AN EXAMINATION OF GENDER ROLE
DIFFERENTIATION IN CROWD
AND COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

Gary Ray Webb, B.S.
Denton, Texas
August, 1994
AN EXAMINATION OF GENDER ROLE DIFFERENTIATION IN CROWD AND COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the University of North Texas in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

Gary Ray Webb, B.S.
Denton, Texas
August, 1994

This study examines the relationship between social stress and gender role differentiation. Crowd and collective behavior literature suggests two competing hypotheses. Social contagion theories suggest that gender roles become dedifferentiated in crowds. Social structural theories suggest that gender roles in crowds parallel institutional gender roles. The case study format is used to assess the relationship. Six crowd events, representing varying levels of social stress, were observed. Data were gathered via systematic observations, interviews and document analysis. The findings indicate that gender roles in crowds parallel institutional gender roles. Culturally prescribed gender expectations endure across social stress settings.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES ................................................................. v

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION................................................................. 1

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE.................................................... 7

   Introduction
   The Feminist Critique of Sociology
   Gender Role Differentiation
   Social Stress
   A Continuum of Social Stress
   Gender Role Differentiation in Social Stress
   Gender Role Differentiation in Crowd and
       Collective Behavior
   Competing Perspectives
   Social Contagion Theory
   Social Structural Theories
   Emergent Norm Theory
   Social Behavioral/ Interactionist Theory
   The Hypotheses
   Summary

III. DATA AND METHODS....................................................... 28

   Introduction
   Data Sites
   Sampling
   Triangulation
   Credibility
   Indicators of Gender Differentiation
   Indicators of Social Stress

IV. CASE STUDIES.............................................................. 45

   Introduction
   Case Study 1: 1993 Super Bowl Victory Parade
   Case Study 2: 1993 Texas-OU Pre-Game Celebration
   Case Study 3: Fry Street
   Case Study 4: Pearl Jam Concert
   Case Study 5: Ku Klux Klan Rally
   Case Study 6: 1994 Super Bowl Victory Parade
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Summary of Sites and Methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Summary of Credibility Measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Chronological Summary of Case Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Findings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This research examines the effect of social stress on gender role differentiation. Crowd and collective behavior often occur within the context of social stress (Perry and Pugh, 1978). Several crowd events, representing varying levels of social stress, were observed to assess the relationship between social stress and gender role differentiation.

Chafetz (1990) defines the degree of gender differentiation as "the number of traits upon which males and females differ, and the extent to which the genders differ on those traits" (p. 30). Institutionalized gender roles are highly differentiated. This research seeks to determine if gender roles remain differentiated during social stress situations.

Perry and Pugh define social stress as a "natural or social condition that places excess demands on the capacity of groups to achieve collective goals" (1978: 13). Crowd and collective behavior often occur as responses to social stress (Perry and Pugh, 1978). Therefore, several crowd events were observed to determine the effect of social stress on gender role differentiation. The crowd events
represent varying levels of social stress.

McPhail's (1991) concept of gathering is used to define crowds. The concept of crowd contains ambiguity. Furthermore, use of the term evokes certain stereotypical images (Couch, 1968; McPhail, 1991). According to Lofland (1985), the concept of crowd carries too much excess conceptual baggage (e.g., the illusion of unanimity).

McPhail (1991) defines a gathering as "two or more persons in a common space and time frame who may behave collectively, but not necessarily so" (p. 229). The gathering consists of three phases: the assembling or formation process, itself a form of collective behavior; the assembled gathering within which sequences of individual and collective behavior occur; and the dispersing process that ends the gathering. Borrowing from the emergent norm tradition, collective behavior is defined as the development of emergent norms and/or emergent social structure in a relatively spontaneous situation (Neal and Phillips, 1988; Neal, 1993).

This study addresses a void in crowd and collective behavior research: the study of gender roles. An examination of gender roles in crowd and collective behavior makes two contributions. Gender role analysis contributes to a more inclusive collective behavior theory. In addition, gender role analysis addresses the relationship between institutionalized and collective behavior.
An examination of gender roles contributes to a more complete collective behavior theory. Feminists reveal that sociologists have neglected significant gender differences (Segal and Berheide, 1978). For example, Sydie (1987) contends that sociologists have virtually ignored women's roles.

Recent feminist writers level this criticism against social movement researchers (West and Blumberg, 1990; McAdam, 1992). The feminist critique generated several studies examining gender and social movement participation. However, crowd and collective behavior research may maintain its male bias. For example, terms like "keynoters" or "rioters" reveal no information about who plays these roles and may reinforce assumptions that only men play these roles (West and Blumberg, 1990).

Gender role analysis makes a second contribution by addressing the relationship between institutionalized and collective behavior. Many collective behavior researchers conceptualize a continuum of collective and institutionalized behavior. For example, Marx and McAdam (1994) view collective and institutionalized behavior as a continuum of greater or lesser cultural specificity.

However, empirical studies of cultural specificity across crowd settings are lacking. Conducting an empirical examination can assess the usefulness of collective behavior and organizational theories for describing and explaining
crowd events (Dynes and Quarnatelli, 1968). Specifically, gender role analysis indicates to what extent and under what conditions one component of culture (i.e., gender expectations) specifies behavior.

Chapter II begins with a review of the feminist critique of sociology. The feminist critique emphasizes the importance of gender role analysis. After reviewing the feminist critique, the concepts of gender role differentiation and social stress are discussed. Next, studies that examine gender roles in social stress situations are reviewed. Then, two lines of crowd and collective behavior literature are reviewed. The first suggests that crowd and collective behavior depart significantly from institutionalized behavior. Theorists refer to this line of literature as the social contagion perspective. The second line of literature emphasizes the continuity between collective and institutionalized behavior. The emergent norm/ emergent social structure and the social behavioral/ interactionist perspectives represent the social structural research tradition.

The social contagion and social structural perspectives suggest two competing hypotheses regarding gender roles in crowd and collective behavior. First, social contagion theories suggest that increasing social stress results in decreasing gender role differentiation. Cultural gender expectations fail to guide behavior in crowds and collective
behavior. While institutionalized gender roles are differentiated, gender roles become dedifferentiated in crowd and collective behavior.

The second line of literature suggests another hypothesis. The social structural perspective suggests that social stress has no effect on gender differentiation. Researchers from the social structural perspective focus on emergent and institutionalized norms, social relationships (Turner and Killian, 1987; Weller and Quarantelli, 1973) and social roles (Perry and Pugh, 1978; Dynes, 1986). The social structural perspective suggests that gender roles remain differentiated across social stress situations.

The third chapter describes the methods used to assess the two hypotheses. Triangulation, the use of several approaches, drove the data gathering process (Jick, 1979). Several crowds assembled for a variety of reasons were observed. Data were gathered via systematic observations documented in field notes. Visual methods (e.g., photography) supplemented observations. Semistructured interviews were also conducted. Respondents included police officials involved in planning and managing crowd events. Finally, documents (e.g., newspapers, internal documents, etc.) were obtained.

Chapter IV contains the case studies. Each crowd event is presented in case study form. The C-Model approach provided the framework for case study construction.
(Quarantelli, 1987). The C-Model contains four parts: career, characteristics, conditions and consequences. The career section focuses on processual features of crowd events. The characteristics section is a descriptive account of the crowd events and behaviors within them. Conditions refer to factors contributing to the crowd event and characteristics of the event. Finally, consequences refer to various outcomes resulting from the crowd events.

Chapter V contains the data analysis that assesses the two hypotheses. First, the cases are analyzed in terms of gender differentiation. The characteristics sections contain indicators of gender role differentiation. Second, the cases are discussed in terms of social stress. The conditions sections of the case studies contain indicators of social stress. Using the characteristics and conditions sections of the case studies, gender differences across a range of social stress situations are analyzed.

The final chapter, Chapter VI, summarizes the findings of the analysis. Also, the weaknesses and limitations of this study are addressed. Finally, areas for future investigation are suggested.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This research examines the relationship between social stress and gender role differentiation. To assess the relationship, six crowd events were observed. Crowd and collective behavior often occur within the context of social stress. The observed crowd events represent social stress situations.

Since researchers have neglected the study of gender roles in crowd and collective behavior, this study addresses a void. According to feminist critiques, examining gender roles contributes to a more inclusive collective behavior theory. Furthermore, a focus on gender roles addresses the relationship between institutionalized and collective behavior.

The literature review begins with a review of the feminist critique. Next, gender role differentiation and social stress are defined and discussed. Then, the findings of studies examining gender roles in different social stress situations are reviewed. Specifically, researchers have examined gender roles in social movement organizations (SMOs) and disasters. Then, two competing perspectives
regarding gender roles in crowd and collective behavior are reviewed. Finally, from these reviews, two hypotheses regarding gender roles in crowd and collective behavior are developed.

**The Feminist Critique of Sociology**

Several variations of the feminist perspective exist. However, all make a common criticism of social science (Sapiro, 1984). Feminists criticize the male bias of social scientific research (Segal and Berheide, 1978). As Sydie (1987) writes:

> The key point is that sociology has had a blinkered, and therefore partial, perspective on the nature of the social world, which has meant the de facto exclusion of women's realities from the accounts. (p. 10)

Recent feminist scholars apply the feminist critique of sociology in general to the study of social movements. McAdam (1992) argues that no reason exists to assume that men and women experience social protest in exactly the same way. West and Blumberg (1990) contend that gender roles have long been neglected in the analysis of collective behavior. Comparative analysis of men's and women's roles in social protest are sparse.

This void exists because "scientific" investigation of social protest events have been predominately undertaken from the male perspective. For example, LeBon (1895) attributed to the crowd traits characteristic of beings belonging to lower forms of evolution, like children and
women. LeBon wrote:

...impulsiveness, irritability, incapacity to reason, the absence of judgments and of the critical spirit, the exaggeration of the sentiments, and others besides—which are almost always observed in beings belonging to inferior forms of evolution—in women, savages and in children for instance. (1895: 36)

The male-biased perspective implicitly assumes that women do not actively participate in social protest. Hence, terms like "rebels" and "members" and "keynoters" convey no information about participants and may reinforce notions that men play these roles (West and Blumberg, 1990; Richardson, 1988). The feminist perspective should provide a more inclusive picture of collective behavior events.

West and Blumberg (1990) outline four fundamental feminist assumptions in the study of social protest. First, feminists assume that historically women, regardless of class or race, have actively engaged in social protest to the best of their abilities to protect their interests. Second, women's efforts to promote or resist social change via collective action represent rational attempts to achieve desired ends. Collective behavior scholarship confirms this assumption about collective behavior participants (Berk, 1974). Third, social protest is a common form of politics that occurs more frequently than conventional wisdom suggests. Finally, participation in collective action to promote or resist social change cuts across all determinants of social stratification (e.g., gender, race, class,
The feminist assumptions suggest that social protest involves a decrease in gender role differentiation. The next section defines gender role differentiation.

**Gender Role Differentiation**

Chafetz (1990) defines the degree of gender differentiation as "the number of traits upon which males and females differ, and the extent to which the genders differ on those traits" (p. 30). Engenderment refers to the process whereby males and females become gender differentiated. Through this process, language (Richardson, 1989) and other social institutions (Richardson and Taylor, 1989) socialize women as passive, secondary members of society. On the other hand, male socialization prepares men for active, assertive roles (Richardson, 1988; Frazier and Sadker, 1973). Institutionalized gender roles are highly differentiated. This research seeks to determine if gender roles remain differentiated during social stress situations.

**Social Stress**

Perry and Pugh define social stress as a "natural or social condition that places excess demands on the capacity of groups to achieve collective goals" (1978: 13). Crowd and collective behavior often occur within the context of social stress (Perry and Pugh, 1978). Therefore, gender roles in several crowd events were observed. The crowd events represent varying levels of social stress. Many researchers recognize the significance of social stress as a
condition for the occurrence of collective behavior (Smelser, 1962; Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1970). Turner and Killian (1987) allude to the significance of social stress when they speak of "a condition or event that is sufficiently outside the range of 'ordinary' happenings..." (p. 9).

However, some question the importance of social stress as a condition of crowd and collective behavior. Lieberson and Silverman (1965) suggest that social deprivation does not predict the occurrence of riots. McPhail (1971) argues that social strain does not accurately predict riot participation.

Certainly, social stress is not the only condition that increases the likelihood of the occurrence of collective behavior. For example, a number of other conditions increase its likelihood: time of day, spare time, structural settings, weather (McPhail, 1971; Neal and Phillips, 1988); mood or emotion (Lofland, 1981); definition of the situation (Snow et al., 1981; Johnson, 1987); social networks (Neal, 1993); and resources (McCarthy and Zald, 1973). Since crowd and collective behavior often occur within the context of social stress, crowd events provide good opportunities to assess the effect of social stress on gender differentiation.
A Continuum of Social Stress

Barton (1969) provides several typologies of social stress situations. Borrowing from his typologies, social stress is conceptualized on a continuum. One extreme involves low social stress situations that pose little threat to the social structure. At the other extreme, high social stress situations pose the greatest threat to the social structure.

Barton (1969) discusses three dimensions of social stress situations relevant to this analysis: origin of stress, duration of impact, and scope of impact. To illustrate the dimensions, Perry and Pugh (1978) identify epidemics as natural, long-term conditions that can affect large numbers of people. On the other hand, the stress situations discussed here involve relatively short-term social conditions that affect relatively limited numbers of people.

