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**DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR OF GREEK FOOTBALL  
SPECTATORS**

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## INTRODUCTION

At the present time, a massive amount of people all over the world focuses their attention on organized sports. A lot of people deal with sport in contemporary societies in one or in another way having different identity in the sports world such as athletes, coaches, members of sport organizations, fans, organized members of a sports fan clubs, sport reporters. Sports world is often considered as a microcosm of the society, and social values, beliefs and norms from wider society are reflected in it. At the same time this microcosm also creates its own values and rules, which are sometimes transferred in the society. There are many different groups of sport fans and between those groups there are boundaries (demarcation lines), which indicate individuals where interaction begins and ends. Boundaries appear to be like membranes, which allow each individual to shape attitudes, experience feelings and appraise actions within the group of the spectators that they belong to. Sociologists view most of the spectators' groups as bridges between the individual and the larger society and in many cases they are fundamental, because they may serve as powerful instruments for social control or even social change.

Sport has both positive and negative consequences for the individuals and groups around the continent. It seriously influences peoples' everyday life, their status, race relations, clothing style, language and ethical values. Deviant behaviour can be easily witnessed in the sports world and especially in football. An essential, common social problem in Greek sports world is the deviant behaviour of the football spectators. It is a phenomenon, which increases steadily. This social problem appears to be even greater in Greece than in many European countries since the special related policies applied by the state and the efforts made by a certain amount of football clubs and the National Greek Football Association in order to make stands against it, do not get to the bottom of the problem. The number of deviant incidents in and out of the football stadia, as well as the individuals and groups of spectators who are involved in such kind of incidents are increasing gradually.

In February 24, 2005, four Greek football spectators of a first league team (Olympiakos) have been put in prison from twelve to fifteen months, since they behaved in a violent and vandal way against people, destroyed public property and put

in danger individuals lives' at the terraces of the football stadium. Three of them were at the age of between eighteen to twenty five years old while the fourth one was thirty five years old. This is the first time in the history of Greek professional football, that the sport law 3262/04 is fully applied by the court<sup>1</sup>. The motives of the above-mentioned football fans' behaviour are still unknown and so are the genuine reasons of the spectators' behaviour, which often appears to be unexpectedly deviant. It is still unidentified the degree of those fans' involvement in football spectating. It is however estimated by a certain part of the media experts, that they belong to groups of extremist<sup>2</sup> fans, although in some occasions, it is extremely difficult to distinguish the differences between extremist fans, organized and non-organized football fans.

Football is not the only sport in Greece, in which deviant behaviour of spectators occurs, but deviant disorders take place more frequently in football-related contexts than in the context of any other sport. Football spectators' behaviour appears to be an area under discussion in the Greek daily sport newspapers over the last years. Special related titles such as the following are frequent in sport press.

*"the football games are held in the lack of behavioural rules on the terraces since every spectator may do whatever he wants for as long as he is allowed to"* [Asimakopoulos, N. (2003, June 2). *Εδώ είναι Ελλάδα δεν είναι παίζε-γέλασε*. Eleftherotypia, 36-37],

*"It is not only enough if football stadia will be better, but spectators' attitudes towards football spectating should unquestionably change"* [Spiropoulos, A. (2003, June 4). Tailor Report. Eleftherotypia, 60-61]

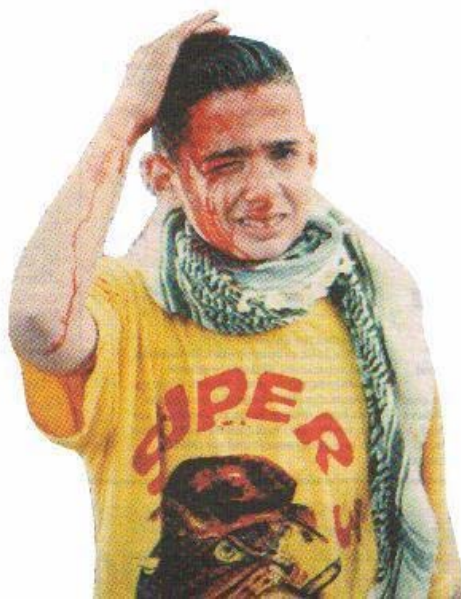
*" verbal assaults on the football terraces have been subject for arguments in most Greek TV channels in a daily basis"* [Maniatis, S. (2003, June 5). *TV channels of Violence*. Eleftherotypia, 61],

*" in the countryside, hooliganism has not appeared yet, although manifestation of deviant behaviour among spectators often occurs"* [Nodaros, M. (2003, June 7). *Άρωμα από άγρια Δύση*. Eleftherotypia, 65]

Furthermore, 39 deaths at the Heysel stadium (see Appendix B, Picture 1) in Brussels, in 1985 and the estimated 318 deaths at the Peru-Argentina match in Lima, in 1964, in association with the fact that football deviance indeed appears to be a result of the publicity football itself attracts and the size and social composition of the crowds

attending matches<sup>3</sup>, let police authorities and officials of the Greek National Football Association worry that the present situation in Greek football stadia may lead to such kind of tragic incidents. Yet, it will be enough for the reader of this study to have a look at the pictures 1-4 below, which have been taken in football matches of first league in Greece over the last two-three years. It will be then understandable to a certain extent the reasons according to which we decided to deal with this problem and conduct a research in Greece, regarding football spectators' deviant behaviour.

Picture 1



Source: Eleftherotypia (2003, June 6), 60

Picture 2



Source: Eleftherotypia (2003, June 6), 61

Picture 3



Source: Eleftherotypia (2003, June 6), 60

Picture 4



Source: Eleftherotypia (2003, June 6), 60

## **Review of the Related Literature**

### *Sport and Deviance*

There is a lot of literature on deviant behaviour both in sport and in football in Europe. In this work, few studies are mentioned, which are considered to be the most important from the perspective of my thesis. As in any other aspect of social life, deviance can be witnessed also within sport to a great extent. Hirantos (1990), studying the main characteristics of deviance in sports, notes that the episodes caused by football spectators, are not only limited in the football stadia. Deviant behaviour can be easily witnessed before, during and after a football match. According to the same author, deviance in sport is a phenomenon in which people from all social classes participate, while at the same time they belong to different political parties. It is noteworthy to mention that although the states are more and more strict against deviants in football matches, the number of the violent incidents is increasing daily.

There are many kinds of deviance such as crime, drug use and consumption of alcohol and toxic substances, violence and aggression. In our study we focus on the deviant disorders, mainly associated with violence and aggression such as pitch invasions, attacks on players (see Appendix B, Picture 2), and football officials, the vandalization of public and private property, fights between opposing groups of spectators, verbal assaults and throwing of objects (stones, keys, parts of broken plastic chairs from the terraces) in the football field or from one place of the grandstands to another. Aggression is considered to be the basic element of many sport events and mainly football. Bryant & McElroy (1997) study the different forms of aggression in sport. According to them some aggressive behaviours are accepted while others are truly criminal. Consequently, aggression can be reactive or instrumental. Reactive is an emotional response with intent to harm. Instrumental is a task oriented and non-emotional action. Aggression can be also described as positive or negative. Positive is that kind of aggression, which is within the norms and becomes deviant only if the intensity continues beyond acceptable standards. Negative is that kind of aggression, which contains the intent to harm somebody.



In sport disciplines, scientists explain and analyse this social problem in a similar way. Regarding that sport is a microcosm of society there may be many common characteristics transformed from society to sport. According to Krawczyk, it is often regarded as socio-cultural phenomenon and the theoretical and methodological orientations, which are used by sociologists in order to examine such a phenomenon, are dominated, among others, by structural-functional approaches (Krawczyk, 1990). Furthermore, considering that sport is a social institution, some values and norms, which will be generated within it, may be transferred in society as well. According to Bryant & McElroy (1997) the causes of aggressive behaviour are analysed below in three theories:

1. *Instinctive aggression* (biological cause). According to this theory, all human beings possess the aggressive trait on a biological basis. Yet, aggression appears to be cathartic and pent-up energy may be eased through sport activity.
2. *Frustration/ aggression* (psychological cause). This theory focuses on the possibility according to which a person responds in an aggressive way because of a frustrating experience.
3. *Learned behaviour* (sociological cause). In this theory it is assumed that violent behaviour is seen as a result of socialization through reinforcement.

#### *Deviant Behaviour in Football*

Manifestations of deviant behaviour can be easily witnessed in football. Following Piperopoulos (1994), deviant behaviour in football stadia is not a novel phenomenon. The new characteristic is the increased intensity accompanied by the fact that young people from all social classes participate in violent actions. According to Kitsakis (1990), the collective deviant behaviour in the football stadia is a phenomenon closely related to all the other social processes and small or big evolutions. The author believes that a big part of the spectators who react in a deviant way in the football stadia, do so because they see it as the only way to achieve some changes within society which will be functional for it, since they are not allowed and they are not able to achieve those changes in another aspect of their social life such as politics for example.

As in many other aspects of social life, the manifestation of racism and xenophobia is present also in most sports arenas and especially in the football stadia.

Foldesi (1996) studied the manifestation of racism and xenophobia among spectators at football matches in Hungary from an empirical point of view. According to the author, in Hungary there are many so called "quasi-spectators". Their presence means a potential increase of spectators' violence in general and their racist conduct could lead to further manifestations of racism and xenophobia in particular. The occurrence of racist behaviour by groups is very high. Though the number of spectators involved in them and the significance of an event vary greatly, there is not a single stadium where researchers did not observe abusive incidents. The ethnic and national composition of the football teams actually playing also appears to have a significant impact on crowd behaviour in this respect. The more heterogeneous a team is, the greater is the likelihood of observing racist and xenophobic abuse among spectators. Discriminatory interactions between players of different nationalities and different ethnic backgrounds are rarely noticed. However, the events on the pitch influence the frequency of racist and xenophobic abuses in the stands and on the terraces to a great extent.

According to Horak and Marschik, racism is also present in Austrian football. In the football field there are higher expectations of foreign players than of local players and foreign coaches are judged rather more severely. As far contact with the foreigner players was concerned the attitude of rejection was rather more obvious. Following Vanreusel (1996), forms of discrimination based on ethnicity or geographical origin are the major elements in this tension between majority and minority ethnic groups in an increasingly multicultural society. Sport as a very widespread form of popular culture has proved to be an area in which various forms of racist discrimination occur. Racist discrimination is fed largely by feelings of fear, threat and uncertainty on the part of the discriminating section of the population, which focuses these feelings on that part of the population, which suffers the discrimination.

A sub-category of spectators is the extremist fans or hooligans. The extremist fan is a different type of football spectators. The special figures of such kind of spectators are called "hooligans". They physically offend other persons or destroy public property without any claim or demand. Football hooligans have been subject to investigation from many scientists around the world. According to Roversi (1991), the expression "football hooliganism" refers to the spectator violence through acts of

vandalism and bloody aggression, perpetuated by young persons mainly men, that is by hooligans. The main characteristics of the hooligans (in most cases) are the following:

- They usually go in the football stadium in organized groups and they watch all together the match. They fill up the terraces behind the goals and they use drums, banners, bombs of smoke and colourful flags to express their sympathy to their favourite team (Tsouramanis, 1988).
- They have no interest on the match itself but the search for a chance of acting in a violent way and affecting professional football (Roversi, 1991).
- The “hooligans” are mainly young people, and they often physically offend other individuals, or destroy private or public property, before, during or after the match (Roversi, 1991).
- Hooligans often engage in acts of vandalism and bloody aggression caused by excessive alcohol intake (Bryant & McElroy, 1997).
- The acts of hooligans vary from disruptions outside the stadium, to disturbances during the game that affect it and represent a loss of self-control (Papageorgiou, 1998).

There have been few attempts to study football hooliganism also in Greece since the mid-1990s. Tsouramanis analysed hooliganism from a theoretical perspective. Besides, he also made a research on the topic with the help of participant observation in matches of first and second league football teams and matches of A1 league of basketball teams (Tsouramanis, 1988). Furthermore, Panousis (1990) carried out a comparative research on the opinion of sport students and sport teachers on the spreading of deviant behaviour in sports in Greece. None of them involved large number of football spectators in their investigation. In the football season of 1999-2000 we conducted a pilot study on the Greek football spectators’ deviant behaviour in and out of the football stadia. Based on the experience of the pilot study we made a survey on the same problem in the football season 2003-2004. The major aim of the study was to discover how the Greek football spectators’ behavioural patterns have been changed and how the main social, political and economical changes in wider Greek society, affected this process.

## Significance of the Problem

Deviant behaviour among spectators can be easily witnessed within Greek sports world as well as in many other social institutions. Regarding that sport is a socio-cultural product; its purpose and meaning may emphasize the values of competition, aggressiveness and violence in the society. Aggression and violence are not unique to modern sport. Their origins and their presence many years ago cannot be denied (Foldesi, 2001). Nevertheless, nowadays, deviant behaviour of individuals or groups of individuals is increasing day by day in the sports world in such extent that this social institution has become a *deviant* social institution. This is very dangerous for the future of the young people, because between others, sport can be characterized as a juvenile institution, in which young people may accomplish important steps in discovering their personal identity. This juvenile institution is supposed to be an ethical pursuit, which promote fair play and sportsmanship. Instead of these, it has become a violent institution, which promotes –mainly- violence and aggression. Under these circumstances, violence and aggression in Greek sports world and especially in football may be considered as a reflection of violence and aggression in wider society.

Manifestation of deviant behaviour among individuals and groups of individuals is a social phenomenon, which can be easily witnessed in most football matches. A lot of investigation has been carried out, concerning football spectators' deviant behaviour as well as the collective behaviour of the hooligans in most of the European countries such as England, Italy and France. Nevertheless, in Greece there is little information about the spectators' deviant behaviour. The increased frequency and the intensity of deviant incidents in and out of the football stadia, in association to the fact that in the episodes, mainly young people from all social classes are participating, requires further and in depth investigation. During football matches, the manifestation of deviant behaviour appears to be more frequent than in any other sport event. Deviance in football is not a phenomenon, which is born in Greece. It has come from abroad, mainly from England, but we have to admit it that a great number of Greek football fans were psychologically open to adapt it. The characteristics, the effects and the consequences of this phenomenon in Greek football world are reflected in wider society. It is not just a phenomenon any more. It is considered to be a severe social problem, which often

occurs in and out of the football stadia concerning athletes, coaches, owners of the teams and spectators.

Nowadays most of the sports have turned out to be professional. It is believed that this is one of the main causes of deviance among spectators. Since football has appeared to be professional in Greece, groups of extremist fans appeared and violence and aggression have been the main characteristics of their behaviour. The basic characteristics of the so-called "hooliganism" in England have also reflected in Greek football spectating. The "hooligans" seem to be not interested in the football match itself. Their behaviour is characterized by actions of vandalism and bloody aggression and they always fill entirely the terraces behind the goals. Nevertheless, their actions are not limited in the football stadia and during the game. Episodes perpetuated by that kind of fans have been noticed before or after the match, out of the football stadia.

## **OBJECTIVES**

The major aim of this study was to discover how the Greek football spectators' behavioural patterns have been influenced by changes in football world and how the main social, political and economical changes in wider Greek society, have affected this process. Football spectators' behaviour would be better understandable if first, an attempt of identifying who are those spectators were made. More detailed attempts have been made in order to respond to the following questions:

- What is the socio-economic composition of spectators attending football matches in Greece?
- What are the major demographic characteristics of Greek football spectators?
- What are the motivations of spectators in Greece for attending football matches?
- What are the attitudes of Greek spectators towards football matches?
- What are the customs of football spectators in Greece?
- What kind of deviant incidents can be observed in and out of the Greek football stadia?
- To which degree football spectators react in a deviant way, influenced by racist and xenophobic motives?

The statement describes the relationship between the football spectators' deviant behaviour and potential causes of such kind of behaviour in football world such as the role of the police forces in securing the football stadia and the arbitration in first league matches. The impact of mass media and especially sport press on individual's attitudes towards football, which appears to play determinative role on football fans' behaviour, has been also examined. Consequently, the aim of the research in 2004 in Greece was to receive as much subjective information from football spectators as possible about fundamental issues such as the actual causes of the deviant behaviour of first league football spectators, although special attention has been paid to their views, feelings, thoughts, value conceptions and attitudes towards football and unconstructive crucial issues arising from football such as violence and aggression among different groups of spectators, in and out of the stadia, unreliable arbitration and defective policing of football stadia.

## Hypotheses

In order to realize the aim thesis, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

- It was assumed that the socio-economic composition and demographic characteristics of Greek football spectators have remarkably changed over the last decades.
- It was hypothesised that the younger the spectators are, the more often they attend national, first league football matches.
- It was hypothesised that racism and xenophobia were not present in Greek football stadia in such extend as they were in other European countries such as Hungary, Belgium, and Austria.
- It was assumed that according to spectators' views and the opinion of media experts and police authorities, alcohol consumption was *not* considered to be a major cause of deviance in football stadia.
- It was supposed that according to views of spectators, sport reporters, officials of the National Football Association, and coaches of first league football teams the basic causes of deviance in Greek football stadia were the following:
  - a. Defective policing of football stadia by police security forces
  - b. Unreliable arbitration
  - c. A great part of the Mass Media in Greece seriously influenced football spectators' deviant behaviour since they often endorsed unsubstantiated information, or unofficial statements made by executive members of football associations and the leadership of football teams. Furthermore, they promoted mainly aggressive, violent and vandal incidents among different groups of spectators or among extremist fans and police security forces.
- It was assumed that there were remarkable differences in the customs and motivations of individuals belonging to different spectating groups such as non-organized spectators, organized spectators and members of the "hard cores".

## **Delimitations of the Study**

The following delimitations were recognized in this study:

1. The study was conducted in Greece, in stadia where matches between first league football teams were held.
2. The variables, which were considered as independent, were the socio-economic composition, age, gender, occupation, and place of residence.
3. Instrumentation included questionnaires, in-depth interviews and documents from National Statistical Service of Greece and Greek Football Association and data from press and sport press.
4. Participant observation took place in certain places of the Greek football stadia, in matches of first league teams.

## **Limitations of the Study**

Limitations of this study are the following:

1. The sample was limited to 0.05% of the total population, consisting of supporters of first league teams in Greece, belonging to different groups of spectators such groups of non-organized or organized spectators and groups of extremist fans.
2. The sample could not be selected by the classical random method.
3. Spectators have been asked to answer the questionnaires before, during and after the first league football matches.
4. The weather could have influenced the composition of the spectators.
5. Sport associations could provide valuable but limited information on football spectator's deviant behaviour because of the lack of documented data based on previous empirical researches.



## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Definition of Terms**

A tentative and careful investigation and analysis of this phenomenon requires a multidiscipline approach. Therefore in my thesis I studied concepts from different disciplines such as psychology and biology. Nevertheless, my work focuses on the sociological perspectives. It is believed by a great number of sociologists that people push society's boarder lines looking for some changes. In many cases the way that they do it, is considered to be deviant by the majority of the members of the society. There are many concepts explaining what is deviance.

A very important concept, which is given by Macionis, claims that "deviance is the recognized violation of the cultural norms"(Macionis, 1990, 201 ). The author explains that since norms guide virtually all human activities, this concept of deviance covers a correspondingly broad spectrum. According to Wilbert, "deviance is any thought or action that runs contrary to the social standards or expectations" and "deviants are those individuals who engage in rule-breaking action" (Wilbert, 1988, 148). Following Zanden, deviance is behaviour that is viewed as "reprehensible" and "beyond the limits of tolerance" (Zanden, 1990, 132). A behaviour is usually characterized as deviant if it is considered to be non-functional for the society and provokes negative reactions its members. A similar concept of deviant behaviour is given by Hirantos. According to him, deviant behaviour characterizes that way of action that runs contrary to the social norms and social values of the society (Hirantos, 1990).

Going back to deviance it should be mentioned that there are many different kinds of deviance. Macionis (1987) refers to one distinctive category of deviance, crime. Crime is considered to be the violation of norms, which are formally enacted into criminal law by the society and its members. According to the author, a subcategory of crime is juvenile delinquency referring to the violation of the legal standards by young people. Nevertheless it should be mentioned that not all criminal deviances are the same since they may vary from a simple traffic violation to a murder. Following Zanden (1990), crime is an act, which is prohibited by the law. From this we may understand

that not all deviant acts, committed by individuals or some members of different social groups are regarded to be crimes. The author refers to four forms of crimes. Namely those are the following: White-collar crime, organized crime, violent crime, and victimless crime. As it is explained by the same author, white-collar crime is the crime which is committed by relatively affluent persons, often in business activities, while organized crime is committed by “Large-scale” bureaucratic organizations, which provide illegal goods and services to public demand. Violent crime is considered to be against people (murder, rape, and robbery) or against property (burglary, and theft). Finally in victimless crimes, no one from those who are involved is considered as victim. It should be mentioned that there are some forms of deviant behaviour in which the perpetrator harms no one but himself such as drug use, and consumption of alcohol or toxic substances.

Following Curry and Jiobu, there are many societies around the world, which can be described as consumer societies, thus they consume violence in huge quantities. Wilbert (1988), view aggression and violence as two very similar concepts. More specifically they conceptualise violence (or aggression) as any action or behaviour that causes injury or harms another. No matter what is the result, the action itself is of big importance. According to the first ones, learning aggression and learning how to use violence, it can be part of the socialization process, because violence is instrumental. Nevertheless, Kastrinos (1999) makes a distinction between anger/aggression and violence. Analysing the great ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle’s views on aggression says that everybody has the right to feel anger. It is very easy for an individual to be angry. The question is with who, to which degree, when, for which reason, and which should be an individual’s reactions after being angry. According to the same author violence is the antisocial behaviour, which is considered to be penal. But its function is not always bad for the society.

It is noteworthy to underline the fact that some of the above-mentioned definitions, characterize –directly or indirectly- deviance as a *relative* phenomenon which can often only be understood within the socio-cultural parameters in which it occurs (Wilbert, 1988). In particular, it is suggested by the same author that deviance might be defined as follows:

1. Sport Deviance varies by *time*. When the first Olympic Games were held in the alluvial plains of Mt Olympus, the runners ran in the nude. At that time nudity was perfectly acceptable. Today it would be deviant.
2. Sport Deviance varies by *place*. The Zuni Indian runners would not consistently try to outperform their competitors. Whereas this is entirely acceptable and appropriate in that geographical region, in general such behaviour would be labelled deviant.
3. Sport Deviance varies by *situation*. A boxer trying to annihilate or put down another fighter is perfectly proper. On the other hand, a golfer trying to extinguish another golfer on the links through physical force would be booked for assault.
4. Sport Deviance varies by *social status*. Within some sports, superstar athletes have become such celebrities that various authoritative personnel appear to “look the other way” or “bend over backwards” to avoid reacting negatively to them.

According to Macionis, deviance also varies according to cultural norms, because no thought or action is inherently deviant. It becomes deviant only in relation to the *cultural norms* (Macionis, 1990). Yet there is another approach of the relativity of deviance. Following Zanden (1990), deviance varies from time to time, place-to-place and group-to-group. The main issues on this approach are the following:

- a. Acts are not deviant by themselves. A social audience decides whether behaviour is deviant or not.
- b. People define behaviour and the specific ways in which they react to it.

Concerning the topic of my investigation, the spectators' behaviour is also relative and depends on time, place, situation and social status as well. If for example the spectators throw bananas in the football field and in both teams there is no “black” player, their action cannot be characterized as deviant, because in this case the banana is nothing but garbage. If there is at least one “black” player in the field, their action can be only characterized as deviant, because the banana is used as a symbol and expresses the spectators' beliefs, thoughts and conjectures that the “black” players have come down of the trees just like the gorillas. On the other hand, spectators who belong to higher social classes and sit on a specific area of the stands cause some episodes. The

majority of the people and the mass media do not characterize those episodes as deviance but if the spectators standing on another part of the field –and belonging to another socio-economical class would do the same they would be characterized as deviants.

Bryant & McElroy facing deviance in sport as a social problem, refer to another very important characteristic of deviance. Following them, there are two types of deviance, the *negative* and the *positive*. “Negative deviance is a rejection of accepted norms and an ignoring of rules set to control the structure of sport” (Bryant & McElroy, 1997, p.93). Actions, which can be characterized as negative deviance, include sexual abuse, physical or mental offence, addiction to toxic substances, aggressive and violent behaviour. “Positive deviance, though disruptive, is defined as over conformity to the rules of sport” (Bryant & McElroy, 1997, p.93). Both types of behaviour in sport are a reflection of the situation within the larger society. Regarding that sport is a social institution (especially for the youth), positive and negative behaviour as well, may have a negative impact on the functions of the society and for the relationships between the members of it as well.

Deviant behaviour in contemporary society is not a new social phenomenon, nevertheless the increased number of episodes perpetuated by people acting in a deviant way over the last years demand further and in depth investigation. In my work, it is considered to be necessary, first, to study the collective and crowd behaviour from a theoretical point of view, as a basis for further study of deviant behaviour and the different forms of deviance. According to Wilbert (1998), collective behaviour is a concept encompassing different kinds of behaviour, including propaganda, social and religious movements and revolutions or even fashion and the study of it from sociological point of view is significant in order to understand the dynamics of socio-cultural changes in society. In order to achieve this, people come together in small or big groups, the so-called crowds. Following Tsouramanis (1988), the behaviour of those groups can be either structured or unstructured. Wilbert 1998, conceptualising collective behaviour, provides a model according to which structured is the behaviour, which is regulated by norms (crowd behaviour) and unstructured is the behaviour which is not regulated by norms (Social movements). Moreover, the study of the crowd has a long history and according to the same author crowd is the temporary collections of a certain

number of people facing a common and often problematic circumstance. Analysing Herbert Blumer's approach about crowds, Tsouramanis (1988), detected the crowds in casual, conventional, acting, and expressive, and provided the basic theories of crowd behaviour such as the Convergence theory, the Contagion theory and the Emergent Norm theory.

According to Smokoviti (1994), a social conflict is often the result of the crowd's unstructured behaviour. Usually we notice conflicts among two or more social groups. It is difficult for sociologists to study and investigate a social conflict since it is very hard to distinguish whether it is functional or not for the society, because it can be regarded both as a problem of the social mechanism or as a basic element of it. The same author refers to the different kinds of social conflict, such as wars, revolutions, and strikes. Some other kind of social conflict is this one, among new and old generations. The world of sports is also full of conflicts. As a result of social conflicts we usually notice the formation of social stratification and the mixture of social and cultural elements. Social changes are also encouraged.

