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Claremont McKenna College

Hooliganism and Supporter Violence: Examining the Rome, Lisbon and Athens Derbies

Submitted to
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for
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Abstract

The practice of Hooliganism, or violent and aggressive styles of support linked to one or more specific football club, first emerged in England in the 1960's. A combination of mass media, films such as Green Street Hooligans, and increases in law enforcement enabled Hooliganism to spread all over Europe. This paper seeks to explain Hooligan cultures, how they emerge, their characteristics and the type of individual they attract. Furthermore, this paper examines the situational variables present on match-day that lead to supporter violence. Additionally, this paper aggregates numerous findings on crowd behavior and Hooliganism, and then applies them three case studies: the Rome, Lisbon and Athens derbies. Case studies seek to highlight some of the mediating and moderating factors in that particularly rivalry, as well the differences in Hooligan cultures across countries.

Key words: *Hooligans, Ultras, Rome, Lisbon, Athens*

Introduction

According to the most recent data collected in the global sports industry, soccer, or football as it's more commonly known, is the most popular sport in the world. FIFA, the world governing body for football, claims that more than 265 million people worldwide regularly play the game. Furthermore, over 3.2 billion people worldwide tuned in to watch the 2014 World Cup.¹ Much of the sport's global appeal is often linked to the aesthetically pleasing, free-flowing nature of the game. In fact, soccer is often affectionately referred to as 'the beautiful game'.

However, since the modern incarnation of football was first codified in England during the 19th century, the beautiful game has been marred by supporter violence. While historians are unclear on the exact origins of the game--most agree it comes from China in the Han Dynasty or the Greek and Roman Empires--there is an extensive history of the sport's violence in Europe dating back to the 12th century (Walvin, 2014). In fact, the earliest variants of the modern game in Europe more often resembled violent, tribal clashes between rival towns or social groups (Walvin, 2014). According to Alan Roadburg (1980), the development of football can be broken up into four key stages, beginning with the violent and chaotic recreational game before slowly transforming over several centuries into the highly organized and regulated multi-billion dollar industry it is today (Roadburg, 1980). Furthermore, in 1314 King Edward II outlawed the sport because he felt that the dangerous and chaotic nature of the game would lead to unrest,

¹ About FIFA: Organisation - FIFA.com. (n.d.). Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/index.html>

riots, and treason (Walvin, 2014). Since the key constructs of the sport in England are inherently rooted in violence and tribalism, it can be argued that organized supporter violence, or Hooliganism, is the result of football's historical development in Europe (Roadburg, 1980).

Hooliganism, as it is referred to in England, can be defined as 'A distinct form of unruly and destructive behavior in which participants are supporters or adherents of one or more football clubs or national teams, and is frequently, although not exclusively, evidenced at or immediately before or after matches' (Van Hiel, 2007). 'Hooligans' are often an organized group of supporters of a particular club, who engaged in gang-like brawls with opposition supporter groups around the time of the match. Within the realm of spectator violence at football matches there are two key subdivisions: spontaneous violence, and premeditated and organized violence (Van Limbergen, 1989). While the first form can be seen in various sports all over the world, and therefore is not necessarily linked to football, the second form is unique to Hooliganism in Europe (Van Limbergen, 1989). This unique subset of supporter violence likely stems from the violent origins of the sport in 11th century England.

Despite the implementation of intensive regulation and legislation aimed at reducing supporter violence in football throughout the European Union, the problem persists. In particular, hooliganism is usually associated with high-pressure 'derby' matches. A 'derby' is a term often used by football punditry to describe a rivalry game, typically between two clubs from the same city or region. Examples include the North London derby between Arsenal and Tottenham Hotspur, as well as the Wearside-Tyneside derby between Sunderland and Newcastle.

While the issue of hooliganism first rose to prominence in pop culture and the media in England, it remains a key social and political obstacle in countries such as Italy, Portugal, and Greece. There are a number of distinct theoretical perspectives on supporter violence offered up from different sub-fields of psychology, including the social identity model, de-individuation, procedural justice theory, social representation theory, threatened egotism, neo-tribalism, and categorization theory. With each of the models offering up different hypothesis on the causal variables of Hooliganism, it may appear that each theory is distinct from the other. However, many of these competing hypotheses overlap more than the researchers who champion them would like to admit. Therefore, in order to have a holistic understanding of Hooliganism, the theories with different situational and individual difference variable must be aggregated and spliced together. In order to shed some light on the nature of spectator violence observed in key derby matches across European football, a review of the historical development of a model for understanding hooliganism becomes necessary.

Historical Development of Theories Regarding Group Behavior

While formalized Hooliganism is certainly an issue, spectator violence has received massive attention because it is difficult to explain the scope and scale of the vehement uprisings. In fact, the primary threat that Hooligans pose to the public is their ability to influence passionate football fans, who are ordinarily peaceful, to participate in the violence (Stott, 2011). This loss of self and conformity to the will of the group was

first coined as ‘de-individuation’ in 1952 by a team of psychologists (Reicher, 1995). However, theories in psychology containing the basic constructs of de-individuation can be dated back to the 19th century in France.

In response to the social unrest occurring in during the French Revolution, social psychologist Le Bon sought to establish a model that could explain the anti-social group behavior of his day. Given the nature of the prevalent forms of social unrest in his time, Le Bon hoped to understand how peaceful individuals display such aggressive and negative behavior (Reicher, 1995). Le Bon adopted a dualistic approach for understanding identity, and proposed that there are two levels of consciousness: the rational and well-informed individual, and the mindless member of a collective conscious (Reicher, 1995). Furthermore, he posited that two key mechanisms, contagion and suggestion, explain the manner in which conscious personality is replaced by the collective unconscious of the group.

With the field of psychology still in its infancy, Le Bon’s notions of how group behavior spread across all of the individuals were heavily influenced by medicine (Reicher, 1995). Within his model, he defined contagion as regularly mirroring the emotions and actions of the rest of the group. After the contagion has spread throughout the group, members of the group lose their individual identities and become vulnerable to suggestion, or uncritically following the impulses that emanate from the collective unconscious of the group mentality (Reicher, 1995). So, according to Le Bon, contagion and suggestion are inherent aspects of being involved in a high-energy crowd that causes all of the individuals to lose internal and external control.

However, there are some intuitive limitations of Le Bon's theory regarding crowd behavior. For example, according to his model, all crowds are inherently bad and can only lead to negative behavioral outcomes (Reicher, 1995). While this may have been true for him in the midst of the French Revolution, this notion is easily dismissed based on present research. So, while the external validity of this theory greatly diminished as a result of increased research into group behavior, it did provide the groundwork for more modern theories of de-individuation.

It would be another century before Festinger first proposed his theory of de-individuation. In 1952, Festinger and his research team found that when subjects were asked to recall highly individualized information, the subjects that remembered the least were also the most likely to talk badly about their parents (Diener, 1979). Based upon these findings, the researchers concluded that immersion in a crowd leads to a loss of sense of self, which in turn reduces self-control while increasing conformity to the behavior of the collective (Reicher, 1995). While Festinger's research design and conclusion failed to establish mediating or moderating variables involved in the psychological processes, his notion of de-individuation formed the foundation for future research into crowd behavior and spectator violence.

In the years after Festinger first introduced the vernacular of de-individuation to the social psychology community, various definitions of this distinct level of consciousness have been put forward. However, much like Le Bon's experience with describing collective behavior in crowds, the technical understanding of de-individuation is inherently linked to the historical context of the research. For the purpose of this discussion, Edward Diener's definition provides a sufficiently broad and unbiased

understanding of de-individuation that can apply to various social psychology theories. In his (1979) paper, Diener defined de-individuation as, “People in a group who are blocked from awareness of themselves as individuals and from monitoring their own behavior” (Diener, 1979). There are two important takeaways in this definition that allow it to be generalized to future theories of crowd behavior: self-awareness and the importance of the individual’s identity.

Phillip Zimbardo, the famous psychologist behind the Stanford prison experiment, attempted to address some of the input variables missing from Festinger’s model. His work with the prison experiment already revealed that self-evaluation, social structures, anonymity, and diminished self-imposed limitations are all heavily linked with anti-social behavior (Reicher, 1984). Building off both his own research as well as Festinger’s, Zimbardo proposed a detailed framework for how individuals reach a de-individuated state. Essentially, Zimbardo and his team stated that feelings of excitement, diminished accountability, sensory overload, and substance abuse (particularly alcohol) all increase the likelihood of undergoing de-individuation. Once in this state, the less self-evaluation the individual undergoes, the more likely they are to participate in anti-social behavior (Zimbardo, 1969). In implementing this framework, Zimbardo is the first researcher to address both antecedent and moderator variables for group behavior (Zimbardo, 1969). Furthermore, he established that an individual undergoing de-individuation is not necessarily a bad thing. Rather, once the individual members of a group have all undergone de-individuation, a number of situational and individual difference variables will affect the behavioral outcomes of the collective.

Diener and Prentice Dunn introduced the importance of self-awareness to any models seeking to explain group behavior. More specifically, Diener stated that that objective self-awareness, which operates on a spectrum, heavily influences behavioral outcomes in social settings (Diener, 1979). If objective self-awareness is high, then the individuals' attention is drawn inwards toward that self, such that active monitoring and self-regulation take place. However, when it is low, attention is cast outward, monitoring of the self comes to a halt, and behavioral outcomes fall under the purview of external factors (Diener, 1979). Finally, Diener claimed that objective self-awareness is caused by immersion in a group, sensory overload, conceptualizing the group as an entity, and deferring decision making to the group (Diener, 1979).

Prentice-Dunn took Diener's theory of objective self-awareness, and took it one step further in their model by dividing it into public and private self-awareness. They define public self-awareness in a manner similar to that of social anxiety, in the sense that it relates to the individual's concern with how others perceive them (Prentice-Dunn, Steven, and Ronald W. Rogers, 1982). However, his definition of private self-awareness mirrors the findings of Diener, in the sense that when private self-awareness is low, the individual is more likely to engage in the behavior of the group. Furthermore, they experience a reduction in the importance of personal social norms. According to Prentice-Dunn, the presence of accountability cues such as disguises, chanting, costume, and sensory overload increase the likelihood of an individual experiencing a decrease in public self-awareness, and are therefore more likely to engage in anti-social behavior (Prentice-Dunn et. Al, 1982).

Beginning with Le Bon in 19th century France, generations of psychologists have sought to understand the unique behavioral, social, and political norms of collective groups. The evolution of de-individuation theories established a number of potential mediating and moderating variables to explain the nature of crowds. Theories of self-awareness implicitly established the importance of perceived identities in social settings and the associated behavioral outcomes. This notion of a fluid identity will, like Festinger's theory of de-individuation, lay the foundation for future research into supporter/spectator violence in European football.

Social Identity and Elaborated Social Identity Models

Given the historical development of theories seeking to explain crowd behavior focuses heavily on notions of identity and self-awareness, most of the present research on Hooliganism tends to address similar constructs. In particular, Festinger and Diener's theories regarding de-individuation, and the idea that one can lose their identity in a crowd, formed the basis for future social psychology models. One model in particular, the social identity model, bridges the gap between theories of pure de-individuation and most of the present research on Hooliganism.

While historical theories regarding identity adopt a dualistic approach, in the sense that an individual is either fully engaged in their own identity or that of the crowd, the SIM views identity as a wholly unstable construct. According to most SIM models, an individual's identity is extremely volatile, and constantly undergoes revision and

reconstruction based on each person's experiences and their environment (Martin Lea, 2001)). Ian Jones (2000) describes social identification as when "people do not simply relate to each other as independent, isolated individuals. Rather, being a part of a social group, and having other perceive you as a member, is a driving force for someone's mental, emotional, and behavioral processes (Jones, 2000)." So, rather than an individual possessing one identity and temporarily losing it in large groups and crowds, they merely adopt the identity that they use whenever they are with a particular social group. Furthermore, the elaborated social identity model examines the antecedent variables that lead to group behaviors, and the moderating variables that increase/decrease the scale of these behaviors.

