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LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION (LEAA)

POLICE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE REPORT

SUBJECT

The Urban Crisis Management Workshop  
Held in Salt Lake City, June 5-7, 1979

REPORT NUMBER

79-048-204

FOR

Enforcement Division, Office of  
Criminal Justice Programs, LEAA

133823

U.S. Department of Justice  
National Institute of Justice

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The second <sup>1/</sup> of a series of pilot workshops dealing with problems of urban crisis management in major U.S. cities was held in Salt Lake City, Utah, over a 2½-day period, June 5-7, 1979. Administrative and logistical arrangements for this workshop, which was sponsored by the Enforcement Division, Office of Criminal Justice Programs, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, were made by Public Administration Service (PAS) under its technical assistance contract with LEAA. This report has been prepared for LEAA by the PAS staff member who served as coordinator for the workshop, Claud H. Corrigan.

Site of the workshop was the Little America Hotel in Salt Lake City. Staff members (listed in Appendix A) arrived there on June 4 and met to discuss their respective roles as well as the training principles and anticipate goals of the workshop. The course materials that were used had been prepared earlier by Colin S. Diver of the Boston University Law School for the initial workshop, which was coordinated by Paul Estaver of the National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Mr. Estaver also took part in the Salt Lake City workshop, which was conducted under the general direction of James G. Vetter, Chief, Police Section, Enforcement Division, OCJP, LEAA.

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<sup>1/</sup> The first workshop took place March 7-9, 1979, in New Orleans, La.; the participating cities were Denver, Colo.; Jackson, Miss.; and Kansas City, Mo.

## II. WORKSHOP STRUCTURE AND GOALS

The methodology employed during this workshop consisted of presenting a series of case studies in which a group of officials from the same city dealt with a problem or crisis situation handed to them in successive phases by a facilitator. Despite the obvious artificialities in the situations, which referred to an imaginary and generalized city, the cases were realistic in design and followed the general line of actual incidents that had previously taken place in other cities.

The officials, five or six in number for each participating city, should have included in their number a top elected official, the city manager, the chief of police, the fire chief, the city attorney, and, if possible, the public works director or personnel director. The workshop was intended for at least three participating cities, all from the same general region of the country.

Several goals were involved in the workshop. One was to acquaint senior city personnel and subordinate officials with crisis situations and how they can affect the conduct of that city's affairs. A second was to make it clear to the officials that not only prior planning but adequate advance preparation, exercises, and training are needed if crises are to be handled quickly and effectively. Finally, cities were made aware that the Federal Government is concerned about problems that involve a city's general welfare, safety, and security and hence is prepared to provide appropriate assistance to interested cities.

The case study method avoids the lecture and prescription approach. City officials become aware of the potential problems and possible solutions by participating officials for each city were monitored by a facilitator who provided direction when the team appeared to be missing the point or failed to understand all aspects of a scenario, answered questions, and kept track of the pace and timing of the problem-solving effort. A running account of each group's deliberations was kept by a recorder who sat in on each session, and the team selected one of its members to act as reporter to present the city's decision to the workshop in plenary session.

In the Salt Lake City workshop, the first morning (Appendix A also includes a detailed agenda) was devoted to registration, handing out course materials, and providing an introduction to the story of LEAA involvement in counterterrorism training and related topics. In this introduction, Jim Vetter briefly traced the background of LEAA-supported training in this field, including the early CDOC program, the FBI's Special Operations and Research Staff, the FBI Bomb Data and Terrorism Research Center, the police bomb technician training at the Army Explosive Ordnance Disposal Center at Redstone Arsenal, the joint Federal Aviation Administration-U.S. Air Force bomb dog program, and the Police Commanders Terrorism Training courses given at the New Jersey State Police Academy.

Paul Estaver then described the earlier training efforts mounted to assist cities in dealing with civil disorders and similar phenomena of a decade ago. Following the New York City power blackout of 1977, which precipitated widespread looting and destruction of property, Congressman Conyers



challenged NILECJ to come up with some useful answers to the questions raised by such episodes. The Institute then began to study what could be done on a long-range basis to utilize the talents of sociologists, psychiatrists, and veteran police officers who had been involved in hostage negotiations, riot control, and other phenomena of collective violence. One of the Institute's goals was to avoid the loss of "corporate memory" when the experienced police chiefs who had dealt with the disorders of the late 1960's and early 1970's left their departments for retirement. Along with other parts of LEAA, the Institute has been developing prototype action and training programs, one result of which was the New Orleans workshop in March, 1979 (whose material was presented again in this Salt Lake City workshop). With the experience of these two workshops involving personnel from six major cities, LEAA will be in a better position to make a sound decision as to what future training efforts will be mounted in the crisis management field.

### III. THE PARTICIPANTS

The three cities that were chosen to take part in this workshop were selected with the assistance of Ms. Marie Hayman of the International City Managers Association, who made the initial approaches to the leading officials involved. After the latter had expressed an interest in their cities' participating, formal invitations to take part went out from LEAA to Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, Nevada, and Huntington Beach, California.

Several factors operated to make this selection less than ideal, however. Huntington Beach's city manager, Floyd Belsito, advised on May 29 that his City Council would be meeting with him on June 6 to discuss next year's budget. As result, no elected officials were able to attend, and the city personnel who did take part, while extremely capable, were not department heads (a list of officials from the three cities who took part in the workshop is included as Appendix B). Las Vegas, whose city manager, Russell Dorn, was very enthusiastic about his city's involvement in the workshop, was hit by a sanitation workers' strike on June 1, four days before the workshop started. It, too, was unable to send as many senior-level people as it had planned. (The strike was not against the city but rather against the private firm that has a contract to pick up the city's garbage; however, since the city has the ultimate responsibility, it may have to ask the contractor to turn his trucks over to municipal work crews, as the contract permits.)

Salt Lake City had nominated an impressive list of elected and appointed officials to attend, but a series of conflicting activities involving some of these people resulted in the city's attendance falling short of anticipated levels. It proved very difficult to insulate city officials from the demands of their offices during a workshop held in their home city.

#### IV. THE SCENARIOS AND HOW THEY WERE PLAYED

The three scenarios that constituted the problem material for this as well as the earlier workshop covered a fairly broad range of activities. To ensure that all three groups of officials dealt with the same basic situation, a description of an imaginary city was provided, and participants were instructed that their deliberations and decisions were to be based on the conditions and statistics ascribed to that mythical City of Oz.

Presenting the scenarios in useful fashion for this report will involve 1) a brief description of the problem and 2) a summary of the decisions reached by each city in determining how to deal with it.

A. The Blackout -- A sudden electric power blackout hit Oz at about 9:45 p.m. on a hot July day; the power company was unable to determine the cause or to say how long the blackout would last. Within an hour, the Police Department began to receive reports of looting in the poorer districts of the city (although even suburban shopping centers did not escape some breaking and entering). Looting may have been started by criminal elements and teenagers, but other members of the community began to join in, and the police arrested large numbers of looters when they could safely do so. The final phase of the problem dealt with a series of questions posed by the press to the mayor's public relations officer, including 1) why aren't the police doing more to break up the crowds of looters and onlookers? 2) what is the police arrest policy? 3) are the rights of the 300 arrested looters being protected, and will they be prosecuted? 4) will a curfew be imposed? 5) what will be done if the blackout continues through the next day? and 6) what impact will this have on Oz once it's over?

In discussing his team's answers, the Las Vegas reporter noted that many automatic procedures take effect in an emergency situation like a blackout. An emergency command post would be set up, police would try to provide lights to key areas, hospital generators would supply their power, and the Fire Department would work with hotel and office staffs to free people trapped in elevators. The Police Department would put Code 20 into effect, bringing in all available personnel, and communications would be a priority item, broadcasting bulletins for people with portable radios and using loudspeakers to pass information in crowded areas.

Las Vegas recognized that an inordinate amount of time would be lost in processing those arrested, and the team believed that only the worst violators would be apprehended. It would try to use community groups as much as possible to provide protection for energy and food supplies. A curfew would be put into effect at 2 a.m., and the team commented that in Nevada some civil rights can be suspended for 72 hours in emergency situations. Most rights would be safeguarded, but those arrested will be prosecuted rather than released.

Coordination between police, fire, and public works units was regarded as very important, as was cooperation with neighboring communities. Deadly fire would be used only if city personnel were attacked by armed individuals.

The city manager would be handling the hourly problems, with policy decisions being left to the City Commission.

Huntington Beach felt that its initial response would be to open the Emergency Control Center and to check out all public service functions, including water, sewer, and emergency generators. Police would be ordered to set up traffic control procedures, and all city employees would be placed on standby (but not called in until needed). The team supported the Chief of Police in all his decisions on arrests, curfew, etc.

The curfew would go into effect at 2 a.m. in order to give citizens the necessary two hours warning, and police would make an effort to confine the main body of looters to Districts II and III. Protection would be provided to hospitals and other emergency facilities, and efforts would be concentrated on determining the extent of the power outage and its duration.

An arrest policy would be announced to discourage further incidents, but arrests and prosecution would be made on a case-by-case rather than a mass basis. Bars and night clubs would be closed. All decisions would be announced to the media and regular press conferences held. The Governor would be kept informed of the situation and of the city's actions.

The team felt that a major impact of the blackout would be expressed in formulating a policy to work with community groups to seek solutions to underlying causes of looting and rioting, with the hope of preventing future such problems occurring when disasters strike.

B. The Demonstration -- A small group of self-proclaimed "Nazis" requested a permit to hold a rally in a city park and march through a predominantly Jewish neighborhood to another park, where a second rally would take place. Earlier rallies of this group had already resulted in their clashing with a largely black Anti-Racism Committee. City ordinances require that a parade permit be sought 5 days before the date of the parade, and a permit was duly requested by the Nazi leader. The Jewish community in Oz became aroused by the request and sought to cooperate with the ARC in protesting its scheduling. Finally, a New York-based militant Jewish organization announced plans to come to Oz to try to dispel the Nazi presence, probably in a violent manner.

Although the Nazis were denied a permit, they announced that they would march anyway. The coalition of Jewish and ARC leaders called for a counterdemonstration to follow the Nazi parade, with up to 10,000 people expected to turn out; no parade permit request was submitted for this demonstration.

The first city to report on its reaction to the problem, Huntington Beach described its soul-searching over the legality of denying a parade permit to the Nazis, who could--according to the City Attorney--petition the courts to be allowed to parade as a right under the First Amendment of the Constitution. The attorney also pointed out that such a tactic, forcing the Nazis into the courts, might remove the onus of permitting the parade from the City Council.

The team proposed appealing to the counter-demonstrators to declare a boycott of the Nazi parade instead of marching, thereby showing how unimportant it was.

Once the Chief of Police had denied the permit, the situation changed. The team decided to seek information from the New York City Police Department and the FBI as to Zionist strength and probable level of participation in the counterdemonstration, since outside intervention of this nature would take matters out of the hands of local community leaders. The parade strategy would be to have police lines along the route of march, with plainclothesmen moving in the crowd of onlookers ready to seize troublemakers. If violence erupted, arrests would be made on the basis of unlawful assembly, since neither group had a permit.

The City Attorney, who had advised against denying the permit, warned that unnecessary arrests or police violence could result in the police being subject to criminal or civil action without the city being obligated to defend them or to provide indemnity.

Salt Lake City, which participated in this problem, used a "cookbook" approach, proposing to change the parade route to avoid the troubled minority areas. The Chief of Police indicated he would seek a head-to-head meeting with Nazi leader Schmidt in order to determine his intentions. He would also make preparations for mass arrests, including holding areas and temporary court facilities. At least 75% of the police force would be available on the day of the parade, and the Chief commented that his department's tactical plan would rely on a citizen response that would reflect a lack of sympathy for the marchers; his men would be prepared to arrest the leaders at the first sign of violence, then take their chances with civil court actions that might follow. The group felt that the problem was largely a matter of police responsibility and that they were behind him in his exercise of judgment as a professional.

Las Vegas had initially planned to issue a parade permit fenced in with restrictions and to have the Mayor and Chief of Police meet with the concerned citizens groups to discuss the wisdom of boycotting the Nazi parade and rallies. However, the reaction of the community in Phases II and III caused the chief to change his mind and consider granting a permit to the Nazis while encouraging the other groups to request a permit for their counterdemonstration. The city would also put up a temporary fence along the parade route, provide crowd facilities, maintain a small visible police presence while keeping a large standby force on hand, out of sight. Efforts to defuse the crisis by persuasion and negotiation would continue.

C. The Strike -- The crux of this problem was a strike call by Local 212 of the Federation of Municipal and City employees if contract negotiations could not be satisfactorily completed by the deadline. The city's offer of a 4% raise now and an added 2.5% a year for the next two years, the most it can afford, was rejected by the union, which has demanded an 8% increase now, plus 6% more each year for the next two years.

Of 3,300 dues-paying union members, 2,200 took part in the strike ballot, which approved the strike by a 1,700 to 500 margin. Police and fire unions are not negotiating at this time; their contracts come up for renegotiation in December. There are some 150 civilian union members assigned to the Police Department and 90 office and maintenance workers in the Fire Department. Other city departments with large union contingents are Sanitation, Health, Recreation, Public Works, and the Housing Authority.

The strikers went out at midnight, as threatened, and the press asked the Mayor's press secretary the following questions the next morning: 1) What services will the city be able to maintain? 2) Will members of other unions, such as police and firefighters cross picket lines and stay on the job? 3) Will police and firemen be asked to drive ambulances, distribute trashbags, or act as pool lifeguards? 4) Will the National Guard be called in? 5) Will private contractors be hired to collect trash?

In the plenary session, Salt Lake City led off with a statement by the City Attorney that because Utah is a right-to-work state, the city's experience with unions and strikes is limited. The first step being considered is a consultation with other unions regarding their feelings about honoring picket lines. The Mayor was asked to consider the wisdom of seeking an injunction before the strike, since the threat of a heavy fine from the court might deter the strike. The group agreed to seek media help in keeping the city's population informed as to the availability of city services; the Governor will be notified of the situation.

After the union struck, the city decided to go ahead with its injunction. It was felt that supervisory personnel could keep the water and sewer systems going and that skeleton crews could render most other departments capable of handling emergencies. However, municipal swimming pools would be closed, and a private contractor will be asked to handle garbage collection (although this could lead to confrontations with strikers). Police and firefighters would not be asked to do any strikers' jobs other than driving ambulances and possibly distributing garbage bags. Mutual aid agreements with the county and nearby cities would be invoked if necessary.

Las Vegas' approach to the impending strike was to keep the bargaining going day and night, seeking to raise benefits if city funds for higher pay were lacking. If the strike were called, police and fire personnel would be used for other duties only in emergencies as ambulance drivers if the union could not be persuaded to continue to provide this service. Pools would be closed; parks would survive; supervisory personnel would handle highway signals, water, sewer, as well as the housing authority.

The union will be advised that an injunction will be sought if the strike persists; the strikers will be prosecuted for acts of violence but will not be fired for going out, for now, at least. The Mayor and his press secretary will handle press relations and telephone inquiries.

Huntington Beach directed that its first move was to look for ways through which the Personnel Department could raise the city's offer. Department heads were called in to discuss the possible effects of a strike on their activities. An injunction was considered, but it was decided that it would only escalate the confrontation. Plans were made to use firemen and paramedics on ambulance service. The group also proposed sending a letter to all city employees describing the city's financial condition and discussing the issues involved in the strike.

The city also proposed protecting such essential facilities as water and sewer, utilizing supervisory personnel for this job. Swimming pools would have to close for lack of guards and maintenance.

When the union went out on strike, the City Attorney sought an injunction against picketing. Locks were changed on all city buildings and facilities, particularly the vulnerable water and sewage treatment plants. The group suggested using the police labor relations officer as a negotiator and keeping second-level communications open between the city and union workers.

The city decided not to fire striking employees at this stage, and the National Guard will not be asked for. If the strike continues, an attempt will be made to hire a refuse contractor. Negotiations will be kept going, and police will be kept away from the picket lines. If police are to be used as observers, it will be as plainclothesmen.

A detailed account of the discussions among Huntington Beach officials in the course of this problem illustrates the decision-making process in crisis situations; it is included as Appendix C of this report.

## V. RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of lessons were learned during the preparation for and conducting of this workshop. Almost all of the cities contacted were deeply interested in participating, since potential urban crises seem to be very much on the minds of city managers and other executives. However, a number of those contacted had serious conflicts involving their own planning and budgeting cycles, and their schedules could not accommodate the workshop. Based on the experience gained in Salt Lake City, the following recommendations were developed:

1. The host city should not be a participant in the workshop.
2. Participating cities should be contacted several months in advance and should be asked to commit themselves to having top-level city executives in attendance.
3. Arrangements should be made for a standby city, prepared to attend the workshop on short notice if one of the cities originally selected develops an emergency just before the workshop.
4. The problem scenarios and the City of Oz description should be revised and made more appropriate for the region involved in the workshop (the northeastern environment and attributes of Oz did not have a lot of meaning for the three Western cities involved in this workshop; they would have been better off dealing with the problems as if they were occurring in their own cities).
5. Based on the responses of officials of the participating cities, some consideration should be given to adding a more directive aspect to this training. The case studies were well received, and the value of working out solutions to critical problems, unaided, was recognized, but most of those in attendance let the staff know that they would have liked some evaluative feedback as well as some constructive comment on approaches taken and decisions made--once the problems had been addressed.



## VI. PARTICIPANT EVALUATION

All participants (other than PAS staff and LEAA representatives) were asked to fill out a detailed evaluation form, which has been analyzed in detail in Appendix E. There was variation in how the officials of the three cities reacted to the workshop and its methods, but in general, the 15 participating officials felt that the goals of the workshop had been met. They approved of the case study method and its nondirected approach, but they had some specific suggestions for improvement which are contained in the evaluation report in Appendix D.

AGENDA  
URBAN CRISIS MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP

Little America Hotel  
Salt Lake City, Utah  
Day "Minus One"--June 4, 1979

Reception Area Open for Registration  
Distribution of Basic Case Materials,  
and Orientation. (6:00 - 8:00 PM)

DAY I--June 5, 1979

Time	Facility	Function	Assignment
8:30 AM	Foyer	Registration	Williams
9:15 AM	Sawtooth Room	Introduction/Orientation/ Introduction of Participants	Vetter
10:00 AM	Sawtooth	Coffee	
10:15 AM	Sawtooth	Problem Overview and Future Perspective	Vetter and Estaver
11:00 AM	Sawtooth	Panel Discussion--Causes, Problems, Futures The Case Studies	Estaver and Staff Diver
12:00 N		Lunch	
1:15	3 breakout rooms	Case I, Blackout--Phases 1-2 Team A--Salt Lake City, Utah, Room 324 Team B--Huntington Beach, CA, Room 325 Team C--Las Vegas, Nev., Room 323	Diver - Facilitator Parker - Recorder O'Connor - Facilitator Corrigan - Recorder Owens - Facilitator Williams - Recorder
2:15 PM	Sawtooth Room	Coffee--flexible, at Facilitator's discretion	
2:30 PM	3 breakout rooms	Case I--Phase 3 (as above)	As above
3:30 PM	Sawtooth Room	Reports and Comparisons Tasks: 1--Principal Decisions 2--Problems encountered, solved, unsolved 3--Applicability in home cities 4--Scenario evaluation	Diver - Coordinator Corrigan - Reporter

4:30 PM

Announcements and Directions  
for Day II

5:00 PM

Staff debriefing

Evening

Reporters record notes

DAY II--June 6, 1979

9:00 AM	3 breakout rooms	Case II--Nazi Demonstration, Phases 1-2	Same as Day I
10:00 AM	Same as Day I	Coffee, at Facilitator's Discretion	
10:15 AM	Same as Day I	Case II-Phase 3	
11:15 AM	Sawtooth Room	Reports and Comparisons (Same as Day I)	Same as Day I
12:15 PM		Lunch	
2:00 PM	3 breakout rooms	Case III--Phases 1-2	Same as other cases
3:00 PM	As above	Coffee, Facilitator's Discretion	
3:15 PM	As above	Case III--Phase 3	As above
4:15 PM	Sawtooth Room	Reports and Comparisons (Same as previously)	As above
5:15 PM		Announcements and Directions for Day III	Estaver
5:30 PM		Staff debriefing	
Evening		Reporters Record Notes	

DAY III--June 7, 1979

9:00 AM	Sawtooth Room	Completion of Evaluation Form	Vetter
10:00 AM	Sawtooth	Terrorism (Slide carousel and screen)	Lanceley Present
11:30 AM	Sawtooth	Group Critique of Workshop:	Estaver, Vetter,
12:00 N		Adjourn	

Staff

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James G. Vetter, Chief, Police Section, Enforcement Division, OCJP, LEAA

Colin S. Diver, Associate Professor, Boston University, School of Law

Robert P. Owens, Chief of Police, Oxnard, CA.

George O'Connor, Commissioner of Public Safety, Troy, N.Y.

Frederick J. Lancely, Special Agent, FBI (Special Operations and Research Staff)

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Nadine Williams, Staff Associate, Public Administration Service

Marie Hayman, International City Managers Association

# URBAN CRISIS MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

June 5-7, 1979

## Participants

1. Mr. William S. Amsbary  
Ass't City Attorney  
City of Huntington Beach  
2000 Main Street  
Huntington Beach, CA 92648
2. Mr. Evan L. Baker  
Chief, Salt Lake City Fire Department  
159 East 100 South Street  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
3. Mr. Richard Barnard  
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Admin., City of Huntington Beach  
2000 Main Street  
Huntington Beach, CA 92648
4. Mr. Paul J. Christensen  
Commissioner, City of Las Vegas  
400 E. Stewart  
Las Vegas, Nevada 89101
5. Mr. Sam Cooper  
Fire Chief  
Las Vegas Fire Department  
400 E. Stewart - Box 510  
Las Vegas, Nevada 89101
6. Mr. Donald Denison  
Assistant Sheriff  
Las Vegas Metro Police Department  
400 E. Stewart  
Las Vegas, Nevada 89101
7. Mr. James E. Gerspach  
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City Attorney  
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Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
9. Mr. David G. Jorgensen  
Dir. Administrative Services  
Salt Lake City Public Works Dept.  
Room 113 City and County Building  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
10. Mr. Don Lewis  
Asst. Personnel Director  
City of Huntington Beach  
2000 Main Street  
Huntington Beach, CA 92648
11. Mr. Bob McPherson  
Acting Deputy City Mgr.  
City of Las Vegas  
400 E. Stewart Avenue  
Las Vegas, Nevada 89101
12. G.L. Bill Payne  
Capt., Investigations Division  
Huntington Beach Police Dept.  
P.O. Box 70  
Huntington Beach, CA 92646
13. Mr. Craig Peterson  
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Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
14. Mr. Jan Stewart  
Deputy City Attorney  
City of Las Vegas, Nevada  
400 E. Stewart  
Las Vegas, Nevada 89101
15. Mr. E.L. Willoughby  
Chief of Police  
Salt Lake City Police Dept.  
450 South 3rd East  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

DEALING WITH THE STRIKE--HOW ONE CITY HANDLED IT

What follows is literally a play-by-play account of how the five urban officials from Huntington Beach, California, dealt with the urban strike case study. The officials included the Mayor (the role taken by the City Manager's Administrative Assistant), the Chief of Police, the Fire Chief, the City Attorney, and the Personnel Director.

Phase I

The Fire Chief led off by pointing out that only 2,200 of the FMCE's 3,300 dues-paying members even voted on the strike issue, and 500 of those voted against it. The Personnel Director suggested scheduling a 9 p.m. meeting with union negotiators, 3 hours prior to the strike deadline to see if the strike could be averted. The city anticipates that if the union strikes, all 3,300 will go out and that lower-level non-union workers will honor the strike.

The question of seeking an injunction was then discussed. The City Attorney felt that the clerical and maintenance people were not that vital to city operations, for a few days time, at least. The effect of an injunction would be punitive fines, which would only serve to solidify the union. He suggested not getting tough but instead pointing out that only so much money is available to the city and that if the union demands are met, some workers will have to be laid off in order to meet the payroll. Firing of striking employees would be contemplated only if violence or vandalism occurs.

The Personnel Director suggested calling a Council meeting, including department heads, before the strike deadline, to dramatize the fact that the city has considered the alternatives and is willing to face a strike if necessary. An offer of a 6 1/2% raise at once might be made as a show of good faith. Threats to lay off some workers will not influence the union, since only the newest and youngest employees would be laid off.

The City Attorney suggested bringing in an industrial relations expert to counsel the city regarding the strike.

The effects of the strike were then discussed. If police civilian employees walk out, Police Reserves might be called in to handle their functions. However, the Fire Department could not go too long without its mechanics. Sanitation Department could get by for a few weeks without its union employees, since commercial and institutional refuse is collected by private contractors. Health services could operate in the short term, with supervisors doing the office work; ambulances could be driven by Fire Department paramedics. Recreational activities--pools, golf course, playgrounds--would have to be closed (which might turn the public against the union). Sewer and water departments of Public Works are considered essential, will have to be given priority in manning. Changing locks on pump houses, etc., will prevent vandalism. Housing employees at senior citizens project are high priority, will need help from supervisors.

Phase II

The group decided that all official statements will come out of the Mayor's Office. Meetings with union officials and picket bosses were recommended to try for agreement about pickets and their roles. Police and supervisors will avoid arguments on the picket line, and citizens will be kept advised of the situation. Police monitoring of picket lines will utilize plainclothesmen rather than black-and-whites. Chief of Police suggested using police labor negotiator as the city's



prime negotiator; he is a supervisor but knows the union leaders well. Those leaders should be allowed some time to talk to city councilmen, an expected move on their part. The city management wants this dialogue to take place. The Mayor continues to be the city's spokesman, usually through his press secretary.

### Phase III

The group's answers to the press questions were as follows:

1. The city will provide police and fire services, with some delay in responding to calls as officers assume civilian jobs (police records should be the biggest problem for them). Officers may have to write out reports rather than have them typed. Sewer and water are the other essential services that will be given priority.
2. Police and fire department employees must stay on the job (they would be fired if they went out). They should be given a press buildup, as dedicated public servants. In general, strikers will not be arrested or made into martyrs.
3. It is not anticipated that police and firemen will hesitate to cross picket lines.
4. Firefighters have already been detailed to man the emergency medical services ambulances. Trashbags will be available at city offices, fire stations, etc. Pools will be closed.
5. National Guard help will not be requested.
6. A private contractor will be sought to undertake residential garbage collection.

EVALUATION REPORT

URBAN CRISIS MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP

Salt Lake City, Utah, June 4-7, 1979

Prepared by

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# EVALUATION REPORT

## URBAN CRISIS MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP

Salt Lake City, Utah, June 5-7, 1979

### Background

This evaluation summary was prepared to provide LEAA managers with information on the reactions of participants and staff to the Urban Crisis Management Workshop held June 5-7 in Salt Lake City.

The goals of this, the second urban crisis workshop, were:

1. To provide an opportunity for key urban officials and policymakers to examine their responses to crisis situations and to consider roles and factors involved in the planning process.
2. To give local officials a chance to discuss action and training programs that will support their urban crisis needs and prepare them for handling such situations more quickly and effectively.

### Data Collection

This report is based on data collected from evaluation forms completed on Day 3 of the workshop; 11 of 15 attendees (73%) completed these forms, as did 2 of 7 staff members (these were the two staff members who came from criminal justice posts in New York and California; LEAA and PAS staff members did not evaluate the program).

### Participants' Assessment

The level of attainment of the workshop's goals, its methods, the case study method used, the applicability of the workshop's content to their respective cities, and the relative productivity of discussions between criminal justice and urban officials were the items assessed by the participants. They also suggested specific modification of individual cases and discussed what were the most and least valuable aspects of the sessions. In addition, they reported on any changes in their role perceptions regarding planning for urban crisis and provided their individual comments and recommendations.

### Workshop Goals

The participants were also asked to rate the level of attainment of the workshop's goals, and the tabulated results are shown in Table 2. As indicated, the participants reported the goals as being "mostly met," while the staff rated them slightly lower.

### Workshop Methods

Overall, participants and staff felt that the workshop methods were good (see Table 3). The productivity of the small group discussions was the highest rated of the substantive items (4.0 and 4.5, respectively). Supporting travel and logistics arrangements were rated 4.4 by participants, 3.5 by staff.

### Case Study Method

Both participants and staff were convinced that the case study method was an effective procedure for training in urban crisis planning, but to varying degrees (see Table 4). That is, the cities did not agree in their ratings of the individual cases,

which may well reflect the applicability of the case to each city's background and experience (Las Vegas, for example, which was in the midst of a garbage collectors' strike at the time of the workshop, rated the "Urban Strike" as 4.0 but gave the other two cases 2.7 and 2.5 ratings).

### Role Perception and Productivity of Discussions

Participants were also asked to state whether their perceptions of their roles had been changed as a result of the workshop, as well as how they felt about the productivity of the discussions that took place during the case studies between criminal justice and urban officials. Results are given in Tables 5 and 6.

### Participants' Individual Comments

In response to specific questions on the evaluation form, participants provided the following individual comments:

What modifications would you suggest for the individual cases?

- Blackout

- None- good overall presentations.
- None
- Emphasize role playing more, should be more intense with longer amount of time allocated.
- Establish the basic relationship of the city to the utility company. Single utility? What type of grid pattern? Sources available, if any.
- Carry each case into extended situations. Let the thing get into at least the third day and ask the participants to establish contingencies for at least one week into future. (7 days total)
- None - Well thought out.
- Plug in facts of actual participating cities. Oz was hard to relate to.

- Demonstration

- It would be ideal if the situation could be spread out over four to eight hour sessions instead of two.
- Okay.
- Perhaps not as applicable to Western settings because of heavy ethnic and racial setting.
- Good.
- Need more involvement in scenario for Fire Departments.
- Not applicable to my role in city.
- Good overall presentation.

- Urban Strike

- Thing happened too quickly, did not reflect reality.
- Long time span would be more realistic.
- More attention to problem of setting.
- Very good.
- Should have been carried out further to involve more drastic actions.
- More background information regarding events prior to and during the strike. Perhaps there is some way to tailor the scenario better to the cities participating.
- Space the problem development out to five or six days.
- Time period was too short. Our group felt the period would be inadequate to do more than plan till "next" meeting.

- Modifications-Background description, City of Oz

- None. Must make sure participants take the City of Oz seriously. Relate personal experience to the City of Oz and apply to problem. If group gets off the track, the moderator should provide direction.
- Basic data okay, map could be drawn to delineate districts more clearly, especially the ethnic population, map was a little difficult to interpret.
- You might consider natural disaster potential and even put a scenario together around one. (i.e., earthquake, storm, etc.)
- Try to have Governmental organization and factual case relate more closely to cities participating.
- Okay, facilitator should be able to enter discussion by playing more of Devil's advocate, not leading discussion, but serving as a catalyst.

- Background--Oz

- Plug in real facts from visiting cities.
- Locate fire stations on map.
- It was difficult to divorce myself from the background of SLC and fit it into the background of Oz which was totally different from SLC's situation.
- Separate the political element (Mayor) from the Chief Administrator's position and establish a Council-City Administration form of government.

In what ways do you feel your involvement in this training will affect the planning process for crisis situations used in your city?

- I really don't think the effect will spill over to the city crisis planning effort. The emphasis was more on a "vacation" rather than an intense study. Too much on play and not enough on intense work.
- I believe in municipal labor problems. My role will be emphasized in crisis planning and I hope personnel/labor people will play a greater role.
- It tuned me (personally) up, and my voice is heard back in Huntington Beach.
- Should result in preparation of contingency plans for potential crises.
- It will be of some help.
- We intend to modify and update existing emergency booklets.
- This does not change our thinking significantly.
- Should help different department heads to understand the others' problem.
- In a positive way we will review contingency plans where we have them and prepare contingency plans where we don't.
- Reinforces the need for advanced training, planning and coordination of all people.
- Because of the demonstrated ability of my co-participants I feel my involvement (need for involvement) is lessened. As the sessions wore on I discovered a desire to listen more, talk less.

What insight did you gain about the dynamics of planning applicable to your city?

- I found the urban strike discussion interesting.
- We have had the benefit of some experience and also work well as an administrative team. Our main problem is that political leaders tend not to trust management in our town as they seem to do in other cities.
- The need for more of our people to be aware of some of the things that we worked with here.
- Presentation of city planning better than expected. Civil Defense has done fairly good. Fire and Police Departments well prepared.
- General interaction was good.
- We intend to modify and update existing emergency booklets.
- I would have liked more input from the staff - not merely observers.

- Opportunity to see who takes leadership positions - also where the other participants are coming from.
- I think we are too confident in the attitude that we can't be struck by our employees. It will happen and we should be prepared. I would have liked more information regarding what has actually happened in crisis situations in other cities. What mistakes have been made and what things have been done well in particular situations.

#### Other Comments

A staff member who sat in on both case study groups and plenary sessions had the following comments:

- After initially serving as a recorder, during which time I attempted to examine the overall dynamics of the sessions, my role was then shifted to that of gadfly--a nonjudgmental role of posing questions to the groups as feedback and to elicit comment. For example, I asked the groups if they were comfortable with the police chief in his role as key leader in the blackout and demonstration cases and as a negotiator in the urban strike. It was difficult to avoid noting significant differences in how the cities handled their problems.

Table 1

## Number and Percent of Respondents by City

City	N	Percent
Huntington Beach	5	38
Las Vegas	4	31
Salt Lake City	2	15
Staff	<u>2</u>	<u>15</u>
	13	99+

+Due to rounding, total does not equal 100%.

Table 2

## Ratings on How Well Goals Were Met

<u>Goals</u>	<u>Huntington Beach</u>		<u>Las Vegas</u>		<u>Salt Lake City</u>		<u>Staff</u>	
	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M
Examine intracity inter-relationships in response to crisis situations	5	4.2	4	3.7	2	4.0	2	4.0
To consider roles and factors involved in the planning process	5	4.2	4	3.5	2	4.0	2	3.0

Table 3

## Workshop Methods

<u>Methods</u>	<u>Participants</u>		<u>Staff</u>	
	N	Mean	N	Mean
Presentation: Problem Overview	11	3.6	2	3.0
Utility of Case Studies	10	3.4	2	4.5
Productivity of small group discussions	11	4.0	2	4.5
Logistics and Travel arrangements	10	4.4	2	3.5



Table 4  
Ratings on Case Study Method

<u>Item</u>	<u>Huntington Beach</u>		<u>Las Vegas</u>		<u>Salt Lake City</u>		<u>Staff</u>	
	N	M	N	M	N	M	N	M
How effective do you feel the Case Method is as a Training device for Urban Crisis planning	4	4.2	4	2.7	2	2.0	2	3.5
How appropriate do you feel the individual scenarios were to your professional needs								
"Blackout"	5	4.0	4	2.7	1	4.0	2	4.0
"Demonstration"	5	4.0	4	2.5	2	3.0	2	4.5
"Urban Strike"	5	4.4	4	4.0	2	2.5	2	4.0

Table 5

## Change in Perception of Role

	<u>A Great Deal</u>	<u>Some What</u>	<u>Not at All</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>N/A</u>
Huntington Beach	0	4	1	0	0
Las Vegas	0	4	0	0	0
Salt Lake City	1	1	0	0	0
Staff	0	2	0	0	0

Table 6

## Assessments of Discussions between Criminal Justice and Urban Officials

	<u>Very Productive</u>	<u>Productive</u>	<u>Not Productive</u>	<u>Destructive</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Huntington Beach	2	2	1	0	0
Las Vegas	0	4	0	0	0
Salt Lake City	0	2	0	0	0
Staff	0	2	0	0	0

## 2. WORKSHOP METHODS

Please rate the following aspects of the workshop by circling the appropriate number.

	Excellent	Good	Satisfactory	Poor	Unsatisfactory
• Presentation: Problem Overview (Day 1).	5	4	3	2	1
• Utility of case studies.	5	4	3	2	1
• Productivity of small group discussions.	5	4	3	2	1
• Day 2 terrorism presentation.	5	4	3	2	1
• Logistics and travel arrangements.	5	4	3	2	1

## 3. CASE STUDY METHOD

	Excellent	Good	Satisfactory	Poor	Unsatisfactory
• How effective do you feel the case method is as a training device for urban crisis planning?	5	4	3	2	1
• How appropriate do you feel the individual scenarios were to your professional needs:					
"Blackout"	5	4	3	2	1
"Demonstration"	5	4	3	2	1
"Urban Strike"	5	4	3	2	1
• What modifications would you suggest for the individual cases?					

"Blackout": \_\_\_\_\_

"Demonstration": \_\_\_\_\_

"Urban Strike": \_\_\_\_\_

# EVALUATION FORM

DAYS I-II

## URBAN CRISIS MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP

Salt Lake City, Utah, June 5-7, 1979

Your response to the following questions will help us assess the effect of this workshop and plan similar workshops to be delivered in the future.

Current Job Title: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_

Please circle the general professional category, if any, applicable to you:

Police Operations

Urban Policy

Police Policy

Law/Courts Specialist

Urban Operations

Other: \_\_\_\_\_  
(please specify)

Please circle your role at this workshop:

Participant in  
Case Studies

Staff Member

Other: \_\_\_\_\_  
(please specify)

### 1. WORKSHOP GOALS

The overall goals up to this point in this workshop are listed below. Please rate how well each goal was met by circling the number which reflects your opinion.

completely (100%)	mostly (75%)	about half (50%)	some (25%)	not at all (0%)
----------------------	-----------------	---------------------	---------------	--------------------

To provide an opportunity for key urban and criminal justice policy makers to:

- examine intracity interrelationships in response to crisis situations.

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

- to consider roles and factors involved in the planning process.

5	4	3	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

- What modifications would you suggest for the background description on the city of Oz?

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#### 4. WORKSHOP CONTENT

- In what ways do you feel your involvement in this training will affect the planning process for crisis situations used in your city?

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- What insight did you gain about the dynamics of planning applicable to your city.

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- As the result of this workshop, has your perception of your role in planning for urban crisis situations changed? (Circle one)

A GREAT DEAL                      SOMEWHAT                      NOT AT ALL                      UNDECIDED

- How did you feel about the discussions which took place during the case studies between criminal justice and urban officials?

VERY                      NOT                      NO  
PRODUCTIVE                      PRODUCTIVE                      PRODUCTIVE                      DESTRUCTIVE                      OPINION

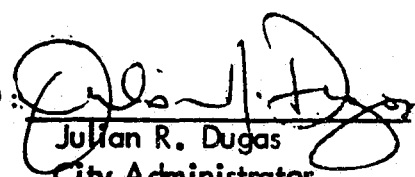
GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
MAYOR'S SPECIAL EVENTS TASK GROUP

PLAN OF OPERATIONS

JULY 3-5, 1976

PREPARED BY:  
D. C. Office of Emergency Preparedness

APPROVED:

  
Julian R. Dugas  
City Administrator

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE - MAYOR'S SPECIAL EVENTS TASK GROUP

PLAN OF OPERATIONS

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GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
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GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE - MAYOR'S SPECIAL EVENTS TASK GROUP

PLAN OF OPERATIONS

July 3-5, 1976

A. MISSION

The Mayor's Special Events Task Group will provide resources, personnel, and other logistical assistance to the sponsors of several of the events planned for the period July 3-5, 1976, and for the use of the citizens and visitors who will be spectators to the events scheduled in the city during the period.

Such assistance is designed to ensure that the events will be conducted in a manner that will provide proper safeguards and services for the public in the areas of personal safety, medical resources, sanitation facilities, traffic control, public health protection and public transportation.

B. EXECUTION

This Plan will be executed by the several member departments and agencies, working within the framework of the seven functional committees of the Task Group. Julian R. Dugas, City Administrator, and Chairman of the Mayor's Special Events Task Group, is responsible for the Execution of this Plan, and is assisted by Dr. William H. Rumsey, Director, D.C. Department of Recreation, who is the designated Chairman Pro Tempore.

The Committees are:

- a. Program Committee
- b. Security Committee
- c. Logistics Committee
- d. Capacity of Sponsors Committee
- e. Community Participation Committee
- f. Public Information Committee
- g. Communications Committee

Each Committee has prepared an Annex to this Plan which lists in detail the resources, services, and staff which will be provided by the several member agencies during the period of this operation.

The Mayor's Command Center will serve as the main operational control and communications facility during the period July 3-5, 1976. Annex A of this Plan contains detailed information on the augmentation of the Command Center for the period of the operation.

### C. DEPARTMENT AND AGENCY REPRESENTATION

The following agencies are members of the Mayor's Special Events Task Group. Each agency will contribute to the accomplishment of the mission in accordance with the resources, capabilities, and staff which are available to the agency.

- |    |   |          |
|----|---|----------|
| a. | D.C. Armory Board                                 | (AB)     |
| b. | Office of Bicentennial Programs                   | (OBP)    |
| c. | Community Service (Municipal Planning Office)     | (CS/MPO) |
| d. | Community Relations Service-Department of Justice | (DOJ)    |
| e. | D.C. Chapter - American Red Cross                 | (ARC)    |
| f. | D.C. Office of Emergency Preparedness             | (OEP)    |
| g. | Department of Environmental Services              | (DES)    |
| h. | Federal City College                              | (FCC)    |
| i. | D.C. Fire Department                              | (DCFD)   |
| j. | Office of Human Rights                            | (OHR)    |
| k. | Department of Human Resources                     | (DHR)    |
| l. | D.C. National Guard                               | (DCNG)   |
| m. | Metropolitan Police Department                    | (MPD)    |
| n. | U.S. Park Police                                  | (USPP)   |
| o. | D.C. Public Affairs Office                        | (PA)     |
| p. | National Park Service                             | (NPS)    |
| q. | D.C. Public Schools                               | (PS)     |
| r. | D.C. Department of Recreation                     | (DR)     |
| s. | D.C. Department of Transportation                 | (DOT)    |
| t. | Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority    | (WMATA)  |
| u. | Office of Youth Opportunity Services              | (OYOS)   |

### D. THE SPECIAL EVENTS

The sponsors of the following events have officially requested assistance from the Mayor's Special Events Task Group:

- a. The American Bicentennial Grand Parade, Happy Birthday U.S.A. (July 3)
- b. The People's Bicentennial Commission's Rally (July 4)
- c. Bicentennial 4th of July Celebration, Happy Birthday U.S.A. (includes the Pageant of Freedom, Torchlight Tattoo, Address by Vice President Rockefeller, Fireworks Display.) The rain date for the fireworks display is Monday, July 5.

In addition to the above, the Task Group will monitor the progress of the other events scheduled in the District of Columbia during the period of the operations, to ensure that the program, the participants and the spectators may receive the benefit of city services if the need arises. All requests for services will be coordinated through the Mayor's Command Center.

A complete listing of the scheduled special events for the period July 3-5, 1976 is included in this Plan as Section IV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE - MAYOR'S SPECIAL EVENTS TASK GROUP

ANNEX A

MAYOR'S COMMAND CENTER OPERATIONS

Mr. George R. Rodericks, Director, DC/OEP, Tel. No. 629-5151

A. RESPONSIBILITIES

The Mayor's Command Center is the main Operational Control and Communications facility.

B. COMMAND AND CONTROL - July 3, 1976

The Office of Emergency Preparedness supports the Mayor's Special Events Task Group by providing an emergency action control center facility and assured communications systems. The Office of Emergency Preparedness maintains the Mayor's Command Center, located at Room 5009, Municipal Center, 300 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Telephone No. 629-5151.

The Mayor's Command Center provides four basic functions:

- a. An executive facility for major local emergencies, natural disasters, national emergency situations, and major local scheduled special events.
- b. The collection, analyses, recordation and dissemination of information essential to the Mayor in decision making actions in local emergencies, natural disasters, national emergency situations, and major local scheduled special events.
- c. Staff for the operation of the Command Center for directing emergency operations in coordinating the use of District Government and/or Mayor's Special Events Task Group resources.
- d. Staff for working with community organizations, private sector agencies, other D.C. agencies, military and Federal Government agencies to assure maximum availability of resources in an emergency condition and/or during major local scheduled special events.

**C. STAFFING**

1. The Office of Emergency Preparedness will fully augment the Mayor's Command Center on July 3, 1976 from 0800 hours to 2000 hours.
  - a. The Office of the Director will be fully staffed to support the Mayor, City Administrator, Chairman pro-tem, Mayor's Special Events Task Group, and the Director, Mayor's Command Center as required.
  - b. The Emergency Information Section will be fully staffed to assist the D.C. Office of Public Affairs with the dissemination of emergency information as required. Media liaison has been invited to the Mayor's Command Center on July 3, 1976. (See Public Affairs Committee, ANNEX F).
  - c. The Operations Division will fully staff all command and control, and communications locations throughout the Mayor's Command Center. The following District, Federal, Private, and sponsoring organizations have been invited to send liaison on July 3, 1976. Reporting time will be 0800 hours. Liaison are requested to report to the Mayor's Command Center, Room 5009, 300 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

United States Park Police

D.C. Fire Department

American Red Cross

Military District of Washington

Directorate of Military Support

METRO

Treasury Department, Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division

D.C.P.A. Region 2

D.C. Medical Society

Council of Governments

Department of Justice, Community Relations Division

Department of Transportation

Happy Birthday USA!

Ohio State University Disaster Research Center

Metropolitan Police Department

**D. SECURITY**

The Mayor's Command Center will maintain internal security throughout the facility. Persons reporting to the Mayor's Command Center on July 3, 1976 will enter through Room 5009, 300 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. All liaison representatives will be issued identification at time of arrival.

**E. ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF INFORMATION**

1. The Mayor's Command Center staff monitors all communication systems for:
  - a. Medical and health emergencies.
  - b. Reports of people problems as determined by permit granting agencies, Sponsors of Scheduled Special Events, Mayor's Special Events Task Group field technicians, and Mayor's Command Center staff.
  - c. Logistical problems including food sanitation, traffic congestion, water supplies, public address systems, parking and unanticipated problems requiring immediate action.
2. The Mayor's Command Center staff assists the Mayor's Special Events Task Group, permit granting agencies, and sponsors in the amelioration of the conditions described above, upon request or as specified by the Director, Office of Emergency Preparedness



GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE - MAYOR'S SPECIAL EVENTS TASK GROUP

ANNEX B

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Dr. William H. Rumsey, Director, D.C. Department of  
Recreation, Chairman, Tel. No. 629-7525

A. RESPONSIBILITIES

The committee is responsible for the evaluation and on-site monitoring of the program identified by the sponsors of the special event.

B. SCHEDULED SPECIAL EVENTS - July 3, 1976

The following scheduled special events will be covered by the Mayor's Special Events Task Group on July 3, 1976.

1. Happy Birthday, USA! American Bicentennial Grand Parade  
1100 to 1330 hours.

(A complete description of this scheduled special event may be found in the Section IV)

C. SERVICES TO BE PERFORMED

1. The following District Government agencies will supply personnel to be utilized as Task Group field technicians. Field technicians will be grouped into teams and will assist permit granting agencies, sponsors, and the Mayor's Command Center with the amelioration of people problems as required. The coordination of Task Group field technicians will be organized under the LOGISTICS COMMITTEE (See Annex D)

a. Department of Recreation, Roving Leader Program

The Roving Leader program will supply 12 persons to work as field technicians on July 3, 1976. These individuals will be grouped into teams, and assigned and briefed and coordinated by the LOGISTICS COMMITTEE (See Annex D) Mr. Carver Leach, Director, Roving Leader Program will supervise this contingent.

b. Office of Youth Opportunity Services

The Office of Youth Opportunity Services will supply one individual on July 3, 1976, to work as a Task Group technician. This individual will be assigned, briefed, coordinated by the LOGISTICS COMMITTEE \*(See Annex D)

c. D.C. Public Schools

The D.C. Public Schools will supply 10 individuals to work as Task Group field technicians on July 3, 1976. These individuals will be grouped into teams and briefed, assigned, and coordinated by the LOGISTICS COMMITTEE, (See Annex D) Mr. Ed Dews, Chief of Security. D.C. Public Schools will supervise this contingent.

d. Municipal Planning Office, Community Services Division

Community Services Division will supply 10 individuals to work as Task Group field technicians on July 3, 1976. These individuals will be grouped into teams and assigned, briefed, and coordinated by the LOGISTICS COMMITTEE. \*(See Annex D)

e. Department of Human Resources, Community Care Division

The Community Care Division, DHR, will supply 10 individuals to work as Task Group field technicians on July 3, 1976. These individuals will be grouped into teams, and assigned, briefed and coordinated by the LOGISTICS COMMITTEE. \*(See Annex D)

f. Office of Human Rights

The Office of Human Rights will assign several staff person to monitor the activity. These individuals will work in cooperation with Task Group field technicians. The Office of Human Rights will utilize a sedan equipped with a Mayor's Command Center mobile radio.

Annex D\* Paragraph 6 a indicates that Mr. Sam Jordan, Special Assistant to the Director, Department of Human Resources is the Field operations coordinator for the scheduled events.

2. The following Federal agencies will work in coordination with the Task Group field technicians.

a. United States Park Services

The United States Park Service will utilize staff as required on July 3, 1976 to assist persons attending scheduled special events on park lands with information and amelioration of problems. These individuals will work in cooperation with Task Group field technicians. They may be contacted through the U.S. Park Service, Special Events Director, Art Lamb. Mr. Lamb utilizes a sedan equipped with a Mayor's Command Center, car mobile, call sign, 77. Telephone number 426-6690.

b. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service

The Community Relations Service will utilize staff on July 3, 1976 to monitor the scheduled special events. These individuals will work in cooperation with Task Group field technicians. Department of Justice personnel will utilize a radio communication system. Liaison will be assigned to the Mayor's Command Center and communication with field personnel should be made through the CRS liaison in the Mayor's Command Center. Mr. Henry Mitchum may be contacted on 629-5151.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE - MAYOR'S SPECIAL EVENTS TASK GROUP

ANNEX C

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION COMMITTEE

Dr. A. Knighton Stanley, Director, Office of Bicentennial Programs, Chairman, Tel. No. 727-3090

A. RESPONSIBILITIES

The Committee is responsible for monitoring the activity as it relates to the community's participation and to identify, where appropriate, those areas where the community should provide additional support for future events.

B. SERVICES TO BE PERFORMED - July 3, 1976

1. The Office of Bicentennial Programs will provide two teams of staff personnel at the event site and at other areas as assigned, to assist the citizens spectators, and visitors to the event. Experienced staff members will operate as field technicians, while the "City Ambassador" will move about the parade area answering general questions from the public, and serving as hosts and hostesses.
2. Dr. A. Knighton Stanley, Director, Office of Bicentennial Programs, will utilize the mobile unit assigned to him, and the portable unit as required.

C. STAFFING, SUPERVISION, AND CONTACT INFORMATION

1. Team 1 - Twelve members under the supervision of Kenneth Robertson and Robert Tillman. Dr. Raymond Standard of this team will be on duty with the emergency medical facility operated by the Department of Human Resources.

Duty Hours: 0900 until released

Location: Areas contiguous to the route of the Grand Parade, and on the Washington Monument Grounds thereafter.

Team 2 - Twenty-eight staff members under the supervision of Tom McDonald. The "City Ambassadors" will be in uniform and have 24 members on duty. Mr. McDonald can be contacted through Dr. Stanley, call sign 132.

**Duty Hours:** 0900 - 1800. (Youth should be released before dark)  
**Location:** Since the Ambassadors are not experienced in crowd control techniques, they will be assigned to areas which will least likely require crisis intervention activity. The general area of coverage will be on the Washington Monument Grounds.

2. Contact Information

Dr. Stanley may be reached through the Mayor's Command Center Communications Net on call sign 132. Other staff supervisors will be issued communications equipment based on availability of units and field requirements.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE - MAYOR'S SPECIAL EVENTS TASK GROUP

ANNEX D

LOGISTICS COMMITTEE

Mr. Joseph P. Yeldell, Director, Department of Human Resources  
Chairman, Tel. No. 629-5443

A. RESPONSIBILITIES

The committee is responsible for the evaluation of logistical needs for the special events, and to ensure that all areas are planned for, and to recommend the appropriate action to accomplish sound logistical coordination.

B. SERVICES TO BE PERFORMED - July 3, 1976

1. Environmental health, sanitation, cleanup, toilet, water bubblers

Resources Allocated

The Department of Environmental Services will provide the following resources on July 3, 1976.

- a. DES will provide the following personnel and equipment to clean streets, sidewalks and other public space under the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia.

Before the Happy Birthday, USA Parade

1. 3 Road Sweeper/Operators
2. 2 Flusher/Operators
3. 2 Flusher/Helpers
4. 1 Supervisor

After the Happy Birthday, USA Parade

1. 2 Road Sweepers/Operators
2. 2 Flushers/Operators
3. 2 Flushers/Helpers
4. 1 Supervisor

### Night Cleanup (Citywide)

1. 12 Litter Box Crews
2. 4 Truck Crews
3. 3 Road Sweepers/Operators
4. 2 Flushers/Operators/Help
5. 4 Supervisors

- b. DES will provide the following personnel and vehicles to carry out the Bicentennial Food Program and to maintain surveillance over other environmental health activities from 0800 hours until relieved.

1. 4 Sanitarians
2. 2 Authorized emergency vehicles

NOTE: All parking lots, service stations, and bus stations in areas adjacent to the parade route are being surveyed prior to July 3, 1976 and the necessary corrective action will be taken.

- c. DES will install water bubblers and spigots or fire hydrants to provide drinking water for human/and/or animal consumption at the following locations on or before July 2, 1976. The bubblers will remain in place until July 6, 1976.

Northwest corner, 9th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W.

Northwest corner, 10th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W.

Southside of Constitution Ave., N.W. (behind Museum of Natural History), between 10th and 12th Street, N.W.

Northwest corner, Constitution Ave., and 17th Street, N.W.\*

Southeast corner, 9th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W.

Northwest corner, 6th Street and Constitution Ave., N.W.

Southeast corner, 3rd Street and Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.\*

Northwest corner, 3rd Street and Adams Drive \*

\*Denotes spigots for the watering of animals

Northwest corner, Maryland Ave., and 3rd Street\*

Northwest corner, 4th Street and Independence Ave., S.W. \*

Southwest corner, Independence Ave., S.W. and 6th Street\*

Southwest corner, Independence Ave., S.W. and 9th Street.\*

Two (2) bubblers to be installed by the Capitol Architect on the upper level of the west lawn of the U.S. Capitol grounds.

d. The National Capitol Park Service will install water bubblers and toilets at the following locations on July 3, 1976.

1. Mobile Comfort Stations

- 1 Ohio Drive, 300 yards Northwest of Lincoln Memorial;
- 1 Ohio Drive, just Northwest of Inlet Bridge;
- 1 North side of roadway joining West Basin and Ohio Drives - W. Potomac Park;
- 1 North Reflecting Pool Drive, South edge of roadway;
- 4 Mounument Grounds - South slope (1) Northwest quadrant (2) Northeast quadrant (1);
- 2 Ohio Drive, Haines Point - River side (1), Channel side (1)
- 5 Mall-Adams Drive at 9th, 6th, 4th, Streets; Washington Drive at 4th, 6th, 7th Streets.

2. Temporary Water Fountains

- 6 Monument Grounds - North side 17th Street (3) South side Constitution Ave., (1); West side 15th Street. (2)
- 1 Ellipse - Southeast quadrant, South side Ellipse Circle Road;
- 13 Mall-Madison Drive, South side at 14th, 12th, 9th Street (3); Madison Drive, northside at 7th Street (1) Jefferson Drive north side between 13th and 14th Street, (2); North side between 9th and 12th Streets (2), North side at 7th Street (1), North side between 3rd and 4th Streets (1); 3rd Street - East side at Madison (1); 7th Street - West side at Washington Mounment (1);

\*Denotes spigots for the watering of animals



3. Portable Comfort Stations

- 1 Ellipse - Southeast quadrant, South side Ellipse Road;
- 1 Constitution Ave., South side between 16th and 17th Streets;
- 1 14th Street, West side just South of Constitution Ave.

4. Permanent Water Fountains

- 2 17th Street between Constitution and Independence Ave.;
- 1 15th and Constitution Ave.;
- 1 Monument Lodge - 15th Street;
- 1 Independence Ave., near Sylvan Theatre;
- 1 Independence Ave., North side between 14th and 15th Street.

2. Transportation plans, Parking restrictions, and Traffic surveillance

The D.C. Department of Transportation in coordination with MPD and the U.S. Park Police have developed the following plan of operation for July 3, 1976.

a. Saturday, July 3, 1976 5:00 A.M.

Close off all Eastbound Independence Ave., S.W. traffic.

- A. Southbound Rock Creek Pky at Virginia Ave., N.W.
- B. Southbound Potomac River Freeway (2 ramps)
- C. Eastbound T.R. Bridge Ramp
- D. Eastbound Memorial Bridge Ramp
- E. Eastbound Independence Ave., S.W. at 23rd Street
- F. Northbound West Basin Drive
- G. Westbound Independence Ave., S.W. turn around West of 17th Street to go East on Independence Ave., S.W.

The above is necessary to finish the assembly and set-up of fireworks display on the Kutz Bridge and will remain closed until approximately 12:00 midnight, July 4, 1976.

b. Saturday, July 3, 1976 6:00 A.M.

Install flags on the parade route. Drop off large cones, rope and barricades as shown on map (See Section IV) to be used for traffic control and street closure for the Parade. The closing off of Constitution Avenue and Pennsylvania Avenue to all traffic will be at 10:00 A.M. (Parade will start at 11:00 A.M.)

The timing of reopening streets at the conclusion of the Parade will be a joint decision made by DOT and MPD.

c. Saturday, July 3, 1976 4:00 P.M.

Step up a traffic pattern with MPD to assist with the anticipated heavy tourist traffic this will stay in effect as long as DOT and MPD feels necessary approximately 5 to 6 hours.

d. Personnel and Equipment needed for weekend Events for Saturday, July 3, 1976

1. One truck with large cones and three men
2. One truck with barricades and rope and three men
3. One flag truck with U.S.D.C. and Bicentennial flags and three men
4. Two surveillance vehicles with two men each
5. Two people to monitor and coordinate with field operations at the Control Center.

3. METRO (Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority)

On July 3, 1976, normal Sunday service schedule will be in effect. There will be METRO liaison in the Mayor's Command Center equipped with a portable radio on the METRO radio communications network. All inquiries regarding bus service problems in connection with scheduled special events, July 3, may be directed to the Mayor's Command Center. Mr. Hal S. Leonard, Information Specialist, METRO will be available at the Mayor's Command Center to handle such problems.

4. Emergency Health Services

The following health resources represent a cooperative effort by the Emergency Health Services Division, D.C. Department of Human Resources, American Red Cross, D.C. Fire Department, D.C. Office of Bicentennial Programs, Military District of Washington, and the Department of Environmental Services. The following resources are available July 3, 1976 at time indicated:

- a. Staging Area - Bolling Air Force Base 0700 hours until parade participants leave the area. 1 DHR mobile medical aid station staffed with a nurse, nursing assistant, and driver. 2 Military District of Washington Ambulances with staff. The Bolling Air Force Base Clinic will also be opened staffed by a physician.
- b. Assembly Area - Third Street & Adams Drive 0800 hours until released. 1 Fixed Station (tent), 1 First Aid van, and 2 ambulances staffed by Red Cross personnel including 1 physician.
- c. Third Street and Independence Avenue 0900 hours until released. 1 Tent staffed by 2 nurses from the U.S. Public Health Service, and 1 D.C. Fire Department ambulance staffed by 2 EMT's.
- d. Mall Area 7th Street and Madison Drive, S.W., Corner 1000 hours until released. 1 DHR Medical Aid Station Trailer staffed by a physician and 2 nurses from DHR. 1 Military District of Washington ambulance with staff.
- e. 9th Street and Constitution Ave. 1000 hours until 1430 hours. 1 Red Cross ambulance staffed by Red Cross personnel
- f. 12th Street and Constitution Ave. 1000 hours until 1430 hours. 1 Red Cross ambulance staffed by Red Cross personnel.
- g. 14th Street and Constitution Ave. 1000 hours until 1430 hours Museum of History and Technology - First Aid room on 1st floor staffed by a nurse (will stay open until 2100 hours if necessary). 1 Red Cross ambulance staffed by Red Cross personnel. Will park at the driveway leading to the First Aid room.
- h. 15th Street and Constitution Ave. 1000 hours until 1800 hours 1 DHR Medical Aid Station Trailer staffed by 2 physicians and 2 nurses from DHR. This unit will have telephone and radio communications. 1 Military District of Washington ambulance with staff.  
  
1 Battery-powered resuscitation vehicle (SURVIVAL CART) staffed by personnel from Georgetown University Hospital. Radio communications will be on Channel 4, DCFD radio net.
- i. Ellipse Egress - 15th Street and Constitution Ave. 1000 hours until 1430 hours. 1 DHR Mobile medical aid station staffed by 1 physician, 2 nurses, and a driver. 1 Military District of Washington ambulance with staff.

- j. 17th Street and Constitution Ave. 1100 hours until 1500 hours Red Cross first aid van and 2 ambulances staffed by Red Cross personnel.
- k. 18th Street and Constitution Ave. (north side) 1000 hours until 1430 hours. 1 DHR Mobile medical aid station staffed by a nurse, nursing assistant, and a driver from DHR. 1 Military District of Washington ambulance with staff.
- l. 21st Street and Constitution Ave. 1100 hours until 1430 hours 1 DHR Mobile medical aid station staffed by a nurse, nursing assistant, and a driver from DHR. 1 Military District of Washington ambulance with staff.
- m. Mounment Grounds near Sylvan Theater Stage 1000 hours until released. 1 DHR Medical Aid Station Trailer staffed by medical personnel from the Department of Human Resources and the Medical Society of D.C.
- n. Folk Festival 1 tent, 2 ambulances staffed by Red Cross personnel will be operational during this activity on July 3, 1976.
- o. Holding Station Red Cross Building 17th Street (D&E) Will serve as a holding station staffed by Red Cross personnel. 1 Red Cross ambulance with staff on location.
- p. D.C. Chapter, Red Cross 2025 "E" Street Will serve as first aid station staffed by Red Cross personnel at this location. 1 ambulance located on premises.
- q. Medic Teams A total of 10 medics from the Military District of Washington will be assigned to the Parade Division Control Officers during the Happy Birthday, USA parade. The medics with first aid supplies will stay with their division from the staging area throughout the entire parade route to render assistance as needed.
- r. Animal Health Services The Military District of Washington will provide animal health care at the following locations: 1 Horse ambulance at 4th Street and Jefferson Drive, S.W. A horse picket line will be established at 4th Street and Maryland Ave. Vet treatment stations will be established at 4th Street and Maryland Ave., Bacon Drive, and Constitution Ave.

All requests for ambulance transport on July 3, within the Bicentennial Impact Area should be coordinated through the Medical Command Post. The Logistics Committee has determined that the Medical Command Post should coordinate ambulance transport within this area in order not to diminish DCFD ambulance services in other areas of the District.

The Red Cross will maintain a Command Post at 2025 "E" Street, N.W. It may be contacted through the Medical Command Post and through the Red Cross liaison in the Mayor's Command Center. The telephone number of the Red Cross command post is 857-3553.

5. Red Cross (other services)

The American Red Cross will provide volunteers to staff information desks at area hotels and motels from 0900 hours to 2100 hours.

The Red Cross will also provide 8 Roving Canteen units to dispense cold drinks to the Emergency Services personnel involved in these activities.

6. Special Events Task Group Logistics

a. Task Group Field Operations

The Mayor's Special Events Task Group has designated Mr. Sam Jordan, Special Assistant to the Director, Department of Human Resources, Field Operations Coordinator, for the scheduled special events. Mr. Sam Jordan will coordinate all actions involving the deployment of Task Group field technicians. Mr. Jordan may be contacted through the Mayor's Command Center radio communications system, call sign, 101.

b. Lost and Found

Three Department of Human Resources vans staffed by DHR Community Care Division personnel will be placed strategically within the Bicentennial Impact Area to assist and coordinate Lost and Found activities. They will be coordinated through the DHR radio communications net, and may be contacted through the Medical Command Post and the Mayor's Command Center. The American Red Cross will utilize the National Headquarters, 17th Street, N.W. between D & E as a lost and found area. The D.C. Chapter House, American Red Cross, 2025 "E" Street, N.W. will also be available as a lost and found area. The Metropolitan Police Department, U.S. Park Police and Task Group field technicians will all assist with Lost and Found activities.

c. Task Group Field Technician Logistics

1. Briefing: A final briefing on responsibilities for the scheduled special events will be conducted July 3, 1000 hours in Room 410 District Building. Teams will be formed at that time, radio communications procedures discussed, and field assignments made. This briefing will be conducted by Mr. Sam Jordan, Field Operations Coordinator

2. Parking: Task Group field technicians are encouraged to car pool during the special events. Parking will be available in the parking lot at the rear of the District Building.
3. Identification: All Task Group field technicians will wear the official Task Group identification consisting of white shirt with the official logo and cap.

NOTE: See Section IV for detailed maps of logistical services covered in this annex.

### C. STAFFING, SUPERVISION AND CONTACT INFORMATION

#### 1. Department of Environmental Services

Mr. Herbert L. Tucker, Acting Director, DES, will provide overall supervision of all DES services. The DES Command Post will be activated on July 3, 1976 as of 0800 hours until released. The telephone number of the Command Post is (629-3111) Mr. Tucker may be contacted through DES radio communications, call sign DES-1 on KSO-610 and KSO-591 and DES page-com, 110.

Mr. Edward Scott, Executive Assistant to the Director and Mr. James Leak will observe DES field operations with the Director. Mr. Scott may be reached through DES page-com, 111, and Mr. Leak, Special Assistant to the Director for Labor Management Relations on page-com, 112 respectively.

Mr. Carl Pace, DES Coordinator of Special Events may be contacted through the DES Command Post, page-com 102. The Mayor's Command Center will maintain radio communications with Mr. Pace.

#### 2. Department of Transportation

The D.C. Department of Transportation command Post will be activated during these activities. Mr. Loyd Sydner, Transportation Supervision, may be contacted through the DOT Command Post, telephone number 629-5788. There will be a DOT liaison stationed in the Mayor's Command Center during this period.

**3. Department of Human Resources**

- a. The DHR Medical aid station trailer, located at the Sylvan Theater Stage, Monument Grounds will serve as the medical command and control center on July 3, 1976.
- b. The DHR radio net, Military District of Washington radio net, D.C. Fire Department, Red Cross radio net, and Mayor's Command Center radio networks will be accessed from this locations. Radio communications from this location will be maintained with the following hospitals; George Washington University Hospital, D.C. General Hospital and Rogers Memorial Hospital. Rogers Memorial Hospital will serve as the hospital control point for the HEAR System which will be operational July 3, 1976.
- c. A telephone line will be established which will permit telephonic communication between the Medical Command Post and the Mayor's Command Center. Ms. Mary Berekeley, Acting Director, Emergency Health Services, DHR will supervise the Medical Command Post. Dr. Raymond Standard, Office of Bicentennial Program, Medial Coordinator will be located at the Happy Birthday, USA Command Post, and may be contacted through the Mayor's Command Center radio network.
- d. The Mayor's Command Center will provide backup assistance to the Medical Command Post.



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ANNEX E

SECURITY COMMITTEE

Assistant Chief Burtell Jefferson, Field Operation, Metropolitan Police Department, Chairman, Tel. No. 626-2775

A. RESPONSIBILITIES

The committee is responsible for the security details, and fire services at the special event site.

B. SERVICES TO BE PERFORMED - July 3, 1976

1. United States Park Police

a. Mission

To provide security as needed on National Capital Park lands during scheduled special events, July 3, 1976.

b. Resources Allocated

The U.S. Park Police will work on 12 hour shifts, July 3, 1976. A total of 450 police officers and 243 police aides will be utilized. These forces will be designated as special details for the various scheduled special events on July 3, 1976. There will be traffic detail assisting with flow of traffic in accordance with the Traff plan as developed by the Metropolitan Police Department. U.S. Park Police, and D.C. Department of Transportation. (See Annex D, Logistics Committee) The Park Police resources will be concentrated in the Bicentennial Impact Area.

2. Metropolitan Police Department

a. Mission

To provide security as necessary in connection with schedule special events, July 3, 1976.

b. Resources Allocated

The Metropolitan Police Department will be full activated on July 3, 1976. A total number of 3,976 police officers will be deployed throughout the city. Normal police functions will be maintained throughout the District of Columbia. There will be three special details in the vicinity of the Bicentennial Impact Area: Parade, Security, and Traffic. Traffic surveillance will be in accordance with a plan developed in cooperation with the U.S. Park Police, the D.C. Department of Transportation. (See Annex D, Logistics Committee) The MPD Command Staff will be fully activated. Prisoner Control activities will be operative. Special assignments will be made as required.

3. D.C. National Guard

The District of Columbia Government has requested assistance for July 3 and 4, 1976. The D.C. National Guard will provide 600 to 800 guardmen to assist the Metropolitan Police Department when approved.

4. D.C. Fire Department

a. Mission

To provide fire extinguishment and fire prevention and investigation.

b. Resources Allocated

On July 3, the basic on-duty firefighting forces will comprise 30 Engine Companies, 16 Aerial Truck Companies, 3 Rescue Squads, and 1 Fire beast. 8 Battalion Chiefs, and a Deputy Fire Chief normally direct these resources.

On July 3, the following special details will be in effect:

1. Fireworks Patrol (Citywide) 1000 hours to 24 hours. 4 Men
2. Public Assembly Detail (Citywide) 1900 hours to 0300 hours. 4 Men

## **C. STAFFING, SUPERVISION AND CONTACT INFORMATION**

### **1. United States Park Police**

Deputy Chief Hill will command Park Police field operations in the National Capital Park area. He may be contact through Park Police communications 426-6680. His call sign is car 5. Inspector Lindsey will command Park Police forces within the Bicentennial Impact Area on July 3, 1976. He may be contacted through Park Police communications, 426-6680. His call sign is car 15. The Park Police will have a liaison in the Mayor's Command Center on July 3, 1976. Inquiries regarding Park Police may be directed to the liaison through the Mayor's Command Center.

### **2. Metropolitan Police Department**

The Chief of Police will command the resources of the Metropolitan Police Department on July 3, 1976. Assistant Chief Jefferson will command field operations. He may be contacted through MPD communications, 626-2700, call sign Cruiser 2.

### **3. D.C. National Guard**

The command General D.C. National Guard may be contacted by telephone and radio, through the Mayor's Command Center.

### **4. D.C. Fire Department**

On July 3, the staffing of DCFD will consist of approximately 270 officers and men. The DCFD will be commanded by Fire Chief Burton W. Johnson, telephone number 629-50001. Assistant Fire Chief Operations J.W. Lewis, telephone 629-2835, Deputy Fire Chiefs office, telephone number 629-2003, Fire Marshal, 629-2012. DCFD officials may be contacted through the DCFD radio communications. DCFD will have liaison with the Mayor's Command Center on July 3, 1976.

**GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
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**ANNEX F**

**PUBLIC INFORMATION COMMITTEE**

Mr. Sam Eastman, Public Affairs Office, Executive Office, Chairman  
Tel. No. 629-2577

**A. RESPONSIBILITIES**

The Public Information Committee is responsible for coordinating the dissemination of information on special events to the public through the media.

**B. SERVICES TO BE PERFORMED - July 3, 1976**

**1. Office of Public Affairs**

**a. Mission**

To cooperate with other public information offices to supply accurate and timely information to the media.

**b. Resources Allocated**

One sedan vehicle with radio, call sign 131, connected to the Mayor's Command Center radio network, will be parked at the Happy Birthday USA Command Post near the Washington Monument.

**2. Metropolitan Police Department, Public Information Office**

**a. Mission**

To disseminate information to the public through the news media concerning activities in which the Metropolitan Police Department is involved.

b. Resources Allocated

Transportation and other equipment will be utilized by the staff to perform duties both within the Public Information Office and in the field as necessary.

c. Staffing, supervision and Contact Information

Five members of the Public Information Office staff will be on duty during the scheduled special events, July 3, 1976. The staff will operate out of the MPD, Public Information Office, Room 2052, Municipal Center, telephone number, 626-2871. The staff will be supervised by the Director, Community Relations Division, MPD, Inspector DiGennaro. Staff may be contacted through the MPD communication system or by telephone.

3. Office of Emergency Preparedness, Mayor's Command Center

The Office of Public Affairs will coordinate with the Emergency Information Section, Mayor's Command Center concerning emergency information and media liaison.

4. Other Agency Public Information Activities

The National Park Service will activate public information activities at its command post, located at Survey Lodge, on July 3, 1976. The staff will assist the media in acquiring information concerning activities under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service.

5. Sponsor Public Information Activities

The Office of Public Affairs will assist sponsors of events on July 3, when requested.

C. STAFFING, SUPERVISION, AND CONTACT INFORMATION

One staff member will be assigned to the field and be in proximity to the sedan vehicle from 1030 hours until released. One staff person will be on standby during this period. Supervision will be provided by the Director, Office of Public Affairs, who will be located in proximity to the sedan vehicle. The staff will maintain communication with the Mayor's Command Center through the sedan vehicle mobile radio.

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ANNEX G

CAPACITY OF SPONSOR COMMITTEE

Mr. Julian R. Dugas, City Administrator, Chairman, Tel. No. 629-4711

A. RESPONSIBILITIES

The committee evaluates the capacity of the sponsoring organizations to ensure that they have sufficient staff, equipment, and financial resources to conduct the proposed event in a manner consistent with the overall mission of the Mayor's Special Events Task Group.

B. SERVICES TO BE PERFORMED - July 3, 1976

The sponsors of the below listed event has requested assistance from the Task Group for the execution of the event. The Capacity of Sponsor Committee has received and evaluated the applications of the sponsoring organizations and find them to be capable of producing the program as planned.

The event scheduled for Task Group coverage on July 3, 1976 is:

<u>Event</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Contact</u>
American Bicentennial Grand Parade	3 July 1976	Happy Birthday USA, 736 Jackson Pl., N.W. Washington, D.C.	Walter Gold 638-4647 638-4750

Happy Birthday, USA! and the Mayor's Command Center have established telephone and radio communication links between the Command Center and the Happy Birthday, USA! Command Post located on the Washington Monument Grounds at the Survey Lodge.

**C. LIAISON**

Happy Birthday, USA, and the Mayor's Command Center have established telephone and radio communication links between the Command Center and the Happy Birthday, USA Command Post located on the Washington Monument Grounds at the Survey Lodge.

**D. STAFFING, SUPERVISION AND CONTACT INFORMATION**

Mr. Julian R. Dugas, City Administrator, will monitor the entire special events area during the conduct of the event (s). Mr. Dugas may be contacted through the Mayor's Command Center by telephone and on mobile radio, call sign 94.

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ANNEX H

COMMUNICATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. George R. Rodericks, Director, D.C. Office of Emergency Preparedness,  
Chairman, Tel. No. 629-5151

A. RESPONSIBILITIES

The committee is responsible for determining the type and amount of equipment required to maintain necessary communications capability between Field Operating Units and the Mayor's Command Center, and to ensure that proper command and control of the net is maintained.

B. SERVICES TO BE PERFORMED - July 3, 1976

1. Establish Field Coordination Center at the Happy Birthday, USA Command Post located at Survey Lodge, Washington Mounment Grounds, Call Sign: "Station 200" Frequencies 45.60 and 45.56 MHz. Staffing: DC/OEP will provide staff as required. Time Operational: 0700 until termination of event.
2. Provide 3 mobile units on 45.60 and 45.56 MHz for mobile team monitoring. Staffing: DC/OEP will provide staffing as required. Time Operational: 0700 until termination of event.
3. Provide portable radio units on 45.60 and 45.56 MHz for field operating personnel. Staffing: Four DC/OEP staff members and other agency personnel as assigned. Time Operational: 0800 until termination of event.

Metropolitan Police Department

1. Mobile communications van to be located at 15th Street and Alexander, N.W., adjacent to the U.S. Treasury Building. Primary frequencies to be used for cover of event are: SOD, [REDACTED] MHz and CW-1. [REDACTED] MHz. Staffing: Personnel to be assigned as required. Time Operational: 0700 until released.



2. Establish a Command Bus at the Survey Lodge on the Washington Monument Grounds.  
Staffing: 3 officers  
Time Operational: 0700 until released.

#### U.S. Park Police

1. Establish a Field Communication Van at Survey Lodge on the Monument Grounds. Primary frequencies to be used for coverage of events are:  
Mobile: [REDACTED] MHz (channel 1) UHF  
Portable: [REDACTED] MHz (channel 1) UHF  
Staffing: Personnel to be assigned as required.  
Time Operational: 0700 hours until released.
2. Telephone will be used as the primary communications means between the Mayor's Command Center and U.S. Park Police Command Center. Telephone No. 462-6680.
3. U.S. Park Police will send a liaison officer to the Mayor's Command Center for duty during the period of the event. He will be equipped with a portable radio on the Park Police operating frequency (411.625 MHz).

#### D.C. Fire Department

1. Provide portable radio unit on Emergency Ambulance Service radio net to DHR Command Post (Medical Aid Station) located at Sylvan Theater on the Washington Monument Grounds.  
Staffing: 4 persons  
Time Operational: 1000 to 1430
2. Provide portable radio unit on Emergency Ambulance Service radio net to medi-cart prepositioned at 15th and Constitution Avenue, N.W.  
Staffing: 1 person  
Time Operational: 1000 to 1430

#### Department of Human Resources

1. Establish Command Post equipped with portable radio on Office of Emergency Preparedness, D.C. Fire Emergency Ambulance Service and Red Cross communications net. Telephone will be the primary means of communications between DHR Command Post and Mayor's Command Center. DHR Command Post will be located at Sylvan Theater

on the Monument Grounds.  
Time Operational: 1000 to 1430

#### Office of Public Affairs

Maintain mobile unit with the D.C. Office of Emergency Preparedness radio on 45.60 and 45.56 MHz, prepositional at Survey Lodge on the Washington Monument Grounds.

Staffing: 1 person

Time Operational: 1030 until released.

#### D.C. Public Schools

Position and staff a communications van at the Survey Lodge with frequencies 45.60 and 45.56 MHz and D.C. Schools Public Transportation radio net 153.815 MHz.

Staffing: 2 persons

Time Operational: 0800 until released

Provide 10 portable units on 153.815 MHz for field operating personnel.

Staffing: 10 persons

Time Operational: 0800 until released.

### C. COMMUNICATION PROCEDURES

1. The D.C. Office of Emergency Preparedness radio system will be operational during the entire period covered by the Plan of Operations. Ten portable and 3 mobile units will be in use for (field observation). All units will operate on Channel 1 (45.60 MHz).

- a. Mobile radio call signs will be as follows: 108, 110, 118

- b. Portable units call signs will be as follows:

- Xray 1

- 2

- 4

- 5

- 6

- c. Base Station: Happy Birthday, USA (100 Watts) Call sign is "Station 200".

2. All field units (portable, mobile) will be required to call "in service" when arriving at the assigned location and "out of service" when released. Portable operators are required to keep units turned on and volume turned up

for proper monitoring. All units will report directly to "Control". Net Control will remain with the Mayor's Command Center, 300 Indiana Avenue, N.W. Field units will report only when requested by Control, unless there is emergency traffic.

a. The following procedure will be used:

Example -

Control transmits - "Xray 1, this is Control"

Xray 1 transmits - "Xray 1"

Control transmits - Message, ending transmission with "Over"

Control transmits - "Message received (Time)"

b. Special Note: This procedure will permit all portables and mobiles to be aware of traffic on the net. It is most important that all units exercise courtesy on the net when others are transmitting. Operators should talk in a normal tone of voice and not speak too quickly, or too loud. Methodical, deliberate and clear broadcasts will increase effectiveness of net and reduce the need to repeat traffic.

3. To insure effective communications between portables to portables, and portables to mobile units, or mobile to mobile, units will use the following procedure:

Example: Traffic between Xray 1 and Xray 3

Unit initiating Traffic	"Xray 1 to Control"
Control transmits:	"Xray 1 this is Control"
Xray 1 transmits:	"Request to go to Xray 3"
Control transmits:	"Standby - (Control will contact Xray 3 and advise to stand by for message from Xray 1
Control transmits:	"Xray 1 you may proceed"
Xray 1 transmits:	Message ending transmission with "Over"
Xray 3 transmits:	Message, ending transmission with "Over"
Xray initiating transmission:	"Xray 1 Out"
Control transmits:	"Control clear (Time)"

a. This procedure, while it may seem lengthy is more effective than talking direct or "blind" to another unit, and in fact will reduce the use of air time. In the event one unit is unable to hear another unit, Control will act as a relay. Control reserves the right to act as a relay at anytime to insure adequate communication. Control also reserves the right to restrict traffic and establish priorities for traffic as the need arises.

4. The following chart shows the typical communications network and the systems and agencies that interface in the Mayor's Command Center.

# THE MAYOR'S COMMAND CENTER

## Communications Systems

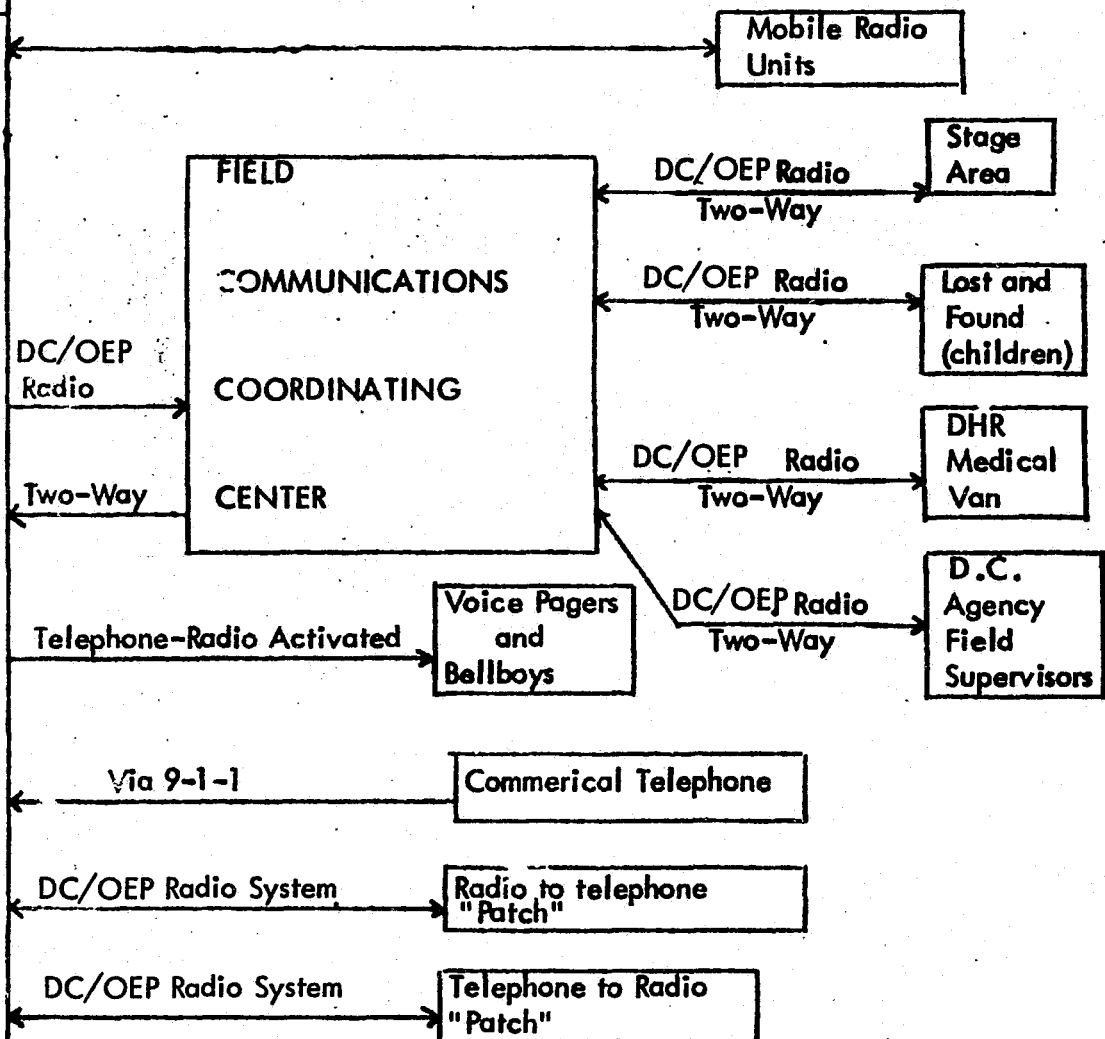
1. Office of Emergency Preparedness Two-Way Radio  

Mayor	Portable Units
City Administrator	U.S. Capitol Police
City Council	D.C. National Guard
Mobile Units (42)	Medical Command Post
2. Telephone Hot Lines  

Mayor	PEPCO
City Administrator	G.S.A. Command Center
White House	Medical Command Center
Chief of Police	9-1-1 (2 Drops)
Fire Chief	Superior Court
Director, DHR	Roving Leaders
Corporation Counsel	Office of Human Rights
	Board of Education
3. WAWAS - Direct Two-Way Voice Circuit  

Metropolitan Police	Alexandria Police/Fire
D.C. Fire Department	Arlington County Police/Fire
Fire Ambulance Dispatch	Fire
U.S. Park Police	Defense Civil Preparedness Agency (Pentagon)
U.S. Capitol Police	Fairfax County Police/Fire
NOAA Weather Service	All Area Civil Defense Offices
P.G. County Police/Fire	
Montgomery County	
E.O.C.	
4. Radio Monitoring  

Weather Bureau	Fire Ambulance Dispatch
MPD-SOD	Dept. of Transportation
MPD-CW-1 and 2	Dept. of Environ. Svcs.
MPD Zone 1-2-3	General Services Adm.
Capitol Police	Dept. of Corrections
U.S. Park Police	PEPCO
D.C. Fire Department	Washington Gas Light



(Field Communications Coordinating Center is co-located with D.C. Police and U.S. Park Police)

3 JULY 1976SPECIAL EVENTS

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	WHERE	WHY
Saturday - 3	SPECIAL EVENT	Happy Birthday, USA !	Constitution Avenue between 7th and 17th Streets	American Bicentennial Grand Parade
0800 - 1500				
1100 - 1330	PARADE	Sponsors indicate 5,000 marchers, 50 bands, 20 floats and 500,000 spec- tators will participate	Assemble in the Mall area, proceed North on 7th Street to Con- stitution Avenue, East on Constitution Ave., to 23rd Street where parade will disband.  Activity will be in the form a historical review of America presented in parade form by 200 units displaying and grouped in eight (8) 25 year periods covering the 200 years of the Nation.  Permit on File	

JULY 1976

SPECIAL EVENTS

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	WHERE	WHY
Saturday - 3 1130 - 1630	SPECIAL EVENT	National Socialist White People's Party  Sponsors indicate 1,500 persons may participate	Lafayette Park (Northeast Corner)  Permit on File	Bicentennial Celebra- tion - Public Rally

- 89 -

Saturday - 3 1000 - 1200	SPECIAL EVENT	Sandefjord Jentekor  Sponsors indicate 100 persons may participate	Lincoln Memorial (Reflecting Pool Steps)  Permit on File	Bicentennial Concert by the Norway's Girls' Choir
Saturday - 3 1700 - 2100	SPECIAL EVENT	The Navigators (Columbia, Maryland)  Sponsors indicate 6,000 persons may participate	Lincoln Memorial (Reflecting Pool Steps)  Permit on File	Patriotic Religious Meeting

JULY 1976

SPECIAL EVENTS

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	WHERE	WHY
Saturday - 3 2100 - 2230	SPECIAL EVENT	Honor America Committee  Sponsors indicate 2,200 persons may participate	Concert Hall - J. F. Kennedy Center	Bicentennial Musical
Saturday - 3 thru Monday - 5	LITURGY and FESTIVAL CONCERTS (open house)	Washington National Cathedral Nation Day Observance	Washington National Cathedral	Suitable celebration for the Nation's 200th Birthday

4 JULY 1976

SPECIAL EVENTS

SECTION IV SCHEDULE OF EVENTS with Locator Maps

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	WHERE	WHY
Sunday - 4 0600 - 0800	SPECIAL EVENT	DC Downtown Cluster of Churches  Sponsors indicate 250 persons may participate	Lincoln Memorial (Reflecting Pool Steps)  Permit on file	Ecumenical religious service celebrating the Bicentennial




JULY 1976

SPECIAL EVENTS

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	WHERE	WHY
Sunday - 4 thru Saturday - 28 Aug  0700 - 1800 Daily	DEMONSTRATION	Northern Piedmont, Va., Organization for Women (NOW) Chapter  Sponsors indicate 15 persons may participate	South 1600 Pennsyl- vania Avenue and sidewalk between East and West Executive Drives NW  Application on File	To demonstrate for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution (passed by the U.S. Congress and being ratified by the States)
Sunday - 4  0900 - 0900  - 71 -  1100 - 1800	SPECIAL EVENT        RALLY	People's Bicentennial Commission  Sponsors indicate 250,000 persons may participate throughout the day	Jefferson Memorial Steps and area facing the Tidal Basin (fol- lowed by a march to the west steps of the Capitol)  Capitol West Steps and will include the East end area of the Mall between 1st and 7th Streets.  Permits have been issued	Inter-religious service which will commemorate people who have demand- ed that the democratic vision of the American Revolution be carried out  Rally against the "Tories of our time - the huge multinational companies - big business"

JULY 1976

SPECIAL EVENTS

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	WHERE	WHY
<p>Sunday - 4</p> <p>1430 - 1600</p> <p>-72-</p>	<p>SPECIAL EVENT</p> 	<p>Kraft Opinion Research Center</p> <p>Sponsors indicate 50 persons may participate</p>	<p>Assemble at 6th and A Streets S.E., proceed West on A Street to 5th Street, North on 5th Street to Constitution Ave., East on Constitution Avenue to 7th Street N.E., South on 7th Street to A Street S.E., West on A Street to 6th Street S.E. and disband.</p> <p>Parade Permit on File</p>	<p>Bicentennial Parade</p>
<p>Sunday - 4</p> <p>1800 - 2400</p>	<p>SPECIAL EVENT</p>	<p>Mayor's 4th of July Committee/Happy Birthday, USA! Committee/ National Park Service</p> <p>Sponsors indicate 300,000 persons may participate</p>	<p>Washington Monument Grounds</p> <p>Permit on File</p>	<p>Bicentennial 4th of July Celebration featuring: Pageant of Freedom/ Torchlight Tattoo/Bicentennial Address by the Vice President/ Fireworks Display</p>

JULY 1976

SPECIAL EVENTS

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	WHERE	WHY
Sunday - 4 0800 - 2400	SPECIAL EVENT	National Visitors Center National Capital Parks	Union Station National Visitors Center and Columbus Center  Permit on File	Opening of the National Visitor Center  No formal ceremony planned
Sunday - 4 1230 - 1400  - 73 -	SPECIAL EVENT	Neighborhood Planning Council  Sponsors indicate 1,000 persons may participate	Assemble at White- haven Parkway and MacArthur Blvd., N.W., proceed North on MacArthur Blvd., to Edmonds Place N.W., West to Sherrier Place N.W. South to Dana Place N.W., West into Palisades Playground  Permit on File	Bicentennial Parade

JULY 1976

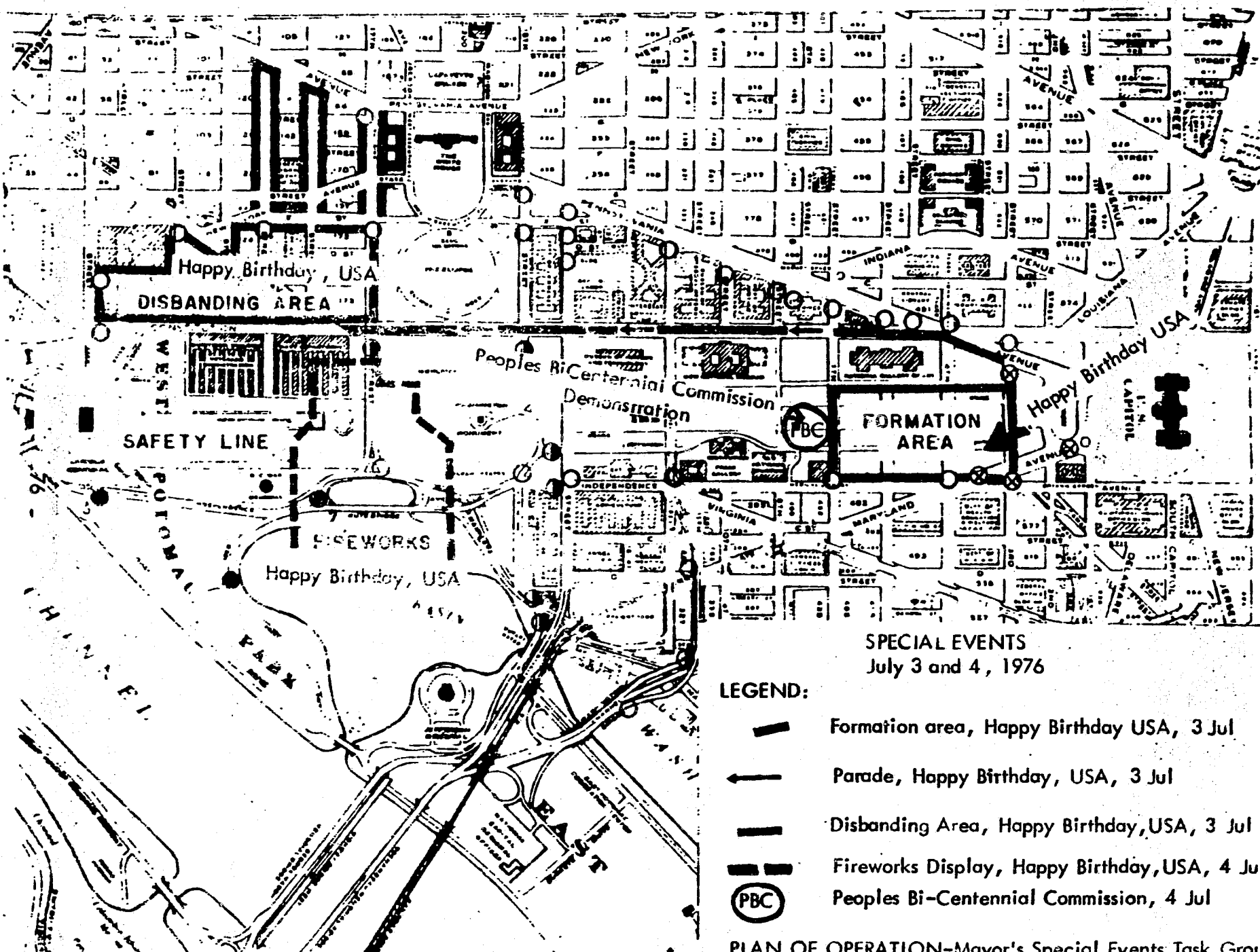
SPECIAL EVENTS

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	WHERE	WHY
Sunday - 4 1930 - 2030	SPECIAL EVENT	U. S. Marine Corps  Sponsors indicate 1,000 persons may participate	IWO JIMA Memorial (Arlington , Virginia)  Permit on File	Bicentennial Parade and Concert

5 JULY 1976






SPECIAL EVENTS

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	WHERE	WHY
Monday - 5 1100 - 1600	SPECIAL EVENT	Happy Birthday, USA, Inc	West Potomac Park	Salute to America and Family Picnic Day (celebrities, clowns, and wandering minstrels)
Monday - 5 2030 - 2200 - 75 -	SPECIAL EVENT	National Concert Band of America  Sponsors indicate 55 persons may participate	Jefferson Memorial  Permit on file	Symphonic Band Concert

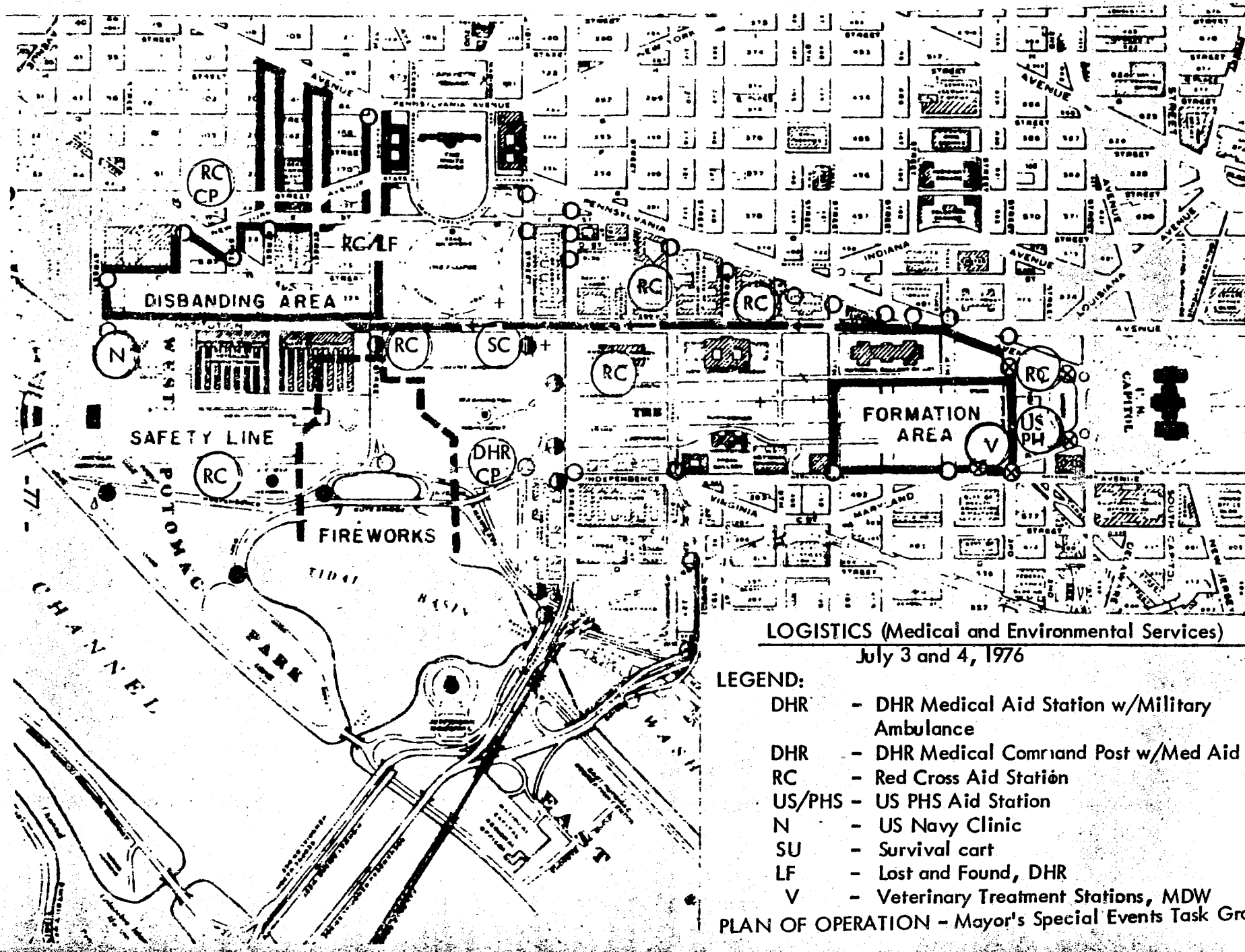


SPECIAL EVENTS  
July 3 and 4, 1976

LEGEND:

-  Formation area, Happy Birthday USA, 3 Jul
-  Parade, Happy Birthday, USA, 3 Jul
-  Disbanding Area, Happy Birthday, USA, 3 Jul
-  Fireworks Display, Happy Birthday, USA, 4 Jul
-  Peoples Bi-Centennial Commission, 4 Jul

PLAN OF OPERATION-Mayor's Special Events Task Group



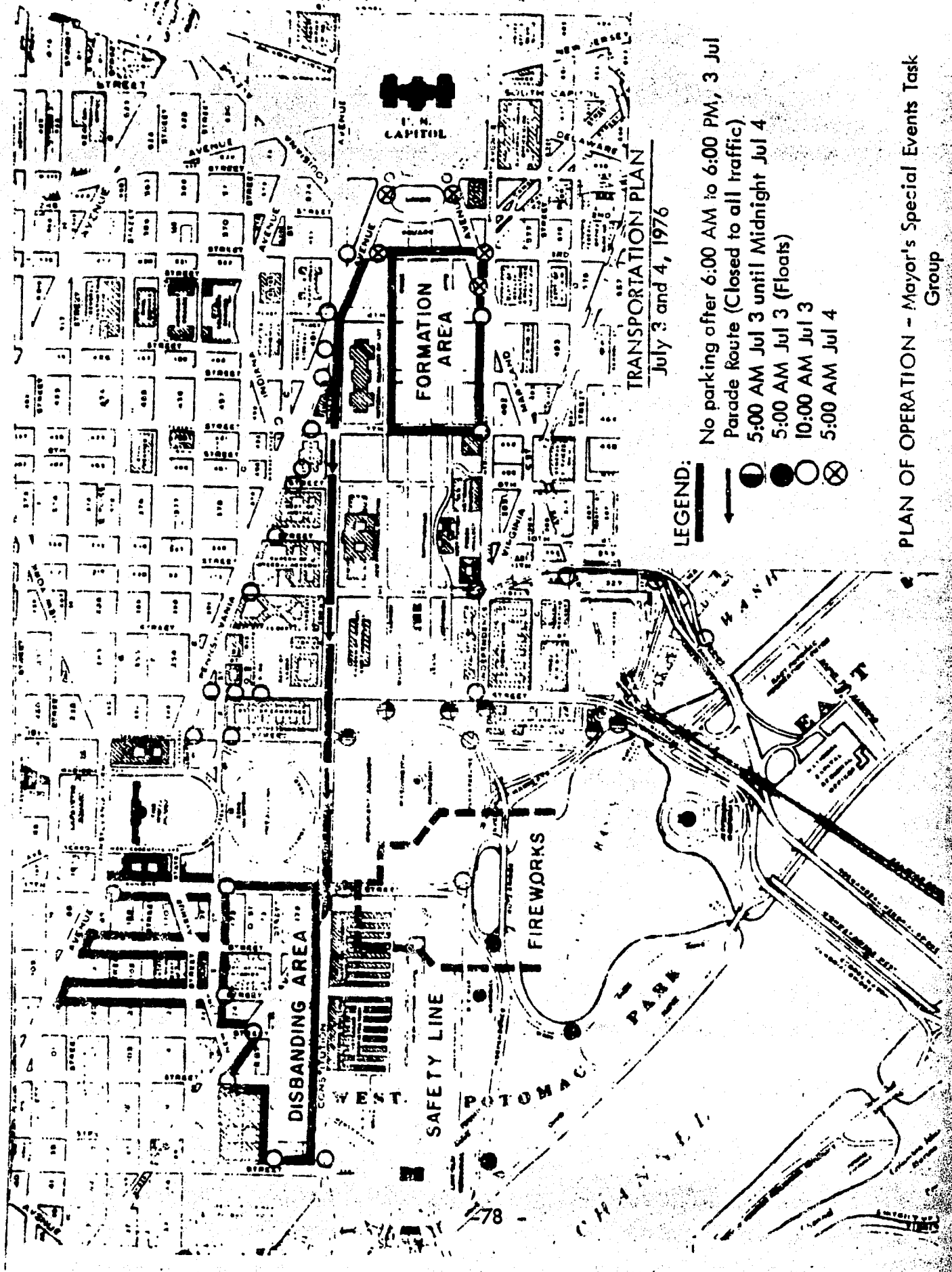
LOGISTICS (Medical and Environmental Services)  
July 3 and 4, 1976

LEGEND:

- DHR - DHR Medical Aid Station w/Military Ambulance
- DHR - DHR Medical Command Post w/Med Aid
- RC - Red Cross Aid Station
- US/PHS - US PHS Aid Station
- N - US Navy Clinic
- SU - Survival cart
- LF - Lost and Found, DHR
- V - Veterinary Treatment Stations, MDW

PLAN OF OPERATION - Mayor's Special Events Task Group

# SECTION IV - SCHEDULE OF EVENTS with Locator Maps





1

## SPECIAL NATIONAL WORKSHOP

### URBAN CRISIS PLANNING

MARCH 7-9, 1979

#### INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL - USE OF THE CASE MATERIALS

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE WORKSHOP

##### 1. Nature of the Exercises

The Workshop consists of three exercises for groups of municipal officials, an instructor, and a recorder. Each exercise is a simulated meeting of local governmental officials confronted with a defined crisis situation. The participants are asked to formulate a plan of action for responding to (heading off, defusing, controlling) the crisis situation.