Smelser's (1962) concepts of structured and unstructured ambiguity contribute to the continuum of stress. According to Smelser, structured ambiguity refers to inherent uncertainties of social living. Most human social interactions become institutionalized. However, some minimal degree of uncertainty or ambiguity still exists. On the other hand, unstructured ambiguity is not expected.
Smelser (1962) succinctly contrasts the two:

We may speak of unstructured and structured ambiguity. The first— an irregular or abnormal event, unanticipated information, or dangers of unknown proportions— occurs fortuitously and beyond the realm of institutionalized expectations. Structured ambiguity, on the other hand, is part of the definition of the social situation. (p. 86)

According to Smelser, disasters represent situations of unstructured ambiguity. Structured and unstructured ambiguity represent poles of a continuum of social stress. Thus, crowd and collective behavior occur under conditions of greater or lesser social stress.

Several factors can increase social stress. First, ambiguity in social settings contributes to social stress. For example, ambiguous situations facilitate the development of rumors (Smelser, 1962; Perry and Pugh, 1978). Second, actions of the agents of social control can increase social stress. For example, the presence of police officers wearing riot gear might define the situation as confrontational (Stark, 1972). The next section reviews empirical studies that have examined gender roles in social stress situations.

**Gender Role Differentiation in Social Stress**

The feminist critique has generated a great deal of feminist social movement research. The results of several studies challenge the male-biased perspective of collective action. For example, Dekker’s (1987) historical analysis of
collective violence in the Netherlands in the 17th and 18th centuries demonstrates that women actively organized and lead most of the violent outbursts. Lawson and Barton (1980) show that women played essential roles organizing local protest groups in New York City's tenant movement. Maggard (1990) documents the important roles played by women in the Brookside Coal Strike. Morris (1984) recognizes the contributions of women to the organization of many protests in the Civil Rights Movement. Neal and Phillips (1990) report the active participation of women in organizing emergent citizen groups in disaster-threat situations. They also recognize the active involvement of women in decision making in these groups.

SMO studies clearly document the active participation of women in social protest. However, gender role differentiation still exists. For example, women actively participated at the grassroots level, while men occupied leadership positions (Lawson and Barton, 1980). Furthermore, women's participation often reflected an extension of their perceived traditional role in the domestic realm (Maggard, 1990; Neal and Phillips, 1990).

A few studies examine gender roles in the most extreme social stress situations: disasters. For example, Johnson (1987) and Johnston and Johnson (1988) examined gender roles in two different disasters. Johnson (1987) indicates that gender roles remained differentiated when crowd members
rushed forward to enter a building in which a popular rock group was playing. Eleven people died when other crowd members stepped over them to get inside the building. Johnson (1987) reports that gender roles reflected traditional expectations. More women received help than men and more men than women offered help.

Johnston and Johnson (1988) studied a fire at a crowded supper club. They suggest that gender roles reflected traditional expectations. Men engaged in fire fighting activities. Women offered emotional support to other victims. These studies suggest that traditional gender expectations continue to guide behavior during extreme social stress situations. "Gender roles endure and occupational roles expand to guide behavior" (Johnston and Johnson, 1988: 39).

Gender Role Differentiation in Crowd and Collective Behavior

Crowd and collective behavior research still lacks systematic examinations of gender roles. For example, the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) failed to examine the roles that female participants played in these events. However, crowd and collective behavior researchers can draw upon relevant findings in social movement and disaster research. Some sociologists argue that the fields of social movement research and collective behavior research are theoretically, conceptually and empirically discrete areas of investigation
McAdam, 1982; Morris, 1984). These theorists claim that a different set of theoretical and conceptual assumptions apply to these very different areas of study.

Others counter this position and suggest that social movements and collective behavior are in fact theoretically, conceptually and empirically related (Aguirre & Quarantelli, 1983; Marx, 1980; Marx & McCadam, 1994). Crowd and collective behavior researchers can borrow from the assumptions made by feminist social movement researchers. The next section reviews the social contagion and social structural perspectives on gender roles in crowd and collective behavior.

Competing Perspectives

The literature suggests two hypotheses regarding gender role differentiation in crowd and collective behavior. Social contagion theories suggest that gender role differentiation decreases under conditions of social stress. Social structural theories suggest that gender roles remain differentiated across social stress situations. Contagion and structural theories are reviewed below.

Social Contagion Theory

Gustav LeBon (1895), one of the earliest writers on crowds, portrayed collective behavior as dramatically different from institutionalized behavior. According to LeBon, people behave in crowds as they never would as isolated individuals. In his influential book The Crowd,
LeBon created several myths about crowd behavior (McPhail, 1991). First, he focused on the homogeneity of crowd members, arguing that crowds consist of like-minded people all engaging in the same behaviors.

According to LeBon, a common emotion sweeps all crowd members, compelling them to act in accordance with others. Contemporary writers label this the contagion perspective. Several researchers have since challenged this notion and suggest the heterogeneity of crowds (Turner and Killian, 1957; Fritz and Mathewson, 1957; Neal and Phillips, 1988).

Second, LeBon argued that crowds consist of irrational, anonymous individuals, losing their capacity for reasoning and becoming suggestible to any line of behavior. Suggestibility increases because of anonymity within the crowd. As a result, crowd members do not fear social censorship. Zimbardo (1969) systematized the myth of anonymity. In his theory of deindividuation, Zimbardo argues that increased anonymity leads to increased aggression. Recent researchers challenge the myths of anonymity (Aveni, 1977; Neal, 1993) and irrationality (Couch, 1968; Berk, 1974; McPhail, 1991).

Later works by Park (1904) and Blumer (1939) were partially influenced by LeBon. First, Park distinguished between the crowd and the public. The public consists of heterogeneous people diffused over a large area. Rationality guides interactions among members of the public.
Problem solving involves rational discourse. On the other hand, the crowd consists of a homogeneous, physically copresent group of people. In the crowd, people lose their rational problem solving abilities.

Blumer (1939) continued this line of thinking. He argued that routine institutionalized behavior relied on a process of interpretive interaction, involving individuals responding to their own interpretation of another's behavior. On the other hand, circular reaction characterizes interactions in crowds. In crowds, individuals respond directly to the behavior of others without first interpreting it. Crowd members lose their capacity for reasoning. Blumer compared crowds to herds of cattle. According to Blumer (1939):

Thus the interstimulation assumes a circular form in which individuals reflect one another's states of feeling and in so doing intensify these feelings. It is well evidenced in the transmission of feelings and moods among people who are in a state of excitement. One sees the process clearly at work amidst cattle in a state of alarm. (p. 70)

All of these early theorists share the assumption that crowd and collective behavior represent distinct separations from everyday life. With their focus on anonymity, irrationality and circular reaction, contagion theorists suggest that individuals in crowds behave independently of cultural standards. Crowd members do not fear social censorship. According to these early theorists, culture fails to specify appropriate behaviors in crowds.
Extending this logic, culture would fail to specify gender expectations in crowds. Gender roles in crowds should not reflect gender roles in institutionalized life. Instead, gender roles in crowds become dedifferentiated. LeBon suggested this. As noted earlier, he compared crowd members to beings lower on the evolutionary chain, like women and children (LeBon, 1895).

Lipman-Blumen (1973, 1984) also suggests that gender roles in crowds become dedifferentiated. She recognizes the extreme differentiation of gender roles in the institutionalized structure. Members of each gender engage in specific behaviors. The genders do not necessarily lack the ability to perform the roles performed by their opposite sex counterparts. Rather, the social structure represses or underutilizes these abilities.

During crisis situations, however, gender roles become de-differentiated (Lipman-Blumen, 1973; 1984). Lipman-Blumen (1973) states:

...social change occurs most readily within the context of crisis or stress to a social system. During periods of stability, defined roles are comparatively rigidified by the stratification system and the system goals and reward structure. With the advent of crisis, the social structure becomes more permeable... (p. 117)

Thus, gender roles become more egalitarian during a crisis than before the crisis. Gender role dedifferentiation suggests a distinct break between institutionalized and collective behavior. Cultural expectations no longer guide
behavior in collective stress situations.

Interestingly, McPhail (1971) lends further support to this proposition. McPhail (1971) questions the causal link between gender and behavior. He argues:

There is no compelling reason to accept the inference that persons are more impetuous because of their youth, more daring because of their gender, more disenchanted because of their race, or less rational because of their educational levels. (McPhail, 1971:1071)

Meyer and Seidler (1978) also add support. According to them, gender does not reliably predict sector location of crowd participants. Thus, gender does not predict reliably the degree of participation of crowd members. Social structural theories suggest that gender differences remain across stress situations.

Social Structural Theories

Some researchers emphasize the continuity between institutionalized and collective behavior. Turner and Killian's (1957) emergent norm theory led this trend. Turner and Killian argue that social norms guide institutionalized and collective behavior. However, some ambiguous situations require the development of new norms. In a process of interaction, people define the ambiguous situation and new norms emerge governing behavior.

Importantly, structural approaches recognize that crowd and collective behavior contain social structure. Structural theorists reject the clean distinction between collective and institutionalized behavior. Perry and Pugh
suggest that more or less complex social structures characterize various social situations. Unlike social contagion theorists, social structural theorists emphasize the heterogeneity of crowds (Turner and Killian, 1957).

**Emergent Norm Theory**

The emergent norm theory of collective behavior is an interactionist theory. As originally formulated, the theory relies upon the collective redefinition of the situation by participants. (Turner & Killian, 1957; Turner, 1964). Turner and Killian argue that when people confront situations outside the realm of everyday experience, they turn to fellow humans for assistance in defining the situation. The collective definition of the situation relieves the discomfort associated with an ambiguous situation. New norms governing the appropriateness of behaviors emerge based upon the collective redefinition of the situation.

Weller and Quarantelli (1973), and later Killian (1984), expand upon the emergent norm theory to include emergent social relationships. They argue that restricting the study of collective behavior to instances of emergent norms neglects a significant proportion of collective episodes. Furthermore, institutionalized cultural norms often endure, while new social relationships may emerge. Killian (1984) acknowledged this suggestion. And later, Turner and Killian (1987) recognized its importance. Weller and Quarantelli's
contribution to emergent norm theory draws attention to emergent and institutionally continuous characteristics of collective behavior.

Neal and Phillips (1988) empirically verify structural components of collective behavior. They demonstrate that collective behavior is not characterized solely by emergent norms. Rather, collective episodes also involve the emergence of social structure. Emergent social structure includes two major components: social relationships and social organization.

Neal and Phillips identified three participant categories in crowd structure: active participants (e.g., keynoters), interested participants, and passive observers. Interactions between the different tiers facilitated the definition of the situation and the emergence of norms (Neal and Phillips, 1988; Snow et al., 1981). Keynoters occupy leadership positions within crowds, suggesting new lines of actions. Keynoting behavior can indicate gender differences within crowds. Specifically, the relative proportions of male and female keynoters, the forms of male and female keynoting, and crowd members' reaction to keynoting indicates gender differences within crowds.

Using the emergent norm/ emergent social structure perspective, some researchers recognize the importance of social roles in crowd and collective behavior (Perry and Pugh, 1978; Dynes, 1986; Johnson, 1987; Johnston and
Researchers focusing on roles document the continuity of institutionalized roles and collective behavior roles.

Institutionalized roles extended into collective behavior situations. According to Johnston and Johnson (1988):

...disaster roles assumed by individuals within directly affected organizations are extensions in regularized ways of the ordinary roles performed by the individuals. (p.39)

For example, wait staff will ensure the safety of patrons in their designated area during a fire. Institutionalized gender expectations remain during collective behavior situations. Gender roles in collective behavior parallel institutional gender roles (Johnson, 1987; Johnston & Johnson, 1988).

Social Behavioral/ Interactionist Theory

Researchers from the Social Behavioral/ Interactionist (SBI) perspective argue that no real difference exists between collective behavior and other forms of social behavior (Miller, 1985). For example, Couch (1968) contends that crowd and collective behavior are no more or less pathological than other social systems. McPhail (1978) defines collective behavior as "what human beings are doing with and in relation to one another" (p. 3). The SBI perspective shares with the emergent norm/ emergent social structure perspective the recognition of the close relationship between institutionalized and collective
behavior.

Many researchers have conducted crowd and collective behavior studies from the social structural theoretical perspectives, including emergent norm (Neal & Phillips, 1988); dramaturgical (Snow et al., 1981); and SBI perspectives (McPhail, 1969; McPhail & Wohlstein, 1986). Neal & Phillips (1988) provide very descriptive accounts of crowd interactions utilizing the emergent norm approach.

Specifically, the emergent norm theory of collective behavior (Turner and Killian, 1987) provides a tool for analyzing gender roles in collective behavior. The emergent norm perspective differs from earlier approaches that focused on the homogeneity of crowd members (LeBon, 1895). Emergent norm theorists emphasize the heterogeneity of crowd members (Turner & Killian, 1987). Furthermore, they emphasize the continuity of institutionalized and collective behavior (Weller & Quarantelli, 1973). The focus on heterogeneity facilitates the analysis of gender roles in collective behavior.

Some researchers criticize the emergent norm approach. For example, Tierney (1980) criticizes the emergent norm theory as atheoretical and lacking explanatory power. Tierney argues that the emergent norm theory is tautological. Emergent norms characterize and explain collective behavior. Emergent norms constitute both conditions and characteristics of collective behavior.
Also, Turner and Killian failed to define emergent norms. Furthermore, Turner and Killian do not define collective behavior (McPhail, 1991). These criticisms are addressed by explicitly defining collective behavior and gatherings, and by limiting the focus on conditions to social stress.

