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Chapter 1: Crowd Psychology

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CHAPTER 1: CROWD PSYCHOLOGY

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INTRODUCTION

1. Collective human behaviour and especially that manifesting itself in crowd behaviour is a complex phenomenon, which has been studied over many decades without obtaining clear answers to many of the questions (1: 597; 6: 1; 8; 11: 1). The changing requirements of military missions and the utilisation of the military in Africa in situations that might include civil disorder, mass events and disaster management compel the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) to prepare its deploying soldiers in the tactics of crowd control. Consequently the particular subject of “Crowd Psychology”, loaded with knowledge of behavioural and social sciences, requires the input of the Directorate Psychology from the South African Military Health Services (SAMHS).

2. Since Crowd Psychology has a strong behavioural base, it implies that in the preparation of SANDF members and more specifically the military leaders to be crowd-control agents, they must be given insight into group behaviour. This insight is more than a cognitive understanding of what will be discussed in this chapter. It also implies sensitivity and a feeling for group and crowd dynamics that suggests reinforcement by practical training. Any adequate explanation of the crowd will take one a long way towards understanding the general bases of human social behaviour (13). This is therefore a humble contribution to the understanding of the general bases of human social behaviour.

AIM

3. The aim of this chapter is to provide a general orientation to crowd psychology as a basis for crowd control within the SANDF.

SCOPE

4. With the introduction as background, this chapter starts with the clarification of concepts relevant to crowd psychology. This is followed by an introductory discussion to collective behaviour and the social dynamics of crowds, with specific reference to types of crowds, leadership in crowds, crowd dynamics, the social political context of crowds and the physical context of crowd behaviour. Next, crowd management is discussed by firstly referring to the tactics used by crowds, then focusing on the individual, followed by a framework that commanders can use in negotiations, the principles of crowd control and, finally, a brief reference to training in crowd control.

CONCEPT CLARIFICATION

5. In order to prevent misunderstanding and to ensure the standardisation of concepts within the SANDF, some concepts will be clarified. A **crowd** can be defined as a large group (**mass**) or multitude of individuals and small groups of people who have temporarily assembled in the same place with an awareness that they are a crowd and have something in common (7: 13; 12; 16: 1-2). A specific stimulus is, however, required to turn a mass into a crowd (12:1). This stimulus is perceived as a cue that energises the mass and focuses its attention. This could be, for example, the action where a vehicle is suddenly set on fire, or an argument erupts between police and pedestrians. Note. The best way of crowd control is prevention of formation of crowds in the first place, or defusing the situation rapidly before a crowd forms.

6. It is important for the tactical commander to be able to distinguish between a mass and a crowd. Therefore Table 1-1 below summarises the difference between a mass and a crowd:

S/No	Mass	Crowd
	a	b
1	Group of people	Group that is bound together.
2	Individual awareness.	Group awareness.
3	No links between members.	(Structure) Cells connected to one another to form chains of cells. Strong links between members, sense of oneness, communication links.
4	Normal state of mind.	Hypnotic state of mind.
5	Rational thinking.	Irrational thinking, illusion of will and power.
6	Normal physiological activities.	Adrenalin rush. Fight or flight reactions.

Table 1-1: The difference between a mass and a crowd (adopted from Neale, 12).

7. Some authors (Goldstein cited in Anon, 3: 355) refers to the concept **mob** that is defined by Goldstein as “...a crowd acting under strong emotional conditions that often lead to violence or illegal acts...” (3: 355). He furthermore refers to a **riot** as “...an instance of mob violence, with the destruction of property or looting, or violence against people...” However for the purpose of this document, reference will only be made to a crowd that includes concepts such as mob, group, panic, demonstrations, rallies, audiences or riots.

8. Once a crowd has been formed it can turn into a **gathering**. The assembly process of a gathering refers to the movement of people from different locations to a common location within a given period (16:1-2). It is largely determined by who participates in the process and the creation of a gathering from a crowd is a process with a beginning, middle, and end (7: 13).

9. This process is illustrated in Figure 1-1 below, indicating that a crowd has an assembly process that leads to a gathering of the crowd, which is always followed by a dispersal process.

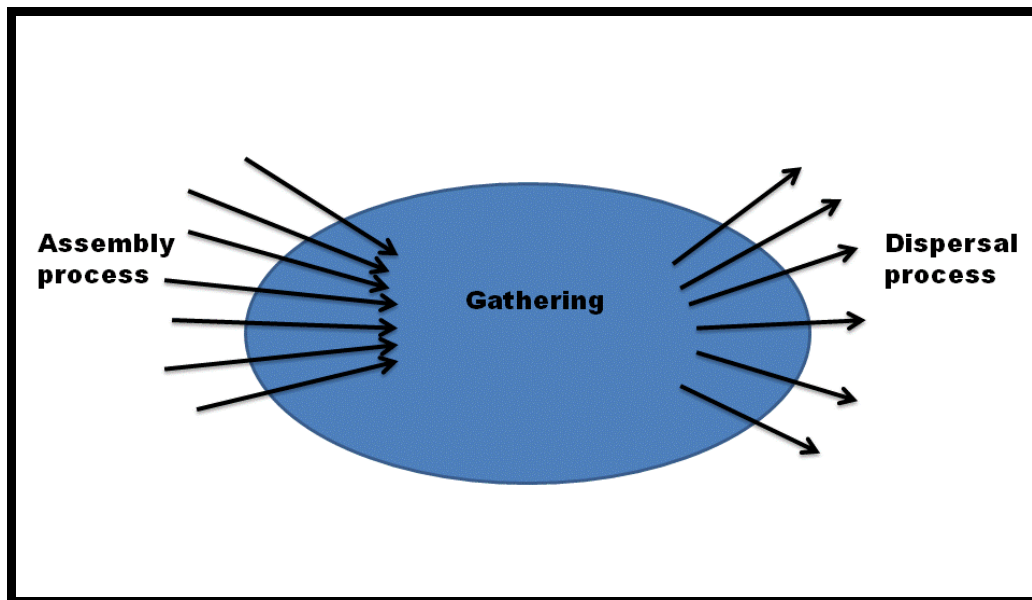


Figure 1-1: Crowd building (adopted from Kenny et al, 7: 13 and United States Army, 16:1-3).

10. Gatherings are characterised by the activities of individuals or groups with a specific agenda, such as yelling catchy slogans and cheers that everyone can easily pick up and join in. Some groups are so well organised that they can presage leaders to infiltrate a gathering. This creates unity, even inciting newcomers to join their cause.

