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THE EVOLUTION OF HOOLIGANISM IN SERBIA*

Abstract

In this paper, phases of development of hooliganism in Serbia are being analysed. Although hooliganism is usually treated as a “British disease”, as a phenomenon it is present anywhere the tradition of cheering culture exists. The specificity of Serbian hooliganism is that it has often corresponded with politics, and led to what we call “the politicization of hooliganism”. In the development of Serbian hooliganism three characteristic phases can be distinguished: the first phase begun with the civil wars of the 90’s of the 20th century, when the extreme nationalism fuelled the passions of fans in the stadium; the second phase developed after the ending of civil wars until year 2000 when many fan groups helped overthrow the regime of Slobodan Milošević; the third phase of Serbian hooliganism which arose after the Fifth October’s revolution is characterised by conflicts between hooligans supporting the same sports club. This last phase can be explained by influx of organised crime in the sports sphere.

Key words: hooliganism, hooligans, violence in sports, football, evolution of hooliganism, Serbia

VIOLENCE - BASIS OF HOOLIGANISM

Violence is as old as human kind, we may say. It belongs to the animal part of human nature which often outweighs man’s rational being. Niccolò Machiavelli considered a man to be *un mezzo bestia e mezzo uomo*, i.e. “half man, half beast”¹,

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1 See: Makijaveli, Nikolo, *Vladalac*, Moderna, Beograd, 1989.

therefore in situation in which the animal half prevails, man becomes prone to violence.

The very etymology of violence indicates that something is done “by force”, i.e. by use of force. However, violence is not the same as force. It also differs from phenomena of power and authority. Non differentiation of these phenomena creates a great problem in modern society, most of all in science which has a task to determine their conjunction and separation points. The problem of violence (with particular reference to the political violence) was first tackled by in our country in the 80's by Dragan Simeunović, who very precisely noticed the correlation between violence and its related phenomena: “Force is the means of achieving and maintaining the power and violence is the way of expressing and implementing the power”². From this scientific formula Simeunović draws a conclusion that force is a static category while violence is dynamic, therefore violence is always a work of force. Authority however is an institutionalized type of power. There are different definitions of violence, but they all essentially point out that; to violence the destructiveness is always immanent.

While words; force, power and authority, in Serbian language can have both, depending on the circumstances, positive and negative meaning, as opposed to them violence is a phenomenon that is still perceived negatively due to the fact that in any case it leads to destruction of somebody or something. It is exactly because of that destructive character of violence that “ancient Greeks thought that force does not have it, and that as a way of treating people, it is positioned below the level of politics. The use of violence, as essentially a non political means, was related to slaves and barbarians”³. According to Aristotle⁴ there is a place for violence in a political life, because man lives in a community for the common good, and accordingly avoids violence that would be disastrous for the entire community. Forcing people with violence to an action was common for pre-political society existing outside the polis. Man is a political being, which indicates a certain dose of rationality and as such he is a being of *praxis*⁵ and *lexis*⁶. This Aristotelian interpretation of violence is not realistic in the contemporary society because violence became so widespread, not only in politics, but also in a sphere of the whole society, so that we can talk about the expansion of violence at all levels of the society.

2 Simeunović, Dragan, *Političko nasilje*, Radnička štampa, Beograd, 1989, p. 7.

3 Tadić, Ljubomir, *Nauka o politici*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2007, p. 21.

4 See: *Aristotel*, Politika, BIGZ, Beograd, 1991.

5 A being which acts

6 A being which speaks

In everyday life, including science, violence is most commonly associated with the concept of aggressiveness. Violence and aggression are not synonyms; therefore in order to understand these phenomena better, we shall create their demarcation line of separation. Aggressiveness is a “category of motivation and incentives in contrast to violence which falls into the category of behaviour”⁷. Although every violence is a form of aggression, the discrepancy lies in the fact that aggression, if canalized, is not necessarily negative (on the contrary, it can even have positive consequences), while violence always has a destructive character. One of the most famous studies on violence and aggressiveness is done by Konrad Lorenz who said that: „aggression is a fighting instinct in beast and man, directed against members of the same species”⁸. We agree with this statement determining aggression to be an instinct, but we also consider aggression to be not only directed toward members of the same species, because man shows differently his aggression toward his own and other species, as well as toward material goods. This is somewhat different in animal world, as Konrad Lorenz states in his book „On aggression“. For example, he thinks the function of aggressiveness of coral fish in warm seas is justified, because it preserves the species, and in this context, he gives example of male struggling for female or defending the territory and the offspring. When it comes to aggression, Lorenz denotes the existence of inhibition factor amongst animals in the example of wolves, which during the fight control their bite on the lifeline jugular neck vein in order not to kill the member of the same wolf pack.