### **Theories on Deviance**

Deviant behaviour has both positive and negative effects in society, which influence the functioning of it. Zanden (1990) analyses the reasons of the deviant behaviour of the members of the society from a sociological point of view and refer to five theories. These are the following:

*Merton's Strain Theory.* According to the author, deviance depends on how well society sets cultural goals, providing the individuals with the appropriate means. Merton identifies five modes of adaptation, from which, four of them are deviant adaptations to conditions of anomie. Namely, those are conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. More detailed (Table 1), *conformity* exists when individuals accept both the cultural goals of material success and the culturally approved means in order to achieve their goals. An individual may also use a deviant way in order to be successful. He may be, for example, drug dealer, something that is not difficult to do. Merton calls this type of deviance *innovation*. Another type of deviance is *ritualism*. According to it

the inability to become successful by normative means force the individual to forget about the cultural goals, in order to have a "respectable" life. (We should not forget that they choose normal way although they are engaged to abandon the cultural goals). The rejection of both cultural goals and means is called *Retreatism*. Retreatists are forced to forget about them, and they usually include some alcoholics or drug addicts or street people. At last, *rebellion* is considered to be the rejection of cultural goals and means. But the rebels go one step further. They ask for some changes to the existing social order. Typically they call for a political or religious transformation for society and they often join a counterculture. Consequently, note that there are five adaptation modes: (1) conformity, (2) innovation, (3) ritualism, (4) retreatism and (5) rebellion. The plus and the minus in the following table refer to acceptance or rejection, respectively, of the goals and means (Table 1).

Table 1 Modes of adaptation regarding cultural goals and cultural means

MODE OF ADAPTATION	CULTURAL GOALS	CULTURAL MEANS	
Conformity	+	+	Nondeviance
Innovation	+	-	Type of deviance
Ritualism	-	+	Type of deviance
Retreatism	-	-	Type of deviance
Rebellion	-	-	Type of deviance

*Differential Association Theory*. This theory claims that people become deviant to the extent they live in a system, which provides them with deviant ideas, techniques and motivations. According to this theory:

- a. Criminal behaviour is learned through interaction with other persons in a process of communication.
- b. When criminal behaviour is learned, the learning includes techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple and specific direction of motives, drivers, attitudes and values.
- c. Differential Association may vary by frequency, duration, priority and intensity.
- d. The process of learning criminal behaviour, involves all the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning process.

*Conflict Theory.* Following this theory, true groups have different norms and values, but the question is which groups are able to translate its values into the rules of society and make those rules “stick”.

*Labelling Theory.* According to this theory, an act can be characterized as deviant if others define it as such. More specifically, deviance is always a matter of social definition. For example a married man, while he is driving abroad he has sex with a prostitute. In this case the result of his action depend on whether the news will follow him back home. Following Edwin Lemert, deviance can be primary or secondary. Primary is that kind of behaviour that violates social norms but no one of the members of the society notices it. In secondary deviance the members of the society pay attention to somebody’s violation and react to it by labelling him/her as a deviant person.

*Emile Durkheim’s Theory.* This theory claims that deviance is not always bad. The contrary, it appears to be functional for the society and members of society use it as an instrument for pushing the society’s boundaries asking for some changes. As such, deviance performs four functions essential to society. These are the following:

- a. *Deviance affirms cultural values and norms.* Just as there can be no good without evil, then there can be no justice without crime. Deviance is necessary to the process of generating morality.
- b. *Responding to deviance clarifies moral boundaries.* In most cases, people by characterizing an action as deviant, find out a boundary between good and bud.
- c. *Responding to deviance promotes social unity.* People typically react to serious deviance with collective outrage.
- d. *Deviance encourages social change.* According to Durkheim deviant people push a society's moral boundaries, suggesting some changes.

Yet it is important to refer to Hirantos’ (1990) approach, concerning the different theories on deviant behaviour. The author refers to the causes of the deviant behaviour of individuals or groups of individuals in the sports world. Namely, these theories are the following:

*The theory of psychological disorganization.* This theory claims that deviant behaviour is the result of a rapid social change. This is what happened in Greece in the past. When most European countries accommodated the industrial revolution, Greece was under the Turkish occupation. Although that happened later, the time to achieve the socio changes

was limited. That means that certain members of the society while being used to a set of principles and values, were unable to adapt to the new way of life after the transition of the Greek society from rural to urban.

*Moralistic theory.* According to this theory, the behaviour of individuals and the different groups of people in larger society is characterized by a negative response to the moral values of life, mainly because of the extreme materialism, which is illustrated in several novel societies. Furthermore, those who react violently and aggressively in sport fields are the ones who have denied all moral inhibitions. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that moral crises have existed in past intense historical phases, without raising such phenomena similar to violence in the sports world.

*The theory of depoliticising urban social strata.* That theory claims that hooliganism appears to be a similar phenomenon to depoliticization. Furthermore, a great number of those individuals who belong to groups of hooligans are generally no politicised persons since they lack a particular civil consciousness (lack of realization of social and civic issues). This theory goes one step forward stating that groups of hooligans are not always formed of people from lower social classes. On the contrary, that fact that people from all socio-economic classes are members of groups of hooligans proves that hooliganism is not immediately related to phenomena originating in economic crises (e.g. unemployment).

*The theory of deprivation of political property.* Following this theory, it is indicated from a political perspective that hooligans decide to act violently and aggressively without any claim and no specific ideology. Still, they use brutal force and physically offend other persons or destroy public property, hidden behind the anonymity of the crowd since they are convinced that the group in which they belong, will assure in the best possible way the secrecy of their actions.

*Labour theory.* In this theory it is stated that among the different individuals forming the particular groups of hooligans there is a remarkable amount of young people who are *occupationally* or *professionally* disappointed. They are either those who have concluded their studies and they see no clear career future, or those who are still studying in universities but they have realized that their degrees are not enough in order to be professionally successful in the business world.



*The theory of neutralization of modern life.* Through this theory, it is indicated that mass media render viewers either indifferent judges or even passive receptors. Further more people remain inactive in common aspects of social life. Most of them feel condemned and frustrated since they are powerless to voice their personal opinion anywhere. They desire to take part in social events and consequently in progression of local societies but still they are unable to do so. Instead they may effortlessly become members of some groups of sport spectators since there, they may perhaps feel that they belong in some collective social body, through which they might influence communal process.

*The theory of frustrated sexuality.* According to Hirantos (1990), this theory explains that the individuals exhibiting deviant acts are deprived of a satisfactory sex life. It has been statistically proved that the vast majority of the spectators who exhibit deviant behaviour are unmarried.

*The theory of the hypothesis of psychological cancelling.* This theory makes an attempt to explain the aggressive behaviour of those fans whose team was defeated, since theoretically, aggressiveness is considered to be a consequence of some precedent psychological cancelling.

*The psychodynamic theory.* According to this theory the psychopathology of aggressive individuals is located in the superiority of the instinct of death, which leads to violent and aggressive behaviour in contrast to the instinct of love, which aims to creativity. Furthermore, individuals, the fans of different teams in our case, release their energy explosively, in a violent and aggressive way against spectators, players and referees, facilities of the stadia or privates and public property.

*The theory of the opponent teams.* Following the above-mentioned theory, deviant behaviour is originated to the point that groups of fans of a given team realize the constant domination of another team over theirs (their team constantly loses over an opponent dominant one). Consequently violence appears to be the only means of the dominated teams' will to impose itself upon the will of the dominant one.

*The theory of disappointment.* This theory argues that violence is based on the financial difficulties, that a part of the individuals of a given group of supporters is faced with. Taking part in violent incidents in sport fields, those people are probably looking for an opportunity to seek vengeance for their unfortunate course. They often break out on parked luxury cars, luxury store windows, and wealthy multinational bank windows.

*The theory of sexual potential* is further subdivided in two theories, which are the following:

*The theory of biological constitution.* Following this theory, the syndrome of ultra-male in individuals that manifest violent acts is traceable (bearing the inordinate XYY chromosomal arrangement, instead of the normal XY pattern). However it should be mentioned that empirical research indicated that not all individuals manifesting deviant behaviour in sport fields, present this chromosomal divergence.

*The theory of physical built.* This theory claims that physically stout individuals react in a violent and aggressive way, although a great part of those individuals who invariably participate in violent incidents, are small-built.

*The theory of organic condition.* This theory states that deviant behaviour of a certain amount of individuals is partly based on the tracing of brain tumours. Nevertheless, empirical research has shown that organic abnormalities are no common feature to all persons acting violently in sports world.

*The theory of impulses.* According to which the individuals manifest violent action because of a wish to be distinguished, although in some cases, individuals with elevated social esteem took place in violent incidents.

*The theory of psycho-hydraulic model.* In this theory it is stated that violent behaviour in sport stadia is a result of sex impetuses, since often they are blocked by familial, penal, moral and social restrictive norms. Sports violence appears to be a great chance for spending and in some way guiding such kind of aggressive potential.

## **International Legal Background**

Nowadays, the necessity for counteracting deviance in sport appears to be greater than in the previous decades. Deviant disorders within sports world would be, better, controlled and diminished if the major legal principles of sport were applied in a national and international level. Those principles should be shared among professional and amateur players, among sport-managers and coaches, among spectators and teachers of physical education as well. Fair play has to be promoted with the help of any

legal mean such as mass media, the different social institutions and through the sport associations and sport clubs. Special laws have been already formulated and applied by the European Council, the IOC and the EU. Deviant behaviour such as violence, aggression and discrimination of racism and xenophobia in the sport stadia and the use of drugs by athletes, have been strictly prohibited since they considered to be against the social, moral and physical function of sport (Nemes & Tóth, 2002). Moreover, the “order” may be kept in a group only if individuals accept and follow the commonly accepted rules of behaviour. The rules in sport have been formulated partly independently, partly parallel and in association to the formation and development of the legal system in wider society. They indicate the boarders between social and anti-social behaviour, between legal and illegal action, between ethical and non-ethical activity.

#### *The Impact of the European Council on Sport*

The Council of Europe have been playing significant role in sports world. It was established in 1949. In 1960, the country-members of the European Council focused their attention, among others, in the physical and sport activity. According to Nemes and Tóth, the EC deals with many different sport-related issues, which may be summarized as follows:

- *European Cultural Convention*. There were two major principles set by the European Council. The first principle was in association to the protection of sport from serious threats. Emphasis has been paid to fair play among competitors. The second one was to ensure that sport should be a mean for improving individuals' quality of life, especially the one of the young people and the handicapped persons.
- *Sport for All*. That was the first document, which dealt with improvement of quality of life of the handicapped people and the possibility of sporting activities in a local, regional and state level.

- *The Eurofit*. The eurofit test was established in order to measure the level of flexibility, speed and general performance of children at school age throughout Europe.
- *Anti-doping Rules*. The Convention Against Drugs (1989) intended first to decrease and then to exclude drug use from sport in an international level. In order to realize the above-mentioned aim, the following arrangements have been made by the Convention:
  - Embargo ingredients and medicines containing drugs.
  - Perfection of drug tests and methods.
  - Promotion of information and proper education in doping related issues.
  - Effective and consistent punishment for those who violate the rules relating to drug use.
- *Spectators' Violence*. Nowadays, spectators' violence is a common phenomenon in European sport stadia and especially in football stadia. Players, referees, coaches and spectators are often the targets of the frequent manifestation of sport violence. According to Nemes & Tóth (2002), the following means are suggested for counteracting football violence and hooliganism:
  - Prevention of violent incidents and control of aggressive persons' behaviour.
  - Police security forces should enforce the order keeping.
  - Isolation of rival fans in the place of sport event.
  - Individuals who react in an aggressive way should be excluded from the stadium.
  - Prohibition of alcohol.
  - Improvement of security control.
- *Ethics in Sport*. The Sport Ethical Code (1992) intends to create a strong, moral basis, by raising some major sport-related principles relating to friendship, solidarity and voluntarily, which are the basic grounds of sport (Nemes & Tóth, 2002). The code refers mainly to the role of the governing bodies, the duty of the sport clubs and the responsibility shared among individuals in relation to fair play, safety of children in sport and young competitors' health.

In 1992, the Council of Europe has also accepted the European Sports Charter, which was based on the following issues:

- Concept of sport.
- Functions of sport.
- Basic European sport-related principles.
- Public financial support of sport.
- Management and co-operation between the social organizations and the governing bodies in a local, national and international level.
- Youth's fitness, sport activity and physical education in primary and secondary school.
- Top and Professional Sport.

#### *The Role of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on Sport*

The IOC is a non-governmental umbrella organization. It was established in 1894. Any state by accepting the Olympic Charter is allowed to be a member of IOC. The aims of the IOC are the following:

- Sport should be a tool for peaceful co-operation and solidarity among nations.
- Co-operation between governmental and social organizations for the interest of sport.
- Regular Organization of Olympic Games.
- Intensification of sport ethics.
- Struggle against discrimination in sport.
- Fight against doping.

The IOC focuses its activity in controlling the use of drugs by athletes in the Olympic Games and also in the periods between the Olympic Games. The IOC is in close co-operation with WADA and it is widely expected and hoped that IOC and WADA joined forces will be able to stop the spreading of drug use in the world of elite sport.

## *Sport and the European Union*

Many of the rules, policies and programmes of the European Union have an impact on the world of sports. The European Commission is composed of Directorates-General and several departments. Within the Directorate-General Education and Culture, is the Sport Unit, which is responsible for the following main areas:

- Cooperation within the Commission and with other institutions on sport-related issues.
- Cooperation with national and international sports institutions, organizations and federations.
- Bilateral meetings with sports institutions and organizations and international sports federations.

According to Tokarski, Steinbach, Petry and Jesse (2004), in the 1990s, four major steps were taken to enhance the success of the European Union' sports policy. Those were based on the following issues:

- The establishment of the European Sports Forum, identifying the dialogue and cooperation with representatives of sport.
- The implementation and regular review of the study on the impacts the Single European Market is having on sport.
- The establishment of a separate promotion programme for sport.
- Regulation of competencies for sport within the EU.

The ever-increasing commercialisation of professional sport has led to an increase of drug use by athletes. But the problem of doping does not only exist in the professional sports field. Studies led by the European Commission revealed that amateur athletes also make use of drugs in order to enhance their performance. Under these circumstances doping has become an issue that affects the whole society. In the 1992, the European Union called upon athletes and institutions involved in sport to abandon doping. In 1999, the world Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) was established. The European Union had already agreed with the IOC that they would cooperate in drawing up the statutes. It should be mentioned that special efforts have been made by the EU in order to strengthen the preventative strategy against doping. The struggle against doping includes:

- Intensifying doping research.
- Developing standardised, scientific criteria and control structures.
- Integrating the *Leonardo*, *Socrates* and *Youth* programmes into awareness campaign and doping prevention.
- Making full use of all possibilities for police and judicial cooperation that are available as part of the programmes.
- Providing more information about drugs.
- Developing measures in the field of public health.

The European Union has in several occasions studied the social function of sport. Its role in social integration appears to be important and many-sided. It can be of relevance to young people in difficulty, who have fail, in most cases, at school, helping them to better integrate into society. It may also help the integration of migrant populations. It also appears to be an excellent instrument as regards persons with disabilities. Nevertheless it should be mentioned that sport brings also negative values such as aggression, violence, racism and cheating (Tokarski, Steinbach, Petry, Jesse (2004).

## **METHODS**

### **Pilot Study**

A pilot study was conducted in the football season 1999-2000 on the first league in Greece. The purpose of this preliminary research was to point out some results, which would further be of assistance to prepare the final version of the questionnaire, which has been used in the final research regarding Greek football spectators' deviant behaviour and the reasons of manifestation for such kind of behaviour in and out of the football stadia.

### **Sampling**

The sample of our survey consisted of football spectators attending first league football matches. According to relevant literature, the sample selection appears to be the most difficult methodological problem because the total population cannot be precisely identified. Consequently the representativity of the sample can be hardly guaranteed. When selecting the sample of our research, we followed the examples provided in the international literature. There are countries where the number of the registered season ticket holders is big. Generally, this background facilitates the sampling process. Unfortunately in Greece it is not a custom, but there are fan clubs, that is organized groups of football spectators. Therefore we had to make the sampling and the data collection at the same time. We located our survey on the football crowd of first league teams. In 2003-2004 season, there were sixteen teams playing in the first league. We selected the sample gradually. As a first step we selected five teams out of the sixteen, according to particular criteria:

- regional representation,
- size of organized spectators,
- frequency of deviant episodes as reflected in the media.



Taking into consideration the above-mentioned criteria, we chose the football crowd of five teams. Those are the following: Panathinaikos (n=101), Olympiakos (n=101), AEK (n=96), PAOK (n=99), and Aris (n=99). Based on the number of sold tickets in the previous football season, 65% of all spectators who attended first league matches in that period of time bought ticket for the matches of these five above-mentioned teams. The size of the sub-samples was decided according to the size of the estimated total population based on the previous football season. The sample was 0.05 % of the total population.

In the second part the individual members in the different samples were selected. We made this selection in two matches, at the beginning and at the end of the football season. We chose the members of the sub-samples from different areas, that is from the central, side and areas behind the goal posts. Since in all five stadia there is a specific section where away spectators are sitting or standing, we could (during the sample selection) make a distinction between home and away spectators. We chose spectators from terraces and grandstands proportionally. We recognize the specific methodological problems concerning the sample selection with football crowds and we are aware of the limitations of our sampling procedure. Nevertheless we hope that through our research, new consistent and valuable information rose about the behaviour of deviant spectating sub-cultures in Greece, which may be used in further studies.

## **Collection of Data**

Methods of collecting the data were participant observation, questionnaires (see Appendix A), and in-depth interviews. Analysis of documents was also used in this study. The questionnaires consisted of opened and closed questions, which were based on the objectives of the research. The amount of questions was relatively low and they were easily understandable in order to secure as reliable responses as possible from first league football spectators. Alternative responses were given very frequently. The respondents answered the questions in the presence of research assistants mostly during the break of the matches. Guidelines were composed for the interviews containing partly similar, partly diverse questions for the different individuals. They were made in

part before and after the matches, with spectators of the winning and losing teams including both home and away spectators. In part, spectators (n=48) were selected randomly from the organized supporters' groups for in-depth interviews. Moreover, in-depth interviews were made with coaches (n=10), managers of first league teams (n=12) and media experts (n=14). Finally, participant observation consisted of structured and non-structured observations. The task of participant observers was to register any kind of disorders, misconduct, aggressive and violent episodes.

### **Treatment of Data**

The questionnaires, which have been collected during the research in 2004 in first league football stadia in Greece, were analysed and evaluated through SPSS 10.0 statistical program for windows computer software. The data from in-depth interviews, personal interviews, sport press, and documents related to football hooliganism, crowd behaviour in football and deviance, have been studied and evaluated through a qualitative analysis.

## RESULTS

In this chapter, the following major issues will be accurately presented and analysed as they rose through the empirical research, which was carried out in Greece, in first league football matches:

- Socio-economic Composition and Demographic Characteristics of Greek football spectators
- Motivation of the Greek Football Fans
- Customs of the Greek Football Fans
- Commitment of the Greek Football Fans
- Deviances within football spectating subculture
- Self-Evaluation of Football Fans' Behaviour

Since the author of this thesis has completed his PhD studies in Budapest/Hungary he is more familiar with the Hungarian football spectators' behaviour and their socio-economical characteristics and customs than with the spectators in any other European country. Foldesi has carried out a research on the "Social and Demographic Characteristics of Hungarian Football Fans and their Motivations for Attending Matches" in 1992-1993. The same author published a scientific work about "Aggression and Violence in Sport From a Sociological Perspective" in 1999. The results of the above mentioned research cannot be accurately compared to the results of the research, which has carried out in Greece, since the sample is different, the research questions are partly different, partly the same and the time periods the researches were carried out, were different too. Nevertheless they may help us conduct useful conclusions on the major causes of football spectators' violent and aggressive conduct and see the major similarities and differences in the customs, socio-economic composition, commitment and motivation of the groups of football fans of teams of first league in both Hungary and Greece for attending matches. The results of the statistical analysis of the data are following presented in tables and figures, so the reader may understand better the relationship between the different variables, which have been studied. The analysis and presentation of the results have been made according to the problem and hypotheses of the research.

## **Demographic Characteristics of Greek Football Supporters**

Demographic characteristics of Greece have rapidly changed since 1981. All those changes have influenced society and sports in an essential way for the function and structure of it. Furthermore, such changes have influenced individuals as units of the social system and the different groups of individuals in local societies and sports and especially football as well. More detailed, according to data from statistical yearbook (2003) of the National Statistical service of Greece, the Greek urban population in 1981, was 5.659.141 (58,1%), the semi urban population was 1.125.547 (11,6%), while the rural population was 2.955.729 (30,3%). Accordingly, the total population in Greece was 9.749.417 from which, 4.779.571 (49%) were males and 4.960.018 (51%) were females. Ten years later then total population has increased to 10.259.900 from which, 5.055.408 were males, while 5.204.492 were females. By that time, semi urban population has changed to urban, and a great amount of individuals has moved from the countryside to big economical centres such as Athens and Thessalonica. In 2001 the total population of Greece has increased to 10964020. There was no semi-urban population, while urban population appeared to be 72,8% and the rural population was 27,2%.

It is also important to mention that in 2001, in Greece, there were 4.615.470 economically active people from which, 4.102091 were employed. Still, 513.379 people were unemployed, from which, 247.395 individuals were young people. Finally the amount of those who were economically inactive was 5.244.123. According to the statistical yearbook (2003) of the National Statistical Service of Greece, in 1981 the population at the age of 15-64 years old was 6192751 (63%), while in 1991 the Greek population at the age of 15-64 years old has increased to 6880681 (67%). Press analysis, analysis of data from the Hellenic Football Association and the results from the empirical research in 2004 indicated that the rate of spectators attending first league football matches who are over 64 years old, is not more than 1% or maximum 1,5%. Consequently the statistical data, which are used below, refer to the Greek population at the age of 15-64 years old. Furthermore, in 2001, 1.561.637 Greeks were 15-24 years old from which 817.518 were males and 744119 were females. Yet, 1.717.359 people were 25-34 years old, from which 877.742 were males and 839.617 were females.

Finally, 4.166.969 Greeks were at the age of 35-64 years old, from which 2.043.471 were males and 2.123.498 were females.

### *Age*

On the basis of information from different Greek football organizations, football clubs and sport newspapers, in the past decades, there was no remarkable rate difference between middle-aged and young football fans. Nowadays the proportion of the spectators in each age group has totally changed. The vast majority of the football fans are young people between 16 and 24 years old. In Hungary the situation appears to be the same. According to Foldesi (1996), young spectators “dominate the stands, almost the half of the fans are less than thirty years old”. Following in the Table 2, it is shown that 270 of the spectators (54%) in all five football matches belong to the age group between 16-24 years old. 27% (137) of the respondents belong to the age group of 25-34 years old while 18 % (91) of the spectators belong to age group of football fans over 35 years old.

Table 2 Demographic Characteristics – **Age** (N=498)

	AGE-GROUPS			Total
	16-24	25-34	35+	
PANATHINAIKOS	16.6% 45	17.5% 24	34.0% 32	20.4% n=101
OLYMPIAKOS	21.4% 58	21.9% 30	14.0% 13	20.4% n=101
AEK	12.2% 33	27.0% 37	28.2% 26	19.2% n=96
ARIS	23.6% 63	19.0% 26	11.9% 10	19.8% n=99
PAOK	25.8% 70	13.9% 19	11.9% 10	19.8% n=99
I DO NOT SUPPORT ANY TEAM	0.4% 1			0.2% n=1
OTHER		0.7% 1		0.2% n=1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	n=270	n=137	n=91	N=498

More specifically, the majority of the individuals between 16 and 24 years old are spectators of PAOK (25.8%), Aris (23.6%) and Olympiakos (21.4%). In the same age group, 16.6% of the respondents belong to Panathinaikos' spectators and 12.2% are

spectators of AEK. According to the results of press analysis, spectators of the football teams of PAOK and ARIS, followed by Olympiakos' spectators, appear to be the most aggressive and deviant over the last years. All the above-mentioned in connection with the results, which are indicated in Table 2, point out that *age* plays a significant role in the behaviour of spectators of football teams of first league. Consequently, referring to next age group of 25-34 years old individuals, the majority (27.0%) of the respondents are spectators of AEK, followed by the spectators of Olympiakos (21.9%), Aris (19.0%) and Panathinaikos (17.5%), while 13.9% are PAOK's spectators. The third column of the Table 2 refers to the last age group (35+), where the vast majority of the respondents are spectators of Panathinaikos football team, followed by spectators of AEK (28.2%), Olympiakos (14.0%), PAOK (11.9%), and Aris (11.9%). The results in the third column of the Table 2, confirmed the assumption that *age* plays a vital role in spectator's behaviour since it proves that the spectators of AEK and Panathinaikos football teams appear to be less violent and aggressive than spectators of PAOK, Aris and Olympiakos.

### *Gender*

Following Table 3, there is no remarkable difference in the rate of the male supporters of all teams. The rate of the male supporters appears to be almost the same. That is 20.4% for PAOK's fans, 20.2% for the Olympiakos fans, 19.9% for Aris' football spectators, 19.8 for AEK and 19.3% for the spectators of Panathinaikos. On the other hand there are great differences in the rate of the female spectators of each team. More specifically, the results of the research indicated that 46.4% of the females are Panathinaikos' supporters, 23.2% are Olympiakos Supporters, 17.2% are supporters of Aris while supporters of AEK and PAOK reach the 6.6%. It should be mentioned that in the mirror of the data from press analysis about spectators' behaviour, Panathinaikos' spectators appear to be the less violent than spectators of the other teams, followed by spectators of Olympiakos. Consequently women's spectatorship appears to be deeply influenced by the behaviour of the spectators of each team and the violent and aggressive incidents at the stands (Table 3).

Table 3 Demographic Characteristics – **Gender** (N=498)

	GENDER		Total
	Male	Female	
PANATHINAIKOS	19.3% 93	46.4% 8	20.4% n=101
OLYMPIAKOS	20.2% 97	23.2% 4	20.4% n=101
AEK	19.8% 95	6.6% 1	19.2% n=96
ARIS	19.9% 96	17.2% 3	19.8% n=99
PAOK	20.4% 98	6.6% 1	19.8% n=99
I DO NOT SUPPORT ANY TEAM	0.2% 1		0.2% n=1
OTHER	0.2% 1		0.2% n=1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	n=481	n=17	N=498

### *Residence Place*

The research in Greece revealed that more than 50% of the spectators come from the capital of Greece, Athens. The rate of spectators from the capital in Greece is higher than the rate of the football fans from the capital in Hungary. Following Foldesi (1996), a research carried out in 1992-1993 indicated that 40.8% of the spectators was from Budapest and 59% of the spectators came from the countryside. In Greece the rates seem to be different. More detailed, 55.4% of the football fans comes from Athens, 30.8% come from Thessalonica and 13.8% come from other cities. The rates appear to be partly similar partly different to the rates of the total population in Greece. That means that the population of Athens is 50% of the total population in Greece, while 25% refers to the population of Thessalonica and 25% refers to the population of the other Greek cities.

Following Table 4, and referring to spectators who come from Athens, 33.6% of them are Panathinaikos football fans, 33.6% are fans of AEK football team, and 32.3% are Olympiakos' football fans. The vast majority of the football fans who live in Thessalonica are supporters of Aris football team (54.6%) and PAOK football team (42.3%), while just 0.6% of the fans are Panathinaikos' supporters and 1.9% of the football fans are Olympiakos' supporters. That means that the majority of the football fans are willing to support teams of first league from the city where they live.

Furthermore, the analysis of the results indicated that most of the fans in the countryside are supporters of PAOK (50.1%) and Aris (22.4%), while 13.2% of the fans are supporters of Olympiakos, 10.1% are supporters of Panathinaikos, and 4.2% are AEK's supporters (Table 4).

