicate their intentions, actions, and demands to protesters, the likelihood of inadvertent non-compliance or confrontational responses increases.[105] Without effective communication, police may struggle to differentiate between peaceful protesters and potential agitators, leading to a response that could unnecessarily escalate tensions and potentially incite violence.[106] Communication between police and protesters is an essential component of managing protests peacefully. After a violent protest in Akron, OH in April 2023, city officials encouraged police and protest leaders to establish open communication channels to prevent further confrontations, citing miscommunications over police actions for causing the initial violence.[107] The absence of such dialogue can contribute to misunderstandings, heighten adversarial perceptions, and increase the likelihood of violent escalations.

Many dynamics come into play during protests, each contributing to the potential escalation of violence. Protests ignited by emotionally charged causes, especially those that invoke deep societal divisions, often result in an incendiary atmosphere due to the intensity of the participants' sentiments. Law enforcement's response, which can range from aggressive tactics to a restrained approach prioritizing de-escalation, significantly

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104 Joshua Malay, "Community Policing: Misunderstanding and Misapplication Following Police Shootings," *Administration & Society* 54, no. 8 (September 2022): 1601–20, https://doi.org/10.1177/00953997211045065.

105 Michael Harrison and Jane Adlard, "Intra-Police Communication in Public Order Police Management," *Policing and Society* 28, no. 3 (2018): 328–44, https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2016.1168820.

106 Della Porta and Reiter, *Policing Protest*.

107 Abigail Bottar, "Some Akron Leaders Call for Dialogue between Protesters and Police before Future Demonstrations," Ideastream Public Media, April 25, 2023, https://www.ideastream.org/community/2023-04-24/akron-leaders-call-for-conversations-between-protesters-and-police-before-demonstratidismiss-request-to-communicate-with-law-enforcement-about-demonstrations.

influences the trajectory of protests.[108] The presence of extremist elements within protests underscores the importance of vigilance among protest organizers and law enforcement. Protest organizers play a crucial role in fostering an atmosphere of nonviolence, and the absence of this can invite aggression and potentially undermine the protest's legitimacy.[109] Counter-protests introduce additional complexity and potential volatility.[110] The media also wields significant influence, with its representation of protests affecting public perception and the behavior of those involved. Finally, the absence of open communication between police and protesters significantly contributes to misunderstandings, adversarial perceptions, and violent escalations, emphasizing the need for clear channels of dialogue.[111]

D. INADEQUACIES OF POLICE RESPONSE.

The inadequacies of police response to protests can often stem from several factors and often compound. These inadequacies include failures in strategic planning, resource allocation, training, tactics, community relationships, crowd scale, and unpredictability of a situation.

Failures in police responses to protests often stem from a failure to accurately assess the demonstration's scope, intensity, or overall nature. Inadequate gauging of these factors can hinder effective strategic planning and leave law enforcement unprepared and equipped to manage the event.[112] Insufficient understanding of the protest's size, composition, and potential for escalation can lead to a mismatch between the level of force used by the police and the actual needs of the situation. An overly aggressive response to a peaceful demonstration can escalate tensions and provoke a more confrontational atmosphere. In contrast, a passive or unprepared response to a protest that unexpectedly grows in size or

[108] Della Porta and Reiter, *Policing Protest*.

[109] Gorringe, Stott, and Rosie, "Dialogue Police, Decision Making."

[110] Wood, "Policing Counter-protest."

[111] David Baker, "Police and Protester Dialog: Safeguarding the Peace or Ritualistic Sham?," *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 38, no. 1 (2014): 83–104, https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2013.819024.

[112] Police Executive Research Forum, *The Police Response to Mass Demonstrations*, 3.

becomes unruly can compromise public safety and further erode trust between law enforcement and the community.[113] Effective strategic planning combines accurate intelligence, continuous assessment of protest dynamics, and understanding of crowd behavior with a commitment to public safety and constitutional rights.[114] Strategic planning can significantly increase the ability to manage protests while minimizing the risk of unnecessary force effectively. Police in the UK have successfully used strategic planning to manage rival fan groups often prone to violence following football matches.[115] Planning for more dynamic protest events is more problematic due to condensed time constraints and more variables.

Improper resource allocation poses another area of inadequacy in police response to protests. Insufficient personnel or a lack of proper equipment can significantly diminish the police's capacity to effectively control and manage the situation.[116] When faced with large-scale or highly dynamic protests, a shortage of personnel can limit the ability to establish and maintain a visible presence and appropriately adapt to changing crowd movements. Inadequate staffing can further strain the police's ability to prevent or respond to acts of violence, vandalism, or other disruptive behaviors during the protest.[117] Similarly, the absence of necessary equipment, such as protective clothing and vehicles, can limit the response capabilities of police. For example, a review of the Portland police response to protest events in 2020 showed that limited staffing and inadequate training significantly affected the department's response. Protest events nightly for nearly a month caused staffing shortages, forcing the police to curtail their response to many events

[113] Stott, *Crowd Psychology & Public Order Policing*.

[114] Police Executive Research Forum, *The Police Response to Mass Demonstrations*, 41.

[115] Stott et al., "Variability in the Collective Behaviour of England Fans at Euro2004."

[116] Police Executive Research Forum, *The Police Response to Mass Demonstrations*.

[117] James Hoggett and Clifford Stott, "Crowd Psychology, Public Order Police Training and the Policing of Football Crowds," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 33, no. 2 (2010): 218–35, https://doi.org/10.1108/13639511011044858.

severely.[118] Staffing and equipment availability remain vital to the success of law enforcement's response to protest events.

Inadequate training in crowd management and de-escalation techniques can further exacerbate the shortfall in police response. Effective crowd management requires specialized training to understand crowd dynamics, defuse tension, and maintain control while minimizing the use of force.[119] Insufficient training in these areas can hinder the police's ability to communicate effectively with protesters, diffuse potentially volatile situations, and make timely command decisions.[120] The lack of proper training can also contribute to a breakdown in communication between the police and demonstrators, potentially escalating conflicts and undermining efforts to maintain a peaceful environment. A report initiated by former New York Mayor Bill de Blasio cited that officers lacking "relevant training" in de-escalation and protest management was a leading cause of NYPD's often "excessive response" to protest events in 2020.[121] Training is, therefore, vital to the overall success of law enforcement in a demonstration event.

Della Porta and Reiter point to an unsettling pattern: aggressive police strategies often escalate the conflict cycle and provoke an increasingly confrontational demeanor among protesters.[122] Instead of suppressing or dispersing the protest, unwarranted use of force can unintentionally energize it, driving a harmful cycle of escalation. Law enforcement applying disproportionate force or adopting an aggressive posture significantly heightens the potential to inflame rather than ease crowd tensions. Protesters, in reaction, may not choose to disperse, instead opting to reinforce their stance in direct

118 Jonathan Levinson, "Portland Police Report Shows Agency Understaffed, Unprepared during Historic Protests," OPB, April 28, 2021, https://www.opb.org/article/2021/04/28/portland-police-report-shows-agency-understaffed-unprepared-during-historic-protests/.

119 Police Executive Research Forum, *The Police Response to Mass Demonstrations*, 34.

120 Police Executive Research Forum, 41.

121 Jonathan Allen, "New York Police Lacked Training, Used Excessive Force during Summer Protests, City Investigation Finds," Reuters, December 18, 2020, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-global-race-protests-new-york-idUSKBN28S1QK.

122 Della Porta and Reiter, *Policing Protest*.

response to perceived police brutality or inequitable treatment.[123] On the first night of protests following the death of George Floyd, Minneapolis Police were criticized for deploying non-lethal pepper balls and tear gas in an attempt to disperse a peaceful crowd. This action is partially attributed to inflaming the subsequent volatile protests and riots.[124] Unnecessary use of force tarnishes the public perception of law enforcement and undermines police legitimacy, making future crowd management significantly more challenging.[125] Such actions often inadequately distinguish between peaceful protesters and a minority involved in more disruptive activities. This undiscriminating use of force against non-violent participants not only intensifies existing tensions but also has the potential to radicalize previously peaceful individuals.[126]

Community trust influences the ability of police to respond to protest events. Public trust in the police greatly influences their willingness to follow law enforcement directions at protest events.[127] In this sense, a community that views the police as trustworthy is more likely to heed their instructions during protests, which aids in maintaining order. Conversely, when community trust is diminished, police directives can be widely dismissed or resisted, potentially leading to a breakdown in order and a rise in conflict.[128] Minneapolis Police faced significant difficulties in responding to protest events following the death of George Floyd as their reputation was a direct focus of the protest itself.[129] Building community trust in the police depends on fair and respectful actions toward all

123 Geoffrey P. Alpert and Roger G. Dunham, *Understanding Police Use of Force: Officers, Suspects, and Reciprocity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511499449.

124 Nicole Kobie, "How U.S. Police Used Military Tactics to Turn Peaceful Protests Violent," *Wired UK*, April 6, 2020, https://www.wired.co.uk/article/police-brutality-minneapolis-floyd-blm-trump.

125 David Lydon, "Police Legitimacy and the Policing of Protest: Identifying Contextual Influences Associated with the Construction and Shaping of Protester Perceptions of Police Legitimacy and Attitudes to Compliance and Cooperation beyond the Limits of Procedural Justice and Elaborated Social Identity Approaches." (PhD diss., Canterbury Christ Church University, 2018).

126 Earl, Soule, and McCarthy, "Protest under Fire?"

127 Tom R. Tyler, "Enhancing Police Legitimacy," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 593, no. 1 (May 2004): 84–99, https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716203262627.

128 Tyler.

129 Kobie, "How U.S. Police Used Military Tactics to Turn Peaceful Protests Violent."

citizens without discrimination.[130] Establishing community trust is not simply a question of improving law enforcement's public image but is critically tied to their operational effectiveness during protests.

The size of a crowd poses significant challenges to law enforcement's ability to manage the situation effectively. Large crowds can create a "crowd-out" effect, where the sheer numbers of protesters can exhaust and overwhelm police resources.[131] This crowd-out effect may result in the police being unable to adequately control, monitor, or respond to situations that may arise during protests, contributing to potential chaos and escalating tensions.[132] Police responding to the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021 found themselves outnumbered, with nearly sixty protesters for each officer. The lack of personnel severely crippled the ability of the police to manage the crowd, ultimately resulting in the crowd overrunning large portions of the Capitol.[133] The challenge of managing a crowd becomes increasingly complex as the size of the protest grows, taxing the capacities of even the best-trained and well-resourced law enforcement agencies.[134]

Protests are often characterized by rapidly evolving dynamics, requiring flexible and adaptable responses from law enforcement.[135] Inadequacies in police responses to protests often revolve around strategy, resources, communication, tactics, handling of agitators, community relationships, and crowd size. Addressing these inadequacies may require immediate tactical adjustments, but frequently, longer-term strategic changes, including policy revision, training initiatives, community engagement, and an emphasis on

130 Tyler, "Enhancing Police Legitimacy."

131 Pamela E. Oliver and Daniel J. Meyer, "How Events Enter the Public Sphere: Conflict, Location, and Sponsorship in Local Newspaper Coverage of Public Events," *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 1 (July 1999): 38–87, https://doi.org/10.1086/210267.

132 Oliver and Meyer.

133 "Capitol Riots Timeline: What Happened on 6 January 2021?," BBC News, February 10, 2021, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-56004916.

134 Clark McPhail and Ronald T. Wohlstein, "Individual and Collective Behaviors within Gatherings, Demonstrations, and Riots," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9, no. 1 (1983): 579–600, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.09.080183.003051.

135 Della Porta and Reiter, *Policing Protest*.

de-escalation tactics, are necessary. The challenges of the police response to protest are evident and compounded by the emerging trend of armed protest.

E. ARMED PROTESTS

Armed protests represent a significant concern for law enforcement, given the multiple layers of complexities they introduce. The presence of firearms at protests inherently escalates the potential for violence.[136] The increased risk of violence at armed protests forces law enforcement to allocate more resources, including personnel and equipment, straining their response.[137] In jurisdictions where open carry laws exist, law enforcement may struggle to differentiate between law-abiding protesters exercising their right to bear arms and those intending to use firearms for illegal activities, posing considerable legal and operational challenges.[138] Throughout 2023, armed protesters have regularly demonstrated outside of President Biden's personal Delaware home. While the protesters are lawfully armed and all of the protests peaceful, the overt presence of weapons in the area provides and continuous security concern.[139] The presence of firearms in demonstration events further hinders the police response as responders often cannot determine if the individual has a weapon as a form of protest or has overt criminal intentions.

The relative ease of access to firearms in the U.S., facilitated by laws and regulations favoring gun ownership, also contributes to the rise in armed protests.[140] The country's unique gun culture, rooted in historical, political, and social contexts, further compounds the situation. Evolving interpretations of the Second Amendment, which

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136 "Armed Assembly."

137 P. A. J. Waddington, *The Strong Arm of the Law: Armed and Public Order Policing* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1991).

138 Joseph Blocher and Darrell A H Miller, "Lethality, Public Carry, and Adequate Alternatives," *Harvard Journal on Legislation* 53 (2016): 279–301.

139 "Armed Protester Spotted Near President Biden's Delaware Home, Deemed Not a Threat," 6ABC Philadelphia, September 17, 2023, https://6abc.com/armed-protester-president-joe-biden-new-castle-county-secret-service/13794535/.

140 Will Carless, "Armed Protests Are Picking up, and a New Study Says They're More Likely to Turn Violent," *USA Today*, August 23, 2021, https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2021/08/23/guns-protests-increase-likelihood-violence/8188602002/.

affirms the right of the people to keep and bear arms, play a role in increasing armed protests. Pro-Second Amendment groups interpret this constitutional provision as justification for public displays of firearms as a form of protest.[141] Such interpretations can encourage individuals to bring firearms to protests, escalating tensions and presenting law enforcement with complex legal and operational challenges.

For police, these developments pose a serious challenge. Firearms at protests complicate crowd control strategies, heighten the risk of violence, and place additional strain on police resources.[142] Law enforcement must delicately balance public safety, the right to protest, and the right to bear arms, all under intense public scrutiny. As armed protests increase, developing comprehensive strategies to manage these events safely and effectively is essential.

F. POLICE AS THE ENEMY

Protests are critical to democratic societies, allowing citizens to voice their grievances and press for societal changes. The police, tasked with maintaining public order, often play a significant role during protests, sometimes resulting in them being viewed as adversaries by protesters. This adversarial perspective of police officers has historical and systemic roots, involving factors such as their role as enforcers of the status quo, the militarization of the police, and instances of excessive force and brutality. This positions law enforcement in opposition to the protesters—who view them as the embodiment of the system they aim to change—consequently leading to a relationship characterized by hostility.[143]

Police militarization, highlighted by the incorporation by the police of military-style equipment and tactics (such as armored vehicles and military-style automatic rifles), has attracted significant criticism, including the cultivation of a "warrior mentality" within

[141] Blocher and Miller, "Lethality, Public Carry, and Adequate Alternatives."

[142] Waddington, *The Strong Arm of the Law*.