Even though Lorenz tried to inspect the phenomenon of aggression in human kind through animal kingdom (as a type of instinct), it needs to be said that there is a significant difference between animal and human aggression. Vladeta Jerotić thinks that man possesses instincts but instincts are inherent in animals⁹. Hegel however considered instinct as „lower willpower”, while true will is „higher willpower”¹⁰. Aggression as instinct appears at children in the earliest childhood when they want to achieve or gain something. From year four to nine children are prone to verbal or psychological violence mostly toward the same sex. During the adolescent period from age ten to thirteen, aggression is directed more toward the opposite sex. A research conducted in the form of longitudinal study by Leonard

7 Simeunović, Dragan, *Političko nasilje*, Radnička štampa, 1989, p.

8 Lorenz, Konrad, *O agresivnosti*, Vuk Karadžić, Beograd, 1970. p. 5.

9 Lecture „Who are we against?” “specialist studies „Terrorism and organized crime“ on Faculty of political sciences Belgrade, 13.12.2007.

10 Hegel, Friedrich Wilhelm Georg, *Filosofijska propedeutika*, Grafos, Beograd, 1985, p. 16.

David Eron examining the social life of individuals over a twenty-two year period, found the following results: children who were aggressive to their peers at age eight were five times more likely than their non aggressive peers to have a criminal record by the age of thirty.¹¹ Sigmund Freud, for example, believed that the loss of love is one of the predisposing factors of aggressiveness.

In modern society the commercialization of violence occurs thanks to mass media that increasingly promote destructive behaviour. It is considered that in the USA „by the age of 1, a child will have seen as many as 11,000 murders on television. Even the average cartoon has 26 violent incidents. Children witness over eleven thousand murder scenes on television and every cartoon has twenty six scenes of violence in average“¹². Television and internet increasingly promote physical and verbal violence as we witness the enormous popularity of *reality show* programmes in which any form of violence is even considered desirable because it increases the viewership. This gave way, with the help of internet and modern communication systems, to a new term better known as cyber-violence or cyber-bullying. A research conducted in the scientific magazine *Pediatrics*, shows that 90% of eight to sixteen year olds in the USA play video games 13 hours a week in average, many of which are violent, thus influencing the increase of their aggressiveness¹³. In such social climate, which popularizes virtual violence through computer games, the Internet and other modern media, we can only expect an increase of violence in real life.

Up to now, a great number of classifications of violence in social sciences have been made. Based on the sphere of human life violence appears in, we can speak of political violence, domestic violence, violence on sports events, violence in transportation, peer violence etc.¹⁴. Johan Galtung on the other hand believed that violence can be divided into three categories: direct, structural and cultural violence. He claimed that the conflict is the basis of violence and graphically represented this relationship: “If violence is the smoke, then conflict is the fire“¹⁵. This

11 For more see: : *The ABC's of bullying Prevention*, National Professional Resources, Port Chester, New York, 2005.

12 *The ABC's of bullying Prevention*, National Professional Resources, Port Chester, New York, 2005, p. 14.

13 Ybara Michele, Diener West Marie, Markow Dana, Leaf Philip, Hamburger Merle, Boxer Paul, “Linkages Between Internet and other media violence with seriously violent behavior by youth”, *Pediatrics*, Nov 2008, Vol 122, Issue 5, pp. 929-937.

14 All these forms of violence can be integrated into the social forms of violence.

15 Galtung Johan, Webel Charles, *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Routledge, London, New York, 2007, p. 18.