11. In support of the abovementioned, a gathering takes place in three phases that range from the assembly process through crowd building up to dispersal of the gathering (16:1-2 – 1-4). The phases are as follows:

- a. Phase 1: The Assembly Process. The first phase of the gathering is known as the assembly process and it can occur in one of two ways - impromptu or organised:

- i. Impromptu Gatherings. Impromptu gatherings tend to develop informally and are mostly organised by word of mouth (one person to another). Participants spread intelligence by telling one another when, where, and what is happening and inviting them to participate (16:1-3). An example of an impromptu gathering would be a gathering at a secure food distribution point after receiving information (by word of mouth) that a large truck carrying much-needed supplies and food is about to arrive. In this case hunger would be the driving force causing the migration of people to the food-distribution facility.
 - ii. Organised Gathering. Organised gathering processes rely more on centralised planning and organisation. One or more of the groups offer organisers lists of individual names and groups, which they contact as potential participants. Modern technologies are available to these organisers through telephone banks, mailing lists, or e-mail addresses. In preparation for a long-term event, some group organisers have the means to provide logistical support in the form of transportation, food and water to participants.
- b. Phase 2: Crowd Building. The second phase of the gathering process is the building of the crowd. See the discussion on the social dynamics of a crowd for more detail.
 - c. Phase 3: Dispersal. The last and final phase of any gathering of a crowd is the dispersal process that involves the movement of people from the common location to one or more alternate locations. The dispersal process signals the end of the gathering of the crowd or at least begins its decline. The dispersal process can occur on a routine, emergency, or coerced basis.

- i. Routine Dispersal. The routine dispersal may be specified in advance and could have been included in the assembly instructions given by the organisers of the event.
- ii. Emergency Dispersal. An unexpected crisis such as a fire, explosion, bomb threat, or terrorist act will typically activate an emergency dispersal. Individuals in such an emergency quickly recover from the initial shock. They keep their wits about them and improvise ways of extracting themselves and their companions from the dangerous situation. However, this might cause a stampede and tragedies have occurred in emergency dispersal situations. Note. It is therefore important for the tactical commander and/or forces at the scene to be careful not to misinterpret what is occurring.
- iii. Coercion Dispersal. The use of force at some level causes coercion dispersal. Although not necessarily the best way to force the dispersal of a crowd, it might be necessary when negotiation fails. The preferred and proven method is, however, the negotiated management of crowds where the crowd organisers police themselves, especially if the leaders of the demonstration and protest are available and willing to participate.

12. With the phases of crowd building as background, collective behaviour and the social dynamics of crowds are discussed in the next part.

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR AND THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF CROWDS

13. An understanding of collective behaviour, the types of crowds and the leadership in crowds, as well as the coinciding social dynamics of crowd behaviour, will assist the tactical commander/forces to react with an effective and efficient intervention because under most circumstances, crowds that have gathered are orderly and present few or no problems to authorities. It is, however, a very

comprehensive and complex phenomenon that cannot be discussed fully within the scope of this document. Consequently only the most important aspects will be highlighted in this document.

CAUSES FOR COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR

14. An overview of the Psychology literature indicates that there is no single cause for collective behaviour (9: 1). Therefore, in order to understand instances where collective behaviour did occur, any of the following can serve as point of departure:

- a. Society. Firstly, the cause of group behaviour can be found in the circumstances in which a society finds itself (supra-national). A typical example can be found within the South African society in the 1980s and early 1990s where a large group of South Africans acted collectively because they were oppressed under Apartheid legislation. This had the effect that individuals who were unable to express their dissatisfaction with the Nationalist Government by voting another party into power because they did not have voting rights had to find a substitute for expressing their dissatisfaction, hence, the manifestation of crowd behaviour in riots and civil unrest.
- b. Groups. In the second instance the causes can be linked to the circumstances in which a particular group or segment of the population finds itself. A very poor group or segment of the population might start to act collectively in order to improve its situation or to bring its situation to the attention of the government or even the world.
- c. Social Movements. The third reason for collective behaviour is that there are certain movements in the community or in society. Typical examples of such movements are those that campaign for gender equality.

- d. Events. Fourthly, physical events, such as the arrest of a specific person or the abuse of power by the security forces, might lead to collective behaviour. An incident at a sports event, such as a controversial decision by a referee, might activate group behaviour among the supporters of the affected team.

15. The abovementioned factors might individually or in conjunction with one another contribute to collective behaviour. In some instances a combination of these factors not only leads to collective behaviour but also the violent nature of such collective behaviour.

16. Collective behaviour also occurs when *there are specific objectives that an individual cannot attain on his/her own* (9: 1-2). The principle of two or more is better than one is applied here. Good examples of effective collective behaviour are the consumer boycotts of the mid- and late 1980s in South Africa. In many instances specific social circumstances will lead to collective behaviour (10: 1).

17. *Conflict* might also lead to collective behaviour. When needs or interests are not satisfied, it might lead to frustration and the individual or groups need an outlet for this frustration. As mentioned above, for many years mass mobilisation and collective action was the only way in which the largest segment of the South African population was able to voice its political frustrations.

18. During *times of transition and change* there are many uncertainties and individuals experience a sense of security when they act collectively. If the authorities do not act correctly towards these masses of people that cluster together for security it will most probably lead to violence.

TYPES OF CROWDS

19. From the above it is clear why the tactical commander needs to gain an understanding of the causes of collective behaviour. The United States Army (16:1-6) emphasises that “*active, expressive, acquisitive, and hostile*” are not acceptable

terms used to describe a crowd. These are the motives inferred from the action the crowd takes and no gathering of a crowd is persistently or exclusively active, expressive, acquisitive, or hostile.

20. For the sake of description, crowds can be identified as spontaneous, semi-spontaneous or casual, sighting, agitated, fully organised, mob-like, or polarised. A brief description of each follows below:

- a. Spontaneous Crowds. A spontaneous crowd forms without any prior arrangement around an event, eg the arrest of a person or a quarrel between two persons (6: 3; 10: 1). This type of crowd is easily established in a society where there is already a sense of unity or commonality (eg where a large part of the community feels oppressed by a political system such as Apartheid). The crowded urban environment and especially an environment where people stay very close to one another, where there are often people in the street, is especially conducive to the establishment of such a crowd. Very often the overreaction of the law enforcement or security forces or of an individual in the crowd that sets an example becomes the stimulus for the crowd to proceed to violence. With spontaneous crowds it is usually the leaders that make the first move to initiate violent behaviour (6: 5). Note. These types of leaders are very dangerous and an effort must be made to remove or isolate the leaders from the crowd. Stott, Adang and Schreiber (15) refer to this activity as “targeted interventions”.
- b. Semi-organised or Casual Crowds. Semi-organised or casual crowds are usually identified as individuals or small groups with nothing in common to bind them together. There is, however, an element of prior arrangement (6: 4; 11: 1) and if they have an agenda, it is their own. They arrive separately and leave separately. Semi-organised or casual crowds are made up of individuals or small groups occupying the same common place, such as a shopping mall where these individuals or small groups meet. There is, however, no internal control mechanism that will ensure

that the crowd will remain peaceful. The leadership or organisers are not really visible or they are hidden among the crowd and do not accept responsibility for the crowd's behaviour. Very often so-called “-baiters¹” are purposefully placed in the crowd. Note. During times of civil unrest or internal instability these types of crowds can be exploited by someone who wants to create disorder. It is important to identify the leaders and to remove them from the crowd.

