

2019 Best Practices for Officers During Community Dissent

Title:	2019 Best Practices for Officers During Community Dissent
Lesson Purpose:	To increase officers' awareness during community dissent
Training Objectives:	<p>At the end of this block of instruction, the participant will be able to achieve the following objectives in accordance with the information presented during the instructional period:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Discuss relevant federal and state law as it applies to speech and lawful gatherings.2. List five intelligence-led policing objectives when preparing for or encountering community dissent.3. Describe best practices regarding transparency in communication regarding pre-incident or active incident community dissent.4. Discuss best practices for actions to be taken during community dissent and reacting to actions by community dissenters.5. List five areas to include when conducting an after-action elevation report for both private and public review.
Hours/Credits:	Two (2)
Instructional Method:	Lecture/Discussion
Testing Requirement:	Written Exam
Materials Required:	Lesson Plan Pen/Pencil/Paper
References:	<p>“Advancing Charlotte, A Police Foundation Assessment of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department Response to the September 2016 Demonstrations.” <i>Police Foundation</i>, February 2018. Accessed March 2018. https://www.policefoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Advancing-Charlotte-Final-Report.pdf.</p> <p>American Civil Liberties Union. “What to Do If Your Rights Are Violated at a Demonstration or Protest.” Accessed February 2018. https://www.aclu.org/know-your-rights/what-do-if-your-rights-are-violated-demonstration-or-protest.</p>

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I. Introduction

A. Opening Statement

For the most part, community dissent events (protests) are lawful. The United States Constitution protects the rights of free speech. The First Amendment guarantees the “right of the people to peaceably assemble and to petition the government for redress of grievances.”¹ “The government may impose limits on time, place, and manner of protests and may sometimes require that protestors obtain permits . . . but as a starting point the right to demonstrate is protected by the [United States] Constitution, regardless of the viewpoint expressed by the demonstrators.”² However, such rights are not limitless. The right to lawful dissent will not protect those engaged in unlawful activities. Some actions committed while dissenting are unlawful (e.g., a dissenter using an object to smash through a commercial business window and injure real property).³

Managing crowds during community dissent activities is an important task police perform and requires a thoughtful approach. Several studies and experts “stress the importance of meaningful dialog and negotiations between police and protestors for the successful facilitation of peaceful protest.”⁴

An open meaningful dialog is always the goal; however, this goal may be very difficult to achieve based on the situation and the protesting group.

B. Training Objectives

C. Reasons

When responding to community dissent, officers depend on their ability to maintain public order without losing the consent of the people.⁵

The U.S. Declaration of Independence states “that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”⁶ The government and the public must work together to achieve its goals and maintain the rights of all.

Law enforcement is tasked with protecting all parties during dissent activities. Should the use of force become necessary, it must be lawful, reasonable, and effective. Remember that in many cases, an officer may disagree with the dissenting message, but must ultimately ensure everyone’s safety.

II. Body

A. Lawful gatherings and protected rights

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1. The United States Constitution First Amendment

- a) “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”⁷

“It must be remembered that the First Amendment allows for ‘peaceable assembly’ and that violence is not free speech. Mayhem and lawlessness must be stopped before it can start.”⁸ Individuals have the right to be in a public place and voice their opinion as long as they are not committing a specific criminal act.

- b) Informational documents produced by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) educate dissenters on their first amendment rights regarding individual public dissent or mass public dissent.⁹ At times, the dissenters have been better educated as to the rights available for dissenting than the law enforcement officers who respond to the activity in-progress.

2. The North Carolina Constitution

North Carolina also has sections in its Constitution dealing with public assembly.

- a) “Sec. 12. Right of assembly and petition

The people have a right to assemble together to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, and to apply to the General Assembly for redress of grievances; but secret political societies are dangerous to the liberties of a free people and shall not be tolerated.”¹⁰

- b) “Sec. 14. Freedom of speech and press

Freedom of speech and of the press are two of the great bulwarks of liberty and, therefore, shall never be restrained, but every person shall be held responsible for their abuse.”¹¹

- c) It is best to understand what prudent and reasonable decisions may be taken to affect lawful enforcement against those acting unlawfully during dissent. North Carolina statutes allow law enforcement to not only act to protect all involved in community dissent, but to ensure action be taken against those (during the dissent) who violate the rule of law.¹²