[143] Ian Loader, "Policing and the Social: Questions of Symbolic Power," *British Journal of Sociology* 48, no. 1 (March 1997): 1–18.

law enforcement.[144] Using such equipment and tactics can create a perception of an overly aggressive and confrontational approach by the police, which further strains relations and erodes trust between law enforcement and the public.[145] When displayed during peaceful protests, this militarized approach can have detrimental effects, escalating tensions and impeding efforts to maintain a peaceful environment. While police have obtained surplus military vehicles for over twenty years, the practice came under fire when one such armored vehicle was used to disperse a crowd of peaceful protesters in Ferguson, MO in 2014, igniting additional protests.[146] The sight of police officers outfitted in military-grade gear, armed with weapons typically associated with military forces, can evoke feelings of fear, intimidation, and anger among protesters and the broader public.[147] For instance, in 2020, a video on social media depicted Salt Lake City Police in full riot gear exiting from a military-surplus armored vehicle, and then pushing and striking an unarmed elderly man with a cane who was obstructing a road.[148] Critics argue that the militarization of the police sends a message of aggression and dominance rather than protection and service, thereby hindering the ability to manage protests effectively.[149] Incidents of excessive force further compound the adverse effects of militarization.

Instances of excessive force and police brutality can significantly contribute to the perception of the police as adversaries. High-profile cases like the murder of George Floyd in 2020 highlighted this issue, causing global protests against police brutality and systemic

144 Peter B. Kraska, "Militarization and Policing--Its Relevance to 21st Century Police," *Policing* 1, no. 4 (2007): 12, https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pam065.

145 Kraska, "Militarization and Policing."

146 David Welna, "Twin Cities Area Police Forces Loaded Up On War Surplus Under President Trump," NPR: America Reckons with Racial Justics, June 16, 2020, https://www.npr.org/2020/06/16/878782600/twin-cities-area-police-forces-loaded-up-on-war-surplus-under-president-trump.

147 Hanley, "Killing Barney Fife," 32.

148 Andrew Lehren, "Protests Renew Debate about Police Use of Military Equipment," NBC News, June 20, 2020, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/floyd-protests-renew-debate-about-police-use-armored-vehicles-other-n1231288.

149 Wayne McElrath and Sarah Tuberville, "Poisoning Our Police: How the Militarization Mindset Threatens Constitutional Rights and Public Safety," Project On Government Oversight, June 9, 2020, https://www.pogo.org/analysis/2020/06/poisoning-our-police-how-the-militarization-mindset-threatens-constitutional-rights-and-public-safety.

racism.[150] These incidents often portray police not as protectors but as direct threats, deepening their adversarial image.[151] The potential adversarial relationship between the police and protesters during demonstrations is complex and influenced by historical, systemic, and situational factors.

While protests play a crucial role in democratic societies, tensions arise as the police are perceived as representatives of the status quo and the system being challenged. The militarization of the police further exacerbates this perception, projecting an image of aggression rather than protection. Instances of excessive force and police brutality reinforce the adversarial dynamic and erode public trust. These instances of excessive force and police brutality and their consequent portrayal as adversaries rather than protectors underscore a pressing need for transformation within our law enforcement institutions.

G. CONCLUSION

The U.S. is currently grappling with various societal issues, evident in the range of public demonstrations, from peaceful marches to violent riots. Respecting and upholding the constitutional rights to peaceful assembly and free speech is vital. Various influences, such as the passion behind the movement, law enforcement tactics, and media representation, shape a protest's direction. Effective policing during protests depends on diverse elements like precise planning, resource allocation, community trust, and adaptability to evolving crowd behaviors. Viewing police as opponents presents a significant problem for police attempting to manage protest events. The increasing use of militarized police methods and notable cases of misuse of force heighten this discord. As the landscape of protests continues to evolve in the U.S., preserving peace in public demonstrations continues to be a daunting problem for law enforcement.

150 Sunstein, *#republic*.

151 Sunstein.

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III. PREDICTING CROWD VIOLENCE

Anticipating crowd behavior and forecasting the likelihood of violence are the most challenging factors for law enforcement in planning and responding to protest events. Many law enforcement agencies in the U.S. have adopted command and control models that have relied on force to maintain order and control crowds. These models are commonly associated with practices embedded in the Miami Model, used for crowd control. These models prepare law enforcement to respond to violence but do little to help predict future problems. Negotiated management models, such as liaison policing adopted in the UK, rely less on force and emphasize relationship-building to maintain order in crowds and, to a limited degree, provide an early warning of potential violence in a group. Implemented on a smaller scale, crowd psychology models such as the ESIM lend a greater understanding of the crowd. Through a more structured analytical framework, ESIM helps identify group norms and allows law enforcement to identify outliers looking to incite violence.

This chapter will compare these three models based on four general criteria: the ability to influence crowd behavior, the ability to predict or forecast violence, human rights implications, and limitations.

A. COMMAND AND CONTROL: THE MIAMI MODEL

The command and control model denotes a policing strategy with an assertive and suppressive stance toward protests.[152] It is characterized by "the creation of no-protest zones, heavy use of non-lethal / less-lethal weaponry, surveillance of protest organizations, negative advance publicity of protest groups, preemptive arrests, preventive detentions, and extensive restrictions on protest timing and locations."[153] The law enforcement's primary objective is maintaining control through limited communication, rigidity, and a readiness to employ elevated force, even for minor law infractions.[154]

[152] Vitale, "The Command and Control and Miami Models," 1.

[153] Vitale, 4.

[154] Vitale, 4.

The Miami Model draws criticism for operationalizing open-source information and restricted intelligence information as the sole sources to evaluate the level of risk posed by specific individuals and groups. Based on these assessments, control mechanisms are then employed, which involve constant surveillance and restrictive measures.[155] Anticipatory arrests, detentions, strategic deployment of barricades, and the designation of isolated protest zones restrict protest groups.[156] The broad law enforcement authority in protest management potentially infringes on protesters' civil rights, notably their right to peaceful assembly. Additionally, using forceful law enforcement tactics might exacerbate tensions and incite violence instead of averting it.[157]

The command and control model represents policing strategies that prioritize control and assertiveness in their approach to protests. These models embrace tactics such as establishing no-protest zones, extensive surveillance, and anticipatory arrests. While aiming for rigid control, there is a marked emphasis on using force, even in response to minor legal transgressions. These strategies potentially jeopardize civil rights, particularly the right to peaceful assembly. Instead of promoting peace, aggressive tactics might inadvertently escalate tensions and catalyze violence, thus undermining the very essence of their intended objectives.

1. The Ability to Influence Crowd Behavior

The hierarchical and centralized structure of the command and control model plays a key role in influencing crowd behavior. Establishing a visible presence early in a protest warns protesters that untolerated behavior will be immediately addressed by law enforcement with physical force. Lines of officers in "riot gear" highlight that any unlawful or aggressive action by protesters will be met with force.[158] The visual display of force, strategic positioning of law enforcement, and equipment like barricades, riot shields, and

[155] Vitale, 3.

[156] Vitale, 3.

[157] Vitale, 2.

[158] Alex S. Vitale, "From Negotiated Management to Command and Control: How the New York Police Department Polices Protests," *Policing and Society* 15, no. 3 (2005): 11, https://doi.org/10.1080/10439460500168592.

long-range acoustic devices (LRAD) can, directly and indirectly, signal to the crowd the boundaries of acceptable behavior.[159] The use of less-lethal weapons can be employed much lower on a use of force continuum. One example is impact munitions "designed to fragment upon impact to prevent penetration injury." The Berkeley Police Department deployed these weapons twenty times in 2022.[160] When effectively implemented, this overt display can dissuade potential agitators and give a sense of security to those who wish to participate peacefully, guiding the crowd toward orderly conduct.

The influence exerted by the command and control model is double-edged. While it can deter violent or disruptive behaviors, it can also escalate tensions if perceived as overly aggressive or repressive.[161] Crowds, especially those gathered for protest or dissent, often have a heightened sense of emotion and purpose. An extremely authoritative approach can be perceived as challenging or suppressing their rights, amplifying tensions, and potentially inciting the behaviors it seeks to prevent. For example, in 2020, Louisville Metro Police (LMPD) deployed "Pepperball" devices to control a forming crowd. The crowd became violent, and the situation escalated to the point where a store owner shot and killed an uninvolved citizen in the chaos, fearing he was being robbed. Following the event, LMPD Chief Erika Shields said that the deployment of Pepperballs "really jump-started the chaos that ensued."[162] The model's effectiveness, therefore, is not just about asserting authority but also hinges on its ability to read and adapt to the unique dynamics of the crowd in real-time.

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159 John Drury and Clifford John T. Stott, eds., *Crowds in the 21st Century: Perspectives from Contemporary Social Science* (London: Routledge, 2015).

160 Alex N. Gecan, "BPD Report Details Special Weapon Deployment," *Berkeleyside*, June 7, 2023, http://www.berkeleyside.org/2023/06/07/berkeley-police-department-special-weapons.

161 Drury and Stott, *Crowds in the 21st Century*.

162 Erica Rucker, "Feds: Ex-LMPD Officer Katie Crews Freshly Trained in Use of Pepper Balls Just Months Prior to Actions on the Night of David Mcatee's Killing," LEO Weekly, January 20, 2023, https://www.leoweekly.com/2023/01/feds-ex-lmpd-officer-katie-crews-freshly-trained-in-use-of-pepper-balls-just-months-prior-to-actions-on-the-night-of-david-mcatees-killing/.

2. The Ability to Predict or Forecast Violence

The command and control model is a traditional approach rooted in historical perceptions of crowds as irrational and prone to violence. Emerging from this viewpoint, the model assumes crowds are intrinsically disorderly and could escalate to violence if not tightly managed.[163] Under this paradigm, authorities prioritize maintaining order through a hierarchical and authoritative approach, often deploying law enforcement in riot gear, setting up barriers, and using crowd dispersal tactics.

The command and control model can inadvertently create a self-fulfilling prophecy.[164] By treating crowds as potential threats, they may react more aggressively, leading to the exact violence the authorities sought to prevent.[165] This reaction, in turn, reinforces the notion that crowds are inherently violent, justifying further force. The model doesn't inherently predict violence but anticipates it based on its underlying assumptions. One such example is alleged to have occurred in the Bronx, NY. The non-profit organization Human Rights Watch asserts that NYPD Officers responded to a peaceful protest event on June 4, 2020; because previous events in other areas of the city had become violent, the NYPD preemptively conducted a mass arrest of numerous protesters before any violations occurred. Several protesters resisted what was viewed as an unlawful arrest, causing the NYPD's increased use of force.[166] While the event was not violent, the assumption that it may become violent spurred police intervention, ultimately causing altercations between police and protesters, reinforcing the negative connotation for both police and protesters alike. While the command and control model operates from an expectation of potential violence, understanding group dynamics and contextual factors might offer better insights and methods for crowd management.

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163 Vitale, "The Command and Control and Miami Models."

164 Clifford Stott and John Drury, "Crowds, Context and Identity: Dynamic Categorization Processes in the 'Poll Tax Riot.,'" *Human Relations* 53, no. 2 (2000): 247, https://doi.org/10.1177/a010563.

165 Stott, *Crowd Psychology & Public Order Policing*, 44.

166 Julie Ciccolini, *"Kettling" Protesters in the Bronx* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2020), https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/09/30/kettling-protesters-bronx/systemic-police-brutality-and-its-costs-united-states.

3. Human Rights Implications

The policing of protests and large public gatherings is a delicate task, balancing the imperatives of maintaining order and respecting the fundamental human rights of participants. The command and control emphasis on authority and strict enforcement raises critical concerns from a human rights standpoint.

The command and control model poses various concerns from a human rights perspective. Excessive force or the preemptive use of riot control mechanisms can infringe upon the right to peaceful assembly, a core right in the U.S. Constitution. This model's inclination to view protests primarily as security threats rather than as expressions of democratic rights can establish an environment where freedom of expression is stifled.[167] Instead of being perceived as citizens exercising their rights, protesters are often treated as potential disruptors or enemies. The broad discretion often afforded to officers on-the-ground under this model can be a double-edged sword. While it allows for swift responses to emerging threats, it also paves the way for potential misuse.[168] Arbitrary arrests, detentions, and even cases of brutality can arise, with the rights of individuals being infringed under the overarching priority of "order." This potential for misuse is highlighted by New York Sen. Zellnor Myrie and Assemblywoman Diana Richardson, who alleged that while attending a protest event, they were unlawfully beaten and pepper sprayed by the NYPD.[169] In a lawsuit against the city, they stated, "The experience was a painful and humiliating reminder that following the rules and complying with police orders does not protect Black Americans from police brutality."[170] It becomes evident that while the command and control model aims to maintain order, it risks compromising the very democratic principles it seeks to protect.

The implications of the command and control model extend beyond the immediate interaction between law enforcement and protesters. Its militaristic demeanor, often

167 Vitale, "The Command and Control and Miami Models."

168 Vitale.

169 Andy Newman, "Lawmakers Sue NYPD, Saying They Were Beaten With Bicycles at Protest," *New York Times*, June 28, 2021, ProQuest.

170 Newman.

characterized by heavily armored law enforcement units, barricades, and aggressive postures, can not only infringe upon the rights of protesters but could also breed distrust between communities and law enforcement. Such distrust, once established, is challenging to dispel and can erode public trust. Following several mishandled protest events in Columbus, OH, Columbus Urban League President Stephanie Hightower cited a rift between police and the public that required dire repair. "Rebuilding confidence and trust between law enforcement and the community it serves requires a collective realignment," Hightower said.[171] This erosion can undermine long-term peace and security within the immediate vicinity of the protest and across the broader region, leading to potential escalations in future gatherings.[172] In the case of Columbus, the tumultuous community-police relationship continues to hinder the police response to protest events, and citizens fear violence. These implications underscore a broader issue: the delicate balance between maintaining order and fostering societal trust.

While the command and control model has its merits, particularly in its capacity to quickly disperse crowds and re-establish order, it carries significant human rights implications. In a country increasingly conscious of civil liberties and democratic norms, the potential suppression of the right to peaceful assembly, freedom of expression, and the right against arbitrary arrests under this model presents grave concerns.[173] Law enforcement agencies and policymakers must weigh these against the perceived benefits of this approach, ensuring that the methods employed respect the very democratic ideals that many protesters seek to uphold.

4. Limitations

Command and control approaches to manage protests can present several limitations. First, they can escalate tensions between the government and citizens. A repressive response by law enforcement can generate resentment, leading to larger and

[171] Karla Rothan, "Panelists Discuss: What Will It Take for Columbus Police to Rebuild Community Trust?," *Columbus Urban League* (blog), September 16, 2021, https://www.cul.org/panelists-discuss-what-will-it-take-for-columbus-police-to-rebuild-community-trust/.

[172] Vitale, "From Negotiated Management to Command and Control."

[173] Vitale, "The Command and Control and Miami Models."

more radical protests in the future.[174] Aggressive crowd control measures, rather than ensuring public safety, can sometimes exacerbate tensions, leading to increased violence rather than de-escalation. Second, these strategies might curtail freedom of expression and assembly, a fundamental democratic purpose of protest. Third, a heavy-handed approach can lead to public relations crises for governments, damaging their legitimacy and reputation.[175] These missteps could lead to a breakdown of trust, causing long-term issues between the public and law enforcement.