“theoretician of peace” considered violence to be the main obstacle in human needs which can be avoided. In terms of direct violence, it is immediately evident - i.e. murder. Unlike direct violence, structural violence does not stem from a person, but is hidden in the different structures, considered Galtung. Unfair distribution of wealth, unequal educational opportunities etc., are examples of structural violence, which in fact, according to Galtung’s perception, is synonymous for social injustice. It was only in the 90’s of the last century that Galtung expanded this typology by adding the cultural violence, which implies any misuse of culture in order to achieve direct or structural violence. Military parades, flags, anthems, different kinds of propaganda, cult of leaders - all this can be regarded as cultural violence.

The World Health Organization classified violence according to perpetrators as: self-directed violence, interpersonal violence and collective violence¹⁶. While the first type of violence involves self-destructive behaviour in terms of self-harm, for example a suicide, the interpersonal violence can be divided into domestic violence and violence in the wider community (school, work, neighbourhood ...). Collective violence represents violence of one group against another, in order to achieve certain social, economic or political goals. As we can see, there are various possibilities for classification of violence, but the most important is that the classification of violence is carried out according to the established criteria, in order for a typology to make sense. Hereinafter, according to the research topic, we shall engage in defining social violence and its subtypes.

HOOLIGANISM AS A FORM OF SOCIAL VIOLENCE

Social or societal violence is an expression which is used, as Simeunović points out, not only to distinguish between political and other forms of violence in the society, “but because, in a broad sense, the term violence also exists in nature, for example in form of blood thirst, not exclusively as societal violence”¹⁷.

There are different forms of social violence in contemporary society: domestic violence (which generally comes down to violence of man)¹⁸, violence at work

16 http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/summary_en.pdf, 14.02.2013.

17 Simeunović, Dragan, *Političko nasilje*, Radnička štampa, Beograd, 1989, p. 22.

18 This is probably because perpetrators of domestic violence are in 92% of the case men (The source: <http://www.centarzadevojke.org/index.php/tekstovi/nasilje-u-porodici.html>, 20.04.2014.).

(mobbing), peer violence (bullying)¹⁹, violence in transportation, violence on sports events etc. What is common for all these forms of violence is that they all take place in social, that is the societal sphere, and that they are based on the communicative function between the subject (the executor) and object (the victim) of violence. Each kind of social violence is an act of communication because it indicates a specific message²⁰. The same occurs with the hooliganism.

In order to understand the phenomenon of hooliganism we must start from the etymological origin of the word. Namely, it is considered that the first written trace of the usage of the term hooliganism is recorded in year 1898 in the London police report, and it marked the name of violent street gangs²¹. According to the first version based on the police report from the 19th century in England, the word hooligan is associated with the name of one of the notorious criminals of the three-member gang called Hooligan-Hoodlum-Larkin²². According to the second version, this term originates from the surname of an Irish family living in London and terrorizing the *East End*²³. In any case, hooliganism is behaviour which implies the use of violence, explicitly shown in the origin of the word itself.

Nowadays the colloquial speech of the media often uses the expression *hooliganism* which implies violent behaviour of audience on sports events. Frequently, hooligans are subsumed under the concept of fans which creates an additional aggravating factor in studying this phenomenon. What needs to be emphasized is that **not all fans are hooligans, even though (in the strict sense of the word) all hooligans are fans.**

The expression *fan* in the world of sports can have a very broad meaning, which includes all sympathizers, club fans or simply ordinary people supporting the national team. For instance, a fan can be a housewife, a mailman, a politician, a

However, there are reports of women acting violently against men, as well as cases in which children are bullies and parents are the victims.

19 In Serbia, the term bullying is synonymous for peer violence, but in Anglo-Saxon communities the term bullying is also used for violence at work, which we refer to as mobbing.

20 According to: Simeunović, Dragan, *Političko nasilje*, Radnička štampa, Beograd, 1989.

21 Weigelt, Ina, *Die Subkultur der Hooligans: Merkmale, Probleme, Präventionsansätze*, Tectum-Verl., Marburg, 2004, p. 13.

22 Liberman, Anatoly, *Word origins – and how we know them: etymology for everyone*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, 2005, p. 120.