**The Hypotheses**

The preceding review of the literature suggests two competing hypotheses regarding gender role differentiation in crowd and collective behavior. The first comes from the social contagion perspective. The second reflects the social structural theories.

**Hypothesis 1**: As social stress increases, gender role differentiation decreases.

This hypothesis suggests that gender roles in crowd and collective behavior do not parallel institutionalized behavior. Rather, cultural gender expectations fail to guide behavior in collective stress situations. The first hypothesis suggests that social stress results in more egalitarian gender roles.

**Hypothesis 2**: No relationship exists between social stress and gender role differentiation.

Social structural theories suggest that gender roles in crowd and collective behavior reflect institutionalized gender expectations. Gender roles remain differentiated across social stress situations. The second hypothesis suggests that gender role differences are so deeply embedded
in the social structure that they endure across social stress situations.

**Summary**

Feminist researchers criticize sociology for its male bias. Feminists contend that crowd and collective behavior researchers have ignored the study of gender roles. Despite this void, crowd and collective behavior literature suggests two competing hypotheses regarding gender roles.

The hypotheses rely on the consideration of social stress as a condition of crowd and collective behavior. The social contagion perspective suggests that gender role differentiation decreases as social stress increases. The social structural theories suggest that gender roles remain differentiated across social stress situations.

This examination of gender roles addresses the relationship between institutionalized and collective behavior. As the literature review shows, contagion theorists characterize collective behavior as a distinct departure from institutionalized behavior (LeBon, 1895; Park, 1904; Blumer, 1939; Zimbardo, 1969). On the other hand, structural theorists emphasize the continuity between institutionalized and collective behavior. SBI theorists suggest that no difference exists between the two (McPhail, 1978; Miller, 1985).
To address the relationship between institutionalized and collective behavior, several researchers conceptualize a continuum ranging from institutionalized to collective behavior (Dynes and Quarantelli, 1968; Lofland, 1981; Marx and McAdam, 1994). Park and Burgess (1921) were among the first to suggest a continuum. Interestingly, Park (1904) first characterized collective behavior as a distinct departure from institutionalized social life.

Marx and McAdam (1994) provide a continuum of institutionalized and collective behavior, comparing the two in terms of greater or lesser cultural specificity. Several cultural dimensions specify behavior to a greater or lesser extent across social settings. However, Marx and McAdam (1994) only allude to the cultural specificity of gender expectations in crowd and collective behavior. Focusing on gender roles determines to what extent and under what conditions one component of culture (i.e., gender expectations) guides behavior across crowd settings. The next chapter reviews the methods used to assess the hypotheses.
CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODS

Introduction

The purpose of this project is to analyze gender differences across social stress situations. A research design was developed that involved the systematic observation of six crowd events. This chapter describes the methods used. Crowd data include visual data (e.g., observations, photographs, video), interviews and documents. The data were gathered between September 1993 and March 1994. The crowd events are discussed below.

Data Sites

This section includes a brief discussion of the six events that were observed. The next chapter discusses each case in more detail. Six case studies were constructed from the data. The cases represent varying levels of gender differentiation and social stress. The next section of this chapter explains the sampling and site selection process. Table 1 provides a summary of the data sites and the methods employed.
TABLE 1: Summary of Sites and Methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data Sites</th>
<th>Observation</th>
<th>Photography</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
<th>Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fry Street</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep Ellum</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl Jam</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas-OU</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'94 Parade</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKK Rally</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'93 Parade</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Case study 1 contains data from a parade celebrating the Dallas Cowboys’ Super Bowl victory in February 1993. Although researchers did not attend the parade, visual data were collected from the parade. In excess of three hours of video footage of the event were obtained. A local television station aired the event. Visual data were supplemented with newspaper accounts and a summary report of the task force established to evaluate the causes of the violence that occurred.

Crowds assembled at a pre-game college football celebration were observed. These observations comprise case study 2. A traditional rivalry exists between the Universities of Texas and Oklahoma. A celebration occurs annually in downtown Dallas on the eve of the game. These data were gathered via systematic observations, photography and document analysis.
Case study 3 contains data gathered at a popular night spot. Crowds assembled near Fry Street on the University of North Texas campus were observed. The area traditionally attracts large numbers of people. Observations were conducted on several Thursday nights over the course of the Fall 1993 semester. Observations were supplemented with documents and interviews with police.

Case study 4 contains observations of crowds assembled prior to a rock concert performed by the popular group Pearl Jam. This event took place at the Coliseum on the University of North Texas campus. A team of two researchers observed crowds outside the Coliseum prior to the start of the concert. To systematize data gathering strategies, the research team circled the outside of the building approximately every 15-20 minutes, making observations. Observations were supplemented with photographs, documents and interviews with police.

A team of two researchers observed crowds assembled at a rally of the Ku Klux Klan. The rally occurred in Denton, Texas. Observations were supplemented with photographs, documents and interviews with police. Case study 5 contains these data.

Finally, case study 6 contains observations made at a parade celebrating the Dallas Cowboys' second consecutive Super Bowl victory in February 1994. Four teams of two researchers each made observations. Almost the entire
parade route was observed, though most efforts were concentrated toward the end of the route. Observations were supplemented with extensive photography, newspaper accounts, interviews and documents from the Dallas Police Department. The next section discusses the sampling process used to select these crowd events.

**Sampling and Site Selection**

The crowds observed were selected because of their theoretical relevance to the research question (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Denzin, 1970). Purposive sampling is not subject to the same issues or concerns as quantitative research (Strauss, 1987; Babbie, 1989). Rather, using theoretical sampling, the researcher samples social settings on analytic grounds (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). For example, a diverse range of crowd events were selected for this study. The events were selected because they represent varying levels of social stress.

The sampling process used for this study meets the requirements outlined by Marshall and Rossman (1989). According to them:

The ideal research site is where (1) entry is possible; (2) there is a high probability that a rich mix of many of the processes, people, programs, interactions, and/or structures that may be a part of the research question will be present; (3) the researcher can devise an appropriate role to maintain continuity of presence for as long as necessary; and (4) data quality and credibility of the study are reasonably assured by avoiding poor sampling decisions.
Because the crowds gathered in public places, gaining entree was facilitated, satisfying the first requirement. Furthermore, the public nature of the crowd minimized ethical considerations involving violations of subjects' rights (Spradley, 1980). Before observations were made, the research proposal was evaluated and approved by the University of North Texas Institutional Review Board for research involving the use of human subjects.

In terms of accessibility (Spradley, 1980), crowds assemble regularly and collective behavior often follows. Some researchers argue that crowd and collective behavior are difficult to study because of their spontaneous and fluid nature (Marx & Wood, 1975). However, other researchers refute this claim (Aguirre & Quarantelli, 1983; Meyer & Seidler, 1978; Seidler et al., 1976; Neal, 1993). Furthermore, some locations have histories of crowd and collective behavior (Aguirre and Quarantelli, 1983). This aids the crowd researcher in sampling theoretically relevant sites. For this study, appropriate data sites were readily available.

The sampling procedure also met the second requirement. A number of crowds assembled for various reasons at different locations were observed. This variety increased the likelihood of observing relevant interactions, processes, etc. to the research question. Furthermore, the variety afforded the opportunity to observe a wide range of
frequently recurring activities (Spradley, 1980).
Specifically, gender roles in a number of crowd settings were observed.

Regarding the third requirement, the public nature of the crowds observed allowed the researchers to assume appropriate research roles. Unknown observer roles were maintained (Lofland & Lofland, 1984). Because many of the crowd events attracted media attention, researcher presence often went unnoticed and never was defined as unusual or inappropriate. The unknown observer is unobtrusive in various settings (Webb et al., 1980).

Finally, the research design meets the fourth requirement. The use of triangulation enhanced the quality of data gathered. Also, the use of multiple methods increases credibility (Erlandson et al., 1993). The next section reviews the use of triangulation.

**Triangulation**

Triangulation drove the data gathering process (Jick, 1979). Data were collected from three primary sources. First, data from systematic observations of six crowds were obtained. Second, semi-structured interviews with police officers involved in planning and coordinating crowd events were conducted. Finally, various documents (e.g., newspapers, media accounts, internal memos) were obtained.
Triangulation involves the use of a number of different data gathering approaches in the study of the same phenomenon (Denzin, 1978). This research strategy offers the primary advantage of checking the reliability of the data collection techniques. Triangulation establishes credibility (Erlandson et al., 1993). The use of multiple methods increases the likelihood that the researcher's interpretation of a social setting is consistent with the various realities constructed by participants in that setting. The next section discusses specific strategies used to make and record observations.

Observations

The systematic observations conducted during the Fall 1993 and the Spring 1994 semesters constitute the primary source of data. A number of crowds assembled at various locations for a variety of reasons were observed. The crowd events represented situations of social stress. Observations were recorded in field notes. These field notes were then systematized in the form of case studies.

Recording Procedures

Crowd observations were recorded in field notes. To minimize the problem of obtrusiveness, a small hand-sized notebook was used (Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Webb et al., 1980). The small note pad was adopted after a larger notepad became obtrusive.
Because of unobtrusiveness, extensive, detailed field notes were taken while in the settings. This approach negates concerns of memory loss associated with mental notes and jotted notes (Lofland & Lofland, 1984). However, the latter approaches were also used. In those instances, fuller accounts were made as soon as possible after leaving the field. Observations were also sometimes recorded into a hand-held tape recorder. This approach was only used at crowd settings that attracted media attention. Events with extensive media coverage lessen the obtrusiveness of the researcher speaking into a machine (Wright, 1978). These notes were transcribed as soon as possible after leaving the field.

Field notes included descriptive, focused and selective observations (Spradley, 1980). Descriptive observations were broad, general observations. These provided an overview of the social settings. Descriptive observations included factual information like time of the event, crowd size, etc. Focused observations were more narrow than descriptive observations and included crowd interactions, etc. Finally, selective observations focused specifically on gender roles in crowd settings. A checklist of observations was taken into the field (Wright, 1978; see Appendix A for the checklist).
Visual Methods

Visual methods were also used in this research (Curry & Clarke, 1978). In the cases of the concert, the rally, Texas-OU weekend celebration and the 1994 Super Bowl parade, observations recorded in field notes were supplemented with photographs. Efforts were made to systematize the use of photography during observations (Neal & Phillips, 1988). For example, at the concert, photographs were taken at various locations around the building approximately every 15-20 minutes. At the 1994 Super Bowl parade, one team member of each of the four teams took a photograph of their respective areas once every 10-15 minutes. Photography was used in a less structured way at the rally and the Texas-OU celebration. Observations made at Fry Street were not supplemented with photographs.

Video footage was the primary data source for the 1993 parade. There are obvious limitations to this methodology. For example, observations were restricted to interactions that were captured on video (Lewis, 1982; Albrecht, 1985; Gaskell and Benewick, 1987). However, one local television station aired the entire event live, using a number of camera angles, alleviating the problems to an extent. More than 3 hours of video footage were analyzed. Observations focused on gender roles.
Interviews

Interview data were gathered to supplement observations for the Fry Street, concert, rally and 1994 Super Bowl parade cases. Police officers involved in planning for the events, working at the events, or both, were interviewed. Interviewees were selected using theoretical sampling, similar to the process used to select crowd events (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Interviewees were selected based upon analytic grounds. Interviews were obtained from police officers at the supervisory level and at the front line level. In some cases, the snowball sampling process was used (Babbie, 1989). Some interviewees suggested other people who they deemed to have relevant insight into the matter.

Interviews were conducted in a manner consistent with the recommendations made by Gorden (1992: see Appendix B for a sample interview guide). Questions relevant to the objectives of the interviews were developed. Furthermore, efforts were made to formulate questions that motivated the respondents to answer, while minimizing ego threat and the possibility for memory loss. While specific questions were prepared, the interviews were conducted using the grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Note-taking during the interviews allowed for the development of new questions for the respondent, as well as for future interviews. From the interviews, information was obtained
regarding police preparation for and management of crowd events. These data provided indicators of social stress.

Measures were taken to protect the rights of the respondents. All interviewees received a notice that their responses would remain confidential. Respondents were also informed of their rights to refuse the interview; to refuse to answer specific questions; and to stop the interview at any time. Interviews were conducted contingent upon the respondent’s verbal consent to continue after being informed of the above mentioned rights (see Appendix C for the letter of consent).

Documents

Various documents supplemented observations for all of the cases (Webb et al., 1980). For the most part, documents consisted of newspaper reports of the events. Newspaper accounts were found particularly useful in terms of locating crowd settings and for general descriptive information about the events (Wright, 1978; Gaskell & Benewick, 1987).

Additional documents were obtained for the 1994 Super Bowl parade case. Specifically, the research team obtained a copy of the police action plan for the event. This document detailed police strategy for managing the event. The next section discusses the procedures used to systematize the data.
C-Models

After each crowd event, "C-Models" were produced based on the data (Quarantelli, 1987). These models served a systematizing and data reduction function. Each C-Model consists of four sections. First, the career section provides a general overview of the event based upon descriptive observations. This section includes information like duration of the event, location, time, etc. The characteristics section provides detailed, factual accounts of the event. Selective observations contribute primarily to this section. The third section is referred to as the conditions section. This section is based upon analytic observations regarding factors that contributed to the event's occurrence. Finally, the consequences section includes a discussion of various outcomes of the event.

Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Erlandson et al. (1993) make several suggestions to increase credibility. Credibility refers to the extent to which the inquiry is conducted in a manner that adequately identifies and describes the subject (Marshall and Rossman, 1989: 145). This section discusses measures taken that increased credibility. Table 2 provides a summary of these measures.
TABLE 2: Summary of Credibility Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Study</th>
<th>Team Research</th>
<th>Debriefing Sessions</th>
<th>Memos</th>
<th>Traingulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'93 Parade</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas-OU</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fry Street</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl Jam</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKK Rally</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'94 Parade</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Team Research**

Teams of researchers observed three of the crowd events. The rock concert, KKK rally and 1994 Super Bowl parade celebration were all observed by a team of researchers. The research team consisted of two members at the concert and the rally. A team of eight researchers observed the 1994 Super Bowl parade.

A lone researcher observed the other three crowd events. There are obvious limitations to this approach. For example, the number and quality of observations that a lone researcher can make is limited. However, debriefing sessions following these observation periods, photographs and supporting documents alleviated these problems. Furthermore, some researchers advocate the lone researcher approach (Wright, 1978). The lone researcher does not have to be concerned with distractions created by the presence of another person.
Debriefing Sessions

Whether observations were conducted alone or with a team, debriefing sessions followed each observation period. Some of these sessions involved an outsider who served as a reliability check (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Other sessions involved only research team members. The debriefing sessions served a number of important functions. First, they increased the study's reliability. Second, they provided opportunities to evaluate and modify the data gathering strategies. For example, debriefing sessions identified areas for selective observations (Spradley, 1980), or what Strauss (1987) refers to as core categories. Finally, debriefing sessions facilitated early analysis of the data.

Memos

Memos also increased credibility. In addition to recording observations in field notes and producing C-Models, memos were written frequently (Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Strauss, 1987). These were written after observation periods and took essentially two different forms. First, some memos expressed methodological concerns. These facilitated the sampling process. For example, methodological memos included suggestions of new research settings. Second, some memos were analytic in nature. Analytic memos included early analyses of the data. Analytic memos were instrumental in guiding focused and
selective observations.

Analysis

Analysis of the data began during data collection. According to Lofland and Lofland (1984), qualitative data are analyzed as they are gathered. Initially, more time is spent on data collection. As the research progresses, the researcher devotes increasing proportions of time to analysis.

The case studies provided the basis for the analysis. Specifically, the conditions and characteristics sections of the C-Models were analyzed. This allowed the comparison and contrast of gender differences across a wide range of social stress situations. The conditions sections suggested varying levels of social stress. The characteristics sections were used to analyze gender differences across these stress situations.

Indicators of Gender Role Differentiation

Keynoting was the primary indicator of gender role differentiation. Keynoters assume leadership positions within crowds. Keynoters suggest new lines of action to other crowd members (Turner and Killian, 1972). Neal and Phillips (1988) suggest that pre-existing status of keynoters and their ability to speak above the crowd may lend weight to their activities. Gender differences in keynoting behavior were documented in the crowd events.
Another indicator of gender differentiation emerged from the data. Interactions between police officers and crowd members indicated levels of gender differentiation. The extent to which male police officers’ interactions with male and female crowd members differed indicated gender differentiation. For example, several instances of "flirtatious" interactions between male officers and female crowd members were documented. On the other hand, interactions between male officers and male crowd members typically occurred more formally. Such interactions suggested gender role differentiation.

**Indicators of Social Stress**

The primary indicator of social stress was ambiguity. Smelser (1962) suggests that concepts like ambiguity, "serve as a shorthand for all kinds of structural strain" (p. 81). Turner and Killian (1957) also document the importance of ambiguity. According to them, humans sometimes encounter ambiguous situations sufficiently outside the realm of institutionalized behavior to require collective definition of the situation. The Pearl Jam case study provides a good example of ambiguity. The fact that the University never before sponsored a similar event increased ambiguity.

The actions of police also indicated the level of social stress. Police actions can reduce or increase the likelihood of a collective outburst in ambiguous situations. Smelser (1962) contends that quick and decisive police
actions quelch potential collective outbursts. On the other hand, if the police hesitate in their use of force, the likelihood of a collective outburst increases.

The police hope that their presence decreases ambiguity. However, excessive police presence sometimes increases ambiguity. Furthermore, police behaviors often increase social stress. Social stress increases when the police define the situation as confrontational (Marx, 1970; Stark, 1972; Perry and Pugh, 1978).

Yin’s (1989) comparative case study analysis was used to assess the relationship between social stress and gender role differentiation. The comparative analysis allows the researcher to compare and contrast social settings. The case studies were compared against the two hypotheses generated from the literature review. The next chapter contains the case studies.
CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES

Introduction

This chapter contains the case studies that describe the six crowd events. The cases are presented in chronological order of occurrence. Each case study consists of four sections: career, characteristics, conditions, consequences. The career sections provide an overview of the crowd event. Characteristics sections focus on gender differentiation. Conditions describe the social stress context within which the crowd events occurred. Finally, the consequences sections discuss various outcomes of the crowd events. Table 3 summarizes the case studies.

TABLE 3: Chronological Summary of Case Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Study</th>
<th>Level of Social Stress</th>
<th>Level of Gender Differentiation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993 Parade</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993 Texas-OU</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fry Street</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl Jam</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku Klux Klan Rally</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994 Parade</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Case Study 1: 1993 Dallas Cowboy Super Bowl Victory Parade

Career

The city of Dallas hosted a parade celebrating the Dallas Cowboys' January 1993 Super Bowl victory. City officials scheduled the parade for Tuesday, February 9, 1993. The parade started as scheduled at noon. A formal program featuring players' speeches, suffered a 35 minute delay. Scheduled activities ended two hours after the parade started.

Crowds began assembling some two hours before the parade's start. At the start of the parade, crowds were as many as 20 people deep along both sides of the parade route. Approximately equal proportions of males and females attended the parade and the formal program. The crowds consisted of primarily young, high school-aged people. Area schools reported absence rates well above 50 percent.

The parade caravan stopped approximately 15 minutes into the parade. Crowd members occupied the entire street, causing congestion. Young males and females moved into the street as too few police were present to prevent it. The congestion caused the delay of the formal program at City Hall plaza.

The police made some efforts to prevent the congestion. However, only about 250 officers were assigned to manage crowds of 300,000 people. Many officers complained that more officers are assigned to manage crowds at the annual
Texas-OU celebration that attracts much smaller crowds.

As the players' parade cars drove by, groups of young males and females began rushing the cars, hoping to touch the players. The police made futile efforts to prevent spectators from standing in the streets. One male officer tried to use the horse he rode to push spectators back. Ultimately, the police essentially abandoned efforts to keep spectators out of the middle of the streets. The police were simply outnumbered.

After spectators redefined the boundaries between themselves and the parade participants, many young males and females began rushing toward the parade vehicles. Young people sought to touch their favorite football players. For example, as the car that carried quarterback Troy Aikman passed, a group of 15 to 18 young people ran behind the car in the middle of the street, approximately 10 to 12 of them females.

The first group of parade participants arrived at the plaza at about 12:45 p.m. However, the remaining participants did not arrive until approximately 30 minutes later. Planners expected the parade to last only 40 minutes. As the first parade participants began arriving at the plaza, large groups of young males and females ran quickly toward the plaza, hoping to see the program. The formal program ended at about 2:00 p.m.
As crowds dispersed from the downtown area, fights began. As many as 5,000 young people assembled in front of McDonald's restaurant at Commerce and Griffin Streets. Young males comprised approximately 75% of the crowds. At 1:40 p.m., emergency response officers were called to the area. The police heard reports of a young male waving a handgun in the air.

The police also received reports of three stabbings and two shootings. Primarily young male crowd members threw rocks and bottles at police officers. The bottles broke bus windows and store front windows. Several calls made to the police reported groups of young males pulling drivers out of cars and beating the drivers. The violence resulted in more than 20 injuries and approximately 30 arrests. Police dispersed crowds by 3:30 p.m.

Characteristics

The 1993 victory parade involved a moderate level of gender differentiation. Because so few officers were present, casual interactions between police officers and crowd members were not possible. However, spectators' behaviors indicated gender differences.

Prior to and during the parade, approximately equal proportions of males and females were present. Crowds consisted of primarily young, school-aged people. Though school officials urged students not to attend the parade, area schools reported absence rates of more than 50 percent.
The vast majority of crowd members wore Dallas Cowboy clothing.

Several spectators climbed to the tops of street signs and light posts, trying to gain a better view of events. Only one female stood atop a sign or light post. At the plaza, a group of 10 to 15 young people perched themselves atop a sculpture for a better view of the program. The 3 or 4 females of the group positioned themselves at the base of the sculpture. Some 5 or 6 males climbed to the top of the sculpture. In some areas along the parade route, several females sat on the shoulders of males.

News cameras captured several arrests on video during the violent outbursts. A much higher proportion of males than females participated in the violence, despite the approximately equal gender ratio during the parade and program. All of the arrests captured on video involved young black males.

However, a small proportion of females participated. For example, as a police officer approached a crowd of people, one female yelled "knock his ass down." Two females fought each other. One of them placed her small child whom she carried on the ground, freeing her arms for fighting. A group of 5 young females boasted of their exploits to a news video camera. Two young injured females in the back seat of a police car told of their fights with a group of females.
While males and females engaged in many of the same behaviors (e.g., rushing the players' cars), moderate gender differences existed. For example, primarily males climbed street signs, light posts and statues. Furthermore, during the violence, the greatest proportion of participants were males.

Conditions

Several conditions surrounding the 1993 victory parade created high levels of social stress. First, underlying racial tension was cited as a major precipitant of the violent outbursts. In addition, a major crowd event 3 months earlier (1992 Texas-OU weekend) also resulted in violence (2 deaths and several injuries). Also, the large crowd size, in excess of 300,000 people, contributed to the stress. No crowd event in the city's history has ever enjoyed such attention.

Lack of police presence compounded problems. Approximately 250 officers were charged with crowd management. Many officers complained that this number represented fewer officers than are assigned to Texas-OU weekend, despite that celebration's lower attendance rates. Another precipitant was the large number of young school-aged children present. Area schools reported high absence rates for the day. Police officials later suggested that the violence was gang motivated and that the young people were responsible.
Consequences

The 1993 parade had several significant consequences. First, the event resulted in a moderate level of gender differentiation. Young males and females had the opportunity to get close to their favorite football players. However, following the parade, primarily young males engaged in violent, destructive behavior. Approximately 30 people received injuries from the violent outbursts. Approximately 30 people were arrested the day of the parade. Others were arrested later via police use of media video footage.

Second, the city established a special task force to study the causes of the violence and to make recommendations for future crowd events. Finally, two subsequent crowd events (1993 Texas-OU weekend and 1994 Parade) were staffed by enormous numbers of police officers (900 for the former and 1500 for the latter).

Case Study 2: 1993 Texas-OU Pre-game Celebration

Career

The Universities of Texas and Oklahoma meet annually for a rival football game in Dallas, Texas. Traditionally, crowds assemble on the streets of downtown Dallas for an eve of the game celebration. In past years, the largest crowds gathered on Commerce Street.

The October 8, 1993 celebration differed dramatically from past years. City officials tried a new approach to the 1993 Texas-OU celebration. The police barricaded streets
and sidewalks, preventing traffic from stopping on Commerce Street. Officials designated specific areas for crowd convergence: West End, Artist’s Square and Deep Ellum. According to news reports, literally no crowds assembled at Artist’s Square. Deep Ellum attracted no more people than a usual Saturday night.

Dallas police set up a "fort" in a large parking area at the intersections of Commerce and Griffin Streets. Equipment included 2 motor homes, horses, patrol cars, motorcycles, foot patrol officers and bicycle patrol officers. Dallas Police Department assigned more than 900 officers to the West End and Commerce Street areas, concentrating primarily on Commerce Street.

Police personnel staffed every intersection between Commerce Street and West End. Police constructed barricades prohibiting pedestrian traffic along the sidewalks of Commerce Street. Police officers resembled an occupying army in front of the McDonald’s restaurant. More than 8 Dallas bicycle officers parked in front of the restaurant. In addition to the bicycle patrols, several officers patrolled the area on foot. The police outnumbered patrons.

This year’s event attracted representatives from all of the major local news stations, as well as out of town media representatives. Small groups of people began converging on the West End at approximately 8:00 p.m. Crowds were quite small, with only a few hundred people celebrating on the
streets of West End. Larger crowds assembled inside bars at the West End. However, a local merchant reported that his business made fewer profits during the celebration than a typical Friday night.

Early in the evening, a great deal of noise came from the patio of an outdoor bar. A local news station filmed a table occupied by a group of about 5 young white males and 5 young white females. The revelers appeared to act on cue, as their revelling ended with the removal of the camera. The media's selection did not represent the crowds in general. At the same time the group of young people acted for the camera, a black male ran down the street yelling, "Texas Number 1!" Other crowd members ignored the man.

At about 8:30 p.m., a Hare Krishna band danced in the middle of a street. The band was comprised of 11 instrument-playing male members. About 10 female members carried flags and danced behind the men.

