

FOR HONOR AND COUNTRY: UNDERSTANDING THE LINK BETWEEN

FOOTBALL HOOLIGANISM AND NATIONALISM

HONORS THESIS

Presented to the Honors Committee of
Texas State University-San Marcos
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements

for Graduation in the Honors College

by

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San Marcos, Texas
December 2013

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BETWEEN FOOTBALL HOOLIGANISM AND NATIONALISM

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Abstract:

Although football hooliganism is largely understood as a historical phenomenon, the sport has seen a resurgence in fan violence in the 2000's and into the current decade. Modern day hooliganism occurs in both verbal and physical forms, including verbal attacks, offensive or racist chants, pitch invasions, severe property damage, and open assaults on opposing players, fans, referees, or civilians. Existing studies are severely limited in their scope, focusing primarily on domestic hooliganism in England at its height between the 1960's-1990's. By contrast, this study engages a cross-cultural perspective of hooliganism at the international level through a content analysis of major world newspapers. The author analyzes a total of 103 articles longitudinally, ranging from 2000-2013, using an open coding process based on the theme of international hooliganism in order to determine how nationalism arises from the content of these media reports as a motivating factor behind football violence at international matches. Furthermore, the research provides insight as to when hooliganism appears to manifest most frequently and the regional migration of hooliganism.

Keywords: nationalism; hooliganism; deviance; sociology of sport

Introduction:

Love of sport and love of country are synonymous in the realm of association football at the international level. Games are not simply a matter of one team versus another, but rather a competition between nationalities, races and ideologies. Football is viewed as the sport most commonly associated with deviant fan behavior (Piotrowski 2006). Football hooliganism – physical or verbal antagonism directly resulting from association football matches or allegiances – demonstrates what can happen when pride for one's home team, often containing traces of nationalist sentiments, prompts supporters to commit acts of violence. Many studies have examined football hooliganism at the local and regional level, but the present study aims to fill a gap in the literature by studying hooliganism at the international level and from a cross-cultural perspective. This study analyzes how international football hooliganism has been depicted in major world newspapers over the past 13 years in order to determine how nationalism arises from the content of these media reports as a motivating factor behind football violence at international matches. A total of 103 articles were studied longitudinally, analyzing media reports ranging from 2000 to 2013, to focus on modern day hooliganism and offer new research. As a result, the analysis provides insight as to when hooliganism appears to manifest most frequently – for example, in years directly prior to or concurrent with the FIFA World Cup – and the regional migration of hooliganism to reveal where football violence is most prevalent in the modern world.

History of Football Hooliganism:

Association football burst onto the social scene in the United Kingdom in the latter half of the nineteenth century and won the hearts of the masses, promptly spreading to nearby European nations. Soccer was a game that could be shaped to represent societies' personally constructed ideals and would come to signify national pride; the nation's teams carried the hopes of the country on their shoulders as they ventured out to battle inter-continental foes. The modern game came of age at the same time as another phenomenon, new nationalism, and the two would prove to share a dynamic relationship. According to Matthew Taylor, a strong faction of historians maintains that the sport has been "determined by society" and reflects "broader patterns of continuity and change" (Taylor 2008: 6). The emergence of football hooliganism demonstrates what can happen when pride for the team boils over into acts of violence and can be thought to symbolize the strength of nationalist passions. Hooliganism provides an illustration of how deeply the intense loyalty to team and country is rooted in the hearts of fans. As Gary Armstrong explains, football "supporters never accepted the notion that the contests should be confined to the pitch" (Armstrong 1998: 4). Though football hooliganism is now often recognized as a historical phenomenon, typically dated from the 1960's-1990's, fan violence at football matches is far from a thing of the past; hooliganism has seen a resurgence in the 2000's and into the current decade. While there are debates amongst scholars over what constitutes hooliganism in the present day (Dunning, Murphy, and Williams 1986; King 1999), this study will accept a broad definition, including both verbal and physical manifestations of hooliganism, whether premeditated or spontaneous, including (but not limited to) verbal attacks on opposing teams' players and fans,

offensive or racist chants, pitch invasions, severe property damage, and violent assaults on opposing players, fans, referees, or even innocents caught after the match.