The recent trend of globalization in football over the past two decades has turned the sport into a natural medium for the expression of localized cultural identities, as well as instilling a sense of pride for belonging to a particular community (Van Houtom & Van Dam, 2002). Furthermore, like the education system and modernized mass media, football has been proven to shape and mold individual identities based on the collective representation of the club (Giulanottie, 1999). It is because of the influential power of football on each supporter's daily lives that a supporter's identity is closely linked to that of the club and its fans. However, with the globalization of modern soccer, the distribution of this newfound wealth among European clubs has been drastically inequitable, and has led to a gulf in success between the haves and the have-nots (Van Hiel, Hautman & Cornleis; 2007). As a result, clubs that once challenged for titles now consistently finish mid-table (Liverpool), while others constantly face the threat of relegation (Aston Villa). Therefore a supporter's identification with a particular club is no

longer based upon results on the pitch, but rather with the social benefits associated with supporting that organization (Jones, 2000)

According to the profit hypothesis, the perceived benefits of something must outweigh the perceived costs to the individual in order for their participation to continue (Jones, 2000). However, given the life-time commitment of football supporters to clubs that historically underperform, there must be some other explanation for why their support is unwavering. Territorial categorization, or the creation stark and polarized supporter groups formed on the basis of supporting rival local, regional, or national football clubs, plays an important role in the lives of supporters (Van Houtum, 2002). Research has shown that the in-groups and out-groups that form on the basis of supporting rival clubs influences individuals construction of schema regarding the function of their daily lives, and the importance of certain cultural aspects of their clubs (Van Houtum, 2002).

Since being a supporter of a club is an important cultural and social aspect in the lives of many fans, the perceived benefits of devoted support must outweigh the perceived costs (Jones, 2000). Four key mediating variables explain the continued support of clubs within the context of serious leisure: voice, unrealistic optimism, in-group favoritism, and out-group derogation. The construct of voice is simply the idea that supporting a particular club gives a, perceived, important voice to an individual. They are allowed to share their opinions and increase their self-esteem by talking about 'their' club with other people who subscribe to the same social identity (Jones, 2000). Meanwhile, unrealistic optimism is the idea that many supporters compensate with poor state of their club by setting unrealistic goals for the future (Jones, 2000). For example, clubs may

compensate for their poor league form by placing more weight on local derby matches. In-group favoritism provides immense social benefit to supporters who hold preferential attitudes toward each other. It often leads to 'in-group homogeneity', which increases a sense of solidarity, and can lead to a collective identity within the group (Jones, 2000). Finally, out-group derogation ties back to the notion of territorial categorization, in the sense that rival supporters are negatively stereo-typed by the in-group which leads to organized discrimination based upon supporting particular clubs (Jones, 2000).

This distinct violation of the profit hypothesis led to the advent of the term 'serious leisure', which essentially states that passionate involvement in a certain hobby or activity is so vitally important to the individual that it not only helps to mold their identity, but also drives their involvement in certain social groups (Jones, 2000).

According to Jones, being a committed supporter of a European football club has become the prime example of serious leisure. The key property of serious leisure is identification, which lends itself well to the social identity model. Since football shapes their lives and their views of the world based on which club they support, their various identities are tied to the cultural norms of the club (Van Houtum, 2002).

According to S.D. Reicher (1995), social identification is salient—we all identify to several different groups, and therefore our identification and subsequent behavioral outcomes change across groups. So, when supporters are in large crowds of fellow in-group members, their identity shifts to the collective identity of the group, and the behavioral outcomes are determined by the cultural norms of the collective (Stott, 2011). However, the behavior of the group is susceptible to a number of different situational variables, which mediate whether or not the crowd turns violent. Ultimately, the

collective identity will turn violent against their rivals if certain situational, social, and environmental variables are satisfied. Furthermore, the scale and scope of the violence can be manipulated depending on the social and historical context.

In his (2011) paper, Clifford Stott found that the perceived legitimacy of the law enforcement, or the threat of retaliation from opposition groups, was the main cause of acts of Hooliganism (Stott, 2011). If supporter groups feel that they will not be held accountable for their actions, then they are likely to engage in violence or antisocial behavior. According to the EISM model, intergroup identities are formed based upon the perceived legitimacy of the out-group. The compliance to societal norms are mediated by social identity and self-categorization processes (Stott, 2011). So, if the crowd disagrees with the rules imposed upon them, or if they if they do not fear retaliation from rival supporters, the collective identity of the group will become more aggressive, and potentially lead to violence. They also found that alcohol and levels of intoxication served as moderating variables.

An important aspect about perceived accountability and retaliation is anonymity. According to the Social Identity Model of De-individuation Effects, each person's self-constructed identity is extremely fluid and is widely situation-dependent (Lea, Spears & de Groot; 2001). It also states that identity is essentially a spectrum, and spans from the completely personal (personal standards and ethics) to completely group-based (collective identity based on social norms of the group). When anonymity is increased, which can be done either through costume or size of the crowd, supporters are more likely to engage in group-based self-categorization (Lea et. Al, 2001). If their social

identity salience is high, along with an increase in anonymity and a decrease in the ability to communicate interpersonal cues, they will undergo de-individuation (Lea et. Al, 2001).

Additional examples of procedural justice theory, or the idea that people conform to the law because they perceive a moral, ethical, and ideological obligation to do so (Stott, 2011), demonstrate the importance of anonymity in the collective identity. During the 1990's, violence erupted between Ireland and Northern Ireland, which led to an increase in punishment attacks, which are extremely violent group attacks (Silke, 2003). The mediating variable was accountability, while moderating variable for these horrific acts of violence was anonymity (Silke, 2003). So, if fans feel they will not be held accountable, they are likely to engage in violence, and the degree of anonymity they mask themselves in determines the scale of the acts of aggression. While the findings of this paper are within a political and social context, rather than sporting, the conclusions from the research generalize rather well to Hooliganism. Rivalries in football often possess strong ties to politics (Lowe, 2014), while face paint and masks are common forms of disguises at football matches (Lea, 2001). Not only do these disguises increase anonymity and therefore decrease accountability (Silke, 2003), but they also increase attraction to/identification with the in-group while simultaneously increasing in acceptance of particular out-group stereotypes (Lea, 2001) Finally, the interaction between psychological association with a collective and anonymity resulting from immersion in a crowd leads to increased obedience to established group norms, including acts of violence and protest (Lea, 2001).

Within the social identity model, there are a number of other situational variables that explain the cause and scale of Hooliganism, especially with regards to derby

matches. One important construct, symbolic othering, has to do with the notion of territorial categorization. So if two clubs are from the same city, symbolic othering allows supporters of a particular club to adopt certain cultural practices in order to distinguish themselves from rival supporters and to the rest of the world (Van Houtum, 2002). This explains both the heated nature of derby matches, as well as the specific characteristics of collective identities of supporter groups. Additionally, people who demonstrate higher levels of interdependence and value the importance of well-defined social groups are more likely to represent their own personal identity in terms that are specific to that group (Brewer, 2001). So, while high-energy derby matches with groups of supporters whose social identification is salient and value well-constructed social groups are more likely to engage in collective violence, they are more easily influenced.

Since a majority of collective violence occurs when the individuals within the group adopt a specific social identity associated with the club, it is important to understand some of the variables that shape the representation of the organizations identity. For example, songs and chanting form an integral aspect of football matches that shed light on the nature of crowds. For passionate supporters, the content of the songs they typically sing serves as a microscope revealing the values and cultural norms of the club's socially constructed identity (Van Houtum, 2002). The importance of songs and chants can be tied back to emulative reproduction, or the idea that historical events serve as a moderating variable for territorial identification (Van Houtum, 2002). So, if two clubs have a long history of violence, that history helps to shape and polarize the culture of the supporter groups for each club. Furthermore, the construct of mental distancing states that the smaller the physical distance between two clubs, the more polarized the

cultural norms of identification (Van Houtum, 2002). Therefore, for most derby matches, the interaction between historical events and territorial identification within the same local or regional space leads to very pronounced social groups, with clearly defined cultural and behavioral practices.

While historical and social context play important roles in the nature of crowds at football matches, further examination of the social identification model helps to explain when crowds are likely to turn violent. A key distinction to make here is the difference between spectator disorderliness and Hooliganism. According to Antonio Roversi (1991), spectator disorderliness can be defined as a form of supporter violence that has nothing to do opposing groups of supporters, but rather it is a natural occurrence at sporting events driven by collective participation in a stimulating environment and is typically aimed at those participating in the match itself: players, referees, trainers, etc. (Roversi, 1991).

In comparison to spectator disorderliness, Hooliganism is much more organized and driven purely by social identification with a particular club or group (Spaaij & Anderson, 2010). For example, spectator disorderliness may occur as the result of a poor call by an official during a match. Conversely Hooligans may be spurred to violence if their regional boosterism, or promotion of a specific identity intrinsically linked to their club, comes under threat from supporters of a rival club (Van Houtum, 2002).

Furthermore, within this framework, the home stadium essentially transforms into a physical manifestation of the constructed social identity of the club and its supporters (Roversi, 1991). So, violence can potentially break out at any sporting event. However, the manner in which supporters construct their social identities plays a vital role in the

collective representation of a particular club, and ultimately whether aggression and violence become cultural norms.

In particular, there are two cultural norms associated with every football supporter group: solidarity and compliance. Solidarity has to do with conformity to practices and characteristics of the in-group, while compliance refers to interactions with law enforcement and security (Stott, 2011). Within the Elaborated Social Identity Model, intergroup identities are formed based upon the perceived legitimacy of the opposition, whether they are rival supporter groups or police (Stott, 2011). According to this model, compliance processes are mediated by social identity. So, if the collective identity is shaped in part based upon the perceived illegitimacy of the laws or the behavior of rival supporters, then the supporters assume a status of victimhood (Stott, 2011). Hooligans are especially dangerous in this scenario, as most existing research agrees that these violent supporter groups are most effective when they can influence traditionally non-violent fans to join in the violence (Guilianotti, 2013). In summation, the perceived legitimacy of law enforcement and their authority plays a mediating role in whether or not spectator disorderliness can transform into full-blown Hooliganism.

While the previous sections shed light on the process of social identification and collective representation, there are several additional variables that moderate levels of aggression within the crowd. Plenty of research indicates that accountability and anonymity are two important variables (Silke, 2003). According to Martin Lea (2001), anonymity is the mediating variable for an individual undergoing de-individuation. By reducing the ability to communicate interpersonal cues, the individual's self-awareness undergoes a shift from the personal to the group-based (Lea, 2001). However, there are a

number of situational variables and theories within social psychology that explain in further detail the mechanisms by which this process occurs.

One such theory that explains the mechanisms that help to describe this process is the procedural justice theory (Stott, 2011), which essentially states that normative compliance to laws occurs because citizens perceive a honorable, moral or some self-constructed responsibility to do so. According to this theory, an increase in procedural justice, or normative compliance, leads to a similar increase in self-regulation (Stott, 2011). However, intoxication and communication serve as contrasting moderating variables for self-regulation. When open lines of communication are in place between police or club officials and supporters, normative compliance and perceived legitimacy of the laws increase (Stott, 2011). Conversely, as alcohol consumption and intoxication increases, there is a decrease in perceived legitimacy of consequences and increases disorderliness (Silke, 2003). So, much like the previous theories of social identity, supporter violence is largely mediated by accountability and anonymity. Furthermore, the regulation of certain variables such as intoxication, communication, and understanding of historical context can help to reduce the scope of any violent outbreaks (Stott, 2011).

Self-Categorization, self-representation, and self-awareness theories

There are a number of competing theories that draw on constructs from social identity models of de-individuation in order to explain supporter violence and Hooliganism. These theories are essentially an extension of the social identity model, but

focus heavily on the mechanisms that drive in-group and out-group dynamics.

Furthermore, theories of representation help to explain the intensive nature of supporting a particular club, as well as the behavioral outcomes of these supporter groups. However, unlike the social identity model and elaborated social identity model, these theories place a greater premium on individual difference variables. Finally, theories of tribe-like supporter groups and neo-tribalism are examined in order to further explain some of the peculiar cultural norms associated with particular supporter/Hooligan groups.

As stated in the previous section, social identification is salient and is made up of at least two major sub-groups: the individual and the collective. Self-categorization theory states that social identification salience mediates group behavior, social influence, and stereotyping. (Reicher, 1995). Moreover, the theory posits that selfhood is conceptualized by the individual through differing levels of inclusiveness such as the personal, categorical and the superordinate. Depending on which level an individual defines them; they will have different social interactions and conceptual understandings of intra and inter-group relations (Reicher, 1995). So, if an individual defines their own personal identity at the superorderinate, or group, level then they are more likely to conform to cultural norms of the collective. Supporters use emotional anchoring in order to help themselves form well-developed schema regarding an unfamiliar or misconstrued thing by linking it to a well-known and unique emotional response (Brewer, 2001). Essentially, fans make assumptions about the character of each individual supporter, both for their own club as well as the opposition, based upon sentiment rather than rational. One example of commonplace emotional anchoring at football matches is the manner in which supporters dress and decorate themselves, as it makes it easier for everyone

attending the match to easily identify them and make quick assumptions (Van Houtum, 2002). However, if supporters categorize themselves and others at the personal level, they are less likely to relate closely with the group.