Many dynamics emerged from this scene. Crowd sizes watching the band varied, but never exceeded 25-35 people. The crowd was fluid because the band was making its way down the street, only occasionally stopping. Initially, the band attracted a crowd of 22 people (12 females, 10 males). One male keynoter mocked the band's performance. The keynoter's behaviors received some crowd approval as a group of 5 women assembled around him, watching his performance.
Further down the street, the band stopped for another performance. This time the band attracted a large group of 12 men. One female keynoter in the crowd mocked the band. Then, a group of 8 middle-aged females converged on the scene and engaged in keynoting, dancing with the band. Two of the female keynoters joined the ranks of the band, dancing with them. Their behaviors received little attention from the rest of the crowd. One male crowd member told a female companion, "They must be drunk."

After the Hare Krishna band's performance, another interesting crowd dynamic emerged at an outside bar. Since city officials prohibited drinking on the streets, a group of 7 young white male keynoters drank at an outside bar, cheering as revelers walked down the street. As groups walked by symbolically representing either UT or OU, yelling battles would occur between the keynoters and the passerby.

Only male passerby engaged in these battles. One young white male wearing an OU shirt yelled at the group of males, the whole time holding the hand of a silent female companion. There was a short section of sidewalk in front of the keynoters on which passerby would yell or use symbols to cheer their respective teams. After passing that spot, the cheering would stop.

At one street intersection, a group of 3 young female revelers approached a group of 4 male police officers, asking for directions to "Gator's." After giving
directions, one officer remarked, "If you don't find it, come back and we'll give you another answer." After the 3 females left, the 4 male officers engaged in a brief discourse on the number of attractive women present. A similar interaction occurred later in the evening. Again, a group of all male police officers was approached by a small group of female revelers. The reason was unknown, but the interaction had a friendly, relaxed appearance to it.

Earlier in the evening, a black male reveler had a significantly different interaction with a group of male police officers. As the black male walked past the group of officers, two of the officers ran toward him, grabbed his arms and hurried him to their post. Evidently, the reveler possessed a bottle of alcohol in violation of a new city ordinance.

**Characteristics**

The 1993 Texas-OU celebration involved a high level of gender differentiation. Interactions between male police officers and female crowd members indicated gender differentiation. On two separate occasions, groups of male police officers engaged in friendly, even flirtatious, interactions with young female crowd members. For example, when asked for directions, one male officer remarked to the female crowd member, "If you don't find it, come on back and we'll give you another answer."
The friendly interactions contradicted the tough, zero-tolerance approach that the police conveyed through the media. One police official said, "With any luck, at 11:00 p.m. we’ll all be bored stiff and everyone can go home." An interaction between a black male reveler and a group of white male police officers more accurately demonstrated the tough approach. The black male was restrained by two male officers who shuffled him over to the police command post at West End. Apparently, the man possessed a bottle of alcohol. The only noticeably friendly crowd-police interactions occurred between male officers and female spectators.

Keynoting behavior also reflected the high level of gender differentiation. The most active keynoting came from a group of 7 young white males. From their outdoor bar table, they yelled at passerby, "OU’s gonna kick ass!" The group of revelers received a great deal of attention from male and female crowd members. However, only male crowd members yelled back.

Male keynoters who danced with the Hare Krishna band received greater crowd approval than females. One young male danced behind the band. He attracted a small audience. Just moments later, two middle-aged females from the crowd joined the ranks of the band. They received little attention. A young male and female couple nearby commented to each other, "They must be drunk."
Police interactions with crowd members and keynoting behavior indicated a high level of gender differentiation. Interactions between male police officers and female crowd members took on a friendly, even flirtatious, appearance. Male keynoters received greater crowd approval than did female keynoters. However, keynoting in general received little attention.

Conditions

A moderate level of social stress surrounded this year’s celebration. The level of potential stress was far greater than the actual level of stress. Police actions reflected the social stress. The police almost tripled the number of officers present at previous celebrations. However, actual crowd sizes at the 1993 event did not necessitate the extreme police presence. Several factors created social stress.

First, at the celebration on Commerce Street last year, at least one young person was shot and killed during an argument following a traffic accident. Another man was killed by police. Nearly a dozen more people were injured. According to police, last year’s event involved the worst violence in Texas-OU history.

Furthermore, riots broke out during the January 1993 Dallas Cowboy Super Bowl victory parade. A great deal of damage was done to buildings and vehicles. At least 25 people suffered injuries.
The violence that occurred at the 1992 Texas-OU celebration and the 1993 Super Bowl victory parade contributed to the extreme police presence. Also, the violent outbursts contributed to the passage of a city ordinance banning alcoholic consumption on public streets and sidewalks in Dallas. These factors combined to contribute to a redefinition of the situation, resulting in a very different celebration than those in recent years.

Police actions also increased stress. The police announced a zero tolerance policy regarding public alcohol consumption. Drinking on the sidewalks of Commerce Street during Texas-OU weekend was institutionalized. The new policies created confusion about this year’s celebration.

**Consequences**

The 1993 celebration lacked excitement. Most people had left the West End by 10:30 p.m. A combination of boredom and the potential for rain caused the early dispersion. Significantly fewer people attended the 1993 event compared to past years’ celebrations that attracted as many as 75,000 people. For the most part, behavior reflected institutionalized expectations. Specifically, gender differences among crowd members reflected institutionalized patterns.

Another important and visible consequence was the assignment of more than 900 Dallas police officers to the area. Another result of this event was a feeling of
discontent among downtown merchants. Merchants apparently saw drastically reduced profits compared to recent Texas-OU celebrations. Intense media coverage was another consequence. All of the local stations had reports before, during and after the event.

Case Study 3: Fry Street

Career

Crowds were observed near Fry Street on the University of North Texas campus on Thursday, October 28, 1993. Observations were made between 9:30 p.m. and 1:00 a.m. There was less activity on the sidewalks than on previous Thursday nights. However, like past Thursday nights, crowds assembled on the sidewalks after the bars closed. More University police officers were present this night than on typical nights. The increased police presence resulted from an assault that occurred one week earlier near Fry Street. Concerned about alcohol consumption by minors, the police made efforts to detect minors possessing alcohol. The University police made frequent entrances into the bar behind which the assault occurred. They were much more concerned with consumption of alcohol by minors than typically is the case.

On one occasion this Thursday night, relatively early in the evening, a male officer accosted a female crowd member. He then cited her for an alcohol related offense. Later, however, another male officer was persuaded by the
female driver of an illegally parked truck not to issue a citation.

Shortly after midnight, a male officer accosted a male crowd member who was drinking in violation of a city ordinance prohibiting public alcohol consumption past midnight. The encounter escalated to the point that the offender was handcuffed. After he and the officer both cooled off, the handcuffs were removed. Only a citation was issued.

At one point late in the evening, the black male driver of a car was pulled over for speeding by two white male officers. The two male University police officers took the driver from his car and searched the vehicle. The incident precipitated the convergence of about 25 people. All of the members of this crowd were young white males. One of them yelled, "Beat him." Another yelled, "Give him the breathalyzer." Other than this event, there was little activity on the sidewalks.

Characteristics

Keynoting behavior and police-crowd interactions indicated a high level of gender differentiation. For example, although the police enforced laws more strictly tonight, one male police officer was persuaded by the female driver of an illegally parked vehicle not to issue a citation. On the other hand, the black male driver of a speeding car was removed from the vehicle and the car was
searched by police.

Keynoting behavior also indicated high gender differentiation. A crowd assembled to watch the search of the black male's car. All of the crowd members were male. Two of the male spectators yelled at the police officers sarcastically, "Bust him," and "Give him the breathalyzer." High levels of gender differences still existed. Behaviors reflected cultural gender expectations.

Conditions

This Thursday night on Fry Street involved a low level of social stress. An assault involving three male students occurred one week earlier near Fry Street after the bars had closed, creating at least some level of social stress. Specifically, two black male students seriously injured one white male student. Both perpetrators were student athletes. Both were arrested and charged with aggravated assault. But one police officer said, "That kinda stuff happens down here all the time, it's nothing new."

Despite the institutionalized nature of this type of behavior near Fry Street, University and city police responses indicated at least some level of social stress. As many as twelve police officers were assigned to the Fry Street area. This was more than the usual number of officers patrolling this area. The University police department assigned seven officers to the area. Typically, only one or two University officers patrol the area. The
city police department assigned five of its officers. This is not atypical for the city police. The presence of a top University official suggested that the University police response was at least partially influenced by University administration.

Consequences

Although a low level of social stress surrounded this Thursday night near Fry Street, gender roles remained highly differentiated. Interactions between male police officers and crowd members suggested differentiation. Furthermore, keynoting involved only male crowd members, suggesting high gender differentiation.

In response to the previous week's assault, the University police increased its presence. Not only were the police there in greater numbers, they interacted differently with crowd members. The police developed a concern about the sell of alcohol to minors. Again, police actions reflected University administration influence. The University official who was present told a University officer, "I'll come down here every Thursday night if I have to. We're gonna stop them selling alcohol to minors." The University official and the manager of a local bar had a heated discussion on a sidewalk regarding these issues.
Case Study 4: Pearl Jam Concert

Career

The University of North Texas hosted Pearl Jam on Thursday night, November 11, 1993. Doors to the Coliseum were scheduled to open at 6:30 p.m., according to the University newspaper. Event staff working at the Coliseum doors announced that the Coliseum doors would open at 7:00 p.m. In actuality, doors opened at 7:15 p.m. Crowds assembled at the northeast and southeast entry points. Following the concert, crowds dispersed by 11:30 p.m.

The number of people present at the time the research team arrived did reflect the large number of people who weeks earlier lined up in the cold weather to get tickets. As show time approached, line size increased. About 4 University tactical officers arrived when the research team arrived. One of the officers expressed suspicion about the research team's camera and note pads. An event staff person informed the research team that the camera would not be allowed inside the building.

People began sitting down in line at the northeast entrance at about 6:00 p.m. Approximately 10 of the 15 seated persons were female. People who arrived early were primarily young people, high school and college-aged. They arrived in small groups of 2 to 6 persons. While waiting in line, people interacted with members of their own group. Little between-group interaction occurred.
The agents of social control created ambiguity.
Officers from the University of North Texas, Texas Woman's University, and Denton Police Departments and Denton County Sheriff's department worked at the concert. In addition, the University contracted a private security company to staff the entrances and provide inside security. The various agencies lacked coordination.

At one point, event staff at the northeast entrance prematurely began processing line members with metal detectors. Crowd members responded with a series of yells. However, the 3 line members who were allowed in the building were pulled back. This caused congestion immediately in front of the doors, as the crowd had pushed forward toward the doors. Approximately 15 minutes later, people were allowed inside the building. As people entered the building, an event staff announced, "Spread out, there are 4 or 5 lines over here." Again, control agents created ambiguity.

Minutes before the doors opened officially at the northeast entrance, a female crowd member let out a loud scream, apparently in frustration. Males and females in line began chanting, "Let us in." Interestingly, members toward the end of the line at the northeast entrance were older and less "grunge" looking.
The southeast entrance involved more restless behavior than the northeast entrance. No one at the southeast entrance sat on the concrete. Early in the evening, people at the southeast entrance assumed places in line. People at the other entrance more casually took places in line. At one point, a young male at the front of the southeast line threw a paper airplane toward the back of the line.

A disturbance involving two young males occurred toward the front of the line. One of the males quickly jumped a barricade, leaving the line. Much less distance between people was observable at the southeast entrance than at the northeast entrance.

Ten minutes before the Coliseum doors were scheduled to open, crowd members ran toward the door. Young males and females forced the front of the line to become densely packed. An event staff person made an announcement regarding will call that lost the crowd’s attention. The male staff person then told the crowd, "Shut up and listen." At ten minutes past the announced entry time, a male voice yelled, "Fuck these guys, go on in," "push the door and it will open," "ok the joke is over, let us in."

Line movement into the Coliseum at 7:15 p.m. reflected the differences between the two entrances. People entered the northeast doors calmly, with minimal touching and shoving. On the other hand, the southeast entry involved a great deal of shoving. Furthermore, people at the southeast
entrance left behind much more garbage (e.g., beer cans) than those at the NE entrance. A group of 4 young people, 3 females and 1 male, guzzled their remaining beers as the lines moved into the Coliseum.

**Characteristics**

A moderate level of gender differentiation characterized the Pearl Jam pre-concert crowds. Police interactions with crowd members gave no indication of gender differentiation. The police did not interact with crowd members.

Furthermore, the clothing that crowd members wore demonstrated less gender differentiation than conventional clothing styles suggest. A significant amount of flannel clothing was observed. The flannel clothing was much less gender specific than conventional clothing styles of men and women. Flannel clothing is an important part of the "grunge" subculture. People toward the ends of the lines wore much more gender specific clothing. Those at the end of the line were older than people who arrived at the Coliseum early.

Keynoting behaviors did suggest gender differences. Because of the delayed opening of the Coliseum doors, crowd members grew discontent. Male and female crowd members responded differently to the situation. A male crowd member yelled, "Fuck these guys, let's go in." A female crowd member let out a very loud, high pitched scream in
frustration. Several female crowd members sat down on the concrete.

A moderate level of gender differentiation was noticeable. The police interactions with crowd members did not differ by gender. However, males and females behaved differently. Males and females differed in their responses to frustration. For example, one male urged the crowd to bust through the barricades. On the other hand, a group of females sat on the concrete.