Table 4 Demographic Characteristics – **Residence Place** (N=498)

	RESIDENCE PLACE			Total
	Athens	Thessalonica	Other City	
<b>PANATHINAIKOS</b>	33.6% 93	0.6% 1	10.1% 7	20.4% n=101
<b>OLYMPIAKOS</b>	32.3% 89	1.9% 3	13.2% 9	20.4% n=101
<b>AEK</b>	33.6% 93		4.2% 3	19.2% n=96
<b>ARIS</b>		54.6% 84	22.4% 15	19.8% n=99
<b>PAOK</b>		42.3% 65	50.1% 34	19.8% n=99
<b>I DO NOT SUPPORT ANY TEAM</b>		0.6% 1		0.2% 1
<b>OTHER</b>	0.5% 1			0.2% 1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	n=276	n=154	n=68	N=498

### **Socio-Economic Composition of Greek Football Spectators**

In Greece football used to be the sport of the low class people. Back to 1950's and 1960's, football and especially spectating had a totally different socio-economical and cultural basis. Football had an amateur character and the players were in most cases non-professional players. The vast majority of the football players were simple workers who belonged to the low or middle socio-economical class. Football spectators were people from the same socio-economical classes, from the same town, from the same neighbourhood with the players. This is about the cities with high population. In the countryside people of rural societies had not enough time to deal with sports. They had to work hard all day, seven days per week since the economical situation of Greece by that time was bad comparing to other European countries and it was mainly based on agriculture. In the 1960s and in the 1970 there was a high rate of low class football spectators in the fields. By that time football was still an amateur physical activity. Even matches of first league had nothing to do with professionalism. In the late 1980s and



until nowadays there has been a transformation of football from amateur to professional taking into consideration financial issues and the whole structure and organization of the football teams. Since 1980 the rate of the middle class football fans has started to increase year by year. Finally, in the year 2004, the rate of the spectators who belong to the middle socio-economical class has reached the 81%. In Hungary the situation appears to be totally different. Following Gyongyi Szabo Foldesi (1996), in 1950s and 1970s there was a high rate of spectators belonging to the middle and low socio-economic class in the football fields. By 1990s the proportion has dramatically changed, since the majority of the spectators have low social status.

Table 5 contains data, which are related to the socio-economic classes where spectators belong. Consequently, the vast majority (81%) of the respondents, that is 405, belong to the middle socio-economical classes, while just 67 (13%) belong to the low socio-economical classes and only 26 (5%) belong to the upper socio-economic classes.

Table 5 Socio-economic Composition of Spectators (N=498)

	SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES			Total
	Upper	Middle	Low	
<b>PANATHINAIKOS</b>	15.4% 4	21.3% 86	16.4% 11	20.4% n=101
<b>OLYMPIAKOS</b>	7.7% 2	23.8% 96	4.5% 3	20.4% n=101
<b>AEK</b>	23.1% 6	17.7% 72	26.9% 18	19.2% n=96
<b>ARIS</b>	42.3% 11	19.6% 79	13.4% 9	19.8% n=99
<b>PAOK</b>	7.7% 2	17.4% 71	38.8% 26	19.8% n=99
<b>I DO NOT SUPPORT ANY TEAM</b>		0.2% 1		0.2% n=1
<b>OTHER</b>	3.8% 1			0.2% n=1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	n=26	n=405	n=67	N=498

More detailed the majority of the spectators of Panathinaikos and Olympiakos football teams belong to the middle socio-economic class. Most of the spectators of AEK and PAOK belong to the low socio-economic class while the vast majority of ARIS' spectators belong to the higher socio-economic class. It should be mentioned that the first two teams are Athenian teams having their origins in Athens, while the next

two come from different cities but they have the same origin. It is Constantinople. The similarities in the percentage of the population appear to be influenced by their common historical background.

Yet it is important to pay special attention to the fact according to which changes in the stratification of the Greek society in connection to other factors influencing social life such as the mass media, seriously affect the behaviour of people dealing with sport whether they are players, coaches and managers or spectators and sport media experts. Football appears to be the most popular sport in Greece having the highest number of spectators. The vast majority of those spectators seem to be the victims of rapid changes in society, which are quickly transferred in football as well. More detailed, in 1981 according to the National Statistical Service of Greece (Table 6), the urban population in Greece was 5,659,141 (58.1 %) while the semi urban population was 1,125,547 (11.6 %) and the rural population was 2,955,729 (30.3 %).

Table 6 Types of population in Greece in 1981 and 2001

	<b>1981</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>TOTAL POPULATION</b>	9,740,417	10,964,020
<b>URBAN POPULATION</b>	58.1% 5,659,141	72.8% 7,981,806
<b>SEMI URBAN POPULATION</b>	11.6% 1,125,547	0% 0
<b>RURAL POPULATION</b>	30.3% 2,955,729	27.2% 2,982,214

**Source:** National Statistical Service of Greece-Ministry of Coordination (1981-2001). *Statistical yearbook of Greece*

In 2001 the semi urban population has been remarkably diminished. Following Table 6, the urban population in Greece was 7,981,806 (72.8 %), the semi urban population was 0 (0 %) and the rural population was 2,982,214 (27.2 %). It should be mentioned that the total population in Greece has increased from 9,740,417 (1981) to 10,964,020 (2001). Consequently a high number of people have moved from the countryside to the big economical centres such as Thessalonica, Patra, but mostly in Athens, changing job, habits, friends, and general way of life. At that time, in the lack of traditional entertainment they have started to deal with sports and especially football.

This is when the number of spectators in football fields has rapidly increased. That period, the number of people belonging to middle socio-economical classes appeared to be remarkably increased. By that time the mass media had also changed also profile. A significant number of newspapers, magazines, and TV channels, as they were focusing on financial matters and profits, they promoted mainly violent and aggressive incidents in sports and society in general.

All that period, many changes appeared to be true in football. The number of spectators, attending national football matches has increased. There have also been changes in the socio-economic composition of spectators. The number of spectators who belong to the middle and higher classes has increased. Since 1990 there is a remarkable rapid increase of violent and aggressive incidents in and out of the football stadia. Mass media and especially private mass media promote bloody aggression of football fans in such a way that those groups of spectators are badly influenced to such a degree that is considered to be a major social problem by authorities of the sub ministry of sports, police authorities and officials of the different football associations. The research in Greece in 2004 indicated that although the number of spectators attending first league football matches has increased over the last years, there are also many football fans that used to attend matches with their family or friends but the present situation has become such that they prefer to watch football matches at home. According to them, they do not feel safe in the football stadia any more and they do not enjoy matches as much as they did in the past years because of the frequency and the intensity of violent and aggressive incidents which are caused by different small or large groups of spectators or even individuals all around the field. The presence of extremist fans in specific areas in the football stadia (areas behind the goals) and their behaviour in each match make them worry about the future of football and the future of young people. Finally the analysis of data from in depth interviews indicated that it is a common belief by former coaches of football teams that the more professional football becomes involving financial matters, the more often violence and aggression will be noticed in stadia and out of them.

## Customs of Greek Football Supporters

In traditional Greek societies (mainly rural societies in the countryside), customs are transferred from one generation to the next one. Changes in customs are slow and they are related to environmental changes, improvement of way of life, political and economical changes in Greece. However people in such societies, never forget their historical background, their traditions, customs and special cultural characteristics that have established them as a unique social group. On the other hand, economical, social and cultural changes are rapid in urban societies (especially in the *big economical centres* such as Athens and Thessalonica) since they are influenced by global political, economical and cultural changes. Such kind of rapid changes appear to cause a social and psychological disorganization within Greek urban societies (Hirantos, 1990). Consequently, cultural differentiation and differences in customs have been often noticed between most local societies from different regions or even different cities and villages. In traditional Greek societies, **dance** plays a vital role in the stratification and structure of that society. It should be mentioned that following Zographou (1999), Greek traditional **dance** is considered to be an activity which includes music, movement, rhythm and poetry, deeply influenced by ethical, political and religious issues taking also into consideration issues which are based on mental and physical health. Following the same author, **dance** is also identified as a festive traditional social event including entertainment, holiness, friendship that lasts for hours or even one or two days. It is a social action in which social and personal conflicts among men and women, people from all socio-economical classes, local people and foreigners are mollified.

Sports appear to play the same important and vital role in urban societies. Sport teams are composed of athletes belonging to different socio-economic classes, with different nationalities, different historical and cultural background. The situation is the same for the spectators of many sports and especially football. They attend football matches with friends' members of their family, neighbours, colleagues or even alone in order to support their team and watch their favourite players. Following the results of the research which was carried out in Greek football fields in 2004, spectators go to football stadia in order to watch matches because they like football but they also meet

friends and talk with them, say poems, sing songs, discuss about players' and referees' performance.

The frequency of spectators' attendance of football matches, appear to be one of the major characteristics of Greek football fans. More detailed, following Table 7, 39.6% (196) of the spectators, watch football matches once per week or more often, while 23.8% (119) of them, watch football matches once every two weeks and 14.2% (71) of the football fans attend matches once per month. Further more, there are also spectators who attend football matches once every two months (9.6%) or even once per 3 months (4.6%). It should also be mentioned that a relatively remarkable rate of spectators watch football games once per six months (2.8%) or even once per year (4.0%).

Table 7 Frequency of attendance of football matches over the last year (N=498)

		RESIDENCE PLACE			
		Athens	Thessalonica	Other city	Total
How often did you watch football matches of the national tem last year ?	Once a week or more	33.9% 92	51.9% 80	34.8% 24	39.6% n=196
	Once every 15 days	21.7% 60	24.8% 38	30.5% 21	23.8% n=119
	Once per month	14.1% 39	14.3% 22	14.5% 10	14.2% n=71
	Once every two months	13.4% 37	3.9% 6	7.2% 5	9.6% n=48
	Once every three months	7.2% 20	0.6% 1	2.9% 2	4.6% n=23
	Once every six months	2.9% 8	1.9% 3	4.3% 3	2.8% n=14
	Once a year	4.3% 12	2.6% 4	5.8% 4	4.0% n=20
	Never	2.5% 7			1.4% n=7
	Total	100.0% n=275	100.0% n=154	100.0% n=69	100.0% N=498

The results of the research in 2004 indicated that spectators from Thessalonica watch football matches more often than spectators who come from Athens or other cities. The majority of the football fans from Thessalonica (51.9%) attend matches once per week while 24.8% of them watch football games once per fifteen days. On the other hand spectators from other cities, attend football matches more rarely than fans from Thessalonica do, but more often than Athenian spectators. Consequently, 34.8% (24) of them attend matches once per week or more often and 30.5% (21) attended football

games once per fifteen days. It is noteworthy the fact according to which the rates of spectators who attended football matches once per month are almost the same for football fans from Athens (14.1%), spectators from Thessalonica (14.3%) and those of other cities (14.5%). The rates of those spectators who watched matches once per two months are different from the football fans of Athens (13.4%), Thessalonica (3.9%) or those of other cities (7.2%). The rate of Athenian spectators who watch football games once per six months (2.9%) or once per year (4.3%), is greater than the rate of those who are from Thessalonica or other cities. Further more, the rate of football fans from other cities who attend matches once per six months (4.3%) or once per year (5.8%) is greater than the rates of those from Thessalonica (Table 7).

The vast majority of spectators, regardless of age, socio-economical class or viewers category (occasional, organized spectators or even extremist fans), prefer attending football matches with one-two friends. A remarkable number of spectators prefer watching games with neighbours or with a big company of friends. That means that the assumption according to which football is a common social institution for many members of society regardless the degree of involvement in sport, is correct. Spectating is an important part of the process of socialization in this institution. More detailed, following Figure 1, the majority of spectators at the age of 16-24 years old (73%); prefer to attend matches with one-two friends while 25% of them watch football games with neighbours or a big company of friends and only 5% of those spectators go to the football stadia with members of their family. There are also few young fans (4%) who attend matches with relatives and some of them (3%) watch football games alone. The majority of the spectators (83%) of the age between 25 and 34 years old attend matches with one or two friends. The rate of spectators of the same age, attending matches with neighbours or a big company of friends is 18%, while 16% of them watch football games with relatives and 10% of spectators of the same age attend matches with members of their family. Only 4% of them watch matches with their colleagues and just the 2% of spectators at the age of 25-34 years old go to the stadia alone. Referring to the spectators over 35 years old, 62% of them attend matches with one or two friends, 19% of those spectators go the field with a big company of friends or with some neighbours and 11% of them, attend football games with some relatives. The rate of spectators at the age of 35 and over 35 years old who go to the field with members of their family

(19%) is much higher than the rate of the younger spectators (Figure 1). It is based mainly on the fact that most of them are married with children and they prefer to watch their favourite football team and players accompanied by members of their family, mainly with their sons since their wife and daughters are not really interested in football related issues. Further more, researches in most European countries indicated that football is considered to be a male dominated sport. In Hungary, the presence of men in football stadia is such, that it is considered to be the sport of men (Foldesi, 1996). In Germany, Czech Republic and Italy, the situation is similar. In Greece too, males dominate the stands at the football stadia.

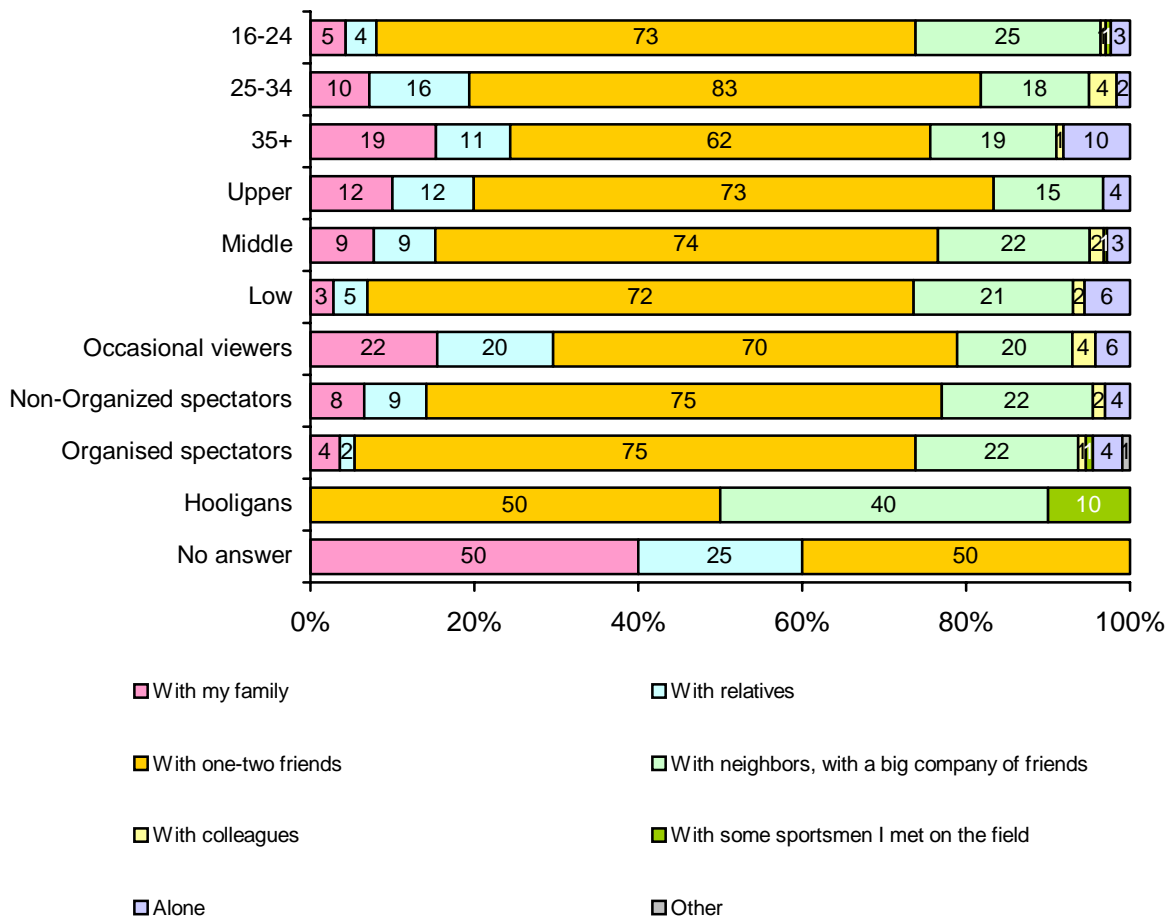


Figure 1 Football spectators' company during their attendance of football matches in connection to their **age, socio-economic composition and viewers' categories** (in %)\*

\* The respondents could give several answers

It is important to mention that the vast majority (more than 70%) of spectators from all socio-economical classes attend matches with friends. The rate differences are not remarkable. More detailed, 73% spectators of high socio-economic class go to stadia with friends while only 15% attend football games with a big company of friends or neighbours and only 12% of them visit football stadia with relatives. Also 12% of spectators of higher classes attend matches with members of their family. Only 4% of the respondents mentioned that they attend matches alone. The rates are similar to the spectators who belong to the middle socio-economic class. More detailed, 74% of them attend matches with friends; while 22% of them watch football matches with a big company of friends or with neighbours and only 9% of those spectators go to the football stadia with relatives. It is also noteworthy that 9% of spectators of middle classes attend matches with members of their family and only 3% of them watch football matches alone while just 2% of those spectators go to the stadium with some of their colleagues. Referring to spectators of low socio-economic class, 72% of them attend matches with friends, while 21% of them attend matches with friends and 6% of spectators of low classes attend football games *alone*. Only 5% of them go to the stadia with relatives, just 3% of the football fans from low socio-economic class watch games with members of their family and finally just 2% of them attend matches with their colleagues (Figure 1).

The rate of spectators who identified themselves as occasional viewers, non-organized spectators and organized spectators is similar, ranging from 70% to 75%. The rate of those who watch football games with a big company of friends or neighbours is also similar ranging from 20% to 22%. Similarities can be noticed too in the rates of those who attend matches alone ranging from 4% to 6%. Nevertheless the rate of occasional viewers who attend matches with some members of their family (22%) is much greater than the rate of non-organized spectators (8%). Further more, the rate of non-organized spectators who attend matches with members of their family is greater (double) than the rate of the organized spectators (4%). However, special attention should be paid to those who identified themselves as hooligans. Consequently the rate of those who attended matches with friends is 50%, while the rate of those who attended football games with neighbours or especially a big company of friends is 40% and 10% attend football matches with some sportsmen with whom they meet in the stadium. It is



even more important to refer to those who did not identify themselves. Accordingly, 50% of them attend matches with one or two friends and also 50% of those spectators go to the football stadia with some or all members of their family. It is also indicated by the research in 2004 that 25% of the individuals who were not mentioned or did not belong to any group/kind of spectators, attend football matches with some relatives (Figure 1).

The majority of the Greek citizens do not often use the public transport. They prefer to use their cars or motorbikes. Each family of middle or high socio-economic classes, appear to own two or three cars. Nevertheless, During Olympic Games many changes happened in public transport (new metro, new tram, new busses). More and more people appeared to use public transport. Few months after Olympic Games, it is proved that most Greeks need more time in order to get used to make use of public transport. In sports the situation is different. The research in 2004 indicated that except using their car and motorbike spectators use the metro, train and bus or even walk in order to get to the stadium. Following Figure 2, 84% of the respondents mentioned that they do not walk to football stadium while 13 % of the spectators answered that it takes them almost 15 minutes to get to the football stadium by walking while 3% of them mentioned that they need 16-30 minutes to get to the stadium by walking. There was not even one spectator to mention that he/she uses bicycle in order to go to the football stadium. There is a small amount of spectators (6%) who use a motorbike on their way to the stadium and it takes them less than 15 minutes in order to get there, while 6% of them need 16-30 minutes to go to the football stadium and just 2% need 31-60 minutes to get to the stadium.

According to data in Figure 2, there is a relatively low rate of spectators who use their car and need less than 15 minutes to arrive to the football stadium, while 13% of them need 16-30 minutes to go to the stadium and 11% of the spectators need 31-60 minutes to get to the stadium. There is also a certain amount of spectators (3%) who need 61-90 minutes in order to arrive by car in the stadium and only 2% of them need more than 90 minutes until they get to the football stadium. It is also important to refer to those spectators who use the metro or train in order to get to the field. More specifically the rate of those who need less than 15 minutes to get to the football stadium, is 4%, while 11% of the spectators need 16-30 to get to the stadium and 4% of

the football spectators need 31-60 to get to the stadium by train or metro. There is also a certain amount of football fans that go to the stadia by bus. Although 82% of the respondents answered that they do not use a bus, 2% of the football fans use it and in less than 15 minutes, they are in the stadium, while 7% of them need 16-30 minutes to get there and only 6% of the football fans need 31-60 minutes. Just 3% of the spectators need 61-90 minutes in order to arrive to the football stadium. There are also few football fans (2%) that come from areas outside Athens and use the train or bus. They need 31-60 minutes in order to get to the football stadia.

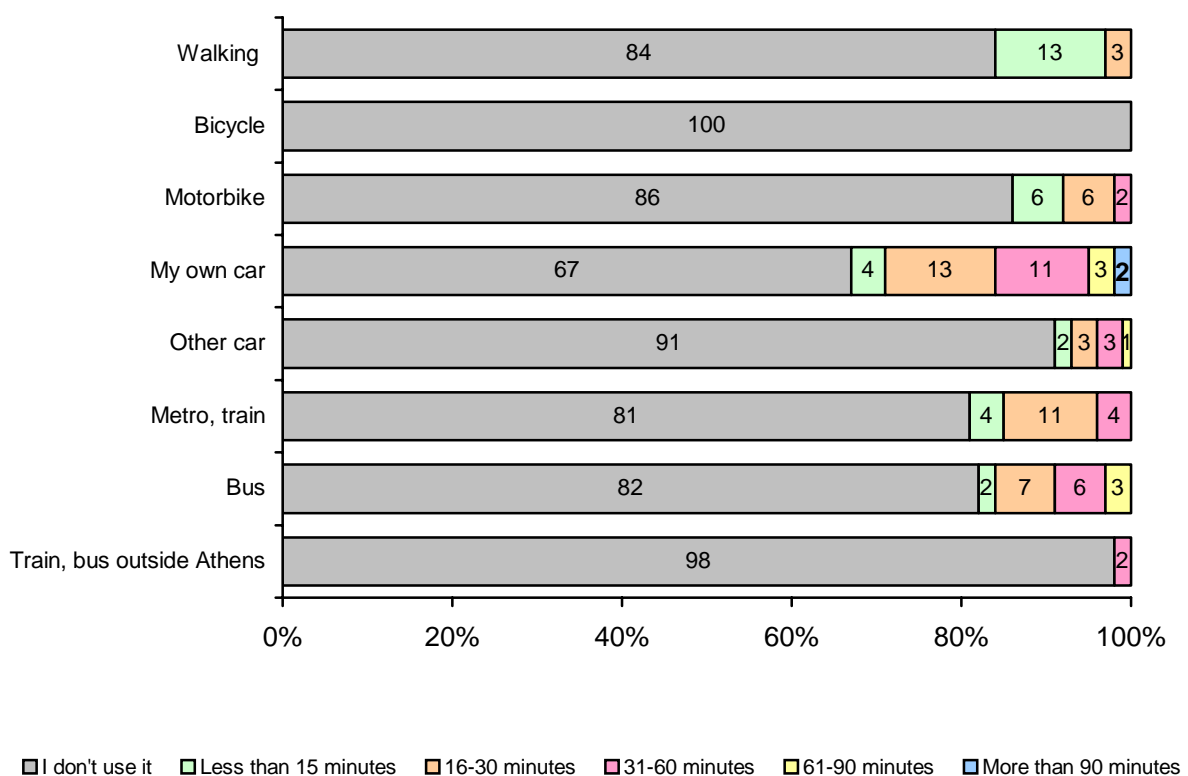


Figure 2 Means of transportation and time required by spectators in order to get to football stadiums (in %)

Spectators often shout slogans at the stands, or talk with each other and discuss about players and the performance of both teams (home and guest team) and arbitration. It looks like to me that there are many common characteristics of football spectating with Greek traditional dances as they appear in societies (mainly rural) in the countryside. Of course in traditional dances everybody is allowed to dance but there are

always comments on an individuals' performance, physical and technical abilities, and his/her behaviour in and out of the dancing area. In this case, members of society become active participants in a social event, which enables social mobility and seriously influences social stratification of larger Greek society (Dimas, 2001). On the other hand spectators in sports and especially in football do not have the chance to get down in the football field and play football but they have their own psychological mechanisms to influence the football match (even the result of the game) and the players' performance. Press analysis indicated that there were few cases according to which the arbitration (referees judgment) was partly influenced by the behaviour of the crowd at the stands. Just as players may be the stars in the field, spectators can be the stars at the stands. There is a certain amount of organized football spectators who appear to be the leaders of a high number of football fans (mainly organized and extremist fans).

An analysis of data from in-depth interviews with coaches of first league football teams, and media experts, indicated that two groups of spectators with similar historical, and cultural background, remarkable similarities in the socio-economic composition and the customs may argue and fight because their favourite football teams are opponents in the championship in the next few days. There are many examples on that. For example there are always conflicts among the spectators of Olympiakos and Panathinaikos. Both teams are teams of Athens. The situation is similar in Thessalonica where there are always conflicts between spectators of PAOK and Aris. Besides it should be mentioned that if the leaders of such groups of organized spectators argue or fight, the rest of the spectators will also get involved in the conflict which often leads to bloody aggression involving also police security forces who could not predict such incidents by that time (Figure 3). Few hours later, nobody remembers or knows which were the reasons of such conflict and violent and aggressive behaviour of spectators of both groups. Moreover, the different groups of spectators have been proved to be deeply influenced by the attitude, personality and behaviour of their leader. Nevertheless, that explains only a proportion of the football spectators behaviour, which in many cases appear to be unpredictable, since there is a remarkable number of spectators who "hide" behind the anonymity of the crowd at the stands during the football game, but also outside the stadium, before and after the match (Figure 3).