Furthermore, there's a concern regarding understanding crowd dynamics within the command and control approach. Such a stringent model might not always be adept at recognizing the nuances and variations within a crowd. A one-size-fits-all strategy risks overlooking the diversity of motivations, behaviors, and intentions in any large gathering. For instance, distinguishing between peaceful protesters and violent agitators becomes crucial for appropriate response measures. In June 2020, the intrusion of agitators from outside groups into an otherwise peaceful crowd in Davenport, IA, led to the death of two protesters, with police unable to discern the agitators from the remainder of the crowd.[176] Clifford Stott, a leading expert on crowd violence, has emphasized that failing to discern these differences can inadvertently escalate conflicts by treating nonviolent participants as threats.[177] When authorities react to peaceful demonstrators with the same manner and intensity as they do to agitators, it can lead to unnecessary confrontations and even reinforce the grievances that sparked the protest in the first place. A general understanding of crowd dynamics is pivotal for ensuring that law enforcement responses are proportionate and effective, fostering a climate of mutual respect and dialogue rather than exacerbating tensions.

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[174] Della Porta and Reiter, *Policing Protest*.

[175] Lydon, "Police Legitimacy and the Policing of Protest," 33.

[176] Jason Clayworth and Tyler Jett, "Organized Agitators Infiltrating Iowa Demonstrations, Police and Activists Say," *Des Moines Register*, June 20, 2020, https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/news/investigations/2020/06/02/outside-agitators-behind-violence-iowa-rallies-protests-police/5316671002/.

[177] Drury and Stott, *Crowds in the 21st Century*.

B. NEGOTIATED MANAGEMENT: LIAISON POLICING

Negotiated management is a policing strategy emphasizing dialogue, cooperation, and mutual understanding between law enforcement and protest organizers. Rather than defaulting to confrontational or forceful tactics, law enforcement under negotiated management works collaboratively with demonstrators to set acceptable parameters for protests, ensuring safety while respecting the rights of assembly and free speech. In essence, negotiated management reinforces the idea that law enforcement and protesters can coexist peacefully through open dialogue and cooperation, ensuring that democratic values and public safety are preserved simultaneously.[178]

Liaison policing is a contemporary strategy in which specific officers are designated to foster communication between law enforcement and protesters. Their primary function is actively engaging with event organizers and attendees, serving as mediators that promote understanding, convey information, and resolve arising concerns. The primary objective of this strategy is to establish a mutual trust between law enforcement and the public, ensuring that protests are conducted peacefully and that participants' rights are upheld.[179] Liaison policing operationalizes many tenets of negotiated management by providing the necessary channels of communication and mediation. Both strategies underscore the importance of communication and collaboration, aiming to balance maintaining public order and safeguarding democratic rights.

1. The Ability to Influence Crowd Behavior

Liaison policing has been increasingly recognized as an effective strategy in managing protests and demonstrations largely for its ability to influence crowd behavior.[180] As a departure from traditional command and control models, which rely heavily on a show of force or containment, Liaison policing seeks to foster dialogue,

[178] Gorringe and Rosie, "'We Will Facilitate Your Protest.'"

[179] Clifford Stott, Martin Scothern, and Hugo Gorringe, "Advances in Liaison Based Public Order Policing in England: Human Rights and Negotiating the Management of Protest?," *Policing* 7, no. 2 (2013): 212–26, https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pat007.

[180] Gorringe, Stott, and Rosie, "Dialogue Police, Decision Making," 111.

understanding, and cooperation between law enforcement officers and protesters. This method is rooted in the knowledge that crowds, including those at protests, are not inherently disorderly but may become so when faced with external challenges or provocations.[181]

Liaison officers engage directly with protesters to address concerns, clarify legal boundaries, and negotiate when possible. Police in the UK have used this tactic in regular practice to help maintain order at football matches by creating direct lines of communication with fan group leaders.[182] Such direct contact can prevent misunderstandings that might escalate into confrontations. For instance, instead of immediately using force to disperse a crowd blocking a street, liaison officers might negotiate a specific time limit for the protest in that location. When dealing with boisterous football fans, UK police work with organizers to set egress routes following the game to keep fans from running into rival teams, potentially spurring conflict.[183] When applied similarly to protest events, this approach recognizes the protesters' free expression rights while maintaining public order.[184]

The presence and approach of liaison officers can alter the dynamics of a crowd. Establishing mutual respect and understanding can encourage self-regulation within the protest group.[185] Stott notes that when protesters believe they are treated fairly and their rights are respected, they are less likely to resort to extreme tactics or violence.[186] The effectiveness of liaison policing hinges on its genuine application. Insincere attempts at dialogue, such as feigning support for the protester's cause, can further erode trust between

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[181] Stephen Reicher et al., "Knowledge-Based Public Order Policing: Principles and Practice," *Policing* 1, no. 4 (2007): 403–15, https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pam067.

[182] Clifford Stott, Andrew Livingstone, and James Hoggett, "Policing Football Crowds in England and Wales: A Model of 'Good Practice'?," *Policing and Society* 18, no. 3 (September 2008): 258–81, https://doi.org/10.1080/10439460802091641.

[183] Stott, Livingstone, and Hoggett.

[184] Hoggett and Stott, "Crowd Psychology, Public Order Police Training."

[185] Gorringe and Rosie, "'We Will Facilitate Your Protest.'"

[186] Stott, Scothern, and Gorringe, "Advances in Liaison Based Public Order Policing in England."

protesters and law enforcement.[187] Police in the UK have faced difficulty with liaison policing programs after a public after action report revealed that police commanders had deployed liaison officers not to facilitate a peaceful protest but to gather intelligence to further law enforcement movements.[188] To successfully influence crowd behavior in protest events, liaison policing requires thorough training, sincere commitment to dialogue, and a broader institutional culture that values community engagement over confrontation.[189]

Liaison policing, when genuinely and effectively applied, has the potential to influence and improve crowd behavior during protest events significantly. By fostering mutual respect and open dialogue, this approach can prevent confrontations, uphold the rights of protesters, and ensure public safety. For modern policing, adopting such strategies signifies a shift toward collaborative, community-focused methods that recognize the complexities of crowd dynamics.

2. The Ability to Predict or Forecast Violence

Liaison policing, through improved communication and cooperation between law enforcement and protest groups, can help to mitigate conflict and enhance mutual understanding. One of the major promises of liaison policing is to improve the prediction and prevention of violent protest events. Law enforcement can implement strategies to prevent violence and maintain peace in protest events by proactively identifying threats and understanding the underlying social grievances.

Predicting violent protest events is inherently challenging due to the complex factors, including socio-economic, political, and cultural elements, which can trigger or exacerbate them. However, through their continuous interaction and engagement with the protest groups, liaison officers are positioned to gather nuanced and grassroots-level information. In the case of the protests surrounding the 2009 NATO Assembly, anarchist

187 Gorringe and Rosie, "'We Will Facilitate Your Protest.'"

188 "Smiling Spies: Police Liaison Officers Exposed," The Ecologist, June 18, 2014, https://theecologist.org/2014/jun/18/smiling-spies-police-liaison-officers-exposed.

189 Stott and Drury, "Crowds, Context and Identity."

group leaders were met by police negotiators who, rather than trying to quash the gathering, paused to understand the group and seek their input in police response plans.[190] These officers often have a deeper understanding of community dynamics, sentiments, and potential flashpoints; which, when processed and analyzed, can offer early warning signals.[191] Through their relationships, liaison officers might be privy to the conversations, intentions, or preparations of specific groups planning to carry out disruptive activities.[192] This advanced knowledge would likely prove pivotal in the ability of law enforcement to take action to prevent violence before it occurs.

While liaison policing can be instrumental in intelligence collection and building trust, the effectiveness of its predictive ability heavily relies on how the information is integrated and acted upon. Practical data analysis, collaboration with intelligence units, and appropriate response strategies are essential to translate potential insights into actionable preventive measures.[193] Without these assets, the information can be rendered useless or even counterproductive.

Liaison policing offers a promising avenue for forecasting or predicting violent protest events by fostering trust and facilitating the flow of valuable information from communities to law enforcement. However, its success is contingent upon the holistic integration of this approach within the broader policing strategy, ensuring that insights are gathered and effectively utilized. Further research and evaluation are necessary to continuously refine and maximize the potential of liaison policing in predicting and preventing violence.

3. Human Rights Implications

Liaison policing emphasizes communication and dialogue between law enforcement and protesters, aiming to reduce conflict and facilitate peaceful

[190] Gorringe and Rosie, "'We Will Facilitate Your Protest.'"

[191] Stott, Scothern, and Gorringe, "Advances in Liaison Based Public Order Policing in England."

[192] Clifford Stott, Owen West, and Matthew Radburn, "Policing Football 'Risk'? A Participant Action Research Case Study of a Liaison-Based Approach to 'Public Order,'" *Policing and Society* 28, no. 1 (2018): 1–16, https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2015.1126267.

[193] Stott, Scothern, and Gorringe, "Advances in Liaison Based Public Order Policing in England."

demonstrations. However, its application can have varied implications for human rights. From a positive perspective, liaison policing can uphold and reinforce the right to freedom of assembly and expression. By opening lines of communication, law enforcement can ensure that protesters' rights are protected, and their voices are heard while balancing the rights of others not involved in the protest and ensuring public safety.

Nevertheless, concerns arise when the lines between communication and surveillance blur. If liaison officers are perceived as—or, indeed, are—gathering intelligence on protesters rather than genuinely facilitating communication, this could infringe on privacy or erode trust. Moreover, the potential misuse of collected information could lead to subsequent unfair treatment, profiling, or targeting of protesters, which might deter individuals from participating in future protests for fear of repercussions, indirectly impacting their right to assemble and protest.[194] Groups such as Netpol (The Network For Police Monitoring), an independent watchdog group in the UK, frequently advises protest groups from engaging with liaison officers, saying, "over-friendly officers: the eyes and ears of police intelligence gathering right in the middle of our demonstrations. They will try hard to talk to you but you are not obliged to engage with them: so don't."[195] For genuine trust-building between law enforcement and protest groups, liaison officers must prioritize open communication over covert surveillance, safeguarding the democratic right to protest without fear of undue scrutiny or potential backlash.

The success of liaison policing largely depends on the trust between law enforcement and the protesters. In context, with history of law enforcement misconduct or where state institutions are not trusted, the mere presence of liaison officers might be perceived as a tactic of intimidation, thus deterring the free exercise of protest rights.[196] While liaison policing for protest events can be a positive approach which upholds the right

[194] Della Porta and Reiter, *Policing Protest*.

[195] Netpol [@netpol], "A Reminder That Protests Today Will Include Lots of These Blue-Bibbed, over-Friendly Officers: The Eyes and Ears of Police Intelligence Gathering Right in the Middle of Our Demonstrations. They Will Try Hard to Talk to You but You Are Not Obliged to Engage with Them: So Don't," Tweet, *Twitter*, October 14, 2023, https://twitter.com/netpol/status/1713119345746862184.

[196] David Waddington, "A 'Kinder Blue': Analysing the Police Management of the Sheffield Anti-'Lib Dem' Protest of March 2011," *Policing and Society* 23, no. 1 (March 2013): 46–64, https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2012.703197.

to protest, its actual human rights implications depend largely on its implementation. For law enforcement to genuinely uphold rights, transparency, and sincerity, trust must be at the forefront of their actions.

4. Limitations

Liaison policing has strength as a strategy to build bridges between law enforcement and protest groups, aiming to facilitate peaceful demonstrations and mitigate potential conflicts. Despite the central aim to build these partnerships, the ability to build trust remains a significant limitation of the strategy. For liaison policing to be effective, both parties—the law enforcement and the protesters—must trust each other. However, building and maintaining this trust can be extremely challenging given the historically adversarial relationship between these groups in many contexts.[197]

Liaison policing requires dedicated officers and specialized training. As Matthew Hanley highlighted, officers in many jurisdictions have adopted an "us versus them" view toward the public and may see community-centric policies as "soft on crime."[198] To change this view would require a drastic shift for organizations that do not have strong community policing cultures. Officers assigned to these roles receive specialized training encompassing negotiation, communication, and conflict resolution capabilities. The responsibilities of liaison officers differ significantly from those of officers in conventional crowd control roles: there must be clear, visible divisions to prevent confusion among protest groups. To differentiate roles, police officers in the UK assigned to liaison functions wear a distinct uniform to identify their purpose to crowds.[199] Liaison policing demands specialized training and a fundamental shift in the officer's mindset, transitioning from an "us versus them" perspective to a genuine commitment to community collaboration and understanding.

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[197] Stott, Scothern, and Gorringe, "Advances in Liaison Based Public Order Policing in England."

[198] Hanley, "Killing Barney Fife," 33.

[199] College of Policing, "Police Liaison Team Officer," College of Policing, accessed May 8, 2023, https://profdev.college.police.uk/professional-profile/police-liaison-team-officer/.

External influences, such as political pressures or media portrayal, can hamper the effectiveness of liaison policing. The context in which a protest is situated can often overshadow the localized efforts of liaison officers, potentially making their work seem irrelevant or even counterproductive in the eyes of protesters, fellow law enforcement officers, and the general public.[200] For example, there were approximately 4,700 BLM demonstrations across the U.S. in 2020.[201] Media attention on events that were violent or otherwise disorderly overshadowed the events that were peaceful and uneventful. Efforts of agencies that find success with liaison programs may yield little recognition.

While liaison policing offers a promising avenue to reduce conflict at protest events, it is not without its limitations. Building trust, ensuring appropriate training, and navigating broader socio-political influences are significant challenges that can impede its effectiveness. Still, recognizing and addressing these challenges can help pave the way for more harmonious future interactions between law enforcement and protesters.

C. CROWD PSYCHOLOGY MODELS: ELABORATED SOCIAL IDENTITY MODEL

Understanding group dynamics is pivotal, especially during tense situations like protests and riots. The ESIM, an evolution of the Social Identity Theory, offers a lens through which law enforcement can dissect and interpret these dynamics. ESIM recognizes and analyzes the shared social identities in crowds and how they evolve based on interactions, particularly with external entities such as law enforcement or opposing groups.[202]

The ESIM underscores that behaviors exhibited by crowds are neither inherently irrational nor spontaneously violent; instead, they emanate from shared social identities.

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200 Gorringe and Rosie, "'We Will Facilitate Your Protest.'"

201 Audra D. S. Burch et al., "How Black Lives Matter Reached Every Corner of America," *New York Times*, June 13, 2020, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/06/13/us/george-floyd-protests-cities-photos.html.

202 John Drury and Steve Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change: The Emergence of New Social Identities," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 39, no. 4 (December 2000): 581, https://doi.org/10.1348/014466600164642.

