

club owners, for assembling as much financial material in the nightclub. And so were musical associates, who apparently had ignored a number of violations of safety regulations. The public, faced as he/she is on individuals and a surprised to blame them, even though the press had a complex responsibility of 441993 (Volstead & Lee, 1991).

Mass Joy. The most familiar forms of mass joy are the 442, footballs, and games that sweep whole societies—sometimes the world. There was the Beatles case (like 1969), for example. Thousands of teenagers robbed the 4499 whenever they went and swooned in front of television sets when the Beatles sang "I Want to Hold Your Hand." More recently, the United States ice hockey team became an object of mass joy after its upset win over the Soviet team during the 1980 Winter Olympics at Lake Placid, New York. Within seconds after the win the team was mobbed by spectators, while on the side in the streets crowds chanted "We're number one." Meanwhile this crowd emotion was being transformed into a mass phenomenon. As the network announcer, overcome with excitement, managed to say that the victory was the greatest moment in over 20 years of sports reporting, there was pandemonium in those yards of fans across the country. Several days later the team, along with the other Olympic athletes, was honored at the White House. Members of the team gave countless interviews, which appeared in countless newspaper articles in the work of a *New York Times* headline: the athletes were "Our Heroes."

Lofland's classification system seems to put this category for many incidents of collective behavior. But we want to know how useful such a system is until we look more closely at causes, processes, and results of collective behavior. We'll begin by focusing on crowd behavior.

Crowd Dynamics

Sociologists have identified a number of patterns of crowd behavior. Before people can act as a crowd, however, the crowd must form.



A 1980 Olympic match drew bigger spectacles of celebrative crowd behavior (UPI/Donna Kaufman)

The process by which people are drawn from a number of places and activities to make up a crowd has been called the **assembling process**.

The Assembling Process. What cause a crowd? Social factors affect the chances that a crowd will join some form of unscheduled crowd behavior. Only those who know about an occasion, first, not of other event will converge on the scene. Some events, after people in the area are aware. Sounding fires, a flood, the sound of glass hitting the street, and screams are likely to attract the attention of people nearby. People learn of events such as riots by word of mouth, from radio or TV announcers, and by a number of other ways. When crowd members begin to gather in one spot, beyond a certain threshold of knowledge of the event typically occurs and a riot is in its well.

Although they may know of a riot as to join a crowd, many people don't do so. People who

have attended riots in the past are more likely to go to the scene of a riot. Most of the urban disturbances that occurred in the United States during the summer of 1967 took place during evenings and weekends. These are the times when large numbers of people are at work and have time to attend the action. You suggest that availability is a major factor in the assembling process. People with the better, conflicting demands on their time—such as a job or family—are most likely to act on the knowledge that draws a crowd (M. H. Miller & Miller, 1973).

Communication. If you have ever found yourself at the edge of a crowd, your first question was probably to ask, "What's going on?" You might have been told, "We're marching on Co. Hall, the city council is going to impose an income tax on everybody who works in the city," or exchange such as this typical one of the basic dynamics or processes of crowd be-



A crowd of demonstrators gathered during the 1968 election in Chicago. The demonstrators were protesting against the Vietnam War.

...of the crowd, and the crowd's behavior is usually all that is to be seen. In fact, the crowd is usually a collection of individuals who are acting independently of one another. The crowd is not a social entity, but a collection of individuals who are acting independently of one another. The crowd is not a social entity, but a collection of individuals who are acting independently of one another. The crowd is not a social entity, but a collection of individuals who are acting independently of one another.

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Collective Effervescence. A social theory of crowd behavior is *collective effervescence* (Durkheim, 1913). Durkheim, in his chapter on religion, argued that there is a social force behind religious behavior and that this force is *collective effervescence*. He argued that religious behavior is a result of a social force that is not religious in nature. He argued that religious behavior is a result of a social force that is not religious in nature.

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Theories of Collective Behavior

Up to this point we have looked mostly at the "what" and "how" of various kinds of collective behavior. But in this century social thinkers have focused their attention on the question of "why" as well. Why do people take part in collective behavior? What motivates them? We'll discuss several theories, which are summarized in Table 19-2.

The Role and Cognition Theory. The French social thinker Gustave Le Bon is best known for his theories of crowd behavior. These were put forth around the turn of the twentieth century, when riotous changes were tak-

TABLE 19-2 Theories of Collective Behavior

Theory	Character	Emphasis on
Contagion/Convergence	Le Bon; Myers	Participation (crowd)
Emergent norm	Furness	Norms and behavior
Normal process	Kaestler	Participation and social structure
Value added	Heider	Collective social change