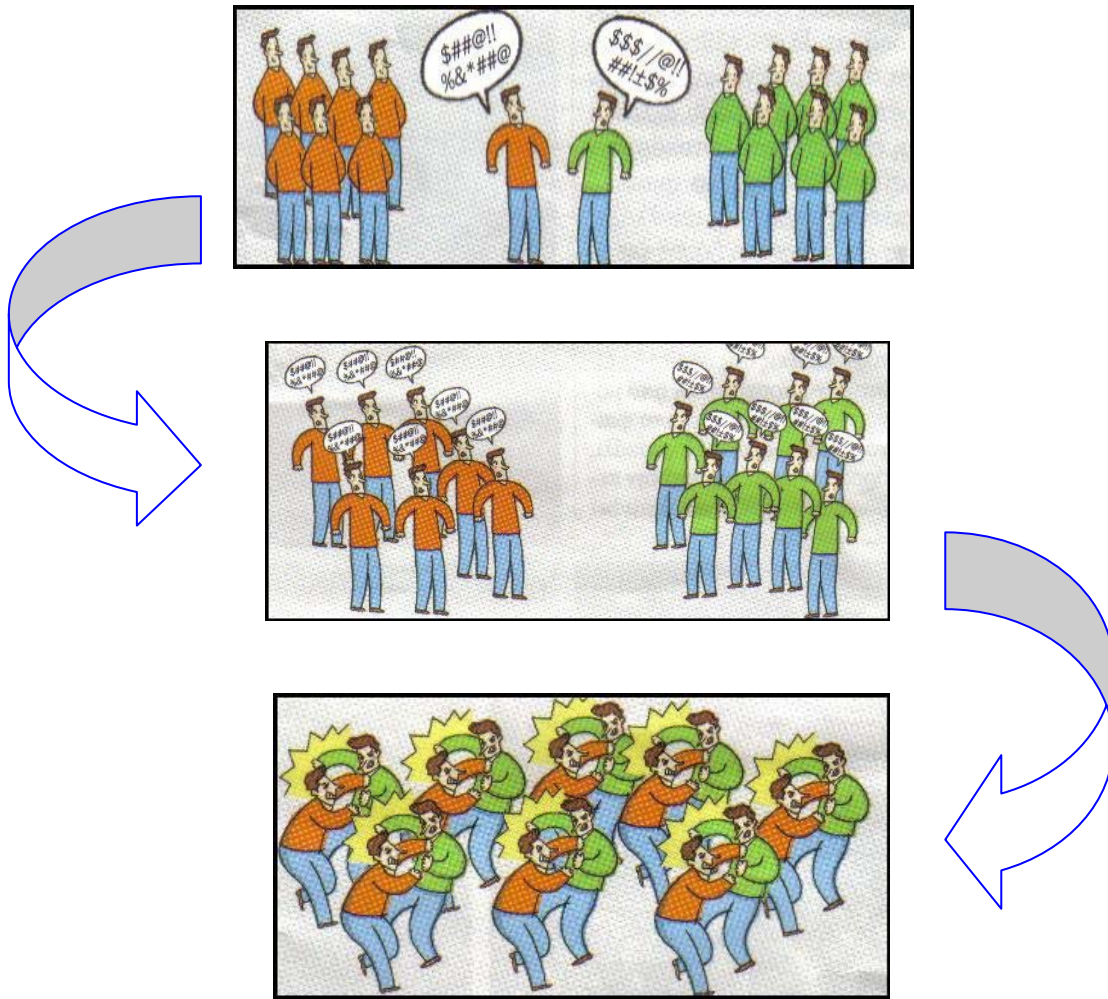


Figure 3 Group **leaders**' behavioral influences on members of the groups in which they belong

Spectators' activity is not limited to the stands of the football stadia. Nevertheless, special attention should be paid to their customs at the stands during a football match in order to explain the motives of their behaviour. Following Table 8, the vast majority of spectators (71.2%) shout slogans while a remarkable number of football fans discuss about players (34.2%) and referees (34.0%). Moreover, 30.2% (151) of the spectators pass comments about the opponent team, 18.8% (94) pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team and 22.8% (114) of the respondents mentioned that they just watch the game. More detailed, referring to spectators who are 16-24 years old, 83.0% (225) of them shout slogans and 46.1% (125) of those spectators talk during a match, while 33.2% (90) of the football fans express their opinion about the referees and 29.9% (81) of them pass comments about the opponent team. Also, 80 (29.5%) of

the respondents at the age of 16-24 years old mentioned that they express their opinion about players, 61 (22.5%) of them say poems or sing songs, 52 (19.2%) of them pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team and just 46 (17.0%) of the respondents mentioned that they just watch the game. Finally, 10.7% (29) of them mentioned that they fight during a football game, number which is greater than those of the other age groups (Table 8).

Table 8 Spectators' activity during a football match in connection to their **age** (N=498)\*

		AGE			Total
		16-24	25-34	35+	
<b>What do you usually do during a football match?</b>	<b>Talk</b>	46.1% 125	48.2% 66	50.0% 46	47.4% 237
	<b>Fight</b>	10.7% 29	6.6% 9	2.2% 2	8.0% 40
	<b>Shouting slogans</b>	83.0% 225	66.4% 91	43.4% 40	71.2% 356
	<b>Say poems / sing songs</b>	22.5% 61	27.7% 38	17.4% 16	23.0% 115
	<b>Express your opinion about the players</b>	29.5% 80	44.5% 61	32.6% 30	34.2% 171
	<b>Express your opinion about the referees</b>	33.2% 90	38.7% 53	29.3% 27	34.0% 170
	<b>Pass comments about the opponent team</b>	29.9% 81	33.6% 46	26.1% 24	30.2% 151
	<b>Pass comments about the spectators of the opponent teams</b>	19.2% 52	23.4% 32	10.9% 10	18.8% 94
	<b>Just watch the game</b>	17.0% 46	24.8% 34	37.0% 34	22.8% 114
Total	%	291.1%	313.9%	248.9%	289.6%
	Responses	789	430	229	1448
	Cases	n=269	n=137	n=92	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

On the other hand, the majority (66.4%) of the spectators who are 25-34 years old prefer to shout slogans, 48.2% (66) of them mentioned that they talk, while 61 (44.5%) of the respondents of the same age group express their opinion about the players and 38.7% (53) express their opinion about the referees and their ability to judge correctly. Finally, 33.6% (46) of the spectators pass comments about the opponent team, 27.7% (38) of them say poems or sing songs, while 24.8% of the football spectators just watch the game, 23.4% of them mentioned that they pass comments about the viewers of the opponent team and only 6.6% of the football spectators mentioned that they fight during a match. Spectators at the age of 35 and over 35 seem to be more interested in football match itself than the younger spectators since 37.0% of them just watch the

game. The rate of those who fight during a match (2.2%) is also much lower than the rate of the younger fans. There are also many of them (50.0%) who talk during a football game and it is also interesting that 43.4% (40) of them shout slogans. Furthermore it has been found that a high number of them (32.6%), express their opinion about the players of both teams and only 17.4% of them say poems or sing songs. It is interesting that 29.3% of the spectators over 34 years old express their opinion about the referees, 26.1% pass comments about the opponent team and only 10.9% of the respondents mentioned that they pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team (Table 8).

Yet it is also important to check if there is a relationship between the different viewer's categories and their customs at the stands in the first league football stadia. Consequently, following Table 9, we should first look at the occasional viewer's customs at the stands. Most of them (46%) shout slogans during the matches while 36% of them mentioned that they talk during a football game, 32% of them just watch the match and 26% of the respondents express their opinion about the players of both teams. It is interesting that 24% of the football fans express their opinion about the referees, 20% of them pass comments about the opponent team and still 18% of the respondents mentioned that during the match they pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team and only 2% of them fight during a football game. Referring to non-organized spectators, the vast majority of them (71.6%) shout slogans during matches, 52.4% (175) mentioned that they talk during football games, 38.6% (129) express their opinion about the referees and 38.3% (128) of the respondents express their opinion about the players. It is also important to mention that 32.6% (109) of those football fans pass comments of the opponent team, 26.3% of them say poems or sing songs, 24.9% of the respondents mentioned that they just watch the game, while 18.9% of them pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team and only 6.9% of the spectators fight during football matches. Organized spectators appear to be less interested in the match it self, players' performance, and the referees' judgment (arbitration) than non-organized spectators are. More detailed, 81.4% of them shout slogans, while 42.2% of the organized spectators talk during a football game and 26.5% of them pass comments about the opponent team. Furthermore, 25.5% of the organized football fans express their opinion about the players, 24.5% of them express their

opinion about the referees, and 17.6% of the respondents mentioned that they pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team. At last, 15.7% of the organized spectators say poems or sing songs during a match, while surprisingly only 11.8% just watch the game and 11.8% fight during a football match (Table 9).

Table 9 Spectators' activity during football matches in connection to the **viewers' categories** (N=498)\*

		VIEWERS' CATEGORIES					Total
		Occasional viewers	Non-Organized spectators	Organized spectators	Hooligans	No answer	
What do you usually do during a football match ?	<b>Talk</b>	36.0% 18	52.4% 175	42.2% 43	10.0% 1		47.4% 237
	<b>Fight</b>	2.0% 1	6.9% 23	11.8% 12	40.0% 4		8.0% 40
	<b>Shout slogans</b>	46.0% 23	71.6% 239	81.4% 83	90.0% 9	50.0% 2	71.2% 356
	<b>Say poems / sing songs</b>	20.0% 10	26.3% 88	15.7% 16	10.0% 1		23.0% 115
	<b>Express your opinion about players</b>	26.0% 13	38.3% 128	25.5% 26	30.0% 3	25.0% 1	34.2% 171
	<b>Express your opinion about the referees</b>	24.0% 12	38.6% 129	24.5% 25	40.0% 4		34.0% 170
	<b>Pass comments about the opponent team</b>	20.0% 10	32.6% 109	26.5% 27	50.0% 5		30.2% 151
	<b>Pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team</b>	18.0% 9	18.9% 63	17.6% 18	40.0% 4		18.8% 94
	<b>Just watch the match</b>	32.0% 16	24.9% 83	11.8% 12	20.0% 2	25.0% 1	22.8% 114
Total	%	224.0%	310.5%	257.0%	330.0%	100.0%	289.6%
	Responses	112	1037	262	33	4	1448
	Cases	n=50	n=332	n=102	n=10	n=4	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

Before we continue with the extremist fans' customs at the stands during a football match it should be pointed out that according to results in Table 9, the greater is the effective involvement of individuals in football spectating, the higher is the rate of those who fight or shout slogans during a match and the lower is the rate of those who just watch the match. Besides those who identify themselves as hooligans or extremist

fans, have many common and many different characteristics with non-organized or organized spectators. The vast majority of the extremist fans (90%) shout slogans during matches, while it is interesting that 40% of them fight during football games while just 10% of those spectators talk during matches, 10% of them say poems or sing songs and only 20% of the respondents mentioned that they just watch the game. Moreover, it is interesting that 50% of the extremist fans pass comments about the opponent team, 40% of them pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team, 40% express their opinion about the referees and finally 30% of those spectators express their opinion about the players. Accordingly, the rate of hooligans who are involved in fights is exceedingly greater than the rate of all the other groups of spectators or viewers. Furthermore the rate of the extremist fans who express their opinion about the referees, pass comments about the opponent teams and pass comments about spectators of the opponent teams is also greater than the rate of the other groups of football fans. Yet there was a small number of individuals who did not identify themselves as a special kind of spectators or occasional viewers. There were 50% of them who mentioned that they shout slogans during games, while 25% express their opinion about players and 25 % of them just watch the football match (Table 9).

The results of the research in 2004 in Greek football stadia indicated that the majority of the football spectators, regardless viewers' category deal with many other sports such as basketball, volleyball, tennis, ping pong, swimming, handball and polo. Nevertheless, following Table 10, there is a remarkable number of football fans (26%) that do not deal with any other sport except football. More detailed, referring to the occasional viewers, 60% of them occupy themselves with basketball, while, 12% of those spectators deal with volleyball and 8% of the occasional viewers deal with polo, while just 4% deal with tennis. Also, 2% of the football fans occupy themselves with ping-pong, 2% of them deal with swimming, and 2% of the spectators deal with handball. On the other hand, 61.7% (206) of the non-organized spectators deal with basketball, 11.7% of them occupy themselves with volleyball, 0.9% of those football fans deal with ping-pong and 3% of them deal with tennis. The rate of the non-organized spectators who deal with swimming is 3.3%, while there are also some of them (3%) who occupy themselves with polo, 2.7% of the football fans deal with



handball, 2.4% of them, deal with other sports and a notable number of respondents mentioned that they do not deal with any other sport except football (Table 10).

Table 10 Football spectators' involvement to other sports in connection to **viewers' categories** (N=498)\*

		<b>VIEWERS' CATEGORIES</b>					Total
		<b>Occasional Viewers</b>	<b>Non-Organized Spectators</b>	<b>Organized Spectators</b>	<b>Hooligans</b>	<b>No answer</b>	
<b>What other sports do you deal with ?</b>	<b>Basketball</b>	60.0% 30	61.7% 206	79.4% 81	40.0% 4	100.0% 4	65.0% 325
	<b>Volleyball</b>	12.0% 6	11.7% 39	14.7% 15	40.0% 4		12.8% 64
	<b>Tennis</b>	4.0% 2	3.0% 10	2.0% 2	10.0% 1		3.0% 15
	<b>Ping-Pong</b>	2.0% 1	0.9% 3	1.0% 1	10.0% 1	25.0% 1	1.4% 7
	<b>Swimming</b>	2.0% 1	3.3% 11	2.0% 2			2.8% 14
	<b>Handball</b>	2.0% 1	2.7% 9	1.0% 1			2.2% 11
	<b>Polo</b>	8.0% 4	3.0% 10	2.9% 3	10.0% 1		3.6% 18
	<b>Other</b>		2.4% 8	2.9% 3	10.0% 1		2.4% 12
	<b>None</b>	26.0% 13	28.7% 96	15.7% 16	50.0% 5		26.0% 130
	<b>Total</b>						
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	116.0%	117.4%	121.6%	170.0%	125.0%	119.2%
	<b>Responses</b>	58	392	124	17	5	596
	<b>Cases</b>	n=50	n=332	n=102	n=10	n=4	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

The vast majority (79.4%) of the organized spectators occupy themselves with basketball, 14.7% of them deal with volleyball, 2.9% of the organized football fans deal with polo, 2.9% of them mentioned that they deal with other sports and 2% of those fans deal with tennis. Furthermore, there were some spectators (2%) who mentioned that they deal with swimming, 1% of them occupy themselves with ping-pong, while also 1% of the organized spectators deal with handball and finally 15.7% of those spectators do not deal with any other sport. The majority of those spectators who belong to groups of extremist fans occupy themselves with basketball (40%) and volleyball (40%), while there are also such spectators who deal with tennis (10%), ping-pong (10%) and other sports (10%). A considerable number of them (50%) mentioned that they do not deal with any other sport except football. it is important to mention that there were also few spectators who did not belong to any of the above mentioned

viewers categories and they mentioned that they deal with basketball (100%) and ping pong (25%) as well (Table 10).

Socio-economic composition of football fans is considered to predispose football spectators' involvement in other sports. The results in Table 11 indicated that partly there are, partly there are not remarkable differences in spectators' involvement to other kind of sports in association to their socio-economical composition. Consequently, following Table 11, the vast majority of spectators (73.1%) who belong to the upper socio-economic class, occupy themselves with basketball, while 15.4% deal with tennis, 11.5% deal with volleyball and 23.1% of those spectators do not occupy themselves with any other sport except football. On the other hand, 65.6% of the spectators of middle socio-economic class deal with basketball, while 13.0% of those spectators deal with volleyball, 3.9% of them occupy themselves with polo and 3.4% of the football fans of middle classes deal with swimming. The rate of those who deal with tennis is 2.2%, while also 2.2% of the fans from middle classes occupy themselves with handball and only 1.7% of those spectators deal with ping-pong. Furthermore, most of the football fans (58.2%) who belong to the low socio-economic class, occupy themselves with basketball, while 11.9% deal with volleyball, 3.0% of those spectators deal with tennis and also 3% of the football fans from low classes occupy themselves with handball. There is also a certain number of spectators (3.0%) who deal with polo and 1.5% of the football fans from low classes deal with other sports. Finally, a notable number of football spectators who belong to the low socio-economic classes do not occupy themselves with any sport with the exception of football (Table 11).

The stands of the football stadia appear to be an arena of freedom, since individuals are allowed to shout, sing, discuss and argue about football, politics, and economy. Up there they feel much stronger and much more important in society than in any other place within larger society. People and especially young men and women in cities with high population need to spend somehow their energy since physical activities in the natural environment such as ski, canoe, kayak, rock climbing, are hard to be done because of the high financial cost and the fact that they need to travel away from home. Involvement in any sport event seems to be a much better activity than "clubbing", "surfing" in the internet even though many violent incidents occur in sports world and especially football. Even so, the different groups of Greek spectators are influenced

partly by larger society, partly by groups of spectators from abroad and at the same time they create their own customs based on their historical background of each football team.

Table 11 Football spectators' involvement to other sports in connection to their **socio-economic composition** (N=498)\*

		SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPOSITION			Total
		Upper Class	Middle Class	Low Class	
What other sports do you deal with ?	<b>Basketball</b>	73.1% 19	65.6% 267	58.2% 39	65.0% 325
	<b>Volleyball</b>	11.5% 3	13.0% 53	11.9% 8	12.8% 64
	<b>Tennis</b>	15.4% 4	2.2% 9	3.0% 2	3.0% 15
	<b>Ping-Pong</b>		1.7% 7		1.4% 7
	<b>Swimming</b>		3.4% 14		2.8% 14
	<b>Handball</b>		2.2% 9	3.0% 2	2.2% 11
	<b>Polo</b>		3.9% 16	3.0% 2	3.6% 18
	<b>Other</b>		2.7% 11	1.5% 1	2.4% 12
	<b>None</b>	23.1% 6	24.8% 101	34.3% 23	26.0% 130
Total	%	123.1%	119.5%	114.9%	119.2%
	Responses	32	487	77	596
	Cases	n=26	n=405	n=67	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

## Motivation of Greek Football Supporters

Since national sports world is considered to be a microcosm of the larger society of each country, values from society are often reflected on this microcosm, which may also create its own norms and values, which soon, will be transferred in larger society as well. Greek football appears to be a great example of the above-mentioned assumption since the *intention*, the *frequency* and the *high rate* of people attending (spectators) and participating in football matches (coaches, managers, players, referees) is similar to other traditional social functional actions such as Greek folk dances, music concerts, and theatre. Consequently sports in general and particularly football appear to be functional and important for society since there is a continual interaction between it and

the larger Greek society (Papageorgiou, 1998). Greek football appears to have a symbolic character to a certain extent. Individuals and groups of individuals attend a folk dance festival because they need to meet with friends, ease psychological tension, have fun and express their regional and national identification. Football fans attend matches partly for the same, partly for different reasons. Consequently, people attending football matches are not only interested in the football match or even their favourite player and favourite team. Being influenced by the larger society and other social institutions such as folk dance groups, they share many common values with them.

The research in 2004 indicated that the majority of spectators (73.6%) prefer to attend matches with one or two friends while, a considerable number of the football fans (21.8%), watch football games with neighbours or a big company of friends (Table 12). There is also a noteworthy amount of spectators who attend matches with members of their family (8.6%) or even with relatives (8.6%). More detailed, the infinite majority individuals at the age of 16-24 years old attend matches with one or two friends, whilst there are also several of them (25.1%) who watch football games with neighbours or big company of friends. Besides, 4.8% of the spectators, watch matches with members of their family and also 4.1% of those football fans attend football games with relatives. Yet there is a small amount of young spectators (0.7%) who attend matches with their colleagues and still there are few (0.7%) who meet some sportsmen at the stands of the football field, while 2.6% of the football fans at the age of 16-24 years old attend matches alone. Moreover, the rate of the spectators at the age of 25-34 (82.5%) who attend matches with one-two friends is greater than this one of the younger spectators, while 17.5% of them, watch matches with big company of friends or neighbours. Yet there is a certain amount of those football fans (16.1%), who go to the football stadia with relatives, while 9.5% of those who attend football matches, are accompanied by members of their family, 4.4% of the fans at the age of 25-34 years old attend matches with colleagues and just 2.2% of them watch football games alone. Referring to the spectators who are 35 or over 45 years old it should be noted that most of them (62.0%) are accompanied by one or two friends at the stadia, while the rate of those who attend matches with their family (18.5%) is relatively high (much higher than the rate of the other age groups) and still there some of them (18.5%) who attend matches with neighbours or a big company of friends. Besides, 10.9% of the spectators who are over

34 years old, attend football games with relatives while there is a comparatively high amount of them (9.8%) who attend matches alone and unexpectedly, just 1.1% of those spectators, watch matches with colleagues (Table 12).

Table 12 Football spectators' company during attending matches in connection to their **age** (N=498)\*

		AGE GROUPS			Total
		16-24	25-34	35+	
<b>With whom do you usually attend football matches ?</b>	<b>With my family</b>	4.8% 13	9.5% 13	18.5% 17	8.6% 43
	<b>With relatives</b>	4.1% 11	16.1% 22	10.9% 10	8.6% 43
	<b>With one-two friends</b>	73.1% 198	82.5% 113	62.0% 57	73.6% 368
	<b>With neighbors, with big company of friends</b>	25.1% 68	17.5% 24	18.5% 17	21.8% 109
	<b>With colleagues</b>	0.7% 2	4.4% 6	1.1% 1	1.8% 9
	<b>With some sportsmen I meet in the stadium</b>	0.7% 2			0.4% 2
	<b>Alone</b>	2.6% 7	2.2% 3	9.8% 9	3.8% 19
Total	%	111.1%	132.2%	120.8%	118.6%
	Responses	301	181	111	593
	Cases	n=269	n=137	n=92	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

It is yet important to mention that according to Table 13, the vast majority of football spectators attend football matches with few friends regardless of their socio-economic composition. Besides, there are also similarities in the rates of those who attend matches with a big company of friends or neighbours. More detailed, most of the spectators who belong to upper socio-economic classes (73.1%) attend matches accompanied by one or two friends, 11.5% of them attend matches with their family, while 11.5% of the football fans from upper classes watch matches with relatives. Yet, 15.4% of those football fans watch matches with a big company of friends and 3.8% of them, attend matches alone. In addition, the greater part, that is 74% (310) of the football fans from middle socio-economic classes, attend football games with one-two friends, 22.4% of them watch football games with neighbours or a big company of friends, while 9.3% of those spectators are accompanied at the stadium by their family and 9.1% of them attend matches with relatives. Yet, 3.4% of the spectators from middle classes, watch football games alone, 2% of them attend matches with colleagues

and just 0.5% of those football fans are accompanied by some sportsmen with whom they meet at the stadium. It is essential to refer also to spectators of low socio-economic classes (Table 13). Additionally, the largest part of them (71.6%), appear to watch matches with one or two friends, while a noteworthy amount of them (20.9%) watch football games with a big company of friends or neighbours and a relatively high amount of those spectators (6.0%) attend matches alone. Yet, 4.5% of the spectators from low classes watch football games with relatives, 3.0% of them attend matches with their family and just 1.5% of those spectators are accompanied at the football stadium by some of their colleagues.

Table 13 Football spectators' company during attending matches in connection to their **socio-economic status** (N=498)\*

		SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS			Total
		Upper Class	Middle Class	Low Class	
<b>With whom do you usually attend football matches ?</b>	<b>With my family</b>	11.5% 3	9.3% 38	3.0% 2	8.6% 43
	<b>With relatives</b>	11.5% 3	9.1% 37	4.5% 3	8.6% 43
	<b>With one-two friends</b>	73.1% 19	74.0% 301	71.6% 48	73.8% 368
	<b>With neighbors, with big company of friends</b>	15.4% 4	22.4% 91	20.9% 14	21.8% 109
	<b>With colleagues</b>		2.0% 8	1.5% 1	1.8% 9
	<b>With some sportsmen I meet in the stadium</b>		0.5% 2		0.4% 2
	<b>Alone</b>	3.8% 1	3.4% 14	6.0% 4	3.8% 19
Total	%	115.3%	120.7%	107.5%	118.8%
	Responses	30	491	72	593
	Cases	n=26	n=405	n=67	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

Following Table 14, it is clear that the greater part of football fans who belong to different groups of spectators (occasional viewers, non-organized spectators and organized spectators) are accompanied by one or two friends and still a high number of spectators attend matches with a big company of friends. More detailed, the vast majority of occasional viewers (70%), appear to watch matches with few friends while 20% of them watch football games with a big company of friends or neighbours and also 20% of those viewers are accompanied at the stadium by relatives. Yet, a remarkable amount of occasional viewers (22%) attend matches with their family, while

4% of them watch matches with colleagues and 6% of those viewers attend football games alone. The rate of non-organized spectators who watch matches with few friends (74.9%) is high, while 21.9% of them, attend matches with neighbours or a big company of friends, 9.0% of those spectators, watch football matches with relatives and 7.8% of them are accompanied by their family at the football stadia. Furthermore, there is a small amount of non-organized spectators (1.8%) who attend football games with colleagues and finally, 3.9% of them attend matches alone. Special attention should be paid to the groups of organized spectators. Following Table 14, the rate of those who attend matches with few friends (74.5%) is quite similar to the rate referring to the occasional viewers and non-organized spectators. The rate of those who watch football games with neighbours or a big company of friends (21.6%) is also quite similar to the rate of the other types of spectators. Nevertheless, just 3.9% of them attend matches with their family and only 2.0% of the organized spectators watch football games with relatives. Yet, just 1% of them attend matches with colleagues and also 1% of those spectators are accompanied by some sportsmen with whom they meet at the stadium. There is also an amount of the organized spectators (3.9%) who attend football matches alone (Table 14).

Moreover there is a special type of spectators who appear to have partly the same, partly quite different characteristics with other types of spectators. The majority of the so called hooligans or extremist fans (50%), attend matches with only few friends, while 40% of them are accompanied by a big company of friends and still 10% of those spectators attend matches with some sportsmen with whom they meet at the stands of the field. Special attention should be paid to the fact according to which extremist fans do not attend matches football matches with members of their family, relatives and colleagues, while they do not also go to the football stadia alone. It is quite probable that this has to do with their customs and behaviour in and outside the stadium. An analysis of the data from research in 2004 and press analysis indicated that such groups of spectators use public transport; they come all together few hours before the match in areas away of the football stadium and walk all together to the stadium wearing t-shirts in the colour of their team, shouting slogans and singing songs. When two different groups of hooligans meet outside the stadium, they often fight with each other in the absence of police security forces since such incidents cannot be predicted.

Accordingly the results in Table 14 indicated that the more involved and organized are individuals in football spectating the less they are accompanied by their family, relatives and their colleagues. It is also very important to mention that there is a certain amount of viewers who do not appear to belong to any groups of football viewers or spectators. The majority of those individuals (50%) attend matches with their family, 50% of them attend matches with one-two friends and 25% of them are accompanied by their relatives at the stadium.