These identities during collective events can be multifaceted and dynamic.[203] How external figures engage with these identities can shape the trajectory of crowd behavior. For instance, an aggressive approach from law enforcement paints the crowd with a broad brush that can unify initially disparate identities into a singular oppositional force.[204] Conversely, acknowledging the diversity within a group can lead to more constructive engagements. For example, recognizing that a small group did not assimilate well into the larger protest group allowed Miami police to monitor and arrest a group of agitators after they vandalized a police car.[205] Other models would have suggested terminating the entire event based on this criminal act; however, by directing police intervention to the agitators, the demonstration could continue. Therefore, the ESIM provides an analytical framework for understanding crowd behavior and practical insights into how authorities can effectively and peacefully manage and respond to protests.[206]

1. The Ability to Influence Crowd Behavior

ESIM provides insights into how crowd members' evolving social identities influence their behavior in interactions with external groups, such as law enforcement or counter-protest groups.[207] Utilizing ESIM to influence crowd behavior requires understanding how group interactions, perceptions, and dynamics can be managed or redirected.

One central tenet of ESIM is that the actions of external agents toward individual members of a crowd can shape the perceptions and responses of the wider group. For example, if law enforcement treats a few crowd members aggressively or unfairly, the crowd may perceive it as an action against the entire group. This was the case during a June 2020 event in New York City (NYC) when police used force to attempt an arrest; the crowd

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[203] Reicher et al., "Knowledge-Based Public Order Policing," 404.

[204] Reicher et al., 413.

[205] Michelle Marchante, "'Southern Slaves' Member Charged with Vandalizing Miami Cruisers During Protests, Cops Say," *Miami Herald*, June 7, 2020, https://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/crime/article243346866.html.

[206] Reicher et al., "Knowledge-Based Public Order Policing," 404.

[207] Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change," 445.

as a whole pushed back against the police line, further escalating the force used by police.[208] In this case, even those participants who were not directly involved perceived the arrest as an attack on the crowd's collective identity, leading to a unified response and escalation of conflict. Understanding this dynamic enables police interventions to prioritize fairness and proportionality in crowd engagements, thereby minimizing the chances of negative group responses.

ESIM underscores the importance of differentiating between groups within a crowd rather than viewing the crowd as a homogenous entity.[209] Different factions within a crowd can have distinct motivations, intentions, and thresholds for behavior. By recognizing and addressing these variations, interventions can be strategically targeted. For instance, establishing communication with peaceful factions and empowering them can help moderate the behavior of more aggressive factions. This differentiation can also aid in deescalating potential conflicts by avoiding the polarization of the entire crowd against external agents.[210]

Positive interactions and open communication channels can foster a more cooperative dynamic.[211] Dialogue can help law enforcement understand the needs and grievances of the crowd, facilitating mutual respect and cooperation. It can also counter any misunderstandings or rumors that might fuel animosity among protesters.[212] When crowd members perceive that they are heard and their concerns are addressed, they are less likely to engage in aggressive behavior. For example, even when the cause of the protest is contrary to popular opinion, such as the Palestinian protests of 2021, when law

[208] Brandon del Pozo, "Watch This Protest Turn from Peaceful to Violent in 60 Seconds," *New York Times*, June 26, 2020, sec. Opinion, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/06/26/opinion/blm-protests-police-violence.html.

[209] Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change."

[210] Drury and Reicher.

[211] Reicher et al., "Knowledge-Based Public Order Policing."

[212] Reicher et al.

enforcement makes an effort to understand the view of the protesters, common ground is established to foster future communication.[213]

ESIM offers a nuanced perspective on crowd behavior, emphasizing the role of social identity and intergroup dynamics. By understanding and incorporating these insights, it's possible to influence crowd behavior more effectively, reducing the potential for conflict and fostering a more harmonious interaction between crowds and external agents.

2. The Ability to Predict or Forecast Violence

Understanding crowd behavior is crucial in predicting and mitigating potential escalations during mass gatherings or protests. Traditional models such as command and control have often oversimplified crowd dynamics, viewing them as homogenous groups prone to collective irrationality. Through programs such as liaison policing, the negotiated management model suggests that law enforcement can manage protests through planning with organizers and clear communication emphasizing transparency with the entirety of the group. However, the ESIM introduces a nuanced understanding of these dynamics, highlighting the evolving nature of social identities and their interplay with external forces, especially law enforcement. This model shifts the focus from a general view of crowds to specific interactions and conditions that might precipitate violent outcomes.[214]

The ESIM offers insights into the dynamics of crowd behavior by focusing on how social identities evolve and become distinct during intergroup interactions. When forecasting violence in crowds, the ESIM can help by highlighting certain conditions and interactions that might trigger aggressive responses.[215]

ESIM suggests that how law enforcement treats individual members or sub-groups within a crowd can significantly influence the wider group's behavior. If crowd members

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[213] Maria Ines Garcia-Calderon, "Elaborated Social Identity Model Applied to Last Year's Palestinian Riots," *Social Policy* (blog), April 13, 2022, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/socialpolicy/2022/04/13/elaborated-social-identity-model-applied-to-last-years-palestinian-riots/.

[214] Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change."

[215] Drury and Reicher.

perceive these interventions as indiscriminate or unjust, it can lead to a collective sense of grievance, making violence more likely.[216] In the case of the 2021 Palestinian protests, disproportionate force against the group caused a drastic increase in the size of future events.[217] Observing the interactions between law enforcement and crowd members can offer early signs. When aggressive or confrontational tactics are employed against particular individuals or factions without clear justification, it might forecast a broader hostile response from the crowd.[218]

Recognizing the diversity of crowds is central to ESIM. Different groups within the crowd may have distinct agendas and thresholds for violence. By understanding these variations and monitoring the more aggressive or volatile factions, authorities can anticipate potential flashpoints where violence is more likely to occur. If these volatile groups grow in size or influence, or appear to be orchestrating collective actions, it can be a precursor to potential violence.[219]

ESIM emphasizes the importance of context in shaping crowd behavior. Historical precedents, prior interactions with authorities, and the broader political or social climate can influence how a crowd might react in a given situation. For instance, if past events involving similar groups or at the same location resulted in confrontations due to perceived injustices or aggressive interventions, there is a likelihood that future events will as well. Police may assume that future crowds might be more prone to violent reactions, and protest groups will anticipate similar treatment from police.[220] For example, based on previous violence surrounding the death of George Floyd, police agencies across the U.S. predicted violence when a video of the beating of Tyre Nichols was released in 2023. Law enforcement must acknowledge context and historical significance but ensure it does not taint their ability to address each group impartially.

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[216] Drury and Reicher.

[217] Garcia-Calderon, "Elaborated Social Identity Model."

[218] Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change."

[219] Reicher et al., "Knowledge-Based Public Order Policing."

[220] Reicher et al.

The complexities of crowd dynamics necessitate a sophisticated approach in understanding and predicting potential violence. The ESIM is arguably essential in this endeavor, shifting away from generalizations and emphasizing specific triggers and conditions that can lead to escalations.[221] By integrating the ESIM's insights into their strategies, law enforcement, and organizers can adopt a proactive stance, recognizing early signs of potential confrontations and taking informed steps to ensure the safety and rights of all participants. In an age where mass gatherings are common and high stakes, such an understanding is beneficial and imperative.

3. Human Rights Implications

Using the ESIM during protest events has significant implications for promoting and protecting human rights. Like liaison policing, the ESIM emphasizes the importance of law enforcement and crowd interactions, noting that aggressive policing can amplify the likelihood of crowd disorder rather than reduce it.[222] When law enforcement treats a crowd as uniformly hostile, they risk provoking a unified reaction against such treatment. This raises concerns about the rights of freedom of expression and peaceful assembly, as police actions against a few agitators may inadvertently stifle the group's rights. By understanding the dynamics suggested by ESIM, law enforcement can facilitate a more rights-respecting approach. Instead of blanket repressive measures, a nuanced approach differentiates peaceful protesters and potential agitators.[223] This understanding helps minimize unnecessary force and ensures that protesters can exercise their rights without fear of violence. As demonstrated through application to UK football matches, ESIM aided police in identifying and removing agitators, thus protecting the rights of the remainder of the group.[224] By adopting the insights of ESIM, law enforcement can balance maintaining order and respecting individual rights.

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221 Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change."

222 Drury and Reicher.

223 Reicher et al., "Knowledge-Based Public Order Policing."

224 Stott, Livingstone, and Hoggett, "Policing Football Crowds in England and Wales."

4. Limitations

The ESIM has influenced the understanding crowd dynamics, particularly in intergroup interactions. However, like any theoretical framework, ESIM has limitations and faces criticism.

ESIM's focus on social identity influencing crowd behavior may be a potential pitfall. While it is undeniable that social identity plays a crucial role in collective actions, psychological processes (e.g., emotions, individual differences, conflicting ideologies, or broader cultural factors) can also significantly impact crowd dynamics.[225] For example, a major factor determining behavior, such as mental health or criminal history, are easily overlooked, especially when a person is integrated into a crowd of potentially hundreds. ESIM's emphasis on social identity might downplay or overlook these other potentially influential variables.

ESIM places substantial weight on the interactions between the crowd and external agents, particularly law enforcement, in shaping the crowd's behavior.[226] While these interactions are undoubtedly crucial in many contexts, this perspective might inadvertently minimize the group's internal dynamics. Factors like leadership within the crowd, pre-existing plans or intentions, and internal communication networks can also play pivotal roles in determining the crowd's behavior, irrespective of law enforcement or external agent interactions.[227] For example, certain groups may be set on violence regardless of any positive interaction or attempt at collaboration by police.

The diverse composition of crowds, emphasized by ESIM, can also be seen as a limitation when it comes to the practical application of the model. While understanding that crowds are diverse and consist of multiple factions is theoretically sound, it poses challenges for on-the-ground management and interventions. Distinguishing between different factions in real-time, especially in large and dynamic crowds, can be difficult,

[225] Clark McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991).

[226] Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change."

[227] McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd*.

limiting the practical utility of this model.[228] While ESIM provides a descriptive account of how crowd dynamics unfold, it may not always offer predictive power. Understanding past events through the lens of ESIM is insightful, but using the model to predict future crowd behaviors with certainty can be challenging due to the myriad of variables involved in any given situation.[229]

D. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The management of public protests and large crowd events necessitates strategies that strike a delicate balance between preserving order and respecting fundamental rights. Historically, various models have been deployed to achieve this balance, each embodying its own philosophy and approach. Among these, three models—the command and control model, the negotiated management model, and the ESIM—stand out for their distinct methodologies and implications. In evaluating these models, it is essential to understand their objectives, potential benefits, and challenges. Such an understanding provides invaluable insights for law enforcement agencies striving to enhance their crowd management tactics while protecting human rights.

1. Command and Control Model

The command and control model, exemplified by practices such as the Miami Model, is characterized by law enforcement's pronounced and authoritative presence to maintain order. In the U.S., even as alternative methods have been occasionally employed on a limited basis, the predominant reliance on the command and control strategy persists. This prevalence is underpinned by a continuing belief among law enforcement that a conspicuous show of force deters potential violence and strategically positions law enforcement for an immediate response should violence ensue. The model primarily aims to dissuade violent behavior through its formidable presence, seeking to quash potential threats preemptively. However, its emphasis tends to pivot toward addressing explicit acts of violence as they emerge, resulting in measures that are more reactionary than

[228] Reicher et al., "Knowledge-Based Public Order Policing."

[229] McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd*.

anticipatory. Such an aggressive approach bears significant human rights implications. It can impinge on fundamental rights like free assembly and expression, often giving rise to claims of undue force and arbitrary detention. A notable limitation of this strategy is its potential to escalate confrontations unintentionally. Adopting an overwhelmingly forceful stance risks generalizing the entire crowd's intent, which can marginalize and provoke otherwise peaceful demonstrators.

2. Negotiated Management Model

The negotiated management approach, exemplified by practices like liaison policing, highlights the importance of dialogue and cultivating relationships between law enforcement and the public. Central to this strategy is establishing a collaborative atmosphere, clear communication and engaging the crowd in upholding peace and order. Continuous engagement allows law enforcement to access insights into the crowd's sentiments and potential points of contention, although these understandings may occasionally remain on the surface. From a human rights perspective, the dialogic focus of this model inherently respects rights like free assembly and expression. However, pitfalls such as miscommunication or perceived inauthenticity can breed mistrust. Despite its merits, the negotiated management approach presents challenges. It necessitates rigorous training for effective implementation and may demand considerable time to yield results. Additionally, its merits fade with groups who refuse to cooperate with law enforcement in any way.

3. Elaborated Socia Identity Model

Incorporating insights from psychology, the ESIM serves as an intricate analytical framework to decipher the multifaceted dynamics of crowds. This model, primarily an analytical tool, equips law enforcement with the understanding to strategize interventions more precisely. By delving into group norms and identifying deviations, ESIM furnishes law enforcement with a mechanism to foresee potential instigators or volatile situations. From a human rights vantage point, the ESIM's knowledge-driven approach fosters respect for individual rights by enabling more pointed interventions rather than wholesale ones. Nevertheless, the ESIM isn't without challenges. Effective implementation demands in-

depth training, and in rapidly unfolding situations, the model might not always yield immediate resolutions.

E. CONCLUSION

Each model offers unique advantages and comes with inherent challenges. While the command and control model ensures immediate response, it may lack the nuance needed in complex scenarios. Though rooted in cooperation, the negotiated management model might face challenges in situations with a lack of clear leadership. Meanwhile, ESIM provides a deep understanding of crowd dynamics but requires more in-depth training and real-time analytical capabilities. Ultimately, the effectiveness of a model depends on the context and the adaptability of the law enforcement agencies involved. A composite approach, which draws from the strengths of each model, might offer the most holistic solution to influencing and predicting crowd violence.

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IV. CASE STUDIES

This research used a qualitative study of three protest events within an analytical framework to understand better the usefulness of command and control, negotiated management, and ESIM. The primary objective of this comparison is to reveal the strengths, limitations, and relevance of the three crowd management models. By adopting this structured approach, this research aims to evaluate the strategies implemented and deepen understanding of the interplay between protesters and law enforcement agencies. This chapter discusses the analytical framework developed for comparison, discusses the chosen protest events, and applies the analysis separately to each event.

A. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR PROTEST EVENT ASSESSMENT

The analysis begins with a detailed overview of the selected protest event, exploring its origins, motivations, significant participants, and key characteristics such as size, location, and duration. The protest's primary goals and pivotal moments are outlined, providing context. The research then examines the application of the command and control model, marked by its hierarchical nature and often militarized tactics. Specific tactics, such as force deployment and security measures, are identified, followed by an evaluation of their merits, challenges, and implications within the protest's context. The analysis also probes the perceptions and reactions of protesters and the public to this model. Shifting focus to the negotiated management approach, the emphasis is on dialogue and cooperation, pinpointing instances of mutual communication and agreements between law enforcement and protesters while noting its successes and shortcomings. The third model, the ESIM, is employed to understand the intricate dynamics of group relations, identities, and behaviors within the protest, especially in reaction to law enforcement actions. The culmination of this analysis offers a comparative view of the three models, contrasting their strengths and weaknesses within the specific backdrop of the protest and highlighting any intersecting areas among them.

B. PROTEST MOVEMENTS FOR ANALYSIS

The selection of the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement, the BLM movement, and the Women's March for in-depth analysis is fostered by several considerations. First and foremost, these events represent distinct socio-political contexts and prevalent concerns within the U.S. during their respective time frames. OWS spotlighted economic inequality and corporate influence in government. The BLM movement provided a focal point for the longstanding issues of racial discrimination and law enforcement brutality. The Women's March emerged as a multifaceted response to the inauguration of President Donald Trump, encapsulating concerns related to women's rights, racial equality, and broader social justice issues. These protests' sheer magnitude and nationwide resonance highlight their significance, each having mobilized large groups and elicited varied law enforcement responses. Analyzing these events offers a holistic view of modern American protest movements, allowing for understanding crowd management strategies in varied contexts.