23 See: Kontos Louis, Brotherton David, *Encyclopedia of gangs*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 2008.

scientist but it does not make them hooligans. To identify all fans as violent is a cardinal mistake not only in theoretical deliberation, but also in practice. The battle against hooligans would, in that context, include battle against all sport lovers who enjoy sports without the use of force. Even though fans in form of audience existed since the existence of sport competitions, the first football fans in the contemporary meaning as a phenomenon started to exist in the 19th century, in 1863 when the first football association was founded²⁴.

Hooligans are a special type of audience, which motivated by sport events use violence as the main method of operation. Hooliganism is a phenomenon which implies an escalation of violence, not only during, but also before and after sport events. We see that the phenomenon of hooliganism has always corresponded to the violence and, therefore, this phenomenon could be qualified as socially undesirable and dangerous because, as previously pointed out in this paper, all violence is destructive and leaves consequences on whole society. One should also bare in mind the strict and the broad meaning of hooliganism. In the first case, hooliganism is associated with the violence of the audience on sports events, while in the second, much broader context, hooliganism can be an expression of street, indecent and delinquent behaviour.

The birthplace of football hooliganism is Great Britain, and the beginning of modern English hooliganism according to Richard Guilianotti is the television broadcast in year 1961 of football match between *Tottenham* and *Sunderland*. „Violence between rival fans, vandalism, police provocation and rivalry between fans were the first indicators of this phenomenon”²⁵, Guilianotti believed. A major contribution to the popularization of hooliganism was achieved by media that transmitted scenes of violence, thus giving importance to problematic fans. Although sports fans’ violence is a universal phenomenon and appears in territories of many countries, „football fans’ violent and anti-social behaviour is often denoted as football hooliganism and sometimes as *British disease*”²⁶. Associating hooliganism with England is not a coincidence because football as a game was initially developed in this country, together with the violence of fans. Also, it should be emphasized that the first draconian punishments for violent behaviour on sports events were

24 See: Dunning Eric, Murphy Patrick, Williams John, *The Roots of football hooliganism*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and New York, 1988, p. 32.

25 Guilianotti, Richard, *Football – a sociology of the global game*, Policy Press, London, 2000, p. 41.

26 See: Frosdick Steve and Marsh Peter, *Football hooliganism*, Cullompton, Willan, 2005, p. 3.

given right in this country, after the famous *Heysel*, when the state commenced seriously resolving the problem of violence in sports. Even though hooliganism is tied with Great Britain for obvious reasons, nowadays it is utterly inappropriate and obsolete to speak of it as a problem met only by this country. Namely, hooliganism as a phenomenon can be encountered in any environment in which the tradition of fan culture exists.

Considering that hooliganism is mostly encountered in football (although it exists in other sports like basketball, ice hockey etc.), we shall try to explain the reason why.

1. First of all, football is a sport played on **big stadiums**, which implies the presence of the mass that is difficult to control and which often obeys “the psychology of the crowd”²⁷.

2. Football is **played outdoors**, which is one more reason for the use of violence, harder to control than indoors.

3. The third reason can be found in the **collective unconscious**, which is, as Carl Gustav Jung²⁸ claimed, located in each one of us, and like archetype images they are transmitted from the past to the present time. Namely, from the moment they start to exist, football and its predecessors were followed by the surge of violence in audience. In year 1477 in England, King Edward IV passed an edict prohibiting football, previously banned in London due to trader’s protests, because it was held in major city squares, disabling the sale of goods. There are data indicating that in England, during the 17th century, football hooligans destroyed the sewage network system, which created real confusion among the population²⁹.

4. The fourth reason for the escalation of violence at football stadiums can be sought in **consumption of alcohol and narcotics** by fans, which imply more aggressive behaviour. However, some studies suggest that alcohol is not always the cause of hooliganism. Some hooligan groups like ICF (*Inter City Firm*), which root for “West Ham”, oppose drinking alcohol before and during football matches, because they want to remain with a clear conscience in case the realization of

27 For further reading: Le bon, Gistav, *Psihologija gomile*, Papirus, Novi Sad, 1995.

28 See: Jung, Karl Gustav, *Dinamika nesvesnog*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1990.

29 With reference to: Marsh Peter, Frosdick Steve, *Football hooliganism*, Cullompton Willan 2005.

hooligan activities is needed³⁰. The fact is, the use of alcohol leads to decline of inhibitions, therefore human behaviour becomes difficult to control.