Hooliganism in the Media:

As the current study will be a content analysis of media reports on hooligan behavior, it is important to consider the development of football journalism. Football journalism arose following the spread of soccer throughout Europe in the 1870's and 1880's and the "wave of 'middle-class' enthusiasm for the sport was responsible for the materialization of other sporting publications designed to address the interest in the sport of the 'middle classes,' emphasizing the physical and spiritual virtues of sport" (Crolley and Hand 2006). By the beginning of the 20th century, various publications were covering the sport daily to satisfy public interest in the game; the media also served to circulate news related to domestic results, upcoming fixtures, international competition, and behind the scenes action (Crolley and Hand 2006). For example, in England periodicals such as *The Sporting Times* and *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* ran regular articles regarding not only results and standings of various teams, but also included features on key players and offered informative pieces on the rules of the game to draw in new audience members. Likewise, weekly publications devoted solely to football journalism began to surface in Spain in 1906 and in France from 1909 onwards. The media is often characterized by its propensity to sensationalize news stories in order to create further spectacles and provide greater entertainment. The collective identity of early football spectators was reinforced by the shared fandom. Supporters of particular teams identified with one another and often united on political, ethnic, and religious

fronts as well. This mental unity of football fans added to the extension of nationalist tendencies throughout society and across state borders.

Hooliganism began to gain its own independent media attention beginning in the 1960's, catalyzed by the 1966 World Cup in England. Predictably, the press often sensationalized these stories, in turn creating a "moral panic" amongst society over the state of football spectatorship (Dunning et al. 1986:227). Between the 1960's and the 1980's, there was a significant "change in the style and extent of reporting football hooliganism," in which reporters were sent specifically to report on incidents of hooliganism, not the game itself (Maguire 2011:894). Hooligans were motivated by their representation in the media. Moorhouse maintains that the increase in media attention on spectator violence "promoted football stadiums to the rough working class as a place where their favoured masculinity norms could be displayed and they began to attend in much greater numbers" (Moorhouse 2006:261). Football hooliganism became an exhibition for audiences at home and across the globe (Scott 2012). Previous research has also suggested the football hooligans were motivated by their negative, sensationalized image in the press and were further attracted to the idea of committing illegitimate acts to make a statement (King 1997). A number of scholars argue that these are intentional political statements, or that hooligans operate within a political context. (Spaaji 2006; Braun and Vliegthart 2008; Spaaji and Anderson 2010; King 1997). Yet, while they assert that violence and rebellious acts committed by hooligans against police suggest insurgence against the state, a more critical analysis would show that these acts are highly contingent. Spectator violence is directed specifically at the opposing fans and police most often come under harm when they attempt to intervene.

The recent influx of hooliganism in popular culture allows the broader population a chance to savor the experiences of hooligans without any of the associated risks (Poulton 2006; Poulton 2008). Hooliganism has become the subject of a number of books, – namely memoirs of former hooligans – video games, and films such as *The Football Factory* or *Green Street Hooligans*, which have become fairly popular internationally (Scott 2012). These accounts glorify the hooligan experience for passive consumers: users are able to revel in thrilling, simulated or relayed situations of violence without the actual threat of injury, perjury, or arrest, although these features are essential to the true hooligan lifestyle.

Current Literature on Football Hooliganism:

Hooliganism has spread from England to virtually all European football leagues (Scott 2012; Martin 2011; Dunning, Murphy, and Williams 1986). While English fans have largely been tamed domestically, they are widely feared across Europe and still present a danger when traveling with their club for inter-continental league fixtures (Dunning et al. 1986:221). Meanwhile, other European countries have experienced an increase in domestic hooliganism as it declines in England (Scott 2012); for example, one of the most recent studies, performed by Carl-Gustaf Scott (2012), reports that hooliganism has been on the increase in Sweden over the last 40 years where domestic hooligan firms (similar to gangs) have followed the English and Italian models of spectator violence. Scott's study does not include an analysis of international hooliganism in Sweden, though he does state that spectator violence "certainly occurs at the national level as well" (Scott 2012:224).