The Attribution theory of Emotion and Motivation also helps to explain some of the inter-group dynamics between supporter groups and law enforcement, as well as rival supporter groups. It is based on the notion that all cognitive and emotional systems are caused by a behavior. This leads to the individual attempting to establish causality for the behavior, which effects emotions, and also serves as a mediating variable for motivation and the instigation of behavior (Betancourt & Blair, 1992). Within attribution theory, certain emotions are more strongly correlated with interpersonal emotions and relationships. Two variables in particular, anger and aggression, are linked with antisocial behavior toward the out-group (Betancourt, 1992). This occurs because emotions lead to more intense attributional processes regarding the character and personality of out-group members (Betancourt, 1992).

The processes involved within attribution theory share similarities with categorization theory, especially with respect to in-group and out-group dynamics. In order to distance themselves from a clearly defined out-group, in most cases rival supporter groups and law enforcement, supporters of a particular club will attribute negative characteristics toward the out-group. This will lead to a polarization in the relationship and attitudes of the supporter groups. Supporter groups that have cultural norms and rituals linked with aggression and anger toward a particular out-group are more likely to engage in conflict with members of the out-group.

The key aspect of the Attribution Theory is the inherent link to the salience of social identity. When individual supporters' salience is high, they will adopt the superordinate level of identity and align their behaviors with that of the group (Reicher, 1995). If their club has a history of violence and acts of aggression, this will mediate the aggressive nature of the group. When levels of aggression and anger are high, the individual supporters are more likely to adopt the identity of the collective crowd and engage in acts of violence (Brewer, 2001). In order to understand the nature of the crowd, as well as the demonstrations of collective identities, further examination of different classifications of these social representations is necessary. Power dynamics and the ability of the violent minority to influence the normally peaceful majority are two major components of supporter violence. Therefore, the different classifications of social representations shed light on the inter-group dynamics of supporter groups of the same club, as well as those of rival teams (Jones, 2000).

In his 1988 paper, Moscovici describes these social representations as, "the ideas, thoughts, images and knowledge which members of a collective share: consensual universes of thought which are socially created and socially communicated to form part of a 'common consciousness'...Social representations shape our beliefs, attitudes and opinions, and the processes by which we construct social reality" (Moscovici, et. al, 1988). These social representations are incredibly nuanced, and therefore must be viewed with the historical and social context in mind. Additionally, social representations are intrinsically linked to styles of communication between different groups, especially rival Hooligans or law enforcement (Hoijer, 2011). For Hooligan groups that support historically violent and aggressive clubs, the projected identities they display in their

social representations play a vital role in determining the dynamics within the in-group. Furthermore, individuals who are high on interdependence and value social representations are more likely to undergo de-individuation and engage in acts of supporter violence (Brewer, 2001). So, once again, the interaction between projected social identities and individual difference variables increase the likelihood of acts of Hooliganism or supporter violence.

According to the optimal distinctiveness theory, each individual supporter strives to strike a desired balance within their projected identities between inclusion in the in-group and distinct categorical differences with the out-group (Brewer, 2001). This notion of distinctiveness between the in-group and out-group for supporter groups is extremely important in understanding the practices and cultural norms of these groups. Since many of the most well-documented cases of Hooliganism throughout the world seem like archaic, clan-like demonstrations of masculinity and aggression, the field of neo-tribalism has emerged in an effort to explain these practices. Neo-tribalism can be defined as a “post-modern form of sociality in which collective forms of identity are based on sentiment rather than rationality” (Hughson, 1999). This construct is very similar to attribution theory, in the sense that emotions serve as both mediating and moderating variables for supporter violence.

One noteworthy aspect of neo-tribalism is the importance placed upon identity being examined within a highly social context. The reason for this is that the social discourse within the neo-tribe is driven by on the daily practices that occur organically within the in-group, as opposed to adherence to a strict chain of command within the in-group (Hughson, 1999). In order for researchers to truly understand Hooliganism, the

social context must be used as a medium to examine their daily cultural practices and behavioral outcomes.

A key construct often observed in the neo-tribe is the importance of social centrality, or a certain setting that serves as the epicenter for members of official supporter groups to regularly gather in order to establish cultural norms and behavioral practices (Hughson, 1999). These sites of social centrality are important because the more concentrated individual supporters are in proximity, the more pronounced the demonstrations of their collective identity (Reicher, 1995). Soccer stadiums serve as a unique arena for social centrality, because they are places for average fans and neo-tribal supporter groups to gather together. If a particular neo-tribe feels ostracized by the rest of the people in the stadium, then the actions by the Hooligan members are carried out with the intent of upsetting rival supporter groups and creating conflict (Hughson, 1999). Furthermore, these sites of social centrality transform over time into what UCLA professor, Edward Soja, describes as thirdspace. This construct relies on a figurative notion on the understanding of space, in which it is both real and figurative and has no clearly defined borders, which ultimately means that it has no limits (Soja, 1996) behavior, and these displays ultimately define their projected collective identities and social representations (Hughson, 1999). So, while soccer stadiums are not only sites of social centrality, they are also a physical embodiment of thirdspace. It is in this space that Hooligans and violent supporter groups form their ritualistic cultural practices, and attempt to use their unbounded freedom in the thirdspace within the stadium to push the limits of socially acceptable support. However, the composition of differing social

representations within the thirdspace will ultimately dictate whether or not supporter groups are likely to engage in acts of violence or aggression (Lea, 2001).

According to Birgitta Hoijer, there are three primary sub-classifications of social representations. Since collective representations are mutually shared mechanisms for evaluating, thinking about and appraising the nature of reality within a highly socialized context (Moscovici, 1988), these projected identities typically fall within a handful of major sub-categories. The most prevalent embodiment of these projections is hegemonic representations. Most people within hegemonic representations tend to share similar points of view with little difference in opinion (Hoijer, 2011). Essentially, these are fully conformed social ideas that individual members of the group buy into subconsciously. Meanwhile, with emancipated representations, only a subdivision of the majority social group shares similar points of views (Hoijer, 2011). This leads to unique behavioral outcomes by the vocal minority, which are not practiced by the larger population or specific social group. Finally, polemic representations are intrinsically tied to conflict between, or within, social groups (Hoijer, 2011).

If there are clearly pronounced negative inter-group dynamics between the in-group and out-group, they are often the result of strong historical ties to conflict both within and between social groups (Patten, 2004). With respect to football supporters, most of the official and non-violent supporter groups typically employ hegemonic representations. Conversely, Hooligans and violent supporter groups fall more in line with emancipated or polemic representations. Furthermore, social representations are intrinsically linked to different styles of communication (Hoijer, 2011). This explains further why individuals who subscribe to emancipated representations and polemic

representations are often Hooligans. High Empathy, open dialogue, and high identifiability are all strongly negatively correlated with violence and other negative behavioral outcomes (Betancourt, 1992; Stott, 2011). Polemic representations are particularly fitting for Hooligans because of the importance placed upon landmark historical events in the rivalry between rival supporter groups (Hoijer, year). Furthermore, the interaction between historical events and the importance of conflict in polemic representations mirrors the relationship between Hooligans and their rivals during derby matches. The fans all know of the history riddled with conflict between the two clubs, which maintains a cultural norm of violence and perpetual conflict between the rival supporter groups.

Most of these isolated and aggressive Hooligan groups possess several commonalities, regardless of which club or league they support. Much like the polemic representations, they tend to be the smallest minority of supporter groups for a certain club (Carnibella, Fox & Marsh, 1996). Additionally, many of these Hooligans also possess subterranean values, which are individual and communal, that lie below the accepted standards of cultural practices in regular society (Hughson, 1999). Soccer stadiums and other similar settings have high volumes of people in close proximity and low accountability, which are two key mediators for supporters to display their subterranean values (Hughson, 1999). Typically, they deal with taking risks and engaging in thrill-seeking activities as a means for coping with their dissatisfaction with their everyday lives (Hughson, 1999). Furthermore, the fundamental importance of displays of violence and aggression form part of an overarching discourse in which isolated and marginalized Hooligan groups feel the need to project their tribal like obsession with

their masculinity and impervious nature (Van Hiel et. al, 2007). So, football stadiums have effectively become a medium for people to express these hedonistic values and demonstrate their violent social representation (Hughson, 1999). Football stadiums and other sites of social centrality typically are where fans can exhibit subterranean values. This is especially true when Hooligan groups travel to away matches, because they are more likely to engage with the neo-tribal act of resistance. A key aspect of neo-tribal supporter groups, resistance is the formation of an ideology or in-group cultural practice in response to a widely point of view or belief (Hughson, 1999). Much like the importance of historical events in polemic representations, Hooligan groups have their collective, social identity molded over time by engaging in resistance at the opposing stadium during derby matches (Hoijer, year).

Other Theories and Individual Difference Variables

Many of the findings from research into social identity models, as well as other competing theories of de-individuation and crowd behavior, generalize fairly well to the study of Hooliganism. However, in order to understand the nuanced process that individuals undergo when participating in supporter violence, these existing theories must be aggregated and combined with further research into individual difference variables. Most Hooligans are socially isolated in their daily lives and find solace in their minority group membership (Piotrowski, 2006). Therefore, it is important to understand which individual characteristics mediate and moderate violent behavior, so as to formulate a

more holistic model of Hooliganism and acts of violence at football matches (Piotrowski, 2006).

One of the more comprehensive studies on Hooliganism in European football was conducted by Alan Van Heil (2007), and included data on over 100 football fans, 37% of who identified as Hooligans. Van Heil and his team sought to understand which process variables (loss of private/public self-awareness and social identity model) serve as the best mediators for aggressive behavior at football matches, as well as which individual difference variables (ex: attitudes, conscientiousness, etc.) moderated the levels of aggression. This comprehensive dual-model research design effectively aggregates some of the more popular theories on group behavior and seeks to paint a complete picture of Hooliganism, as well as the individuals with the greatest likelihood of joining a violent supporter group. They found that the loss of private self-awareness is less effective than the social identity model when predicting acts Hooliganism, although the process variables are strongly correlated and both are predictors of mass violence (Van Hiel et. Al, 2007). Meanwhile, the use of self-categorization theory to examine Hooligan organizations sheds further light on a number of predictor variables for group membership (Piotrowski, 2006).

The social, economic and historic context surrounding acts of violence at football matches is vital to understanding both how and why Hooligan groups are formed. Hooligans tend to be in their late-teens or twenties, male, and from low to working class families (Carnibella et. al, 1996). Research has shown that deviant and antisocial behaviors are simply a means for people who feel highly alienated to express themselves in an attempt to combat their loneliness (Piotrowski, year). Similarly, individuals who

demonstrate low self-esteem tend to have unstable beliefs about their own societal value and are more likely to engage in violence, aggression, and outward blaming of others (Baumeister, 1996). Essentially, when young people are deprived of a stable and healthy support network, they are more likely to experience alienation. Hooligan groups are therefore formed by a group of alienated people who are all mutually looking toward the same goal of inclusion (Piotrowski, 2006). However, given their prolonged social isolation in the past, many of the activities that these Hooligan groups partake in are antisocial in nature and rooted in aggression (Van Houtum, 2002). Meanwhile, the need for continued support after joining the group contributes to violent behavior, as individuals aim to mold their identity to the norms of the group while simultaneously attempting to prove that they belong (Piotrowski, 2006). All of these violent practices and antisocial behaviors are exhibited as a symbol of every Hooligan groups' most prominent creed: Defend your club, and all of the things that your club stands for. (Piotrowski, 2006).

In addition to sharing similar backgrounds and values, research has shown that a large number of Hooligans most likely possess similar attitudes, and perhaps a common personality profile. Many Hooligans tend to show low levels of Agreeableness and Conscientiousness (Van Heil, 2007). Furthermore, positive predispositions towards violence are a strong predictor of both de-individuation within the social identity model and likelihood of engaging in acts of group violence (Van Heil, 2007). Additionally, Hooligans tend to have low levels of social interactions in their daily levels and exhibit high levels of aggression (Piotrowski, 2006). Within the confines of the stadium, there are three widely recognized release factors, or occurrences that precipitate violence at

football matches (Piotrowski, 2006). Since arousal, involvement, and excessive sensory stimulation are mediating variables violent crowds, certain intense moments in the flow of the match are likely to spur supporters to display antisocial behavior (Zimbardo, 1969).