Table 14 Football spectators' company during attending matches in connection to the **viewers' categories** (N=498)\*

		<b>VIEWERS' CATEGORIES</b>					Total
		<b>Occasional Viewers</b>	<b>Non-Organized Spectators</b>	<b>Organized Spectators</b>	<b>Hooligans</b>	<b>No answer</b>	
<b>With whom do you usually attend football matches?</b>	<b>With my family</b>	22.0% 11	7.8% 26	3.9% 4		50.0% 2	8.6% 43
	<b>With relatives</b>	20.0% 10	9.0% 30	2.0% 2		25.0% 1	8.6% 43
	<b>With one-two friends</b>	70.0% 35	74.9% 250	74.5% 76	50.0% 5	50.0% 2	73.6% 368
	<b>With neighbors, with big company of friends</b>	20.0% 10	21.9% 73	21.6% 22	40.0% 4		21.8% 109
	<b>With colleagues</b>	4.0% 2	1.8% 6	1.0% 1			1.8% 9
	<b>With some sportsmen I meet in the stadium</b>			1.0% 1	10.0% 1		0.4% 2
	<b>Alone</b>	6.0% 3	3.6% 12	3.9% 4			3.8% 19
	<b>Other</b>			1.0% 1			0.2% 1
Total	%	142.0%	119.0%	108.9%	100.0%	125.0%	118.8%
	Responses	71	397	111	10	5	594
	Cases	n=50	n=332	n=102	n=10	n=4	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

As it is shown in Table 15, the results of the empirical research indicated that just 27.4% of the respondents mentioned that they were fond of watching football. Most of them were interested in watching their favourite players (74.6%) and football team (29.4%). There was also a remarkable number of respondents who went to the football stadium in order to meet some friends (36%) or even have fun (24.2%). Following



Foldesi (1996), in Hungary, the rate of supporters being fond of watching football is even lower. Just 10% of the supporters reported that they went in the stadium in order to watch football. A relatively high rate of spectators reported that they visited the football stadium in order to relax (23.77%), to be together with friends (23.46%) and express their identification with their favourite team (19.74%). Going back to Table 15, the majority of spectators from Athens (73.3%), attend football matches because they like watching their favourite players while 44% of the Athenian spectators go to football stadium because they want to watch a good match, 41.5% of them attend matches because they want to watch their favourite team and 41.2% visit football stadia in order to meet some friends. There is also a remarkable number of Athenian spectators who just want to have fun by attending matches, while 4.3% of those spectators mentioned that they attend matches because they are sportsmen and just 1.1% go to the football stadium because they had arranged with their family to do so (Table 15).

Table 15 Reasons for attending football matches in connection to **residence place** (N=498)\*

		RESIDENCE PLACE			Total
		Athens	Thessalonica	Other city	
For which reasons do go to football matches ?	To have fun	34.7% 96	10.4% 16	13.0% 9	24.2% 121
	To meet friends	41.2% 114	32.5% 50	23.2% 16	36.0% 180
	To watch a good match	44.0% 122	6.5% 10	7.2% 5	27.4% 137
	To watch my favorite players	73.3% 203	74.0% 114	81.2% 56	74.6% 373
	To watch my favorite team	41.5% 115	13.0% 20	17.4% 12	29.4% 147
	Because I am a sportsman	4.3% 12			2.4% 12
	Because I had arranged with my family to come all together	1.1% 3	0.6% 1		0.8% 4
	Because I did not have anything better to do				
	Other	17.0% 47	24.0% 37	29.0% 20	20.8% 104
Total	%	257.1%	161.0%	171.0%	215.6%
	Responses	712	248	118	1078
	Cases	n=277	n=152	n=69	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

The majority of the spectators from Thessalonica (74%) attend matches because they want to watch their favourite players, while a notable amount of them (32.5%) go to football stadia in order to meet some friends and 10.4% of the football fans from Thessalonica attend matches because they want to have fan. Yet, 13% of those spectators go to football stadia in order to watch their favourite teams, 6.5% visit football stadia in order to watch a good match and just 0.6% of the spectators from Thessalonica mentioned that they go to football stadia because they are to do so with their family. On the other hand the greater part of spectators from other cities (81.2%) attend matches because they want to watch their favourite players, 23.2% of them just want to meet friends at the stadium and 17.4% of those spectators visit football stadia because they want to watch their favourite team. There is also an amount of spectators from other cities (13%) that just want to have fun at the stadia and only 7.2% of them, visit football stadia in order to watch a good match. It should be mentioned that there is a certain amount of spectators from Athens (17%), Thessalonica (24%) and other cities (29%) who did not mentioned why they go to football stadia (Table 15).

It is important to refer to the reasons according to which football spectators attend matches in connection to the viewers' categories. Furthermore, following Table 16, most of the occasional viewers (58%) go to stadia in order to watch their favourite players, 32% of them visit football stadia because there, they meet friends and 30% of the occasional viewers attend matches in order to watch their favourite team. Yet there is an amount of individuals (26%) who just want to have fan during football games, while 26% of the occasional viewers, visit stadia in order to watch a good match and only 8% of them mentioned that they attend matches because they are sportsmen. On the other hand, the vast majority of the non-organized spectators (77.2%) attend matches in order to watch their favourite players, 39.5% of them visit stadia because there, they meet some friends, while 31.4% of those spectators go to stadia in order to watch their favourite team and 33.2% of the non-organized spectators are willing to watch a good football match (Table 16).

Besides, there is a remarkable amount of non-organized spectators (25.7%) who visit football stadia in order to have fan, while just 2.4% of those spectators attend matches because they are sportsmen and only 1.2% visit stadia because they had arranged to do so with their family. Most of the organized spectators (77.5%) appear to

prefer watching their favourite players, 28.4% of them go to football stadia because there they meet friends, while 17.6% of those spectators just want to have fun at stadia and just 11.8% of the organized spectators visit stadia in order to watch a good football match. Lastly, a notable amount of organized spectators attend matches in order to watch their favourite team. Yet, it is important to mention that the majority of those spectators who consider themselves as hooligans (50%), attend football matches because they want to watch their favourite players, 40% of them just want to have fan at the stadia, while a relatively low amount of those spectators (10%), go to stadia in order to meet friends and also 10% just want to watch a good football match. Finally, 10% of the hooligans mentioned that they attend matches in order to watch their favourite team. There is also an amount of viewers who do not appear to belong to any group of viewers or spectators. Accordingly, a great part of them (50%) visit football stadia in order to meet some friends and 50% of them attend matches because they would like to watch their favourite players.

Table 16 Reasons for attending football matches in connection to **viewers' categories** (N=498)\*

		<b>VIEWERS' CATEGORIES</b>					Total
		<b>Occasional Viewers</b>	<b>Non-Organized spectators</b>	<b>Organized spectators</b>	<b>Hooligans</b>	<b>No answer</b>	
<b>For which reasons do go to football matches ?</b>	<b>To have fan</b>	26.0% 13	25.7% 86	17.6% 18	40.0% 4		24.2% 121
	<b>To meet friends</b>	32.0% 16	39.5% 132	28.4% 29	10.0% 1	50.0% 2	36.0% 180
	<b>To watch a good match</b>	26.0% 13	33.2% 111	11.8% 12	10.0% 1		27.4% 137
	<b>To watch my favorite players</b>	58.0% 29	77.2% 258	77.5% 79	50.0% 5	50.0% 2	74.6% 373
	<b>To watch my favorite team</b>	30.0% 15	31.4% 105	25.5% 26	10.0% 1		29.4% 147
	<b>Because I am a sportsman</b>	8.0% 4	2.4% 8				2.4% 12
	<b>Because I had arranged with my family to come all together</b>		1.2% 4				0.8% 4
	<b>Other</b>	12.0% 6	22.5% 75	18.6% 19	40.0% 4		20.8% 104
Total	%	192%	233,1%	179.4%	160.0%	100.0%	215.6%
	Responses	96	779	183	16	4	1078
	Cases	n=50	n=332	n=102	n=10	n=4	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

## **Commitment of Greek Football Supporters**

Since 1996 there has been a decrease in the number of the sold tickets until 2003. There are not remarkable differences in the number of the sold tickets of each football season although every year they are less. Violent incidents and aggression among football spectators have gradually increased. Conflicts among different groups of football supporters from the same or different city are part of the daily menu in the programs of most Greek TV channels. Nevertheless, press analysis indicated that a remarkable number of young men at the age of 15-19 avoid attending football matches and are involved in amateur football activities such as participating in friendly football matches at their neighbourhood as young men from previous generations did. Instead of this, their interests focus on other activities such as “surfing” and chatting in the internet and going to parties which are organized in special clubs where consumption of alcohol and drugs (marihuana, cocaine) appear to be a common activity. It is quite probable that the above mentioned problems of the youth are deeply rooted in the “weakness” of the governmental strategies and special related policies on the problems of sports and especially football and youth problems in larger society. Only in 2004 there was an increased interest of fans for football after the success of the national football team in the European championship. Following the results of the research which was carried out in Greece in 2004 (Figure 4), 40% of the spectators who attended national football matches of first league, go to the football stadia once per week, while 24% of them visit football stadia in order to watch first league games and only 14% of the spectators attend national matches once per month.

According to Figure 4, football spectators attended less international than national matches and even less football matches such as local and amateur football games. Consequently, 13% of the respondents mentioned that they attend international matches once a week which means that they often travel abroad since international matches in Greece take place no more than once or twice a month. 13% of the spectators attend international matches once every 15 days while 13% of them attend such kind of football matches once per month. The rate of spectators who attend international games every two (11%), three (7%) or six months (6%) is less (Figure 4).

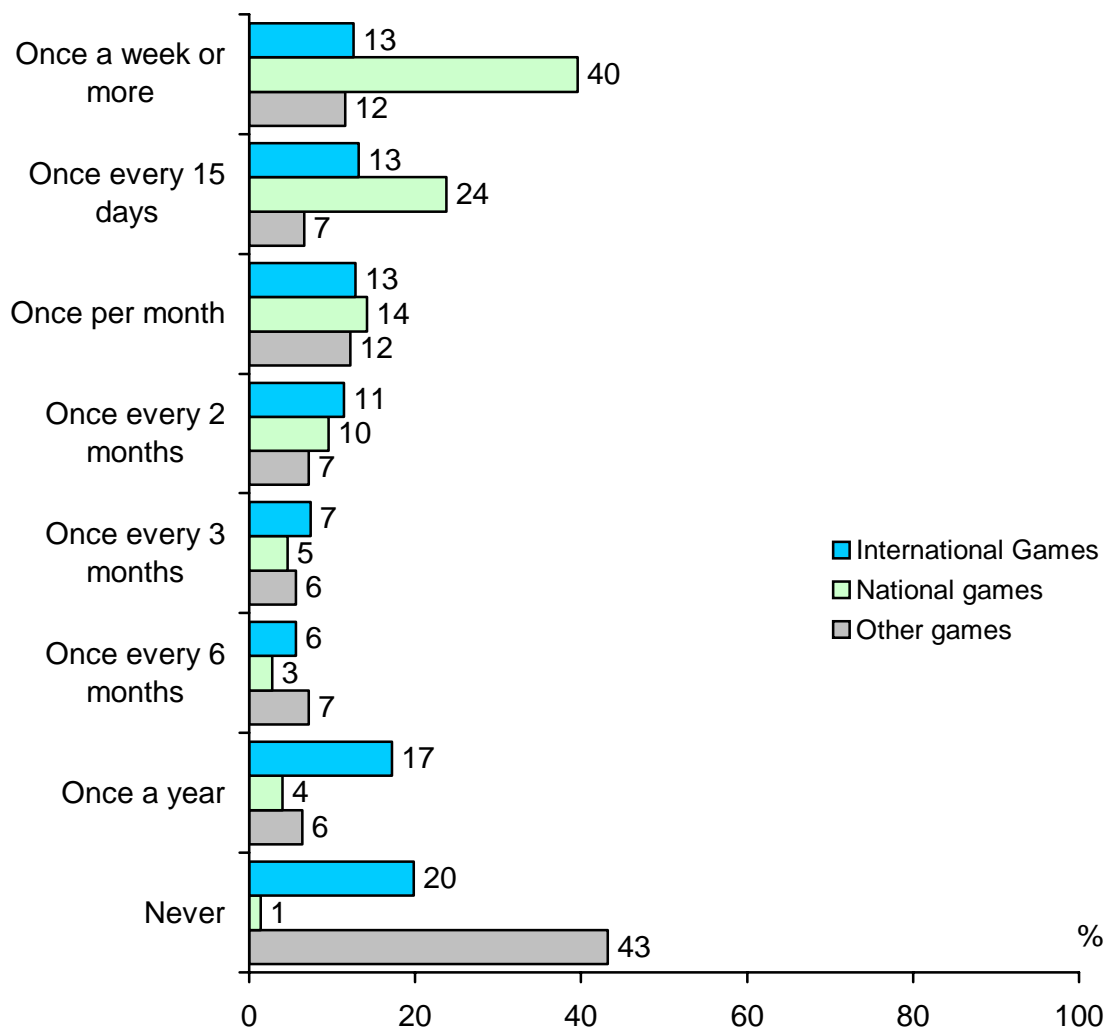


Figure 4 Attendance frequency of football matches in 2003-2004 football season (in %)

Moreover, it should be mentioned that the rate of spectators attending international football matches once per year is 17%, while 20% of the respondents mentioned that they do not attend international matches at all. It is important to mention that age, socio-economic composition and viewers categories (occasional viewers, non-organized spectators, organized spectators, hooligans) play important role in individuals commitment towards national football matches. More detailed, following Figure 5, the younger the spectators are, the more often attend national matches. The majority (45%) of the spectators at the age between 16 and 24 years old attend matches once per week. Most of the football fans of the age between 25 and 34 years old also prefer to watch football matches once per week but the rate is lower (38%) that the one of the younger spectators (45%). Finally the majority of the spectators at the age over 35 and over 35, prefer to attend national matches once every fifteen days (23%) or once per month

(21%) while it should be noted that the rate of those who watch matches once per year is greater than the rate of individuals between 25-34 years old and 16-24 years old (Figure 5).

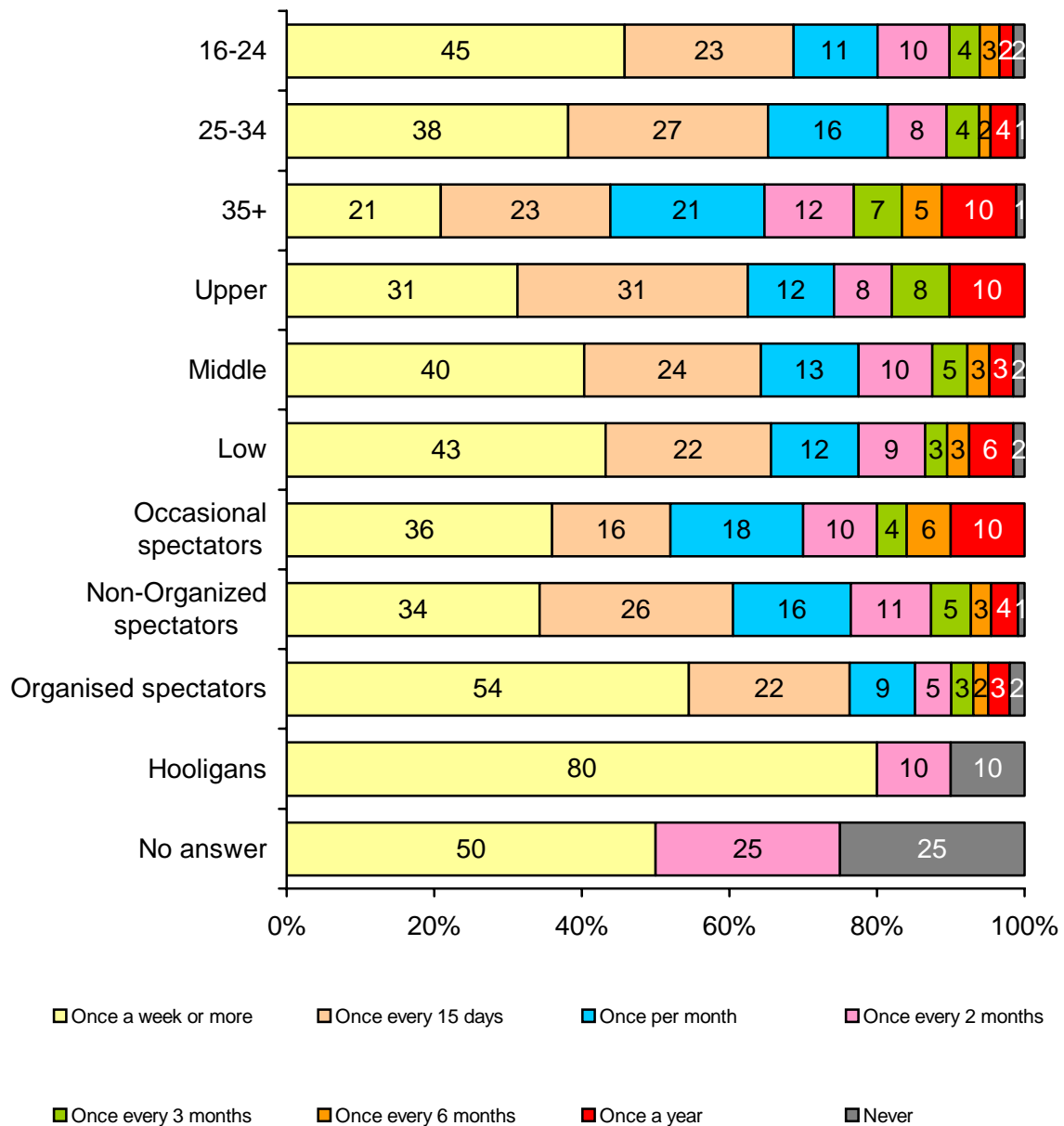


Figure 5 Attendance frequency of national football matches according to age, socio-economic composition and viewers' categories (in %)

It is noteworthy the fact according to which, 80% of those who characterized themselves as hooligans, attended matches once per week or more often. The rest of

them mentioned that they watch national football matches once every two months (25%) or they do not attend matches at all. The majority of the organized spectators (54%) attended matches once per week while 22% of them answered that they attend national games once per fifteen days and only (9%) of them attend matches once per month. If we take a look at the attendance frequency of occasional viewers and non-organized ones we will see that there are no remarkable differences in the attendance rates although they are different from those of the organized spectators. Special attention should be paid to the attendance frequency according to the socio-economic composition of the spectators of national matches. The majority of people belonging to the upper class attend matches once per week (31%) or once per fifteen days (31%) and 12 % of them watch matches once per month, while just 8% follow their favourite team in national matches once every two months and also 8% of them watch matches once every three months. Finally 10% of spectators belonging to upper class attend national matches once per year. Furthermore, according to the Figure 5, the rates of attendance for the spectators of middle and low classes are similar. Most of them attend matches very often (once per week or more) while both a remarkable number of middle class people (24%) and low class people (22%) attend matches once per fifteen days and still 13% of spectators who belong to the middle class and 12% of spectators who belong to the low class attend national matches once per month (Figure 5).

Football is doubtless the favourite sport of Greeks. In an amateur way it can be played everywhere (neighbourhood, football fields at schools, private and local clubs and well-organized gyms. It has a low cost (a football ball is enough) and its rules are simple and easy to be followed by the vast majority of the Greeks. Most individuals, regardless of sex, have played football since it is included in the curriculum of sport activities in primary, secondary and high schools. Football matches can be watched in cafes and bars on wide screens in Athens and the countryside as well mostly by men. Following Figure 6, the 70% of the spectators like football very much and only 22% of the respondents mentioned that they like football a lot. Just 7% of the spectators attending matches of first league answered that they like football enough and just 1% of the football fans like football just a little (Figure 6).

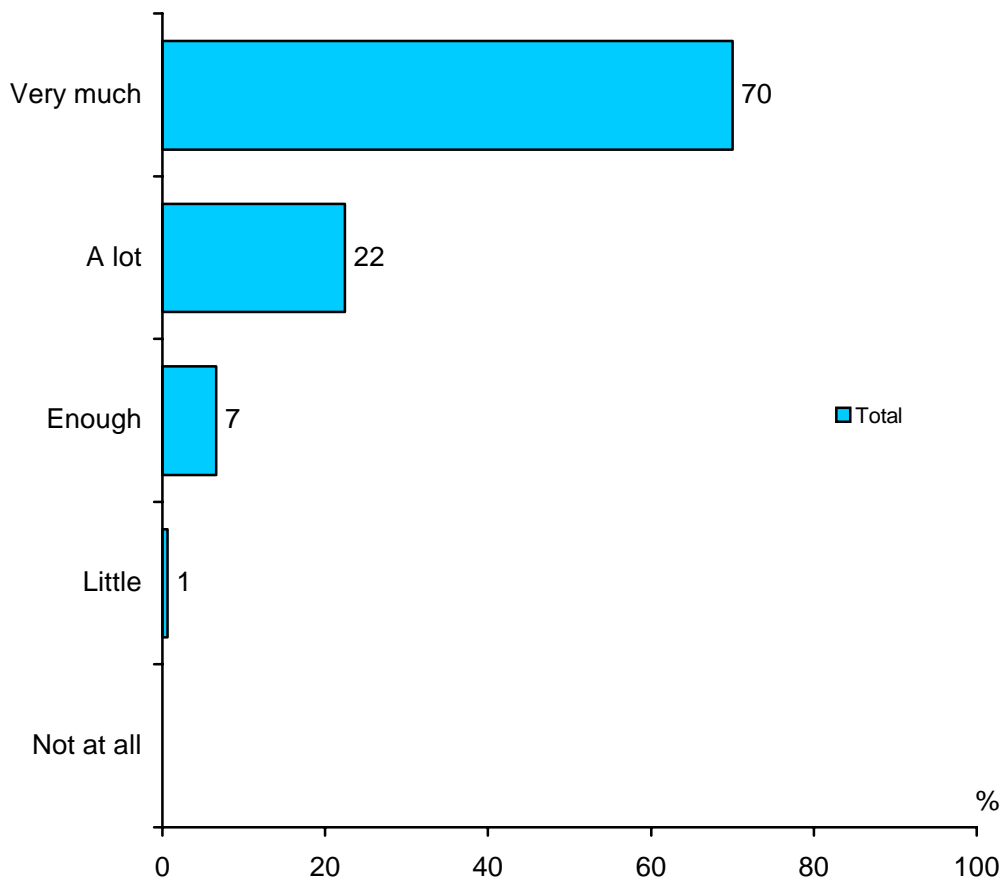


Figure 6 Degree to which spectators like football (in %)

Following Figure 7, the 72 % of the spectators at the age between 16 and 24 years old like football very much. The majority (66%) of the spectators at the age of 25-34 also like football very much and 69% of spectators at the age of 35 and over 35 mentioned that they like football very much. The rates of spectators who like football a lot are similar to all age groups. There are just small differences. The rates are 22% for spectators at the first age group (16-24 years old), 24% for the age group of 25-34 years old and 23% for the spectators of the age group over 35. Finally there are just few spectators from the age group of 16-24 years old (6%), the age group of 25-34 years old (9%) and the age group of spectators over 34 years old (5%) who answered that they liked football “enough”. According to Figure 7, the 50% of the football fans from high classes like football very much, while 46% of them answered that they liked football a lot and just 4% mentioned that they like football enough. The majority (71%) of the spectators who belong to middle socio-economic classes, like football *very much*, while just 20% of them answered that they like football *a lot* and only 7% mentioned that they like football *enough*. The rates referring to spectators of the low socio-economic class as they appear in Figure 7 are quite similar to those of the spectators of middle class and



quite different from those of the football fans of the higher socio-economic class. Furthermore, it seems that the more involved is an individual (occasional viewer, non-organized spectator, organized spectator) in football spectating, the more he/she likes football. Special attention should be paid to hooligans. The vast majority of the Greek extremist fans (90%) mentioned that they liked football *very much* while just 10 % of them mentioned that they liked football *a lot*. It should be mentioned that participant observation and press analysis indicated that the majority of the extremist fans, mainly those who are organized in groups, in areas behind the goals at the stands, are not really interested in the football match it self since most of the time they argue or fight with other groups of spectators, light fires, destroy the seats at the stands or take part in conflicts between them and men of the police security forces (Figure 7).

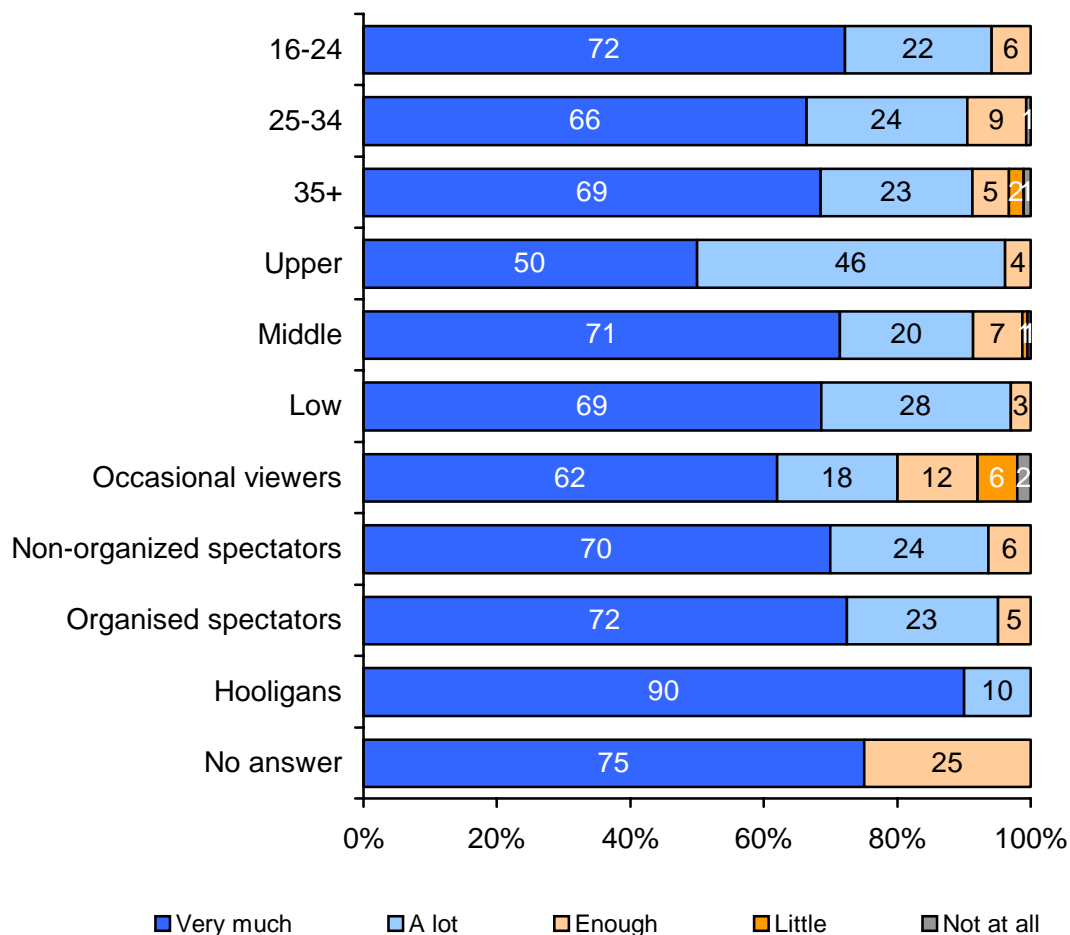


Figure 7 Degree to which spectators like football in association to age groups, socio-economic composition and viewers' categories (in %)

Attending football matches in the stadium is not the only activity of sports fans regarding football. Following Figure 8, the 55% of the spectators mentioned that they watch matches in TV once or twice per week, while 38 % of them watch football games on TV almost every day and just 3% of the football fans mentioned that they watch TV matches once or twice a month. 4% of the spectators never watch matches on TV and 15 % of them, never listen football-related news on the radio while 40% of the respondents mentioned that they listen football matches on the radio once or twice per week and 36% do it almost every day. Spectators do not like reading football related books since 72% of them never read such kind of books but they do like reading football related news in the newspapers. Consequently, 45% of the football fans read newspapers almost everyday and still 39% of them read newspapers in order to be informed about football news once-twice per week. There is also a remarkable high number of respondents (48%) who talk about football almost everyday while 33% of them talk about football once-twice per week and only 5% talk about football related issues once or twice per month. There are also spectators (14%) who do not talk about football at all. Although football is considered to be the most famous and dear sport in Greece, only 14% of the respondents play football almost every day, while 17% of them play football once-twice per week and 16% of the football fans play football once per month. There are also spectators (16%) who play football once per year and 14% of them do not play at all (Figure 8).