In the past, hooliganism was widely accredited as the result of a genetic predisposition to violence that is purportedly inherent to the middle and working classes, and further aggravated by heavy drinking, encouraged by violence on the pitch (Moorhouse 2006; Dunning, et al. 1986; Maguire 2011). However, Anthony King disputed this notion in what he deems “the practical paradigm” in the study of football hooliganism, stating that violence cannot rightfully be attributed to a predisposition or premeditation because it is a highly contingent manifestation, dependent upon both internal and external factors (King 1999). Football hooliganism is also predominantly described as an issue of the working class (Dunning et al. 1986; Maguire 2011; Melnick 1986). Sociologists have claimed that working class individuals “tend to grow up with a more positive attitude towards aggressive behavior than their counterparts higher up the social scale” (Dunning et al. 1986:232). Although this conception of the typical hooligan may have been true in the past, in the modern day, hooligans can come from virtually any social strata, including the upper classes.

Hooliganism has also been strongly linked to the expression or reassertion of masculinity norms (Moorhouse 2006; Scott 2012; King 1997). Anthony King asserts that football allows male fans to assert their manhood and “through the support of a football team, the male fan affirms his status as a man - in the eyes of his peers and himself - and also articulates the nature of that manhood” (King 1997:585). While these analyses refer to domestic hooligans, international hooligans behave in much the same way, although they do so at an institutional level. Hooligans take it upon themselves to rise up with their players as representatives of their home country in the interest of establishing a masculine national identity. They have socially constructed the idea that the strength of the nation’s

men on the field (and off) reflects the strength of the nation itself. In his research, Spaaji has used masculinity norms and the sociological concept of habitus to explain why some football clubs have “significantly more, and more intense, fan violence than others” (Spaaji and Anderson 2010; Spaaji 2006). He explains that some clubs are friendly, while others are known for sanctioning violence; spectator violence is heavily contingent upon the audience members. This analysis can be extrapolated to national teams and the behavior of their fans, as well. Masculinity and nationalism are more intense or encouraged to a greater extent amongst certain countries, such as England or the Netherlands. Furthermore, this could be used to explain why hooliganism is more prominent amongst or between fans of certain countries.

Gaps in the Literature:

Existing studies on football hooliganism have been severely limited in their scope. The vast majority of research in this area focuses on domestic hooliganism, between rivals of competing clubs. One of the greatest weaknesses in current hooliganism studies is the lack of a cross-cultural perspective; research has been focused primarily on hooliganism as “the English disease,” and therefore studies tend to direct attention almost exclusively on English fans (King 1997). Most of the prevalent hooliganism research was conducted in the 1990’s, focusing on hooliganism at its height in England from the 1960’s-1990’s. (King 1997; Giulianotti 1994). However, these studies are becoming outdated, as spectator violence has transformed a great deal in the previous two decades, both in its manifestations and locales. International hooliganism has not been thoroughly examined in a cross-cultural context. The vast majority of studies on football hooliganism focus chiefly on domestic violence (and almost exclusively in an English setting), while

international incidents have only been mentioned as side notes in a small number of readings (Moorhouse 2006; King 1999). Scott and Reicher employ an incident involving English fans during the 1990 World Cup in Italy as a case study, but as Anthony King has noted, their study underestimates the nationalist motivations of a large portion of English fans (King 1999).

Methodology:

As it is difficult to observe deviant populations – especially abroad – the study must employ an unobtrusive measure and qualitative research methods rather than quantitative methods. The author performs a content analysis of media reports on hooliganism immediately prior to or following FIFA World Cup fixtures (including qualifiers), UEFA Euro fixtures, and international friendlies to discover episodes of violence amongst fans. Articles were obtained through a keyword search of “international football hooliganism” on the research database LexisNexis, pulling from a variety of major world publications. The data is studied longitudinally between the years 2000-2013, encompassing the past three World Cups in addition to the current qualifying season for the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. This time frame allows the researcher to trace the patterns of football hooliganism on the modern international scene and to determine whether the frequency of international hooliganism has increased or decreased over the past 13 years. The research utilizes an open coding process based on the theme of international hooliganism. The author read through all the results that fit the designated time frame (2000-Present) and selected articles that met the search criteria to ensure content only included acts of violence committed as a result of national team matches, not domestic competition. From the search of over 600 news reports, a total of 103