One common release factor is when, within the social context of the stadium, supporters of one team are under the impression that some harm has come to them (Piotrowski, 2006). It can come in many forms, such as a verbal abuse from opposition supporters, the invocation of a certain incident in the history of their rivalry, and in some leagues, the oppressive government supporting the other team (Carnibella et. Al, 1996). Another common release factor is if an incorrect or harsh call is made during the run of play that shifts the tide in favor of the opposition-group, or that drastically affects the outcome of the match (Piotrowski, 2006). While this pattern is more often observed in South American football leagues, the historical context of derby matches can mediate violent reactions in these situations. Finally, with respect to the in-group, when a compelling sense of solidarity increases within the group over the course of the match, influential members of the group tend to take advantage and spur their fellow members to act aggressively (Piotrowski, 2006). Once again, widespread acts of supporter violence at football matches hinges on the ability of the vocal minority to manipulate normally peaceful fans.

Individuals with excessively high self-esteem often compose unstable schema regarding their own self-worth. As a result, they tend to lash out and exhibit increases incidences of violence, aggression, and blaming of others (Baumeister, 1996). For example, a Hooligan with volatile levels of high self-esteem is attending a derby match.

His team goes down a goal to their rivals, and the opposition supporters start singing abusive songs about his club and its supporters. With so much of his self-worth tied up in his club, the failures of his team against his most hated rivals seriously threatens the reality of his ego (Baumeister, 1996). He will lash out, often violently, at the source of his threatened egotism [opposition supporters] as a means of coping with his own insecurities by not accurately appraising his own self-worth. Therefore, unrealistic optimism regarding the self and inconsistency in constructed identities are both mediating variables for violence (Baumeister, 1996)

In addition to expanding upon previous theories of crowd behavior and group violence, research into individual difference variables in Hooligans has also confirmed several findings. For example, the elaborated social identity model showed that the probability of wide-scale violence breaking out at a football match hinges on the ability of the vocal minority Hooligan groups to influence the typically peaceful fans (Stott, 2011). Meanwhile, research on individual difference variables shows that people with unrealistically high levels of self-esteem tend to adopt leadership roles within the group, and are also more likely to display violent outbursts (Baumeister, 1996). Additionally, Ian Jones (2000) found that one of the primary reasons that football supporters consistently violate the profit hypothesis in their identification with certain club is that membership within social groups of fellow fans offers unrealistic optimism. For football supporters who fit the general personality profile of Hooligans, unrealistic optimism regarding their own constructed view of the self is a mediating variable for violence (Baumeister, 1996). So, for both traditionally non-violent and violent supporter groups, the unrealistic optimism provided by group membership drives their continued

participation social environment and ritualistic displays of collective identity.

Furthermore, since unrealistic optimism is a mediating variable for violence, when things go wrong at a football match, the Hooligan groups are able to take advantage of release factors before or after a match and influence the traditionally non-violent supporters to engage in the conflict. Finally, there are a number of ritualistic practices observed in Hooligan groups all over Europe.

Different Cultural Practices Around Europe

The practice of Hooliganism first spread around Europe in the 1970's and 80's, although today the tradition goes by many names. In England, the most notorious and aggressive Hooligan groups are called Football Firms. Meanwhile, in Italy the supporters call the most dangerous groups 'Ultras', and they tend to possess extremist political and racial views (Roversi, 1991). Regardless of the vernacular, Hooliganism plagues European soccer. The widespread coverage and moral panic regarding Hooliganism in England has led to modern day situation where European football fans have well-refined schema regarding the role of spectators at matches (Spaaij & Anderson, 2010). Over the decades, the most prominent Hooligan groups have used their vast media coverage at the center of public attention to voice their displeasure with political movements or state institutions (Spaaij & Anderson, 2010). As the globalization of football continues in the 21st century, domestic club teams and the society they represent have become closely intertwined (Roversi, 1991). Furthermore, territorial identities are formed at the local level as a by-product of football matches, which increases the link between society and

football (Van Houtum, year). While there are a number of universal practices and values shared in Football Firms across Europe, each league and country has its own unique manifestation. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the interaction between culture and supporter violence.

Since each European league possesses unique characteristics and traditions of support, any conclusions about the causal factors of supporter violence must include culture-specific information. However, there are three general phases of the development of Hooliganism witnessed in every European nation. The first phase typically occurs inside the stadium, with match officials and players receiving a majority of the abuse (Carnibella et. Al, 1996). Meanwhile, stage two is marked by violence both between rival supporter groups, as well as between fans and law enforcement (Carnibella et. Al, 1996). During this phase cultural traditions, such as invading the terraces of rival supporters and stealing items such as flags, banners, and in extreme cases, the seats themselves (Van Hiel, 2007). In the third and final phase, the locus of violence shifts away from the stadium to the surrounding area. Furthermore, the attacks on rival supporters become much more militarized and organized. Most importantly, Hooliganism during this phase has more to do with engaging in violence and promoting territorial identities than genuinely supporting a football club (Carnibella et. Al, 1996). In addition to commonalities in the general development of Hooliganism across European nations, there are several societal variables that influence the established norms of supporter groups

According to Spaaij and Anderson (2010), there are four macro-level factors that impact the level of violent displays of certain clubs and their supporter groups: economic, political, social, and cultural. Throughout the world local and regional rivalries are often

formed on economic disparities, polarized political views, as well contrasting social views. Furthermore, Spaaji and Anderson's (2010) described the rivalries that forming along these lines as the result of deep particularism, or supporting a certain football club based upon how their identity aligns with the collective identity of the club. These issues, which fuel the deep particularism between rival supporter groups, are called societal fault lines, and they often form at the local, regional, and national levels (Spaaji and Anderson, 2010). Essentially, the stark juxtaposition between the collective identity of supporters for two rival clubs not only determine the cultural norms within the in-group, but also shapes the identity and rituals of each individual. Additionally, the more polarized the views on either side of the societal fault lines, the more violent and aggressive the derby matches (Spaaij & Anderson, 2010). The fact that the collective identity of a football club is based upon economic, political, social, and cultural issues demonstrate how enmeshed football and identity are for supporters. The projected identities are displayed at football matches in order to fulfill particular desired stereotypes. The contents, as well as the scope, of these displays are continually moderated by the results on the field (Van Houtum, 2002). These patterns are especially prominent within the culture of Italian football in the Serie A, although similar patterns can be observed across most European domestic leagues.

Heated derbies and other intense football matches play a large part in the formation of collective identities and ritualistic practices. This process of cultural diffusion begins within the confines of the stadium, molded over-time in a physical embodiment of thirdspace, before spreading to all of the clubs supporters like contagion (Roversi, 1991). Furthermore, according to Spaaij and Anderson, "Identification with a

collective is what makes group behavior possible” (2010). So, the occurrences and practices honed in the stadium mold and inform the culture and identification of supporter groups over time. Once this collective identity has been formed, the supporters in the group transition from the personal to the group identity, and subsequently align their behavior and views with that of the collective (Van Hiel, 2007). Not only does the collective identity enable group behavior, but the basis upon which the identity is formed also determines the types of ritualistic practices that supporters engage in. If the Habitus of supporter groups is inherently tied to violence and aggression, then the embodied social learning will lead to the development of certain discourses concerning conduct and cultural practices (Spaaij & Anderson, 2010)

When individuals align themselves with the collective representation of the club, they feel less accountable for their actions. Therefore, given the presence of certain precipitating conditions, they are likely to exhibit aggressive and antisocial tendencies. Since a majority of ritualistic and behavioral practices are formed within the confines of the stadium, a site of social centrality, there are two distinct-classes of issues that lead to violent outbreaks. This model mirrors the one adopted by S.D. Reicher (1995) that compares the effectiveness of the social identity model with categorization theories. According to Spaaij and Anderson (2010), both issue-relevant and issue-irrelevant factors are mediators for supporter violence. Issue-relevant factors are individual difference variables, which, informed by societal stereotypes, lead to symbolic othering and polarization of attitudes between the in-group and out-group (Spaaij & Anderson, 2010). Additionally, issue-irrelevant factors deal with a clear understanding of the environment inside the arena, because certain situational variables mediate supporter-violence and acts

of Hooliganism (Spaij & Anderson, 2010). Once again, research has shown that in order to have a holistic understanding of Hooliganism, a comprehensive understanding of the effects of both circumstantial and individual difference variables is of vital importance. So, the typical personality profile of a supporter that a certain club attracts drives the nature of the collective identity for the supporters and any Hooligan groups. Therefore, one cannot make any conclusions about the nature of Hooliganism and the differing mediating models without knowledge of the distinct cultural practices in each European league. Since each league has its own unique history, the current state of supporter groups should be viewed through a dichotomy in which the past and future are constantly affecting the present.

Football in Italy

Italian football, especially the Serie A and Serie B leagues, has a long history of violence dating back to the 1970's. The vast majority of displays of masculinity and aggression that are intrinsically linked to Italian football fans are adapted from the English model of Hooliganism. However, the Italian Hooligans, or 'Ultras' as they are commonly called, are driven by a wide array of extreme political, social, municipal and racial views (Roversi, 1991). Therefore, historic Italian football grounds such as the Stadio Olimpico in Rome and the San Siro in Milan now serve as a canvas of Italian culture and society (Guschwan, 2007). Rivalries form along intense political, geographical, and racial societal fault lines in Italian football (Carnibella et. Al, 1996)..

The intensity of the emotional anchoring present in the social representations of different Ultra groups creates a negative feedback loop that exacerbates these divides. An additional important aspect of Italian football is the evolution of police strategy in response to the emergence of Hooliganism, and how it has adapted over the different phases in the evolution of the Ultras.

The historical development of the Ultra culture in Italian football, dating back to the 1970's, can be broken down into three primary phases (Roversi, 1991). Not only do the three phases highlight changes in the styles of violent displays by Ultra groups at matches, but they also show how the victims of attacks and the locus of the clash changes over time. Furthermore, the contents of the issue-irrelevant and issue-relevant factors continue to change over time in order to reflect the three phases of Ultra culture (Spaaij & Anderson, 2010). These sub-groups are formed on the basis of sharing similar views toward Italian society, and therefore they also tend to drive the culture and ritualistic practices observed in a certain supporter group.

The first phase occurred throughout the 1970's, and it introduced a number of the (Roversi, 1991). During this phase, stark dividing lines between rival groups tended to form on the basis of extreme political ideologies. These associations originated as small, local and informal social networks of friends and family. Over time, these unofficial alliances became extremely refined and polarized, usually with regards to political views (Roversi, 1991). In fact, until the most violent period in the history of Italian football during the late 1980's, 'Ultra' referred to supporter groups that were extremely leftist (Roversi, 1991). Therefore, many of the most extreme rivalries in Italian football are based on constructs that have nothing to do with the match itself (Guschwan, 2007).

Ultras use emotional anchoring with respect to political, cultural, and socio-economic paradigms in order to perpetually polarize in-group and out-group dynamics within the confines of the stadium. In fact, the ritualistic practice of sneaking into the opposition terrace behind the goal and attempting to steal their flags and banners serves as a perfect example (Roversi, 1991). This violent re-tooling of Capture the Flag demonstrates two key aspects of Italian Ultras: most ultras are young men, and passionate displays of aggression are the most prominent feature of support. So, while English Hooliganism is largely driven by social factors, Italian Ultras are motivated by municipal rivalries (Guschwan, 2007). However, with the introduction of the English Hooligan model during the 1980's, as well as the enactment of misguided policing strategies, Ultras began placing more value on violence and fighting than the actual result of the match.