The basis of hooligan behaviour in football can be found in identifying sports with “machoism”. It is known that since the archaic times man have been hunters and warriors and had to fight for preservation and protection of their family. That competitive spirit has, in accordance with the civilization achievements, transformed into a different kind of struggle, which nowadays is manifested through sports. Hooliganism is a valve for frustrational aggression, so in case an individual is unable to prove himself on a personal, social or professional level, he shall find the confirmation of his value and identity in violence.

Although hooliganism is mainly connected to man, recent studies of Italian sociologists indicate that women too are making their way in becoming equal members of hooligan groups. Namely, until now this topic was not subject to an extensive research and generally there is little insight into how much female are involved in fan subculture.

The precedent in this scientific area has been made by Cere Rinella who analysed various articles, studies and researches in the sphere of football published in the past 30 years³¹. According to some Italian theoretician (Roversi) researches the ultras’ fan subculture accepted female fans, and there are some football clubs with “all female” fan groups. For instance, clubs like Parma (URB Girls) and Bologna, where 13% of fans are made up of women³². On the other hand, Salvini explains the showing up of women fans in football is to be what he calls *allargamento androgino*, meaning a growing of androgynous³³. In this way, he is trying to prove that male and female are coming closer to one another (in every sense of the word, sexual as well) which is manifested in the field of fan subculture. Recent study regarding female-fan phenomenon carried out by Chiara Di Mauro starts from the average age of female fans, which is between 35 and 40, generally highly educated

30 According to: Dunning Eric, Murphy Patrick, Williams John, *The roots of football hooliganism: an historical and sociological study*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1988, p.15.

31 For further reading: Cere, Rinella, “Forever Ultras: Female Football Support in Italy”, *Sport and Its Female Fans*, (ed. Toffoletti Kim, Mewett Peter), Routledge, New York, 2012, pp. 46-61.

32 Cere, Rinella, “Forever Ultras: Female Football Support in Italy”, *Sport and Its Female Fans*, (ed. Toffoletti Kim, Mewett Peter), Routledge, New York, 2012, p. 54.

1. 33 Salvini A. *Ultra. Psicologia del tifoso violent*, Giunti, Firenze, 2004, p. 101.

persons. However, none of these researches connects women with violence, as they do with man.

The causes of hooliganism can not be monocausally explained. In the basis of all violent behaviour at sports events is usually a frustrational aggression, of which hooligans are often unaware. Dissatisfaction with private life is projected in games which hooligans perceive as exhaust valve due to violence. Abuse of alcohol and narcotics can also result in aggressive behaviour, as well as the influence of certain criminal clans which only see a lucrative interest in hooliganism. Furthermore, it ought to be kept in mind that hooligan groups are of heterogeneous social composition and its members vary in age, social status, education etc. It used to be considered that hooliganism was immanent to working class exclusively³⁴, while recent studies refute this hypothesis. Namely, nowadays highly educated people as well as individuals (mostly younger generation) whose parents are at high state functions making them feel untouchable, can be found amongst hooligans.

After studying the phenomenon of hooliganism for a long period of time, we have reached to the following definition: „Hooliganism is violent behaviour with which a part of an audience inspired by sports events through belonging to a fan group builds its personal identity which expresses frustrational aggression by destruction of material goods or hurting adversaries”.³⁵ It is considered that with a change of socio-political circumstances this definition will be amended accordingly, because both sports and therefore hooliganism as its accompanying detail; mirror the society in which they are located.

According to Richard Giulianotti ³⁶ we shall distinguish between a spontaneous, relatively isolated incident of a spectator, and deliberately caused violence, which represents a social model of hooligan group behaviour. Giulianotti cleverly noticed here one essential characteristics of hooliganism which is – intention. Unlike other fans, a hooligan goes to a football match primarily with the intention not to root for his team, but to destroy something or somebody. The inevitable

34 For further read: Spaaij Ramón Fredrik Johan, *Understanding football hooliganism: a comparison of six Western European football clubs*, Vossiuspers UvA - Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2006.

