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Policing Celebratory Behavior: Tactical vs. Relationship, a Micro Study of Lexington Kentucky Police Response

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Policing Celebratory Behavior: Tactical vs. Relationship, a Micro Study of Lexington

Kentucky Police Response

By

Gregg N. Jones


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Date November 22, 2015

Policing Celebratory Behavior: Tactical vs. Relationship, a Micro Study of Lexington

Kentucky Police Response

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Linda, for her
unwavering love and support.

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I would like to thank my graduate professors in the School of Justice Studies: Dr. Victor Kappeler, Dr. Pete Kraska, Dr. Derek Paulsen and Dr. Gary Potter for their inspiration and instilling in me critical and creative thinking skills associated with my chosen profession in the criminal justice field. I would also like to thank the thesis committee members, Dr. Potter (Chair), Dr. Kraska, and Dr. Kristie Blevins for their comments and assistance with this work. Finally, I would like to thank the men and women of the Lexington Police Department for their dedication and service to the community every day.

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Abstract

In the last three plus decades, considerable attention has been given to certain common phases in the life cycle of gatherings, demonstrations, and riots in the United States. Much of the study focuses on theoretical origin and social psychology associated with each type of event. There is considerably less empirical work regarding police reaction to these events, particularly concerning celebratory behavior following a sporting event. Celebratory incidents are less organized than their protests counterpart. A variety of fans with collective zeal gather in a common location without leadership or mission. Celebratory behavior has become commonplace amongst fans in cities with sports teams competing for prestigious victories in nearly all types of sporting contests. Post-game celebration may have a ritualized aspect and be "institutionalized," in the sense that participants and controllers expect them to happen. For public order maintenance, the strategic orientation used by police for celebratory crowds following these events has predominantly been paramilitary in nature both from an appearance and behavior aspect. Some research and social theory argue that a systemic culture of militarization in American police makes these incidents worse. To aid in this research a micro level case study from Lexington, Kentucky will examine post-games from two Final Four tournament years of celebratory behavior and the evolving strategies of police. Brief comparisons of police response from other agencies are discussed and analyzed with Lexington police response. Evolving police tactics and social theory combine to suggest that a relationship oriented response may be favored over a tactical approach to reduce crowd agitation or aggressive behavior during post-game celebration. Finally, considerations of police tactics toward a more relationship-oriented response are discussed.

Introduction

Some scholars have generated a conceptual framework to distinguish various types of collective behavior to include crowds and riots. Efforts to place "celebratory behavior" within the crowd schema shed light on the wide range of characteristics that define celebration behavior events. Sociologist Herbert Blumer (1969) identified four types of crowds associated with collective behavior. Clark McPhail and Ronald T. Wohlstein (1983), added a fifth type, the protest crowd. Using Blumer's typology for crowds, celebration behaviors may occur across multiple crowd types. Crowd or gathering type is important in shaping police responses because protest events are especially privileged in the law and because the impressions and/or the prior knowledge police have of the social organization of civilian participants in the types of crowds are quite different. Crowds that gathered during and following University of Kentucky basketball games in Lexington, Kentucky could be characterized as conventional, expressive and acting. Conventional crowds are gathered for a common purpose with somewhat structured behavior. Instances of police responding to this is evident in Lexington, Kentucky as crowds gather in close proximities to the celebration venue to watch the University of Kentucky tournament basketball game, the common purpose of their gathering. Expressive crowds gather to express emotion. Expressive crowds can be diverse in purpose ranging from grieving at funerals to jubilation at Mardi Gras. As such, expressive crowds may form from victory or defeat following a sporting event. This is

the most common crowd type associated with post championship basketball celebratory behavior in Lexington, Kentucky. As will be noted later, most crowd members refrain from destructive, antisocial behavior.

Active crowds are expressive crowds that begin behaving in violent or destructive ways. It is this behavior that warrants police attention however police are often present before formation of this crowd type. Factors warranting police presence for conventional and expressive crowds may include, history of previous celebration behaviors, property protection, citizen request, traffic control and many others. Police response to active crowds is discussed later in this work.

Table 1. Crowd types, characteristics and examples

Crowd Type	Crowd Characteristics	Examples
Casual	Collection of individuals in the same place at the same time with no common identity or long-term purpose	Gathering of people waiting to cross the street; people on a beach
Conventional	A collection of people who gather for a specific purpose with conventional and structured behavior	Attending a concert, movie, play
Expressive	A collection of people who gather primarily to be excited and to express one or more emotions	A religious revival, a political rally for a candidate, and events like Mardi Gras
Acting	Goes one important step beyond an expressive crowd by behaving in violent or other destructive behavior such as looting. Acting crowds sometimes become so large and out of control that they develop into full-scale riots	A mob or an intensely emotional crowd that commits or is ready to commit violence; lynch mobs after the Reconstruction period following the Civil War
Protest	A collection of people who gather to protest a political, social, cultural, or economic issue	Gatherings of people who participate in a sit-in, demonstration, march, or rally

McPhail (1994) identified two types of riots, protest and celebration. His characteristics for a celebration riot include expressing jubilation. While many of the celebratory behaviors reviewed follow victory (joy), similar behaviors amongst acting crowds follow defeat from a sport contest.

Table 2. Riot type, characteristics and examples

Riot Type	Riot Characteristics	Examples
Protest	Express discontent regarding a political, social, cultural, or economic issue	Watts riots, WTO in Seattle, Kent State massacre
Celebration	Express joy or delight over an event or outcome	Pumpkin Festival, riots following college games

Adopting Blumer's taxonomy of crowds, key terms associated with this work are defined for clarification. For purposes of this work, *celebratory behavior* refers to expressive or active crowds associated with a public event that require police attention. While not all celebratory behavior requires police attention, events with authority intervention were included to analyze police responses. *Celebratory riot* is an acting crowd whose antisocial behavior requires police action. The requirement for police presence may be derived from the public or the police, either of which may perceive a celebratory event as a risk to the public.

Celebratory behaviors on or near university campuses are not a new phenomenon, but they are clearly escalating in prevalence and magnitude. ¹

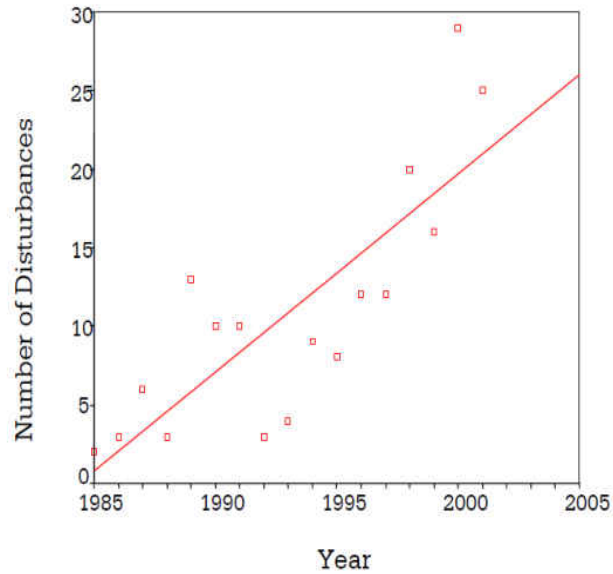


Figure 1: Frequency of campus/community disturbances NOT associated with protests. Source: McCarthy, J.D., Martin, A.W., McPhail, C., & Cress, D. (2002, August). Mixed-issue campus disturbances, 1985-2001: Describing the thing to be explained. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, IL.

Such disturbances have been addressed at scores of major universities around the United States.² Frequently, these incidents have posed a threat to public safety and have adversely affected the reputation of the university and the host municipality. While there is little empirical work on the subject, celebration behavior evolving to riotous behavior varies significantly from other riot types. Some universities have strived to clarify common elements of such disturbances in an effort to better prevent destructive behavior and differentiate these incidents from protests or issue-based disturbances.