Pure fans (those who traditionally do not participate in violent incidents and they are really interested in qualitative football matches, clear of disorders) are less every year in football fields. Violent incidents in and out of the football stadia, before, during and after the matches make them avoid attending matches alone and especially with other members of their family as they used to do in 1960's and 1970's. It is even harder to convince pure football fans to go back in the stadia since football violence is also promoted through TV channels, newspapers and sport magazines. They prefer to watch football matches at home in a safe and friendly environment with friends and family members. There are also few young people who also avoid attending matches at the football fields. They prefer going out in a bar and watch the match on a wide TV screen away from their favourite players and coaches, away from live games but also away from an environment full of aggressive incidents, verbal insults and vandal actions. Of

course football matches are not always followed by conflicts among spectators and aggressive and vandal incidents. The frequency of such kind of football fans behaviour in Greece is much lower than the frequency of similar spectators' action in Hungary, Italy, or Belgium. Nevertheless, the behaviour of the perpetrators of deviant incidents and especially hooligan's behaviour is unpredictable. Pure spectators are not willing to risk.

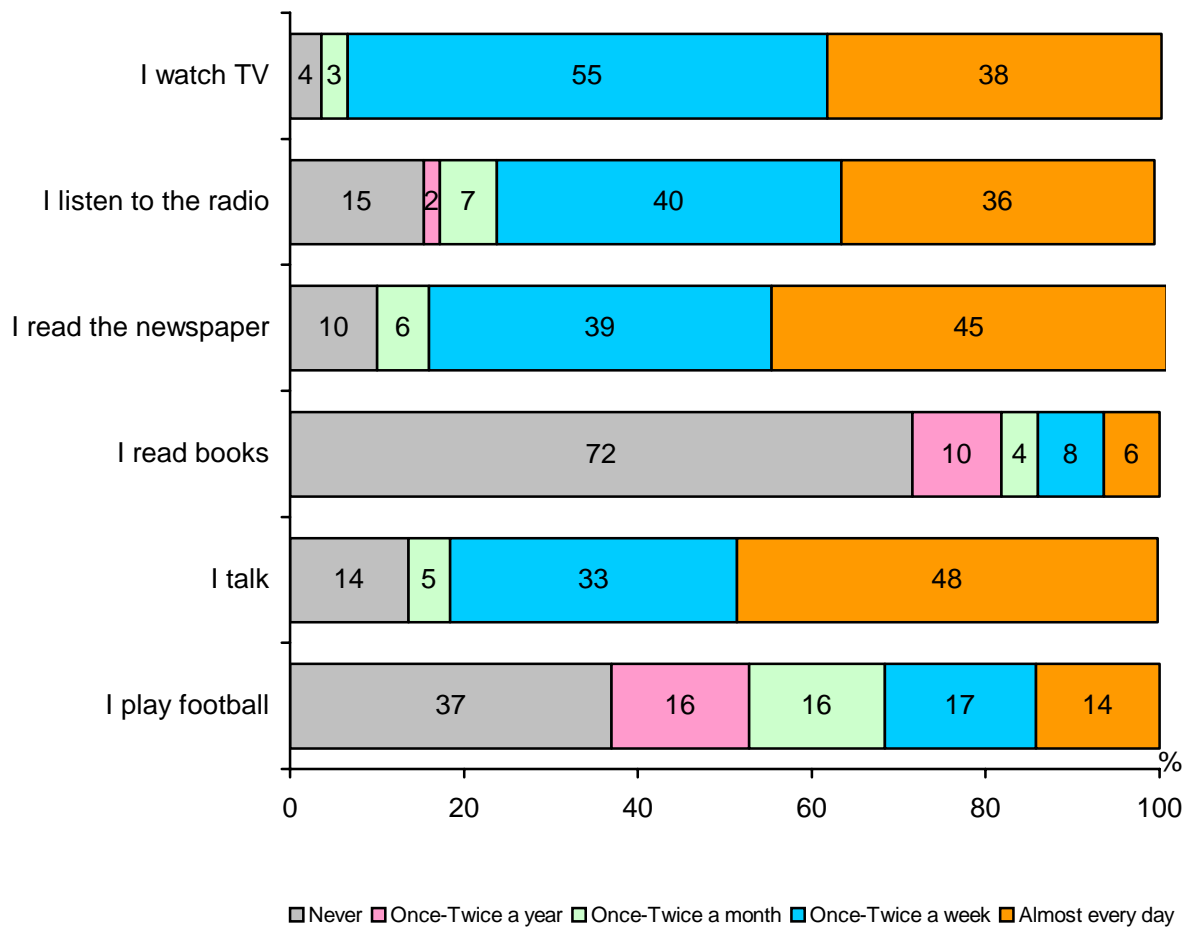


Figure 8 Activities and frequency of activities of spectators regarding football (in %)

### Manifestation of Different Kinds of Deviancies

Sociologists, psychologists, police authorities, officials of the different national bodies of football are concerned, more than any other time, about the increased and tensed manifestation of deviancies in Greek football, the last years. The research in 2003-2004

football season in first league matches indicated that the majority of spectators are bothered also by the situation in football stadia, where often different kind of deviancies occur. The ranks of occurrence of those deviancies, as it appears to be through the analysis of data from the empirical research in Greece, based on spectators' views about the occurrence of different kinds of deviant incidents in football stadia, are presented in the Table 17, below.

Table 17 Ranks of deviant incidents encountered by Greek spectators during football matches (in %)\*

	<b>DEVIANT INCIDENTS</b>	<i>Total amount of respondents</i>
If you have encountered deviant incidents, what kind of incidents where they?	<b>Beating</b>	<b>64.0%</b>
	<b>Breaking of seats</b>	<b>63.8%</b>
	<b>Throwing of coins</b>	<b>59.2%</b>
	<b>Pushing</b>	<b>59.0%</b>
	<b>“Dirty” words</b>	<b>58.8%</b>
	<b>Throwing of other objects</b>	<b>57.8%</b>
	<b>Racist words</b>	<b>49.8%</b>
	<b>I have not observed any kind of deviant incidents</b>	<b>19.4%</b>
	<b>Other kind of deviant incidents</b>	<b>1.2%</b>
<b>Total</b>	%	433%
	Responses	2165
	Cases	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

Further more, such kinds of incidents have been noticed by a relatively high number of individuals from different spectating groups such as occasional viewers, non-organized spectators, organized spectators, and groups of extremist fans. In Table 18, it is illustrated that 50% of the occasional viewers have noticed beatings among football fans at the stands, while 48% of them have heard dirty words in the stadium during the match they were attending and 46% of them have watched some individuals pushing each other at the grandstands. Still, 44% of the occasional viewers have noticed fans throwing different kinds of objects mainly at the football field, 44% of them have seen some individuals breaking seats and 40% of the respondents have observed some people throwing coins in the football field or at the stands where spectators of the opponent team were sitting or standing. Yet, racist words have been heard by 32% of the respondents while 26% of them mentioned that they have not noticed any kind of deviancy. On the other hand the number of non-organized spectators (65.6%) who have watched some fans beating each other at the stands is greater than this one of the actual

spectators. Furthermore, 63.2% of the non-organized spectators have watched some fans breaking seats, while 61.4% of them have noticed that during the match some individuals were pushing each other and still 61.4% that kind of spectators have observed football fans throwing coins at the field or at areas of the sands where supporters of the opponent team were sitting. “Dirty” words had been also heard by a great part of the respondents (61.1%), while 59.6% of them have heard racist words by some fans during the match and 22.2% have not notice any kind of deviancy. There was also a certain amount of respondents who have noticed some other kinds of deviancy (Table 18).

It noteworthy to mention the fact that the greater is the effective involvement of fans in football spectating, the greater is the possibility of observing most kinds of deviant behaviour. Still, in Table 18 it is shown that the vast majority (74.5%) of the organized spectators have noticed some people breaking seats at the grandstands, while 63.7% of them have seen some individuals beating each other and 62.7% of the respondents have watched some football fans throwing coins. A relatively high number of respondents (56.9%) have heard spectators saying racist words against spectators, players and coaches of the opponent team, 56.9% of the organized spectators have seen some fans pushing each other, while 55.9% of them have heard football fans saying “dirty” words and just 8.8% of the respondents have mentioned that they have not noticed any deviant incident. The members of groups of extremist fans are those who have noticed deviant incidents more than any other group of spectators. More detailed, 90% of them, have watched fans beating each other, 80% of those fans have observed some people pushing each other, while still 80% of the extremist fans have seen some football fans breaking seats during football matches. Still, 70% of those spectators have observed some fans throwing objects at the pitch, while also 70% of them have heard some spectators saying “dirty” words. There is also a relatively high amount of extremist fans (60%) who have noticed some people throwing coins during the match, and 50% of them have heard racist words by fans at the grandstand, while just 10% of them have not noticed any deviant incident and 10% of the spectators have noticed some other kinds of deviancy (Table 18).

It is important to mention that there was a certain amount of spectators who did not answer in which category of viewers they belonged to. Nevertheless, 50% of them

watched some fans beating each other and saying “dirty” words, while 75% of those viewers watched some people throwing objects in the pitch and 25% of them observed some fans pushing each other, throwing coins and saying racist words (Table 18).

Table 18 Deviant incidents encountered by Greek spectators during football matches in association to the viewers categories (in %)\*

		VIEWERS' CATEGORIES					Total
		Occasional viewers	Non-Organized spectators	Organized spectators	Hooligans	No answer	
<b>If you have encountered deviant incidents, what kind of incidents are they?</b>	Beating	50.0%	65.6%	63.7%	90.0%	50.0%	64.0%
	Pushing	46.0%	61.4%	56.9%	80.0%	25.0%	59.0%
	Throwing of coins	40.0%	61.4%	62.7%	60.0%	25.0%	59.2%
	Throwing other objects	44.0%	59.6%	56.9%	70.0%	75.0%	57.8%
	"Dirty" words	48.0%	61.1%	55.9%	70.0%	50.0%	58.8%
	Racist words	32.0%	50.6%	56.9%	50.0%	25.0%	49.8%
	Breaking of seats	44.0%	63.2%	74.5%	80.0%	50.0%	63.8%
	I haven't observed	26.0%	22.2%	8.8%	10.0%		19.4%
	Other		1.5%		10.0%		1.2%
Total	%	330.0%	446.4%	436.3%	520.0%	300.0%	433.0%
	Cases	n=50	n=332	n=102	n=10	n=4	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

Finally it should be noted that although almost 50% of the spectators noticed racist remarks during football matches in their neighbourhood, it seems to be an individual action. The racist and xenophobic manifestation by smaller or larger groups of football fans was not registered by participant observers and press analysis indicated also that racist and xenophobic manifestations occur on the odd occasion in football stadia. Furthermore, press analysis indicated that most foreign players observe different kinds of deviances very often in Greek football stadia. A great part of foreign players of first league teams pointed that football stadia are rarely as safe as they used to be for the players. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that they never noticed any kind of racist or xenophobic behaviour against them or anybody else in Greece. They have faced such kind of behaviour abroad but never in Greek football stadia or in wider society (Table 18).

Moreover, in Table 19 it is made known that the majority of spectators at the age of 16-24 years old have noticed most kind of deviancies such as breaking of seats (66.1%), beatings among individuals of different groups of spectators (62%), pushing among spectators (58.7%), “dirty” words (57.6%), throwing of coins (56.8%), throwing of other objects (55.7%), racist words (51.7%). There is a certain amount of spectators (20.7%) who have not observed deviant incidents during matches and finally, 1.8% of the spectators at the age of 16-24 years old mentioned that they have noticed some other kind of deviances. Yet, 70.8% of spectators at the age of 25-34 years old, have observed beatings among spectators at the stands, while 67.9% of them have noticed that some individuals were throwing some kind of objects and 65.7% of the spectators of the same age noticed certain spectators breaking seats and 65% of them have noticed some fans throwing coins. Still, 64.2% of the spectators have observed some fans pushing each other, while 64.2% of them have heard some fans saying “dirty” words and 53.3% of the spectators of the same age have heard some racist words at the stands. Finally, some respondents (13.1%) have mentioned that they have not observed any deviant incident while 0.7% of them have noticed some other kind of deviancies (Table 19).

Table 19 Deviant incidents encountered by Greek spectators during football matches in association to age groups (in %)\*

		AGE			Total
		16-24	25-34	35+	
<b>If you have encountered incidents, what kind of incidents were they?</b>	<i>Beating</i>	62.0%	70.8%	59.8%	64.0%
	<i>Pushing</i>	58.7%	64.2%	52.2%	59.0%
	<i>Throwing of coins</i>	56.8%	65.0%	57.6%	59.2%
	<i>Throwing other objects</i>	55.7%	67.9%	48.9%	57.8%
	<i>"dirty" words</i>	57.6%	64.2%	54.3%	58.8%
	<i>Racist words</i>	51.7%	53.3%	39.1%	49.8%
	<i>Breaking of seats</i>	66.1%	65.7%	54.3%	63.8%
	<i>I haven't observed</i>	20.7%	13.1%	25.0%	19.4%
	<i>Other</i>	1.8%	0.7%		1.2%
<b>Total</b>	<i>%</i>	431.0%	465.0%	391.3%	433.0%
	<i>Responses</i>	1168	637	360	2165
	<i>Cases</i>	n=271	n=135	n=92	N=498

\* The respondents could give several answers

Referring to the spectators at the age of 35 and over 35 years old, 59.8% of them have noticed football fans beating each other and 57.6% of those spectators have

observed some fans throwing coins, while 54.3% of them observed a certain amount of individuals who were breaking the seats at the stands and 54.3% of the respondents have heard “dirty» words by some football fans. There was also a remarkable number of spectators (52.2%) who have seen individuals pushing each other at the stands while 48.9% of them have noticed that there were fans during the match who were throwing objects, mainly in the football field, while 39.1% of them have heard racist words during matches and still 25% of the respondents have not observed any deviant incident (Table 19).

The majority of football spectators do not adopt any special clothing style when they go to football stadia in order to watch matches. They often bring with them a small flag in the colours of their favourite team or they wear T-shirts similar to those of the players of their favourite team. It is also important to mention that most of them have been observed to wear clean clothes, which is partly based on their socio-economic composition<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, according to data from in depth interviews and participant observation there is a certain part of football spectators, mostly young men, who are not necessarily organized in special spectating groups, although a small part of them, belong to groups of extremist fans, while there are also few who are members of some spectating clubs. The vast majority of them are occasional viewers. They have been observed to use symbols of neo-nazi groups around the globe. Their clothing style and hairstyle make them appear much different from the rest of the spectators.

In many European countries, consumption of alcohol by a great part of spectators is considered as an important problem having its roots in wider society. Football spectators often engage in acts of vandalism and bloody aggression caused by excessive alcohol intake (Bryant & McElroy, 1997). The findings of the empirical research in 2003-2004 football season showed that according to spectators views, alcohol consumption is limited in and out of the Greek football stadia and compared to the Hungarian case, Greek football spectators consume much less alcohol than Hungarian spectators do. Indeed, in Greece, consumption of alcohol or other toxic substances does not appear to be one of the common customs of non-organized spectators or organized fans. Even the vast majority of the different groups of extremist fans have been rarely noticed to be drunk before, during or right after the football matches. Consequently, the possibility according to which few small groups of



organized spectators may consume alcohol before football matches cannot be denied. The analysis of data from participant observation and in-depth interviews, confirmed the assumption that alcohol consumption is not a serious problem, although 1/3 of the participant observers realized that there were special occasions according to which groups of football fans had gone together a couple of hours before the match to cafes and bars in order to discuss about the game but also consume alcohol. In Thessalonica, the groups consisted of relatively large numbers of organized fans, while in Athens the groups of organized fans were smaller and there were also small companies of friends (non-organized spectators), consisting by three-four individuals. In such cases, consuming alcohol may be regarded as deviance since it often leads to further and more severe deviant actions involving aggression and violence.

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that police authorities and officials of the Greek National Football Association, do not consider consuming alcohol as one of the major factors influencing football fans' aggressive, violent or even vandal actions, because the majority of drinking episodes in football fields do not lead to violence, and most violence in and out of the football stadia, before during and after the match does not involve drinking or even drug use. The results of the empirical research in Greece are of the same mind with the above-mentioned statement. Following Figure 9, according to the self confession of spectators, a great amount (81%) of the respondents mentioned that they never consume alcohol before the football matches, while 10% of them consume rarely alcohol and 6% of the football spectators mentioned that they often consume alcohol before matches. Finally, the rate of those who always consume alcohol before matches is 2%. The vast majority of the spectators (93%), never devour alcohol during football games while 3% of them drink consume alcohol rarely, 2% of the football fans mentioned that they often drink alcohol and just 1% of them consume alcohol always during matches. It is worth mentioning that even after football matches the greatest part of the spectators (79%) does not devour alcohol, while the rate of those who consume alcohol after football games is 14%, and there is also a small amount of spectators (4%) who drink alcohol rarely and only 2% of the football fans consume alcohol often. After all, it should be noted that 1% of the spectators did not answer whether they devour alcohol or not (Figure 9).

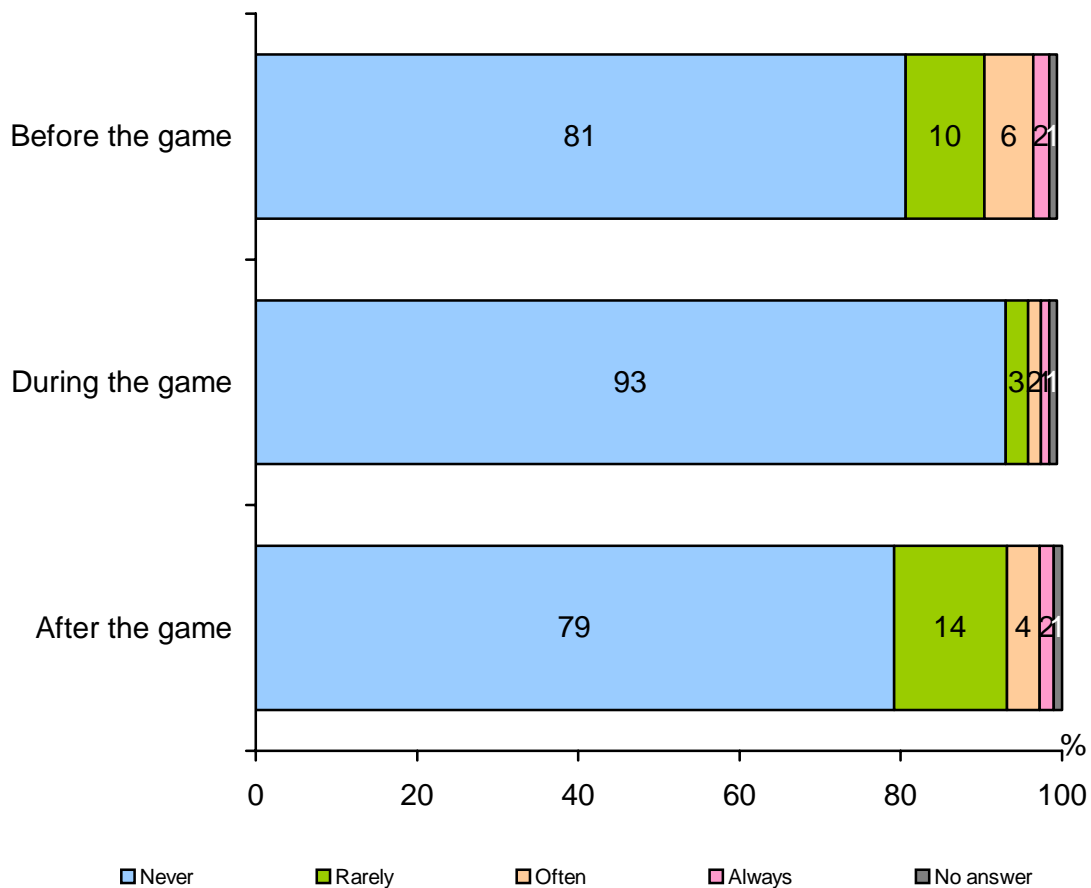


Figure 9 Alcohol consumption of football spectators (in %)

Deviant behaviour has been common among Greek football supporters in the last decades. "Hooliganism" is the term used broadly to describe unruly, aggressive and often violent behaviour perpetrated by spectators at sporting events and especially in football. In Greece, hooliganism has been associated with football since it has malformed from an amateur sport activity to a professional sport. It has declined in many European countries, but in Greece it is still regarded as one of the most important social problems, which should be efficiently cured within the next years. Global and local factors played a determinative role in extremist fans deviant behaviour. The mass media also contribute to football deviance to a great extent. The analysis of data from in depth interviews indicated that the mass media show mostly the bad side of the football world and by doing so they propose bad models for young people. It is also believed by the respondents that there are many cases according to which, a certain amount of media experts do not work ethically. Nowadays, TV channels promote violence and bloody aggression more than at any other time. Extremist fans appear to be guest stars in TV

shows. Inappropriate behaviour, verbal insults, and threats in connection with pictures of violent incidents and aggressive contact are commonly promoted by private TV channels.

Hooligans' customs in football stadia is partly similar, partly different from the customs of non-organized and organized football fans. In Table 9 it is shown that 50% of those who consider themselves as members of groups of extremist fans, pass comments about opponent team, while 40% of them pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team. It should be noted that 40% of the extremist fans mentioned that they fight during football matches. Moreover, in Table 14 it is shown that 50% of them attend matches with one-two friends, 40% of those spectators attend matches with a big company of friends and only 10% of the extremist fans watch football matches with some people that they meet at the stadia. Comparing to groups of non-organized and organized spectators, hooligans are more likely to observe different kinds of deviancies during matches. That probably means that they are closer to the deviant incidents, which often occur at the stands or the different kinds of deviancies, occur in their territory. More detailed, according to Table 18, 90% of the extremist fans watch some people beating each other during games, while 80% of them, often observe individuals pushing each other and still 80% watch some football fans breaking the seat at the stands of the stadia. There is also a relatively high amount of them (70%) who observe some spectators throwing objects during the matches and also 70% of the extremist fans hear dirty words during matches. Furthermore, the different kinds of deviancies perpetuated by hooligans appear to be similar to those of the rest of the football fans in the stadia. Nevertheless, the frequency and intension of deviant incidents, which occur in their "territory", are unpredictably higher than those of the non-organized and organized spectators.

Data from participant observation confirmed that hooligans occupy the areas of the stands behind the goals at stadia and nearly 40% of them pay attention to the game and their action is not limited at the stands during football matches but also out of the stadia. In the last ten years the frequency of fights among extremist fans, away of the stadia, before and after the games, has remarkably increased. Groups of such football fans arrange to meet in different areas around the cities, probably because the police forces can barely control football deviance away from stadia. The analysis of data from

interviews with members of groups of extremist fans and participant observation indicated that modern technology is used for publicizing and organising fights between different traditionally rival groups of hooligans. In this way their activity is spread around the cities, involving higher amounts of individuals, while at the same time they avoid intensive policing. This means that violence will rarely be reported and that the Police will be less able to control it and make arrests. In particular the Internet and mobile phones have become an essential weapon of the “ultras”. Nevertheless, hooliganism still takes place between rival groups of Greek football fans in the football stadia as well. Local derby games between traditionally rival teams often lead to violent aggressive battles between different groups of hooligans. Football deviance perpetuated by extremist fans occurs at all levels during the games, since the targets of such behaviour are often police security officers, officials and board directors of football teams, referees, coaches, players and particularly supporters of the opponent team.

Many western and eastern European countries are facing political, economic, cultural and demographic changes. The value system and norms of each society in each country are consciously changing due to internal (transformation of society from rural to urban, advanced technological equipment) or external causes (globalisation, immigration). Following Merkel, Sombert & Tokarski (1996), Europe experiences waves of racism and xenophobia. It is not a novel phenomenon, which appears to be a part of the everyday life in societies of many European countries. Racism and xenophobia is present in sports as well. Such phenomenon is considered to be a serious social problem demanding multi-national investigation since the number of aggressive and violent incidents with racist and xenophobic motives, is continuously increasing. The victims of such kind of behaviour are mainly immigrants, minority ethnic groups and refugees. In football, racism and xenophobia often occur, having partly the same, partly different characteristics with hooliganism as it has appeared since 1980.

Racist and xenophobic discrimination can be rarely met in Greek football stadia in the capital and the countryside as well. Press analysis indicated that foreign players have been really surprised by the intensity and frequency of violent and aggressive incidents at the stands. On the other hand, the lack of racist and xenophobic discrimination from their team-mates and spectators of their team or the supporters of the opponent team have surprised them as well. The analysis of data and in-depth

interviews with media experts, coaches and retired coaches of first league football teams, officials of football clubs and first league football teams supporters, which have been made in the football seasons between 2000 and 2004, indicated the following assumption: It is a common belief that football does suffer from spectators' deviant behaviour and hooliganism but still stay clear of racist and xenophobic discrimination (Figure 10).