##### 2. Content of the Exercises

The exercises involve three types of situations likely to precipitate urban disorders: a blackout caused by massive electrical failure, a demonstration by a highly controversial and provocative group, and a citywide public employee strike. All three crisis situations are set in the mythical city of "Oz" in the summer of a recent year. Although the descriptions derive in part from research on actual urban crises, they are not intended to represent any particular city or historical events.

##### 3. Participants

The exercises are designed for a group of officials representing five different roles in the governmental structure of an American city. Each discussion group should consist of officials from a single city. The five roles that should be represented in each group are: 1) the political chief executive (the mayor or city manager or perhaps city council president) or a key assistant; 2) the appointed chief administrative officer of the city

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(e.g., a city administrator, deputy mayor, budget director, or the like); 3) the police commissioner (or chief) or a key assistant; 4) the chief of operations in the police department; and 5) a top legal officer (e.g., the city attorney or perhaps a county prosecutor).

In the simulation exercises, the municipal participants should assume that they occupy an office in the city of "Oz" that is the nearest equivalent to their actual position.

In addition to the municipal participants, an instructor and a recorder will be present at each exercise. Their roles are described below.

#### 4. Written Materials

Each participant should have received and read a set of "background" materials prior to the workshop. The background materials contain information on the city of Oz, its government, geography and demographics, that form the basis for the three exercises. Participants should have the background materials with them for reference at all times during the workshop.

Each exercise is based on a set of written materials describing the particular crisis situation. Each set of materials is divided into three parts, designated by roman numerals, that describe the situation at three distinct stages of the crisis. The instructor distributes the three parts sequentially during the discussion as described below.

#### 5. Purpose of the Exercises

The exercises are designed to serve three purposes. The principal one is to stimulate ongoing urban crisis planning in American cities. The exercises seek to accomplish this result in at least two ways. First, by involving municipal officials in a simulated crisis-response situation, they dramatize the need for contingency planning. Participants will inevitably feel some

frustration because of the limited information available in the game situation. This frustration should itself impress upon them the value of contingency planning. Second, the exercises should illuminate some of the important elements of a contingency planning process. In the course of their discussion, group members should begin to identify which municipal actors (besides themselves) should be involved in crisis planning and what kinds of information such planning process should generate.

A second objective of the exercises is to strengthen participants' crisis response skills. Even apart from any contingency planning they may do, the simulation should sharpen their personal ability to respond intelligently to a future crisis. The experience should give them a better sense of the kinds of problems that must be identified, the range of resources available in a time of need, and the importance of communication and shared decision-making responsibility.

Finally, the discussions should generate valuable insights about the roles that federal law enforcement agencies might sensibly play in the processes of urban crisis planning and crisis response.

#### 6. The Instructor's Role

The instructor plays a far less "active" role in this kind of exercise than in most other types of training. His (her) job is to set the group discussions in motion, but not to participate in them.

The instructor should refrain from asking the participants questions during the discussions. Crisis planning and crisis response require an ability to ask the right questions as well as to find the right answers. A central objective of these exercises is to force the participants themselves to identify the issues relevant to an intelligent response. Questioning by the instructor can seriously weaken the educational value of such an exercise.

Nor is the instructor in a position to answer questions. The participants have all of the prepared information about the crisis situation. The instructor has no secret cache of additional factual information. Participants may introduce factual assumptions drawn from their home cities. But for the most part, they must do the best they can with the information available.

This does not mean that the instructor's role is unimportant or purely passive. He (she) serves three important functions in the exercises:

- a. Giving instructions to the participants at the beginning of each exercise;
- b. Setting the discussion in motion by handing out the initial installments of the particular exercise, and move the discussion along by handing out the sequels; and
- c. Asking questions, if necessary, at the end of the discussion, to raise issues not adequately surfaced by the participants.

These functions are described more fully in succeeding sections of this manual.

## 7. The Flow of the Discussion

The succeeding sections of this manual indicate suggested timetables for the group discussions. The timetables represent only approximations, of course, because it is impossible to predict the exact course of the discussions. The instructor must be sensitive to the flow of the discussion and adjust the timing of handing out installments accordingly.

Two kinds of problems might arise. First, the participants might go off on a tangent. By getting bogged down in the details of a fine point, they may lose valuable time needed to discuss other important issues. If this happens,

the instructor should remind the group that they are running out of time. If they persist in dwelling on one narrow issue, the instructor should finally interrupt and hand out the next sequel.

Second, the discussion may simply go dead prematurely. If this happens during discussion of the first or second installments of an exercise, the instructor should simply hand out the next sequel. The sequels raise issues in more concrete form than the initial installment and should, therefore, get a lagging discussion going again. If the discussion of the third installment ends with time remaining, the instructor should ask questions designed to raise issues not adequately discussed earlier.

#### 8. The Recorder's Role

The recorder's function is solely to take notes on the discussion.

The instructor should also take cursory notes as the discussion unfolds to enable him/her to identify issues neglected or omitted by the participants.

#### THE FIRST EXERCISE: "THE BLACKOUT"

##### 1. Physical Arrangement

The municipal participants should be seated around a table. They should be arranged so that each one can converse easily with the others.

Each participant should be furnished with a writing tablet and pen.

The instructor and recorder should be seated outside of the circle formed by the participants.

##### 2. Introductions

The instructor should introduce himself (herself) and the recorder to the participants if they have not already been introduced.

### 3. Statement of Purpose

The instructor should describe the purpose and nature of the exercises to the participants, if they have not already been adequately explained to them. This introduction should mention the LEAA/NILECJ sponsorship and the three purposes described above (to strengthen municipal capacity to plan for and respond to urban crises likely to generate collective violence and to identify possible federal roles).

### 4. Specific Instructions

"You will spend the next three hours discussing a crisis situation that arose in a hypothetical city called Oz that is described in the background information sent to you before the workshop."

"This is a role-playing exercise called a 'simulation.' In the discussion that follows, you should imagine that you occupy a role in the government of Oz which is the counterpart of the position you occupy in \_\_\_\_\_ (home city). You should imagine that you have come together in an emergency meeting to decide how to respond to a crisis situation that will be described in some material I will hand out shortly. You are the only participants in the meeting. I am an observer, not a participant. So, please address your comments and questions to each other, not to me."

"You will discuss the crisis situation as a group for about two hours. During that time I will hand out three different sets of material describing the crisis situation at three different stages and invite your reactions. After two hours, we will take a break and then get together with the groups from the other participating cities to discuss the exercise as a whole."

"At the beginning of the discussion, you should select one member of your group to be the recorder for the group discussion. The recorder's job is to

keep track of the significant issues raised and the decisions made. The recorder will use his/her notes as the basis for making a report to the plenary session after the group discussion.

"In addition, each member of the group should keep track of the things he (or she) has agreed to do after the meeting--including any actions to be taken, further decisions to be made, or information to obtain."

"I realize that the information provided in these cases is rather sketchy, but you should try to make decisions in as much detail as possible, given the information available. If you need more information, you may assume facts based on your home city, so long as they are not inconsistent with the information you have been given."

#### 5. Reading or Reviewing Time

"Does anyone need time to read or review the background materials mailed to you before the workshop?" (If so, allow 15 minutes for this).

#### 6. The Blackout: I

Hand out "The Blackout: I." Allow three minutes for participants to read it.

"You should now assume that you have assembled in an emergency meeting to decide how to respond to the blackout. You should select a recorder--preferably the group member least directly involved in the crisis situation. Then you should proceed to decide how to respond."

#### 7. Sequels

Hand out "The Blackout: II." Allow about one hour, less if the discussion lags; no further instructions should be necessary at this point. Allow about 20-30 minutes for part II. Then hand out part III. The discussion on part III should continue until the end of the two-hour period.



## 8. Issues

The Blackout exercise is designed to raise the following issues.

- a. Police mobilization policy: What is the department's policy? What degree of mobilization is appropriate under these circumstances? How effective is it, that is, how many officers are likely to report within what period of time? How will the department equip those who report and transport them to duty stations?
- b. Police deployment policy: By what criteria will officers be deployed (e.g., as between outlying and inner-city neighborhoods)? On what information? By whose command? What priority will be given to apprehending looters, crowd control, traffic control, emergency service, guarding property, etc.?
- c. Use of force: What is the Police Department policy on use of force (of all kinds, including weapons, dogs, tear gas, fire hoses, quarantine) in a situation like this (arresting, crowd control, guarding, etc.)?
- d. Arrest procedure: Is there a mass arrest procedure? What is it? Can arrestees be properly identified and arraigned later? Where will they be detained? Who should police officers concentrate on arresting first (e.g., organized vs. casual looters, rock-throwers, fire-setters, people who refuse an order to move)?
- e. Prosecution policy: Should everyone arrested be prosecuted or only those arrested for certain offenses?
- f. Emergency services: What emergency services are or might be crippled by a blackout (e.g., hospitals, police communications, traffic signals, jail)? How many have backup generation capacity? What can the city do about those that don't?
- g. Rescue: Where might people be stranded as a result of a blackout (e.g., elevators, subways)? Who is responsible for finding and helping them?

h. Public cooperation: What forms of assistance can be rendered by the public at large (e.g., directing traffic, rescue, staying indoors, or out of certain districts) or by individual groups (e.g., guarding property, cooling tensions)? How can the city enlist such cooperation?

i. State of Emergency: Should the mayor impose a curfew? Can it be enforced? If the blackout continues should the mayor urge businesses to close and commuters to stay home? Should the mayor ask for the governor to call out the National Guard?

j. Other city/state agencies: What other public agencies are/should be involved in the blackout response? How? What coordinating mechanism, if any, is needed? What is the chain of command?

#### THE SECOND EXERCISE: THE DEMONSTRATION

##### 1. Instructions

Inform the participants that the format for the second exercise is the same as the first--same city (Oz), same roles, same general procedure. Remind them to have and refer to, if necessary, the background material on Oz.

##### 2. The Demonstration: I

Hand out "The Demonstration: I." Allow participants five minutes to read it.

Remind the participants that they have convened in an emergency meeting to develop a plan of action and that they should appoint one of their members to act as recorder.

##### 3. Sequels

Allow about 30 minutes for part I (primarily for discussion of the question of whether to issue Schmidt a parade permit). Then hand out part II. Allow at least 45 minutes. Then hand out part III. Discussion of part III should take about 45 minutes.

#### 4. Issues

The Demonstration exercise is designed to raise the following issue.

- a. Parade permit: Should the police chief issue the permit? Who should be involved in that decision? If (as is likely) a court will enjoin enforcement of the permit law, what is the point of denying a permit? Should the chief try to negotiate a change in the route, day, time, or size of the rally?
- b. Intelligence: How can city officials find out what the demonstrators and counter-demonstrators are likely to do? Who is in charge? What unorganized elements may become involved?
- c. Law enforcement strategies: What crowd control procedures should the police use? How should they deploy their forces? What should be their policy on use of force and arrests?
- d. Noncoercive strategies: What avenues are available for negotiation or conciliation? With whom? What less provocative alternatives can the city offer? What assistance can the participants themselves offer to minimize the risk of violence?
- e. Symbolic implications: What will be the symbolic implication of the city's stance? Will it appear to favor one group over another? That is, will the action promote or disregard civil liberties? What effect might the city's policy have on the likelihood of recurrence?
- f. Emergency services: What emergency services might be needed if the demonstrations occur? What resources are available?

#### THE THIRD EXERCISE: THE STRIKE

##### 1. Instructions

Remind the participants that the previous instructions are still in force and that they should have their background material for reference.

2. The Strike: I

Hand out "The Strike: I." Allow participants 10 minutes to read it.

Remind participants to appoint a recorder.

3. Sequels

Allow about one hour for part I. If participants get bogged down on possible collective bargaining solutions to heading off the strike, urge them to assume that a strike will occur and to plan accordingly.

Hand out part II. Allow about 20 minutes (a bit longer if the discussion of part I took less than one hour). Hand out part III. You should have left at least 40 minutes for part III.

4. Issues

The Strike exercise is designed to raise the following issues:

a. Sanctions: What sanctions should the city seek to invoke against the union? The union leadership? The strikers? At what stage?

b. Violence and disorder: How much violence and disorder are likely? From what causes? How should the police attempt to prevent it or respond to it?

c. Maintaining services: What services will be affected by the strike? Which can be kept in operation? Which city services are the most important to keep functioning? How?

d. Sympathy actions: Are police officers likely to sympathize with the strikers? In what way (e.g., refuse to cross picket lines, refuse to force picketers to keep moving and permit access to municipal facilities, slowdowns, blue flu, etc.)? What will the city do in response?

e. Using police officers and firefighters to staff emergency services: Should the city use police officers or firefighters to help keep certain city services operating? Which ones?

## THE URBAN CRISIS

### PAST PERCEPTIONS, PRESENT PROBLEMS, AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

The names Warren, Katzenbach, Kerner, Eisenhower, Scranton -- and others remind us of national commissions, headed by distinguished citizens, which were named to focus on the phenomenon of violence in the American society. Assassinations, the rising rate of violent crime, riots, student unrest, vigilantism -- compelled the appointing of special citizen commissions which could give urgent and concentrated consideration to American violence.

In quick succession we had the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. In some respects, it is appropriate to add the Commission on CIA Activities which reported to the President, and the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. Particularly, the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism of the latter commission focused directly on specific issues related to violence in the American society.

One commission report stated that the decade of the 1960's although not the most violent in American history, was, nevertheless, to be classified as being among the most violent. The author, John Hersey, in reviewing the

latter years of the 1960's recently called 1968, "The Year of the Triphammer," and described that year as one which "battered us all." "No one reading a morning newspaper on January 1, 1968, could have guessed what lay coiled in the calendar ahead." Violent deaths of public officials, volatile confrontations proliferated in the cities, raging fires in urban ghettos, escalating and paralyzing protests against an expanded war, injuries to and deaths of police, the shooting and killing of minority community citizens and of students -- these were the shocks into which the public was pushed and into which finally the whole society was thrown -- one violent event catapulting us to the next violent event.

The impact of these events upon the society generally have been studied and reported. The effect upon individuals and families is almost beyond the imagination. The Newsweek magazine, October 30, 1978, described the music of the rock group, the Devo, as "...infectious primal pop, repetitive, pounding rhythm and lyrics that satirize the frustrations of urban life. And it's making Devo the ultimate parody of Establishment rock -- one of the hottest new bands around." The article includes a significant reference: "Devo is the brainchild of two former Kent State University art students, Jerry Casale and Mark Mothersbaugh..." "Devo," the article continued to explain, "was spawned at Kent State not long after Casale witnessed the student shootings by the National Guard. 'It was below tragedy -- more absurd and ugly. It showed human beings at their worst. It was real Devo.'" The music of

Devo is, "...the sound of things falling apart."

There were probably more national commissions named within a ten year period than in any other time in the two hundred year history of the United States. The naming of a national citizens committee is one of the responses to serious domestic crises, and the years through which we have just passed necessitated the appointing of one and then another as the violence multiplied itself. A commission on top of a commission on top of a commission -- it was a mark of our time.

It is interesting that within a span of less than five years, four national commissions were named by two different Presidents of the United States. Each was to come with an analysis of the violence and with recommendations for reducing it.

One of those commissions barely had had an opportunity to report when new and more serious events of violence compelled the appointing of another commission. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, named in July, 1967, in the midst of the convulsions in Newark, Detroit, Milwaukee and other cities, reported in March, 1968. But one month later Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, and an estimated one hundred cities burned simultaneously in the raging reaction to his death. With only a momentary stabilizing of the society, within less than two months a United States Senator, campaigning for the Presidency, was shot down in a Los Angeles hotel -- and a voice which had been a voice of calm after Dr. King's

slaying was also silenced.

So it was that within three months of the report of a national commission which just had engaged in nine months of extensive research, another commission had to be named -- to help absorb the shock, to tie the threads of a fraying social fabric, and to buy time in any amount.

When President Lyndon Johnson appointed the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence he asked, in a televised speech to the nation, "What is the nature of our people and the environment of our society that makes possible such murder and such violence? How does it happen?" He then offered some assurance -- some hope -- to the American people. "Supported by the suggestions and recommendations of criminologists, sociologists and psychologists, all of our nation's medical and social sciences, we hope to learn why we inflict such suffering on ourselves. And I hope and pray that we can learn how to stop it."

Even among the members of that second national commission appointed just after another commission had reported, there were doubts about any constructive effect of its work. The Vice Chairman of the Commission, United States District Judge, A. Leon Higginbotham, said in a separate statement to the Commission's report issued some months later, "In the past 25 years our country has been deluged with significant presidential and national fact-finding commissions...thus the problems of poverty, racism and crime have been emphasized and re-emphasized, studied



and re-studied, probed and re-probed. Surveying this landscape, littered with the unimplemented recommendations of so many previous commissions, I am compelled to propose a national moratorium on any additional temporary study commissions to probe the causes of racism, or poverty, or crime, or the urban crisis." One of the first witnesses to have appeared before the commission, the distinguished scholar, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, referred to the reports of riots in 1919, 1935, 1943, 1965, and said, "I must again in candor say to you members of this commission -- it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland -- with the same motion picture reshown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, the same inaction."<sup>1</sup>

With such pessimism about the usefulness of national commission studies, why was there such a succession of appointments of national citizen commissions? The commissions served a highly symbolic political purpose to be sure. There was more. As the general counsel for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence has written, "At least part (and I would urge, the major part) of the true usefulness of commissions lies, then in their special ability to transmit to the public, with reasonable speed and thoroughness, significant information about the cause and consequences of episodes of collective violence." And it is through such information that, "...an appropriate response by the social order to such episodes becomes a possibility."<sup>2</sup>

The key word in Mr. Campbell's statement is,

"possibility." For it has become obvious that something more than information is necessary for appropriate responses to be made by the social order to social crises. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, calling for an alternative to blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness -- namely, the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society, declared that this alternative would require, "A new commitment to national action -- compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on this earth. From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and above all, new will."

The next commission, in its turn, asserted that such a new commitment actually was being made and such a new will was being forged. Just a few months after the Civil Disorders report, the Violence Report would say, "We see a growing readiness to formulate new values, to set new priorities, and to make firm commitments now... A new generation of Americans is emerging, with the energy and the talent and the determination to fulfill the promise of the nation."

Such statements as these do not sound as if they were just the conclusions of social scientists. They sound more sermonic than systematic, more homiletic than analytic. Yet, the strength and the emotion of those words seemed to constitute a reasonable call in the midst of a crisis. The President had appealed to the nation,

"Let us put an end to violence and to the preaching of violence." The commissions responded by preaching justice and issuing calls to commitment. They kept saying let us take the possibilities and make them actualities.

Terrance Cardinal Cooke, a member of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, wrote a separate statement to the report of the commission. He expressed the concern of the church and the synagogue for the level of violence in the American society, calling it a moral and social evil. He insisted that there are three roles -- three functions -- which must be played by ministers of religion and citizens of religious faith if there is to be a new dawn of domestic peace. The roles are: the peacemaker, the bridge builder -- and the prophet. The prophet, he said, gives effective witness to truth. "For the man of religion cannot stand in the middle believing each side is totally right. He may concede that they honestly think they are. But he who witnesses to justice and goodness must be free to speak the truth -- and this is the role of the prophet."<sup>3</sup>

The prophet, of course, does not have all of the truth, but there come those critical times when the prophet must speak clearly. The prophet does not necessarily speak of the future, making predictions of what was and is to come, but he speaks of what he perceives in the present and points to the implications for the days ahead. The prophets of old did not necessarily say anything new, but they often took old values and repetitiously and relevantly related them to the events of their day.

Here are some truths spoken repetitiously so that their significance can again be considered:

1. Indeed, those years of the 1960's and the early 1970's were filled with violence. This is not to be denied; it must, infact, be intentionally remembered. Since the violence came in so many forms and in a steady sequence of events nearly every American felt the impact in one way or another. Several chronologies and inventories have been made of the violent events, and these dramatically illustrate the era of collective disruption. The Nelson Rockefeller report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities, June, 1975, includes an appendix entitled, "Highlights of Civil Disturbances and Other Disorders in the United States -- January, 1966 through January, 1973." The appendix began with 1966, for that year, "...news coverage of domestic turmoil had almost become a part of everyday life in the United States."<sup>4</sup>

The Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals in its report of December, 1976, furnishes a "Chronology of incidents of terroristic, quasi-terroristic and political violence in the United States -- January, 1965 - March, 1976. Reports of other commissions give additional listings of violent events, both recent and historical."<sup>5</sup>

2. The reading of these lists and also the profiles of violent incidents in other commission reports gives an almost overwhelming impression that the legal and political systems in the United States were in grave danger during those years.

At the time the public assumed, often with the encouragement of agencies of the United States Government, that these threats were rooted in the interest of foreign governments and were the result of conspiracies by foreign agents. This gave support to a "national security" warrant which permitted agencies of the United State Government to illegally abridge rights of American citizens.

So a truth to be necessarily spoken is that some of our responses to violence or potential violence did violence to the constitutional protections of American citizens. The situation that developed is similar to one that is described by South African journalist, Donald J. Woods in an article, "Apartheid on Collision Course With Black Anger."<sup>6</sup> "Increasingly, voices of warning are seen as voices of incitement. Voices of dissidence are seen as voices of treachery and treason. Increasingly, moderation is being seen as extremism and the peacemakers are being portrayed as the advocates of violence."

The Kerner Commission, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders pursued the

matter of foreign intervention and incitement and concluded, "Specifically, the Commission found no evidence that all or any of the disorders or the incidents that led to them were planned or directed by any organization or group, international, national or local."<sup>7</sup>

The Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism points out that, "All too often commissions of inquiry have been asked to answer the question: 'Why have atrocious things occurred to interrupt the domestic tranquility of our Republic?'" And the answer most frequently given is, "Mass violence has generally been spontaneous and unorganized; most inquiries have sought unsuccessfully to find foreign influences at work."<sup>8</sup>

The Central Intelligence Agency in responding to a directive from President Nixon that a report be submitted to the White House within ten days on foreign support of protest movements in the United States, delivered on time a report precisely entitled, "Foreign Communist Support to Revolutionary Protest Movements in the United States." The Rockefeller report stated that the CIA report to the White House, "...concluded that while the communist encouraged such movements through propaganda and international conferences, there was very little evidence of communist funding or training of such movements and no evidence

of communist direction and control."<sup>9</sup>

These references, which may seem oblique and unnecessary, are included, for they make important points which we must not disregard in any consideration of future urban crises. In spite of the amount of violence that occurred in the United States, the political, legal and social systems continue to operate with comparatively little disruption. The Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism has called this, "the most significant fact about mass violence in the United States -- and one that distinguishes it from countries experiencing comparable levels of domestic violence." The report reminds us that, "With the notable exception of the Civil War, no episode of extreme violence has ever seriously threatened the viability of the Republic or the functioning of its institutions."<sup>10</sup>

The reasons for this distinction between the United States and other countries, in regard to the effect of violent activity, are variously given but usually point to the vast geographical area which the nation covers and its uniquely pluralistic population. Hugh Davis Graham, co-director of the History and Comparative Task Force of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, has stated that, "Indeed, the thrust of American violence has been directed away from the nation's vital institutions because collective violence has been intergroup." He maintains that our unparalleled racial and ethnic pluralism has historically generated displaced aggression of one racial or ethnic group against another.<sup>11</sup>

In this regard, Graham also explains that the insti-

tutions of the government in America's federal capitalistic structure have been, "...less important than private institutions or than public institutions in other societies."<sup>12</sup> Rarely has the violence in American society been directed against the government itself. Other explanations and interpretations are offered, but one which deserves our attention is what Graham called, "...the faith in the legitimacy of the system and the sanctity of the dominant institutions of the state."<sup>13</sup>

This is the context in which we should consider the inventories of violence of the past few years, detailed and descriptive as they may be. There has been essentially minimal threat to the institutions of our government with little or no indication of foreign involvement and most frequently even the violence which has taken place has been symbolic and has seemingly demonstrated a faith in our political and legal system -- a faith that it would respond and that changes could be made.

The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders confirms that, "Despite extremist rhetoric, there was no attempt to subvert the social order of the United States. Instead, most of those who attacked white authority and property seemed to be demanding fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the vast majority of American citizens."<sup>14</sup>

So it is that we can look positively beyond plots and conspiracies -- beyond efforts to overthrow the government or undermine the system. We are given the opportunity to move beyond our collective paranoia toward common affir-



mations. It was not easy to give up looking for outside causes of foreign forces, but gradually we ceased to place the blame on others and began to search for solutions among ourselves. When President Johnson commissioned the study into the causes and prevention of violence he said again, "We hope to learn why we inflict such suffering on ourselves. And I hope and pray that we can learn how to stop it." Thus he urged us with those words, to take a step toward facing a reality which demanded our attention and called for our commitment. The causes come from ourselves and the solutions must be produced by all of us.

Consequently, it is appropriate that we should consider what we've learned through the violent events and through the studies which have been commissioned.

1. We learned that there were underlying causes to the unrest which could not be ignored. There was an accumulation of grievances, the redress to which could no longer be postponed. We were stormed with statistics which showed the clear correlation between urban unrest and the migration of the minority poor to the cities. We saw the connection between high rates of crime and high rates of unemployment. We came to understand the explosiveness of exploiting people and the destructiveness of discrimination. We began to realize that persons cannot be forced to do menial jobs, accept proportionately lower wages, receive lesser educations, live in deteriorated

housing, and be furnished inferior health care without the society as a whole feeling the impact of the neglect of a significant part of its people.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice said it first in the 1960's: "The Commission finds, first, that America must translate its well-founded alarm about crime into social action that will prevent crime. It has no doubt whatever that the most significant action that can be taken against crime is action designed to eliminate slums and ghettos, to improve education, to provide jobs, to make sure that every American is given the opportunities and the freedoms that will enable him to assume his responsibilities. We will not have dealt effectively with crime until we have alleviated the conditions that stimulate it."<sup>15</sup>

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders declared, "Disorder did not typically erupt without pre-existing causes..."<sup>16</sup> and the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence reminded us that, "Violence has usually been the lava flowing from the top of a volcano fed by deeper fires of social dislocation and injustice..."<sup>17</sup>

2. We finally recognized the necessity for drawing distinctions between non-violent legal protest, non-violent civil disobedience, illegal actions which are symbolically and minimally violent, and

generalized violent acts which are seriously destructive of property and injurious to human life. Coming to the recognition of these gradations was not a simple matter, for in the early 1960's there was the tendency to blur any form of protest with almost every form of violence. Protest was characterized as being violent even when it was carefully planned and peacefully led. Often protest groups which were the victims of violence were charged with having caused it. When non-violent protest groups believed that it was necessary to violate certain laws to dramatize specific injustices -- those entrenched in society and protected by law -- agreeing to peacefully accept penalties for the violation, there were, nevertheless, accusations that these actions caused violence in the society. Apparently this viewpoint was strongly expressed in the deliberations of one of the national commissions, for there were extended debates on the acceptability of non-violent civil disobedience in the American society. As one commissioner reminded his colleagues, however, "A debate on civil disobedience is inexpensive and undemanding. It requires no regeneration of our political and social institutions, no effort to open the doors of opportunity to the disadvantaged, no acts of courage and compassion by dedicated individuals seeking to heal the divisions in our society."18

3. When we recognize the distinctions in the form of protest and stop lumping them all together we begin to see that non-violence is not a burden to be placed only on the backs of those who protest. It is a responsibility to be shared by the officials of government and by all citizens within the society. Consequently, government officials and law enforcement executives began to establish early communication with protest leaders, to respect their issues, to offer support services, to facilitate non-violent planning, and to protect the rights of citizens to engage in protest. We all began to understand that it is possible to minimize violence by the degree to which cooperation is given to those who would engage in protest. Standard 4.3 of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism recognizes this advance in official thinking which developed through the violent years. The report even points to "...a recognition of the special character of limited symbolic acts of aggressive protest that have no appreciable potential for developing into more generalized and more destructive violence," calling them, "more acceptable than acts posing real risks to public safety where the avoidance of extraordinary violence is concerned."<sup>19</sup> It was a difficult position for the Task Force to reach, but it is one which necessarily further develops the important distinctions in the forms of protest.

4. Consequently, one means of preventing violence is to respond to the grievances of those who are making their dissenting political statements through legitimate actions. "Whether mass violence has infact been a necessary catalyst to important social or political change in America is finally a moot question. Of the essence, however, is the fact that the use of mass violence as a mode of protest has been perceived as a tactically essential last resort by numbers of groups throughout American history -- those believing that their positions and grievances has been ignored or overlooked by a complacent majority and a hostile or unresponsive government." Therefore, "Community attention to legitimately expressed dissident views can hardly be overstressed as a correlate of self restraint by dissenters!" 20

Violence can be prevented through the opening of the channels through which grievances can be heard and given response. It is particularly important, therefore, to hear the demands, to learn the issues and to identify the grievances which underly them. This must be done at the earliest possible point in order that agencies can be activitated, officials can be sensitized, and policies and regulations can be reviewed toward the end of making a flexible response and offering effective alternatives.

5. We began to see that social conflict has identifiable components and moves through a comparatively predictable sequence of events. The number of social conflicts and their widely varied nature furnished exercises through which the theories of social conflict could be understood, tested, and given possible application. Most importantly, the actions and reactions of those involved in the conflict could be more readily identified and deciphered. Gradually it was possible to say, "We've been through this before and this is what can generally be expected. We've been down this road many times." This moderated the responses -- delayed the pressing of panic buttons and permitted the development and refinement of contingency plans for all parts of the government. Just as the analysis of violence in the American society helped us to see the violence of our time in a historical context and to realize that violence is not unique to our day, so a study of conflict enabled us to see its normality and to respond to it more rationally and responsibly.

6. As we saw that there are different kinds of disturbances and different forms of protest, we began to respond to them from a variety of options. A law enforcement response is only one of many and within it there are multiple options which can be used. The display of non-provocative force helped to direct conflicts into constructive

channels and achieve successful resolutions of the issues. When the use of force became necessary, it was discovered, a minimal application of force is often sufficient in any escalation and its use must be carefully considered and fully controlled. This has required the formulation of clear policies, which minimize the use of force while furnishing training and equipment which maximize effective alternatives.

Three of the national commission reports referred to the shooting of students at Kent State University. In thirteen seconds, sixty-four shots were fired by Ohio National Guardsmen at student protestors. The alternatives to the use of combat rifles had not been fully explored, and a few seconds of deadly fire power became costly not only to the students who were injured and killed -- not only to the Ohio National Guard or to officials of the State of Ohio -- but to the entire society. Within hours there were serious disturbances on a thousand campuses across the United States. And the thirteen seconds of force produced eight and one-half years of litigation in federal courts. Just a few weeks ago the State of Ohio settled the Kent State civil suit out-of-court as the Ohio Board of Control paid \$675,000 in damages to the families of the victims of the shooting. Ohio National Guard officers and men submitted a statement of regret to the students who were wounded and

to the parents of the students who were killed. It said, in reference to the firing of the rifles, "Hindsight suggest that another method would have resolved the confrontation. Better ways must be found to deal with such confrontations."

So we have learned that there must be clear policies formulated for the use of force in civil disorder. Those policies must minimize the use of force while furnishing training and equipment which maximize effective alternatives.

7. An alternative which has been more fully explored in recent years is the use of third-party intervention procedures. Persons with skills in negotiations from a variety of professions and disciplines have been able to gain sufficient trust from all parties to a conflict that they have been able to open channels of communications between opposing sides, legitimate the issues which are in contention, moderate violence, facilitate the consideration of compromise proposals, and formulate resolutions for the conflict which are acceptable to everyone involved. As Cardinal Cooke has said in his description of the peacemaker, this is a difficult and delicate role to play, but it is one which when patiently explored can be surprisingly successful.

The recognition of this alternative is noted in Standard 10.6 of the report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism. It states, "In many confrontations between



law enforcement and persons engaged in or threatening to employ extraordinary violence, consideration of the possibility of intervention by third parties may be necessary."21

It is not just an alternative to be considered in situations of extraordinary violence and as a last resort. It is an alternative that should be considered when there are lesser threats and more manageable conditions; it is one of the first options to be considered, not just one to be used immediately prior to the application of maximum force.

Having considered some of the perceptions, what are some of the problems which had to be faced during the crises of the past?

1. Predominately white public officials depended too heavily for their understanding of minority community needs and moods upon "leaders" whom they recognized or even designated. Often those who were considered leaders within the minority communities by white officials did not furnish reliable readings of what was taking place in their own neighborhoods. It became important to recognize and work with the leadership which emerged in the midst of crises. This recognition of instant leaders often caused additional political problems as community representatives competed for scarce resources and power.
2. Frequently there was a similarly disproportionate dependence for information about grievances, issues, leaders, resources and plans -- upon informants who

had infiltrated movement groups and protest organizations. Since the informants were paid for the information which they furnished, they often expanded the report and exaggerated the significance of pieces of information in order to make their services more valuable. They often suggested threats and dangers when they did not exist. Sometimes informants themselves engaged in illegal and provocative activities with the tacit approval and protection of the law. Such activities not only violated the rights of citizens but furnished inaccurate perceptions of the minority communities. As Gary Marx has written, "Those attracted to play such roles may be somewhat unreliable to begin with. The willingness to take a job that involves the deception of activists while posing as their friend may also characterize people willing to deceive those who hire them, particularly if the agent believes his job is dependent on presenting information that indicates a threat to civil order."<sup>22</sup>

Fortunately, many officials carefully cross-checked the information which they received through informants, obtaining other verifications. Yet, few officials learned what usually was the case -- that leaders of protest movements and organizations will furnish most of the information which otherwise would be gained through undercover activities.

3. There was not only often a faulty communications link with the minority communities where the unrest was imminent, but there were inadequate lines of communication between departments of the government. The routine methods of exchanging information could not be sustained during a crisis, and consequently, problems which were not necessarily law enforcement problems were referred to the police because they had the more effective communications system. Once fed into that system the problems ordinarily received a traditional law enforcement response. This is the case not only because of the police having greater communications capability, but also because many departments of government were not willing or able to establish flexible working schedules or maintain trained staff persons after regular working hours. The crises simply did not fit the usual work-a-day clock. It was not until there were developed contingency plans which included all departments of the government, not simply the police and fire departments, that the crises were seen in their larger context and alternative responses were conceived and applied.

4. Often there was little imagination used in the identification or the deployment of resources other than those which were channeled through law enforcement agencies. The greatest concentration was given to the legal technicalities and a much lesser concentration was given to making creative

and constructive responses to real crises. Every government -- and indeed most private organizations -- can locate resources which can be used in real crises. These can be used but they are often untapped. In natural disasters these are more readily furnished, but in social conflicts where there are similar needs they are not adequately used to avert or moderate violence.

There are practical considerations which we can make in reference to the urban crises of today;

1. It must be recognized that many of the public officials and law enforcement executives who gained experience in the crises of the past and were able to make creative responses to them, have left office or retired from their positions. Much of what they learned has not been passed on, for it was not fully recorded or it has been placed into the routine files of the various levels of government. Even when recorded it is difficult to adequately describe the convergence of pressures and demands which made necessary the decisions and actions of an actual crisis. Even if some of the same persons are in places of official responsibility the memory lapses and the lessons learned are soon forgotten.

2. There has also been a flow of new issues, the creation of new movements, a turnover in leadership, and radical shifts in the communities themselves. So the understandings which were developed under

critical circumstances with other leaders need to be reached again. It is necessary to keep constantly fresh the awareness that a crisis does not have to be destructive. It can provide an opportunity within the community for new levels of cooperation -- without cooptation. The turnovers in the community, like the rotations of officials in government make necessary new initiatives in interpreting emergency responses and indicating emergency resources.

3. In the meantime, although there have been changes in the potential actors there has been a retention of most of the former grievances -- to a lesser or even to a greater extent -- which were present in the unrest and the disturbances of the last decade. On the eve of President Carter's State of the Union Address to the Congress and to the American people in January, 1979, Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, President of the National Urban League said that the condition of Black Americans today, "verges on the brink of disaster," and warned that, "1979 promises to be a year of crisis for America's Black people." He did not say that the situation would lead to urban rioting but he did say that, "the ingredients are there -- the same ingredients that led to rioting in the 1960's are there."

A nearly ten percent annual rate of inflation is a factor which also must be carefully con-

sidered -- it is one of the ingredients. As the President said in his address, "Inflation is a burden for all Americans, but it is a disaster for the poor." What creates private disasters brings public disorders.

4. Yet, even with these factors there continues to be a sufficient confidence in our political and economic system to indicate that there is little possibility of a crisis which would be seriously destructive to our institutions. A Lewis Harris poll reported in November, 1978<sup>23</sup> that, "Despite widespread public skepticism and cynicism about public officials and government, most Americans have not given up hope that the system can be made to work...Despite the shock of assassinations, the Vietnam War, Watergate, high inflation and unemployment during the past 15 years and the failure of leaders to live up to expectations, there has been little evidence that most people have gone sour on the system and have concluded that it is unworkable."

5. This confidence, however, is not to be taken for granted. It may not be shared in the minority community -- but if it is shared, the patience of the minority communities must not be exploited. The period of quiescence gives an opportunity to identify grievances and to explore the options of constructive response prior to any explosive surfacing of desperate human needs. It is often said

in the middle of disturbances that concessions should not be made, for that would constitute "rewarding the rioters." Yet, unless there is a concern for those who are peacefully patient, there is a bolstering of those who would become boistrous.

Herbert Graham elaborated on one of the reasons for violence in the United States historically not being a threat to the system or its institutions -- namely, that the hope of material progress reinforces "faith in the legitimacy of the system and sanctifies the dominant institutions of the state."<sup>24</sup> He said, "To appreciate the ubiquity of this nationalistic faith, to acknowledge its awesome power, is not necessarily to celebrate it...From the perspective of our more cynical era, how astonishing it is to contemplate its historic grip upon millions of Black Americans, whose everyday lives for centuries cruelly mocked and belied it,"<sup>25</sup> It is an article of faith which has been firmly held not only by Black Americans but by other minority communities -- including American Indians, the indigenous peoples who were violently removed from their lands as this nation developed. It is a faith which cannot be exploited, for when it is, the cost of it has to be paid by the whole society and not just by those who are in the minority communities.

6. Yet we are suffering from what has been called, "Proposition 13" fever. This is allegedly a middle class revolt against the present rates and modes of

taxation. The spread of this fever gained momentum after the passage of Proposition 13 in a referendum in the State of California. It has gained the attention of legislators at almost every level of government nationally and in every state, and has begun to affect budget allocations for public services -- the reduction of most of which will directly impact the poor. Minority organizations have pointed out that when the so-called "fat" is cut out of the budgets there is a direct and negative effect upon those whose resources already cut to the bone. Essential services, many of which have absorbed the shocks of the poor in minority communities, are being radically reduced or even eliminated.

Bayard Rustin says that the New Testament passage, "For everyone who has will be given more than enough; but for the man who has not, even what he has will be taken away,"...serves as an exceptionally appropriate epigram for the social and economic policies espoused by the resurgent conservative movement, and its allies in the business community...To remedy our chronic economic ills, conservatives smugly tell us to forcibly tighten the belts of the poor...While simultaneously enriching the wealthy with tax breaks and business subsidies. While asserting that business needs more 'incentives' the same political leaders and economists call for a lower minimum wage,



lower living standards for workers and lower wages for public employees." 26

One of the factors which then has to be considered is the predictable lessening of responsiveness by the legislatures, at every level, to the funding of programs which would alleviate many of the conditions which furnish the ingredients for social unrest. The Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, in Standard 5.14 refers to the crucial role of legislatures in anticipating crises and offering constructive alternatives.

Legislatures should give some consideration to the underlying causes of civil disorder, terrorism, and other acts of extraordinary violence, insofar as these are revealed by commissions of inquiry, public and private studies, and other evidence. Whenever legislation can modify, remove, or abate these underlying social conditions, such steps should be taken. Such legislation should have the objective of creating a social climate in which disorder and terrorism cannot flourish and in which both will wither away for want of popular support. Urgent consideration should be given to repeal of legislation that seems to create grave social tensions and not serve a correspondingly valuable social purpose.

Where social programs that promote orderly expression by citizens and realization of a community's needs, and in particular, provide an outlet for grievances and the need for social adjustment have been created as a result of a community initiative, these should receive positive encouragement and, where necessary, legislation in support of these endeavors should be enacted. 27

The role of the legislatures in creating social climate which is less conducive to acts of violence and more responsive to the needs of the poor, can now be relied upon less than in some of the years in which extraordinary violence did occur.

7. Of course there may be those who believe that the reduction of social services is not only an appropriate fiscal measure but a potentially effective step toward greater social control. It was the "rise of expectations" which lay at the base of the disorders in the 1960's, it is asserted. There is an awareness that societies with minimal expectations and abject poverty rarely are exposed to revolutions. Yet, the "expectations" were not created alone by the encouragement of legislatures or of public officials. At least a part of what took place in the cities of the United States in the decades following the Second World War reflected a global mood and not merely a domestic outlook.

Margaret Mead pointed out that after World War II, there was a recognition throughout all of humankind that for the first time all life could be killed. "There is a difference...between knowing (as people have always known) that millions can be killed, and knowing that all life may die."28

Although previously one generation might accept gradual social reform believing that conditions

would surely be better for the next generation, there has developed the conviction that there is the threat of total annihilation hanging over the present generation and it is, therefore, necessary to press for radical change and immediate improvement. It could be suggested that millions of white Americans abandoned the cities not alone because of the in-migration of Blacks but also because of the vivid realization that those cities were the prime targets of nuclear attack.

When Civil Defense plans included the evacuation of the cities and suggested that every family maintain a full tank of gasoline in their automobile for the mass escape, a case could be made for the fact that many suburban developments, filled with homes with federally guaranteed loans, were not only the public's response but also the government's response to the nuclear threat. The long hot summers can partially be traced to the long cold war, based upon the mistaken belief on the part of those who moved, in anticipation of an evacuation, that they would be safe in the suburbs, remote from the epicenter of the Bomb's explosion.

Those who remained in the cities read the same warnings but could not escape the target zones. However, subconsciously the sense of vulnerability contributed to the demands for the improvement of lives and the willingness to take risks in compelling

change. The threat even of police riot sticks and firearms were small in comparison to the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

The nuclear age furnished a new sense of urgency and an irreversible determination to achieve social reform. The words of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy are relevant: "A revolution is coming -- a revolution which will be peaceful if we are wise enough; compassionate if we care enough; successful if we are fortunate enough; but revolution is coming whether we will it or not. We can affect its character; we cannot alter its inevitability."<sup>29</sup>

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. entitled his last book, Why We Can't Wait. The reasons included are of cosmic proportion.

8. It must be noted that the strong emphasis upon human rights by the Government of the United States has its effect upon the domestic scene. When the President of the United States declares that the "soul of the foreign policy" of the United States is human rights, a message is also heard at home. The President emphasized in his recent State of the Union Address that, "We have gained new trust within the developing world through our opposition to racism, our commitment to human rights and our support of majority rule..." This furnishes a background against which many domestic minority communi-

ties will make their demands to the government and formulate their expectations within the society.

One news report from Iran suggested that the revolution against the Shah was given encouragement by the stated human rights policies of the United States. One minority national leader after another in the United States has said in effect, "We are preaching human rights abroad while we are neglecting human rights in our own nation." They then restate their continuing grievances. Again, in his Address the President reminded us that, "In less than a lifetime, world population has doubled, colonial empires have disappeared; and a hundred new nations have been born. Mass communications, literacy and migration to the world's cities have all awakened new yearnings for economic justice and human rights among people everywhere."<sup>30</sup>

Of the factors which he listed, the commitment of the United States to the cause of human rights, may be a significant one both abroad and in the American society. The everywhere includes minority communities within the United States.

9. There is a new merging of concern among the various minority populations within the United States. Ten years ago, in 1968, representatives of these various groups came together in common protest during the Poor Peoples' Campaign. Urban and rural Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans,

American Indians, brought their grievances to Washington, D.C. in a campaign which was originally proposed and planned by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Although the Campaign proceeded even after Dr. King's assassination, the proposed merging of concerns and mobilization of support was finally cut short. But now a decade later, national leaders of Black and Hispanic organizations have begun meeting together and recently they agreed on certain principles for future common actions. They stated their intention of promoting a better understanding of one another's problems and concerns -- of identifying and promoting "mutual national policy objectives" in housing, jobs, and education -- of strengthening Hispanic and Black participation in the political process at all levels of government -- and to seeking to ensure that Black and Hispanic constituencies do not bear the brunt of "a restrictive economic, social and political climate."<sup>31</sup>

At the last annual convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference resolutions were passed with expressed specific concern for American Indian organizations, and SCLC officers were directed to send representatives, "...to meetings of American Indian organizations and coalitions for the purpose of fact finding orientation and

with the intention of forming new alliances for achieving social justice in the United States."

The coalescing may be slow because the organizations representing the various minority populations can easily be absorbed and pre-occupied in serving their own constituencies and searching for resources to survive. Yet, there are common grievances among the groups and their merging of concern is a significant factor.

10. Simultaneously, there is an increasing likelihood of strikes by police and firefighters in many of the cities where a potential continues for social unrest. The spirit of Proposition 13 directly impacts the ranks of the police and firefighters as local governments attempt to maintain or reduce tax rates while municipal budgets are being squeezed by the high rate of inflation. Police, firefighters and other public employees are becoming more militant in their demands using many of the same tactics of the protest groups which previously they monitored or helped control. This development signals a new and potentially critical problem for public officials who are concerned with possible crises in the minority communities of the urban areas. Patrick Murphy in an article, "Guardsmen Must Be Trained As Police For Strikes,"<sup>32</sup> says, "...police are ignoring anti-strike laws and are walking off the job to force acceptance of their demands. These

actions are wrong; they should not be tolerated; they can do serious harm to the fabric of the community that holds cities together." In some strikes by police and firefighters there were reports of violent actions by the strikers. The militancy and the potential for violence among those who have responsibility for preventing violence is a growing factor to which attention must be given.

The grievances of the police should be given careful consideration just as those of other parts of the society, but the civil disobedience of the police -- those who are trained and sworn to keep the order and provide protection for life and property -- could be a special provocation for serious civil disorder. It is a new and growing factor to which attention must be given.

What are some of the future prospects and implications beyond those which already have been suggested in this paper? Let us consider these:

1. There are indications that disasters, whether natural or social, could take place which would test contingency plans beyond their capacity to furnish adequate human services, preserve sufficient civil order, sustain effective institutional functioning, and maintain a high level of command discipline within social control agencies. A recent article on "Disasters," in the Foundation News of January-February, 1979, which discussed



the role of foundations in disaster relief, described the conclusions of a 1976 Congressional Hearing which examined the condition of disaster preparedness in the United States. Its findings: "The current state of the federal preparedness effort can be summed up in four words: dilution, proliferation, duplication and neglect... Preparedness programs are treated at best, as afterthoughts by departments and agencies assigned responsibilities for them." Assuming that the federal plan has been improved and that coordination has been achieved, there still is the lingering concern that planning has not been developed to the point that an adequate response could be made to a major disaster -- one which impacts a number of major cities or even several states simultaneously. Add to that any legitimate concern for the state of readiness within state or municipal governments and there develops a larger degree of uncertainty and a greater sense of insecurity relative to a major crisis. The crises of the immediate past, tragic and destructive as many have been, have nevertheless been of such short duration or of such localized intensity that they have not presented the severe testing of a maxi-disaster. Even many of the more recent mini-crises have depleted available resources, exhausted trained personnel, and seriously strained public institutions and private agencies.

2. Shortages of energy supplies -- particularly gasoline -- caused by crises in oil producing nations could again cause serious strains within the American society. The crisis of the Fall of 1974 which brought conflicts in some local communities during a competition for scarce gasoline, offers some indication of a more serious impact which could be felt in parts of the United States. The response to revolution in a supplier country is obviously more difficult to make than a response to a boycott. The psychological, as well as the economic dependence upon the automobile in the American society makes gasoline a particularly vulnerable point and a severe shortage of it could trigger a sequence of social, as well as other crises. Even the present mechanisms for controlling consumption, such as price increases, places a disproportionate strain on the poor in the population who must depend upon automobiles for work transportation.

3. The "gentrification"<sup>33</sup> of American cities -- the gradual process which describes the movement of affluent young professional people into previously deteriorating city centers displacing the blue collar working people and the poor. This resettling of the cities is a reversal of the block busting which converted city neighborhoods into virtual ghettos twenty to twenty-five years ago, and it is forcing the relocation of vast numbers

of elderly low-income persons who have rented homes in the central cities. The impact of this may be positive for the cities in that it may stop the erosion of a tax base which has been deteriorating for at least the last decade and a half. It can bring back the class of people who were part of the so-called brain-drain and money siphon of the past exodus to the suburbs. Yet, it raises questions about a further crowding of large families in the remaining low income neighborhoods with the inevitable increase of social tensions and accumulation of serious human needs. It could simply cause a more concentrated desperation with an increased potential for the crises we have previously described.

The Washington Urban League recently surveyed 300 randomly selected households in six rundown and transitional neighborhoods in Washington, D.C.. The survey showed that 36 percent said they were almost certain that they could have to move in the next two years. "The study found that many residents, coming under intense pressure to leave their homes, were incapable of resisting because unemployment or underemployment kept them from meeting landlords demands for higher rents and purchase prices..." "In written responses to detailed questions, the Blacks and Latinos surveyed described themselves as already pummeled by severe unemployment,

street crime, ineffectual public schooling, inadequate and inept government services. On top of this, they indicate they are now being pushed to the wall by the sudden realization among the more affluent that in-town living is chic, comfortable and profitable." 34

This migration of white citizens back into certain cities could cause a shift in voting constituencies which could have critical political implications. The number of Black mayors, as an example, has been increasing in the past ten years and predominately Black administrations have begun to control the political power in certain cities. A heavy influx of new white voters who might challenge the political structure -- white voters who are seen as having abandoned the cities until it was economically advantageous for them to return -- could cause a complication of complicated tensions. Whites competing once again for official positions could bring new frustrations to Black populations who feel that their leaders are just beginning to penetrate the power centers of the cities.

There are those who might believe that the urban crisis is a thing of the past. Those who administer the cities realize that it is a present reality and an even greater future threat.

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5

THE BLACKOUT: I

At 9:45 p.m. on Tuesday, July 3, the Mayor prepared to leave his City Hall office for the evening. It has been a long, hot and humid day and in spite of the air-conditioned offices, he was glad of the relief darkness had brought. As he snapped shut his briefcase bearing its usual load of "homework," the office lights dimmed and the air-conditioner sputtered for an instant before the room was plunged into darkness. The Mayor turned to the window and was struck by the total absence of light in the city beyond. His desk phone rang and as he raised the receiver he was greeted by the voice of the City Administrative Officer (CAO) who had returned to his own office to collect his belongings for the ride home. The CAO quickly related a conversation he had just had with the police operations contact who had called to notify the Mayor of a city-wide power failure. The details were sketchy and alarming.

At 2135 hours, the Police Operations Section was alerted to sporadic power failures in the metropolitan area and made inquiries to the electric power company. The power company was thus far unable to determine the cause of the power failure or to predict its duration. Citizen calls for information and assistance were pouring in on 911 and direct lines. As radio crews checked in from across the city, it became apparent that all of metropolitan Oz had been plunged into darkness.

A quick check by Police Operations revealed that the following Police Department personnel were on duty at the time of the blackout.



<u>DISTRICT:</u>	<u>CAPTAINS</u>	<u>LIEUTENANTS</u>	<u>SARGENTS</u>	<u>OFFICERS</u> Patrol/Traffic	<u>CIVILIANS</u>
I	0	1	2	21/10	0
II	0	1	3	33/8	0
III	1	2	5	40/9	0
IV	0	1	2	27/5	0
V	0	0	2	21/4	0
VI	0	0	1	19/4	0
CENTRAL OPERATIONS:					
Communications	0	1	2	10	12
Special Inves- tigations	0	1	4	2	0
Criminal Inves- tigations	1	1	5	5	0
Service	0	0	1	3	1
Chief's Office	0	0	1	1	0

## THE BLACKOUT: II

It became apparent that this was not a momentary loss of power. The Power Company was having difficulty identifying its source and was still unable to predict how long the blackout might continue.

Within an hour of the blackout, Police began receiving reports of looting. Most of the reported looting was occurring in Districts III and II and in portions of the downtown retail district (District I) adjacent to District III. In neighborhoods with widespread looting, store owners and local residents spontaneously took up guard duty, sometimes with weapons or dogs. By midnight no part of the city was entirely untouched by looters. Even the suburban-type shopping centers and small fashionable shops in Districts V and VI experienced sporadic looting. The looting in middle-and upper-income neighborhoods was confined to small bands of criminals who broke into retail stores and made off with the most expensive and marketable items. In the lower-income neighborhoods, most of the early looting was done by local teenagers, who were often less selective and more destructive. Arson sometimes accompanied the more escalated destruction.

The first police officers to reach the scene in Districts II and III were greatly outnumbered by curious neighborhood residents who were gathering on the streets in large numbers. Little information was available concerning the power failure, and citizens were absorbed in speculation and in watching the looting. Because the police were outnumbered and still at full force, the looting had the appearance of a free-for-all. Spontaneously, members of the community--even women and young children--became participants. Once a store had been broken into, many citizens seemed to regard its remaining contents as public property. Although the crowds weren't overtly hostile, the potential for violence was clearly just below the surface at all times. Police were faced with a choice between rescuing businesses already under siege and preventing attack on those that were still untouched.

Where they could do so safely, police were arresting looters in large numbers and bringing those arrested to precinct stations. Available cells within the stations were filled by 12:30 a.m. Officers were spending valuable time in the stations processing persons arrested while new businesses fell victim to the looters.

### THE BLACKOUT: III

By midnight the mayor's public relations officer was being besieged with questions from the press. The following were typical:

1. Why aren't the police doing more to break up the crowds in Districts II and III?
2. What is the Police arrest policy? Why have so many of the looters gone free while police stand by watching them?
3. We understand that over 300 looters have been arrested. Are their rights being protected? When will they be released? Do you intend to prosecute them all?
4. Will you impose a curfew?
5. What will you do if the blackout continues through the next day?
6. What impact will this have on Oz once it's over?

The Public Relations Officer has asked the Mayor and his advisors how he should answer these questions, whether the Mayor or another city official intends to make a statement, and, if so, how should the statement be made and what should it include?

## THE DEMONSTRATION: I

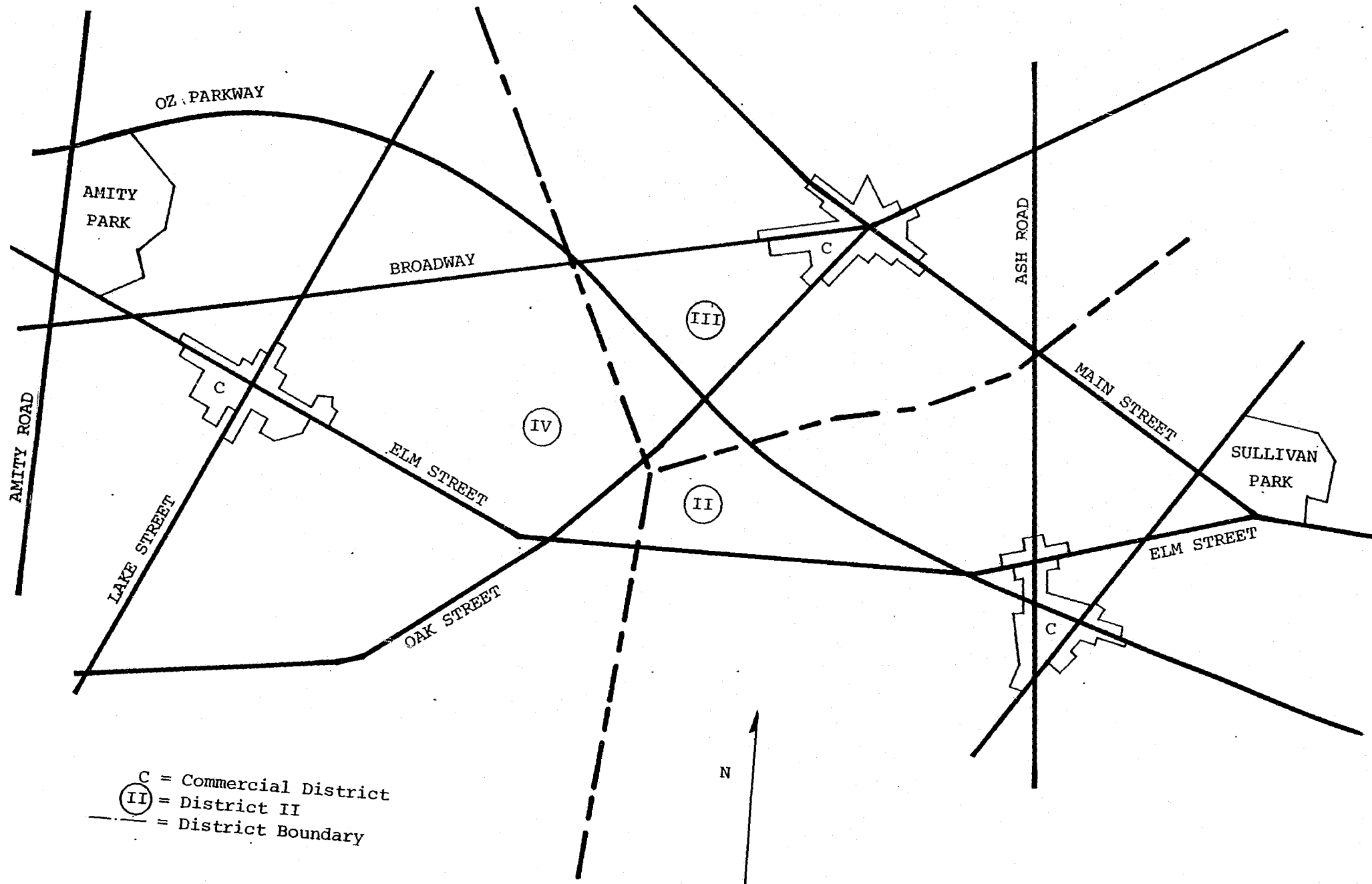
During the spring, a small group of self-proclaimed Nazis held a number of rallies at Sullivan Park in District II. The rallies were marked by inflammatory speeches by the group's leader, Carl Schmidt, who called for an end to "ethnic invasion" and "coddling" of criminal types. Schmidt claimed to be rallying on behalf of the working class Irish and Italian residents of District II against increased crime and deterioration in the neighborhood, allegedly resulting from the migration of low-income blacks and Hispanics from District III. His group carried signs proclaiming: "White Supremacy," "Smash the Jew-Black-Commie Axis," and "Keep Out the Apes."

Schmidt, allegedly a former Klansman from Mississippi, was expelled from the American Nazi Party. He recently moved to Oz and has founded a rival organization (the "National Socialist Corps") which he claims is the "true representative of national socialist ideals." So far he has attracted about 30-50 followers in Oz and none elsewhere.

Initially, his rallies drew only a few curious onlookers and little attention outside of the District. However, word of the rallies soon spread to other parts of the city. A group of black leaders from District III formed a group called the Anti-Racism Committee (ARC) to oppose Schmidt. Though committed to nonviolence, ARC decided to confront Schmidt publicly. When several hundred members of ARC appeared in Sullivan Park on the day of Schmidt's next scheduled rally, a gang of tough youths and other residents of District II stirred up by the Nazis were there to meet them. Taunting and physical confrontation led to several fistfights and some rock throwing. Police, called in to quell the resulting disturbance, forcibly removed Schmidt and his followers and made several arrests.

In response to that incident, the City Council enacted an ordinance providing: "No parade, procession or rally may be conducted upon any public park or public way" without a permit obtained from the Chief of Police. To obtain a permit, the applicant was required to file a "notice of intent to rally" at least five days before the rally, specifying the date, times, locations, organization and anticipated turnout. Since the passage of the ordinance, the Police Chief has received and approved six permit applications from such groups as the Boy Scouts and the American Legion.

On Friday, July 13, the Police Chief's office received a "notice of intent to rally" from Schmidt. The notice requested permission for a rally by an organization called the "National Socialist Corps," whose listed address was the same as Schmidt's Oz address. The notice estimates that "500" persons will participate. The rally will be held on Sunday, July 22. It will start with a rally at 11:00 a.m. at Amity Park in District IV, followed by a march down Elm Street from 12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m., and concluding with a rally at Sullivan Park in District II from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. (See attached map. The area in District IV between Oak Street and Broadway and east of Amity Road is overwhelmingly Jewish. There are several temples and community centers along Elm Street. The portion of District III near the intersection of Broadway, Oak and Main is a badly deteriorated, low-income black neighborhood. District II is working-class Irish and Italian.)



## THE DEMONSTRATION: II

A wide range of community and religious leaders in Oz quickly and vehemently denounced Schmidt's plans for the July 22nd rally. Particularly outraged were spokesmen for the Jewish community. An ad-hoc coalition of local Jewish leaders including several rabbis, the state representative and state senator, and representatives of B'nai B'rith and other community groups, announced a public meeting to be held July 15 at the Schlossberg Community Center for all citizens interested in "planning a response to the Nazi menace." Flyers were distributed throughout the Jewish community calling for "people of good faith" to attend the meeting "to show our belief that Nazis have no rights,...no rights to march, to demonstrate, to exist." They also invited members of the Anti-Racism Committee to attend the meeting.

At the same time, the Zionist Defenders, a New York based militant organization of Jews, placed an ad in the New York Times on July 16 urging people to come to Oz to "take a stand against the Nazis." People were advised to bring \$35 bail money with them and to bring batting helmets "just in case." The group's spokesman told the press that the Defenders were committed to doing "whatever was necessary to dispel the Nazi presence."



### THE DEMONSTRATION: III

On July 15, the Police Chief denied Schmidt's parade permit application. Schmidt immediately announced that he would march anyway and called upon "true believers in national socialist principles" to join him.

That evening an overflow crowd of at least 800 persons at Schlossberg Community Center called for a massive counter-demonstration on the day of the planned Nazi rally.

The next day a group of 12 Jewish leaders, joined by three members of ARC, held a press conference to announce a "peaceful counter-demonstration" on July 22. They called upon supporters from all over the metropolitan area to convene at the corner of Amity Park (Amity Rd. and Oz Parkway) opposite from the place where Schmidt was to hold his rally (the Elm St. entrance). The coalition planned to follow the Nazis down Elm St. to Sullivan Park where they would hold a second counter-rally.

The coalition announced that they would provide parade marshalls, teams of observers with mobile communications equipment, sound trucks, and emergency medical teams.

They emphasized their intent to keep the demonstration peaceful.

The announcement received national publicity. By evening, the media were estimating turnouts of 5,000-10,000 in support of the counter-demonstration.

By July 17, the coalition had still not applied for a parade permit.

## THE STRIKE: I

At 3:00 p.m. on Sunday, July 29, the membership of Local 212 of the Federation of Municipal and City Employees (FMCE) voted, 1700 to 500, to authorize union leaders to call a strike as of midnight that day if a satisfactory settlement had not been reached in contract negotiations with the city.

Local 212 represents most of the city's civilian, nonsupervisory work force. Its bargaining unit includes about 4,500 employees in almost every city department. Local 212 has about 3,300 dues-paying members.

At issue is the city's latest offer in renegotiating the FMCE contract, which had expired on June 30. Since that time the parties had agreed to honor an extension of the old terms. The city's position throughout the bargaining has included an offer of 4 percent salary increase immediately and 2.5 percent per year over the next two years. Both publicly and privately, the Mayor has put FMCE on notice that there is no more money and that, even at current levels, offsetting layoffs and reduction in overtime will be necessary. Civil service regulations provide that any person who loses a job as the result of a layoff or cutback may claim a similar position with equal or lower pay if he has greater seniority than the incumbent.

Historically, FMCE labor contracts have set the tone for other bargaining units in Oz and settlements have been fairly consistent. The city maintained rough parity for wage increases granted to all municipal employees. In December of this year, police officers' and firefighters' current three-year contracts will come up for renegotiation. The worsening economic picture, inflation, and Proposition 13 fever made the city's negotiators conclude that they cannot afford to give any city union more than the package offered to FMCE.

The union leadership of FMCE had remained steadfast in its demand for an 8 percent increase this year, followed by annual 6 percent increases the next two years, and for protection from layoffs of bargaining unit members. The Local's President, a moderate former building inspector in his second term, had assured his constituents that he would not compromise their "right to financial and job security." Having narrowly escaped a stiff challenge by a young aggressive union steward representing the sanitation workers in the last election, the union President required no further counseling to hold firm.

Now that the city's latest offer had been met by a vote to authorize a strike in nine hours, the pressure on all parties increased. The relationship between city and Local 212 officials had always been a peaceful, in fact friendly one, characterized by rather amicable negotiations. The only strike in recent history by municipal employees had occurred some ten years ago when about 1,500 blue-collar workers struck for 48 hours in response to a threatened cutback in overtime. Supervisory and nonunion personnel were called upon to perform critical functions during the strike with varying results.

As he assessed the current stalemate, the Mayor contemplated what effect a strike would have on city operations and what legal sanctions he might invoke against the union and the strikers.

## EXHIBIT I

### DATE ON SELECTED CITY DEPARTMENTS

(Abbreviations in parentheses indicate the union representing employees. "OSU" is the independent Oz Supervisors Union; "FMCE" is the Federation of Municipal and City Employees, Local 212, AFL-CIO; "FFA" is the independent Firefighters Association; "PA" is the independent Patrolmen's Association; "SOA" is the independent Superior Officers Association.)

#### 1. Police

Responsibilities: Law enforcement

Employees:           Total = 1,100  
                  Supervisory = 195 (SOA)  
                  Police Officers = 755 (PA)  
                  Civilian = 150 (FMCE)

#### 2. Fire

Responsibilities: Fire prevention, control. 30 stations; 90 pieces of equipment.

Employees:           Total = 900  
                  Supervisory = 90  
                  Office = 30 (FMCE)  
                  Firefighters = 720 (FFA)  
                  Maintenance, labor = 60 (FMCE)

#### 3. Sanitation

Responsibilities: Collect and dispose of all domestic refuse (commercial and institutional refuse collected by private contractors); operate city incinerator and landfill. Fleet of 100 trucks.

Employees:           Total = 500  
                  Supervisory = 45 (OSU)  
                  Office = 35 (FMCE)  
                  Sanitation workers = 270 (FMCE)  
                  Incinerator/landfill operators = 150 (FMCE)

#### 4. Health

Responsibilities: Operate a 600-bed hospital (both acute care and chronic); 5 neighborhood health clinics and an emergency ambulance service (5 ambulances).

Employees:	<u>Total Dept.</u>	<u>Hospital</u>	<u>Each Clinic</u>	<u>Ambulance Service</u>
Total	1,810	1,500	50	60
Supervisory				
(no union)	143	120	4	3
Office (FMCE)	282	200	16	2
Professional				
(no union)	880	770	20	10
Non-professional				
(FMCE)	505	410	10	45

5. Recreation

Responsibilities: Maintain 4 large city parks, 50 smaller parks, 89 playgrounds, an 18-hole public golf course, 5 skating rinks, and 15 swimming pools.

Employees: Total = 300  
Supervisory = 20 (OSU)  
Office = 15 (FMCE)  
Recreation aides = 30 (FMCE) (plus 70 seasonal, also FMCE)  
  
Maintenance = 234 (FMCE)

6. Public Works

Responsibilities: Operate, maintain, and repair: streets and sidewalks; street lighting; traffic signs and signals; water supply; sewer system; sewage disposal plant.

Employees:	<u>Total Dept.</u>	<u>Admin. &amp; Engin.</u>	<u>Highway</u>	<u>Sewer &amp; Water</u>	<u>Sewage Disposal Plant</u>
Total	620	50	310	95	165
Supervisory					
(OSU)	43	10	13	8	12
Office (FMCE)	62	40	15	3	4
Maintenance					
(FMCE)	515	0	282	64	149

7. Housing Authority

Responsibilities: Operate 5 housing projects: 1 elderly (District IV: 1200 units); 1 middle-income, family (District V: 900 units); 3 low-income, family (District II: 600 units; District III: 1,800 units; District IV: 1,500 units).

Employees:

Total = 600

Supervisory = 100 (no union)

Office = 75 (FMCE)

Maintenance = 425 (FMCE)

## EXHIBIT 2

### PUBLIC EMPLOYEE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW

The public employee collective bargaining law declares that a strike or other concerted refusal to work by public employees is illegal.

If a strike or work stoppage occurs, the statute authorizes the "employer" (the mayor of a city) to petition the Superior Court for an order enjoining the union and its officers from promoting or encouraging the continuation of the strike and its members from participating in the strike. Violation of such an injunction may be punished by civil or criminal contempt. The court may order the offending officers or members to pay a fine of up to \$100 a day or to be imprisoned for so long as their contempt continues. The court may also assess a daily penalty on the union of up to \$5,000 or the amount of its monthly revenue from dues, whichever is greater.

Participating in an illegal strike is grounds for dismissal of an employee (but, if he has civil service protection, only after a hearing before an impartial hearing officer subject to administrative and judicial review). A participant in a strike may be summarily suspended without pay for the duration of the strike.

## THE STRIKE: II

At midnight on July 29, Local 212 of FMCE went on strike following an announcement by the union President that there had been no progress at the bargaining table. In the first 12 hours following the strike call, few things were certain. A number of unsubstantiated rumors circulated concerning strike-related incidents. The one thing that was clear from the outset was the extent of participation in the strike. Nearly 93 percent of the union membership had joined the strike. Pickets were up around City Hall and at other municipal facilities including the hospital, all recreation facilities, public housing projects, the incinerator and landfill, and a central city garage, which housed all municipal passenger vehicles including police sector cars.

Unconfirmed reports of sporadic trash fires, intimidation of private contractors by picketing sanitation workers and isolated incidences of physical confrontation on the picket lines were coming into the City Hall switchboard. Citizen calls were flooding the lines at the Police and Fire Departments with requests for assistance and information as city residents realized that recreation workers, clinic staff, ambulance drivers, sanitation workers, and a host of other service providers were among the strikers.



### THE STRIKE: III

Early on the morning of July 30, the Mayor's press secretary began receiving a flood of inquiries from the press, including such questions as:

1. What city services will the city be able to maintain?
2. Will you fire the strikers? Prosecute them?
3. Will members of other unions, such as the police officers and firefighters, stay on the job? What will you do if they refuse to cross a picket line or strike in sympathy?
4. Will you ask police officers or firefighters to take over any services such as driving ambulances? distributing trash bags? guarding swimming pools so they can stay open?
5. Will you call in the national guard?
6. Will you try to hire private contractors to collect the trash?

II

CASE BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

THE CITY OF OZ

URBAN CRISIS MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP

JUNE 5-7, 1979

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

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## WORKSHOP ON URBAN CRISIS PLANNING BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Oz is a medium-sized city in the northeastern United States with a permanent population approaching 500,000. That number increases daily by 250,000 suburban commuters. Once an industrial center, Oz has suffered through the disruption and decay of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and its leaders approach the next decade with a resolve to reverse the tide and revitalize the city.

The 500,000 residents of Oz live in a number of district neighborhoods, many having strong ethnic identities (see Exhibit 1 for demographic data). City government and services are administered on the basis of six municipal districts (see map in Exhibit 2). District I is primarily a commercial area that includes the city's government offices as well as the downtown shopping and entertainment districts. District I also has a small resident population living mostly in luxury apartments and condominiums. Districts II and IV are lower-income, working-class neighborhoods. District II is primarily Irish and Italian, and District IV has a large Jewish population. Both districts are considered to be transitional neighborhoods. Retail businesses that moved out with their owners to the suburbs are being reopened by neighborhood residents. Urban renewal money and planning efforts in both districts have been promised by the Mayor. Grassroots community organizations have formed, and promising attempts at self-development have been initiated. The crime rate in the two districts, though high, appears to have been stabilized. In fact, crimes against the person are declining.

District III, on the other hand, is a badly deteriorated neighborhood. Home to many of the city's poor minorities, blacks, and Hispanics, District III has the city's highest crime rate, highest unemployment, widespread arson, and substandard housing. Tenements and commercial properties, long since abandoned by their suburban owners, remain empty and have been vandalized. Owners of stores in the district's remaining retail areas are often victims of robbery and vandalism. Some isolated attempts at organized self-policing by business owners have met with varying degrees of success.

District V, separated from District III by a major highway and the river, is a middle-income residential area with many well-kept, two-family homes and modest single-family homes.

The fashionable District VI contains the city's most expensive residential property and is home for some of the city's oldest families and most successful young professionals.

As with most other cities in these times, Oz is faced with the public's demand for lower taxes, on the one hand, and the cry for more and better service delivery and increased wages, on the other. At the same time, businesses, small and large, and retail and professional concerns are being "courted" by city officials and residents who feel that the key to Oz's recovery and growth is in the business community's investment in the city.

## Governmental Structure

Oz is governed by a mayor who is elected to a four-year term. The city budget and its appropriations are subject to approval by the city council, which has 11 members—one elected from each district and 5 elected at large. The Mayor appoints the heads of all city departments. Each department head serves a term coterminous with that of the Mayor and may be removed by the Mayor only for cause.

The Mayor also appoints a City Administrative Officer (CAO), who has responsibility for monitoring and directing the daily operations of the municipal departments in keeping with the Mayor's policies. The CAO presides over an Administrative Services Department consisting of purchasing, personnel, and fiscal divisions.

The Mayor is assisted by a number of support staff, including a city attorney, a city planner, and several special assistants. There is also an Office for Human Relations, which was created in response to violent race-related demonstrations in the late 60s. Traditionally, this office has functioned as a citizen complaint bureau and a rumor control center. Although less active now, OHR is viewed primarily as the Mayor's liaison to the black and Hispanic communities.

Staff positions, department heads, and a few other titles are exempt from civil service. With the further exception of CETA and federal positions, civil service protection is afforded to all other municipal employees.

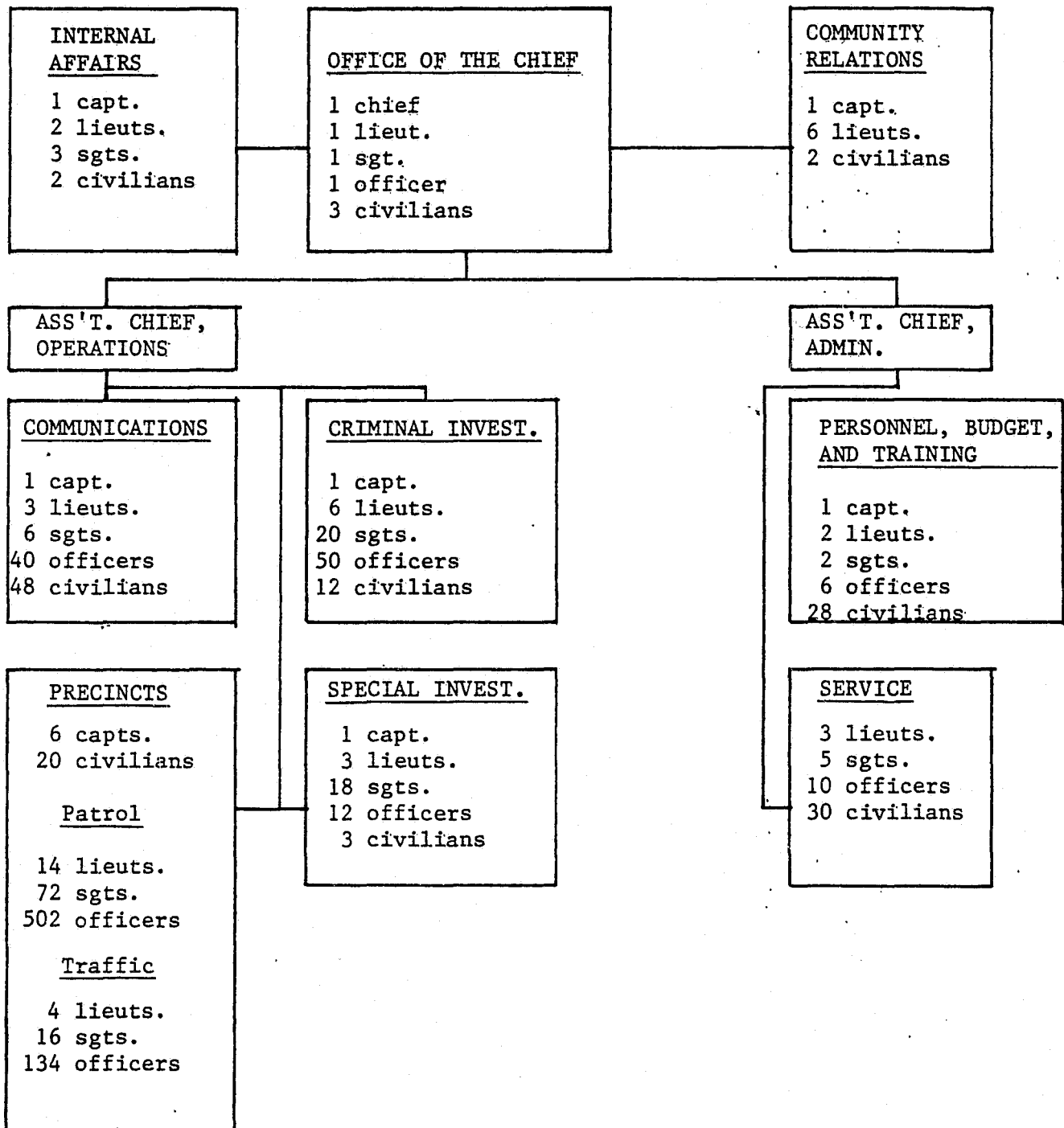
Approximately 7,200 persons are employed by the city of Oz. With the exception of uniformed police and fire department personnel, most non-supervisory municipal employees are members of Local 212 of the Federation of Municipal and City Employees (FMCE), a national union affiliated with the AFL-CIO. There is also an independent citywide supervisors' union.

The major city departments are: Police (see next section); Fire (which operates out of 30 stations around the city); Sanitation (which collects domestic refuse and operates an incinerator and a landfill); Health (which operates a hospital, five health clinics and an ambulance service); Recreation (which maintains city parks and playgrounds and operates 15 swimming pools and a golf course); and Public Works (which maintains the city's streets, water supply and sewer system and operates a sewage disposal plant). The city also has a Housing Authority appointed by the Mayor, which operates five housing projects.

The city relies on the state for some services, including maintenance of major highways and corrections. Oz has a mutual aid pact with the state and surrounding municipalities to exchange law enforcement, fire fighting, and medical assistance in time of emergency. A public transit authority runs a network of subway and bus routes serving metropolitan Oz.

## The Police

The Police Department has 1,105 employees (148 civilians and 957 sworn officers). The Department is headed by a chief appointed by the Mayor.



Each of the six municipal districts has a precinct station to which a fixed number of patrol and traffic officers are assigned. Police headquarters is located in the City Hall complex, and all dispatching citywide is done from a central communication unit in conjunction with a 911 system. Each precinct station has some detention capacity for short-term lockups (usually 10-20 cells), communications equipment, a small arsenal, and crowd control equipment for its assigned officers (helmets, batons, vests, tear gas, etc.).

Citizen calls for assistance are received by civilian 911 operators in the Communication Center, who code calls and forward them to dispatch personnel (officers). They screen and prioritize the calls and enter the data on the Department's computer system. The nearest available patrol unit is contacted by radio and assigned to the call. The precinct stations can monitor deployment of officers assigned to their command through terminals located in each precinct.

Under ordinary circumstances, each precinct operates with its assigned complement of patrol and traffic officers.

<u>District</u>	<u>Passenger Vehicles</u>	<u>Patrol Sectors</u>	<u>Assigned Officers Patrol/Traffic</u>
I	9	7	80/40
II	13	11	125/30
III	14	12	150/30
IV	11	9	100/20
V	9	8	80/15
VI	7	7	70/15

Each precinct Commander is responsible for shift assignment of the officers in his command and for the allocation of equipment resources. Generally, about 40 percent of the available officers are on the 7 a.m. - 3 p.m. shift, 40 percent on the 3 p.m. - 11 p.m. shift, and 20 percent on the 11 p.m. - 7 a.m. shift. Approximately one-third of the officers assigned to a district can be expected to be out on vacation, sick leave, or personal leave on a given day, leaving the remaining two-thirds available for duty.

The lieutenant in charge of a particular shift has the authority to make changes in post assignments within a given shift if the situation warrants.

In unusual situations, at the direction of the commanding officer of a shift, manpower may be diverted from one or more precincts to supplement assigned personnel in another command.

At Central Headquarters, several shifts and schedules are in use. All divisions except Internal Affairs and Personnel, Budget, and Training

function on a 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week basis. Some, such as Special Investigations and Criminal Investigations, operate on flexible schedules depending on the assignment. Property Maintenance has skeleton crews on nights and weekends. There are 34 passenger vehicles assigned to Headquarters. Weekend coverage citywide fluctuates according to the nature of the district.

In recent years, the image and philosophy of the Department have been changing. Following what had been perceived publicly as a tendency toward heavy-handed police responses in the late 60s and early 70s, the Department sought to mend its relationship with the community, particularly minorities and the poor. Recruit training now stresses the importance of community relations and includes crisis intervention and crowd control. The Chief created a Community Relations Office to fill the previously existing void between the police and the community. Although there are insufficient budget resources to retrain all personnel, the Chief and his higher-ranking officers frequently and emphatically reinforce the new approach and translate its implications into written guidelines wherever possible.

The departmental "Deadly Force" policy reads, "An officer may not employ lethal force except where necessary to protect a person from deadly physical force or to apprehend an armed person who is known to have committed a felony and whose continued freedom would constitute a threat to the lives of others."

All departmental personnel other than the Chief, 2 Assistant Chiefs, and 7 Captains are part of the municipal civil service system. The Department is predominantly white and male, with approximately 8 percent (81) minority officers and 25 female officers. An Affirmative Action Officer has been appointed by the Chief to reduce the imbalance. Most officers live outside of the precinct to which they are assigned. Many live in Districts II and V. Nearly 60 percent, including many higher ranking officers, live outside the city limits, in outlying suburbs.

Police officers are represented by an independent union, the Patrolmen's Association (PA). The superior officers are represented by the independent Superior Officers Association. The Police Department's civilian workers are represented by FMCE.

#### Legal Background

There is a District Court of Oz (part of the county court system) consisting of a chief judge and 6 associate judges. The court holds regular sessions in all of the city's districts, except District VI, on weekdays (9:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m., 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.) and Saturday mornings.

State law stipulates that a person arrested for a crime must be given a bail hearing before a judge or "person authorized to take bail," "as soon as may be practicable" after the time of his arrest, or else released. The state is customarily represented at arraignment hearings by the arresting officer (or, if he is unavailable, another officer familiar with the case).

State law authorizes police officers to order the dispersal of "five or more persons, being armed with dangerous weapons, or ten or more persons, whether armed or not, who are unlawfully, riotously or tumultuously assembled."

It is a misdemeanor, punishable by imprisonment up to a year or fine up to \$500, to disobey such an order.

"Disturbing the peace" is a distinct offense, also a misdemeanor. The state statute authorizing deployment of the National Guard reads:

In case of a tumult, riot, mob or body of persons acting together by force to violate or resist the laws or when such tumult, riot or mob is threatened, and the usual police provisions are inadequate to preserve order and afford protection to persons and property, and the fact appears to the mayor of a city, the Governor, upon his initiative or at the request of such mayor may issue his order directed to the commander of any organization or unit of the armed forces of the state directing him to order his command, or any part thereof, to appear at a time and place therein specified to aid the civil authority in suppressing such violations and supporting the laws.

The state curfew law provides:

The mayor of any city may, if satisfied that a riot or other form of civil disorder is occurring or there is a danger that it may occur, and that a curfew is necessary for the public safety in such city, impose a curfew in all or part or parts of such city.

No curfew shall take effect until two hours after the issuance of the proclamation declaring the imposition of such curfew.

Such curfew may restrict or prohibit the movement or presence of persons or vehicles on public ways and places, including areas to which the public has a right of access, and also places of amusement and entertainment, vacant lots and other open areas, provided that reasonable exceptions are made for all persons having business of an emergency nature which requires the use of public ways.

#### Community Organizations

Citizens for Tax Relief: A group, of uncertain size, headed by a sharp-tongued used car dealer formed two years ago to protect an increase in property tax rates in Oz. (Property taxes have risen an average of 8 percent per year for the past six years.) The group has received some financial support from small businessmen and landlords. Capitalizing on



Proposition 13 fever, the group has gathered 20,000 signatures on a citywide petition for a tax limitation amendment. Five City Councillors have publicly pledged their support for the amendment.

Citizens for a Better Oz: This group of 1,000 business and community leaders was organized by the Chamber of Commerce at the urging of the Mayor to generate popular and financial support for Oz revitalization projects. It is a fairly diverse group whose members represent all segments of the Oz community. The Citizens have taken on several special projects, including park cleanup, theater district promotion, and a summer concert series.

Merchants Associations: Each district has some sort of organization to promote the interests of local business owners, primarily retailers. They engage in such activities as group advertising, beautification projects, and lobbying the Mayor for better police protection or parking facilities. The associations in Districts II, V, and VI are especially active.

NAACP: The local NAACP chapter is a strong force in the Oz community. Although its membership is drawn from all segments of the city, the organization's primary strength comes from long-term black residents of District III and the city's growing black professional class, many living in Districts I and VI.

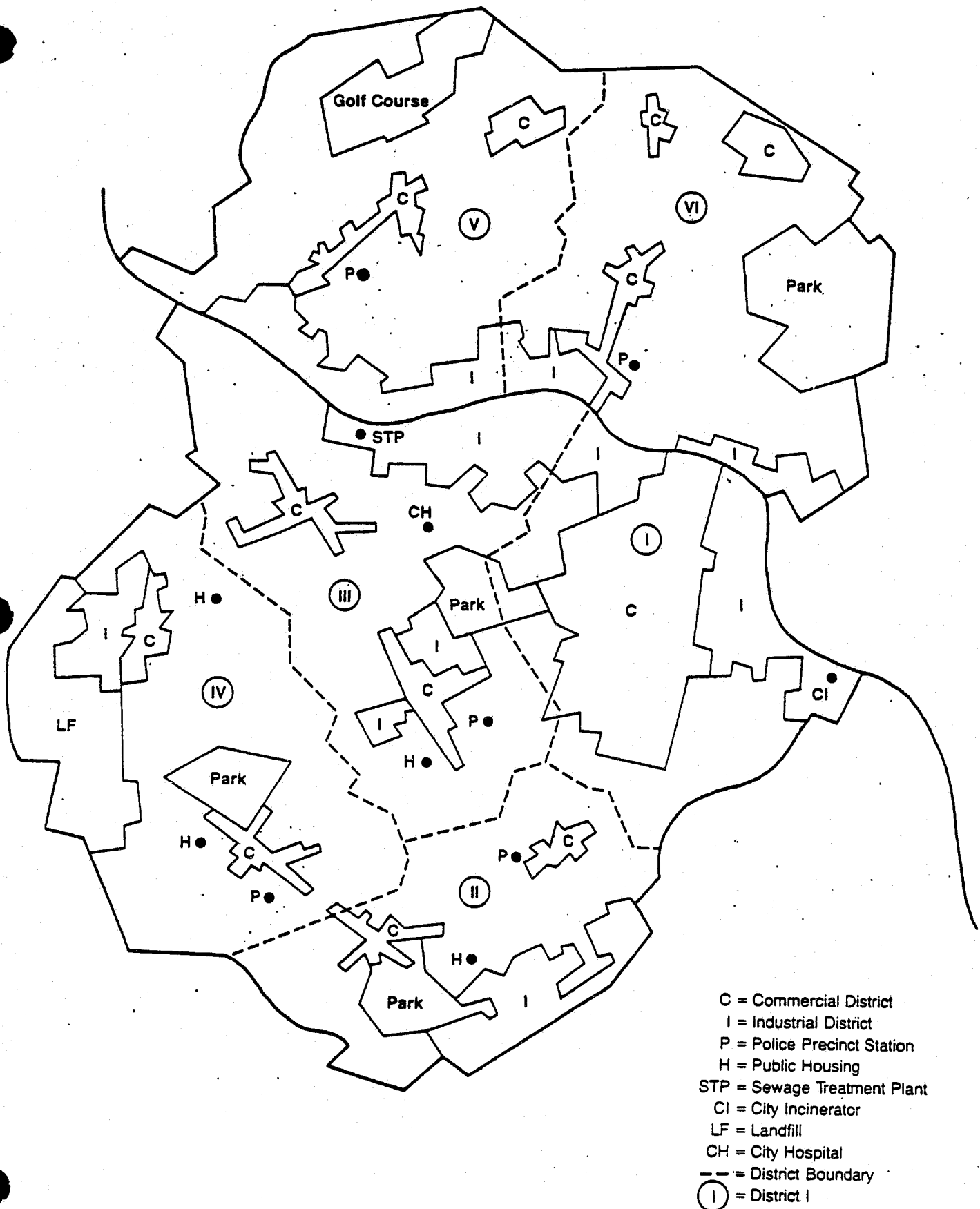
B'nai B'rith: A civic organization of Jewish men, B'nai B'rith is very active in the Oz business community. Many of Oz's business and community leaders are members, and the club has been involved in District II revitalization. Politically, the club has a somewhat conservative image and has been very supportive of the current Mayor.

Jobs for Youth: Jointly sponsored by the City, the Chamber of Commerce, and the state manpower agency, Jobs for Youth, is a consortium of community and business leaders that promotes summer employment of disadvantaged youth. JFY has established good contacts with local private agencies working with youth (such as settlement houses, boys clubs, YMCA-YWCA, drug counseling organizations, and the like). Although its job placement program has been relatively successful in past years, cutbacks in federal funding reduced the number of placements it was able to make this summer by 15 percent.

# EXHIBIT 1

<u>Demographic Data</u>	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>Districts</u> <u>(share by %)</u>					
		<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Population, total	500,000	5	25	30	25	10	5
Black population	125,000	15	25	40	15	5	0
Hispanics	25,000	10	20	65	5	0	0
Persons under 18	150,000	10	30	30	15	10	5
Persons 15-24	80,000	7	35	35	10	10	3
Persons 65+	85,000	5	20	20	35	15	5
<u>Criminal Activity (1977)</u>							
Total Reported Incidents	42,000	7	20	35	18	12	8
Crimes Against Person	10,000	9	22	40	18	8	3
Crimes Against Property	32,000	7	18	31	19	14	11

# Exhibit 2 Map of Oz



HAMPTON BEACH PROJECT

RESEARCH DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Grantee Organization: Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce  
Hampton Beach, New Hampshire

Special Demonstration Grant # 65022

Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development  
Department of Health, Education and Welfare  
Washington, D. C.

Return to

PAUL ESTAVIER  
1324 HEMLOCK ST NW  
WASHINGTON DC

Hampton Beach Project  
 Manning Van Nostrand, Director of Research  
 Research Report

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## PRELIMINARY REPORT OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

An integral part of the Hampton Beach Project is to be found around the activity of research. Research played two roles in the Project. The first and major role of research was to establish with some precision what actually transpired over the course of the summer. Research asked such questions as: What were the attitudes and values of the young people on the Beach? Was the demonstration phase of the Project successful? Did attitudes in the community change in any significant degree? This report will present findings related to these and other significant questions.

Research, we discovered, was playing another role in addition to fact gathering. Research came to be seen as a potential intervention technique. Initially, we did not plan our research with this in mind. However, we may in this report give enough useful information so that in another project of this type such use might be made of research.

Generally, what this report intends is that the reader will obtain information relative to (1) the theoretical orientation of the Project, (2) the setting in which the research was carried out, (3) a kind of field report of the problems encountered by the staff as they did the research, and (4) the nature of the instruments used and the findings gained from each instrument. Finally, it is hoped that certain general findings might be delineated from the research as a whole.

It should be stated quite frankly at the outset that the research reported here is not completely valid and reliable according to the strict dictates of modern scientific methodology. The research designed was rather simple and straightforward. The instruments to be used were used by relatively untrained, but bright college students. Their supervision was not rigid. This research could probably best be characterized as a kind of survey. As a survey, it obtains some usefulness in that there was a relatively intense kind of saturation of investigation in a specific situation. These limitations are not stated by way of apology, but rather to inform the reader of the kind of research with which he is dealing.

As a result, the kinds of conclusions that will be drawn, at least in this preliminary report, will be of a general nature which attempts to paint the picture of what these instruments "saw" over a period of approximately three months.