C. OCCUPY WALL STREET

The OWS movement originated in September 2011 in Zuccotti Park in NYC's Financial District. Inspired by global movements and initiated by the Canadian activist group Adbusters, its primary rallying cry was against economic inequality, encapsulated in the slogan "We are the 99%." This slogan referred to the disproportionate wealth and power held by the top 1% of the population at the expense of the remaining 99%. The movement quickly spread across numerous cities in the U.S. and abroad. OWS did not have a centralized leadership but was a cooperative of various individuals and groups. While its major thrust was economic inequality, it touched on issues like corporate influence in politics and college debt. The encampments, most notably in Zuccotti Park, were symbolic and logistical centers of the movement until their eventual eviction.[230]

[230] David Graeber, *The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement* (London: Penguin Books, 2014).

1. Application of the Command and Control Model

In addressing the OWS protests, particularly those concentrated in NYC's financial district, there was a pronounced reliance on the command and control approach by law enforcement agencies. A focal point of this response was Zuccotti Park, which had become a symbol of the movement and its opposition to economic inequality. Law enforcement agencies took significant measures to counter the growing momentum of the protesters. They set up barriers, creating physical boundaries around the park and limited ingress and egress. Additionally, New York Police Department (NYPD) officers conducted mass arrests, a tactic aimed not only at depleting the ranks of the protesters but also as a deterrent against further participation in the movement.[231] Despite these stringent measures, the resilience and persistence of the OWS protesters highlighted the complexities of managing grassroots protest movements.

Possibly the most visible element of the NYPD command and control strategy was realized in November 2011 when a large-scale operation was initiated to clear out the encampment at Zuccotti Park. This operation, involving a substantial law enforcement presence and carried out under cover of night, successfully removed the protesters and their makeshift shelters.[232] The action occurred over several hours with ingress routes to the park blocked and air space over the park secured, preventing media from covering the activity.[233] The broader implications of these aggressive tactics were twofold. The immediate objectives were met as protesters were cleared from the park, effectively ending the protest event. However, the ramifications extended beyond the immediate aftermath. The police actions in clearing Zuccotti Park were criticized by protest group members, citizens, and elected officials.[234] Many perceived them as disproportionate responses to

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[231] McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd*.

[232] Nathan Schneider, "From Occupy Wall Street to Occupy Everywhere," *The Nation*, October 12, 2011, https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/occupy-wall-street-occupy-everywhere/.

[233] Raymond Vasvari, "What the Actions over Zuccotti Park Teach Us about Public Spaces and Citizen Protest," *Slate Magazine*, November 15, 2011, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2011/11/occupy_wall_street_police_raid_what_zuccotti_park_teaches_us_about_public_spaces_and_citizen_protest.html.

[234] Vasvari.

what was largely a peaceful protest. Critics argued that the fundamental rights of the protesters, such as the freedom of assembly and speech, were being infringed upon.[235] Moreover, the clearing of Zuccotti Park failed to end the movement and may have acted as a catalyst for the larger movement, which took the measure as a rallying cry, igniting further protests.[236]

While not initially covered by broadcast media due to a lack of access, cell phone photos and videos of the operation began to surface and circulate. The optics of these forceful tactics arguably played into the protesters' narrative of a system skewed in favor of the powerful elite. Instead of quelling the movement, the aggressive responses seemed to amplify its message, attracting broader public attention and sympathy. The imagery of peaceful protesters being arrested en masse and the encampment's forceful clearance galvanized public opinion, making OWS not just a localized event in NYC but a focal point of discussions about economic inequality nationally and even globally.[237]

2. Application of Negotiated Management

Instances of negotiated management were less prevalent with OWS than with other movements. While there were moments of dialogue, the decentralized nature of OWS made it challenging for authorities to identify clear leaders with whom to negotiate. In specific locations outside of NYC, there were efforts by law enforcement to set boundaries for mutually understood and agreed-upon protests, but these were not universally consistent.[238]

Early in the protests, there were efforts to communicate and find common ground between the OWS organizers and the NYPD. Some accounts suggest that protest leaders and the NYPD had engaged in discussions about march routes and designated areas for

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[235] Schneider, "From Occupy Wall Street to Occupy Everywhere."

[236] Vasvari, "What the Actions over Zuccotti Park Teach Us about Public Spaces and Citizen Protest."

[237] Schneider, "From Occupy Wall Street to Occupy Everywhere."

[238] Schneider.

gathering, ensuring the safety of both protesters and the public.[239] The initial attempts at collaboration underscore the potential for constructive dialogue in managing large-scale protests. However, these moments of negotiation were not consistently applied or sustained throughout the movement. The dynamic nature of OWS, with its decentralized leadership and grassroots momentum, posed challenges for a constant and effective line of communication.[240] The movement's widespread resonance and rapid growth might have contributed to this breakdown in dialogue. There were times when tensions escalated, and the more cooperative strategies seemed to be set aside in favor of stricter law enforcement measures.[241]

In assessing the successes and limitations of the negotiated management approach within the OWS context, it is clear that moments of cooperative dialogue did exist, though they were sporadic. Thus, this approach appeared to reduce confrontations and fostered a more peaceful atmosphere. However, the decentralized nature of OWS and the sheer magnitude of the protest often made sustained negotiation difficult.[242] The practical application of negotiated management, seen early in the OWS movement, has clear merit in helping manage large crowds. However, complications arise in its long-term effectiveness, particularly in a movement such as OWS, where protesters occupy a physical space for an extended period. In these instances, the model becomes less effective over time as law enforcement and protesters grow frustrated over a lack of progress, albeit both sides define progress differently. While negotiated management can offer initial solutions, its sustainability in prolonged movements like OWS highlights the need for adaptive strategies that address the evolving dynamics and perceptions of progress from both protesters and law enforcement.

239 Schneider.

240 Adam D. Reich, "The Organizational Trace of an Insurgent Moment: Occupy Wall Street and New York City's Social Movement Field, 2004 to 2015," *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 3 (2017): 1–21, https://doi.org/10.1177/2378023117700651.

241 Reich.

242 Reich.

3. Application of the ESIM

Analyzing the OWS movement through the ESIM offers a distinct understanding of how collective identities evolve in protest events.[243] The aggressive tactics employed by law enforcement, including forceful evictions and reported episodes of law enforcement brutality, served as catalysts for what the ESIM terms "reactive solidarity."[244] Instead of dispersing or intimidating the protesters, these confrontational strategies inadvertently strengthened the resolve and unity of the OWS participants.[245] Instances of law enforcement aggression reinforced the shared cause. This reinforcement of collective identity is a core tenet of the ESIM.

Beyond solidifying the commitment of existing participants, these incidents served as pivotal moments that drew in many who had previously been on the fence regarding the movement.[246] The visual and emotional impact of watching fellow citizens advocating for economic justice and representing the broader "99%" being treated aggressively by law enforcement forces resonated with many. The widespread media coverage helped further reinforce the "us versus them" dynamic, where the "us" represented not just the OWS protesters but a broader constituency of individuals who felt marginalized or oppressed.

4. Comparative Analysis of the Three Models

Evaluating the response to this movement using three diverse models — command and control, negotiated management, and the ESIM — allows a comprehensive examination of crowd control techniques, their effectiveness, and broader implications. The main advantage of the command and control model lies in its rapid efficiency in crowd dispersion and re-establishing authority over public spaces. The eviction of protesters from Zuccotti Park exemplifies this approach's immediate results. However, aggressive tactics can escalate tensions and inadvertently amplify the movement's media coverage and public

243 Graeber, *The Democracy Project*.

244 Reicher, Spears, and Postmes, "A Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Phenomena."

245 Schneider, "From Occupy Wall Street to Occupy Everywhere."

246 Graeber, *The Democracy Project*.

support. Such outcomes can be counterproductive, as measures intended to diminish the protest may inadvertently reinforce the protest's message and expand its influence.[247]

Focusing on dialogue, the strength of negotiated management rests in fostering mutual understanding and deescalating potential conflicts. Nonetheless, its application during the OWS movement was hampered due to the movement's decentralized structure and extended occupation of public spaces. Without clear leadership figures, law enforcement found it challenging to engage in effective negotiation, resulting in sporadic and inconsistent outcomes.[248] The ESIM offers a different perspective on the internal dynamics of the protest group, highlighting how external triggers, such as forceful law enforcement responses, can amplify and solidify group identity. It suggests that aggressive external interventions can further solidify a group. Instead of suppressing the movement, confrontational strategies inadvertently fortified the commitment of the OWS participants, resonating with a broader demographic and enhancing the "us versus them" dynamic.[249]

D. THE BLACK LIVES MATTER MOVEMENT

The BLM movement originated in 2013 after the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's murderer, George Zimmerman. Rooted in the African-American community's frustration over systemic racism and law enforcement brutality, BLM emerged as a powerful social justice movement advocating for the rights and dignity of Black individuals.[250] Key participants include its co-founders Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tometi, but the movement rapidly expanded to encompass a global network of activists and allies.[251] The scale of the movement grew monumentally, with protests occurring across all fifty states in the U.S. and numerous other countries.[252] While the movement is ongoing, peak

247 Della Porta and Reiter, *Policing Protest*.

248 Della Porta and Reiter.

249 Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change."

250 Herbert G. Ruffin, II, "Black Lives Matter: The Growth of a New Social Justice Movement •," *Black Past* (blog), August 23, 2015, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/black-lives-matter-growth-new-social-justice-movement/.

251 Patrisse Cullors, "Herstory," Black Lives Matter, accessed October 8, 2023, https://blacklivesmatter.com/herstory/.

252 Cullors, "Herstory."

moments of activity, such as after the killing of George Floyd in May 2020, saw widespread global participation. The overarching objectives of BLM include addressing systemic racism, ensuring accountability for law enforcement misconduct, and affirming the value of Black lives. Its outcomes have led to heightened societal awareness and sensitivity to racial inequities and notable legislative changes in various jurisdictions.[253] BLM advocates various requirements for improved police training, restrictions on search warrants, and increased use of modern technology such as police body-worn cameras.[254]

1. Application of the Command and Control Model

The BLM movement has consistently been on the receiving end of the command and control model's tactics, especially during heightened protest periods. The model's hierarchical approach and often militarized strategies have been evident in numerous BLM protest events across the US.[255] Examples can be seen in force deployments where law enforcement, often in riot gear, would stand in militarized formations, sometimes even employing armored vehicles for crowd control. During BLM demonstrations in major cities such as New York, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., law enforcement erected barriers, enforced curfews, and made widespread detentions to maintain order and prevent violence.[256]

Arguably, there are advantages and disadvantages to employing the command and control model in the context of BLM protests. Proponents argue that the model ensures public safety and protects property. With the potential for some demonstrations to become violent or result in looting, a strong law enforcement presence can deter such actions.

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253 Ruffin II, "Black Lives Matter."

254 Rashawn Ray, "Black Lives Matter at 10 Years: 8 Ways the Movement Has Been Highly Effective," Brookings Commentary, October 12, 2022, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/black-lives-matter-at-10-years-what-impact-has-it-had-on-policing/.

255 Cátia P. Teixeira, Colin Wayne Leach, and Russell Spears, "White Americans' Belief in Systemic Racial Injustice and in-Group Identification Affect Reactions to (Peaceful vs. Destructive) 'Black Lives Matter' Protest," *Psychology of Violence* 12, no. 4 (July 2022): 280–92, https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000425.

256 Ruffin II, "Black Lives Matter."

However, critics argue that such a heavy-handed approach can escalate tensions rather than de-escalate them. By presenting a militarized front, law enforcement may inadvertently stoke fears and anxieties among protesters, potentially leading to more confrontations.[257] The public's and protesters' perceptions of this model are crucial. For many within and outside the BLM movement, command and control methods signify an oppressive response to legitimate grievances about systemic racism.[258] This sentiment was particularly evident during the summer of 2020, when protests following the killing of George Floyd saw extensive use of this model, leading to widespread criticism from civil rights advocates, media, and even global attention from the United Nations, who criticized police actions against media and peaceful demonstrators.[259]

2. Application of Negotiated Management

The underpinning of the negotiated management model emphasizes a belief in dialogue and collaboration between protesters and law enforcement. At face value, the covenant would seem to coincide with the goals of the Back Lives Matter movement to end police violence. However, the application of the model respective to the BLM movement was mixed and inconsistent.

In numerous instances, the BLM movement has shown a willingness to engage with authorities to ensure peaceful demonstrations. Many protests have seen organizers coordinate with local law enforcement departments, outlining planned routes and negotiating places to gather.[260] In these cases, the pre-planned nature of the events facilitated a structure that reduced the potential for conflict. An example of this is seen in Washington, D.C., where organizers collaborated with law enforcement to ensure the safe passage of thousands of demonstrators through the streets, culminating in a peaceful

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[257] William Smith, "Policing, Protest, and Rights," *Public Affairs Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2018): 185–204.

[258] Ruffin II, "Black Lives Matter."

[259] Edward R. Maguire and Megan Oakley, *Policing Protests: Lessons from the Occupy Movement, Ferguson & Beyond: A Guide for Police* (New York: Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, 2020), https://www.hfg.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/PolicingProtests.pdf.

[260] Monica C. Bell, "Police Reform and the Dismantling of Legal Estrangement," *Yale Law Journal*, 2017, 2054–2150.

gathering at the Lincoln Memorial.[261] However, the negotiated management approach did not always succeed. Several BLM protests were marked by confrontations between demonstrators and law enforcement, which sometimes led to the use of tear gas, rubber bullets, and arrests.[262] These confrontations can be attributed to multiple factors, such as perceptions of law enforcement overreach, lack of trust between law enforcement and Black communities, or even external provocateurs seeking to instigate violence.[263] These challenges highlight the limitations of the negotiated management approach, especially when deeply rooted mistrust and systemic issues are at play.

The movement itself is not monolithic, and while some chapters or organizers may be open to negotiation, others might inherently distrust authorities, believing that negotiation could dilute the movement's demands.[264] This diversity in perspectives within the BLM movement further complicates applying a consistent negotiated management approach across different protests and locations. Nonetheless, the opportunity exists to build relationships with groups open to the partnership, possibly leading to cooperation in groups who were previously hesitant. The negotiated management approach offers a valuable lens to examine the relationship between the BLM protesters and law enforcement. While there have been instances of successful dialogue and collaboration, the deep-seated issues of racial injustice and systemic biases often challenge the efficacy of this approach. Addressing these foundational issues might be necessary to ensure the sustained success of negotiated management in the context of the BLM movement and similar socio-political movements.

261 Burch et al., "How Black Lives Matter Reached Every Corner of America."

262 Adone Dakin, "Peaceful Protests and Violent Clashes Erupted This Weekend. Here's What Happened in 6 Cities," CNN, July 27, 2020, https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/27/us/us-blm-protests/index.html.