- c. Sighting Crowds. There are various similarities between sighting crowds and semi-organised or casual crowds, with one additional element - an event. People migrate as a crowd to sporting events, are attracted to fires and accidents, and attend music concerts. Individuals or small groups gather at these events for the same purpose. It is the event and/or curiosity that compels a crowd to come together.
- d. Agitated Crowds. Agitated crowds add responses that are based on the elements of people, space and event. Individuals with strong emotional feelings within a crowd can quickly spread this emotion and infect the rest of the crowd. As more people within the crowd become emotionally involved, a sense of unity can develop, causing changes in the overall demeanour of the crowd. Yelling, screaming, crying and profane name-calling are all associated with an agitated crowd.
- e. Fully Organised Crowds. In these instances the organisers usually get prior authorisation from the authorities for the meeting or the march (6: 5; 11: 1). There is usually prior planning with the police, metro police, traffic authorities and emergency services. In many instance negotiators (marshals) are appointed who have to ensure that the proceedings take place in an orderly manner. The leaders are usually easily recognisable

¹ In some instances these individuals might be placed within a crowd on purpose to provoke an over-reaction from the security forces by spitting at them, swearing at them, throwing acid over them, etc. Another successful form of “police-baiting” is by women who utilise obscene sexual provocation. Women who take off their clothes and make obscene suggestions to the crowd controllers cause physiological arousal that causes the adrenal gland to secrete excessive adrenaline, which easily acts as stimulus for police aggression.

and can most of the time be found at the front of the proceedings. They also take responsibility for the behaviour of the crowd. Note. From a crowd-control perspective, it is important that the leaders are identified and that communication with the crowd takes place through them. Under no circumstances should they be removed from the crowd, as people might be provoked if the leadership is taken away against their will.

- f. Mob-like Crowds. Mobs have all the elements found in the first four types of crowds, with the addition of aggressive, physical and sometimes violent action. Under these conditions, individuals in a crowd will often say and do things they would normally not do. Extreme acts of violence and damage to property are often part of mob activities. Mobs consist of (or involve) the elements of people and groups being mixed together and becoming fluid.
- g. Polarised Crowds. These types of crowds usually erupt spontaneously or are semi-organised (6: 5; 11: 1). This type of crowd entails two hostile groups that oppose each other. A typical example is the supporters of two opposing political parties or the supporters of two opposing sports teams that are in confrontation with each other. Note. In this instance it is the task of the security forces to keep these groupings apart and to facilitate negotiations between the leaders of the groups to ensure that they part peacefully along separate routes.

21. In the discussion above, many references were made to the leaders in the groups. It is therefore important to look into more detail into leadership in crowds.

LEADERSHIP IN CROWDS

22. The SANDF (14: 13/3/5-5) postulates different types of leadership in crowds that range from crowds with leaders to crowds with temporary leaders and finally, leaderless crowds.

- a. Crowds with Leaders. Crowds with easily recognisable leaders are normally pre-planned and well-organised. The leader can either control the crowd or alternatively, incite it to violent action. The crowd-control agent should be prepared to cooperate with the leader of a peaceful, justified and planned demonstration. On the other hand, if a leader deliberately incites a crowd, the police should arrest him immediately.
 - b. Crowds with Temporary Leaders. Leaders can emerge in the case of both spontaneous and normal crowds. These people, despite being previously unknown, emerge as leaders, although they had no prior intention of doing so. This type of leader, by word or deed, may incite the crowd to take some action. He/she tends to concentrate the attention of the crowd on an incident or to sum up the situation, provoking the people into following his/her wishes. The crowd control entity must either force him to be quiet or go away, or they must make him look foolish in the eyes of the crowd. On no account must he be permitted to continue with his inflammatory behaviour; if he has to be removed, this should be done quickly and before the crowd has the chance to interfere.
 - c. Leaderless Crowds. Leaderless crowds do not appear aggressive or positive in their attitude. A conventional or spectator crowd falls into this category. There is always a possibility, however, that a temporary leader may suddenly emerge with the intention of inciting the crowd to do something outside its normal behavioural pattern. The crowd-control entity, in this case, can either take over the leadership of the crowd, if this can be done without antagonising the people, or encourage a responsible person from within the crowd to assume the leadership role.
23. Techniques for Crowd Leadership. Crowd leadership manifests itself in many ways. An experienced leader will endeavour to manipulate a crowd in the following way:
- a. Stage One. The leader establishes an emotional bond with the people.
 - b. Stage Two. The leader then proceeds to generate emotional tension.

- c. Stage Three. The leader suggests a way to relieve the tension he has generated.
- d. Stage Four. The leader gives justification for the action he has suggested.

24. The SANDF (14: 13/3/5-5) states that the skilful agitator, having directed the crowd to the point of action, will then fade into the background and take no further part in its activities. Ideally, the manipulation process should be interrupted before the leader establishes rapport with the crowd, but the circumstances may not justify pre-emptive action. The police or the military may be forced to neutralise the leader at a later stage as part of graduated control measures (use of minimum force) or the targeted intervention.

25. Except for the specific role that leaders play, there are also some dynamics taking place within a crowd.

CROWD DYNAMICS

26. Some of the dynamics of crowds are described below.

- a. Personal Need for Comfort. In essence, a crowd consists of people who, although very motivated and passionate, are also subject to their own need for creature comforts. Therefore, rainy, cold and nasty weather has a way of disheartening all but a few highly motivated and disciplined individuals (16:1-5).
- b. Opinion Formers Energising Crowd. These are members of the crowd who influence the members around them. They must be loud and visual to be able to influence those around them. They are normally very energetic and appear to be charismatic in leadership. Note. This suggests that the crowd-control entity should focus on the opinion formers.
- c. Various Factors as Individual Motivators for Participation. The Military Psychological Institute (10: 4) indicates that an individual's motivation for participation in group behaviour will differ from person to person. The

degree of involvement in group activity is determined by the following motivational aspects:

- i. Strong sentiment or ego involvement with the given situation.
 - ii. General feeling of communal interest, although the individual might not be directly affected by it.
 - iii. Uncertainty or lack of identity.
 - iv. Curiosity. Very often the initial involvement in the crowd is mainly because of curiosity, but in the end the individual becomes involved in the activities of the crowd.
 - v. Opportunistic reasons. There are often people who participate although they do not share the sentiments of the group, for example criminals who see it as an opportunity to gain something personal.
- d. Crowd Composed of Linked Cells. Crowds are not made up of isolated individuals but of a minority of individuals and a majority of small groups who may or may not be acquainted with one another (16:1-4). Kenny et al (7: 1) refer to “companion clusters”. This clustering of individuals is called a cell and a cell consists of more or less 10 people in close proximity to each other. Each cell may comprise friends, family members, or acquaintances that represent a group, belief or cause (16: 1-2). This confirms Kenny et al’s (7: 1) emphasis that crowds are not homogenous entities and that all participants are not the same. Cells communicate with one another and information spreads with a ripple effect. Synergy between cells will increase energy input in a group in order to effect unison in an attempt to achieve their agendas. This synergy and a possible confusion between cells will exhaust energy input. It is thus important to note that crowds are made up of many entities; all participants are not the same and they are not by default unanimous in

their motivation. Note. Tactical commanders must consider how the cells are assembled and how they interact during the gathering process. The objective of crowd control should thus be to prevent synergy in crowds and facilitate confusion. These are, however, very sensitive tactics and the rule of waves would also apply, for example, waves of confusion can easily find other waves and double their size and strength. The effort to confuse can easily become the energy in a crowd.