### Theoretical Orientations and Hypotheses:

In the proposal submitted to the President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Dr. William Kvaraceus sketched the following major premises:

that there is a sharp parental-authority reduction due to distance and anonymity when large throngs of adolescents and post-adolescents congregate at beach resorts resulting in a tendency to police-attack and violence against property on slight provocation -- real or imaginary.

that youth are resentful of exploitation by beach operators and town officials who are willing to take their business but who resent their presence and who mount hostility and aggression in protecting property and persons.

that beach barricades, street blocks and armed guards represent a fortress to be taken and a challenge to be met by bored and adventurous youth.

that youth's seeking for identity and ownership of a place can be met via the establishment and maintenance of a Youth Pavilion or Youth Centers incorporating a coffee shop, message exchange, telephone service, bulletin boards, newsletter, first aid and other services.

that the frustration of being rejected, exploited, disliked, unwanted, attacked and jailed invites a chain of overt aggression.

that lack of decent housing, poor working conditions, absence of an appropriate program of youth activities, high beach prices, and harsh (or merely lax) treatment by police all can add up to substantial aggression.

that the spectators, young and old, who come "to watch and to see what will happen" actually plan a very active roll in beach riot phenomena.

that a beach community, including adults and youth, with a minimal outside support can plan, organize and administer a beach program that will diminish destructive activities of youth.

that the business community and town officials, through planned discussion, can develop insights and a sense of social responsibility for youth with the aid of a team of behavioral scientists.

that the training of policemen and firemen via seminars and discussions will modify the repressive viewpoint and will lessen the danger of police provocation.

that a beach-trip tradition found in many high schools in neighboring states can be shifted to form a less dangerous and damaging social institution by early contact with the communities and the formation of area or regional youth groups with specific goals and activities.

that the organization of a corporate youth group including native youth, summer residents, summer employers and weekenders can be achieved and can serve as an effective means for communication with the adult community, town officials and police.

that a program of youth activities planned and managed by youth with minimal adult support can deploy energy and enthusiasm in exciting but less destructive and dangerous channels.

that a careful analysis of the spectator involvement, the effectiveness of process and program employed, and the backgrounds of beach youth (arrested and rioters and peaceful participants) will offer a base for more effective program planning and intervention not only at Hampton Beach, N.H. but at other resorts reporting similar problems.

With this general kind of guideline, those involved in the research felt that a theoretical orientation should be elaborated together with some hypothetical suggestions on which research and demonstration might be based. This theoretical base incorporates the earlier work of Dr. Kvaraceus. During the first week of May this was done. Here follows that work:

The most obvious theoretical orientation employed seems to be that of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. Throughout the design of the methodology which is to follow, there is suggested that both the youth and the beach business community are exhibiting aggressive reactions as the result of economic and personal frustrations.

The riot represents on the part of the young people a dys-functional attempt at social change. There is, in addition to the aggressive response to frustration, a rationale embedded in the youthful disturbances. Merton's schema of latent-manifest behavior may be brought to bear at this point to suggest that many features of the behavior involved in the riot are latent in adolescent behavior generally. It would not necessarily be an accurate description of the situation at Hampton Beach to suggest that there was a direct intention on the part of the Hampton Beach business operators or the police to frus-



trate in specific ways the young people who come to the Beach. Nor, would it be necessarily accurate to say that the aggression displayed by the young people is in specific ways related to the frustrations which they encounter in the resort community. It would be more germane to the situation as a whole if we were to see the situation as symbolic of more deep-seated problems within the adolescent mentality and the practices of the Beach business community as a whole. There are, in other words, those situations on Hampton Beach which act as catalysts which precipitate the aggressive behavior to well up in ways all out of proportion to the reality of the situation. There is, then, the inauguration of a frustration-aggression cycle.

A theoretical orientation toward role analysis will also be employed. It is felt that there are many heuristic advantages to this particular theory. One phenomenon to be investigated would involve a role-reversal in leadership functions. That is, out-group youngsters assume leadership positions in situations of violence because they are able more effectively to utilize latent anti-social attitudes in the meeting of a generalized, yet institutionalized expectation of tension-release.

The actors, or incumbents of role positions, seen in this study include: youth, a generalized position which may break down into segmented roles upon further analysis; business people on the beach; business people in the community apart from the beach; residents of the beach; residents of the community apart from the beach; law enforcement officials; local and state politicians; and change agents, or those occupying a 'middle' or mediating position and not principally occupying any particular role mentioned above.

Role theory suggests that cross-currents of expectation, obligation, attitude perception and sanctions flow between the incumbents of the various roles. From the standpoint of theory what we are after is some kind of consensus regarding the patterns of expectation, obligation, attitudes and sanctions.

There may occur some differentiation of situational specificity in which certain patterns of behavior will be sanctioned in one time, but not in another. For example, certain recreational activities may be sanctioned at one time and not at another. Another example may occur to be that participants in the riot may not be expressing typical behavior and that the riot situation "permits" the display of certain latent feelings and attitudes.

If there is a model of what we are doing, it might be seen approximated in labor-management arbitration. This arbitration, however, might be coupled with reinforcement learning theory. It goes something like this: through an arbitrator the adult

and/or youth discovers a need and experiences from the other a limitation in the meeting of that need; this need and limitation is communicated to the respective group; the resulting change in behavior is communicated to other members of the group; the desirability of change and movement toward the other group is reinforced by reward in the meeting of need. A new climate of opinion is created; a riot is not "needed". More functional methods and rational attitudes have been employed to deal with a situation and have replaced the dysfunctional, latent methods and attitudes.

Let us now see what was proposed in May in terms of assumptions, hypotheses and methodology.

Assumption: there exists between the older and younger generation an almost complete breakdown in communication.

Assumption: one of the key factors in the riot in this exaggerated separation of the generations. It leads to a compulsive fixation on authoritarian figures.

Assumption: the generally disturbing factors perceived by the adolescent in society as a whole have precipitating counterparts in Hampton Beach. For example, if there is a general break-down in communication between the generations, it is somehow exaggerated in the situation of Hampton Beach.

HYPOTHESIS: If through peer group intervention the values of humanness, rationality, responsibility can be communicated to all groups involved in the Hampton Beach riot, the intensity of the riot will be diminished.

"communicated to" implies not only a communication of value through verbal means, but a replacement of existing modes of behavior, i. e., punitive, alienation, acquisitiveness.

"values" will imply not only concepts, but action responses.

"peer group intervention" implies, in this particular situation, a new kind of social control. While this intervention will be done in the context of a more ordered, and hopefully humane system of law enforcement, the emphasis will be on reward and will be directed toward the goal of changing the environmental situation to the point where riotous behavior will be inappropriate.

METHOD: Various seminars with business people, youth, residents of the community, law enforcement officials will be used to communicate and reinforce more helpful attitudes and behavior patterns. Continual analysis of the group process occurring in these group seminars will constitute both a means of research and a means of social control.

**HYPOTHESIS:** That social control related to adolescent delinquent behavior will involve efforts toward giving symbolic and concrete affirmations of identity and belonging of the young themselves.

**METHOD:** To involve young people in the planning and execution of various programs on the Beach that will "concretize their belong" to the Beach community. This will, in all probability, take the form of a Youth Center on the Beach, a newspaper for youth, "Coffee House" programs conducted in business establishments of the Beach, and the process of involving them in discussion with the adult community. The various effects of this may be measured by repeated testing with the "Annoyance Scale" and in the charting of the group process in the various seminars.

**HYPOTHESIS:** That youth are resentful of exploitation by beach operators and town officials who are willing to take their business but who resent their presence and who mount hostility and aggression in protecting their property and persons.

**METHOD:** The investigation of the dynamics of resentment will be conducted by two basic methods: the questionnaire and interview, and the already mentioned seminar. There will be an instrument to measure annoyance which will be given to youth, business people and residents. This annoyance scale will measure the undesirability of several modes of conduct and will measure the degree of punishment felt appropriate to each mode of conduct. This annoyance scale will be given in three waves through the summer to measure changing attitudes.

A comprehensive interview schedule will be drawn up, pre-tested, and given to those individuals who were apprehended in the riot last year. This interview schedule seeks to ascertain: social class position, aspiration, perceptions about self, perceptions of the riot and particularly the leadership of the riot, perceptions of the adult and adolescent world, and a general structure of values.

It is hoped that this interview will give clues not only to resentments, but also provide helpful suggestions for containing and modifying resentments.

**Assumption:** There are more young people amenable to suggestions of responsible behavior than there are youngsters who will not be deterred from destructive behavior.

**Assumption:** Law enforcement techniques are unable to deal with the entire problem, are unable to deal with "troublemakers" when such individuals are shielded by throngs of their peers who find vicarious release of tension by a relatively passive

participation in the riot. Some means other than law enforcement must be found to deal with the problem.

Assumption: A faddish institution such as the Hampton Beach riot will continue to attract a certain element determined to cause trouble.

HYPOTHESIS: That law enforcement agencies can more effectively deal with those determined to cause trouble if the majority of young people can be diverted from participation in the riot or have their needs in more responsible ways.

METHOD: Obviously, this hypothesis can only be studied in terms of effectively meeting the other hypotheses. This hypothesis suggests a complementary aspect of the first-mentioned hypothesis. The hypothesis can only be studied in the field, so to speak, by the analysis of the events of the Labor Day Weekend, 1965. There will be, however, a retesting utilizing the interview schedule of those apprehended in any disturbance then. Analysis and comparison of results will be done to determine any significant shifts in attitude and value structure.

Assumption: Those apprehended in the '64 riot represent a spectrum of class position ranging from upper-middle class through lower class.

Assumption: The nearer a young person approximates middle class social position the more he will be appealed to by the values of rationality, responsibility and humaneness.

HYPOTHESIS: That there will be a downward shift in aspiration level and social class position of those apprehended in any disturbance in a Labor Day, 1965 disturbance in comparison with those apprehended in '64.

Several exceptions to the methodology to be employed must be noted immediately. In the rough and tumble of the actual project it was nearly impossible to perform and accurate any scientific appraisal of the group process that was mentioned in the research outline. Such recording will be found in its detail, insofar as we have it, in the report of Mr. Estaver. It is hoped that this report might make some summary remarks regarding an overview of work done on the project in the perspective of the process of arbitration.

One rather crucial limitation of the research was the fact that the Project as it progressed through the summer was, at best, an effort parallel to a strong program of law enforcement. Communication between the law enforcement agencies and

the Project Officials was limited. It would, therefore, be difficult to work out with substantial accuracy what effect the Project had in and of itself. Particularly is this true with regard to the fact that there was no riotous disturbance over Labor Day, 1965. Because there was such a strong program of law enforcement, and because there was, in fact, no riot on Labor Day Weekend of 1965, it is difficult to know what precisely the research is trying to do. If it should be that significant changes in attitude structure emerge through the summer in the adult and/or the youth communities apart from the perceptions of law enforcement programs, we might then conclude that something other than a law enforcement program was responsible for the fact there was no disturbance this year. It might be that CAVE could take a share of that credit. It is more probably that the effect of CAVE on Hampton Beach during the summer simply is not measurable. The visible symbol of a community's attempt to cope with the needs of young people might have a significant effect on the perceptions of these young people. Given such an effect, the cumulative result might represent significant shifts in attitude among the transient population.

What we can say in conclusion regarding the theoretical aspects of the Beach Project is that: 1. much of the action program was never carried out, nor could it have been under the existing circumstances which followed, with the result that the research may be somewhat misleading as to what effect the program could have had; 2. we are dealing with an extremely mobile population; 3. that which is to be researched is particularly difficult to ascertain in any quantifiable way, 4. the research was not designed to uncover the latent stresses and strains in the adolescent community so that many of the significant questions which might be asked never be answered from the research work done on this Project.

#### Research as a Phase of a Demonstration Project:

Ideally, research results could have contributed to the construction of program. Had there been enough time, had there been enough staff and money, had there been previous work on the subject, research could have played a more dominant role in the conducting of the Hampton Beach Project. However,

\* One is reminded of experiments in industrial psychology where it was finally determined that the significant variable in affecting worker attitudes was not music, lighting, etc., but that somewhere someone was paying attention to the needs of the workers.

under the limitations of time and money, and with the hope that a viable kind of program could be put into operation, it was given to research to study what effects the demonstration program would have on the community of Hampton Beach. This goal was stated by Mr. Rosenthal on July 4th at a Staff Meeting as follows:

... so far as the co-ordination of research and action, as the dual foci of the program are concerned, the thought in Washington is the following: This is fundamentally a demonstration program which is to be researched, instead of a research program to be demonstrated. Above all this is a pilot program; what emerges from this program will provide the foundation of future action and research schedules throughout the nation. ... Action directed towards eliminating a riot.

It might be said that the fundamental concepts of the action program came from the same matrix of social science as did the research efforts. What was being attempted here on the action level was a rather major kind of social change. If research could capture the essence of what was taking place during that change a major contribution might be made. Moreover, if research could establish what the dynamics of the situation were if non-social change took place, that, too, might be a real contribution. The fact of the matter is, very few studies have been done of the kind of major social change that was being attempted on Hampton Beach in 1965.

As we shall see in a subsequent section, there was a continual problem in finding enough staff time for both research and action programs. The fact that both were done is a splendid tribute to the vitality of the youngsters who were employed as staff.

One other note might be made. The Hampton Beach Project, apparently, was "sold" in the eyes of the Chamber of Commerce Officials as a Research Project. Although it was made abundantly clear what was going to be studied, the relationship between action and research was never very clear in the eyes of the Chamber of Commerce.

#### Research as an Intervention Technique.

Raymond Aron in his MAIN CURRENTS IN SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT suggests that the ardor for precipitous measures contemplated

by an individual for changing society can be cooled by giving that person a research project. "When one undertakes a concrete, detailed study of social institutions, one becomes critical in detail and forgets about total negation" says Aron. This is along the line of a 'discovery' made in the course of the Project. There were certainly other actions, intervention techniques undertaken by the Hampton Beach Project. However, particularly in the case of the Business Attitude test, research gave staff workers a very real opportunity for dialogue with the various participants of the Beach community.

It is difficult to say what kind of effect these research efforts produced in and of themselves. However, the subjective impression gained by those who engaged people in conversation using the relatively objective schema of a research instrument was that there was a positive effect of having such an opportunity to reflect on the totality of the summer's experience.

Research instruments were not primarily designed to open this kind of dialogue. The press of other phases of the program made it difficult to pursue with any high degree of involvement in such conversations. However, there is enough of this effect to warrant very real consideration for this aspect of research in subsequent projects.

#### Design of the Research Instruments.

The Hampton Beach Project was fortunate in securing the services of three highly competent consultants. Each of the consultants brought to the Project a wealth of experience. Each was from The University Community and had contributed significantly to his respective discipline. Dr. William C. Kvaraceus, noted authority in the field of adolescent behavior, is attached to Tuft University's Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs where he is Professor of Education and Director of Youth Studies. Dr. Stuart Palmer, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of New Hampshire, came to the Project out of a background in the field of research in criminology. Dr. Helen Kenney at the time of the Project's beginning was a member of the Department of Cognitive Studies of Harvard University.

One of the most fortunate aspects of the consultants' relation to the Project was their relation to each other. Each of them respected the other; each of them apparently shared similar philosophical approaches to their respective disciplines. It is conceivable that a Project might have consult-

ants that would not have this happy agreement between them. We were fortunate in that our consultants had broad areas of agreement.

It would be difficult to say which consultant contributed to any specific research instrument. All of them collaborated on each of the instruments. It would be fair to say, however, that on the original interview schedule Drs. Palmer and Kenney with the assistance of the Project Research coordinator drew out the basic questions. At the beginning we all agreed on the kinds of information which should be gathered. Over the course of the Project this original quest was greatly modified to bring in data related to the 'physical' characteristics of the youth population and their general attitudes toward the Beach Project and the Beach Community.

One way of understanding in greater detail the work of the consultants on the Project is to include here a "Memorandum of Understanding" written about the last week in May. This Memorandum was the result of a meeting between Drs. Israel Gerver and William Kvaraceus and Mr. Seymour Rosenthal and the Project Research Coordinator. The Memorandum is as follows:

I. Dr. William Kvaraceus is general Project consultant coordinating research.

1. Overseeing of all research development.
2. Coordination of all efforts to code and tabulate data.
3. Work with other consultants and project coordinators in the analysis of research data.
4. Spend enough time in the field to assure research methods validity.
5. Acclimate self to Beach milieu.

II. The Project coordinator shall be able to call upon any consultant help he deems important for Project effectiveness. It is understood that resources of HEW will be utilized on the Project whenever possible. It is expected that the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development will communicate with the Project consultant directly on matters relating to the Project.

III. Doctors Kenney and Palmer will be in charge of the following areas under the guidance of Dr. Kvaraceus.

1. Construction and validity of data-gathering instruments.



2. Construction of coding and tabulating guides.
3. The training of researchers.

This Memorandum was subsequently modified in practice to make it clear that each of the consultants was assured of his autonomy.

In a following section of this report each research instrument will be described fully. What should be seen at this point are the issues which confronted us at the beginning of test construction. In the first place, to our knowledge, no one had ever undertaken a study quite like this one. It was the opinion of those working on research that here was a marvelous opportunity to find out some essential information regarding the dynamics of a riot as a social phenomenon and of the individual participants. Our original interview instrument was designed with this in mind. It explored such physical characteristics as age, sex, residence; it went into such social facts as aspiration level, father's occupation; this schedule explored general attitudes toward self, toward country, police, home, etc. One of the significant aspects of the interview schedule was its relation to the 1964 riot itself. The interview sought to establish what the feelings of the participant were before and during the riot, attitudes about people involved in the riot and so forth.

It was upon this basic interview schedule that the schedule for the summer of 1965 population was drawn. Later we shall go into the differences between these two schedules. As we shall see, this interview schedule was the basic research instrument. This is what provided us with the most meaningful kind of data. The basic decision-making revolving around the interview schedule was a matter of how deeply we should probe into attitudes and values of the youth.

There was another continuum of decision-making; it had to do with the kinds of data we should be seeking. We hoped we were getting at significant data in the interview schedule. But, this was confined to the youth population in its scope. We also needed to explore changes in attitudes in the business community. This test could not be nearly as comprehensive as the interview schedule for youth. A relatively brief questionnaire was drawn up, built principally around the nexus of authoritarian-egalitarian mind set. These two instruments comprised one end of the research continuum. The other end of the continuum had to do with large scale administrations of questionnaires and observational techniques that would seek to quantify more general behavioral modes. For

this a questionnaire was drawn up of some thirty items pertinent to specific acts observable on the beach. This was to be distributed to nine hundred youths and nine hundred adults divided into three waves over the course of the summer. It was also hoped that these tests, which finally became known as "The Irritability-Deviancy Scale" could be given to state and local police. This, however, never happened. Along with this questionnaire there was designed a Beach Observation Scale that would take samples of the various kinds of observable behavior on the Beach.

It was hoped that a kind of Beach Incident Scale could be employed. We hoped that volunteer people from Hampton might be on the Beach when incidents of arrest or any other disturbance took place. These volunteers would record their impressions, giving as much factual data as they could observe. If enough of these were done, we might have some reasonable basis of knowing more of the dynamics of disturbances which occur on the Beach. However, when the first timid volunteers went to the Beach, they did not seem to come at the times when any disturbances happened. They used this as a reason for not going back. The Beach Incident Scale fell into rather rapid disuse.

However, this Beach Incident Scale under different circumstances might serve to be a useful tool. The following Notes regarding Observation of Hampton Beach should be used in conjunction with the Beach Incident Scale found in the Appendix.

Originally, our intent was to give quite a number of interviews to young people over the summer who were arrested. While we did get some interviews, our data is not nearly as complete at this point as we would have liked. Physical arrangements, official policy on the part of the state police, and a general reluctance on the part of the police locally impeded progress here.

#### Interviews of Participants in the 1964 Labor Day Riot\*

Interviews were conducted with a group of some people who were directly involved with the Labor Day weekend riot of 1964, either as close observers or as legally apprehended participants. The interview was a sixty-two question instrument designed to seek out basic attitudes toward life, to

\* The following section was written by Dr. Kenney, Dr. Palmer and Mr. Van Nostrand.

delineate by as indirect means as possible the 'anatomy' of the riot, to determine what kinds of young people were associated with or close to the Labor Day disturbance of 1964. The community had suspected that the young people who came for that weekend were "kooks," "hoods," or other undesirable youngsters from every "tough" neighborhood in New England. It was important that we know what kind of youngster was drawn to such an event. It was important to know what kind of youngster came to Hampton Beach during the summer.

If we could describe some of the basic features of the riot, and if we could discover general background and personal characteristics of the young people involved in the riot, then we would stand a better chance of determining at least the broad domains of causes leading to this type of group violence. Even more important for the purposes of the Project, more informed approaches to prevention and control could be derived from these rudimentary data. While we do not pretend that the accounts which the young people gave of themselves and the riot represent a deeply penetrating picture, nevertheless we have reason to believe that the information obtained, even if we call it no more than the raw material of self-description, is significant. Many studies have shown that the language of self-evaluation helps to reveal the terms by which young people conceptualize themselves and the standards according to which they measure themselves. It is through this language that it is possible to communicate with the young person and to make an approach toward a more intensive inquiry into the self, if such an inquiry is to be made. This point was made most ably by Arthur T. Jersild (In Search of Self), Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952) when he reported the results of a study which asked elementary, junior high, senior high groups and young college men and women what they liked and disliked about themselves.

The interview group included fifty-three young people, most of whom were between nineteen and twenty-one years of age. Forty-one were classified as close observers of the riot. Twelve had been arrested by the police during the course of the disturbance. Eighty per cent were males with the large majority coming from New Hampshire. Each individual was interviewed by a research staff member who had been through one brief training session in the use of the interview guide. The training consisted of two pilot interviews by the interviewers, from the results of which revisions of the preliminary form of the interview guide were made.

It was our experience that this kind of interview was a very lengthy affair -- covering in excess of two hours. Very often the interviewer had to travel considerable distance to obtain one interview. While we had 120 names of people arrested in the Labor Day riot of 1964 (in total 155)\*, it was particularly difficult to get at these people because of our inexperience, time and budget limitations, etc. While we cannot determine with any degree of certainty the biases which might be present in our study group, there does seem to be much evidence in our findings to suggest that we have an atypical group of young people in the arrested group compared to the others. Our major difficulty -- and it is one of some importance -- is that the arrested group does look somewhat different from the observer group. Any statements of difference that are made in the report must be taken to mean as being only suggestive of possible trends.

One other thing might be noted in passing. Immediately after the riot, those young people who had been involved in the riot were something like celebrities among their peers. By the time these interviews took place, some of this ardor had cooled. It might be that some of the opinions of the riot had changed in the minds of the young people involved in the riot.

Let us first look at the general findings of the instrument used in those Spring interviews. We shall make some observations regarding the sample as it breaks down along class lines. Finally, a comment or two regarding salient features of the arrested population would be in order.

A. General Background: As mentioned earlier 80% of the group were males with the large majority coming from New Hampshire. Most were between 19 and 21 years of age. Practically all were high school graduates and most of them had started college or were planning to go on with further education. The observer group had fathers who were professional, business, office workers, or skilled tradesmen by occupation. The arrested group were predominantly children of semi-skilled or unskilled workers.

B. Aspiration Level: The group as a whole has a high aspiration level for future occupation and they are generally optimistic about their chances for attaining occupational success.

\* Names and addresses of Juvenile arrestees were not available to us.

C. Education: They rate education as being good or fair in general. The school does the best job for the most part in academic subjects. Yet 60% of them say that students do not get a fair break in school, attributing this to teacher favoritism and lack of personal attention. When they are asked about their own schooling, they do not show marked enthusiasm. In fact, only 25% of them stated a more than moderate satisfaction with their education. Lack of challenge was the most frequently cited source of dissatisfaction. Although they feel that the best job is being done generally in the academic areas, they feel that in their own case more academic training should have been included and that more pressure to achieve should have been applied. This position is held by 80% of them who say that they should have been worked harder in school.

D. Personal assets and liabilities: Several questions were concerned with their perceptions of their own strengths and weaknesses. About a third said sports were their strongest point; another third, getting along with people; the rest mentioned a variety of strengths. The fact that so many of them stated "getting along with people" was one of their strengths is somewhat surprising when compared with young people generally. About 60% think that what comes hardest to them is academic work; among the arrested group almost all of them said that academic studies was the one thing that was most difficult. Most of the remainder believed that getting along with other people presented the greatest difficulty.

E. Views on national and world affairs: While they view the political leaders as moderately forward looking, they believe that the business leaders are much more so. They tend to see America as a land of rich resources, expressed most tangibly in the economic and military spheres. There may be evidenced here a gentle trend toward conservatism. Indeed, noting the geographical distribution one would be surprised if there were not a conservative flavoring in their political-economic views. Yet, there is also a kind of resentment in some of what they say. These young people are probing, questioning, and not altogether accepting of what they see. To them the country's greatest weaknesses are its declining personal and political morality. Almost 70% state these views. Although many of them believe that Russia has a superior educational system and is politically more efficient, two-thirds feel that in time the United States can equal them even in these respects.

F. Views on life: When asked how adults explain the actions of young people, they comment that adults find young people baffling and tend to belittle them. To them, adults may not have clear life goals but older people tend to be reasonably happy. They think that although money is the number one adult value, adults worry most about family problems. On the other hand, young people worry most about social recognition.

The picture that emerges from the responses to questions about how they feel about themselves and their present role in society runs briefly like this. They are attempting to embrace the values of both adolescent and adult worlds. For example, they accept the dress and general mores of adolescents, yet they take the adult view that one should not marry early. (Perhaps we could have probed more deeply here and asked about the phenomenon of changing sex mores.) A sense of social responsibility is strongly evident. They have altruistic aims about social and economic equality and are extremely concerned about the threat of Communism to world peace.

The responses exhibit a trend of down-grading the intellectual facet of our culture. This reflects the present general middle class attitude. These young people are still basically ego-centric at this age. They give lip-service to upper middle class values, but this lip service is coupled with considerable resentment. These are not the truly aggressive, depressed lower class young people.

Despite their feeling that society, particularly in the educational realm, has let them down, they express a need to assume social responsibility, but they are quite uncertain about their capacity to do this. They do not see adults as being directly helpful to them in coping with these feelings of uncertainty. The adult is seen as concerned mainly with himself and it is only with a few friends of their own age that these young people can talk things over.

2. 1964 Riot - Labor Day Weekend: Very few of the overall group knew ahead of time that there would be a riot. However, 8 out of the 12 who were arrested said they knew at least a month or more before that there was going to be a riot. Feelings during the riot were of fear and curiosity. Fear and an urge to flight were especially prominent in the arrested group. As the riot progressed, feelings of fear and disapproval mounted.

They thought they were able to perceive leaders of the riot whom they described as loud, wild, and unkept. They saw the crowd surrounding them as young, mostly male, scared, and to a lesser degree, exhilarated. The person who stood out most in their memory was a big, tough guy who was acting like a kid.

They see police in general as reasonable people doing a necessary job. The state police are perceived as efficient and well-trained. The Hampton Beach police were viewed as relatively inefficient and unorganized with a tendency to be belligerent. The same adult on-lookers were seen as scared and anxious, but at the same time highly curious and almost enjoying the experience.

### Summary

The first run through the interview data reveals an adolescent who looks and sounds very much like adolescents in general. While there were a few representatives of relatively high and very low socio-economic groups, the majority of those interviewed fell between these two extremes. They appear to be in the midst of or just emerging from a normal middle-class American adolescence. We feel that it is not going too far beyond the data to say that these young people have the usual preoccupations with wondering how their abilities compare with other people's and what others think of them. They strongly express the late-adolescent need for a kind of fusion with other people in their repeated concerns with getting along with other people. Implicit in their remarks is the difficulty that they express, as do most other adolescents, in attempting to achieve independence.

They appear to be coming to terms with the reality of the adult society into which they are moving. They are distinguishing between what would be nice to have happen from what is actually possible or likely. At this point they seem to be the "idealist without illusions." The frequently mentioned cynicism of youth is not apparent among those young people who may have some gripes about adults but who see these adults as trying to do a reasonably decent job. Of course, the adults could do even a better job, as they see it.

These young people enjoy physical activity; they very likely have a need for thrills and excitement (even a small dash of physical danger), and they want to have fun. It goes without saying that having fun will involve the opposite sex.

H. 1964 Labor Day Findings Related to Father's Prestige:  
 We have seen an overview of the findings of the interviews given to the young people involved in the 1964 Labor Day Weekend Riot. Let us now turn our attention to a more detailed examination of those findings as they relate to the occupational prestige of the father's occupation. This particular variable gives us a good insight into the social classification of those persons. It was discovered that nine of the twelve young people interviewed were in the lower socio-economic classifications as described by the Hollinshead Index of Social Position.<sup>1</sup> "Was there," we asked, "a similar kind of breakdown along other variables covered by the interview?" We decided to select certain key variables included in this interview and do a cross-tabulation according to the father's occupational prestige. Table One indicates age level as it relates to occupational prestige. As mentioned above, we readily see that nine of the twelve arrested were in the lower group, Prestige Level four through seven. It is difficult to know whether the age of the respondent is influenced by the actual social fact of the rioters being in the late teens, or whether the information we obtained from the police was given in such a way as protecting youngsters below the age of eighteen. This particular table becomes more significant as we move on into some of the other variables included in the interview.

It must be remembered that this particular interview was designed to test a different kind of situation than the situation confronting us during the summer of 1965. It was necessary to obtain some insight into the feelings and attitudes of the youngsters who come to this beach. It is important, then, in relation to this cross-tabulation to note that we are dealing with a group which is predominantly middle-class. There are twenty-nine youngsters of prestige group one, two, and three; whereas there are twenty-one in groups four to seven.

1. The Index of Social Position designed by A. B. Hollinshead is designed to rank occupations according to their position in the socio-economic milieu. Examples of occupations in group one would include higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, and major professionals; examples of group two would be business managers in large concerns, proprietors of medium businesses (value \$35,000 to \$100,000), lesser professionals; examples of group three would be administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals; examples of group four would be clerical and sales workers, technicians, and owners of little businesses valued under \$6,000; group five, - skilled manual employees; group six - machine operators and semi-skilled; group seven - unskilled employees.



Some sixty per cent of the young people indicated that they felt "all kids" did not "get a fair break in school." Table Two indicates a more refined breakdown of this general response related to father's occupational prestige. As was indicated previously, teacher favoritism was the leading cause of this unfairness. Twenty-six per cent of those answering this question gave this as a response. Of those giving specific responses, this is the leading cause of dissatisfaction. It is also interesting to note that over half of those arrested did not answer this question. We can assume that they are dissatisfied, and we might also assume that they are not able to articulate this dissatisfaction. It could be said that such inability to articulate might be more frustrating to an individual than if the individual were clear as to just what it was that bothered him about this important dimension of his life. If we say this about the arrested, it is more important to say this about this population as a whole. While teacher favoritism is an important source of difficulty, we might speculate that the real source of difficulty is that the young people know they are dissatisfied, but do not know why.

Table Three gives us another clue as to the attitudes of these youngsters about their education. There is a clear indication that the upper group is quite desirous of more adequate academic preparation for life. Some twenty-eight per cent of these youngsters, as over against twelve per cent of the youngsters in groups four through seven, feel that better academic courses would be desirable additions to the school program.

Tables Four and Five elicit a more easily obtainable response. A small minority ranks itself confidently in the realm of the academic. From the standpoint of prestige we can see that the upper group is more confident of itself in dealing with people. Interestingly, when the lower group talks about doing things well, they rank themselves high in sports. However, when it comes to doing things best (and thereby involving themselves in more competition), they are far less sure of themselves. In both tables the arrested youngsters have a preference for physical diversionary activity, sports. It is possible to assume that some kind of physical diversionary activity could supplant the physical activity of the riot situation.

We see in Table Six that most of the youngsters rank academic work as being the most difficult aspect of their lives. This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that the

majority of the arrested are in this category. If we are looking for sources of stress and strain within the adolescent community, it would seem, according to our limited research, that we might concentrate more intensively on the classroom and its dynamics. It would appear that education, holding as it does such a high prestige value in our technological society, is productive of much anxiety and frustration among these young people.

One other note needs to be made. It is often reasoned that adolescents have great difficulties in their social relations. There is some evidence to support this claim in terms of the adolescent's relations with the adult world. We might view the response to this question in those terms. However, it would seem that on the whole these youngsters are well-adjusted at least in superficial aspects of social life.

Table Seven is interesting more for what it does not say rather than what it does. There does not seem to be among this group of adolescents any value which is any higher than some other value might be. Particularly interesting is the fact that "Happiness," per se, is not given any response. Other responses one might expect to be responded to in great numbers, such as money and social recognition, are likewise not ranked high. "Freedom" and "Family" are the top-ranked items.

Attitudes toward the nation's strengths and weaknesses are reflected in Tables Eight and Nine. The responses regarding the nation's strength cluster around economic, military and political dimensions. It is somewhat surprising that the nation's efforts in science and the extensive system of public education in the United States are not viewed as elements of surpassing strength. It may or may not be significant, but it is nevertheless interesting that the only consistently marked scoring for the arrested was under the category of the military. Table Eight takes on a bit of added significance when we compare it to Table Nine. In contrast, we see that these young people feel that the glaring weakness of the country is in the realm of morality. A content analysis of the individual response indicates that "morality" in this context refers to personal or individual morality. Correspondingly, economic and military spheres are not seen as weak areas of our country by this sample of youth. It would seem that neither the scientific or educational efforts of our country have captured the attention of the youth. Finally, with regard to difference in terms of prestige, Prestige Levels 4 - 7 seem to have a bit more confidence in the military than do those in Prestige Levels 1 - 3.

The upper class group seems to have a bit more confidence in the political dimension. Conversely, twice as many of the lower group deems the political arena as one of our weaknesses than does the upper group.

The interview asks where do business and political leaders get their ideas -- from the past, present, or future? As far as the political leaders, when you look at the grand totals, it would seem that the group is equally divided among the three responses. An interesting internal comparison can be made between the two prestige groups; more of the upper group tends to rank political as gaining perspective from an orientation directed toward the future. The opposite is true with the lower socio-economic groups. The trend in both prestige groups heads toward the future orientation when the question turns to business leaders. With the lower group the emphasis is a bit more pronounced in the future orientation. This information is contained in Tables Ten and Eleven.

One might well ask, "Why was such a question as this asked at all?" We should remember that the principle purpose of this interview was an exploratory one. We were trying to ferret out attitudes, frustrations, anxieties, stresses and strains. "Did these young people have conflicts in their feelings about their country? Is this what is producing their frustration?" we asked. It is fairly evident that such is not the case.

"Are people really happy?" This question would seem to indicate whether or not the young person perceives his world in relatively friendly terms, whether or not he senses that happiness is an available alternative. Perhaps the most interesting single comparison on this Table XII is that twelve of the respondent in the upper group answered "most," while only two in the lower answered "most." There seems to be a more optimistic outlook in the upper class than there is in the lower. Among the lower class arrested, there is a polarization of sorts which probably indicates that there is a proportion of somewhat embittered young people among this group.

One of the most interesting results of the interview is to be found in Table XIII. There does seem to be a real class difference here. The upper group had relatively little prior knowledge concerning the riot. On the other hand, the lower group, particularly among the arrested, knew something about the riot a long time before the riot actually took place.

A significant insight into the reaction of the young people to the riot itself is gained when we see the results of the questions: What were your feelings at the beginning of the riot? What were your feelings during the riot? Generally, the strongest single feeling was one of fear. This was the dominant reaction of the upper class youngster, and was a marked tendency among those who were arrested. We might also say that there was a kind of alloy of feelings characteristic of each group. In the upper class group fear, excitement and disapproval seemed to dominate. In the lower group, the very fact that there seems to be such a scattering of feeling, even though confusion is not mentioned by name, suggests that confusion and bewilderment may have been uppermost in their minds. It is interesting to note in Table Fourteen that among the lower group there is only a trace of disapproval in comparison to the upper group, but this feeling grows as they describe their feelings during the riot, together with a more marked sense of fear. Underneath the fear, there also seems to be a strong sense of excitement. In the last analysis, however, perhaps the only one substantial conclusion that one can draw from this particular bit of information is that no one feeling seems to dominate the group as a whole. Even those reactions which seem to have a greater frequency of response than do the others do not have such a great response as to warrant the conclusion that we can characterize the feeling of the group.

Conclusions: Perhaps the most accurate conclusion of all is to say that there are no really surprising findings in all of this interviewing. If this interview is a fair sample of young people in general, we might almost say there are less class differences than we might have expected. It does seem fair to say that the lower class group is slightly more fearful and anxious about where they fit into society. Though we do not know just why, it is obvious that there are more youngsters in the lower socio-economic group who were arrested than were in the upper socio-economic group. This alone may point to the fact that there is more resentment among this group. Our interviews would tend to show that such resentments may well spring from a lower socio-economic individual attempting to adjust to a system of education which is geared to middle and upper-middle class expectations. This would be reflected in the general feeling regarding the perceived happiness of people. The upper group would tend to see its peers as those who had "made it". On the other hand, the lower group youngster would see these and also those of his group whose lives seemed to have less physical reasons for happiness.

To me one of the most interesting aspects of this questionnaire was the response to the strengths and weaknesses of the country. The complete absence of comment on the scientific and educational communities is most intriguing. Another interesting aspect of this set of questions is to be found around the apparent need for, or lack of, moral fibre.

Generally, one might describe this group of young people as a reasonably average group of American youth whose innate sense of "being where the action is" attracted them to Hampton Beach. They came not really knowing what to expect -- the majority at any rate, and were rather overwhelmed by what the riot produced. For all its excitement and danger, one senses from these youngsters that they do not harbor deep-seated resentments which they see being resolved by bringing attention to themselves through riotous means. I would suppose that if one were really to understand this phenomenon of the riot he would have to pursue every single one of those youngsters arrested and relentlessly probe to find some cause. When all that was done, it could well be that nothing substantial would be discovered. The riot, for all its intensity, still seems to be an unexplained phenomenon.

What is explainable, however, is more important. There does seem to be a group of youngsters on Hampton Beach whose potential for creative involvement in responsible participation in a summer program seems to be relatively high. One does not know for sure, but these same youngsters with their yet undiscovered stresses and strains can be worked with, can be shown other alternatives than what was seen on Labor Day Eve of 1964.

### The Staff as a Research Team.

Before considering data collected in the summer of 1965, it might be well to pause momentarily for a look at who collected the data and some of the problems they encountered as researchers at Hampton Beach.

As has been said before in other connections, this Project was, by design, staffed by amateurs. Although most of the youngsters were college students majoring in one phase or another of social science, none of them were skilled or experienced researchers from the professional standpoint. Other than the consulting staff, this could also be said concerning the Project Directors. While the Research Director has had considerable academic experience in the social sciences, he has not had much of the practical kinds of experience which are demanded of a professional researcher. All of these qualifications must be seriously appreciated when trying to understand the work which was carried on in research during the summer of 1965.

What kinds of problems does a group such as ours encounter while trying to carry out the kind of Project which was ours? Let us simply list them with no attempt whatsoever to be exhaustive:

1. The first problem, obviously, is one of floundering. We were presented with a major kind of social engineering feat to be performed. In one sense, it is not quite just to expect that amateurs could perform capably. But, on the other hand, society is going to have to start somewhere to correct its ills. The floundering produced some genuine frustrations and not a little hostility. Seen in retrospect, such initial stages as these could have provided an opportunity for very real and meaningful learning experiences.

2. By definition, the Project was both a demonstration and a research project. Saying this is one thing, but trying to put it into day-by-day operation is a far different sort of thing. The problem of scheduling, the interests and abilities of the young people, their cliques within the larger group of the staff all contribute to a dimension that is far more than academic when trying to draw a line between the demonstration and research phases of the Project. On the one hand, those people, consultants and the staff members interested in research, who had as their main responsibility the carrying out of the research, always thought that research

was being slighted. But, on the other hand, the demands of the program were occasionally insatiable and demanded full concentration of all concerned with the Project. If one takes a general over-view of the Project, this division between research and demonstration was not debilitating. But, on a more mundane level, it was a problem which seemed continuous.

3. If one considered research in an abstract, ideal sense, it was the one activity of the Project which captured whole-hearted support from both the Chamber of Commerce and the Police. But, when you face someone with an interview schedule you are neither abstract nor are you in some idealistic realm. The Police in particular had difficulty in fitting our research activities into their purview. There was an almost endless line of problems confronting us as we attempted to interview young people in the jail at Hampton Beach. An incomplete list would include: officers monitoring interviews, inability to provide names and access, inability even to talk to police authorities who were legitimately preoccupied with their duties, and a definitely stated policy on the part of the State Police of no cooperation in allowing their arrestees to be interviewed.

Each research instrument raised its individual problems. Some of the principal problems for each instrument are as follows:

a. The Random Interview - Perhaps the most obvious problem concerning this most valuable tool was the fact that much of the richness of each response was dependent upon how skillful and/or patient the interviewer was in drawing out the person being interviewed. Under the conditions which have been outlined above, the interview was not as effective as it might have been. This matter comes under the heading of being a mixed-blessing; college students are probably more successful in getting honest answers from their peers, but on the other hand, they are not uniformly skilled in this regard. There were many questions on the interview schedule which were really nothing more than guidelines.

In the giving of this interview schedule there may be some bias in that so many of them were given in the "combat zone," as it was called - that area of the beach which had been the scene of previous hostile outbursts. The interviews were weighted toward the week-end and were mostly done during the day. While there may be more positive gain than negative effect from these conditions, they ought to be noted

so that due qualification may be made.

b. Perhaps the principle difficulty in working with the results of the Beach Observation Scale is that it was started relatively late in the season, sometime around the end of the first week in July. The times of observation necessarily had to be standardized, yet we realize in retrospect that perhaps these periods may not have reflected the ascendance of certain activities. For example, there were some activities of the police which were carried on more extensively on slack and late night hours of Beach use than when the Beach was heavily loaded with youngsters.

There were a great many categories of behavior to be observed in the use of the Scale. While our observers were undoubtedly conscientious, not all categories were probably given equal weight. We might assume, for example, that it would naturally be more enticing to a budding sociologist to observe the methods being used by the police, rather than to observe how many youngsters were throwing balls on the beach.

c. The Irritability-Deviance Scale had its particular set of difficulties focusing around the problems involved in giving the test to a number of elderly people. Such test administration was time consuming and required much patience on the part of the young people. Such difficulties as eyesight, a failure to comprehend immediately the nature and scope of the test and the problem of revealing an individual's true age were some of the problems at this point.

d. The Business Attitude Scale was a marvelous opportunity for the people of the community to enter into significant dialogue concerning their mutual problem with this instrument as the catalyst. However, we encountered the problem that "significant dialogue" is most time consuming. Many of the volunteers who were going to give this test found that they just could not find the time. Hence, there was a major problem, as far as this instrument is concerned, in a constant recruitment of interviewers. One individual in particular who had found himself at the chairmanship of the Research Committee, found it impossible to be involved in such a controversial topic. His indecisiveness raised some very real problems in the administration of this instrument.

e. The Spring Interviews should be commented about when considering the various kinds of problems. In the first place, it would have been much more effective if there could have been a greater amount of work done on this aspect of the research work. But, time, money, personnel, lack of knowl-



edge, lack of clear directive were problems in gaining the kind of information which should have been obtained from this particular instrument. Secondly, this information was worked over to such a point by the consultants and those involved in working the test through, we became so bogged down in the more pressing immediacies of the Project that it was not until mid-summer that we had clear notions as to just what was contained in these interviews. Their effectiveness was thereby greatly reduced, in terms of providing ways for us to explore during the summer of 1965.

However, all these considerations aside, it is nothing short of miraculous considering all the facets of the Project that such mountainous reams of data should have been collected. That we have collected such data in as good shape as we actually did is a real tribute to the young people involved in the Project.

5. As a part of the problem facing the staff regarding research, it might be appropriate to mention certain salient facets of the community in which they would do the research. Mr. Estaver, in his report, has covered such topics as the population of young people on Hampton Beach, the dominant conservatism of the business community reflected in its report from the TAP Committee, and the general fears and anxieties revolving around the Beach economy. Suffice it to say, here was a community which was manfully trying to hide its fears and present to the world a gay, care-free atmosphere of a "Popular Family Resort." The fears in the community had a two-edged quality: fear of another riot had opened them to considering the possibilities of taking a different tack in its understanding of the youth population which annually inundated them; on the other hand, they were no where near confident that "social work-type programs" could solve the problem as they saw it. It is particularly relevant, then, to note the kinds of attitudes which the police had toward the summer problem.<sup>1</sup> As parallel programming, the International Association of Chiefs of Police was brought in to give the local police a course in the latest methods of police methods. While it is beyond the scope of this report to delve into their work, it is of great interest to report the findings of an opinion survey designed by Mr. Nelson Watson of IACP. This opinion survey was administered by IACP on the tenth and eleventh of June to a group of some forty officers of the local police force. Although there were hopeful overtures to the N.H. State Police to join in this train-

1. We will consider the business men's attitudes under the section dealing with that instrument.

ing program, there was an adamant rejection of it by that constabulary. The IACP opinion survey is reproduced in this report to indicate a very important segment of opinion. It would be most rewarding if we could trace through with more sophisticated research devices how these attitudes were implanted on the Beach during the summer. We may find occasion to comment on some of this as we journey through our research findings.

Let us summarize the data of this IACP Opinion Survey.

Police perceive the following:

- a. young people feel that they are "above" the law (1-1)
- b. noisy kids should be ushered out of an area even though their behavior does not actually become unlawful according to the Police's interpretation of merchant and citizen attitude. There is thereby set up within the Police a very real conflict as to whether to enforce the letter of the law, or to bow to the obvious pressures from the community.
- c. There seems to be a fairly common agreement that the community expects the police to be more strict than usual, a slight majority of teenagers agree, say the police.
- d. A rather puzzling feature of this survey is seen in that the police feel that Teenagers generally do not expect an officer to take necessary steps to defend himself. This might indicate a very real resentment in the officer toward the youngster that he could think that a youngster would have expectations so very far from his own.
- e. What are the important sources of trouble at the Beach, as seen by the police?
  1. Hostility directed toward them.
  2. Lack of an organized program for recreation.
  3. Uncontrolled and irresponsible behavior of youth. (We can probably say that this type of behavior is seen by the police as coming from a relatively small proportion of youth).
  4. Police perceptions of adult attitude is that kids are away from home and have no respect for local people and property.
  5. Of all the important sources of difficulties, the Police see the news media as the prime cause of the trouble.
  6. It is interesting to note that while the police feel the youngsters see the police as being out of tune with the times, the police feel - with a few dissenters - that they are up-to-date.

f. The general impression one has of the police attitude toward their relationship to the young people on the Beach is one bordering on confusion. They see themselves as being held responsible for any occurrence of violence, and yet they are not sure if acceptance and understanding of the youth would produce any results. They are not sure if they are free to do the job "the way it should be done" - probably because they really do not know what to do. Contrary to what many of the youngsters seem to be saying, these officers are not sure whether a manly, formidable appearance will be required. These officers may be unaware of the conflicts which exist between the generations. There seems to be no particularly clear idea, with the exception of a challenge to police authority and flagrantly indecent sex play, as to what constitutes undesirable activity.

g. It is interesting to note the fact that the preferred activity for keeping peace on Hampton Beach is an organized recreation program. They are not even hopeful for the tactic of keeping crowds moving, a staple in the police catalog of crowd control techniques. There seems to be a real question in the minds of the police as to the necessity or justification for total reliance on force.

The over-all picture one gets of this group of officers is that of being genuinely puzzled by the problem it faces. There are some real gaps in their understanding of adolescent psychology. Although there seems to be some latent hostility toward the youth, the officers as a group would prefer to take a more positive approach to the problem. It is probably safe to assume that among the officers there are a few individuals which have overt hostility and overbearing attitudes toward youth in particular. If this is true, if all the negative traits are concentrated in a few officers rather than spread evenly through the group, we have cause to say that this handful of officers is spoiling an otherwise positive group attitude. Personal observation and experience would lead me to suspect that this is the case. Moreover, it would seem that even in the most constructive of attitude sets there is the genuine threat that the real confusion as to role and method of enforcement serves as a real irritant which could well undermine the most positive of approaches.

In the most ideal sense the purpose of the research aspect of the Project was to provide stimulus to change and objectively to measure the kinds of changes which took place. The kinds of data we had for beginning phases, such as the police opinion survey just reported, we could not follow

through one. Other difficulties within the Project itself, fears and obsessions within the community itself seemed to militate against doing the sort of research one envisions when in an academic setting.

The Beach Observation Scale is a significant aspect of the research aspect of the Project in that it measures, not attitudes or opinions, but rather actual behavior. There always are so many descriptions of any particular set of behavioral circumstances, particularly one as complex as the summer long behavior in a seaside resort, that it is of particular importance to obtain an objective measure of, or sample of, the behavior that really occurred. Moreover, there is a sense in which the tests of attitude and opinion need to be validated by observation. For example, if the teen-agers move toward more permissive attitudes, does their behavior reflect this or do the changes in attitude reflect a more frank approach of the teen-ager to the interviewer? Also, it is most important for the understanding of the Project and the dynamics surrounding the Project to have some kind of description of the parallel programming done by the various Police Departments. The police were very much in evidence all summer long. What did they do? Did they really have any effect on the behavior of the young people, or was their presence a kind of balm to the anxieties of the adult population on the Beach? We probably can only answer questions such as this by inference, at best. In summary, then, the Beach Observation provides an objective measure of behavior, and provides the opportunity to check on various other research and programming devices. It is, in brief, a "reality-testing" device.

The Beach Observation Scale included some twenty-one behavioral possibilities: clustering (individuals standing around in groups of two to eleven or more), ball throwing, sex play, acrobatics, carrying guitar and blanket, shouting, singing, covering someone with sand, fighting, staring or muttering at the police; and a host of police activities - standing around in groups, promenading, detaining vehicles, talking to adults and to youth, administering legally and illegally, arresting, traffic flow directing, and tracking (or following someone down the boardwalk.)

The Beach Observation Scale was conducted only on weekends, Saturday and Sunday, and on two specific periods of the day - mid-afternoon (usually from 3 P.M. to 4 P.M.) and in the mid-evening (usually from 8 P.M. to 9 P.M.). Observations were made for fifteen minute periods divided into five three-minute sections in which the observer would make a systematic sweep of his particular sector noting the presence of the above-mentioned behavioral categories. There was a fifteen minute "break" between the observation periods, making for two ob-

ervation periods with'n the hour. There were three sectors in which the Beach Observation Scale was employed: from "C" Street north to the statue (roughly three blocks), from "C" Street to the Chamber of Commerce buildings (roughly three blocks), and from "C" Street to the end of the playground (roughly three blocks). These are significant zones. From "C" Street to the Chamber of Commerce Building we have what has been called the "combat zone". The C. A. V. M. building was next to the playground and this zone included the area of the bandstand in which programs were given on a regularly scheduled basis.

In addition to the rather straight-forward method employed in recording the types of behavior observed, the observer was encouraged to write his more informal, subjective impressions on the reverse side of the observation sheet. These become valuable when we approach significant week-ends.

Perhaps the only regrettable part of this Beach Observation Scale is that they were given relatively late in the season. The first was given on July 17th. It would, of course, be helpful if we could have a recording of the behavior on the beach from the beginning of the summer.

The tables on the following pages contain in capsule form the data gathered by this Scale. By and large, the tables are self-explanatory. Perhaps it should be noted that it is possible to compare each item across the various waves. Also, within certain categories of activity, one can compare one type of activity with another. The activity of clustering can be compared with'n itself. For example, of the groups of people clustered in the observation sectors on the week-ends of July 17th and July 25th, twenty-two per cent of them clustered in groups of two; while nearly ten per cent of the individuals during this period were in groups of eleven or more. Items in activities numbered from two (2) through eleven (11) can likewise be compared, as can items twelve (12) through twenty-one (21). In this way we can not only obtain a picture of what happened in each type of activity over the summer, but we may ascertain what sort of activity was predominant in the various groups of activities.

There is an important consideration to remember when reading these data as presented in the following tables. The observations are of all activities by all age groups. This is not necessarily teen-age behavior. When we see, for example, clus-

ters of individuals, we should not draw the conclusion that these clusters are of adolescents alone. There are clusters of adults on the beach also, just as pre-adolescent youngsters engage in acrobatics and not teen-agers alone.

It is probably necessary once again to offer the usual apology; the individuals who made these observations were not rigidly trained, highly disciplined sociologists. What is reported here are systematic observations and not highly-skilled observations. Undoubtedly, there were many discrete activities that escaped the observer's eyes. Nonetheless, when taken as a whole, these observations make up a most believable account of the kind of activity which transpired on Hampton Beach in the summer of 1965.

It is of interest to note that if the young people on the Project Staff were observing the beach, they, too, were being observed. Over and over again they comment on the kind of attention they seem to draw to themselves by their research and note-taking methods. The young people tend to regard them with curiosity, the adult tourist with mild suspicion, and the police reaction is often tinged with hostility and defensiveness.

It is a relative certainty that when examining such a scale as this that one might have the feeling that such-and-such a behavior should have been included, or that there should have been other or different observational sectors and/or times. And yet reading through the notes and comments by the observers one is aware that every kind of situation prevailed in each of the sections and within the confines of the observations time periods. It would be interesting to have made other observations at other places and times, but limitations of staff would not have permitted it.

Let us now attempt to draw some general conclusions from the Beach Observation Scale. It should be said that these conclusions are not listed in the order of importance, however "importance" is conceived. The first thing that could be said is to reply to the often-heard remark that the Beach is dominated by youth. Without question, there are many young people on Hampton Beach. But, if the informal remarks of the observers are to be believed, there are just as many times when there are great crowds of adults on the beach. What seems to happen is that the youth congregate conspicuously in one or two places and, typically, make their presence known by several ways such as shouting, horseplay, etc. Nevertheless, there are times on the beach when the adults seem to predominate.

One of the most important aspects of the scale is its measuring of clustering behavior. It is important for several reasons. The first is that such behavior seems to be a kind of prime target for police work. It has been stated many times by the police that it is from such clusters of young people that "disturbances" arise. We know from the random interview data that many of the youngsters come to Hampton Beach specifically to "hang around"; we know from the Irritability-Deviancy Scale that one of the activities objected to by adults is "hanging around" on the part of the young people. To hear some of the people who attempt to describe the beach situation one conjures up clumps of youngsters knotted about every square in the sidewalk. Yet, when we look at the data supplied by the Beach Observation Scale, we see that most of the groups - adult and adolescent - are of quite moderate size. However, this statistical data needs to be balanced off by the more informal observations which say that when there are groups of people over eleven in number they are almost always groups of adolescents consisting of from thirty to sixty people. It is these large, conspicuous groups which tend to create an over-all impression that the beach is populated entirely by teen-agers. From these observations, then, we know that there are large groups of youngsters, but that they constitute only a legitimate part of the beach population as a whole.

One of the very interesting features of the Beach Observation Scale is that device which enables us to know whether or not a particular kind of activity persists over the summer. We were speaking about large groups, usually adolescents, clustered about the boardwalk area. Do these large clusters tend to persist through the summer? We know that by examining the rate of clustering for this group that there tends to be a rather sharp drop-off through the summer. The rates of Wave I for clusters of eleven or more are 121.51, and for Wave III, 65.90. There is a mild upturn in this rate over the Labor Day weekend. Also by examining the rates in the various waves, we can see that this lessening of large clusters is compensated for by a marked increase in the mid-range clusters, groups of six to ten.

Through the random interviews given this summer we know that the young people come to Hampton Beach to "hang around and sunbathe." What else can they do? They tell us that they are attracted to the beach by the presence of the opposite sex. Boy-girl relationships, sex play, is a most conspicuous type of activity seen on Hampton Beach. It is interesting to



note that this activity increases through the summer period. This seems to correspond to the opinions expressed by the teenagers on the Irritability-Deviancy Test in which they seem to have, especially in the second wave of the teen-age females, a permissive attitude toward kissing in public. It is almost amusing to note that the only activities which outrank sex play in the early part of the summer are shouting and ball throwing, and I think we can assume that a great deal of the ball throwing is being done by the younger children.

It is most interesting to compare wave III-A with the rest of the summer. The groups of young people have tended to even out in terms of size; they are neither standing around in two's and three's, nor are they, like the beginning of the summer, bunched in large clusters. There is a marked decrease in all activities (and we must remember that the "rate" measurement is a proportionate analysis). Interestingly, the only activity which seems to persist with any kind of substance is sex play, and even that is reduced from the previous time period of observation. What are the young people doing in the presence of so many police on the Labor Day weekend? Apparently, standing around and talking; they do not engage in any activity which might release tension or be a form of self-expression. When we look at items #9 and #10, we see that there is a great deal of staring at the police, but no muttering about what they are doing. One gets the feeling, even from these rather cold statistics, of a suppressive, unjoyful atmosphere. One wonders why sex play manages to escape this suppressive mood. Probably because the couples are relatively isolated and engaged in an activity which police consider to be unproductive of a disturbance.

One more interesting note before we look at the police activity over the summer period. It has been judged by various officials that playing a guitar and wearing a blazer is not proper at Hampton Beach. In fact, youngsters are stopped by the police for this particular activity. It is, then, interesting to see what happens to this activity over the summer period. Generally, it decreases; in fact, it virtually becomes nonexistent over the Labor Day period. It would seem that the police have effectively communicated their message.

There was great hope on the part of the merchants of Hampton Beach that the police would solve the problem of youthful disturbances. They were there this summer in great numbers

for the entire season, and in almost overwhelming proportions over the Labor Day weekend. As to the questions of whether or not this is an effective way of handling teen-age problems with the adult community, this research report cannot say. All we can do here is to make reports of the systematic observations made and draw our conclusions from these observations. Obviously, matters of policy are beyond the scope of this report. However, it is the hope of this reporter that, taken with the other data collected during the Project, that such findings could constitute some of the background out of which decisions for the future will be made on Hampton Beach, particularly with regard to youth.

The significant factor in observing police activity on Hampton Beach is that they are a presence. Either by standing around or promenading they communicate the fact that they are there. (We have chosen to call the police activity of walking their beat "promenading" because it really seemed that they were not simply walking; they were walking with purpose, purpose to demonstrate their superior size and strength and authority; their manner of walking was in harmony with their real purpose.) It would seem, therefore, that this type of activity was not simply random, unmotivated behavior, but that such 'presence' was very much a part of an official police program of law enforcement. As such it might well have very real educational merit. To obtain a more accurate picture of the activity of "standing around" by the police, let us further break down the data from the Observation Scale. The following table contains this analysis.

Table 3

Numbers of Individual State and Local Police  
And Numbers of Clusters of State and Local Police  
By Observational Waves

	WAVE I <sup>1</sup>				WAVE II <sup>2</sup>				WAVE III <sup>3</sup>				WAVE III-A <sup>4</sup>			
	Bodies	Units	%	%	Bodies	Units	%	%	Bodies	Units	%	%	Bodies	Units	%	%
State Police	146	66.9	79	61.2	144	78.2	80	74.0	77	60.0	40	57.1	286	40	154	44.2
Local Police	72	33.0	50	38.7	40	21.7	28	25.9	50	39.3	30	42.8	429	60	189	55.1
Total	218	99.9	129	99.9	184	99.9	127	99.9	127	99.9	70	99.9	715	100	343	99.9

1-4 Same time period as listed in previous table.

by studying this particular table we can immediately tell that there were always on Hampton Beach a rather large number of police. Usually, they stand in pairs of officers. And, we can see that through the main part of the summer there tended to be fewer and fewer police. Of course, there was a real massing of police power over the Labor Day period, Wave III-A. It is also of interest to note that the major police work done on the Boardwalk area, and hence the major kind of confrontation with the public, particularly the youth public, is by the State Police. They are in the dominant position, with nearly a four-to one margin in Wave II. The only exception to this is the Labor Day weekend, and this difference is made up of local police brought in from varying outlying towns. And so it is fairly obvious that with these numbers of police simply standing around that they become very much a part of the climate of the Beach situation.

We might make the assumption that this "standing around" is effective on the part of the police only insofar as it relates to other kinds of activity. If there were no other activities on the part of the police to reinforce their "presence", very soon they would become like the woodwork, an accustomed sight. Let us then examine what other kinds of activity is engaged in by the police keeping in mind that its effect is intensified by their continual presence. Perhaps the most single striking observation, after the one about "standing around," is how very few arrests there really were. Over the summer period hardly any arrests were observed by our staff. This is not to say that there were no arrests made, but it surely indicates something that the police themselves confirm; there were far fewer arrests this summer than in previous summers.

Perhaps a crucial item in the Observation Scale is the one referring to Admonishing Illegally. Across the summer those who worked in CAVE were most conscious of the fact that there seemed to them to be a policy of harrassment on the part of the police. Our observers did note this activity on the part of the State Police in particular. It is interesting to observe that this activity increases during the summer until we get to Labor Day where it falls off precipitously. On the other hand, legal admonishment seems to be headed in the same direction. However, it takes a sharp drop in the last two weeks of August.

Conversational encounters, presumably friendly, take another interesting turn. There seems to be a fairly constant pattern of State Police officers conversing with youth on the Beach,

until Labor Day weekend arrives, where it drops to the lowest point of the season. Also, the pattern of conversational encounters between officers and adults is on a fairly consistent level, until Labor Day weekend. During this last weekend of the summer, the conversation between state police and adults dramatically increases, almost tripling. This same general pattern is also followed by the local police, with this one exception: the local police increasingly talk to the young people through the summer so that by the time the Labor Day weekend arrives their conversation patterns with them are at their greatest intensity.

What can we say in conclusion about the behavior patterns of the police officers on Hampton Beach?

A. They are there. This is the most important element in the entire picture. They are there and they reinforce their presence with legal and "illegal" admonishing to the youth. This admonishing is perhaps a sort of educational technique, and might possibly be seen as a way of lowering the arrest-rate. It would have this effect if those people who are admonished would actually get out of Hampton Beach, and not try to have "revenge" on those officers who admonished them.

B. There is a high frequency of non-legal conversation between the Beach public and the Police Officers. It is probably a very healthy thing for the community as a whole if these officers and these youth can continue to converse in a situation such as this. It seems, upon analysis, however, that in building for the Labor Day weekend that the local police were somewhat more intelligent in their approach; they build slowly through the summer in their conversational contacts with the young people on the beach. When they might have needed these contacts, they were at their highest.

C. It must be said that, in all fairness, the State and Local Police probably did do an effective job of providing what we could call conscience reminders for the young people through the summer. Their continual presence was probably a continual reminder that undesirable behavior would not be tolerated. The question which the community must ask itself is whether or not it must continue to have such rigid definitions regarding acceptable and unacceptable behavior. We see, for example, in the Irritability-Deviancy Schedule that such rigid behavior definitions are not necessarily those of society. We may suspect, therefore, that such rigid behavior definitions are not those arrived at by a kind of popular consensus. It must also be asked by community whether it really wants this suppressed, no-activity atmosphere on its beach for the last weekend of the

season. There will be those who argue that there is no alternative; and there will be those who argue that some other alternative must somehow be found. There is no question but that a large enough police force can enforce any kind of rule. We see this in the marked decline of guitar and blanket carrying; we see this in the spreading out of the clusters of people on the boardwalk. We know, in other words, that this kind of policy carried out through the police is in some ways a very effective way of dealing with the public.

Let us, then, in a very cursory fashion outline what was happening on Hampton Beach one evening this past summer when an alternative way of dealing with the problem of a crowd was being tried. It was a very warm weekend and the beach was very crowded. People seemed to be coming in from everywhere. It is a month before the Labor Day weekend, a time we know from our previous research in which a great many rumors were circulating as to the kind of "rumble" that was to follow. That evening, one mile or so away from the center of the Beach, the CAVE organization had engaged the facilities of the State Bathhouse for a Beach Party. There was extensive advertising along the beach front, and music, bon-fire, singing were promised - along with a most attractive admission rate. What did the beach look like while this CAVE-sponsored beach party was going on? Under such crowded conditions was there any trouble observed that night? Let us hear from the informal reports of the beach observers for this period.

Comment on the afternoon of August 7th: Quiet afternoon - no police - people moving along boardwalk quite quickly. Constant references to police as people walk by - mostly negative. Mostly young couples on beach-dispersed among these are a few older couples. There is a marked absence of police in this sector this afternoon. There is one definite difference between this sector and sector "1" and that is the amount of sex play going on in the crowds of people - I can't believe I'm a prude but.....

That evening: "traffic very heavy, a lot of families, very low tension (sector 3). In sector 2 - there is little interplay between police and public, but the kids seem to be more accustomed to this situation than the adults. There is some controversy among an adult group of five when they are told to move, but the kids take the whole thing well in their stride. The beach is crowded and there seems to be a relaxed atmosphere. There is still a great deal of watchfulness on the part of the kids toward the police. They sing when the police aren't there to stop them. They stop when the police come by.

That night at the State Bathhouse was the largest open-air program CAVE put on during the entire summer. After that night, the merchants remarked how many people there were on the Beach. It was a beautiful weekend. There was a little conversation after this night among the merchants that there were a lot of suspicious characters about the beach that night. Yet, judging from the reports of the observers all was quiet on the front, relaxed, and most peaceful.

Was there any connection of a causal nature between the CAVE party and the biggest night of the beach season? Who is to know. We can only guess that putting an additional 800 to 1,000 young people in the center of the beach might very well have provided the friction for an explosion. The police complained about the CAVE event because it split their forces. On the other hand, by dividing the youngsters like this, it is more than possible that a more manageable situation was thereby created.

Perhaps, in retrospect, we can say that this evening was the only time when a genuine attempt at an intervention technique was tried. No one can know if there would have been trouble if there had been no part at the State Beach simply because there was no trouble. It does seem that if good opportunities are provided for the young people, which they plan for themselves, that they do not lead to trouble, and, more importantly, even on crowded weekends may be a genuine deterrent to trouble. If anyone were to look for some kind of demonstration as to whether or not the young people could plan for their own entertainment without damage to the adult community; it would seem that he might find it in such a night as the seventh of August. It may not represent a clearly proven alternative to the kind of social control methods used during the Labor Day weekend, but on the other hand, consider what happened leading up to this weekend, and what happened on the Labor Day weekend.

August 28th, 9-10 P.M., Sector 1 - Troopers seem to be very alert to minor traffic violations. There were three different autos stopped in the first half hour. General Conditions - few people on boardwalk; pedestrian traffic light, motor traffic moderate to heavy. State troopers seem to be putting pressures on kids in any way possible. Two state police cars were parked on boardwalk and gave the illusion of more police than were actually present. Another

(police) car cruising the boardwalk area.

September 4, 8 P. M. - I am extremely amazed that there actually appear to be more adults (i. e. people over 25) walking along the boardwalk than kids. There are virtually no groups on the railing - only an occasional individual. It is a rather cool, damp evening, but the sky is clear and the moon shining. Traffic is so light that I have yet to see a cop directing it. The numbers of police are somewhat ridiculous when the size of the crowd is considered. There is no one on the sand. There is no doubt about it - the state police are very impressive both by their size and numbers. As far as tension goes - I don't detect any. The police aren't being overtly friendly, but neither are they belligerent in any way.

Kids resent being spied on by the police:

It might be fitting to end this section of the report with a scrap of poetry, this by T. S. Eliot:

This is the way the world will end,  
This is the way the world will end;  
Not with a bang-  
But with a whimper.

Table I

## RESULTS OF THE BEACH OBSERVATION SCALE

	N	WAVE I <sup>1</sup> %	RATE*	N	WAVE II <sup>2</sup> %	RATE	N	WAVE III <sup>3</sup> %	RATE
1. Size of Cluster (No. of individuals)									
2	221	22.43	279.74	153	23.07	209.58	90	22.72	214.54
3	186	18.88	235.44	105	15.83	143.83	54	13.63	122.72
4	179	18.17	226.58	127	19.15	173.97	57	14.39	129.54
5	98	9.94	124.05	84	12.66	115.06	54	13.63	122.72
6	82	8.32	103.79	43	6.48	58.90	39	9.84	88.63
7	47	4.77	59.49	32	4.82	43.83	34	8.58	77.27
8	42	4.26	53.16	21	3.16	28.76	18	4.54	40.90
9	16	1.62	20.25	8	1.20	10.95	9	2.27	20.90
10	18	1.82	22.78	9	1.35	12.32	12	3.03	27.27
11+	96	9.74	121.51	81	12.21	110.95	29	7.32	65.90
TOTAL	935	99.95	124.65	663	99.93	908.15	396	99.95	899.94
2. Ball Throwing	71	28.06	89.87	23	12.84	31.50	38	25.67	86.36
3. Sex Play	46	18.18	58.22	53	29.60	72.60	50	33.78	113.63
4. Acrobatics	41	16.20	51.89	34	18.99	46.57	24	16.21	54.54
5. Carrying Guit. & Blanket	33	13.04	41.77	18	10.05	24.65	14	9.45	31.81
6. Shouting	43	16.99	54.43	24	13.40	32.82	5	3.37	11.36
7. Singing	0	00.00	00.00	8	4.46	10.95	0	0.00	00.00
8. Cov. with sand	11	4.34	18.92	4	2.23	5.47	0	0.00	00.00
11. Fighting	5	1.97	6.32	0	0.00	0.00	3	2.02	6.81

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1. Date 7/17-7/25	No. of observations per period	79
2. Date 7/31-8/15	No. of observations per period	73
3. Date 8/21-8/29	No. of observations per period	44
4. Date 9/4-9/5	No. of observations per period	52
5. Date 8/21-9/5	No. of observations per period	96
6. Date 7/17-9/5	No. of observations per period	248

\*The Rate is determined by dividing the number of times an item was observed by the number of observational periods and multiplying by 100. These rates allow one to compare the frequency of occurrence of the various items across observational waves.



Table I

## RESULTS OF THE BEACH OBSERVATION SCALE

	N	WAVE III-A <sup>4</sup>		N	WAVE III & III-A <sup>5</sup>		N	TOTAL ALL WAVES <sup>6</sup>	
		%	RATE		%	RATE		%	RATE
1. Size of Cluster (No. of individuals)									
2	51	13.82	98.07	141	18.40	146.87	515	21.33	207.66
3	67	18.15	128.84	121	15.79	126.04	412	17.06	166.12
4	47	12.73	90.38	104	13.57	108.33	410	16.98	165.32
5	46	12.46	88.46	100	13.05	104.16	282	11.68	113.70
6	51	13.82	93.07	90	11.74	93.75	215	8.90	86.69
7	29	7.85	55.76	63	8.22	65.62	142	5.84	57.25
8	14	3.79	26.92	32	4.17	33.33	95	3.93	38.30
9	14	3.79	26.92	23	3.00	23.95	47	1.94	18.95
10	11	2.93	21.15	23	3.00	23.95	50	2.07	20.16
11+	40	10.84	76.92	69	9.00	71.87	246	10.19	99.19
TOTAL	369	100.2	711.49	766	99.94	797.87	2414	99.96	973.34
2. Ball Throwing	23	23.95	44.23	61	25.00	63.54	155	22.33	62.50
3. Sex Play	33	34.37	63.46	83	34.01	86.45	182	26.22	73.38
4. Acrobatics	12	12.50	23.07	36	14.75	37.50	111	15.99	44.75
5. Carrying Guit. x Blanket	2	2.08	3.84	16	6.55	16.66	67	9.65	27.01
6. Shouting	5	5.20	9.61	10	4.09	10.41	77	11.09	31.04
7. Singing	3	3.12	5.76	3	1.22	3.12	11	1.53	4.43
8. Cove with sand	5	5.20	9.61	5	2.04	5.20	20	2.88	8.06
11. Fighting	0	0.00	0.00	3	1.22	3.12	8	1.15	3.32

Table II

RESULTS OF THE BEACH OBSERVATION SCALE  
(Related to Police)

WAVE I <sup>1</sup>				WAVE II <sup>2</sup>			WAVE III <sup>3</sup>		
	N	%	RATE*	N	%	RATE	N	%	RATE
9. Staring at Police	2	.79	2.53	14	7.82	19.17	12	8.10	27.27
10. Muttering at Police	1	.39	1.26	1	.55	1.37	2	1.35	5.54
12. Standing around	y <sup>o</sup> 79 x <sup>oo</sup> 50	20.84 13.19	100.0 63.29	80 28	24.84 8.69	109.6 38.4	40 30	19.41 14.56	90.9 68.2
13. Promenad.	y 75 x 30	19.78 7.91	94.93 37.97	73 20	22.67 6.21	100.0 27.39	31 27	15.04 13.10	70.45 61.36
14. Detain Vehicle	y 5 x 3	1.31 .79	6.32 3.79	4 2	1.24 .62	5.47 2.73	2 3	.97 1.45	4.54 6.81
15. Talk to Adults	y 21 x 12	5.54 3.16	26.58 15.18	19 5	5.90 1.55	26.02 6.84	7 6	3.39 2.91	16.90 13.63
16. Talk to Youth	y 26 x 2	6.36 .53	32.91 2.53	22 2	6.33 .62	30.13 2.73	16 7	7.76 3.93	36.36 16.90
17. Admonish Legally	y 8 x 1	2.11 .26	10.12 1.26	11 0	3.41 0.00	15.06 00.00	1 0	.48 .00	2.27 0.00
18. Admonish Illegally	y 4 x 0	1.05 0.00	5.06 0.00	8 0	2.48 0.00	10.95 00.00	8 1	3.88 .48	18.18 2.27
19. Arresting	y 1 x 0	.26 0.00	1.26 0.00	0 0	0.00 0.00	00.00 00.00	1 0	.48 .00	2.27 0.00
20. Traffic Flow	x 57	15.03	72.15	47	14.59	64.38	26	12.62	5.09
21. Tracking	y 4 x 1	1.05 .26	5.06 1.26	0 1	0.00 .31	00.00 1.36	0 0	0.00 0.00	0.00 0.00

See Page 44A

1. Date 7/17-7/25 No. of observations per period 79  
 2. Date 7/31-8/15 No. of observations per period 73  
 3. Date 8/21-8/29 No. of observations per period 44  
 4. Date 9/4-9/5 No. of observations per period 52  
 5. Date 8/21-9/5 No. of observations per period 96  
 6. Date 7/17-9/5 No. of observations per period 248

o - y - State Police oo - x - Local Police

\* The Rate is determined by dividing the number of times an item was observed by the number of observational periods and multiplying by 100. These rates allow one to compare the frequency of occurrence of the various items across observational waves.

Table II

RESULTS OF THE BEACH OBSERVATION SCALE  
(Related to Police)

		WAVE III-A <sup>4</sup>			WAVE III&III-A <sup>5</sup>			TOTAL ALL WAVES <sup>6</sup>		
		N	%	RATE	N	%	RATE	N	%	RATE
9. Staring at Police		13	13.54	25.00	25	10.24	26.04	59	8.50	23.79
10. Muttering at Police		0	00.00	00.00	2	.31	2.08	4	.57	1.61
12. Standing around	y	154	20.89	296.2	194	20.57	202.1	354	21.42	142.74
	x	189	25.64	363.5	219	23.22	223.2	297	17.97	119.75
13. Promenad.	y	114	15.46	219.2	145	15.37	151.0	293	17.74	114.11
	x	141	19.13	271.1	163	17.81	175.0	218	13.19	87.90
14. Detain Vehicle	y	15	2.03	28.84	17	1.80	17.7	26	1.57	10.48
	x	4	.54	7.29	7	.74	7.29	12	.72	4.83
15. Talk to Adults	y	32	4.34	61.53	39	4.13	40.60	79	4.78	31.85
	x	34	4.61	65.38	40	4.24	41.66	63	3.81	25.40
16. Talk to Youth	y	14	1.89	26.92	30	3.13	31.25	78	4.72	31.95
	x	11	1.49	21.15	18	1.90	18.75	22	1.33	8.87
Admonish Legally	y	1	.13	1.92	2	.21	2.08	21	1.27	8.46
	x	3	.40	5.76	3	.31	3.12	4	.24	1.61
18. Admonish Illegally	y	3	.40	5.76	11	1.16	11.45	23	1.39	9.27
	x	1	.13	1.92	2	.21	2.08	2	.12	.80
19. Arresting	y	0	.00	0.00	1	.10	1.04	2	.12	.80
	x	0	0.00	0.00	0	.00	0.00	0	.00	.00
20. Traffic Flow	x	20	2.71	28.46	46	4.87	47.91	150	9.07	60.48
21. Tracking	y	1	.13	1.92	1	.10	1.04	6	.36	2.41
	x	0	0.00	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	2	.12	.80

### The Business Attitude Scale

We have remarked many times through the course of this report on the nature of the community's climate in which the Project operated. We have pointed out such characteristics as fear, hostility, reliance on external controls for social processes, and a kind of tentative, hopeful optimism which seemed to evidence itself at times. We have maintained that these attitudes were critical in the operation of the Project as a whole. It is important, therefore, to have some kind of analysis of these attitudes which helps us move away from the kind of unstructured sort of impressions and facts we make about such situations as these. Moreover, since the Project involves a significant kind of demonstration of an idea, it is important to see whether or not this demonstration makes any real difference in the kind of attitudes shared by the community.

In order to study the social attitudes of the community and their change, a survey was devised which was called the Business Attitude Scale. This instrument was composed of seven paragraphs, each an opportunity for observation of the direction of the change. The Test also contained a data box for getting as much information about the change as possible. The information requested in this data box is as follows:

- |                         |                                   |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. Sex                  | b. Kind of business               |
| c. Age                  | d. Employment other than business |
| e. How long in business | f. Education of business          |
| g. Religion             |                                   |

The data obtained from the Business Attitude Scale were analyzed together with other data obtained from the community. The results of the analysis of the data gave us the direction by which we were able to see some social changes, and to determine whether or not there was any particular group which was particularly affected by the change. The results of the analysis are as follows:

The results of the analysis of the Business Attitude Scale were as follows: There was a significant change in the direction of the change in the community. The results of the analysis of the data gave us the direction by which we were able to see some social changes, and to determine whether or not there was any particular group which was particularly affected by the change. The results of the analysis are as follows:

ing, on the other extreme, to more egalitarian, supportive traits. The basic theoretical orientation for this approach is found in The Authoritarian Personality, T. W. Adorno, et al.; The Open and Closed Mind, Milton Rokeach. More immediately, the work of Dr. William E. Alberts on "Ministers' Attitudes Toward Juvenile Delinquency" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1961) and Levinson and Huffman's article in the Journal of Personality, March 1955, entitled "Traditional Family Ideology and Its Relation to Personality."

Out of this basic theoretical orientation three principal attitudes were drawn: domination, avoidance-rejection, and stereotyping. While these attitudes may be broken down into finer points, for our purposes they serve well as major foci for establishing the climate of opinion on Hampton Beach. These attitudes represent the salient features of what has been described as the authoritarian personality. It seemed beyond the purview of the Project to deal extensively with personality attributes. Let it be simply understood that undergirding this somewhat crude attitude scale there is a substantial body of theoretical formulation. It is perhaps necessary to add that the Business Attitude Scale represents a kind of global picture of the attitudes rather than the highly disciplined approach used by Adorno and his collaborators. And, while no extensive validity and reliability checks were made on this instrument, there was a fairly decent pre-testing done using the up-town merchants. And, we might add, the two waves of this Business Attitude Scale are very similar to each other even though different businesses were tested. Because an exhaustive list of businesses on Hampton Beach was virtually impossible to obtain, the strict tenets of a stratified random sample were not able to be obeyed. However, there is through both of the waves of this test very adequate and, as far as we can tell, proportionate representation of the businesses on Hampton Beach.

Let us turn now to a description of the nexus of attitudes which constituted the climate of opinion measured by the Business Attitude Scale. The first of the three was what we called dominance. At its most simple level, dominance is that attitude which convinces its holder that his status gives him the right to direct the affairs of others, and that the other person is expected to conform to these demands. The person with this mind-set is likely to have a hierarchical view of society in which rules and regulations are handed down through the echelons of society. Such an individual maintains such an attitude because it is useful in handling his own perhaps unrecognized

hostilities. These hostilities are managed by the individual's identification with the values of those who are perceived to have power over him. This enables the person holding dominance attitudes to justify himself and to displace his hostility on all those who transgress the particular set of values held to be dominant. As a part of this attitude, there is a distorted belief in will power. The individual described here holds that the person who disobeys authorities in the social because he either wants to or because he does not have enough sheer will power not to follow his baser instincts. And so it is that punitive dominance is further justified in that transgressions of the "law" bring with it mandatory restrictions. The depth of human behavior is passed over in favor of a generalization that makes it possible to rationalize delinquent behavior and not face what might prove threatening either in the other person or in himself.

The second attitude which the Business Attitude Scale attempts to portray is called avoidance-rejection. Simply, the person holding this attitude either avoids or rejects the individual who either violates his code of ethics or has a different code. The rationale for this is seen in relation to the attitude of dominance. The authoritarian individual cannot afford to acknowledge in any real sense that other life styles have any validity - styles other than the one set by the perceived authority figure. Obviously, to analyze the sympathetically understand a differing life style is, again, too threatening.

If one must rigidly adopt a set of values as the only way of life and if one cannot psychologically afford to consider the other person who is different and so must thereby reject him, we are immediately encountered by the third attitude ~~was~~, stereotyping attitudes. If all of the above is an actual way of regarding those differing in life styles, then there is only one obviously logical conclusion; all those who are different than I am are alike. To portray this stereotyping attitude and its counter-part, let us turn to the work of Dr. William Alberts in his work on "Ministers' Attitudes Toward Juvenile Delinquency," (published by the General Board of Christian Social Concerns, The Methodist Church, 1962, p. 36):

Unlike the person whose rigid personality structure calls for the stereotyping of youth in trouble, the individual with supportive tendencies has the capacity to recognize and appreciate the individuality and uniqueness of human life. This capac-

ity for individuated perception is an outgrowth of his developmental awareness and acceptance of the underlying forces within his personality. Mindful and tolerant of subtle discrepancies, self-centered motives, and anti-social impulses within his own system of values, he is able to identify consciously with individual children and to respect their uniqueness. Aware and appreciative of personal needs, hopes, fears, achievements, and failures, it is possible for him to view delinquent behavior from a more comprehensive and less symptomatic position than the representative of authoritarianism. Thus the greater the degree to which the individual has become aware of, accepted, and integrated those emotional forces of his own personality which often function below the surface of consciousness, the more he possesses the capacity for individuated perception. On the other hand, the lesser the degree to which he has become aware of, accepted, and integrated those forces, the more he evidences stereotypy.

Dominance, avoidance-rejection and stereotypy form the triad of attitudes measured by the Business Attitude Scale. It can be readily seen that the higher the scores on these scales the more difficult it will be for the ideas of the Project to be accepted, the more difficult it will be for the young people on Hampton Beach to be themselves. On the other hand, if there comes to be significant shifts in attitude, we will measure whether or not the presence of such a Project has any impact on such a major kind of value structure. We can see, therefore, that a test such as the Business Attitude Scale is an essential part of the research connected to a Project such as this.

Let us now see what particular items were used to measure these attitudes. Only a partial listing will be given.

#### The Attitude of Dominance:

The youngsters who come to this beach should learn, as others have, that no one is his own master because much of life is

determined by unchangeable forces beyond human control. One of the answers to our disturbances at Hampton Beach is for the churches to start preaching more "Hell-fire" sermons.

On the whole, young people who get into trouble with the law really know right from wrong and can do better if they really try.

#### The Avoidance-Rejection Attitude:

I would like to see young people on Hampton Beach enjoying themselves, so we should have the kind of entertainment most appealing to them. (Reverse scoring).

We should pay attention to what youngsters are doing in the disturbances because they are trying to tell us something in their revolt. (Reverse scoring).

#### The Stereotyping Attitude:

While looks can be deceiving, physical appearance, such as tidiness or sloppiness, portrays a young person's true character.

The crowds of teen-agers that invade our Beach every week-end have driven away the good family business we used to have.

There is no earthly reason why people do the destructive, foolish things they do.

People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.

The method of scoring this test was according to the Likert scheme:

plus 1: I slightly agree	minus 1: I slightly disagree
plus 2: I moderately agree	minus 2: I moderately disagree
plus 3: I strongly agree	minus 3: I strongly disagree



These responses were converted into numerical scores in the following way:

minus 3:	1 point	plus 1:	5 points
minus 2:	2 points	plus 2:	6 points
minus 1:	3 points	plus 3:	7 points

If the individual being tested did not reply in any way to the item that item was given four points.

The Attitudes of Dominance and Stereotyping had a possible high of seventy-seven points and a possible low of eleven points. The Avoidance-Rejection attitude had a possible high of twenty-eight points and a possible low of four points.

We have mentioned earlier in this report the possibilities contained within this test and the interview situation for a fruitful kind of intervention technique. This test was administered for the most part by laymen and women from the town of Hampton. Perhaps the most salutary effect this test had in terms of opening up dialogue was for the people of the Beach to witness people for the town taking a genuine interest in the problems of the Beach. Although there was some fear and trepidation on the part of some of the interviewers, this technique of providing the lay person with a standardized approach and an interview form and sending him forth into the field was a good one and one to be emulated in other similar ventures. The only caution one should take is to be sufficiently aware of the total situation so that no one type of business is interviewed as over against some other type. A very serious effort was made to approach as close as possible to a stratified random sample - without knowing the precise dimensions of the business community.

Let us turn now to the results of this Business-Attitude-Scale. These results will be given according to the major groupings which were derived at by the physical characteristics given in the data box and by the open-ended responses provided at the conclusion of the Scale. All of these open-ended responses were compiled and categories derived. The mean scores and standard deviations for each of the attitudes are given for each of the groups. The standard deviation is an important device here which we will take to indicate the kind of consensus in the

business community or sub-group about a particular attitude. As the standard deviation increases, we will take it to indicate that a divergence of opinion is occurring. As the standard deviation narrows, this will be construed as implying a convergence, a focusing of attitude. This test was administered in two waves: one at the beginning of the summer through the middle of July, and another from the middle of August through the second week of September.

Table

The Results of the Business Attitude Scale

			<u>Means and Standard Deviations</u>					
			<u>Domination</u>		<u>Avoid-Reject</u>		<u>Stereotyping</u>	
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Over-all Scores	Wave I		57.8	11.4	14.9	5.4	19.7	13.6
	Wave II		56.77	12.1	14.8	5.0	50.0	12.9
Business Conditions								
Improved	Wave I		55.2	12.2	15.2	3.7	42.2	14.4
	Wave II		53.3	12.8	14.7	5.1	46.5	14.9
Fair	Wave I		62.6	8.6	16.0	5.1	58.1	66.9
	Wave II		67.7	3.4	12.7	3.9	55.7	3.9
Poor, fall off	Wave I		63.1	10.2	16.7	5.1	57.6	12.2
	Wave II		50.5	5.7	12.9	4.6	43.8	11.5
Age-Sex								
Females	Wave I		54.6	10.0	14.4	5.9	45.1	14.7
	Wave II		56.4	10.8	14.4	4.3	53.0	10.3
Men under 50	Wave I		52.0	11.4	12.4	3.7	44.2	12.8
	Wave II		53.1	15.5	14.3	6.7	42.1	13.0
Men over 50	Wave I		65.5	8.1	15.6	4.4	56.5	9.3
	Wave II		59.3	9.3	16.1	4.4	50.6	12.1
Size of Business								
No Answer	Wave I		65.7	11.5	13.0	7.8	58.7	11.6
	Wave II		56.2	10.4	15.6	3.9	50.4	7.1
Small	Wave I		56.2	13.6	16.4	4.2	50.7	16.1
	Wave II		58.8	9.5	15.3	4.1	53.6	11.2
Medium	Wave I		59.0	7.5	14.5	2.9	51.1	10.6
	Wave II		67.1	5.9	16.9	6.3	59.0	3.1
Large	Wave I		57.6	11.4	13.0	5.7	43.2	13.3
	Wave II		46.1	12.8	12.6	5.0	40.3	13.0

		M		SD		M		SD	
Behavior	Improved	Wave I	53.7	Wave II	52.6	Wave I	57.7	Wave II	69.3
Fair		Wave I	55.5	Wave II	66.0	Wave I	65.8	Wave II	64.0
Poor		Wave I	55.5	Wave II	66.0	Wave I	65.8	Wave II	64.0
Endorse Police		Wave I	55.5	Wave II	66.0	Wave I	65.8	Wave II	64.0
Criticize Police		Wave I	55.5	Wave II	66.0	Wave I	65.8	Wave II	64.0
Ambivalent Police		Wave I	55.5	Wave II	66.0	Wave I	65.8	Wave II	64.0
Need Better Facilities		Wave I	55.5	Wave II	66.0	Wave I	65.8	Wave II	64.0

Perhaps it would be convenient as a first step to attempt a translation of these numbers into verbalized concepts of behavior. Such translating involves one in some rather arbitrary picking and choosing, however the following categories seem to offer a fair description of what is in the above table.

Numerical Scores, Means  
Av.-Rej.      Dom. & Ster.

23	77
13 and over	60-70
16-17	55-60
15-14	50-55

13 & below      40-50

Description  
of Response

Not attained in Scale  
 Very difficult to deal with  
 Stubborn but might be persuaded  
 Will listen but retain a firm  
 sense of his own decision-  
 making rights  
 very reasonable

There is not much point to attempt setting up a similar type of arrangement for the Standard Deviations. One must examine them in relationship to each other.

It is striking to notice how close both the means and the standard deviations are for both waves on all three attitudes. Actually, it is rather difficult to draw any kind of substantial conclusion from this parallelism. It is a bit too easy a generalization to conclude from this that there were no changes in attitude on Hampton Beach over the summer. Our subgroupings show some interesting, if not substantial changes. One would like to take these parallel results as confirmation that the Business Attitude Scale is reliable. A more precise sampling technique would enable one to make such a statement. It might be fair to say that because they are so very close that we probably have a reasonably accurate assessment of the attitudes on Hampton Beach for the summer of 1965 and that on the whole there was probably no marked change in the attitudes of the entire business community. Let us assure then that what this Business Attitude Scale describes does actually have some reality to it, and that we are not simply playing with numbers.

Those who remark on business conditions as being improved seem to be somewhat less dominating and stereotyping than those who indicate that business is only fair or poor. It might almost seem that the description "fair" actually means uncertain or anxious. Those responding with this description tend to persist in their more authoritarian attitudes and there seems to be more agreement among this group than there are with either of the other groups, especially as it relates to the attitude of dominance. It is interesting to note that by the end of the summer there seems to be real agreement between those who say that business has improved with those who say that behavior has improved, and genuine disagreement in the attitudes of dominance and stereotyping between those who say that business has improved and those who feel that the behavior of the young people has deteriorated. One might conclude that the way a business man looks at his business prospects tends to run parallel to the way that a business man evaluates the behavior of the youth on the beach. The marked exception to this are those business people who judge business at the end of the summer to have been poorer than last years. One might say of this group that even though business did fall off it did not tend to blame the young people for their difficulties.

In all of this it must be noted that we are making no attempt to delineate cause and effect. We are simply attempting to trace out parallel lines of thinking.

When we examine the attitudes of dominance, avoidance-rejection, and stereotyping in relationship to age, the following results are to be found. Among the men over fifty years of age, there was a slight, but real shift toward a more permissive attitude in the areas of dominance and stereotyping. Also, the range of opinion seemed to broaden out somewhat. This is somewhat surprising because the older men seemed to modify their attitudes while the men under fifty years of age remained relatively the same. However, this shift must be seen in the light of the fact that the men under fifty were less authoritarian to begin with than were the men over fifty.

We might draw two general conclusions from the data with regard to attitude related to size of business. Of the businesses tested, the larger the business the less authoritarian its proprietor, and the more flexibility he seems to have. In contrast to the large business establishments, the smaller places seemed to reflect a most severe approach to the problems - particularly in the attitude of dominance. Again we note the fact that the mid-range size of business seems to possess a greater concentration or consensus of opinion than do either the small or the large business people.

It might be of interest to note the comments made by proprietors of the larger business establishments: we need more activities for all people; police too strict, business is hurting, only the 'power structure' is benefitting from the Beach set-up; we need to have more for kids, kids need recognition, behavior is beginning to improve; business is slack, reputation gone, Beach is uninteresting; over-all business climate is backward, too much restraint on youngsters; police responsible for good job. And so on. These comments were given near the close of the summer season.

The second general conclusion is more in the shape of a intuition while reading the data with the knowledge of the business community. It is quite possible that the small business man does not score as high as one might expect considering how precarious his situation is because his summer business is only a side-line, or a retirement proposition. On the other hand, it is the middle-sized business man who is really the most frightened by what he sees for prospects on Hampton Beach. It is, further, quite possible that it is this rather large and insecure group of middle-sized business groups which succeeds in actually generating the punitive attitude toward the young people. More prosperous business people, in turn, are then able to build a political base on these fears even though, as a group, the larger

business type may not feel as punitive toward the youngster. In other words, his own self interest outweighs whatever he might feel toward youngsters on the Beach.

Those who judged youth behavior as poor, scored very high on all authoritarian indices. Perhaps it helps to correct the picture by noting that there were only two individuals in Wave I and two individuals in Wave II who commented in this fashion. On the other hand, seventeen business people in the early part of the summer and sixteen in the late summer judged that the behavior of the youth had improved. Those who evaluate behavior to be improving tend to be less dominant and stereotyping than the others, but just as rejecting. In other words, they permit themselves to analyze the situation, but are not overly-sympathetic with those who deviate. It is quite probable that those who see behavior improving on the Beach are mostly the larger business people.

The most dramatic contrast in the entire Business Attitude Scale is the attitude toward police. It is obvious that those who endorse the police and their program are far more authoritarian than those who are critical. By the end of the summer the attitudes toward police in the business community tended to polarize. In the early part of the summer fourteen per cent of the respondents mentioned the police in the open-ended question at the end of the interview. But, by the end of the summer, forty-four mentioned the police. Not only that, criticism of the program of control through law enforcement by the business community grew appreciably. There is more difference in attitude between the group that endorses police and the group who criticizes police than between any other groups, with the exception possibly of large and medium-size business proprietors.

Because this contrast is so dramatic, it might be useful to see what the characteristics of these two groups are. This information provides a useful clue to the contrasting ideologies on the Beach. A simple frequency distribution of the two waves will serve our purposes here.

	<u>Endorse</u> <u>Police</u>	<u>Critical</u> <u>Police</u>	<u>Ambivalent</u> <u>Police*</u>
Bus. Imp.	2	1	2
Bus. Fair	2	1	0
Bus. Poor	3	3	0
Behav. Imp.	3	2	1
Behav. Fair	2	0	0
Behav. Poor	2	0	0
Small Bus.	4(all W.II)	2	1
Med. Bus.	5	1	1
Large Bus.	5(4 in W.I)	4	2
Bch.Needs Improv.	0	2	1
Women	7	4	1
Men under 50	3	1	2
Men over 50	4	2	1

\* Ambivalent reactions - both for and against - did not appear in Wave I, but did in Wave II.

A comment or two might be in order. In the beginning of the summer the large business group tended to endorse the police program. However, by the end of the summer, only one in the large business group did endorse the police approach. It may not be of any consequence, but it is interesting to note that not one of those who endorses the police approach also commented about the need for improvement on Hampton Beach. Finally, it is interesting to note the appearance at the end of the summer of a group of business people who seem to be taking a second look at the police approach. They have not yet made up their minds as to whether it is good or bad; they are ambivalent. Clearly, there is a large group within the business community that does endorse the police approach. Just as clear, however, is the fact that such endorsement is not unanimous among the people of the business community. In fact, there are some thoughtful, trenchant criticisms of the police.

Before stating some general conclusions arising out of the data gathered by the Business Attitude Scale, let us ask whether or not there were over the summer significant shifts in the consensus of opinion of the groupings we have outlined. We will interpret the Standard Deviation as a measure of consensus on a particular attitude. Let us also assume that a change of five points in the standard deviation indicated a real degree of shift. The first observation we make is the fact that in comparing first and second wave

standard deviations there were no significant shifts upward. This is to say that over the summer opinion by any of the sub-groups did not appreciably generalize. In contrast to this, there were several significant shifts downward, toward greater consensus. These shifts were in the areas of business conditions fair to poor, dominance attitude; small and medium-size business, stereotyping; those who judge youth behavior as poor, all attitudes; the advocates of police policies, dominance; the critics of police practices, all attitudes; and attitudes of stereotyping among those who see the need for improvement on Hampton Beach. We can conclude from these observations that in those situations where strong feelings are generated, particularly feelings of anxiety, there tends to be among the various sub-groupings a focusing of feeling. With the exception of those who felt that business was poor this summer (attributable perhaps to a deviation in the sampling technique) and with the exception of those critical of the police (in which earlier, more permissive attitudes were subsequently reinforced), the shifts represent a trend toward the intensifying of dominance and stereotyping attitudes. Putting it another way, fears in a business person whose livelihood is already threatened does not simply dissolve; it rather intensifies.

#### General Conclusions:

There is fairly general agreement among sociologists and anthropologists that the attitudes which a society has towards its youth is a critically determinative factor in the health and longevity of that society. Considering the range of response open to the person given the Business Attitude Scale, we would have to say that this particular business community tends toward a rigid, authoritarian approach in its dealings with youth. Moreover, the theoretical background out of which this instrument is derived would suggest that what we are measuring is a kind of life-style, and that the attitudes of dominance, rejection, stereotyping, are personality characteristics of these people which color their perceptions of all of life. While there were some interesting changes in the sub-groupings of the sample, it has to be said that there were no really dramatic changes in the attitudes of the business community over the summer period. This is understandable insofar as the test was measuring attitudes which are intimately linked with deep-seated personality traits. Such attitudes are very slow to change.



Perhaps, in light of the kind of attitudes tested, it is remarkable that there were as many chances as there were. It is fair to say that in the leadership of the business community can understand its role in alleviating the insecurity of the smaller business man, and can responsibly act out what he is beginning to see in terms of alternative attitudes to the ones tested, that there can arise within the business community of Hampton Beach that climate of opinion which tends toward respect for the individual rather than stereotyping, and mutual responsibility instead of postures of dominance.

What has been said above is immediately sharpened by the fact that it is the middle-size business and the small size business in which the proprietor has more opportunity to come into contact with the individual customer, more, that is, that the man who operates a larger establishment. While the data from the random interviews does not substantiate this fact, it might well be that, upon more careful interviewing and probing, we could discover some very real relationships between resentments felt by young people and the particular business men in question.

Here, then, are two foci of future research: investigation into "political" patterns and community attitudes of leading business people, and a more detailed analysis of business-consumer patterns of inter-reaction.

Secondly, it has to be of some major significance that there are within the business community two groups as divergent in attitude as those who endorse the police approach and those who criticize the police policy. This split within the community, a difference of opinion which persisted through the summer, was one of the very real set of dynamics within which the Project attempted to operate. It can safely be said that the only time peace and harmony made its happy visitation to the chambers of commerce this past summer was when both endorsers and critics of the police honestly recognized the validity of the other person's approach. This recognition tended to moderate the extremes in each group who would have tended to rely on one approach to the exclusion of all other approaches. There are, in other words, not simply differences in approach to a particular problem, there are individuals on Hampton Beach with very different personalities. Stepping outside the strictures of research, one can comment that when we see people as valid persons rather than as types, we will start moving toward resolving the kinds of tensions and disunities which char-

acterize this Beach community.

The third generalization which can be drawn from this data is that no one sub-grouping has any 'monopoly' on any set of attitudes. In other words, what this test describes is not a set of attitudes which arises out of one's physical and economic circumstances necessarily. More likely is the fact that we are seeing personality types which occupy a certain niche in the society of Hampton Beach.