Conditions

The Pearl Jam pre-concert line occurred under moderate conditions of social stress. Confusion surrounding the concert created social stress. First, the University newspaper and the University electronic mail system announced prematurely that the band had in fact decided to perform at the University. This created concern among the University Program Council. The band finally did commit to the University and ticket sales were announced.

Approximately 9,000 tickets were available, 2,000 of which were reserved to sell to students at the University. This created competition for seats. Hundreds of students lined up outside the University Union at 6:00 a.m. the morning tickets went on sale. All tickets to the show sold within 30 minutes from the time they went on sale.
More confusion surrounded the concert in terms of when crowds would be allowed to enter the Coliseum. The University newspaper reported that doors would open at 6:30 p.m. However, the staff at the event announced that doors would open at 7:00 p.m. Doors finally opened at about 7:15 p.m. Finally, University officials were concerned because the school had never sponsored an "alternative" band known to attract a distinct subculture.

Police actions also indicated a moderate level of social stress. Some 25 University and area police officers managed security. In addition, approximately 50 private security personnel provided security. Crowd members and agents of social control did not interact. The apparent lack of coordination among the different agencies created ambiguity. In addition, social control agents created social stress with ambiguous instructions to the crowd. For example, one private security officer told entering crowd members, "Ya'll spread out, there's 4 or 5 lines here."

Consequences

The Pearl Jam concert resulted in moderate gender differences. Police-crowd interactions and crowd clothing did not indicate gender differences. However, males and females demonstrated behavioral differences in line.
The concert was defined as successful by all involved. Spectators seemed satisfied with the quality and length of the performance. According to a police official, there were a minimal number of arrests. Most of those arrested were simply taken to the police station and given the opportunity to call someone to come get them. Another University police official went on record arguing that the University should not play host to similar events in the future. Specifically, the police official expressed concern over anti-police messages conveyed by the opening band, The Butthole Surfers.

**Case Study 5: Ku Klux Klan Rally**

**Career**

The KKK scheduled an afternoon rally in Denton, Texas to last from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. A morning rally, held approximately 30 miles south in Grapevine, Texas, ended early due to lack of interest. At its peak, the morning rally attracted no more than 40 or 50 spectators. Unlike the morning rally, the afternoon rally lasted the entire scheduled time. The afternoon rally received a great deal of attention, attracting crowds of approximately 300 spectators.

A greater proportion of males than females attended the event. Spectators were for the most part young, college-aged people. By far, the vast majority of the spectators came to protest the KKK's presence. No more than 10 to 15
crowd members noticeably supported the KKK's objectives. Conversely, most other crowd members showed disdain in various ways. Few, if any, crowd members seemed neutral. The small group of supporters, all male with the exception of 1 or 2 females, stood near the front of the crowd, to the left of the KKK speakers.

Interestingly, there were 17 police officers visible at the Denton rally and at least 30 visible at the much less attended morning rally. Approximately 25 KKK members, 6 to 8 of whom were female, participated in the rally. Four male KKK members delivered speeches.

The police roped off a speech area that backed up to a chain link fence. The rope and police officers separated the KKK members and the crowds. The rectangular speech area was about twice as long as it was wide. Initially, spectators stood a great distance away from the roped area. However, as more spectators arrived, crowds assembled much closer to the speakers. By the end of the speeches, spectators formed a semi-circle around the entire roped area.

A row of police officers stood in front of the rope, separating protestors and Klan members. The police maintained a six feet space between the crowd and the KKK. The police enforced the boundary without having to use force. For example, officers often told crowd members, "If they (the crowd) keep pushing forward me and you (crowd
members on front row) will be the first to get trampled."

At one point, a black male crowd member on the front row became noticeably agitated. He continued to threaten KKK members yelling, "Come on across that rope and I'll kick your ass." An officer, with his arm around the angry crowd member, walked him to the back of the crowd attempting to calm the man. The aggravated man was not arrested, but he also never returned.

The KKK speakers made several statements that evoked reactions from crowd members. For example, one KKK speaker cautioned white spectators against standing too closely to black spectators, because, "Most of 'em 's got AIDS." In response to one such comment, a juvenile black male spectator spit a big red wad on a KKK speaker. The speaker, the KKK's security director, spent the rest of the day bearing a large red stain on his starched-white KKK shirt. An officer on the front row responded to the young male saying in a friendly but firm manner, "You don't wanna play into their hands do you? They would love nothing more than to see someone get arrested."

The KKK speakers continued making degrading remarks about minority groups. Finally, the leader of the Texas KKK delivered the keynote speech. A speech impairment made many of the leader's words difficult to understand. Several male and female spectators mocked his words.
Members of the KKK parked their cars in a parking lot near the speech area. Following the rally, crowds of spectators surrounded the cars of the departing KKK members. Primarily males surrounded the cars.

Apparently, the police anticipated potential trouble. Prior to the rally, KKK members parked their cars along the same street that protestors parked their cars. Just before the rally, the police asked KKK members to move their cars to the parking lot near the speech area.

As he was leaving, the driver of one KKK car was punched by a young black male spectator. The driver's window was down, allowing the spectator to punch the passing KKK member. The driver stopped the car. Police officers hurried over and handled the situation.

A group of 3 or 4 young black males surrounded the car of a white female KKK member, spitting on the windshield of her car. Crowds dispersed after the last KKK member left. As he left, the driver of the last KKK vehicle told crowd members, "Fuck your mother, we'll be back."

**Characteristics**

We observed a moderate level of gender differentiation at the KKK rally. Males and females engaged in keynoting behavior. The most active group of keynoters consisted of approximately 8 to 10 young black males and 4 or 5 young black females. However, the form that keynoting took varied by gender. Male keynoting took a more aggressive form.
For example, during one of the KKK member's speech, a young black male spit on the speaker. Just after the start of the rally, a black male had to be calmed by the police. The black male spectator made threatening remarks at the KKK member. To a front line KKK member holding a sign, the black male shouted, "Come across this rope and I'll kick your ass you little pussy." One male crowd member brought his own megaphone and made efforts to speak over the KKK speakers. A group of approximately 10 young black males occupied an area immediately in front of the KKK. Several of the young black men made repeated efforts to get closer to the KKK members.

At the potentially most vulnerable point, males far outnumbered females. The most aggressive forms of keynoting occurred in the parking lot. As the KKK first began leaving, a young black male threw a wad of paper at one of their cars. A police officer asked the young male to pick up the paper. A young black male punched the driver of a KKK vehicle. A group of 3 young black males spit on the windshield of a female KKK member's car.

Female keynoting significantly differed. As the rally began, a group of 4 protestors, 3 of them female, arrived with signs in hand. Two of the females, dressed in clothing reminiscent of the 1960's, stood near the center of the crowd, singing peace songs. At one point during the rally, 6 of the 8 people bearing anti-KKK signs were female. The
most aggressive female keynoting occurred near the end of the rally. A female protestor threw her sign over the rope toward the KKK. She had no intention of hitting a KKK member with the sign, however, as the KKK members stood too far away. Following the final speech, the KKK members lined up along a fence some 30 feet behind the rope separating them from the crowd. As the KKK members stood near the fence, the female protestor threw the sign.

While males and females protested, gender differences existed. Only males made efforts to cross the rope separating spectators and KKK members. Males challenged KKK members to fights, spit on KKK members and their cars and threw things at KKK members. Female protestors sang peace songs and held signs.

Conditions

A high level of social stress surrounded, and developed during, the KKK rally. Several conditions increased social stress. First, the primary precipitant of the rally was underlying racial tension in the area. A black area high school student was acquitted of shooting a white student. The victim was in a crowd of alleged skinheads who were allegedly terrorizing the black student. The black student ultimately shot into the crowd to protect himself, hitting the white student. The shooting surfaced a great deal of racial strife in the area.
Second, the rally attracted large crowds, despite media efforts aimed at deterring people from attending. The leader of one peace group said, "The best thing that we could do is totally ignore them. And other than necessary law enforcement, nobody show up." The large turn out might be explained by the fact that Denton is the home of two major universities, one of them a woman's university. College students have traditionally been active in political protest.

Finally, according to 3 police officers, many of the officers present at the rally had no previous experience with such events. The KKK had not held such a rally in the area since 1981. The Denton Police Department made 17 police officers visible at the rally. It was later learned that concealed back-up units were prepared with riot gear. Since the crowd members were so young, many of them seemed inexperienced at social protest. That inexperience, combined with police inexperience, created an ambiguous situation.

**Consequences**

The Denton rally had several consequences. The high stress situation resulted in a moderate level of gender differentiation. Males and females protested the KKK's presence. However, male and female participation differed in form. Male protesting took a more aggressive form than female protesting.
Crowd members seemed satisfied that they peacefully expressed their opposition to the KKK. The KKK too seemed satisfied by the large crowd size. The KKK security official reported to the Denton police that the Denton rally was one of their best in recent times. The KKK returned a few weeks later, distributing literature on the city square. Their return did not attract large crowds and was not deemed a serious threat by local police.

Case Study 6: 1994 Dallas Cowboy Super Bowl Victory Parade Career

The city of Dallas hosted a parade on February 18, 1994, celebrating the Dallas Cowboys' second consecutive Super Bowl victory. City officials scheduled the parade from 11:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. City officials made it explicit to the public that they did not want a riot similar to the one that occurred the year before.

The assembling process began hours before the start of the parade. However, crowds never grew as large as the previous year's parade. Prior to the start of the parade, a group of about 5 male officers interacted jokingly and flirtatiously with 2 female parade spectators. The females wore "Hooters" jackets. When the research team arrived at the parade route, the crowd was quite sparse. Clear spaces on the sidewalks and along the barricades were observed. Even at the peak of the parade, the crowd was no more than 5 people deep. Some people stood on nearby benches.
The parade suffered a slight delay because parade organizers lost the traditional ribbon that the mayor was to cut. Just minutes behind schedule, the parade began. At the beginning of the parade, the mood seemed to be defined as festive. Several people chanted, "Cowboys." A group of young people danced on the sidewalk.

Initially the crowd consisted of more females than males. The crowd was comprised largely of minority groups. By the end of the parade, these characteristics became more balanced. In terms of age, the crowd was quite young. Many families were present with young children. Many young people arrived in large groups. While there were a few groups of older people present as the parade started, the crowd was for the most part young.

When the first phase of the parade show passed, the crowd grew excited. But this part consisted only of marching bands. The first and second phases were separated by a 10 or 15 minute break, during which crowd members grew discontent. Spectators were somewhat excited by the appearance of the players, but the players' vehicles passed by so quickly that any excitement was rather short-lived. After the players passed by, the crowd dispersed extremely quickly. Some people ran toward the end of the parade route, only to find that the players were already out of sight.
Immediately following the final parade truck, the police supervised crowd dispersal. The police gathered at City Hall in groups of 6 to 15 officers. A group of seven officers stood on a hill and watched the crowd disperse. Some crowds assembled at McDonald's at Commerce and Griffin Streets. A group of about 20 officers walked in formation to the restaurant. Officers wore riot gear. There was no interaction at all between crowd members and police officers at this location.

A group of about 10 male officers marched across a street and built a human wall in front of the McDonald's, positioning themselves arms length apart. A black female was arrested by about 6 officers. The crowd did not seem to respond to the arrest. After the arrest, the officers walked the woman across the street, passing about 15 male officers who taunted her about her arrest. Shortly after this arrest, crowds dispersed.

**Characteristics**

The 1994 parade involved a moderate level of gender differentiation. Initially, women were overrepresented in the crowds. However, just before and during the parade, the gender ratio achieved a better balance.

Prior to the parade, police interactions with crowd members indicated some level of gender differentiation. Specifically, a group of approximately 5 male officers flirted with 2 female crowd members as the 2 females walked
past officers' post. However, police-crowd interactions during and after the parade reflected less gender differentiation. For example, after the parade, a young black female was arrested and shuffled across Commerce Street by two male police officers wearing riot gear. Colleagues of the arresting officers taunted the young female.

Keynoting behavior indicated moderate gender differences. A large group of young females danced on the sidewalks along the parade route. They were later joined by a group of young males. The young females' behavior was limited to one area. On the other hand, two shirtless male keynoters with painted silver and blue bodies ran along the sidewalks, yelling, "How 'bout them Cowboys."

Conditions

The parade occurred within the context of a moderate level of social stress. Like the 1993 Texas-OU celebration, two related incidents contributed to social stress. During the 1992 Texas-OU weekend celebration, isolated cases of violence occurred. Also, the 1993 Super Bowl parade broke out in violence. Most of this occurred at the McDonald's on Commerce street. Following the 1993 parade, several parade participants voiced their fear of that event. Furthermore, a task force, established to examine the 1993 parade outburst, defined a safe parade as a major goal of the city. Perhaps the city felt particularly compelled to stage a
"safe" parade because of the World Cup Soccer matches that will be held in Dallas this summer.

A Dallas police officer said that city officials essentially provided the police with an unlimited budget to achieve that goal. Some 1,500 Dallas and other area police officers were charged with managing crowds. Police officers were posted every 32 feet on both sides of the street along the parade route. In addition, large groups of 6 to 10 police officers staffed every street intersection in the area. Police actions indicated a high level of social stress. However, their presence combined with dramatically fewer spectators, approximately 70,000 compared to 300,000 at the 1993 parade, reduced the level of social stress.