- e. Increased Feeling of Cohesion. An individual who is part of a crowd starts to experience an increased feeling of cohesion, which is inter alia stimulated by the rhythmic movements of the crowd (eg singing and dancing), speeches by charismatic leaders and a real or perceived external threat that collectively influences the crowd, eg if the behaviour of the security forces unite the crowd (6: 6; 11 3). Kenny et al (7:1), however, confirm that participants are not unanimous in their motives.
- f. Physiological Arousal. The rhythmic movement of the crowd and/or the perceived external threat causes an increased secretion of adrenaline by the adrenal gland (6: 6; 11: 3). This causes physiological arousal and according to de Kock (6: 6) it can eventually lead to aggression and/or private de-individuation². Le Bon (1895), as cited by Reicher (13), refers to a person being “submerged”, which refers not only to the loss of identity but also to the gaining of a sense of power.
- g. Identity Change of Individuals in Crowd. This phenomenon is called de-individuation. According to de Kock (6: 6-7), in his/her daily life the human being is regulated by a set of internal rules and by the behaviour of people around him. He is in an environment where his attention continuously fluctuates between his own rules and his social environment. If this person, however, ends up in foreign situations and/or quickly developing

² Goldstein refers to de-individuation as a process of losing one's sense of individuality or personal accountability and/or separateness from others and becoming submerged in a group or large, noisy emotional crowds (3: 355; 4: 5). A person tends to lose a sense of individual responsibility as well as the creation of a sense of anonymity, particularly from potential punishment for actions.

situations, such as being in a crowd of people, the person tends to “freeze” and is unable to recall his internal behavioural rules. This is known as *private de-individuation* and such persons are susceptible to suggestion and leading by others. There is also another form of de-individuation known as *public de-individuation*. By becoming just another face (faceless) in the crowd, the individual loses his/her identity and develops a common identity that can be the complete opposite of his/her normal identity (11: 3). The individual experiences a sense of invulnerability and may do things he/she would normally not do or that are atypical of his/her culture, because the person believes that nobody will recognise him/her in a crowd or that people will be too scared to recognise him/her (6: 7; 10: 2). This type of behaviour is reinforced by the crowd and the individual's behaviour that is impersonal (cold and aloof) in nature, which fosters a “them-against-us” attitude. This attitude affords those in the crowd the ability to freely (without hesitation or reservation) be verbally abusive, throw objects, overturn cars, break shop windows, become very violent, or attack anyone that gets in the way (16:1-5). This, however, does not suggest that individuals and groups in crowds are anonymous to one another, especially different groups gathered at the same place (16:1-3). They rather have a tendency to replace individual responsibility with group responsibility in the belief that they will not be acted against for what they do as part of a group.

- h. Mental State Change to Mass Hypnotic State. In a mass hypnotic state the human mind is very susceptible to suggestion that facilitates further de-individuation and synergy in the crowd (9: 2). The United States Army (16:1-3) confirmed through studies that individuals in a crowd are not given to unique emotional displays, although it is known that in a group, most individuals would not want to draw attention to themselves. There is, however, a tendency for the psychological unity among the crowd to dominate individual rationality to such an extent that individual perceptions are distorted and that people lose track of the consequences of their behaviour (11: 3). In most instances a sense of universalism starts to

develop among the members of the crowd that provides “quick legitimacy” to behaviour that would otherwise not have been acceptable on an individual base (6: 7). De Kock (6: 7) concludes that in the crowd people behave as they suspect the crowd wants them to behave.

- i. Loss of Respect for Social Norms, Laws, and Government Institutions. There is a tendency that once people act collectively they start to lose respect for social norms, laws, and government institutions (10: 3).
- j. Snowballing of Destructive A-moral Force. In crowds, groups start to act destructively and display a-moral behaviour (10: 3). This behaviour increases exponentially within the crowd until the majority act that way. They lose the ability to think logically (10: 3).
- k. Fatigue. Being part of a crowd can be very tiring and when fatigue sets in people can become irritated, aggressive and unable to interpret events in the context in which they take place (10: 3). Very often minute aspects cause great irritation that evokes aggression. De Kock (6: 7) observes that once the crowd becomes tired enough, it disperses and its members go home.
- l. Exposure to New Norms. The behaviour of people around an individual can become the norm (11: 3) especially if the behaviour takes place over a period of time without being punished (2: 24). Individuals lose their own ability to evaluate and they tend to follow the behaviour of those around them under the impression that they are doing what is expected of them.
- m. Few individuals Engage in Destructive Behaviour. Kenny e al (7: 26) emphasise that it is only a few individuals that engage in violent and destructive behaviour and that it should not be generalised to the behaviour of the entire crowd. When the crowd-controlling entity, whether it is the police or the SANDF, responds collectively to the entire gathering,

it might provoke individuals who were not involved in the violence. Note. It is therefore important to target the individual(s) engaged in violent behaviour and to respond to their behaviour, rather than to the crowd as a whole.

27. Although crowd dynamics were discussed under various headings, it should be kept in mind that these aspects are very often interwoven. Thus, one aspect has an influence on another. This mutual inclusiveness is expressed by de Kock (6: 8) when he provides an example indicating that physiological arousal is enabled by the rhythmic movement of the crowd, which then enhances private de-individuation. He furthermore uses the analogy of the various elements in an explosive device which combine to form an explosive device as the cumulative result of the elements discussed above. Thus, the tactical commander can exploit one aspect to stimulate others. De Kock (6: 8) observes that crowd-control procedures and techniques (eg tear gas, pepper spray, colourants, formations, buck shot, photography, etc) should be developed to control any of the elements referred to above. In this way photography is used to control facelessness while tear gas is used to control cohesion. De Kock (6: 8) warns, however, that care should be taken because photography can on the opposite pole stimulate group cohesion and subsequently the crowd can turn violent.