The University of New Hampshire published a news release noting some commonalities of these incidents, many of which are applicable to incidents in Lexington, KY³:

- Sometimes, but not always, associated with sporting events.
- Typically occur very late at night and extend into the early morning hours.
- Almost always associated with high volume alcohol consumption.
- Involve fire setting as a common practice along with destruction of public and private property, such as overturning and burning cars.
- Involve active participants who are nearly all white, young adult males with a large crowd of onlookers who are predominately white, young adults of both sexes. Many are students of the "host" institutions, but other young adults who are not students are often involved. (Of the students arrested in Ohio State's 2003 post Michigan game disturbances, all were male, 70 percent were first- or second-year students, and were not intoxicated, according to self-reports and police reports.
- Involve eventual police intervention that is met with considerable resistance and lack of respect for authority.⁴

The University of Kentucky (UK) is the largest institution of higher education in the state of Kentucky. UK's overall enrollment exceeded 29,000 for the first time in 2013, with 4,702 freshman and 21,523 undergraduates. Many UK basketball fans, both students and non-students, expect to win and feel a sense of entitlement to victory and championships. Its basketball team is the winningest NCAA Division I program in history,

holding both the most all-time wins (2140) and the highest all-time winning percentage (.761). The University of Kentucky also leads all schools in total NCAA tournament appearances with 53, is first in NCAA tournament wins with 116, and ranks second to UCLA in NCAA championships with 8.⁵ University of Kentucky basketball fans have had a lot to celebrate, which has become a tradition in the city of Lexington where the university is located. In 2012 and 2014, the UK men's basketball team played in the championship game of the NCAA men's basketball tournament, winning the championship in 2012. Celebratory behavior following such significant sporting events or rivalry contests has been the subject of much media attention in and around Lexington, KY. A sample of local news headlines covering these games characterizes the atmosphere and behaviors of some fans following these noteworthy sports contests:

*Kentucky's New Shame: A Good Time That Got Out of Hand*⁶

*Fans, Police Fill the Streets - Arrests, Fires Begin Even Before the Game Ends*⁷

*Fans Burn Couches, Flip Cars After Kentucky's Win*⁸

While much of the news accounts refer to fan behavior, there is sparse research discussing police response to such events in any detail, beyond statistics. This paper will examine the Lexington (KY) Police Department response to fan celebration following NCAA Men's Basketball games in 2012 and 2014. Though celebratory behavior was

recurring at the culmination of the championship tournament, police response evolved from a largely tactical response in 2012 to a relationship-oriented response in the latter year. Not only is this approach congenial with community policing, it also supports some social theory including the Elaborated Social Identity Model of crowd behavior. Each variable associated with this study may be viewed through the lens of community or relationship-oriented policing. Other police agencies have employed a variety of tactics and methods when confronting celebratory behavior. Some comparisons are noteworthy to measure police reaction to these recurring celebrations across the country. Future roles of police in these incidents are considered with suggestions for further evolution of police response to enhance a relationship-oriented response.

Methodology

Several methods, mostly qualitative in nature, are used in this study. News stories, video, social media, interviews and observations are used to characterize and analyze police response. News stories from Lexington, KY and areas across the United States pertaining to the events surrounding the NCAA men's basketball championship in 2012 and 2014 are used to compare settings, crowd size, crowd behavior and reaction to events following basketball games. Video depicting these dynamics were also studied and compared to interviews and observations. Social media provided micro insight into fan reaction to these events. Similar sources were utilized to gather information from other jurisdictions for brief comparative analysis.

The evolving strategic response of police called for quantitative analysis of staffing, arrests, pre-planning, student involvement, fire and ambulance responses and other variables to determine variances based on social control by police. Data used for quantitative analysis are derived from planning documents (Incident Action Plans), criminal charging documents (arrest citations) obtained through criminal court documents, University of Kentucky student enforcement activity, Lexington Division of Fire and Emergency services data and Lexington Police evaluation documents (After Action Reports). Limited data from other jurisdictions were obtained for brief comparison and analysis.

Data obtained for Lexington Police enforcement activity were obtained through court records consisting of arrest/non-arrest citations. Citations are completed in the field, often in poor lighting which can result in missing or illegible data. Some information that may be recorded on the charging document is not mandatory which also resulted in limited data on some documents. In the case of missing data, no attempt was made to obtain the data nor was any assumption made about the missing data. Illegible data was treated with the same respect with no assumptions.

Geography of Celebratory Events

The setting of post game celebratory space in Lexington has fluctuated from the 1990's. Previous UK NCAA basketball victory celebrations in 1996 and 1998 primarily occurred at the Euclid and Woodland Avenue intersection and the South Limestone corridor, slightly north and northwest of UK's campus respectively. The spatial aspect of this geography is primarily commercial with residential housing adjacent to businesses along the parallel streets. A portion of these businesses (a gas station, restaurants and bars) were open for business during the games and during the early, initial hours of the post-game celebrations. Other businesses were closed and were considered vulnerable to vandalism without police attention due to related nearby damage. The location of Euclid Avenue at Woodland Avenue saw its share of trouble. In 1996, some \$40,000 in damage occurred after the University of Kentucky Wildcats beat Syracuse University in the championship game. Dozens of individuals, including fans, police officers and reporters, were hit with bottles, and a local news van was overturned and set on fire.⁹ 1998 saw fewer incidents following UK's win over Utah in the NCAA championship. An estimated 12,000 people flooded the Euclid and Woodland Avenue intersection. Bottles were thrown and some fans injured but there was less property damage as nearly 300 police were deployed in riot gear in these areas.

State Street and its periphery is the new Euclid/Woodland when it comes to postseason celebrations.¹⁰ Unlike Euclid and Woodland Avenues, which are lined with businesses

that often cater to university students, State Street is residential (see map) with interconnecting streets incorporated in the North Elizabeth Street neighborhood.

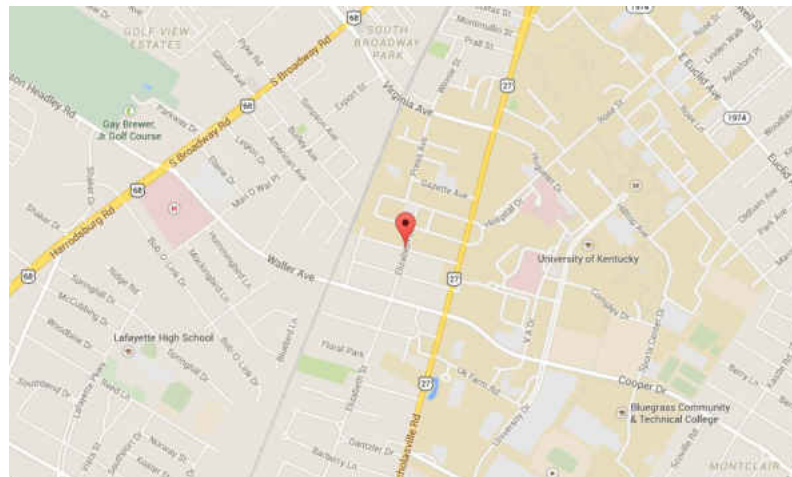


Figure 2. State Street, Lexington, Kentucky. Source: Google Maps

The internal street pattern yields clearly identified blocks within the neighborhood. State Street is just two blocks long and has only about 40 homes. Most of these homes have been converted to student rental housing. These rent between \$400 and \$450 a month, per bedroom.¹¹ In order to foster a relationship with the tenants in this neighborhood, it is important to understand the climate of the geography and who occupies the space. What was once considered a lovely neighborhood where many faculty and staff used to live, fell into disrepair as fewer and fewer homes were occupied by their owners. The area had become, as one writer deemed, "student-rental slums" (Newell). In the 1970s, UK dormitory construction and maintenance began falling behind enrollment growth. About the same time, longtime residents of some nearby neighborhoods built between the early 1800s and early 1900s began dying off or moving

away. Many homes were sold to the university for campus expansion. Others were sold to student-rental entrepreneurs, who either cut up old homes into rental rooms or knocked them down to build boxy apartment complexes. In 1998, officials banned alcohol from campus, which pushed student parties into the surrounding neighborhoods. Landlords used zoning loopholes to build large dorm-like additions to bungalows and pave over yards, overwhelming those areas with people, cars, garbage and storm-water runoff. The neighborhoods were not designed for such density. It was estimated that 75% of UK's student population lived off-campus.¹² The net result for public safety responders: a lot of UK fans were celebrating close to "home".