35 This definition was first published in the paper: Đorić, Marija “The politicization of hooliganism”, *Political Studies*, 2010, no. 3, p. 379-400, and later in the book Đorić Marija “Hooliganism: violence and sport,” *Science and Society*, Belgrade, 2012, p. 73

36 Giulianotti, Richard: “A different kind of carnival”, u: Perryman, Mark, *Hooligan wars. Causes and effects of football violence*, Edinburgh and London, 2001, 141-154, p.141.

element of hooliganism is destruction. Every kind of violence goes hand in hand with destruction, so a hooligan can choose the object of his violence to be a fan of the opposing team, a policeman, and in shortage of human victims he directs his aggression onto material goods (stadium chairs, street flower boxes, cars, shops, public inventory...). What greatly concerns is the self confirmation and building of hooligan identity with the help of violence.

Hooliganism needs to be distinguished from vandalism as well. At first glance, these two, although similar phenomena, are nevertheless different. In terms of **vandalism**; it is a phenomenon related to hooliganism, with the emphasis on hooliganism being a type of vandalism, therefore a narrower term. The name vandalism originates from the Vandals, a North European tribe, which invaded and sacked Rome in the fifth century. According to some theoreticians, vandalism is unreasonable destructiveness³⁷; however, this designation may imply the phenomenon of aggression and different types of violence, therefore it can not be attributed a valid scientific weight. There are also those definitions of vandalism which include violence toward material things, omitting violence against people: "Vandalism is the deliberate destruction and damage of private or public property without permission of the property owner"³⁸. One of the most precise definitions of vandalism was made based on the FBI reports from the 70-ties of the twentieth century: „Vandalism is wilful or intentional destroying and ruining of property without the permission of the property owner and includes: cutting, tearing, breaking, painting, drawing, dirtying and anything else encompassed by the local legislation“³⁹.

According to Stanley Cohen there are six different types of vandalism⁴⁰: **acquisitive or greedy** (breaking vending machines and stealing money), **tactical** (breaking windows to enter a building), **ideological** (represents a kind of political protest), **vindictive** (when someone or something is destroyed because of vengeance), **play vandalism** (e.g. who can break the most windows), and finally **malicious** (as an expression of rage due to frustration).

37 See: Hirisch Donald Eric, Kett Joseph, Trefil James, *The new dictionary of cultural literacy*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 2002.

38 Thomas Murray, *Violence in America s schools : understanding, preventions and responses*, Conn, Westport, 2006, p. 11.

39 Goldstein Arnold, *The psychology of vandalism*, Plenum Press, New York, 1996, p. 20-21.

40 See: Stanley Cohen, „*Vandalism: Its politics and Nature*“, u J. B. Mays (ed), *Juvenile Delinquency, The family and the social Group*, Longman, London, 1972.

It is not difficult to conclude that the separation line between vandalism and hooliganism lies in the fact that the first phenomenon is based mostly on implementing violence towards property and material objects, while hooliganism, apart from violence towards nonliving objects and things, implies also violence against people. Particularly targeted by hooligans, apart from of course the opposed clubs' fans, are forces of public order, the police. It is believed that the police at football matches are one of the factors of provocation that only inspires fans to violent behaviour. For this reason the English are among the first who have devised a different way of controlling hooligans during matches: they improved technical and technological surveillance measures and introduced plainclothes policemen. **Hooliganism is always premeditated and organized violence as opposed to vandalism** and this is the next essential difference which is the dividing line in the conceptual definition of these phenomena.

Hooliganism is a phenomenon in which a reasonable or unreasonable destructiveness (manifested in form of violence) is always present, regardless of time and place of appearance. As any other social occurrence, hooliganism has a dynamic character and is caused by a constellation of socio-political relations in which it dwells. In the remainder of this paper we will look at the specifics of hooligan behaviour in our country.