263 Burch et al., "How Black Lives Matter Reached Every Corner of America."

264 Smith, "Policing, Protest, and Rights."

3. Application of the ESIM

ESIM suggests that when law enforcement perceives protesters as a singular out-group, their actions often become more aggressive.[265] When peaceful BLM protests were met with force, tensions between the group and law enforcement often became inflamed. In response to such treatment, the protesters could develop an enhanced sense of in-group solidarity, reinforcing their shared identity and common goals.[266] One such instance occurred in Portland following federal agents descending on a downtown area to protect federal government property. The action caused a more significant BLM faction to join a smaller group, creating a larger hostile group that had not existed before the police action.[267] As the group identity becomes more solidified, the movement's purpose also gains legitimacy.

Interactions between BLM groups and police have played a pivotal role in shaping the behaviors and identities of BLM protesters. A cycle emerges: as law enforcement meets peaceful protesters with aggression, the unity and determination among the protesters are further solidified, leading to more persistent and widespread protests.[268] The media's coverage of these events can further influence public perception, adding another layer to the complex relationship between the BLM movement and external entities. In this way, hostile confrontations with law enforcement can lead to continued motivation for the movement's spread, increased tensions, and furthered hostile engagements at various events.

A shared group identity within the BLM movement has been paramount in its global spread and influence. The powerful collective identity underscores Black individuals' shared experiences and struggles, transcending borders and cultures. Through chants, symbols, and shared narratives, BLM has effectively communicated its message,

265 Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change."

266 Drury and Reicher.

267 Dakin, "Peaceful Protests and Violent Clashes."

268 Burch et al., "How Black Lives Matter Reached Every Corner of America."

emphasizing that the fight against systemic racism is not just an American problem but a global one.[269]

The ESIM provides a comprehensive framework to understand the dynamics of the BLM movement, especially in relation to law enforcement and other external groups. The cyclical interactions, shaped by perceptions and actions, have played a crucial role in reinforcing the shared identity of BLM protesters, propelling the movement to its current global prominence.

4. Comparative Analysis of the Three Models

In analyzing these models' applications to the BLM movement, certain overlapping areas emerge. Both command and control and negotiated management grapple with the challenge of addressing deeply rooted social justice movements, with their effectiveness often contingent on the context. Meanwhile, ESIM underscores the shared experiences of protesters, which both the other models indirectly acknowledge through their responses. In terms of broader implications, the analysis suggests a need for adaptive strategies when managing protests like BLM. Singularly relying on any one model can be limiting. Law enforcement agencies could consider integrating the strengths of these models, fostering dialogue (as emphasized by negotiated management) while being sensitive to group dynamics (as highlighted by ESIM). For future protests, law enforcement can prioritize open communication and coordination with organizers, ensuring that crowd control measures are perceived as protective rather than oppressive.

While each model provides unique insights into the dynamics of the BLM protests, their comparative analysis highlights the need for adaptive, context-specific strategies that prioritize open dialogue and understand the deep-seated motivations of protesters.

269 "Stronger Together: Achieving Goals Through Negotiation and Nonviolent Action," *Daily Blog* (blog), August 3, 2020, https://www.pon.harvard.edu/daily/business-negotiations/stronger-together-achieving-goals-through-negotiation-and-nonviolent-action-nb/.

E. WOMEN'S MARCH MOVEMENT

The Women's March, primarily initiated as a response to the election of U.S. President Donald Trump, was a monumental demonstration of solidarity for women's rights. Not limited to just women's issues, the march also symbolized a broader dissent against perceived regressive policies, encapsulating concerns related to reproductive rights, immigration, LGBTQI+ rights, racial equality, and environmental issues. Originating in Washington, D.C., on January 21, 2017, the March triggered echo events across major cities spurred by groups on various social media platforms. The March brought 500,000 people to the National Mall, making it one of the single largest demonstrations on the National Mall. The bold ideology of the originating event ignited a sustained movement for justice and equity, leading to annual marches in subsequent years.[270]

1. Application of the Command and Control Model

Applying the command and control model to the Women's March poses challenges. First, with its hierarchical structure, this model contrasts with the Women's March's decentralized spirit and lack of structured leadership. Though there were organizers and spokespersons, the movement depended largely on grassroots efforts and a more horizontal leadership approach.[271] Using a command and control approach might have hindered this grassroots energy. The use of direct militarized methodologies standard to the command and control model, such as preemptive detentions or force deployments, was not evident on any scale through the Women's March movement. Due to the protesters' predominantly peaceful disposition, such measures would have been unnecessary. While typical for managing large crowds, erecting barriers would have been perceived negatively, given the march's emphasis on openness and inclusivity. However, in some cities, like Washington, D.C., security measures, like barriers, were used to ensure public safety without necessarily

[270] Dorothee Benz, "The Women's March: Protest and Resistance," *Learning for Justice*, March 13, 2023, https://www.learningforjustice.org/magazine/the-womens-march-protest-and-resistance.

[271] Jill M. Bystydzienski and Joti Sekhon, eds., *Democratization and Women's Grassroots Movements* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1zxxxx5.

reflecting a militarized stance by deliberately not using them to corral attendees into confined areas.[272]

The merits of employing a command and control model within the context of the Women's March are debatable. On one hand, ensuring the safety of a mass gathering is paramount. However, overt displays of force or control by law enforcement would have likely caused the perception of oppression, potentially escalating tensions.[273] Moreover, given the peaceful nature of the March, a less invasive approach might have been more suitable. The general implications of using such a model can be twofold. It might provide a structured environment where authorities feel they have control over potential escalations. However, it can also lead to backlash, as was evident in other movements like OWS, where command and control tactics resulted in public sympathy shifting toward protesters.[274] The perception of the protesters and the public was that the Women's March attendees celebrated unity and peaceful resistance.[275] Excessive command and control tactics could have marred this sentiment. Public perception would likely have leaned in favor of the protesters, as has been observed in other movements where authorities were perceived as heavy-handed.[276]

While the command and control model offers a structured approach to managing protests, its application to the Women's March would have likely been incongruent with the movement's values and objectives. The Women's March emphasized unity, peace, and grassroots mobilization, which a more militarized and controlled approach could have undermined.

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[272] Bystydzienski and Sekhon.

[273] Jan Henryk Pierskalla, "Protest, Deterrence, and Escalation: The Strategic Calculus of Government Repression," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54, no. 1 (2010): 117–45.

[274] Graeber, *The Democracy Project*.

[275] Benz, "The Women's March."

[276] Bystydzienski and Sekhon, *Democratization and Women's Grassroots Movements*.

2. Application of Negotiated Management

Through the negotiated management approach lens, the Women's March movement provides key instances of dialogue and cooperation between protesters and authority figures. In multiple cities across the U.S., organizers of the Women's Marches actively communicated with local law enforcement and city officials in the planning stages. These proactive discussions allowed for mutually beneficial arrangements such as agreed-upon march routes and designated gathering areas. For instance, in Washington, D.C., organizers worked with the Metropolitan Police Department to ensure that the march would take a route that provided safety and visibility while minimizing disruptions to the city.[277]

There were, however, challenges and limitations to this approach. In some areas, the number of participants exceeded expectations, occasionally leading to logistical issues and necessitating on-the-spot adjustments. Furthermore, there were instances in which certain factions or sub-groups within the broader movement had differing opinions on cooperation levels with the authorities. Such internal differences sometimes created tension and made cohesive negotiation difficult.[278] While creating difficulties to manage, these situations also highlight the usefulness of the negotiated management model. These impromptu changes would have compounded complexity if law enforcement and organizers had not already opened clear lines of communication.

The overarching sentiment was that the negotiated management approach largely succeeded with the Women's March movement. This success is evidenced by the largely peaceful nature of the marches across the globe, with minimal arrests or confrontations reported. This collaborative approach upheld the protesters' constitutional rights and highlighted the potential benefits of proactive communication between protesters and authority figures. The negotiated management approach, when applied to the Women's March movement, underscores the significance of dialogue and collaboration in managing

[277] Anemona Hartocollis and Yamiche Alcindor, "Women's March Highlights as Huge Crowds Protest Trump: 'We'Re Not Going Away,'" *New York Times*, January 21, 2017, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/21/us/womens-march.html.

[278] Marie Solis, "Women's March Marks First Anniversary in Las Vegas," *Newsweek*, January 19, 2018, https://www.newsweek.com/womens-march-2018-isnt-about-trump-its-about-upending-entire-political-system-784944.

large-scale protests. While there were moments of strain and limitations in its application, the overall success of this approach in the context of the Women's March sets a positive precedent for future civic actions.

3. Application of the ESIM

One fundamental tenet of the Women's March movement is developing and expressing a shared identity. This identity is rooted in advocating for women's rights and intersects with issues of racial justice, LGBTQI+ rights, and many other socio-political concerns.[279] As the ESIM proposes, such a shared identity is pivotal in understanding how group members perceive, interpret, and react to external events, especially when those events involve confrontations or interactions with out-group members, like law enforcement.

Historically, the Women's March protesters and law enforcement relationship has been neutral. While some marches were peaceful and lacked significant law enforcement interference, others saw more pronounced law enforcement presence and intervention.[280] This disparity of law enforcement intervention may be primarily due to the mixed ideology of the movement in general. Women's March events raised in response to negative police actions, such as the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis, MN may have drawn a more significant law enforcement presence than a Women's March event specific to reproductive rights. Through the ESIM lens, it becomes apparent that how law enforcement perceives and engages with protesters can exacerbate or mitigate tensions. For instance, a law enforcement approach perceived by protesters as supportive or neutral can reinforce a march's non-confrontational stance. Conversely, an aggressive or confrontational law enforcement approach can amplify the group's perception of threat, further solidifying their shared identity and possibly prompting more aggressive responses from the protesters.[281]

[279] Wendy A. Burns-Ardolino, "Marching for Change: Intersectional Coalition Building, Counter Voices, and Collective Action at the U.S. Women's March on Washington and Beyond," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Feminist Thought* 11, no. 1 (2019): 1–18.

[280] Erica Chenoweth, "This Is What We Learned by Counting the Women's Marches," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/07/this-is-what-we-learned-by-counting-the-womens-marches/.

[281] Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change."

The Women's March movement has numerous subgroups with unique priorities and perspectives. The ESIM suggests that interactions between these subgroups and external agents like law enforcement can influence the overarching narrative and direction of the movement. For instance, when BLM activists, a subgroup within the broader movement, voice concerns about law enforcement violence against Black women, it can shift the overall focus of the March, influencing the larger group's behavior and interactions with law enforcement.[282]

When viewed through the ESIM, the Women's March movement provides significant insights into the dynamics of collective action, the significance of shared identity, and the critical role of intergroup interactions. As history and current events unfold, the continuous evolution of the movement and its myriad interactions will be intriguing to observe and analyze further.

4. Comparative Analysis of the Three Models

The command and control model typically utilizes a structured and militarized approach. Given the decentralized nature of the Woman's March, focusing on unity and grassroots involvement, a stringent approach with little flexibility could hamper its momentum. While certain measures, like erecting barriers in Washington, D.C., were implemented for safety, they did not indicate an overarching militarized strategy. If applied aggressively, such a model might strain relations in a peaceful movement like the Women's March.

Conversely, the negotiated management model emphasizes dialogue and cooperation. With the Women's March, many cities saw proactive communication between the March organizers and local law enforcement, leading to arrangements beneficial to both parties. However, this model was not without its challenges. The turnout at some events surpassed expectations, and logistical issues arose. Differing opinions within the movement about cooperating with authorities also posed challenges. Nevertheless, the

[282] Drury and Reicher.

overall success of this approach during the Women's March suggests its potential for managing similar large-scale, peaceful protests in the future.

The ESIM delves into group dynamics and collective identity, both at the heart of the Women's March. With a broad spectrum of socio-political agendas, the movement's interaction with law enforcement was nuanced. The nature of this interaction often hinged on the specific themes or causes underpinning individual events within the broader movement. ESIM suggests that it can either solidify or challenge their collective identity depending on how law enforcement approaches and interacts with protesters. Additionally, the presence of various subgroups within the march added layers of complexity, as each subgroup's interaction with law enforcement could potentially influence the overarching direction of the movement.

F. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, a consistent theme emerges across all three case studies: command and control approaches can exacerbate situations, whereas engaging in dialogue with protesters is generally beneficial. However, it's important to note that the negotiated management model requires interaction with protest group leadership, which can often be decentralized, dispersed, and dynamic. Utilizing ESIM is highlighted as advantageous in each case, providing an understanding of participant identities and offering insight into their motivations. The command and control model provides the ability for an immediate response from law enforcement, while both negotiated management and ESIM may fall short when faced with time constraints. The ESIM, while possibly providing helpful information, must rely on another model to operationalize any information garnered. The balance between immediate action and gaining an understanding of protest groups underscores the complexities of law enforcement response to these events.

V. A COMPOSITIVE RESPONSE MODEL TO FORECAST AND DEESCALATE VIOLENCE

As the comparative analysis demonstrates, a singular approach often falls short in the dynamic landscape of public demonstrations, underscoring the need for a strategy that incorporates operational and theoretical models. Addressing the intricate challenge of maintaining public order while safeguarding participants' rights and safety necessitates a more flexible response model. This chapter suggests a composite model, weaving together the strengths of command and control, negotiated management, and the ESIM. This integrative approach emphasizes the necessity to tailor responses based on the unique context of each protest. Central to its flexibility is the ability to adjust strategies, efficiently identify potential flashpoints, and de-escalate tensions, ensuring demonstrations do not devolve into riots.

A. THE COMPOSITE RESPONSE MODEL

The primary objective of any response strategy during public demonstrations is to uphold order while creating a space for participants to express their concerns peacefully. In situations marked by escalating tensions or potential confrontations, a composite response model may provide a range of proactive and reactive tactics to ease tensions and recognize early signs of potential violence. It is argued that moving away from a fixed response strategy and embracing a flexible combination of all three models makes achieving these goals more feasible.

1. De-Escalation

Grounded in the tenets of negotiated management, a cornerstone approach in dealing with public demonstrations is dialogue-driven engagement and the most effective strategy at fostering de-escalation.[283] In moments of heightened stress or tension, deploying skilled negotiators to initiate discussions with group leaders is paramount.[284]

[283] Program On Negotiation Staff, "Stronger Together."

[284] Gorringe and Rosie, "'We Will Facilitate Your Protest.'"

For example, during a June 2020 protest in Indianapolis, IN, the police department's crowd control unit began to work to clear a crowd using less-lethal weapons and tear gas. A police officer located a protest group leader and started a short negotiation. This conversation resulted in both police and protesters de-escalating the situation.[285] Such efforts alleviate growing pressures and proactively communicate law enforcement's position and planned actions. Law enforcement underscores a pivotal message by prioritizing conversation: protesters are collaborators in the goal of peaceful assembly, not oppositional entities or threats. By fostering open dialogue and mutual respect, law enforcement ensure the smooth progression of public demonstrations and fortifies the foundation of democratic expression and community trust.