The possibility of a changing climate of attitude is present in Hampton Beach. This possibility must become an actuality if there is to be any ultimate resolution of conflict in the community. We must consider, in the fourth place, what sort of things can be done to implement this all-important change in the attitudes of the business community. The answer to this question is concomitant to that which will reduce fear and insecurity among the members of the business community. Inevitably, the economic factor will have to be reckoned with. Unfortunately, it is nearly as certain that such reckoning will not actually happen until there are some very real changes in attitude similar to that which we have been dealing. This, perhaps, is another way of saying that not until the business leadership is something less than content to dominate the scene and perceive his environment in stereotyped terms is there likely to be any significant structural changes in the Beach community enabling the frustrated "little guy" to do any more than strike out at the nearest target -- which, in this case, might well be youth.

A complementary approach to the above suggestion regarding business leadership has to do with working on that attitude which seems most likely to change, stereotypy. Generally, the stereotyping attitude is lower than either dominance or avoidance-rejection. Before attempting to modify ideas related to power structure, then, it might be well for future work, demonstration or otherwise, to concentrate on giving the business community those opportunities and experiences which modify their prejudices. Perhaps to over-simplify, it might be more effective to approach the matter of the adult world's relationship with youth on the basis of analysis and understanding rather than on the more idealistic, albeit more desirable, basis of outright acceptance.

One of the ways in which further understanding could be realized is by the more extensive use of interviewing techniques such as the Business Attitude Scale. As we have said before, and now say in this context again, any opportunity for dialogue between individuals of different groups and locations will serve to breakdown the barriers which we see in the attitudes of the business community. Shorter interview schedules given to more people, inquiry into basic economic dilemmas, more open-ended questioning will be of real use. For the Project as a whole, it would be more helpful if such tests were more securely tied in to the other instruments of the research program.

## THE IRRITABILITY - DEVIANCY TEST

The Irritability-Deviancy Test is designed to provide some measure of the kinds of deviant and, presumably, irritating behavior the public will stand. One tends to assume that there is not much agreement between young people on the beach and adults on the beach as to what is tolerable behavior. In making decisions, for example, about what kinds of activity will or will not be permitted on the Beach, the Police and political powers decide that such and such a particular behavior will not be tolerated because it is annoying to the public who are the "paying customers." Research has the responsibility to find out whether or not these are valid assumptions, to examine analytically the various types of behavior presumed to be offensive and see if they are really offensive. Moreover, one has, if he is oriented toward the adult community, the tendency to believe that the adolescent is a particularly lawless breed that has no concept of any type of behavior as being wrong, that "anything goes." Again, research is called upon to test whether or not this hypothesis is a correct one.

The Irritability-Deviancy Test is a relatively simple device consisting of some thirty items that list different sorts of behavior that are ordinarily observed on the Beach. When one first sees this list of behavior items, there is a tendency to dismiss them as being somewhat irrelevant. Yet, there was none of the items that someone during the course of the summer did not find objectionable. The person who is presented with the test is asked to make a judgment as to how he would react to each of the items, irregardless of whatever the laws and ordinances might be. The alternatives are: accept, ignore, warn, ask to leave, and arrest.

This instrument gains its credibility not only because it involves concrete behavioral categories, but also because it was administered to a very large group of people. Over the course of the summer, two thousand and thirty-four of these tests were administered on Hampton Beach to the following groups:

Adults	1053
Teen-age females	343
Teen-age males	411
Teen-age random*	191
Arrested youth	36

\* Teen-age random consist of a group which was also given a longer interview schedule.

Let us examine the following table which presents a combined average of the percentage under each category across the summer. By this way, we can gain an insight into the comparisons between the groups of adults, teen-age males and teen-age females, we can see where there are similarities and differences between the various groups in terms of their tolerance of what might possibly be considered irritating or deviant behavior. In order to insure that there would be a sufficient breadth in considering what might be objectionable behavior, the category "warn" was included in the Rejection Score. When the categories "warn," "ask to leave," and "arrest," over-balance the "accept" and "ignore" categories, we have varying degrees of rejection. Those varying degrees are explained at the bottom of the table.

The striking thing about the results from the Irritability-Deviancy Test is the degree of agreement between adults and teen-agers. One would have expected a far greater kind of disagreement than is actually the case. If there is conflict between the generations, it does not show itself in these superficial traits which are measured by the Irritability-Deviancy Test. On the other hand, there are points at which there are differences between the adult and adolescent response. These differences will be explored. In terms of the much-discussed manner of teen-age dress and so-called "beat" style of coiffure, there is not much argument coming forth from the majority of adults. It would seem apparent that the adult tourist on Hampton beach is not appalled by the sight of teen-agers on the beach. Nor is the adult tourist particularly concerned about whether or not the teen-ager expresses himself through dancing or singing, or guitar-playing. It would seem that these forms of diversion would be most acceptable to the average tourist on the beach. These latter forms of behavior are, for some reason, particularly suspect in this resort community. While there are those who feel they have legitimate reasons for opposing such forms of recreation as singing and guitar-playing, apparently such recreation does not pose the threat of a tension-producing situation as far as adults are concerned. Moreover, relatively innocent forms of sexual encounter are tolerated both by the adults and adolescents on Hampton beach. Such items as "girls in bikinis," "holding hands," boy-and-girl-watching seem all quite acceptable on the beach. In fact, even the more obvious kinds of boy-girl relationships (i.e., "Kissing in public") draws low rejection response from the adult community.

Perhaps it is even more interesting to note the fact that there is also some considerable agreement between adults and adolescents in terms of what they reject. "Drinking beer on the beach" has become for the entire community something which warrents rejection. Even "carrying beer in a basket" and having a "beer can in your hand" evoke a response of rejection. Considering the vaunted place of beer in the adolescent sub-culture, this is short of amazing that we would get such clear-cut responses in such a large sample. While not quite so pronounced, these behavioral responses having to do with automobiles also evoke a response of rejection across the entire community. Finally, it would seem that "having a fire on the beach" is seen by all members as being objectionable. (This item, of course, refers to unsupervised bon-fires.) And, most everyone senses the dangers in "tossing a girl in a blanket."

It is when we get to various types of physical activity such as wrestling, sleeping on the beach and hanging around in groups that we encounter some very real differences of opinion. Sleeping on the beach and wrestling on the beach seem to rank quite high on the adult samples of objectionable behavior. However, they are not quite so objectionable to the young people.

It is when we come to activities which are very obvious, tinged with varying degrees of physical involvement and potentially, at any rate, disturbing to an adult's course of action, that we have some very real differences of opinion. Most everything which is otherwise acceptable to adults involves behavior which can be done out of the way of adult interests. However, when swearing, playing ball, hanging around in groups is mentioned, the adults tend to reject these forms of activity while the adolescents are most accepting of it. These activities, then, would seem to constitute some very real points of conflict between the adult and adolescent community as long as all other adolescent attitudes hold to their present course.

Taking a global view of the summer-long experience with the Irritability-Deviancy Test, we can conclude the following:

a. There is a remarkable agreement between adults and adolescents as to what is and is not objectionable behavior. This would seem to belie the assertion made by so many of the community's decision-makers that certain forms of recreational activities would unduly irritate the adult tourists on the beach. We can see that this concept of what is and is not

tolerable behavior needs to be thoroughly re-examined. On the other hand, taking into consideration the other variables of the Irritability-Deviancy Test, we must say that it would be a superficial conclusion to assert that indiscriminate planning of recreational activities for adolescents would be tolerated.

b. To the attitude which says that today's adolescent has no concept of what is right and wrong, the Irritability-Deviancy Test offers strong rebuttal. It is obvious from the results of this test that the community's attitudes toward drinking and certain behavior around automobiles have been internalized by the youngsters which frequent the Hampton Beach area. The inference could well be drawn that if these standards have been internalized that there are probably other standards which have likewise been internalized. In other words, the differences between the adults and adolescents in standards of behavior must be seen in the light of the total range of attitude structure.

c. There would seem to be a very definite conflict between adults and adolescents in the matter of gathering in large groups along the boardwalk. We know from the Random Interview data that a very large proportion of the young people come to Hampton Beach for the expressed purpose of "hanging around." There is among the adolescents a very strong drive to be with the members of their peer group in what they hope to be the more relaxed atmosphere of a summer beach. It would seem that there would be the stimulus of a very real difference of opinion, a very real source of conflict between the adults and adolescents right at this point. While the adolescents find this type of activity highly acceptable, the adults tend to be rejecting of such behavior. On the one hand, to discourage completely this type of behavior on the part of the adolescents might well lead to some very real hostility on their part and/or a complete withdrawal of their presence to some other resort community. The adults, on the other hand, if sufficiently irritated by this very obvious kind of behavior, could well begin transferring their irritation to other aspects of teen-age behavior. It would seem, therefore, that we have potential source of trouble in the very presence of unoccupied adolescents who are, perhaps, making it difficult for the adults to carry on their activities by blocking sidewalks, etc.

d. The rather obvious and hopefully not overly simplified conclusion which seems to arise from this analysis of the data suggests that there is no great rift between adolescents and adults and that their desired forms of recreational activities are acceptable to adults. The potential

of conflict seems to lie in the direction of actual physical blocking of adults by the adolescents. It would therefore seem that the most advantageous solution to the problem would be to provide the kinds of recreation which the entire tourist community would accept - singing, guitar-playing, and dancing on the beach. However, it must be remembered that the adults find "horseplay" of varying types quite objectionable. What is suggested then is a kind of programmed way in which adolescents would be permitted to engage in the above-mentioned activities in restricted areas along the main part of the beach. It is well within the data provided by this instrument to suggest that this type of activity would become acceptable to the majority of adults. It would have to be recognized by all responsible persons planning such activity, or who are in any way responsibly involved in community decision-making processes, that there would always be some opposition to any kind of activity on the beach. For example, we had young men who thought people ought to be warned about looking at pretty girls.

e. There seems to be no reason to believe that young people and adults cannot accommodate themselves to one another on Hampton Beach. To use a cliché, there seems to be on Hampton Beach among the tourists an attitude of "live and let live."



# Irritability-Deviancy Scale Items Scored by Acceptance - Rejection

			<u>Accept</u>		<u>Reject</u>			
			5*	6*	7*	4*	3*	2*
			<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Ambient</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>
Swearing	1.	tm+ tf++ a+++		x		x		
Beards	2.	tm tf a	x x x					
Beatle haircuts	3.	tm tf a	x x x					
Boys in tight jeans	4.	tm tf a	x x x					
Girls in tight jeans	5.	tm tf a	x x x					
Girls in bikinis	6.	tm tf a	x x	x				
Holding hands	7.	tm tf a	x x x					
Kissing	8.	tm tf a	x x			x		
Playing guitar	9.	tm tf a	x x x					
Singing on beach	10.	tm tf a	x x x					
Dancing on beach	11.	tm tf a	x x	x				
Tossing girl in blanket	12.	tm tf a				x	x x	

\* Teen-age males

++ Teen-age females

			<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Ambient</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>
Beer on beach	13.	tm tf a						x x x
Beer in basket	14.	tm tf a					x x x	
Hanging around group	15.	tm tf a	x x			x		
Playing ball on beach	16.	tm tf a	x x			x		
Beer in hand	17.	tm tf a				x	x	
Fire on beach	18.	tm tf a					x x	x x
Sitting hood of car	19.	tm tf a			x	x		x
Overcrowded car	20.	tm tf a			x		x	x
Radio on boardwalk	21.	tm tf a	x x x					
Radio on beach	22.	tm tf a	x x x					
Eating on boardwalk	23.	tm tf a	x x x					
Sleeping on beach	24.	tm tf a			x	x	x	
Wrestling on beach	25.	tm tf a		x	x		x	
Covering with sand	26.	tm tf a	x x					

			<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Amb'ent</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>
Running		tm	x					
on beach	27.	tf	x					
		a		x				
Playing		tm	x					
cards	28.	tf	x					
on beach		a	x					
Girl watching		tm	x					
	29.	tf	x					
		a	x					
Boy watching		tm	x					
	30.	tf	x					
		a	x					

- 1\* Rejection is taken to mean those forms of behavior which are rejected by a significant majority of the population. The Rejection Score is arrived at by subtracting the combined percentages of those in the Warn, Ask to Leave, and Arrest categories from the combined percentages of the Accept and Ignore categories.
- 2\* High Rejection is that category in which the Rejection Score is over 50.
- 3\* Medium Rejection is that category in which the Rejection Score is between 20 and 50.
- 4\* Low Rejection is that category in which the Rejection Score is below 20.
- 5\* High Acceptance is when the combined percentages of Accept and Ignore is over 65.
- 6\* Medium Acceptance is when the combined percentages of Accept and Ignore is between 55 and 64.
- 7\* Ambivalent is when the combined scores of Accept and Ignore are approximately equal (5%) to the categories of Warn, Ask to Leave, and Arrest.

We have been examining the total response given to the Irritability-Deviancy Test. It is important to discover whether or not there are any marked changes in response patterns over the summer period. Let us then look at each of the age groups for any marked changes across the summer.

In the adult population there is a very consistent attitude through the entire summer period. For example, 41.3 per cent of the adults accepted dancing on the Beach at the beginning of the summer; toward the end of August dancing on the Beach was accepted by 43.1 per cent of the adults. This is rather typical of the consistency of the adult responses.

There is one interesting shift in attitude among all groups. Playing the radio on the beach was objected to in the early part of the summer, but toward the end of the summer it came to be acceptable. The transition in attitude among the adults was particularly marked. In the early part of the summer there was a mildly negative reaction to this: 40.8 percent of the adults would "warn" and 2.9 per cent would "accept." By the end of the summer, the warning response dropped to 2.2 per cent and the accept. response rose to 78.5 per cent. We might conclude from this that in the early part of the summer the adult is expecting to find tranquility on the beach, but by the end of the summer he is adjusted to the reality that the beach is a relatively noisy place. This seems to imply that more boisterous teen-age events might possibly find more acceptability toward the end of the summer, and there would tend to be more complaints at the beginning of the summer - just when a program would be striving to gain acceptance. This kind of thing, trivial as it might seem at the outset, ought to be regarded as a reality factor in future program planning for adolescents in a summer resort area.

Generally, the same kind of consistency seems to hold true for the responses given by the adolescents. However, there seems to be a slight change in attitude during the middle part of the summer, particularly among the male teenagers. The following responses among teen-age males were more accepted in the middle part of the summer than at either the beginning or the conclusion of the summer: swearing, kissing in public, tossing a girl in a blanket, the various phases of activity revolving around the use of beer, hanging around in groups, ball playing, all physical activities, and all activities having to do with cars.

It is difficult to say that these differences reflect a markedly different group. The data on the random interviews do not show any marked differences over the summer in social class as measured by the father's occupational prestige. However, something must account for these differences for they all tend toward the same direction. One can summarize these differences in terms of more acceptability of sex and drinking, and a greater desire for physical activity. An examination of the sample of teen-age females on the beach suggests a parallel kind of response pattern. Reflecting on the teen-age sample as a whole, the safest generalization which might be made would take into account the real probability of a different social class of young people on the Beach during the mid-summer period.

It is interesting to speculate about the relationship which may or may not exist between police activity at this period of the summer and the more permissive attitudes which seem to exist among the adolescent community. There should be no suggestion that there is a cause and effect relationship in either direction. The Beach Observation Scale suggests that police activity during this segment of the summer season becomes generally less intense. It would seem to be good fortune that this phase of police activity seemed to occur at this particular time. One can readily imagine the depth of resentment which would have been stirred up by relentlessly intensive kinds of police law enforcement. This particular phenomenon which can be observed in the middle part of the summer on the Irritability-Deviancy Test does not suggest in any way that there should be no activity of the police, or a particularly pronounced permissive policy throughout the entire summer. What it does suggest to this observer is that flexibility in law enforcement may be a most critical element in any over-all policy of law enforcement over the entire duration of a summer season. One might also add that there should not necessarily be any undue fear that flexibility on the part of law enforcement signals the end of all morality.

The Irritability-Deviancy Test was given to most of the young people who took the random interview - arrested and non-arrested. Again, we have a marked consistency in attitude between the non-arrested randoms and the general sampling of youth on the beach. The general sample was a bit more accepting of dancing on the beach and a little more rejecting of beer on the beach. Both the randoms and the general sample seem to suggest what might commonly be called the "beach culture

of young people" consisting of a style of dress and a sort of cautious hedonism. We might conclude from examining the comparisons between the random and the general sample that there is a strong probability that the random interview reflects the mood of the young people who come to Hampton Beach.

Those young people who were arrested and who took the Irritability-Deviancy test are more alike than they are different from the other two groups. The arrested group seems to tend toward a more permissive attitude; they are much more sensitive in these matters involving cars. It is almost amusing to see their responses to swearing and wrestling. They are very much different than either of the other groups. Perhaps the arrested young people feel that they are conforming to what the adult world expects of them by answering in such ways. If this is true, they have a warped view of reality.

Finally, let us see another dimension of this Irritability-Deviancy Test: the age of the young people and their frequency of visiting the beach. This dimension gives us a fairly good idea of the kinds of age groups and the habits of the young people in coming to the beach. It also presents us with a picture of whether or not these groups change across the summer.

TEEN-AGE FEMALES (GENERAL SAMPLE) : AGE RELATED TO FREQUENCY  
BEACH VISITING

Table 2

Age	Yr. 'round		Summer Resident		Week-end visit		Occasional		Total respn. )	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
19	I*	0	4	4.2	2	2.1	3	3.1	10	10.5
	II	0	4	3.6	1	.9	5	4.5	10	9.0
	III	0	2	1.4	2	1.4	2	1.4	7	5.1
18	I	0	9	9.4	6	6.3	9	9.4	24	25.2
	II	3	6	5.4	3	2.7	8	7.2	20	18.0
	III	0	14	10.2	7	5.1	6	4.3	30	21.8

see next page

\* The Roman Numerals I, II, III, indicate time periods through summer; early, middle and late summer respectively.

N Sample of group within time period. % is of the N in question

Age	Yr.'round		Summer Resident		Week-end visit		Occasional		Total (inc. resp)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
17 I	0	0	5	5.2	10	10.5	8	3.3	24	25.2
II	2	1.8	9	8.1	3	2.7	3	2.7	18	16.2
III	0	0	12	8.7	3	2.1	8	5.8	24	17.5
16 I	2	2.1	6	6.3	7	7.3	7	7.3	22	23.1
II	0	0	6	5.4	3	2.7	6	5.4	13	16.2
III	1	.7	7	5.1	6	4.3	5	3.5	21	15.2
15 I	2	2.1	1	1.0	1	1.0	8	8.3	12	12.6
II	2	1.8	5	4.5	5	4.5	11	9.9	25	22.5
III	1	.7	11	8.0	3	2.1	11	8.0	30	21.8
14 I	2	2.1	1	1.0	0	0	0	0	3	3.1
II	0	0	8	7.2	2	1.8	5	4.5	15	13.5
III	2	1.4	7	5.1	1	.7	4	2.9	14	10.2
13 I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
II	0	0	1	.9	1	0.9	1	.9	4	3.6
III	1	.7	0	0	0	0	6	4.3	8	5.8
TOTAL I	6	6.3	26	27.3	26	27.3	35	36.8		
II	7	6.3	39	35.1	18	16.2	39	35.1		
III	5	3.5	53	38.6	22	16.0	42	30.6		

TEEN-AGE MALE (GENERAL SAMPLE): AGE RELATED TO FREQUENCY OF BEACH VISITING

Table 3

Age	Yr.'round		Summer Resident		Week-end visit		Occasional		Total (inc. resp)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
19 I	0	0	8	4.4	19	10.7	6	3.3	34	18.8
II	1	.8	6	4.5	6	4.5	7	5.3	20	15.1
III	3	3.0	2	2.0	2	2.0	7	7.2	14	14.4
18 I	4	2.2	9	5.0	27	15.0	12	6.7	56	27.9
II	1	.8	22	16.7	10	7.5	13	9.8	47	34.1
III	2	2.0	9	9.2	5	5.1	8	8.2	24	24.7
17 I	1	.5	4	2.2	26	14.4	13	7.2	45	25.3
II	1	.8	8	6.1	9	6.9	4	3.0	23	17.5
III	1	1.0	8	8.2	4	4.1	4	4.1	18	18.5
16 I	3	1.7	5	2.8	8	4.4	6	3.3	26	14.4
II	0	0	8	6.1	3	2.3	5	3.8	17	12.9
III	0	0	3	3.0	6	6.1	12	12.3	21	21.6
15 I	0	0	3	1.7	4	2.2	3	1.7	10	5.6
II	0	0	4	3.0	4	3.0	7	5.2	16	12.1
III	1	1.0	6	6.1	0	0	4	4.1	12	12.3
14 I	0	0	3	1.7	2	1.1	1	.5	6	3.3
II	2	1.5	1	.8	0	0	1	.8	4	3.0
III	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.0	1	1.0
13 I	0	0	1	.5	0	0	0	0	3	1.7
II	0	0	3	2.3	0	0	1	.8	4	3.0
III	1	1.0	1	1.0	0	0	3	3.0	5	5.1
TOTAL I	8	4.4	33	18.2	86	47.3	41	22.9	180	99.0
II	5	3.8	52	39.4	32	24.3	36	27.3	132	100.0
III	8	8.2	29	29.9	17	17.5	38	39.2	95	100.0

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Summarizing the data of these two tables, we find the following:

a. There is a shift in modal distribution of females according to age. Wave I finds a concentration of females at seventeen years of age; Wave II finds a sharp decline in age group; and during the last part of the summer, Wave III, the fifteen year-old group tends to persist, but an older group seems to come onto the scene and we have a bi-modal distribution.

b. The age distribution of males as reflected in the sample of those tested by the Irritability-Deviancy Test shows some shifts, but not in the same directions as the female age distribution. The summer begins with a modal group of about seventeen-and-a-half, and as the summer goes on into July this mode slightly increases to eighteen. As the summer concludes, there is a persistence in this eighteen year old group, but there seems also to be a concentration of sixteen year old males in the last days of the beach season.

c. As the summer begins, there seems to be a relatively even division between the kinds of beach visiting that is done between seasonal, regular week-end, and occasional. In the middle of the summer the female week-end regulars start to stay home. The occasional visitor seems to be somewhat younger than the regular week-end visitor.

d. There is an even more dramatic shift in patterns of beach visiting among the males. In the beginning of the summer the typical male visitor to the beach is a seventeen and a half year old male who comes to the beach, or intends to come to the beach, every week-end. However, by the end of the summer, the male visitor to the beach tends to be a younger male, sixteen, who only comes to the beach occasionally. There may be many reasons for this shift in behavior. It could possibly be a sampling error. But, even a sampling error could not account for a shift from 47.3 per cent of the male population in Wave I to 17.5 per cent of the population of males by the end of the summer. One then turns to two other possibilities: the police practices may have discouraged those who came to the beach on a regular basis; or, the fact that there seemed to be a relatively trouble-free atmosphere on the beach this summer discouraged the young men who might be looking for the excitement of a conflict of some sort. In any event, there is no doubt but what something is going on. There might be those who would take satisfaction from the fact that the regular youngsters had gone elsewhere. But, one derives small comfort from the fact that all that is necessary, if they have been overly



harrassed by the police, to return for one night all at once.

e. There seems to be no question, if this sample of beach youth population is truly reflective of the beach population as a whole, that there is but a tiny fraction of youngsters on the beach who live in town all year long. In a very real sense, what some of the year-long residents say about the young people on the beach as being "outsiders" is probably correct. Hopefully, the community may be making strides to understand that while the "outsiders" are in Hampton they are our responsibility.

f. These findings seem to be more in the nature of provocative leads to further research than anything else. It would seem to be sufficient at this point to outline the facts as they present themselves. In all probability, they are but surface indicators of far deeper phenomena. One of the questions which naturally suggests itself is: Are these patterns of age distribution over the summer and these shifts on beach visiting behavior a direct result of policy on the beach, or is this a "natural" kind of social phenomena which root causes in some set of conditions outside the community? If it is the latter, how does this affect programming? It is very definite that different kinds of programming is effective with different age groups. As a control factor, it would be most advantageous if the same kinds of programming could be carried out without the external and obvious force of the police present.

Parenthetically, one might observe that the younger age group among the females could possibly be the cause of the changes in the response pattern noted earlier.

To summarize briefly:-

1. There may not be as much conflict between expectations of behavior in adults and adolescents as had been suspected. There were significant parallel responses in adults and adolescents.

2. There were points of conflict which, if not taken into account, could produce a real climate of irritation and hostility.

3. While there was an almost remarkable consistency in attitude over the summer, interesting shifts within the teen-age attitude pattern suggest a possible changing youth population across the summer. This shift might be due to patterns of leisure time use relative to social class.

4. There seems to be a shift in age groups across the summer, particularly among the teen-age females. Generally, the girls get younger over the summer, and the boys seem to stay at about the same age. Curiously, at the conclusion of the summer, an older group of girls and a younger group of

boys come to the beach.

5. As reflected in the marked decline in regular weekend visitors, the beach seems to have lost a certain attraction to one group of people.

6. The Irritability-Deviancy Test is a most useful instrument. Patterns in attitude similarity and conflict is a vital part of program planning and community relations.

## THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The most rich tool used by research in the Project was an interview schedule designed to be given by one individual to another individual. Because this schedule was given to a randomly selected group of young people on the beach, it came to be called the "random interview". This schedule was an attempt to provide information about the young people that would help us gain as deep and thorough a perspective as possible on the many characteristics of the young people who come to the beach community across the summer period. The random interview was designed to be a springboard to discussion rather than a questionnaire. As mentioned earlier in this report, much of the effectiveness of the interview data gathered depended upon the interviewer. In some cases, the interviewer's lack of experience did not help us gather the kinds of information which would have been valuable. Obviously, the test could have been much more extensive than the hour limit which was somewhat arbitrarily imposed. Under the condition of a relaxed, leisure-time atmosphere, however, it was decided that a more compact type of interview was desirable. Another kind of limitation was the very nature of the Hampton Beach Project itself. The Project was basically not a research Project. The research aspect of the Project was supposed to test the effectiveness of a demonstration program. The kinds of information which was gathered extraneous to that limited scope would have the benefit of providing clues to more precise methods of program formulation. With these kinds of qualifications of research limits and boundaries of inexperience in the interviewers themselves, the interview schedule set about to gather information about the young people who were on Hampton Beach during the summer of 1965.

One might group the information sought after by this schedule under eight general categories or clusters. These categories and some of the specific items within each category are listed below.

### A. Physical and External Social Circumstances

Name, address, sex, date of birth, number of years school completed, occupation, do you own a car?, musical interests, etc.

### B. Life Aspirations and/or Values

Vocation (ideal, "realistic," female-husband),  
Marriage age most desirable, last thing you  
would give up, what do young people worry about,  
how would you change yourself, etc.

### C. Beach Behavior

Where do you sleep while here?  
How did you get to the beach?  
What did you do while at the beach?  
What attracted you to the beach?  
Did you attend any special youth activities?

### D. Peer Group Life

How big is the group (on the beach) you travel with?  
Who is in the group?  
Comment on way males -females dress

### E. Arrested

What were you picked up for?  
Were you in a group when you were picked up?  
Who picked you up?  
How were you treated?

### F. Attitudes toward Adult World

Describe State, Local, and Police in General  
Describe business proprietors on beach.  
Do you get your money's worth at the beach?  
How do adults explain the actions of youth?  
How many people can you talk with, trust?  
What do people value most, work hardest for?  
How would you change the world?

### G. Beach Interests, Needs and Attitudes

What programs interest you most?  
What do you miss on the beach that isn't here now?

### H. School and life in general

These questions were asked only at the end of the  
summer when the data from the interviews of the  
1964 rioters became available. The information had  
to do with school conditions and about the world  
situation in general.

There was a very serious attempt made by the members of the staff to obtain as true a sample of beach youth as possible. The problem, of course, at this point is that no one had any idea as to what the characteristics of the youth population at the beach were. It was therefore difficult to obtain what might be a rigorously defined sample. Probably because the youth were instructed at the outset of the Project to obtain interviews from different types of youngsters, to be watchful for renititious groupings, we can assume that the conscientiousness of the members of the youth staff made it possible for us to obtain as valid a sample as possible under the existing circumstances. We are assuming for purposes of expediency, if nothing else, that we have a good cross-section represented in this random interview, and that, insofar as the information gathered by this test is applicable to any other situation, it represents the true picture of youth on Hampton Beach in the summer of 1965.

#### Method of Data-Presentation in this Report on the Interview Schedule.

Perhaps the most obvious thing to do when presenting the data gathered by this instrument is to present the findings under the general categories of the schedule. However, this may not be the most interesting or effective way of presenting the data. We shall attempt to present the data in such a way as to see it in terms of three general groups of young people on the beach. While this might be somewhat more renititious, it has the advantage of seeing the data in terms relevant to the youth population. The three groups which will be under consideration will be those youngsters who were arrested as over against those who were not arrested, those who were involved in specially-designed youth programs by the C. A. V. E. organization of the Project compared with those who were not, and what might be considered the "average" youngster on the beach in contrast with that youngster who perceives himself as being an isolate. (Whether or not we can make the assumption that this youthful individual is "alienated", is a moot question. Yet, the indication would certainly seem to us that there would be, if other factors are present, grounds to form at least a hypothetical statement.)

Obviously, these are over-lapping groups. These groups seem to represent the major types of groupings among the teenage population of Hampton Beach - at least from the conceptual standpoint. It should not be assumed that we will be describ-

ing three mutually exclusive groupings of young people, but rather clusters of characteristics which seem to have a certain kind of regularity about them. If, indeed, these three groupings of young people are present on the beach, and if their characteristics are distinctive, it would seem that we may be gaining some genuine insights into the possibilities of meeting the varying needs of the young people. Certainly, there should be no stereotyping of the youth of Hampton Beach. While this device will hopefully have some heuristic value, it should be noted at the outset that the device which was used does not have the kind of precision necessary for a finely-delineated study of youth culture. For example, Estaver in his section of the report notes that there are various cliques among the youth on the beach. In no way does this instrument attempt to measure the various effects this kind of social patterning might have. There would have been an interesting bit of research, we can now say in retrospect, to be done on who was an in-beach group member and who was an out-beach group member. Obviously, the possibilities of a study of youth culture on Hampton Beach are virtually endless!

### Characteristics of Non-Arrested and Arrested Youth.

From a purely statistical standpoint, these two groups of youth are the most divergent. All of the data collected by the "random" interviews were run through I.B.M. computers and cross-tabulated nine different ways: data on the arrested alone, sex, age, whether or not school will be attended, father's occupation, whether or not C. A. V. E. - sponsored activities were attended, frequency of beach attendance, residence, and early and late summer youth people contrasted with the arrested. The only one of these cross-tabulations which yielded particularly interesting results was the one which contrasted arrested and non-arrested youth. Of course, since this research report is so vitally concerned with the outcome of C.A.V.E., this cross-tabulation must be analyzed.

We turn to the data related to the arrested and non-arrested youth. In so doing, we obtain a picture of the data as a whole, when delineating the characteristics of the non-arrested youth. Let us use the eight major categories described earlier in grouping the data.

#### Physical and External Social Circumstances

The young people who come to Hampton Beach are generally from relatively near-by communities. Only a very few come from such "exotic" places as Florida and California. For the most part they tend to be school children tending toward a middle to upper-middle class background. While there does not appear on the beach those youngsters who are from lower classes, and are not returning to school, they are the minority. Over the summer the group seems to divide into an older and a younger group with the younger teen-agers predominating. It is difficult to know what the frequency of attendance was on the Beach from the "random" interviews. In all probability, the data from the Irritability-Deviancy Test provides a more accurate reading of this aspect of the summer youth population. Although these youngsters seem to come from fairly prosperous homes, on an average, they do not seem to reflect a mood of indulged affluence. Significantly the majority of these youngsters do not own their own cars, and the money they spend has come because they worked for it.

There is the same concentration among the arrested group from surrounding New Hampshire and Massachusetts communities. However, it is interesting to observe that there are more "outsiders" among this group than among the non-arrested group.

The arrested group, although somewhat older in age, nonetheless has a substantially lesser degree of education. There is a greater number of the arrested group who are not going on to school. Concomitantly, the arrested group is definitely weighted toward the lower classes.

### Life Aspirations and/or Values.

This interview did not explore with any great thoroughness this aspect of the young people interviewed. But, there were several questions on this topic so that a bit of perspective might be gained. This report will select only those questions which seemed to show some genuine differences. Most of the questions demonstrated that in terms of life aspiration the arrested and non-arrested had very similar outlooks. One of the questions asked is: How would you change yourself? The subject is asked to give three things. The response on this item is fairly well scattered, with education ranking high on all arrested and non-arrested groups. It would seem that the second word in this question might be the most instructive; the first providing the more socially acceptable answer, the second the more thoughtful, introspective remark. On this second response, the arrested rank personal motivation as their highest response and they are higher in this one as a group than are the non-arrested. We also pick up a thread in this category which will be followed throughout the other categories in this particular phase of the analysis. The non-arrested group does not rank change in family status as being very high, but the arrested group does not even mention this response. At this point it is difficult to ascertain just what this means, but throughout the analysis of the arrested responses pertaining to family-life will be noted.

Perhaps one of the more interesting aspects of this question concerning the change of self is that such a large group indicated that no change was really necessary. Particularly is this true with the arrested where almost thirty per cent on Word One indicate that no change is necessary.

What is probably a generalized happiness, security, success are the things which these youngsters say they want most. Significantly, they are not motivated toward money as a particular goal, neither are they specifically hopeful for social recognition. One is tempted to paint a picture here of comfortable, leisure-loving adults, and to suggest the very real possibility that, in terms of these goals, they have arrived. One must also be reminded of the fact that these particular aspirations are the more open-ended ones of the responses. Again, we note



the marked difference between the aspirations of the arrested group as over against those of the non-arrested when it relates to matters of family. The arrested group apparently does not see the establishment of a family in terms of significant life goals.

In this category of Life Aspiration we begin to add to our picture of the arrested youngster. Previously, we saw this group as tending toward the socially less acceptable middle-class values of education and occupational prestige, that he is older and beginning to move out of the comfortable confines of the adolescent sub-culture. Now, we see a different dimension: his goals are similar to that of the ordinary teen-ager, but there is emerging a difference. He is a bit more anxious, or hungry for "happiness." Superficially, he agrees that education is what society is telling him is the answer to his problems. But, he also feels an indefinable sense of personal lack; he calls it lack of motivation. An outline begins to emerge suggesting that the individuals in this group may have some difficulty in their perceptions of family.

### Beach Behavior

What do young people do when they come to a resort community such as Hampton Beach? The data supplied by the "random" interview suggests that they come because others come, that in one way or other this is an extension of the teen-age culture. Usually, they come with someone else and in their cars. In the beginning of the summer they come in groups of teen-agers. But, as the summer goes on, more and more of them come by themselves or with their parents. In the beginning of the summer, those youngsters who stayed on the beach overnight slept, for the most part, in rooming houses. These they apparently find not so comfortable, and we notice a decline in rooming house frequenting. In contrast to the non-arrested group, the arrested (nearly 25%) hitch-hike to the Beach, and through the summer they continue to come with friends.

All of this is prelude to what they report for activities while at the Beach. By far the most important activity for the teen-ager on Hampton Beach is "hanging around" or sun-bathing. With the exception of Saturday day working, the only other activity which seems to have any consistency of response is Saturday night dating and dancing. Perhaps it is of some note to record that daytime hanging around and sunbathing diminished over the summertime. (The Beach Observation Scale seems to suggest that a rather vigorous police policy may be partially responsible for this change in behavior pattern.)

It is quite noticeable that the response for C. A. V. E. activities is not very large. This probably due to the fact that these interviews were given all summer long, and the C.A.V.E. activities were conducted at somewhat isolated times.

Perhaps at first glance there is not too much noticeable difference between the arrested and non-arrested groups in terms of their activity. Yet, subtle though they be, there are differences. Among the arrested there is a much greater concentration of "hanging around", and, with the exception of Friday night, there is virtually no dating. It is most interesting, then, to observe that the arrested seem to spend more money on Hampton Beach than does the non-arrested. More of the arrested group spent seven dollars or more than did the non-arrested group. It might also have been that the arrested group had not so much time to spend their money than some of the non-arrested youth. Since they are older on an average than the non-arrested youth, it is quite possible that they simply have more money to spend. Yet, one cannot help suspect that there is an element of boredom in their money-spending behavior. A very small group of both the arrested and the non-arrested spent less than a dollar.

Why do they come to Hampton Beach? As was said earlier, the real reason is because others come. Specifically, they come for the girls; they come to work; to be with their parents on their vacation; to sunbathe. Among the arrested we note that more of them came looking for the girls; less came with parents. Practically none of them came to sunbathe.

While the youngsters were at the Beach, some of them were attracted to the activities sponsored by C.A.V.E. Nearly forty per cent of the non-arrested youth were attracted to these activities. The arrested, who have come simply to be "where the action is", go to the CAVE-sponsored event in a greater proportion than does the non-arrested youth. It seems apparent that they (the arrested) have not come to Hampton Beach with any particular goal in mind - simply to meet girls, to hang around. We will be picking this thread up again, but, meanwhile, let us simply pause to observe the potential such youth-sponsored activities have of reaching youngsters who seem to have a potential for getting in trouble.

We begin to pick up a bit more of that bored, wandering, aimless quality which is hinted at in earlier sections describing the arrested. The non-arrested group, while not easily engaged, still seems purposeful in their beach activities. For the arrested, his "only claim to fame" is that he spends a bit more money than the other young people.

### Peer Group Life

Here again is a category which the research phase of the Project could have spent much more time investigating. The reason that this category is mentioned over against the "Beach Behavior" is to try to emphasize a rather striking point in the differences between the arrested and non-arrested group. Let it be said there that probably the majority of the interviews of the arrested took place during the second half of the summer, and that if the arrested should ord'narily be like any group they would be like the youngsters who came in the second half of the summer. It is noted on the Beach Observation Scale the marked decrease of large groups over the summer. When we compare the grouping of the arrested youth (who were arrested while in a group), we see that they are far more prone to be in large groups than the non-arrested youth. Once again, we seem to pick up a thread of something which we will see developing later. The arrested youth do not seem to be able to perceive all of their social situation. Here is one aspect of it: the non-arrested group distributes itself rather evenly in all size groups, while the arrested youth bunch up with the large groups. By itself, it does not seem to be terribly significant. We will add more elements to this picture. in

Another interesting difference between the groups which the arrested are involved and those groups in which we find the non-arrested is the curious fact that the arrested finds himself in one of two kinds of groups: either no girls at all, or a great many. This is rather interesting in light of the fact that his expressed purpose for coming to Hampton Beach is to meet girls. He, apparently, is either totally frustrated by the groups with which he associates, or he is with so many girls and in such a large group that he cannot do anything about or with the girls he does meet. His "defenses" are sure.

### Arrested

We have already seen that those who were arrested were picked up in groups. The ratio is six to one in favor of being picked up in a group. By a four to one margin, nearly, the youngsters arrested on Hampton Beach were arrested by local officers. And, by a slight majority, they were treated roughly and harshly.

### Attitudes Toward the Adult World

When the fundamental, working hypotheses of this Project were being formulated, it was felt that we could safely assume that there was a basic kind of cleavage between the adult and

adolescent community. We see on the Irritability-Deviancy Test that this is not necessarily the case. By certain questions asked in this "random" interview, we can obtain a different perspective on the possibilities of a break between the adults and adolescents. This aspect of the "random" interview is one of the more crucial phases of the interview. It is noted that attitudes toward authority, toward the business community, toward adults in general and generalized perceptions of the adult world will be gained.

There is a slightly more positive than negative attitude toward the local police, and perhaps more significantly, it improves throughout the summer. When we come to the State Police, there is for them an edge in positive responses. If we can take words two and three as more indicative of real feeling because of the initial wish to appear "respectable," then the responses become most interesting. For the local police, their position as we go on in the words decreases in positive responses; whereas, the state police's margin of positive attitude seems to increase as continue to probe for words to describe them. Of course, the exact opposite interpretation is possible if you see the first response as a sort of cathartic release to pent-up feeling, and each probe getting at a more realistic appraisal. This difference in interpretation can be partially resolved if we look at the response of the arrested youth. They would have more reason to have negative reaction to the police. We find that they begin with positive responses in word one and gradually, by word three, give a very definite edge to the negative. There does seem to be among the young people on Hamilton Beach a very real kind of negative response, although it is probably in the minority of youngsters. When asked about police in general, the responses, particularly among the arrested, are quite positive. We must note that in the arrested, by the time we get to word three, we do pick up some genuine negative feeling.

If we can judge the feeling toward beach proprietors by whether or not the young people felt they got their money's worth, we can say, again, that the edge is toward the positive, but that there is a considerable minority of young people who feel that they do not feel they do.

One of the most singularly startling results on this "random" interview were those which accompanied the question, "How do you think adults explain the way young people act?" The clearest answer to this question is that the young people feel that adults belittle them. There are those who feel that adults are unable to explain young people, or who use their (the adult's) childhood as a criterion. But far and away the

most prevalent response is that the young people feel adults belittle them. When we turn to the arrested group, we do not even get these minor themes of inability to explain any nostalgia. The arrested as a group clearly feel this belittling response on the part of the adults. This is the kind of response which cries out for follow-through in terms of research. It's the only clear-cut example we have of genuine conflict between the generations. The other responses are always mixed.

This report will present a special cross-tabulation concerning the characteristics of those who find a great many people to talk things over with as over against those who feel they have nearly no one they can confide in. Let us simply pause here to note that the non-arrested group is fairly even in its division between the groups of responses. There is among the non-arrested group a real weighting toward the side of having many people with whom they can talk things over. The arrested, on the other hand, seem to break down into a bi-polar distribution. Here we may have a good group of youngsters who seem to have many trusting friends; and, on the other hand, there is a group considerably larger than the comparable non-arrested group who feel they have few people in whom they can confide.

One of the few times in this random interview we notice any marked change between first and second values is in the matter of the young peoples' perception of where people are going, and if they know where they are going. During the first part of the summer, apparently, we had on Hampton Beach a group of youngsters who were decidedly disenchanted with the state of direction possessed by most adults. In the early summer group, there are twenty per cent more young people who felt that people did not know where they were going than in the later summer group. It is interesting to speculate in whether the change in the youngsters who came later in the summer is dependent upon the fact that we have a younger group during that part of the season. As for the arrested, their responses average out to about a fifty-fifty breakdown.

Yet, sixty to seventy per cent of the young people on the Beach claim that most, or about half, of the people in general are happy. It is noticeable here among both the arrested and non-arrested that there is a persistent minority of youngsters who feel that most people are not happy. Of course, the obvious implication of this question is that in describing people in general, as these last two questions seek to do, a description of one's inner state is thereby revealed. This is probably a fairly good indicator - especially when we take into account that "persistent minority."

Parallel to these questions pertaining to people in general is the request to describe people in general. Three responses are called for here. There are those young people who describe people as being "friendly," but the twice as many descriptions are in the categories of "selfish" and "confused-mixed-up." The arrested group echoes these sentiments and adds as a contribution the description "conforming."

There is, then, some basis to the assumption of conflict between the generations. If "people" are perceived as being separate from the description of one's own emotional set, one has the feeling that these people are happy and know where they are going, but may not be taking the young people into account. There is a real tendency to see the older generation in colors not too flattering to adults. The arrested, as a group, seems to intensify these feelings. It is probably close to accurate to say that the arrested youngsters feel more keenly about the conflict between the generations, but that their feelings are not necessarily separate and distinct from the feelings of the non-arrested youth.

Perhaps it tends to ameliorate the murkiness of the above-described feelings to note the responses given to the question, "What do adults worry about most?" Their prime worry is the family. This is the leading response among all the groups. Previously, we have noted some confused feeling about the family among the arrested. Perhaps this question tends to clarify the situation in that it may suggest that the arrested youth in their earlier responses may be answering the question in terms of family as they are concerned, their future family, marriage, and the like. Here, we are concerned with the youth's perception of his parents. All of these youngsters see their parents as concerned about them. One is tempted to feel that among the non-arrested that this concern reflects a kind of compassion for the parents who are guardedly watchful over their young. There may be with the arrested a tinge of the feeling that their parents' concern is impotent, that it doesn't really matter any more, it's too late. Though it may have little to do with the kinds of intervention activities put on by a community to alleviate youthful problems, this kind of information is most useful in the understanding of the dynamics of the stress in this adolescent period of life.

As a final note in this cursory glance at adolescent perceptions of the adult world, we get a brief glimpse at how these

young people would like to change the world. Again, the three-idea technique is used. At this period of history with the war in Vietnam, peace is uppermost in the minds of the young people. Once this immediate concern is out of the way, matters of social equality come into prominence. As for the arrested group, there is the tendency to rank the issue of social equality high right at the beginning of their responses. One cannot help but remark that there are few of the members of the arrested group which seem perceptive enough to make some kind of response to those factors such as educational equality and the alleviation of social pressures that tend toward bringing about social and economic equality.

Beach Interests, Needs and Attitudes. As over against behavior, per se, what do the young people interviewed over the course of the summer feel about the various programs, the beach itself both in the present and for the future. A salient feature of one's attitude set is the first impression he has of a situation. With such intensive efforts as were being made at Hampton Beach, both by the Project and others, it is important to know what kind of impact these make on the youngster as he first approached Hampton Beach. Three comments are asked for here; probably the first and the second comments have the most weight in this instance. It was fairly obvious to the youngster in the non-arrested group that the big change on Hampton Beach was the presence of the police. Relatively few in this group noticed C.A.V.E. The younger crowd of the second wave seem a bit more sensitive to the fact that there are new rules on the Beach this year. While there may be no special significance to it, it is nevertheless rather remarkable that so few remarked about the tension-level at the beach this summer.

Contrasted with the non-arrested group, it is most striking that the arrested group immediately perceives the new rules to a far greater degree than do the non-arrested youth. And, they do not perceive the police in the degree that the non-arrested group does. Again, we are presented with one of those tantalizing bits of information which sets one wondering what the dynamics behind the response are. If we have been correct in supposing that there is among the arrested a degree of alienation from the family structure and that among them is a more than average amount of hostility toward the adult world, we could take this juxtaposition of responses as an indication of a genuine conflict with authority. The finding that the non-arrested group is able to perceive authority and in that context

the new rules and regulations lead one to posit this as a kind of norm for a satisfactory relationship with problems and situations with authority figures. On the other hand, we have precisely the opposite effect with those youngsters we did get into trouble with the duly appointed authorities of the community. Could it be that among the arrested there is what some might call an unconscious need to be punished? A more precise analysis will be made of this situation in the summary.

What kind of programs appeal to the youngsters? What sort of activities do they really want? Motivational research as used in advertising has long-demonstrated the fact that the best approach to finding out what people really like is not necessarily the best one. Nevertheless, that is the only approach which was immediately available to us. The results obtained from this approach are not entirely satisfactory. The only definite program idea which has consistent appeal for all groups is dancing. Unfortunately, it would appear that NOTHING is a rather big drawing card also. But, this only serves to substantiate the feeling that many of the program workers had during the summer: any activity which is over-planned, and over-scheduled is not likely to succeed. The kinds of activities which succeed best in a resort community composed of youngsters seeking an abatement from the rigid scheduling of academia are those which seem to arise spontaneously.

It is apparent that young people find it difficult to focus on what they do want. When the youngsters in this survey were asked what ideas they had for summer activities, and given three opportunities to express themselves, they found it quite difficult to put any great stress on any single form of recreation or condition. Furthermore, by noticing the residual categories (those not answering) we observe that most of them had very few ideas. So, response or idea number one is the most indicative response of the group as a whole. Dancing, beach parties, and guitar playing rank highly with all groups - including the arrested. What C.A.V.E. is presently doing seems to agree favorably with a significant proportion of the group also. It seems meaningful in retrospect that so few of the young people desired less strictness on the part of the police. Advocates for planned program of athletics, or for more permissive liquor regulations will not find much comfort in these figures, either.

School and Life in General Emergent from the interviews conducted with those youngsters involved in the 1964 Labor Day Disturbance was a clear indication that considerable amounts of stress were generated in the adolescent because of his school



situation. Toward the end of the summer, questions related to these matters were inserted into the "random" interview. While the sample we have is not large, we hoped by the insertion of these questions to test whether or not these same stresses were part of the sub-culture of the adolescents on Hampton Beach in the summer of 1965.

As in the case in so many of these questions, one apparently has to allow the more socially accepted attitudes to be expressed, then the frustrations and doubts seem to make themselves evident. When asked directly how they would rate education, the youngsters courteously rank it highly - with the exception of thirteen per cent of the arrested. Even those young people in the arrested group aver that today's schools have their best success in the academic area. Although a majority felt they were getting a fair break in school, there did seem to be a sizeable minority who did not, and toward the end of the summer the division grows to fifty-fifty proportions, and gives more indication of dissatisfaction with schooling for perhaps two reasons: a. more young people were involved and there were, thereby, greater opportunities to talk to youngsters; b. according to our earlier figures, these youngsters are younger, perhaps more closely associated with the climate of secondary education.

It would appear that there is some very real dissatisfaction with the educational scene. This is particularly true among the arrested. The arrested group felt that the schools were doing a good job academically, but, apparently when it comes to them, it is the academic which is what they feel they need. Very few of the youngsters feel they are worked hard enough (challenged?). Particularly among the arrested is there conflict related to academic work. Perhaps more than any other one thing these youngsters - arrested and non-arrested alike - are worried about their future, about themselves. They worry about social recognition - even though they do not set this out as a life goal.

We should keep in mind that the school is but one element in the environment of the adolescent's world. But, it is a crucial element. One might guess that these youngsters perceive the school as that institution which either will or will not pass out the keys to the goals of happiness they are seeking. If there is conflict, certainly, the school seems to be in the middle of it for today's adolescent.

A Portrait of the Arrested Let us try in a kind of 'between-the-lines' fashion sketch a rough portrait of who the typical youngster arrested on Hampton beach is.

He is aimless - seeking a good time, but probably not able to recognize a good time when one is presented to him. He really does not mean any harm in what he is doing; he is not a malicious boy.

He attaches himself to one of the larger groups of young people on the beach. Perhaps he tries to gain their acceptance by "clowning around" and making himself conspicuous in one of several ways.

He is a little less educated than the average youngster on the beach and has experienced some genuine frustration in school. He feels he could have done a lot better if he had tried, but the classes were so dull.

He makes a brief check into CAVE or one of the CAVE-sponsored activities, but only because he is looking for anything which smacks of excitement. He probably holds himself back from entering into any genuine kind of social relationships, because he feels he might fail. He would really like to become a part of the beach "society." He wants to have a good time; he spends his money freely.

He feels alienated from the world, cut off and belittled by the adults. He voices these feelings, he expresses these attitudes among his peers, and they understand him even if they cannot go along with him in his deviant expressions. His peers genuinely sympathize with him, for the most part.

There is a kind of haunting quality to his sense of injustice. All he wants is a little happiness, to be on the same footing with everyone else. It seems so easy for everyone else, but he does not quite know how to get this for himself. He sees his world in unhappy colors.

He has confidence in his physical prowess right now, but is not too sure how to handle it. He comes looking for girls, he says, but he puts himself in such a position that he finds it difficult to meet any girl. His unconscious problem with authority bothers him more than he realizes. This problem comes to the surface in his conflict over what he feels a man is. He thinks a man gets his girl, but he doesn't seem to know how. He thinks a man is a father, but he is rather disenchanted with that prospect. His only recourse seems to match his frustrations

with his world together with his striving to be a man by defying the men in authority. And so he is arrested. He thereby confirms what he most feared: the "world" has picked him out of the crowd to taunt. He is still not a man.

1965 Labor Day Arrested One of the most remarkable happenings of the 1965 summer season was the fact that only twenty young people were arrested during that entire Labor Day weekend. The Beach Observation Scale describes the scene, and there will be no need to go into the details of that weekend here. The Project was able to contact ten of the arrested young people for interviews. The other ten either lived too far away from Hampton (Conn. and N.Y.) or they refused to cooperate with the interviewers.

Although we have an exceedingly small sample of young people in the Labor Day arrested group, the findings we do have give strong indication that these young people were not typical of the arrested group contacted during the summer season.

The youngster who was arrested this Labor Day was an occasional visitor or had come to Hampton Beach for the first time. He is more than likely a student and will attend school in the coming weeks. His family background places him in the middle class.

When this youngster comes to Hampton Beach, the first thing he notices is the presence of many police (unlike the seasonal arrested, he is not immediately conscious of new rules). Although he spends seven dollars or more, it would appear that he is arrested almost immediately upon arriving in Hampton. There is very little activity on their part which is reported in these interviews.

Nine out of the ten youngsters were arrested for illegal possession of alcohol, and ten out of the ten youngsters were picked up in a group of other youngsters. These groups tended to be large, but were not overly large. They seemed evenly divided as to whether or not they got their money's worth at the beach.

They seem to tend toward negative feelings about the local police and generally positive feelings about the State Police. Describing their treatment, four of them said they were treated roughly, three fairly and two had no feeling one way or the other.

There is a curious kind of reaction these youngsters have toward the adult world. Most of them have many people with whom they can talk things over. None of them suggest that adults belittle youngsters. They perceive people as knowing where they are going, as being reasonably happy. They have no specific idea as to how to change the world, or what to change in the world, or in themselves. With much greater consistency than the seasonal groups, this group "decided" that money was the prime value for the adult world. There is the possibility that among this group there is still a fairly strong orientation around their home life. For these youngsters, mother and father make the most influential decisions - with the accent on father.

They seem to be a confident group of boys, and while they have not arrived at any concrete goals in life, they feel that when they do they have a good chance to achieve these goals. They feel they get a fair break in their school life, and they are moderately satisfied with their schooling. The only note of conflict with them is that most of them feel they are not worked hard enough in school, and that the academic life is too difficult for them.

Perhaps it is because they have such limited experience with the situation at Hampton Beach that they have no real idea as to the kinds of summer programs that would be effective.

Understandably, one cannot build much of a case around ten young men. But, the indication certainly seems to be that this group which was arrested over the Labor Day Weekend of 1965 were certainly a group which shared few characteristics with the seasonal arrested group. It would also appear that these young men had fewer frustrations than the non-arrested seasonal group.

### Characteristics of Participants in C.A.V.E. -Sponsored Activities

What are the outstanding characteristics of those young people who are attracted to the kinds of activities which C.A.V.E. sponsored? At the outset it must be made very clear that we will not attempt to describe those youngsters who were part of the youth staff, or part of the volunteer staff. We will try to depict the kind of youngster who is attracted to a program such as C.A.V.E.-sponsored. It must be kept in mind that a great many of these youngsters we are describing are those already among the arrested group. Fifty-seven point eight per cent of the arrested attended one or more C.A.V.E.-sponsored activity. On the other hand, a little less than forty percent of the non-arrested group went to these activities. We can say that insofar as those participants in these activities are unlike the reactions given by the arrested group that they are reflective of the non-arrested sub-group within the CAVE participants. We will compare the CAVE participants with those who did not participate in C.A.V.E. activities.

**General Physical Characteristics:** It would probably be safe to assume that, in addition to the local young people who joined in with C.A.V.E. activities, that those youngsters who joined C.A.V.E. were from more urban areas than those who did not. The greater Boston area, the Merrimac Valley cities find good representation. It would seem that those who participated were on Hampton Beach for longer periods of time than those who did not. Probably because it was difficult for the Project to give very much adequate publicity, it was exceedingly difficult for us to get to the youngster who comes to Hampton Beach occasionally or for the first time. The success of the program, it would appear, depended largely on young people telling other young people about the activities. In terms of the status of the father's occupational level, we have an almost even split with an equal proportion of the top levels in the participant group and non-participant group; and the same equality in the lower prestige levels.

**Beach Behavior and Attitudes:** C.A.V.E. appeals to the young person who collects in groups, large groups. We remember that the arrested youngster also attaches himself to this large clustering. Judging from the data, it might well be that the arrested youngster is drawn along by the non-arrested. The preponderance of youth who cluster in large groups is simply too large to be composed only of arrested youth. C.A.V.E. participants tended to attract the kids who also participated

in other forms of social life on the beach (e.g., dating and dancing). It could easily be inferred that C.A.V.E. met a real social need of providing a meeting place for youngsters, a focus of their activity.

The youngster who participated in the C.A.V.E. activities was here either to work or had come with his parents (in contrast to the non-C.A.V.E. participant). When he first came to the beach, he noticed the more stringent atmosphere. If we allow for the presence of the arrested group and their perception of the new rules, we see that the non-arrested C.A.V.E. participant is a youngster who first sees the police. Curiously, there is a slight edge in first attraction for the C.A.V.E. project among non-participants.

Even the out-of-C.A.V.E. kids felt that the various aspects of what C.A.V.E. was doing was desirable. This would seem to say that with better publicity, etc., another year could prove to be of tremendous significance to the young people on the beach. The various activities which the young people planned - dancing, singing, are very popular with young people in both the groups under consideration.

**Attitudes Toward the Adult World:** While C.A.V.E. youngsters were more aware of Police and rules, they were only slightly more antagonistic toward police. In terms of police in general, they had a far more positive attitude. Here, then, are young people who recognize the value of good law enforcement, but who might be sensitive to overly-harsh law enforcement.

There is only a slight difference between the way the in-group and the out-group views adult attitudes towards youth. Perhaps this range of attitudes is some kind of common denominator which is only intensified as we consider the arrested group. Balancing off the group of C.A.V.E. participants with the arrested we find that the non-arrested C.A.V.E. participants might be a bit more tolerant of attitudes which adults have toward them. On the whole, the C.A.V.E. participants and the non-participants held very similar attitudes toward the adult world. The only interesting difference seems to be in the area of people not knowing where they are going. The C.A.V.E. participants seem to be able to focus on a reason for the unhappiness of people finding it in personal and social reasons. It is difficult to see in these attitude sets any particularly pre-disposing causal relationships why these youngsters would

participate in C.A.V.E. as over against the non-participants. We might guess, however, that the participants (particularly among the non-arrested group) would be a little less pre-occupied with the failings of the adult world. This would free them to band together and participate in a function specifically designed for them. Their lack of a feeling of personal threat from the adult world enables them to more freely participate in the activities sponsored by C.A.V.E. This greater flexibility is probably self-reinforcing and promotes a more gentle attitude toward the adult world. One can speculate that perhaps the more perceptive of the arrested youth senses that the C.A.V.E. participant as a group does not offer him very fertile ground for finding comrades in his hostilities. There is no question but what we are really grasping at straws when we seek to analyze out the reasons why a particular youngster would participate in C.A.V.E. or would not. There are too many subtleties here and our research tools were simply not that precise.

C.A.V.E. participants tended to be somewhat more depressed about their chances for achieving success than did the non-participants. If this is an indicator of pent-up frustration, which it certainly could be, involving these young people in the affairs of C.A.V.E. would be a most useful kind of service. It is most probable that if these kinds of opportunities were not present they could well vent their frustrations elsewhere. (This high percentage of pessimism is not accounted for by the arrested youth who answer in parallel fashion with non-arrested youth on this particular question.)

The participants in the C.A.V.E. program were more satisfied with their schooling than were the non-participants. If school situation is one of the main frustration builders, this means we may not have reached the hard core of troubled youth on the Beach with the programs of C.A.V.E. Considering when this question was asked (late in the summer), and matching this with the responses of Wave II, this is probably true.

In spite of the presence of great numbers of arrested youth in the C.A.V.E.-sponsored activities who have a somewhat more hostile attitude toward the world in general, the young people who come to these activities appear to be not as troubled as the average youth on Hampton Beach. There is also the very real possibility that, of the arrested group, the C.A.V.E.-sponsored activities attracted those who did not share in the general mind set of the group as a whole.

SUMMARY. C.A.V.E. can be seen as a self-protecting (from the prying eyes of the police and authority figures) group which meets the very real social needs of the young people who come to Hampton Beach. Because of the lack of publicity, the activities of C.A.V.E. tend to be attended by those who are on the beach long enough to be connected to a word-of-mouth communications network. The attitudes of the C.A.V.E. participants could best be described as ambivalent. They tend to see adults as not knowing where they are going, but that they are reasonably happy about it all. Their attitudes toward the police border on the negative. The ambivalence, instead of having a paralyzing effect, seems to allow for the freedom to go ahead and set up and participate in their own youthful activities. The participants seem to be more satisfied with their schooling than do the non-participants.

We should stress, in conclusion, that the participants in the C.A.V.E. programs are more like the average youngster on Hampton Beach than they are different. The characteristics we have been attempting to point out are by way of exploring differences. We have been seeking to answer the question: How is the C.A.V.E. participant different from the non-participant. We find that he really is not terribly different, but that most of the differences go in the direction of a somewhat more positive orientation to the world about him. We could reasonably guess that among those young people who do participate in the C.A.V.E.-sponsored programs would be the kind of leadership in the youth sub-culture that could be most helpful to their own adolescent needs and to the community as a whole. It would seem that from the standpoint of program and the standpoint of working with the kinds of problems facing the community as it attempts to grapple with its problems, that these youth-sponsored activities are a most beneficial part of dealing with the problem as a whole. It could also be said that such programs would need to be very well run, that success should be courted at all costs. The young people who are most likely to be responsible are most likely to attend these activities.



### Characteristics of the "Loner."

We observed in the analysis of the arrested and non-arrested group that there was a group of between twenty and thirty-five per cent of the youngsters who expressed negative and/or hostile attitudes. The question arises as to whether or not there is a concentration of these negative traits in a particular sub-group, or whether these characteristics are evenly distributed through the group as a whole. Because the Irritability-Deviancy Test results indicate that there may not be as much animosity toward authority as was originally suspected at the outset of the Project, it was decided that this particular question was not an adequate measure of a group's negative tendencies. The group which perceived adults as belittling toward youth was so large that we might almost regard this as a kind of norm among the young people on the beach. The questions pertaining to the school situation were asked too late to be of much help in the determining of a particular group's cohesiveness. It was decided that the question, "How many people can you talk things over with?" had the properties of distribution which reflected the size of the group in question. It was reasoned that young people who did not have too many people to whom they could relate would be more prone to develop the kinds of negative traits which concern us. There was done a cross-tabulation on those young people who had indicated that they had either no one or just one person with whom they could talk and those individuals who responded in ways indicating that they had many people with whom they could talk things over (6-10 people, and over 10 people).

The following indicates those characteristics which tend to describe differences along key items in the "random" interview. Again, we are not attempting to describe everything or everybody, but simply what the salient features are of these sub-groups are.

**Physical Characteristics.** Two details require our attention in this category. The first is that of the approximately twenty-one per cent of the local youngsters interviewed, 13.1 per cent were in this low relationship group. The second detail has to do with the father's occupational prestige. Those in the low relationship were from homes with lower economic and social benefits than were the youngsters in the high group. Fifty per cent of the young people in the low group were from prestige groups five, six and seven while thirty-four per cent of the high group were in the same social rank.

**Beach Behavior.** The low relationship youngster tends to hang around in larger groups than the high relationship youngster.

Eleven per cent more of the low group clustered in groups of eleven or over, and over eight per cent fewer of the low group members clustered in the small groups of youngsters consisting of from three to five. Their entire range of activity seems to take them into those situations in which they hope they can meet people, we suspect. They are the ones who attend the dances on Friday night, but on Saturday night they are back out on the boardwalk hanging around in greater proportion than are the high relationship youngsters. The high relationship kids are found in greater numbers dancing on Saturday night. While this may not seem particularly important, it does suggest that the low relationship youngster is seeking some kind of companionship on Friday nights. Not finding it, apparently, the next night finds him hanging around. While with the high relationship youngsters it would seem that something approaching the reverse tendency is true. Sunday night our low relationship youngster has managed, at least more than the high relationship youngster, to find a date. And a date is what he came for. For all practical purposes, considering the high percentage of "other" responses among the high group, we do not really know why he came to the beach.

Both of the groups are sensitive to the new rules and the presence of so many police on the beach, but the low group seems a bit more sensitive. This sensitivity is heightened by their comments on the changes at the beach. They are very much more aware of the police and the notice of an increase in tension is slightly more prevalent among the low group than it is among the high.

There is no appreciable difference between the high and the low group in their participation in C.A.V.E.-sponsored events. But, they certainly appreciate what C.A.V.E. is doing for them in their suggestions about what ideas could be implemented for the summer. Dancing on the beach and beach parties are particularly high requests among this low group.

Attitude Toward Adults. The difference between the responses on the question related to the local police is interesting. The low group scores higher, on a percentage basis, than the high group on the response "do their job;" but the high group is quite a bit stronger on the "friendly" response. This seems to begin a trend of a rather impersonal perception of the adult world - at least where the adult world is not overly threatening. But,

apparently, the adult world is quite threatening when seen in the form of the State Police. There were a little over fifteen per cent of the high relationship group which perceived the State Police as being friendly and nice, and not one of the low relationship group. The low group perceived them as being aggressive, big and tough - in a word, threatening. Other than a suggestion that there may be some corrupt police in general, the low group is not particularly negative toward police in general.

Again, on explaining how adults describe the position of kids, we find the usual "belittling" response. But, there are some interesting sidelights to this one. There seems to be a greater tendency on the part of the low group to mention such characteristics as adults using their own childhood as a criterion and that the actions of today's youth, as perceived by adults, are the results of changing times. This would seem to lend a bit of weight toward the possibility that the parent or other significant adult had seen the youngster as having some very real emotional and social distance from him. This is a kind of role expectation in which the youngster can begin finding justification for his feeling of isolation; indeed, this may be part of the cause of how he finds himself in the position of not having anyone to talk with.

This trend is reinforced by this youngster feeling that very few people (himself included) know where they are going. Contrasted, as all these are, with the high-relationship group, we see the trend toward a negative, alienated life-style by these youngsters affirming that very few people are happy (at least there is more in this group than we might otherwise expect.) The air of impersonality, of indifference we noted earlier seems to come more to the surface when we look at the comments these groups make about why people are either happy or unhappy. A vague feeling that a greater quantity of something more, a limp "some are happy, some are not." flavors the outlook of the low relationship youngster with the cool indifference of a person insulated against his world. This is partially reflected by the answer to the question, "What do people value most?" In all categories but one, social recognition, we find the response of the low group lower than the response of the high relationship group.

Their perceptions of people are colored by their own inward-looking life. People are selfish, confused and unhappy. The high group, on the other hand, while not painting a picture

of the human race in glowing optimism, is decidedly more hopeful.

An interesting correlation of factors may be seen by matching the arrested in this group with their description of how they were treated.

Treatment While Arrested

	<u>Impair</u>	<u>Rough</u>	<u>No Feeling</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Totals</u>
People I can talk with	0	3	1	0	4
1	2	1	0	1	4
2	5	7	0	0	12
3-5	3	4	0	0	7
6-10	5	5	0	0	10
Over 11	1	6	0	1	8
TOTAL	16	26	1	2	45

Here, those arrested young people who had either one person to talk things over with or no one were equally divided between having no feeling and using somewhat impartial about the whole thing, or feeling that their treatment had been rough. On the other hand, the high relationship group said by a ratio of two to one that their treatment had been rough. Obviously such figures as these cannot be conclusive. But, there is the tendency for them to reinforce some of the other pieces we have elaborated. The low relationship group seems to react with indifference toward the harshness of the world. Under conditions as stressful as these it is conceivable that there would be some real suppression of hostility. On the other hand, the high relationship group tends to perceive the situation and feel strongly about it. More importantly, their feelings can be ventilated. We might be able to presume that the differences in treatment between arrestees tend to balance out.

Self-Orientation; We begin to get into some very real differences between the two groups in this category. The most dramatic difference is found in response to the question, "What do young people worry about most?" The high relationship group is worried about the future, about themselves. But, the low relationship person is virtually preoccupied with his concern over social recognition. Nearly half of this sub-group (in contrast to less than a fifth of the high relationship group) is concerned about social recognition. This characteristic is magnified by their ideas of how to change the world. They would alleviate "separatism" and "social pressures." As over against the high relationship group, the low relationship youngster yearns for general security. This, ironically enough, he places far out in front of social recognition as a life goal. The chances for achieving this? Most of them feel that the chances are good, but, in contrast with the high relationship group, there is a greater percentage of the low group who feel that their chances are poor. Generally, they do not see much need (or perhaps they do not perceive themselves as having the ability) to change themselves. The high relationship group sees education as having a genuine bearing on whether or not they are going to be able to change themselves. The reaction that the youngsters in the low group tend to give toward their educational opportunities is decidedly pessimistic. They feel that their education is only fair, that they really do not get a fair break in school, are markedly unsatisfied with their personal gains from education, and place "academic" far out in front in terms of that which is most difficult for them.

SUMMARY. More than the high relationship group, the low group tends to be flavored with youngsters who are from the lower socio-economic class. They come to the beach in search of companionship and mingle with large groups of youngsters. They experience some real frustrations in their socializing activities, we may suppose. They are quite sensitive to the presence of so many police and the strictness of the new rules and regulations. One would guess that these "loners" might very well see C.A.V.E. as a kind of protective association for adolescents. They like the activities C.A.V.E. sponsors and probably hope to see more of them. Their perceptions of the adult world seem to be complex. We suggest that the figures we have on the "random" interview are indicative of a kind of insulated, suppressed, indifferent individual who sees adults not only as belittling the youth, but setting him apart in other ways with the effect that the young person begins to feel estranged from the adult world even more keenly than the average teen-ager. We have suggested

certain factors which seem to reinforce this picture of the low relationship youngster. His picture of himself is one of low aspiration and an inability to function with great effectiveness in the world in which he is living. Reading this data, of course, leads one to wish that we had a great deal more material concerning the dynamics of these youngsters. It would seem that what we are dealing with here is a very deep-level personality impoverishment, the kind which Erikson talks about when he describes "basic trust."

One does not get the feeling that these are deeply hostile youngsters. Rather, they seem content to watch the world go by - and they are really watching. But, undoubtedly, there is a latent hostility there that could be stirred up. With this tremendous hunger for recognition and general lack of inner security (they actually put general security ahead of recognition in terms of life goals), there is enough drive to become actively and immediately engaged in any kind of social disturbance, and enough frustration with their general world to make it seem that it would not make any difference whether or not they acted with violent hostility. Finally, one can comment that they probably would never be the leaders in any social disturbance; their lack of genuine personal security, their lack of focus in terms of their own frustrations would not give them the clarity of purpose to bring genuine leadership to a riot. But, they could follow with a vengeance!

#### General Summation of "Random" Interview Data

There will be no need to provide a recitation of the summaries given at the end of each section of the analysis of the Interview Schedule. This summary will concentrate on the broad outline of the findings of this Interview Schedule.

Three sub-groups were delineated from the group as a whole: the arrested, the C.A.V.E. participants, and the "loner" or low relationship group. By and large, there was not a great deal of difference between the two groups, but the differences which were there could well be determinative of the patterns of behavior on the beach during the summer season. The arrested group presented the clearest picture of hostility and frustration both with the world and on the beach. The low relationship group are what might be called discontented followers. Whether or not this is the group on the beach that, apart from the arrested group, is hostile and negative, is difficult to say. However, lack of trusting relationships with others does seem to lead in the group of young people surveyed to exhibit a deep kind of insecurity which is masked by indifference. It is among those

youngsters who participated in C.A.V.E. that we find the best possibility of leadership among the adolescent sub-culture. If we had had the time to do it, it would have been most helpful to separate out of the C.A.V.E. participants the low relationship youngsters and the arrested youngsters to see if the remaining persons were significantly different from the group as a whole. This further refinement of the data would, it is suspected, provide us with a group of youngsters who have very healthy attitudes and high aspirations.

One of the consistent findings of these data are that there is some substance to the conflict between the generations. Although the Irritability-Deviancy Test indicates that there is substantial agreement between adults and youth on matters of law and order, the data from the interviews indicates that the average adolescent is troubled about his relationships with the adult world. These data indicate that the youth on Hampton Beach are able to discriminate between the particular adults which they meet on Hampton Beach either in the form of merchants or police from the adults which form a significant part of their world. The adults on Hampton Beach become targets of hostility only when the general situation for the youngsters on the Beach is such that there does not seem to be any opportunity for free expression in a situation that has some limitations. The quarrel these adolescents have with the world does not seem to be a conflict over authority. Their conflict seems, rather, to be of an identity crisis, a conflict over where they are going to fit into this world. They perceive the world as making it difficult for them to fit in anywhere. It would seem that a resort community which has so many adolescents coming to it faces a most delicate problem. Nevertheless, as we shall see in the final summary of the research report, the conflicts within the individual adolescent and within his adolescent sub-culture can be contained.

Research, such as has been attempted during the summer of 1965 on Hampton Beach, is aggravating in that it seems to raise more questions than it answers. There have been so many tantalizing leads developed in this "random" interview. We have been operating in a transitional community, a community which is really operating only a few months of the year. Ties are loosely formed; informal sub-groupings take the place of social institutions; cliques substitute for clubs. What happens to morality? How are the decision-making processes made effective? What is the communications network among the adolescent? What makes him decide whether or not he is going to participate in something like C.A.V.E.? What happens in these large clusters of young people

which, we can presume, contain the arrested, the "loner," and the leader of the teen-age society? Why did these youngsters come to this community? We know why they give as the reason. But, we do not know why these particular young people come to this particular community. Does Hampton Beach symbolize something to the teen-ager? Is all of what we have been observing simply random behavior that distributes itself evenly across all the questions we might ask? It certainly does seem that we have a cross-section of many indices of behavior.

There is no doubt that we have at Hampton Beach an almost unparalleled opportunity to study the culture and society of contemporary America's adolescent. It all seems to be here. In order to do the proper kinds of research, perhaps we ought to take some of the leads developed in the questionnaire-interview used this year and use it as a sort of key to providing a more differentiated interview schedule in which key items would be programmed into questions designed to get at more basic information relative to each of the sub-groups. We need to know more about each of the sub-groups mentioned in this report. We need to know more about the kind of informal society which is developed here and what its structure is. We need to follow through on the various kinds of stresses and strains within the youngsters that have been traced out by the interview schedule used here. Perhaps if we keyed in on certain criterion questions, using them as a base for alternate sets of questions, we might be able to paint a more accurate kind of picture. While the limits of time and budget are always of major importance, the function of research in developing genuine understanding of what it is we are dealing with is of immeasurable importance.



### CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is appropriate at this time to make some concluding remarks. We need to see, at least in capsule form, how our collection of data either substantiates or conflicts with the hypotheses made at the beginning of the Project. Obviously, such relationships have been implicit throughout the report of the research data. Nonetheless, it might be well to make such relationships explicit. Secondly, it might be well to give some over-view as to the accomplishments of C.A.V.E. Finally, it would be important to attempt a sketch of the overall picture of Hampton Beach and suggest some possible reasons why there was no repetition of the 1964 Labor Day riot - from the standpoint of this Demonstration Project.

The fundamental assumption of this project was founded on the frustration-aggression hypothesis. This was the framework, together with role relationship analysis, in which we worked. It would seem that the Hampton Beach situation would suggest that the frustration-aggression hypothesis would apply only if and when other social and psychological conditions were conducive. By itself, this hypothesis is too one-dimensional to account for the richness of the social structures and inter-relationships. On the other hand, we see that the young people are frustrated precisely by that set of attitudes which is reflected in the business community. We had hypothesized: "that youth are resentful of exploitation by beach operators and town officials who are willing to take their business but who resent their presence and who mount hostility and aggression in protecting their property and persons." This is probably true, but the hostility and aggression occur only under special situations. If the young people have more basic needs met, such aggression does not seem to culminate in outward and violent displays. There is not the personal contact between the youth and the businessman. Finally, we found a difference in attitude among the members of the business community; while their attitudes are slow to change, they are capable of changing.

We hypothesized that through peer group intervention tension would be reduced. We have no way of really knowing whether or not this actually took place in quantifiable ways. We had hoped to measure such communication patterns in various group seminars. These opportunities because of the press of the summer season simply did not present themselves. We can say, however, that the general characteristics measured did not change, and that the situation which was changed was provided those elements of the youth population who have these values the opportunity to exert leadership. Perhaps some valuable information to this point could be deduced from Mr. Estaver's report. The hypothesis relating to the effect of "symbolic

and concrete affirmations of identity..." are in the same general category. From the standpoint of the needs which were met, the standpoint of the activities attended we can say that these activities show a measurable kind of success. We can say that the activities of C.A.V.E. seem to provide a milieu in which effective social control among the youth population is possible.

We hypothesized that "law enforcement agencies can more effectively deal with those determined to cause trouble if the majority of young people can be diverted from participation in the riot or have their needs met in more responsible ways." Obviously, we had no "riot" situation in which to test this hypothesis. However, the data from the observation scale seems to suggest that such an hypothesis is substantiated. The needs of the young people were met in such a way that there really was no need for intensive law enforcement methods. Another interesting facet is that the groups which contrasted the most were the arrested and the non-arrested. This hints that there were some real differences between the young people, and, more importantly, that the young people with more stable personalities tended not to become involved with law enforcement officials.

Our last hypothesis was that there would be a "downward shift in aspiration level and social class position of those apprehended in any disturbance in a Labor Day, 1965, disturbance in comparison with those apprehended in 1964." Taking into account the extremely small sample, ten interviews, we see a nearly total reversal of this hypothesis. Because of the very small sample size it is difficult to make any valid generalizations. However, it would appear that a totally new kind of situation existed in the Labor Day weekend of 1965. The arrested young people interviewed after the 1965 Labor Day weekend were a very responsible, bright group of young people who seemingly had a great deal of personal stability.

Our second question is concerned with the accomplishments of the C.A.V.E. organization. We might say that two primary things were accomplished. The first was that a genuine beginning of a responsible teen-age or young adult leisure society was created, a society in which patterns of normal communication, the more healthy release of tension through desired forms of activity was facilitated. As a by-product those structures which do build tension culminating in riotous disturbances were replaced.

The second primary accomplishment was a gaining of a deeper understanding of youth (at least by the community). It was discovered that the standard dichotomies of good vs. bad, in vs. out, are erroneous. We began as a community to see hostile kids, lonely kids, adjusted and non-adjusted kids; conflict and lack of conflict in the same youngster. And still, we have but scratched the surface.

One might mention that a better understanding of adults was gained - especially the adult tourist. He is no where near as forbidding as the merchant would describe him. The adult tourist would be more than tolerant of youthful recreation activities. This is one of the more important bits of understanding gained over the summer experience.

Let us now attempt to wrap up this report with a summarization of what might be conceived as the dynamics of the situation of Hampton Beach particularly as we contrast the summer of 1964 with the summer of 1965. It is rather evident that the youth on Hampton Beach in the summer of 1965 had the same general characteristics of the youth which were interviewed as participants in the Labor Day riot of 1964. Why, then, was there no riot at the end of the 1965 season? Obviously, because there was a preponderance of police authority on the beach during the summer of 1965 and especially during Labor Day of 1965. This would be the answer of many people. Our data suggest that such is no where near the entire truth of the matter. As a rule, of course, we would not mean to imply that proper law enforcement is not needed. But, an over-abundance of police is most irrelevant because the conflict between the youth and the adult world is not primarily located within a quarrel with the representatives of authority. Such intensive police work simply irritates the basic underlying problems and serves to bring to the surface latent conflicts which then erupt in the face of those who symbolize authority, the police. Moreover, as was pointed out in the Beach Observation data, the activity of the police in breaking up the large crowds might well serve to disrupt the communications process between the hostile and the more responsible young people. Given the proper kinds of backing, these more responsible youth can then influence the more hostile youth toward a less combative stance toward society. Finally, our data from the police themselves seems to show that they are rather undecided as to how to proceed. The data which we have gathered seems to show that the way they did proceed was largely irrelevant, and that they did not really prevent any outbreak of violence but simply did not experience any outbreak of violence.

In the light of this discussion concerning the police, we must duly note that among the arrested in particular that there is a very real possibility of conflict with authority - regardless of how we trace out the dynamics and probable causes of that conflict.

Originally, we hypothesized that if we could somehow occupy the middle-class, relatively untroubled youth during the summer season, that there would be no riot essentially because the riot depended on a mass of people for its effectiveness. We have seen that there are latent frustrations among the young people on Hampton Beach. But, and this is the important point, for the majority of young people, their conflicts do not center around the problem with authority - at least as it is represented by law enforcement.

If sufficient recognition is given to the majority of young people, as through a Project such as C.A.V.E., we can reasonably suppose that the majority of the young people will find it possible to live within the situation of the beach community. They were, in other words, occupied with their own more important affairs. If, on the other hand, no such outlets are provided for the average youngster, it is possible that they do become vulnerable to the leadership of the more hostile youngsters we encounter in the arrested group. The latent conflicts among the average youngster, apparently, can be mobilized and transferred to the authority figures represented by the police and the business community people. We have also seen that there is a strong possibility that the lonely youngster is actually indifferent to what is really going on, has a lack of concern about himself and is thereby more readily mobilized to participation in a riot. He has, you might say, nothing to loose and nothing to gain. He simply has less resources within his personality to withstand the persuasiveness and the power of the acted-out hostility provided by the riot leader. Once this momentum is begun, the average youngster who ordinarily would not cause trouble loses his usual controls over his hitherto suppressed frustrations and gets involved in the riot.

By working back into this situation and creating more investment on the part of the more average, more emotionally stable young people, it is possible to create a climate in which the "loners" drift with this group into the more constructive or less harmful forms of activity. The arrested or hostile group of young people do not find it possible to compete with this kind of leadership, and are thereby isolated. They cannot create these kinds of disturbances unless they mobilize other youth around them.

It is more than possible that we can find more constructive methods of dealing with the personality conflicts which we have observed within the arrested group. With better and more knowledgeable leadership skilled in the general areas of social work, it is a good possibility that we can do a better job of reaching these hostile youth. If the outline of what we have suggested concerning the dynamics of how the arrested youth becomes involved with the authorities is even close, we see in the fact that he does drift into youth-sponsored activities gives watchful and skilled people the opportunity to create those kinds of positive aids for helping this hostile youngster begin to resolve his problem. It can be assumed that the arrested young person will not be helped by the arrest. He will be helped most by learning to relate to other people effectively.

While we are still not entirely positive about working with people in these relatively complex areas, we do know enough to conduct some promising kinds of programming. The more serious question lies in the community, and whether or not it really wants to provide the kinds of leadership making possible these programs. We see that youth feels that it is belittled by the adult world. This perception of theirs is not entirely fantasy. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that if programs like this are begun,

they should not be dropped in the middle. That is to say, a program such as the one begun on Hampton Beach in the summer of 1965 is simply not completed in one season. Opposition from the business community should be regarded as simply part of the social process that one can expect to find. The resistance of a community and its hesitancy to adopt certain social goals is likewise part of the nature of such situations. It, of course, remains to be seen what will happen if there is no continuation of the work on Hampton Beach. There is a growing willingness to have some kind of project, but it is unreasonable to expect that a business community will so change its attitudes in three hectic months of a summer season in which it has to make an entire year's wage to think about the issues involved in the generational conflict. It would seem to be a conclusion of this report that anything accomplished this one season is grossly incomplete. Any projects which any community or agency contemplates, therefore, should be seen in terms of a number of summers - not a "one shot" attempt to do the impossible.

Let us conclude with the comment of a young man who was interviewed after his brief trial rising out of some altercation during the Labor Day weekend of 1965. Throughout his high school years this young man lived alone. His parents had separated, and he was ambitious and bright enough to provide enough money for himself to afford to live alone in an apartment while he was going to high school. Although he did not do very well in the academic aspect of his secondary education, he was bright enough to work up to a foreman's position within a year after his graduation from high school. He was making enough money to dress well and to buy a new Ford Mustang. In fact, he was making so much money that he was "sick of making money," as he put it. He was very nearly twenty years old, and had decided to go into the army because there seemed to be no challenge in the world he was living. The comment he made at the end of the interview seemed to sum up much of what these young men are feeling. He said something to the effect that the things that the teen-agers do now don't interest him a bit, but that he does not know what to do to have fun. In fact, he confessed, he really was afraid to grow up and be a man because he did not know what a man really was.

HAMPTON BEACH PROJECT

PROJECT DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Grantee Organization: Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce  
Hampton Beach, New Hampshire

Special Demonstration Grant # 65022

Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development  
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Washington, D. C.

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Hampton Beach Project  
Paul Estavor, Director  
Project Director's Report

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## I

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

## HAMPTON BEACH AND YOUTH

On the eve of Labor Day, 1964, Hampton Beach, New Hampshire suffered through a senseless youth riot which lasted from dusk to midnight or later. There were somewhere between 2500 and 10,000 young people involved, along with 40 local police, 68 auxiliary police and 85 state police, ultimately assisted by the Rockingham County Sheriff's Department, the New Hampshire National Guard and a contingent of Maine state police. Miraculously, no one was killed, although both police and rioters sustained extensive injuries. The expressed desire of the youth to burn the Hampton Beach Casino was thwarted, but two small buildings were fired by Molotov cocktails. Some 155 youths were arrested, and the newspapers filled their columns with talk of tear gas, rock salt, birdshot, brutality and Communism. The numbers of rioters were quoted at figures of 15,000 or higher, and one highly respected columnist listed the property damage at half a million dollars when in fact the total was about \$20,000. The event was spoken of as the fourth Labor Day riot, although the first two were insufficient in violence or damage to warrant the honor.

When it was over, the town of Hampton -- officials, businessmen and laymen -- determined there would be no fifth year ...

Hampton Beach began as a trolley car resort. Its earliest development dates from the 1890's, but its boom came with the advent of the street railway just at the turn of the century. At that time, the trolley companies, whose lines webbed the northeast, sought to increase their service by creating resort parks at a number of attractive lakeside and oceanfront sites. Such a one was Hampton.



It was possible to reach Hampton Beach by trolley from either Portsmouth or Haverhill, and it was a place worth the travel, for the street railway company had built and owned both the Ocean House and the Hampton Beach Casino, a huge rambling complex of halls and piazzas embracing arcades, a restaurant, a theatre, bathhouse and an enormous ballroom.

In 1898 a development organization, the Hampton Beach Improvement Company, leased from the town for \$500 a year a narrow strip of land between Ocean Boulevard and Ashworth Avenue, extending from Ashworth Corner to Q Street. This property abuts what was, and is still, the main section of Hampton Beach. The Improvement Company laid in the cross streets so that from its appearance on a large-scale map the strip somewhat resembles a millepede. Land was leased out lot by lot.

The cottages and hotels on this subleased land of the Improvement Company, were mostly constructed before 1925. Today, with some 35 years remaining on these leases, there has been raised the question whether leased land under such circumstances has not impeded the up-dating and upgrading of Hampton Beach property, although Hampton's town manager points out that similar resorts with outright deeds in New England are at about the same stage of property improvement as Hampton Beach, and an active real estate broker agrees.

In 1907 Hampton Beach was established as a separate precinct, with three commissioners to build and maintain a fire protection system. The precinct remains in existence today, its authority slightly increased to include street lighting, maintenance of the playground and yearly advertising campaigns, all supported by a precinct real estate tax of \$6.00 on a thousand above and beyond the town tax.

The village of Hampton and Hampton Beach have often suffered strained relations, although nothing today like the '20's when the Beach Precinct went so far as to seek the status of an independent town. Yet even today in many ways the town and the beach have little in common, separated as they are by extensive marshlands and rather different orientations -- the one an old-fashioned Yankee residential community; the other a seasonal resort, many of whose businessmen came from the Merrimack Valley or Greater Boston.

Nevertheless, the beach remains Hampton's major industry. A substantial portion of the beach area property is still held

by the town and leased to tenants in 15-year increments. These funds, together with taxes on beach area buildings, constituted over 40% of Hampton's real estate income as recently as 1964.

Compared even to other New Hampshire beaches, the sands at Hampton's main beach do not comprise a large area, extending a little over a mile from Church Street to Haverhill Street, at an average width of about 300 feet. South of Haverhill Street a narrower band of sand extends past a residential area to the state-owned bathhouse, which is about a mile from the Casino. Two other extensive beaches north of Boar's Head are in the town of Hampton, but it is the main beach which has been the central attraction from the beginning.

South across the Hampton River, long stretches of sand extend through Seabrook, New Hampshire, and Salisbury, Massachusetts, but Seabrook's beach community is almost totally middle-class residential and Salisbury is inclined to be classed as a honky tonk by Hampton's advocates, who have always prided themselves on keeping Hampton Beach a family resort, free from liquor, ferris wheels, roller coasters and the other gimcracks which can clutter and choke a vacation community. Hampton and Hampton Falls are now the only dry communities in Rockingham County.

To the north of Hampton the coast consists of rockbound promontories interspersed by beaches of varying size and beauty, but none are so fine as Hampton's. Here also the development is primarily residential, varying in scope from palatial estates to modest colonies of small homes and cottages.

During the depression years of the 1930's, Hampton Beach prospered. Then indeed it was a family resort. A great number of cottages adjacent to the main beach were lived in by their owners or were rented to single family groups for extended periods, preferably season or month.

In 1933, when it was apparent that the Atlantic erosion was more than the town's resources could cope with, Hampton deeded its beaches to the state of New Hampshire, from store fronts to watermark, and since that time the state has made various improvements in the form of seawalls, highways, parking areas and, most recently, an attractive seashell and office complex at the center of the main beach. Even the old boardwalk was finally replaced in 1962 with cement paving.

The thirties were also good years for the Hampton Beach Casino, and especially its ballroom, for this was the era of the big band. Tommy Dorsey, Benny Goodman, Guy Lombardo -- it would be hard to find one that was not a feature attraction at Hampton.

During that decade Hampton Beach experienced no serious crime, but there was by then, or perhaps earlier, a tradition of antagonism between police and the young people in particular. One conservative beach spokesman relates that Hampton's police force had a reputation of being tough in those days, and a police official is even more outspoken in his criticism. He notes that, while there were some good officers, many others were untrained, undisciplined, and occasionally unscrupulous. The police department had no organization and no personnel policy, but coped with each situation as it occurred. Pay was poor. As recently as ten years ago, top pay for a patrolman was \$60 for a 72-hour week. Although Hampton's Board of Selectmen was then composed of three men, as it is today, many feel that the town's extended domination by a political boss was a factor in the lack of quality in its police force. Others have said the police work was good and the town well run.

The advent of World War II and gas rationing seems not to have affected the economy of the beach seriously, but at this time began a trend away from family beach life which has never quite reversed. During the war the beach was jammed with unattached young people, and as they came family summer cottages began operations as rooming houses to accommodate them.

Then, with the war over, the trend accelerated. More money was available, living standards were up, and Hampton's way of summer life began to seem a little old-fashioned. Even then Hampton Beach was threatened with becoming a teenager's paradise, and this early trend was reversed only when international travel restrictions were lifted and the stable patronage of Canadian family groups helped to balance the structure of beach society.

Prior to World War II, there had been some development of the land west of Ashworth Avenue, but it was the post-war era that saw the appearance here of many new streets, motels and cottages. These back street cottages are smaller than the multi-story residences on or adjacent to the waterfront. Many of them appear to differ from the earlier development in one

other important respect; while the builders may have intended to occupy them for part of a season, they also had rentals in mind, and a good number of the new properties were certainly built solely as an investment. Thus the overnight accommodation capacity of Hampton Beach was rather quickly increased and the trend to a more transient population was accelerated.

#### HAMPTON BEACH AND YOUTH

During the 1950's police problems were not primarily centered around young people. Although there were many teenagers on hand, comparatively few of them seemed to have automobiles and there were no apparent fads of guitars, bongos, beards or long hair. Hampton has always been strict in its attitude towards excessive drinking, but it was not until 1959 that the law prohibiting illegal possession of alcoholic beverages by a minor was passed, creating a rather specific line of demarcation between the legal and illegal. While young people habitually jammed the concourse of the Casino in this era, and to some extent made a nuisance of themselves, the police have no recollections of group problems with the young until 1960. The big holiday weekend then was July 4, and the peak arrest periods were the nights of July 3 and other Saturday nights, when there might be drunkenness, fights, larcenies, or the more routine traffic congestion.

The first instance of group action remembered by Hampton Police Chief Paul Leavitt was in 1960, when gangs of youngsters would occasionally throng in front of the Casino to hoot and cheer when a drunk was taken into the police station, which was at that time directly across the Boulevard on the ocean front at the center of the beach. Leavitt says this jeering was a sometime thing during 1960, not worse at Labor Day than any other time.

However, the 1961 fracas, late on Labor Day eve, grew out of this tradition. Different people remember it differently, but apparently there was either a snake dance on Ocean Boulevard or simply a swarm of young people, who surged onto the sand and back to the boulevard, making a lot of noise but doing no damage.

Chief John Roden and the half dozen or so men he had on hand ignored them as long as they could, then finally removed

one or two of the most boisterous ones from the crowd and told the rest to disperse, which they did. Apparently a fire truck was also called, but its hoses were not used on the crowd.

The performance in 1962 at Labor Day was more extensive. On Sunday afternoon it was necessary for the police to break up a snake dance on the boulevard with the help of two dogs. In the evening a crowd again gathered and swarmed around chanting, lighting firecrackers, setting trash buckets ablaze, and snake dancing. The Hampton police called for outside help and were eventually reinforced by 25 to 30 state troopers and a like number of auxiliaries.

Once again a verbal order was sufficient. An officer with a bull horn announced that the beach was closed and instructed the crowd to go to their rooms or to their homes. During part of the evening, Governor Wesley Powell appeared at the beach to observe and assist, and subsequently there was commentary about it in the press, which may have given additional impetus to the importance of the disturbance. As in 1961, there was little physical contact with the crowd and no missiles were hurled. All through these years, including 1963 when the trouble was much more severe, the number of arrests for the Labor Day weekend remained at the average of 60 to 80, which was no more than in years past.

Following the 1962 event, Hampton's selectmen did their best to underplay its importance. The Labor Day troubles were officially classed by them as a "disturbance", but the newspapers called it a riot and described it in considerable detail.

By Labor Day, 1963, the tradition of a fracas, if not a riot, at Hampton Beach was fairly well established. The fad had grown elsewhere as college and high school age youth descended in throngs to make trouble at resorts as widely scattered as Ocean City, Md., Lake George, N. Y., Seal Beach, Calif., Myrtle Beach, S. C., Newport, R. I., and St. Petersburg and Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. All these were in the news in the early 60's. The settings and the circumstances varied rather widely, but the effect was the same as far as Hampton Beach was concerned.

The setting at Hampton Beach was also somewhat changed. The old beachfront bandstand and police station were gone, and during the summer, construction was taking place on the new

seashell complex. A temporary stage served for the daily band concerts. A new police station was also under construction on Ashworth Avenue, and the Hampton police were temporarily housed in the so-called Casino Garage adjacent to the fire station, also on Ashworth Avenue.

For Labor Day weekend this year the police department was augmented with some 60 auxiliaries, for the most part small-town or part-time policemen from such communities as Nottingham, Brentwood, Newington, along with a number of professional police from Dover. Part of this auxiliary police force were non-professionals -- a group called the Rockingham County Volunteer Emergency Corps. In addition there were several police dogs and these, in particular, were remembered by the young people as an antagonistic element.

During the day, particularly the afternoon, the tension mounted as the young people engaged in various bits of horse-play -- human pyramids, sand fights (or perhaps mud fights), and a blanket-tossing performance during which a girl lost the top to her bathing suit, became hysterical and had to be rescued by the police.

One other particularly troublesome complicating factor was the horde of adults who appeared late afternoon and evening expressly to watch the performance that everyone seemed to know was coming. Later, during the time the riot actually was in progress, these adults were constantly in the way of police. Not only that, but they became outraged if they were jostled or if they found themselves subject to police orders.

As evening came on, a mass of humanity thronged the beach, and the trouble actually started when the congestion of human bodies began to block traffic. Apparently about this same time also, a boy gathered a crowd around him on the beach by mounting one of the wooden lifeguard stands to imitate President John Kennedy. As in previous years, there were the chants at the police, trash baskets set ablaze, and firecrackers everywhere. The police dogs were a prime target for firecrackers.

A Hampton police official now states that the 1963 riot could have been prevented had the police then had their present knowledge -- a good plan and calm, well-trained men. This official goes on to say that in the instance of 1963 he feels that the police actually were the element that sparked the riot. There was no organized squad movement, but instead per-

haps a hundred police were assembled on a sort of skirmish line opposite to the young people. The chief of police mounted the temporary bandstand in an effort to try and talk the crowd out of its mood, with such statements as, "You're Americans; think of your country....What's the matter with you people", but the crowd's response was only more hooting and more firecrackers. One officer remembers it as like being in the midst of a mortar barrage. This year, for the first time, objects were thrown -- sand-filled beer cans and rocks. Police on the skirmish line would group into impromptu squads of perhaps half a dozen and charge into the mob after an individual they might have seen throwing a firecracker.

Then, finally sick of playing the crowd's game, they waded in, and it became a two-way brawl. The crowd surged around the boulevard area, then down the side streets to assail the police and fire stations. They were beaten back with tear gas and fire hoses, and eventually fire trucks were brought out to hose down the crowds on both side streets and on Ocean Boulevard. Had there been any organization to it, the tactic might have had some effect, but the lack of planning made it so that crowds were driven this way and that, and they made a game of it, daring each other to go out and dance in front of the high pressure streams of water.

Although there was apparently little deliberate property damage, a number of the business people feared for their property, and more than one corralled a group of employees to guard his land with fists or lengths of copper pipe.

Most of the violent action was over in a matter of two hours. Unfortunately, the state police did not arrive on the scene until very late in the evening, when the situation was already fairly well under control, and they were much criticized for their tardiness, both by the press and by local officials.

Of course the press, once again, reported the happenings with relish. Particularly in 1963, there were many adamant charges of police brutality and subsequent counter-charges of savage behavior on the part of young people and defense of the police forces. To show how severe a problem the police had faced, pictures were offered to the press showing collections of impromptu weapons taken from youth, and one photo in particular showed a bulldozer at the town dump, plowing under hundreds of cans of beer confiscated from the young people.

This year there was no denying that Hampton Beach had indeed had a riot, and various elements in the community began the long search for a solution. The Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce had, in fact, already given the matter serious concern.

#### SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION - 1962 - 1964

In the fall of 1962 a committee of four men -- John Dineen, Joseph Dineen, James Fallon and Secretary William Elliot -- was appointed by President Joseph Flynn to visit other areas who had been plagued by teenagers over recent years. Together they made a trip to Hyannis, Mass., Newport, R. I., and Narragansett, R. I., where they received most cooperative treatment from town officials. Ultimately they submitted an extensive report of their findings and, in each instance, the response of the community in question had been to crack down hard on the youngsters. The committee listed the following among measures taken by the communities they had visited: dress requirements for patrons of bars and restaurants after 8:00 P.M., early closing of business and bars, licensing of lodging houses, immediate arrest for obscene language in a public place, the closing of beaches at a moderate hour of the night. In its second year, Newport allowed no minors on the streets of the city during the festival, whether or not they were drinking. Litter laws were strictly enforced. Gangs of young people were broken up immediately. Lounging was not permitted. When crowds were heavy, police made it a point to keep them moving constantly. At the three main points of entrance to Newport, liquor was confiscated from cars in which a minor was riding, and the car was turned back.

At Narragansett a prompt call for state police had helped to reduce property damage in a troublesome situation. At the time the committee visited, a bill was in the Rhode Island legislature calling for a loss of license for thirty days, or sixty days for a second offense, for a minor who was found driving while in possession of alcoholic beverages.