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The following are a few laws that law enforcement may consider when determining if they should intervene and take action:

- (1) Obstruction of traffic; N.C.G.S. § 136-90
- (2) Disorderly conduct; N.C.G.S. § 14-288.4
- (3) Permit violations
- (4) Resist, Delay, Obstruct; N.C.G.S. § 14-223
- (5) Fail to Disperse; N.C.G.S. § 14-288.5
- (6) Person(s), with or without a concealed carry permit, cannot carry a gun or firearm to a protest; N.C.G.S. § 14-277.2
- (7) Generally, statute(s) of wearing a mask to conceal one's identity may be prohibited; N.C.G.S. § 14-12.7
- (8) No mask worn during demonstrations on private property; N.C.G.S. § 14-12.10

B. Intelligence-Led Policing

Over the past several decades, law enforcement and criminal justice professionals have attempted to enhance their abilities and achieve their goals through a more holistic approach. One of the most popular and effective approaches is intelligence-led policing. “Intelligence-led policing emphasizes analysis and intelligence as pivotal to an objective, decision-making framework that prioritizes crime hot spots, repeat victims, profile offenders, and criminal groups. It facilitates crime and harm reduction, disruption, and prevention through strategic and tactical management, deployment, and enforcement.”¹³

“Developing a probability model of recurring areas of concern would provide law enforcement a barometer for anticipating potential community conflicts. It is recommended that a holistic approach be taken to mitigate civil unrest by being proactive in communications with all stakeholders in a community prior to any act of civil disobedience.”¹⁴

Dissent in the United States is rarely, if ever, a simple matter over an isolated incident. Dissent becoming unrest is “always an accumulation of unresolved issues that have found law enforcement involved in violent interactions. Often there is an overreaction from both sides of the confrontation, with tragic results.”¹⁵

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The following information will assist in guiding intelligence-led policing for the responding officer and the related management when preparing for community dissent.

1. Using intelligence while preparing for an event

a) The intelligence cycle

An agency needs to understand their community and the potential issues that may arise that contribute to community dissent. Understanding a community's behavior, fears, concerns, and frustrations will assist in an agency's ability to facilitate the community's peaceful protest while combatting the violent aspects. This understanding is known as the intelligence process.

“The intelligence process, traditionally called the intelligence cycle, describes and outlines six widely recognized standard steps used to transform raw data and information into value added intelligence aimed for action. The process ideally starts with a decision or a tasking, followed by a planning stage, after which analysts engage in collecting information and data that must be evaluated according to a formally recognized evaluation system. The next step is the actual processing stage, starting with collating and structuring available data and information, and inserting them into a database. The data and information are then analyzed, which results in the production of an intelligence product to be disseminated to the client (manager, investigator, or others that task the analysts or request their analysis support) and other relevant stakeholders. The intelligence product is evaluated by the client with reference to their needs and demands. The received feedback is used to improve the current product or as methodological input for future similar products.”¹⁶

(1) Tasking and planning¹⁷

An agency needs to establish an information gathering procedure and what the agency intends to do with the information that it gathers.

In regards to community dissent, the agency would be gathering information in order to handle civil unrest in the future.

(2) Collection and evaluation¹⁸

An agency needs to collect information on individuals or groups of individuals that are likely to contribute to

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community dissent in the future. These individuals will vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and issue to issue.

Collecting information is a large part of what law enforcement has accomplished for years. Using that information and evaluating its potential to address issues is the true purpose behind intelligence-led policing. The evaluation needs to be professional, objective, and task driven. The evaluation needs to be valid and based on a set of criteria, similar to applying for a search warrant.

Do you find the source credible?; Have you used information from the source in the past?; Have you confirmed the information by other means? These are some of the criteria to be used.

(3) Collation and processing¹⁹

This is the organizational phase of the process and attempts to prioritize potential issues or the largest source of concern or assistance.

This collation may categorize individuals in regards to community dissent as individuals willing to assist in keeping the dissent peaceful to individuals interested in creating havoc and enraging the dissenters.

(4) Analysis²⁰

This phase takes the raw collected and organized data and determines its value and use. It attempts to give meaning to the information and go beyond just compiling information to interpreting information.

