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Introduction

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THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED TO THE EXAMINATION OF CROWD violence and police tactics used to prevent this behavior. The theories, research, and case studies presented within this collection of chapters provide an overarching perspective from which to approach the task of developing effective crowd management strategies. We argue that effective practice, when guided by the general principles of crowd facilitation and systematic analysis, will increase positive interactions and reduce tensions between crowd members and police. This outcome requires an accurate understanding of how crowds behave. It also demands recognition of the social dynamics and environmental features that influence individual motivation in large gatherings.

Crowd management is a fundamental police function in all societies. This task is complex and demanding. Police must address safety concerns in highly diverse environments and among heterogeneous collections of crowd participants, while adapting to dynamic and sometimes volatile situations with existing resources and limited information. Police must also accomplish seemingly conflicting goals when managing crowds.

- Political demonstrations often bring together groups of people who strongly oppose government policies or the opinions of other political groups (often protesting in the same place, at the same time). Police in democracies must guarantee the right to free speech and assembly, while safeguarding public order during these demonstrations.
- Sporting events continually attract large groups of fans. Police work to maintain a safe environment to facilitate game enjoyment, but interactions between impassioned rival fans sometimes lead to violence.
- Police are required to create safe environments for large groups of visitors who attend festivities associated with alcohol consumption — for example, Midsummer's Eve in Sweden, New Year's Eve in the United States, Oktoberfest in Germany. However, some attendees whom police are asked to protect may engage in behaviors that threaten the safety of others.

Peaceful protests, events, and gatherings are common, but occasional out-bursts of violence and vandalism necessitate direct police intervention. Some-times, police do not, or cannot, maintain control of crowds. Sometimes, police overreact to such outbursts and use excessive or indiscriminate force against crowd participants. Technological advances have increased the likelihood that questionable police conduct will be recorded and publicized; thus, police now face increasing pressure to appropriately manage crowds.

Negative publicity arising from improperly managed events creates an impetus for examination and reform of police crowd management principles and tactics. Police conduct during the 2009 G20 meeting in London generated dissatisfaction among a considerable proportion of the general public and resulted in investigations of police performance (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary 2009). Likewise, as described in the last chapter of this volume, police failure to control the Gothenburg riots during the 2001 European Union summit became a national crisis in Sweden. Yet, this event served as a starting point for Swedish police to develop and implement a new national crowd man-agement tactic. As the case studies presented in subsequent chapters will demonstrate, police failure to properly manage crowds has produced disastrous consequences, but it has also created opportunities for reform and change.

Those tasked with policing crowds should develop management strategies guided by practical theory and empirical evidence. This volume provides a foundation for this process by combining descriptions of theoretical frame-works with detailed case studies of crowd events, analyses of police tactics, and strategic principles for crowd management. The following nine chapters represent an inclusive collection of crowd-based theories and research con-ducted over several decades, in several countries, and within two general the-oretical frameworks.

Chapters 2 through 6 highlight advances in social psychological perspec-tives on crowd behavior, and the last four introduce an alternative, yet comple-mentary paradigm for understanding and managing crowd behavior: environ-mental criminology. The integration of these two academic paradigms offers a comprehensive roadmap for developing effective crowd policing strategies.

In Chapter 2, Stephen Reicher reviews the G20 demonstrations in London and offers four new public-order policing principles grounded in recent approaches to crowd psychology. In Chapter 3, Clifford Stott discusses the implications of the Elaborated Social Identity Model of crowd behavior and demonstrates the need for particular strategic approaches when policing foot-ball crowds. Otto Adang identifies mechanisms that trigger and escalate crowd violence using systematic observations of sixty football matches and seventy-seven protest events in Chapter 4. The relationship among the organizing processes of crowds, police reaction toward protesters, and crowd violence is examined by Ingrid Hylander and Kjell Granström in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, David Waddington uses a major transnational protest and the Flashpoints

Model of Public Disorder to illustrate the benefit of a contextualized approach when examining the nature and impact of policing tactics.