Throughout the report, much attention was given to police budgets, which were apparently more adequate than that of Hampton up to 1963, and to the use, particularly in Narragansett, R. I., of police reserve units trained for heavy crowd situations.

The committee apparently also corresponded with other



resorts at length, for in their files is a copy of a regulation used at Atlantic City, N. J., which required all non-residents working in the area to obtain a registration and identification card within 48 hours of time of employment or face a penalty of \$200 fine or 90 days in jail.

Subsequent to the 1963 riot, the Chamber of Commerce Labor Day committee, expanded to eleven men, put forth a lengthy memorandum calling for a number of specifics for the summer of 1964. They voted to request ten state troopers to be assigned to Hampton Beach every Friday and Saturday night and during the daytime on Sundays from early June through Labor Day weekend. In addition, they voted to request 50 state troopers for both Fourth of July and Labor Day weekends. They hoped to establish an order of command among police departments, fire departments and sheriff's department; they recommended that, in case of a riot, the state police take charge of all units.

They also asked that the standing laws forbidding sleeping on the beach or in cars, and dressing in cars, be strictly enforced, along with the state litter law.

Additional plans called for the publication of a courtesy announcement welcoming newcomers to Hampton Beach, but warning them that laws would be strictly enforced. They asked the Board of Selectmen to pass an ordinance prohibiting the wearing of blankets on the beach, boardwalk or in the stores. It was hoped that a way could be found to regulate dress further, particularly in the evenings.

Training programs were called for and additional requests went to the governor and to the state police calling for help and for the invocation of the state's riot law, and for the establishment of new laws to control disorderly conduct. The statement concludes, "It was stated and unanimously agreed upon that the situation at Hampton Beach is an extremely dangerous one which has gone far beyond talking about or considering public relations. The Board of Selectmen were requested to make every effort to stop the Labor Day problem. It was further agreed that there is now real danger to life and property at Hampton Beach. The committee voted unanimously that the situation MUST stop. However, no pat solution could be arrived at."

During this same time, the selectmen of the town of Hampton were at work and came up with a proposed seven-point

program which included licensing of hotels, motels, etc., requesting help from the state of New Hampshire, the purchase of a radar unit to control traffic problems, the standardization of news releases, research regarding laws and procedures and, finally, an ordinance establishing a closing of all restaurants from 1:00 A.M. to 6:00 A.M. during the summer season.

This ordinance became quite a bone of contention in the subsequent months. However, it was kept in force throughout the summer of 1964 and 1965 with the exception of the Fourth of July weekend of the latter year.

Subsequent efforts of the town and of a sub-committee of the Chamber of Commerce to find a practicable way to establish and enforce a licensing law for places of public accommodation were never successful despite many hours of study. The town manager, Kenneth Boehner, was officially appointed as health officer, but by law his visits to hotels, motels and rooming houses could be made only during daylight hours, and his time was limited. More important, the number of public accommodations on the beach which were able to meet the minimum standards was only about 20%, leaving the town with the alternatives of declaring that 80% of the places of public accommodation at the beach were not fit for license, or of putting official sanction on unqualified places and running subsequent risks of suits from tenants.

Thus it can be seen that the town's response to its youth program, to this point, was entirely a restrictive and punitive one. The youths were regarded as outsiders, come for no clear reason to destroy Hampton's otherwise peaceful resort. The feeling was that the town had been too easy on them, and that the answer must be to limit them more sharply and, if possible, keep out the troublesome ones and the vagrants.

One or two individuals did feel that there should be some way to reach the young people, possibly by working with them or entertaining them, but such suggestions carried little weight and their proponents saw no way to put their thoughts into action.

#### HAMPTON METHODIST CHURCH EFFORTS

The first group to seek alternative solutions to force was the Commission on Christian Social Concerns of the Hampton

Methodist Church. This is a standing committee in all Methodist churches. In the case of Hampton, it was chaired by Richard Stone, a Northeast Airlines pilot in his mid-thirties who resided in Hampton with his wife and three children. He and his family were typical of the desirable new population coming to Hampton as a part of the town's transition from a Yankee agricultural community to a mid-twentieth century suburb in the megalopolis. Like many other newcomers to Hampton, these people were aggressive, intelligent, upper middle-class in income, college-trained, and inclined to be interested in community betterment. Particularly in Stone's case, a pilot's schedule allowed single days, or clusters of days, of open time for non-business pursuits.

In May of 1964, Stone and the church committee met to discuss pressing social problems. Civil rights seemed to be a leading topic, but at the same time it seemed to be beyond the scope of this committee. On the other hand, Hampton's own riots were close at hand, and the outlines of a yearly program of discussion and action were sketched out.

In June of 1964, the committee met for a panel discussion. Attendance was disappointingly small -- only about ten were there -- but it was an important first step. Panelists were William Elliot, Executive Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, Chief John Roden of the Hampton Police Department, and Dr. Stuart Palmer, Chairman of the Sociology Department at the University of New Hampshire, twenty miles distant. Elliot stated the problem, indicating clearly that young people at Hampton Beach were going well beyond the stage of being merely difficult. He spoke of youth's excesses in music and dancing and morals. In searching for motivation for the apparently senseless riots, he brought before the floor the suggestion that youthful behavior was possibly communist motivated.

In turn, Chief Roden stated that it was his job to be sure that the beach was adequately policed and protected. He made it clear that he understood it was police responsibility not to provoke a riot, but he also clearly stated that if a riot began it was also police responsibility to see that it stopped. He said that he had no choice but to retain the controversial police dogs, but that they would be kept in the background in the future as a part of a deliberate effort not to incite trouble.

Dr. Palmer's statement concerned societal motivations and an attempt to analyze them, with particular emphasis on the be-

havior of the young. He was particularly concerned with Hampton's falling into the trap of the self-fulfilling prophecy and warned of the danger of a set of mind, or a mode of speech, which accepted the fact that another riot was inevitable. He indicated that the press reaction to Hampton's situation was a part of the chain of elements which kept the fad in motion year after year.

After outlining the factors which create the theme of violence in American culture and the conflicting ideologies and needs which frustrate a society and its individuals, he pointed out that these frustrations are passed by the adults along to the young people. Therefore, he said, since it is axiomatic that frustration leads to aggression and aggression to violence, it could be said that a logical target for youthful aggression in our largely middle-class society might be a middle-class family resort like Hampton Beach, where the young are already congregated in great numbers. He advanced no specific solutions beyond the statement that the answer would have to come from within the community, and that it might best be motivated out of an attitude of concern for, and kindness toward, youth.

Although this meeting was a small one, it was significant. Present were four men who were ultimately to play key roles in the Hampton Beach Project: Dr. Palmer, Elliot, Stone, and Lt. Paul Leavitt; who was ultimately to become chief of the Hampton Police Department. Here, for the first time, was laid the philosophical groundwork out of which the Project grew.

A subsequent meeting in July at the Hampton Junior High School drew a larger attendance -- some forty people -- representing elements of both town and beach culture. Present were selectmen, precinct commissioners, representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, and business people from both Hampton and Hampton Beach. The meeting was broken down into three discussion groups, then reassembled for a summing up.

The conclusions were that Hampton's problem was elusive indeed. No one could put a finger on any sort of pat answer. In general it was agreed that there was a breakdown in the moral fibre of the coming generation, and police force was advanced as the immediate solution.

But again, it was a step forward. The fact that town

and beach factions could get together and agree that the problem was a mutual one was an important step. It established the precedent which ultimately resulted in the invitation to Richard Stone and to the minister of the Methodist Church, Reverend Manning E. Van Nostrand, to join, as representatives of the uptown community, with the Chamber of Commerce Teenage Relations Committee in searching for answers.

Subsequent to this meeting, the Methodist Church committee did make some attempts to establish a program of some sort for youth at the beach. Particularly, they hoped to have a hootenanny over the Labor Day weekend, 1964, and they had gone so far as to contact some folksingers when it was decided, by the local police department, that in the interests of public safety it was wiser to cancel such a program.

#### SUMMER - 1964

Over the course of the summer, 1964, both the Chamber of Commerce and the selectmen rigidly adhered to their policy of making no comments to the press, feeling that statements of any kind would only add to the tension and to the expectation of future trouble.

And through the summer season the Hampton Police Department pursued a deliberate policy of tolerance toward the young, referred to afterwards as "rolling out the red carpet." If many of the restrictive laws suggested by the Chamber of Commerce's Labor Day Committee were not put into effect, there were at least rules established, about mid-summer prohibiting the use of bongo drums on the beach and the wearing of blankets anywhere on the Boulevard and beach-front area. The state police were not on hand on a regular weekend-to-weekend basis, but they did turn out in real force for the entire weekends of Fourth of July and Labor Day. Taking their cue from the Hampton Police Department, they conscientiously carried through a policy of tolerance and patience.

Although there had been no previous tradition of mass trouble for Fourth of July weekend, the year 1964 saw a build-up of tension on the occasion that very much resembled Labor Day the previous year. The holiday fell on a Saturday, so that there was a three-day weekend to contend with. Crowds were heavy, almost beyond precedent, and once the sun went down

the concentration of youth was very great.

Friday and Saturday nights saw no particular untoward action, but by late Sunday afternoon the crowd was so thick and the atmosphere of tension was sufficient that the police saw fit to blockade the several roadways to Hampton Beach for vehicular travel, telling all comers that traffic conditions prohibited further entrance to the beach.

On Sunday there were some signs of approaching trouble that had been seen the previous Labor Day. During the afternoon there was horseplay on the beach. At dusk, knots of 25 to 100 youths gathered around guitar players, first singing, then beginning to chant. Firecrackers were thrown, and one or two trash baskets were set ablaze. By nine o'clock, perhaps 500 or more young people were gathered in an intense knot on the boardwalk opposite C Street. A girl's bra was flung in the air, then tossed from hand to hand as a symbol of defiance. Someone cried "Riot" and others began to pick it up.

But there was no riot. Instead, policemen took the abuse with a shrug or with a smile. Patiently they walked in pairs through the crowd, breaking up the assemblage as gently as possible with quiet admonitions and care to say "please". For perhaps three hours, dozens of state police marched back and forth through the heavy crowd of youths, keeping everyone else walking endlessly. At one stage, a group of young people rolled one of the wooden lifeguard stands up to the railing between the boardwalk and the sand, and tried to break it up for a fire. They were quickly and quietly removed from the crowd.

Across the Boulevard, the Hampton Police, this time aided by some 60-odd professional police from other cities in New Hampshire, were carrying on the same operation. There was no running, no shouting, and dogs were not in evidence. When an arrest had to be made, it was done with little fanfare.

Late in the evening there was one surge of humanity across the street toward the storefronts, but it melted before it became an assault.

Toward midnight the tension diminished and finally, little by little, the crowd melted away. Everyone was tremendously impressed with the effectiveness of the police policy, and real hope grew that a solution had at last been found.

Even as the weeks stretched toward Labor Day, that hope continued. If one year could pass without trouble, perhaps the cycle could be broken for good.

But the young people thought otherwise. The word was out: "Come to the annual fourth Hampton Beach riot -- we're going to burn the Casino." Subsequent to the weekend there was much talk that leaflets had been distributed, specifically inviting one and all to the riot, and that signs had been posted as far away as Florida. If these things were done, there was never any proof produced. But the question is almost academic; certainly the rumor mill had been busy and certainly crowds of young people were on hand in force for the occasion.

#### LABOR DAY - 1964

Friday and Saturday nights of Labor Day weekend were in some ways similar to July 4th, with a gradual buildup of tension which was, in turn, gradually dissipated. During the daylight hours there was the horseplay as in previous years -- mudfights and, this year a new wrinkle, shaving cream fights. On Saturday night, a crowd of young people surged into the area by the bandstand. One or two of them mounted the stage and began to harangue the assemblage. State police officials feel strongly that this was a mass meeting whose purpose was to elect officers in a carefully planned conspiracy to carry the riot off with dispatch. The young people themselves unambiguously deny that any such election took place, feeling that the riot's leadership was more spontaneous.

However that may be, the state police quickly broke up the assembly and nabbed one or two of the leaders.

Once again roadblocks were set up, this time both for Saturday and Sunday afternoons, which did have some effect in limiting the crowd size. However, many young people came in by foot or on bikes along the roadways and even over the marsh.

Yet, despite the rumors and despite the crowds of young people, many beach veterans felt there would be no trouble this year, reassured by the sight of cluster after cluster of policemen -- at each corner, along the sidewalks and on the beach itself. The memory of deft and delicate police work over the weekend of July 4th was still strong. One beach business-

man has since recalled taking his mother and his business records to Exeter for safekeeping, then driving back feeling a little silly about it, so sure was he that there would really not be trouble.

Apparently there was no such question in the minds of many young people. Young beach employees and other regulars recall that, as the crowd began to build up toward Labor Day weekend, new faces began to appear -- so called "hoody types", who pretty much kept to themselves. It was apparent to the others that these newcomers were the tough ones, drawn to the beach specifically in expectation of action.

Labor Day eve differed from the other nights during the summer when trouble had threatened. This time there seemed to be hardly any tension. People simply waited. There was very little indication of drinking, and subsequent arrests for it during the evening were few. The youngsters appeared to be stripped for action, gathered in knots on the boardwalk or on the beach, or perched endlessly like pigeons on the rail, while newsmen and photographers were the sparrows, clustering and darting in search of crumbs of excitement. This writer was a sparrow, if you will, on hand tonight as on several previous occasions during the summer.

At about 7:35 P.M., as another photographer and I strolled up the boardwalk, we were accosted by a boy, perhaps sixteen, who whispered, "ten minutes", then darted on to pass the word elsewhere. Surely enough, at 7:45 a mass of young people ran and gathered in a large crowd on the beach. I did not witness it, but it was said that the signal was a cherry bomb and that the assembly point was marked by a flag from a golf course implanted in the sand. Thereafter the crowd surged back onto Ocean Boulevard, up toward the Casino, then across towards the Seashell. Other groups raced down several of the side streets, where they proceeded to assail the police station with rocks and sand-filled cans.

Quickly the riot squads from both local and state police forces assembled, fortified variously with night sticks, helmets, dogs and tear gas grenades. As they would advance on one or another mob of young people, the rioters would fall back, but the law officials were simply out-numbered and the youths, apparently, were not to be stopped except by main force.

By perhaps 8:30 or quarter of nine, the police were able



to clear Ocean Boulevard from approximately A Street to F Street, at the southern end of the Casino. Here they were stopped for pitched battles on two fronts for several hours, and as a result these were the places where the heaviest property damage took place. The sand of the beach itself was something of a no-man's land, partially controlled by police use of tear gas but still providing access for young people from one front to another.

Particularly at G Street, there were dozens of broken windows in store fronts and in cottages along the street. One newly constructed drive-in restaurant, enclosed almost entirely in plate glass, was very heavily stoned while its proprietors took refuge inside in considerable terror.

Police strategy was apparently to clear the Boulevard and Ashworth Avenue, which parallels it, cutting off small groups of young people in the various side streets. However, as property damage and personal injuries mounted, it became necessary to use rock salt and birdshot to disperse heavy crowds of young people. By midnight, when general hostilities had ceased, there were minor injuries extensively to both sides, and several policemen and young people were hospitalized with severe injuries. One boy subsequently lost an eye from birdshot.

It was perhaps between the hours of nine and ten when the rioters began to yank at the strings of colored lights over the children's playground on the Boulevard just south of F Street, and before long these had short-circuited and gone out. Then a Molotov cocktail landed in a parking attendant's shack, sending it up in flames, and shortly thereafter a second small building was similarly fired. The town's fire apparatus was called, but both shacks burned with sufficient severity that they were destroyed before they could be brought under control.

By midnight the scene was uncomfortably similar to memories of the Second World War -- a community newly taken by armed force, guards posted at each corner to allow young people to return to their quarters by ones and twos down the center of the wide boulevard, while an amphibious vehicle full of helmeted men cruised the streets to prevent further outbreaks of violence. On the back streets the National Guard was entering the community and, with Maine State Police, driving stragglers north and south, either across the river into Seabrook or up along the coastline. A number of them were unable to get back

for several days to pick up their automobiles or belongings.

All day Monday the National Guard continued to deny entrance to any unauthorized vehicle to the resort area. Among the articles taken from youths arrested were several two-way radios, adding to the belief of many that Hampton's riot was the result of a deliberate conspiracy, whether or not it was communist inspired. Only a subsequent investigation by the F.B.I. finally dispelled rather general fear that the Communist Party had somehow been involved.

Afterward, when I interviewed Paul Leavitt, then temporarily in charge of the police department while the chief was on vacation, I was impressed with his objectivity toward what had taken place. By no means did he minimize the damage or the potential damage from the riot, pointing out, for instance, that only by luck did a Molotov cocktail fail to explode inside the amphibious duck, killing or maiming up to a dozen men. On the other hand, he stated that he felt there was a certain ethic within the crowd. Despite the rumors, there were no cases of looting, rape or aggravated assault, as there had indeed been when a gang of motorcyclists descended upon a California town not long before.

Subsequent conversations with several young people disclosed scenes where the rioters seemed to have drawn a line of decency beyond which they would not go.

Nevertheless, a good many of the young people felt that the violence and destruction had gone much too far, whether they sympathized with their peer group or with the community. The consensus was that the community would never let it happen again.

## II

## SEPTEMBER - DECEMBER 1964

Beyond the \$20,000 property damage of the 1964 riot, there were additional losses to the beach business community. Some insurance policies were cancelled and it was feared that the premium rates of others would be increased. More important, revenues for the beach stopped climbing and started downhill. Chamber of Commerce Executive Secretary William Elliot estimates that gross receipts for the years 1954 through 1962 climbed at an annual rate of 5% to 8%. In 1963 and '64 the drop was about 5% for each year. And as a result of 1964's trouble, the 1965 summer's gross revenues were probably decreased as much as 20%. There is no definitive figure of gross revenues, but an estimate for the year 1963 is \$10,000,000.

Meanwhile, expenses to the town were on their way up. The following chart shows police expenditures for a seven year period, not including the costs of new equipment. Town Manager Kenneth Boehner estimates that half of the increased expenditures over this period are the result of Hampton Beach needs.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Budget</u>	<u>Actual Expenditure</u>
1959	\$ 44,500	\$ 46,538
1960	48,500	54,818
1961	63,634	64,958
1962	71,000	69,086
1963	89,869	91,797
1964	93,451	108,958
1965	113,600	- - - -

Actual expenditures for 1965 may go \$2000 above the amount budgeted, including \$1000 which was the town's share of a police training program in connection with the Hampton Beach Project.

## PROFILE OF HAMPTON

These are figures for a town whose population in 1960 was 6139, more than doubled from the 2847 level of 1950. With this growth have come the usual problems in the expansion of public facilities and of the schools, the latter especially critical in New Hampshire where the state contribution to local school budgets is only 8% (and was only 6% prior to 1964 when revenues from the New Hampshire sweepstakes started coming in).

The town's net assessed valuation is \$21,681,382, of which beach property represents \$8,950,553. Assessments in Hampton are based on one-third of market value. The town's estimated budget for 1965 was over \$800,000, based on a tax rate of \$70 per thousand. Some of the elements in the relationship between this fast-growing town and its troubled resort area might best be indicated in the following excerpts from the application for the grant for the Hampton Beach Project:

"Ten years ago the core of the beach area received some sixty cents back in services from the town for every dollar given in taxes. It is estimated for 1965 that for every dollar received from this area of the beach, the town will be spending \$1.20. It is considered in Hampton that the major industry of the town is the beach..... The business people and the older citizens of the community, especially, feel that they have been most generous with tax appropriations for education. They have tried very hard not to be resentful of this burden of the newcomer and have been generally rather positive in their feelings about youngsters within the community and in terms of establishing a good school system.

"It is fair to say that Hampton as a community has gone to considerable effort to establish for itself the image of a respectable middle-class community. The Realtors have speculated heavily in the building of attractive housing. Though it has a real potential for light industry, there is little doubt that most of the community desires to have a 'nice residential community'.

"Yet, a strange paradox exists. There are many superior housing facilities at the beach as well as fine motel accommodations. On the other hand, a recent survey of the core section of the beach, which is bounded on its east side by Ocean Boulevard and on its west side by Ashworth Avenue, in-

dicates that two-thirds of the dwellings do not meet medium health standards. The basic problem is that these houses were built to standards of some forty years ago. Since that time they have been modified several times to accommodate increasing populations.

"There are, then, extremes in property situations in Hampton. The beach continues to promote itself as a family resort. The town builds its image of middle-class respectability. But, the economic base of the town's major industry, the beach, does not lend realistic support to either the promotion or the image. It must be said, however, that the town is seeking this year the authority to establish a Housing Authority for long-range planning to renovate Hampton Beach's housing.

"Hampton has its share of clubs, social organizations, etc. While only half of the community is involved in any of the churches, for example, all of the churches are very active -- especially from the standpoint of providing a base for social activity. Though it is sometime difficult to get full parental cooperation, there is also a full complement of organizations serving young people who are pre-teens through little league sports and all the varieties of scouting organizations. However, the high school is left with almost the entire burden of providing social activities for the teenager, with the exception of some small youth fellowships in the churches. One gains the impression from the local high school of a rather intense college-oriented goal students. Yet, quite a bit less than half of the young people will go on to college....

"What becomes immediately obvious is the dichotomy between the boardwalk business community and the Hampton village community. A few miles separate the two communities geographically, but at the same time an ideological and economic split keeps the two communities locked apart. Except for one or two members, there is very little linkage between the boardwalk and the village. The boardwalk community refers to itself as the 'carpet-baggers', and, in fact, many of the proprietors come from out-of-state. At the critical summer period many of the native villagers leave town. The result is that the business interests on the boardwalk feel that they do not get enough police protection and community services, although they contribute heavily to the community tax base; and the villagers consider the boardwalk a menace to community life".

There is no doubt that the community was acutely conscious

that its problems were beyond the scope of its facilities. In addition to the Chamber of Commerce and selectmen's request for state police, there was the question over the calling of the National Guard, which threatened to become something of a political football in the gubernatorial election of November, 1964.

Town selectmen insist, and say they can prove, that they called for the National Guard prior to the time that the 1964 Labor Day riot actually began. One or more state officials categorically denied Hampton's claim, and went on to say that the call was not issued until nine in the evening or later. Since the formal responsibility for calling out the Guard is that of the governor, his office was understandably concerned over this controversy. He himself had left a formal banquet and appeared toward midnight on Labor Day eve.

As an academic afterthought, it should be noted that a prompt appearance by the National Guard would probably have been sufficient to have stopped or prevented the 1964 riot. More importantly, the controversy aroused and the governor's own personal reaction to the trouble at the beach were sufficient to ensure a maximum of state participation in future riot prevention.

#### HALLOWEEN RIOT SCARE - 1964.

How alert the state was to potential threat of youthful destructiveness could be seen by the official reaction to the false riot scares that occurred at Halloween in the fall of 1964. This was a war of nerves and rumors whose cost to New Hampshire was \$10,000 and to Massachusetts an additional but uncalculated sum.

On October 30, 1964, the lead headline on the front page of the Concord Monitor was "Concord Braced for Rumble; Police, National Guard Ready." The article which followed spoke of a "massive defense against an army of shadows". For a week there had been rumors that teenagers were going to march on Concord, on the state house, and perhaps on the governor's office to protest what the young people felt was harsh treatment by the courts of those convicted of participation in the Hampton Beach riot. Law officers had been checking rumors and tips of a rally or rumble, and there was talk of a staging area and of post-

ers "seen" all the way from Haverhill, Massachusetts, to Franklin, New Hampshire.

A high school danced was postponed. One tip that rioters were checking in to a local motel was conscientiously followed up. The "leaders" seen by the informer turned out to be an advance guard for a Teamsters' banquet. In anticipation of Halloween pranks, one department store announced it was removing its cans of spray paint from its shelves.

One of the cooler heads in Concord was the police chief, who simultaneously put extra men on duty and advised the public not to get excited. He urged that scheduled events for young people not be cancelled, saying he did not expect trouble and that, in any event, it was senseless just to turn the kids loose to roam when they might better be having fun under supervision.

Apparently a local radio station contributed considerably to the impetus of the affair. In response to various phone calls, they not only phoned the police but carried the rumors as news stories.

It happened that I was in Concord myself that day on a business trip. Both in the offices of the state house and in the stores on the main street, I encountered the very real fear of local citizens. It was the sort of reaction one might expect to encounter in a city whose fall to a foreign invader was imminent. There was talk of closing and barricading stores, of clearing the streets before dark. One man recounted stepping outside for a few minutes and seeing groups of young people gathered here and there on the streets, and regarding them with some suspicion until he realized with a shock that they were carrying books, that these were the same kids that he saw every day after school let out. He said he experienced the rather horrid realization how it would be if the entire youthful segment of our population suddenly were to turn against us.

Governor John King was in an uncomfortable position. The Republican gubernatorial candidate, John Pillsbury, had criticized what he termed King's failure to act over Labor Day weekend. The election was a week away. Neither politically nor in the interests of public safety could the governor take a chance. Acting on the advice of top state safety and law enforcement officials, he put the National Guard on standby alert and ordered additional state troopers on duty for Friday and

Saturday nights, October 30 and 31. Two hundred guardsmen were alerted at the Concord barracks and 150 at Portsmouth.

Meanwhile, rumors were cropping up elsewhere. Claremont, N. H., fifty miles away on the Connecticut River, was cited as a potential trouble spot, and the city's police commissioner asked that National Guardsmen be put on alert there. Concerned officials in Plaistow, N. H., on the state's southern border, also asked for state police help.

But it was in Haverhill, Massachusetts, just across the state line from Plaistow, where the greatest concern was seen. Several newspaper and wire service reports stated that inciteful circulars had been seen, both by Haverhill's city manager and by Massachusetts state police. It was a full 24 hours before subsequent reports noted that Haverhill police denied ever having seen any such handbills, whose wording, incidentally, had been quoted as, "Come to Haverhill and See Bradford Burn."

The Bradford in question was a junior college for women, and officials both there and elsewhere in the city took no chances. Half of the school's population was sent home, and the other half reportedly were urged to stay on the upper floors of dormitories. All doors were locked. Elsewhere in the city, Halloween activities and parties were postponed at the urging of officials. All 72 of Haverhill's police force were put on duty for the night along with a dozen reserves, 72 auxiliaries, and a special squad of Massachusetts motor vehicle inspectors, variously reported to number 15 or 50. Every vehicle owned by the city was put on street patrol, even including city dump trucks especially equipped with radios. Members of the city's clergy, supplied with special arm bands, joined the watchful forces.

Back in New Hampshire, said the UPI, Governor King "tore up a political script" and urged all parents to keep their children home. "While we hope for the best," he said, "we must be prepared for the worst." He alerted Massachusetts, Vermont and Maine for mutual aid in case it were needed. More important, it was on this occasion that he announced that there would be appointed a special commission to study the Hampton Beach riot.

Two nights of roadblocks and alerts encountered nothing. "There weren't enough kids around to have a Sunday School pic-



nic," said Concord Police Chief Walter Carlson. The Monday morning headline of the Concord Monitor said, "\$10,000 Hoax." The figure included pay and food for the National Guard, for the phone bills and for extra police. Interviews with Concord businessmen indicated that there had been a 25% drop in business for the weekend.

Various officials in both states comforted themselves with comments that the "dry run" had been good practice.

One law officer, who did not give his name, mused, "I wonder if somewhere there aren't around a half a dozen teenagers laughing hysterically at what they started."

Throughout the entire weekend the affair was front-page news accompanied by scare headlines, even in Concord, where the Monitor's treatment of the matter was somewhat tongue-in-cheek.

In fact, riot talk had been news all through the autumn period after Hampton's Labor Day. Editorials in many papers questioned the morals of the coming generation, the responsibility of parents, and the need for stricter law enforcement. The Boston Globe and other journals ran retrospective analyses, following the action of the weekend hour by hour and seeking out the opinions of psychologists and sociologists in an effort to find motivation.

News stories also followed the progress of Hampton's municipal court as the community sought to demonstrate that it was no longer playing games. Fines in a number of instances for the charge of participating in a riot were \$500, and jail sentences were as much as six months. Most of these cases were subsequently appealed to Superior Court; when they were heard late in the winter, few of the sentences were upheld.

Shortly after Labor Day weekend, significant action began to take place in the community to prevent a recurrence of rioting. The Chamber of Commerce, under its new president Walter Vanderpool, established its Teen Age Problem Committee, and the selectmen began their steps toward upgrading the police department.

Unanimously the selectmen insisted the dismissal of the

police chief was not related to the riot -- that administrative improvement was necessary in any event -- but obviously the heavy Labor Day pressures upon Hampton's police made such improvement an important order of business.

Because the chief resisted his removal from office, his case was in the news through the autumn and winter. Suffice to say that he was quietly asked to resign in September, suspended in November, and finally dismissed after a hearing early in 1965.

#### HAMPTON BEACH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The selectmen were also a part of the Chamber of Commerce Teen Age Problem planning by virtue of their automatic membership on the Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors. Indeed, the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce has a quasi-official role in this particular community, administering as it does \$25,000 of precinct and town funds for advertising and entertainment.

Had they not been so absorbed in more serious matters, the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce might have remembered to celebrate their fiftieth anniversary, for the organization was founded in 1915. Currently, its membership of 175 embraces approximately 60% of the business people on Hampton Beach according to the estimate of William Elliot. Prior to the adoption to their "fair share" plan of dues pro-rated to the size of the business-member, membership was more nearly 80%. The Chamber's governing body is comprised of its directors and officers -- president, first and second vice-presidents, and its treasurer. The executive secretary is a salaried professional. There are 36 members of the Board of Directors. The town's three selectmen and Hampton Beach's three precinct commissioners are automatically included on the board. The remaining 30 are elected for two-year terms by the body of the membership at the Chamber's annual meeting in September. Each year 15 of the directors are subject to election.

The Chamber's election customs are such that the governing body changes little from year to year. A nominating committee presents a slate of directors which includes all those whose term has just expired, unless a director specifically resigns.

Additional nominations may come from the floor, but as a rule those already in office prevail. Since the Chamber's membership is composed roughly of two-thirds beach business people and one-third uptown business people, the chairs of three directors are reserved for uptown members. The officers are elected by the directors. Once a man is elected as second vice-president, he usually works up through the chairs and becomes president in the course of a few years.

In recent years it has become customary for the president to retire after two or three one-year terms, and in fact two have served only a single year in the past decade. Years back, a president was apt to stay for longer terms, and one man did hold that office for ten years.

In recent years the Chamber has, along with the rest of the beach, had its struggles to maintain its economic growth. Although its income for the fiscal year 1965, ending September 30th, was not down, its expenses were up, and the bank balance for the year shows an \$1800 decrease. Only about one-fifth of the Chamber's income is from memberships and contributions, totaling this past year just over \$8900. An additional \$16,500 is earned by the publication of several handbooks and guides and there is the afore-mentioned \$25,000 for special use as indicated above from town and precinct. Beyond its advertising budget, the precinct also contributes \$2900 to the general expenses of the Chamber of Commerce. Additional miscellaneous income from special events and promotions earns \$3500 in a year.

In general, beach business operators are engaged in one of two pursuits -- accommodations and lodging or food and entertainment. By far the greatest number of those in the former category derive little or no income from young people who come to Hampton Beach. Probably the single most influential member in the organization is John Dineen, who has interests in both lodging and services, since he is owner and manager of both the Hampton Beach Casino and the Ocean House.

The Casino was purchased by Dineen's family in 1926, and its first full year of operation under their aegis was 1927, so that John Dineen was enabled to grow up with the business. In 1937 his father died and he took over full operation at the age of 26. During World War II he served with the F.B.I. By

far the largest contributor to the Chamber of Commerce, he was for five years its president during the '50s. He has been on the Board of Directors since 1937 and has been chairman of the advertising committee for 15 years, and he is an active member of most other important committees. Few, if any, men over the years have given more time and energy to the Chamber of Commerce.

Many of the other directors are veterans at Hampton Beach. Perhaps 15 have been in office 20 years, and few have served less than 10.

If one were to weigh the body in terms of liberals versus conservatives, one would find that perhaps two-thirds would fall into the latter category. Yet certainly their conservative approach toward the youth problem was no different from that of the community as a whole, or that of the press. James Fallon, newly elected president for 1965-66, notes that the prevailing view in the Chamber prior to 1965 was deliberately not to entertain young people. As recently as September, 1964, the Chamber seriously considered establishing Hampton as the site for a Golden Age convention.

However, the chief problem facing Walter Vanderpool when he took office as president in September, 1964, was that of youth riots, and he took immediate steps toward future prevention of such an occurrence. Mr. Vanderpool is a member of both the beach and uptown business communities, owning as he does a guest house on Ocean Boulevard while he is employed by a building supply company on Route 1.

#### TEENAGE PROBLEM COMMITTEE

Very quickly after assuming office, Vanderpool appointed the Teen Age Problem Committee and submitted to it a detailed plan of action. Richard Stone and Reverend Manning Van Nostrand, at Vanderpool's invitation, were in attendance at the early fall meetings of the Chamber of Commerce, and after some discussion the directors voted to request their presence on this new riot committee along with Hollis Shaw, representing the town's Budget Committee, in an effort to include the town's concern in the problem. At that time and throughout the year Vanderpool made a special point of calling for unified thinking, not only from various elements within the town but from the state of

New Hampshire as well.

To a considerable extent the TAP Committee's membership from within the Chamber did include a cross-section of local officials and interests. In addition to several members who had been active in previous riot committees, TAP included a state representative, the incumbent state senator, a precinct commissioner, a representative from the Hampton Beach Hotel Association, a selectman, President Vanderpool, and an additional business man who had interests both at the beach and in the village.

Beyond this group there were invited a number of others to serve in an ex-officio capacity, including the other two precinct commissioners, the other two selectmen, the chief of police, the chairman of the planning board, the town manager, the other state representatives and the newly elected state senator from Hampton.

Chairman of the TAP Committee was Douglass Hunter, the incumbent senator. Although he was outvoted in the fall election, when the New Hampshire Senate convened early in 1965 he was officially returned to that body after considerable contention, after it was found that Robert Preston, the newly elected senator, had not filled his residency requirement. At that time Senator Hunter resigned the chairmanship of the TAP Committee to ensure that no extraneous political overtones would mar the effectiveness of this non-political group. In Hunter's place President Vanderpool appointed James F. Fallon, Jr. the Chamber's first vice-president.

Vanderpool's plan for the TAP Committee's consideration was a detailed four-page search for causes and solutions. It was discussed at length by the directors, then turned over to the TAP Committee with some additions and deletions. In the period between September 25 and November 13, 1964, the TAP Committee met 15 times in sessions which ran as long as four hours, in a concerted effort to have recommendations ready early for New Hampshire's legislature and its executive as well as for Hampton's town meeting.

The philosophy of this committee and its findings comprised what President Vanderpool frequently referred to as the "tough approach", conceived in part from studies in other communities' methods and born of Hampton's own bitter experience.

In the Addenda, the complete minutes of the TAP Committee show the various steps through which their deliberations carried them. Briefly, they saw causes of riots in ten major categories: lack of parental control over the young; the fact that previous use of roadblocks had been too little or too late; the absence of any control of "wanted guests" of whatever age in Hampton's places of public accommodation, and similarly, control of unwanted elements visiting the beach; the fact that there had been no curfew and that existing laws regulating sleeping on the beach, in cars, changing clothes in cars, etc., had not been enforced; the fact that there was no control over dress at Hampton Beach; the fact that news publicity had been damaging; the fact that fines for misdemeanors were inadequate; the fact that anti-noise laws and enforcement were inadequate; the fact that juveniles under 18 were given anonymity under the law; and finally the fact that police, particularly the summer auxiliaries, were inclined to be lax in enforcement.

A suggested plan of action, in addition to seeking remedies to the above, called for a state police barracks to be constructed at Hampton Beach and manned from April 15 to Labor Day\*, for an inconspicuous but nearby encampment of National Guard on the holiday weekends, for a lobster stew-press conference, for some contact with the colleges in hope that campus restrictions could be placed on students who wound up in trouble at Hampton Beach, and finally for Richard Stone to be commissioned to bring in, as a guest speaker, Dr. William Kvaraceus, a sociologist and specialist in juvenile delinquency of international reputation.

It should be noted that, at the urging of New Hampshire Safety Commissioner Robert Rhodes, the TAP Committee and the Chamber of Commerce made all precautions to ensure that their deliberations be kept secret.

#### TAP RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RIOT CONTROL

The specific recommendations of the committee were many; some of the more significant ones were as follows:

- 1) The appointment of a two-man committee to compose and write letters to the heads of churches throughout the area requesting clergyment to preach a series of "straight-to-the-point" sermons, using the TAP theme with particular emphasis

\*In the fall of 1964, Governor King had stated that a state police barracks for Hampton Beach was necessary.

on parental control. Hopefully there would be four sermons: one following Easter, one the first part of June, one in the middle of July, and one on the Sunday prior to Labor Day.

2) Story releases to any home-type paper when an individual is convicted of law violations in Hampton.

3) An effort to discourage unsupervised teenagers visiting Hampton Beach through TV, radio and press releases.

4) The extensive use of roadblocks over the holiday weekends and whenever else necessary. (This was a knotty issue and there was much discussion whether it was possible to give police officers the legal right to stop, search and turn back or arrest undesirable persons at his discretion. Ultimately the question of the legal machinery was turned over to the town's representatives to state government.)

5) The drafting of an article for the town warrant to issue housing permits to all who lease or sub-lease property, this essentially to restrict unsupervised youth.

6) Courteous but strict enforcement of existing laws pertaining not only to sleeping and dressing in cars and on the beach, but to the use of fires, the restraint of pets, ballgames on the beach, littering, and the use of inflatables in the water.

7) The posting of signs calling attention to these ordinances.

8) An effort to establish an ordinance or state law restricting dress, specifically making it illegal to be dressed in shorts, dungarees, sweatshirt, T-shirts, swim suits and blankets, or improper attire of any description, as determined by law enforcement officers. This ordinance was to be effective after 8:00 P.M. anywhere on Hampton Beach; further, covering should be worn over bathing suits on the west side of Ocean Boulevard at all times of day and night. (This was another difficult one; ultimately the motion bore no specifics but simply urged that a bill be drafted for presentation to the state legislature.)

9) In addition to the afore-mentioned hope for a press

conference, there was a resolution to request urgently by telephone, correspondence or personal contact the full cooperation of news directors, news broadcasters, editors and reporters in not releasing news detrimental to Hampton's goal.

10) There was hope to pass state enabling laws and ultimately town ordinances which would increase fines for disturbing the peace, possession of intoxicating beverages, loitering, blocking pedestrian traffic, forming into groups, etc. to the extent of \$100 maximum and/or 15 days in jail.

11) There was a motion to seek legislation so that juveniles -- at least those 17 years old -- might be tried in the same court and under the same conditions as persons 18 years and over.

12) The passage of a curfew ordinance or statute (again problematical -- one version called for a curfew anywhere on Hampton Beach for both boys and girls less than 16 years old at 10:00 P.M. and a second curfew at 1:30 A.M. for all minors.)

At a subsequent November meeting the Tap Committee discussed its plans with Commissioner of Safety Rhodes and Colonel Joseph Regan of the State Police. There was general agreement that the right approach was being taken and agreement that effective policing throughout the summer should demand as much uniformity as possible in method, use of equipment, and a single command. Colonel Regan noted that any police officer, no matter how efficient, would have difficulty entering the community over a three or four day period and enforce regulations which had been ignored over the entire season.

There was some discussion of the likelihood of the Chamber's recommendations being written into law by the legislature. Apparently most state officials felt that such laws should be enacted on a state-wide basis, but Senator Hunter noted that the TAP Committee had recommended the legislature pass the laws for Hampton alone for fear that it would be too difficult to convince the entire legislature to enact some of the ordinances for all sections of the state.

This, then, was the climate which had been established



when Dr. William Kvaraceus visited the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce in early December to question the validity of a wholly "punitive-retaliatory" response to a social problem and to suggest that an alternative approach might be to seek the advice of the young people themselves.

## III

JANUARY - MARCH 1965

Until this point, Stone and Van Nostrand had stayed somewhat in the background of the TAP Committee discussions. However, through Van Nostrand's own studies at Boston University, he had established contact with Kvaraceus, who is Professor of Education and Director of Youth Studies at the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University. Dr. Kvaraceus was interested in Hampton's problem as typical of the riot fad, not only in this country but all over the world. To the Hampton meeting he brought Professor Helen Kenney, a Harvard psychologist, who with a New Hampshire state trooper and myself served on a "reactor panel" following Kvaraceus's remarks. The response from the police and from the floor to Dr. Kvaraceus's comments was generally that Hampton had been abused by the young people who came there during the summer and that they could think of no surer way to ruin the resort than by making it a teenage paradise.

If toughness was the only answer the kids understood, then tough they would have to be.

However, at the conclusion of the meeting, the Chamber directors did welcome with considerable enthusiasm the thought that a study might be undertaken, possibly through the auspices of Tufts University, to seek in a systematic way the underlying causes of riots.

A subsequent TAP Committee report indicated that the first phase of its work had been completed with the drafting of recommended changes in laws and practices. Phase two would be the drafting and passage of bills at the state level, the establishment of town ordinances, and the assistance of various officials at several levels.

## TEEN AGE RELATIONS COMMITTEE

However, it was also announced that President Vanderpool was starting a third phase in the creation of a permanent sub-committee of TAP called TAR -- Teen Age Relations. The chairman was to be Richard Stone, and it was his responsibility to appoint his sub-committee and put it to work. At that time the relationship between TAP and TAR Committees was loosely drawn, which, unfortunately, was a cause for subsequent difficulties. The exact phrase from the December 18, 1964, TAP Committee Report of Progress was, "President Vanderpool requested only that reports of TAR meetings be submitted to the TAP Committee for their consideration."

The note on which the new committee was established is clearly indicated in the following memorandum submitted to it by President Vanderpool:

"1. Stone, acting as chairman, set up TAR sub-committee to work separately from TAP. Appoint some individual responsible for reporting results of all meetings of TAR in writing to the TAP President. It is recommended this individual responsible for reporting results of all meetings of TAR in writing to the TAP President. It is recommended that some teen-agers be included on this committee.

"2. Form nonpolitical, nonpartisan, nonracial, nonreligious etc. club of teen-agers who will pledge themselves to uphold the Constitution of the United States, the rights and property of others etc. This organization to start in Hampton, N. H. and (hopefully) spread to National or International scope. It is suggested that 5 boys and 5 girls be carefully selected as the Charter Members and that the club be set up legally as a volunteer corporation. It is recommended that lapel pins or some other means of identification be used. The name should be carefully selected, such as 'The Minute Men and Women of America.' Bylaws etc. should be considered.

"3. Take over action on and completion of Paragraph 8 of TAP condensed summary report dated November 13, 1964, which reads: 'To compose and write letters to heads of churches throughout the area, requesting them to contact every clergyman under their jurisdiction, to preach a series of straight to the point sermons, using the TAP theme, with particular

emphasis on parental control. One following Easter, one the first part of June, one the middle of July and one the Sunday prior to Labor Day.

"4. Contact the New Hampshire Department of Education requesting inclusion of the TAP theme in some school course, such as P.O.D. (Problems of Democracy) stressing the threat caused by the teen-ager of today against freedom, democracy and the constitutional rights of others.

"5. Organize and book for appearances a speakers group who will give lectures at PTA, Young Couples Clubs etc. stressing the desperate need for more family togetherness and parental discipline of all children, especially while in the young formative years.

"6. Request financial and physical help from a few selected professional agencies engaged in teen-age problems. These agencies to send investigators to Hampton Beach, N. H. starting weekends about the fifteenth of April and to work full time from June fifteenth through Labor Day. Following a thorough study of the problem, if they believe it will help the National situation, to set up and operate a program to be coordinated with the entertainment program of the Chamber of Commerce, they shall endeavor to do so. Possibly such things as youth forums, group therapy etc.

"7. Starting with the churches of New Hampshire, request a study and reassessment of the standards for Christian and Religious living. Examination of the values to live by as the Church understands them today. Simply, what is right and what is wrong. If these areas are found lacking the committee shall ask the churches to act as a group to set new standards and values for the church and home. Possibly the use of old fashioned pledge cards etc. might be considered. Work may be done through commissions on Human relations couples clubs etc.

"8. Endeavor in some way to change the status symbols of the teen-ager. Change the status symbol to something to be proud of and teach them the biggest 'Blast' in life comes from lending a helping hand, from being different against the Tide of Moral decay.

"9. To endeavor to convince parents, through some organized

program, that they are still the example of their children and that the average teen-ager is a "chip off the old block." If they have love, perhaps they should sacrifice some of their 'flings' or even not too offensive habits to set an example for the youth of today.

"10. If any or all of these points help the teen-age problem in Hampton, it shall be the duty of this TAR sub-committee to let other States know about it, so they too may make use of the experiences of the sub-committee."

#### TAR COMMITTEE PERSONNEL

In an effort to establish a committee which embraced not only a representation from the Chamber of Commerce, but a balance of other community elements, Stone chose the following persons: the chairman of the Board of Selectmen, the acting Chief of Police, the principal of the town's cooperative high school, a clergyman (Mr. Van Nostrand), myself as a representative of the press, a representative to the state legislature who was also a director of the Chamber of Commerce, along with two other Chamber of Commerce directors, William Elliot and Robert Preston. As consultants to and members of the committee, Stone also included Doctors Kvaraceus and Kenney along with Dr. Stuart Palmer, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of New Hampshire. An ex-officio member was Amos N. Blandin, Associate Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court and chairman of the recently appointed Governor's Commission on Public Disturbances. An additional tie between TAR and the Blandin Commission was established through Preston, who was, indeed, a member or an associate of every committee which concerned itself with riots.

The TAR Committee's first meeting was December 30, 1964. From that date through March 1, 1965, there were four additional meetings along with a number of individual conferences and much correspondence with officials in Washington and Concord.

During this initial period TAR's functions were three-fold: first, negotiations with various bodies -- the Division of Juvenile Delinquency of the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Hampton's Budget Committee, and the Spaulding Potter Charitable Trusts -- in search of supporting

funds; second, the search for and development of a philosophy and a course of action; and, third, an effort to educate and arouse the interest of Hampton and surrounding communities to the problems and possible solutions to the beach riots.

Subsequently there grew points of friction between TAP and TAR over the question whether the Hampton Beach Project was to have entailed research or program and how extensive program should be. In part this friction was caused by simple lack of communication, but there was also an underlying difference in philosophy between the two approaches. Equally important, Dr. Kvaraceus's initial concept of a fairly simple research project through Tufts University and the University of New Hampshire was modified in emphases to a program-and-research project over this two month period. The concepts of a demonstration project were there in his initial proposal to the Division of Juvenile Delinquency, but in conferences with various TAR members and Juvenile Delinquency officials it was agreed that more could be accomplished if the project were to be administered by a community agency such as the Chamber of Commerce with sociologists as consultants than through an outside agency like a university; and, further, if there was real hope of preventing a 1965 riot that a demonstration program could not wait for a year's research, but must be conducted simultaneously with the data-gathering -- indeed the program's evaluation would be one basis upon which the research would be set up.

#### TAR PHILOSOPHY

Concerning the program philosophy, the initial difference in TAP and TAR concepts were these: TAP felt, "We must be tough -- fair but firm -- use restrictions and force where necessary. Additionally we should try to educate the young and their parents to a more constructive way of behavior and thought."

Several members of TAR felt, "Force may be the only answer, but it neither discovers nor corrects the cause of riots. If the cause is based in the relationship between the youth and the adults, perhaps it can be perceived and corrected. However, youth will not respond to simple admonitions or pleas for cooperation; somehow they must be given a role of responsibility and certain authority in the beach society."

There was not initial unanimity within the TAR Committee upon this outlook, but it did in a few weeks become the group's basic concept. Thereupon the challenge came to be the search for causes of youthful behavior and for solutions that youth would be willing to embrace and accept as their own.

#### SEARCH FOR A PROJECT GRANT

It was the quest for funds which hastened the calling of that first year-end TAR Committee meeting. Dr. Kvaraceus had done previous work in conjunction with the Division of Juvenile Delinquency and, knowing their orientation, had broached the subject of Hampton's riots and received an interested response. Indeed he had felt sufficiently encouraged to draft a project proposal in hopes of obtaining a \$50,000 grant.

The TAR Committee unanimously supported his efforts and it was at once agreed that a letter of support should be sent to Washington over the signatures of a representative group of town and Chamber of Commerce officials. Within one day's time the letter was complete: it briefly outlined the work of the TAR Committee through the fall and announced that the TAR Committee had been formed to "deal with the human relations side of the problem." It was signed by Kenneth Eoehner, town manager, Lt. Paul Leavitt, acting police chief, Herbert Casassa, state representative and William Elliot, executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. The latter two were also members of Hampton's Town Budget Committee, and subsequently they undertook to establish in the budget the \$3000 that was ultimately approved by the town as a grant to the Hampton Beach Project.

Subsequent correspondence and minutes of meetings show that Dr. Kvaraceus and Stone met with Dr. Jack Otis and Mr. Seymour Rosenthal of the Division of Juvenile Delinquency on January 8th and at this meeting roughed out the ideas which would eventually become the Hampton Beach Project. Ultimately a grant proposal would be drafted for presentation to a special non-government review panel for acceptance of the project under the President's Commission for Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, which had been established as a joint venture of the federal Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Labor, and Justice in the administration of President John F. Kennedy.

On February 1 Dr. Otis and Mr. Rosenthal spent a day in Hampton for a brief site-visitation and to talk at length with members of both the TAR and TAP Committees to obtain a first hand view of attitudes and proposed solutions to the riot problem. The day was concluded with a lobster stew dinner at the fire station, attended by members of both TAP and TAR.

The Washington representatives were sufficiently interested in what they had seen and heard to continue to assist in the project design over the succeeding weeks. In addition, Mr. Rosenthal returned to join Dr. Kvaraceus and two high school students in a P.T.A. panel discussion February 24th, which was attended by something over 150 people. In a lively question-and-answer period there was much frank discussion of the role of the teenager in contemporary society and the responsibility of society to establish a healthy climate for youth.

On March 1st TAP Chairman Fallon, TAR Chairman Stone, Mr. Preston and Dr. Kvaraceus met with Justice Blandin to review the progress of the TAR Committee to date. Shortly thereafter Justice Blandin forwarded a strong letter of support for the program to the Division of Juvenile Delinquency.

About this same time I approached the Concord, N. H. attorney who was an officer in the Spaulding Potter Charitable Trusts and described to him the TAR Project. He indicated that the directors of the trust were generally interested in this sort of activity and, in the event that a federal grant was not established, might well consider participation in Hampton's effort. The attorney also suggested that even if a federal grant were authorized Spaulding Potter might contribute additional funds, possibly on a matching basis, to enlarge the project's program possibilities.

Following a number of additional conferences through the month of March and into the first days of April, a formal grant application was at last prepared, signed by Richard Stone and Walter Vanderpool and submitted for the federal panel's approval. Final approval of the federal grant came on April 9th.

During these months the TAR Committee had busied itself



with additional matters. One immediate problem was that of public relations. At the outset there was general concern that premature publicity of TAR efforts, particularly before a program could be thoroughly developed, would be deleterious in effect.

At the same time the committee felt that it was important to establish contact with civic and social groups in Hampton and surrounding communities to obtain their support for what TAR was attempting. Therefore a committee of three -- Van Nostrand, Elliot and myself -- was appointed to draft a rough outline of what should and should not be said by various TAR speakers.

This group determined that the best approach would be first clarification of the facts; what the riots were, how they had grown, how they had effected the community. Secondly the group agreed that a brief recounting of TAP and TAR activities should be stated, followed by a catalog of possible causes of riots, concluded with a frank statement that the causes are complex and that we ourselves did not have the answer. Thereafter it was agreed that the speaker would throw the meeting open for discussion in an attempt to draw from the audience possible analyses and ideas toward a solution. It was agreed that notes would be kept of these discussions and reported back to the TAR Committee.

During the period of January through March, Stone, Van Nostrand, Elliot and I did indeed speak to a number of groups and were almost universally well received. If there was a theme to our various speeches, it was that not only did the problem itself require understanding but so did the youth and their relationship to the community of Hampton Beach, and that something should be done with youth to change that relationship. On the few occasions when there were hostile responses, the counter theme was that kids today are spoiled and that the only answer is to slap them down.

During this same period Van Nostrand was contacting various clergymen and church groups to see what could be done toward persuading them to preach sermons appropriate to the TAR and TAP efforts. He received polite attention, but no visible indications that a follow-up would take place.

It was at about this same time that my own interest in

the TAR project began to grow. Initially, coming on to the scene as a journalist and as a fairly new resident of the town, my reaction had been somewhat cynical. I felt that the TAP Committee's well established program of external control would inhibit real possibilities of a program with and for the young people themselves. I'm afraid I also felt the TAR Committee was mostly talk. At the stage when it appeared that the Hampton Beach Project would be one primarily of research, I was certainly interested enough to participate as a member of a committee one or two nights a month, but I felt no personal involvement in a sociological investigation which was beyond the scope of my professional training. I placed high value on the need for such information, since it had been so obvious to me that little was known in my own reportorial research the previous fall that facts were not abundant.

If I had come away from my own article with any basic concepts, they were two: first, that the solutions would have to come from the community itself, and second that the young people would have to play a major part in the program. The former idea was suggested to me by Dr. Stuart Palmer who, when I interviewed him, said to me many of the same things he had told the Methodist Church Committee the previous summer. The latter concept was the result of a number of hours of interviews with various young people who had taken part in the 1964 riot.

Their own analyses of causal factors had included such things as the need for excitement, particularly as the school year approached and the summer freedom was about to be ended, and the prestige element of having been in the thick of a notorious blast.

However I was struck by the degree of hostility they expressed both toward Hampton specifically as a community and toward the police they encountered at Hampton Beach. To some extent they said that rioting was an outburst against authority in the abstract, but they were specific in their resentment of such things as living conditions, costs, and working conditions at Hampton, and they were specific in their complaints about individual policemen who they felt had been unfair or arrogant.

When I asked various young people whether a program of

entertainment and activities for youth at Hampton Beach would be an effective riot deterrent, they were inclined to be dubious. In the first place they didn't believe it could be done, but in the second they felt it could be successful only if it were arranged in some sort of spontaneous manner and very much under the direction of the young people themselves. The phrase of one boy struck me sufficiently that I used it to conclude my article: Such a program, he said, might work "so long as it's not just an excuse to contain us." Throughout the entire project I came to regard that statement as axiomatic.

I think one other factor encouraged both me and several others who were out speaking publicly in behalf of TAR. We found that, given the chance, a community group would try very hard to discover valid causes for rioting, that a great many people were open minded, and that there was a real possibility of community support for a youth program.

Ideas for the program itself came from a variety of sources. Some proved to be valid and workable when the program was actually under way. Others, particularly including some of my own, proved to be naive and were rather quickly discarded. One visitor to the TAR Committee suggested that we have some sort of Mardi Gras at Labor Day employing reverse psychology. He felt that if the community actually sponsored a mock riot the youth would then discard a real riot. His ideas went so far as the inclusion of Hampton Beach Riot sweatshirts to be sold and the burning of a miniature Casino on the sand.

My thoughts had been along the line of a rather carefully structured youth government, possibly organized at a May meeting of young employees from past seasons at the beach, who would act as a cadre government complete with officers, a legislative body, and a judicial group into the early summer when a permanent government could be elected by beach youth. In addition, I speculated upon the possibilities of program ideas as varied as drag racing in some designated area and a sort of junior olympics over Labor Day weekend to use up young energy.

What all of us did agree upon in the TAR Committee was that while it might be our function to suggest program ideas, it would be up to the young people themselves to make final decisions how a youth program could be put to work.

In its final form, the grant application contained a number of specifics worked out by Dr. Kvaraceus in conjunction with several TAR Committee members and with the Division of Juvenile Delinquency in Washington.

#### PROJECT GOALS NOTED IN GRANT APPLICATION

The demonstration project plan lists nine points under the heading Strategies. These are as follows:

- 1) A youth pavilion or youth stations manned by youth and adult volunteers to serve as registration points and possibly to provide such services as first aid, message center, room and board, coffee shop, lost and found, job referral, a weekly newspaper and general information.
- 2) The organization of a corporate youth group representing local and summer residents and regular weekend vacationers, this group to serve as a program planning group and as liaison between the generations.
- 3) Seminars for various segments of the adult community to help develop a better understanding of the youth phenomena.
- 4) Peer group intervention, participant observers to interview youths and to exercise a tempering influence upon other young people in tense situations.
- 5) Local youth committees established to meet and assist incoming youth to find lodgings, recreational opportunities, etc.
- 6) The establishment of youth hostels for clean, safe and inexpensive room and board facilities, if possible in conjunction with the American Youth Hostel Association.
- 7) The development of special interest in recreation programs in conjunction with young people. Contests in the area of sports, performing arts, hobbies considered.
- 8) An attempt to establish "a wide repertoire of intervention techniques for involving youth on the beach and the boardwalk." Special consideration to be given to expanding rather than reducing the opportunities for partici-

pation in commercial entertainment with the help of the Chamber of Commerce, the TAR Committee and consultants.

Beyond these broad outlines details of program were not developed until the TAR Committee could contact a substantial number of young people to see what detailed programs would be of interest to youth on the beach.

Although the grant application -- the document itself -- would have been available to any member of the TAP Committee or of the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce, no one asked to see it. There was some considerable disagreement among several members of the TAR Committee whether or not to make a general presentation of this grant application to those bodies.

One faction felt that the document's frank sociological assessment of the community problem and the details of the program were too blunt and therefore that the program should be established a little at a time rather than in one salvo, so to speak.

The other faction felt that there could be repercussions if it appeared that the TAR Committee or individual members of it were withholding information.

In a sense, both viewpoints were right. As the program developed through the spring, it was indeed spelled out detail by detail, and the Chamber of Commerce Directors had the opportunity to sanction the portions they thought acceptable and to delete the portions not to their liking. By June all the details and concepts of the program had been fully established.

Yet even so, there was a suspicion among certain Chamber directors that at least some of the members of the TAR Committee had been less than candid because of this very process of step-by-step establishment of the program, and the fact that the grant application document had not been generally shown ultimately added to this suspicion. As will be seen, many other complicating factors compounded this unnecessary confusion.

It was a mistake which should be studied carefully by any who seek to establish a youth project in other communities. Time was short. The project application went through many re-

visions and was assembled barely in time for presentation to the review panel. Its concepts and details were certainly revolutionary for the community, particularly in light of the already-established TAP program. There were some members of the Hampton Beach community who obviously had no interest whatsoever in working with young people; they simply wanted them off the beach. Others, ambivalent or open minded, were potential backers of the youth project. Yet insofar as the TAR ideas were revolutionary, it was apparent that many hours were needed for explanation and debate. There was probably sufficient validity in the concern that if the directors or the TAP Committee had been presented the entire program in one sitting they might have thrown out the baby with the bath.

One final complicating factor was the very real fact that the program did develop, as planned, only as young people could be reached and consulted in sufficient numbers. This process began in February, but it was not completed until early June. As new program ideas took shape, they were presented to the Chamber directors and either accepted or discarded.

Project personnel were in several instances tentatively established before the grant had been cleared by the federal panel. At the suggestion of Richard Stone and Dr. Kvaraceus and with the approval of Dr. Otis and Mr. Rosenthal of the Division of Juvenile Delinquency, Manning Van Nostrand was appointed as provisional project director on February 24. While his work was not spelled out yet in detail, it was understood that he would also serve as community coordinator and youth coordinator. He would be given a partial leave of absence by his church to undertake this work.

The option of a leave of absence was not open to me, and I hesitated several weeks before making application to be a project employee. When I finally did so, it was in the hope that the project would last two years, since I would be giving up a position of some years' standing. When I discovered that the project would last probably no more than nine months I hesitated again, but ultimately decided to chance it in hopes of finding sufficient sense of accomplishment in the months to come.

My application was approved about March 10th by Stone and Dr. Kvaraceus and Van Nostrand with concurrence from the

office of Juvenile Delinquency, and the youth coordinator's function was assigned to me.

### INVESTIGATING YOUTH VIEWS

Starting late in February, Van Nostrand, Stone and I made every effort to contact young people and to discover their attitudes toward the riots, the community and possible program concepts. One or another of us gathered groups of from two to a dozen youths in Hampton, Portsmouth, the University of New Hampshire, and subsequently several college volunteers contacted other youths in Exeter, Dover and other areas. For the most part we asked questions and listened.

In some attitudes we found the young people virtually unanimous in their opinion; in others we found considerable disparity. When there was disagreement, we found that it was principally as a result of age differences.

At the outset it was a little startling to encounter the empathy toward the rioters expressed by some of these well dressed, clean cut, middle class American young people. A number of them had been sent to us by their schools expressly because they were class leaders. Yet their antagonism toward Hampton Beach, Hampton police, and in some instances police in general was intense and explicit. One nice young girl, perhaps 17 years old, stated angrily that the reason she had not been at Hampton Beach the previous Labor Day was that she knew she'd have been in the thick of it once it started.

The frustration that the young people felt stemmed from the fact that, while Hampton was beautiful and attractive with its wide sun-filled beach and its ocean and, of course, with its other teenagers as an additional attraction, there seemed to be a clear indication on the part of the community that young people were unwelcome. We heard complaints of what they felt were petty regulations, about the cost of food and lodging, particularly in terms of value received. There were complaints about wages and working conditions.

Kids, they said, loved to hang around -- talking, loafing, engaging in harmless horseplay. Also obviously they enjoyed the opportunity of meeting the opposite sex. Yet at Hampton

all these things were prohibited in various degrees. There was the statement that young people there are under tremendous social and academic pressures during the school year, and that during the summer they need to let off steam or loosen up, not necessarily in riotous behavior but just by having fun. Over and over it was stressed by many young people that a prime element of fun was spontaneity.

Paradoxically there were, coupled with the complaints that they weren't allowed to hang around doing nothing, equally strong complaints that there was not enough to do, either in their own home towns or at Hampton Beach. Jobs -- even dull ones -- were hard to find. Money was hard to come by.

Particularly there was unanimity that none of the entertainment program at Hampton Beach was for young people. The traditional band concerts, the community singing, the talent shows, none of these were of interest. The only thing that they liked seemed to be the fireworks.

Of the commercial establishments on the beach they said the only ones oriented toward young people were one coffee house, one rock-and-roll dance hall and one restaurant. Even at this, they felt that the restaurant's prices were too high and that the rock-and-roll palace was only for younger kids.

In their attitudes towards society at large they were surprisingly idealistic. They felt that the struggle for civil rights was only one indication that we were approaching an era of general human betterment and that they would have a share in forwarding these causes.

They were quick to acknowledge that parental responsibility and restraint were fading and that this was a factor in youthful misbehavior, yet they felt that this was an inevitable element in the general breakdown of the family system -- that complaining about it or preaching about it would be ineffective. Particularly they were acutely critical of adult hypocrisy, stating that there was too much lip service paid to the old moralities and too little observance to them. Particularly the college age people were inclined to state that their concept of morality was different from that of the older generation. They insisted that it was indeed a morality, and they claimed that they were straightforward in their acceptance of it and their observance to it.



They were equally frank in their discussion of riots, past -- and possibly future. One 15-year old boy from Portsmouth recited almost line by line the various specific plans of the TAR Committee, which supposedly had been kept secret. They said, in interviews taken in early March, that the story was out that 1965 would see no Labor Day riot but a series of small ones all through the summer, with peaks possibly at Memorial Day or Fourth of July. One or two especially hostile boys in other interviews stated flatly that there would be a 1965 riot no matter what precautions the community might try to take. Others felt that last year had gone too far and that an aroused community would apply sufficient force to prevent Labor Day trouble.

Another surprise to us was the frequent casual admission that they felt riots were attractive. Usually this statement was made in terms of watching rather than participation. A Portsmouth group of high school youngsters told me unanimously that if they had their choice between watching a riot and watching Joan Baez they would take the riot.

Yet, paradoxically again, this same group agreed unanimously that they would help in our campaign to prevent further rioting at Hampton Beach. They weren't sure anything could be done but they were willing to try. I think I can safely say that every single young person to whom I initially broached the subject of the Hampton Beach Project was at first dubious. All agreed that self-administered youth activities would be of value, but all feared lack of adult cooperation. Particularly they were doubtful that the police would let any sort of extensive program take place at critical holiday periods.

#### PROGRAM IDEAS FROM YOUTH

It was in our attempts to determine what program should be that we encountered greatest disagreement among the various young people. Here their expressed need for spontaneity posed a problem. How was one to establish a program with any sort of structure and at the same time keep it wholly spontaneous? This is part of the same anomaly expressed in their simultaneous complaint that they weren't allowed to hang around doing nothing and that there wasn't enough to do. In part they felt a resolution could be naturally effected if there were variety in the program. If there were to be dances, let them be held in different places, or with different bands, or somehow under a

variety of circumstances.

The one universal program element on which the various young people would agree was rock and roll dancing. Not all of them liked rock and roll music, but they all danced to it. Folk music apparently had a certain appeal but to a more restricted number. Jazz was something out of history as far as most of them were concerned. There was quite a little discussion of where dancing could be held, and surprisingly no one seemed to think of the Casino Ballroom, so firmly established was its reputation as an adult dance hall whose only appeal to young people was an occasional appearance of some nationally known group like Peter, Paul and Mary which would be a dress-up affair at a cost of two to four dollars a person.

There was the suggestion that a section of Ocean Boulevard be roped off opposite the Seashell and that block dances be held from time to time during the summer. Even more enthusiasm was expressed about the possibility of teenage nightclubs, where soft drinks would be served in fancy glasses and dancing would be possible on a regular basis. One such club was opened in Manchester, N. H. in the spring of 1965 and apparently a chain of them had been successful on the West Coast.

This was one thing that really gripped the imagination of the young people and, once the subject was brought up, the formal discussion fell aside while they excitedly kicked around ideas about who would do the decorating and where they would get materials, along with the questions of admissions and dues. Unanimously it was agreed that teenage nightclubs should be open only to persons under 21 years of age.

The suggestion of athletics was met with mild apathy from the high school age young people and with disdain by the college students. They said that anything that smacked of schools and organization was alien to summer and a beach resort.

Particularly they felt this applied to any sort of summer youth government. All ages agreed that if an organization were to be established the adult control of it would have to be maintained with a very light rein. There was much discussion about what form such a youth organization could take. The high school people were willing to consider at least the possibility of officers and judicial and legislative bodies, but the older youth were adamant that any sort of formal structure

would be ineffective. These questions of structure and autonomy continued to plague us well into the summer.

Another sticky question was what young people could do in the event of trouble. At one point a suggestion had been made that a specially trained group of infiltrators could exercise a "knock it off" function in tense situations. The young people couldn't have disagreed with this more thoroughly. Specifically they said this might be a good way to get somebody killed.

There was, however, both negative and positive response to the suggestion that young people might be employed by the police in such a function if their performance of their duties was overt. Some felt that if they wore arm bands and patrolled the beach front they might better be able to dispense with minor disturbances than the regular police. Others felt that whoever took such a job, even on a part time basis, would automatically be branded as a fink, losing both his effectiveness as a peace officer and his standing in the community of young people.

Few thought that a youth newspaper would be effective. Even fewer were receptive to the idea of an adult-sponsored coffee house as a place for youth and the community to establish communications. On the other hand, they agreed that a coffee house run by young people could be an important attraction. Such a coffee house, the Troll Bridge, had been in operation the previous summer on C Street. Its success among the young people stemmed largely from the popularity of its owner-operators. Police reports on the Troll Bridge were that it had been trouble free. However, some of its clientele had been a source of annoyance to adults in the neighborhood who did not welcome bearded noisy young men and girls with long stringy hair, not to mention motorcycles and occasionally some rather conspicuous examples of bad behavior. Of all the doubts raised by the young people, the most serious question was what any organization could do in a crisis period like Labor Day weekend when thousands of people jammed the beach and the Boulevard, perhaps 200 of them on hand specifically to make trouble. To maintain peace on a routine summer weekend was one thing; to prevent a riot was something else.

The first element of an answer, it was decided, was implicit in the concept of an organization itself. It was the TAR Committee's hypothesis, and the young people generally

agreed, that the number of young toughs actually determined to cause a riot over Labor Day weekend was small. This number the police could cope with. What would be unmanageable were the thousands only too willing to follow along. Thus it was hoped that if two or three thousand youths could form a beach society or organization, however loose, they could exert a substantial tempering influence in an unstable situation.

Somehow, it was felt, entertainment for young people would also have to play a part. It was generally agreed that entertainment alone would not be effective, that unless it was the logical outcome of a summer-long program to give youth a sense of sharing and proprietorship in the beach there would be no motivation for them to act counter to a riot. It was at this point that the "constructive shock" theory was advanced by Dr. Palmer. The concept here was that if something as impelling as a riot was pending it would take something equally compelling to redirect and hold the attention of the young people. If whatever constructive device were used was kept a complete surprise and if it were sufficiently startling, suggested Dr. Palmer, it might have the desired effect. There was speculation as to actual details and we toyed with the idea of one or more helicopters dropping from the sky to discharge entertainers of unquestionable effectiveness.

It was actually a modification of this idea that was embraced in the plan later advanced by the Tar Committee. The thinking went something like this: the three ring circus is effective because so much is taking place all at once that the spectator is absorbed despite himself, even despite the fact that some of the entertainment might be inferior. Therefore if Hampton were to use a similar concept -- perhaps simultaneous dances north and south of the Seashell on the sand and some sort of variety show in the Seashell itself -- there would be so much activity that young people would be more inclined either to watch or take part than they would be to start a riot. For several years now, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, had been successfully diverting young people from their former pattern of rioting, using something resembling this technique.

The various conferences with the young people lasted from two to four hours a session. They were so intensely interested in the problem, and particularly in being able to do something about it, that they would hang around and talk to you for another hour or more after the conference was over.

The summary of these open-end seminars was subsequently presented both to the TAR Committee and to the Blandin Commission, together with at least tentative conclusions that it would indeed be possible to establish some sort of youth organization and program on Hampton Beach insofar as the young people themselves were concerned. The report to the TAR Committee was given March 18th and to the Blandin Commission March 22nd.

#### GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON PUBLIC DISTURBANCES

By this time the Blandin Commission -- officially the Governor's Commission on Public Disturbances -- had been in operation for some six weeks. In addition to its chairman, Associate Justice Amos N. Blandin, Jr. of the New Hampshire Supreme Court, its members were Dr. John P. Bowler, a physician and former governor's councillor from Hanover; Rev. William S. Gannon, an Episcopalian clergyman from Manchester; Ralph T. Harris, real estate agent and resort owner from Hampton Beach; Attorney William S. Green of Manchester; Mrs. Isabelle Hildreth, a Nashua housewife; Dr. Frederik M. Jarvis, a psychologist from the University of New Hampshire; Dr. Melville Neilson, a University of New Hampshire sociologist; Robert F. Preston, of the TAR and TAP Committees and the Seacoast Regional Development Association, also a Hampton Beach businessman; Colonel Joseph L. Regan, Commandant of the New Hampshire State Police; Dean Thaddeus Seymour of Dartmouth; and Mr. Michael J. Shyne, Boy Scout executive of Manchester.

A regularly invited guest to the meetings was Attorney James Fallon of the TAP Committee. In addition a number of others were occasional guests, including Stone, Van Nostrand and myself from the TAR Committee, Hampton's acting Police Chief, members of the State Parks Department, Dr. Kvaraceus and one or more young people.

This was an interesting and important group. Among its members were strong liberals and outspoken conservatives. Justice Blandin was an eminently fair and capable chairman, who was able to evoke vigorous expression of viewpoints from all members of the group and subsequently to effect a workable and useable consensus.

Through February and March the Commission heard the

Governor's charge of responsibility and review of the facts, visited Hampton Beach, saw movies of the 1964 riots, considered various correspondence, and listened to a number of witnesses and opinions.

It was through the Commission's recommendations that the state police were present at Hampton Beach on weekends from early March and full time once the summer season began. Other recommendations of the Commission and actions resultant thereto will be discussed below.

#### TAP ACTIVITIES

During this same period, January through March 1965, the Chamber of Commerce directors and the TAP Committee continued their efforts toward riot prevention. Under Chairman James Fallon, the latter body saw to it that several bills were filed in title with the New Hampshire Legislature through the cooperation of Representative Casassa and Senator Hunter. Other recommendations went to the Board of Selectmen. In particular the TAP Committee was concerned with the passage of bills relating to curfews, the raising of fines (both local and state), the lowering of age of juveniles in New Hampshire, and for renting regulations. A bill on the latter was drafted in its entirety by Fallon, submitted to TAP and ultimately to the legislature. In the end no revision of New Hampshire's lodging regulations was passed by the 1965 legislature -- unfortunately so, inasmuch as standing regulations are so loose that there is no penalty for a person -- adult or minor -- who signs a false name in a hotel register. Mr. Fallon's bill would have corrected this deficiency and among other things would have put rather stringent restrictions on unsupervised minors.

Similarly, members of the TAP Committee and other individuals undertook to see what could be done through community action to restrict the unsupervised rental of rooms and cottages to minors or irresponsible persons. A limited survey of real estate agents and practices was submitted to the Blandin Commission.

During this same period the Chamber of Commerce directors took up several matters relating to the TAP Committee's activities. In the directors' meeting of March 2nd they agreed to

apply to the Division of Juvenile Delinquency for a grant of some \$40,000. In the light of subsequent difficulties in communication between the TAR Committee and the directors, it is interesting to note two items in the minutes of this directors' meeting. In the approval to apply for the grant it was noted that the money was to be used "for a study of the Hampton riots with information gathered and activities tried which might become a model for other areas to combat similar problems...."

Unfortunately the phrase in references to activities was not generally understood by several of the directors who subsequently recalled only that the TAR program was to entail only research.

Here again it is difficult to determine where the breakdown in communications occurred or how it might have been prevented. The activities aspect of TAR's program was at that date still in a phase of concept rather than detail. Without specific details to discuss it was difficult to promote the concepts before the Board of Directors, who were concerned from the outset in the practical application of those concepts. In any case, it should be noted at least in passing that, whatever the minutes of the directors' meeting may have said, the directors did not at this time or for some weeks thereafter have a clear idea what activities would be broached. Certainly one factor was a fear on the part of some members of the TAR Committee that if ideas were prematurely advanced they might be vetoed before they could be thoroughly developed.

The minutes of this same directors' meeting also note Stone's statement that the money would be used by the TAR Committee for program set up by TAR and approved by the sponsoring organization, which of course would be the Chamber of Commerce.

This was the beginning of a change in the status of TAR. In its original establishment as a sub-committee of TAP, TAR's responsibility was loosely drawn. The phrase from the TAP Committee's report had said only that TAR was to report its meetings to TAP for TAP's consideration. Now in March came the first questions of interpretation of that phrase as the TAR Committee began to chafe under possible restrictions and the TAP Committee began to show concern that its sub-committee might not be subject to proper control.

Also a difficulty for both groups was the fact that of the TAR Committee only Casassa, Elliot and Preston were regular Chamber of Commerce members; the others in varying degrees were outsiders whose plans had rather quickly come to be, at least potentially, a substantial element in the program for the coming spring and summer. It must be recalled that when Stone was appointed TAR chairman and given the responsibility for appointing his own committee, no one had a concept of the size and potential of the federal grant or the program it would entail.

On March 16 the first step was taken in the long search for a program acceptable both to TAR and to the Chamber directors. On this day the Chamber's entertainment committee met with a group of Hampton young people and Manning Van Nostrand to hear what the younger generation thought about the Chamber's traditional program. With more frankness than tact the young people said they liked virtually nothing about the programs of previous years. They told the Chamber they wanted a better band with teen type music. They asked for black dances with records or with a combo to play "real wild stuff," according to the minutes of that meeting, which went on to note that the youthful delegation didn't like long hair music -- i.e., anything over ten years old except rhythm.

The somewhat startled committee did what it could. If a good band was to be engaged for the summer, there was little time for further delay so the committee hired Stanley Bednarz with the request that he hold off as long as possible in his programming and employment of musicians in order that the Chamber could request at a later date certain kinds of music (i.e., for teens) for certain weekly concerts.



## IV

APRIL 1965

Once the grant application was formally approved on April 9th, intensive activities to establish the Hampton Beach Project were quickly begun on a number of levels. The consultants met with Mr. Van Nostrand and began the research design. The TAR Committee held a community-wide meeting from which grew several subsequent community volunteer committees. Program planning and design was shaped up with advice from Washington and special consultants. On the beach there were interviews with young people who were already turning up for weekends. The first members of the permanent summer crew were hired from an already established temporary spring crew of aides and interviewers. TAR policy began to develop in terms of the committee's own structure, its fiscal setup, its authority, and the program which would involve the young people themselves. Conferences on policy and method were held with town and state officials. Finally, as May approached, intensive floor discussions in the Chamber of Commerce directors' meeting resulted in the groundwork for the summer program.

The project budget in its final form devoted approximately two-thirds of its funds to salaries with the remaining third for travel and miscellaneous expense. Paid personnel were Van Nostrand, four-fifths time; myself, full time; Drs. Kvaraceus, Kenney and Palmer as project and research consultants on a per diem basis. In addition Dr. James Wylie was to be a consultant for recreation and sports and there was to be named a specialist to advise the TAR Committee on community organization. There was an allowance for student interviewer-program aides for spring, also on a per diem basis. For the 13 weeks of summer the budget provided for ten full-time workers and five part-time ones. In addition there was to be a

full-time secretary for the duration of the project. Miscellaneous funds covered travel, office supplies, plus fees for accounting, statistical treatment of data and reproduction of the final report. For further details see the project application in the Addenda.

Unfortunately the delay in the grant application made it impossible for Dr. Kvaraceus to participate in the early stages of the research design, since he had a prior commitment in Europe. However Drs. Kenney and Palmer at once went to work on the design of the first interview schedule, which was to be given to as many as possible of the young people who had been arrested in conjunction with the 1964 Labor Day riot.

I spent a number of hours going through police records assembling names and addresses. Inasmuch as the names of juveniles were not available to us, the total list we obtained numbered 120, including cases that were not processed and those who were simply released with a warning.

In the area of community organization the TAR Committee held, during the first week of April, its first community-wide meeting. Invited were not only all interested members of the Chamber of Commerce but young people and as wide a representation as possible of adults from Hampton and surrounding towns whose experience or interest was in the area of youth work. Somewhere between 50 and 75 people attended. After a few brief introductory remarks, the group was broken down into three smaller seminars conducted by Stone, Van Nostrand and myself to explore with all possible candor the causes of previous riots and the possible solutions for the coming year. In each case the presence of both young people and the adults led to healthy discussions as we went over the issues of youth responsibility versus community responsibility, the rights of each group to enjoy and share in the beach, and details of possible program.

After the seminars there was an additional assembly to hear comments of Mr. Rosenthal who had come that day for this event and to advise the TAR Committee employed in the establishment of the project's structure. At the close of the meeting interested persons were asked to sign up to work either in community planning or directly with the young people, and an encouraging number did leave their names. Out of these lists eventually grew the several volunteer committees who

aided the project in subsequent months.

## PROJECT FRAMEWORK

During the course of that day and the next one Rosenthal met with Stone, Van Nostrand and me in a lengthy conference during which he suggested an outline and framework of the entire Hampton Beach Project. First the work of the months ahead was broken down into so-called functional areas, which is to say the basic divisions into which the project naturally fell. Second, these functional areas were discussed in terms of the various individuals who would have to organize the work and see it through to its completion. The outline of that day's conference is reproduced herewith:

### I. Functional Areas to be Developed

- A. Youth - local, out of town
- B. Research - develop design materials and program
- C. Adults - boardwalk operators, Chamber of Commerce, adult community
- D. Police - local, state, National Guard
- E. Politics - selectmen, governor, congressional
- F. Community facilities - recreation, housing, pavilion, reception, etc.
- G. Communications - press, television, radio
- H. Training - project staff

### II. Suggested Activities of Functional Areas

- A. Youth (Program Director Paul E. Estaver and 20 college student program-interview aides and consultants.)
  - 1. Research
    - a. last year's violators
    - b. last year's participants
    - c. current attitudes among youth
    - d. evaluate Kvaracous' research (winter 1965)
  - 2. Organization
    - a. develop local organizing committee

- b. sit on TAP (TAR) Committee
- c. develop pre-conditioning program
  - i. pre- and summer planning nearby schools, etc.

### 3. Program

- a. pavilion design, construction function
- b. day and night activities
- c. games, contests, hootenannies, etc.

### 4. Recruitment

- a. on the beach
- b. in the communities
- c. identification program

### 5. Volunteers

- a. program committee, etc.

## B. Adults (Manning Van Nostrand, Richard Stone and consultants)

### 1. Interpretative program

- a. beach operators - seminars
- b. selectmen
- c. churches, PTA's
- d. Chamber of Commerce
- e. other community organizations

### 2. TAP

- a. Issues to be faced
  - i. living conditions, cottages, codes
  - ii. sleeping accommodations community (American Youth Hostel)
  - iii. working conditions on beach
  - iv. prices charged for services provided
  - v. current program on beach (C. of C.)

- vi. relate to police activity - local and state
- vii. relate to Blandin Commission
- viii. develop program committee to be responsible for following each of the functional areas

3. Research - attitudes, etc.

C. Police (Fire Dept.) - Van Nostrand and consultants

1. Develop functional relationship to police chief

- a. Washington visit
- b. develop training program for police department
- c. suggest personnel types for summer employment

2. Develop working relationship to state police

- a. Governor's role

D. Program - Van Nostrand, Estaver, etc.

1. Program plan for entire project

- a. youth
- b. adults
- c. police
- d. research

- i. integration of age groups where possible

E. Research - Van Nostrand, Kvaraceus and staff

- 1. Develop design
- 2. Produce instruments
- 3. Carry out program
- 4. Reports

## F. Communications - Van Nostrand

### 1. Develop organized and consistent program

- a. dissemination of news
- b. dealing with mass media
- c. developing community support
- d. developing state and regional support

Much of what was eventually either attempted or carried through as the Hampton Beach Project evolved from this outline. Eventually this program design was worked into a much more detailed schedule of related activities outlining the responsibilities for the TAR chairman, the Project Director and the Youth Coordinator, and designating who had prime responsibility in which area in order to avoid overlapping effort and responsibility and hopefully leaving no functional areas unaccounted for.

The work schedule is reproduced herewith, partly because it indicates the areas which TAR hoped to encompass but also because it is at least one example of an organizational method.

### Schedule of Related Activities

#### Hampton Beach Project Team

N.B. The fact that one activity is assigned to a given office does not necessarily indicate that the actual duty of carrying out the function falls to the officer indicated. What this schedule does suggest is areas of prime responsibility so that, in a team with overlapping functions, no single function may be inadvertently omitted. Thus an activity listed here under the "assiat" category may essentially fall upon the "assistant," although the responsibility for seeing the function through to completion may fall to another officer.

A. Chairman (acting as executive officer for TAP)	B. Project Director - Community Coordinator	C. Youth Activities Director
1. Maintain contact with HEW	1. Coordinate with project consultants	1. Coordinate with project consultants
2. Coordinate with project consultants	2. Establish and maintain community relations with TAR	2. Interviews with young people to assist in establishing and coordinating team interviewers
3. Coordinate all local state and legal departments with TAR	3. Solicit funds for TAR from private sources	3. Investigation of riot phenomena in other cities
4. Approve and direct all TAR activities	4. Assist A-3	4. Assist B-9
5. Oversee financial transactions of TAR	5. Assist A-4	5. Assist B-10
6. Oversee employment of all TAR personnel	6. Assist A-6	6. Jointly with project director and chairman establish summer plan, acquire properties, funding, coordinate with police and community and youth program
7. Oversee acquisition TAR properties and materials	7. Assist A-7	7. Advise and oversee summer youth program

(A)

8. Assist with B-2
9. Establish a TAR foundation to receive funds from private sources
10. Oversee a project to ascertain dynamics of riot
11. Oversee assembly of data and writing of project report
12. Oversee post-summer community relations and projection of plans for 1966

(B)

8. Assist C-1
9. Organize and assemble research data from C-2 and C-3
10. Create summer youth plan on basis of spring research
11. See C-6
12. Assist C-7
13. See C-8
14. Assist C-9

(C)

8. With A and B, weekly evaluation of plan progress
9. Continue interview project and analysis of beach youth population
10. With A and B establish Labor Day weekend activities plan, coordinate with police and community
11. (Sept.) Initial evaluation of summer functions
12. Interviews with those arrested
13. Referral and research in other locations where riot phenomena exists
14. Disseminate information of summer plan to the community and state law officials



(A)

(B)

(C)

15. See C-10
16. See A-10
17. See C-11
18. Assist C-12
19. Assemble and evaluate all data of summer project
20. See C-14
21. See A-5
22. Assemble all records, write and submit final comprehensive project report

15. Assist A-5
16. Assist A-9
17. Assist A-10
18. Assist B-2
19. Assist B-3

To this point the TAR Committee had functioned for the most part in Stone's living-room. Now however it became necessary to set up a more formal office. Space was donated to the project by the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce in the second floor of their building, which is a part of the Seashell complex. A telephone was put in and a part-time secretary was hired in the person of Mrs. Roberta Hall who subsequently went on full time as the work load demanded. Some of the furniture was donated, most of it was rented along with various other office equipment as the need dictated.

As a first step to determine whether it was even feasible to consider such program elements as a youth pavilion, coffee houses or teenage nightclubs, Van Nostrand during April made inquiries of a Hampton Beach real estate agency, simply to check sizes and costs of rental properties. Unhappily, this preliminary inquiry was taken as indication that the TAR Committee was already proceeding on firmed-up plans before they had been cleared with its parent organization, and the resultant rumors in the beach community made the presentation of these program items all the more difficult when they were formally presented as part of a program agenda.

A final item under the heading of program planning was a meeting with a representative of the American Youth Hostel to determine whether they could be of assistance to Hampton Beach in establishing some sort of healthy and well-supervised but inexpensive housing for young people. Although AYH is set up primarily for young people who are travelling, they were interested in finding any possible way to expand their methods and facilities to assist the Hampton Beach Project. Customarily they did not take as guests young people who were travelling by automobile and those who were planning to stay for more than one or two nights.

We discussed at some length the possibility of renting one or more building in Hampton to be set up dormitory style and run as much as possible along the lines of an AYH hostel. AYH had no funds either for personnel or material, but they were more than willing to assist in training and, if at all possible, work out some way where they could lend their name to a specialized sort of hostel for Hampton Beach. The income for dormitory supervisors and materials would necessarily have to be earned by the hostel itself. The conference ended

with the agreement that the TAR Committee would seek approval for this sort of project from the Chamber of Commerce and that the American Youth Hostel officers would determine whether or not their cooperation would be feasible. Subsequently the AYH offices in New York did write in hopes that the project could be pursued further, but by this time the TAR Committee had decided that a hostel project was beyond the scope of reasonable possibility for 1965.

In the area of youth work during April -- our first step was to confer with Dr. Palmer and show to him the results of the various seminars we had conducted with the young people. He felt that the attitudes expressed by the youths were sufficiently similar to those found in other studies that there was no need in pursuing this sort of investigation further, that it was now time to contact young people at the beach on weekends to acquaint them with the coming project and to elicit their ideas and support if possible.

#### FIRST CONTACTS WITH YOUTH AT HAMPTON BEACH

On Sunday, April 11th, a crew of volunteers, three students from the University of New Hampshire and nine high school boys and girls from Hampton and Portsmouth, met at my house. Each person equipped himself with a pencil and a notebook, and we went to the main beach. Our plan was to work in pairs, approaching groups of young people and drawing them into conversation.

The day was warm and sunny, unusually so for early April -- enough so that winter-weary New Englanders flocked to the coastline, and for a few hours of the afternoon Hampton Beach leaped suddenly into season: stores opened up to serve pizza and hot dogs, and heavy traffic choked Ocean Boulevard heading in both directions. A few adults were adventurous enough to leave their cars but for the most part the boardwalk from the Seashell northward was crowded with young people, perhaps 500 of them, hanging around, talking, eating, sitting in their cars, or riding back and forth in them.

Also present and conspicuous were, at that time, a dozen state police troopers. The following week their number was increased to 18 and by early May there were always at least 20 on hand for the congested hours of the weekend.

Their presence and demeanor made it amply clear that they were tolerating no nonsense this year. It was striking contrast to the previous summer's "red carpet" policy under which they had made it a point to be casual and approachable, relying on their presence and their uniform to get the message across.

Now their patrol cars were parked conspicuously at the center of the beach, three or four together. The troopers patrolled in pairs, grim faced. Everything in their stance warned the young people not to take liberties.

Now too there were a number of new rules. Along with the previous ban on the wearing of blankets or carrying of bongoes, there came a prohibition on guitars. Any young person who took a guitar out of his car and carried it either on the street or onto the sand was told to put it back in his car and leave it there. Anyone who sat on the hood or fenders or on the trunk of an automobile -- his own or not -- was told to get in or get off. Knots of young people who gathered to talk in numbers of more than four or five were broken up and told to keep walking. No one, at least during April, was permitted to sit on the railing (although leaning was tolerated).

In addition, the park rules and state and town laws were enforced assiduously. No one was permitted to take a ball out of his car. If a car was parked facing out from a curb, it was summarily ticketed. Any car crowded with young people or which looked like a jalopy was automatically stopped and given a safety check. Its occupants were requested to disclose contents of packages and car trunks to be sure no minors were carrying alcoholic beverages. Tough looking youngsters or those who wore their hair long were stopped on foot and required to show identification. In several cases where no identification was carried, the boy was held at the police station until relatives or parents could be contacted by phone.

Needless to say, the young people didn't like it. Their unanimous reaction was outrage -- that they were minding their own business and being shoved around and deprived of their rights, and if anything was going to ensure another riot this would do it.

At this time parking was permitted all along the Boulevard adjacent to the boardwalk, and almost no one was going on to

the beach proper so that all the young people and police were impacted into a rather narrow artificial alleyway. Those of us who worked in that area all felt a tremendous sense of tension.

It was the beginning of a summer-long debate whether rigid police patrolling would act as a deterrent or an irritant. Community observers who had urged that the police be present felt none of the tension, but were in fact much reassured by the police presence. It should be added, incidentally, that New Hampshire's state police are taller than average, and some are huge. Certainly they stood out conspicuously in the crowd of young people, many of whom made it a point to wear old clothes when they headed for Hampton Beach.

As a matter of fact, a good many of them looked tough enough and surly enough so that I, as an adult, was hesitant to walk up and break in on their conversations. It was easy to judge by superficial appearance and conclude that these were the "weekend warriors" hatching battle plans. All the more surprising was it, then, to discover that these were high school kids, the great bulk of them from not more than 20 miles away, who were willing and anxious to talk to anybody who might give them a chance to participate in a youth movement to control riots.

Once their initial suspicion of any adult -- particularly one from Hampton -- was allayed they would talk at great length, offering constructive suggestions and opinions. They thought it would be of great benefit if representatives of this new movement could come to their high schools and talk. They said they'd be willing to join and participate in a constructive youth organization, and they were not hesitant to give their names and home addresses. The problem, if anything, was to reach a sufficient number of young people in the time allowed, for once a conversation started it was difficult to break away.

When the group of volunteers returned to the house we compared notes and found that our experiences had all been very much the same: initial hesitance, then enthusiastic response. Among us we had assembled a list of 40 names. Only in one or two instances had any of the volunteers been rebuffed. In general, girls had been harder to approach than boys, and our girl volunteers had experienced somewhat more

difficulty in broaching a conversation than had the fellows. When there was resistance, it was based in simple disbelief.

## SECOND WEEK - LOSS OF MOMENTUM

When the crew of volunteers broke up for the day, they left with a feeling of some exhilaration. It had been a good beginning. What we were attempting was so obviously new that we felt like pioneers.

By comparison the second Sunday was a let-down. The crowds on the beach were sparse because it was Easter and the weather was much colder and windy. This time there were seven UNH boys and about eight high school people, but after no more than an hour on the beach it was obvious that the crew was uncomfortable and making little progress, so we returned to my house to see what could be done. Over coffee and doughnuts we discussed what sort of an organization might be structured for youth at this early date, whether a mass meeting of youth might accomplish anything if indeed it would be possible to call one.

There was considerable disagreement on the questions of structure and organization. The college boys, more mature and articulate, were adamant that any sort of youthful congress and officers was out of the question. They even doubted the validity of our collecting these names. Particularly there was concern that if an organization was started too soon it would be rejected by the subsequent arrivals on the beach. We had no clear idea of what the youth culture on the beach would turn out to be or even what would be the average age level. Almost universally the young people we had been talking to were high-schoolers, and we made the incorrect assumption that there would subsequently be a large turnout of college people.

Clearly there was a loss of momentum and a lack of consensus. When the volunteers finally broke up, I had the sense we had stumbled rather badly.

By April 25th we had obtained tentative permission to use a store on C Street for a youth headquarters until the matter of a pavilion could be settled. The volunteer crew, smaller now, went down to inspect the store, but since it had

neither light nor heat nor furniture, there was little we could do beyond a brief tour of inspection. Again it was cold. And again we retired to my house after an hour or more and perhaps another 20 names enlisted. I announced that we hoped shortly to have a name for the coming organization and that as soon as one was accepted we could have ID cards for new members. I also planned to make up some sort of mimeographed questionnaire for the volunteers to use, partly as an ice-breaker in approaching young people but primarily to gain some preliminary factual information. Again the question of youth organization structure came up, and this time I suggested that at least temporarily we should limit ourselves to committees as people signed up, suggesting committees on research, programs, beach rules, housing, jobs, building and equipment, and organization.

#### NEGATIVE ATTITUDES - YOUTH VOLUNTEERS

Both this week and the previous Sunday we spent quite a little time searching for a name for the potential organization. We tried a number of acronyms such as SEARCH (Student Exploratory Action and Research Committee for Hampton), and after much struggle tentatively agreed on SCOPE, whose meaning I have now forgotten. In any case it was dropped within a week: no one could bring himself to announce, "I'm from SCOPE," and then someone remembered that the name had already been coined by a civil rights organization in New York.

Again I found a tremendously discouraging negative attitude on the part of the older volunteers. They couldn't see the point in ID cards, they thought it was too early to open up temporary headquarters, and they were dubious both about the proposed questionnaire and the committee structure for the organization. They felt that the whole movement was so far too much adult directed and that only after the sociological research was under way could anything specific be undertaken.

This was a time of considerable discouragement. April was quickly moving into May, and we had no consensus on program or even the role we were to play in the beach youth society. Volunteers were becoming harder to get. Both high school and college academic years were progressing toward conclusion, and social and academic pressures were increasing. The budget specified that the spring workers were to be used for interviewing but not as program aides, and it was with

some hesitation that I put several of them on per diem pay for this organizational work.

#### LEVEL OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION A PROBLEM

The college boys were also much concerned whether they would be given permanent summer employment, and of the seven who had been helping I felt obliged to assure at least five that they could count on a job. Rosenthal had strongly advised that in the choice of a summer crew I get a good cross section of types and interests, and I wanted to make sure that at least several came from other colleges than the University of New Hampshire. The question of the workers' role and level of participation in the program was, at that point, a difficult one. If we were to obtain insurance, we had to be specific about their duties. We knew that they would be interviewing, that they might be conducting youth activities in the range of parades, sports, dancing, etc., and we knew that they might somehow be involved in possibly tense crowds situations at Fourth of July and Labor Day. Pretty much by guesswork we outlined enough more specifics that temporary insurance coverage could be obtained.

It was even more difficult to answer the workers own questions concerning their role in the coming summer's work. The criteria which had been established through consultation with Rosenthal and Dr. Palmer for hiring of the workers had been several: first and foremost they must be able to communicate with other young people, which is to say they should be extroverted enough to approach strangers and sell an idea and at the same time be "cool" enough -- regular guys -- that they not be immediately branded as do-gooders or finks. Secondly, and equal in importance, they must have experience in sociology, in interviewing, or in related fields. Third, they must be independent of mind and creative, for it was to be up to them to help establish the nature of the program.

Beyond that we looked for talents in music or editing or carpentry or crafts or any of the things which appeared might be useful in working with young people through the summer. The hope was to get a variety of viewpoints and interests represented in the group, and if possible to have them come from different backgrounds. At first we thought there should be ten men but ultimately decided that at least a few should be girls.



In theory, the specifics of their summer's work were to be worked out as the program developed. The level of their participation was to be first what their title suggested -- program aides -- who would function somewhat as camp counselors aiding the young people on the beach to carry out their programs in whatever ways were necessary or possible. Secondly they were to help breathe life into the program itself by recruiting members and by helping to fill in ideas for program.

However, the very independence of mind for which we hired them made it difficult for them to accept a role at such a subordinate level. Part of the excitement for them in undertaking a thing like the Hampton Beach Project was the hope of being social catalytic agents, to act and interact not only with the young people but with the adult portion of the community. They felt the need for something to set themselves apart from a bunch of the kids.

More than anything they were by training and inclination doubters. They felt that the devices suggested to them as first steps in establishing the program were naive and "square" as well, and they voiced their opinions explicitly. Also by training and inclination their thinking was academic.

When the question was brought up in a meeting with the sociological consultants, the consultants' reaction was that we should not rush into program details as quickly as this but should wait until the research had given us something on which to base our program.

On the other hand, the schedule worked out in conjunction with Rosenthal, Stone and Van Nostrand called for the program to go forward as quickly as possible. If July 4th was to be a test date for Labor Day weekend, there was none too much time at best. Somehow an organization of a thousand youths had to be created and functioning well enough so that experimental programs could be tried, adjusted and accepted or cast aside. A building or some sort of headquarters had to be established. To do all this we had five weekends in May, two in June and possibly ten days of full time beach life in late June after school was out.

For me this time in late April was the most discouraging of the entire project. I was beset by conflicting concepts and apparent loss of interest on the part of some volunteers, and a negativism which was difficult to cope with. I was

working 30 hours a week for my magazine and some 40 for the project, drawing half salaries from each. No replacement had yet been found for me on the magazine and it was still possible for me to turn back to a position where I was both comfortable and competent from one where I was obviously inexperienced and feeling my way along.

Instead of keeping my irresolution to myself, I made the serious mistake of voicing doubts in my own capabilities both to the college boys and to my co-workers on the TAR Committee. The result, obviously, was that both (but especially the younger people) took my words at face value and doubted me all the more. It took months for me to reestablish myself in a position of strong leadership with the crew, and in a few instances I was never fully accepted as a leader.

What actually did hold the crew together during this period was the work to be done in research. In April I made two visits to Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts, and several trips to St. Anselm's College in Manchester, N. H. to recruit personnel for the spring research, with the stated possibility that there were full time positions for the summer. By the third week in April Drs. Palmer and Kenney had completed the first interview schedule in its preliminary form. A training session was run for eight UNH volunteers who then found young people in or near Durham who had been in Hampton during the Labor Day riot and gave them the interview in a pre-test. Then we reassembled, evaluated each of the questions in terms of its clarity and function, and the sociologists made revisions for the interview's final form. In early May similar training sessions were run for the St. Anselm's students and for the Tufts students.