For example, an agency collects information on a planned rally in the park with several of the hotels around the park reporting no vacancies. The analyst may use this information to report that the rally is expecting a large number of out-of-town attendees.

(5) Reporting and dissemination of intelligence products²¹

The intelligence should be compiled and analyzed into a clear and concise report that highlights specific threats or issues and individuals to approach to assist in maintaining order.

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The report should address on-going or short-term issues as well as long-term issues and how the two aspects are intertwined. These reports should assist in early warning notifications, threat assessments, and risk assessments.

The final and vital aspect of this phase is dissemination of the information. Information and intelligence that is not properly disseminated to those in need to know positions hurts everyone and increases the level of potential harm.

(6) Feedback and follow-up²²

Once the intelligence has been used, the agency needs to determine if the procedures for collecting and analyzing the data are correct. Essentially, did the intelligence assist in keeping a group of community dissenters peaceful?

b) The objectives of intelligence-led policing in regards to community dissent

The objective of a law enforcement agency at a community dissent event is to maintain order and ensure that no laws are broken or rights violated. Intelligence-led policing can assist in this endeavor by providing a framework for an agency's abilities and resources. With the proper intelligence collected and analyzed in the intelligence cycle, the agency can reach out to community leaders and influential individuals among the dissenters to maintain order.

The overall objectives should include:

(1) Be prepared²³

Agencies with mutual aid agreements should train together and pool their resources for a more organized response to a community dissent event. Agencies should be trained on and utilize the National Incident Management System (NIMS).

(2) Establish short-term response and long-term goals²⁴

The short-term response addresses an issue, whereas a long-term goal determines how to keep the issue from happening in the future.

(3) Be flexible²⁵

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A community in dissent is a very fluid situation and an agency needs to be able to modify its response and behavior to address the situation without inciting a larger issue.

- (4) Establish procedures for individuals not involved with the community dissent²⁶

If possible, an agency should create a traffic plan to avoid the community dissent and ensure that other citizens' quality of life is maintained.

- (5) Establish a standard response²⁷

An agency should establish specific factors to consider when determining an appropriate law enforcement response. This ensures that every officer is responding in a similar manner to similar incidents.

- (6) Establish use of force procedures²⁸

“Law enforcement must balance decisions and tactics by taking into consideration the context of the environment, the systemic effects, and the overall strategic mission. What can be viewed as seemingly benign by law enforcement can be interpreted by the public as a form of intimidation.”²⁹

Guidelines should be established for the availability of and situation for various manners of use of force. If force is required against a group of community dissenters:

- (a) Clear appropriate warnings should be given.
- (b) If gas is used, then a safe egress for the dissenters should be clear.
- (c) If gas is used, weather needs to be evaluated to minimize exposure to innocent parties.
- (d) Canines should not be used for crowd control.
- (e) The public should be informed of what force was used to resolve a situation.
- (f) All uses of force should be accurately documented.

(7) Establish legal oversight³⁰

Agencies should seek legal counsel on any new tactic or response in order to ensure that their actions do not conflict with the public's constitutional rights.

In order to ensure that the public's First Amendment rights are not violated, an area designated for public speaking should be established. This area should be open to the public and media.

(8) Strive for de-escalation³¹

Law enforcement agencies should continually train their officers in de-escalation techniques and enhancing officers' abilities to resolve situations with limited force.

C. Transparency and Communicating With the Public

1. Establish guidelines for community dissent

"The process of public policing should be open and transparent. As such, policies of law enforcement agencies should be publicly available and easily accessible except for those narrowly defined and specifically unique policies, procedures, and general or special orders whose disclosure may jeopardize sensitive police operations."³²

When meeting with a community in dissent, it is important to establish a certain set of expectations and guidelines. These expectations and guidelines should be clear and agreed upon by all parties. For example, a community may dissent by marching down a street and voicing their opinion; however, they may not instigate violence, destroy property, or violate other laws or statutes.

When the community does not trust law enforcement, the communication may be very difficult. "Law enforcement agencies must invest time to establish trusted relationships with all segments of the communities they serve to promote ongoing, effective communications that can be leveraged during challenging times."³³

During incidents of community dissent, law enforcement must attempt to speak with and reach out to the leaders of the community and establish an understanding of the responsibilities of the police to ensure safety, security, and peace to the entire community. Even after the incident has ended, law enforcement need to maintain that open communication with the community. This open communication encourages respect and understanding for all sides.