HOOLIGANISM IN SERBIA

With the collapse of the SFRJ (The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), major changes occurred not only in the political arena, but also in the football fan subculture. First of all, one should bear in mind that hooliganism as extreme cheering appeared in this region in late 80's and early 90s of the 20th century. Hooligans' violence on sports stadiums corresponded with political violence. Many believe that disintegration of Yugoslavia actually begun at Maksimir stadium in Zagreb on May 13th 1990, when the conflict broke out between "Red Star" and "Dynamo" football fans.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia left visible consequences on the organization of fan groups. Primarily, former division in two big clubs, "Partisan" and "Red Star", and thus in two fan groups, belonged to the past. It led to strengthening of small groups which cheered predominantly for the hometown or regional team, meaning there was a shift from once national to the present, so called **local patriotism**. Thus stood out as notorious fans of "Rad" from Banjica (*United force*),

Meraklije who support FC “Radnički” from Niš, *Invalidi* as FC “Voždovac” fans, *Blue Union Belgrade* better known as “OFK Beograd” fans, etc.

Apart from the biggest fan groups; *Grobari* and *Delije*, there were smaller groups fighting among themselves for supremacy. For instance, the former fan group of “red-whites” called *Ultra Red Devils* had dismembered into *Ultraši* and *Red Devils*. The first were known for the so-called Italian cheering style, characterized by higher degree of organization, and the latter, typical for their English style which implied the uncontrolled use of violence, Manchester United fans being used as a role model. A contemporary Red Star fan group that stands out is called *Belgrade boys*. This group managed to gather all younger groups from the north tribunes: *Red Boys*, *Brigate*, *North Army*, *Lunatics*, *Iron Boys*, *Goblins*, *Red Evil*... The average age in this group is 22, which proves our thesis that fans, even those who are profiled as hooligans, are mostly younger man, often teenagers. A group called *Heroji* (famous for their conflict with FC Partizan fans, especially with the group “Zabranjeni”) and group *Ultra boys*, are also active nowadays. When it comes to “black-whites” cheering fans, the most famous active groups today, besides *Alkatraz* and *Zabranjeni*⁴¹, are *Jung boys* (at the beginning they supported *Zabranjeni* after which it joined *Alkatraz*).

Thanks to civil wars on ex Yugoslav territories in the 90s, the fan subculture increasingly acquired nationalistic features. Need be said that politics has always flirted with all of the society spheres from which it can get political points, including that of football fans. Subsequently, the political division occurred between fans within two major Serbian clubs, “Red Star” and “Partisan”. With the emergence of political pluralism in the nineties, political parties started to differentiate, and football fans just followed their seams of division. There were indications that fans followed several major currents, but it was still insisted on their unification.

Major role in red-star fans integration was played by the controversial Željko Ražnatović Arkan who was also the leader of “Red Star” fans. Politicians knew well that the world of football fans is a huge votes and human resource potential with the possibility of strong impact on socio-political life of already unstable Serbia, awakening from the communistic dream. A base of demonstrators was recruited from football fans’ ranks, who participated in the events of March 9th

41 The two groups clashed with each fighting for supremacy in the tribunes. However, the basis of the conflict is much deeper than the fans’ fervor and is often associated with the criminal backgrounds.

1991, guided by Vuk Drašković, the opposition leader. In those days, a shout “We are all the army of Vuk Drašković” could be heard on stadiums.

Later on, with the help of fan leaders, the first Serbian volunteers to leave for battlefields throughout Yugoslavia were recruited mostly from *Delije* and *Grobari* fan groups. In such circumstances there was no discussion whether one is a hooligan or not. All fans were simply politically welcome and utterly usable. The first resistance against Slobodan Milošević regime was created in the ranks of “black-white” and “red-white” fans. Fans on stadiums shouted messages that were actually sent by the opposition to the government, like “Save Serbia and kill yourself Slobodan” or “He is done for”.

The Fifth October changes in year 2000 were to a great extent supported by football fans. They were often in front lines ready to use the most extreme methods just for the results of the elections, in which Slobodan Milošević was the political loser, to be acknowledged. The answer to the question why football fans are so important to the political structures pretending to obtain govern is found in the fact that fan groups are so well and hierarchal organized that they represent a massive, politically usable, human potential. On the other hand, there is a certain dose of irrationalism which is interpreted through the prism of “loyalty” to a fan group. To betray your “fellow soldiers”, i.e. fans, or boycott a mutual idea, means expulsion from the fan community. Also keep in mind that fan ranks are predominantly formed by younger people who are prepared even for a socially unacceptable behaviour just to confirm themselves as a part of the group.