The first phase of the rise of Hooliganism in Italian football is identifiable by the gradual formation of social sub-groups of supporters. Meanwhile, the second-phase begins the process of establishing extremist views regarding politics, regionalism and race. Many of the key characteristics that mark the second-phase in the rise of Ultras came about as a response to football officials and police policies (Roversi, 1991). In response to the rise of incidences of violence during the 1970's, police presence increased at all matches, while seating arrangements were constructed in order to segregate home and away fans (Roversi, 1991). As a result, Ultras would often fight before or after the match, but ultimately outside of the confines of the stadium (Roversi, 1991). During this era, the football matches became less about opportunities to watch good soccer and support your team, but rather to provide a setting for openly clashing with opposition supporter groups, but ultimately away from the stadium. As a result, incidences of

violence inside the stadium went down (Carnibella et. Al, 1996), but drastically increased in less controlled environments outside of the arena. Furthermore, during this phase Ultras became noticeably more militarized (camouflage, armor, lethal weapons, etc.), and their attacks became much more organized and strategic (Roversi, 1991). So, what started as an unorganized collection of social sub-groups from the same region morphed into a militaristic gang that claimed authority from their respective clubs. In fact, during the 1990 World Cup, Italian fans often cheered for national teams that possessed players on their club team rather than the Azzuri (Carnibella et. Al, 1996).). Furthermore, a clear hierarchical structure began to emerge in the groups, with carefully crafted roles for each member of the group (Roversi, 1991). Finally, the combination of media attention and poor policing policies led to the final stage, in which the 'Ultras' culture spread like a contagion around Italy.

During the third and final phase, the violent practices and importance of grandiose displays became consolidated and ingrained in the lives of supporters. Additionally, this period is marked by the emergence, and often times collapse, of thousands of new Ultra groups and sub-divisions (Roversi, 1991). As a result, violent outbreaks occurred at 10.5% of Serie A and Serie B matches during the 1988/89 season (Carnibella et. Al, 1996). Furthermore, the sense of solidarity for individuals supporting the same club evaporated as more and more sub-divisions of supporters from the same club emerged (Guschwan, 2007). While Ultra groups originally formed on the basis of shared extremist views, these new factions of violent supporter groups were formed as a result of marginal variations in ideologies (Roversi, 1991). The newest and most violent Ultras during this period did not care about football at all. The demonstrations became more centered on

civil disobedience and passionately expressing well-refined, intense ideologies. In fact, in 1994 Silvio Berlusconi used football vernacular and appeals to regional identities to take office (Carnibella et. Al, 1996). This demonstrates how intricately connected municipal identification and football are in the daily lives of Italian citizens. Furthermore, the fact that he only lasted in office for a solitary year demonstrates how deeply-seed these regional rivalries are, as he could not satisfy one group without marginalizing another.

Football is an inherent aspect of the daily lives of the Italian people. The evolution of Ultras since the 1970's demonstrates that this relationship, when handled improperly, leads to extremist and violent groups of supporters. In fact, what started as social groups coming together to support a common cause evolved over the years into unstable associations based upon male aggression and acts of violence. These aggressive, young, and blue-collar workers use displays of violence to seek pleasurable excitement and emotional arousal (Piotrowski, 2006). Ultimately, the violent and politically extreme ultras are a small minority, but they are very vocal and they use their influence to mold the culture of Italian soccer.

Football in Portugal

While Ultra culture first emerged in Italy a decade after Hooliganism began in England, it took another two decades before becoming an Issue in Portugal. In fact, Portuguese football was often used by the right-wing dictatorship to appease the masses, so as to distract them from the oppressive regime (Boyle & Montero, 2005). As a result, Hooliganism reached Portugal much later than most European nations because the Estado

Navo (Boyle & Montero, 2005) feared football as a form of social protest. By the mid 1990's, there were several indicators of an emerging Hooligan culture. In an attempt to move away from the sedative effect of football witnessed during the Second Republic, Portuguese supporter culture began placing more emphasis on flamboyant and extravagant displays of (Carnibella et. Al, 1996). However, tribe-like clashes between supporters of smaller clubs from lower divisions and village teams emerged (Carnibella et. Al, 1996). Furthermore, several anti-social practices not rooted in violence, such as graffiti and offensive songs, occurred more frequently at first division matches (Carnibella et. Al, 1996).

While Italians typically use football teams to promote their regional identities, the performance of the national team often serves as a symbol for Portuguese nationalism (Boyle & Montero, 2005). When the national team lost, fans feared a reversion to the cultural norms of the Second Republic. However, when they won, supporters felt that it was an indication of Portugal's emergence as a European power (Boyle & Montero, 2005). These patterns of emotional anchoring demonstrate how closely the success of a football team is closely related to external validation of one's identity. Since football plays such a vital role in the daily lives and narratives of supporters, it is an extremely effective medium for the implementation of particular behavioral discourses.

Football in Greece

Football in Greece possesses stronger historical ties to crowd violence than Italy and Portugal, although Hooliganism spread around the Greek Superleague during a

similar time frame to the two previous nations. The primary reason for the time-delay in Hooliganism reaching Greece was the oppressive dictatorship from 1967-74 (Tsoukala, 2011). Therefore, the first official and highly organized supporter groups emerged in the late 1970's. These early groups tended to either be fascist or anti-fascist, and as a result, Hooliganism in Greece is intrinsically linked to extremist political ideologies. However, the massive uptick in violent outbreaks either inside or near the stadium skyrocketed during the 1980's, solidifying hooliganism as a powerful tool of political protest (Tsoukala, 2011). According to Yiannis Zaimaki of the University of Crete, "Football functions as a cultural space that dramatizes and codifies wider political and ideological confrontation under the football subcultures' way of thought" (2016).

Essentially, Greek football matches are an embodiment of thirdspace in which individual and collective identities are molded by displays of socio-political protest. Over time, this process has transformed the nature of the Greek Superleague into a competition riddled with violence and corruption (Carnibella et. Al, 1996) . As a result, Greek supporters now view the Superleague in a similar fashion to how they view their government: a state of crisis. Furthermore, Greece is one of the few nations around the world that experiences supporter violence at basketball games (Tsoukala, 2011). This demonstrates that sport and political activism in Greece are strongly correlated. Finally, the history of violence between rival groups and law enforcement has led to well-developed schema and deeply-seeded symbolic othering.

The Junta of the Colonels, which spanned eight years during the late 60's and early 70's, regularly used the success of Greek football teams as a propaganda tool promoting the military regime (Zaimakis, 2016). In response to the government taking

control of their beloved sport, younger groups of football supporters became highly politicized. This introduction of politics into the nature of identity for football supporters forever linked the two spheres. For example, club owners during the 1970's would voice their support for the Junta of Colonels to their supporters in exchange for favors from the regime (Zaimikis, 2016). Even after Democracy was reinstated after the collapse of fascism, young supporter groups continued to form on the basis of supporting a particular club and radicalized political ideologies.

The Hooligans in Greece share many ritualistic practices and displays of identity with the Ultras in Italy. Ultras in both leagues tend to be young, socially alienated and demonstrate positive attitudes toward violence. Supporter groups from both leagues use tribal displays to promote the collective identity. These displays are carried out in an effort to both project group values, as well as establish sites of social centrality for Ultras within sections of the stadium.

In an effort to combat rising incidences of violence at football matches, Greek law enforcement began constructing gates to compartmentalize and segregate different supporter groups (Zaimakis, 2016). These borders harken back to the construct of containment, and how Italian supporters establish group norms within the confines of the stadium (Van Houtum, 2002). Essentially, this enclosed arena serves as a thirdspace where fans can mold their collective identity by competing with rival supporter groups inside the stadium. The effect of containment is exponentially greater in Greek football, because each gated off section in the arena serves as the thirdspace for that particular supporter group. In fact, these two constructs are so closely linked that Greek Ultras often derive their name from their section of the stadium, such as the Gate 7 and Gate 13 Ultras

of Olympiakos and Panathinaikos respectively (Zaimakis, 2016). These groups first formed during the 1980's, which coincided with one of the most violent periods in Greek football. From 1983-86, there were three reported deaths and hundreds of serious injuries (Tsoukala, 2011).

One major way in which Hooliganism in Greece differs from Italy is the importance placed upon nationalism within these groups. In fact, this is the antithesis of Italian culture, which has intense regional and local identities (Van Houtum, 2002). During the 1990's and early 2000's, Hooligan culture pervaded all of Greek soccer and bled over to support for the national team (Zaimakis, 2016). However, this strong sense of nationalism was severely unstable. For example, when Greece lost a friendly to Albania in 2004, supporters all over the country would launch surprise attacks on Albanians, which resulted in the death of a 20 year-old Albanian supporter (Tsoukala, 2011). This toxic relationship between politics and football in Greece has led to an irreparable environment of violence in the Greek Superleague.

Basic Model

With a more comprehensive understanding of the mediating, moderating, individual difference and cultural variables, the most passionate derbies in Italy, Portugal, and Greece may now be examined. As stated in previous sections, a number of these variables and explanations can generalize well to each of these rivalries. However, in order to fully understand Hooligans and Ultras in each nation, these overarching theories

must be aggregated with journalistic coverage of the rivalries and examined within a social context specific to each country.

Since research has shown that Hooliganism is most likely to occur in derby matches, all three case studies examined are local derbies. Additionally, since the first phase in the development of a Hooligan/Ultra culture is marked by clashes with police inside the stadium, analysis of procedural justice theory is necessary. Furthermore, the very definition of Hooliganism implies that each of these groups adopts polemic and emancipated social representations. However, given the long-term development of Hooligan culture in any given country, both the mediating and moderating factors must be broken up into situational-dependent and historically developed. Finally, since Hooligan groups are shaped by culture and history, one must understand the common narratives that supporters of each team tell, which ultimately drives the nature of the group.

Figure 1

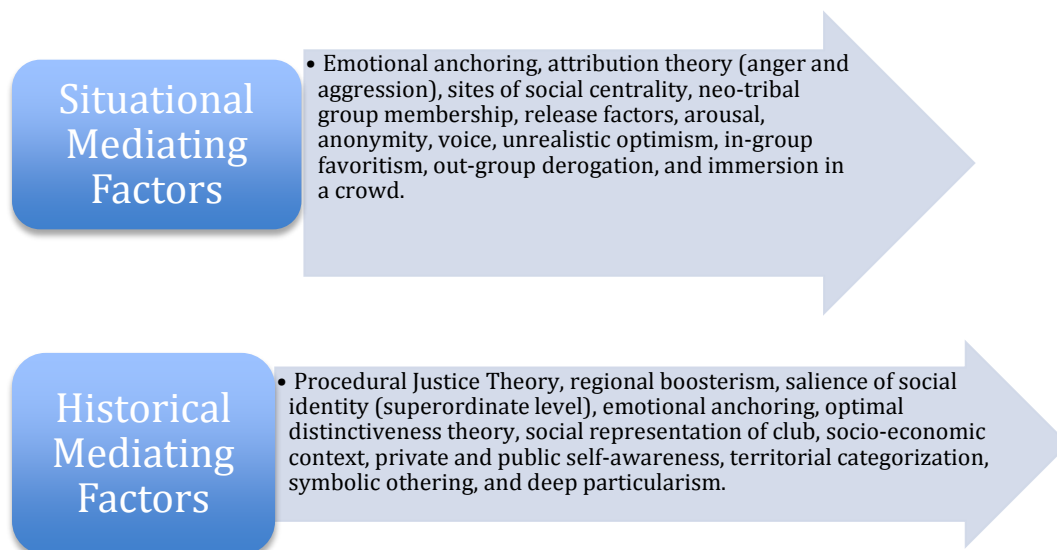
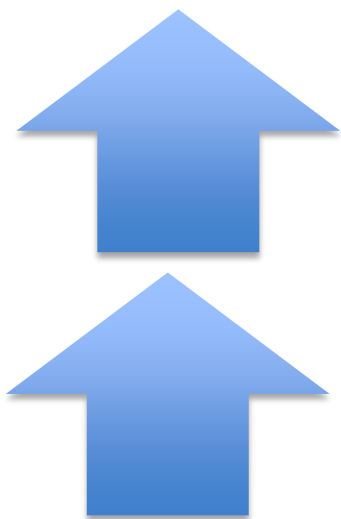


Figure 2



Situational Moderating Variables: contents of songs and chants, interpersonal cues, influence, suggestability, alcohol, style of communication, thirdspace, social representations, physical proximity, mental distancing, identifiability, emotions, attitudes, self-evaluation, sensory overload, excitement, diminished accountability, disguises, chanting, costumes, societal fault lines, and emulative reproduction.

Long-term Variables: Subterranean Values, interpersonal cues, immersion in thirdspace, mental distancing, societal fault lines, and emulative reproduction.

Individual difference variables: Socially isolated, positive attitudes toward violence, positive attitudes toward group membership, excessively high self-esteem, conscientiousness, positive attitudes toward leadership, high on interdependence, low neuroticism, high on extraversion, anxiety, pride, aggressive, difficulty with communication, socio-economic background, and negative attitudes toward race.