articles were saved, comprising the data set, and articles were categorized based on competition and year. Though the current study was confined by a monolingual nature – analyzing only articles in English – the data set included articles from news outlets in a variety of countries, including England, Scotland, Ireland, New Zealand, the United States, Russia, Korea, Japan, Malaysia, Zambia, South Africa, and Gambia. The author noted significant displays of hooliganism, the countries involved, setting, and explanation offered by the press, including any potential underlying motivations. The analysis is open to latent content within the news report or interviews of hooligans in order to decipher any symbolic meanings behind displays of fan violence. Manifest indicators under examination included words (i.e. “hooliganism”) or primary themes regarding football violence between international fans, while nationalism is characterized as a latent indicator. While an inherent weakness of content analysis is the sensationalized nature of the media – particularly evident in football journalism – the current study is primarily concerned with how media outlets frame hooliganism and what the reports concentrate on to analyze depictions of hooliganism and nationalism.

Findings:

Hooliganism outbursts at international events are rarer than incidents of domestic hooliganism because league fixtures are much more frequent. International hooliganism was perceived to be at high levels beginning in 2000, fluctuating every two to three years. Furthermore, the media appears to declare that football hooliganism is once again on the rise with references to the return of the “English disease” resurfacing about every other year. Findings reveal that hooliganism at international matches is just as prevalent in years surrounding the UEFA Euro Championship as in World Cup years. In fact, some of

the most notable displays of international hooliganism have occurred at the Euros (Scislowska 2012; Malley 2004; Moore 2000). For example, the 2000 Euro competition hosted by Belgium-Holland generated the greatest amount of press attention in the past 13 years. At the tournament, English fans infamously rioted in the streets of Charleroi for two days following England's victory over Germany (AFP 2000); 450 fans were arrested in the immediate aftermath, while almost 1000 English fans were detained or expelled by Belgian and Dutch forces by the end of the competition, according to Adrian Lee in *The Express* (2001). Media reports also show that violence was not only feared, but expected in the run-up to the match, a recurring theme with England-Germany, two nations that have both football and historical tensions. Following the incident, UEFA President Lennart Johansson stated, "What has happened has come as no surprise to anyone, it has been going on for 30 years and nothing has changed -- and we cannot accept it any longer" (*Herald Sun* 2000:50).

Not only was the Charleroi controversy covered heavily immediately following the incident, the riots were commonly referenced in media reports on hooliganism in the years to follow, standing as a preeminent example of English hooliganism in the modern era (Groves 2002; McDougall 2002; Lee 2001; Williams 2001; Roberts 2000; Ford 2000). The scandalous displays of hooliganism haunted England for years to come, earning them direct warnings from UEFA officials that threatened to remove the English national team and their fans from the tournament if supporters engaged in hooliganism at future tournaments. The European football governing body first issued this warning in 2000 (*Herald Sun* 2000) and later reiterated it before the 2004 tournament (Alexander 2004;

Grant 2004). Though the warning against hooliganism was extended to all countries participating, England was the only nation called out by name.

In response to the behavior of English fans at the competition in Charleroi, substantial preventative action was put into place to protect against hooliganism in future fixtures involving the English national team. The Home Office in England, led by Home Secretary Jack Straw, proposed a bill to Parliament that would give police unprecedented powers in combating international hooligans. The Football Disorder Bill was designed to greatly enhance the scope of police power over yobs, or thuggish young men (often used synonymously with “hooligan”) by granting them the right to confiscate passports of individuals suspected of or associated with either domestic or international hooliganism not only at matches, but at airports as well (Taylor 2000). The bill defined violence as “any act of damage to people or property, while disorder includes any act to stir up hatred, or any instance of using threatening, abusive or insulting behaviour,” in addition to any “threatening or insulting ‘visible representation,’ which could include a nationalistic or obscene tattoo” (Taylor 2000). England renewed the 2000 Football Disorder Act in 2001 to protect against international hooligan attacks, “particularly the type of xenophobic, threatening behaviour witnessed during Euro 2000,” as explained by the Home Office (*Hermes Database* 2001). The bill was passed in time for the match between England and Germany in September 2001 in order to ban 537 known English hooligans from traveling to Munich, amounting to a new record (Rickman and Moore 2001). Fifty more were turned away at airports and sea ports (Millward and Harding 2001). At the match, increased security efforts engaged thousands of police officers from both England and Germany (Rickman and Moore 2001).