Other celebratory research noted the tendency for students to gather in neighborhoods versus campus. The Ohio State University report on celebratory behavior said it was observed early and often that celebratory riots, at Ohio State and most other universities, occur in neighborhoods not on campus. Obviously, they are most typical in areas where students are likely to gather – close to highly populated off-campus residential areas, or in highly populated public areas. The condition of these neighborhoods and the lack of engagement of students as members of a neighborhood community are important and related issues. The Ohio State University report noted that students who live in these off-campus areas appear to have less respect for their general living environment than they do for the adjoining campus.¹³

As celebration activity in 1996 and 1998 was largely in the Euclid and Woodland, South Limestone areas and some downtown locations, the location for celebratory activity 14

years later was largely unknown. Public safety personnel were more equally distributed between potential celebration locations in 2012. In 2014, police personnel were concentrated and predominantly staged in the State Street area where, perhaps due to the influx of students in adjacent off-campus neighborhoods, a significant concentration of students resided.

In addition to the density of the student population off-campus, the new location for post-contest revelry presented some challenges to police and public safety. Absentee landlord scenarios for many properties made it difficult to hold property owners accountable for renters. In both 2012 and 2014, police were made aware of the addresses of individual houses that were abandoned. Intelligence gathering by police revealed that these homes could be the target of arson which required additional personnel being staged near these addresses. The residential areas had much less lighting than the commercial areas of celebration in the past. Lighting is a critical component in police-citizen interaction. Mann, et. al, noted that the anonymity afforded spectators in darkened surroundings creates a state of deindividuation wherein individuals are less self-aware and show less concern with how others will evaluate their actions. This coupled with reduced accountability results in a weakening of inhibitions against aggression.¹⁴ Lighting near outdoor celebrations contributes to enhanced surveillance of the celebration geography. Prior to 2012, celebration activities were in well lit areas, near commercial establishments or businesses, with an abundance of street lighting. Celebration activities on and adjacent to State Street were fraught with

diminished lighting with street lighting providing the only lighting to revelers in the area. This lighting is further diminished by trees and rooftops that shade existing lighting. Darkness was an ally for some disorderly fans in 2012 when a few subjects, determined to throw objects at police, took to rooftops to heave their chosen object. The Lexington Police helicopter thwarted most of their efforts by illuminating rooftops from its hover position over the area.

The spatial contrast between celebrations in the 1990's in the commercial areas versus the residential atmosphere of the 2012 and 2014 celebrations is significant in police planning, staffing and operations. While the residential environment presented challenges, it also presented opportunity - opportunity for enhanced relationships in the areas where many lived.

Event Planning: Preparation and Prevention

Avoiding the use of outside agencies can be wise. Officers from other locations may differ in philosophy, training, or ability to work together during a conspicuous event. External resources could lack soft crowd management experience or community knowledge. It proves important to local agency leaders that officers take personal responsibility for crowd management in their city. Occasionally, outside help proves necessary. A recent event in Boise required the participation of five large agencies consisting of state, county, and city forces. The effort was well-planned and coordinated. Success came from all stakeholders' early planning and clear understanding of the mission.¹⁵

Planning for each championship season post-game celebrations did not differ appreciably however some variations may have been instrumental at setting the tone within the celebration locations. It should be noted that none of the sports contests requiring preparation were played at "home". The games are played typically on a neutral court, usually several miles from each team's college location.

Several weeks prior to the college basketball tournament, prior to both 2012 and 2014 tournaments, Lexington Police conducted agency-wide civil disturbance training. The training is tactical in orientation, with full gear and specialized units. The practical portion of the training was scenario based, with a platoon of officers responding to role play stations, each with a potential scenario officers may encounter during celebrations

such as evacuating an injured participant, surrounding a stationary vehicle that may be threatened or moving an arrestee through the crowd to a booking station.

An incident commander was designated by the Chief of Police for each season. A staff-level police commander was responsible for all pre-event planning and coordination.

The key element of incident planning with regard to a relationship-oriented response is partnerships. No one public entity can effectively manage such a large incident alone.

The successful management of each incident was and should be dependent upon mutual collaboration from numerous partners and stakeholders in the city, state and region. Consequently, the planning phase is amongst the most critical components for a successful outcome that fosters relationships versus heavy-handed tactics.

Relationships begin with all stakeholders and partners who will share in the response with fans following championship games. Thus, it is important that multiple stakeholders be involved in these decisions to confront events that are regarded as important traditions for some community members.¹⁶

Planning for each year had many similarities in 2012 and 2014. Following the designation of a police incident commander, the commander, along with internal colleagues, identified various partners and stakeholders essential for a comprehensive community response. Each entity represented above has a role in a community, relationship-oriented response to celebratory behavior and its efforts to enhance

positive behavior. Partners and stakeholders identified in Lexington's incident action planning included:

- Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government Administration
- Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government Public Safety
- Lexington Police Department
- Lexington Division of Fire and Emergency Services
- Lexington Division of Emergency Management/Enhanced 911
- Lexington Division of Code Enforcement
- Lexington Traffic Engineering
- Lexington Division of Streets and Roads
- Lexington Division of Waste Management
- Lexington Division of Community Corrections
- Lexington public information, media
- Lexington and Fayette County Parking Authority (LexPark)
- University of Kentucky
- University of Kentucky Police Department
- Fayette County Sheriff's Office
- Kentucky State Police
- Norfolk Southern Railroad (Waller Avenue tracks)
- Local business owners/managers

- Off-campus multi-family housing property managers
- Local towing contractor

Before the tip-off for the 2012 and 2014 Final Four contests, personal, face-to-face contact was established with each entity to discuss concerns and collectively plan for a unified response. Each year in which tournament play proceeded beyond the Elite Eight, partners were invited to meetings to discuss strategy and concerns. Additionally, stakeholders received informative flyers distributed to adjacent campus businesses which outlined preventative safety measure considerations for their businesses and necessary follow-up contact information.

In 2102, significantly more planning focused on the Euclid and Woodland Avenue areas, the location of much of previous celebration behavior, than the Elizabeth Street corridor which ultimately became the focus for both years. As such, resources were more evenly distributed in 2012.

Setting the Stage: Code Enforcement and Pre-Event Enforcement

The most significant disparity in planning and enforcement could be in the events leading up to championship games. On the day of the games preceding the Final Four and championship game in 2012, a "no tolerance policy" was implemented in order to set the stage for the Elizabeth Street corridor (State Street area), where many students were enjoying a less cohesive party atmosphere. Contacts revealed that most officer encounters during the pre-game atmosphere were with off-campus housed UK students. Officers were given special assignment status and deployed to the neighborhood with a mission of eliminating early intoxication, public drinking, underage drinking, turning off/down loud music, debris clean-up, and furniture removal. Code Enforcement sweeps were conducted simultaneously to coincide with officer efforts for clean-up. The result was a more aggressive approach to ensure conditions didn't deteriorate prior to post-game celebrations. As noted, this game was against rival Louisville which contributed to the pre-game hype.

The aggressive posture in 2012 led to issuance of 34 citations (17 each day) prior to any post-game celebration. Citation data reveals that several of these were students.¹⁷ Fines associated with these citations can be equal to or greater than fines levied in association with physical arrest, especially when in combination of associated court costs. For an 18-21-year old college student, this can be a significant impact on available funds.

2014 pre-game was less enforcement-oriented. There is no record of pre-game citations being written. The focus was on police visibility and communication. Glass, debris, and large-item, including furniture, removal was completed as a preventative step. No parking along neighborhood street signs were posted a week prior. Game day, officer sweeps included cordial contact with vehicle owners of cars in driveways and on streets about safe places to park so that no cars would be in the path of anti-social behavior. It is argued that this initial approach paved the way for a more relationship-oriented approach in 2014 versus the previous celebration year.

Staffing and Uniform

Social control agents, including police, clearly have a considerable impact on the course and character of crowd behavior.¹⁸ Many believe staffing levels and uniform by police can have impact on heterogeneous crowd behavior. The uniform itself has recently resurfaced with renewed vigor when associated with discussion on the militarization of policing. While the purpose of this discourse is not the militarization of law enforcement, scholars have analyzed the symbolism associated with the police uniform. Paul and Birzer argue that police should relinquish their military style clothing and gear, noting that the militarized appearance of police is an act of symbolic violence. They define symbolic violence as is a cultural action used to inspire fear and subservience. The militarized appearance is used to transform police-community interactions to an outcome of distance and control. They go one to promote that the militaristic style uniform symbolically constructs a hierarchy between the police and the public.¹⁹

Uniforms for celebration behavior events are often tactical in appearance. Lexington police utilized a dark colored uniform with mostly exterior body armor carriers, riot helmets, 36" polycarbonate batons and some officers sporting large containers of pepper spray and plastic ties for handcuffing. Incident commanders determine the uniform and equipment necessary for events.