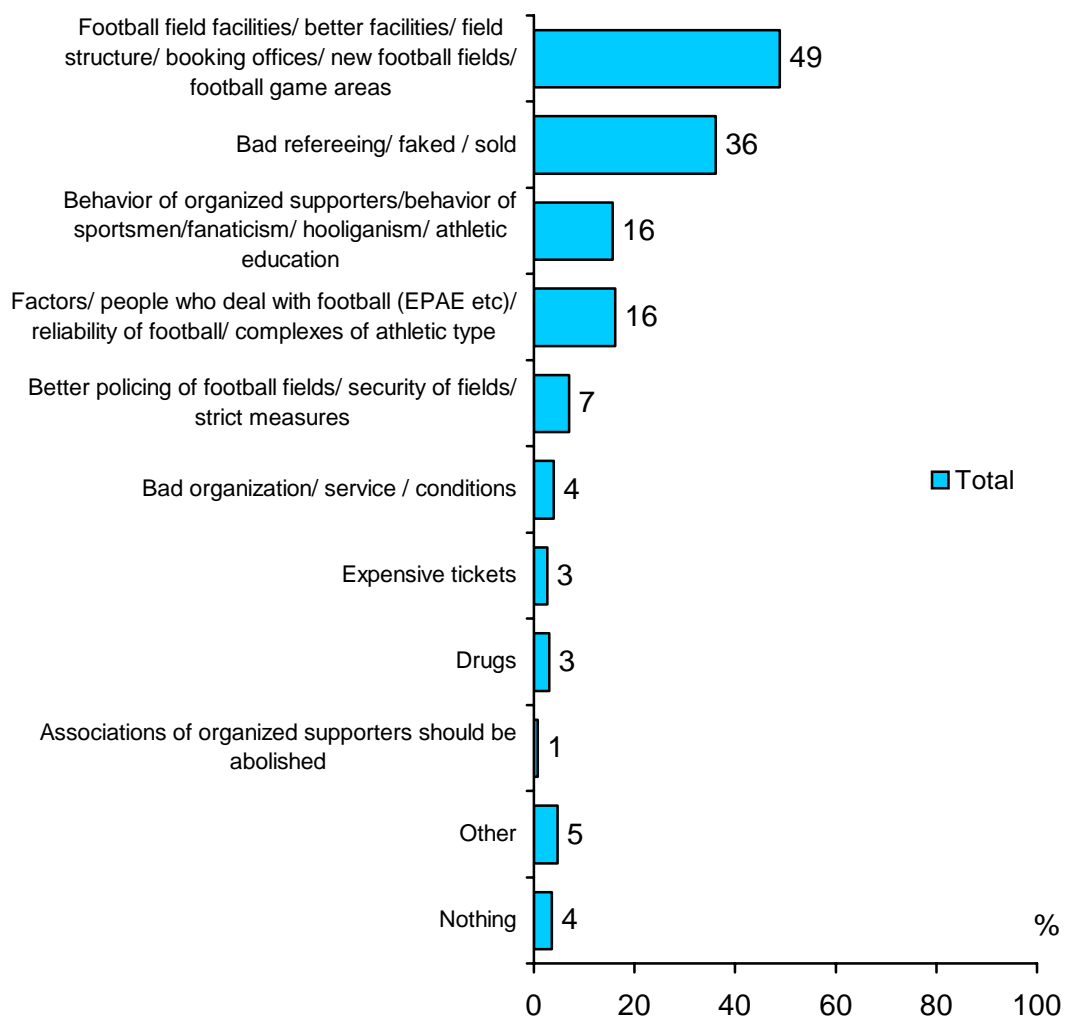


Figure 10 Major problems to be solved in Greek football stadiums (in %)\*

\* The respondents could give several answers

According to the findings of the empirical research, which was carried out in 2004, the number, frequency and intention of the abusive incidents having racist and xenophobic motives were not remarkable. More specifically, in the table below, the

respondents gave answers on the basic problems, which should be solved in Greek football stadia. Below there are the most common answers. It should be mentioned that 5% of the respondents mentioned some other problems in Greek football stadia and *just* 0.5% of them mentioned that racism could be witnessed in football matches of first league although they admitted that they had not often observed violent incidents with racist and xenophobic motives (Figure 10).

Nevertheless, it is even more important to mention that according to Figure 11, a great part of spectators regardless of age, socio-economic composition and viewers category, mentioned that they have heard racist words at the stands of the stadia during first league football matches. In particular, racist words have been heard by spectators at the age of 16-24 years old (52%) and by those who were 25-34 years old (53%). Spectators of the age of 35 and over 35 (39%) have also heard racist words at the stands of the football stadia. Spectators from all socio-economic classes have heard racist words; and the rate is ranging from 40% for those of the low classes and 51% for spectators of middle classes to 62% of them from high classes. Still 32% of the occasional viewers, 51% of the non-organized spectators, 57% of the organized spectators and 50% of those who consider themselves to be hooligans have heard racist words at the stands of football stadia during matches (Figure 11).

Further more the analysis of the data from the research goes one step forward and examines the possibility of the occurrence of racist and xenophobic discrimination within and among the different groups of hooligans. Hooligans are considered to be individuals behaving in an antisocial way that is they destroy public property or physically offend other persons without any claim or demand (Tsouramanis, 1988). Nevertheless, the research indicated that their actions are not based on racism and xenophobia. Deviant actions such as throwing objects (stones, coins, keys) against supporters of the opponent team, players, officials of football organizations and violent, aggressive and bloody conduct with groups of supporters of the opponent team are targeted against individuals or group of individuals regardless of nationality, colour of skin, socio-economic status and gender. Consequently, we would agree with Panousis (1990) according to whom, violence and any kind of deviant behaviour cannot be born in sports. It is born in larger society and it is then transferred into the sports world.

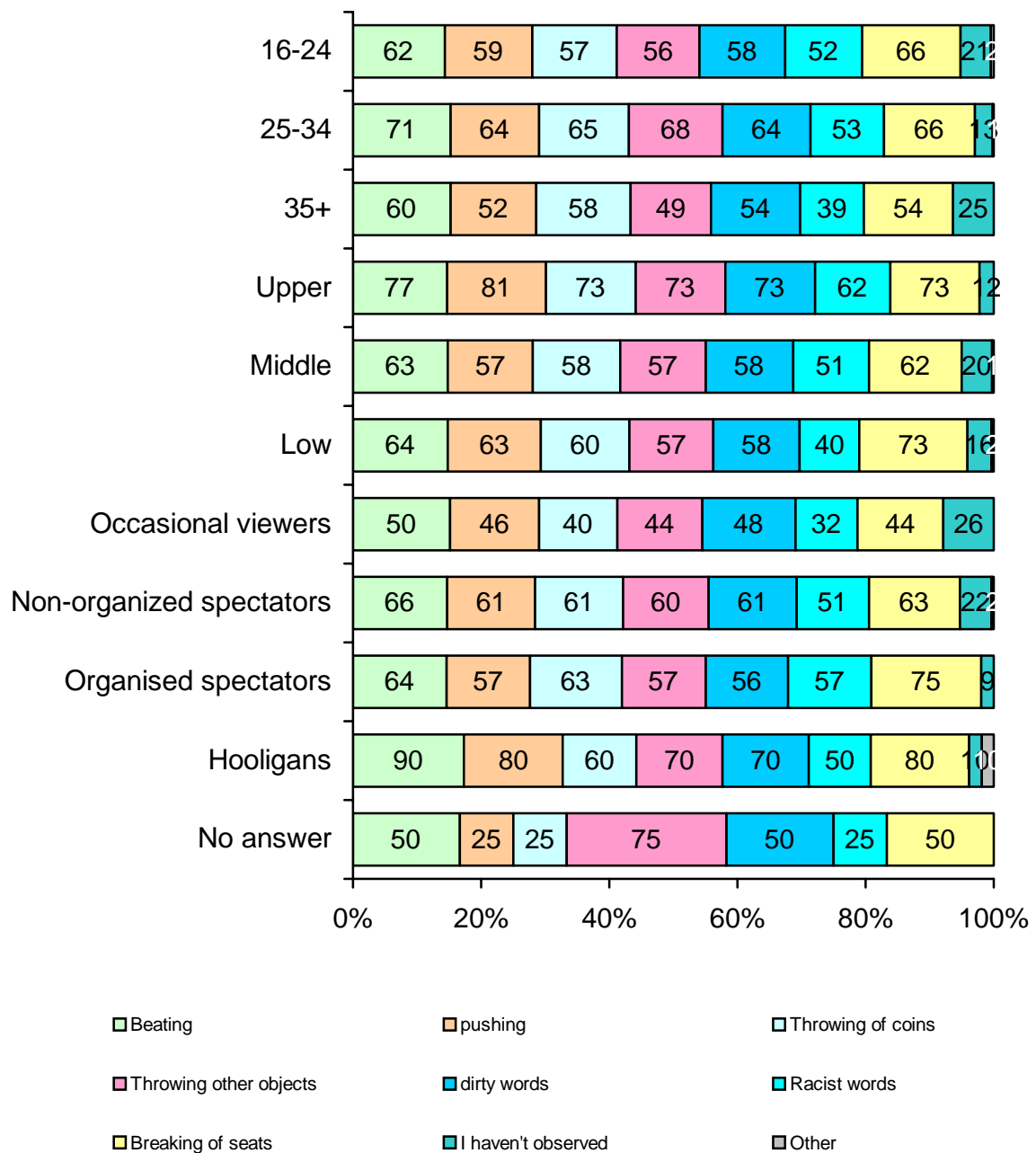


Figure 11 Different kind of incidents in Greek football fields, according to **age**, **socio-economic status** and **viewers' categories** (in %)\*

\* The respondents could give several answers

Press analysis indicated that in Greek society there are few examples of racist abuse, which in most cases are hardly proven to be true. In this case even if we accept

the fact that there is racist and xenophobic behaviour in Greek society although it is rarely noticed, it does not influence sports and especially football. It should be mentioned that in amateur football it is up to the coach how many foreign players or individuals from minority ethnic groups will be in the team. Finally according to the findings of the empirical research, deviant behaviour of Greek football spectators has often been noticed, caused by individuals, small and large groups of supporters and organized and extremist fans at the stands. Nevertheless there has very rarely been noticed racist and xenophobic discrimination, even when the ethnic or national composition of a football team was heterogeneous. Such kind of behaviour has not been noticed in the football field among players or between coaches and players whether they are in the same or the opponent team.

### **Self-Evaluation of Football Fans' Behaviour**

Since the football spectators have noticed the above-mentioned deviant behaviours in the stadia we found it very important to discover how they evaluate the football crowd behaviour. In Figure 12, it is shown that the greatest part of the non-organized<sup>5</sup> spectators of “home” teams (39%), estimated<sup>6</sup> that football fans' behaviour at the stands was not good, while 36% of them considered that football fans' behaviour was good and 13% regarded the behaviour of football fans at the stands as very good. Nevertheless, 7% of the spectators of home teams evaluated the behaviour of fans at the stands as bad and still 5% of them considered fans' behaviour as very bad. On the other hand, a great part of non-organized spectators from guest teams (42%) evaluated fans behaviour at the stands was not good, while 35% mentioned that the behaviour of individuals and groups of individuals at the stands was good and just 11% of them considered fans' behaviour as very good. There was also a certain amount of spectators of the guest teams who regarded football fans' behaviour as bad and still 7% of them mentioned that viewers' behaviour was bad and still 5% of them regarded spectators' behaviour as very bad (Figure 12).



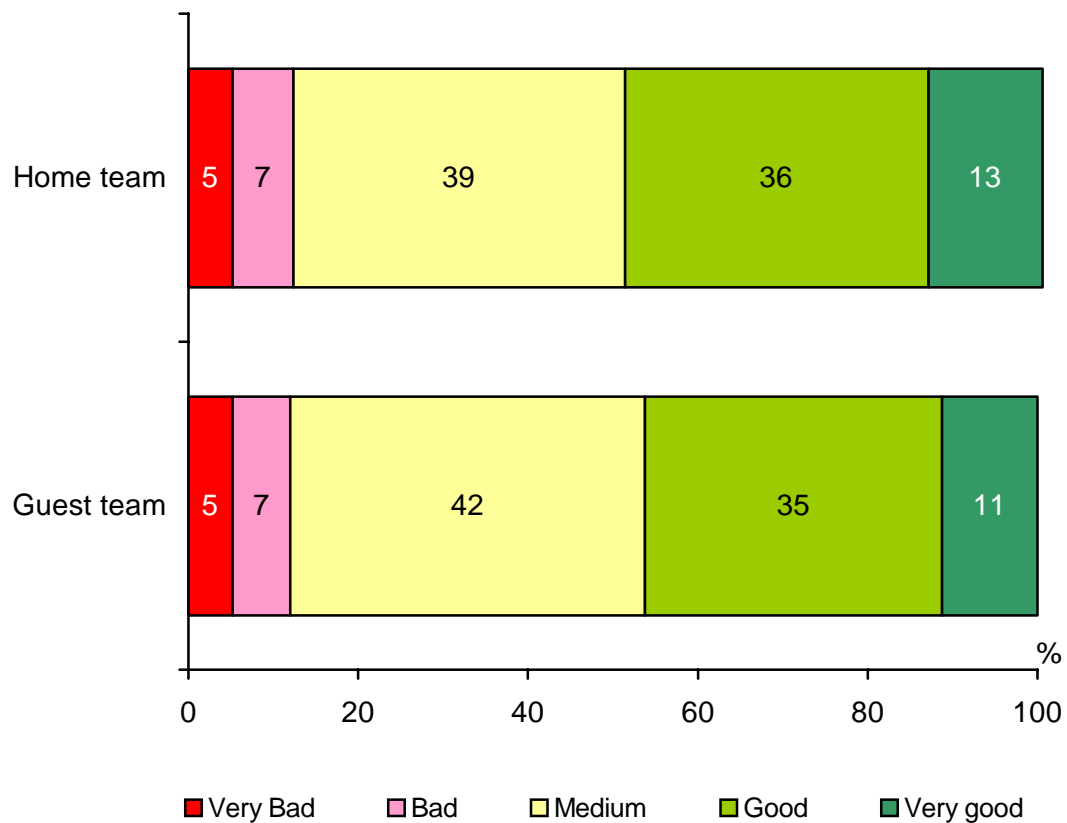


Figure 12 Evaluation of non-organized football spectators' behaviour (in %)

The organized spectators views on the occurrence of deviancies at the grandstands and terraces appear to be relatively different (Figure 13). Consequently, the majority (38% of the organized spectators from “home” teams, considered viewers’ behaviour at the stands as not good, while 26% of them mentioned that viewers’ behaviour was good and 13% of the spectators regarded the behaviour of the different groups of spectators at the stands as very good. There was also a certain amount of spectators (15%), who evaluated viewers’ behaviour at the stands as bad and still, 8% of them mentioned that the behaviour of viewers’ during the game was very bad. Yet, the majority of the organized spectators from the “guest teams” (36%) considered football fans’ behaviour at the stands as not good, while 24% of them mentioned that viewers’ behaviour appeared to be good and 11% of the spectators regarded viewers’ behaviour as very good. There was also a relatively high number of spectators’ who evaluated viewers’ behaviour as bad and finally 10% of them considered football fans behaviour at the stands as very bad (Figure 13).

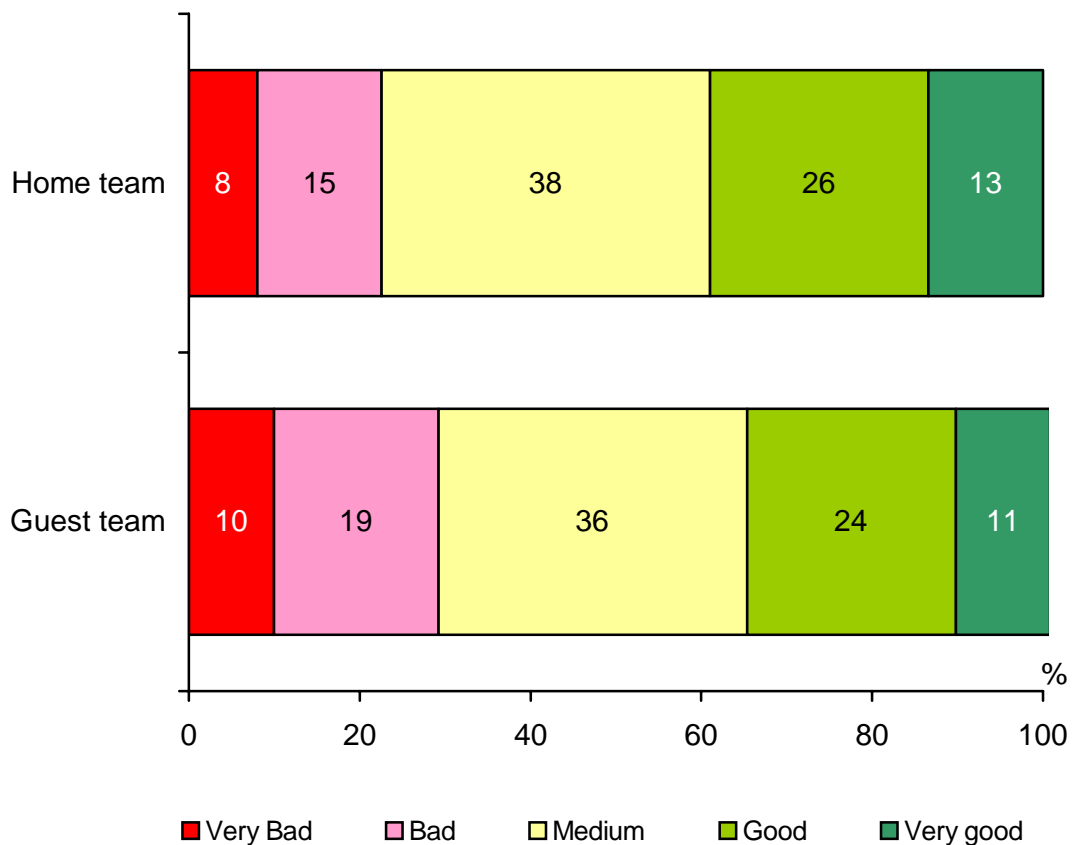


Figure 13 Self-evaluation of organized football spectators' behaviour (in %)

Following the results of the research in Greek football stadia, it is raised that the vast majority of spectators from both “home” and “guest” teams have observed individuals or groups of fans at the stands manifesting some kind of deviance. Furthermore, as it is shown in Figure 14, the greatest part of the spectators (75%) of “home” teams noticed that some people started certain incidents at the stands while 18% of them saw some people who were defending themselves. Yet, 22% of the spectators did not notice any deviant episode and 1% of them did not notice deviant episodes close to them. Yet, the rate of the spectators of “guest” teams (68%) who observed some people starting certain incidents is smaller than the rate of those from the “home” teams, but it is still remarkable. There was also a certain number of them (28%) who noticed some people defending themselves. Finally, 22% of the spectators did not notice deviant incidents at all, while 1% of them mentioned that they did but the deviant incidents did not occur close to them (Figure 14).

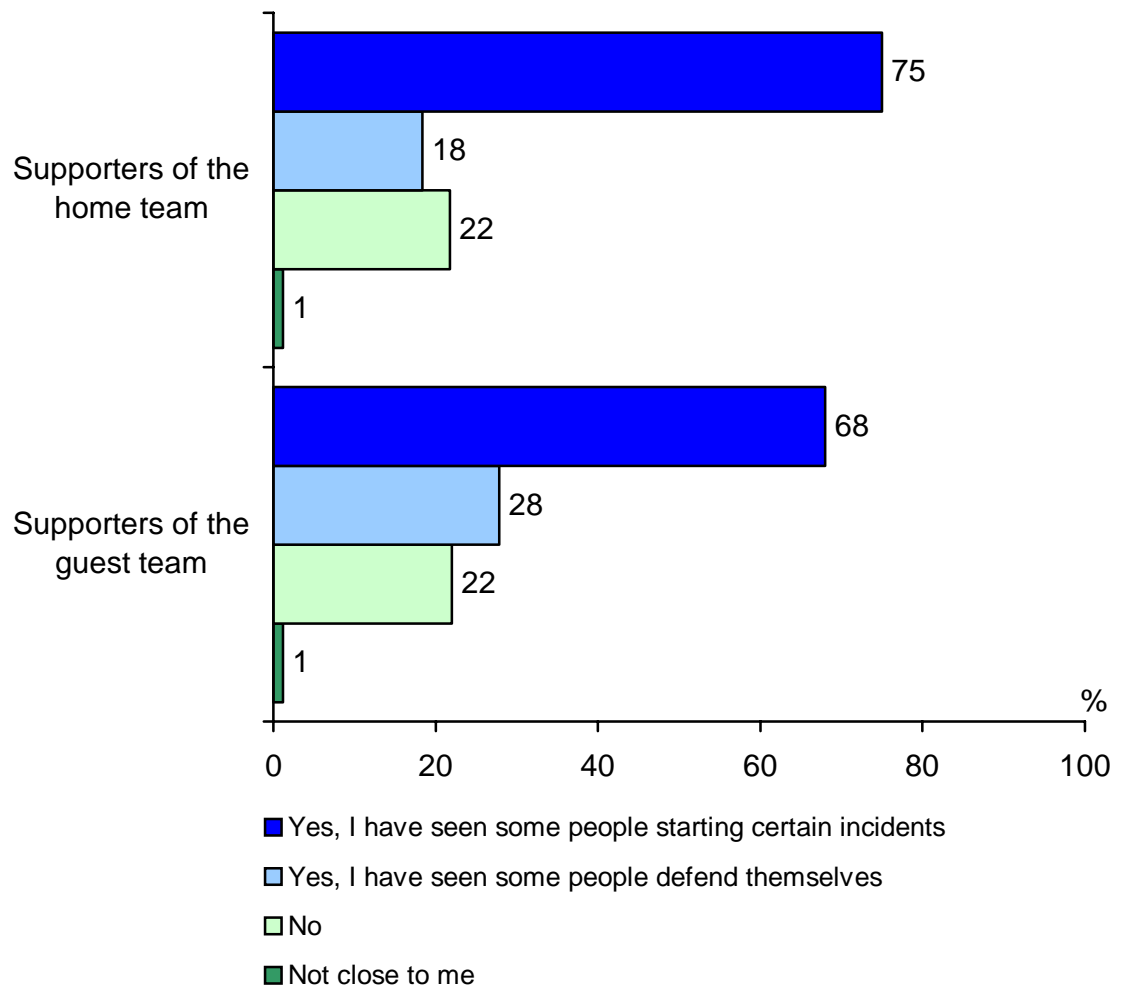


Figure 14 Views of Greek football spectators on the occurrence of deviant incidents at the grand stands (in %)\*

\* The respondents could give several answers

## DISCUSSION

The results on deviant behaviour are contemptible since comparing to the situation in Greek stadia few decades ago football deviancy has radically increased to such a degree that it is considered to be one of the most severe social problems in Greek society, which has not been treated properly yet. Furthermore, it is designated that the above-mentioned problem is partly a result of both global and national factors having an impact on wider Greek society (economy, politics, culture) and sports world as well as a microcosm of society; partly it is based on the changes, which have occurred in all fields (financial, structural, directorial) within football in the last years. It seems that all those factors are closely interconnected and thus they should not be separated when studying and analysing a severe social problem such as football deviancy. Moreover, football spectators' behaviour has been influenced not only by the transformation of Greek society but also by the trends in football on an international level.

The results of our research will be discussed in four major subchapters:

- Factors Influencing the Demographic Characteristics, Socio-economic Composition, Customs and Motivations of Greek Football Crowd towards football matches
- Major Reasons of Deviant Behaviour of Greek Football Spectators, Rooted in Wider Society
- Causes of Deviance, Rooted in Greek Football World
- Treatment and Sanctioning of Football Deviance

### **Factors Influencing the Demographic Characteristics, Socio-economic Composition, Customs and Motivations of Greek Football Crowd Towards Football Matches**

It is known that Olympic Games were born in ancient Greece. Physical education and the different individual or group sport activities, formed a major part of the value and cultural system of the society of most Greek cities (autonomous countries by that time). Sparta and Athens appear to be the greater examples on that. Following Hirantos (1990)

females were treated in a different way within society than males did. Nevertheless, the conservative model of the Greek society referring to female matters, was not followed in sports, where women were allowed to take part in sport activities. In Sparta they were forced to do so until the moment that they would have their first child. Then, they were not allowed to train. Consequently, authorities in Sparta, decided that women should take part in all sport activities, not because of the democratic character of the society in which men shared the same rights with women, but because of their belief that a well trained and healthy woman would have healthy children who would become healthy and strong warriors. Healthy and well-trained females would also be able to participate in a war if it was needed. In Athens society treated females in a more democratic way. Females were treated even more democratically in sports. They had the same chances in physical education and could participate in all sport activities. They were even special female sport activities. Nevertheless, spectatorship was always a male issue all over ancient Greece. Women were not allowed to watch any kind of sport. During the Olympic Games, only men were allowed to watch the different sport events.

After thousands of years in the 1970s and 1980s the dominance of males in larger society and in sports is quite noticeable, although the structure of the society was continuously changing and the customs and value system had changed as well. Females were treated as equal to the males first in Athens and then at the countryside. Since sports world is considered to be a microcosm of society, changes in the value system of society stimulated changes in sports as well although there was a quite noticeable difference in the rate of the males and females participating in the different sports. Since then many things have changed.

The Greek society has been transformed from rural to urban. Most sports became professional. The greatest example of professionalization of a sport is football. Huge amounts of money have been spent for football related matters. In 1990s, the number of women participating or attending sport events has remarkably increased. In football there are also female professional teams. Nevertheless, as it was mentioned above, the research in 2004 indicated that females consist only 3,6% of the total number of spectators. This is partly explained by Piperopoulos (1994). We should first take a look at the historical background of male and female since their early age. At the age of 8-14 years old, football is for many young boys their first physical activity. They do not

need to spend money in order to deal with it. They can play anywhere: at school, at the neighbourhood, even at home. Doubtless, the majority of young girls in Greece are not really interested in playing football or any other sport. After the age of 14 years old, boys are deeply involved in football since they have been practicing a lot over the last years of their life, they are familiar with the rules of football and it is a subject for passionate discussion in their everyday life. On the other hand most of the young ladies, do not only avoid taking part in such kind of discussions but they are against football spectatorship as well because of the verbal insults, aggressive conduct among spectators and the violent incidents which often occur at the stands, during a football match. It is finally believed by the same author that the situation will soon change since over the last years many professional female sport teams have appeared and there is a remarkable increase in the rate of female spectators in all sport events, even in football.

In Greece, as in all European countries the presence of men at the grandstands in the football stadia appears to be dominant. Moreover, the dominance of male supporters in Greece appears to be even greater. It is quite probable that in Greece females still avoid or dislike attending matches since football appears to be a men's sport although the rate of the female fans attending football matches is slowly but steadily increasing year by year. In the 1970s and 1980s the structure of society was continuously changing. As a result of the transformation of Greek society, customs and values have changed as well. Nevertheless, the dominance of males in football was still quite noticeable. A decade later, the number of women attending football matches has remarkably increased. Furthermore, the low rate of women at the stands does not influence their involvement in Greek football spectatorship. It is noteworthy to mention that in both Greece and Cyprus the greatest part of them is deeply involved and still a great part of them are fanatic.

Greek society has changed a lot over the last decades. The transformation of the society from rural to urban and the European influences in politics and economics, has affected the value system and customs of Greek society. New advanced technological equipment, rapid changes of the role and importance of mass media in all social fields, new pedagogical European and global models in education are only few of the changes within Greek society (Kitsakis, 1990). Nevertheless it should be mentioned that all changes were applied in most regional areas almost at the same time since cities in the

countryside are continuously influenced by the capital and other major cities such as Thessalonica, and Patra. Consequently the common historical background of the regional areas and the fact that the countryside is influenced by the major cities, which are considered to be political, economical and cultural centres diminish the differences in the value systems and the customs in the different regions all over Greece. In sports, there are also just few differences in the customs of spectators. More specifically, football spectators share the same value system and have almost the same customs, which means that there is an interaction and *custom exchange* among the different groups of spectators from different cities since they continuously move from one city to another in order to watch their favourite team. Furthermore it would be important to mention that football spectator's customs and behaviour is partly influenced by those of spectators of other European countries without however changing the basic values and norms, which are deeply rooted and originated in larger Greek society.

### **Major Reasons of Deviant Behaviour of Greek Football Spectators, Rooted in Wider Society**

In Europe, although efforts have been made for common sport organizational structures, there are still many differences, mainly in the role, responsibility and involvement of the state in sport issues in the different sport organizations (Petry, Steinbach & Tokarski, 2004).