German forces used similar tactics when hosting the 2006 World Cup (O'Neill and Boyes 2006; Boyes 2005), but faced issues of hooliganism before the start of the tournament. Kevin Miles of *The Guardian* declared, "It would be naive in the extreme to think that an event like the World Cup finals in Germany, attracting hundreds of thousands of football fans to the home of beer, would not give rise to an incident or two" (2006:7). Incidents were recorded between German hooligans and the Polish, another nation that historically has experienced a strained relationship with Germany. A reporter from the *Irish Times* stationed in Berlin during the 2006 World Cup relayed, "The German media have run huge reports about the plans of Polish and English fans to run riot in Frankfurt and Dortmund" in addition to planned marches by a Neo-Nazi group known as the NPD in solidarity with Iranian supporters (Scully 2006:15). Scully further explained that German police forces decried the media for creating unnecessary hype over the possibility of hooligan attacks (2006). Other news outlets reported that although African and Muslim supporters in particular feared they would be harassed, "the nationalism that has emerged in Germany during the matches has been positive and benign" (*The Press* 2006). To combat international hooligans, German organizers launched a large-scale security operation, which included "border control, AWACS surveillance planes and the presence of police and secret service agents from several countries... said to cost several hundred million Euros" (Bagratuni 2006:1).

In contrast, the 2002 FIFA World Cup hosted by Korea-Japan, made headlines for the tournament's distinct lack of hooliganism. In the years leading up to the competition, media sources disputed whether the small Asian nations were prepared to deal with traveling hooligans. For example, Phillip Anderson reported in the *Korea Herald* in 2001

that World Cup organizers had “no plan to segregate opposing fans at stadiums,” or to institute an alcohol ban (2001). Anderson also relayed that Glyn Ford, a former member of the European Parliament, feared Korean and Japanese authorities were underestimating the possibility of hooliganism, stating that they “think that it's a European phenomenon that cannot happen over here. They are wrong. Football hooliganism - an international, and often, organized crime - needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency by the authorities before it's too late” (Anderson 2001). However, a number of articles were focused on the extensive precautionary measures the hosts adopted, including the use of net guns, external police forces, and bans (Groves 2002; Anderson 2001; Joyce 2001; Ford 2000). As a result, the 2002 World Cup in Japan-Korea has since been named the safest tournament in the Cup's history (*The Korea Herald* 2002). Interestingly, the peaceful competition is also consistent with the fact that Asia is less affected by football hooliganism than most other regions.

Likewise, the 2010 World Cup in South Africa – the first ever held in Africa – experienced very little hooliganism. However, Africa, as a whole, experiences less international football hooliganism than Europe, according to the media reports sampled in the present study. Hooliganism between African nations are typically isolated incidents; in the past 13 years, media reports regarding international hooligan episodes mention only five African countries: Zambia (Hughes 2007; *The Times of Zambia* 2005), Uganda (*New Vision* 2002; *The Monitor* 2002), Zimbabwe (*This Day Lagos* 2000), Kenya (*The Nation Nairobi* 2000), and Gambia (*Foroyaa Newspaper* 2012).

The two most recent international football competitions, the UEFA Euro 2012 in Poland and Ukraine, and the 2013 Confederations Cup in Brazil, each experienced