Transparency comes from that understanding. If an agency uses force against a group of dissenters, then the community needs to know why. As long as the agency had a legitimate reason for why force was used, then the community will be understanding. Even if an agency is justified in using force, if the agency does not explain why they used the force, then the community dissent will increase.

“Law enforcement should establish a practice to release all information lawfully permitted as soon as possible and on a continuing basis.”³⁴ For example, when there is an officer-involved shooting, while acting according to office policy and any applicable law, an agency should strive to provide timely information and keep an open flow of information in order to limit speculation, dissent, and skepticism.³⁵ “When serious incidents occur, including those involving alleged police misconduct, agencies should communicate with citizens and the media swiftly, openly, and neutrally, respecting areas where the law requires confidentiality.”³⁶

2. Best practices to communicate and be transparent

a) Designate public information officer (PIO)³⁷

The public and media should have a sole point of contact at an agency that distributes information about an incident and provides official statements on a regular basis. The benefit of this sole point of contact is the establishment of trust and procedure. The agency, public, and media will come to expect the PIO to be professional and informed about numerous situations.

b) Establish accolades and complaint procedures³⁸

During community dissent, tempers will get heated on all sides and the public needs a method of praising or criticizing the law enforcement response. The PIO should regularly inform the public of how to contact the police to praise or complain.

c) Establish points of contact in community dissent³⁹

As established above, it is important to determine individuals in the community that can assist in resolving community dissent.

d) Release information in a timely manner⁴⁰

It is important for the agency and the PIO to release a statement to the public in anticipation of an event or in response to an incident. This information may include details about the community dissent

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and what behaviors will not be accepted, what streets will be closed, and what hours the incident may occur.

- e) Incorporate effective media relations⁴¹

It is important to establish a routine with the media. Specifically, they need to know how to contact law enforcement for information, how they can assist in spreading valid information, and where to go for press releases or public statements.

- f) Utilize social media⁴²

Agencies should have a social media presence that also disseminates information about an incident or in anticipation of an event. Information and rumors can rapidly spread on social media and law enforcement needs to be on social media in order to provide accurate information. When used effectively, social media can hold individuals accountable for their actions through photographs and videos of their actions.

Agencies should establish a social media presence and establish what information will be released on social media.

D. Actions to be Taken During Community Dissent and Reacting to Actions by Community Dissenters

Times of community dissent are very stressful and may become volatile if the right actions are not taken by law enforcement. Law enforcement must work with the community to resolve the situation and maintain order while not violating anyone's constitutional rights.

- 1. Lesson learned with the Salt Lake City Utah eviction process of the members of the Occupy Movement⁴³

The Occupy Movement in Salt Lake City Utah were staying in a public park and protesting peacefully. However, they were becoming an issue by tying up resources and the living conditions in the park were becoming a health concern. The city and law enforcement agency did not want to become aggressive or combative with the dissenters, so, they approached it differently.

- a) The agency's command staff and city leaders spoke with the protestors at the park and law enforcement leadership established a clear and transparent process.

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- b) The agency communicated the information to the dissenters, including options to assist, as well as law enforcement actions to be taken if violations occurred.
- c) The dissenters were told that they would be required to leave the park at night and would be allowed to return the next day.
- d) The dissenters were advised that they could leave the park peacefully and that law enforcement would enforce the curfew at the park and arrest individuals that remained.
- e) If the dissenters advised that they wanted to stay, they were asked how they wanted to be arrested and if they wanted their arrest to be recorded/photographed by the media in order for them to express their desire to be arrested for their cause.
- f) When law enforcement went to arrest the dissenters that were still in the park, they wore their regular duty uniform. There were no tactical officers with riot gear and the first to enter the park to make the arrests were the chief and command staff.
- g) The result of this approach was to have only 19 of the 200 dissenters remain in the park to be arrested. They were arrested without violence or rioting and with little argument or anger.

Salt Lake City Police believed that when police “don riot gear, it says ‘throw rocks and bottles at us.’ It invites confrontation.”⁴⁴ This incident was resolved peacefully and required patience and understanding on both sides where communication and cooperation among all parties was paramount.

The point of this example is not to say that it is the model that will meet every situation; rather, it is an example of how issues can be resolved with communication and thinking outside of the box.