28. The abovementioned emphasises the importance of the tactical commander having the necessary knowledge of crowd dynamics to know where and when to use what intervention. Crowd dynamics should, however, not be viewed in isolation. In support de Kock (6: 1-2) observes that although the same crowd dynamics are present in for example soccer crowds, a crowd of fun-seeking students protesting to allow women into men's hostels and a crowd of people who bury a member from a minority group because of "police brutality", there are major differences in the socio-political contexts of these crowds. It is therefore important for the tactical commander to take cognisance of these aspects.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF CROWDS

29. Differences in socio-political contexts are basically on three levels:

- a. Degree of Emotionality, Frustration and Aggression. It is just common sense that people participating in a mass funeral will be more emotional, frustrated and aggressive compared to fun-seeking students or a soccer crowd. The crowd dynamics factors are thus more likely to be activated in the case of the funeral crowd (6: 2). The controlling agent (security forces) will be more easily viewed as the scapegoat than in the case of the other two crowds.
- b. Extent to which Crowd is Part of Larger National Phenomenon. The soccer crowd and the crowd of students protesting to get women allowed in their hostels are most probably more isolated in a local situation than in the case of the mass funeral (6: 2). If the people being buried at the funeral are viewed as part of, for example, the “heroes” in a “liberation struggle”, it becomes part of a national phenomenon.
- c. Result of Treatment. If the controlling agent (eg the police or military) were to handle any of the abovementioned three examples of crowds, it would have different results (6: 2). The handling of the soccer crowd and the student crowd will have a more local effect, eg the parents might blame the police for overreacting and maltreatment of the students³. It will get some publicity but the “dust” will settle very soon. In the case of the funeral crowd the organisers might appreciate it if the security forces react, especially with violence, because it can then be described as “police brutality”.

³ If it is an international soccer crowd the repercussions would be more than just local and it will receive significant media attention throughout the world.

30. Additional Matters to be Considered. De Kock (6: 3) suggests that prior to handling the crowd, the tactical commander has to answer the following questions:

- a. Where does the crowd come from?
- b. Why is there a crowd?
- c. What will the consequences of handling the crowd be?

31. Except for the socio-political context, there is also a physical context in which crowd behaviour takes place.

PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF CROWD BEHAVIOUR

32. De Kock (1: 3) emphasises that the physical context in which crowd behaviour occurs can differ from situation to situation. This suggests that crowd behaviour at a sport stadium must at least be treated differently in the city than when it involves a group of unhappy people in an open field that is part of an informal settlement. Note. It is important that the standard procedures for crowd control should make provision for dealing with crowds in different physical contexts.

33. With a better understanding of collective behaviour and the coinciding crowd dynamics, the next step is to discuss the management of crowds.

CROWD MANAGEMENT

34. It is of the utmost importance that crowds must be managed or else they will “*go with the flow*”, which means that the collective consciousness becomes stronger and more energised and could become like a tidal wave that sweeps away anything in its way. In social terms it means that a crowd can become very destructive and destroy everything in its way, even other human beings opposing it or trying to control the crowd (12).

35. In order to achieve their goals, the individuals and small groups in a crowd use any number of tactics to resist authority and disrupt and add turmoil. Next, some of the various tactics that the tactical commander can come across when managing a crowd are discussed.

CROWD TACTICS

36. These tactics, which can range from unplanned to planned and non-violent to violent, manifest themselves especially during public disorder or disturbances. . The more organised and purposeful a crowd becomes, the more likely it is to use some of these tactics.

37. Non-violent Behaviour. As discussed above, most gatherings of individuals and small groups into a crowd do not involve violent behaviour. Most of the time public disorder or a disturbance mainly involves harmless name-calling, demonstrations to express views, corporate yelling and chanting, and even singing and dancing. However, in some instances there may be damage to property and the erection of makeshift barricades. All seven of the types of crowds may be non-violent, but mobs and agitated crowds have the greatest tendency to turn violent. The non-violent conduct of a crowd is disruptive because it is in direct conflict with what authorities want its members to do, such as refusing to leave when directed, locking arms and sitting in front of or around areas and buildings that the authorities are attempting to clear.

38. Violent Behaviour. When a crowd turns into a mob it can become very violent and destructive. Despite the fact that some non-violent activities occur, violent crowds strike out physically at bystanders or others in the crowd, destroying both private and government property, setting fires and employing bombs (in extreme cases). The only limitations for violent crowds are their own imaginations, the training of their leaders and the materials readily available. Violent crowds may erect barricades and physical barriers to impede the movement of authorities and prevent them from entering certain areas and/or buildings and to hide their activities. Common materials used for barricades include, but are not limited to, vehicles, felled

trees, huge stones, burning tires, felled light or telephone poles, fencing material, or anything on hand and readily available. Very often fire fighters are violently prevented from gaining access to extinguish the fire. These fires are also often used to create confusion among authorities or to divert attention from another activity.

39. Riots. A riot can be described as “...*one or more groups or individuals who are part of a larger crowd that involves threats of violence against persons or property...*” (16: 1-8). In some instances a crowd will continue to gather until it evolves into a riot. A riot varies considerably in both targets and participants.

- a. *A communal riot*, for instance, deals with deep-seated ethnic, religious and language differences.
- b. *Commodity riots* involve an attack on property by acts of vandalism, looting and arson.
- c. *Protest riots*, such as the riot at the World Trade Organisation Assembly in Washington (30 November 1999), illustrate groups and individuals aggressively and sometimes violently acting out or voicing their opposition to the target. The Democratic Convention in Chicago, Illinois, in 1968 experienced a riot that directly targeted police and authority in general.
- d. *Celebration riots* have occurred across Europe as a result of home team victories in sporting events, among other reasons. Celebrating crowds look to make the moment more memorable through raucous acts that demonstrate their joy and happiness, for example the riots that took place in 1992 in Chicago as a result of the Chicago Bulls winning the National Basketball Association Championship.

40. It is therefore important for tactical commanders and their subordinate leaders to be aware that highly organised groups or protesters and/or demonstrators have developed tactics to disrupt the control force. These tactics are freely available, as

they were published in handbooks for communist organisers during the Cold War, as well as the struggle against Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. Today, even Internet sites can be found that are devoted to sharing these tactics with the general public and various protest groups.

41. Although these tactics are somewhat outdated, tactical commanders and their appointed leaders must be aware of them and their potential consequences. Many of these groups, such as anarchists, often mock the tactics employed against large crowds, for example, they may identify the crowd control entity as “Darth Vader Cops” when the control force responds in full riot control gear. Consequently tactical commanders must be aware that well-organised crowds may attempt to engage the control force, surround it, and overpower it by sheer numbers. Note. In order to avoid this, tactical commanders must briefly do a detailed appreciation of the area to include all approach and exit routes in the area. Their tactics need to include the protection of their flanks to avoid being enveloped by the crowd.

FOCUSING ON THE INDIVIDUAL

42. According to Kenny et al (7: 13) police have found it more effective to target the individual(s) engaged in violent behaviour and to respond to that behaviour, rather than the crowd as a whole. Such intervention requires an understanding of how this behaviour might be altered. They (7:13) refer to the model developed by Taylor that comprised five psychological factors for understanding and assessing individual behaviour. This model forms a pyramid and the factors closer to the top have the more immediate influence on performance. See Figure 1-2 below.