AS Roma vs. SS Lazio: Derby de Capitale

The biggest derby in Italian football, between AS Roma and SS Lazio, began in 1927. Beforehand, there were four clubs that represented the Italian capital: SS Lazio,

Roman, Alba Roma and Fortitudo (Guschwan, 2007). In an effort to strip power away from the dominant teams in northern Italy, ruthless dictator Benito Mussolini tried to force all three clubs to merge, but Lazio refused. Meanwhile, the three clubs Mussolini was able to merge became AS Roma, and he venerated this new club as the symbol of Italy (Roversi, 1991). Adding insult to injury, the newly formed Roma narrowly won the first ever fixture in this derby by a score of 1-0 in 1929.² Therefore, Lazio view the formation of AS Roma as an attempt to steal the dominance in Rome. This rivalry served as a catalyst for Ultra culture in the Italian Serie A. Massimiliano Maidana, a professor at Goldsmith University of London, defines an Ultra as, “Someone that puts the team at the center of the attention. To be an Ultra is to give 100 percent of yourself, sing 90 minutes in the Curva without stopping. To be an ultra does not mean watching the game. You go to the stadium to support the team, because that is better than watching the game... Then, for some people... it’s not just about supporting, it’s also about confronting and defending the honor of your team”.³ As a result, this fixture is forever intrinsically linked to political, religious and economic ideologies.

² ForzaItalia. (2011, October 16). Everything You Need To Know About The Rome Derby: Lazio vs Roma. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://forzaitalianfootball.com/2011/10/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-rome-derby-lazio-vs-roma/>

³ Bandini, P. (2015, July 9). Lazio and Roma derbies remain the be-all and end-all to fans of each club. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2512302/lazio-roma-rome-eternal-city-derby-paolo-bandini>

Since AS Roma displaced Lazio as ‘Rome’s team’, the collective identity of a given Lazio supporter group tends to focus on the notion of taking back their city.⁴ This issue is further exacerbated by the fact that both clubs share the same stadium, the Stadio Olimpico in the heart of Rome. Additionally, the mascot of each club is a major figure in Ancient Roman theology, with Lazio donning Jupiter’s eagle and Roma identifying with Mars’ wolf.⁵ Therefore, many of the ritualistic practices and social representations of supporter groups that have emerged fall in line with optimal distinctiveness theory. With so many things in common, the Ultras of both clubs tend to distinguish themselves by adopting extremely polarized views on important issues. For example, since Lazio fans were originally farmers from the outskirts of Rome, Roma supporters view them as lower class (Guschwan, 2007). In fact, members of the most prominent Roma Ultras, the Commando Ultra Curva Sud [CUCS] and the Boys Roma, often refer to Lazio supporters as ‘Burini’, which effectively translates to ‘peasant’.⁶ Additionally, AS Roma is often venerated as the symbol of Catholicism within the Serie A, and their flags share a similar color scheme with Vatican City. Finally, although both clubs have sections of support made up of right-wing extremists, Lazio Ultras often identify as right-wing while the average Roma fan is far to the left. Supporters of both clubs define their collective

⁴ Impiglia, C. (2013, August 7). Why Roma-Lazio Is One of WF's Fiercest Rivalries. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/1730264-why-roma-lazio-is-one-of-world-footballs-fiercest-rivalries>

⁵ Bandini, P. (2015, July 9). Lazio and Roma derbies remain the be-all and end-all to fans of each club. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2512302/lazio-roma-rome-eternal-city-derby-paolo-bandini>

⁶ Ramon, L. (2015, November 08). The Ultras of Roma. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://beyondthefieldofplay.com/2015/11/08/the-ultras-of-roma/>

identity by where they fall along societal fault lines. Therefore, one must understand both the historical events and ritualistic practices that continue to influence this rivalry.

In accordance with optimal distinctiveness theory, many of the key rituals and traditions for Ultras on both sides are employed as means of distinguishing themselves. For example, the most prominent group of Lazio Ultras, the *Irriducibili*, gather along the north bank of the Tiber river a couple of hours before kick-off. They then march to the match together while singing songs about fascism, racism, Mussolini and their hatred of the north.⁷ Furthermore, they throw flares, smoke bombs, wave flags and use English Hooligan-style songs to create a sense of solidarity within the group (Roversi, 1991). Conversely, the Roma Ultras gather toward the southern end of the stadium, and make their way over to the Stadio Olimpico. One important note about Italian football is the cultural importance of occupying the terraces behind the goals. These tiered stands serve as sites of social centrality for the Ultras to develop ritualistic practices and establish cultural norms (Roversi, 1991). For example, the juxtaposition between the *Irriducibili* occupying the *Curva Nord* [northern terrace], while the prominent Roma Ultras gather in the *Curva Sud*, symbolizes the polarization in collective representations for each club.

When the Ultras arrive at the Stadio Olimpico before the match, they are subjected to ‘tessera del tifoso’ law enforcement policy. In Italy, ‘tifoso’ refers to

⁷ Bandini, P. (2015, July 9). Lazio and Roma derbies remain the be-all and end-all to fans of each club. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2512302/lazio-roma-rome-eternal-city-derby-paolo-bandini>

members of official supporter groups that have no affiliations to any known Ultras.⁸ Therefore, the legislation is essentially an identification scheme for supporters, which Italian clubs carry out in conjunction with local police. The policy aims to reduce violent outbreaks in the terraces by requiring applications or recommendations from tifosi vouching for new applicants. However, many Italian fans have a firmly held conviction referred to as ‘dietrologia’⁹, or the belief that public officials will always conceal their true motives. Not only does this demonstrate how closely related politics and football are in Italy, but it also reveals some of the prevailing attitudes toward Italian police. Once inside the stadium, supporters are ushered into cramped holding pens where the police search them.¹⁰ Furthermore, the police distrust the supporters so much that in addition to banning night-time derbies, law enforcement deployed 1700 officers for the fall 2015 fixture.¹¹ Since supporters of both clubs define their collective identity by where they fall along societal fault lines, one must understand the historical events that have influenced this rivalry.

⁸ Bandini, P. (2015, July 9). Lazio and Roma derbies remain the be-all and end-all to fans of each club. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2512302/lazio-roma-rome-eternal-city-derby-paolo-bandini>

⁹ Bandini, P. (2015, July 9). Lazio and Roma derbies remain the be-all and end-all to fans of each club. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2512302/lazio-roma-rome-eternal-city-derby-paolo-bandini>

¹⁰ Impiglia, C. (2013, August 7). Why Roma-Lazio Is One of WF's Fiercest Rivalries. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/1730264-why-roma-lazio-is-one-of-world-footballs-fiercest-rivalries>

¹¹ Bandini, P. (2015, July 9). Lazio and Roma derbies remain the be-all and end-all to fans of each club. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2512302/lazio-roma-rome-eternal-city-derby-paolo-bandini>

As noted in the Italian football section, a culture of Hooligan support arrived about a decade after it first emerged in England. Therefore, most of the incidences of violence were between supporters and law enforcement inside of the stadium. However, when a Lazio supporter was struck in the eye and killed by a flare fired by a Roma supporter, the Derby della Capitale, and all of Italian football for that matter, transitioned into the second phase of Hooliganism. In fact, both the CUCS and Irriducibili came into existence during the late 1970's and early 1980's respectively (1995 paper). It was in the midst of this era when the introduction of supporters of a particular team drinking together in an English style pub. During the second phase, the organized practice of clashes between Hooligan groups before, during and after matches begin occurring regularly.

During a heated derby in the late 1990's, the Lazio Ultras unfurled a banner from the Curva Sud that read "Auschwitz is your town, the ovens are your houses", as well as "Squad of blacks, terrace of Jews" (Roversi, year). Just two years later, the Irriducibili produced another banner stating, "Team of n*****s, supported by Jews" (Guschwan, 2007). These racist and anti-semitic attacks are a staple of the Lazio Ultras. In fact, Lazio did not have a black player in their squad until 1992 when they signed Dutch international, Aron Winter, amidst massive protests from supporters (Guschwan, 2007). During the 1990's and early 2000's, hundreds of fights, protests, and attacks took place between extremist supports of both Roman sides. Six supporters were killed in an organized brawl the weekend before an April derby, and the Ultras from both sides attacked the paramedics with flares, rocks, and other missiles as they attempted to rescue

the stabbing victims.¹² After the 2013 Copa Italia final, in which Lazio defeated Roma by a score of 1-0, the Irriducibili held a mock funeral procession carrying caskets decorated in the red of the giallorisi.¹³ Finally, in the spring 2015 derby, which is largely considered one of the most peaceful competitions between the two Roman sides, witnessed the death of two supporters before kickoff.¹⁴ In addition to the deaths, young fans wearing masks and throwing flares attacked police in the hours immediately after the match.

However, none compare to the 2004 riots which left 170 policeman injured. Essentially, fans in the upper terraces saw a little boy covered in a white sheet surrounded by paramedics on the street below, and a rumor spread that the child had been struck and killed by a police car. The police fervently denied this, but the match had to be suspended four minutes into the second-half as CUCS members rushed the field and urged Roma captain, Francesco Totti, to call off the match. The officials and Serie A president, Adriano Galliani, agreed to cancel the match, but riots continued well after the match as supporters from both sides attacked police and set fire to the streets of Rome.¹⁵

¹² Impiglia, C. (2013, August 7). Why Roma-Lazio Is One of WF's Fiercest Rivalries. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/1730264-why-roma-lazio-is-one-of-world-footballs-fiercest-rivalries>

¹³ Bandini, P. (2015, July 9). Lazio and Roma derbies remain the be-all and end-all to fans of each club. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2512302/lazio-roma-rome-eternal-city-derby-paolo-bandini>

¹⁴ Impiglia, C. (2013, August 7). Why Roma-Lazio Is One of WF's Fiercest Rivalries. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/1730264-why-roma-lazio-is-one-of-world-footballs-fiercest-rivalries>

¹⁵ Bandini, P. (2015, July 9). Lazio and Roma derbies remain the be-all and end-all to fans of each club. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2512302/lazio-roma-rome-eternal-city-derby-paolo-bandini>

The history of the Derby della Capitale reveals the stark divide between the collective representations of the SS Lazio and AS Roma Ultras. For example, the manner in which AS Roma came to being in 1927 reveals the importance of territorial categorization and attribution theory, as Lazio supporters feel Rome was taken from them. They then attributed the blame for this action to the supporters of the newly formed AS Roma. Furthermore, with both clubs sharing the Stadio Olimpico as their home ground, the terraces behind the goals become sites of social centrality. The chanting, neo-tribal displays of support, racial abuse, alcohol consumption, and closeness of physical proximity turn the northern and southern terraces into a physical embodiment of thirdspace; in which the Ultras of both clubs form their collective representation over time. Additionally, the Italian media uses historical imagery comparing the Stadio Olimpico to the Ancient Coliseum, contributing to the emotional anchoring that both supporters place upon what it means to be “Roman”(Roversi, 1991). According to the construct of mental distancing, both teams sharing a stadium and a city lead to extreme polarization in attitudes and views. This fuels the deep particularism in ideologies between supporters of both sides, and contributes to the regional boosterism in which Roma supporters elevate themselves by treating Lazio as a club for peasants. Roma Ultras also use symbolic othering in this rivalry by aligning themselves with both Catholicism and the city of Rome through their colors and mascot. Finally, the neo-tribal displays of masculinity and aggression, such as the funeral procession after the 2013 Coppa Italia final, breed a culture of continual retaliation.

The Derbi della Capitale also possesses four important mediating variables for Ultra membership and acts of violence: voice, unrealistic optimism, in-group favoritism

and out-group derogation. The offensive songs, chants and banners provide the socially isolated Ultras an opportunity to express their extremely polarized points of view on an international stage (including television). On top of this, the contents of songs reveal the carefully constructed social identity of a supporter group (Van Houtum, 2002). Therefore, the projected collective identity of Lazio Ultras is based upon racism, violence and anti-semitism. Additionally, dominance in the derby provides supporters of one team a source of unrealistic optimism because neither side has a realistic chance of winning the Scudetto, or league title, in the last decade. The manner in which Ultras from both sides meet before the matches, adorn themselves in team colors, and sing praises for their own players demonstrates the prevalence of in-group favoritism. Additionally, the ritualistic practice of verbally and physically abusing opposition supporters and players is indicative of out-group derogation. With all four factors present and the regular occurrence of incidences of violence, Ultras for both teams appear to have high levels of salience in social identity. Furthermore, the constant barrage of insults and flares from the terraces contributes to sensory overload, arousal and excitement among the supporters, which all increase the likelihood of violent attacks. These insults, and the speed with which protests spread throughout the stadium and the city in proximity to the match indicates that contagion and suggestion are prominent features of supporter violence in Italy.