2. Actions to take during community dissent⁴⁵

There are a few key behaviors that officers need to remember when responding to a community dissent event:

- a) Stay close

If law enforcement is present at a community dissent event, then they need to stay close to the crowd and to each other. Being close keeps the crowd from depersonalizing the officers and forces the crowd to see them as people and not as objects. However, the

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officers need to stay close to each other in order to maintain a high level of officer safety.

b) Open dialog among ranks

Community dissent events are a very fluid situation and the officers and frontline supervisors need to provide frequent risk assessment back to the command staff.

c) Self-regulation

Law enforcement officers need to regulate themselves in highly volatile situations where the potential for overreaction would be devastating. Any community dissent event has the potential to become violent; law enforcement should not be the reason for it to become violent.

Additionally, it is important for law enforcement officers to not become anonymous. Anonymous officers that have donned riot gear and covered their names are more likely to use force because they feel that they cannot be identified. Therefore, law enforcement must have a very high level of self-regulation.

d) Establish a limited tactical response⁴⁶

The goal of law enforcement as peacekeepers is compromised when law enforcement has a large militaristic presence if it is not warranted. Having a tactical response available is very important; however, if the tactical response is not needed, it may encourage rather than discourage hostile behaviors.

It is recommended to keep tactical teams and armored vehicles and equipment out of the view of the public until they are needed.

If officers with tactical equipment need to be deployed, then the public should be notified that they are being deployed for the officers' safety.

3. Reacting to actions by community dissenters

Many times the community dissent has nothing to do with the law enforcement that is stopping their dissent. However, it is still that law enforcement officer that is being yelled at by the dissenters. The dissenters may commit vile acts against law enforcement or may call law enforcement horrible names. Often, the officer has never met the dissenter or acted inappropriately. Officers need to remember that it is not always personal.⁴⁷

Additionally, the law enforcement agency needs to care for the law enforcement officer. “In times of prolonged and stressful duty, law enforcement agencies should closely monitor officers’ emotional and physical well-being and develop a resilience support program that includes peer support.”⁴⁸

Some specific actions that an agency can take include:⁴⁹

- a) Request additional mutual aid and assistance in order to give officers enough time off in order to rest and recover from these stressful events.
- b) Have emergency medical personnel on scene to assess officers’ physical and mental fatigue.
- c) Hold pre-incident briefings that highlight where an officer can receive medical treatment and to ensure that they have all medications and proper nutrients and hydration available.
- d) Designate a law enforcement only area where officers can rest for a few minutes and contact their family members away from the noise and chaos of the situation.
- e) Enhance the threat and risk assessment for officers that receive personal threats.

E. Conducting an After-Action Review (AAR)

An After Action Review is a tool to help agencies “continuously assess their performance to identify and learn from successes and failures.”⁵⁰ The intent is to improve the behaviors of the agency for future events by looking at its successes, failures, mistakes, and achievements. The AAR also serves to provide an internal/external record of the event.

1. For the best results and to ensure a process that truly meets law enforcement needs and can provide releasable information to the community, an AAR will include:⁵¹
 - a) Group or project name.
 - b) Whether the review was completed during or after an event.
 - c) List who was in the group and what professional position they hold.
 - d) A summary of the event.

- e) What went well and why?
 - f) What can be improved and how?
2. Sample ground rules toward developing an AAR:
- a) “Active participation: it is important for everyone in the AAR working group to participate;
 - b) Everyone’s views have equal value;
 - c) No blame;
 - d) There are no right or wrong answers;
 - e) Be open to new ideas;
 - f) Be creative in proposing solutions to barriers – ‘Yes...and’ rather than ‘either/or’ thinking;
 - g) Consensus where possible, clarification where not;
 - h) Commitment to identifying opportunities for improvement and recommending possible improvement approaches;
 - i) No record of the discussion will be distributed without the agreement of all participants; and, but not limited to,
 - j) Quotes will not be attributed to individuals without permission.”⁵²

The United States Department of Justice Community Response Police Critical Incident Checklist may allow law enforcement guidance to better further a start to ending for after action incident response. The checklist is an open source document located at <https://www.justice.gov/crs/file/836421>.