Consequences

The 1994 parade had different consequences for different groups. City officials dubbed the parade as a success and a demonstration that the city of Dallas could stage a safe parade. Unfortunately, many parade spectators characterized the event as boring and disappointing. In fact, even parade participants, specifically Dallas Cowboy players and coaches, characterized the event as boring and not much fun. Some felt that the 1993 parade was much more fun and exciting, especially for the fans.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS

This chapter analyzes the case studies. The first section discusses the cases in terms of gender differentiation levels. The characteristics sections of the case studies provide the basis for this analysis. The second section discusses the cases in terms of varying levels of social stress. The conditions sections of the case studies facilitate this analysis. Finally, the relationship between social stress and gender differentiation is discussed. Yin’s (1989) comparative case study approach is used for this analysis.

Cases of Gender Differentiation

This section analyzes gender differences that characterized the crowd events. Yin’s (1989) comparative case study approach provides the basis for this analysis. This involves comparing and contrasting characteristics of the cases. Again, Table 3 summarizes the levels of gender differentiation across cases.

Keynoting behavior and police-crowd interactions determined the classification of each case in terms of gender differentiation levels. Highly differentiated cases involved gender differentiated keynoting and gender
differentiated police-crowd member interaction. Moderately gender differentiated cases involved gender differentiated keynoting, but lacked gender differentiated police-crowd member interactions. None of the cases involved low levels of gender differentiation.

**High Gender Differentiation**

The Fry Street, Texas-OU and 1994 parade cases involved the highest levels of gender differentiation. For the most part, gender differences reflected institutionalized patterns. Keynoting was male dominated or differed significantly by gender. Furthermore, interactions between male police officers and female crowd members suggested gender differences within each case.

The Fry Street case involved a high level of gender differentiation. Gender roles reflected traditional cultural expectations. Casual interactions between male police officers and female crowd members regularly occurred near Fry Street. Male police officers apparently struggled with competing role demands. On the one hand, they are charged with crowd management as police officers. On the other hand, as males, they seek to make favorable impressions with females.

The usual casual interactions between male officers and female crowd members lessened somewhat on the Thursday night following the assaults. However, behaviors still reflected institutionalized expectations. At one point in the evening
on which the data for case study 3 were gathered, a female
driver of an illegally parked car persuaded a police officer
not to issue a citation. On the other hand, two white male
police officers stopped a young black male driver of a
speeding car. The officers removed the driver from the car
and conducted an extensive search of the vehicle.

The Texas-OU weekend and 1994 parade cases also
involved high levels of gender differentiation. Slightly
less gender differentiation characterized these two cases
than the Fry Street case. However, the data did not support
characterizing the Texas-OU and 1994 parade cases as
moderately gender differentiated.

Keynoting behavior in the two cases suggested strong
gender differences. The Texas-OU case involved male
dominated keynoting. For example, a group of males sat at
an outside bar yelling at groups as they walked by,
particularly if passerby wore University of Texas clothing.
The male keynoters attracted a great deal of attention from
crowd members, particularly male crowd members.

Female keynoting occurred less frequently and received
less attention from the crowd. For example, two older white
females joined the ranks of the dancing Hare Krishna band.
Some crowd members responded to the females' performance
mumbling, "They must be drunk." A young white male keynoter
also mocked the band. He did not join the ranks of the
band, but instead danced along side of them. The young male
attracted a small audience of 6 to 8 young females who cheered him on.

The 1994 parade case involved male and female keynoting. However, male and female keynoting differed significantly in form. The following two examples illustrate the differences. A large group of juvenile black females danced on the sidewalk to the music of their portable radio. The young females danced near the same location the entire parade. On the other hand, two older white males painted their bare chests silver and blue and ran down the sidewalks yelling, "How 'bout them Cowboys," waving Dallas Cowboy towels above their heads. The two males wore ridiculous looking hats. Silver and blue feathers stuck out of the tops of the hats. Large groups of spectators cheered as the two fanatics passed.

Police interactions with crowd members at the Texas-OU celebration and the 1994 parade suggested high levels of gender differentiation. In both cases, groups of young female revelers had friendly, informal interactions with groups of male police officers. During the Texas-OU celebration, a small group of white male police officers invited a small group of young white females to return to the officers' post if they needed further directions. At the 1994 parade, a small group of white male police officers flirted with two young white females. The two females wore jackets advertising "Hooters" restaurants. "Hooters"
restaurants employ young females who serve food clad in physically revealing shorts and t-shirts.

**Moderate Gender Differentiation**

The Pearl Jam, KKK and 1993 parade cases were characterized by moderate gender differences. Keynoting was fairly evenly distributed between males and females but differed significantly by gender. Male police officers did not interact more casually with female crowd members than male crowd members at the three crowd events.

Behaviors prior to the Pearl Jam concert suggested gender differentiation. At the southeast entrance, the crowd grew discontent. A male voice yelled, "OK the joke is over, let us in," "push the door and it will open," and, "Fuck these guys, let's go in." At the northeast entrance, several female crowd members sat on the ground when they became bored. Another female crowd member at the northeast entrance let out a high-pitched scream in frustration.

The Pearl Jam case did not involve gender differentiated interactions between police officers and crowd members. Police officers did not interact with crowd members. The Pearl Jam case was characterized by gender differentiated keynoting but lacked gender differentiated police-crowd interactions.

Male keynoting assumed more aggressive forms than female keynoting. For example, a male urged other crowd members to break through police barricades. Conversely, a
female crowd member let out a scream in frustration. Other female crowd members sat down on the ground while waiting for the Coliseum doors to open. The gender differentiated behaviors reflect conventional cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. Males responded to the long wait through aggression, while female behavior reflected passivity.

The KKK rally was characterized by relatively less gender differentiation than the Pearl Jam case. However, the data did not support characterizing the KKK case as low gender differentiation. Female and male crowd members engaged in keynoting in almost equal proportions. For example, the most active group of keynoters consisted of about 10 males and 8 females standing near the ropes that separated crowd members and KKK members. The incident occurring in the parking lot following the rally involved considerably more males than females.

Most importantly, male and female keynoting differed significantly in form. A juvenile black male spit a red wad on the KKK’s head of security, staining the KKK member’s white shirt. Other males challenged KKK members to fights. One such black male was escorted to the back of the crowd by a police officer. The male was not arrested, but he did not return.
Female keynoters suggested more peaceful forms of protest. For example, two females sang peace songs. Other female protestors held signs bearing various peace slogans. Keynoting behaviors varied by gender. Male keynoters spit on KKK members or challenged them to fights. Female keynoters sang peace songs. Again, the gender differences reflected institutionalized cultural prescriptions. Males protested aggressively and females peacefully protested.

Keynoting behavior suggested gender differences. Police-crowd interactions, however, were not gender differentiated. The all male group of police officers treated male and female crowd members similarly.

Finally, the 1993 parade was also characterized by moderate levels of gender differentiation. Males and females engaged in emergent, noninstitutionalized behaviors. Crowd members threw bottles at police officers, building windows and bus windows. According to one source, two females began fighting. One of them had to put down her child to engage in the fight. Another source reported hearing a female in the crowd yell, "Knock his ass down" in response to seeing a police officer.

Males and females both engaged in emergent behaviors. However, males and females participated differentially. Video footage indicates that a much greater proportion of those involved in the collective outburst were male. Due to the relative lack of police officers during the parade,
opportunities for casual gender differentiated police-crowd
interactions did not exist. All of the arrests captured on
video involved young black male suspects.

During the parade, primarily young males climbed atop
street lights and street signs. However, males and females
rushed the parade cars in approximately equal proportions.
A much higher proportion of males than females participated
in the violent outbursts following the parade.

Cases of Social Stress

This section discusses the cases in terms of varying
levels of social stress. Each of the cases presented in
this study contain data on ambiguity and police actions.
The cases represent varying levels of social stress. The
cases are categorized as low, moderate or high social stress
situations, relative to the other cases.

Low Social Stress

The Fry Street case represents the lowest level of
stress. Thursday nights typically draw large numbers of
people to the Fry Street area. Because Thursday night
crowds near Fry Street have become an institutionalized
component of the local culture, the Fry Street case
represents limited, or low, social stress. While the
potential for extra-institutional behaviors exists,
behaviors reflected institutionalized expectations.
Interviews with police officers support the description of
low social stress.
The University and city police departments share responsibility for patrolling the area. Members of both departments were interviewed. When asked about Thursday nights near Fry Street, one male University officer commented:

...I mean there's no night when it's gonna be hardly any different from any other night...On Thursday night there's a lot more people down there, but we just basically increase our patrol down there, at best just have a few more people down there to keep an eye on things. But we don't handle things any differently on Thursday night procedurally. We'll have more people down there, but we won't make more arrests just cause it's Thursday night. It's just a routine dill...

Regarding an assault that occurred in the parking lot of a bar near Fry Street, one male city police officer remarked, "It's no surprise to me, that kind of stuff happens down here all the time." When asked how Thursday night Fry Street crowd management differs from other crowd events (e.g., football games), officers from both departments mentioned only alcohol consumption. Two male city officers were asked how Thursday night Fry Street crowd management compares to the Ku Klux Klan rally. Both considered Fry Street much easier because they know many of the crowd members near Fry Street.

Observations suggest that Thursday nights on Fry Street involve at least minimal social stress compared to other nights. Specifically, the data contained in case study 3 were gathered one week after a white male student was brutally assaulted by two black male student athletes. The
assault evoked concern from city and University police, as well as University administration. The University police department dispatched twice the number of officers that typically patrol Fry Street on Thursday nights. In addition, a top University administrator joined the police. The University official had a heated, lengthy conversation with a night club manager on a sidewalk. Apparently, the University official was concerned about the sale of alcohol to minors.

The Fry Street case involved low social stress. The institutionalized nature of the setting minimized ambiguity. The assault slightly increased social stress. Relative to the other cases, however, the data did not, support classifying case study 3 as moderate social stress.

**Moderate Social Stress**

Three cases represent moderate levels of social stress. The Pearl Jam, Texas-OU and 1994 parade cases illustrate this. Each case involved an event that occurs fairly regularly. However, each case contained elements of social stress. Each case is described below.

The Pearl Jam case involved moderate social stress. Several conditions created stress. First, confusion surrounded the event. The University newspaper prematurely announced the concert. Once the concert was confirmed, several sources announced conflicting times as to when Coliseum doors would open. The University newspaper and the
University electronic mail system announced that Coliseum doors would open at 6:00 p.m. Tickets to the show indicated a 6:30 p.m. entrance time. Event staff working the Coliseum doors announced a 7:00 p.m. opening time. The Coliseum doors actually opened at about 7:15 p.m.

Actions of the police and private security also created social stress. Specifically, in this case, actions of the agents of social control increased the ambiguity of the situation. Four area police departments and a private security firm were involved in crowd management. However, none of the departments assumed responsibility for directing line formation. Social control agents gave crowd members no directions as the crowd members arrived at the Coliseum.

The variety of police agencies appeared to create communication problems. For example, at one point, crowd members in line at the northeast entrance were admitted into the Coliseum. They were immediately stopped and pulled back out of the doors. On another occasion, a private security employee tried to direct line formations. He announced to the crowd, "There are three or four lines here." The agents of social control increased the ambiguity of the situation.

Another important factor increased the social stress of this event. The University had never staged a concert featuring a rock band known to attract a distinct subculture. Pearl Jam attracts a "grunge" subculture. Crowd members typically form a "mosh pit" during Pearl Jam
concerts. In the mosh pits, crowd members violently slam into one another while the band plays. A top University police official went on record deterring the University from sponsoring similar events in the future. The official claimed that the opening band, The Butthole Surfers, expressed negative attitudes toward the police. As another University police official said in an interview, "We just didn’t like some of the things they (Butthole Surfers) said about us (police) and our presence there."

The 1993 Texas-OU case and the 1994 parade also occurred under conditions of moderate social stress. The 1992 Texas-OU celebration involved violent outbursts. One person was killed and several others injured. In addition to this, the 1993 Super Bowl celebration also involved violent outbursts. This resulted in some twenty-five injuries. These events created concern among city officials regarding they city's major crowd events.

The city responded by increasing police presence at subsequent crowd events. Some 900 officers were assigned to the 1993 Texas-OU celebration. The 1992 celebration was staffed by approximately 400 officers. The 1994 parade involved some 1,500 Dallas police officers and approximately 300 officers from surrounding areas. The previous year's parade was staffed by approximately 250 officers charged with managing crowds of more than 300,000 people.
High Social Stress

The KKK rally and the 1993 parade involved the highest levels of social stress. The KKK rally was the first of its kind in the area since 1981. Many of the police officers present had never worked such an event. The 1993 parade attracted more people than any crowd event in Dallas history. Despite the record breaking crowds, fewer officers worked the event than normally work the Texas-OU celebration.

The KKK rally occurred in reaction to an incident involving two area high school students. A black male student fired a shot into a crowd of students assembled in front of his house. The bullet struck a white male student. The shooting caused concern throughout the city about the city's racial problems. When the juvenile black male was acquitted of all charges, the KKK saw this as a prime opportunity to stage a recruitment rally. According to one source, the KKK had not staged a rally since 1981. Police officials and leaders of various peace groups discouraged people from attending. They made pleas in local newspapers for the public to stay away from the rally. The primary concern was the possibility of collective violence.

Police actions reflected a response to high levels of social stress. The rally attracted crowds of at least 300 spectators. These crowds were managed by 17 visible police officers. However, interviews with police revealed that
back-up units equipped with riot gear were stationed out of spectators' sight.