The immersion in a crowd and low accountability are two necessary values for the Ultras to demonstrate their collective subterranean values. Additionally, the Ultras on both sides seem to employ polemic and emancipated social representations with their extremist views regarding race, politics, economics and religion. The constant attacks on

police and anti-social behavior exhibited in the terraces seem to indicate that Ultras on both sides are socially isolated, young, and possess positive attitudes toward violence. Additionally, the manner in which Ultras lash out in the presence of their rivals, as well as their ability to influence the ‘tifosos’ to join the violence, suggests that they tend to have unstable levels of high self-esteem. Finally, inside the confines of the stadium, the low identifiability, low empathy, and low open-dialogue all increase the likelihood of violence.

In addition to the violence between groups of Ultras, the police strategy that Roman law enforcement uses greatly contributes to the wide-spread nature of violence in the derby. The terrasa de tifoso creates a status of victimhood amongst supporters, which according to procedural justice theory, decreases the perceived legitimacy of the laws and mediates Hooliganism. Additionally, the fact that supporters are placed into holding pens with militarized police before they can enter the stadium leads to prolonged immersion in a crowd, sensory overload, direct contact with the out-group. This notion is supported by the 2004 riots in which 170 police officers received injuries. Furthermore, the regularity with which Ultras influence the tifosos to join the violence indicates that the first and third common release factors are a staple of the derby. The 2015 attacks, especially after the match, show that many of the Ultras clashed with police because of their disguises, anonymity, and low-accountability. Finally, the fact that the derby is banned from being played at night demonstrates that normative compliance is rare, and that the anonymity provided at night is an obstacle that law enforcement and league officials both fear.

Sporting Lisbon vs. S.L. Benfica: Derby de Lisboa

In 1907, the two football clubs representing the Portuguese capital, Sporting Lisbon and S.L. Benfica faced off in the first ever Derby de Lisboa. Just before the inaugural fixture in this storied rivalry, eight players left Benfica [then known as Sport Lisboa] to join Sporting. Adding insult to injury, the Benfica captain and founder scored an own goal, which condemned his side to a 2-1 loss. By the end of the 2016 Primeira Liga season, the two sides representing Lisbon will have played each other over 300 times in official competitions, with Sporting collecting 105 victories and Benfica winning 128.¹⁶ Few other derbies boast such an important element of historical relevance on prolonged exposure.

Everything about the two capital clubs seems to be in juxtaposition with each other. Benfica supporters subscribe to a collective identity as a blue-collar club, so much so in fact that supporters donated the money and cement to build their first stadium, el Estadio de la Luz. Conversely, Sporting's founder was a member of the Portuguese royal family, and successfully convinced the king to fund the construction of the stadium. As a result, the constructed identity of many Sporting supporters centers on integrity and winning 'the right way'.¹⁷ In addition to the constructed identities of supporters differing,

¹⁶ Roden, L. (2015, March 26). When Sporting meet Benfica, historical rivalry leads to new tensions. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2353097/when-sporting-meet-benfica-historical-rivalry-leads-to-new-tensions>

¹⁷ Roden, L. (2015, March 26). When Sporting meet Benfica, historical rivalry leads to new tensions. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2353097/when-sporting-meet-benfica-historical-rivalry-leads-to-new-tensions>

the symbols of each club seem to be in stark contrast. For example, the club colors of Sporting are green and yellow, while Benfica is silver and red. The constructed identities of supporters for both clubs is extremely important given that over 8.4 million people all over Portugal identify as either a Sporting or Benfica fan.

While the Hooligan and Ultra culture in Portugal is less intense than their counterparts in the Italian Serie A, the cultural norm for support centers on extravagant displays of collective identity and local boosterism. Lee Roden, a free-lance journalist for ESPN FC and BBC, describes the derby as “Raw, raucous, and of the utmost relevance to both clubs, the derby drives supporters to produce jaw-dropping displays of allegiance and behavior before, during and after the game” (Roden, year). In the early 2000’s FC Porto began to pull away from the two capital clubs, which contributes to the sense of pride and importance that supporters on both sides place upon this fixture.¹⁸ However, as the two Lisbon sides continue to improve and challenge FC Porto, the derby will evolve and take on added importance. So, the historical development of this fixture creates a continual feedback loop in which every additional match they play reinforces the constructed identities of supporters on both sides.

In Lisbon, a number of ritualistic practices and displays of support on the day of the derby share similarities with the Ultra culture in Italy. For example, the stadiums are only separated by a mere 1.7-mile stretch of the Segunda Circular Highway. So, on the day of the derby, a few thousand Hooligans and Ultras will gather together at their own

¹⁸ Sam, P. (2015, September 22). Why Benfica vs Sporting is Portugal's most important derby. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.sportskeeda.com/football/why-sporting-vs-benfica-portugals-most-important-derby>

stadium before marching together to the away arena.¹⁹ As the supporters march to the away grounds, they continuously throw flares, pounding drums, drinking and waving their clubs flags. The more extreme supporters, either the Juventude Leonina of Sporting or the No Name Boys of Benfica, light off small home made bombs and burn the jerseys of their rivals.²⁰ Furthermore, a majority of the buildings and streets, both between and near the two grounds, are covered in graffiti from both sides. These markings serve to reinforce the territorial categorization that supporters from all reaches of life in Portugal can identify with.

Once inside the stadium, the supporters of both sides are greeted and searched by police. If law enforcement and league officials deem the match to be potentially dangerous, officers prepare donning riot gear and machine guns.²¹ Like the Ultras of Roma and Lazio, the Benfica supporters occupy the northern terrace while the Sporting Hooligans reside in the southern curve of the stadium. Once supporters are all in their section, Benfica and Lisbon fans will unfurl banners revealing their respective iconic players: Eusebio and Cristiano Ronaldo. Beneath the banners, the Hooligans release flares and smoke bombs consisting of their side's colors, pound drums, and sing about

¹⁹ Roden, L. (2015, March 26). When Sporting meet Benfica, historical rivalry leads to new tensions. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2353097/when-sporting-meet-benfica-historical-rivalry-leads-to-new-tensions>

²⁰ Sam, P. (2015, September 22). Why Benfica vs Sporting is Portugal's most important derby. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.sportskeeda.com/football/why-sporting-vs-benfica-portugals-most-important-derby>

²¹ Roden, L. (2015, March 26). When Sporting meet Benfica, historical rivalry leads to new tensions. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2353097/when-sporting-meet-benfica-historical-rivalry-leads-to-new-tensions>

their respective collective representations.²² According to a Benfica supporter interviewed by the New York Times, “We [Benfica supporters] sing with pride and emotion. While some clubs have had everything handed to them on a plate, Benfica had to play on borrowed pitches and the players had cold-water showers and bad equipment. And despite all of that, they prevailed, proving that talent, bravery and union are all that you need. That’s being a Benfiquista. It’s a club that began as a dream of a humble people and today is the passion of millions around the world.”²³ The passionate style of display is punctuated throughout the match by fireworks released in conjuncture with the rhythm of their favorite songs. Furthermore, they are sung with a sense of pride, as Benfica Hooligans derive a large sense of self-worth from their group membership. Interestingly, police and stadium officials tend to allow these displays to go on unperturbed because they know that attempting to interfere will only lead to a more aggressive reaction by the Hooligans. After the match, the travelling support are escorted back away from the stadium by riot police, well aware of the fact that any inciting events in the course of the match may lead to violence afterward²⁴. However, in order to understand the massive schism in social representations and collective identities of both

²² Roden, L. (2015, March 26). When Sporting meet Benfica, historical rivalry leads to new tensions. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2353097/when-sporting-meet-benfica-historical-rivalry-leads-to-new-tensions>

²³ Weiss, J. (2012, March 26). For Soccer Fans, Showing Support in Song. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/27/sports/soccer/for-soccer-fans-showing-support-in-song.html?_r=0

²⁴ Sam, P. (2015, September 22). Why Benfica vs Sporting is Portugal's most important derby. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.sportskeeda.com/football/why-sporting-vs-benfica-portugals-most-important-derby>

groups of supporters, one must understand the key events in the historical development of the Derby de Lisboa.

While the 1907 match served as a catalyst for the heated nature of the Lisbon derby, several key historical events have followed that continue to shape the dynamic of this rivalry. In terms of affecting the constructed identities of Hooligans for both clubs, the 1960 signing of Eusebio is perhaps the most historically significant event. The manner in which Benfica signed the then 18 year-old, who is now largely considered both Benfica and Portugal's best player of all time, fuels the stereotyping and polarization of attitudes in the Lisbon rivalry.²⁵ At the time, both clubs split supremacy in the Portugal, with both clubs winning ten league titles by 1960. However, after 15 seasons of playing in the Estadio de la Luz, Eusebio's eleven league titles effectively shifted the balance of power to Benfica (ESPN FC). Given that Benfica signed Eusebio from a feeder club to Sporting Lisbon, his unparalleled success with their greatest rivals continues to polarize attitudes between supporters of the two Lisbon clubs.

While Eusebio's signing is significant in the construction of collective identities, the actions by the No Name Boys of 1996 changed the dynamic of the derby forever. During a Cup final derby, a member of the No Name Boys struck a 36 year-old Sporting supporter with a flare, killing him instantly. Up until this point, the nature of the derby revolved around elaborate and intricate displays of support, rather than any Hooligan culture. In the years since, the actions and re-actions by extremists on both sides lead to more acts of Hooliganism and violence. For example, after Benfica defeated Sporting at

²⁵ Weiss, J. (2012, March 26). For Soccer Fans, Showing Support in Song. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/27/sports/soccer/for-soccer-fans-showing-support-in-song.html?_r=0

home in a 2011 derby match, members of the Juventude Leonina set fire to several section of the Estadio de la Luz.²⁶ Finally, after a last-gasp equalizing goal by Benfica in the February 2015 match, the Benfica Ultras threw several flares at the section of Lisbon supporters in the section over.²⁷

Based upon the anti-social acts that commonly occur in this fixture, such as the property damage and tribal displays of support, seem to indicate that the Juventude Leonina and No Name Boys are in-between the first and second stage in the development of Hooliganism. Given the social representations of each club, the self-categorization theory perhaps is the best explanatory model for the Lisbon derby. The Hooligan groups for both clubs tend to form stereotypes and exert social influence based upon how they construct separate categories of behaviors and socio-economic factors. Furthermore, when an individual aligns with a certain collective and experiences anonymity when immersed in the crowd, they are more likely to conform their behavior to that of the group. This pattern fuels the stereotypes of entitlement and lacking integrity for Sporting and Benfica respectively. Furthermore, many of the ritualistic practices employed by supporters of both sides are done in a manner that constantly reinforces the organized schema and categories of their rivals. For example, the differing narratives that rival supporters tell regarding the transfer of Eusebio establishes a cultural norm of distrust

²⁶ Roden, L. (2015, March 26). When Sporting meet Benfica, historical rivalry leads to new tensions. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2353097/when-sporting-meet-benfica-historical-rivalry-leads-to-new-tensions>

²⁷ Roden, L. (2015, March 26). When Sporting meet Benfica, historical rivalry leads to new tensions. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2353097/when-sporting-meet-benfica-historical-rivalry-leads-to-new-tensions>

and hatred of the opposition. Even the aesthetics of the rivalry, especially the club colors, flares, smoke bombs and fireworks aim to differentiate between the capital clubs. Finally, there are a number of neo-tribal acts of aggression that serve as staples for the Ultra culture within Lisbon, such as the throwing of flares, lighting off home made bombs, and burning jersey of their rivals. All of these practices contribute to the prevalence of local territorial categorization in this derby.

In addition to self-categorization theory, many of the practices and situational variables on derby day contribute to de-individuation within the social identity model. For example, the tradition of gathering at the home stadium, a site of social centrality, and marching together to the away ground establishes emotional anchoring to their club [team colors, stadium, songs], prolonged immersion in a crowd, excitement, anonymity, chanting, costumes, alcohol consumption and disguises. The rhythmic use of fireworks during songs also contributes to anonymity and sensory overload. Although incidences of violence are relatively rare compared to other European derbies, supporters tend to demonstrate less extreme subterranean values inside of the stadium because of the close proximity and low accountability. Additionally, the tradition of stadium announcers referring to their rivals as “the away team”²⁸ is an interesting example of symbolic othering. The importance of historical events and socio-economic backgrounds continues to shape the cultural practices of the Hooligans, such as the way Sporting Lisbon supporters attack Benfica for lacking integrity in signing Eusebio. Finally, the construct

²⁸ Roden, L. (2015, March 26). When Sporting meet Benfica, historical rivalry leads to new tensions. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espn-fc-united-blog/68/post/2353097/when-sporting-meet-benfica-historical-rivalry-leads-to-new-tensions>

of containment can be seen in the practice of covering the terraces in banners and releasing flares and smoke bombs while underneath.