Lexington Police planned early and staffed additional personnel for both the Sweet Sixteen and Elite Eight games. There was some celebratory behavior but diminished

compared to subsequent games in the tournament. For the Final Four game and Championship game, an area commander was designated for each assignment location. The area commanders reported to the overall incident commander.

On Saturday, March 31, 2012, the University of Kentucky played rival University of Louisville. As rivalry's go, this contest drew the interest of college basketball fans all over the state of Kentucky - if not the nation. 209 uniformed personnel were staged by duty assignment or sector in four locations:

Table 3. 2012 staffing, semi-final game

<u>Sector/Assignment</u>	<u>Staging Location</u>	<u># of Personnel (all ranks)</u>
West Sector	State Street/University Ave	43 officers
Central Sector	South Limestone/Pine	67 officers
East Sector	Euclid/Woodland	73 officers
Investigation	Downtown	26 officers

Officers were more uniformly distributed for this night based largely on history of celebratory behavior locale. Moreover, celebratory behavior following games leading up to the Final Four was minimal in the State Street/University Avenue (Elizabeth Street neighborhood) corridor. Officers began the evening in soft hats and without riot batons dressed in a "Class B" utility black uniform. Near the end of the game, due to a perceived influx of a large population, squads of officers returned to a staging area to

retrieve ballistic helmets and 36" riot batons. Batons were either kept in a grommet on a duty belt or held in hand by officers.

April 2, 2012, celebrations took place in Lexington to show support for the University of Kentucky Wildcats playing against Kansas University in the National Championship game. The celebrations that occurred were primarily centered at three locations with downtown being a fourth area that may experience activity:

Table 4. 2012 staffing, final game

<u>Staging Location</u>	<u># of Personnel (all ranks)</u>
State/Elizabeth Street	125 officers
South Limestone/Pine	73 officers
Woodland/Euclid	54 officers
Downtown	27 officers

Existing plans in place called for an additional +70 officers for the championship game. Some officers were reallocated to State Street area with an additional 82 officers assigned to this area alone. 17 squads of officers, including officers from the University of Kentucky Police Department, lined State Street and University Avenue, adjacent to UK's campus. Following the prevalence of some disorderly activity at this location on Saturday night, officers were deployed with riot helmets and 36" batons instead of the soft caps initially deployed.

In 2014, expectations of the University of Kentucky basketball team making it to the Final Four game were high at the onset. Police planning with the many partners began early. Once again, staffing following the Elite Eight games expanded significantly.

April 5, 2014 was the Final Four game involving the University of Kentucky against the University of Wisconsin. Staffing numbers clearly indicated where celebration activity was predicted to occur. Smaller details had been in the State/Elizabeth Street corridor for the two UK tournament games prior, encountering some noticeable yet smaller celebrations. The staffing allowed for flexibility to move personnel to other locations as needed. A small contingency of officers roamed the downtown area however staffing was predominantly in the below areas. This event marked the largest deployment of personnel and resources in agency history:

Table 5. 2014 staffing, semi-final game

<u>Staging Location</u>	<u># of Personnel (all ranks)</u>
Woodland/Euclid	30 officers
South Limestone/Pine	47 officers
State/Elizabeth Street	173 officers
Downtown	8 officers

Officers were equipped with riot gear yet reported positive interactions with many revelers. The positioning of the officers allowed for close interaction which not only favors a rapid intervention but interaction with the majority that were not engaged in

criminal activity. Commanders noted that there were fewer individuals climbing on rooftops or porch overhangs, partly due to the staging locations of personnel.

The team advanced to the final championship tournament game played on Monday, April 7, 2014. The opponent was the University of Connecticut. As the team progresses through the tournament, the corresponding crowds tend to be more "rambunctious and rowdy", although not necessarily larger. This was the case following the game with Connecticut, a game in which UK lost.²⁰ In anticipation of heightened exuberance, staffing was increased and focused on the State Street area. Supplemental staffing from partner agencies allowed for additional increases without sacrificing personnel from other areas that also attract smaller crowds. The Kentucky State Police (KSP) agreed to assist and brought twenty troopers and a command level supervisor to the South Limestone/Pine Street location, where many of the commercial entertainment establishments near campus are located. Planning activities were conducted with KSP to ensure their understanding of the dynamics of the location and Lexington Police protocols for various processes (traffic control, arrestee transports, etc). Most importantly, discussions about crowd dynamics and Lexington Police philosophy of response to crowd behavior was discussed as part of briefing activities. Other law enforcement agencies continued to assist as needed in multiple locations. Staffing was again primarily in three locations:

Table 6. 2014 staffing, final game

<u>Staging Location</u>	<u># of Personnel (all ranks)</u>
Woodland/Euclid	17 officers
South Limestone Corridor*	35 officers
State/Elizabeth Street	252 officers (including 17 recruit officers)
Downtown	8 officers

** Another fifty state troopers were on standby at an offsite location in the jurisdiction*

Enforcement Activity

Enforcement activity primarily occurred in the State Street corridor where a majority of the crowd gathered for both 2012 and 2014 celebrations. Few, if any, arrests or citations were completed in the other staging locations. For this reason, enforcement data for the State Street area is the only data examined for this study.

Crowd size is difficult to estimate in an open venue. Most news accounts estimate total crowds at all celebration locations in Lexington ranging from 15,000 - 20,000 people. Some popular media websites estimate the State Street crowd was around 10,000 people for both 2012 and 2014. Using simple math, a ratio of 252 officers (staged at State Street in 2014) to 10,000 celebration participants (252:10000), is equivalent to slightly less than 2.5% of the population are law enforcement officers. This demands that officers focus wholly on the safety of the participants and its own personnel. Minor offenses such as open alcoholic beverage containers, littering and noise related offenses are not primary enforcement considerations in these events. In 2012, the initial ratio of law enforcement staffing to crowd is even less representative of police presence. Using initial police staffing numbers to crowd size estimate, that percentage drops to approximately 1.2% of the State Street population being law enforcement personnel. Of course, staffing numbers were readjusted in 2012 as police commanders reallocated several officers from other staging areas to the State Street location thereby making 2012 ratio for police slightly higher.

Arrests

Custodial arrest is one of many tools an agency has to manage a crowd in an effort to promote safety. Taking participants into custody should be restricted to those that are disrupting efforts to maintain a safe venue or likely to do so and are in violation of offenses that allow for physical custodial arrest. Officers making arrests are removed from their watch positions to deal with violators and related processing.

In light of massive crowds in the celebration venue, few arrests are made by police for reasons previously noted. Data captured from arrest citations provide valuable feedback about who gets arrested and what offenses resulted in incarceration. Despite news reports and anecdotal claims of significant raucous behavior, arrest numbers do not support the notion of widespread disorderly behavior that would necessitate arrest by police.

Table 7. Arrests per UK championship game

	March 31, 2012	April 2, 2012	April 5, 2014	April 7, 2014
	Final Four Game	Championship	Final Four	Championship
Arrests*	24	47	15	24
Percentage**	.24%	.47%	.15%	.24%

**Arrest data collected from arrest citations submitted to Fayette District Court; arrest times include all times for the dates listed occurring in the State Street corridor.*

***Using estimated consequent of 10,000 fans per event*

Using the estimated crowd of 10,000, less than half of one percent of all revelers are arrested on days of celebratory behavior. For both years, more arrests occurred on championship game days instead of semi-final game days. One plausible explanation for

this is that there are more police for the final game celebrations to respond to unsafe behavior than on the semi-finales.