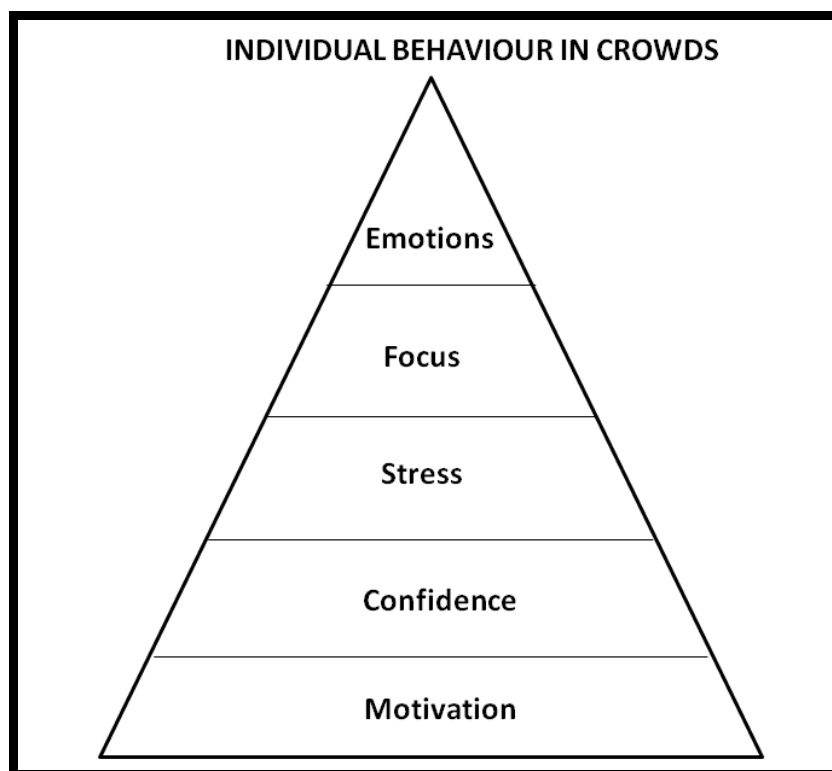


Figure 1-2: Potential points of intervention for the control of individuals (adopted from Kenny et al, 7: 13).

43. According to Kenny et al (7: 27), each of these psychological factors represents a possible point of intervention. Next, these factors are discussed in ascending order on the pyramid:

- a. Motivation. Motivation refers to an individual's ability to be committed to the crowd's cause despite fear, fatigue, opposition and personal needs. Within a crowd, individual motivations vary. They may be zealotry, fear, self-protection, obedience, or selfish needs. These motivations relate to goals - what the individual hopes to accomplish. Tactical commanders may satisfy motivations through resolution. They also may reduce them through fatigue, fear and pain.
- b. Confidence. Confidence refers to an individual's belief in his ability to accomplish goals. Confidence is key to the use of that ability, and the single most important aspect of individual behaviour. Confidence enables

motivation, the ability to handle stress, focus on a goal and experience positive emotions. Preparation, resources and initial success contribute to confidence. Conversely, the denial of these can reduce confidence.

- c. Stress. Stress refers to physical, mental, or emotional reactions to internal or external demands. This is largely how individuals perceive and respond to stimuli. Some see difficulty and shrink from it. Others see challenge and respond to it. Stress may be caused by the mere presence of force, or by creating a greater demand than someone has resources to meet. Also, individual needs - food, sleep, etc - can cause stress. Such stress can undermine individuals' motivation to pursue their goals.
- d. Focus. Focus refers to the ability to concentrate on those things leading to a goal. This includes picking up cues that indicate action needed to accomplish the goal. This factor more immediately influences behaviour than previous ones. It can be altered by ineffective focus - focusing on those things that interfere with or are irrelevant to goal accomplishment. Causing individuals to focus on personal needs, for example, may do this. Increased stress can also diminish focus.
- e. Emotions. Emotions ultimately dictate an individual's behaviour. Emotions guide decisions, influence reactions to situations and determine how individuals feel. They vary among individuals in a crowd and change rapidly with the situation. Physical or ego threats can influence emotions negatively. A physical threat might be the size and resources of an opposing force. An ego threat might be a goal that seems too difficult to accomplish. These threats can cause frustration, anger, or despair.

FRAMEWORK FOR TACTICAL COMMANDERS IN NEGOTIATIONS

44. Elsewhere in this document the importance of negotiating with crowds and their leaders has been emphasised. Taylor, as cited in Kenny et al (7: 29-30), provides a framework that the tactical commander can follow in negotiations. The framework represented in Figure 1-3 below is similar to the individual model, which is also a pyramid, comprising five factors, which follow a logical and purposeful progression.

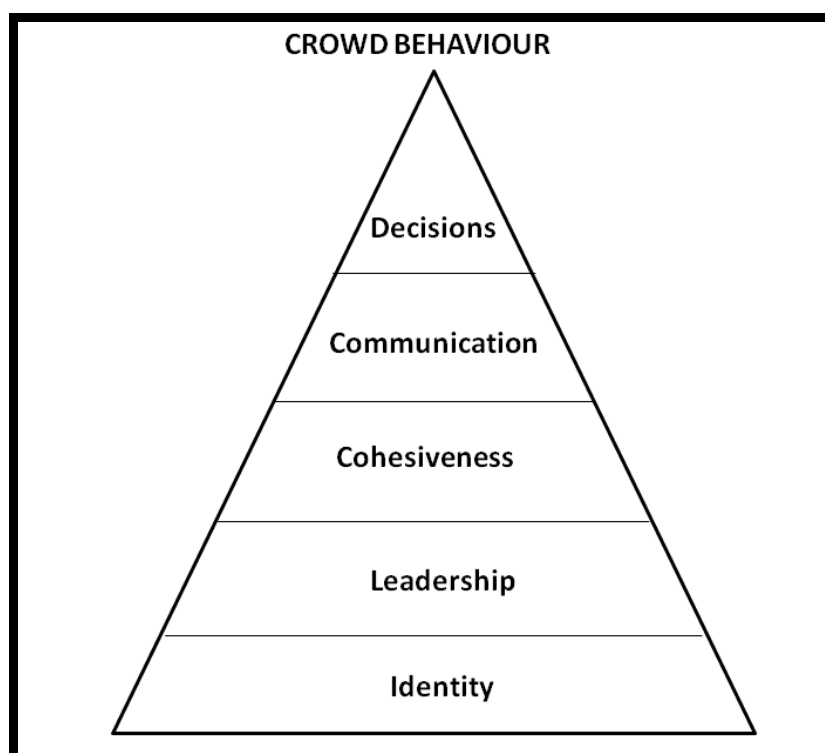


Figure 1-3: Potential points of intervention for the control of crowds (adopted from Kenny et al, 7: 13).