Embedded within the ESIM is the need for recognition of shared identities and the collective goal of the crowd.[286] This realization entails not just passive acknowledgment but holistic understanding. Law enforcement need not support the group's mission but should find understanding and search for common ground. By showing recognition of the objectives or grievances of the crowd, law enforcement can forge a deeper mutual understanding, quelling anxieties or distrust. For instance, during a June 2020 protest in Wilmington, DE, leaders conveyed that an overt police presence would only exacerbate tensions because the group was protesting police violence. The police department worked to oblige the request, allowed the group to regulate themselves, and only moved police units close under exigent circumstances.[287] Law enforcement can foster mutual respect and facilitate de-escalation by recognizing and validating group goals and identity.

Taking this point further, transparency is necessary for building and maintaining public trust. Every action, especially interventions that might disrupt the normal flow of the protest, needs to be unambiguously communicated. Leveraging tools like public address systems or directly collaborating with protest leadership can ensure this

[285] Arika Herron, Tony Cook, and Holly V. Hays, "Police Protests in Indianapolis: IMPD Protesters Walk Together, but Not Everyone Happy," *Indianapolis Star*, June 1, 2020, https://www.indystar.com/story/news/local/indianapolis/2020/06/01/indianapolis-protests-police-demonstrators-walk-together/5313988002/.

[286] Drury and Stott, *Crowds in the 21st Century*.

[287] Kuang and Baker, "Negotiations, Restraint, Little Intervention."

transparency. For example, orders for crowds to disperse and the consequences for remaining in an area should be clearly communicated well in advance to give groups ample opportunity to leave the area. Such measures dissipate potential rumors, foster a climate of mutual understanding, and construct a bridge of trust between the two entities. To this end, training for officers extends beyond tactical skills. It requires understanding the cultural tapestry of a group and the manifold motivations that drive individuals to protest.[288] By imbibing cultural sensitivity and awareness, officers can become adept at navigating the complexities of diverse crowds, reducing the likelihood of unintentional affronts or misunderstandings that could stoke tensions.

The command and control model has great merit in its preparedness for immediate action and ability to address critical situations as they arise quickly. However, when traditionally applied, the model is detrimental to the goal of de-escalation. As traditionally implemented, the model emphasizes maintaining an overt presence of law enforcement during public gatherings.[289] However, this visibility must not inadvertently escalate tensions. Officers' attire, equipment, and overall demeanor are critical in shaping crowd perceptions.[290] For example, officers donned in riot gear carrying less-lethal weapons and riot shields create an atmosphere where protesters may view the police as unapproachable and prepared for violence. Avoiding aggressive displays such as armored vehicles and officers in riot gear can significantly affect perceptions, steering crowds away from seeing law enforcement as an intimidating force. Law enforcement should stage armored vehicles and tactical teams away from active protest areas to avoid inadvertently amplifying crowd tensions. The use of cordoning devices such as bicycle barricades and water barricades has shown to be somewhat ineffective as they can be jumped over by protesters and even used as weapons against officers. During several Occupy protests, protesters moved barricades and reinforced them to prevent police from accessing protest areas. Rigid barriers also counteract peaceful crowds by restricting movement and raising tensions. Such rigid barriers should be avoided when possible to facilitate freedom of movement. By embracing

288 Vitale, "From Negotiated Management to Command and Control."

289 Smith, "Policing, Protest, and Rights."

290 Hanley, "Killing Barney Fife."

the merits of command and control and minimizing its shortcomings, this model can play a pivotal role in the success of a more comprehensive response strategy by actively working to de-escalate tensions.

The dynamic nature of protests presents inevitable challenges, be they disputes over routes, space constraints, or other logistical hurdles. An authoritative approach may not always be effective in such scenarios. Instead, embracing a collaborative mindset, where law enforcement actively solicits feedback from protest organizers and works toward mutually beneficial solutions, becomes vital. Such an approach not only solves immediate issues but underscores mutual respect for both the rights of the demonstrators and overarching public safety considerations.

2. Warning Signs to Violence

Understanding and forecasting potential flashpoints to violence is critical in successfully managing public demonstrations. A composite model, weaving together the strengths of the command and control, negotiated management, and ESIM, offers a multidimensional lens through which early warning signs can be highlighted.

Effective communication is a key principle of the negotiated management model. In scenarios with a sudden and unexplained breakdown in dialogue between protest leaders and law enforcement, immediate concerns are raised. Such communication voids can quickly be filled by speculation, misinformation, or rumors, potentially creating anger and deepening the mistrust between demonstrators and law enforcement. During a May 2020 protest event in Nashville, TN, a peaceful protest unexpectedly turned violent after an agitator group infiltrated the crowd and began attacking police without warning or provocation.[291] Leveraging the immediate action of the command and control model, law enforcement can quickly respond by establishing alternative communication channels or dispatching designated liaisons to re-initiate dialogue.[292]

[291] Tamburin, "Exclusive."

[292] Smith, "Policing, Protest, and Rights."

The ESIM provides insights into group dynamics and shared identities.[293] Within the framework of a larger protest, if certain subgroups or factions begin to isolate themselves, it signals a possible divergence in objectives or methods. These isolated clusters, particularly if they manifest more radical ideologies or actions, threaten a demonstration's overarching peaceful intent. For example, when boisterous individuals converge, they establish a louder collective voice and increase their potential to influence the crowd. A composite model would allow for a measured response. While the command and control model can ensure these groups are monitored, the principles of negotiated management can attempt to engage with these subgroups, understanding their specific grievances and potentially reintegrating them into the broader protest narrative.

Public demonstrations are filled with displays of symbols and chants, emphasizing shared narratives. A swift and discernible shift in these displays—from peaceful to aggressive or confrontational—is a barometer of a crowd's evolving mood. By constantly monitoring these cues, law enforcement, equipped with insights from ESIM, can anticipate potential escalations. The composite model suggests a two-pronged approach in such situations: while the command and control model might necessitate a visible, though non-confrontational, increase in law enforcement presence, the negotiated management model would advocate for immediate dialogue to address and pacify the sources of heightened aggression.[294]

In the face of escalated tensions, a composite model emphasizes proactive engagement through negotiated management, a balanced, authoritative presence through command and control, and a deep understanding of the protesters' identity and motivation through the Elaborated Social Identity Model. These elements work to proactively identify challenges, address them with respect and transparency, and ensure that demonstrations remain constructive, ultimately minimizing confrontations and increasing safety for both protesters and law enforcement.

[293] Drury and Reicher, "Collective Action and Psychological Change."

[294] Bell, "Police Reform and the Dismantling of Legal Estrangement."

The strength of a composite model emerges from its integration of three distinct models. By merging their core principles, it provides a unified strategy to predict potential violence, de-escalate tensions, and deliver responses that balance individual rights with public safety.

B. INTEGRATING STRATEGIES

Through the comparative analysis of command and control, negotiated management, and the ESIM and their interplay in three recent U.S. protest movements—OWS, BLM, and the Woman's March—it becomes clear that a one-size-fits-all approach will likely have a negative result. A composite model as suggested, encompassing all three nuanced models may yield the best result. A composite model advocates for a seamless integration of tactics from all three models, ensuring that strategies employed are proactive and reactive based on real-time assessments.

The constraints on law enforcement facing protests vary drastically. Agencies may receive advance notice when a group *asks* to protest through a permitting or approval process. In these instances, law enforcement will likely have the necessary advanced warning to formulate a strategic response plan fully. In other cases, law enforcement may become aware of a protest event with very little notice, as plans are revealed through open-source intelligence such as social media. The most problematic is when protests occur without advanced warning or intelligence hinting at the event. These situations all require law enforcement to act with little opportunity for preparation.

In these generalized scenarios, possible best-practice response options are explored. However, it is essential to note that the success of any event hinges significantly on the context of the protest movement and the presence of agitators.

1. Pre-Planned Large-Scale Demonstrations

When dealing with pre-planned, large-scale demonstrations, the inherent predictability of the event allows for structured preparations. However, the sheer scale often presents unique challenges and complexities that require a nuanced approach, drawing from various models to optimize response and management.

- Engagement and Communication Prior to the Event: Leveraging the principles of negotiated management, law enforcement can proactively engage with event organizers well before the demonstration. Regular communication can help clarify the protesters' intentions, planned routes, expected turnout, and logistical needs. Additionally, these interactions foster regular dialogue and build mutual trust with organizers, ultimately minimizing potential misunderstandings on the day of the protest.

- Establishment of Agreed-Upon Ground Rules: During the planning phase, law enforcement and organizers can collaboratively establish codes of conduct for protesters. This could include designated protest areas, marching routes, etc. Organizers should understand what behavior will be tolerated and what will result in law enforcement actions. This collaboration ensures that while protesters exercise their rights, safety protocols are maintained.

- Visible Law Enforcement Presence with Strategic Deployment: Drawing from the command and control model, it is vital to have a visible but non-confrontational police presence. This deters potential violent factions and assures protesters that their safety is a priority. However, the deployment needs to be strategic. Frontline officers should be trained in conflict resolution and de-escalation techniques similar to those in liaison policing models. Additionally, specialized units, like riot and tactical teams, should be kept in reserve and deployed only when necessary to avoid projecting an aggressive stance.

- Monitoring and Psychological Insights: Law enforcement should continuously monitor group dynamics using the ESIM. Understanding any emerging shared identities can guide real-time police interaction. For instance, if a subgroup within the larger crowd begins to exhibit signs of agitation, a tailored approach, like engaging with subgroup leaders or influencers, can de-escalate potential flashpoints. Understanding symbols,

chants, or banners can provide insights into group sentiments, aiding in anticipating crowd reactions.

- Feedback Loops and Rapid Response: Given the scale, unforeseen challenges will invariably arise. Setting up rapid communication channels between different police units, as well as with key organizers, ensures that any emerging issue is addressed promptly. Real-time feedback loops can help adapt strategies, whether it is re-routing the protest, addressing logistical challenges, or intervening in potential confrontations.

2. Spontaneous Protests

Spontaneous protests, by their very nature, are often characterized by unpredictability and rapid evolution. They can arise in response to sudden events or incidents, leaving little to no time for law enforcement to prepare. Managing such demonstrations requires a flexible and adaptive approach, drawing on multiple models.

- Immediate Establishment of Order and Safety: With little forewarning of the protest, the immediate priority is to establish a semblance of order. Here, the command and control model is invaluable. A rapid deployment of law enforcement ensures that potential traffic disruptions, hazards, or immediate risks to public safety are addressed. However, these tactics should be executed with care; an overly aggressive stance can exacerbate tensions. The presence of law enforcement should be assertive yet non-confrontational.

- Engage and Identify Emerging Leaders: As the protest unfolds, specific individuals or groups will naturally emerge as leaders or influencers. Tapping into the principles of negotiated management, law enforcement should quickly engage with these individuals. Even without pre-established relationships, immediate dialogue can help understand the crowd's immediate intentions, concerns, or demands. Such engagements can also aid in relaying critical information or instructions to the larger group.

- Understanding Group Dynamics in Real-Time: With the spontaneous nature of the protest, crowd dynamics can be fluid and can shift rapidly. Insights from the ESIM become crucial here. Law enforcement should monitor symbols, chants, or any spontaneous subgroup formations to gauge the mood and sentiments of the protesters. This can aid in predicting potential escalations or identifying areas where interventions might be necessary.

- Flexible De-Escalation Strategies: As the situation stabilizes, transitioning into de-escalation becomes paramount. Here, a mix of negotiated management and insights from ESIM can guide interactions. Authorities can designate spaces for protesters to gather, ensuring their right to protest while maintaining public order. At the same time, recognizing and addressing the shared identities or concerns of the crowd can aid in building trust and reducing the potential for confrontations.

- Post-Protest Review and Feedback: Given the unpredictability of spontaneous protests, a post-event review becomes crucial. Analyzing the event, understanding what worked and what did not, and gathering feedback from both law enforcement and identified protest leaders can provide invaluable insights. These insights can aid in better handling similar spontaneous events in the future.

3. Protests with Known Agitators

Protests with the presence of known agitators or individuals intent on inciting violence pose a particularly challenging dynamic. The potential for rapid escalation is significant, and the blend of peaceful protesters with those harboring ulterior motives can cloud the broader objectives of the demonstration. Addressing such protests requires a deft and tactful combination of the models to isolate and manage disruptive elements without alienating or suppressing the broader, peaceful crowd.

- Immediate Intelligence Gathering and Surveillance: With prior intelligence indicating the presence of agitators, the command and control model's

emphasis on structured response becomes crucial. Law enforcement should deploy specialized surveillance teams to identify and monitor these individuals or groups in real-time.

- Strategic Law Enforcement Deployment: A visible yet non-provocative law enforcement presence is essential. Law enforcement should avoid presenting an overly militarized front, which could stoke anxieties among peaceful protesters. However, having specialized units on standby, away from the immediate vicinity but ready for rapid deployment, can ensure a swift response to any violent outbreaks.

- Engagement and Collaboration: Drawing from the negotiated management model, law enforcement should actively engage with peaceful protest leaders or influencers. These leaders can often act as mediators, helping to isolate agitators or even persuading them to refrain from violence. Such collaboration not only aids in maintaining order, but also reinforces trust between protesters and law enforcement.

- Understanding Crowd Dynamics and Isolation Tactics: The ESIM can provide invaluable insights to crowd dynamics. Recognizing that various subgroups with differing motivations exist within the larger crowd are vital. When agitators incite unrest, it is often a strategic move to alienate law enforcement from the broader protest group. By understanding and addressing the shared identities of the peaceful majority, authorities can effectively isolate agitators without suppressing the larger group's rights and intentions.

- Rapid De-Escalation and Communication: Immediate de-escalation is paramount for disturbances or violent outbreaks. Law enforcement should employ trained negotiators, leveraging public address systems or collaborating with protest leaders to communicate intentions and instructions clearly. Clear communication ensures that the broader group is

aware that actions taken against agitators are not indicative of a stance against the entire protest.

4. Prolonged Demonstrations with Evolving Dynamics

Protests that span multiple days or weeks present unique challenges due to their sustained nature and evolving dynamics. Such demonstrations, like encampments or sit-ins, can grow or morph in response to external factors, media coverage, or internal developments within the protest community.[295] Addressing protracted protest events requires a blend of models that is responsive to the immediate situation and adaptive to the evolving context.

- Establishment of Long-Term Communication Channels: Given the extended nature of the protest, establishing continuous lines of communication is paramount. Emphasizing the principles of negotiated management, law enforcement should set up regular check-ins or briefings with protest leaders. Clear lines of communication ensure that emerging concerns, logistical needs, or potential flashpoints are addressed proactively.

- Continuous Surveillance and Dynamic Deployment: Relying on the command and control model, maintaining a structured yet adaptable law enforcement presence becomes essential. As days progress, the needs of the protest might shift. For instance, increasing crowd numbers might necessitate additional traffic control measures or weather changes might create logistical challenges. A dynamic deployment strategy ensures that resources are allocated based on real-time needs.

- Adaptive Understanding of Group Dynamics: As a protest continues, the group's dynamics, motivations, or objectives might evolve. Utilizing insights from ESIM, authorities should continuously reassess the group's

[295] Schneider, "From Occupy Wall Street to Occupy Everywhere."

shared identities or emerging subgroups. For instance, what started as a single-issue protest might splinter into multiple factions with varying demands. Recognizing and addressing these nuances is crucial to avoid inadvertently escalating tensions.