Students

Another myth associated with arrests and celebratory behavior is that most of those arrested are college students. While there is no mechanism to determine what portion of the celebratory crowd is associated with the University of Kentucky or other higher learning institutions, unscientific observation would lead one to believe many in the State Street corridor were college students but a large contingency of locals and traveling fans had migrated to this location as well. The Kentucky Kernal, the University of Kentucky newspaper, published a State Street resident's thoughts about non-students in the celebration venue:

"It was easy to tell during the celebrations who was and was not a student, McKendry said. The presence of so many people who do not go to UK or who do not live in the area made the situation even more wild."²¹

Arrest data collected by the University of Kentucky revealed that few of those arrested were University of Kentucky students.

Table 8. UK students arrested per UK championship game

	March 31, 2012	April 2, 2012	April 5, 2014	April 7, 2014
	Final Four Game	Championship	Final Four	Championship

Arrests*	24	47	15	24
UK Students Arrested	7	7	0	3
Percentage	29.2%	14.9%	0%	12.5%

**Arrest data collected from arrest citations submitted to Fayette District Court; arrest times include all times for the dates listed occurring in the State Street corridor.*

Celebratory events are typically outdoors in an "open market" where fans can come and go. Since it's difficult to distinguish college students from "outsiders", media accounts *may* attribute unruly, destructive behavior to college students. The data suggests that in Lexington, a majority of the arrests were not college students affiliated with the University of Kentucky. In 2014, just three (7%) of the approximately 40 arrests were University of Kentucky students.

Alcohol Involvement

Anecdotally, each crowd appears to include a majority that have been drinking or intoxicated. Containers of alcohol are prominent over the entire State Street corridor. Open consumption of alcohol is common with many hosting alcohol-fueled parties. Alcohol use amongst college students isn't restricted to celebration behavior and has been the focus of considerable research. O'Malley and Johnston, in their comprehensive research on alcohol use by college students, concluded that alcohol use rates are very high among college students. Approximately two of five American college students were heavy drinkers, defined as having had five or more drinks in a row in the past 2 weeks. Alcohol use is higher among male than female students, the report noted.²²

A majority of those arrested over the four games in this study involved some level of alcohol use. This information is usually recorded on the arrest citation.

Table 9. Alcohol related arrests per UK championship game

	March 31, 2012	April 2, 2012	April 5, 2014	April 7, 2014
	Final Four Game	Championship	Final Four	Championship
Arrests*	24	47	15	24
Alcohol Related	19	30	5	15
Percentage	79.2%	63.8%	33.3%	62.5%

**Arrest data collected from arrest citations submitted to Fayette District Court; arrest times include all times for the dates listed occurring in the State Street corridor.*

Of the 69 custodial arrests involving alcohol, only 13 of those were solely due to the consumption or possession of alcohol. All of the 13 were underage offenders occurring on March 31, 2012. The state law changed for 2014 resulting in these offenses being citable offenses only. The remaining 56 alcohol related arrests were based on behavior - behaviors that jeopardized the safety of the offender or bystanders. Officers were not seeking out alcohol related offenses for arrest. Alcohol violations were combated through public information and prevention campaigns as well as high visibility patrols on game days in the State Street corridor.

Age, Sex, Race of Offenders

Most of the participants in celebratory behavior are young, typically college age, in their early 20's. Arrests followed this trend with the average ages represented below. Data of those under legal drinking age, under 21 years of age, is also depicted in the table.

Table 10. Age of arrestees per UK championship game

	March 31, 2012	April 2, 2012	April 5, 2014	April 7, 2014
	Final Four Game	Championship	Final Four	Championship
All Arrests*	24	47	15	24
Avg Age of Arrestee	22.4	22.1	23	20.4
# Arrested <21	10	28	9	17

**Arrest data collected from arrest citations submitted to Fayette District Court; arrest times include all times for the dates listed occurring in the State Street corridor.*

As with crowd volume, there is no scientific method of calculating the ratio of men to women at the celebrations. Media images published following the events depict both male and females in all images with more males visible than females in many. Some sites and blogs with images depicting individuals around scenes that may be criminal in nature displayed predominantly males.²³

While the crowd size precluded calculations of gender population, anecdotally, it appeared there were significant representations of both male and female. Of those arrested, more males were incarcerated than females during the celebration activities. Of those arrested during the four championship games clearly more males were taken into custody during all events, with no arrests of females during 2014 celebrations.

Table 11. Females arrested per UK championship game

	March 31, 2012	April 2, 2012	April 5, 2014	April 7, 2014
	Final Four Game	Championship	Final Four	Championship
Arrests*	24	47	15	24
Females Arrested	2	3	0	0

**Arrest data collected from arrest citations submitted to Fayette District Court; arrest times include all times for the dates listed occurring in the State Street corridor.*

No media reports could be found indicating the race of participants in the celebrations.

Images and video from the scenes available to the public show that a variety of races and ethnicities participated in the events. Arrest data reveals that more Caucasians were arrested during all the events. Arrest citations provide a place to record the race of those arrested:

Table 12. Race of arrestees per UK championship game

	March 31, 2012	April 2, 2012	April 5, 2014	April 7, 2014
	Final Four Game	Championship	Final Four	Championship
Arrests*	24	47	15	24
Caucasians Arrested	22	39	9	15
African Americans Arrested	2	8	6	9

Charges

The mission of Lexington Police was to allow for a safe atmosphere for celebration. As such, disruptive behavior was the focus of police enforcement efforts. Post arrest complaints on arrest documents allowed for probable cause details placed on arrested individuals. The most common charge applied as a result of disruptive behavior is a Class B type misdemeanor, disorderly conduct, second degree. Kentucky law defines disorderly conduct in the second degree as:

A person is guilty of disorderly conduct in the second degree when in a public place and with intent to cause public inconvenience, annoyance, or alarm, or wantonly creating a risk thereof, he:

- (a) Engages in fighting or in violent, tumultuous, or threatening behavior;

- (b) Makes unreasonable noise;
- (c) Refuses to obey an official order to disperse issued to maintain public safety in dangerous proximity to a fire, hazard, or other emergency; or
- (d) Creates a hazardous or physically offensive condition by any act that serves no legitimate purpose.²⁴

In the State Street area, disorderly behavior consisted of three primary activities, although arrests were made for other behaviors: starting fires, fighting or instigating a fight, and throwing objects, usually bottles. Looking at both years as a whole, fighting was the most common reason for arrest.

Table 13. Charges of arrestees per UK championship game

	March 31, 2012	April 2, 2012	April 5, 2014	April 7, 2014
	Final Four Game	Championship	Final Four	Championship
Arrests*	24	47	15	24
Disorderly Arrests	13	38	13	17
% of Arrests = Disorderly	54.2%	80.8%	86.6%	70.8%
Fire Related	3	1	8	7

	March 31, 2012 Final Four Game	April 2, 2012 Championship	April 5, 2014 Final Four	April 7, 2014 Championship
Fighting	4	7	4	8
Throwing Objects	3	11	0	1

**Arrest data collected from arrest citations submitted to Fayette District Court; arrest times include all times for the dates listed occurring in the State Street corridor.*

All charges but one during all championship games were misdemeanors or violations.

One felony arrest was made during all championship celebrations. An individual was charged with felonious assault on April 7th when a bottle was used as a weapon to cause serious injury.

Police Tactics & Strategy

The mission to provide a safe atmosphere for those celebrating was echoed to officers in pre-game briefings/roll calls. To provide equal coverage, officers were strategically placed in teams or squads of personnel by block numbers on both sides of State Street and University Avenue. A map helped display where each officer and supervisor were staged. A supervisor was assigned to each squad with platoon leaders (usually lieutenants) managing overall placement and adjustments as needed in consultation with area command. Properties with more people celebrating might have more officers assigned near these locations than those that were less involved. One abandoned property had additional officers assigned as prevention against arson or vandalism.

Officers maintained their assigned locations unless crowd activities necessitated adjustments. Arrest teams consisting of Emergency Response Unit (SWAT) members were designated as the officers that would move into a crowd when behavior dictated enforcement action. Perimeter officers would then escort arrestees to a prisoner processing area for later transport to the detention facility. When arrest teams resolved the activity necessitating police response, they returned to staging areas next to houses to continue monitoring and interacting with those celebrating. In essence, the police escalated when required, then de-escalated.

Strategically, 2012 provided some valuable lessons in which adjustments were made to aid in officer safety and response.