45. Each factor represents a potential point of intervention in dealing with groups or a crowd (Kenny, et al, 7: 29). However, this model needs to be treated with caution; as mentioned above and confirmed by empirical data, crowds are not made up of isolated individuals, but of “companion clusters” or cells, which arrive, remain and leave together, and crowd participants are not unanimous in motives. These factors are nevertheless helpful to the tactical commander in negotiations and are discussed below in ascending order on the pyramid.

- a. Identity. Identity is the foundation for any group's intentions and behaviour, eg they may be strikers, soccer hooligans, or ethnic factions. Identity thus reflects their values and the purpose in their existence. Once the tactical commander understands who they are, he/she can understand what to do. Kenny et al (7: 30) emphasise that crowd identity is self-renewing, though it requires a continued sense of purpose and action. If the tactical commander can make this difficult to achieve, he/she can alter their identity. Helping groups achieve goals can also validate it.
- b. Leadership. In general leadership provides direction, offers structure and process and rewards efforts. Therefore it is essential for the tactical commander to assess the leadership of the group for its effectiveness and span of control (7: 30). Leadership can be influenced either negatively or positively. Leadership can be undermined by creating disorganisation within a group or uncertainty with regard to the accomplishment of goals. On the other hand, it can be positively influenced by convincing leaders to work with authorities and by encouraging other factions to do the same.
- c. Cohesiveness. Cohesiveness refers to those elements that hold a crowd together; it might, for example, be an overarching value (7: 30). Leadership and communication are aspects that can enable cohesiveness. Cohesiveness requires participants to be cooperative, loyal and compassionate. Note. Tactical commanders can disrupt cohesiveness by either removing leadership or disrupting communication. Advantage can be taken of cohesiveness by winning over the leadership and ultimately its followers.
- d. Communication. Communication refers to the acquisition and dissemination of information and is needed to provide clear vision and goals, as well as convey decisions to the crowd. Kenny et al (7: 30) emphasise that threats, stress and internal conflicts can disrupt

communication. Furthermore, if people are more concerned about self-preservation, they may be less focused on receiving and sending information. Note. Tactical commanders can thus take advantage of group communication by getting leaders to convey cooperative, rather than confrontational information to the crowd.

- e. Decisions. Decisions involve evaluating options and selecting the best one that will achieve a goal, thus influencing the directions, goals and outcomes of those in the crowd (7: 30). Decision-making in a group is already difficult and even more so if time is limited, communication is disrupted and certain stimuli create negative emotional responses. Note. Therefore, tactical commanders can positively influence decision-making by meeting with leaders and convincing them to do it their way.

46. It is not the objective of this part to discuss the technical details of crowd control, but there are certain principles that should be adhered to, to enable the tactical commander to control the crowd.

PRINCIPLES OF CROWD CONTROL

47. The SANDF's Military Psychological Institute (11) indicates that many principles of crowd control can be found in the literature but their application in practice is often very difficult, the reason being that the security forces do not have enough manpower to arrive at the scene in a coordinated manner, as well as the unpredictable nature of crowd behaviour. The following are principles of crowd control from a psychological perspective and the tactical commander should apply these principles, which should form the basis of his/her action plan in crowd control, in specific situations:

- a. Preventing Crowds from Forming. First and foremost, the tactical commander should prevent a mass from turning into a crowd and if a crowd already exists, an effort should be made to prevent it from gaining

momentum. An effort should be made either to isolate the group of people or to remove them from the situation. Typical physical measures that can be taken are breaking up group gatherings and controlling the environment by using barricades, wire, etc. It is also important to develop tactics to debrief situations very quickly before a crowd can form. For example, all possible drills when high-risk situations occur should be worked out beforehand, such as the drills when involved in a vehicle accident, the drills when a vehicle is set on fire, etc.

- b. Regular Assessment of Crowd. Neale (12) developed a crowd-rating scale to determine the stage of development in crowds, from mass to crowd to a full-scale riot. These assessments of the crowd will also assist the tactical commander to determine the appropriate action in crowd control. A brief summary of this crowd-rating scale is given below:
 - i. Green Stage. This indicates the stage when the crowd is peaceful and tension is low.
 - ii. Yellow Stage. This is the stage when tension starts to build up, the crowd grows in number and bonding between members takes place, as well as unification around a specific issue.
 - iii. Red Stage. This is the stage when the crowd becomes a full-scale riot and the situation threatens to get out of hand.
- c. Communication with Crowd. Communication with crowds is essential and the tactical commander can, for example, use sound equipment and pamphlets to provide options and alternatives, to bargain with a crowd and finally convince its members to disperse. This communication is not limited to only verbal communication, but can also include nonverbal communication such as the crowd-control entity taking up an aggressive posture. It is important to feed the crowd with rational ideas (pointing out

the dangers and consequences of their own behaviour). It is also important to identify the leaders (opinion makers) of the crowd and to focus on them when communicating. The person communicating with the crowd must project a positive image and must be perceived as credible. It is therefore important to be well trained in communication or negotiation with crowds.

- d. Redirecting Crowd's Attention. A crowd is highly dependent on communication within itself and the collective ideas and goals of the cells that make up the crowd. It is therefore important to confuse or break down the communication in the crowd in order to redirect its attention from its initial collective aim (12: 3-4). Distracting the crowd's attention from its initial collective aim can be achieved by, for example, handing out food to a hungry crowd while a march takes place. In essence, this leaves room for the spontaneous distribution of the crowd and disturbs the crowd's psychological unity (11: 1). Note. It is vital to avoid actions that facilitate the feeling of collectiveness, such as conveying the message of "us" against "them". A crowd could also be confused or redirected if those who manage it are also perceived as "us" and as not opposing forces. In this regard Stott, Adang and Schreiber (15) emphasise that the dynamics of the crowd are not just internal to the crowd but involve police action. It is also important to note that this principle only works well if enough forces are present (11: 1).
- e. Show of Force. The presence of a large number of security forces that display/show their weapons leaves a clear suggestion that they are ready to use their weapons. Showing such intent can convince the crowd either to disperse or to act within the law. In the case of a peaceful crowd, it is only necessary to monitor it with a small monitoring group from the security forces. Note. This monitoring group must be as inconspicuous as possible because its presence can increase group cohesion in the crowd (6:11). A larger force (main force) should be deployed a few street blocks

away outside the view of the crowd. This force is thus not exposed to the provocation and physiological arousal of the crowd, as in the case of the monitoring group. When the crowd's status changes from green to yellow (the situation becomes tenser and is on the verge of a riot) the main force can move in swiftly and in a disciplined manner, with as much show of force as possible.