III. Conclusion

A. Summary

During this course of study, you have become familiar with legal aspects, academic applications, and practical applications relevant to best practices for officers’ actions during community dissent. You have been provided information on the rights of citizens to dissent, as well as the statutory areas law enforcement may utilize to intervene and curb illegal activity during dissent. You have been introduced to intelligence-led policing for preparing and encountering community dissent. Additionally, you learned the building methods for proactive

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communication techniques with dissenters and reasonable and lawful actions in response to community dissent. Lastly, you saw a foundational method to render transparency in reporting post-incident reviews for the law enforcement agency, governmental entity, and the community at-large.

There is no “one size fits all” practice to law enforcement. Every community has its own character and concerns. Agencies must plan to best protect lawful community dissent while enhancing law enforcement-community relationships. Use this material as a resource, but continue your self-study and assist your law enforcement leadership, department, and colleagues to better understand relevant information related to legal and best practices when responding to community dissent.

- B. Questions
- C. Closing Statement

Community dissent is becoming more and more prevalent in today’s society. During these events, there is a call for transparency placed upon the police and government at-large. Dissent within a community may be frustrating to the law enforcement officer or the law enforcement agency as a whole, but such dissent is protected by constitutional and statutory rules. Our ability to respond to dissent, and to righteously respond to those dissenting unlawfully, requires an all-in approach from the law enforcement agency. Law enforcement must not simply rely upon tactics as a sole issue; deliberate thinking coinciding with strategic planning must be well-thought-out and addressed prior to, during, and after the activity. As technology evolves and our daily lives and related expectations change, police leadership cannot simply look at past incidents as predictors of future methods of response.

Founding Fathers, while framing our democracy, were very wise to include the right for lawful community dissent and protest in our foundational documents. The evolution of our country found wisdom in creating bodies of law enforcement to assist in the protection of those dissenting, as well as lawfully interfering with unlawful dissent to protect our civil society. Pre-planning for community dissent is the best tool in preparing for handling these events when they occur in your jurisdiction.

NOTES

¹ U.S. Const. amend. 1.

² Welty, 117-118.

³ N.C.G.S. § 14-127 (2018).

⁴ David Baker, 141.

⁵ David Baker, 142.

⁶ U.S. Declaration of Independence.

⁷ U.S. Const. amend. 1.

⁸ Wyllie, 2.

⁹ American Civil Liberties Union.

¹⁰ N.C. Const., art. 1, sec. 12.

¹¹ N.C. Const. art. 1, sec. 14.

¹² Welty, 117-118.

¹³ Ratcliffe, 5.

¹⁴ Lomax, 28.

¹⁵ Lomax, 29.

¹⁶ OSCE, 30.

¹⁷ OSCE, 31-33.

¹⁸ OSCE, 33-36.

¹⁹ OSCE, 36.

²⁰ OSCE, 36-39.

²¹ OSCE, 39-41.

²² OSCE, 41.

²³ USDOJ COPS, 121; 126.

²⁴ USDOJ COPS, 121.

²⁵ USDOJ COPS, 122.

²⁶ USDOJ COPS, 122.

²⁷ USDOJ COPS, 122.

²⁸ USDOJ COPS, 122-124.

²⁹ USDOJ COPS, 123.

³⁰ USDOJ COPS, 125-126.

³¹ USDOJ COPS, 126.

³² USDOJ COPS, 127.

³³ USDOJ COPS, 127.

³⁴ USDOJ COPS, 128.

³⁵ USDOJ COPS, 128.

³⁶ Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 27.

³⁷ USDOJ COPS, 130.

³⁸ USDOJ COPS, 128.

³⁹ USDOJ COPS, 130.

⁴⁰ USDOJ COPS, 130.

⁴¹ USDOJ COPS, 130-131.

⁴² USDOJ COPS, 131.

⁴³ Balk, 4-5.

⁴⁴ Balk, 4.

⁴⁵ Balk, 5-6.

⁴⁶ USDOJ COPS, 124-125.

⁴⁷ Balk, 6.

⁴⁸ USDOJ COPS, 132.

⁴⁹ USDOJ COPS, 132-133.

⁵⁰ Salem-Schatz, Ordin, and Mittman, 1.

⁵¹ Salem-Schatz, Ordin, and Mittman, 8-9.

⁵² Salem-Schatz, Ordin, and Mittman, 5.

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