Following the 2012 Final Four game, celebration activities included some participants throwing bottles at police as police formed across the street in an effort to curtail gathering and end celebrations for the night. Officers formed in a parallel line, gradually advancing, informing individuals that remained that street celebration was ending and to move out of the street. This served two purposes: to note that the evenings celebrations were over and to allow for street sweepers to clean the streets. This maneuver may have appeared aggressive to some of the remaining zealous fans. More bottles were thrown at police during this time than any other during the celebrations. Officers took bottles from many who remained concealed at higher ground by the houses on each side of the street.

The most disorderly remained which resulted in confrontation and subsequent arrest of the last remaining partiers in the street.

A police commander made the suggestion that officers would be in a position of advantage by taking to the high ground, instead of the streets. This would place officers next to the houses and less in harms way from bottles. This had a positive influence in addition to the safety aspect. Officers were now closer to more of those attending parties at the houses which allowed police to have positive interaction upon initial staging. The night of the championship game, fewer bottles were thrown at police. By contrast, Dayton Ohio police lined the streets after University of Dayton NCAA victories in 2014. Their aim was to protect the streets in case emergency vehicle access was required. Other police strategies are discussed later.

Another necessary adjustment involved Fire and Emergency Services response. On the first night in 2012, these personnel were staged away from the most crowded portions of the street requiring a contingency of officers to escort the vehicles (fire engine and/or ambulance) into a scene. Police would walk on each sides of the vehicle in order to clear a path and remain with these vehicles until they were out of the crowd perimeter. By adjusting the staging location of these vehicles in areas closer to the most likely response areas, time and personnel resources were saved when response was required.

Fire/Ambulance Response

Table 14. Fire/ambulance runs per UK championship game

	March 31, 2012 Final Four Game	April 2, 2012 Championship	April 5, 2014 Final Four	April 7, 2014 Championship
Personnel	54	61	47	50
Fire runs in vicinity*	16	20	41	21
Ambulance runs*	15	7	23	45

**The numbers for Fire and EMS runs above were incidents that were reported to the Command Post or received documentation. This does not include very minor fires or injuries. Some EMS treatment was not able to be documented due to the operational situation. Some patients self transported to the Emergency Department which was in close proximity to the event.*

The data for 2014 includes runs made in the Woodland/Euclid Avenue area as well which may account for some of the higher totals for this year. The fewer ambulance runs in 2012 are partially attributed to the perimeter staging areas which facilitated walk-up treatment in some cases. The fire/ambulance response data is not statistically significant otherwise.

Technology/Social Media Role

The role of social media on mobilization and celebratory behavior is significant and is getting increased attention in research and theory. Juris recently examined the role of social media in the Occupy Wall Street movement. Juris was able to determine current movements of protesters through Twitter social media and intercept the physical movement of the crowd in order to join and make reports. He noted the trend of social media to attract crowds:

"Although social networking tools allow activists to rapidly circulate information and to coordinate physical movements across space, they are perhaps most effective at getting large numbers of individuals to converge in protest at particular physical locations. Rather than generating organizational networks, these tools primarily link and help to stitch together interpersonal networks, facilitating the mass aggregation of individuals within concrete locales through viral communication flows. In this sense, rather than mobilizing "networks of networks" the use of Twitter and Facebook within social movements tends to generate "crowds of individuals."²⁵

While social media may have made it easier to find the celebration parties, it and accompanying technology allowed those not in the Lexington area to follow the activities in near real time.²⁶ Following the Wildcats' win over Kansas for the 2012 NCAA title, word quickly spread on Twitter that the Lexington police dispatch scanner was accessible via the steaming app TuneIn. Soon after, the hashtag

#LexingtonPoliceScanner began an hours-long residency in the worldwide trending charts as a mesmerized "Twitterverse" followed the riots in real time. An estimated 13,000 people were listening to Lexington Police scanners. ²⁷

Technology wasn't just guilty of contributing to the gathering of people physically or electronically it also aided Lexington Police in identifying those involved in criminal acts during celebratory activities. Whether stationary video cameras, media captured by others or video recorded by police, still images were broadcast on internet websites in an effort to identify perpetrators. *IDThisPerson.com* featured various photographs of individuals engaged in criminal acts for identification purposes. Users could anonymously identify the individuals contained within the presented images and be rewarded a sum of \$25.

Of critical importance is the necessity of police to utilize media to broadcast the message they want to be heard or viewed. A consistent media message may help establish an identity for police that the public will turn to for information. Police communication with the public is important to both parties and requires mutual respect, trust, open lines of communication, and the provision of information that is accurate and relevant.²⁸ Communication of venue location, safety tips, traffic information and a myriad of other topics are just some of the information police can share with the public prior to celebration events. Ideally, this is accomplished not through one agency but in collaboration with all partners responding to the activities

and should begin well before any celebratory behaviors occur. Press conferences are commonplace for the general public but target audiences are more likely to see information released via social media. While all partners should be part of the media announcements, the delivery of the information should be limited. This can result in misinformation and be problematic for many. An example of this occurred when one public safety official responded during the celebration to a media request for data about the number of incidents that had occurred. The number given was significantly higher than what had actually occurred resulting in numerous reports of out of control behavior. Undoing misinformation is a formidable task.

Other Police Agency Responses

News reports of celebratory behavior immediately inform the reader/listener of the most sensational aspects of celebrating crowds, most frequently the associated criminal behavior. Media reports for Lexington celebration behavior highlighted arrests and vandalism: flipped cars, couch fires, bottles thrown. The subsequent police response reported police used tear gas.²⁹ Tear gas was not used in response by Lexington police. Media reports from other celebration events following sporting contests or other "issueless" events highlight criminal behavior and police response.

University of Connecticut vs. University of Kentucky, 2014

An article from Storrs, Connecticut celebration activities when the University of Connecticut defeated UK in the April 7, 2014 read very similar to UK activities. Police responded to several engaged in disorderly behavior and made at least 35 arrests, 20 of which were students. The previous Final Four contest resulted in 26 arrests, including 15 students. Some damage was sustained on university property when a utility pole was used as a battering ram to shatter a campus building door. Part of state police response included the use six police canines on leashes to clear students from an area they had gathered to celebrate.³⁰ Lexington Police, in accordance with the International Association of Chiefs of Police policy, prohibit the use of canine for crowd control.

University of Louisville vs. University of Michigan, 2013

The victory by the Louisville Cardinals basketball team in the 2013 NCAA basketball championship resulted in an estimated crowd of about 5,000 on Cardinal Boulevard in Louisville. Celebrations were largely peaceful as about 200 police officers were deployed in strategic areas. Problems erupted near the end of the celebrations when an officer was attacked and tear gas was deployed and an armored carrier vehicle was brought to the scene. 10 people were arrested before the crowd was dispersed.

Maryland vs. Duke, 2013

When the Maryland Terrapins upset then second-ranked Duke Blue Devils, chaos followed in College Park, Maryland according to several news reports.³¹ Fans swarmed Route 1 and police were intent on clearing the streets. By night's end, the 28 people, which included 23 University of Maryland students, had been arrested and charged. Five people, including one police officer who was punched in the face, had been treated at a hospital and released. The incident was probably less serious than the melee after the university's Final Four loss to Duke in 2001, when a mob started fires and caused about \$500,000 in damage. It also was less severe than in 2002, after the team's national championship victory, when at least 17 people were arrested, six police cars were damaged and three state troopers injured.

According to reports, the officers approached the crowd celebrating after the game with a flair for the dramatic, banging clubs against their riot shields as they slowly moved forward. Those revelers who didn't move-and even some who did-were pushed, struck with clubs or shot with pepper spray or pepper balls, the witnesses said. One witness said a young man trying to put on his shoe was punched in the throat and told he was going to jail. A student described the scene as a "war zone" with "shots going off". Several witnesses told news media the police response in some cases went too far. Video footage aired by local television showed what appears to be an officer ramming a night stick into a young man's head, although what happened before that is unclear. Another student was quoted that an officer "tackled me like football-style, and ripped off my necklaces and cuffed me", all for making a snide remark. He noted that he was worried he may get expelled from the University. Police only confirmed that they used batons, pepper spray and pepper balls to disperse the crowd.³²

Ohio State vs. Oregon, 2015

More recently, following Ohio State's football national championship over Oregon, revelers took to the streets to celebrate. Columbus police officers used both pepper spray and tear gas to disperse crowds in the early hours of January 13th, saying that the thousands of fans celebrating the win were putting themselves and others at risk by setting fires, blocking emergency vehicles and pelting officers with ice balls and beer bottles. "The crowd was responding to the stimulus of intense excitement, lost their

sense of reason, sense of law and order, and respect for others,” Deputy Chief Thomas Quinlan wrote in his report. “In short, the crowd became a riot.”