In Chapter 7, Tamara Madensen and John Eck systematically apply environmental criminology principles and theories to crowd-related crime and offer five crowd management principles that stem from this perspective. William Sousa and Tamara Madensen use an environmental criminology theory, situational crime prevention, to explain the success of a New Year's Eve crowd management strategy in Chapter 8. In Chapter 9, Joel Plant and Michael Scott describe a seven-year problem-oriented policing effort that successfully reduced harm associated with an annual street party. In the final chapter, Stefan Holgersson and Johannes Knutsson discuss the function and effectivness of dialogue police officers in the newly implemented Swedish tactic for crowd management that, among other things, uses situational techniques to prevent crowd violence.

As the content of this volume will demonstrate, effective crowd management requires much planning, early and continuous analysis of risk, and cooperative interactions between police and crowd members. These activities help police develop and implement interventions that reduce the potential for violence. Force, however, should not be used as a routine strategy to gain compliance or resolve conflict. Forceful police tactics, as pointed out in many of the chapters that follow, may be counterproductive and arouse aggressiveness in crowds. Research demonstrates that police can improve crowd relations and encourage peaceful events by reducing forceful appearance and conduct (Reicher et al. 2007).

New crowd psychology recognizes that crowds do not make individuals go "mad," and people do not lose control of their actions simply because they participate in a large gathering (McPhail 1991). Yet, as argued by Reicher and Stott in Chapters 2 and 3, seemingly indiscriminate police use of force may change the disposition of otherwise peaceful crowd members. Through inter- and intragroup processes involving the police and crowd participants, individuals' social identity may temporarily change. If crowd participants feel police actions against the crowd are overly severe or unprovoked, individuals will be more likely to contribute to violent acts to resist the police. These processes are described and explained by the Elaborated Social Identity Model (ESIM) of crowd psychology (e.g., see Reicher 2001a).

Nevertheless, some police manuals continue to promote inaccurate views of crowd behavior and support police practices that treat crowds as a homogenous and dangerous collective. Empirical studies refute the notion that crowds are collections of violent and uncontrolled individuals. Using systematic social observation, Adang shows in his chapter that violent incidents are relatively rare among gatherings of both football fans and protesters. Furthermore, when violence occurs, there are few that actually engage in acts of overt aggression. There are, as pointed out by Reicher and by Sousa and Madensen,

many different groups that will participate in any particular crowd event, only some of which may have unlawful intentions.

Aggressive police behavior can encourage violent intentions among groups that initially do not have them. Still, police must occasionally intervene to maintain or regain control in crowds. When police must use force to achieve this objective, they should act in ways that assure force is kept to a minimum, is directed precisely, and is perceived by crowd members as being necessary and appropriate. In Chapter 5 by Hylander and Granström and Chapter 10 by Holgersson and Knutsson, various police tactics that promote peaceful demonstrations and serve to de-escalate hostile situations are described. Facilitation and communication are emphasized as critical elements of crowd management strategies. Specially trained dialogue police officers in Sweden, as described by Holgersson and Knutsson, play a vital role in improving police-crowd relations. These officers act as liaisons to increase communication and cooperative interaction between police commanders and demonstrators (see Holgersson 2010).

The importance of de-escalation tactics is further demonstrated in Chapter 6 where a multilevel framework for understanding police-protester interaction is applied by Waddington to two events in the UK. This exercise supports the ESIM crowd theory by reinforcing the importance of promoting positive interactions, for example, respectful dialogue between protesters and police. The study also recognizes the influence of situational variables on crowd behavior, for example, how physical and social environments are perceived by crowd members and managed by police.

Like the ESIM perspective, and models proposed by Waddington and by Hylander and Granström, environmental criminology recognizes the relevance of situational characteristics and dynamics for understanding and controlling violence. Chapters 7 through 10 in this volume demonstrate that environmental criminology is both applicable to the problem of crowd-related crime and compatible with European research findings and social psychological theories of crowd behavior. The integration of these perspectives will allow strategic planners to better understand the dynamic processes that occur within crowds and how these processes can be managed.