While all this work with the young people was taking place during April, the TAR Committee and its members were busy seeking to establish project policy and to obtain sanction to pursue the policy from the Chamber of Commerce.

#### TAR POLICY DECISIONS

Early in the month it was decided that the signator for project checks should be C of C president Walter Vanderpool who would be bonded for that purpose. As chairman of the TAR Committee Richard Stone was empowered to approve vouchers which were to be prepared for each check before it was pro-

cessed. Two separate checking accounts were kept for the project, one for town funds and one for federal funds. Monies from the town fund were loaned to pay salaries from the federal fund and then returned when federal grant monies finally came through. John F. Conway, a certified public accountant of Exeter, was named as the fiscal agent for both accounts.

### PUBLIC RELATIONS

One serious policy matter which TAR tried to solve during this period -- and indeed through much of the summer -- was the question of public relations. Rosenthal and the consultants and several of the TAR members felt strongly that the news play given to strict court fines and sentences and to tough police measures in the offing could serve as an inducement and a challenge to those young people who were already inclined to regard Hampton with enmity.

Therefore it was argued that it was most important to change the community's image through personal contact with schools in adjacent areas and through the news media to show that Hampton was working constructively with young people and that there would be more fun for the youth on the beach this year. If the vicious circle of the self-fulfilling prophecy were to be broken, the chain of rumors and stories reflective of trouble and retribution would have to be altered as quickly as possible.

Since the prevailing view in the Chamber of Commerce publicity committee was that the best way to sell a new image of Hampton Beach was to have a press conference and announce that Hampton was going to be a safer place with better and more efficient police, advice was sought from an outside expert. To a special meeting attended by members of TAR and the Chamber of Commerce publicity committee there was invited Bill Stearns, public relations and advertising officer of Rockingham Race Track, who had had experience with publications both local and national in scope. Stearns warned that press conferences can get out of hand and that emphasis on safety precautions could backfire and give the impression of unmentioned danger.

At the meeting's conclusion the publicity committee and TAR jointly agreed that Robert Preston should be press officer and that all information concerning beach problems would be

cleared through him.

During the latter half of April through a series of meetings with the TAR Committee and the directors of the Chamber of Commerce questions of the youth program and the TAR Committee's authority for carrying it through were discussed and, to some extent, clarified. At a TAR meeting April 17th Van Nostrand reported various steps of progress in office and other procedures since the granting of the project. My progress report concerned the spring program aides and volunteers and the meetings we had had with young people at the beach and elsewhere. Discussion then ranged over the feasibility and theory of the youth program and the hypothesis that the combined elements of a youth organization and an entertainment program could serve as a crowd-controlling device over the holiday weekends.

#### TAR AUTHORITY

The committee approved the program in concept, but a serious question was raised concerning TAR's authority to translate the concept into actuality. Bill Elliot felt that any program must be okayed by the TAP Committee, recalling that TAR was a sub-committee of the other body and that a rather loose statement of the chain of responsibility had been made. Stone, on the other hand, felt that it was TAR's responsibility only to apprise TAP of its intentions; however, he agreed that communications between TAR and TAP had been less than desirable and should immediately be improved.

As a step in this direction several members of the TAR Committee attended the April 20th meeting of the Chamber directors. In an introductory statement Stone announced that the grant had officially been approved. He said that the project would undertake a two-pronged approach: first to upgrade the civic and business life of the community, and second to develop youth responsibility.

In my role as youth coordinator I then attempted to summarize the attitudes of the young people whom we had been interviewing for the past six weeks -- that they felt no share in or identity with the beach community since so little of its entertainment programming was aimed at their level. I suggested that at least a strong element of the Hampton Beach youth

society might take a more constructive attitude toward the beach and toward the rioting problem if they felt a sense of proprietorship, if they were given a constructive share in the community life and if there could be established for them a program of enjoyment and fun. It was stressed that the program could not yet be definitely formulated since many of the suggestions should come from the young people themselves. However, it was stated that under consideration were such things as teen clubs, registration centers, one or more coffee houses, some sort of youth organization and government, and a youth pavilion.

Stone then went on to say that Seymour Rosenthal would be the federal advisor to the Hampton Beach Project, that ten students would be employed by the project through the summer and that the first of a series of questionnaires was now being tested.

In the same meeting Stone asked for approval to apply for a \$10,000 grant from the Spaulding Potter Charitable Trusts to carry out such program as might be undertaken during the summer, inasmuch as the bulk of the federal money would be used for salaries. At that time the filing date for consideration by Spaulding Potter was April 27, which put both the TAR Committee and the Chamber of Commerce into an uncomfortable squeeze. The Committee had had insufficient time to establish project details, and the directors had had only these few introductory statements explaining what the project was and how it would be carried out.

#### COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEMS

Understandably, there were many questions: Who was getting how much money and for what? What was the role of the various project employees and the consultants? If there was to be a youth pavilion, how big would it be? Where would it be put? How would it be used? If there were to be teen clubs and/or coffee houses -- if indeed they were desirable -- where would they be? Under whose auspices? How would they be controlled? To what extent would these various enterprises compete with beach businesses? In what ways would it effect the image of Hampton Beach to plunge into such a program of youth entertainment?

On this occasion, and on subsequent occasions, the TAR

Committee members' inability to cite specific details gave the impression of evasiveness. The statement that program could not be established until a youth organization had been formed and its desires explored was not satisfactory to businessmen, who were accustomed to well ordered and detailed advance planning. An additional impediment at the time was the fact that rumors had circulated the beach about coffee houses and teen clubs and even housing as a result of the committee's prior inquiries to determine whether properties were available for such efforts. There was a vague and general sense of discomfort and fear that these strangers in the TAR Committee were going off half-cooked and unchecked.

#### PROGRAM TAKES SHAPE AS SPAULDING POTTER APPLICATION CONSIDERED

However there was a general desire on the part of the directors of the C of C to carry the program forward and to settle all these details, indicated by their willingness to call a special emergency executive meeting for the following Sunday, April 24th, in order that an application could be filed in time to be considered for a Spaulding Potter grant. Whether or not an agreement could have been reached that quickly proved to be an academic question, for the next day we received word that there would be a two week extension of the filing date. The executive session was cancelled and the question was deferred to the following week's Chamber of Commerce directors meeting.

In the intervening days Stone, Van Nostrand and I assembled the following rough outline of budget items around which the Spaulding Potter application would be constructed. We were able to get brochures illustrating the sort of metal building we had in mind, and we filled in program details as concretely as we dared, considering that the program was still in its conceptual stage.

#### SPAULDING POTTER FUND APPLICATION

Specific items on budget:

Building, Youth Center	\$ 5,000.00
Plastic roof for lounging outside	
Edgar Smith has plans - insert picture if possible	
Help to split crowd	

Purpose - symbol of youth presence	
Administrative center of activities	
registration of youth, employees	
dispensing of permits	
manned by paid and volunteer youth	
Service - Jr. Chamber of Commerce	
message center	
housing services	
recreational facilities	
bulletin board - beach rules	
newspaper	
lounging	
 Furniture and Fixtures	 \$ 1,000.00
benches, chairs, counter, files	
decorations, desk, lights	
 Recreation facilities, equipment	 1,000.00
volleyball, badminton, horse shoes,	
football	
portable stage, piano, record player	
outdoor lighting	
 Personnel	 2,000.00
Teen-agers to man office, etc.	
American Youth Hostel personnel for	
sleeping facilities	
Visiting pros to talk in coffee houses	
More consulting staff	
 Entertainment	 10,000.00
Musical groups for peak period	
entertainment	
Teen Clubs	
 Public Relations Consultant	 1,000.00
 Printing of Final Report, Project	 1,000.00

At the April 27th meeting of the Chamber of Commerce directors, Stone and Van Nostrand presented this outline which had been mimeographed for the directors' convenience. (Subsequently this document came to be known as the "white sheet.")

Again there were many questions. If the building was to go south of the Seashell, how would it affect adjacent businesses in that area? Was it legal or possible to put a building on the east side of Ocean Boulevard, and whose approval was necessary? If there was to be a newspaper, who would control its policies? What about lounging -- should it be encouraged?

And again the questions of competition to established businesses on the beach was paramount. The consensus was quite clear that programs competitive to business could not be tolerated -- that teen clubs, coffee houses and overnight accommodations for youth would not be acceptable.

As before, there was confusion and concern over concepts, authority, and responsibility. TAP Chairman Fallon stated that there had been a great deal of misunderstanding about TAR's work and that its policies should be spelled out. Selectmen Chairman Salomon made a plea for unity in the thinking of various community elements. Rather clearly, if a vote had been taken that night whether or not to approve the Spaulding Potter application it would have lost.

Therefore it was suggested from the floor by director George Downer that specific steps be taken to improve communications between TAP and TAR. A special combined committee meeting was set up for May 3rd and it was agreed that a final discussion of the Spaulding Potter application would be aired at the following week's directors meeting on May 4th.

On April 28th the TAR Committee met to deal with questions of the police training program and of publicity (discussed below). Van Nostrand and I were authorized to do the hiring of project personnel.

The TAR Committee's Civic Subcommittee was at this point just established and its hopes of dealing with problems in the area of rentals and community support were discussed.

Further discussion about the Spaulding Potter fund application resulted in a special meeting, set for May 1, to include Selectman Noel Salomon, Robert Preston, President Walter Vanderpool and myself.



## TOWN OFFICIALS AND TAR

During the month of April the TAR Committee also concerned itself with activities on several other levels. Continuing its relationship with the town TAR had invited Noel Salomon to sit with the committee when he assumed chairmanship of the Board of Selectmen at the March town meeting. The newly elected selectman, Lawrence Hackett, who had previously sat a number of years on that board, was introduced to the TAR project in a special conference between the selectmen and Stone and Rosenthal.

Of the three selectmen, Salomon and Herbert Trefatter were enthusiastic supporters of the Hampton Beach Project from the outset, and although Lawrence Hackett's view was inclined to the school that says "spare the rod and spoil the child," he conscientiously refrained from blocking the project inasmuch as it was already under way. His greatest doubt was whether such a project should be undertaken through the auspices of a chamber of commerce, or whether it should have been the province of the selectmen as the town's governing body.

Also under the heading of town affairs was the continued TAR participation of Paul Leavitt who was confirmed as Hampton's police chief about mid-April. During that month, through the auspices of the TAR Committee Chief Leavitt made a special trip to Washington to meet with International Association of Chiefs of Police officials to establish a special training program in crowd control and psychology to be carried on during the summer weeks. Payment for this project was shared by the town police budget and TAR Committee funds to a maximum of \$1000 each, and it was understood that any remaining funds would be covered through a grant from the Ford Foundation.

## STATE OFFICIALS AND TAR

During April various members of the TAR Committee also established contact with several branches of the state government. A visit to Director of Parks Russell Tobey and his associate Howard Berry drew warm support of the TAR program, and tentative approval for a building site adjacent to the sand. The park officials expressed concern that divergent factions within Hampton appeared to be working for different objectives. Commissioner Tobey urged that a meeting with representatives of all viewpoints be held with members of his department as soon

as possible.

TAR members also sat in on several meetings of the Blandin Commission to outline the concepts under which the Hampton Beach Project would attempt to establish program and research. Where possible tentative program details were listed.

During this period the Blandin Commission was in what might be called a shake-down phase as it worked toward a consensus. Views ranged from that of a prominent Hampton Beach businessman -- "we don't want kids - period!" -- to that of Professor Jarvis and several others that some sort of humanistic program was necessary. Members of the Blandin Commission were urged by TAR members to make personal visits to Hampton Beach during these spring weekends to judge for themselves how effective were the stringent police measures then employed.

It was apparent that state police Colonel Regan felt great responsibility for the safety of Hampton Beach. Several times he stated that although the position was not of his choosing, he felt the ultimate responsibility for the prevention of riots rested with him. At the request of Justice Blandin I met with Colonel Regan and discussed with him at some length the concept and such details as were possible of the Hampton Beach Project. He appeared most enthusiastic about our plans, and on April 19th permitted me to file with the Blandin Commission a statement to the effect that we were in agreement in principle, that the state police would support the project, and that a lieutenant had been assigned as liaison from the state police to the TAR Committee and to me.

#### PRESS RESPONSE

Under the heading of Public Relations all was not as well for the project as it should have been during April. The rumor mill continued to grind out details of possible trouble for the summer and of supposed retaliatory actions by the community. A Massachusetts state police colonel was credited with a statement that there had been new handbills seen as far away as Chicago to announce a 1965 Hampton riot. The subsequent discovery that he had been misquoted was lost in the back pages of the newspapers, while the prior release had received front page treatment. At about this same time

there was published in the FBI Journal an article by Colonel Regan recounting the history of the 1964 riot and hinting that the police would be tough indeed for 1965. Echoes of this also filtered to the newspapers and through news coverage on radio and television.

News of the federal grant to Hampton Beach and of the police training program also received premature release. It had been hoped that no announcement of either would be made until the project was far enough along to release program details.

Even worse, local press in the town of Hampton misunderstood and criticized the federal grant on the theme that a great deal of money was being spent on something possibly unnecessary and that everyone concerned was keeping it a big secret.

Therefore at Robert Preston's urging several members of the TAR Committee drafted statements for local release and made themselves available for comment. In subsequent weeks local newspapers carried detailed stories about the coming project and so ultimately did a few newspapers in the Merrimack Valley and in greater Boston. For the most part these news features were accurate and beneficial.

## V

MAY 1965

During the month of May the Hampton Beach Project made the transition from hypothesis and discussion to the first stages of demonstration. A youth organization came into being, the start of a working relationship with the various police departments was seen, and the relationship between the TAR Committee and its parent organization was more clearly delineated. Three meetings early in the month contributed significantly to this latter development.

## SPAULDING POTTER OUTLINE CONSIDERED

The first of these, on May 1st, took place at the business office of selectman Noel Salomon, as designated by the TAR Committee. Its purpose was to revise the so-called white sheet to a form which might better find Chamber of Commerce approval and Hampton Beach community acceptance. Present were Salomon, Preston, Van Nostrand, C of C President Vanderpool and myself.

During the few days since the previous C of C directors meetings, rumors had continued to abound concerning the TAR program. There was apparently discontent that the federal funds were going so largely into salaries of project personnel rather than to program. Further, the white sheet which had been handed out at the directors meeting as an outline for discussion was now passed around the beach and viewed by various members of the community with some alarm. To a person who had previously heard nothing of the Hampton Beach project it was not a proper presentation for of course it did not specify that this was a tentative program or that the Chamber would

not be bound by its details. Such lines as "American Youth Hostel personnel for sleeping facilities" or "visiting pros to talk in coffee houses" or "teen-clubs" disturbed many citizens.

The purpose of the meeting in Salomon's office was not so much to change the program as to clarify it for the coming directors meeting. I distinctly remember someone's saying "This white sheet is killing us. Whatever we do let's make the revision a different color for whatever psychological value it will have." Thus did the second version come to be known as the "pink sheet".

The actual revisions in the outline were slight. Detailed references to the design of the building were omitted as was the comment in reference to spreading the crowd. The term "visiting pros" was revised to "visiting personalities" and the reference to coffee houses was deleted.

The group felt that it would be better to have Preston make the presentation of the outline at the coming meeting since he was a regular beach businessman and a member of the directors, in view of increasing criticism of TAR as a group of outsiders. Through the summer Preston played an important role in finding a consensus acceptable to the program and to the community, and his ability to strike a compromise is well-known and regarded. At this meeting he argued strongly that since the directors had already clearly indicated their opposition to commercially competitive elements in the TAR program it would be wisest not to insist on teen clubs or coffee houses at the possible expense of the other program elements. Accordingly it was agreed at this point that no food or games such as pool or ping-pong would be permitted in the youth center, that it would be essentially a youth headquarters rather than a pavilion; as noted above, coffee houses were dropped from the program at this point and, although teen clubs remained on the agenda, they were quickly discarded thereafter.

#### TAR COMMITTEE EXPANSION SOUGHT

The next meeting of note was the May 3rd TAP-TAR conference called to establish better lines of communication between the committees and to rework the Spaulding Potter fund application. While complete minutes of the meeting are included in

the addenda, several principal viewpoints can be summarized here: There was expressed a need for more beach operatives to be involved in TAR's planning to include in policy making those with a financial stake in the beach. The question was raised whether the programs contemplated could effectively deal with young people on the beach without bringing in additional youngsters who might compound the problem.

Specific issues raised concerning the program itself were the question of business competition and the danger of preferential treatment of various rooming house operators if a lodging referral service were set up.

Members of the committees agreed with the two suggestions of Chairman James Fallon which might correct difficulties in communication and problems of protocol.

First, Fallon would recommend to the directors that the TAR Sub-committee be reconstituted as a full committee of the Chamber and that its major policy decisions be subject to the approval of the directors; second, he would recommend that President Vanderpool add three new members to the TAR Committee to balance it more evenly with beach operatives.

#### LATE ARRIVAL OF DIRECTORS SIGNIFICANT

In the discussion it was also noted that some of the misunderstanding about TAR resulted from the fact that several of the directors had only recently returned from Florida and had not been informed of the steps which saw the development of the TAP Committee and the subsequent growth of the TAR program. This point should indeed not be overlooked. Of the 36 directors of the Chamber, probably 20 to 24 are active and regular participants at meetings. Of this group eight were away from Hampton Beach during the winter and early spring months. Two returned April 20, two returned April 27, and four others were not back until the May 4 meeting which concluded the discussions on the Spaulding Potter application.

#### MAJOR POLICY MEETING

This meeting was a long and lively one, and its tenor is best suggested by the reproduction of the minutes which follow below. In anticipation of the public interest which

had been aroused, the directors scheduled the meeting for the auditorium on the second floor of the Hampton Beach Fire Station. The minutes note that there were "about one hundred visitors" present and perhaps the number was even larger.

Great credit should go to President Vanderpool for his deft chairmanship of this meeting. The size of the crowd and its initial inclination to be critical could have resulted in a chaotic conclusion of the TAR program then and there had it not been for Vanderpool's insistence on an orderly presentation of all the facts and all the viewpoints.

Minutes of the meeting of Board of Directors of the Hampton  
Beach Chamber of Commerce

Fire Station Hall  
May 4, 1965  
Hampton Beach, N. H.

Meeting called to order by President Vanderpool at 8:05 pm with the following directors present: Batterbury, Bragg, Cann, Doherty, John Dineen, Joe Dineen, Downer, Gerald Dunfey, John P. Dunfey, Fallon, Flynn, Foley, Fuller, Gagne, Goding, Harris, Henneka, King, McCurdy, McLane, Preston, Ring, Ross, Salomon, Trefatter, Cunningham, Stone, Vannostrand, and Secretary Elliot. About one hundred visitors were present.

Vanderpool waived the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting.

He told of the work of the Directors since last Labor Day. He mentioned the organization of TAP and TAR and the Governor's Commission, headed by Judge Blandin. He said the approach of TAP he considered was "the Tough Approach". He mentioned the various laws, which are being asked for through the State Legislature, as well as the increase in both State and local police assistance.

Vanderpool explained TAR is to work with boys and girls who come to Hampton and endeavor to convince the good teen agers to stay on the right side of the law, expressing this as an imaginary line.

He spoke of Dr. Rosenthal from Washington and the Federal Grant for a study of the youth problems, which are increasing nationwide, and explained that the grant was forth coming from President Kennedy's committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Problems.

The President then introduced chairman of the TAP Committee, Fallon, who said Senator Hunter was the former chairman and credited Hunter, President Vanderpool with much work and actual progress towards the solution of this problem. He said the Chamber of Commerce could not solve the matter but only suggest, recommend, and endeavor to convince others to do so. Governor



King, he said, will establish State Police Headquarters at the Hampton Beach Sea Shell. The State Police are already working at Hampton Beach weekends. He continued the TAP committee agreed to push budgets for all requests of the police department, to work on various laws, to show their willingness to help in the passage of the State Police budget and to carefully release publicity, which is to be handled by Robert Preston, a member of TAP, TAR and the Governor's Commission.

He said the State has been requested to authorize the Selectmen, with approval of the Town Meeting, to make ordinances and give them similar authority to that enjoyed by City Officials.

Fallon said he has sat in on the Blandin Commission which has not yet rendered a complete proposal, but has gone along with the TAP recommendations in many cases. He said it was learned that many of the things TAP wants to accomplish can be done by laws all ready on the books, which have been pointed out to the TAP chairman and the Town Manager by the Blandin Commission.

One new law, being asked for, is the increase of fines for misdemeanors from \$25.00 to \$100.00 maximum fine. He said we are asking for regulatory restrictions on renters of property. We have backed a bill on the reduction of the Juvenile age limit.

He closed by stating he would like to recommend procedure for TAP-TAR communications which were voted upon by the combined committees the day before.

President Vanderpool next introduced Richard Stone, told those present that he is a young man, living in Hampton for about five years with his wife and family of three children; one who is vitally interested in the Youth of our country; has served on a commission of human relations; spent 24 hours at the Hampton Beach Sea Shell during the 1964 riots; and that he is an airlines pilot for Northeast Air Lines.

Stone praised the work of President Vanderpool and Chairman of TAP Fallon, then told of the work TAR hoped to accomplish. He said the Federal Grant has been authorized so that the professional experts working on TAR may find out who the youngsters are that come to Hampton Beach. Why they are here, etc. He then explained the accounting procedures, that all bills will be paid by vouchers signed by Stone, checks made out and bookkeeping handled by a CPA in Exeter. All checks and vouchers are to be okayed and signed by President Vanderpool.

Stone said Rev. Manning Van Nostrand has been loaned by his church to handle the job of Community Coordinator. Van Nostrand has a Masters degree in Philosophy. He has received permission of the Bishop of his Church to carry out the necessary work. Mr. Paul Estever, Stone said, will act as Youth Coordinator, having left a position he has held for the past seven years as Editor of Profiles Magazine to do this work.

Advisors of the TAR group include, Dr. William Kvaraceus, Tufts University; Dr. Helen Kenney, Research Professor at Harvard; and Dr. Palmer, University of New Hampshire Dean of Psychology.

He said TAR's policies are threefold: first Research and Report; second Coordinating the Community into one society of responsible citizens and business people, who can control and conduct themselves in a worthy manner; third to Coordinate Youth Activities to the point where youth will accept responsibility and will govern themselves towards good citizenship.

He said the Federal funds are mostly for personnel, office material, etc. He then explained that TAR is now asking the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce for approval, so that TAR may apply for a grant from the Spaulding Potter Foundation of Concord, New Hampshire, an organization which has seen fit to take a great interest in the Hampton Beach problem.

Stone then passed out a prospectus of how the funds might be used. He explained that the suggested program is only tentative, but that in order to apply for the funds we must tell the Foundation in general terms why we need them.

The president then asked Preston to express himself, as he has lived with the situation and been a member of all committees and the Governor's Commission since Labor Day.

Preston said as he sees the present recommendations of TAP and TAR this is a two-pronged approach toward the solution of our problem. He said his job is to coordinate all factions, including local and State police, National Guard, TAP and TAR, and the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce.

Preston went through the prospectus, explaining in detail the reason the Youth Center building is needed, where it might be located, and included among the issues that it would stand as a symbol of Youth and an organization, perhaps similar to a

Junior Chamber of Commerce Group. It could be a message center, where parents could contact those who wish to register, a place for the dispensing of permits for late hour workers in case of a curfew; possible housing services to assist the Hostelry owner and youth to find suitable quarters, at reasonable rates, particularly those working on the beach.

Recreation facilities, he said, would not be included in the building but it might be possible for carefully scheduled events at certain non-busy times of the week, or the day, could be permitted, such as ball playing on the beach during the hours of calisthenics.

The posting of rules and regulations could be a part of this center, where the youths themselves would actually do the work of registering and other activities, uplifting the beach and being of assistance to the State Police. He stressed that this would not be a hangout but rather a place of business. A teenagers office with proper management.

He said the Chamber of Commerce is short of funds for their program and possibly part of the \$10,000.00 could be used to augment the Chamber program this season, provided it was entertainment pointed at teens.

President Vanderpool called on Harris to speak as a Precinct Commissioner. Harris stated flatly that he does not go along with anything that goes on here tonight. He said he might consider a building provided it could be given to the Precinct after the season for the youth of Hampton Beach to use year round. He was opposed to taking care of kids at Hampton Beach and felt there was only one way to handle some of the "Jerks" who come to Hampton. He concluded by saying he was tired and did not think he would stay to listen to the balance of the program, urging all present to turn down all of the TAR proposals.

The president then introduced Noel Salomon, Selectman, who said Selectman Hackett asked him to state for him that the Chamber of Commerce should not lobby in Concord and should not take the power away from the Board of Selectmen.

Salomon continued, however, he and Mr. Trofatter felt quite differently about the matter. Force and force alone will never solve our problem. We have had the publicity and we are going

to get people here whether we want them or not. You can't expect to bring 5000 individuals together, young or old, with nothing to do and not expect trouble.

Don King, reporting from the legislative level, said that the requested bills of TAP are being worked on, but some have not as yet even been written.

Vanderpool asked Stone to introduce Dr. Si Rosenthal of Washington, D. C. Dr. Rosenthal thanked president for the invitation to come. He spoke of the application being received by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, stating it was the first time ever that such a request had been made. He said it was also the first time that funds have ever been granted, and the first time in history that funds have been designated to any Chamber of Commerce. Whatever the Chamber of Commerce decides to do with these funds he said they can do, within certain limitations. He spoke on other area problems, which varied somewhat, as well as a variety of solutions. "America's Youth, he said, are in trouble and we adults have a job to do. These kids are going to be us very soon and we are going to have to deal with them."

"Seaside, Oregon, National Guardsmen were resisted violently, even at the point of their bayonets, and the night following their riot the Youth came back and did \$5,000.00 damage to one building alone. On the other hand Ft. Lauderdale had no riot. He believed because Police worked out a relationship with the Youth. I have worked all my life with young folks, old people and individuals from all walks of life. I believe we must let Youth of today express themselves, but we must not let them do anything they want to do. We must somehow communicate with them. These might be your kids or mine."

Dr. Rosenthal continued, "Something is happening in our Country, today, that we can not understand. What makes it possible for these "kooks" to lead others and other intelligent teenagers to follow them, to charge into loaded shotguns. If it was a war we would say they are wonderful. We now say they can't be that bad. If they are that bad we are in worse trouble than we were last Labor Day."

"We must not play tiddle winks with them. There are those who are now planning for 4th of July and Labor Day, but I am willing to wager the planners are in the great minority. One solution

may be to keep them out illegally. We do not know whether this program will work or not, but we are dealing with the lives of people. Tradition is being broken at Hampton and no place in this country is today the same as it was ten years ago. Society has changed, kids have cars, buzz radios at their ears, and we have trouble understanding it."

"These kids have no place at Hampton Beach, but neither do they have any place at Boston, or Cape Cod, or anywhere else. People resent change and everywhere things are changing. We try to hold on to something we don't have anymore. Watch out, the kids might take up the cudgel the day after the Fourth or the day after Labor Day. Resentment has risen in us against them and in them against us. We can control them by using National Guardsmen and all types of force, but it seems to me as we talk about "kooks", perhaps we ought to look at ourselves, and consider the kind of greeting kids receive when they get here".

Dr. Rosenthal said he did not intend to become embroiled in whether or not the TAR program should be tried at Hampton Beach but that he believed something different must be tried if Hampton is to succeed in coping with this drastic situation.

Chief Paul Leavitt was then introduced by President Vanderpool and he told of the outstanding improvement in the Hampton Police force, working with the State Police and in combination with the National Guard. He spoke of having the assistance and advice of men, such as the County Psychologist from Dade County, Florida, and Sergeant of the Los Angeles, California, Police, who will be in Hampton to instruct our policemen in all the best and latest methods to cope with violence and law enforcement.

Leavitt said, "I imagine you would like to know where I stand". The Police Department will be 1st. A law enforcement unit, with the State County and Local officers. There has been a fourteen weeks training school, which ends tomorrow. Phase two will be started immediately and includes a training course, paid for by the United States Government, and administered by the International Police Chiefs Association. Never before has any community in this country had the opportunity to have such outstanding training as is available to the Hampton Police officer, now.

All police will work with the community to prevent riots, as

well as, to stop it and quickly if it starts. He stated that he went on record as being in favor of the best efforts and plans of both TAP and TAR. He will, however, veto any program or act, if he truly believes it necessary. The day of "Wine and Roses" is over at Hampton Beach, but he would not be foolish enough to think we can take a shot gun out on the beach and have these kids disappear.

A question and answer period followed. Henneka stated, at Ocean City, Maryland, a riot had been dispersed by the use of hundreds of police dogs. Mrs. Schuck asked if it was possible to have a choice between TAP and TAR. Vanderpool said at a later date a mass meeting will be scheduled for the purpose of the public expressing their opinions and the committees explaining their activities.

Dineen said he had not been named as a member of TAR, but that he had been recently appointed to the committee. He felt it was unusual that a business man of his long standing and interest in the beach had not been called upon to express his opinion. He said "I stand halfway between Mr. Salomon's beliefs and those of Ralph Harris. I do not want to have four or five people from the Town of Hampton come down to Hampton Beach and tell us how to cope with our problem".

Vanderpool immediately made public apology for not having recognized Dineen, before, saying he hoped Dineen would consider his apology, if he felt one necessary.

Mr. Munroe said he didn't think we should try to work with the kids. Bill Dunfey said when we have beach erosion at Hampton Beach, we bring in an expert and the Engineering Corp. We might make a few changes in their recommendation, but basically we feel they know the answer to the problem. Why, then, don't we listen to the experts in Sociology and Psychology in the fields necessary to deal with the situation such as ours. The real gap we are trying to bridge is something like this - Do we really believe what we learn in school and in Church? Mr. Dunfey concluded saying he was strongly in favor of TAP and TAR.

Mr. Henneka urged that someone contact Ocean City, Maryland.

Robinson said he came to the meeting with a lot of wrong ideas. He had been listening to rumors all week and that now he had heard the proposals of the various committees, he would like to go on record as favoring these plans already made.

Another business lady asked if any of those on the TAR Committee had actually seen the riots at Hampton Beach. Elliot explained that he was a member of TAR Committee and had seen all riots at Hampton Beach, including 48 hours of continuous work during the 1964 version; that all three of the local men, Van Nostrand, Stone and Estever had spent 24 hours of the worst time of 1964 riot at Hampton Beach. He went on to say that perhaps none of the ideas we have will work, but I would not be guilty of not trying them.

He stressed that this was a nationwide problem, that this group in Hampton, New Hampshire, are endeavoring, not only, to help themselves, but to assist the United States of America, in coming up with a plan of action that can be used wherever such activities occur.

President Vanderpool asked for a show of hands in favor and opposed to the work of the committees and the vote was overwhelmingly in favor.

After a few further questions and answers and short discussion, the visitors left the meeting and the Board of Directors were asked to make a decision on whether or not the application should be forwarded to the Spaulding Potter Foundation.

It was stressed by both Preston and President Vanderpool that the proposal for a program was tentative and that all the directors were asked to do at this time was to authorize TAR to make the application.

Cunningham moved and McCurdy seconded, TAR be authorized to apply to the Spaulding Potter Foundation for the amount mentioned in the proposal sheet, which becomes a part of these records. Cann asked for a "Yes" "No" ballot. The president agreed but John Dunfey said he could see no reason why a show of hands could be objected to, that it was getting late and everyone was tired, a lot of time could be saved by not using a "Yes" "No" ballot. The vote was taken by a show of hands, a few directors present refrained from voting. There was one vote in opposition. The motion passed as stated overwhelmingly.

The meeting immediately adjourned at 11:15 P. M.

Respectfully submitted

Bill Elliot, Sec.

The final, formal version of the Spaulding Potter application is included in the Addenda and represents a fairly clear statement of the purposes and details of the Hampton Beach Project as it was conceived at that date. The series of debates leading up to the approval for this application served effectively to clarify for the community and for the directors the direction the TAR program was taking. Although the debates had dealt with concepts embraced in a funding application rather than with specific program details, when the actual details of the initial program were presented two weeks later the directors approved them almost in entirety.

#### TAR EXPANDED - PROGRAM PRESENTED

At the May 11th directors meeting Fallon's two motions -- to make TAR a full committee, responsible to the directors, and to add three new members -- were accepted. New members appointed by President Vanderpool were John Dineen, John Foley, a beach businessman and precinct commissioner, and George Downer, owner of businesses both at Hampton and Hampton Beach. At the May 17th meeting of the TAR Committee and at the May 18th meeting of the directors, the following program outline for the young people was presented. Having learned our lesson over the difficulties with the white sheet, this time we passed out no mimeographed outlines but prepared a poster large enough so that its lettering could be seen across the floor of the meeting. With the exception of the American Youth Hostel item, which was deferred for subsequent discussion, the program outline was accepted virtually without debate by the directors.

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| May 15:      | Open temporary headquarters  |
| May 16 - 22: | Early youth membership drive<br>Hire four more full time workers for summer<br>Meeting: Adult-youth committee<br>Start fund raising<br>Start high school assembly program<br>Interview schedules - first filing May 20 |
| May 23 - 29: | Youth committees: research, programs, beach<br>rules, ad hoc committees, etc.<br>On-beach research - fact finding (volunteers)<br>Job clearing-house   |



I-D cards  
 Recreation consultant  
 Conference of youth and police - start  
 American Youth Hostel program

May 30 - June 5: Start Youth Center Building  
 Establish July 4 program

June 6 - 12: Program # 1 -- Hoot, June 6  
 Hire final 2 full time workers  
 Interview Schedule final filing - June 12

June 13 - 19: Interview schedules -- data processing  
 Youth Newspaper - start

The high school program mentioned under the heading "May 16" was to be a series of talks and conferences by me and possibly other volunteers to acquaint young people in surrounding communities with our project and the image of the Beach which was hopefully changing. Unfortunately, there was never time to attempt this scheme.

In making my presentation to the directors I stressed the fact that July 4th should properly be a dress rehearsal for Labor Day weekend and that not only should plans for the July 4th weekend be shaped up as quickly as possible but also a series of other smaller programs -- of which the June 6th hootenanny would be the first -- were necessary experimental steps to establish what could be successfully attempted by way of program within the limits of safety.

Further perusal of the TAR meeting minutes for May show that by the 24th we had received word that the Spaulding Potter application had been denied, since the fund's directors felt that there was danger in over-financing projects like ours. Although we could tell ourselves that the various debates over the approval of the application had served the purpose of clarifying for the community the direction of the project, we were still in the serious position of being virtually without funds for a building and for entertainment program, particularly for the holiday weekends. In subsequent weeks we explored the possibility of everything from a circus tent on up in the area of building. However at that time we also continued the search for program funds; both the Rockefeller Foundation and

New Hampshire's Economic Opportunity Office were consulted, with inconclusive results, and finally it became apparent that the only source of funds would be from the community itself which, C of C fund-raising attempts had shown, offered a limited potential.

Conditional approval for the TAR Committee to attempt to raise funds was given by the Chamber of Commerce directors with the stipulation that the committee consult the Chamber officers to be sure that our efforts and theirs were not to be at cross purposes. In any case it was felt that any TAR solicitations should be deferred until after the early June Chamber of Commerce presentation of its "Fair Share" subscription and membership program.

Final TAR policy items considered in late May were the question of the American Youth Hostel program, which was deemed inadvisable, and the realignment of the budget so that the \$1000 for the IACP-training program could be paid out of the line item allocated to project consultants.

Even at this date there was some question of the validity of spending several thousand dollars for consultation. Unfortunately one local newspaper item had taken the line that common sense was all that was needed and that professors were a lot of window dressing. To the embarrassment of everyone the salary figure for one consultant was incorrectly quoted to be something in excess of \$30,000. One TAR member raised the question whether one consultant could do in the place of three, thus saving money for other efforts. The obvious answers were that the consultants were drawing no such astronomical figures as indicated and that each was a specialist in his own right and would contribute an added dimension to the research design.

One final item in the TAR minutes should be noted: Daniel Maloney, principal of the high school, stated strongly that the stringent police practices of these spring weeks had antagonized many young people with whom he came in contact. He noted that the attitude of the high school students through the fall had been fairly solidly behind the police but that restrictions now in effect were engendering a spirit of hostility from local young people -- "not just the punks, but my school leaders." The notation in the minutes says simply, "No action was taken regarding police activities, and their actions were both defended and criticized."

Through the month of May and into June the several sub-committees of TAR for civic and volunteer action met a number of times and made some steps toward concrete progress. In the case of all these volunteer committees there was initially required a period of orientation and subsequent general discussion which on occasion was time consuming. Frequently such committees draw strong minded individuals with private theories and solutions of their own. One individual, for instance, felt that it was of prime importance in solving Hampton's problems to conduct a campaign to remove prurient literature from the news stands. Another person was prepared to take a group of youngsters, dress them in blankets, send them to the beach with guitars, get them arrested, and fight the case through to the Supreme Court if necessary in an attempt to discover where the line lay between conventional and preventative law enforcement. Counter arguments that the case might well be won but that the solution in terms of community action might be lost were not entirely sufficient to dampen the individual's enthusiasm.

#### COMMUNITY COMMITTEES

In theory the function of the various volunteer committees was to educate and involve as many persons from the business and lay communities as possible in the riot problem, to establish the fact that the riots were indeed a community problem of a social nature which demanded understanding and correction of attitudes in people of all ages.

Specifically the Civic Committee under Mr. Van Nostrand planned to break itself down into five sub-committees:

- A. Business practices committee -- to arbitrate disputes between young people and business operators and to hear grievances from both groups in regular informal sessions, perhaps over breakfast or coffee.
- B. Housing committee -- to organize a list of property owners, inform the owners when disturbances might arise in one of their properties during his absence, and in a variety of ways to bring social pressure to bear upon irresponsible landlords.
- C. Research committee -- to help administer the Beach Business Attitude Survey and to help tabulate its results.

- D. Beach observation committee -- four to six people to circulate the beach on weekends and peak week nights recording in a systematic way their observations.
- E. Parent-to-parent letter writing committee -- to inform parents of out-of-town youths when their children were arrested at Hampton and to express the concern of the community over the problem.

An additional committee of persons working directly with youth planned to supply volunteers for various youth programs, to help with fund raising, and to carry on an extensive press clipping function whose results would be collected in a cumulative scrapbook.

Also in line of community action Van Nostrand contacted the Massachusetts Council of Churches in a final effort to carry out the TAR Committee's charge of seeing that sermons on the subject of youth responsibility were preached. The Council of Churches also expressed tentative interest in sponsoring a coffee house or some sort of other recreational program at Hampton Beach but was ultimately unable to carry through its intentions for lack of funds.

#### RESEARCH PLANNING

Under the heading of research planning during May, the interview schedule for '64 riot arrestees was completed in its final form early in the month (see Addenda for copy). During these weeks the consultants also made a number of trips to Hampton Beach for personal observation of the activity and inspection of the youth and adult cultures there, to assist them in designing the interview schedules to be used during the summer.

By May 10th groups of interviewers from the University of New Hampshire, Tufts and St. Anselm's had undergone training sessions with the interview for Labor Day arrestees. The list of names of those arrested was broken down as systematically as possible and teams of interviewers were sent to get in touch with them. Names of persons south of Massachusetts were dismissed as impracticable, but we hoped to be able to contact arrestees in the Springfield, Worcester, greater Boston, North

Shore, and Merrimac Valley areas, along with a good number from New Hampshire communities. An initial estimate for cost of time and travel showed that interviews would run to approximately \$6.00 apiece, which the budget would adequately support.

However the first attempts to contact arrestees was discouraging. Some of the addresses were incorrect or the respondent would be away from home at school or at work. Even more disheartening was the reaction of the respondents themselves and especially their families. Many of them had found their contact with Hampton and the courts understandably disagreeable; they wanted nothing more to do with any representative of Hampton Beach at whatever level. One man tore up the interview and handed it back to the worker. Another worker was almost bodily ejected from one house. In still another instance a woman did not realize her daughter had been detained and warned by the Hampton police and the emotional explosion following the discovery made all hopes of an interview impossible.

Initial results from first attempts to carry through the survey showed that costs were running from \$14 to \$20 per interview and that the time required to reach an adequate sample of arrestees would not be available to the workers, who were themselves restricted by academic responsibilities. For this reason it was agreed that the interviews should be given not only to arrestees but to any young people we could contact who had been closely involved in the 1964 riot.

Also in May, Manning Van Nostrand submitted the final draft of the theoretical base which delineated the leading questions to be asked and hopefully answered by the demonstration and research. Further discussion of this document will be found in Mr. Van Nostrand's summary of the research data.

At a conference in Boston on May 21st Van Nostrand and Dr. Kvaraceus consulted with Seymour Rosenthal, Dr. Israel Gerver and Dr. Jack Otis of the Division of Juvenile Delinquency to shape the research design for the summer and to review in detail some of the specific interview schedules and questions to be used therein. It was stressed by the Juvenile Delinquency representatives that the function of the research in this project was to evaluate the demonstration phase of the work and the response and possible change of attitude in the community as the demonstration phase progressed. It was also

stressed that, unlike other departments, the Division of Juvenile Delinquency adhered to a concept of "aggressive consultation" with grantees, following its projects closely and actively advising as policy and methodology were developed. A complete schedule of data gathering instruments will be found in the section concerning itself with the month of June.

#### YOUTH WORK AND PLANNING

Organizational youth work through May progressed rapidly. In an early May meeting with the paid workers I indicated that, while I was perfectly willing to discuss program ideas and theories with them, the ultimate decisions would have to be my responsibility, that I would proceed on the best advice I could obtain from our project consultants and from Washington, taking into consideration the needs and desires expressed by the young people themselves, and we decided to let it go at that.

The weekend of May 8th saw some further contact with young people on the beach, but unfortunately the offer of a store on C Street had been withdrawn in the course of the debate over the Spaulding Potter application.

The same week I had the opportunity to talk at length with James Clark, a 22-year old Air Force man who lived year round at Hampton Beach. He described himself as a beach leader, a party giver, and stated that he had a following of 300 to 1000 young people.

Many of the program ideas under consideration in the TAR Committee jibed with those Clark now offered -- naturally enough since we both had gone to the young people themselves as a source. However, when I spoke in terms of a youth building and some sort of loose organization, he was dubious of its success. Specifically, he spoke of his following as a clique and warned that any sort of outside organization superimposed on the beach society could very well be shunned by the beach regulars.

He stressed rather strongly the sort of parties he and his friends had had in previous years, frequently away from Hampton Beach. These were luaus with much food and beer and noise and obviously a certain amount of sex play -- hardly

the sort of program TAR was about to embrace. He saw his own role for the coming summer as a sort of mediator between the youth and the police, under which he would intercede on behalf of young people who were arrested and take them under his own brand of protective supervision.

Over the summer a number of us came to know Jimmy Clark quite well. He was a mixed blessing - well intentioned and energetic, and certainly with a wide acquaintance among the young people on the beach. Without his help the organization which subsequently came into being could not have grown nearly as quickly.

On the other hand, the parties of which he spoke with pride had not endeared him to the adult beach community. Several times they had drawn the attention of the police, and finally he agreed to call a moratorium on party giving, at least within the confines of the town of Hampton, for the season. In addition he had an unfortunate way of talking out of turn. Once, for instance, he said that he and Police Chief Paul Leavitt were buddies and that Leavitt would do anything to help him out, and the Chief nearly threw him off the beach. Several other times similar statements got him into similar predicaments, and only the active part he had played in the youth organization saved him from the ire of police or other officials.

In any case on this evening of our first meeting I made it clear to him that the TAR program could not be bound by or identified with any clique, that the effort, if it were to be successful, had to be community wide and involve not only young people but adults, that no one individual, however popular or powerful, could hope to achieve the goal by himself. His pragmatic response was that the clique existed and could not be ignored but that he would do his best to help in the establishment of the TAR program.

All of us were aware, of course, of the validity of some of his statements -- that if the TAR program workers, adult or youth, paid or volunteer, were branded as finks or do-gooders, we would be ignored by the "regular kids." We could not hope to reach severe neurotics or hard-core troublemakers, but without the help of these regular kids -- ordinarily law abiding to a reasonable extent, but potential followers when a riot got under way -- our program could be largely ineffectual.

On May 11 the lieutenant who served as state police liaison with the TAR Committee and the youth project, came to my home, and we conferred for perhaps two and a half hours. I explained to him the history and growth of the project concepts, and we went over in detail the program elements immediately coming up, including the youth center building and a possible hootenanny to be organized subsequent to exploratory conferences between young people and representatives of both state and town police.

The lieutenant was fully cooperative. He said that his personal philosophy concurred with the TAP-TAR program and that he felt it would be healthy to provide young people the opportunity to engage in activities of their own and to provide their own controls so that direct police supervision would not be necessary. He said that he felt most young people were decent if given half a chance and that he was delighted to see an effort like the Hampton Beach Project under way. While he could not speak for Colonel Regan, he said he would keep the colonel posted on our plans as they progressed and that he himself would be available to us whenever we needed him.

I told him quite candidly that I hoped the stringent police measures then in effect at Hampton Beach could be somewhat relaxed as the young people demonstrated step by step their ability to supervise themselves. He agreed that the measures were stringent but said that until a new atmosphere could be developed the police had no choice but to be tough, and we discussed various incidents of the past two weeks in the light of this viewpoint. One important point of agreement was that police action is often misunderstood by the casual onlooker, particularly so in a situation like that at Hampton Beach; therefore a valuable function of a youth organization could be to interpret such misunderstandings, to be a two-way channel of communication through which police and the young people could come to understand each other better.

#### YOUTH HEADQUARTERS OPENED WEEKENDS

During that same week we obtained the loan of a store for our temporary headquarters at the beach through the generosity of George Downer. It was an excellent location, on the corner of Ocean Boulevard and A Street, well-lighted and



about 30' by 70' in size. Borrowing some plank tables and some chairs from the Methodist Church and from several private individuals, we opened up for business for about two hours on the afternoon of Sunday, May 16th. There were three of us -- one worker from UNH, one adult volunteer and myself. Bearing in mind the various failures to find an organizational name, we put up a sign that said simply "The Project -- Temporary Headquarters." The effect was the desired one, unpretentious but sufficient to arouse the curiosity of the passer-by.

In the course of that two hours we were able to entice perhaps 30 young people to come in to talk. Invariably their first complaint was about police restrictions and our response was, in effect, that if they didn't like it then it was up to them to do something about it. We reminded them that the police are a military organization acting on orders, that the orders came from the community, and that the community perfectly understandably felt that vigilant police work was in order. Hampton had suffered through a war the previous Labor Day, and they weren't about to let it happen again.

The young people agreed that a beach resort is a place where one supposedly goes to have fun and that things had become pretty bad when the community's only choice was to establish a state of armed truce. Obviously the conclusion, then, was somehow to return to a normal state of peace.

The community had taken the first step toward the restoration of peace, we pointed out, by virtue of our presence in this store. Through our efforts the community was offering youth the opportunity to establish and organize some sort of a responsible body, and it was up to that body to take the second step, if they wished to have restored the privileges now lost to them. Responses varied from enthusiasm to doubt, but when we closed business for the day we had the names and vital statistics of more than 25 young people in our 3 X 5 card file. Specifically we asked for address, phone number, date of birth and the frequency with which they visited the beach.

On May 19th I met again with the state police liaison lieutenant at the Concord Armory and went over with him in detail the five-week youth program just approved by the Chamber of Commerce directors. The lieutenant was enthusiastic and said he would apprise Colonel Regan of these facts. On the schedule specifically were a tentative hootenanny for

June 6 and an early June target date for the establishment of July Fourth plans. I described our recruitment drive of the previous weekend and said that as a first step in establishing communications between young people and police I hoped to have him and Chief Leavitt meet briefly with several of those who would be paid workers the following Sunday afternoon, May 23. The lieutenant said he would be at Hampton Beach that day and would make a point of meeting with us.

Two days later I received a phone call from Bill Elliot at the Chamber of Commerce to say that State Police Capt. Marchand, in charge of the Exeter division and thus Hampton, had just visited and was much upset at a rumor he had heard about a hootenanny on Hampton Beach. The captain reported that Col. Regan was similarly alarmed. I immediately phoned the liaison lieutenant who said I was not to worry and that everything would be taken care of.

#### MEMBERSHIP IN YOUTH ORGANIZATION GROWS

On the weekend of May 22 - 23, we kept our temporary headquarters store open both days approximately from 10:00 to 5:00. Both days we had the assistance of two crew members from UHH and St. Anselm's along with volunteers in the persons of Richard Hammond and my wife. The workers would go out, introduce themselves and the concept of the project, and urge respondents to come to the store to discuss the matter further. Saturday was a little slow, but by Sunday afternoon the word began to get around and young people were coming in in such large groups that we had to talk to them 20 and 30 at a time. Again there were doubts and reassurances -- and many new signatures. By the time we closed business Sunday afternoon there were 210 "members" in the as yet unnamed new youth organization.

A visitor for Sunday had been Dr. James Fyffe of Boston University School of Education, who was acting in the capacity of consultant on sports and recreation. Not only did he voice some enthusiasm about our methods and progress, but he pitched in with the afternoon's recruiting work when the traffic was heavy. A breakdown of the membership as of May 23rd showed that, of the 210 who had signed in, 144 were male and 66 were female; the age range was as follows:

<u>AGE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
13	3
14	7
15	23
16	29
17	56
18	29
19	8
20	6
21	1
22	1

The geographical breakdown of the group was as follows: Local (within 20 miles) - 70; Merrimack Valley (Mass.) - 61; Central New Hampshire - 26; Central Mass. - 18; Greater Boston - 9; miscellaneous - 5.

For the scheduled late afternoon conference between the workers and the police I had asked several of the workers who had been tied up with exams to come down specifically between the hours of four and five. During Sunday morning and again in the afternoon I checked several times with state police troopers at the beach to see whether the liaison lieutenant was in the vicinity. No one knew for sure, but it was thought that he was in Hanover. When five o'clock came, Chief Leavitt appeared and talked with the workers, but the liaison lieutenant never arrived.

Since it now appeared that there was somewhere a breakdown in communications between the project and the state police, I phoned Col. Regan and made an appointment to meet him twenty minutes before the Blandin Commission convened at the State House early the following week.

## SEARCH FOR CONSENSUS WITH STATE POLICE

When we met, he immediately announced that he was totally opposed to the project's concept of entertainment for the young on the beach. He stated he was admittedly prejudiced but he felt that it was not feasible to undertake such a project after the beating his men had taken last year. For several minutes then we went over our previous conversation and agreements and I emphasized that any such programs would be taken step by step and expanded only as experience indicated it was safe to do so. In the end the colonel agreed "It might work" and suggested we place the matter before the Blandin Commission that morning.

At this time the Blandin Commission had plenty of other work at hand. The first draft of their lengthy report and recommendations was before them for review and revision. For something more than three hours on this day those members present went through the draft line by line striving for clarity and consensus. Not until long past what should have been the lunch hour did they have an opportunity to consider the practical questions of program which both Colonel Regan and I were anxious to have resolved.

Colonel Regan opened the discussion by stating, as he had in the past, that although he had not sought the responsibility he nevertheless felt that the safety of Hampton Beach rested solely with him and that he was dubious about the TAR program.

I in turn reviewed the concepts of the TAR Committee and its program and described our meetings with young people in recent weeks, presenting at the same time the breakdown of membership to that date. I indicated that the response of the young people to the idea of an organization through which they might demonstrate their responsibility and regain some lost privileges had been accepted with enthusiasm and that I felt to falter at this stage could severely cripple the program's progress. Most of the subsequent dialogue on this matter was between one member of the Commission and myself.

He stated that he personally disliked the idea of bargaining with young people for their good behavior and he felt that they should demonstrate their willingness not to cause trouble for a certain interim before any programs were attempted -- at least until after the Fourth of July. My response was that the

young people to whom I had talked equally disliked the idea of bargaining for what they felt were their constitutional rights at a public beach and that my answer to both viewpoints was that this is not a question of bargaining either for rights or for good behavior, but rather a search for understanding and good will on the part of both the adults and the youth communities. I noted that it seemed to be generally agreed that July 4th should be used as a test weekend for Labor Day and that if this was to be done there would need to be several smaller projects tried before July 4th weekend to determine what programs could be effective and safe.

When the Commission member asked me whether or not I had promised the young people a hootenanny for June 6, I said that I had not promised the young people anything but I had been given encouragement to believe that, if a conference of police and young people could clear the way for activities such as a hootenanny, it would be seriously considered. I went on to say that the Chamber of Commerce had cleared this program element and, further, that the lieutenant who had been assigned the responsibility of liaison had given me no reason to believe that there would be any opposition to it by the state police.

When various other members of the group joined in the discussion, the consensus was that it was not the function of the Elandin Commission to determine what should or should not be specific program elements -- that these decisions should be made by the community and the various police departments. They indicated their hope that the colonel and the TAR Committee could come to an agreement on these matters, and we agreed to do our best. After the meeting the colonel suggested that I call him next morning to make an appointment for later that week.

When I did so, I was told that he was out for the day. A little uncertain what step I should take next, I conferred with Richard Stone and Chief Paul Leavitt, reviewing for them the events of the previous day. Leavitt's comment on that and several other occasions was that as a policeman he felt no obligation to accept advice on police matters from any layman, however well-intentioned. The fact that the IACP was in support of the TAR Project and that Lt. Norman Kassoff of the IACP had been a part of the police department effort to sponsor a similar program at Fort Lauderdale was, Leavitt said, what had convinced him that such a program should be tried at Hampton Beach.

Colonel Regan, he felt, regarded lay intervention in police matters in a similar light, and since the state police at that point had not had contact with the IACP personnel their viewpoint was probably that Hampton Beach was primarily a police matter rather than a community problem. Further Leavitt noted that when I was backed into a corner I tended to push my argument too strongly, to talk too fast.

At Leavitt's suggestion, I then called Colonel Regan and said that I owed him an apology and that I tended to get carried away with my enthusiasms. He agreed that this was true but accepted the apology gracefully and agreed to meet with me and Stone at Hampton Beach the coming Friday.

Thus on Friday afternoon, May 29th, we did meet in the Colonel's car. For the benefit of Captain Marchand who was also present we went over the history of the TAR program and its hypothesis that an active organization of young people could be a deterrent through the summer and on Labor Day. We indicated that the 200-odd young people presently in the program were only a beginning and that we hoped to have 2,000 to 3,000 by the season's conclusion. Once again we apologized for any apparent unilateral planning and said we had presumed that the liaison had implied state police approval.

#### FIRST SONGFEST TENTATIVELY APPROVED

We were joined then by Chief Leavitt who indicated that he felt the TAR program should at every stage be evaluated with great caution but that he felt it would be wise to undertake the first steps at this time. After further discussion the colonel agreed to go along with a hootenanny on the beach provided it was held in a carefully restricted area well away from the so-called combat zone just north of the Seashell complex. Further, he said he would arrange to have Lt. Paul O'Leary, now in charge of the Hampton Beach area, join in a discussion with a committee from the youth organization the following Monday, May 31st.

On the morning of May 31st I again met the colonel and he stated a second time that Lt. O'Leary would be available for the afternoon's conference. A moment later I encountered Lt. O'Leary himself and repeated the colonel's conversation. Lt.

Heary said he would speak to the colonel about it.

Over the weekend of May 29-31 recruitment continued at our A Street temporary headquarters. Now in addition to one or two paid workers, along with Hammond and my wife, we found that the young people themselves were taking over the function of bringing in prospective members and explaining to them what the new organization was to do. Particularly active at this time were Jimmy Clark and several of his friends, and it was Jimmy who made a point of introducing me to Mary Flanders and Jack Derby, both in their early twenties, and both among the strongest leaders that the youth organization had through the summer.

Encouraged by our several conferences with Colonel Hegan and by similar reassurances from Chief Leavitt, these young people and I discussed at some length how the new organization should be structured and how quickly it could actually get going. It was obvious that we were growing very fast -- almost a hundred members a day.

Certainly, part of this rapid growth and quick sense of an organization shaping up was as of a result of many hours of prior discussion and planning on the part of Clark and his friends. They even had a tentative name for the organization -- CAVE -- the Committee to Avoid Violent Eruptions. Subsequent comments that the acronym was not exactly uplifting, it seemed to me, were compensated by the fact that this was the young people's own choice and that they were enthusiastic enough about it to experiment with designs and monograms and drawings of cave men and women.

At the conclusion of Saturday afternoon we agreed that if membership continued to climb as it had through this day we would be able to call a mass meeting by Sunday afternoon and be well enough organized by Monday afternoon for the conference with the police. Since we knew that Cy Rosenthal would be visiting from Washington on Sunday, we decided to ask his advice before making a final decision.

#### CAVE ESTABLISHED

Sunday was Memorial Day and turned out as warm and bright as mid-summer. During the course of the day the beach crowd grew to several thousand, in light clothing and bathing suits,

sunning themselves if not actually swimming. The braver ones paddled in the ocean.

By 2:00 pm activity in the temporary headquarters had been brisk enough and the young people were impatient enough to get going that we made our decision to have a mass meeting at four o'clock. Several announcements were put out over the Chamber of Commerce P. A. system and we sent forth as many young people as possible to spread the notice by word of mouth. As four o'clock drew near it was with some satisfaction that we watched young people drifting toward our store. An organization sprung into life hardly more than a week ago had, with a few announcements, drawn some 220 people by actual count to its first meeting.

Fairly promptly at four o'clock we called the meeting to order. Rosenthal and I both spoke briefly to describe what the organization aspired to be and what its importance was, not only to Hampton Beach but to young people across the country. We asked that any members interested in taking an active part in shaping the organization or carrying out its programs remain afterward to join one of three committees on membership and publicity, rules or program. There was to be a fourth committee to establish a name, but CAVE was accepted by acclamation in the general meeting.

#### COMMITTEE STRUCTURE OF CAVE

Immediately following the general meeting the various committees went into session to elect chairmen and other officers and to shape their work for the days immediately coming. On the following day each of the committees met one more time, then combined for an afternoon meeting with representatives of the two police forces.

The primary function of Membership and Publicity was determined to be the making up of signs and handbills, both to draw new members and to publicize whatever events CAVE might be allowed to schedule. There were poster and drawing materials to be procured, mimeographing facilities to be borrowed, and people with artistic abilities to be recruited.

The Program Committee spent much time debating the sorts of events CAVE might be able to put on with any sort of success and the locales where they might be held. Discussion ranged



over the gamut from sand-castle building and athletic events through parades, hootenannies and dances. In the end the latter two were held to be the only ones desirable and practicable. In actual fact, the term "hootenanny" was rather quickly dropped, since there were not available the professional performers with sufficient repertoire to carry off an audience participation program effectively. Instead the term songfest was used as more accurate and, as one friendly police officer suggested, less flamboyant sounding. Various members of the Program Committee were assigned the tasks of finding guitar and banjo players and singers who would come to Hampton Beach the following Sunday to lead informal singing and to perform in the event that a songfest were allowed for that date.

The matters at first considered by the Rules Committee were questions of structure, membership, and laws. After considerable debate it was decided that, at least in the foreseeable future, CAVE would have no general officers or governing body but would continue with its present loose sort of committee structure, combining the committees for important decisions when necessary. The age range for membership was established at 13 years minimum and 25 years maximum, and was held throughout the summer with a few exceptions -- inadvertent ones for the most part. The Rules Committee also worked out a rather clearly defined statement that the function of CAVE was primarily to eliminate the cause of riots rather than to eliminate riots themselves through constructive activities and a general code of reasonably lawful behavior.

There was initially a great deal of concern that a few tough kids could join the organization in the hope of evading police measures when and if they found themselves in trouble. It was feared that such individuals could rather quickly ruin CAVE's image and potential good name. Ultimately it was decided that CAVE would accept any new member who presented himself in good faith, even though he might have had past difficulties with police; however as new cases occurred involving CAVE members they would be brought before the Rules Committee for such action as was deemed necessary. Even this decision was recognized as tentative, for there was no clear consensus what disciplinary action might effectively be taken. An organization in its infancy hesitates to set up barriers to membership or regulations which would eject members, once they are recruited.

Several additional notes on committees: Although the age of CAVE members at this time and throughout the summer averaged a little less than seventeen, the early committees had a strong representation of young people in their twenties who formed a natural leadership of the organization. A few of these older people were active, at least intermittently, through the summer but several of them made a point of dropping out or simply ceased to come after the July Fourth period when they sensed they had no genuine voice in establishing policy. At the outset they were interested in the challenge of leadership they felt had been offered to them rather than in the programs as such, especially since dancing and singing were more to the interest of the teenagers. Particularly they were challenged by the concept that CAVE, in its group function, could aid the relationship between youth and adult societies and as a result moderate the regime of rigid law enforcement.

One other thing we learned rather quickly about committees was that with a few significant exceptions it was best not to load one chairman, or key member, with too much responsibility. Particularly in the casual life of a beach resort where lives were less ordered by the clock than in winter circumstances, no one individual wanted to carry the whole load, and any number of individuals might forget to appear at an appointed hour. For this reason each committee ultimately had not only a chairman but as many as two co-chairmen, any one of whom could act in the others' stead. Meetings were scheduled for late afternoon or early evening rather than morning, and oftentimes it was found easier to quiz individual committee members on a matter as we caught up with them on a corner or they dropped into headquarters, than it was to schedule a formal meeting.

#### MEETINGS WITH POLICE

However this was more characteristically true as the summer progressed than it was during the early days of CAVE's existence when everything was new and there was little other distracting activity on the beach. On the afternoon of Monday, May 31, at four o'clock the combined committees met to discuss our approach to the police representatives when they appeared at five. I assured them I had within the day contacted both state and local police and that both had promised to send representatives at the appointed hour. I also relayed to them

Chief Leavitt's request that the first songfest be held away from the combat zone, and after some consideration the committee settled on an area north of the Marine Memorial, that is to say well away from the center of the beach and the heavily populated portion of the boardwalk, but within easy walking distance of our A Street headquarters.

It was decided that the committee chairmen and vice-chairmen, about seven of the older people, would be the principal spokesmen at the outset but that the entire committee membership would be welcome to contribute once the initial presentation had been made. The store was swept, the ashtrays were emptied, the tables were arranged in a hollow square with chairs at the head reserved for the guests, and some 35 young people settled down to wait.

Five o'clock came, but no police appeared. At ten minutes past five a quick phone call to Chief Leavitt indicated that he had been momentarily tied up but was on his way. But Lt. O'Leary of the state police was nowhere to be found. None of the troopers about the beach could tell me where he was, nor did a phone call to the Exeter barracks clarify the matter. I left an urgent message reminding him of the meeting and returned to the A Street store to find Chief Leavitt waiting at the entrance. He was most reluctant to undertake the conference without the participation of the state police, but when it got to be half past five it was clear that we could wait no longer so the chief and I settled in our places and I opened the meeting for discussion.

This first direct confrontation between a police official and a representative body from a youth organization was unusually significant. Up to this point I could act as a go-between, assuring the police and community what the young people would be willing to do, and assuring the young people what the police and community would be willing to do. Now it was time for me to be still and let the various parties speak for themselves.

It was a rewarding experience. Chief Leavitt asked a good many difficult questions in the course of the next half hour, and the answers he received were direct, honest, thoughtful. The young people were deadly serious and it was wholly apparent. To open the meeting the various chairmen explained what their committees had determined, and in the course of the explanations indicated the scope and the direction of the CAVE organization,

including the hoped-for songfest the following Sunday.

Leavitt then asked them how they could guarantee that there would be no trouble if such an event was held, and their response was that there could of course be no guarantee but that they were working in a realm of probabilities, that they would do everything within their power to see that a songfest would be orderly and that the songs would be kept within limits of good taste.

What if some tough guys tried to cause trouble? They would be turned over to the authorities. If there were trouble at a first event, would the young people then understand that the scheduling of a second event would be much more difficult? Absolutely. If it were necessary for reasons as yet unseen to call off the event at the last minute, would the young people understand? Again yes.

The questions and answers continued in this vein until after six o'clock, at which time the chief said that his general inclination was to favor such a movement but that he could not make the decision without the concurrence of the selectmen, the Parks Department, and the state police, all of whom would have to be consulted. For this reason a second conference was scheduled for the following Wednesday evening in hope of fuller police representation and a more definitive conclusion.

After the chief left there were many questions. The young people were familiar enough with the beach setup to realize that without concurrence from both police departments no program could take place. What did I think of their chances? The only answer I could give was that I honestly did not know but that I would do everything I could.

#### COUNSEL FROM WASHINGTON

Shortly thereafter I placed a call to Cy Rosenthal in Washington. On this occasion and on a number of others, both before and afterward, we found that staff members of the Division of Juvenile Delinquency an invaluable aid in coping with problems both large and small. Particularly in the early stages of the Project's development, Rosenthal was a frequent visitor to the beach, and he made it a point to be available

anytime by phone. Previously he had pointed out that in projects of this nature the lay persons in charge were more inclined than not to shoulder the entire burden themselves instead of calling upon professional advice to help with problems of program and community development.

On this occasion I told Rosenthal I was up a tree. In the process of trying to establish a youth program I had forced myself on the state police to the point that I had found it necessary to apologize. Yet neither nagging nor patient waiting seemed to achieve the desired end. It seemed to me that they were obviously reluctant to see the program carried forward. Beyond going back to nag some more I couldn't see what to do.

After he had heard the details of the negotiations between the police and the project personnel for the past several weeks, Rosenthal suggested we now make the assumptions in talking with state police officials that Lt. O'Leary's absence from the conference was unavoidable, that since the state police had promised to help carry through this initial program they would continue to be of assistance. Now it would be in order to tell them that the meeting had gone well and that we had scheduled one final conference expressly because we wanted the state police to have the opportunity to participate.

Subsequent conversations with Colonel Regan and Lt. O'Leary along these lines proved effective. Both said they were glad the conference had gone well with Chief Leavitt; Lt. O'Leary explained that he had been called away to a fire and promised to be present at the coming conference the following Wednesday.

On the night of May 31st an examination of our 3 X 5 cards showed that our organization had doubled over the weekend. Total membership was 479, the average age was increasing a little, and the area representation was beginning to have the heavy Merrimack Valley concentration it continued to show through the summer. For a detailed summary of the CAVE membership for the entire summer, see Page 222a. Had we continued to pick up new members older than 18 at the rate we did over this weekend, CAVE might have been a stronger organization. Note also that at this point the proportional representation from local areas was much heavier than it was as the summer progressed.

The age range was as follows:

<u>AGE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
13	4
14	17
15	63
16	71
17	126
18	89
19	41
20	26
21	5
22	7
23	2
24	2
25	1

The geographical breakdown was as follows: Local (20-mile radius) - 176; Other New Hampshire - 60; Merrimack Valley - 202; Central Mass. - 39; Greater Boston - 26.

Although our final tally does not break our figures down by city, it was quite clear that Lowell, Massachusetts, far outstripped any other community in its representation of young people at Hampton Beach. At this time there were 87 members from the various Hamptons and 97 from Lowell.

## VI

JUNE 1 - JULY 1, 1965

The month of June was in some ways the busiest of the entire project. Everything was new, and nothing -- personnel, policy, volunteer committees, program, research, community relationships -- had settled into its normal pattern of activity, or in some cases, inactivity.

## COMMUNITY COMMITTEES

At the beginning of the month there were, at least in concept, six separate committees with separate projects calling for adult volunteer help. One project was almost immediately abandoned as impracticable, and by month's end three others were virtually out of existence. In the case of my own Youth & Adult Committee the reason was in good part lack of organization or leadership, while in other instances discouraging external pressures were brought to bear.

In retrospect one sees a variety of causative factors which could have accounted for the overall failure of the community action phase of the project:

1. Despite our attempts, through the use of communications media and community meetings, to draw wide support for the project, Hampton's uptown community was never closely involved -- indeed many of them hardly knew what was going on. If, for instance, the same sort of debate that took place at the beach over the question of the Spaulding Potter application could have been conducted on a really substantial scale, possibly at a special town meeting, then the Hampton Beach Project might truly have been the Hampton Community Project. As it was, the traditional indifference of the community toward the beach, our own inexperience in community organization, and the shortness of time made it so that the range of adult

volunteers was limited to those with a special interest in the beach, in law or community administration, or in youth -- i.e., town officials, teachers, and beach business people instead of a substantial representation of housewives, parents and average citizens, whom one might expect to find participating in the Heart Fund or the P.T.A.

2. Since the project was experimental, it was difficult to foresee what activities could be functional and effective. It is much easier to direct a fund-raising campaign than a campaign to change community climate and opinion. In some instances committees were assigned unworkable tasks; in others no committee existed where the need was vital.

3. In too many instances we depended upon men rather than women to carry committee work. Hindsight tells us what Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien knew fifteen years ago when he organized campaigns for Foster Furcolo and John Kennedy -- the male may be the stronger sex but the muscle and energy of successful community organization is feminine.

4. The tempo of community activity, both social and civic, slows in the summer. Women's coffee clubs and men's service clubs meet and function seldom if at all. Similarly, activity of the various Hampton Beach Project committees diminished.

Although the Youth-Adult Committee was fairly well attended in its first two meetings in May, its evening meetings thereafter drew very little support. Of its various functions, the news-clip project expired for lack of personnel, the money-raising effort did result in the composition of a solicitation letter mailed out by the project office, and those volunteers who appeared over a few week-ends at youth headquarters took a passive role -- with the singular exception of Richard Hammond, who accomplished more by himself than the average ten-man committee.

The Parent-to-Parent Committee was abandoned after considerable discussion for several valid reasons: names of juvenile offenders were not available; it was discovered that parents were already being contacted both by Hampton Police Department and Safety Commissioner Rhodes; and it was feared that even the most tactfully worded letter from Hampton residents would be resented by many families.



The Business Practices Committee embarked on a shaky start towards its goal of weekly breakfasts or seminars. However by the end of the month several beach business people made it quite clear that there was not time for such meetings and further that the settlement of grievances and complaints of any sort was a subject they preferred to solve without outside assistance.

A small and dedicated Beach Observation Committee did undertake to man posts on a regular basis, equipped with a schedule designed by Dr. Palmer to record the overall tone of the beach and any incidents which might take place. Since the category dealing with incidents called for a questioning of arresting officers, the chairman of the committee took a copy of the scale to the state police to ask for cooperation. One item in particular caught the eye of the lieutenant in charge. It read: "Any small disturbance should be reported. The main questions to be answered are: Who did what? What do the participants and onlookers like or dislike about the incident? Include police. For example, does the arresting officer take a quiet pride in having made the arrest?"

Shortly thereafter in the TAR Committee the matter of the Beach Observation Committee was raised by Lt. Paul O'Leary, by then a regular participant in TAR. He indicated that the Beach Incident Scale had been shown to his superiors and that the official reaction to it was negative. They could in no way assure cooperation with lay **observers** or guarantee their safety in the event of trouble. It was difficult enough to deal with tense situations surrounding an arrest without having to stop to answer questions. It was voted therewith that the Beach Observation Committee should be dropped.

A more successful committee was that on research whose function was to interview 100 people for three waves of a Business Attitude Scale through the summer. Although this committee subsequently drifted apart when its chairman concluded that the entire beach project was too controversial for his participation, its members did successfully carry through the first wave of interviews during the early part of the summer. In this process several of the interviewers performed an additional valuable missionary service in behalf of the project. Simply out of their own enthusiasm, when they encountered a respondent whose attitude toward youth or the project was antagonistic they took special pains to explain

the theory and practical application of what was being done in Hampton. One particularly aggressive interviewer was unusually successful at making new friends for the project in the course of his rounds.

In future projects where community attitude is a factor it might be well to consider the deliberate use of this device. Even if the interview to be used were very short, the personal contact could be most beneficial in drawing both support and additional active workers.

The most successful of the volunteer committees was that on housing which met a number of times well into the summer. If they were not able to take many concrete steps in correcting a complex problem of long standing, they did succeed in carefully delineating the difficulties and in pointing the way toward future steps.

As mentioned earlier many of the rental units at Hampton Beach do not meet minimum standards of the State Health and Fire Laws. In general they are clean and sanitary; where they fall short is in minimum floor or window space. Since many of the buildings at the beach are 50 to 60 years old, since the season of business is only as long as the summer, and since rental and mortgage rates on the beach are very high, it is not uncommon for property owners to divide and sub-divide existing properties in an effort to obtain maximum revenues. The practice of absentee ownership and rental through agents frequently compounds the problem, particularly in the case of cottages where some of the worst abuses exist in terms of undesirable conduct, disturbances, and the overloading of the units themselves.

As a member of the committee, Town Manager Kenneth Boehner outlined these problems for the committee and spoke of the difficulties he had encountered in trying to take corrective measures.

The following excerpts from minutes of the Housing Committee's several meetings will serve to delineate a little further both the dimensions of the problem and the dilemma of the committee in trying to cope with it:

It was agreed that persuasion will not work to try to raise the standards of beach housing; many do not care, many do not feel there is a need and all are in business to make money

during a very short season.

It was noted that police can do very little; even when called to quell a disturbance there is small chance that anybody will press charges or be willing to testify against the proprietor. Unless the proprietor is actually caught breaking a law the police can only issue a warning.

Every avenue of positive action was thoroughly discussed that could be effected this summer and each in turn had to be discarded. Of the dozen or so real trouble spots on the beach, many meet minimum standards as well as or better than dozens of others that have a reputation for being well-run; to single them out would be discriminatory for a health officer to do and the police cannot effect a general reform under existing laws. It became obvious that help from town and state laws and funds are necessary; they are not available now; that had they been given when requested much could be done this summer.

There was a general feeling that two things were accomplished at the meeting: everything that could not be done had been thoroughly investigated and could be set aside for this year, and that the town and the beach were, for perhaps the first time, working closely together with an urgent desire to cooperate and a determination to do something and do it this year.....

It was pointed out that some of the worst offenders of housing regulations on the beach are listed in the Directory of Accommodations at Hampton Beach and a sanction of them is thereby implied. To vacationers who read the listing this is very misleading.

It was brought out that, inasmuch as there are many places where young people cannot rent rooms, no matter how respectable and responsible they may be, they therefore pay premium prices to rent rooms where they are accepted. This is an exception, not a rule.

Lack of supervision at room-rental businesses is a big problem. If possible, through a TAP by-law or through a town Housing Code, it should be made mandatory that there shall be a resident manager to assure proper conduct and that cottages shall not be rented without a supervisor near or on the grounds. It was agreed that many, probably a majority, of the trouble spots are centered in cottage rentals, which are most difficult to supervise.

Total community pressure on proprietors who disregard housing and moral rules might be effective -- through TAP, Chamber of Commerce and the Hotel Association.

Licensing of rooming houses, motels and hotels appears to be the only method of real control at present since existing statutes are inadequate and often unenforceable. If health regulations are being ignored, or if disturbances arise, people are quick to complain but reluctant to testify in court, which leaves the police and health officer quite helpless unless they themselves are witnesses to the event.

There must be permissive legislation before the town can pass licensing laws. This was asked for months ago but the legislature dragged its heels, perhaps awaiting the Blandin Commission Report. This Report was late in being submitted and little time was left for legislation of any kind in regard to it.

The problem of cottage rentals and laxity of supervision of them was brought up again. Real estate agents and realtors can help assure that a cottage meant to accommodate four is not being occupied by fourteen. Real estate rental agents were invited to this meeting of the Housing Committee but none of them came.

Subsequently contact was made with the Boston University Law Medicine Institute and first steps taken in obtaining their assistance in establishment of a special future project to establish useful housing regulations and to enlist voluntary compliance with them.

#### RESEARCH PROGRESS

In the area of research planning and progress the month of June saw the completion of the interviews with those arrested in the 1964 riot, the establishment of a code book by several of the program aides under the instruction of the consultants, and the beginning of the actual coding work. For further details on this phase of the project see Manning Van Nostrand's report and analysis on the Research Project.

By June 28 there was also completed the data gathering schedule for the remainder of the summer; indeed several of the interview schedules were already in use by that time. Through the summer there were to be 15 to 20 weekly random

interviews somewhat similar to those used for the '64 rioters, given to young adults and adolescents who were visitors or summer residents of the beach. The N of 200 for this schedule was exceeded.

The same interview schedule was to be given to 15 to 20 young people each week who had been arrested at the beach either by state or local police. The desired N of 200 was not attained as a result of compounded difficulties in contacting arrestees during their period of detention. The final number of interviews obtained was in the vicinity of 50.

The self-administered Irritability-Deviancy Scale was to be given to all those in the above two categories and to 900 young people and 900 adults in three waves of 300 through the summer. This was carried out in toto. Additional use of this scale for business operators and for police proved not to be feasible.

A Beach Observation Scale, to be used on a time-sampling basis each weekend, was put in effect July 11 and carried through Labor Day weekend. All the above data-gathering vehicles were used by the paid members of the staff, with volunteers from CAVE helping with the three waves of the Irritability-Deviancy Scale.

In addition there were the Beach Incident Scale and the Business Attitude Scale mentioned above.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE SHIFT

Under the heading of administration during the month of June there was a realignment of responsibilities. Since Mr. Van Nostrand found that he needed more time for his pastoral and academic work and for his family, Noel Salomon of the TAR Committee moved that the administrative work for TAR be shifted to me, making me in effect the executive officer for the project. Under this revised setup Mr. Van Nostrand was titled Co-director for Research and Community Coordination and I was titled Co-director for Project Administration and Youth Coordination. Since this demanded an extra portion of my time and since my time was already well taken up with the youth phase of the work, a special post of Assistant Youth Coordinator was created and Richard Hammond hired to fill that position.

The budget to cover this new position was created by limiting the number of workers for the summer to nine instead of ten and by drawing on unexpended funds from the part-time spring workers budget.

By this time Hammond had already firmly established himself as the program's most active volunteer. While running several other businesses he managed to put in almost forty hours a week assisting in a great variety of capacities. It is certainly safe to say that without his assistance the demonstration phase of the program would have been much slower to start. When something needed to be done, Hammond was there to do it, whether it was to sell an idea, build a stage, get specifications for a building, put the building up, hunt down volunteers, borrow a generator or a house trailer, build a lighting system, or to oversee any of a hundred other chores.

#### LAY PERSONNEL HYPOTHESIS

Since one of the hypotheses of this project was that lay persons could be drawn from a community to carry through the necessary work if they were advised by competent consultants, it is interesting to note the walks of life from which the most active personnel were drawn: Manning Van Nostrand is a Methodist clergyman; Richard Stone is a Northeast Airlines pilot; Richard Hammond operates several nursery schools and summer day camps; and I was a journalist and business administrator.

How well we were able to carry over the various talents and experiences of our previous professions to the project is a moot question. I think the fact that so much of our work was to be in the field of opinion and community climate and, if you will, political persuasion caught us all somewhat unprepared. Our biggest job was to sell an idea. With the young people we were unquestionable successful, at least to the extent that we were permitted to carry through what we had hoped for. With the community it was harder, for we were working against an already firmly established prior concept which in some ways was complementary to the youth project but in other ways limiting. In the areas of research and of the demonstration program itself the limitations of inexperience were much less important; in each we also had an abundance of professional consultation.

If there were a recommendation to come from such speculation it might be that a professional in the field of community opinion and action organization might be employed in instances where a new concept must fight its way through old ones. If this sort of professional advice is needed to elect a candidate or to clear the way for a new school building, certainly it can be employed to assist in the establishment of a youth project.

#### STAFF WORKERS BEGIN FULL TIME

By June 18th eight of the nine full-time program aides started work. They ranged in age from 19 to 25 and in level of scholastic attainment from the junior year in college to the graduate level. Four were majors in sociology, one in occupational therapy, one in police administration, one in government and one in English. Three were women, the remainder men. Colleges represented were the University of New Hampshire, Colby, St. Petersburg Junior College, and Albion College. A ninth man from St. Anselm's College unfortunately had to be dropped when he was arrested for illegal possession of alcoholic beverages. Subsequently he was replaced by a fourth woman, a major in psychology at Northeastern University.

I think it was a severe mistake that so little time was given to training and orientation of this crew at the project's outset. I was able to spend a portion of one day with them, but my duties as project administrator made it impossible to go further than this before we were in full swing of the work schedule. If there could have been, at this point, a few days devoted to the sort of training program which was briefly undertaken much later in the summer with the cooperation of the Boston University Law Medicine Institute, I think the workers would have felt less disorientation toward the demonstration phase of the work. In the area of research there were at least a few sessions with the consultants so that they felt some familiarity and comfort.

Unquestionably part of the difficulty that occurred in establishing the workers' role in the demonstration project grew from lack of knowledge and experience of those of us who were supposed to be directing their activities. We were trying to feel our way as we undertook each songfest or dance or whatever else took shape. In addition much of our attention and time was taken up in our efforts to clear the program itself

through both the Chamber of Commerce and the several police departments, so that we were unable to spend sufficient time working with the crew.

Then again, there was the continued problem of the workers' level of participation -- although their prime function was to communicate with young people, to become an equal and yet separate part of the youth society on the beach, their inclination was to hold themselves apart in what they sincerely felt was a more professional role. Particularly they were anxious to be directly involved in the work of selling the project to the community, and they were disappointed when they were not initially included. A more detailed discussion of the struggles to establish the workers' functions and roles appears under the heading of July below. For the moment suffice it to say that they were assigned tasks in recruiting additional members to the growing CAVE organization, carrying through the rather elaborate process of issuing ID cards, supervising and assisting in songfest and dance projects, helping to construct the CAVE headquarters building late in the month, and in general selling to the youth community the concept that CAVE was trying to promote. In addition, there were, as indicated above, responsibilities in connection with the various research interview schedules.

#### CAVE GROWTH AND FUNCTION

In the descriptive chronology of the month of June which follows below there are included many details on the growth of CAVE. For the sake of clarity the following items should be noted herewith in systematic order:

Membership -- by June 1 there were 489 registrants; by June 6, 697; by June 13, 887; by June 20, the number was over 1000. These were young people who had simply come in, signed up, and given us their vital statistics. ID cards were not put into use until the 12th of June and did not begin to represent a correct proportion of the membership until perhaps early July.

Program scheduled events -- there were songfests on June 6th, June 13th and June 20th; there were two dances on the beach, June 19th and June 23rd.



Job placement function -- during the early weeks of June several of the workers made an extensive survey of the beach to determine how many places of employment there were and how many jobs available. However, when we sought the cooperation of the official state employment service office at the beach, we were strongly discouraged from continuing this project until clearance could be obtained from authorities either in Portsmouth or Concord. Subsequent attempts to obtain this clearance proved to be fruitless. Finally, in a TAR Committee meeting, we were discouraged from pursuing the matter further when questions of liabilities were raised.

Discount function -- it had been the hope that a number of businesses would offer at least token discounts to CAVE members who could exhibit ID cards. A few businesses proved willing to cooperate to a small extent, but in other instances we encountered such violent opposition from individual business people that we were forced to abandon the project.

#### PRESS RELATIONS

Press relations during the month of June showed a distinct improvement. After the explanatory articles appeared in local newspapers, there followed several interviews, either conducted or approved by Robert Preston in his capacity as Public Information Officer, and articles began to appear in newspapers of the Merrimac Valley, in central Massachusetts, and in Boston, along with some coverage by radio. All these stories were on the theme that the CAVE organization had suddenly sprung into existence, was growing very quickly, that it was Hampton's answer and the answer of the young people themselves to past troubles at the beach. The general tone was one of approbation that both community and young people were seeking to repair images in a constructive way. Subsequently a very detailed article on all phases of Hampton's work to combat past riots was carried in the Boston Globe; its impact is difficult to measure, but certainly it played a part in helping to establish the project and to carry some of its programs forward through subsequent discussions in the Chamber of Commerce directors meetings.

One other project was not cleared for use -- namely an extensive article describing the project and a fact sheet on the 1964 riot, these assembled by a public relations professional as a volunteer service. This story and the data sheet

were not intended primarily for feature use but for the morgues of the various newspapers, to correct the inaccurate figures they were still using on the size of the 1964 riot and the extent of damage which had been done at that time. After some considerable discussion on this matter, it was finally decided that it was better to take the chance on the newspapers using incorrect information from the past than to call their attention once more to the fact that a riot had indeed taken place.

#### RELIGIOUS ACTION GROUPS

Early in June we had our first contact with an organization known as Teen Challenge, an evangelical group not affiliated with any one denomination, which had in recent times held one or more rallies for young people in the sea-coast region. Its representatives were very pleasant young men in their twenties, either local residents or from the greater Boston area. Through the spring they had been making individual contacts with teenagers on the beach and passing out one of several religious tracts designed to have special appeal to the young.

Their mission in meeting us was not to ask so much for cooperation as for advice. Their hope was to hold over the course of the summer a number of evangelical rallies on the beach or perhaps on the bandstand, and if these were to prove effective they planned to try some larger event for Labor Day weekend, possibly even to get Billy Graham.

From our previous conversations with young people and from our observations of them, both Hammond and I felt that religious rallies would be difficult to carry off effectively on a public beach. We suggested that perhaps they would do best to work into such events by degrees, employing the technique of personal contact extensively before undertaking something which might find itself the object of ridicule, since laughter is the teenager's most devastating weapon. Their counter argument was that they had been through all sorts of discouraging circumstances and had nonetheless carried on their programs effectively; they felt that nothing could be lost by trying such projects at Hampton Beach. Again they stated that it would probably be unwise, both from their viewpoint and ours, for us to try to combine forces.

The meeting was most cordial throughout. We concluded by outlining for them in detail the various levels of clearance

they would probably need to seek, as we had, through the Chamber of Commerce, town officials, local and state police, and probably the Division of Parks as well.

Subsequently Manning Van Nostrand met with other representatives of this organization or one of its affiliates from Gordon College in Wenham, Massachusetts, to explore approximately the same grounds.

A little later in the month we were visited by a representative of Moral Rearmament, whose extensive lay-religious youth organization works out of Mackinack Island in Michigan. This organization combines entertainment with messages calling for moral and religious re-examinations of self and young society. Their literature indicated that their work and their techniques were both professional and effective. We indicated, as we had with Teen Challenge, that we felt that CAVE could probably function better as an indigenous non-religious organization; so far as Moral Rearmament was concerned we had no official attitude one way or another.

#### STATE LEVEL ACTIVITIES

By the second week in June the Blandin Commission issued its analysis of the Hampton Beach disturbances and its recommendations pursuant thereto. The complete document of the Commission report may be found in the Addenda.

Briefly, the report recounts the steps taken by the Commission to examine the evidence within the framework of the time available. In its analysis it touches upon such subjects as lack of parental control, breakdown in respect for authority, the background of the participants, and mob behavior. There are additional comments of the inconsistencies on the part of the community and the authorities at Hampton Beach, the expectations which these inconsistencies engendered, and the conclusion that resentment and hostility were in part resultant from the sudden tightening of the rules for Labor Day weekend.

In general summary, the report states the Commission's conclusion that the disturbance was not local or spontaneous, that the participants were a product of the social climate in which there is wide spread adolescent rebellion, that since all the ills of society could not be remedied before fall work must be begun early and continued through the summer to enforce

standards of behavior and law promptly and consistently.

The recommendations called for posting of beach rules, illumination of the beach, the employment of life guards to help initial enforcement of the rules and behavior, a fair, firm and consistent policy of enforcement by state police on a day-to-day basis, the establishment of a sub-station for state police at Hampton Beach, the removal of parking spaces in a congested area adjacent to the beach, along with close coordination between state, county and local law enforcement agencies and the Parks Division.

For legislative action the Commission recommended redefinition of the terms "assembly," "mob", and "riot", with increased penalties for offenders against public order. There were also recommendations for enabling legislation to allow communities to enact curfew ordinances and rental and public accommodations controls, along with additional bills providing for mutual aid among various governmental subdivisions.

Finally, there were recommendations that the community take its own steps toward enforcing satisfactory rental policies, both for safety and for the moral tone of the beach. There was recognition that the Hampton Police Department had already taken steps to improve itself. There was an endorsement as well of the principles under which the TAR and TAP Committees of the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce were acting.

While an earlier draft of the report prior to publication had in a greater measure taken the sociologists' view that society produces the individuals and the individuals in society collect to make the problems, that the final report leaned more heavily toward the philosophical outlook that the ultimate responsibility for behavior, on a large scale or a small one, rests finally with the individual. This was a compromise of sorts: within the Commission there were individuals who would have disagreed strongly with an extreme statement in either direction. The compromise in the end in large part should be credited to Judge Blandin's own strong personality and his beliefs that, while the role of society cannot be overlooked, the younger generation has been done a disservice by being governed too liberally by their elders.

After the Blandin Report was issued, there were only two or three weeks remaining in the legislative session. During this time no curfew law was passed, nor was there any enabling legislation on rental or lodging practices. However a much

stronger "anti-riot" bill did go through, raising the penalties for riot participation from \$500 to \$1000 and from six months to one year in prison. At a somewhat earlier date the legislature also passed a law lowering the legal age of juveniles in New Hampshire from 18 years to 17, effective August 31, 1965.

#### LACONIA-WEIRS BEACH RIOT

Late in the month of June one other event in the state did have a direct bearing on the Hampton Beach situation: this was the riot at Weirs Beach following a motorcycle convention nearby. A detailed analysis of this riot is impossible to include in this report. However it seems clear that although a number of motorcyclists did take a prominent part in the disturbance there were many of the same types of middle- to lower-class casual young people who had been in the Hampton Beach riot the previous fall. The riot itself took place in an exceptionally congested lakeside resort area considerably smaller than Hampton Beach, its duration was short, and a special contingent of state police rather quickly broke it up, but its impact in the newspapers and news magazines across the nation was tremendous. Much attention was focussed on a family who were terrorized, forced from their car, after which the car was overturned and burned. Categorical affirmations and denials of the presence of several Hell's Angels were also featured. Whether or not anyone did make the trip from California is almost academic; some of their symbols were in fact displayed and the resultant fear reaction was the same.

#### YOUTH AND ADULT ATTITUDES

The following descriptive and analytical chronology of the month of June seeks both to clarify many overlapping lines of activity and to bring out the philosophical struggle between the forces which sought to contain the young people on the one hand and the forces which sought to intervene with them on the other. Ideally and in the best of times these forces' efforts were complementary; at other times they found themselves working at cross purposes.

In our approach both to the adult and youth generations at Hampton Beach Stone, Van Nostrand, Hammond and I, along with several other members of the TAR Committee, found ourselves hammering at two themes: first, that the attitude of

a group -- adult or youth -- is not a homogeneous thing, that it embraces a whole range of attitudes from the most antagonistic to the most understanding; secondly, that the individuals in the group frequently must suffer from the image of, or the behavior of, the group at large. Time and again we found ourselves assuring one or another young person who had been rebuked by the police for a seemingly minor transgression that he was being put upon not as an individual but as one of a group who may or may not have tried to break up the town last year -- that if he looked big or tough or wore his clothes like a beach bum and let his hair grow to his shoulders he could hardly expect not to draw attention of the authorities, however pure his soul or his intentions.

In general it was easier to reason with the young people than with the adults. Young minds are more open, more willing to concede to apparent logic, more willing to accept good will on faith. Where the young people fell short was in patience: if an attempt to carry through an idea or a program did not succeed on the first try, or at very worst on the second, converts to that idea deserted the flock and looked upon us as false prophets.

If the adults were more reluctant to leave old concepts, less willing to abandon their suspicion of young people at large, their minds, once made up, were unlikely to change again. Thus the proponents or opponents of given issues within the Hampton Beach Project ultimately found themselves at loggerheads and a compromise was very difficult indeed to come by.

#### STRUCTURE OF HAMPTON BEACH YOUTH SOCIETY

The following notes on the structure of the youth culture at Hampton Beach are based upon observation with concurrence from a number of the young people themselves. Within obvious limitations, it has a certain validity, especially in relation to CAVE which itself became an additional factor in the society of the young.

By way of preface, it should be noted that we are talking here about a small fraction of the number of young people at the resort on any given day. Estimates of the total summer beach population, based on crowd observation, on parking area counts, and on domicile counts, run in the following order:

Overnight accommodations at Hampton Beach total approximately 14,000.

On an average summer day there may be 25,000 to 30,000 persons at Hampton Beach.

At peak crowd periods there may be 100,000 persons at Hampton Beach.

Of the total population, probably 75% of those at the beach center and 50% of those in the entire Hampton Beach area are under the age of 25. There may well be 10,000 to 15,000 young people at the resort at any given time during the summer, or up to 50,000 or possibly more on holiday weekends.

Many of these are casual day visitors, with or without their families. Probably 1000 or more are employed at the beach. Within the groups of young people who could be classed as semi-permanent -- frequent visitors or full-time summer residents -- there were four major divisions or cliques, based essentially around places of employment.

1. The "C Street gang" -- young patrons and employees of the Patio Restaurant at the Ashworth Avenue end of C Street and of the Tiki Restaurant (in 1964 the Troll Bridge) near the Ocean Boulevard end of C Street. Probably 25 to 50 young people from this group were on the beach at all times through the summer; another 250 to 300 would come and go during various periods, with the peak on weekends. When a special party or outing -- frequently a luau away from the Hampton Beach area -- was held, nearly everyone from this group would be on hand. Of the various cliques on the beach it was the most cohesive, the most happy-go-lucky, probably the most casual in its attitudes towards sex and liquor.

Around this group -- probably to a greater extent than with the other groups -- there clustered a collection of hangers-on, particularly around the Tiki Restaurant. Of all the cliques on the beach the C Street gang was most "in." Perhaps "clannish" would be an appropriate term to apply to this clique, for on the occasion of its parties attendance was by invitation only; those not thoroughly accepted were pointedly omitted. Perhaps some of the hangers-on gave the C Street gang a worse reputation than it deserved, for although the Tiki and the Patio were never centers of trouble from a police

viewpoint, it should be noted that some of the tougher kids of the beach did hang out there.

The C Street gang -- and indeed all the other home-based groups on the beach -- took a rather conspicuous stance against riots and rioters. These people came to Hampton Beach for a good time, and primarily they wanted to be left to their own devices. Specifically in the 1964 riot they had taken an active part in defending their own territory against the rioters and had prevented damage for the length of their street. Throughout the summer, many members of the C Street gang were on excellent terms with the police and the rapport was mutual.

2. "The Renwood Group", based around the employees of the Renwood Dining Room and Gift Shop, the Moulton Hotel and the Carrousel luncheonette, all properties of the Downer family. In this group there was a similar cohesive spirit. The individuals in the group were probably a little older -- more of a college age -- than those on C Street, and their behavior and attitudes a little more conventional. Of all the factions on the beach this one was least active in its participation in CAVE.

3. The Dunfey group, employees of Dunfey's Restaurant and various other beach enterprises and their friends. Through the years as the Dunfey enterprises have expanded and the Dunfeyes themselves have had less opportunity to participate personally in their beach enterprises, their employees have become a less close-knit group. Nonetheless, this was a distinct faction in the beach society, both overlapping and in competition with the C Street group. For instance, during the summer of 1964 there was considerable horseplay over the "kidnapping" of the Dunfey piano by the habitués of the Troll Bridge and its subsequent recovery.

4. Casino employees -- a distinct group in itself, especially around the employee domicile known as the Gink, but also fragmenting and taking part in the affairs of the various other cliques.

The remainder of the beach society was considerably more amorphous, composed of day visitors who came and went and smaller groups looking for beach outings or dates. As a rule there was very little cohesion along home-town lines. In some few instances there is contact between various members of these several groups during the winter season, but for the most part



it centers around the beach itself, starting about mid-April and ending rather abruptly after Labor Day.

To some small extent there were some cultures around the few places of teenage entertainment on the beach. For instance, the Seagate Ballroom, running rock and roll bands four nights a week, consistently attracted a crowd of 14-to 16-year old youngsters who may have had other contacts during daytime hours. The Onyx Room, a teenage nightclub a mile to the north of the beach center, also had its own following, although here again there was overlapping, since much of its clientele obviously came from the C Street group.

To some extent the members of CAVE came from all these groups along with many other miscellaneous ones. As the summer progressed, CAVE itself became a distinct fifth group of a kind.

#### EARLY CAVE MEMBERS

Especially at the beginning, the fact that CAVE drew most heavily from the C Street group was both a source of strength and a disadvantage. The cohesiveness of the C Street people and the fact that a number of them had hoped and planned for such an organization served the Project well. On the other hand, there was a conspicuous sprinkling of beach bums -- or kids who did their best to look like beach bums; it was hard to tell which was which. Typically they wore their hair long; the later the summer the longer grew the hair. The rest of the uniform was apt to be frayed chinos, often cut off above the knees, shirttails out -- or no shirt at all -- and bare feet or sandals. The more extreme wore leather vests with or without shirts, sweatshirts cut off at the shoulder and bleached their hair. One or two wore a single earring. In a number of cases a guitar was part of the uniform, even if the owner could not play more than one or two chords.

The girls' dress was a little more moderate -- in many respects similar to that of the boys. Long straight hair was in vogue. Bathing suits tended to be on the skimpy side.

A handful of these young people had had brushes with the law, mostly for misdemeanors related to vagrancy, drinking, fighting, or traffic violations. One or two -- everyone knew who -- had been more serious offenders.

A good deal of discussion among the CAVE committees centered around these borderline kids. Obviously, some of them were the very ones who might be in trouble as soon as a riot started were it not for CAVE to provide counter motivation, so it was well to keep them if possible.

On the other hand their conspicuous presence -- hunched over a guitar or stretched back in chairs, feet up -- was giving CAVE a reputation for being a bunch of rowdies, both with the adult population and with other young people. Adult reaction varied from amused tolerance through mild complaint to one or two real tirades about "punks" and a sarcastic offer to provide free barbering services to new members. Some of the young people, especially the Renwood group, refused initially to have anything to do with CAVE, on about the same grounds.

Ultimately the CAVE Rules Committee stuck by its decision to accept all new members in good faith and to take action on members only if they were convicted of a misdemeanor or felony in court. A special Board of Review was set up to hear such cases as they occurred. Rather than to establish a penalty of their own in advance, the committee decided to weigh each case on its merits and build its code by a series of precedents.

The question of informing on their peer group was more difficult to meet. When the TAR Business Practices Committee proposed that CAVE try to take steps to curb shoplifting and skipping out on food checks, the young people decided that efforts to curtail such practices would brand CAVE as a fink outfit and render it ineffective for its larger responsibility in relation to riots. Thus the agreement came to be that members would inform when "big trouble" was pending, but small trouble would remain the province of the police.

#### POLICE-CAVE CONFERENCE

On Wednesday, June 2, it poured during the entire day. When, at 6:00 pm, I arrived at our A Street store there were several large puddles on the floor. The water was coming in through the fluorescent fixtures overhead. With some hesitation I switched on the lights. Water continued to drip out of two or three of them in a steady stream, but they burned brightly and there was no sign that a short circuit was about to occur.

In an hour the conference of the combined CAVE committees with representatives of the Hampton police and the state police was to take place, hopefully to determine whether the first songfest would be sanctioned four days hence. All had faithfully promised to appear, but on this bleak evening the deserted face of the beach offered little comfort.