Columbus police command acknowledged that they could have done some things better. Several noted a breakdown in communication among the Columbus and Ohio State police; Ohio State administrators; and the university student body, whose actions were at least partly foreshadowed in social-media posts that went unrecognized by law-enforcement that night. Thousands of people showed up at the football stadium. A few broke in and tore down the south end goal post. Police and other officials were not aware that the activity had been foreshadowed on social media.

Several commanders specifically noted that the communication and planning with Ohio State University Police could have been better. Other after action comments noted that sergeants lacked direction, training and experience. Some officers carried rifles in slings instead of firearms. Deputy Chief Quinlan also noted that decisions made that night to forgo arrests over crowd control “will not be the tactic in the future,” Finally, some wondered if complacency wasn't the heart of the issue as many in the community had not seen this kind of celebratory behavior in over a decade.

Arizona vs. Wisconsin, 2014

Following the NCAA men's basketball Elite Eight one-point overtime game loss by the Arizona Wildcats to Wisconsin, fans spilled into the street along University Boulevard in the area of Main Gate Square, a district with bars and restaurants that abuts the

University of Arizona campus. Some fans begin throwing smoke bombs on University Boulevard. About 60-70 Tucson Police Department officers in riot gear responded forming a line across the street. Police announce (several times) over a loudspeaker in English and Spanish that the crowd has unlawfully assembled and should clear the street:

"I am (Officer's name), a police officer of the City of Tucson, and a peace officer of the state of Arizona. I hereby declare this to be an unlawful assembly, and I command you, in the name of the State of Arizona, to disperse immediately."³³

Some people began throwing bottles, firecrackers and cans at officers. Officers used pepper balls, rubber projectiles and pepper canisters to disperse the crowd.

The Daily Wildcat, the University of Arizona student newspaper, publicized the actions of police officers at the scene and included reporter comments and some students' observations and perceptions of the actions of police. As these run along a common theme, they are worth noting along with plausible interpretation:

- A student commented that officers adorned full riot gear about twenty minutes before the game ended. This may have been interpreted that upon game conclusion, a police initiative was about to commence, one that may involve force.

- A student made the observation that "*the police presence was excessive*" In addition to the Tucson Police Department deployment about 15 University of Arizona Police Department officers were deployed.
- "*Those attempting to leave the bars and restaurants were ordered by police on motorcycles to vacate the area*", according to the report. The essence of this comment was that folks not involved in any kind of celebration activity were given immediate orders to leave the area. These individuals may not have previously heard the announced order to disperse.
- "*Students reacted visibly to the pepper spray, coughing and choking on the fumes, some vomiting on the sidewalks due to the chemical.*" This statement indicated that the force used appeared to have significant effect on the students.
- "*Dozens of fans and students, including a Daily Wildcat editor, were shot with pepper balls by police, some multiple times. One bystander who was wearing a neck brace was shot with pepper balls once in the arm and four times in the back.*" The use of less lethal munitions were used upon a group of individuals. The term "bystander" indicates that someone not involved in prohibited activity was struck by the pepper balls.
- A student was quoted to have said "*the police were being too aggressive*". "*They're being way too brutal and they're beating the crap out of people, just because they're standing up,*" "*We're just chanting 'U of A' and they're deliberately throwing [pepper spray] at us and like shooting at us.*" Regardless of what actually occurred, the perception was police were overly aggressive.

- *"One fan walked toward the police line with his arms spread out. Officers responded by shooting the man with pepper balls multiple times, then grabbing him and pulling him behind the police line. Once behind the line, the officers held the man in place while one officer kned him in the stomach, then punched him three to four times in the stomach and torso, before the other officers forced the man to the ground."* The former part of this comment was supported by video which shows a man walking toward the police line, stops with his arms outstretched and is shot several times in the chest with pepper ball rounds. Officers may have viewed this as a threatening action as the order to disperse was ignored by advancing toward officers. The latter comment indicates that excessive force was likely utilized.
- *"Businesses on University Boulevard struggled to stay out of the way of the conflict between police and the crowd. 'No Anchovies', a restaurant on University Boulevard, refused to let people in once the struggle began. One crowd member who said he had asthma tried to take refuge from the pepper spray inside the restaurant and was turned away."* Taking "refuge from the pepper spray" is indicative of a massive amount of pepper dispersed by police.
- *"The police line advanced on the crowd, pushing some back with batons, and continued issuing commands to disperse."* More language depicting police aggression.

- "Some students said they thought the police presence played a role in exciting the crowd. [redacted], a media entertainment junior, was shot in the side with a pepper ball by officers. [redacted] said he blamed the heavy police presence for the disturbance. 'You want to know why the riots are happening? Because they're making it happen,' [redacted] said. 'If the cops didn't come, we would all go to where we want to go, but because there are cops here ... shit like this is going to make students riot more and more. Cops make this kind of stuff happen.'" An interesting perspective that the heavy presence contributed to the resulting behavior.*
- Members of the crowd banded together, chanting, "Fuck Wisconsin" and "Fuck the police." Fans also shouted at each other not to fall back when the officers began to advance. One voice could be heard yelling over the crowd: "They can't take us all!"³⁴ These words could lead the reader to believe that it was police versus fans as a result of police aggression.*

While these sentiments in a student newspaper may not be from independent observers, they do give credence to the perceptions of some in attendance.

An incident that warranted further investigation stemmed from a cell phone video showing what appears to be a Tucson Police Department officer knocking a woman over a bench as she walks behind the line of riot police stretched across the street. People around the woman who was knocked over begin yelling at the officer and one shouts, "What did you do that for?" The video was posted to Facebook by a student and shared

thousands of times. The student that posted the video was quoted as saying “As soon as I saw [the video] it made my blood boil. I am so intensely angry at the way that police officers were treating people and the way they were handling the situation.” Police investigated the incident and two others that were the subject of formal complaints received by the agency regarding the night's event.³⁵ Following an extensive investigation, the agency suspended a police sergeant eighty hours without pay for shoving the woman and for second incident occurred during the same riot, when the sergeant pushed a young woman out of a chair. The victim sued the city for \$350,000.³⁶

Related Social Psychology

Riots in crowds have been explained from different theoretical perspectives (Hylander, 2008), such as individual differences, de-individuation (Prentice-Dunn & Rogers, 1989), group interaction (Drury & Reicher, 2000), history (Guttman, 1986, 1998) and cultural perspectives (Crabbe, 2003).³⁷ Reicher (1984) provides a definition of a crowd as "a group of people interacting with no formal means of collective decision-making."³⁸ Drury states the problem for theory is therefore to explain how it is that in such situations collective behavior is possible.³⁹

Classic psychological theory on crowds gave rise to many of the tougher approaches taken today by police. Originating during the political instability of the nineteenth century France, and later adopted by many twentieth century social scientists, this theory held that people in a crowd lost their individuality and became suggestible to the aggressive behavior of those around them. This thinking spawned terms like "mob mentality" and "deindividuation" - the idea of a crowd as a singular entity rather than a collection of independent individuals capable of thinking for themselves.

The problem with this basal thinking is that it treats the most peaceful crowd participant the same way it treats the most violent one. Firing tear gas at an entire group doesn't differentiate between the two types.

A more nuanced theory of crowd behavior developed by Steve Reicher, John Drury, and Dr. Clifford Stott is the Elaborated Social Identity Model.⁴⁰ It posits that identity is an understanding of one's position within a set of social relations, identity will change in the course of an event to the extent that one's position changes through interaction with such external force.⁴¹ Its tenets include research incorporating study of police response.