High levels of stress surrounded and developed during the rally. Following the rally, KKK members attempted to leave in their cars. Primarily male crowd members surrounded the cars. At one point, a black male punched the driver of a passing car through the open driver's side window and slipped back into the crowd. The KKK member stopped the car and jumped out of it. This incident increased the ambiguity of the situation. Police officers persuaded the KKK member to get back into the car and drive away, avoiding a potentially violent situation.

The 1993 parade also occurred within the context of high social stress. The parade was held just four months after the 1992 Texas-OU celebration that resulted in violence. Despite this fact, Dallas police assigned only slightly more officers to the downtown area than a normal day. Several officers complained that fewer officers (approximately 250) than are usually assigned to the Texas-OU celebration (approximately 400) were charged with managing much larger crowds than usually attend those celebrations.

The lack of police presence at the 1993 parade created high levels of social stress. Shortly after the parade started, crowd members crossed the barricades separating them from the parade participants. The police tried
unsuccessfully to prevent crowd members from crossing the barricades. Eventually, crowd members filled the entire street, stopping the parade. The congestion in the streets delayed the parade, creating ambiguity. Young male and female crowd members began rushing toward the slow moving, and sometimes stopped, parade vehicles. The young crowd members pushed and shoved in order to touch their favorite Dallas Cowboy football players. One newscaster reported, "The police have given up on maintaining those barricades, they’re just trying to keep the crowds off the players."

Greater ambiguity developed as parade crowds dispersed. As spectators left the parade route, the police received reports of gunshots fired at McDonald’s restaurant near Commerce and Griffin Streets. The police were unable to respond immediately and the few officers who were initially in the area retreated. For approximately two hours, primarily young males fought, threw bottles at buses and store fronts, and attacked drivers of passing cars. The police eventually brought the situation under control, arresting some 25 people at the scene, but only after some 25 people were injured.

Gender Differentiation in Social Stress Situations

This section discusses the relationship between social stress and gender differentiation. Table 4 illustrates the relationship. Table 4 shows a slight, but inconsistent, relationship between social stress and gender
TABLE 4: Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Gender Differentiation</th>
<th>Level of Social Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Fry Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Pearl Jam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing the cases demonstrates the inconsistent relationship. The comparison of the lowest social stress case, Fry Street, with a high social stress case, the KKK rally, suggests a relationship. The KKK rally was characterized by less gender differentiation. However, the KKK case still involved moderate gender differentiation.

The relationship becomes less clear comparing other cases. For example, the Texas-OU celebration and the 1994 parade occurred under higher stress conditions than the Fry Street case. Despite the increased social stress, gender roles remained highly differentiated.

The KKK rally and the 1993 parade occurred under the highest conditions of social stress. The Pearl Jam concert occurred under moderate conditions of social stress. Again, despite the increased social stress, moderate levels of
gender differentiation characterized all three cases.

Keynoting behavior highlights gender differences across the stress situations. Keynoting behavior indicated to what extent males and females assumed leadership positions within the crowd events. Males and females occupied leadership positions within crowds. Although, males engaged in keynoting to a slightly greater extent. Only the Fry Street case completely lacked female keynoting.

Most importantly, the forms that male and female keynoting took differed significantly. Male and female keynoting reflected institutionalized gender differences. Male keynoters at the Texas-OU celebration received significantly more attention than female keynoters from other crowd members. Female keynoters were informally negatively sanctioned for their behaviors. For example, a young male remarked to his female companion, "They must be drunk," in response to seeing two older female crowd members dance with the marching Hare Krishna band.

A male crowd member danced with the band and attracted a small group of supporters who urged him to continue. A large group of male keynoters at an outside bar harassed passerby on the nearby sidewalk. The group would yell, "OU's gonna kick ass," and similar phrases as people walked by them. The noisy group received a great deal of attention. In particular, several male passerby would respond yelling, "OU sucks," and similar phrases.
Male keynoters also received greater crowd attention and approval than female keynoters at the 1994 parade. A large group of young black females danced on the sidewalk to the music of their portable radio. They received limited attention. Two older white males without shirts and with silver and blue painted chests ran up and down the sidewalks yelling, "How 'bout them Cowboys." Several crowd members responded, yelling back the same phrase.

The Pearl Jam, KKK and 1993 parade cases involved less gender differentiation than the Fry Street, Texas-OU and 1994 parade cases. The latter three cases involved gender differentiated keynoting and gender differentiated police-crowd interactions. The former three cases lacked gender differentiated police-crowd interactions. However, keynoting was gender differentiated in the Pearl Jam, KKK and 1993 parade cases.

For example, a male standing in line prior to the Pearl Jam concert urged crowd members to break down police barricades. A female standing in line let out a loud scream in frustration. Other females in line sat on the ground, patiently waiting for the Coliseum doors to open.

Female keynoters at the KKK rally sang peace songs and held signs, while male keynoters challenged Klan members to fist fights during the rally. Following the rally, primarily males harassed the departing KKK members. One male crowd member punched the driver of a KKK vehicle.
small group of males spit on the windshield of a KKK vehicle that was driven by a female KKK member.

The violence that followed the 1993 parade involved primarily young males. The different forms of keynoting reflected traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity. Males engaged in aggressive behaviors and females engaged in more passive forms of behavior.

**Discussion**

The data suggest a slight relationship between social stress and gender differentiation. Hypothesis 1 suggests that gender roles become dedifferentiated in response to high levels of social stress. The data, however, do not support Hypothesis 1. Rather, noticeable gender differences characterized all of the cases of social stress. While gender differences slightly lessened in response to high social stress, institutionalized gender differences remained.

Factors other than social stress might account for the slightly lessened gender differentiation in high social stress situations. Specific contextual factors offer plausible explanations. For example, city officials reported that the 1993 parade violence was primarily gang related. The moderate level of gender differentiation might not reflect a response to social stress. Rather, the moderate level of gender differentiation might reflect institutionalized subcultural gender expectations that
differ from traditional gender expectations.

The moderate level of gender differentiation observed at the Pearl Jam concert might also reflect institutionalized, nontraditional subcultural values. Pearl Jam is an "alternative" band that attracts a specific subculture. Clothing styles suggest that gender expectations within the subculture are less differentiated than traditional expectations.

The moderate level of gender differentiation at the KKK rally might similarly be explained. The KKK rally was staged just blocks away from a woman's university. Another university is located nearby. The protestors were primarily young, college-aged people. Universities historically provide opportunities to deviate from traditional cultural expectations. The moderate level of gender differentiation at the rally might reflect institutionalized subcultural gender expectations that are slightly less differentiated from traditional expectations.

The findings of the present study challenge the contention that homogeneous behaviors (e.g., dedifferentiated gender roles) characterize crowds (LeBon, 1895; Park, 1904; Blumer, 1939). The data suggest that culture specifies behaviors across a range of increasing social stress situations. These findings fail to support the contention that social stress causes gender role dedifferentiation. According to Lipman-Blumen (1973),
social change (i.e., gender role dedifferentiation) occurs most readily within the context of social stress. Other researchers also assume egalitarian gender roles in crowd and collective behavior. For example, McPhail (1971) and Meyer and Seidler (1978) suggest that gender is not a reliable predictor of individual behavior within crowds.

The findings of the present study fail to support the optimistic contention that social stress produces more egalitarian gender roles. Rather, these findings highlight the deep embeddedness of culturally prescribed gender expectations. The structure of gender roles endures across stress situations. Clearly distinguishable gender differences characterized all of the crowd events.

The findings of this study support the social structural hypothesis. According to the structural hypothesis, the structure of gender roles that involves differentiation endures across stress situations. Johnson (1987) and Johnston and Johnson (1988) found that cultural gender expectations endured during disaster situations. For example, in the Beverly Hills Supper Club fire, men engaged in fire fighting activities, while women offered emotional support to other victims. The KKK rally involved similar gender differences. Women peacefully protested, singing peace songs and carrying signs, while men challenged KKK members to fist fights.
Social structural researchers suggest that features of the institutionalized social structure remain during collective behavior situations (Johnson, 1985). Dynes and Quarantelli (1968) emphasize the continuity between institutionalized and collective behavior. Turner (1964) argues that the study of collective behavior requires no new concepts. The findings of the present study address the relationship between institutionalized and collective behavior.

The institutionalized structure of gender roles endures across social stress situations. These findings have implications for collective behavior theory. Recent collective behavior researchers emphasize the relationship between institutionalized and collective behavior. Most recently, Marx and McAdam (1994) compare the two in terms of greater or lesser cultural specificity. The findings of the present study suggest that culture (i.e., culturally prescribed gender expectations) specifies behaviors in the most stressful situations.

Summary

The analysis suggests a slight, but inconsistent, relationship between social stress and gender differentiation. Gender roles became slightly less differentiated as social stress increased. However, the relationship was not consistent. Furthermore, gender roles did not become completely dedifferentiated in any of the
Specific contextual factors might explain changes in gender differentiation in the crowd events more adequately than social stress. For example, the 1993 parade violence was primarily gang related. Perhaps the gang subculture specifies less differentiated gender expectations than conventional cultural expectations. The KKK rally occurred in a community that houses two universities. Universities have historically promoted liberal ideas that might translate into less differentiated gender expectations.

The data failed to support the contagion hypothesis that gender differences lessen across social stress situations. Rather, the data supported the social structural hypothesis that suggests that gender roles remain differentiated during social stress situations. Culturally prescribed gender expectations specified behaviors across the stress settings. Gender differences characterized all of the crowd events.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This research examined gender differences across social stress situations. Crowd events represented situations of increasing social stress. Crowd and collective behavior research suggest two competing hypotheses. One line of literature suggests that gender roles in crowd and collective behavior become dedifferentiated. The other suggests that gender roles in crowd and collective behavior reflect institutionalized gender roles.

The data supported Hypothesis 2. Gender roles remained differentiated across social stress settings. A slight relationship exists between social stress and gender differentiation. However, contextual factors other than social stress explained the relationship.

Borrowing from the feminist critique of sociology, this study provides a holistic account of crowd events. Feminist scholars suggest that phrases like "protestors" and "keynoters" might reinforce assumptions that males occupy these roles. The data presented here suggest that men and women engage in keynoting behavior in crowds. However, the forms that male and female keynoting take differ significantly. Male and female participation in crowd
events reflect institutionalized culturally defined gender differences.

These findings indicate the relationship between institutionalized and collective behavior. Some collective behavior theories distinguish between institutionalized and collective behavior in terms of greater or lesser cultural specificity (Marx and McAdam, 1994). Accordingly, collective behavior situations are characterized by a relative lack of cultural specificity.

The data presented here suggest that some degree of cultural specificity continues to guide behavior across social stress situations. Culture never entirely ceases to guide behavior. Crowd and collective behavior do not represent distinct separations from institutionalized behavior.

Institutionalized behavioral expectations endure across a wide range of social stress situations. Gender expectations are deeply embedded in the social structure. Social stress does not make the social structure more permeable to change. Social stress involves ambiguity. Confronted with an ambiguous situation, people rely on institutionalized cultural expectations (Johnson, 1985; Johnson, 1988; Johnston and Johnson, 1988).
Limitations of the Study

The study's primary limitation is its focus on ephemeral social stress situations. These findings indicate how the structure of gender roles responds to short-term stress. The ephemeral nature of the social stress cases must be considered when interpreting these findings.

The data for this study were gathered in a southwestern state. Just as crowds are not comprised of homogeneous individuals, crowd events do not occur within the context of a homogeneous culture. Studies of crowd events in different regions might produce different results.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future studies can alleviate the limitations of this study. Studies could determine the structure of gender roles' response to more long-term stress situations. For example, disasters represent such situations. Future studies could examine gender roles across disaster phases. Future studies might also examine gender roles in crowd events held in different geographical regions.
APPENDIX A

OBSERVATION CHECKLIST
Observation Checklist

**Group Characteristics**
- size of groups
- gender composition/ratio of groups
- age of group members
- ethnicity of groups
- keynoting
  - activity
  - gender, age, ethnicity
  - accept/not by crowd
  - police accept?

- crowd density
- stationary/moving

**Police Characteristics**
- gender composition
- friendly/unfriendly with crowd
- interaction with crowd
  - male/male
  - male/female
  - female/female
  - female/male

**Weather**
- temperature
- precipitation
- wind
Sample Interview Guide

1. What are some of your general strategies for crowd control?

2. Specific strategies for Pearl Jam?

3. Were there any times at Pearl Jam that concerned you?

4. What are some things you did at Pearl Jam?

5. What are some things you saw?

6. What are some strategies you use on Fry Street?

7. What do you do on Fry Street?

8. How does Thursday night on Fry Street differ from other nights?

9. Are there specific indicators of trouble?

10. Do you work with the city police department?

11. What kind of crowd control training do you have?
APPENDIX C

LETTER OF CONSENT
Letter of Informed Consent

Hello,

You are invited to participate in a research project on crowds. This project is being conducted for a Master's thesis at the University of North Texas and your participation would be appreciated. We would like to ask you some general questions.

Your name will be kept strictly confidential and will not be publicly identified. We would also like to inform you that you have the right to refuse this interview or to stop the interview at any time. You may refuse to answer questions if you so choose.

Your verbal agreement to this interview will constitute your consent to participate in the study. If you have any questions about the study or your participation, please feel free to inquire now or in the future.

We would like to thank you for your time. We will be happy to furnish you with a copy of our final report.

Sincerely,
REFERENCES