A few minutes after 6:00 pm Bill Farris, chairman of the Program Committee, saw the lights and wandered in. Then Jimmy Watkins roared up on his Honda. Together we tackled the puddles with mops and brooms and a shovel, rearranged the plank tables away from the leaks, and as we worked we talked. The boys were quietly hopeful, perhaps trying not to be cynical. The fact that a project like that at Hampton Beach was a pioneering effort lent an element of adventure, but it also posed the very obvious question whether anything at all would come of our plans. What did I think the chances were, they wanted to know. Would the "Staties" come this time? Would we get our clearance? Among other things, I was being tested as a representative of the adult world and of the Hampton Beach community. These young people and I had seen each other only a few times.

As objectively as I could, I answered their questions, talking in terms of hopeful probabilities and at the same time trying to make clear the difficulties we had to face in the light of Hampton Beach's history and the responses of the community at large and of the various levels of officialdom which represented the community.

As seven o'clock approached, more young people came, in ones or twos. On this rainy night, there were finally 20 to 25 of them -- not only local people but from cities as far distant as forty miles.

Shortly thereafter came Chief Paul Leavitt and a detective sergeant from the Hampton Police and finally Lt. Paul O'Leary and an aide from the state police, and the conference began. Lt. O'Leary at once announced that his instructions were to listen and observe rather than to talk, that however he might feel personally inclined, he could make no commitments without consultation with higher authority. It was clear from the outset that no decision could result from tonight's conference.

Lt. O'Leary's statement put Chief Leavitt in the position of again having to conduct the conference pretty much by himself. Once again the same ground was covered concerning what might take place if this first songfest went badly and how

CAVE might respond to such an initial disappointment. At one time it had been hoped that if one or two songfests were carried off effectively, then the ban on guitars might generally be lifted. However it was now made clear that musical instruments would be permitted on the beach only at the specified times and places where officially approved CAVE events might occur -- if indeed any did occur. The history and structure of CAVE and its hope for constructive activities were outlined in detail for the state police representatives.

Although occasionally someone would attempt a humorous aside, it was a very serious meeting for all concerned, reminding one a little of preliminary truce talks between warring factions only recently brought to a cease-fire. Very gingerly a few of the young people posed questions about police motivations, and one or two questions of a similar kind were put by the police representatives to the committee members -- the first exploratory steps toward a common understanding. Even so, the fact that the state police representatives were not in a position to respond to any substantive questions made the meeting an inconclusive one, and it was finally adjourned with a suggestion from Leavitt that CAVE representatives should meet with the selectmen and the promise from Lt. O'Leary that he would report what he had seen and heard back to state police headquarters.

After the meeting the young people who stayed around were pretty glum about it, and as I had a number of times before reminded them that this whole project was not going to be easy, that it would take patience, that if they continued to show their good will and to persevere that a beneficial program could result, in whatever slow fashion.

Bill Farris, Jack Derby, chairman of the Rules Committee, Jack Lamb from Membership and Jimmy Clark were designated by the combined committee to meet with the selectmen the following Friday. It was apparent now that we could have no more than 36 hours in which to set up the songfest if it were to be cleared. Members of the Program Committee were commissioned to contact the invited musicians and to put them on a standby basis. During the course of one of the police conferences, the site of the proposed songfest had been changed from the northern end of the beach to an area adjacent to an old breakwater off Haverhill Street, seven-tenths of a mile away from the CAVE headquarters and half a mile from the center of the beach.

On Friday afternoon at four the CAVE representatives -- a littled startling in suits and ties -- visited the selectmen

at the Town Office and conferred with them for half an hour or more. Afterward both they and the selectmen said that the meeting had gone well and that things looked hopeful -- but still no conclusive statement had been made. Finally at 6:15 that evening Chief Leavitt called me and said permission had been granted both by town officials and state police, and I hurried to the beach to notify such young people as I could find scattered here and there.

#### FIRST SONGFEST

After all this buildup the songfest itself seemed almost anticlimatic to me, although the young people most certainly did not regard it in this light. They felt it was fully a success and looked forward at its conclusion to many more affairs. Sunday was a beautiful day, so hot in fact that several of us went out to buy hats in anticipation of several long hours under the sun. The ground rules were that the event could last from 3:00 to 5:00, counting on the fact that the beach normally cleared at this supper hour to break up any crowd who might be reluctant to leave. Both state and local police had indicated that their surveillance of the songfest would be no more than a routine patrol. Signs were posted inside the CAVE building announcing the event, and word was circulated as widely as possible Saturday and during Sunday morning.

As 2:30 approached Sunday afternoon several small groups of us gathered rather self-consciously with guitars and banjos, crossed to the boardwalk and headed south on the long trek to Haverhill Street. When we reached the area where the songfest was held the young people were wryly amused to note that the routine police patrol consisted of several police cars pulled into Haverhill Street and numbers varying from six to a dozen of state and local policemen in uniform posted along the old breakwater above the sand. Several detectives in bathing suits mingled with the crowd.

Promptly at three o'clock a handful of banjoists and guitarists plopped themselves down on the sand to strum and sing, surrounded by perhaps fifty other young people, lounging, singing, listening, sunning. In the next few minutes a hundred or so more drifted into the area and joined in. At its peak perhaps 250 people were singing or listening or just watching. Certainly it was an unspectacular event but perfectly amiable and pleasant, and it was far enough away from the main beach

so that there was no possible chance of the crowd's getting out of hand. In actual fact few people beyond a distance of a hundred feet realized what was going on. A handful of spontaneous watchmen from CAVE circled the group from time to time to look for signs of tension or trouble, then gave it up when it was obviously unnecessary.

The only real problem was that Dan Gravis, one professional singer and guitarist whom we had invited, was so much better than the general run of amateurs that it threatened to turn into a one-man performance, but ultimately some of the others drifted away and the large group broke into several smaller ones. It was the sort of event you'd expect to see on any Sunday afternoon beach outing -- young people singing, lazing in the sun, paddling in the water, having a good time.

At one time or another we were visited by various members of the TAR Committee, the selectmen, and Chief Leavitt, all of whom indicated that they were delighted with the success of the event. By five o'clock the tide had come pretty well up, and the songfest broke up uneventfully. Committee members headed back toward CAVE headquarters for a scheduled six o'clock meeting with both police departments for a critique and a possible clearance for another event next week.

At that meeting the consensus was that it had been entirely successful. CAVE committee members asked whether another songfest could be scheduled for the following Sunday, this time with sufficient advance notice so that handbills could be passed out and a few posters put up in places frequented by young people. The subject of a possible dance on the sand was brought up for the Saturday two weeks hence. For this conference both Chief Leavitt and Lt. O'Leary had sent other representatives in the hope of widening the acquaintance between their own men and the CAVE members. To an extent this was effective; this meeting was more relaxed than the previous one had been. The drawback was that the representatives could say nothing about possible clearance for any future events. Thus one more meeting was held inconclusively.

## SECOND SONGFEST CLEARANCE SOUGHT

The next morning, June 7th, I phoned state police headquarters in hopes of getting permission for a songfest to be held on June 13th. However I was told that Colonel Regan was

on vacation for the week. Conversations with two captains and a lieutenant indicated that no one else could give the permission; one captain went out of his way to indicate that if it were up to him no more CAVE events would be held on the sand. Ultimately it was suggested that I might contact Colonel Regan by phone at his home. It seemed strategically unwise to bother a man during his vacation to ask permission for an event about which I suspected he was unenthusiastic.

Again I sought the advice of Chief Leavitt. As far as he was concerned the program had taken its initial step in proving itself. He suggested therefore that the next songfest be held just a little closer to the center of the beach -- a few hundred yards north of Haverhill Street in an area about opposite M Street. If we were to use Fourth of July as any sort of extensive test program for Labor Day, there were a number of preliminary programs to be tried during the remaining weeks of June: a larger songfest nearer the center of the beach to see whether larger crowds could be handled adequately, one or two daytime dances on the sand in several possible locations, and an event after dark to test lighting systems and possible crowd behavior. We were hampered by the fact that the beach, in this interim period, was either deserted during the week days and nights or heavily crowded during the weekends until the regular season began with the close of schools. After June 20th we thought we might try the first night program on a Tuesday or Wednesday: by then there would be enough people on hand to make the event a moderate success and yet few enough so that it would not get out of hand.

Also to be faced was the rather delicate question of jurisdiction at Hampton Beach. At various times a number of private citizens and officials from the Governor on down had made categorical statements that the ultimate authority for law enforcement at Hampton Beach rested with the State Police Department. Some town officials and other police chiefs strongly questioned this stand. Hopefully the question would never need to arise, but at this time the difference in the degree of support for the TAR program between the two forces made it a subject at least for private speculation. In the area of Hampton Beach the question was further complicated by the fact that the beach itself was under the jurisdiction of the State Parks Department.

Therefore in an effort to seek maximum concord, Chief Leavitt and I dropped the question in the lap of Commissioner

of Parks Russell Tobey, whose response was to set up a meeting in Concord for Thursday, June 10th, of all interested parties. On that day Chief Leavitt, Selectman Chairman Noel Salomon, Commissioner Tobey, Commissioner of Safety Robert Rhodes, Colonel Regan and I met in Commissioner Rhodes's office.

For an hour or more the group again went over all the concepts of the youth project and the details of program to carry the project through -- the various songfests and dances leading up to July Fourth weekend, the July Fourth weekend program, and the ultimate goal of a Labor Day program which might offer sufficient diversion for youthful energy to supplant the need for a riot, the whole supported by a strongly growing youth organization through the summer centered around its headquarters building. Commissioner Tobey was strongly in favor of the program if it could be developed and tested at a cautious rate. Commissioner Rhodes and Colonel Regan still had strong doubts about assemblies of youth of any sort for 1965, complicated by their own internal problems. The primary function of the State Police Department is as a highway patrol; the legislature was still in session and the budget was tight; special funds for a contingent of state police in Hampton Beach were still up in the air. From their viewpoint any program which would call for added state police personnel only added to the problem, and while it was obviously the hope that the TAR program would ultimately make the police job an easier one, there could be no guarantee. There was only the option of trying the program step by experimental step. At the conclusion of this conference Commissioner Rhodes and Colonel Regan felt they could not yet give a general clearance to the program to proceed even on the understanding that it would be curtailed if there was difficulty at any point, but they did approve a second songfest for the M Street area of the beach on the following Sunday, June 13th.

## SECOND SONGFEST

The weekly report covering that day describes the scene succinctly:

...Unfortunately, it poured Sunday, so rather than let the event pass by we invited everyone into our A Street store which is some 27' by 80'. For an hour or two it was a wild and woolly, thoroughly wholesome scene with groups of kids strumming guitars, singing, and hollering back and forth, while we struggled to keep the ID procedure in motion and to



explain what it was all about to newcomers who happened by. In the middle of it all Selectman Noel Salomon came in for a conference on a proposed building with volunteer Dick Hammond. I suspect he found it both distracting and appealing. Brief personal observation -- chaos is certainly a prime ingredient in fun for young people, a principle to keep in mind for Labor Day, just being sure that it consists of something other than battling the police.

Only the previous day, June 12th, had we been able to initiate the identification-membership procedure with the arrival of the official seal and the cards themselves. The need for these, we felt, was multifold: first, an amazing number of young people, even in their late teens, carried no identification at all, particularly unfortunate in a situation such as that at Hampton Beach where any youngster might be stopped by police and checked; second, it was necessary to reduce the anonymity factor toward potential riots, to make as many young people as possible feel that they were citizens of Hampton Beach with the same responsibilities they would carry in their home towns; third, these were membership cards, helping to weld the CAVE organization both by virtue of the benefits and discounts to which they would entitle the bearer and also by their existence alone.

#### IDENTIFICATION CARDS

The cards themselves were wallet size, bore large letters C A V E in red ink, and called for all the customary identifying data. They carried a photograph of the member and were signed by the member and by a paid employee of the program. An ordinary corporation-type seal was then imprinted on the face of the card, covering the official signature, the photograph, and the member's date of birth, to make the cards as forgery-proof as possible.

A member could supply his own photograph or we would take it with a Polaroid camera with a divider front. We found that by lining young people up shoulder to shoulder we could in theory get as many as 64 faces on one roll of Polaroid film, although it never worked out that well since there had to be groups of people ready to have their pictures taken in concert and nobody liked to wait around. For the photos we charged ten cents apiece, which should have covered the cost of film but never quite did because of inevitable wastage.

At best the procedure for issuance of cards was a cumbersome one: the ID card and our office 3 X 5 card had to be filled out, along with a log book which listed members by card number; photographs had to be taken, coated, dried and pasted; and the proper signature and seal had to be affixed after the applicant had properly identified himself.

In the matter of identification we had no choice but to be rigid if we expected police and other officials to accept the cards as valid. For the most part we required a driver's license or draft card and if we were in doubt we asked the applicant to recite back to us his date of birth or home address. With some of the younger people we were a little more lenient, accepting perhaps a good-conduct certificate from a nem and a library card in combination, or whatever else seemed within reason. One youngster brought in his mother's driver's license along with a special note from her identifying him as her son. Another offered an ID bracelet, his name stamped on his guitar case, and the adamant verification of five friends. One or two little girls brought their mothers with them.

The fact that the June 13th songfest had to be held indoors because of rain threw us severely off our schedule of tests leading up to the Fourth of July weekend. However Stone and other members of the TAR Committee felt that we had no choice but to see whether a dance could be held in the designated M Street area the following Saturday, June 19th. Permission was obtained from Leavitt and the selectmen. Again an attempt to obtain clearance through the state police produced inconclusive results, but by mid-week town officials gave us a full go-ahead and said that they would clear it at the state level.

#### POLICY ON DANCING

The question of clearance for a dance on the sand through the Chamber of Commerce directors was a puzzle. The motion in the minutes of that body stated only that major policy decisions should be subject to directors' approval. Whether dancing came under this category at this time was not clear. Time was a factor -- between June 8th and June 22nd there was no directors meeting to which the TAR Committee had access. Certainly no deliberate decision was made to bypass the directors, and as many of them as possible were contacted personally and informed that a dance was to take place. Interestingly, in all the subsequent complaints about dancing, there was never criticism of the TAR Committee for taking this particular step unilaterally.

Inasmuch as dancing ultimately became such a crucial issue in the program it is worth brief speculation to consider what might have happened. Had the question of dancing been broached as a major policy issue in the directors meeting of June 8th it seems apparent it would have been either defeated or deferred for several weeks, by which time it would have been too late to undertake the proper test steps to include it in the July Fourth program. It was strongly felt by several members of the TAR Committee that no program which had not been tested on July Fourth weekend would be permitted for Labor Day weekend, which proved to be the case.

However since, in fact, dancing was proscribed for July Fourth weekend in direct reaction to the two dances ultimately held on the sand during June, there arises the question whether it might not have been better to have debated the issue beforehand in the meetings of the directors in hope of building the program more slowly through the summer and obtaining clearance for Labor Day weekend without the precedent of July Fourth. In balance, it seemed wisest to try a dance right away, first because it was imperative to test the validity of dancing as a diversionary device in moderately heavy crowds, and, second, because the CAVE Committees felt it was imperative to show progress in programming if the organization were to continue to grow. John Dineen had offered the use of the Casino Ballroom for indoor dancing, but the young people unanimously felt that this would neither attract the crowds nor solve the problem of spontaneous entertainment for the casual beach youth visitors.

There certainly is no question that a number of us on the TAR Committee were predisposed to employ dancing as a counter-riot technique as a result of the counselling and encouragement we had received from agencies in Washington -- not only the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, but the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Norman Kassoff, who was conducting the IACP training course for the Hampton Police Department, had been a lieutenant on the Dade County Police Department under whose jurisdiction and sponsorship the program of intervention, prominently including dancing, had been successfully employed at Fort Lauderdale. At that city, in addition to various welcoming techniques, there had been conducted for several years, during the spring invasion of college students, dances on the sand lasting from mid-morning to late each evening. At first, one location was tried and when it proved effective three or four dances were conducted simultaneously on separate sections of the beach. As a result, the record of arrests and the

behavior problem have been radically improved. Feeling that they were welcome and that they were being treated -- as they said -- like adults, the youth have, in the years since this technique has been tried, settled down to enjoying themselves without causing trouble.

There were, of course, distinct differences between Fort Lauderdale and Hampton Beach, but we felt that the techniques might be modified for effective use here. Fort Lauderdale's contact with young people is for a period lasting approximately two weeks during Easter school vacation. Hampton's contact with youth is a summer-long affair, with a history of trouble only at peak-crowd holidays. Liquor is sold at Fort Lauderdale; Hampton is dry. Fort Lauderdale is considerably larger than Hampton Beach. In the Florida resort the program was undertaken with the direct sponsorship of the police; in Hampton it was a civic group working through the Chamber of Commerce. One other striking difference was the age of the police department: Dade County's police force averages 24 years in age. Particularly during the early stages of the dancing experiment, a great number of them were deployed on the beach in plain clothes and bathing suits, leaving only routine traffic patrols in uniform and other police in reserve out of sight with the express thought of giving the young people a feeling of as much freedom as possible while still having force available for use if necessary.

With all these differences, it still seemed that dancing might be the most effective single device for crowd diversion which could be employed at Hampton Beach. It seemed to be the one universal which could attract and hold the attention of the largest number of young people while simultaneously putting at least non-destructive use to their energies. If liquor was not available at Hampton Beach perhaps so much the better. Physical size might not be a serious limitation: there was still enough room for good sized dances in separate locations north and south of the Seashell, with possibly a third dance conducted in the area by the bandstand if the seats were removed. The great factor that Hampton seemed to have working to its advantage was the long season. Fort Lauderdale conducted dances nightly for a period of two weeks at considerable expense to the community and other contributing agencies. If in Hampton there could be dances perhaps once a week through the summer and possibly at some nominal fee, there would have to be really intensive use of the technique only at the peak-crowd periods during Fourth of July and Labor Day weekends. Obviously, the semi-permanent society

at the beach opened the further possibility of a stable organization, already rapidly shaping up in CAVE, which could supply continuity and organization to all these events. If the lack of enthusiasm for the program on the part of the state police made it impossible to keep uniformed law enforcement officers to a minimum, perhaps their presence would not seriously alter the effectiveness of the dances, and if the dances continued to go well through the summer it might be that at least visible police surveillance could be reduced through the summer.

All of this was discussed in great detail by those of us actively engaged in the program, advised and supported by Cy Rosenthal, who had made it possible for us to obtain written data on Fort Lauderdale and who had put us in contact with Kassoff. It was our sincere hope that if one or two dances could be conducted effectively in June the technique might be accepted by the community.

One roadblock stood in the way of the use of dancing for the peak holiday weekends: New Hampshire's "blue laws" strictly and specifically forbade dancing on Sunday. In the case of both Fourth of July, 1964, and Labor Day, the peak periods of tension and trouble were the Sundays of the three-day weekend. The advice from several friendly police officials and from several directors of the Chamber of Commerce was not to worry about it but just to go ahead and plan dances for those days on the assumption that no one would blow the whistle. To several of us on the TAR Committee the advice seemed well-meaning but the results might be potentially explosive. Therefore I went to Concord to discuss with one of the Governor's aides what sort of abridgement of the law there might be for this occasion. If we were to seek Chamber of Commerce approval for such Sunday dances, it seemed obvious that their first reaction would be that it was illegal, and the only hope of getting approval from the directors would be if we could show there was a legal and ethical way to bypass the blue law for a situation as important as that at Hampton Beach.

The Governor's aide said that there was no way the law could be suspended by executive order and that the only hope was in getting a special rider through the legislature which would exempt Hampton Beach for the two specific days in question. At his suggestion I went to see Herbert Casassa, a member of the TAR Committee and a representative to New Hampshire's House of Representatives from the town of Hampton. After consultation with several other legislators, Casassa said he would consider the matter. He was greatly concerned

that such an attempt might harmfully affect the chances for passage of the pending riot bill, now in the hopper pursuant to the recommendations of the Blandin Commission. My response was that it would be helpful if there were a legal way to have dancing at Hampton for the two Sundays in question, but that I would certainly understand if political realities made it out of the question.

It was about at this same time that we lost further use of our temporary headquarters. The A Street store had been loaned to us for four full weeks with utilities through the generosity of George and Ray Downer, but now it was to be rented for use as a shoe store. It obviously was going to take several more weeks to settle the matter of a permanent youth building or even its site. A number of merchants were helpful in trying to find another temporary store or building, but the season was opening up so rapidly that none was available.

#### CAVE HEADQUARTERS - A HOUSE TRAILER

Finally, at a special meeting of the TAR Committee, at which C of C President Vanderpool and Selectman Trofatter were present along with Selectman Salomon, we were given permission to place a house trailer, if we could borrow one, in the parking lot south of the Seashell and adjacent to the beach and the children's playground. During the week, Dick Hammond successfully persuaded a trailer company in North Hampton not only to loan us one of their used trailers but to bring it down and set it up at no charge, and this was done about mid-week. The fact that it was a battered old relic if anything was to our liking, since it meant we didn't have to worry whether kids tromping through it would do any damage, but rather quickly several business people across the street suggested it was hardly a beauty spot on the waterfront.

#### DANCE PREPARATIONS

Meanwhile preparations were being made for the beach dance Saturday afternoon, June 19. Dick Hammond, with volunteer help, constructed a stage some six inches high in four by eight foot sections, small enough to be broken down and carried in a station wagon yet large enough so that the eight-by-sixteen foot area would hold a rock and roll band and all their electronic gear, some of it very expensive and possibly subject to damage from the sand. Arrangements were also made

to borrow a generator from a tool rental outfit in town, and we made inquiries about a band for the occasion. Far from having trouble locating free entertainment, we discovered ourselves with an embarrassment of riches -- both the Trolls and the Warlocks, rock and roll quintets, were vying for the right to play the first CAVE dance on the sand, and an unfortunate duplication of effort made it so that both were engaged for the same affair. Only some delicate negotiations straightened the matter out without hard feelings. In both instances we said we would do our best to see that the band in question was hired for a paid dance in the future in the event that any were held.

Those working with teenagers and young adults in the field of entertainment would do well to know that at least for the present time it is not necessary to employ big names to draw and hold a good crowd. At least in this area there are literally dozens of competent rock and roll quartets and quintets, composed mostly of boys in their teens, who are available at fees ranging from \$50 to \$150. Though I have been a musician most of my life, I was not familiar with the niceties of rock and roll music, but I found that it is safe to follow the suggestions of the young people themselves so long as one is clearly getting a consensus.

Perhaps it is almost too obvious to say that the universal in work with the young is music, and the more familiar the adult worker is with young tastes the more effective will the programming be. Further comments will be found in the analysis of the Fourth of July weekend program, but for the moment it should be noted that the fact I can play a string bass passably gave me an entree to young people I never otherwise could have reached, even though I was almost totally unfamiliar with their music at the outset.

On Saturday, June 19th, at three o'clock two events were simultaneously scheduled. One was the CAVE dance on the sand, and the other was a special meeting of the executive board of the Chamber of Commerce, and since it was urgently suggested that I attend the latter, Hammond took responsibility for the first hour of the dance.

#### PROTOCOL QUESTIONS

The executive meeting raised two serious questions of protocol, complaining that we had been out of order in

approaching the state legislature with the question of a dancing-for-Sunday rider and that we had not obtained proper clearance to place the trailer even temporarily on the waterfront. On the former question it seemed pointless to try to explain that the only practical possibility of getting dancing for these days was to see if it could be made legal before seeking permission from the directors. Therefore I simply indicated that the conversations in Concord were exploratory, apologized for stepping out of line, and promised that it would not happen again.

On the question of the trailer I felt on surer ground, since permission for its placement had been granted by two of the three selectmen and since the president of the Chamber of Commerce had seen no objection to it. However, since the members of the executive board were vehement in their criticism, both of the trailer as an eyesore and of TAR personnel for placing it there without proper clearance, I agreed that it should be removed to Ashworth Avenue beside the police station rather than chance losing the site for the permanent building two weeks or so hence.

#### FIRST DANCE - JUNE 19th

After the meeting I hustled down to the M Street area of the beach where the dance was taking place. All seemed to be well. Somewhere between 500 and 1000 young people and adults were gathered around, more watching than dancing. The music was loud, plenty loud enough to satisfy the young people, yet from the boardwalk it could hardly be heard over the roar of the generator. By the time one crossed the adjacent parking lot and reached Ocean Boulevard itself, neither the band nor the generator could be heard.

For the most the police stayed at the railing along the boardwalk, and none seemed to feel that the dance posed a problem in terms of crowd control. Such criticism as there was initially from either police department was more in terms of the propriety of the dancing. Earlier in the hour, one bikini-clad girl had been cavorting in what Chief Leavitt and several others thought was a distasteful manner. However, when Leavitt spoke to Hammond, Hammond had in turn sent a boy to speak to her, and she had quickly donned a shirt. Interestingly enough, a number of other girls therewith put on shirts without being asked. Rather than resenting the criticism, the young people seemed anxious to take any reasonable



steps to avoid criticism.

The dance ran its course from three to five o'clock to the obvious delight of the committees who had helped make it possible and to the quite general satisfaction of the young people who participated in it. They felt they had not only put on a program which was fun for everyone but had conclusively demonstrated that a sizable and conspicuous event could be undertaken without trouble of any kind.

### THIRD SONGFEST

The next day a songfest was undertaken in roughly the same area of the beach, but by now it was old hat, particularly compared with the impact of a rock and roll dance, and only a handful of people attended. Even the sight of a guitar on the beach failed to arouse any particular interest of the casual sun and surf bathers.

However, during Sunday and on the days that followed there began a tide of adult criticism of the dance which had been held Saturday. There was great concern whether today's dancing was the sort of thing that ought to be done in public, and particularly whether it ought to be permitted, to say nothing of being encouraged, at Hampton Beach. More distressing still were the rumors which accompanied the criticism -- alleged eye witness reports that one girl was dancing in a G string or that she had lost the top of her bathing suit. Other statements were made to the effect that the dancing was worse than what you would see in a burlesque house, and it was alleged that rock and roll dancing had been forbidden in both Boston and Revere. On the other hand, one or two of the selectmen had attended the dance and had been warmly enthusiastic about its success, and a number of other adults were pleased that the program had progressed satisfactorily to date.

The following Tuesday, June 22, was the date set for the directors meeting at which the TAR Committee would present the next phase of its program, including the Fourth of July weekend schedule. Obviously, judging from the mixed reactions to the dance, a substantial debate was shaping up.

### POLICY DEBATE SHAPES UP

We were much concerned that Richard Stone might be flying

and not able to be present, either for this meeting or for the TAR meeting which was to precede it. Throughout the spring Stone, Van Nostrand and subsequently Hammond and I had worked very closely with all aspects of the program, with Rosenthal a close advisor on no less than a weekly basis through telephone or personal contact.

Stone, as TAR chairman, had gone far beyond his duty as head of an advising and authorizing committee to take an almost day-by-day part both in thinking through practical decisions and in helping to carry them out by personal contact with all the various officials and lay persons responsible for or interested in beach policy. Often his patience and tact had helped carry an issue through a trying negotiation or debate to a workable solution. In a number of instances he bore the onus for the decision which was not his alone, for instance a policy which other individuals felt they could support privately but not publicly.

The question of the teenage nightclub -- the Onyx Room -- was a case in point. Originally a good number of officials and lay persons had felt that there was real need of such an establishment if it could be a healthy diversion for young people. Then, when the Chamber of Commerce made it clear that teenage nightclubs were not acceptable, it became incumbent upon TAR and Stone, as chairman, to take no further action upon this program element. However, a few officials still supported the efforts of Carmen Fichera, a young man about 22, who was attempting to establish a teenage club with the backing of a beach businessman. Then it became apparent that a property was available for the club in the Boar's Head area, about one mile north of Hampton Beach center. No official felt he could take the step of recommending Fichera to the landlady, so Stone was asked to do so. After some thought he did make the recommendation, and there his participation in the matter ended.

As a result, although no direct charges were made, there were a number of strong hints that Stone had clandestinely set up the Onyx Club counter to the wishes of the Chamber of Commerce.

#### POLICE TRAINING COURSE

Another area where Stone had played a quiet but important role was helping to establish the police training course

under the International Association of Chiefs of Police. At Rosenthal's suggestion, Stone made the initial contacts which resulted in Chief Leavitt's visit to Washington and the subsequent agreement to have instituted a course which dealt effectively with human relations in police work and the changing role of the policeman in a society where he must cope, not only with criminals, but with social situations like that at Hampton Beach.

Originally it was hoped to have state as well as local police participation in the IACP course if it were to have any significant effect in improving the relations between police and young people. Both Stone and Chief Leavitt did everything possible to encourage this state level participation, but in the end it proved impossible for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the fact that even in late June there was no clear indication of which state troopers would be permanently assigned to Hampton Beach or even whether there would be a rotating force.

Particularly during June the calendars of everyone associated with the Hampton Beach Project were crowded with conferences and consultations with this person or that group as all these various matters were carried through to some sort of resolution. One particularly time consuming issue was the matter of the youth center building, which would also have to be cleared at the Chamber of Commerce meeting on June 22nd.

#### YOUTH BUILDING QUESTIONS

First there was the question of location. If it was to go on the beach front, was it to be north or south of the playground? If it was to be in the most desirable location -- north of the playground -- there had to be, before it could be brought to the Chamber of Commerce directors, approvals from both the selectmen and the Parks Department since this particular piece of land was in process of being transferred from one to the other. Ultimately, approvals of all these locations were obtained so that the matter could be finally decided by the directors.

Then there was the question of money. Since federal funds could not be used for permanent acquisitions, the only source of funds available at that time was the \$3000 allocated for Project use by the Town of Hampton. It was finally decided that it would be permissible to use these funds for a

building with the contingency that subsequent funds raised by the TAR Committee would be turned back into the town account.

There arose then the question of ownership and indeed whether possession of the building would be an asset or a burden. Would the building be the possession of the Chamber of Commerce under whose sponsorship it would be erected, or of the town which was supplying the funds? At one stage an attempt was made to solve these questions by the rental of a prefabricated structure which could be dismantled at the end of the year, but fortunately or unfortunately, the only building available under these terms was unsuitable and not available until well into July.

All these questions were considered in Chamber of Commerce meetings, TAR meetings, with the selectmen, and with a great variety of interested individuals. At the conclusion it was apparent that the least expensive sort of semi-permanent building would be one of wood. For a little over \$2000 we could probably put up a very basic sort of structure with volunteer help, not including costs for any utilities or for painting.

Hammond drew up designs for such a building, then went the extra step of approaching a builder of prefabricated homes in Portsmouth. When the builder heard what the structure was to be used for, he offered a unit 20 X 40 complete with a prime coat of paint for \$2600 which could be erected in two or three days time. The only additional cost would be the second coat of paint and the roofing, and here again Hammond got free assistance from a friendly roofing company. Drawings of the building were supplied for consideration by the TAR Committee and the Chamber of Commerce.

Finally, of course, the most pressing matter to be presented to both these bodies was the July Fourth program. An earlier attempt to establish a substantive program with the TAR Committee on June 9th had produced initial discussion but no conclusive result. Now the option of dancing for Sunday was definitely out of the question, so Hammond, Stone and I met to see what the strongest second choice could be. Dancing, we felt, should at least be used for the Saturday of the three-day weekend. It seemed impractical to attempt anything on as large a scale as the all-day all-night affair at Fort Lauderdale, but perhaps a long dance or series of dances carrying through from four in the afternoon to midnight would be possible. There was the question of lighting, but we hoped to

face this in the preparation for a special night dance on the Wednesday before Fourth of July weekend, which would serve as one more in a series of tests. For Sunday, the only solution seemed to be the best possible variety show which could be put together in the ten-day period between the 22nd and the big weekend.

As noted above, we were seriously concerned that Stone might not be available for these two important meetings since he had so strongly led the way in previous program discussions. The program we were about to present was obviously a long way from the original considerations of the TAP Committee, and the decision was not going to be an easy one for the Chamber of Commerce to make. Feeling we needed all the support we could get, we checked with C of C President Vanderpool to see whether he thought there would be any objection to having Cy Rosenthal on hand. When he said he could see no objection, an urgent call was placed to Rosenthal, who agreed to come for that day.

#### C. OF C. CLEARS PROGRAM

Then, at the last minute before the TAR Committee meeting was to convene, Stone appeared unexpectedly, having rearranged his flight schedule. The TAR meeting itself went quickly and effectively. The building plans were accepted, and if the Fourth of July program was not brought to an official vote there was a general consensus of approval as we went into the Chamber of Commerce meeting. Since the minutes of the meeting included herewith were not kept by Bill Elliot, they are somewhat bare of the detail he customarily fills in. Nevertheless they do give the essentials.

Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce.

Fire Station Hall  
Ashworth Avenue  
Hampton Beach, N. H.  
June 22, 1965

The meeting was called to order by President Vanderpool at 8:00 P.M. with the following directors present: King, Cann, Doherty, John Dineen, Downer, Gerald Dunfey, John Dunfey, Fallon, Foley, Fuller, Goding, Grandmaison, Henneka, Jordan, McCurdy, McLane, Moulton, Preston, Ross, Salomon, Trefatter, Vanderpool, Cunningham, Stone and several visitors.

The minutes of the last meeting were omitted as our Executive Secretary was away.

Salomon spoke on the CAVE location, saying there were two proposed locations either north of the Children's playground, or south of it. He said he would like to go on record as favoring the north side location, because of Rest Room facilities. He also thought that the part of the building 20' should be east and west, and the 40' sides north and south, so as not to interfere with parking. Paul Estaver said the question of the building had to be settled tonight as it must be erected by June 30.

Several spoke for the front location and several were against it. Dick Hammond showed sketches of the proposed prefab building, which could be erected for \$2600.00.

It was felt that registrations would increase, when the building was up, and this was what we were striving for. Motion by George Downer that we have CAVE on the front, seconded by Jack Dunfey, and motion carried. Motion by Salomon that the location be the North side of the playground, that the narrow ends be east and west, subject to the approval of Russell Tobey, Division of Parks, the state and local police. Motion seconded by Preston. Motion carried.

Dr. Rosenthal, who was present from Washington, D. C., spoke of how enthused they were in Washington with the Hampton Beach project. It had created a lot of interest because most projects run into millions whereas this was being operated on \$42,000. When they heard of the Riots this past week-end he was sick, but greatly thrilled when he learned it was not his beloved Hampton Beach.

The following CAVE program was proposed:

June 26, 1965	Dance	3:00 to 5:00 P.M.	"M" Street area on sand
June 30, 1965	Dance	3:00 to 5:00 P.M.	"M" Street area on sand
	Dance	8:00 to 10:00 P.M.	(If public lighting is not available, we will provide it for night events.)
July 3, 1965	Dancing	4:00 to Midnight	"M" Street area
July 4, 1965	Variety Show	5:00 P.M. to Midnight,	followed by two (2) hours of dancing. (To disburse the crowd) "M" Street area

Motion by George Downer, seconded by Jack Dunfey, that program be accepted subject to the approval of the State and Local police. Motion carried (17 to 4)

Many present spoke opposing the type of dance they had seen on the beach.

Bob Preston passed around the full page write-up which appeared in the Boston Globe. It was felt that it was good coverage and an excellent resume.

Jack Dunfey spoke of the changing times and that we had to expect to change with the times.

Two teenagers were present and introduced as representing CAVE.

Meeting adjourned at 11:00 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

A few corrections should be noted: under the heading June 30, 1965, for the program, there is erroneously listed a dance from 3:00 to 5:00 in the afternoon. Also, when the program was passed, the midnight dance for Monday morning was limited to one hour. Although the minutes note that only the program was subject to local and state police approval, it was our understanding that the building as well had to be cleared.

This meeting was attended by 20 or 30 members of the Chamber of Commerce other than the directors, and the debate, particularly on the issue of dancing, was intense. There was a good deal of sincere objection to today's pelvic dancing, countered by arguments that the gyrations of the young have always been subject to raised eyebrows on the part of the adult generation and that any dance can be made provocative if the individual chooses to make it so. There was also the question whether such dancing would hurt Hampton's image as a family beach, however much those who were regulars in the community might be willing to accept it. Unquestionably the vote in favor of the program called for much soul searching on the part of those who ultimately supported it, and many did so hesitantly, and only because they were convinced that it was the right thing to do that and the crisis at Hampton Beach called for drastic action.

Rosenthal and Robert Preston made very strong presentations, both on the theme that the younger generation is quickly coming to a position of majority in our society and that we must make adjustments, however radical they may seem, to changing times and a way of life which has room for persons of all ages.

Once the program was approved our real work had only begun. First there were conferences with such members of the CAVE Program Committee as could be rounded up, first to find out what bands and entertainment were appropriate for the various functions to come, and, second, to see what we could do about obtaining them. Then too, permission had to be obtained from Chief Leavitt and Colonel Regan to clear the program and to start work on the building. Wednesday, the day after the C of C meeting, I spent some nervous hours chasing Colonel Regan all over the state by telephone to set up an appointment with him and Leavitt to consider the program, but more important to get his approval for the building. The only possible chance we had of getting it put up for July Fourth weekend was if we could start construction Thursday, the next day, because of the schedule of the erecting crew. Hammond, activist that he is, had taken the chance that approval would be forthcoming and had given the go-ahead to the building company, but having been severely reprimanded for acting out of protocol, I was not comfortable until I reached Colonel Regan at his home late Wednesday evening and received permission officially. Since we could still take no concrete steps toward setting up the actual July Fourth program without police permission, and since time was short, Colonel Regan agreed to meet with me and Chief Leavitt two days hence for a decision.

On that same Wednesday night a mass meeting of all the CAVE Committees, some 30 to 40 young people, assembled at the cabana by Dick Hammond's swimming pool to consider all the various elements of program that were now about to begin. A newspaper crew was set up under worker Nancy Deane, a money-raising crew under Craig Little, the Rules Committee was disbanded and replaced by a Board of Review to consider the cases of a few CAVE members who had been arrested recently as soon as they came to court, and a few members of the Program Committee were delegated to work with me and Hammond in setting up the actual details of the July Fourth program as soon as police permission was obtained. The fact that the Chamber of Commerce directors had approved the program served as a tremendous morale booster for all present. When the question of volunteers to help erect the building arose, there was an ample showing of hands.

(It should be noted, however, that more man hours were probably put in by Project employees and by adults paid by Dick Hammond than by volunteers. The young people did come from time to time, but as usual it was a small number of



regulars upon whom one could depend, and several changes in the work schedule further reduced their number. If we could have worked the following Sunday, probably we would have had more volunteers than we knew what to do with, but one woman in the community raised a violent objection to labor on Sunday, and rather than face this complication we held a moratorium on work for the Lord's day.)

#### ATTEMPTS TO LINE UP JULY 4 PROGRAM

Obviously the most difficult problem we had to face was that of either money or backing for the variety show scheduled for Sunday of Labor Day weekend. Something miraculous was going to have to happen, help either from a radio station or the gift of talent from someone, or at the very least some sort of loan to carry us through to the time we could undertake our own fund-raising efforts.

Our first approach was to Peter Fuller, president of the largest Cadillac-Olsmobile franchise in Boston and a summer resident on Little Boar's Head in the town of North Hampton. He seemed a logical person to approach, not only because of his avowed interest in young people, but because he had just completed heading a million dollar fund raising drive for cancer research in the state of Massachusetts. By mid-week I was successful in reaching him and explained in detail what the Hampton Beach Project was all about. He certainly was most interested and seemed inclined to help. Had it not been for the unfortunate circumstance that he was to be away for the next full week, this was the one individual who probably could have put together a program without cost. As it was, he gave me a list of people who he felt could be helpful and suggested I use his name in reference.

Meanwhile Rosenthal, on his end, was doing what he could to help. He set up an appointment for us with the president of WBZ in Boston, the largest rock and roll station in New England whose functions with disc jockeys in various communities were well known. Further, Rosenthal promised to see whether, if it were necessary, funds could be borrowed from the federal project for use in program.

Friday morning I met with Colonel Regan and Chief Leavitt at Leavitt's office. Once again Leavitt played the devil's advocate, going over each detail of the program with a critical

fine-tooth comb. As before, it was agreed that if there was trouble at any step, the remainder of the program might well have to be curtailed or abandoned. After much discussion both Leavitt and the Colonel finally did agree to proceed with the program on the understanding that we would evaluate each event and, if it were successful, go on to the next one. Thus there was now approval for the following Saturday's rock and roll dance in the afternoon, an evening one on the Wednesday thereafter if adequate lighting could be provided, and so on through Fourth of July weekend.

Subsequent calls for help in setting up the Sunday program were less encouraging. The manager of radio station WBBX in Portsmouth, while volunteering personnel from his own radio station, was dubious that we would get free assistance to any other extent, particularly with so little time to prepare.

The next visit was to Arnie Ginsberg, a popular rock and roll disc jockey of WMEX in Boston who had a summer place in Ogunquit, Maine. It took a little time to hunt him down and subsequently to convince him that I wasn't a crank. Once convinced, however, there was little he could do except offer advice. He himself was already booked at Boston Garden for the day in question and he was quite sure that most of the other "name" jockeys from the Boston area would be similarly tied up. He did give considerable advice on setting up the affair in terms of staging and public address system, and supplied other names in reference. Possibly, he said, he might be able to help for Labor Day weekend. Finally, he was sure there was no way to set up such a program as we were anticipating without spending somewhere between one and two thousand dollars.

This was Saturday morning; Saturday afternoon I got back to the beach just in time to help set up the second CAVE dance on the sand, attended this time both by more young people and by more adult spectators.

This dance was a little more comfortable than the first, when the young people had been self-conscious and hesitated to get up and dance before so many spectators. This time also there was a sort of unspoken rule on shirts for girls put into effect before there could be any criticism.

Several directors of the Chamber of Commerce, who had heard all the hullabaloo but not seen the event, came down this time to see how bad it was and seemed to be reassured.

Of the entire crowd probably no more than a hundred were actually dancing at any one time, and these were so thoroughly surrounded by spectators that one really had to crane one's neck to see them at all from the boardwalk. Apparently, these directors concluded, it was more the idea than the actual spectacle of rock and roll dancing which had set people's teeth on edge.

It should certainly be noted that there were also strongly critical adults on hand again this time, both from the directors of the Chamber of Commerce and from its general membership. Over the course of the past week one director had resigned over the issue of dancing and now another one threatened to follow suit. While the police could not say that this function was anything in the way of a crowd control problem, Lt. O'Leary especially commented that he had had many complaints about rock and roll dancing per se.

One event in the course of the dance served, if anything, to reinforce the argument that CAVE functions were sound as an experiment in group behavior. This was when first one, then three other boys were removed from the crowd by the police for minor offences, neither of which was associated with the dance itself. The arrests were made without incident; the crowd simply stepped back and let the police officers go about their business with as little fuss as possible. Afterward Chief Leavitt commented with pleasure over the incident. A year ago, he said, in order to have made an arrest from such a crowd he would have gone in at his peril, expecting to have his hat knocked off and sand thrown in his face. He therefore gave permission for the rest of the program to proceed as planned.

#### CONTINUED SEARCH FOR JULY 5 TALENT

The daytime hours on Sunday, June 27th, were taken up with the beginning of the research interview schedule on the beach and with a conference with the consultants for the staff in the afternoon. In the evening I went to see Jimmy Parks in Manchester, a manager of several popular folk music groups. He said he would do what he could to obtain the Brandywines for our July Fourth production but at a price. By now it was clear that unless tomorrow's visit at WBZ could produce an unexpected surprise we were going to have to pay for whatever talent was brought in. Parks had suggestions for Labor Day weekend -- first that we see whether funds could be obtained through the

Musicians' Performance Trust Fund, affiliated with the American Federation of Musicians, and second, that for a very few hundred dollars we could run the First Annual Invitational Folk-Rock-Pop Festival at Hampton Beach. The only funds required would be for prizes, perhaps as little as \$500, in toto, and if it were set up as a legitimate invitational tournament it could draw the best from all categories in this region to the beach.

The next morning Dick Hammond, my wife and I set out for Boston to see what help could be obtained from WBZ or from whomever else we could track down. We had in hand a list supplied by the CAVE Program Committee with suggestions for various performers in the folk field who they felt would be suitable and exciting for the Sunday variety show. In addition to the Brandywines, whom Parks was already trying to contact, there were Jim Kweskin and his Jug Band, Eric von Schmidt, Dave van Ronk, Bonnie Dobson, The Charles River Valley Boys, and a hair-raising rock and roll group from Boston University known as Barry and the Remains.

In response to a telegram from Washington, Perry Bascom, president of WBZ, welcomed us in and said that it was conceivable that WBZ could sponsor the sort of program we had in mind for Labor Day, but it was out of the question for July Fourth weekend since WBZ plans such productions weeks, or months, in advance.

However, he made a special call and set up an immediate appointment for us at Folklore Productions in Boston, where we were able to line up a show that included Von Schmidt, Bonnie Dobson, The New Lost City Ramblers, and possibly one or two others. If we could now get either Barry and the Remains or the Brandywines, we would have a show to brag about.

Considerable chasing around at B.U. finally uncovered the name of the manager of Barry and the Remains. He was not sure whether they could make it or not, but the price tag was something over \$500. Obviously if all or any of this was to come about there was going to be need for substantial amount of money.

There followed a series of phone calls to Washington and Hampton to see what could be set up in terms of a loan from the federal funds. Rosenthal referred us to George Roemer, fiscal officer for the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, who agreed that the funds could be loaned in this manner if he

received a telegram from Stone and Vanderpool with a formal request and at least an outline of what the entertainment schedule was to be. With two of the feature groups still up in the air, we could only pick a figure out of the air and make sure it was high enough to cover all contingencies. Therefore we phoned back to Stone and suggested that he send the telegram with a listing of features whose costs totalled a maximum of \$2950. Stone in turn prepared the telegram, persuaded Vanderpool to permit his name to be signed, and dispatched it to Washington forthwith. The understanding was that the loan would be repaid from such funds as the TAR Committee and/or the young people from CAVE could raise through the summer. For the time being it would be covered by unexpended funds or borrowed from budget line items not yet put to use.

That evening when I returned home I received a phone call from Vanderpool, who was greatly concerned over the entire matter. He had, he said, been willing to go through the form of letting the telegram go out, but he was sure that the Chamber of Commerce would never agree to borrow funds on the basis stipulated "in their present frame of mind," and he warned me I must not commit the Chamber to so much as one cent until it was okayed by the Board of Directors. The warning was a timely one, letting us know both that something more than this loan arrangement must be effected, and that the coming Chamber of Commerce meeting for Tuesday, the 29th of June, might be rough.

Therefore, that same evening I phoned Rosenthal at home to see whether federal funds might be used outright for a program of this sort. He promised to check it with the staff of the Office of Juvenile Delinquency the next morning, and by ten o'clock Tuesday he called to say that a telegram approving this use of funds was already on its way.

I called Folklore Productions in Boston with a temporary "hold" order for the show we had tentatively lined up. They agreed to wait until Wednesday morning provided I would at that time either cancel the whole affair or make a trip to Boston prepared to sign a contract and to bring a certified check for \$500 as a down payment. Subsequent calls to Boston and Manchester made it clear that neither Barry and the Remains or the Brandywines would be available for July Fourth so that an additional group from Folklore Productions of some kind would have to be hired.

## JULY 4 PROGRAM IN TROUBLE

During the course of that afternoon I was warned by several more people that the evening's Chamber of Commerce meeting was going to be a difficult one when it came to the question of the use of large sums of money -- their own or anyone else's -- for a program of free entertainment at Hampton Beach.

That evening at the 7:00 P.M. TAR meeting the troubles for the program began. Until this time most of the TAR meetings had been fairly peaceful affairs and such formal votes as were taken were usually unanimous. But this was quite a radically altered committee from what it had been during the months of late winter and early spring. Although they were still members the following had been unable to attend meetings for a number of weeks -- Chief Leavitt, Herbert Casassa, the state representative, Daniel Maloney, the high school principle, and Robert Preston, the businessman-politician who had in the past engineered several important compromises. Also absent from this meeting was George Downer, the moderate of the three new members appointed to the committee in May. Present were Stone, Van Nostrand, Elliot, Foley, Dineen, Salomon, Lt. O'Leary, Hammond and myself. Of the group I suppose you could say Stone, Van Nostrand, Hammond and myself were the liberals. Salomon and Bill Elliot were in the moderate category, while Foley and Dineen were inclined to be conservative, along with Lt. O'Leary. The lieutenant made it a policy not to participate in the voting, but his viewpoints generally were the conservative ones of the state police. Hammond, an employee of the committee rather than a member, had no vote.

It was a difficult occasion for all of us. Once again the question was raised whether the dances we contemplated could become the occasion for a riot, and the pursuant discussion traced the activities we had had to date and the experience of Fort Lauderdale. There was considerable question whether Colonel Regan had indeed made a decision about dancing on the beach: Lt. O'Leary had the impression that no such permission had been granted, while mine was quite the opposite.

The question of the expenditure of almost \$3000, however, was the most difficult one with which to cope. First there was the matter of protocol again -- was it proper without authorization from TAR for Stone to send a telegram requesting the use of federal funds in the fashion we contemplated? Then came the question how the \$3000 would be replaced, and we could

only quote Rosenthal as having said that if the program continued in a satisfactory fashion additional funds would be available. The minutes of the TAR meeting of that day outline the remainder of the discussion:

The question of crowd control was raised by Mr. Dineen. Mr. Estaver stated we could control with entertainment. Mr. Elliot expressed the fear that entertainment would create factions among the crowd. Mr. Dineen questioned the wisdom of a soft approach to the kids, saying it hadn't worked last year.

The question of having such an activity at the state park was raised by Mr. Dineen. Mr. Estaver replied that such a program, if it were to be effective, must have the element of spontaneity. It would be difficult to have the element of spontaneity in a program at the state park.

Mr. Salomon said, "The town has a great stake in the business at the beach. Are we going to have a program or are we not? We will shut off the beach if it gets over-crowded."

Finally, as the hour for the Chamber of Commerce directors meeting approached, the question of using the federal funds for the program was put to a vote, and for the first time the TAR Committee split badly. The vote was carried only four to three, with Lt. O'Leary abstaining. The meeting was adjourned and we stepped across the hall from the office of the fire chief to the large assembly room where the board of directors was preparing to meet.

Once again the room was packed as the community convened to consider the difficult problem of how to cope with its young. Herewith follow the minutes of that meeting:

Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce.

Fire Station Hall  
Ashworth Avenue  
Hampton Beach, N. H.

June 29, 1965

President Vanderpool called the meeting to order at 8:15 P.M. with the following directors present: Batterbury, Bragg, King,

Cann, Doherty, John Dineen, Joseph Dineen, Downer, Gerald Dunfey, John Dunfey, Fallon, Flynn, Foley, Fuller, Gagne, Goding, Grandmaison, Harris, Henneka, McCurdy, Moulton, Ross, Salomon, Trefatter, Vanderpool, Cunningham, Stone, Van Nostrand, and Secretary Elliot.

There were also present about one hundred members and friends.

The president welcomed visitors and made it clear to all present they were welcome to make comments and that after a thorough discussion the hall would be cleared of all except the Directors, who would remain for consideration of motions and voting.

He said the most important thing to be discussed was the outstanding problem of Hampton Beach.

Fallon spoke, as chairman of TAP, and reported that many of the things requested of the State Legislature have been passed; that he was informed the curfew bill has been drafted and that the curfew bill which had been previously passed was inadequate for Hampton's needs, therefore, he hoped the new Curfew Bill would receive approval of the Legislature and Senate. He said TAP is in hopes of getting some type of Regulations and Legislation regarding restrictions on the Letting of Cottages and other units to minors and he felt there is a good chance of this being accomplished.

President Vanderpool asked Estaver for a report on CAVE. Estaver said all programs had been approved to this point for the CAVE Fourth of July weekend program for Youth. He said, however, as time was limited they had found it impossible to get free entertainers, but that they had contacted an entertainment bureau who could furnish the type of entertainment they need for somewhere around \$2400.00; that a telegram had been received from Washington, D. C. to be followed by a letter granting the right to use up to \$2950.00 for the Fourth of July Weekend Program. He said the TAR Committee met prior to the general meeting and had recommended this transfer of funds by a vote of 4 to 3.

Stone said he had originally requested this sum on a loan basis but that they now believed with the authority of Washington, up to the amount could be taken out of the regular budget line items.



Salomon spoke regarding the dual approach the TAP and Directors had felt the best way to attack the Hampton Beach problem: first - by strong but fair enforcement; and second - by gaining the cooperation of the teenagers.

There was much discussion by various members of the group; many questions were asked and answered.

One of the Precinct Commissioners, speaking in behalf of the board, said the Precinct Commissioners were one hundred percent against TAP, TAR, CAVE and their program, and further that Gagne, who spoke for the commissioners, believed that this program would promote a riot rather than curbing it.

Mr. Munroe, Greyhurst, said he was opposed to the program and that Hampton is now a teenage jungle.

Mr. Harris said we should not experiment with taxpayers money, and that dancing on the sand would create a disturbance.

Mrs. Solloway said we are not responsible for delinquents, it is their parents responsibility. Mr. Harris said we must have faith in the average hotel and motel owners and that these business people must be considered and pull together, but he believed the program of free entertainment is not the answer.

Mr. Royal asked if this was not the answer what would anyone present offer as an alternative. Henneka said he had nothing against the modern dance but he was against dancing in public, particularly on the beach. We must cater to our families, don't appease the kids, and that he was strongly opposed to the complete program.

Mrs. McKenna of Connecticut House also spoke strongly in opposition. Cliff McCoy opposed the program.

Mrs. Solloway asked for a breakdown of the salaries of the Federal employees. Mr. Thomas asked if there was any program planned for adults.

The president called on Rev. M. Van Nostrand, who outlined the adult program, for example, a picnic trip to the Isle of Shoals with some restaurant putting up and selling box lunches, etc., card parties, etc. Flynn said this was what he was afraid of, the older people would get too much free program also. Whereupon Van Nostrand said he wasn't talking of free programs, he expected the people would pay their passage to

the Isle of Shoals and for lunch to the restaurant before they left.

Downer asked to be recognized, saying he is a fairly large property owner; he feels strongly force is not the complete answer. What to do about the problem has been discussed at many meetings and that the proposal outlines is not a guarantee.

Fallon said he would need to know a lot more about the transfer of funds as he understood most of the money is already committed. President Vanderpool read the telegram from Bernard Russell approving the expenditure of \$2950.00 of the Grant money for Youth Entertainment over the Fourth of July.

After further discussion, questions and answers, the president asked for a show of hands, prior to which he told of the hours of work and study put in by the committees to accomplish and suggest the solution now being discussed. He said keep these things in mind when voting because we all have a lot at stake.

Cunningham asked that the TAR program for the Fourth of July be read again.

Mr. Hammond spoke eloquently and sincerely, on behalf of GAVE organization, explaining to all present that these youngsters were on our side, not on the side of the rioters. He said he could ill afford to take part in this program, himself, but believed some good could be done for the youth of the country as well as for Hampton Beach.

An informal vote was taken 16 voters were in favor of the program as outlined and all the rest present, who voted, were opposed.

The directors were asked to remain and all others to leave the hall and the closed session was open by Foley, who said that he was of the impression the funds allocated to us were for research and study. Cunningham said that if we can't give the entire program let us give something so that this matter can have a try.

Fallon said the request for \$3000.00 additional funds for entertainment disturbed him, particularly as it is to be spent in one weekend.

Elliot said it had been agreed early in the program that the Fourth of July would be used as a trial run to experiment for the great problem of Labor Day.

Estaver was asked if there was a surplus in the budget and he said around \$1800.00.

John Dunfey made a motion that the program as outlined by Estaver be approved, subject to local and state police approval, and the approval of the selectmen, with the police to select the location to be used for the acts and dancing. Downer seconded the motion.

Following a long discussion it was decided before action could be taken the motion passed at the previous meeting must be rescinded. McCurdy moved, Harris seconded, that the directors rescind the motion regarding Estaver's program for the Fourth of July, passed at last meeting. It was explained that this would require a 2/3 vote. 21 votes cast. 14 in favor of rescinding. 7 opposed.

Van Nostrand put in a plea for a modified program, saying that he felt the majority were opposed to dancing on the beach but what about a compromise, let's find out what the big objections are, and at least have some program.

Elliot asked if the CAVE committee would consider the State Park as a location. Van Nostrand said he felt the location should be up to the police. Dineen said he had offered his ballroom as a place for the program to be held, several times, and he was offering it again, but no request was made.

Harris moved that the Board vote against the Fourth of July Program as presented by Paul Estaver. Fred Gagne seconded the motion.

George Downer amended the motion that we accept the program suggested without dancing. Cunningham seconded the amendment. There were six in favor of the amendment with 14 opposed.

Stone requested permission to speak before the main motion was put, and stated that he felt if the motion was opposed it would be the end of TAR effort and that he believed the only thing left for him to do would be to resign as Chairman

of the TAR committee, simultaneously notifying Washington of the lack of cooperation of the people of Hampton Beach.

A vote was taken and the motion carried. 17 to 7.

Meeting adjourned at 11:05 P.M.

Respectfully submitted:

William "Bill" Elliot,  
Secretary

Thus, late in the evening of June 29, it came about that neither CAVE nor TAR had any program whatsoever for July Fourth weekend. Several members of the CAVE organization had attended the general meeting, and were anxiously waiting for us outside the fire station to see what the vote of the directors had been. Needless to say, they were disappointed when they heard the news.

#### HOLDING ACTION WHILE CAVE IN ABEYANCE

In Washington Rosenthal was also awaiting our phone call to learn the outcome. We could only tell him that the vote had gone strongly against us despite the best debate we could muster, and that we would continue on to see what could be done to hold the program together. He very strongly urged us to re-establish contact with CAVE members as quickly as possible, to make them understand that the community was undergoing a very difficult sort of social change, that favorable decisions in these matters did not come easily, that all must be patient. He particularly urged us to seek the cooperation of all CAVE members in preventing trouble for July Fourth weekend. If, after all we had demonstrated, there should then be any sort of riot at Hampton Beach, everything we had accomplished to date would be lost.

The next morning I received word that a compromise might come after all. There was talk that John Dineen was upset to have had the entire program dumped and that a special emergency meeting of the Chamber of Commerce directors was being set up as quickly as possible. I therefore called Folklore Productions in Boston and told them that although the program was officially cancelled, there was some possibility that at least a

portion of it could be rescued, but no guarantee could be made, and probably no decision, for another one or two days. Their response was a verbal shrug: obviously they couldn't hold any portion of the show for us, but they would do their best to help when and if we ourselves could take some sort of concrete action.

During the next few days my more important endeavors were to do whatever possible to pull together the somewhat demoralized CAVE organization and to round up Chamber of Commerce support for whatever compromise program might be forthcoming. Perhaps my most interesting visit was with the owner of the Hampton Beach Casino.

John Dineen opposed the element of free dancing in the TAR program for a variety of perfectly good reasons. First, he found rock and roll dancing personally distasteful, and he was concerned that the type of young people it drew might be rowdy. Although he is not the sort of person to make an issue of others' morals, he used the moral argument because it was a strong tactic.

Secondly, any free dancing in Hampton Beach was competition, plain and simple. It was enough work to keep a big ballroom like that in the Casino on a profitable basis with the Seagate going four nights a week, to say nothing of free dances across the street.

Third, his FBI training told him that any sort of crowd was dangerous. From the previous fall his advocacy had been the TAP method alone -- find whatever way necessary to let the decent people into Hampton Beach and keep the bums out.

Some of these things he said; others are common sense observations. What he did say candidly when we talked June 30th was that he had engineered the vote to rescind the program. He is one of the oldest and probably the largest operator on the beach. He has a lot of friends. He is a persuasive man and a shrewd tactician.

He confirmed that he had not intended that the whole program should be abandoned -- it was the dancing to which he objected. Within carefully defined limits, he felt the TAR program was useful and healthy. Now he hoped the coming emergency directors meeting could restore the remainder of the July Fourth program. Further, he wanted it to be clear

that he was willing to loan the Casino Ballroom to CAVE through the summer and that he would split profits on dances held there.

We went over this ground a number of times. Then, as later, my response was that we would welcome the use of the Ballroom, but on special occasions we also needed a few dances on the sand, since the problem was on the beach, not in the Ballroom. It was on the beach where diversion was going to be badly needed if this July 4 were anywhere near as tense as 1964.

That, he said, was a police problem.

And so we parted as we usually did -- on friendly terms, neither of us accepting the basic premise of the other. Here was the essence of the debate -- internal control versus external control. Whether there could have been a compromise somewhere if Dineen had been on the TAR Committee from the beginning is a moot question.

Late that same afternoon I met twenty or more of the CAVE leaders at the Onyx Room. Since several of them had attended the public portion of the previous night's Chamber of Commerce meeting, there was no need to describe what had happened. Instead my emphasis was upon the hopes to continue with CAVE and the Project. We did, after all, still have our building, now being completed. There had been no order to disband the organization. Only the July Fourth weekend program had been cancelled, and now there was the clear possibility that a compromise was in the offing. Also I made mention of the offer of the Casino Ballroom and said I felt we should try to follow up on it. I suggested that if they were sincere in their belief in CAVE now was the time it could be shown -- that everything possible must be done to avoid a negative reaction to this setback -- that everything possible must be done to "talk down" trouble for the weekend.

Their response was heartening. Not only did they agree to help in these matters, but they wished to take some more active role in helping heal the breach. Would it be possible, they asked, for me to set up a meeting between a CAVE delegation and perhaps the officers of the C of C? They wanted to state personally their own belief in the Project and to explain why they felt it was necessary for Hampton Beach.

It proved impossible to reach all of the C of C officers in the short time available, but Bill Elliot was designated as a Chamber representative and met some twenty young people

on the afternoon of July 1. To his great credit, he did an excellent job of conveying to the delegation the viewpoints of both the understanding adults and those who could not cooperate through fear or lack of understanding, as he put it. So effective was his presentation that the young people immediately went forth and called their own special meeting at the now fairly completed CAVE building to spread the word and to urge cooperation.

#### COMPROMISE FOR JULY 4 WEEKEND

That morning Elliot and I had sat down to draft a compromise program for July Fourth weekend. President Vanderpool had indicated that a basic premise for any program was that both state and local police departments must approve it before it could be presented to the Chamber of Commerce tonight.

As Elliot and I talked it out, the compromise program consisted of dancing on the sand as before and the entertainment program as before, except that now these events would be alternated with the regular Seashell show consisting of band concerts and organ recitals. A previous conversation with Chief Leavitt had indicated that it might be worth while to consider changing the locale of the dances from the E Street area to a section of the beach closer to the center and adjacent to the Seashell complex since this was where the greatest concentration of young people normally took place. It was further felt that dances at the center of the beach would be away from the hotels who might suffer business loss in reaction to youth activities. These suggestions, then, were incorporated as part of the compromise program that morning with Elliot.

Next I called Chief Leavitt and described the program to him. As far as he was concerned, he said, it was acceptable. He felt that Colonel Regan would find it acceptable as well but could not speak for him. Since Robert Preston had in the past several weeks been most helpful in acting as liason between the state police and the TAR Committee and since on this busy day it was most difficult to reach the Colonel, Leavitt suggested that Preston again be the man to present the compromise program with him. He already had an appointment set up with Colonel Regan and promised to contact me late in the afternoon with whatever decision was forthcoming.

The rest of the day, Hammond, Stone, Elliot, Van Nostrand and I spent contacting various individuals in the Chamber of Commerce to inform them of the compromise and to urge acceptance of it. Cy Rosenthal was also contacted in Washington and was soon on his way to Hampton in hope that he could contribute to the peacemaking venture.

Finally, some time after four, Preston and Dineen met me and said they had seen the Colonel along with Ralph Harris at the Hampton Beach State Police Barracks, a hotel rented for that use for the summer. The Colonel, they said, had felt obliged to accept only a part of the compromise program. In view of the riot rumors and headlines now abroad and the experience at Weirs Beach, he had ruled in the interests of public safety that there should be no rock and roll music or dancing for July Fourth weekend and that any CAVE program would have to be ended by 10:00 P.M.

Certainly there had been such rumors and headlines. With the exception of Hampton Beach itself, every seaside resort from Old Orchard Beach, Maine, to Coney Island had been the subject of riot talk. Particularly some of the Rhode Island beaches and Old Orchard Beach were supposed to be targets. The Maine state police had made a number of public announcements that they were ready for any trouble.

Nevertheless Hammond, Stone, Van Nostrand, Rosenthal and I were severely disappointed at the state police ruling. Preliminary signs at Hampton Beach indicated that there was little trouble likely here. If dancing was not permitted July 3rd, there was little chance that the device would be allowed for Labor Day weekend. We felt that the heart of the program was at stake.

Yet dancing was out. The basic premise for the emergency directors meeting was that the program must be cleared by both police departments. And Colonel Regan had stated his position.

We had two choices -- to accept our position gracefully or to accept it under protest. The first course might simply pave the way to subsequent compromise and water down the program for the remainder of the year. The second might kill the spirit of the compromise now offered by the program's opponents. Either way, it seemed that the compromise might render the program ineffectual, and our decision finally was to make the protest.



In the following minutes of the directors meeting, the fourth paragraph from the end makes note of that protest. Specifically, our plea was more that dancing should not be discarded in future programming than it was for the use of a dance on this particular weekend. As before the reasoning was that no other program device could supplant its effectiveness in absorbing the attention and the energies of the young.

Minutes of the special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce.

Hampton Beach Sea Shell  
Ocean Boulevard  
Hampton Beach, N. H.

July 1, 1965

Meeting was called to order at 8:00 P.M. by President Vanderpool with the following directors present: Bragg, King, Cann, Doherty, John Dineen, Joseph Dineen, Downer, Gerald Dunfey, John Dunfey, Fallon, Flynn, Foley, Fuller, Gagne, Grandmaison, Harris, Henneka, Janvrin, Jordan, Junkins, McCurdy, McLane, Moulton, Preston, Ross, Salomon, Trefatter, Vanderpool, Cunningham, and Secretary Elliot. Visitors present were Van Nostrand, Stone, Estaver, Leavitt, and Rosenthal.

President Vanderpool said the meeting had been called because of a phone call received by him from Mr. Rosenthal of Washington, D. C., regarding the TAR Program. He said Washington is disturbed because we do not have a program, and this was part of the recommendation of the Blandin Commission. Vanderpool then asked Paul Estaver, Youth Coordinator, to tell those present about the modified program TAR hoped to carry out over the Fourth of July weekend.

Elliot said before Estaver presents his program I would like to report a meeting between 14 CAVE members and myself this afternoon. He said the group expressed their desire not to take over Hampton Beach, or run Hampton Beach, but simply to help control the crowds and assist in making Hampton Beach a better place to live and vacation.

Estaver said this same group went out of the afternoon meeting and called a meeting of CAVE at which time they decided to do

everything to help Hampton Beach regardless of whether any program was provided or not. Estaver said they believed some beach entertainment should be tried, coordinated with youth entertainment, on the band stand, as well as the Band and Organ concerts. He suggested that the program on Saturday last from 12 noon to Midnight; and from 12 noon to Midnight on Sunday. He said the evening programs on the sand could not be conducted unless proper lighting is available.

Chief Leavitt said he was opposed to any night program on the sand as proper lighting of the sand is impossible at this late date.

Mr. Rosenthal spoke of the grant, explained that if the Board of Directors wished to return the unexpended funds and forget the whole plan the government is ready to accept this decision. However, he hoped the Hampton Beach group would continue their work, but if they were to do so a program of some kind should be forthcoming. He mentioned the Boston Globe writeup on Hampton Beach having solved its Youth Problem, stressed that it was recently read into the Congressional Records and that he believed this a wonderful start toward the goal of the TAR program. He said Washington had been called by several newspapers regarding the Hampton plan and progress but that Washington had referred the calls back to the authorities at Hampton Beach.

At this point Elliot suggested a program for Saturday, July 3 and Sunday, July 4, starting at 12 noon and lasting until midnight, with approximately 3/4 hour intervals interspersing folk music, Chamber of Commerce Organ and the Hampton Beach Concert Band, with possibly two hours of dancing indoors from midnight to 2 A.M.

Dineen said that he together with Harris and Preston had visited Col. Regan, who had told them he was opposed to any dancing on the beach and particularly to any program after 10:00 P.M. Dineen said he had talked, at length, also with Estaver at which time he had offered his ballroom free to the members of CAVE, after this week, one night a week, provided the dance held is acceptable and well conducted.

Harris said he would go along with the basic idea of Elliot's suggested program provided Leavitt and Regan were in agreement that it could be done. He said we are in the hands of capable department heads in our police and fire protection and the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce has always been able to present an excellent program for all ages.

Dineen stressed again that Col. Regan did not want a program to continue after 10:00 P.M. He then moved that the directors go along with the modified program as outlined by Secretary Elliot, which included a combination of Youth entertainment, Organ and Band Music from the Sea Shell stage, between 12 noon and 10:00 P.M. The motion was seconded by Cunningham.

Discussion followed during which Estaver and Mr. Hammond endeavored to convince those present to go a step further and permit dancing, at least during the day. Downer also put in a plea for some daytime beach dancing.

Dineen withdrew his original motion and moved that the Board of Directors of the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce go along with the program as outlined by Bill Elliot including segments approximately 3/4 hour long which feature a combination of Youth Programs, such as Folk Music, together with Organ and Hampton Beach Concert Band Music, and further that it be understood that this does not include "Rock and Roll" and dancing. The motion was seconded by Cunningham and voted by a "Yes" and "No" ballot. 29 Directors voting. 22 in favor. 5 opposed. 2 abstaining.

During the meeting many directors expressed their opinions and the entire matter was discussed thoroughly, calmly and with quiet dignity. This was the first closed executive session held by the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce Board in more than ten years.

Meeting adjourned immediately following the vote, at 10:00 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

Bill Elliot, Secretary

## VII

JULY 2 - JULY 5, 1965

Thus on the morning of July 2nd we were faced with the task of assembling a professional show for July 3rd and July 4th, and it had to be a show of sufficient calibre to qualify as a counter attraction to a possible riot. Had it not been for the exploration of the previous week, it obviously would have been impossible. Had it also not been for cooperation above and beyond the call of duty on the part of Manuel Greenhill of Folklore Productions, Inc., it would have been equally impossible. Greenhill and I did business on the telephone from my house to his hotel room in Newport, R. I. where he had gone to oversee the production of several of his performers in the Jazz Festival.

From this room he proceeded to place calls all over New England to do the best he could for us. His best was quite good -- of the four acts he sent us, three were nationally known recording and performing artists in the folk music field. For Saturday we had Eric von Schmidt, Bonnie Dobson, and an up-and-coming group known as the White Mountain Singers. This last group, although they had no reputation to precede them, were received almost better than the single performers in the particular situation at Hampton Beach. On Sunday, to replace the White Mountain Singers, there were the New Lost City Ramblers, one of whose members is the brother of Pete Seager. Both these groups were trios.

By mid-afternoon Friday all of these performers were committed, and a telegram contract including a substantial portion of the \$1800 package price was on its way to Greenhill. In addition we engaged as a single performer and master of ceremonies Danny Gravis, another folk singer on the way up who had participated in several of the CAVE songfests and was well known and liked by the young people on the beach.

During Friday there was also an opportunity to consult with Bill Elliot and with Stan Bednarz, the Hampton Beach Band leader, to arrange that the CAVE shows, instead of being chopped up into one hour segments interspersed with the regular entertainment, were reduced to two each day, each running two hours, from three to five in the afternoon and from 7:45 until approximately 9:45 at night. We were particularly anxious that the CAVE program should be in full swing at dusk on Sunday evening, the traditional hour for trouble to start. Once the schedule was set, Greenhill was again contacted to warn all the performers to come well in advance of the appointed hour, bearing in mind that the congestion of a holiday could slow their approach and that there might even be problems with police road blocks if the situation looked at all explosive. We went so far as to indicate which approach they should take to the beach so that we could notify the proper road block officers or perhaps send one of the workers out as an escort.

Two other scheduled guests for the weekend were Norman Kassoff of the IACP, on hand as an observer, and Cy Rosenthal of the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, to observe and to assist where possible in the carrying out of the Fourth of July program.

A day or two previous the roof of the CAVE building had finally been finished, and we were able to return the trailer with thanks and occupy the new headquarters to carry on the recruiting, meetings and research. Doors were another week or more in coming, so that each night we had to take home everything of value in the building -- interview schedules, typewriter, camera, membership cards, the membership file, poster materials, tools -- and then cart it all back again the next morning. There were no lights, of course, but we were able to run a line in from the playground next door and use a mechanic's drop light to some effect.

#### FIRST SHOW HELD INDOORS

Saturday morning and early afternoon it rained intermittently, and then settled down to a steady drizzle which sharply reduced the holiday crowds. It also forced us to hunt for an alternative location to put on the first of the four shows. To fill this need John Dineen generously came to the rescue, offering us the use of his ballroom at no charge, provided that a crew of volunteers would clean it

up when we were through. By one o'clock everything was lined up except the sound system; the unit then at the ballroom had been installed on trial and could not be touched except by its owner who was not available on short notice. Once again we were happy to have a man like Hammond on hand to whom one could say, "Go find us a sound system," knowing that somehow he would do it -- as he did in 45 minutes time. Without it there could have been no show.

All the last minute changes, complicated by the fact that no one was sure how to make the sound system work or tune it properly, the change in location, CAVE's limited facilities for poster-making at that time -- all these made for a somewhat unsatisfactory event in the afternoon. As the photographs show, not only young people but adults came to the performances. In all probably somewhere between 500 and 1000 came to watch at least a portion of the show. By evening the weather had cleared enough so that we were able to hold the second show in the Seashell according to plan. In some ways it was highly successful, in other ways it was less than we could have wished. As far as the devotees of folk music were concerned, it could hardly have been better. They came early, plunked themselves down in front, and stayed until the final chord.

#### FOLK MUSIC -- LIMITED APPEAL

However, folk music has not nearly the universal appeal of rock and roll or other types of popular music and entertainment. In this situation our job was to attract and hold a large and heterogeneous crowd in an area adjacent to the north and south boardwalks, the beach, and Ocean Boulevard itself. Particularly over Fourth of July weekend when the seats were removed from the Seashell, it was all too easy for the audience to stop and listen for a few minutes if they liked a performance, or simply to wander away if it did not appeal. At the Newport Folk Festival or any indoor folk concert, a single performer can hold a huge audience, all of whom are conversant with and appreciative of this milieu. As lovely or, in some instances, as unusual as their performance may have been, the single artists alone on the stage simply could not hold the attention of the casual crowd on the street and on the beach as well as did the White Mountain Singers, who concluded the show with a really rousing performance.

Afterward in a critique there was much discussion about what could be done to improve the Sunday shows -- to make them more universal in their appeal. Rosenthal strongly urged that we do anything possible to get more lively tunes, more rhythm, anything that would encourage audience participation, and if practicable to get more performers on the stage at once, possibly by utilizing some of the local, non-professional talent.

The latter we were able to do to some extent for the Sunday afternoon show, and we urged all the performers to do the liveliest numbers possible, but our most effective staging for Sunday night was partly a matter of sheer luck.

During Saturday we had discussed these various problems with Eric von Schmidt, who said he had some friends who might possibly be able to help. Visiting him at his home were folk singers Dick and Mimi Farina (nee Baez), Bruce Langhorne, and Debbie Green. There might be a chance, von Schmidt suggested, that one or two of these people might volunteer to do a number to fill out the show, or even that some sort of ensemble could be worked out.

Sunday afternoon after the show, von Schmidt, his wife, children and dog, repaired to my house for a little rest. Shortly thereafter another car drove in with his friends, and on my lawn by the ocean there then took place one of the most truly delightful and wholly spontaneous musical performance I ever heard. In addition to those previously mentioned, von Schmidt's wife and children, with myself on bass, joined in singing and playing on a variety of instruments -- guitars, banjo, dulcimer, lute, tambourines -- and those who had nothing to play clapped their hands. The tunes von Schmidt chose were highly rhythmic ones, the best sort of thing in the tradition of old time spirituals.

#### EFFECTIVENESS OF GROUP PERFORMERS

This same performance was repeated Sunday evening at precisely dusk when there would have been trouble if it was coming, and it was the hit of the weekend. We even managed to get the stage piano into it, and counting adults and children there were probably fifteen people on stage all at once. The audience stabilized and swelled, obviously enjoying themselves thoroughly. In a way it was almost anti-climatic since there were several single performances which had to follow

but even this was alleviated somewhat by using impromptu groups of talented amateurs and building up to another finale of sorts as ten o'clock approached. At that Sunday night performance probably 1500 or more people were in and out of the area at one time or another, listening to the show. Once again, as had been the case with all the previous CAVE functions, there was virtually no sensation of tension in the area -- or for that matter anywhere along the beach or boardwalk.

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT

During this Fourth of July weekend, approximately \$30,000 was spent on law enforcement for Hampton Beach. The cost to the town alone was \$15,000. Including the state police and the sheriff's department, there were some 200 uniformed policemen in the beach area, with the National Guard encamped close by in case of emergency. A very thorough plan had been worked out to cope with any trouble which might take place, with road block locations established to stop all possible flow of traffic if necessary, with a carefully arranged plan to drive troublemakers off the beach, then north and south away from buildings and automobiles where damage could be done, with officers posted strategically throughout the community, even including rooftop locations.

When it became evident that the Fourth of July crowd would be smaller than usual and that there were no signs of building tension, the police rather sharply altered their method of crowd control. Whereas through the spring and up to Fourth of July weekend there had been conspicuous and consistent vigilance, checking of cars and individuals, now the police for the most part simply patrolled the area in heavy numbers with little individual crowd contact, and let their presence take its effect. As a precautionary measure the seats were removed from the bandstand and all the trash barrels from the beach, and a few suspicious looking young men were removed from the crowd for questioning and perhaps sent elsewhere, but beyond these precautions little else was necessary.

The crowd itself was much smaller than on the equivalent weekend of the previous year. Police estimates suggest that the 1964 Fourth of July crowd was probably 100,000 and that for 1965 it was under 10,000, partly as a result of the inclement weather, but partly also, judging by what we learned on Labor Day, in response to police vigilance through the spring.



For whatever combination of reasons there was nothing like the tension of July Fourth, 1964. In the earlier year through the weekend there had been horseplay on the beach, the groups of young people singing, chanting, throwing firecrackers, ready to surge. By comparison, the beach itself was almost empty once the bathers and sun-bathers had gone home on July 4 of 1965. The boardwalk area, though congested, was orderly. Police made it clear that no large gatherings were to take place, and generally everyone strolled up and down although quite a number of young people were allowed to perch on the railings since it offered no particular threat. I don't think I heard more than one or two firecrackers throughout the entire weekend.

Observations of the beach were made both by persons connected with the CAVE program and by police helicopter while the special shows were taking place. Indications were that, while there was a substantial crowd drawn to the Seashell area, the show had little effect outside the immediate center of the beach. A hundred feet north or south of the Seashell complex, the performers could not be heard. The helicopter estimate was that not more than 10% of the beach population was affected by the show. Two rather divergent conclusions could be drawn from these observations: One view was that the CAVE show was not really necessary, that police work alone would have been sufficient to control the crowd for Fourth of July weekend. The other view was that a dance on the sand could have been held effectively, that here was a large empty area where many more people could have been involved at a smaller expense, particularly had there been tension that the show alone would not have been enough.

The police views that night about crowd control varied. One officer suggested that any crowd is a potential mob, even one coming out of church. On the boardwalk, where people were simply milling around, he said he felt no tension, but he said the larger gathering by the Seashell offered potential trouble, simply by virtue of its size. Another officer, upon being questioned in this same vein, said that the difference was determined by the attitude of the crowd. "Look at those people," he said. "Look at that couple standing there holding hands. Do you think they're going to start a riot? If you have the right kind of setting, you won't have trouble with crowds simply because they're big. These people all have something to absorb them. It's those people out there on the boardwalk that worry us."

At the conclusion of the weekend, there was much discussion concerning its obvious success in avoidance of trouble. In general the average businessman was inclined to credit the police, with emphasis on the work done by the state police through the weeks leading up to July Fourth. There were obviously also the factors of the weather and the much diminished crowds.

A few businessmen, a few police officials, and particularly the young people themselves, felt very strongly that, although the above were factors, the CAVE show and the determination of the young people themselves at large that there should not be trouble were equally strong deterrents. Once again, they felt they had proven themselves, and they looked forward to a revival and continuation of the CAVE program in the coming weeks.

## VIII

JULY 6 - JULY 22, 1965

In the period July 6 - July 22 the debate on program continued and was finally concluded with the appointment of Wilfred Cunningham as new TAR Committee chairman. The weeks after July 22 saw some residual confusion and consequent loss of time, but nothing like that of July 6th to 22nd during which the debate took place.

The following letters from Drs. Palmer and Kvaraceus to Richard Stone give some indication of the unanimity of the advisors' thinking (and this included the Washington advisors as well) on such issues as dancing and the relationship of police to the program. Dr. Palmer's observations about the staff also indicate the concomitant internal confusion and conflict the project suffered during this period.

July 2, 1965

Mr. Richard Stone, Chairman  
Teenage Relations Subcommittee  
Eleven Thomson Road  
Hampton, New Hampshire

Dear Dick:

Last Sunday Dr. Kenney, Dr. Palmer, and I spent the day working with Mr. Estaver, Reverend Van Nostrand, and your core group who are coding some of our data. I believe that we are well on the way with the data gathering and research aspects of the Hampton Beach Project. A summary sheet of the instruments that have been developed, their target populations, and the data gathering periods will be delivered to you by Dr. Kenney this Sunday. We also met with Police

Chief Leavitt and discussed with him the use of our interview guide with the current arrestees. I would hope that we could pick up at least a fifty percent sample of the young people who are arrested during the summer.

There are a number of problems, however, that concern me greatly as a consultant to the Project. First, I am concerned that the State Police have not come into the training seminar and have not been recorded on any of our instruments. The dichotomous situation that exist between the State Police operation and the Project will limit greatly the effectiveness of the Project and State Police effort. The recent State order to remove the seats from the band stand area is an example of cross-purpose planning and action.

Second, I am disturbed by the recent action of the Chamber of Commerce in voting down the program for the July Fourth weekend. It seems to me that the Chamber of Commerce is not living up to the contractual conditions of the Federal Grant when it turns down preventive measures and innovations. Obviously the intent of the proposal was to try to intervene and prevent disturbances. As I gather, during the coming weekend of the Fourth there will be no program of intervention, it is difficult to see how the stated objectives of the proposal can be met this week.

Third, I am concerned with the aggressiveness of the State Police and the "hard line" being taken with the young beach visitors. There is the double danger of: (1) violating the civil rights of young citizens, and (2) of precipitating a disturbance by the subtle challenge of youth to combat. Some of the arrests and near-arrests approach youth harassment. The climate that now exists on the beach and boardwalk is too close to that of the police state.

Regardless of any stalling in the intervention program, may I anticipate that the data will be gathered as was agreed and as outlined in our memorandum of scheduled research activities?

Cordially,

WCK:ed

C.C. to: Dr. Kenney  
Rev. Van Nostrand  
Dr. Jack Otis  
Mr. Estaver  
Dr. Palmer

William C. Kvaraceus  
Professor of Education and  
Director of Youth Studies

July 5, 1965

Mr. Richard Stone  
Hampton Beach Project  
Hampton Beach, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Stone:

Here are some observations and comments on the Hampton Beach Project that I think you will find useful in the long run.

Business proprietors, Hampton Beach police, and young people who use the beach are moving toward some degree of understanding of each other's problems.

The State Police tend to engender hostility in many young people because they patrol so close to the beach and often in pairs, have an aspect of watchful waiting, are frequently curt with members of the public, and at times harass young males whose dress or physical appearance is unusual. No doubt individual State Police officers are following orders and no doubt those orders are considered in some quarters to be efficient methods of crowd control. I would point out that one obvious principle underlying adequate crowd control is never unnecessarily to engender hostility.

The planned beach activities are going well but need to be brought more nearly in line with the needs of many of the young people. Through CAVE, a committee of young people should be led to assume the responsibility for reasonable conduct at beach dances and these dances should be allowed.

CAVE is going fairly well but should be allowed to publicize itself and its activities to a considerably greater extent. Further, more attention should be given to the degree of commitment of members of CAVE. Even at this late date, more emphasis should be placed on involving members in research as well as in amusements. This notion is unpopular among adults who are defensive about research. Their defensiveness blinds them to the fact that taking part in research on human affairs is fascinating to most people and can quickly bring constructive involvement. I will not here specify particular techniques that can be used. I will point out that this approach has had some fair success.

This raises the point that there is some confusion in the Project concerning the relationships between action (demonstration) and research. In such a project as this, some fast, sound research must in part guide action if that action is to be successful. Once action is undertaken, research and action ideally proceed hand in hand. Research provides the only firm basis for evaluating action. In the ongoing process of evaluation, new insights for action are gained. And the scope of evaluative research must not be narrowed unduly. Finding out how a young person views middle-aged adults is hardly irrelevant to the evaluation of the effectiveness of a series of planned entertainments. Action and research must be treated as of equal value; anything less means doom for a project such as this.

Organizational planning is sometimes too highly structured. Implementation of plans is frequently chaotic. Granting that situations are fluid and must to some extent be "played by ear," there should be more concern with orderly day-by-day operation. Highly elaborate plans that dwell on relatively insignificant details are often a sign of uncertainty and of inability to maintain a sense of direction.

The Project has many good components. It lacks a central thrust. While I am aware that my suggestion will meet with something less than high enthusiasm, that thrust should be provided by the above mentioned emphasis on the unity of action and research and by involving young people, business owners, local police, others, in research and action. Especially is it necessary to involve the most resentful young in research that leads to action. And it should be kept in mind that in a project such as this there is never, rightfully, research for the sheer sake of research; there is, rather, research for action's sake.

The anxiety level among those directly involved in the Project is understandably high. Four consequences of this are occasional frantic jumping from one task to another, a tendency to be clandestine, a tendency toward, at times, what might be called mild paranoia, and fairly high level of motivation to criticize other members of the Project.

I suggest that members of the Project try to keep in mind that they are in the midst of a new and tremendously worthwhile venture; that psychologically to stand back occasionally and look at the total Project as objectively as possible is a necessity; that to seek out and respect the strong points

of others in the Project is perhaps a cardinal prerequisite for success; that many in and out of the Project are attempting to learn new roles, always a difficult task; that seldom is one answer to a problem all right and the other all wrong; that usually in human affairs the most effective solutions to problems come from combining in an artful fashion parts of several alternative approaches. (Such "combining" is not compromise; it is invention.)

Finally, I am confident that you know how much I favor a project such as this and how much admiration I have for all of those involved. If due attention is given by each of us to the frailties and needs of others, the Project can succeed.

Sincerely,

Stuart Palmer  
Professor and Chairman

SP:ls

cc: Mr. Estaver  
Dr. Kenney  
Dr. Kvaraceus  
Dr. Otis  
Dr. Rosenthal  
Rev. Van Nostrand

Further notes on the problems touched upon by Dr. Palmer will be found below.

During the first week following July Fourth at least a few program elements moved forward. The various research schedules had been put in use, and, starting July 11th, the Beach Observation Schedule was implemented. Coding of the Random Beach Interview Schedules was begun. Arrangements were made for the first CAVE dance to be held at the Casino Ballroom on July 9th. A committee of CAVE reporters busied themselves obtaining interviews and drafting copy for the first issue of the CAVE newspaper (until this time CAVE news had been carried on a special page of the commercial beach newspaper). Also the letter of solicitation for TAR funds was finally mailed to 250 businessmen in the community. It had been delayed in the hope that some of the controversy concerning the program might diminish, but finally it became apparent that no further delay was feasible. Unfortunately the solicitation brought no response.

## CONTINUED DEBATE ON PROGRAM

Two factors should be noted prior to the chronology of the debate on program:

First, at a meeting of the Blandin Commission, Colonel Regan expressed displeasure at having been placed in a sole veto position of the July Fourth TAR program. While he was willing to accept responsibility for public safety, he felt it was unfair to be cast in a role of czar over a program only indirectly related to police matters. Therefore, the Blandin Commission voted that for the future final decisions regarding any program at Hampton Beach would be the responsibility of Commissioner Russell Tobey of the New Hampshire Division of Parks, advised by Colonel Regan and any other concerned officials.

Secondly, there was a certain amount of feeling of the part of some C of C directors that they were being pressured both in the community and by Washington. Stone's threat to resign was seen in this light, and Rosenthal's words in the July 2nd directors meeting were so construed. His statement was to this effect: "You now have rescinded your scheduled program. If you wish to drop the project, we will accept your decision. If you wish to continue the program, please tell us what that program will be." This statement was repeated in letters from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency to Stone and to Vanderpool.

Since Rosenthal, as a representative of the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, was an outspoken advocate of dancing, several of the directors interpreted his remarks to the effect that either dancing was to be permitted or Washington would pull the rug out, but at no time was such a statement made, however much the Office of Juvenile Delinquency felt that dancing was an important element.

This misunderstanding was underscored by the coincidence that the second project check for \$19,870, due July 1st, was delayed by procedural difficulties in Washington.

The unfortunate result of all this was to add one more motivating element of resistance to the issue of dancing: no right-minded, independent Yankee takes kindly to being shoved around by the federal government -- or for that matter by a bunch of fly-by-night young men who happen to live in Hampton.



The next stage for the debate was the TAR meeting of July 9, whose minutes give a clearer indication of the discussion than would a summation:

Meeting of TAR Committee - July 9, 1965

Richard Stone began the meeting by tracing the development of TAR, stating that all CAVE-planned activities have gone well. Coming to the heart of the issue, Stone told the TAR Committee that the officials in Washington want to know whether or not, in the light of the Chamber's rescinding of the July 4th complete program, we do have a program. "We must let Washington know where we are going," Chairman Stone concluded.

Paul Estaver expressed the belief that we have only the frame of an organization; that we must "fish or out bait." It was urged by Estaver that we strengthen our ties to the young, that we have program intervention, the kind of programming in which adults and kids work together. The following program was outlined:

Service:	Job Referral	Baby-sitting
	Room Referral	Window-washing

Activities: Dances on beach, indoors, State Park  
 Cookouts  
 "Hoots"  
 Talent Shows  
 Money raising  
 Research -- young lay people  
 Bulletin board  
 Improvement of building  
 Visible signs for CAVE members  
 Discussion groups with adults  
 Sports activities  
 Classes -- judo, first aid  
 Vocational guidance  
 Arts festival  
 Folk -- pop -- rock festival

All these activities lead to a Labor Day schedule with dancing on the Beach in the "Combat Zone." We have gotten a good press for these programs. We can get a favorable national image.

In attendance at this meeting was Mr. Howard Berry, assistant to Mr. Tobey of the Parks Department. He stated that the

Parks Department now has complete authority to control activities on Hampton Beach (as over the State Police). Mr. Berry related that Mr. Tobey feels that because of the trouble in the past four years it seemed feasible to attempt some programming for the youngsters. Mr. Berry related that his office was willing to take a chance with the TAR program, in spite of Colonel Regan's reluctance.

Mr. Salomon stated that the police had been given four years to show the effectiveness of their methods. It would be disaster if the TAR program was pulled out now.

Mr. Berry said that his office had a fear of the Federal Government's withdrawal of the grant in 1966. The hope for future programming on Hampton Beach lies in either unexpended police funds or in the Federal Government.

Richard Stone expressed the opinion that the young people were responsible for the quiet Fourth holiday when the Chamber of Commerce pulled out the program.

The decision-making inter-relationships were discussed and the various checks and balances described: Any action from the Chamber of Commerce must be approved by Selectmen; Chamber decisions are referred to Mr. Tobey's office which, in turn, discusses the problem with Col. Regan. There was strong feeling on the part of the State Parks Dept. that the police have no jurisdiction to make day-by-day policy decisions. The possibility of an advisory council for Mr. Tobey was suggested, with the approval and agreement of the State Police. The question concerning whether or not Col. Regan really gave approval of the 4th of July program was raised. Mr. Estaver said he had and there followed a discussion of Col. Regan's varying statements.

A discussion about the comparison of Hampton Beach with Ft. Lauderdale followed. Mr. Dineen expressed the opinion that the Florida community was significantly different from Hampton as to cause us to reflect seriously on the applicability of any program from that community being effective in Hampton. Specific instances were mentioned: entertainers worked on Beach in the afternoon, then in lounges in evening; beach programs held in special areas; special programs were given on an off-day.

Again, the opinion was expressed that dancing is taboo on sands.

Why is dancing so crucial? It involves the kids, it rewards the kids with highly esteemed (by them) activity, it uses energy.

Mr. Dineen asked: "If kids are rewarded all season long, why won't they be logical?"

Answer: We must provide what will use the kids' energies. If not dancing, what?

"Hoods didn't come to Hampton on the 4th of July. If we've tried to stabilize the community, we've done more and we've got to do more than put on a dance."

Estaver: "How can we compromise the heart of the program. Will a program at the State Park, if it works, be sufficient to prove the worth of the demonstration program."

All experts agree that dancing is one answer.

Mr. Estaver said, "We worked up through programs in early summer and then, suddenly, everything is killed."

It was expressed that most people feel there will be no Labor Day riot.

Preston: "Can the program get along without dancing?"

Estaver: "No."

A straw vote was taken to get the feeling of the TAR Committee relative to whether or not the TAR program would succeed if there were no dancing. Five against three was the vote which agreed that there would be a program if there was no dancing. One abstained.

Estaver moved and Elliot seconded the following motion: We take this matter of TAR program to an Executive Session of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce, outline programs, and ask for consent to go to the State House for a conference with Governor King.

Dineen moved and Foley seconded an amendment: Those going to such a meeting would be one selectman, one precinct commissioner, Walter Vanderpool, the membership of the TAR Committee, the consultants, officers from Washington, the State Police, State Parks, and Governor King.

Both the amendment and the motion passed.

Mr. Salomon, Preston and Berry were appointed to expedite matters.

The meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Manning Van Nostrand

Several TAR members who were also C of C directors felt sure that the Chamber would never agree to such a conference at the state level, and subsequent conversations with other directors confirmed the opinion. In these conversations TAR members were urged not to submit dancing on the main beach as an element of the new program for fear it would only serve to antagonize the directors further. Our response was that the line had to be drawn somewhere and that it was better to draw it at a meaningful level; we felt if we surrendered dancing on the sand that all other activities on the main beach might subsequently be curtailed, that ultimately dancing would be proscribed even at the state park, and that it certainly would be eliminated from any Labor Day program.

True to the predictions, the Chamber directors did not agree to a state level conference. The chair refused to entertain such a motion and would consider only the question of program in the meeting of July 13th, whose minutes follow, edited to show only the portions of the meeting which dealt with the Hampton Beach Project:

Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce.

Fire Station Hall  
Hampton Beach, N. H.  
July 13, 1965

The meeting was called to order by President Vanderpool at 8:00 p.m. with the following directors present: Bragg, King, Cann, Doherty, Dineen, Jos. Dineen, G. Dunfey, John Dunfey, Fallon, Flynn, Fuller, Goding, Grandmaison, Harris, Henneka, Hunter, Janvrin, Jordan, McCurdy, McLane, Moulton, Preston, Ring, Ross, Salomon, Trefatter, Vanderpool, Cunningham and Elliot.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and accepted.

President Vanderpool commented on the Chamber of Commerce Directors meetings. He said the trend, lately, is to eliminate regular chamber business which has been superseded by TAP, TAR and CAVE discussion. He said the meeting last week seemed tranquil, friendly and quiet. He felt the Chamber must get back to Chamber of Commerce business.

A letter to President Vanderpool, from his Excellency Governor King, was read commending beach authorities on orderliness over the Fourth. The president said this is a letter I shall keep and treasure for many years to come.

A letter from the Rockingham Association of Christian Churches praising the work of TAR was also read.

Craig Little, employee of TAR, spoke regarding the program of this organization. He had other employees personally introduce themselves and give a thumbnail sketch of their backgrounds. Mr. Little then read a document compiled by CAVE telling of their accomplishments, what they stand for and that many believe their program to be effective in helping to bring order to Hampton Beach.

President Vanderpool pointed out that the Chamber of Commerce Directors can okay a program of TAR and it still would not be permitted unless other officials approve it also.

Mr. Estaver gave a resume of CAVE program and things that could be part of the program. He brought up the matter of beach dancing. He said he would not be more specific with the program but he would like to hear how the people felt about it. Vanderpool invited open discussion from visitors and members.

Fallon brought out that in the early spring the program was labelled for research but that many phases have come to the Chamber as a surprise, that the Chamber had not been consulted about. He made a motion which was afterwards withdrawn to be held until the executive session of the Board of Directors later in the evening. Many others gave their opinion and talked of the TAR program, particularly dancing on the beach. The great majority spoke in opposition to crowd dancing on the sand.

Cann read two letters from Governor King opposing beach dancing. Dineen said he believes Mr. Tobey, head of the Division of Parks

would not approve of any program the people of Hampton object to.

Stone again said the core of the program is dancing and is a very important part of CAVE, without it the heart of the program is cut out.

Rev. Van Nostrand spoke saying that the tensions of youth could be relieved if they could have dancing or some other form of physical exercise, that all could join in.

Vanderpool asked for approval of the program as presented by Estaver, but not including dancing on the sand. Preston said the State Division of Economic Development has approved the use of Deak Morse, their Publicity Man, who will return from vacation next Monday, to give Hampton good publicity throughout the remainder of the season; that the State will pay for TV newscasts, and some Radio. He said Dick Hand would be available at the State's expense to take TV pictures. Deak Morse would do the write-ups and some money is available for a photographer.

Goding made a motion, seconded by Harris, that the program as outlined, except for dancing on the sand, be approved. This was withdrawn til the executive session of the Directors started.

Fallon asked for an executive committee meeting, Thursday evening at 8 P.M., at the Sea Shell and requested that members of TAR be present to furnish information. The executive committee all being present were notified to meet.

The Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce went into executive session. Preston announced August 27, 28 and 29 are the dates for the Naval Reserve Visit to Portsmouth. Elliot said he will attend a 9:30 A.M. meeting on Wednesday, July 14, to formulate plans. Hunter, Preston and Elliot were named a committee of three to work on a program of entertainment for the Naval Reserve men who will visit Hampton Beach. They are to report at the next meeting.

It was moved by Fallon, seconded by Goding, that the TAR Committee consult with the entertainment committee regarding any proposals for the entertainment program of TAR and that the entertainment committee report to the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce, that we instruct both committees not to make any recommendations of dancing on the sand. The motion was so voted.

Vanderpool said he was happy to announce that Henneka has reconsidered his decision to resign from the Board and will remain a Director at least until the annual meeting in the fall.....

Salomon asked that notice of the regular Board of Directors meetings be placed in the Beachcomber, Hampton Union and Vacationland as well as the regular meeting notices being sent to all directors.

He also asked if the building now owned by TAR could be returned to the Town of Hampton at the termination of the TAR program.....

John Dunfey spoke for the future of the Chamber of Commerce saying he believes some of our meetings should be for Directors only, that we must think about letting Youth Program go along as proposed by the TAR Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 10:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

Bill Elliot, Secretary

The following program was read to the Board of Directors at the July 13 meeting of the Chamber of Commerce.