- Resource Management and Welfare Concerns: Prolonged demonstrations come with practical challenges, like sanitation, food, or first-aid requirements. Collaborating with protest organizers, local NGOs, or community groups can ensure these basic needs are met, minimizing potential health or safety risks. For the Occupy movement, discontinuing services like sanitation and utilities granted the groups a level of independence. Even if needs remained unmet, the lack of government involvement in providing these services provides autonomy, enabling groups to assert control over these spaces further. Therefore, it underscores the importance of maintaining such services throughout a protest event to avoid empowering groups in this manner.[296] Maintaining these services allows the area to retain some semblance of continued public access.

- Public Narrative and Media Engagement: Extended durations make the media's portrayal of the protest incredibly influential. It can shape public opinion, potentially affecting the protest's momentum or attracting additional participants.[297] Authorities should maintain an open channel with media representatives, ensuring accurate information is disseminated and that law enforcement leaders and protest organizers promptly address misinformation.

C. CONCLUSION

In today's complex socio-political environment, effectively managing public demonstrations requires sophisticated and flexible approaches. A proposed strategy fuses

[296] Schneider.

[297] Geron, "21st Century Strategies for Policing Protest."

beneficial elements from the command and control, negotiated management, and ESIM into a unified composite response. While the command and control model excels at swift interventions, it might unintentionally escalate conflicts. In contrast, the negotiated management approach prioritizes dialogue and collaboration but can falter when faced with non-cooperative groups. The ESIM promotes an understanding of crowd dynamics to predict how actions in the crowd may positively or negatively influence crowd behavior. The ESIM demands specialized training and the capability for real-time analysis. By harnessing the strengths of these models, the composite approach can adeptly navigate and mitigate tensions in various protest situations. However, a significant challenge in deploying this composite model is the time-intensive nature of the ESIM. Given the fast-paced nature of many events, there might not always be sufficient time for thorough ESIM-based analysis. Refining and adapting this model will be crucial to ensure both the efficacy of protest management and the public's safety.

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VI. CONCLUSION

In 2020, the U.S. found itself amid an extraordinary wave of protest events. These events were propelled by demands for social justice and the charged atmosphere of a deeply divisive election season. Historically, catalysts for large-scale social movements have varied; while some can be anticipated, like elections or significant court decisions, others emerge spontaneously in response to traumatic events reflecting broader socio-political issues. These events often see a cross-section of the public united in demonstration, voicing their grievances and seeking change.

Violence, unfortunately, has become an accompanying concern in such large protests. In these events, law enforcement faces the challenge of upholding constitutional rights to free speech while ensuring public safety. Further, in events that protest negative police actions, tumultuous interactions between law enforcement and protesters can reinforce the divide between police and the public. This study examined how the ESIM can be combined with traditional response strategies, namely the command and control and negotiated management models, to anticipate violence and reduce tensions during protest events. This chapter summarizes the findings of this research, identifies implications for law enforcement and protesters, and finally identifies limitations and areas for future research.

A. FINDINGS

This research focused on three crowd management models. The command and control model, prevalent throughout the US; the negotiated management model, used across the UK and less formally in the US; and finally, the ESIM, which exists as a non-operational theoretical model. The command and control model emphasizes a strong law enforcement presence, often resorting to forceful measures to ensure order. In stark contrast, the negotiated management model promotes dialogue and relationship-building between law enforcement and protesters, aiming for cooperative self-regulation. Meanwhile, ESIM, rooted in psychological understandings of group behavior, provides an

analytical lens to decipher the complex dynamics within protesting crowds, enabling targeted interventions.

To evaluate the potential of the ESIM in managing protests, this research analyzed three influential movements: the BLM movement, the Women's March, and the Occupy movement. Each had widespread influence and affected significant changes to societal perspectives. These three movements were assessed through command and control, negotiated management, and the ESIM to identify each model's strengths, weaknesses, and limitations. By adopting a structured approach that evaluates the strengths and limitations of different crowd management models, insights into the complex interplay between protesters and law enforcement agencies became increasingly obvious.

Through the analysis, each model generally produced similar results across the three events. The command and control model prioritized a visible law enforcement presence, which often inadvertently escalated tensions due to its forceful approach. In contrast, the negotiated management model emphasizes dialogue and relationship-building but may struggle in "leaderless" movements where no crowd structure exists. Finally, the ESIM offered a psychological perspective on crowd dynamics, allowing for a better understanding of motivations and offering the best opportunity to predict violence.

While each approach had its merits, they also had inherent limitations, indicating that a rigid application of any single model might not yield optimal results. When models were applied with inflexibility, they would frequently deliver negative results. In cases where law enforcement agencies maintained some flexibility, more favorable results were realized. Significant to this research is the ultimate applicability of the ESIM. ESIM predominantly serves as a theoretical foundation for analysis. For practical application, it needs to be complemented by elements of operational models such as command and control or negotiated management to implement its tactics and observations effectively. Absent some other system to operationalize information garnered through ESIM, its utility becomes significantly less valuable.

B. A COMPOSITE MODEL

A one-size-fits-all strategy for managing protest events may inadvertently heighten tensions. It's vital for law enforcement to understand each protest's unique motivations, structures, and objectives. For example, the Women's March showed that proactive collaboration between event organizers and law enforcement can promote peaceful outcomes. Conversely, a more aggressive approach, such as the command and control method, can amplify protester resolve when used without prior dialogue, as observed in the BLM and OWS movements. To ensure public safety while respecting the democratic right to protest, law enforcement strategies must be adaptive and tailored to the individual needs of each event.

A composite model integrating elements of the negotiated management, ESIM, and command and control strategies holds considerable promise for navigating the complexities of public demonstrations. The negotiated management model advocates for meaningful engagement between law enforcement and protesters. It aims to mitigate potential confrontations rooted in misunderstandings or miscommunication by championing open dialogue and collaboration. This framework nurtures a culture of mutual respect, where concerns are addressed proactively, diminishing the risk of volatile escalations.

Successful engagement extends beyond dialogue; it requires a profound understanding of the underlying motivations and dynamics driving the crowd. The ESIM, with its psychological foundation, offers invaluable insights into these aspects. Dissecting the collective emotions, and shared identities of protesters empowers law enforcement with a nuanced perspective. With this knowledge, interventions can be more empathetic and strategic, aligning with the protesters' motivations and diminishing the likelihood of unintentional provocations.

The importance of dialogue and understanding is paramount; however, the inherent unpredictability of mass gatherings demands a contingency mechanism, highlighting the continued utility of the command and control model. Prioritizing swift, decisive actions ensures law enforcement can rapidly respond to unforeseen critical incidents. Although its

reactive nature should not overshadow proactive engagement, having this model as a backup is crucial for rapidly evolving situations.

By embedding the principles of the ESIM within the proactive dialogue of negotiated management and the decisive mechanisms of the command and control model, law enforcement can cultivate a more holistic approach to protest management. ESIM's insights into crowd psychology and evolving identity provide the depth required to foresee potential flashpoints of violence by understanding group norms and motivations. When paired with the collaborative efforts of negotiated management, it ensures that any tensions are addressed at their earliest stages, fostering mutual understanding and reducing potential triggers. Simultaneously, the swift response attributes of the command and control model act as a safety net, ensuring immediate intervention when necessary. Thus, leading with ESIM while leveraging the strengths of the other two models provides a comprehensive path that anticipates violence and actively works to de-escalate tensions, ensuring the protection of democratic values and public safety.

C. IMPLICATIONS FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT AND PROTEST ORGANIZERS

Incorporating a composite model that interweaves the strengths of ESIM, negotiated management, and command and control mandates a shift for community protest groups and law enforcement practices. This integrated approach primarily emphasizes transitioning from traditional force-focused strategies to ones steeped in dialogue, understanding, and strategic intervention.

1. For Law Enforcement Agencies

To facilitate this shift, agencies could tap into their existing personnel, especially those currently in crisis negotiation roles. Given their expertise in conflict resolution and communication, these officers are well-positioned to champion the principles of the negotiated management model. Their training in managing high-tension situations can be augmented to accommodate the specific nuances of protest scenarios, ensuring a smoother on-the-ground implementation of engagement-focused strategies.

However, integrating the insights of ESIM into the agency's operational matrix requires specialized training. With their understanding of information gathering and analysis, intelligence detectives are ideal candidates for this. By training these detectives in ESIM principles, law enforcement agencies can ensure a deeper understanding of crowd dynamics and motivations. Such insights can provide real-time intelligence, aiding officers in anticipating potential flashpoints and adapting their strategies accordingly.

In essence, by leveraging the expertise of crisis negotiators for proactive engagement and equipping intelligence detectives with ESIM knowledge, law enforcement agencies can foster a more nuanced, empathetic, and practical approach to managing protests. This holistic model emphasizes preserving peace and order and underscores the importance of understanding and collaboration, positioning law enforcement as partners in the democratic expression rather than mere enforcers.

2. For Protest Organizers

For protest organizers, effectively leveraging the composite model can enhance both the safety and success of their demonstrations. By recognizing the importance of a cooperative approach, organizers can preemptively engage with law enforcement, sharing their intentions, goals, and potential concerns. Such proactive discussions foster trust and cooperation and set clear expectations, reducing the chance of confrontations during events. Organizers and protest groups must know the boundaries and understand the consequences of deviating from agreed-upon terms or legal infractions. By embracing the composite model, organizers can ensure more secure demonstrations and solidify a cooperative stance with law enforcement. Both sides should aim for public demonstrations to resonate as peaceful, meaningful expressions of shared voices rooted in mutual respect and shared objectives.

D. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Research on law enforcement responses to protests faces significant obstacles, primarily due to the difficulty of isolating specific influences within the complex landscape of demonstrations, protests, and riots. The dynamics of these events are shaped by many factors, ranging from the protesters' intentions to external elements that collectively sway

the event's outcome. These challenges present significant limitations to this research and offer future opportunities for studies to better understand crowd dynamics and the ability of the police response to influence violence either positively or negatively in crowds.

1. Limitations

This type of research has a few limitations. One of the inherent limitations when studying the direct impact of law enforcement actions on protest outcomes is the challenge of isolating specific factors in a dynamic environment. Protests are complex events, influenced by many internal factors (such as protester motivations, leadership, and group dynamics) and external (including media coverage, counter-protesters, and weather conditions). The myriad of causational factors makes it difficult to attribute a particular outcome solely to law enforcement intervention. While certain patterns and generalized observations can be made, pinpointing a singular cause-effect relationship amidst this myriad of variables remains challenging.

The intangibility of certain factors poses another challenge. For instance, the mood or sentiment of a crowd can be influenced by preceding events, cultural nuances, or even the spread of misinformation, all of which can significantly sway the direction a protest takes. Law enforcement might act based on the visible demeanor of the crowd, but the underlying factors shaping that demeanor might be elusive. In such cases, even if there is a positive or negative outcome after a law enforcement action, it is arduous to determine whether the result was a direct consequence of that action or was influenced more significantly by these intangible factors.

Finally, observer bias and the potential lack of comprehensive data further complicate research efforts. Depending on the perspective of those documenting or reporting the event, interpretations can vary, leading to skewed perceptions. Moreover, unless every nuance and interaction during a protest is meticulously recorded and analyzed, there will always be gaps in understanding. Without sufficient data, attributing outcomes to specific law enforcement actions remains speculative, making definitive conclusions elusive.

2. Future Research

This investigation envisages several possible areas for future research. First, given the ever-changing landscape of public demonstrations, it's crucial to re-examine the command and control model's relevance and effectiveness in contemporary contexts. While its primary focus on a visible show of force has historically been seen as a deterrent to violence, it is essential to assess its implications in an era where there is a growing demand for transparent, accountable, and community-oriented policing. Do the overt displays of force now incite more resistance than they quell? Can the model adapt to the diverse forms of protests emerging recently? And most importantly, how does its application impact the public's perception of law enforcement? Research into these areas will evaluate the model's current effectiveness and provide insights into its potential evolution. As protests continue to evolve, so should our understanding and application of the strategies designed to manage them.

Second, as communities across the country place greater value in collaborative government and policing, the negotiated management model will likely become increasingly relevant. A key area for research focus involves directly engaging with protest groups to assess their willingness to work with police in the negotiated management model. Key to this is discerning the protesters' attitudes toward collaboration: are they naturally skeptical of law enforcement due to past events, or might specific conditions make them more open to dialogue? Such insights would shape engagement strategies that align with protest groups' values and goals. Furthermore, the mediums facilitating dialogue can impact outcomes in our digital age. Evaluating the effectiveness of communication methods, from in-person conversations to online platforms, becomes crucial. It is evident that the negotiated management model's potential largely depends on the protest groups' willingness to participate. Directing research toward this aspect and its influencing factors can empower law enforcement agencies to cultivate authentic cooperation, ensuring protests uphold democratic rights peacefully.

Another essential facet of managing public protests lies in understanding the intricate psychology of crowds, which is where the ESIM shows the most promise. The ESIM goes beyond surface interactions, offering a deeper exploration into how individuals

within crowds perceive their roles, relate to one another, and collectively influence behavior. To enhance this model's timely application, a pivotal area of research would be to develop metrics that quantify its effectiveness, especially in predicting potential flashpoints during protests. An accelerated observation and analysis method is crucial, as one of ESIM's limitations is the extensive time required for comprehensive analysis. With technological advancements, perhaps there is potential in employing real-time data analytics or artificial intelligence (AI)-driven tools to decipher crowd dynamics swiftly. By honing the precision and speed of the ESIM, law enforcement could intervene more proactively, curbing tensions before they escalate. Researching and innovating within this space holds the promise of merging the analytical depth of the ESIM with the immediacy demanded by contemporary protests.

Further research into the ESIM is warranted when focusing on its predictive capacity for potential violence during protests. While the ESIM excels at highlighting warning signs within a crowd, its accuracy in predicting violence remains relatively speculative. Future research should prioritize quantifying this accuracy. For instance, studies comparing ESIM predictions with actual protest outcomes can provide a clearer picture of its reliability. Incorporating real-world case studies where the ESIM was employed can also add depth to this understanding. Integrating AI and machine-learning might enhance the model's predictive accuracy as technology advances. By refining and substantiating the ESIM's ability to foresee violence, law enforcement and event organizers could utilize it as a more reliable tool, enabling timely interventions that prevent violent escalations.

The prediction of violence in protests remains difficult and unoperationalized. Delving into the nuanced interactions within crowds, the ESIM offers the best tool to reveal flashpoints potentially. While its effectiveness has been demonstrated, additional research is needed to optimize the use of ESIM in real-time protest scenarios. Further study may establish metrics quantifying its accuracy in anticipating volatile situations. While the ESIM is adept at identifying warning signals in crowd dynamics, it needs to validate its predictability regarding violent escalations. A more comprehensive evaluation of the ESIM's reliability can be achieved by comparing its predictions with actual outcomes and

integrating case studies. The integration of AI and advanced data analytics can potentially speed up the ESIM's analysis process, addressing its inherent time-consuming nature. By enhancing the efficiency and precision of the ESIM, law enforcement can be better equipped to proactively mitigate potential confrontations, ensuring the safety and rights of all involved in public demonstrations.

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