- f. Use of Extreme Measures of Confusion and Overpowering. Linked to a show of force, crowds can be overpowered and confused in the following ways (7):
 - i. Display of strength, driving around in armoured vehicles.
 - ii. Overpowering with sound (jets flying over, making noise).
 - iii. Overpowering with gas, rubber bullets, spraying of water, etc.
- g. Removing Leaders from Crowd. It is essential that the leaders be removed from the crowd with or without violence (11: 1). Identification of leaders could be easy if they wear specific clothes or if they are well-known persons. In some instances it might be difficult to identify the leader element and then the specific behaviour of individuals should be focused on to identify the leaders.
- h. Crowd Control Response Matching Activity of Crowd. Inappropriate response will aggravate the crowd and fuel the existing energy. The risk is that extreme measures might fuel or aggravate the crowd to become stronger (12: 2-3).
- i. Specific Psychological Skills for Each Stage in Crowd Control. Each stage in crowd control has different drills and requires different psychological skills from the crowd-control team. The skills required are cumulative, thus

building up as the situation develops. The psychological skills for each of the stages are as follows:

- i. Green Stage
 - (1) Active attention for long periods.
 - (2) Alert perception to monitor the situation.
 - (3) Friendly, non-threatening image displayed to members of the crowd.
- ii. Yellow Stage
 - (1) Cooperation.
 - (2) Accurate communication.
 - (3) Self-discipline.
- iii. Red Stage
 - (1) Self-control.
 - (2) Management of intense stress.
- j. Avoid Becoming Object of Crowd's Anger. The final but one of the most important principles in crowd control is to never become the object of the crowd's anger. The tactical commander must ensure that he and his crowd-control entity stay neutral as far as possible. Crowd-control agents are normally the third party involved in the situation. Riot situations are normally clearly defined as the crowd and the opposition (for example the

government). Remain the neutral agent wanting the best for all and protecting everyone. De Kock (5: 22) refers to the role of a legitimate impartial umpire to administer the code of conduct for all relevant parties.

48. See Appendix B for a summary in tabular format of the crowd-control procedure or technique in relation to the specific crowd dynamic factor.

TRAINING IN CROWD CONTROL

49. Crowd control has a strong behavioural base and therefore the preparation of SANDF members to be crowd-control agents imply that they must have insight in group behaviour. This insight is more than a cognitive understanding of information, it also implies sensitivity and a feeling for group and crowd dynamics. The best way to learn about group behaviour is through facilitated group activities. It is recommended that psychologists are included in the training team of crowd-control agents where possible.

CONCLUSION

50. Crowd behaviour is a very complex phenomenon, which is difficult to handle, and if a crowd is not understood within its particular context, it can become very dangerous. Although some knowledge could be gained from the information in this chapter, it should be emphasised that each engagement with a crowd will be unique and all aspects discussed here will not necessarily manifest themselves exactly in this manner. This contribution, however, needs to be seen as a generic guideline as to what to expect in reality.

51. Own forces will be exposed to provocation, frustration and physiological arousal that can very easily lead to an overreaction. Therefore the most important principle in crowd control is disciplined and controlled action. Disciplined and controlled action can be ensured by performing specific drills, which will subsequently be discussed in some of the following chapters.

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER 1: CROWD PSYCHOLOGY

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APPENDIX B TO CHAPTER 1: CROWD PSYCHOLOGY

CROWD CONTROL TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES FOR EACH CROWD DYNAMIC FACTOR

S/no	Crowd Dynamic Factor	What should be done about the factor	Specific technique or procedure
	a	b	c
1	High group cohesion (feeling of oneness) Physiological arousal Private de-individuation	Group cohesion should be broken down as quickly as possible by breaking up the spontaneous or semi-organised crowd that clearly shows a tendency towards disorder and violence so that they can turn homewards. (This is especially when their status starts to turn from green to yellow) Where a completely organised crowd shows a tendency towards disorder it is firstly recommended to reinforce their existing internal control structures and if this is unsuccessful, the same procedures would be used as with a semi-organised crowd. High group cohesion, arousal and private de-individuation have such a close relationship that they have to be controlled jointly.	- Show-of--force principle should be applied that surprises the crowd and shows intent to act. - Tear gas and other types of smoke or pepper spray - the smoke and gas will divert the participants' attention from the social environment to prevent them from mimicking other people's behaviour. The person will be too involved with himself to become de-individualised. Rhythmic dance and song will also not take place. - High frequency sound has the same effect as tear gas. People will stop up their ears, feel like vomiting and be too preoccupied with themselves to be influenced by a crowd. - Certain tactical formations can be used to break up the crowd. - Water canon. - Later on buck shot and rubber bullets are

S/no	Crowd Dynamic Factor	What should be done about the factor	Specific technique or procedure
	a	b	c
			used.
2	Facelessness (Public de-individuation)	The individual within the crowd must know clearly that he/she is not as faceless as he or she thinks. They must know that they will definitely be dealt with at a later stage.	- Normal and video photography by clearly identifiable agents should take place. If the persons being photographed are under the impression that the photographers might be from the media, they might put up a show. Therefore they must be given the impression that the photographers are agents who are collecting evidence that at a later stage might be used in court. - A colourant that is difficult to remove can be sprayed over the crowd with the water canon or with a helicopter. The participants in the crowd are then marked for later identification. The United States also makes use of a ball-like projectile filled with colourant that can be used to mark specific individuals for later identification.
3	Collective norms, quick legitimacy, universalism and conformism	The individual in the crowd must be given the impression that there is no unity in the crowd. He/she thus does not have to conform.	- If the members of the crowd are not too aggressive (green status) they can be "infiltrated" by persons who oppose the speakers with counter-arguments. This method should, however, not be used with a revolutionary, mobilised crowd, as the infiltrators' lives might be in danger.

S/no	Crowd Dynamic Factor	What should be done about the factor	Specific technique or procedure
	a	b	c
4	Fatigue	People who are part of a crowd should be tired out in favour of using the controlling agent.	- Isolating a relatively peaceful crowd (green or yellow stage) in an area where they can act themselves out is an example of applying the technique of tiring them. Once they are tired of the heat and the dust they will start to turn homeward.
5	Polarised crowds	This is when two or more hostile crowds oppose one another. The one experiences the other as a threat and this activates the crowd dynamics of both groups.	- Show-of-force principle should be applied when the security forces move in in between the groupings. - They should be diverted to different exit routes and kept apart by using, for example, razor wire or a line of soldiers in flack jackets and other protective equipment with weapons at the port to form an imposing barrier in front of a crowd and maintain flexibility. - If there are identifiable leaders, negotiations should take place with both parties while the crowd disperses along different routes. - If the crowd is armed, members should be asked to lay down their weapons. They should only be coerced to lay down their weapons if the groupings are separated, otherwise the controlling agent will be in danger. - If the leaders are identified and the situation is rapidly escalating extreme measures (targeted interventions) such as sharp shooters may be

S/no	Crowd Dynamic Factor	What should be done about the factor	Specific technique or procedure
	a	b	c
			used to eliminate the leaders. Snipers may be deployed further back covering far ground and the flanks. This is when the status is red. - It is important for the controlling agent to remain neutral (objective) although his sentiment might be with one grouping or the other. This is also applicable to joint negotiation with all parties.

Table 1-2: Crowd control techniques and procedures for each dynamics factor (adopted from de Kock, 5: 8-12).