significant displays of international football hooliganism as well, though press attention in the data set was concentrated on European incidents. Recent media reports reveal that international hooliganism appears to be common amongst Eastern European nations, namely Poland (Warshaw 2011), Russia (Scislowska 2012), Ukraine (Lawton 2012; Taylor 2011), and Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, and Montenegro (Georgiev 2012). The media has depicted Polish fans as an increasingly dangerous threat, stating they “have gained a growing reputation as some of the most badly behaved in Europe” (Warshaw 2011:52). Riots between hooligans supporting Russia and Poland at the UEFA Euros in June 2012 generated a large amount of press attention. Even before the tournament began, the fixture between these longtime rivals was presented as the greatest risk for hooligan violence (Walker 2012). Shaun Walker of *The Independent* asserted that “in terms of the historical context there are few sporting clashes that can match Russia versus Poland,” whose international relations are marked by “four centuries of bitter conflict and mutual invasions” (2012:64). Adding to the tension was the fact that the game took place in Warsaw on June 22, the same day Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa from Poland in 1941 (Walker 2012). According to Monika Scislowska, an estimated 5,000 Russian fans marched to the National Stadium on game day “waving national flag and chanting ‘Russia, Russia,’” provoking Polish fans in the process (2012).

Russian hooliganism has been largely characterized by its strong racist element, aimed primarily at players of foreign race or ethnicity (*Moscow News* 2013; Kidd 2010). Likewise, Serbia came under heavy scrutiny for hooliganism and racism in 2012, prompting the Chairman of the Professional Footballers’ Association, Clarke Carlisle, to call for a UEFA ban on all Serbian teams (Lansley 2012). David Chater asserted that

Serbian football culture has been shaped by the “toxic mixture of football hooliganism, nationalism and organised crime” as a result of the regime of former Serb President Slobodan Milosevic, who was responsible for the ethnic wars of the 1990’s (2010:25).

Discussion:

From the data set, it becomes apparent that international football fans from European nations are much more prone to hooliganism and racist activities. The news reports comprising the data trace the movement of football hooliganism from their historical roots in England to Eastern European countries in the past four years. The data set also suggests that English fans are typically one of the largest groups of travelling supporters to international tournaments, whereas South American fans do not often travel to competitions in Europe, isolating them from issues of intercontinental hooliganism (Walls 2002). The findings reveal that international hooliganism has been less prevalent in Asian and African countries in the past 13 years relative to European nations.

The media tend to indicate a bias against fans of England – even English media outlets – yet cover them more heavily than supporters of any other national team, presenting the English as central to the hooligan phenomenon. A majority of international incidents were discussed in the context of English hooliganism, either because English fans were directly involved or their model of hooliganism was portrayed by the media as an influence on supporters of other countries. The media almost exclusively frame hooliganism as an English problem or byproduct, perpetuating the stereotype that it is the “English disease.” Instead of being eradicated over time, major episodes of hooliganism committed by fans of the English national team reintroduces the recurring theme of the

“English disease” in the media, as though it were a plague football cannot eliminate. The riots in Charleroi at the Euro 2000 tournament served as both a point of reference and a crowning example of English hooliganism at work in the modern era; the incident was mentioned in 24 of the total number of articles sampled. Furthermore, the media placed particular emphasis on containing hooligans to their home country to prevent them from spreading abroad. English fans are still labeled as “high risk” and viewed as a threat to host nations (*Black Country Edition* 2005:59).

A number of media reports depict football hooliganism as the result of heavy drinking and insinuate that it is inspired by violence seen on the pitch; however, prior academic studies have demonstrated that both of these assumptions are not strong enough factors to cause hooliganism on their own. The consciousness, values, and character of the actors have been shown to be more significant than external provocations. Conversely, many articles do not venture to speculate on what the possible reasons for hooliganism may be. However, in the vast majority of the articles in the data set, nationalism arises only as a latent indicator rather than as a primary cause.

Hooligan violence between fans of opposing countries often contains heavy traces of nationalist sentiments. International football can increase nationalist fervor more than domestic soccer, as it arouses an intense devotion to country in its followers, who treat each game as a contest of honor and valor. Challenges between two nations provided all the action of domestic games with the added thrill of national pride being put on the line. Social tensions stemming from earlier wars, conflicts, or colonization creates an edgy atmosphere for international competitions, as evidenced by the case of the Russia-Poland clash on the anniversary of Operation Barbarossa, for example. In 2000, Home Secretary

of England, Jack Straw stated his belief that hooliganism is caused by “English people with a distorted and racist view of their nationality” (Wintour 2000). Again, two years later, Straw “blamed football hooliganism and yob culture on Britain's colonial past” and claimed that “hooliganism originated from a 'distorted' sense of patriotism which was fed by old ideas about Britain's supremacy and empire” (Paveley 2002). Though some reporters were offended by Straw’s negative characterization of his own country (Glover 2000), the politician’s viewpoint is well-founded and refers to a highly possible motivating factor behind hooliganism that most seem too timid to mention.