Perhaps the biggest contributor to the polarization in attitudes and ideologies between the Juventude Leonina and No Name Boys is the traditional march to the match. The mental distancing principle generalizes especially well to this derby, as the two grounds are just down the road from one another. Much like the terraces in the Rome derby the northern and southern terraces serve as a physical embodiment of thirdspace in the Rome derby, the 1.7-mile Avenida Eusebio da Silva Ferreira is a physical embodiment of thirdspace. In fact, this road is also tangible manifestation of a societal fault line dividing the citizens of Lisbon.

Many of the same theories explain the extremely violent nature of the Athens and Rome derbies also apply the Lisbon Rivalry. However, violence and acts of aggression are a much less important ritualistic practice in Portugal than it is in Greece and Italy. This may be because of the differences in cultural support in each of these countries. However, it is much more likely a result of improved law enforcement and regulatory practices. For example the march to the match for away supporters contains all of the variables that should mediate Hooliganism. Conversely, the manner in which police keep open dialogues with supporters, adopt a lenient approach during the match, and then assist the away supporters in their travel home are all important aspects of normative compliance within Procedural Justice Theory.

Panathinaikos vs. Olympiakos: Derby of the Eternal Enemies

There is no other rivalry in football, or sport for that matter, like the derby of the eternal enemies. Despite away fans being fanned from this fixture since 2004, derby days are still one of the most dangerous and threatening occurrences in Greece. Over the years the victims of Hooliganism in Athens have been police, stewards, managers, players, and in extreme cases, innocent civilians.²⁹ While the formation of Hooligan and Ultra groups stems from the culture first developed in England during the 1960's, sport has been an important form of social protest in Greece since the beginning of the 19th century (Carnibella et. Al, 1996). In fact, supporter violence is just as prevalent in the Athens basketball and water polo derbies as it is in football. For example, a Panathinaikos supporter was killed in 2007 in the aftermath of a women's volleyball derby.³⁰ In response to this tragedy, the Greek government banned all sports for two weeks, thus demonstrating the intrinsic link between football and politics in Greece.

The social representations and collective identities of Panathinaikos and Olympiakos share a similar pattern to the Derbi della Capitale. Meaning, Panathinaikos supporters are wealthy and live in the heart of Athens, much like fans of AS Roma. Similarly, Olympiakos supporters typically reside on the outskirts port town of Piraeus, which bears commonalities with the social representation of Lazio. In summary,

²⁹ Johnston, N. (2014, October 22). Olympiakos-Panathinaikos: Europe's maddest derby? Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.bbc.com/sport/football/29383811>

³⁰ Yokhin, M. (2015, April 13). Panathinaikos vs. Olympiakos lives up to its tag as the 'eternal enemies' derby. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espnfc-united-blog/68/post/2397421/panathinakos-vs-olympiakos-the-violent-eternal-rivalry>

Olympiakos fans identify as working to low class citizens who have climbed to the top and earned their status, while Panithanaikos are the wealthiest in Athens feel that Olympiakos benefits from the pervasive element of corruption in modern day Greece (Tsoukala, 2011).

Additionally, the Derby of the Eternal Enemies places a similar importance on victimhood, although in a completely different manifestation. While supporters of Lazio tend to adopt a status of victimhood with respect to the formation of AS Roma, the social representations of every fan in the Athens derby is constructed with some element of victimhood. For example, Olympiakos supporters feel victimized by the citizens of Athens for stealing their wealth, while Panathinaikos fans feel cheated by their rival's unprecedented success over the last two decades.³¹ On top of this, both supporter groups feel victimized by law enforcement and, more importantly, the government. In fact, one of the worst attacks on police officers came in 2011 in response to the European austerity measures. The derby was suspended halfway through the match as Panithinaikos supporters threw flares, homemade bombs and Molotov cocktails at the police from the stands, injuring 20 officers in the process.³² In fact, adopting a status of victimhood is so

³¹ KickTV. (2013, August 02). The Derby of the Eternal Enemies - Olympiacos v. Panathinaikos | the Football Vagabond, Ep. 1. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IzJkkJoHPTE>

³² KickTV. (2013, August 02). The Derby of the Eternal Enemies - Olympiacos v. Panathinaikos | the Football Vagabond, Ep. 1. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IzJkkJoHPTE>

vital to the Ultra culture in Greece that there are almost no reported incidences of Hooliganism in either the Europa or Champions League.³³

A very unique aspect of Hooliganism in Greece is that certain sections of the stadium serve as sites of social centrality for specific Hooligan groups. For example, the most notorious Hooligans in the Athens derby are the Gate 13 and Gate 7 Ultras of Panithinaikos and Olympiakos respectively.³⁴ The seating section is so important to the constructed social identities of each Hooligan group that they use it for their name. The containment within this manifestation of thirdspace plays a vital role in the development of cultural norms and ritualistic practices for supporters of both sides. Another unique feature of the Derby of the Eternal Enemies is the militarized fashion of the most extreme Hooligan groups. For example, Ultras will often don body armor, masks, and use lethal weapons when clashing with either their rivals or law enforcement. In fact, the social hierarchy of the group often revolves around merit in violent clashes, which is why these official Hooligans often have their own gyms and training facilities.³⁵ While the dynamics and composition of these violent groups shows a lot about the nature of football support in Greece, an examination of especially dangerous clashes between the eternal enemies further reveals the roots of the rivalry.

³³ Yokhin, M. (2015, April 13). Panathinaikos vs. Olympiakos lives up to its tag as the 'eternal enemies' derby. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espnfc-united-blog/68/post/2397421/panathinakos-vs-olympiakos-the-violent-eternal-rivalry>

³⁴ Johnston, N. (2014, October 22). Olympiakos-Panathinaikos: Europe's maddest derby? Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.bbc.com/sport/football/29383811>

³⁵ KickTV. (2013, August 03). Love & Money | the Football Vagabond, Ep. 2. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z67hWaFX-e8>

A review of recent acts of Hooliganism illustrates just how much violence permeates the very essence of football support in Greece. For example, in the aftermath of Olympiakos winning the 2008 Derby of the Eternal Enemies by a score of 4-1, two members of the Gate 7 Ultras were stabbed with one dying.³⁶ Additionally, after a loss in 2010, the Panathinaikos supports attempted to set fire to the Olympiakos team bus. The Gate 13 Ultras once again turned to arson after a violent home derby in 2012. The match was delayed for nearly an hour as the Ultras attacked police with explosives, injuring 20 of them in the process. In the immediate aftermath, the Gate 13 Ultras set fire to several sections in the stadium, because they were temporarily playing their matches in the Olympiakos arena. While supporters throwing dangerous objects on to the field are a staple of Hooliganism in Greece, in March 2014 an Olympiakos supporter struck Panathinaikos manager Anastasiou in the face with a bottle.³⁷

Even though there are thousands of police officers at every derby and away supporters are banned from the fixture, Hooliganism is still a massive issue in Greece. This clear violation of the profit hypothesis indicates that Ultras continue to passionately support their team because attending matches provides an opportunity for violent protest. Additionally, the in-group and out-group dynamics of the most extreme Ultras, especially with respect to their training facilities and militarized structure, reveals pertinent

³⁶ Hall, P. (2014, March 05). Flares, fighting and fear: Why Olympiakos vs Panathinaikos is Europe's maddest derby. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.fourfourtwo.com/us/features/flares-fighting-and-fear-why-olympiakos-vs-panathinaikos-europes-maddest-derby>

³⁷ Yokhin, M. (2015, April 13). Panathinaikos vs. Olympiakos lives up to its tag as the 'eternal enemies' derby. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <http://www.espnfc.us/blog/espnfc-united-blog/68/post/2397421/panathinakos-vs-olympiakos-the-violent-eternal-rivalry>

information about the type of supporter they attract. For example, the social representation of supporters centers on violence, aggression, strategy, and hyperbolic displays of anti-social tendencies. First hand accounts from supporters reveal that many Hooligans in the Athens derby show positive attitudes toward aggression, solidarity, and positive attitudes toward proving loyalty to the in-group. Beyond this, the constant clashes with police and away supporters demonstrate that acts of resistance form an important part in the construction of social representations and development of cultural norms regarding violence. More importantly, though, these constant clashes reveal that the poor policing strategy can be explained through normative compliance within Procedural Justice Theory. Finally, the regional territorial categorization regarding which club truly represents Athens continues to fuel the collective identity of both sets of Hooligans.

While a number of theories discussed in previous sections generalize to the Derby of the Eternal Enemies, the theory of neo-tribalism best explains the unique pattern of violence prevalent in this rivalry. Many of the Ultras are young, uneducated, come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, and tend to be very socially alienated.³⁸ Furthermore, the collective identities of both sets of Hooligan groups form over time based on important acts of resistance and emulative reproduction. The manner in which inter-group dynamics between the Gate 13 and Gate 17 Ultras has changed over time based on their fortunes on the field is a hallmark of the observed in neo-tribes. Another important similarity is that the fighting gyms and martial arts studios that the most

³⁸ KickTV. (2013, August 02). The Derby of the Eternal Enemies - Olympiacos v. Panathinaikos | the Football Vagabond, Ep. 1. Retrieved April 25, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IzJkkJoHPTE>

extreme Ultras train in are important sites of social centrality. The cultural norms of violence, aggression, and displaying anti-social behaviors are developed in these sites of social centrality. Finally, the constant attacks on police, rival supporters, and innocent civilians demonstrate that football matches in Greece are the perfect medium for neo-tribal Hooligan groups to display their subterranean values.

Proposal for Future Research

The nature of the Rome, Lisbon and Athens derbies reveal that law enforcement and league officials play a vital role in the development of a Hooligan culture. Italy and Greece employ overcautious and authoritarian approaches, which have led to violence permeating the very culture of the sport. Meanwhile, the Benfica and Lisbon rivalry, which possesses almost identical variables and factors to the other two derbies [except for police strategy], is the safest of the three fixtures. One reason for this is the hands-off approach employed by law enforcement. They understand that the seemingly dangerous acts by supporter groups are really just ritualistic displays of their collective identity. Furthermore, the police often assist in the travel and overall experience for away fixtures. In fact, according to the variables I include in my analysis, the Lisbon derby should be the most violent of the three rivalries. Therefore, any future research into the issue of Hooliganism in Europe should center on the role of law enforcement.

According to Alain Van Hiel, Hooligans tend to fit a particular personality profile, which is typically composed of low levels of agreeableness and conscientiousness. In this, they found that the Five-Factor Model and the MCAA tests serve as reliable independent variables for predicting Hooligan group membership. Meanwhile, Clifford Stott (2011) found that open communication, understanding of historical context, displays of empathy, and controlled drinking all decreases incidences of violence at football matches. Additionally, decreasing negative in-group and out-group dynamics increases normative compliance, so law enforcement officials should work closely with the leadership of both Hooligan and supporter groups to develop a match-day strategy aimed at reducing violence.

Proposal for law enforcement intervention aimed at reducing incidences of Hooliganism

In order to understand the composition of the most dangerous ultra groups, club officials should work closely with local law enforcement to develop a personality profile as part of the application process for season tickets. Ideally, this would examine a club in the first stage of development for Hooligan culture, so as to see if proper police interventions may prevent it from advancing to the second stage. Additionally, all official supporter groups must first register with the club in order to gain access to the stadium. Researchers can build distinct personality profiles based upon which Hooligan group they identify with, while simultaneously increasing communication. All law enforcement officers in charge of the derby must participate in intensive education regarding the history of the two

clubs, so that they have a better understanding of social representations and potential release factors. Further, leaders of each official supporter group must meet with law enforcement officials on a weekly basis to provide a setting for open communication. In order to enforce these new policies, supporter groups that repeatedly violate the new policies or act will receive lengthy bans. Conversely, groups that work closely with law enforcement should be rewarded for their normative compliance by receiving assistance in travelling to and from matches, as well as opportunities to drink and socialize in controlled environments. Research has continually shown that excessive force by police leads to a decrease in normative compliance. Therefore, police strategy should transition from one of prevention to one of open-communication.

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