When overthrowing the regime of Slobodan Milošević fans were addressed to as heroes and the word hooligan was almost never mentioned. With the shift in political climate, the approach of state authorities towards them also changed. However, the killing of innocent foreign citizens and destruction of public inventory can not be supported by any democratic government, but the fact is that in a situation when they were no longer needed by politicians, fans lost their privileged status.

After the self proclamation of Kosovo and Metohija independence, massive street demonstrations were organized in Belgrade, and a number of embassies and foreign offices of countries that had recognized the independence of the Serbian province had been damaged. It is considered that the major role in these events was played by representatives of certain fan groups and right-wing organizations. It is from that moment on that the frequent use of the word hooligan started in

the media. A much strict position of the government can be noted in dealing with hooligan groups after the killing of Brice Taton in 2009 in Belgrade⁴².

The development of Serbian fan scene can be ordered temporally into three major periods:

till the 90's of the 20th century

from the 90's of the 20th century till year 2000

from year 2000 till today

By the end of the 80-ties of the 20th century the fan scene was not rich in violence. The escalation of violence in Serbia begins from the 90's which coincides with wars fought on the ex SFRJ territory. The collapse of communism only fueled hooliganism due to the intensification of nationalistic tendencies (because nationalism was politically undesirable during communism). A torrent flow of war was followed by violence on stadiums. Majority of fan groups participated in the events of October the 5th, when the government of Slobodan Milošević was overthrown, and some were even awarded medals for their participation in the Fifth October revolution. The paradox was when *Delije* were awarded a plaque by the TV B92 show "The rhythm of the heart", for their contribution in carrying out a coup on October 5th year 2000. After the fall of Slobodan Milošević, the newly elected authorities for the first time organized the derby „Red Star“ – „Partisan“ with no police surveillance, what resulted in such escalation of tremendous amount of violence so that the match had to be suspended, and was never completed.

Analyzing the contemporary hooliganism in Serbia, we can say that, in comparison to the past, the situation has not changed much. Hooligans are still fighting by means of violence for their place in stadiums and in the fan's world, but how strong lucrative interests sometimes are we see in conflicts within fan groups supporting the same club (as is case of "Akatraž" and "Zabranjeni ", both fans of FC" Partizan "). The problem is that there are hooligans charged with a great number of criminal offences⁴³, but only a small number of convictions. In spite all that, the bond between political and sports power circles favours the "politicization of hooliganism".

42 According to unofficial information, it is believed that the police registered between 2500 and 3000 extreme fans, that is hooligans, in Belgrade.

43 Usually it comes down to the following crimes: violent behavior, possession or drug trafficking, robbery, or even attempted murder and murder. See more: Gammone Mariateresa, "Center and Peripheries in Mafia Connections, *Nauka i društvo - Science and Society*, No. 1, 2014, p. 47-75.

Supporting, and even hooligan groups, are politically usable due to existing discipline and hierarchy because of which they can easily intensify or appease certain social tensions. In this way they become an instrument of politics which can often slide out of control.

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EVOLUCIJA HULIGANIZMA U SRBIJI

Apstrakt

U radu se analiziraju faze razvoja huliganizma u Srbiji. Iako se huliganizam obično tretira kao "britanska bolest", on je kao fenomen prisutan svuda gde postoji tradicija navijačke kulture. Specifičnost srpskog huliganizma je u tome što on često korespondira sa politikom, te dovodi do pojave koju nazivamo "politizacija huliganizma". U razvoju srpskog huliganizma možemo izdvojiti tri karakteristične faze: prva faza počinje sa gradjanskim ratovima 90-ih godina 20. veka kada je ekstremni nacionalizam raspirivao strasti navijača na stadionima; druga faza se razvija posle završetka gradjanskih ratova do 2000. godine kada su mnoge navijačke grupe pomogle svrgavanje režima Slobodana Miloševića; treću fazu srpskog huliganizma koja nastaje posle Petoctobarske revolucije karakterišu sukobi između huligana koji navijaju za isti sportski klub. Ova poslednja faza se može objasniti uplivom organizovanog kriminala u sferu sporta.

Ključne reči: huliganizam, huligani, nasilje u sportu, fudbal, evolucija huliganizma, Srbija