Issues of racism are strongly tied to nationalism, which would account for the racist chants and attacks that are a staple of hooligan violence in the past 13 years, as reported in the media. Nationalist sentiments create an aversion to the collective "other" that often manifests in racist responses to those perceived as aliens. While most articles do not explicitly posit that the described hooligan acts were committed as a result of nationalism, a few do allude to it. For example, an article by Glyn Ford that appeared in *The Korea Herald*, explained that hooligans act to “parade and assert their national identity, often underpinned amongst the hard core by membership or, at least, inchoate support for extreme-right and neo-fascist politics” (Ford 2000). Likewise, *The Mirror* relayed a characterization of supporters clubs as being “infested with young, white males determined to display offensive and distorted perceptions of patriotism” (Roberts 2000). However, a number of these fans, namely Poles and Ukrainians, have made it known that they are offended by the suggestions that they are members of racist societies (Simpson 2012:2).

Furthermore, media sources have acknowledged that hooliganism is not only motivated by the score line, but is often based solely on “hatred toward supporters of rival teams” (*Korea Times* 2002). Games are not simply a matter of one team versus another, but rather a competition between nationalities, races and ideologies. For centuries sporting prowess has been seen as synonymous with national dexterity; this trend continues to characterize football, which has been defined as a mechanism of national identity and honor. Fans take great pride in the success of their nation and have proven they will go to great lengths to defend their country’s reputation. Football hooligans, on the other hand, go to extreme measures to protect this image. Clashes between international hooligans can be viewed as a means by which these fans continue the battle off the pitch; hooligans can either rectify a loss by beating the opposing team’s fans in a brawl or further prove themselves as winners by using violence to display the strength of their nation. However, there is a growing conflict between the hooligan’s image of themselves and how the rest of society views them. They act to support the team and uphold their honor off the pitch, but they are then portrayed in the media as traitors, thugs, and as a disgrace to the nation. Hooligans arguably represent some of the most devoted fans, yet their actions have had them branded in the media as “traitors to the cause of English football” (Holden 2003). Instead, football hooligans acting at the international level embarrass their home country while their intention is to defend it.

Suggestions for Future Research:

Future research should continue to adopt a cross-cultural perspective in order to determine if the heavy English influence persists. The current study was limited to articles that only appeared in the English language; a multilingual study would greatly

broaden the scope of the data set and allow researchers to further explore media depictions of hooliganism in other countries. If it were possible (with consideration to geographic and sampling constraints), a study that directly observes or surveys individuals who have participated in hooliganism would allow for a firsthand perspective rather than an interpretation from a secondary source. In-depth interviews would offer greater detail and personal interaction with the subject. Interviewing hooligans in person could potentially allow the researcher a chance to discover how they frame their hooligan acts and determine their actual motivations rather than inferring. Additionally quantitative studies might be able to demonstrate if a direct correlation exists between international hooliganism and nationalism. A survey could be distributed to determine the motivations of both active and former hooligans. It would be useful to gather data on their background, socioeconomic status, educational level, political affiliations, and alcohol consumption, in particular, to determine how they align with past conceptions of hooligans.

Conclusion:

Though the present media does not often mention nationalism as a manifest indicator of international hooliganism, it frequently arose as a latent indicator. The data demonstrate that nationalism is indeed an element of international hooliganism, though it is potentially under-emphasized. On the other hand, alcohol consumption, masculinity norms, and country of origin seem to be over-emphasized in modern-day football journalism. The media reports on significant displays of international hooliganism over the past 13 years reveal that historical tensions between countries are exhibited both on and off the field. It would appear that hooligans in support of their national team are more

likely to clash with international rivals, as evidenced by the cases of the English, Germans, Poles, and Russians. The past is fraught with the clashes of warring nations that reverberate to this day and ill feelings toward historical rivals have hardly abated. Perhaps it would be prudent to keep these thoughts in mind as well as the realization that history really does repeat itself.

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