For example, two US policing strategies (Sousa and Madensen describing Las Vegas in Chapter 10, and Plant and Scott describing Madison in Chapter 9) and Swedish police strategy (Holgersson and Knutsson) are designed to manipulate situational characteristics that provide opportunities for crime. These strategies include techniques proposed by situational crime prevention (Clarke 1997a, 2008), an approach advocated by environmental criminologists to reduce crime. They are also used extensively within problem-oriented policing. In particular, the technique of *reducing provocations* can, as pointed out by Holgersson and Knutsson, be seen as a direct application of the ESIM principles to prevent escalation and bring about de-escalation of crowd violence.

The situational crime prevention approach adds to the ESIM crowd management perspective by encouraging planners to consider features of the physical environment, as well as social dynamics, when seeking to reduce opportunities for violence. As described in the subsequent chapters, Las Vegas police distribute plastic cups in exchange for glass bottles to reduce the amount of glass and potential for harm on the street. Madison police create additional egress points from crowded areas by promoting the use of rear exits from bars. Swedish police remove objects that may be used as weapons from places where demonstrators travel or congregate. Manipulation of risk factors, particularly when guided by the situational crime prevention framework, reduces the opportunity for misconduct (by police or attendees) and the likelihood that police will need to use force to control crowd participants.

These perspectives advocate analyses of event risk factors both during and prior to events. The importance of "dynamic risk assessment" during events by police to determine appropriate and proportional tactical response is discussed in Stott's Chapter 3. This is one of the primary functions of dialogue police officers as described by Holgersson and Knutsson. Environmental criminology also suggests the importance of risk assessment and planned response, but at a larger time scale. Problem-oriented policing offers a framework to guide police planning efforts and pre-event analysis of risk.

Plant and Scott describe how Madison police use a problem-oriented policing approach to successfully manage a previously violent and disorderly annual event. Police begin the problem-oriented policing process by identifying a specific recurring problem and carefully describing its associated harms. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the problem's immediate causes. The next step is to develop and implement tailor-made responses to prevent the problem's reoccurrence. Lastly, police conduct an evaluation to determine the effectiveness of their responses (Goldstein 1979, 2003; Scott et al. 2008). In Madison, this process was repeated over several years, and today, this event is a much safer and more orderly festivity. Sousa and Madensen also describe a twelve-month problem-oriented policing process used annually by Las Vegas police. As noted by Madensen and Eck in Chapter 7, problem-oriented policing is particularly useful for managing crowd events since it promotes context-specific solutions that should decrease violence and increase cooperation and trust between police and crowd members.

When choosing tactics to manage crowds, police around the world must consider their obligation to uphold the rights and freedoms guaranteed by their respective conventions and constitutions aimed at protecting human rights. Freedom of assembly is espoused as a fundamental human right in democratic societies, and police are responsible for facilitating the safe expression of this right. Furthermore, police are obliged to protect the right to life even in chaotic situations such as riots. A recent judgment by the European Court of Human Rights makes it clear that this responsibility extends beyond individual police

officers; the police organization, as judged by its objectives, policies, and directives, must demonstrate a commitment to protecting human life. If not, the state may be held responsible. Additionally, police behaviors inconsistent with this purpose must be investigated in a thorough and transparent manner (European Court of Human Rights 2009).

We leave the readers of this volume with four general recommendations for crowd management supported by the research that follows. First, understand the nature and goals of a crowd before attempting to manage it. Although crowds are heterogeneous collections of individuals and should be treated as such, successfully managing any gathering will be impossible without first knowing what participants wish to achieve. Second, use theory and prior evaluations of crowd interventions to guide the development of crowd management strategies. The frameworks and case studies outlined in the following chapters will help direct attention to important social dynamics and environmental characteristics that influence crowd behaviors. Third, recognize that it is neither theoretically nor practically useful to discuss crowd violence without taking into account police behavior. In a very real sense, the crowd and the police coproduce peace or violence. Finally, understand that the overarching role of police in dealing with crowds is to protect the rights and safety of participants. Sincere attempts to work with crowds will reduce police burden by eliminating a preventable source of crowd anxiety and tension: fear of unwarranted police use of force.