July 13, 1965

Possible CAVE Program Elements for Remainder of Summer

Services to Youth

Job referral  
lodging referral  
message center - bulletin board  
lost and found  
publications  
building improvement  
car pool service  
T-shirts, pins, etc.  
first aid classes

Money Raising Activities

tag days  
car wash  
slave auctions  
window wash  
cake sales, etc.

Community Services

Research participation  
 window washing  
 baby sitting service  
 misc. service projects, painting, cleaning up, etc.

Adult Services to Cave

Seminars, bull sessions, visiting personalities, etc.  
 vocational and scholastic guidance  
 judo classes

Recreational Events

Sports  
 cookouts  
 hootenannies, songfests, etc.  
 talent shows  
 arts festival  
 folk festival  
 dancing - state park, indoor, on the beach

Labor Day Weekend

Saturday: dancing on beach opp. C St., possibly also opp.  
 F St. Afternoon and evening.

Sunday: extensive entertainment program oriented to youth,  
 preferably on sand, but possibly also using sea shell  
 facilities. Might be some sort of invitational festi-  
 val including folk, pop, and rock 'n' roll or perhaps  
 professional entertainment sponsored by AGVA and  
 musicians union or by a major Boston radio station.

Monday: midnight to 2 or even later -- dancing, on beach  
 and/or indoors

Several comments are pertinent footnotes to this meeting:  
 although attendance was by no means at the levels of the big  
 meetings prior to July Fourth, there was a substantial number  
 of non-directors, both youth and adult, who came to witness  
 the session and to take part in the debate. At the conclusion  
 of the public portion of the meeting, Stone, Van Nostrand,  
 Hammond and I were asked to leave for the closed directors  
 meeting, a procedure not previously taken. We probably could



have insisted on staying, but there seemed little point in it under the circumstances. As he left, Stone handed his resignation to the chair with the comment that if the vote went as it apparently would the resignation was effective therewith.

Generally this was probably the stormiest of all the various meetings we attended, both for the vehemence of the opinions expressed and the way in which they were phrased and because observers were less willing than previously to sit in silence while various proponents of the program held the floor.

It should also probably be noted that the Governor's letter, in response to a number of complaints he had received from Hampton Beach residents, was phrased to say "Dancing will generally be discouraged," carefully using the impersonal passive voice.

If James Fallon's call for the TAR members to be present at a special executive board meeting for July 15th was indeed made in the open portion of the meeting, none of the TAR members heard it. Perhaps it was lost in the hubbub as people rose to leave the room. What was reported to us after the closed session had concluded was that Fallon wished to have Stone attend that meeting. In any case, the meeting was held and none of us attended, Stone because he had resigned by that time and the rest of us because we were not notified. The fact that we were not present, coupled with the following day's events, served to drive a further wedge of ill will -- at least for a time -- between the directors and its difficult committee.

#### CONFERENCE WITH GOVERNOR KING

When a special meeting in the Governor's office of parties interested in the Hampton Beach problem was called for July 16, a few of the directors made the not illogical assumption that the TAR Committee had gone out of protocol, which was not the case. The meeting was in fact called by Parks Commissioner Tobey. The members of the TAR Committee were informed that it would take place on the morning of the day previous by Selectman Noel Salomon.

In any case, the purpose of the meeting was to see whether the dissident factions working on this program could be brought to any point of compromise, with the Governor filling the role

of advisor and arbiter. Present were Mr. Tobey, Colonel Regan, his aide Capt. Duranty, Salomon, Vanderpool, Precinct Commissioner Fred Gagne, Rosenthal, Stone, Van Nostrand and Estaver.

Once again the issues were adamantly aired by spokesmen for both viewpoints. TAR members said they felt that without dancing the project had lost its principle effective tool. Walter Vanderpool, speaking for the community and the Chamber, said that the community had made its position clear -- that they could never accept present-day dancing on the public beaches.

During the hour and a half that the meeting ran, the Governor gave both sides ample time to express their viewpoints and to clarify for him the issues at stake. At one point, when Rosenthal raised the question whether the Project might better be cancelled if it could not have a strong program, the Governor drew the same inference as had some of the C of C directors and in a vigorous statement indicated that neither he nor anyone else in New Hampshire was going to be told how to conduct New Hampshire affairs by the federal government. He said he personally intended that the Hampton Beach Project should continue with or without federal funds and that if they were to be withdrawn he hoped it would be quickly. He went on with equal vigor to say that it was not worth his time to sit and listen to these two factions taking uncompromising positions on the issue and that we would best find some middle ground then and there.

#### COMPROMISE SOUGHT

After a few minutes further discussion the following compromise was agreed upon by all the parties: (1) No dancing on the main beach; but, (2) other activities on the beach to be permitted; (3) dancing and other activities were to be permissible at the state bathhouse on a trial basis; (4) if these activities and the indoor dancing proved ineffectual as a youth program, dancing on the main beach would be open for reconsideration.

That same afternoon, as directed by the Chamber, members of the CAVE Program Committee, a few of the CAVE workers and I met with the Program Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. After some discussion, we were requested to present a program without dancing for the remainder of the summer to Committee Chairman Donald Ring, who would then bring it to the Chamber

of Commerce directors for final consideration. The program for Labor Day was to be considered at a later date.

#### REVISED SUMMER CAVE PROGRAM SUBMITTED

The program submitted was essentially the same as the one prepared for the July 13th directors meeting, except that under the heading Recreational Events they were listed (1) dancing indoors, in the Casino Ballroom, Onyx Room or elsewhere; (2) dancing in the state bathhouse area, by arrangement with the New Hampshire Recreation Division; and (3) a series of possible events to be scheduled in areas as approved by the Chamber of Commerce directors, the police and civil officials: sporting events, cookouts, songfests, talent shows, art festival, folk music.

Prior to the subsequent Chamber of Commerce directors meeting scheduled for July 22nd, Richard Stone contacted President Vanderpool and indicated he would be willing to withdraw his resignation if the Chamber would accept the terms of the compromise arranged at the Governor's conference.

At the directors meeting itself, after some discussion, the Chamber accepted the revised TAR program as submitted, specifying that cookouts could be held only at the state bathhouse area and the songfests, talent shows and folk music should not be allowed on the main beach. The resignation of Richard Stone was read and accepted with regret by a vote of 14 to 2. The president appointed Wilfred Cunningham as the new chairman of TAR with the approval of those present, and it was requested that a report of progress on the program, as approved, be presented by Estaver on August 10, 1965.

As may be noted by their subsequent public statements, two of the selectmen left this meeting in dissatisfaction, feeling that the compromise of the Governor's meeting had not been sufficiently considered.

Through all these meetings and debates there were many hundreds of hours of honest private conversations as the community struggled with sudden change. Obviously Hampton could not commit economic suicide to accommodate the younger generation, no matter how serious the threat, no matter how worthy

the cause. Since the bulk of the beach businessmen received their income from adult patronage, they could go only so far in catering to youth if they expected to survive. Many of those who were predisposed to accept dancing on the beach -- or who had no personal objection to it -- finally opposed it because they felt that adults who patronized Hampton Beach found it objectionable. If Hampton was to regain its image as a family beach, the viewpoint of the average citizen could not be ignored.

#### RESEARCH PROGRESS

In this matter, it is worth a brief examination of the research conducted through the summer. A detailed analysis of the data appears in the research portion of this report, but an initial appraisal of the returns from the Irritability-Deviancy Scale appears to indicate that adult opinion may have been misjudged by beach businessmen.

Over 2000 copies of this scale were given to a random sample of beach visitors in three waves spaced through the summer. One thousand Irritability-Deviancy Scales were filled out by adults in an age bracket of 25 to 90-odd years. The questions asked were how the respondent regarded young people on the beach -- i.e. physical appearance, and various types of activity such as drinking, horseplay, comportment in cars, sex play, loitering, and types of amusement and entertainment.

#### ADULT AND YOUTH ATTITUDES REFLECTED IN SURVEY

The summarized Irritability-Deviancy scores have been compiled on a scale ranging from "high acceptance" to "high rejection" for each item on the scale.

Thus it is that females and males under 25 and adults scored in the "high acceptance" category in their attitudes toward beards, Beatle haircuts, boys in tight jeans and girls in tight jeans. By comparison, girls in Bikinis were adjudged fully acceptable by both sexes in their peer group, while the adult score was "medium acceptance." Swearing in public, however, was regarded as more objectionable: males under 25 scored "medium acceptance," females under 25, "low rejection," and adults scored "medium rejection" (in terms of the test's phraseology, they thought swearing youths should be asked to leave the beach).

Questions relating to drinking on the beach drew responses varying from medium to high rejection from all categories.

Various types of horseplay -- tossing a girl in a blanket, sitting on the hoods of cars, riding in overcrowded cars, wrestling on the beach -- drew indifferent-to-negative response from all categories; that is, adults and youths generally agreed that such activities were less than desirable.

However, on two significant questions, adult and young opinion were at variance. On the item "Hanging around in a group" both sexes of young people scored "high acceptance," while adults scored "low rejection." On the item "Playing ball on the beach" both sexes of young people scored "high acceptance" while the adults scored "medium rejection."

Even more interesting -- in the categories dealing with guitar playing on the beach and singing on the beach, all three groups scored "high acceptance," and on the item regarding dancing on the beach, young people of both sexes scored "high acceptance" while the adults scored "medium acceptance."

To state that this indicates that there would have been general acceptance of dancing on the beach would be to draw a superficial conclusion, for the various responses must be considered in their inter-relationship.

#### PROGRAM POSSIBILITIES AS SEEN THROUGH RESEARCH DATA

In this analysis of these scores, Manning Van Nostrand draws these tentative conclusions: (1) that the physical appearance of the young people did not seriously concern anyone; (2) that permitting horseplay was thought to be of dubious wisdom; (3) that young people gain pleasure from simply hanging around together, but (4) adults find such clustering either an annoyance or threat; (5) that all ages generally accept orderly recreational activities -- and specifically dancing, singing and guitar playing so long as they do not involve the somewhat more objectionable element of clustering.

Therefore it seems that a community might be able to satisfy these various needs of both generations in some sort of compromise, perhaps by thoughtful arrangements in the areas of timing and locale.

Certainly common observation supports the statistical finding that hanging around is a desirable end for young people. They clustered by the restaurants, on the boardwalk, on the beach, in and outside the Onyx Room, in the various CAVE headquarters locations -- even the trailer when it was next door to the police station. At all the CAVE dances, songfests and parties, a substantial portion of the crowd simply stood around watching, listening, talking. At best they wandered back and forth. At the indoor dances at the Casino Ballroom a larger percentage of the crowd would dance, but even here there was always a good number of youth sitting, standing, wandering, watching, listening, talking.

A more detailed analysis of the Irritability-Deviancy Scales will be found in the Research Report, along with graphs and charts delineating the composite scores cited above.

The 219 one-hour interviews given to a random sampling of beach youth sheds further light on these questions: Altogether 264 of these interviews were given, the additional 45 respondents being youths who had been arrested at some time during the summer of 1965 for other than traffic offences.

The age range was from 15 to 25 for the entire group. Median age of random sample respondents was approximately 17.5 years, while median age of those arrested was approximately 18.5.

A sample of this complex interview is shown in the Addenda. The interviewers were given at least two hours in training in the use of the schedule. Wherever possible, those interviewed were permitted "free responses" -- i.e. prescribed answers were not suggested to the respondents.

One question, "What did you do this weekend?" was asked of respondents and called for separate answers for five different time periods. The following chart shows the summary of replies in percentages.

<u>Weekend Youth Activities</u>	<u>Fri. Night</u>	<u>Sat.</u>	<u>Sat. Night</u>	<u>Sun.</u>	<u>Sun. Night</u>
Hung around/Sun bathed	15.2	44.7	22.3	43.9	18.9
Work	7.2	17.4	4.2	8.7	14.2
CAVE	.4	2.3	4.9	1.5	.8
Date	9.1	.4	11.0	.8	4.9
Dance	9.1	.4	11.7		1.9
Other	22.0	9.8	18.2	15.9	15.2
No Answer	37.1	25.0	27.7	29.2	54.2

Note the overwhelming proportion who simply hung around or sunbathed. The night responses obviously did not even offer the option of sunbathing.

If those to whom the question did not apply (the "no answer" category) are subtracted, the other figures increase by from 25 to 50%. Thus the figure of those who simply hung around Friday night actually was over 20%, for Saturday night about 28% and for Sunday night about 40%.

In this context it should also be noted that with one or two exceptions, the CAVE program events could not be scheduled for weekend nights.

Now consider the results from two other questions.

<u>What Programs Interest you Most?</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Dances - - - - -	23.9
Songfests - - - - -	13.3
CAVE office - - - - -	3.4
Other (and nothing) - - - - -	25.0
No answer - - - - -	34.5

What Do You Want Most on the Beach  
that Isn't Here?

	<u>1st response</u>	<u>Percentage</u> <u>2nd response</u>	<u>3rd response</u>
What CAVE is doing	16.4	8.9	15.2
Dancing, Beach Parties, Guitars	35.6	37.8	36.0
Projects	8.7	2.2	7.6
Less Strict Rules	1.8	4.4	2.3
Other	30.6	35.6	31.4
No Answer	6.8	11.1	7.6

Little needs to be added here to reinforce the figures showing that the sorts of programs attempted by CAVE were or would have been well received by 40 to 50% of the youth at Hampton Beach. On the other hand, substantial percentages of those whose response is listed under the heading "Other" on both charts were youths who frankly wished no sort of planned entertainment but only to be left to their own devices. Perhaps as many as 20% of the beach youth might be included in this category.

One final chart sheds some light on youth as an economic factor at Hampton Beach. The question asked referred only to the weekend at hand, and covered total monies spent -- lodging, food, entertainment, etc.

<u>How Much Money Did You Spend?</u>	<u>Random</u>	<u>Percentages Arrested</u>	<u>Total</u>
\$7. - \$11.	31.1	46.7	33.7
\$1. - \$6.	55.3	35.6	51.9
Less than \$1. or none	10.6	6.7	10.2

While no mean figure can clearly be defined, the implied average is a little more than \$3.00. Obviously, this figure multiplied by 10,000 young people and occasionally many times that number is a substantial income element each weekend.

Interestingly, when asked, "Do you feel you get your money's worth at Hampton Beach?" almost 2 out of 3 young people responded positively.

Again, the Research Section of this report dwells much more deeply on the results of this interview than can be done here.

#### CAVE DANCES AT CASINO BALLROOM

The actual CAVE program for the period July 6 to 22 consisted of two dances at the Casino Ballroom. The first, on July 9, was a nearly disastrous flop and came close to collapsing the youth organization, and the second, on July 22, was a marked success and did much to restore the damage.

One unfortunate circumstance relating to the July 9th dance was that it fell concurrently with the TAR meeting so that neither Hammond nor I could be present to advise or assist. But it was the prearrangements for this dance which contributed most to its lack of success. The sound system at the Casino Ballroom was still not available for use, and the substitute system proved inadequate. The band hired for the occasion was mediocre. At this point CAVE still lacked poster and advertising facilities.



Subsequently the rules for the Casino dances were relaxed, but for this first one the arrangement was that over the period from eight to eleven o'clock, the rock and roll band could play only from eight-thirty to nine and from nine-thirty to ten-fifteen, with the remainder of the time filled by records of a quieter nature.

Perhaps even more of a handicap were the decisions that only CAVE members and guests would be admitted and the restrictions on dress. Though the dance was advertised as "come as you are," cut-off chinos were not in fact permitted, resulting in much hard feelings at the gate.

The dance was poorly attended. People came, looked, then left when they saw only a few couples on the floor. The presence of so many "little kids" tended to drive the older ones out -- a factor that was a problem to a greater or lesser extent throughout the summer. Certainly in any CAVE-type operation, consideration should be given to limiting the lower age level -- perhaps making 15 or 16 the minimum -- or to devising some sort of junior and senior membership.

In any case, the discouragement over the July 4th reversals was made complete by the July 9th dance. Now some of our strongest leaders turned openly antagonistic -- or, worse still, apathetic. "This," they said, "was the night CAVE caved in.... What good is it? What are we running -- baby dances? Why can't we go on with programs like we had in June? How many times do we have to prove ourselves?"

One leader said strongly that the whole concept had been distorted, that the program had been taken from the hands of the young people, that they were being made patsies. He thereafter turned in his CAVE card and did not further contribute to the program during the summer.

It was apparent to all of us that the July 22nd dance would be a make-or-break proposition, and much credit must go to Elaine Moriarty, the worker in charge of arrangements, for its subsequent success. This time she went to John Dineen well in advance to plan each detail carefully: A WBZ disc jockey would be hired and would bring a rock and roll band as well as records. CAVE members would be charged 50¢ admission and non-members 75¢. After basic costs for the Casino and the band had been paid, the profits would be split evenly between CAVE and the Casino. Dress regulations were relaxed to permit anything except bathing suits, with the restriction only that

shoes must be worn to protect the dance floor. A policeman and CAVE personnel would be carefully stationed to screen out any dubious customers.

When the planning session was done, Dineen looked at Elaine and commented that it was a pleasure to work with someone who knew what she was doing, unlike whoever it was that set up the last fiasco.

Thereupon Elaine blushed and said, "I'm afraid you're talking to the same person." After that she and Dineen became good friends.

That the July 22nd dance succeeded is also a credit to Don Murphy, the staff member who handled publicity, along with Ken Clarke and several others. Well in advance of the event there were notices in local papers, eye-catching, imaginative signs everywhere you looked in the beach area, even sandwich men parading the boardwalk with their signs the day of the event.

Not only the dance itself but the burst of activity and enthusiasm that went into the preparations did much to revive the CAVE spirit. Many new members were joining. The leadership was perhaps a little younger than before -- but things were humming again.

When a fifty-dollar advance had to be paid for the WBZ team, George Downer came through with a \$25.00 gift and a \$25.00 loan until the dance profits were in hand.

On the night of the 22nd we knew it would be a success before the first note was played. Customers were lined up four deep for half a block. When the doors opened, they poured in in a steady stream for almost the first hour. After an initial embarrassed pause, the dancers took over, and the floor stayed full for the evening.

The disc jockey, Jefferson Kaye, played the right records and put forth the right line of chatter, generally exuding an effective charisma. Jack and the Spades were loud -- and were pronounced good. Over 800 attended, roughly one third of them CAVE card-holders, a proportion that held true to form for most of the remaining CAVE functions through the summer.

The only unhappy note was that an expensive microphone was stolen from the stage, cutting CAVE's profit from well over \$200 to a little over \$100. Thereby we learned a lesson: when you borrow a hall, check the equipment before and after your function.

Regarding CAVE funds, it should be noted that the arrangement for the repayment of town of Hampton monies had been revised. The selectmen agreed that CAVE could now use its earned funds for program, building improvement, etc., on the understanding that the building would eventually revert to town ownership.

All of these encouraging factors continued to lift CAVE morale, especially that of the paid staff. Whether or not anyone liked the decision about dancing on the sand, it was at least no longer up in the air. The philosophical response was, in effect: "Well, anyhow, we know where we're going; now let's see if we can prove something."

#### PROJECT STAFF - INTERNAL PROBLEMS

This point was not easily reached by the staff members. The discussion in an earlier chapter notes that they had had virtually no training or orientation sessions except for minimal instruction in the use of the research tools in coding. The last-minute change from myself to Hammond as direct supervisor was a complicating factor. Because the program elements were slow in shaping up and were beclouded and delayed by the debate on the community level with resultant waste of time and disorganization of their daily work, the staff were ambivalent and confused about their roles.

These were bright, aggressive young men and women who had hoped to play a vital part in community change, and as June faded into July it began to look to them as though they had been hired as a bunch of glorified baby sitters. The one aspect of the work which challenged them was the research, and even here there were unavoidable delays and frustrations.

They felt that an important struggle was taking place in Hampton and that they were being left out of it because they were not trusted or because they were thought to be too young.

There was even a problem to find sufficient staff meeting time to iron out these problems, since weekends were the only occasions when all were simultaneously on duty -- and weekends were the busiest time of all.

At one point early in July -- and intermittently through the summer -- there was a sharp debate on the question of professionalism. One faction argued that to fill their roles effectively the staff should dress in something distinctively more

formal than the casual youth on the beach, that no staff member should ever date on the beach, etc.

With Rosenthal's advice, our response was that they should become as much a part of the beach youth society as possible, that they should be leaders from within -- that their job was to intervene on a societal level.

On July 4th Rosenthal met with them to amplify some of these things and to make it clear that the Hampton Beach Project was both for action and for research -- that neither could function without the other.

Then came the question -- What is intervention? How, exactly, does one intervene?

On July 11th the staff met without advisory persons present to consider this question and others. At this time they had the opportunity to be openly critical of the project's administrative officers if they felt the need. Much of the criticism was centered around the fact that too much time was being wasted playing politics -- perhaps not taking into consideration that politics is, after all, society's most effective way of settling differences without resort to force, that at its best level politics is the bargaining process through which society remains at least relatively civilized.

Later that afternoon the staff met Dr. Palmer who defined intervention as any sort of contact with another person, embracing anything from a casual conversation to the project work in research and program. Thereafter, the subject became somewhat more academic.

That evening in a meeting with the three consultants and some members of the staff, it was suggested that the workers could be more deeply involved in the project if they were given orientation folders including, among other things, copies of the original grant proposal.

The obvious problem here was that many of the directors had never seen this document. That its components had by now been fully discussed during the various C of C meetings did not change the psychological impact of this fact. The mistake of four months previous had finally become a serious problem.

With some misgivings we did make copies of the grant proposal and include them in the orientation folios, explaining

that it must be kept confidential and the reasons therefor.

At this time we offered to place one of the staff in charge of the demonstration phase (Richard Downey was already responsible for the research day-to-day work), but in another closed meeting the staff and the man appointed voted that each staff member would take the initiative himself.

The result of all this was greatly improved function, effectiveness and spirit. As mentioned, the program elements moved forward. The research work continued at a good pace, along with the coding.

However, there was also a strong desire of several staff members to practice the function of intervention with the adult community. It was at their own insistence, for instance, that they appeared at the C of C directors' meeting of July 13 to read their own statement and introduce themselves.

We were dubious, fearing that the directors might assume we were using the young people in a pressure play, but we could hardly deny the potential value of bringing adults and young people together in hope of more effective communication.

To the matter of policy discussions between individual staffers and individual C of C directors we did object, since we strongly felt it was not the function of the workers to set policy or to deal in personalities.

Nonetheless, such discussions were carried on by several of the staff members, and one or more made it a point to exhibit the grant proposal despite our specific directive to the contrary. The result was further confusion and suspicion at a time when a clearing of the air was needed to make the project go forward more smoothly in the weeks to come.

Many of these problems could have been avoided had an adequate training and orientation program for the staff been instituted at the beginning of the summer. Particularly this would have been beneficial in a project like that at Hampton Beach, administered by lay persons who also had to learn as they went, along with the staff.

**IX.**

July 22 - August 10, 1965

During the period July 22nd to August 10th the Hampton Beach Project settled down to some substantial accomplishments despite a residue of problems from the previous months. On the one hand there were continued difficulties within the staff when a few of its members continued attempts at intervention with the business community, but on the other hand various phases of the program took substantial shape: work continued on the CAVE building, research and coding were carried forward, membership continued to grow strongly, while a number of entertainment and other projects were carried on successfully. Under newly appointed chairman Wilfred Cunningham the TAR Committee's continuity was picked up and discussions were pursued on public relations policy, the summer program, and the need to establish a Labor Day program.

**PROJECT STAFF - CONTINUED INTERNAL PROBLEMS**

Much of the difficulty in the relationship between the staff workers and the business community could have been avoided had it not been for an unfortunate circumstance: one of the staff workers became both seriously disoriented and hyper-active. With the general burst of enthusiasm and energy of the staff during mid-July, this individual's problem was not noticed until one day when it was suddenly apparent that he was having both memory and orientation difficulties. He was retained over the course of the next week or more in the hope that he could regain his balance, but ultimately his conduct became so disruptive that it was necessary to release him.

In briefest possible terms, he became convinced that I was either "a genius pulling strings behind the scenes or totally incompetent." Since, as he said, his inability to decide between the two gave him headaches, he finally chose the latter conclusion and proceeded to act upon it. Over a period of about a week he called a meeting of the staff workers, then a meeting between the staff and the C of C officers, both with the intent of "saving the project by having Estaver removed." When both meetings failed to accomplish their purpose, he then embarked upon a personal campaign, approaching one director after another to state his views. In the midst of this he met me on the street, told me what he was about, and suggested that I fire him.

My choice was to suspend him for the moment and refer him to Chairman Cunningham who subsequently released him as pleasantly as possible. Thereafter Cunningham met with the staff and announced that intervention should no longer be undertaken with the business community, more or less concluding the matter.

Meanwhile a certain additional element of distrust had been added to the already strained relations between some of the C of C directors and the project administrators, making it all the more difficult to reach consensus and compromise for the ongoing programs. The few contacts that were made between the staff and the directors after Cunningham's cease-and-desist order continued to be disruptive. A case in point was the matter of one-day training conference at Boston University's Institute of Law Medicine.

#### TRAINING SESSION AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY

This excellent session, conducted by Dr. Catherine Richards, was of considerable value both to the project workers and administrators. Had it taken place June 3rd instead of August 3rd it would have been even more worthwhile. Over the course of a full day, including a luncheon session, there were discussed the whole range of characteristics, needs and problems of present-day youth in a rapidly changing society; the conflicts between this new generation and the established adult society; and possible methods of resolving these problems on both theoretical and specifically practical levels.

When at one point the question of dancing was advanced, Dr. Richards' response was a complex one, embracing the concept that dancing is a necessary expressive outlet for youth, a ritual in a non-ritualistic society, frequently intolerable to adult groups for a variety of reasons. Regarding rock and roll specifically, she said it needs to be used as a social device in controlled circumstances, that like any ritual it can excite to excessive behavior the occasional volatile individual with insufficient self-control. The need then became to assure that CAVE functions include sufficient controls -- internal, through self direction and motivation, and external, through supervision effective enough to offer bounds yet lightly enough administered to avoid the antagonism youth feels under restraint.

The entire discussion on dancing may have taken fifteen minutes out of a six-hour day, yet as a result of a staff member's subsequent contact with the business community, Hampton Beach heard a simplified and distorted version of the conference -- that it was "a secret session" in Boston, that we had been told rock and roll dancing was inciteful to riots and had been strongly discouraged from continuing it.

#### CUNNINGHAM TAR CHAIRMAN

During the period July 22 - August 10 Chairman Cunningham quickly briefed himself on the policies to be considered by the TAR Committee through a series of conferences with Van Nostrand, Stone, Hammond, and myself and by an extensive review of TAR reports. Cunningham also made it a point to invite Stone to remain on the TAR Committee, which Stone regretfully declined, for the same reasons stated in resigning his chairmanship -- that he felt the meat had been cut from the program and it could no longer hope to achieve its stated goals.

A brief report on programs in process was given at the next TAR meeting, held on July 28; the procedure to obtain permission for CAVE events on any state property through the parks department and various police departments was discussed; and a preliminary discussion of a possible Labor Day program was touched upon.



## DEBATE ON PUBLIC RELATIONS

Much of the meeting centered around the need for publicity if CAVE's events were to draw good attendance. As mentioned above, a substantial reason for the success of the WBZ-CAVE dance at the Casino had been worker Don Murphy's efforts in public relations, and with the first test of the state bathhouse area for a beach party coming up it was felt necessary to give Murphy continued permission to publicize the event through whatever newspaper and radio coverage he could get in surrounding New Hampshire towns, in the Merrimack Valley, and perhaps even in Boston.

Murphy had also made preliminary arrangements for one of the staff administrators and Chief Leavitt to go to Haverhill, Massachusetts, with one or two CAVE workers or members to tape a special program on WHAV in hope of further spreading the story of CAVE's work. It was felt that if this program could be carried off successfully, an approach should be made to WBZ's nightly forum, "Contact."

In the course of the subsequent discussion, the TAR Committee divided into two philosophical groupings. One approach was that reports and publicity of constructive activity with young people could do nothing but benefit Hampton Beach, that part of the function of the Hampton Beach Project was to change the image of the resort from one where young people were regarded as troublesome to one where youth were taking an important part in community life and planning their own healthy affairs. The other camp took the view that the Project's job was to entertain young people already at the beach and to avoid in any possible way bringing in additional young people, that any publicity which dealt at this time of year with the riot problem was potentially dangerous, that particularly on radio programs a sharp reporter can trip up an unwary or inexperienced participant.

The conclusion of the discussion was that in general publicity should be confined to the beach itself. Inasmuch as the coming beach party at the bathhouse was not certain of drawing sufficient attendance, permission was given for a mass mailing to CAVE members announcing the event. Otherwise, news-

papers should have reports only of CAVE programs after they had taken place.

On the question of WHAV, it was decided that if the radio station would bring its equipment to Hampton, a carefully chosen panel might attempt a half-hour tape so long as it would be subject to the TAR Committee's review before release. If this proved an acceptable experiment, then the question of WBZ might be brought before the Chamber of Commerce directors.

#### HAMPTON SELECTMEN WITHDRAW SUPPORT

In the course of the meeting Selectman Noel Salomon reiterated the stand the selectmen of Hampton had already taken publicly -- that without the device of dancing the Hampton Beach Project no longer had the potential to fulfill its purpose. He further said that the selectmen had asked him to continue in attendance at TAR Committee meetings to keep abreast of whatever decisions were made, but that he himself would take no active part in discussions or voting.

The statement of the selectmen to which he referred was one made in a press conference, following a letter of protest to the Office of Juvenile Delinquency after the Chamber of Commerce directors finally eliminated dancing from the summer program. In effect, both the letter and the statement for the press said that the Town of Hampton could no longer support the Project and that it was advising the Washington office of this fact. Subsequently Stone made similar statements, arguing that the Project was watered down beyond a point of effectiveness.

In the immediately local newspapers, the selectmen's statements were carried in full and it was clear that their objection to the Project in its present status was that it was not extensive enough in scope. However, the wire service reports and, as a result, the stories carried by Boston and Merrimack Valley newspapers said simply "Hampton selectmen move to dump youth project," compounding the confusion.

The reactions were varied -- CAVE members and workers were fearful that, for whatever reason, the project would now be closed down. Several of the Chamber of Commerce directors made brief statements for publication saying that the chamber

felt there was sufficient program to carry forward effectively. Many other C of C members maintained an angry silence. Unhappily, the effect of the whole affair was the additional one more impediment with which to cope.

Meanwhile, other factors were working toward more harmony between the project and the Chamber of Commerce. One certainly was the research report given by Drs. Palmer and Kenney to the Chamber directors early in August. Over perhaps 45 minutes' discussion, they outlined the methods that were used in gathering research and made it clear that what was hoped for were not any preconceived conclusions, but simply an analysis of attitudes of both adults and young people to be used in seeking an acceptable solution for all parties involved. Particularly they gave a strong recommendation to the staff workers who were conducting the research. It had been hoped that some tentative conclusion would be available from the preliminary coding and tabulating for presentation by this time, but unfortunately one worker had thrown away all the coding sheets on the first 70-odd random interviews after the tabulating was done, not realizing that the coding sheets were necessary for any sort of cross-tabulation, so the coding had to be started over again from scratch late in the month of July.

At an August 4th TAR meeting the whole question of press relations was once again discussed, essentially on the same lines as in the previous meeting. With Preston's strong recommendation, it was finally decided that limited attempts should be made to tell the Project story, and a press conference was set up for a Portsmouth radio station to be attended by C of C President Walter Vanderpool, Chief Leavitt and possibly one or two of the staff workers.

The question of the Labor Day program was again raised. The first problem considered was that of funds. It was not clear whether further money would be available from the federal grant for use in this manner, and there was no assurance that CAVE functions would raise a sufficient sum to carry a program like that of the Fourth of July weekend. It was therefore decided that the following questions must be answered before further discussion could take place: Exactly what a Labor Day program would cost and an exact determination of the source of funds to support it.

The following week, in response to a C of C request, the TAR officers and a group of the staff workers presented at a

directors meeting a half-hour report on details of the program carried forward to that date. It proved to be a harmonious occasion; the staff were congratulated on their work and requested to continue it as strongly as possible.

#### CAVE MEMBERSHIP ANALYSIS

Despite discouraging morale factors, new members continued to join CAVE in substantial numbers at least through the third week in August when new registration dropped off rather sharply. The number of card carrying members by July 7 was 1000; by July 18 it had reached the 1500 mark; by August 1, 2000; and by August 19 the figure was 2500. The final figure for the season was in the vicinity of 2600.

Several apparent factors helped to keep registration climbing during various periods of the summer: about July 1, the presence of the new building on the beachfront made CAVE more accessible and visible; when in mid-July we finally got doors, there were less restrictions on hours when we could have camera and records available for use; and particularly as various CAVE programs began to take place with special discounts for card carrying members, there would always be a surge of new membership just before the event.

A comparison of these figures with those quoted for the months of May and June would show a discrepancy. There were two basic methods by which we kept a tally of membership: the first group were those who came in, and were interested enough in CAVE to fill out a 3 x 5 data card giving their name, age, address, etc; the second group were those who took the trouble to have their picture taken, go through the rather cumbersome registration procedure, and produce identification in order to receive their CAVE card. A third group did go through this procedure but never returned to receive the CAVE card for one of several reasons.

At best, the record keeping was a little chaotic since it was done variously by staff workers and a number of both youth and adult volunteers. Not all the members filled out all the information on the 3 x 5 cards, and the several ways we had of keeping records do not show matching figures. However, the aggregate of the numbers is sufficient to give an overall pic-

ture of CAVE membership and at least a fair idea of some categorical details.

The chart on Page 222A summarizes all these figures. The total of 3,037 on Column 3 represents the number of young people who came in to fill out the 3 x 5 cards. The total of Column 4 represents the number who were actually processed for CAVE cards. The figure 2,046 is taken from the 3 x 5 card file, but the parenthesized figure below of 2,344 is that of the numerical log book and probably more accurate. Of this number 411 did not ultimately return to pick up their ID cards. Many of these did not have identification to obtain the card first time through and never troubled to come back. A great many others did not get their picture taken, either because the camera had temporarily run out of film or because there was no one else around to enable us to take the necessary group shots. In either case it obviously represents a certain amount of apathy. Summarizing -- the grand total of those who were at least initially interested in CAVE was about 3000; the number who became members was roughly two-thirds of the total. The most active participants on a daily basis, particularly when it came to doing any sort of work, was probably somewhere between 50 and 125. The number of card carrying CAVE members who attended the larger CAVE functions ranged from 200 to 350 -- usually about one-third of the total crowd present.

In dividing them by areas we made the classifications in the following manner. The total of 191 who came from Hampton included also the adjacent towns of Hampton Falls and North Hampton. The "20 Mile Radius" category includes Newburyport and Amesbury on the south, Exeter on the west, and Dover and Portsmouth on the north. The "New Hampshire Miscellaneous" category represents the rest of the state, but the greatest majority of these were either from Manchester or Nashua, approximately 50 miles distant. The "Merrimack Valley" category was obviously by far the largest of all, comprising about one-third of the CAVE membership. The towns included in this category ranged from Haverhill to Lowell, Massachusetts, and vicinities, an area varying from 25 to 40 miles in its distance from Hampton Beach. Interestingly enough, the greatest membership from any city was from Lowell at the outer perimeter of this area.

"Central Massachusetts" represented roughly the middle third of the state, including such cities as Leominster, Lunenburg, Fitchburg, Worcester and the surrounding towns, ranging in dis-


 7221 BUFF  
 G 7221 GREEN TINT

		1	2	3	4	5
		MEMBERSHIP				FEE
	AREA	LOCAL	TOTAL	TOTAL	CAVE	SEASON
1	HAMPTON (N. HAMPSHIRE)	120	13	131	126	44
2	20 MILE RADIUS	120	68	207	141	48
3	NH. MISC.	212	161	423	209	60
4	MERRIMACK VALLEY	50	381	431	611	139
5	GREATER BOSTON	120	126	208	205	71
6	CENTRAL MASS.	2-7	132	379	303	48
7	WESTERN MASS.	51	48	99	88	25
8	MISCELLANEOUS MASS.	188	141	309	278	78
9	NEW ENGLAND					
10	MAINE	7	12	17	15	4
11	VERMONT	7	3	10	5	1
12	RHODE ISLAND	15	6	21	20	8
13	CONNECTICUT	15	12	29	29	3
14	EASTERN SEABOARD					
15	NEW YORK	30	9	39	32	11
16	NEW JERSEY	2	2	4	3	
17	MARYLAND		1	1	1	
18	DELAWARE		1	1	1	
19	PENNSYLVANIA	3		3	3	2
20	SOUTH					
21	VIRGINIA		1	1	1	
22	GEORGIA	1		1	1	
23	FLORIDA		3	12	11	10
24	MID - U.S.					
25	KANSAS	1		1	1	1
26	SOUTH DAKOTA	1		1	1	1
27	MICHIGAN	2		2	2	1
28	OHIO	3	2	5	5	
29	MINNESOTA	2	1	3	3	3
30	ILLINOIS	2		2	1	1
31	WEST					
32	WASHINGTON	1		1		
33	CALIFORNIA	4		4	4	
34	CANADA	4	3	7	6	4
35						
36	NO ADDRESS -	10	10	24	17	4
37	HAMP. SUMMER ADDRESS ONLY	20	17	37	28	37
38						
39	TOTALS	1852	1185	3037	2246	607
40					710344	1788

[illegible]

14		15		16		17		18		19		20		21	
50		51		52		53									
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
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tance from Hampton from 60 to 75 miles. The "Western Massachusetts" group represents cities and towns 100 or more miles from Hampton Beach. "Miscellaneous Massachusetts" included a great number from the North Shore area -- such towns as Lynn, Salem and Wakefield.

The categories representing frequency at the beach were evaluated as follows. "Seasonal" is self-explanatory. "Daily" included those who came to the beach four or more times per week. "Weekends" also is self-explanatory. "Weekly" included those who came one to three times per week, but not necessarily on weekends. "Vacation" embraced those on extended stays varying in length from two weeks to six, averaging something between two and three. Many of these also came weekends during the remainder of the season. "Occasionally" was construed to include those who visited the beach two or three times a month but not on a regular weekly basis, and "Seldom" represents those who came only once or twice a summer.

In attempting to judge how many CAVE members were at Hampton Beach at any given time, one might reach at least a reasonable estimate for weekends by combining the totals for Seasonal, Hampton Residents, Weekends, Daily, half of the number who came weekly, half of the number who came for vacations, and 10% of those who came occasionally or seldom. Such a total would be 2175.

To estimate the number of CAVE members on a non-weekend day, one could perhaps take the total of the Seasonal, half those on vacation, half the Daily group, half the Hampton Residents, half the Weekly group, 10% of the Occasional and Seldom group, totaling 1,133.

The question then becomes what portion of the total number of young people on the beach did CAVE represent. Here again we are working with estimates, but at least a general idea can be obtained from Town Manager Kenneth Boehner's calculations that an average day's population at the beach would total 25 to 30 thousand people and that half these would be young people, thus a "guesstimate" of CAVE membership on ordinary days and on ordinary weekends would run somewhere about 8 to 10% -- enough to have had a significant effect on behavior patterns of Hampton's youth society.

## CAVE PROGRAMS CONTINUED

During this late July - early August period several elements which were to be included in the CAVE program proved not to be feasible, in most cases because the need for them had been earlier in the season. Such a one was the job-service function. The lodging service was carried through to the point of obtaining a listing of 25-odd rooming houses and hotels which would accept young people at reasonable rates -- but by August most of the young people were already pretty well settled in. The hope of setting up some sort of professional guidance service proved impractical simply because the guidance person available had long since turned her attentions elsewhere.

However, work on the building did continue periodically through the summer. By mid-July the small office portion of the building had been enclosed and fitted with a door. By August 1st telephone, and finally lights, were installed. There was not sufficient money for materials to finish the floor or the walls, but sections of wallboard were put up for use as bulletin boards and did much to tidy up the place.

Some of the money-raising ideas turned out well, while others were of varying success. On the weekend of July 31 - August 1, we had Tag Days, bringing in a total of \$189. The first day was significantly more successful than the second, since a number of the volunteer workers had encountered strong negative reactions from a few individuals on the street and were too discouraged to try it a second day. A car wash was held August 7 at a charge of \$1.00 per car, 50¢ going to the worker and 50¢ going to CAVE. CAVE's net income from the day was \$14.50. It conceivably could have been larger if any other location than the parking lot adjacent to the police station could have been found and if it had been possible to have more than one hose working at one time. Nonetheless it was regarded as sufficiently worthwhile to try at a later date, since it did at least give the volunteers a little spending money.

Cake sales, slave auctions, and a number of other fairly common money-raising devices were discussed, but did not draw enthusiasm from CAVE members. It was a general principle that help could be obtained for one-time occasions, but that it would be difficult to carry out regular services since it was almost impossible to get anyone to show up for anything

on a daily basis. For this reason we passed up opportunities to institute a commercial window washing service and to clean up the beach on a daily basis.

The areas where most money was to be made were in the various entertainment programs we found. The third CAVE dance at the Casino Ballroom July 29 proved almost as successful as the previous one had been. This time instead of hiring a disc jockey, we used a rock and roll group with a good reputation in the area, drawing 600-odd customers and netting for CAVE income in the vicinity of \$125.

Several times through the summer CAVE also sponsored folk music workshops of folk singers, usually at the Onyx Room, and usually on either a Wednesday or a Sunday night. These were generally regarded to be non-profit events since maximum seating capacity was a little under 100, since both the house and the performers were paid at least token amounts, and since folk music draws less universally than does rock and roll music and dancing. Admissions were purposely kept low -- 25¢ for CAVE members and 50¢ for non-members. Average income from each of these events to CAVE was in the vicinity of \$10.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR AUGUST 7 BEACH PARTY

The single most important function held by CAVE -- both in terms of its attendance and its significance was the beach party of August 7. It was twice re-scheduled to avoid conflict with other events and to give the staff sufficient time to prepare for it properly, because it was clear that the use of the state bathhouse, a mile from the beach, would require that we present something really worthwhile and make it as easy as possible for customers to attend.

As a rule it was not the habit of most of Hampton's young people to use this state bathhouse area (except after dark when couples sought out its solitude). Not only was it a mile from the main beach but separated from it by a number of blocks of cottages.

The bathhouse building is set back from the roadway perhaps a quarter of a mile in a large field which serves as a parking area and on the side by the river for cookouts. Ap-

proaching the bathhouse is a paved walkway through a lawn and leading from the bathhouse is another paved walkway through the dunes which extend north to the cottages and south to the river's edge, several hundred yards in each direction. The beach itself is a pleasant one bounded on the south by the river. From the north there can be direct approach to the area along the sand from the main beach. This entire area is operated by the state department of parks which derives some income from admission fees charged at a gatehouse by the road and from locker and equipment rental fees.

The bath house building itself is a long stucco affair, two stories high at the center and one story on the two wings which contain the locker rooms, showers, etc. Both at the front and the back there are sheltered areas formed by a projecting roof which at one time was used as a sundeck.

With the exception of regular Friday night square dances on the front walkway, the building has not for years been used in the night time. While there were outlets for some floodlights front and back and at the top of the building, some of these had not been used in anyone's memory. Although the original electrical system was a heavy-duty one, circuits had been taken from it in a series of jerry-built temporary setups over the period of the past thirty years, and there had been experiences with blowing fuses when certain combinations of short order grills and other appliances had been used in conjunction.

Since the parks department had no funds to light this area for night use, we had agreed to provide the lighting, but we hadn't expected to experience difficulties with the power sources. Our own ultimate answer was certainly as jerry-built as anything that had been done before -- a series of long extensions brought in from each wing to avoid overloading the central circuits where the concessionaire was already heavily drawing. From these extensions we hoped to draw sufficient power not only to beef up the illumination from floodlights on the sundeck but to run the heavy-duty amplifiers used in profusion by contemporary rock and roll bands. Had there been only one band to provide for, we would have worried a little less, but this event was going to have two bands plus a disc jockey, who would have his own amplifiers above and beyond the others. So we did what we could -- issued an ultimatum that only one entertainment unit could draw power at a time and borrowed a generator again for contingencies.

The program was to consist not only of these two bands and disk jockey but a bonfire at the beach around which young people could gather and sing. In an attempt to make the beach party as spectacular an affair as possible, we had also considered some sort of a cookout but finally decided against it since we had no experience to give us any idea how much of what sort of thing to order. Ultimately the concessionaire at the bathhouse was persuaded to stay open for the evening in the event that he might make a few extra dollars.

The project staff was particularly concerned over the distance between the main beach and the bathhouse and hoped to overcome it by tying in the beach party with a hayride or a series of them going from the CAVE building out to the bathhouse area. However horses were too slow and trucks were insufficiently insured, so ultimately we settled by making special arrangements for one or two school busses. Some consideration was given to charging no admission for the affair but this was decided to be poor psychology so we settled on 25¢ for CAVE members and 50¢ for non-members.

Within the restrictions, the staff and a number of volunteers did everything possible to publicize the event. Before the cutoff on newspaper publicity a few stories announcing the dance had gone out, and unbeknownst to us the disc jockey for the event, Tom Foley, had managed to have a story inserted in the Fitchburg (Mass.) Sentinel. Special notices of the party were mimeographed, and 1300 of them were hand-addressed by a crew of volunteers for mailing. Finally, posters as colorful and exciting as possible were made up by the dozen and placed everywhere possible in the main beach area.

Through all this, Hammond and I kept as much in the background as possible, supplying assistance only where it was needed, since we had found that if the staff and volunteers felt the event was their own responsibility and was done on their own initiative they worked with much more vigor, enthusiasm, and imagination.

By this point in the season we were enough accustomed to last minute hitches that we more or less took in stride the delay of the written permission and straightened it out with a phone call when it came. The disagreement over the bonfire was a little more difficult. The day, that Saturday, was a busy one complicated by a car wash in progress, the need to get in a truckload of big logs, kerosene and an old automobile

tire to get the fire started. For this bonfire we had permission from the parks department, two police departments and the fire department. Therefore when two of the C of C directors showed up mid-afternoon in great concern over the size of the bonfire we made the mistake of arguing with them rather than simply agreeing at the outset that the wood for the fire should be built no higher than five feet, which was plenty big enough as we discovered the next morning when we had to clean it up.

A little more disturbing were the rumors that circulated for the 24 hours prior to the beach party that there was going to be trouble of some sort. In tracking down the rumor, however, we found for the most part the young people were simply passing on something that apparently had originated with one of the beach businessmen. Nevertheless, we did everything we could to anticipate any such trouble, putting as many of the staff and responsible volunteers as possible on posts around the area, making sure there would be at least some police protection, and enlisting a small crew of adult volunteers to be inconspicuously on hand in case help was needed. At the very least we expected there would be one or two boys who would show up carrying beer -- or having drunk too much of it.

#### CAVE BEACH PARTY AT STATE BATHHOUSE, AUGUST 7

As the evening approached we felt a little like the launch crew of a rocket preparing for a final attempt after several misfires. Twice the dance had been postponed. The bands and disc jockey were teenagers, unknown personally to us, and there were no contracts to assure us of their coming. On the one hand we were afraid that not enough customers would come, and on the other hand we were afraid there would be too many, making impossible control situation. Peace of mind was not exactly improved when the truck we had been using to get the wood down to the beach proper became firmly stuck in the beach sand, but a crew of volunteers again gathered and lifted it almost bodily out of the way.

One break we had that August 7 was the weather -- very warm and clear. There was a half-moon which we had counted on for partial illumination, but it was of no real value. As darkness descended and the hour grew toward eight, we realized that our lighting system was not going to brighten the area to the extent we had hoped. At the main beach there is at least

some illumination on the sand from the streetlights, but the bathhouse area had no such fringe benefits. We consoled ourselves in the knowledge that at least both bands and the disc jockey had come and were set up and when the lights and amplifiers were put on simultaneously no fuses blew.

By 7:30 crowds of young people began to trickle into the area, and by 8:00 P. M. they were surging in. There was no really efficient way to collect admissions. We had two girls with a cigarbox full of change posted at the gatehouse by the road, but all one had to do was walk around it if one wanted to avoid paying, so we left it as much as possible on an honor basis. Another team of admissions takers were at the door to the bathhouse building. If customers claimed that they had paid at the outer gate, they were let in without further question. The fact that several hundred dollars was collected at this post indicates that the honor system worked fairly well despite the fact, obvious to all of us, that a lot of people were free-loaders. A few minutes before eight, worker Jay Green came up from his post by the bonfire to announce that more freeloaders were walking up along the shore and he thought he could do something about it. We gave him a change box and a while later he came back with another twenty to thirty dollars he had picked up simply by asking people whether or not they had yet paid.

It was an unusually heavy crowd. Our income from the night shows we had somewhere in the vicinity of 800 paying customers, and reliable estimates of the crowd add another 400. There were new faces -- and some tough looking customers in various extremes of dress -- but as the dancing began and the bonfire was lighted it rather quickly became apparent that the only ones who felt any tension were the personnel in charge and perhaps the police, who were seriously concerned about the inadequate lighting. Every so often someone would inadvertently get his foot caught on one of our 50-foot extension cords and the lights would go out briefly, but even then there was no unrest or suggestion of any tension at all. Nobody showed up drunk, nobody fought, nobody did anything objectionable. People danced, stood around, wandered back and forth from the dance area to the fire, and judging from reactions everyone thought it was great. The concessionaire was amazed and pleased to find his gross business for the evening far beyond his expectations.

About mid-point in the dance Hammond rode back to the main beach to see what effect the beach party was having on

crowds there. At first glance his assumption was that the effect was negligible. The boardwalk and Ocean Boulevard were jammed. A dance at the Casino was having light attendance but the Seagate, with its rock and roll bands, was full.

What we didn't realize until afterward was that this was the peak-crowd weekend for the summer. During the daylight hours police estimates of the beach crowd were 80,000. As a result the evening crowd, of course, was heavy as well. Here too there were many new faces and commensurate with the crowd's size this was the weekend on which the police made their maximum number of arrests -- something over 40.

Meanwhile back at the bathhouse, the fire burned down, the bands played their final tunes, we shooed out the customers, and closed up the area without untoward event. Next morning, almost at dawn, a crew of us -- including Will Cunningham -- returned to clean up the trash and pour bucket after bucket of sea water on the area of sand where the fire had been. Had we not done so, someone could have received a bad burn, for once the embers were cleared out of the way there was no sign that a fire had been there, yet the sand beneath it was as hot as lava and almost exploded when the first buckets of water were poured on it.

#### INTERNAL CROWD CONTROL DEMONSTRATED

This was probably the single night when CAVE most effectively proved its hypotheses that summer. All the elements for trouble were there -- the rumors, the heavy crowds, the new faces, an uncertain lighting system, an area so large and rangy that a hundred policemen couldn't have controlled the crowd if it had gone wild -- yet no hint of trouble. Rather than acting as a stimulus for misbehavior, the music and the bonfire provided focal points for internal crowd control. There had been no trouble because there was no need for it. There was plenty to do if you wanted to, and plenty of unrestricted space to hang around and watch if that was your desire. This we regarded as especially important in light of the apparent restlessness at the main beach that same evening. If we had not drained off a substantial portion of the Hampton Beach crowd, we had at least given healthy diversion to 1200 young people who would have otherwise been at the center milling around. And one final pleasant note -- our gross income for the evening was in the vicinity of \$340.



## LABOR DAY PLANS DRAWN

Accordingly when Elaine Moriarty and the CAVE Program Committee sat down Sunday night to plan for the rest of the season and for Labor Day weekend, they felt some assurance that the schedule could be both effective and acceptable. Several more Thursday night dances were scheduled for the Casino Ballroom, and a miscellany of folk music events for the Onyx Room -- including an agreement that an attempt should be made to form a jug band from among the talent available in the CAVE membership. Another beach party was agreed upon two weeks hence for August 21.

For Labor Day weekend, all agreed that it was impossible to schedule events simultaneously for the bathhouse area and for the main beach. It had been difficult enough the night before to have two staff members tied up with the beach observation schedules and another at the CAVE building to organize the bus trips to the state park area. Therefore the agreement was that we should have as good a beach party as possible for Saturday of Labor Day weekend and as good a show as possible at the Seashell for Sunday night. If John Dineen could be persuaded of the wisdom of such an event, possibly a midnight dance could be scheduled for the Casino starting at 12:01 Monday morning.

It was agreed that Elaine and I would take responsibility for booking the best possible acts for Sunday night, then check back with the CAVE Program Committee for consensus. The two major acts we hoped to get were Jim Kweskin and his Jug Band and the New Prince Spaghetti Minstrels, the show to be bulked out with lesser known names if possible.

Next day on the phone I was able to learn that the Prince Spaghetti Minstrels were available for a thousand dollars and Kweskin for perhaps a little less if at all. The only way of obtaining him, it appeared, would be to find a replacement act to fill in for him, since he was concluding a week's engagement that evening. By way of explanation, the Prince Spaghetti Minstrels were a group of seven, who had originally started in a series of singing commercials on radio. Their sound was quite similar to that of the New Christie Minstrels. The Jim Kweskin Band was about a like number, an admixture of homemade instruments and a few conventional ones, highly rhythmic yet not rock and roll. Both groups were quite well

known throughout New England. These facts I prepared for presentation to the upcoming TAR Committee meeting.

## RESEARCH PROGRESS

During this same period in late July and early August the research had been carried out with good effectiveness except in the area of interviews with arrestees. The problem was that there were simply no facilities where arrestees could be conveniently detained for an hour interview in the police station without inconvenience both to the interviewer and to the police department. Several methods were tried but none proved really satisfactory. One additional complicating factor was that many of the arrests were very late at night and the arrestees were already out on bail by the time the staff came on duty the next morning.

Probably we would not have been able to reach our N of 45 interviews if it had not been for the fact that Jack Derby joined the CAVE staff as a replacement about August 1. Not only was Derby a reliable and consistent worker, but he knew the beach youth society inside and out, having spent many summers there and worked in a variety of establishments. If anyone was a natural leader of the "C Street gang" Jack would have been the man.

In establishing a work crew for further projects like that at Hampton Beach, serious consideration should certainly be given to employing at least a certain number from within the society of the resort itself. Derby had been, as an active leader in CAVE, an asset in planning youth programs and analyzing youth attitudes, but he was a great deal more helpful as a regular crew member. Two weeks later, when Robert and Nancy Deane found they had to leave for the mid-west, we replaced them with Sheryl Marini and Ken Clark, who had been working part time or as volunteers to this point. The addition of these three people to the CAVE staff, even though the latter two were not college students or trained in interview techniques, made the work of the project more effective.

## X.

AUGUST 11 - AUGUST 28, 1965

The period August 11 to 28 was characterized by a long struggle and a series of reversals in a hope to establish a Labor Day program more extensive than that of July Fourth weekend.

On the 11th of August we were visited by a delegation from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency including not only Cy Rosenthal but Leonard Stern, Harold Eidlin and Israel Gerver. Gerver spent a major portion of the day conferring with Van Nostrand and one or two of the staff who were working on the research. Eidlin's day was spent familiarizing himself with the program and with the area since it was his responsibility to produce whatever was the most appropriate type of documentation and coverage of the Hampton Beach Project. Rosenthal and Stern were on hand principally to review the program to date and to advise us where possible on the completion of the program, particularly that for Labor Day. The most important conference was with Chairman Cunningham, since he and Rosenthal had never had a previous chance to talk at length. Rosenthal at this time clarified the point concerning the use of federal funds under the conditions of our grant. While it was not possible, he said, to use these funds for entertainment, the term entertainment was construed to mean taking guests to lunch or for cocktails. However, the use of funds for our Labor Day show was construed to be program rather than entertainment.

On the strength of this and with an assist from John Dineen, we made a verbal commitment to employ the Prince Spaghetti Minstrels for the Labor Day show at a \$100 reduction in price. At that point there was still an apparent possibility of obtaining Kveskin, although not a very good one. To do so it appeared we would have to pay an even higher price than anticipated.

# **FURTHER CAVE EVENTS AT STATE BATHHOUSE CANCELED**

The TAR Committee meeting of August 16 was opened by Herbert Casassa's announcement that Colonel Regan had asked the Parks Department to cancel further activities at the state bathhouse. Regan's stated view was that the illumination at the last affair had been insufficient and that the area imposed an intrinsic problem of crowd control.

Needless to say, a vigorous debate ensued ranging over questions growing out of the previous beach party, the "new faces" at Hampton, the safety of rock and roll dances (and the "secret" training session in Boston), and the question whether the C of C had approved "dancing" or "rock and roll dancing" at the state park, and the more general question concerning who validly should set policy for Hampton Beach.

It is interesting to note that by this point in the season the TAR Committee had, in effect, undergone a third change. With the exception of Van Nostrand and myself, who as employees really should not have had voting privileges, the regularly attending members were now almost solidly conservative, although the committee on paper was still exactly as it had been in May when the extra three members were appointed. As chairman, Cunningham filled his role properly by seeking consensus to carry forward whatever program was possible within that consensus. Although present in person, Salomon took no active part now. Under the pressure of his businesses and other commitments, Preston was seldom able to be on hand.

Thus essentially the debates within the committee were carried on between Van Nostrand and myself on the one hand and Dineen and Et. O'Leary on the other, and it was the latter "team" who carried the voting strength.

Since Colonel Regan's decision about the state park would have cancelled our beach party for August 21, five days hence, and of course the Labor Day Saturday night beach party, Van Nostrand and I were most reluctant to accept it without seeking some modification. Particularly since the previous beach party had proven both safe and effective on the heaviest-crowd weekend of the summer in less than perfect circumstances, we felt that some way should be found to continue use of the park. The crux argument was that, even though no direct relation-

ship could be shown, the weekend of August 7 had seen unusually heavy arrests, and the risk was not worth taking another time. Further it was argued that lighting and controlling the bathhouse area was impossible, and in any event that the Colonel had already made his decision so that there was little point in further discussion of it.

We then asked whether we could approach the Colonel and the Parks Department to see whether, if lighting could be substantially improved, additional beach parties could be permitted.

One member's response was that since CAVE had already accomplished so much this summer it would be better to allow matters to rest as they stood at present rather than risking failure in future programs. It was of little avail to respond that CAVE had been putting its neck on the line with every event it had run for the summer, that the whole purpose of the program was not to establish a good name for CAVE but to show, when the risk was within reason, that internal crowd control was a positive and reliable tool with which Hampton could meet its problem.

No specific vote was taken on the issue, but there was certainly general agreement within the committee not to have dances at the state bathhouse under any conditions but only at the Casino Ballroom. Several times during the course of the meeting attempts were made to deal specifically with the coming Labor Day program, but it was not possible to get the subject on the floor for discussion as such since so much time had been taken for a debate on a more theoretical level.

#### CAVE BEACH PARTY AGAIN A POSSIBILITY

The next morning I received a phone call from Howard Berry and the State Department of Parks indicating that Colonel Regan was willing to compromise; he would approve the August 21 beach party on two conditions -- that the lighting be substantially improved and that no further events after August 21 would be scheduled for the state bathhouse during 1965. My immediate response was that the TAR Committee had already decided against any such events regardless of circumstances, but a subsequent call to Cunningham brought a hopeful response. Since, he said, no actual vote had been taken against future beach parties, he felt it was possible to go

ahead with one more. Further he said he would personally clear the matter with John Dineen.

On Wednesday of that same week another delegation from Washington came to Hampton for a site visitation, this time including James Symington, newly appointed director of the President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency. A special luncheon with the Washington delegation was attended by most of the staff workers, by Walter Vanderpool and Wil Cunningham, and by the other project personnel. Additional members of the TAR Committee were invited, but none were able to attend.

At about this same time it was announced that a special documentary film on the Hampton Beach Project would be produced and that Eidlin and a cameraman from Boston would start to work on it shortly. Staff worker Don Murphy was detached to act as an aide to this project.

During this same period of mid-to-late August several other CAVE programs were discussed and subsequently abandoned. As a part of a staff-inspired attempt to involve townspeople more heavily in the Hampton Beach Project, it was hoped that a door to door canvass could be made in Hampton's residential areas by staff and volunteers to leave off brochures explaining CAVE, to talk to the town's citizens and, hopefully, to solicit contributions. However, it was discovered that permissions for such canvasses are generally not given in Hampton. At another point it was thought desirable to have a float representing CAVE in the Hampton Beach parade late in August, but after some discussion the CAVE Program Committee felt there would not be sufficient enthusiasm in the organization for this particular function.

The most vigorous debate centered around a proposed CAVE- and Adult Arts Festival. Originally Linda Batchelder had conceived of this as a weekend event involving both the visual and performing arts, and drawing participation not only from CAVE members but from professional artists within a radius of 100 miles. The response of the TAR Committee was highly favorable, but within the project staff there was vigorous opposition, since a number felt that this would simply be a community showpiece put on by the project but in no way directly relating to it. It was felt by this group that only if it could be restricted to CAVE members alone should an art show

or festival be produced. Subsequent attempts to solicit interest on the part of the young people failed to draw sufficient support, and reluctantly the project was dropped.

Unquestionably there was a certain amount of factionalism involved in this issue and in several others among members of the staff. For the most part it did not impede work progress, but it certainly provided grounds for plenty of talk, whether the subject was an arts festival or undignified horseplay at a staff party involving the throwing of various persons into the pool or plastering one another with Crazy Foam, a harmless substitute for shaving cream. There was talk of a Durham clique and a Hampton clique, which was ultimately at least partially resolved in laughter as various tongue-in cheek signs were posted in the CAVE building. All of this would have been a matter of much greater concern had it not been for the fact that several excellent program events were successfully carried forward during these same weeks.

On the 12th of August another dance for CAVE was held in the Casino Ballroom, employing the Shadows, one of the beach party bands, and Tom Foley, who had also worked the beach party as M.C. Foley was a high school student who, although he had never been employed as a radio disc jockey, had the stage presence, the poise, and the rapport with young people to carry off a dance as effectively as had the professional from Boston.

There had been less advertising for this dance than for several others previous and on this occasion we found ourselves in competition with the Seagate Ballroom. Nonetheless approximately 500 showed up to attend and the profit was in the vicinity of \$100.

In addition to the regularly scheduled dances, parties, and folk music affairs, there came about in mid-August two other strong program elements, all the more effective because of their spontaneity.

#### CAVE JUG BAND

The first was the birth of the New Original CAVE Jug Band. Strictly speaking, a jug band involves a single string washtub bass, a washboard (played with thimbles), sandpaper blocks, tambourine, banjo, guitar, and of course a jug, blown to produce recognizable tones -- all these along with singers.

That we came fairly close to the approved format can be seen by the photographs. The use of a conventional string bass wasn't quite cricket, but it had to hold together an aggregation inclined more toward enthusiasm than precision. Besides, my house made a convenient place for rehearsals.

The naming of the band was intended humorously. In general, folk singing groups go in for elaborate titles -- viz., The New Lost City Ramblers (whether or not there were ever any Original Lost City Ramblers). In our case, there had once been Original CAVE Jug, a plastic half-gallon Clorox container, unfortunately lost in CAVE's moving from store to trailer to building. Thus the earthen jug now played by Bill Corser became the New Original CAVE Jug and the band was named for it.

The Band's premiere was to be August 18th at the Onyx Room, and the program of eight or so songs were memorized and gone over until they were as little ragged as reasonably possible. One or two of the young people and staff worker Craig Little were musicians of some considerable skill and several had excellent singing voices, so that extra numbers were possible featuring duets or soloists to break up the program.

#### BIG BROTHER DAY

The other spontaneous program was Orphans' Day (later named Big Brother Day out of consideration to our guests), conceived by Pete Mason and executed essentially under his direction. Some 32 state wards and orphans were brought in as special guests of CAVE from the Portsmouth and Dover area for an all-day outing at the beach. The youngsters ranged in age from seven to twelve and probably for every two of them there was one CAVE volunteer or staff member to act as big brother. Through the cooperation of beach merchants they had access to bowling alleys, miniature golf, etc. and cut rates were made possible through several restaurants so that there was a big feed of sandwiches and soft drinks at noon-time. Money was taken from the funds earned by the CAVE dances to buy prizes or simple gifts, at least one to a child. In the afternoon there were games, races and horseplay on the sand in a special area roped off for the purpose. At the conclusion there was a songfest featuring a special sneak preview of the New Original CAVE Jug Band, and between performers and audience the CAVE building rocked with sound. Long after the day many



of the CAVE members recalled it as one of the best in the summer, exhausting though it may have been. There were few of the big brothers who did not dip into their own pockets to buy candy or pop or a gift for one or more of the children.

The businessmen of the community too took pride in their contributions; of all the events held by CAVE through the summer few did more to cement relations between Hampton Beach young people and its adult community.

That was the 17th. On August 18th the New Original CAVE Jug Band played to a packed house at the Onyx Room. Not only did the Jug Band members perform, but at least six and perhaps more other performers, some of them excellent, took part in an evening performance that was more or less arranged as volunteers turned up. In the very best sense of the word it was a talent night, yet with a spontaneity that would not have been possible in the self-conscious formality that the phrase "talent show" lends to a production with its implications of amateurishness. As a matter of fact, the concept of a talent night as such had earlier been rejected by a CAVE Program Committee group.

## SECOND BEACH PARTY

On August 21st the second CAVE beach party took place at the state bathhouse. For a variety of reasons it was not nearly as successful as the previous one had been. The fact of its being scheduled, then cancelled, then rescheduled did much to dampen the enthusiasm of the workers as well as the participants. There was, of course, no mass mailing as there had been before, and publicity was limited to the number of signs we could get out from Wednesday afternoon until Saturday. In actual fact, it was not until Friday night when state and local police came to inspect and approve our improved lighting system that the final approval was obtained.

Once the conditional approval for the party had been given, Hammond and I went feverishly to work to meet what had been described as minimum requirements. First we went to the fire department and were able to obtain the cooperation of Chief Perley George and fireman Howard Stickney in setting up for use the town's civil defense searchlight. This was an anti-aircraft carbon-arc light designed to spot planes at a distance of five miles. It took a crew of three or four to keep it running and it had to be stationed at the far side of the field from the bathhouse to illuminate the parking area.

The overall effect was to spotlight the building, and the thing was so bright that anybody emerging from the building was momentarily blinded. However, it did have the desired psychological effect for the street side of the state park area. For the ocean side, Hammond built two light poles out of 4" x 4" timbers, each with a cluster of four 150-watt flood lamps at its top. These were mounted on the two dunes on either side of the walkway from the bathhouse to the beach, and they were powered by a 2500-watt generator borrowed from Smith and Gilmore, a local marina. In addition we added other clusters totalling eight to ten floodlights, fed off the building itself. Friday night Colonel Regan, Chief Leavitt and their aides came down after dark to inspect what we had done and approved it subject to one additional cluster of lights.

Saturday turned out clear, but it was one of the coldest days of the summer and the crowd at the main beach and at the beach party were accordingly much smaller. Total attendance at the dance was not more than 350, including those who walked up the beach or sneaked in free. Gross income for the night was approximately \$135, which represented a net loss to the CAVE bank account after payment for the band, the disc jockey, the lighting fixtures and bulbs, and one man from the fire department who was, under the agreement, to be paid by CAVE.

As in the case of the previous beach party there was no problem whatsoever with crowd control. Some of the older customers left in some disgust, complaining that there was nobody but little kids there -- a similar problem, under somewhat similar circumstances, to that encountered at the very first CAVE dance at the Casino Ballroom. One happy discovery that night was a highly talented quartet of folk singers from Manchester named the Traveling Wayfarers who performed for an hour or more by the bonfire at the beach. They were good enough so that we hired them on the spot, both for an appearance at the Onyx Room and for the Sunday Labor Day evening show.

The morning after the beach party, the same bleary-eyed crew of volunteers turned out to clean up the area, the beach, and to drown the fire. This time we had enough foresight to bring more than one bucket.

#### LABOR DAY SUNDAY CAVE SHOW APPROVED

At a TAR meeting August 23rd, the Labor Day Sunday evening

show was approved. By this time it was definite that Kveskin was unavailable, and a Dixieland group had been hired along with the Prince Spaghetti minstrels as the mainstay of the show. According to the Boston agency, the Dixieland group's sound was similar to that of the Village Stompers, a currently popular group with young people who featured solo banjo rather extensively. Prior to this time, as soon as it had become apparent that the state bathhouse area would not be available for Saturday of Labor Day weekend, we had appealed to John Dineen to produce, in cooperation with CAVE, a special Saturday night dance on September 4th. If there was no way that an outdoor dance could be held, we felt that at least an indoor dance at the Casino Ball

ishing the crowds on the boardwalk somewhat. At the TAR meeting Dineen said that as yet he had been unable to reach a final decision concerning this dance. In the event that it was to be possible, Dineen agreed to hire the band and keep the entire profits from the evening, and CAVE's contribution would be to lend its name and help supervise the affair.

The bulk of this particular TAR meeting was taken up with a religious action group who had by this time received approval to conduct revival services through the period prior to Labor Day and including Labor Day weekend itself. Further comment on this particular subject will be found in the next section of this report.

#### HOPE FOR LABOR DAY SATURDAY DANCE

Following that TAR Committee meeting, the prime question for the demonstration phase of the project was whether or not any sort of CAVE function would be possible to establish for Saturday, September 4th, of Labor Day weekend. The end product of the project was, after all, to establish some sort of effective intervention technique which would contribute toward diminishing or eliminating the riot problem of previous years. If it was not possible to have a beach party at the state bathhouse, then perhaps the Casino Ballroom dance would be at least a moderately acceptable substitute, felt the Office of Juvenile Delinquency in Washington.

However, to make a decision in advance whether such an event would be safe and prudent was obviously a difficult proposition for John Dineen. When on August 25th we approached him to see whether a decision was possible, since time was short if an acceptable band was to be hired, he said reluctantly that he could not come to a decision soon enough to

schedule a band and that therefore his answer must finally be that no dance could be held.

We were reluctant to give up the project so quickly and began to cast around for other possible alternatives. One possibility presented itself the following night when the final CAVE dance at the Casino Ballroom was held. The band in this instance were the Trolls, who had been appearing regularly at the Onyx Room dances during the summer. We had anticipated that the use of the Trolls for a CAVE dance would bring poor response, since they could be seen so easily elsewhere on the beach, but we had overlooked the following this band had built up over the summer. Not only was there a slightly larger crowd on hand than usual, but many of the earlier CAVE members, including some of the older ones, appeared at this CAVE function for the first time in almost two months. Included was a sizable representation from the "C Street gang" along with the Onyx Room's proprietor, Carmen Fichera, acting as manager for the Trolls.

At this dance, for the first time in the history of the CAVE's events, trouble really did threaten. One "tough guy" was spoiling for a fight and apparently had two or three of his satellites ready to go along with him. However, thanks to the presence of Jack Derby, Carmen Fichera, and the C Street people, we not only knew that trouble was in the offing as quickly as the threat developed, but we were able to prevent incident. The boy in question was spoken to by a delegation of his peers and warned not to start any trouble. Not only that, but for the next hour until the threat was obviously diminished there were a dozen or more young people just as tough as he was posted around the floor ready to eject him at the first sign of an incident.

Out of these circumstances, in a conversation with Fichera, an alternative plan for September 4th evolved. Fichera's plans for that evening were to keep business as usual at the Onyx Room with the Trolls. However, for approximately \$200 he would be willing to close up the Onyx Room, have the Trolls appear at the Casino Ballroom, and he would gather enough of the C Street gang for a Casino dance to nip any trouble in the bud should there be another such threat.

It seemed an ideal solution since no decision had to be made until almost the last minute, allowing John Dineen ample time to assess the factors involved before scheduling or cancelling such a dance. A few minutes later we had an opportunity to present this plan to Dineen, who agreed to take it into

consideration -- so once again a September 4th program looked to be at least a possibility.

Incidentally it should be noted that August 26th was an exceptionally cold and windy evening, that almost no one was on the boulevard or boardwalk, yet the CAVE dance drew over 600 people and netted the usual \$100-plus profit.

### LAW ENFORCEMENT

During these same weeks of mid-to-late August, there were several items under the heading Police Activities that should be noted:

On the weekend of August 21st, a boy in his late teens, a CAVE member, was arrested on a charge of possession of marijuana. As it happened, the boy escaped by the skin of his teeth: chemical analysis of the drug found in his possession proved it to be not marijuana but a very similar substance, not on the Federal Narcotics List, which is taken medicinally by sufferers of asthma. The boy was able to show that he did have a record of such bronchial difficulties.

Nonetheless, it became quite apparent that marijuana was in use to some extent by some of the young people on the beach, and CAVE was able to be of assistance to the Hampton Police Department in supplying some facts in this regard. Fortunately it proved unnecessary for the police to take further action; the scare was sufficient to drive marijuana from the area for the remainder of the season.

Late in August, a dozen or more of the CAVE people and members of the Hampton Police Department met in an excellent interchange of ideas under rather unusual circumstances. At the request of Norman Kassoff of the IACP, a delegation of CAVE members banded together to act out an IACP script for the training course. The playlet in question cast two boys in the roles of policemen and the rest as beach kids. The incident depicted showed a slight incident which was expanded into a larger one because of tactless handling of the circumstances by the "policemen."

This was followed by a discussion between the young people in the cast and 20-odd policemen during which, for the first time since June, each side had a chance to ask the other some blunt questions and hear some blunt answers. Perhaps

such a discussion without a moderator could have got out of hand, but with Kassoff as chairman the dialogue stayed on topics of some importance and was not allowed to drift into trivialities. Both the police and the young people felt the session was most worthwhile, and had there been time the young people in particular would have liked to try it once or twice more. It would seem that in every instance where police and young people sat down in conference, a somewhat improved rapport was achieved, and that this type of function should be increased in future projects, particularly if an able moderator can be at hand.

It should also be noted that as August drew to a close and the Labor Day weekend approached, there was a significant increase in police activity by both local and state departments. Particularly this was true in the late night hours. In the period approaching Labor Day, the Beach Observations show only routine patrols in the weekend hours up to ten o'clock, but in the hours from eleven o'clock onward this activity increased significantly. At 9:00 P.M., for instance, there might be only one or two state troopers patrolling the boardwalk but by midnight there would be two squad cars parked at the front and as many as ten troopers on duty, checking automobiles and making it apparent to the young people that it was time to home and to bed. From midnight on, any group of more than three or four youths could expect to be approached by a policeman and be told to go elsewhere.

## XI

AUGUST 29 - SEPTEMBER 6, 1965

The last two weeks prior to Labor Day are traditionally slow for Hampton Beach business, and in 1965 a period of cold, wind, and rain accentuated this trend. Hotels that had been virtually full through the summer found themselves with but a handful of customers. Obviously the tradition of previous years' rioting was a factor as well. So slight were the crowds, in fact, that it took two full weekends and the week intervening to collect the necessary 300 interviews on the final wave of the Irritability-Deviancy Scale. Particularly adults were simply not present in any number.

## COMPARISON OF PRE-LABOR DAY WEEKS - 1964 -5

During the equivalent period in 1964, the tension between the young people and the resort community obviously was building. A sprinkling of those who ultimately were deeply involved in trouble had appeared at the beach during this late-August interim. Rumors began to fly. Now, in 1965 virtually none of this was evident: the tension was negligible, few of the trouble-makers seemed to be present, and the only rumors of trouble involved other areas -- Cape Cod, and particularly Lake George, New York. Continual checks with both the police and many of the young people confirmed these apparently hopeful signs.

In the previous year such press coverage as there had been in advance speculated on the coming riot and police reprisals. However, this year two excellent articles -- one in the Manchester Union Leader and one in the Christian Science Monitor -- gave extensive treatment to the resort community's effort to find constructive solutions, including in both cases adequate coverage of CAVE's activities and goals. Only in the instance

of a single Merrimack Valley newspaper was there the old familiar speculation about big trouble.

There was still no decision possible on the use of the Casino Ballroom for a September 4th dance -- not until John Dineen could get through the weekend of August 28 - 30 when his major presentation for the season was being presented. The attraction in this instance was the King Family, stars of the television show. Their appearance at Hampton Beach had been widely advertised for many weeks in advance. The Casino had invested in this show more heavily than in any other for the summer. However, advance sales had not been up to expectations and Dineen was concerned.

Unhappily the event proved to be even worse than the expectations. Afterward John Dineen termed it his worst failure in his years of show business. The reasons could have been several -- the poor weather (and rain on one night of the show), the light crowds of late August, but perhaps more important, a changing pattern in the entertainment field, at least where Hampton and the Casino were concerned. Earlier in the summer the Beach Boys had sold out to show after show. But now more conventional entertainment, good as it was, failed seriously.

This was also bad news for CAVE -- at least as far as a Casino dance on September 4th was concerned. Dineen was frankly tired and discouraged and was most reluctant to undergo the tension of running and experimental dance on Labor Day weekend, particularly if it was to be as informal as the previous CAVE dances.

Further, he predicted that crowds for Labor Day weekend would be exceptionally light. He had already closed his dining room and was in the process of closing up the ballroom for the season.

Dineen did not say that a dance for Saturday, September 4, was totally out of the question, but he certainly felt he could give us no encouragement. It was still, in a technical sense, feasible; in an hour's time the veranda furniture could be moved back out of the ballroom and the refreshment stands opened up for one more evening.

He was also frank to analyze and criticize past and present Casino entertainment policies in the face of changing public taste. He wondered whether he hadn't made the mistake of trying



to appeal to an age group who now stayed home to watch television instead of going out to spend money on entertainment. Next year, he said, he would certainly need to examine current trends in popular entertainment more carefully. Certainly he felt badly at having booked a flop, but he took a certain philosophical consolation in the fact that it was his first serious failure in all the years the Casino Ballroom had been under his management.

We also conversed briefly on the subject of the Frolics at Salisbury Beach, a few miles south of Hampton. The Frolics had similar anachronistic attributes to those of the Casino: in an era well beyond the heyday of the big bands and vaudeville it had operated successfully by charging healthy prices for its capacious, luxurious atmosphere and for the top names in show business until about 1964 when the financial roof fell in. Since then under other management it had experimented with a variety of variations of its former policies, none of which had paid off sufficiently. During August of the current year, it had gone bankrupt again and had quickly been purchased by the Surf Ballroom or Nantasket Beach. In the few weeks since that time it had been renamed the Surf and had suddenly found new success with Surf policies -- the best rock and roll bands for "college mixers", swinging dances for older young people with the stipulation that coats and ties be worn. Whether this would continue to be successful at Salisbury Beach, was a question, but it certainly worked out for the Surf at Nantasket, a similar resort fifty miles or so to the south.

#### SALISBURY BEACH CONTRAST

Salisbury Beach itself has always presented an interesting contrast to Hampton Beach. This could fairly be called a honky-tonk resort, not unlike Coney Island. It abounds in ferris wheels, roller coaster and hundreds of small concessions and rides. Sidewalk vendors offer a bewildering variety of indigestibles. Beer joints flourish, many of them offering entertainment, at least in the form of a band and a postage stamp size ballroom floor. Its jungle of cottages are largely unattractive and run down, yet this is a thriving, light-hearted resort patronized most heavily by laboring classes from the Merrimack Valley. The police at Salisbury Beach have had brushes with scandal in past years, but their reputation is one of being worldly wise, tough, and tolerant. Salisbury has never been a teenagers' hangout, nor has it ever had a problem with riots or disturbances of a group nature.

Stuart Palmer theorizes that if the Hampton Beach riots have been a sort of symbolic protest against middle-class morality and hypocrisy, resorts such as Salisbury have never been affected since there is no middle-class pretension about them. It should also be noted that Salisbury has a state police barracks and that both state and local police are in evidence through the season.

A visit to Salisbury Beach over Labor Day weekend showed that Salisbury's crowds were normal, that business throughout the summer had been better than average, and that there was no expectation of trouble for this Labor Day any more than there had been in previous years.

During the early part of the week prior to Labor Day weekend, there was a continued effort, both by TAR personnel and by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, to re-establish the dance for September 4th, Saturday. While Dineen continued to agree that such a dance in the Casino could, to some extent, relieve problems on the Boulevard, he maintained that a final decision could not be made until it was clearly established how large a crowd would turn up for the weekend and what sort of people they appeared to be.

#### CAVE EVENTS

During the week preceding Labor Day there were a few additional CAVE events. As the photographs show, there was some participation in the annual firemen's muster by CAVE members and staff personnel. A firemen's muster, incidentally, is a meet at which old-fashioned hand-pumped fire engines are manned by crews of volunteers to see which can drive a stream the greatest distance. For several years such a meet has been held at Hampton Beach, drawing contestants from all over New England. Several weeks previously the Hampton Beach Fire Department had requested that CAVE members be available to help where crews from various towns might be short handed. At one point this plan had been carried a step further, and it was hoped that one engine could be reserved for CAVE members alone. However, the CAVE staff member who was to pull this event together unfortunately had to leave the area before the termination of the Project, and the engine in question was scheduled so late in the evening of August 28th that a CAVE team proved not to be feasible. However, in a somewhat disorganized fashion there

was some participation and fun for CAVE young people. In a future year, with better planning, perhaps such an event could become a more important one for a youth organization.

On September 1st, one final event, a folk song evening, was held at the Onyx Room, featuring the Traveling Mayfarers previously mentioned, various impromptu performances, and participation by the New Original Cave Jug Band, now with several substitutes and rehearsing hurriedly for an appearance in the September 5th CAVE show at the Seashell. Again, there was good attendance, considering the size of the room, at this event.

On August 29th, an entirely different sort of presentation was made: this was a staff-sponsored adult coffee hour, held at the Methodist Church of Hampton. The staff members of the Project extended themselves to make this an effective event, and inasmuch as they had conceived and formulated it, proportionately more planning and effort were applied. As a presentation it was very effective, but despite the staff's own efforts through the use of announcements in the paper and contacts with business people on the beach and uptown to publicize the event, the attendance was discouraging. In toto, not more than 30 people were present.

Also through this period Harold Eidlin and the movie photographer from Boston were very much in evidence, covering everything from CAVE dances and songfests to the IACP Training Session and a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce directors, along with interviews with individual directors, both those favorable to and opposed to what the Hampton Beach Project had been attempting through the summer.

#### RELIGIOUS ACTION GROUPS

Through these same days prior to the big weekend there was considerable activity on the part of a group of evangelists. As reported in the section concerning the month of June, leaders from this group had conferred with us and had then gone through the various channels in an attempt to obtain permission to hold their events at Hampton Beach. When they approached the New Hampshire Division of Parks, they were denied permission to hold religious rallies at Hampton Beach on the grounds that a resort area was not an appropriate place for this sort of event, but more importantly that there might be justifiable complaints from one or another religious order in the area. Thereafter the

leaders of this non-sectarian group queried individual churches in the seacoast area and found there was no objection to Hampton Beach rallies from any of them.

Thereafter they approached the Hampton Beach Chamber of Commerce directors on August 17th, noting their activities and that the Department of Parks had no further objection to such rallies at the beach. Subject to TAR Committee approval, the Chamber directors sanctioned a series of evangelistic meetings in the Seashell for each night in the week prior to Labor Day weekend and for the holiday weekend itself.

In a TAR meeting of August 23rd the Committee also gave its sanction to this plan, providing that the religious events could be scheduled not to conflict with the CAVE show for Sunday, September 5th. Several TAR staff workers also attended this meeting and it was made clear that CAVE events and religious events should be kept entirely separate. On August 24th the Chamber directors again met and gave final permission to the religious action group for its program.

Through the summer various representatives of this revival group had worked on a one-to-one basis on the beach, talking to young people and handing out pamphlets urging a return to God. The reaction of at least a portion of the young people on the beach varied from mild antagonism to outright hostility. This attitude was, if anything, inflamed by the announcement that revival services would be held.

Apparently the nightly services through the week prior to Labor Day proved impossible for the religious action groups to present, but they were on hand evenings distributing various religious tracts, one in the form of a tabloid newspaper. As a result, clusters of people varying in age from 10 to 30 gathered in various spots on the Boulevard or on the concourse of the Casino itself to the distress to both the police and Chamber of Commerce directors. Several directors decided at this point that the decision to sanction revival services had been unwise and there was talk of cancelling the entire program. On the night of September 1st the Executive Committee met to consider this prospect and votes ultimately to modify the sanction as follows: permission would be given for one service on Friday night, September 3rd, and if this went well approval for subsequent events might be forthcoming.

Thereafter there was much talk among the young people about this coming event and rumors began to be heard to the

effect that there would be trouble, at the minimum to the extent of catcalling and eggs and tomatoes thrown. Much concern that such an incident could spark trouble for the entire weekend, CAVE took the position that whether or not its members approved of religious rallies, it was their responsibility to do everything within their power to talk down trouble and be on hand for the event to try and prevent any disturbance that might take place.

On the morning of Friday, September 3rd, I received a phone call from Chief Leavitt announcing that he and Colonel Regan had also heard these rumors and in the interests of public safety had decided to cancel the revival program for that evening. There followed a period of tension and anxiety, since, as the group leaders announced, thousands of young people were already on their way to the beach for the event, an important speaker had been engaged, and there was no way to effect a cancellation at this late hour. Of even more concern was the rumor that the participants intended to appear at the Seashell at the appointed hour, permission or not, and to proceed with the event, forcing the police to arrest them bodily.

Fortunately a compromise was worked out at the last minute, rescheduling the event at the Advent Christian Church in Hampton proper, several miles away from the beach.

The next day, Saturday, there were tentative plans to hold an evening rally in the parking lot of a motel at Hampton Beach. An appeal was made to CAVE for use of its building, or for a guarantee that young people would not make trouble if the event were held. Our reaction was that the CAVE membership had adamantly stated that the youth organization should not sponsor religious events; however, we also promised that we would do everything possible to avoid trouble, although obviously we could make no guarantee concerning young people at large.

In the end, when neither police department could guarantee that no trouble would take place, the parking lot rally idea was abandoned. Subsequently, in many conversations on the beach and in editorials and letters in the local newspaper, there was much criticism of the whole affair. Even those who were not convinced of the validity of revival services in a resort area agreed that the last-minute cancellation had been unfair. Many others frankly felt that religion was what was needed at Hampton Beach and were highly critical of anyone involved in blocking the revival services.

## POLICE PLANS

Police plans for Labor Day weekend were similar to those for Fourth of July -- state police were on hand in force, auxiliaries from other police departments were hired to expand the Hampton Beach Police Department, and the National Guard was assembled close by in case of need. The general plan if trouble should occur was to close off the beach, drive the crowds toward the ocean where there was no place for cover and where they would not have access to buildings. The trouble-makers would then be dispersed both to north and to south. A detailed plan for deployment of personnel was established, again including rooftop locations for observation and, if necessary, control with small arms.

Especially as the weekend approached, there was intensive activity on the part of police to be sure that undesirables were made to feel unwelcome at Hampton. All suspicious young people, all jalopies, cars with out-of-state license plates or gangs of youths in them were stopped and questioned and in many instances instructed to go elsewhere for the weekend. Particularly when it became apparent that the Labor Day crowd would be light, all the various rules concerning cars, clustering, horseplay, etc., were enforced rigidly.

## MINIMAL LABOR DAY CROWDS

The comparison of this year's Labor Day crowd to that of 1964 was startling. By Thursday night it was apparent that the change was radical. In 1964 Thursday night had seen hundreds of young people everywhere on the beach carrying bags as they established themselves for the weekend. In 1965 not only were there few people on the beach, but no carloads were coming in, and the busses which had been jammed the year before were taking more young people away than they were bringing in. A dance at the Seagate Ballroom was almost unattended. Friday and Saturday were little better. The photographs taken over the weekend indicate how sparse was the population. Friday night's crowd was estimated at 5% of normal for Labor Day weekend by one of the selectmen; and young people and Chamber of Commerce directors all agreed that the crowds for those days were a small fraction of what had been expected. Speaking of the young people, one director said, "We hoped they would get the message but we didn't expect it would be like this." Sunday during the daytime the crowd was somewhat closer to normal, but as soon as the supper hour approached the beach became again relatively deserted. In part

the weather could be blamed: the days varied from 60 to 70 degrees, clear with a brisk breeze; but, as noted above, the Salisbury Beach crowds, only a few miles south, were not similarly affected by the weather. There was no urgency, no tension, but rather a general feeling of incredulity that so few human beings were on hand. Many of the police auxiliaries were dismissed before the weekend was well under way, so that the town police budget for Labor Day weekend was \$8,500 compared to \$15,000 for July Fourth weekend.

The reaction of CAVE's staff employees varied from amusement to cynicism. In simplest of terms, they felt the summer's efforts to establish an intervention program for Labor Day weekend had been without purpose. Beyond their remaining labors in the research area, there was nothing for the crew to do except to assist in the logistics of the Sunday night CAVE show.

There was, needless to say, no CAVE dance held at the Casino Ballroom on the night of September 4th. By Thursday and Friday when it was clear that the crowds at Hampton Beach were to be so slight that no possible riot problem could exist, John Dineen concluded that there was no genuine need for such an affair. Our response was that it surely wouldn't hurt anything and that he stood a good chance of making money on it inasmuch as past CAVE dances on unlikely looking nights had been successful, but by this time the Ballroom was closed up for the season and Dineen could see no real reason to undo several hours work and then have to do it over again.

#### CAVE SHOW - SEPTEMBER 5th

It should be said with equal candor that CAVE's Sunday night show did not, in view of the light crowd on the beach, prove itself as an effective crowd control device in a tense situation. Obviously, if you have no tense situation you haven't proven anything. As Cy Rosenthal put it, "How can you win the game if the other team doesn't show up?"

However, this is not to say by any means that the Hampton Beach Project considered as a whole did not prove anything, nor change attitudes in the community. Further comment on this subject will be found in the concluding chapter.

Nor can it be said that the September 5th CAVE show was unsuccessful in itself. Quite to the contrary, it was highly

effective and held a large crowd in weather conditions that grew increasingly unfavorable as the evening progressed. Through our mistakes in presenting the July 4th show we had derived considerable benefit, and the September 5th show was accordingly modified.

To begin with, we did not split the effect of the show between afternoon and evening as we had done previously but concentrated everything into a single 3-hour package for the evening. It should not be inferred from this that we felt no program during the daylight hours was necessary as a part of an intervention program, but instead it was our belief only that this sort of show was not as effective for daytime use.

In contrast to July 4th, this time we used no single performers no matter how good they might be but instead the Dixieland group who were six, the Spaghetti Minstrels who were seven, the CAVE Jug Band which must have been around ten, and the Traveling Wayfarers who were a quartet. In all instances we urged the performers to stay pretty much with upbeat songs, highly rhythmic wherever possible. To the extent that they followed this request they got a warm audience response, and whenever any of them played a slow tune or ballad audience attention lagged.

Two other factors were also changed. First, this time the benches were left in place in front of the Seashell so that it was less possible for the audience to drift in and out on impulse. Secondly, for the Labor Day performance we incorporated the regular Hampton Beach Band, urging them to draw from their repertoire as many selections as possible which would appeal to young people, including one old vaudeville stunt tune "The Three Trees" done with Bill Elliot, which was highly effective. Also, rather than mix professional acts like the Six Pages of Dixie and the New Prince Spaghetti Minstrels with the younger groups like the New Original Cave Jug Band and the Traveling Wayfarers, we scheduled the latter two acts in the middle of the beach band's appearance, so that the evening's performance went in this order: Dixieland Band, Spaghetti Minstrels, beach band, Jug Band, Wayfarers, beach band, Dixieland band, Spaghetti Minstrels, and finally the finale with both the Dixieland band and the Spaghetti Minstrels.

Expectedly, there were one or two hitches, which lost us part of the audience between the first and second shows, but in general the entire affair was received with enthusiasm by



both young people and adults. Particularly the New Prince Spaghetti Minstrels did a fine job, presenting not only a lively selection of songs, but a colorful spectacle on the stage. At the peak of the program, with the Spaghetti Minstrels on the stage for the first time (at the hour when a riot, if any, would have taken place) the area round the Seashell was packed; every seat was taken and the adjacent areas were jammed with enthusiastic spectators. Later in the evening it grew colder and a fog bank rolled in and licked it way around the audience reducing them to about the proportions shown in the photograph. Nevertheless a good number, as indicated, stayed to the very end. In general there was a feeling of jubilation on all sides, both because the show had gone well and, much more important, because the danger of a riot was clearly no longer existent.

Cost of the show was \$900 to the Spaghetti Minstrels, \$300 to the Six Pages of Dixie, \$60 to the Traveling Wayfarers and \$30 to Tom Evans, the master of ceremonies. Of this amount the Hampton Beach Project budget carried \$700 and the CAVE fund carried the remainder.

#### AFTERMATH - MIXED REACTIONS

The next day, Monday the 6th, seemed somewhat unreal. Most of us were too exhausted either from the tension or from the long hours to react one way or another except with relief that through whatever combination of ingredients the season was over and the riot cycle had been broken. For the most part, this day and those remaining in the work week were spent by the staff coding and tabulating the results of the various interviews. A few of us spent Monday talking to reporters, and re-enacting summer scenes for the documentary film crew.

What had been proven over this summer season at Hampton Beach? The reactions of various groups were mixed and inconclusive. Inasmuch as the usual Labor Day crowd had failed to materialize, most agreed that while the riots had been stopped, the permanent answer had not necessarily been found. Obviously, from a dollars and cents standpoint, the baby had indeed been thrown out with the bath.

Most of the businessmen on the beach felt that for this one year it had been necessary, and they hoped that future years would see a return of business without the return of trouble. Whether this was to be achieved through police efforts alone or through some continuation of the CAVE program was not

entirely clear. The majority felt that the success of this summer was mainly to the credit of the police. Walter Vanderpool's pronouncement that he had always believed and still believed that force alone was not the answer did not draw significant response one way or another at the Chamber of Commerce annual meeting. Letters of thanks and congratulations were officially sent only to the various police and other enforcement agencies and officials.

A minority of beach merchants felt that too many police were bad for business and chafed audibly under the losses. A handful -- for the most part those who had been in support of the Project from the outset -- felt that CAVE had never been given a significant chance to prove its value.

On this subject the state police had little comment. As after July 4th weekend, the local police were more prone to credit CAVE with an assist, and Chief Leavitt was emphatic in stating his feeling that the problem had only been arrested, not solved.

To a great extent, the young people on the beach agreed. Many were, as they had been through the season, outspokenly critical of what they felt was rigid law enforcement at Hampton Beach. One young man, who had been a confidant of the police and who had assisted the Hampton Police Department extensively throughout the summer, was particularly adamant on this point. That there had been no riot was of little consequence in his opinion; what was important, he felt, was that much bitterness still existed toward the police from the young people. A beach resort, he said, could not go on indefinitely and prosper if its answer to young people -- and to some extent to the public at large -- was simply to enforce the law to such an extent that no one would come. A great many others agreed with this viewpoint, articulating one or another facet of it with emphasis.

The question asked over and over -- literally by several hundred young people -- was, would there be a CAVE next year. Those who participated in CAVE were determined that somehow it should be continued, whether or not community support proved possible. Those who had been on the fringes and/or indifferent said that if CAVE were to survive another year it would have to be given a more extensive opportunity to prove itself.

## XII

## COMMENTARY

For the most part such observations and comments as are germane may be found at various points throughout the text. A few more, perhaps, should be added in this concluding note for emphasis or clarification.

The experiment at Hampton Beach, N. H., was termed a pilot project. Hopefully, many of the mistakes made in the course of this experiment need not be repeated elsewhere.

At the outset of this project one of the hypotheses to be tested was whether indigenous personnel could effectively carry through from concept to actuality. The answer would appear to be affirmative on two conditions: first, that such personnel have adequate training and advice; and secondly, that they are really indigenous to the community. Although Stone had lived in Hampton for six years, he was still, particularly in terms of New England, a newcomer. Van Nostrand had been here a somewhat shorter time, and I least of all. Especially none of us were part of the Hampton Beach community as distinct from the village of Hampton. As a consequence none of us were familiar enough with local politics and personalities to know where and when community support had to be summoned.

With the young people, it made no difference. Many of them, of course, were not from the community at all, and particularly in a summer setting, young people are quick to make new friends and to welcome new personalities.

To some extent, leaders both in the Chamber of Commerce and in the Town of Hampton did become strong backers of the Project's concepts, but in important instances other leaders either were never drawn into the Project sufficiently or were included too late so that their function became a negative rather than a positive one. In most small communities or cultures such as those of Hampton and Hampton Beach, there are

leaders numbering from one to perhaps a dozen who, through political or economic strength, or simply through the strength of personality, can carry community opinion. If such leaders are not contacted early and drawn into support of a given project, no number of hours' debate in the forums of town meetings or Chamber of Commerce meetings will carry the day.

Sufficient comment has been made on the summer staff of the Project. Their work in gathering the research data was, for the most part, excellent. Their tasks in the demonstration phase of the program were beset by a number of difficulties which could be avoided in future projects, particularly if the level of their participation and a clear idea of their day-to-day activities could be spelled out in advance. A few days of careful training and orientation at the beginning would have saved many hours of wasted time.

The question might properly be raised whether young adults in their early twenties, sufficiently trained to administer interviews of this nature and to work with the resultant data are inclined to be less than excellent in working with young people on a day-to-day basis in the demonstration phase of the project. Our experience, at least, indicated that those most effective in research were least inclined to identify with the young people and vice versa. Perhaps it is unusual to find an effective social worker who is equally as effective in the role of a sociologist.

The most important question raised by the Hampton Beach Project was that of the function of the teenager and the young adult in American society. One of our basic documents on this subject for the summer was the article entitled "Teenagers Are An American Invention," by Bennet M. Berger in the New York Times magazine of June 13, 1965. A copy of this article is included in the Addenda. In effect, Dr. Berger states that there is no real function for this major segment of American society, and that the unrest seen among American young people can result.

It was the responsibility of the Hampton Beach Project to see whether a creative function and various combinations of pleasurable activities could help to overcome this problem in a resort society.

To the extent that the young people were permitted to take a leadership role or to carry out such a project as Big Brother Day, they responded eagerly. To the extent that they were allowed to have parties, songfests, and dances, they

not only responded but proved that internal control was possible, significantly so on the occasion of the two dances on the sand and the beach party of August 7th.

To the extent that they were contained by police action, they were cautious -- and resentful. Obviously the price to be paid in fines and possible imprisonment with its complications in academic life were sufficient to keep them under control or simply to make them stay away from Hampton Beach. However, there remains a serious question whether a social structure is in proper balance when one major segment of it requires heavy policing to maintain order. In terms of Hampton Beach, only future years will determine whether the problem of youthful behavior was solved or contained.

It would seem that much could be gained from a continuation of this project at Hampton Beach and that much would be lost if it were abandoned. However, if it is to be carried forward, a way must be found to achieve harmony among the various official and quasi-official bodies in the town. The community leaders must reach a consensus on the theoretical function of such a project and on the specific issues to which the theories lead.

Finally, in a community like Hampton Beach whose prime function is commercial, there must be an understanding that the end product of a stable youth society will be beneficial to the economy. So long as young people, in Hampton and elsewhere, feel disfranchised, they will continue to be a problem and must be dealt with as such. When they can be made to feel that they are an important and functional part of any culture, the problem will diminish.