Simply, this model suggests that the social identity of people in a crowd shifts with the situation. Perhaps the best way to explain the model is through hypothetical example: you miss your ride to work and have to take the bus. You get on the crowded bus full of strangers from loud teenagers to senior citizens on their way to buy groceries. Some of the teens on the bus are playing loud, annoying music through tiny portable speakers. You have little in common with anyone. Suddenly, two of the windows smash and you realize a group of people are attacking the bus and trying to steal bags through the broken windows. Equally as quickly, you begin to feel like one of a group. A make-shift social identity is formed and ("the passengers") and you all begin to work together to fend off the thieves and keep each other safe. You didn't lose your identity; you gained a new one in reaction to the threat.

Dr. Clifford Stott argues that scientific literature overwhelmingly supports the contention that collective conflict can emerge during crowd events as a consequence of the indiscriminate and disproportionate use of police force. This occurs because of the

unanticipated impact that policing can have upon crowd psychology and dynamics. On the one hand, the indiscriminate use of force would create a redefined sense of unity in the crowd in terms of the illegitimacy of and opposition to the actions of the police. Consequently, there would be an increase in the numbers within the crowd who would then perceive conflict against the police as acceptable or legitimate behavior. On the other, this sense of unity and legitimacy in opposition to the police would subsequently increase the influence of and empower those prepared to engage in physical confrontation with the police. Such processes could then draw the crowd into conflict even though the vast majority had no prior intention of engaging in disorder. In other words the development of widespread 'rioting' was not simply a product of mechanisms internal to the crowd nor of the predispositions of crowd members. Rather the psychology and social processes that made a 'riot' possible emerged as the outcome of specific forms of group level interactions that were largely and inadvertently initiated by police tactical responses.

Investigating the dynamics of celebratory crowd control through the prism of their Elaborated Social Identity Model, Stott, Reicher and colleagues have provided strong evidence that police behavior can indeed affect group identities.

Police Ready for Battle

Preceding any police behavior or action, is police presence. Can the social identity model extend to mere police presence and their appearance? In the wake of events of Ferguson, Missouri, the subject of the militarization of policing resurfaced with renewed vigor.

"Militarism" as an ideology stresses the use of force and threat of violence as the most appropriate and efficacious means to solve problems. This ideology was exemplified by the "Battle in Seattle" when American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) report condemned the Seattle police for transforming a protest over the World Trade Organization into a combat zone.⁴² Kraska and Kappeler examined the characteristics of police paramilitary units (PPU's) noting they are modeled in command structure and appearance after military and foreign police special operations teams. "Those teams wear black or camouflage battle dress uniforms (BDU's), lace-up combat boots, full body armor, Kevlar helmets and sometimes goggles with "ninja" style hoods."⁴³

These characteristics extended beyond the lens of academia following events in Ferguson. It's not difficult to find journalistic accounts of the paramilitary dress by police officers responding to the officer involved shooting. Arizona Daily Star writer Tim Steller compared the military-style dress of the initial officers in Ferguson to the appearance of the officers responding to the local Elite Eight basketball "celebration". He advocated that whether Tucson police arrive in "soft gear" or "hard gear," matters a lot to how a

crowd reacts. The "juiced-up rowdies" see the riot-ready police as a reason to riot. The gear and posture may even affect how the police themselves act.⁴⁴

Fast Company writer Eric Jaffe argues in his blog that rather than passively controlling a protest, heavy riot gear actively changes the dynamics of crowd behavior. "The twisted outcome is one that too many police forces have yet to learn: the military-style equipment intended to enhance public safety often ends up threatening it."⁴⁵

Summary/Conclusions

The examination of the Lexington Police Department responses to four NCAA basketball championship game celebrations intertwined with related social theory yields conclusions that may be used to address future responses by Lexington Police and other law enforcement agencies to celebratory behavior. Further study should be explored on additional variables not addressed here. The level of intoxication and its affect on celebratory crowd member violence requiring police response is worthy of additional discourse. Other factors worthy of further study that may affect crowd temperament include whether or not the opponent is considered a rival and if a team wins or loses the game.

Celebration behavior is now a tradition with many significant sports victories, particularly when titles are at stake. As such, continual celebration crowds coupled with the microscope of nationwide police-crowd incidents such as those in Ferguson and New York City, demand police attention to its tactics and overall response.

Absent significant research into police response to these incidents, sociology or social theory provide a framework for recommendations in the form of the Elaborated Social Identity Model. The tenets of this model are homogeneous with community policing. The theory supports the argument that a 'graded' tactical profile that is strategically oriented toward facilitation, differentiation and communication is effective and efficient

at managing crowd dynamics, promoting 'self-policing' and improving police community relationships.⁴⁶ The disproportionate and indiscriminate threat or use of force can create psychological processes in the crowd that draw into conflict those who had come to the event with no prior conflictual intention. Therefore, police strategy and tactics should be oriented toward proactively avoiding the production of these processes during crowd events. Indiscriminate firing of an aerosol projectile into a crowd where some are celebrating peacefully can transform the entire group or many into a hostile one. Police have deployed less lethal rounds, aerosol rounds, etc. at crowds possibly inciting increased hostility towards the police. As previously noted, some crowd members in other cities were quoted that the police indiscriminate use of force whether pushing crowds back with batons or launching projectiles were actually causing the riot.

Lexington and some other police agencies have utilized a risk management/aversion method whereby officers interact with celebrants and observe for disruptive behavior from an advantageous position, not in the street. Risk evaluation is the first step. A fan burning his own t-shirt or small items that will quickly extinguish can be managed from a distance and most often requires no response. Similar activities sharing the same low risk may require no action by police. The crowd itself may "extinguish" with enough patience by police. An effective method by some police including Lexington police is as the crowd begins to disperse, street sweepers are brought in as an informal way of announcing the party's over.

A key tactic was to allow, even promote, celebration in the street, away from houses and structures. There is a lesser likelihood of property damage in the streets with police protecting houses (or in other jurisdictions businesses). When disruptive behavior occurs, the police manage the disruptive action instead of the entire crowd around it. Lexington police do this effectively by assigning arrest teams in a few different locations. A team will proceed directly to the problem and remove the threat. As soon as the matter is addressed, the team returns to their assigned area. The message is that the isolated incident was the key, not an entire group population. The action reinforces the mission of allowing celebration activities in a safe environment.

Some scholarship has pointed out that the paramilitary environment has created a warrior-like mentality on the part of the police and their militarized appearance an act of symbolic violence.⁴⁷ As previously identified, some fans believe that the appearance of some police responding to celebrations have contributed to aggressive crowd behavior. Of equal consideration is the fact that rowdy, unruly and often intoxicated fans throw things at police warranting protection. This results in a balancing act for police administrators who must protect the police as they try to protect those celebrating. Many of the Lexington police arrests were for throwing objects, many more objects were thrown than arrests made. Certainly, there is a need for some protective equipment. This is also a risk management/aversion issue. Officers should begin with constructive engagement, dialogue, and a soft approach. Consideration should be given to starting out in "soft gear" and transitioning to "hard gear" when the threat of

aggression by a crowd member exists. In some instances, the threat of bottles being heaved at police is immediate based on history. Even when more protection is required, police posture and assembly can convey a message. Officers in a formation with helmet, shields, riot batons and full body armor project a far different message than officers in the same gear standing around talking with participants. A baton in a holder is far less intimidating than held at port arms ready to move toward an intended target.

Finally, there is no substitution for planning and prevention. Removing items that can be burned, destroyed, flipped, thrown or climbed on greatly reduces the responses police need to make. Prior to three of the Lexington celebration games highlighted in this study, all cars were towed off the street and moved out of driveways. Trash, furniture and other debris were removed. Utility poles were greased to prevent climbing. Street signs removed to reduce damage and theft. Ideas that apply to police jurisdictions are limited to the collective minds involved in the planning.

In conclusion, a relationship oriented approach to celebratory behavior is an extension of community policing. Pre-game briefings from commanders in Lexington encouraged friendly interaction, even promoting officers posing with fans that requested cell phone photos ("selfies") of which many requests were granted. Some fans initially responded with amazement that police would pose in their photo. With careful training, planning and collaboration, police can respond to even the largest celebrations with this kinship approach. Lexington police seek to continuously evolve into a more relationship-

oriented response. Understanding the social dynamics that are involved is essential to providing a safe environment for the community. Such an understanding requires critical thinking by all that are given the authority to use force based on appropriate training and preparation.

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