In contemporary societies, what happens in a country is determined not only by national factors but it is also influenced by tendencies in world society. Indeed, *internationalisation* of football and specifically *europeanisation* of football may appear as positive “healing” process against racism, xenophobia and other negative aspects of footballs’ local dimension (Head, 2004). Globalisation has its consequences in Greek football as well. The football spectators’ behaviour has been influenced not only by the transformation of Greek society but also by the trends in football on an international level. The revolution in media has brought behavioural patterns closer and similar to those of other countries including various manifestations of deviant behaviour.

In the decades between 1960s and 1980s industry was underdeveloped in Greece. The Greek economy was based on agriculture and the proportion of RURAL population was relatively high. There were rather few cultural, commercial and administrative centres such as Athens and Thessalonica. The size of urban population has increased rapidly since mid-1960s. The process of urbanization was accompanied by waves of emigration and migration inside the country. Industrialization and modernization that had occurred in Western countries over several decades or even centuries, took place in Greece unpredictably within 20-30 years. Social norms and values had to be changed also very fast resulting in value conflicts, disorientation and in anomie. The rapid political, economic and cultural changes have caused social and psychological disorganization to a great number of people in urban societies, which further had an impact on their behaviour, since it often appeared to be deviant. Such kind of behaviour can be partly explained by Durkeim's anomie theory, according to which people are dissatisfied and unable to control their behaviour following new norms, which seem to them, to be incompatible with the present situation and uncertain. Under these circumstances, a rise of deviant behaviour may be expected (Zanden, 1990).

Deviance in wider society in general and especially in family, at school, within groups of friends and in the neighbourhood, later tends to be the object of imitation in sport arenas and especially in football spectating subculture. Football spectating groups are also regarded to be social institutions. Nevertheless, such institutions often provide young people with deviant behavioural patterns, which may further guide their behaviour at grandstands and in wider society as well. Such a phenomenon is better explained in Edwin's differential association theory according to which deviant behaviour is not just a result of imitation. It is a learned behaviour based on the frequency, intension and duration of an individual's experiences to different kinds of deviancies (Zanden, 1990). Furthermore, deviant behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication (Hirantios, 1990)

The first to come in mind is revolution of mass media and the impact of it on football spectating. It is not only the traditional media agents such as newspapers, magazines, TV and radio; it is also the advanced technology (computers, mobile communication from every part of the world and Internet as well which make the



information exchange a very simple procedure. The consequences of all the above-mentioned changes appear to be both positive and negative. New behavioural patterns closer and similar to those of other countries including various manifestations of deviant behaviour have been raised in Greek football spectating. The greatest part of spectators evaluates the role of media in football spectating in a negative way. It is believed that the mass media show mostly the bad side of the football world and by doing so they propose bad models especially for the young football fans.

It is also believed that some media experts are not familiar with the rules and the basic terms of football and in some cases they do not work ethically. Some of them have not enough knowledge concerning their job and football as well. Nowadays, TV channels promote violence and bloody aggression more than at any other time. Extremist fans appear to be guest stars in TV shows. Behaviour outside the ethical borders of Greek society, verbal insults, and threats in connection to pictures of violent incidents and aggressive contact among football fans, appear to be the basic elements of shaping our children's personality. The fact that a relatively high proportion of spectators disapprove of the media approach to football in association to the fact that managers, players, coaches are concerned and are often disturbed by the role of mass media in encouraging deviance since they frequently present international matches as "warlike confrontations" which give rise to deviant actions perpetuated by football fans. They are also extremely flexible and indeterminate in ascribing the "hooligan" label to different incidents. Football hooliganism is seen by the majority of the mass media to mean disorder involving football fans.

The mass media has also transferred behavioural patterns by groups of extremist fans from other European countries, in Greek football. The new transferred ideology, customs and football-related values, have been easily and immediately adapted by certain groups of extremist fans in Greece. Nevertheless it should be mentioned that the global impact of media is not considered to be the only reason of hooligans' deviant behaviour. The local and global factors influencing their behaviour are interconnected and it is often exceedingly difficult to make a distinction between them, since they partly strengthen, partly weaken each other. It means that in our case, extremist fans' were psychologically ready to adopt the new behavioural patterns brought by media in association to crowd deviant behaviour, since because of the moral collapse and

psychological disorganization of a remarkable part of middle aged individuals and an even larger amount of young people in wider Greek society and in football spectating as well, did not have that “defensive ethical mechanisms” in order to filter and chose what would be properly essential to adopt or what would be bad for the spectating common value system. Although football deviance has declined in frequency in most European countries over the past 5 years, most noticeably in the UK, in Greece, deviant behaviour of that special figures of the above-mentioned sub-category of spectators that is hooligans is increasing gradually, to such an extent that this social institution has become a deviant social institution.

Even though a great part of mess media appear to worsen the situation in the football stadia, there is also a certain amount of them which appear to be really helpful in sanctioning deviance within football spectating subculture. Specific groups of reporters often carry out investigations based on participant observations, and interviews in order to inform people what exactly is the situation in the stadia regarding the manifestation of different kinds of deviancies and the reasons leading to such behaviour. Some of them often contact and discuss with heads in the leadership of security matters of football stadia of other countries such as England, Italy and Germany, providing, mainly through TV and radio, people with new information about football spectating subcultures of other European countries and raising ideas of how football deviancy may be treated. Nevertheless, still the generously proportioned part of media by proposing bad models of how the ideal fan and player should be, and by promoting only the worst side of football (violence, aggression, bloody conduct among fans) they may only aggravate deviancy, keeping away from the stadia the decent spectators the number of which gradually decreases and showing the way to members of the different groups of hooligans which are steadily increasing.

There has been a common feeling among decent spectators over the last decade that they had been left alone in the battle against football deviance. Since a remarkable amount of them were householders with one –two children, they decided to stay away from football stadia since they did not feel as safe as they did some years ago. They also preferred to keep their children away from football deviances by advising them to stop attending matches and even stop playing football. In addition, they suggested their children to get involved in other sport activities such as ski, tennis, swimming, even

though the financial cost would be much higher for the family than it would be if they dealt with football. On the other hand since deviance in football was not sanctioned at all or in some cases it was not sanctioned properly, the manifestations of deviances have gradually increased and the number of spectators being involved in deviant incidents was greater than before. Under those circumstances the situation could be hardly ever handled by the police security forces of the stadia and problem has increased to such an extent that groups of spectators many hours before the match and quite far from the football stadia have perpetuated deviances. As a result of this, many more police officers were required for the proper policing of the stadium and different areas of the city as well. Nevertheless, deviances could not be avoided and thus there were quite often reports of damaged public or private property and in some particular occasions extremist fans (according to estimations by police officers) physically offended civilians. Yet, it is contradictory the fact according to which, although spectators view deviant actions as severe problem in football stadia, they do not realize certain deviant incidents as deviances. It is finally shown that certain kinds of deviancy belong to the spectating subculture and thus they are faced as deviancy by the greatest part of the football spectators.

The role of officials in the leadership of football teams such as the president and the board of the directors of a team is controversial. It is believed that they create tensions and arguments among the different groups of spectators with their public declarations and announcements. They are also regarded to own a team not because they are interested in football and the team's performance but in the high social prestige that someone receives in the leadership of a football team. Henceforward, spectators are possessed by feelings of dissatisfaction and they are often turned against them, the managers or even the players of the teams.

Football has significantly changed since 1990's. Huge amount of money are spent every year in football related matters. The relationship between players and spectators has also changed. Still the owners of the teams have changed as well. Nowadays the motives of individuals for being owners of a team are acutely rooted in financial issues and high social prestige perceived by owning a first league football team. There is no personal contact between the fans and the owners and administrative board of teams. The lack of communication between fans and the above-mentioned

persons often leads to manifestation of deviance since they are accused by spectators that they are not really interested in football and the specific team they own but they are interested only in profit. There are many examples in Greece and in many other European countries as well. Manchester United is owned by a wealthy mass media entrepreneur. It is the same with Everton (Granada TV), Liverpool and Tottenham (United News and Media). It is quite understandable that media are deeply involved in football since the popularity of that sport and the large amount of spectators that attracts, doubtless bring a lot of profit to the owners. In Greece the situation could not be different, thus it is believed that football stadia will never be as peaceful as they were two-three decades ago.

The official reaction to deviance is contradictory, because firstly the problem was neglected and still the special sport laws (which were formulated especially to sanction the problem of football deviancy) were not fully applied in time. First they did not pay attention to the problem, then the existence of football deviance was neglected and finally authorities did not face the truth. It is true that such problem would require huge amounts of money, and new established administrative governmental and non-governmental organizations in order to study, treat and control deviance. However it is quite probable that by nowadays the different kinds of deviancies perpetuated by members of football spectating subculture would be diminished to a small or great extent. Now we are facing a situation, which can be hardly controlled.

It is yet important to refer to the actual ability of football crowds' deviant behaviour to create a chaotic and dangerous situation (see Appendix B, Picture 3) if deviant incidents are not treated and controlled appropriately in a preventive phase by police authorities. That is why poor supervision and a lack of preparation for the events is often a cause of aggressive contact among football spectators. Consequently, effective security measures and sufficient crowd management could help control violent and aggressive conduct among spectators before they get out of control. Nevertheless it is necessary for police security forces of football stadia to have proper training and education. They should be familiar with all rules and regulations relating to their duties. Never forget that their major goal should be to serve individuals and the different groups of individuals. An officer must know the limitations of excessive force.

## Causes of Deviance, Rooted in Greek Football World

At the stands of sport stadia an especially football stadia, men and women of all socio-economic classes, different age, meet, regardless of nationality, colour of skin and political beliefs. Following Haritopoulos (2003), although football has been badly influenced by professionalisation and financial matters, the majority of the spectators, whether they are organized or non-organized spectators, believe that the areas at the stands are places of “*freedom*”. Consequently we would suggest that there should be a distinction between extremist fans (see Appendix B, Picture 4) and non-organized or organized spectators. In violence related issues, spectators should not be treated as a unique social group. Just as in larger society there are extreme right-wing groups and extreme left-wing groups separating themselves and their action from those of the other citizens, in sports and especially in football there are extremist fans, the so called *ultras* or *hooligans*, who appear to be violent and aggressive without any claim or demand (Tsouramanis, 1988). The motives of the deviant behaviour of hooligans appear to be different from those of different groups of football fans. Nevertheless all of them (especially hooligans in sports and members of left or right-wing groups in larger society) should be treated like victims and not like criminals or mischievous. It is society’s great obligation and duty to solve violence-related problems in sports and any other field of social life without harming the perpetrators of violent and aggressive incidents.

As a result of the psychological disorganization of civilians, the style of speaking of people has dramatically changed. Verbal deviant manifestations are noticed very often in wider Greek society. In football stadia (especially at the grand stands and terraces) verbal assaults are quite commonly detected. According to Foldesi, verbal assaults are frequently noticed in Hungary as well. It is estimated that such kinds of deviancies occur in Hungary more often than in Greece. The differences may be rooted in wider society. Moreover, such kind of deviant behaviour is more often exploited within groups of organized spectators regardless of team preference, or individuals’ age and socio-economic composition. The frequency of the verbal deviant manifestation is even greater within groups of extremist fans. That probably means that the greater is the

effective involvement of individuals or groups of football fans in football spectating, the greater is the possibility of manifesting verbal deviancies.

Sport as a societal subsystem reflects all the changes, which have happened in Greek society and football, is not an exception. Two-three decades ago, mostly low class people attended matches. Similarly to the changes in society, nowadays, the overwhelming majority of spectators belong to middle class<sup>7</sup>. Since 1980 the rate of the middle class football fans have started increasing year by year. Finally, in the year 2004, the rate of the spectators who belong to the middle socio-economic class has reached the 81%. In Hungary the situation appears to be totally different. According to research by Foldesi (1996), in 1950s and 1970s there was a high rate of spectators belonging to the middle and low socio-economic class in the football fields. By 1990s the proportion has dramatically changed, since the majority of the spectators have low social status. Furthermore according to the theory of depoliticising urban social strata, different kinds of deviancies such as verbal assaults and violent and aggressive conduct among spectators often appear to be a similar phenomenon to depoliticization. Besides, a great number of individuals who belong to groups of organized or extremist fans are generally no politicised persons since they lack a particular civil consciousness (lack of realization of social and civic issues). This theory goes one step forward stating that certain groups of spectators reacting in a deviant way are not always formed of people from lower social classes. On the contrary, the fact that people from all socio-economic classes are members of groups of hooligans proves that hooliganism is *not* immediately related to phenomena originating in economic crises (Hirantos, 1990).

The motives of the choice of a certain part of football fans to be dressed in stretched blue jeans, wearing black jackets and boots, having their hair shaved regardless of education, sex, age, and socio-economic composition are unknown, although individuals with the same clothing style and behaviour can be seen in larger society, especially between high school and university students. This study does not focus on local and global political and ideological influences on those individuals' behaviour, although through analysis of data from interviews with media experts, and spectators it is raised that there is a common notion that most members of wider society do not accept their behaviour and especially their dressing style but are not against them since they rarely cause problems. It is estimated that their activities, beliefs and style is

a result of imitation of other minority social groups mainly from abroad. Such behaviour is based on the psychological disorganization of the youth and the partial moral collapse in wider society nowadays. It is approximated that the political and ideological concerns, do not influence the behaviour of those individuals. In the football stadia, at the stands, their dressing style makes them different from the rest of the spectators.

There is a high probability that they feel like drawing others' attention, although they hardly ever partake in violent episodes and often hide behind the inscrutability of the crowd. Their behaviour, principally before the match and outside the football stadia is partly similar, partly totally different from the behaviour of individuals from groups of extremist fans. They often act in an aggressive and unpredictable way without however resulting in violent episodes and conduct with other groups of fans and especially with personnel staff of police security forces. Such kind of behaviour can be better explained by the theory of *psychological disorganization*, according to which, deviant behaviour of a certain number of people is a result of a rapid social change. That means that certain members of the society while being used to a set of principles and values, are unable to adapt to the new way of life after the transition of the Greek society and the economic, cultural and technological changes, which occurred the last years. Furthermore, according to the *moralistic theory*, individuals and the different groups of people in larger society is characterized by a negative response to the moral values of life, mainly because of the extreme materialism, which is illustrated in several novel societies. Consequently, a great part of those who react violently and aggressively in sport fields are the ones who almost certainly have denied all moral inhibitions (Hirantos, 1987).

The majority of spectators in Greece seem to disrespect authorities and personnel of police security forces. The analysis of data from personal interviews with spectators indicated that it is a common belief within spectating subculture that security forces are there in order to punish them than to serve and protect them. This feeling is probably rooted in the historical and political background of Greece, especially three decades ago. Nevertheless, the last year, police authorities have paid special attention to this issue and new strategies have been formulated by the state, in association with

Greek Police Greek Football Association, officials in the leadership of football teams and English security forces of football stadia.

The spectators also disrespect the different areas in the stadia, such as the terraces the toilets and the field (they often use fireworks, plastic pieces of broken seats from the grandstands and toilet paper which they get from toilet rooms), since they let them extremely dirty or even damaged after violent and vandal episodes. Few broken seats, and a great number of bottles and cigarettes together with other kind of rubbish, has been observed in all stadia during participant observation. The stadium after first league matches often appear to be more dirty than the most dirty areas of the cities of Athens and Thessalonica. Nevertheless it should be also mentioned that spectators at the same area of the stands do not push each other and they rarely argue. They behave in a friendship-like way, like people who belong to a relatively homogeneous group would do, although there are differences based on their socio-economic composition and their demographic characteristics. The situation becomes totally different when groups of different areas of the stands argue or even fight, especially when in the aggressive conduct among spectators, groups of extremist fans are involved.

Managers, coaches, players appear to be extremely disturbed since often their teams are punished by losing points in the National Championship because of certain deviant incident perpetuated by groups mainly of organized spectators and "ultras". There are many cases according to which the game has been played with total absence of football fans of the one or both rival teams at the stands, which directly means that players and coaches did not have the psychological support of the spectators of their team. In the countryside, the situation appears to be even worse. The players of both rival football local teams have been often noticed first to argue with spectators and attack them, after spectators had first insulted verbally the players, the referees, the coaches and their families and then they destroyed the seats at the stands. At such kind of matches the number of police security guards is low or nonexistent and the matches are often cancelled or interrupted mainly because of the spectators behaviour.

A sub-category of football spectators is the extremist fans or hooligans. The expression "football hooliganism" refers to the spectators' deviant behaviour through acts of vandalism and bloody aggression, perpetuated by certain number of football spectators. They usually go to the football stadium in organized groups and they watch a



match together. They fill up the grandstands and terraces behind the goals and they use drums, banners, bombs of smoke and colourful flags in order to express their sympathy to their favourite team. They have no interest in the football match. They look for a chance of acting in an aggressive, deviant or even vandal way, hiding behind the anonymity of the crowd. The action of the extremist fans is not limited only within the football field and during the game. Deviant episodes caused by hooligans have been noticed before or after the game, out of the football stadium. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that hooligans' engagement in acts of vandalism and bloody aggression is infrequently caused by alcohol intake. Furthermore, following Bryant & McElroy, football hooliganism appear to be no longer some form of spontaneous reaction but rather an excuse for violent behaviour (Bryant & McElroy, 1997).

The last three decades, hundreds of deviant incidents perpetuated mainly by certain groups of extremist fans have occurred in Greece. The most severe appear to be the following:

- 1982-1983: Semi-final of the Greek Football Cup between PAOK and Iraklis. The first recorded incident where spectators were throwing stones and other objects. Many spectators were seriously injured.
- 1985-1986: Diego Maradona was in serious danger, since spectators were throwing different kinds of objects (stones, keys, parts of broken plastic chairs) at him and his teammates. The incident took place in a European match between PAOK and Napoli. Pictures of the violent incidents of that match had been shown all over the world by the mass media.
- 1986: Four hundred organized spectators of Iraklis, football team in Thessalonica left the football stadium because of the decision of the referee to show a red card to a player of Iraklis team and few minutes later they went to the seaside, at the so called "White Tower", where they replaced the Greek flag with the flag of their team. By that time, security forces arrived and many violent incidents followed. Many arrests have been finally reported.
- 1992-1993: A match between PAOK and Pari Sen Zermen. Many intensive violent incidents occurred. The Police Security Forces entered the football field and the match was interrupted. Many seriously injured spectators were transferred to public hospitals.

- 1992-1993: A match between PAOK and Olympiakos and (fifteen days later) a match between PAOK and Panathinaikos in Thessalonica. Many spectators of Olympiakos and Panathinaikos were seriously injured, when organized spectators of PAOK attacked them, throwing stones and bricks.
- 1997: The Police Security Forces were engaged to disstrain a 48 meters flag, on which serious insults and threats were written.
- 1997: A football spectator of AEK was seriously injured. He is, nowadays, a person with serious disability.
- 2002: Football fans of Iraklis –without any reason, motive or demand- got into the football stadium during a match between Olympiakos and Iraklis and destroy 2500 plastic chairs up to the stands. Many other damages of the football stadium were reported.
- 2002: The police forces, found a big quantity of drugs in a bus with organized football spectators of Aris Football team. Many individuals were arrested.
- 2003: Four bombs exploded in offices of the football clubs of Aris right before the final match of the Greek Cup.
- 2003: Among many violent incidents, mainly fires in a big part of Thessalonica, fans of Aris football team, put fire to a dog because it had the same colour (black) as the colour of the opponent team.

Furthermore, such behaviour can be barely controlled. The police security forces are faced with a principal difficulty in dealing with football hooliganism. They can hardly differentiate the members of groups of extremist fans and the rest of the spectators (occasional viewers, non-organized spectators, organized spectators). It is a common belief by officials of the National Football Association and the police authorities as well, that the extremist fans and the individuals of the different groups of spectators should not be treated in the same way.

Although hooliganism appears to be a severe social problem, in Greek football stadia there are very few examples of racist abuse. Racist and xenophobic discrimination was very rarely noticed, even when the ethnic or national composition of a football team was heterogeneous. Such kind of behaviour has not been observed on the football fields among players or between coaches and players whether they belong to the same or the opponent team. In Greece, manifestation of racist and xenophobic

behaviour has been rare. It is a common belief by players, coaches, managers, spectators, officials of National Football Associations and police authorities that in the sports world and especially in the football world, in and out of the stadia there is not such kind of behaviour. It is contradictory the fact according to which there are very few examples of racist and xenophobic responses and even less within the Greek football spectating sub-culture, which doubtless appears to be a field of many different kinds of deviancies and an avenue for releasing tension.

The lack of racist and xenophobic behaviour within Greek wider society and the attitudes of Greek civilians towards immigrants in general and football spectating subculture and especially the attitudes of spectators towards foreign players, coaches, managers and fans of foreign teams in particular is, probably rooted in the socio-cultural background of Greek society regardless of number of population, nationality, religion, and historical background of the minority groups. That is effortlessly explained if we take a look at the situation in Cyprus, where, like in Greece, there is a relatively high number of immigrants from countries such as Russia, Egypt, Sri-Lanka, Lebanon. Although the minority groups come from different countries with different religious, historical and cultural background, there are rarely noticed racist and xenophobic manifestations perpetuated by Cypriots. Mainly in Cyprus and to a certain extend in Greece, jobs are offered to individuals not only in industry and agriculture but immigrants are often employed as housekeepers and babysitters which probably means that xenophobia has been kept away for the moment even though more than a fourth of the population in both Cyprus and Greece consist of immigrants.

In Germany, Austria and many other European countries it is a common belief by scientists and the states that sport clubs and especially sport clubs would ease racism and xenophobia and help the integration of minority ethnic groups. In Greece football spectatorship in 1950's-1960's and later on the organized football clubs in 1970's-1980's attracted individuals from all socio-economical classes. Press analysis and analysis of data from personal and in-depth interviews indicated that doubtless the majority of the football fans were low class people although there were also a remarkable number of middle class people. It should be mentioned that back on 1950's and 1960's, high-class people, people of very high prestige were attending matches all year being really interested in football as a sport activity and in their favourite team as

well. Racism and xenophobia were not noticed by that time. Football players from abroad were always welcomed, by spectators with respect to their physical and technical talent. Even though there have been noticed few racist and xenophobic incidents in societies of the capital and other cities with high population such as Thessalonica, sports world and especially football was “clear” of racist and xenophobic incidents. Quite the opposite situation has been detected in Austria (Horak and Marschik, 1996). Racism and xenophobia appeared to be a part of Austrian society, since the end of the last century, have targeted mainly at minority immigrant groups. Following the same authors, Austrian government’s policies and measures on immigration have led to an increase of illegal immigration and illegal employment, which appears to be a serious cause of racism and xenophobia. Changes in larger Austrian society influenced also football world. First it has been transformed from “Viennese” to provincial. Then Spectators have started to be more active supporting their clubs and football teams. According to Horak and Marschik (1996), racist and xenophobic attitudes were also reflected in football world and especially in groups of spectators. Football as it appears in Austria does not help minority groups to be properly integrated in Austrian society.

In Belgian society there are also conflicts among different groups of population. Belgium is differentiated from the other western European countries, since the larger society appears to be bicultural because of the existence of Dutch-speaking Flemish and French-speaking Wallons (Vanreusel, 1996). That means that within the Belgian society there are political, economical, cultural and social differences between individuals or groups of individuals because of the different historical background of the two above-mentioned groups of population. Nevertheless over the last decades there has been a transformation of the Belgian society from bicultural to multicultural and new social problems arose, such as conflicts between Belgians and immigrants. Sport is also poisoned by different forms of racist and xenophobic discrimination. Jungle noises and verbal insults can be easily noticed in football fields (Walters, 1991). Special attention should be paid to the fact that racism in Belgian sport is mainly associated with football and more specifically with the racist, in most cases, behaviour of Belgian football supporters towards football players. It should be noted that racist abuses have not only been observed in professional competitive football. Racism has been noticed in youth football and other sports as well (Vanreusel, 1996). Football as a microcosm of society

provides individuals with values and the spirit of friendship and fair play which are directly transferred by larger society although there are many examples according to which it encourages discrimination, stereotyping and ethnocentrism and it provides the basis for extreme forms of xenophobia and racism. Manifestation of racist and xenophobic behaviour has been often noticed in English football world. Such kind of behaviour is targeted at players, coaches, managers, administrators and spectators, manifested by spectators, managers, coaches in many different forms such as throwing bananas at the field, racial taunts and verbal insults. Following Fleming and Tomlinson (1996), such kind of phenomenon will hardly disappear from football fields since among others; football authorities have never formulated a special policy for tackling racism in order to exclude it from football stadia. Football authorities continuously deny the existence of racism and xenophobia. Nevertheless according to the results indicated by a research carried out by Garland and Rowe in 1994, although racism is a serious social problem in English football stadia, there is a wide spread belief that it has slightly decreased over the last years (Garland and Rowe, 1996).

Racism and xenophobia appear to be deeply rooted in French society too. In some cases it seems to be a collective form of expression. Such kind of behaviour is mainly targeted at minority ethnic groups (Mariottini, 1996). Nevertheless there have been made efforts in order minority ethnic groups to be accepted by French society. In sports world and especially in amateur football there are regulations according to which, three foreign players can participate in a team. In professional football, the number of players who are allowed to participate in football teams is two. Following Mariottini (1996), which means that one seventh of the football team, may consist of foreign players, which appears to be a higher rate than their actual proportion in society. The phenomenon in Germany appears to be more complex. Following Merkel, Sombert & Tokarski (1996), racist and xenophobic incidents can be witnessed in German society. Nevertheless special attention should be paid to the rise of right wing and neo-fascist ideologies and violence towards minority ethnic groups. In football too, racism and xenophobia is widely spread although it should be mentioned that there have been made many efforts by relevant institutions to combat the phenomenon of racism. It is yet very important to refer to the manifestation of racist and xenophobic behaviour in Hungarian football fields. There is a lot of valuable information referring to racism and xenophobia

in a country of Central/Eastern Europe with great historical background in sports and football as well. Following Foldesi (1996), the manifestation of racism and xenophobia among spectators at football matches appear to be a real social problem. Violent and aggressive incidents, having a strong basis on racism, have been observed in all first league stadia, at all matches, caused by a remarkable number of spectators. It is noteworthy to mention the fact that supporters who behaved in a racist way were of all ages and belonged to different socio-economic classes having different social backgrounds. Racist abuses were targeted at football spectators, coaches and managers of football teams, referees and club officials. Gypsies, Jews and homosexuals were often targets of racist and xenophobic discrimination. Such kind of behaviour was also targeted at “black” people and people of other nationalities such as Russians, Yugoslavians and Romanians (Foldesi, 1996). According to the same author, racism and xenophobia in Hungarian football fields appeared to have different forms such as verbal insults, abusive chants, fascist salutes, use of discriminatory text or symbols on T-shirts or manners and the throwing of different kind of objects such as bananas which were targeted at “black” players.

### **Treatment and Sanctioning of Football Deviance**

According to related literature, attempts have been made to fight against football spectators’ deviant behaviour and especially hooliganism. In Greece, although behavioural patterns are similar to those of extremist fans of other countries they have been transferred in football spectating sub-culture, the measures for making a stand against deviances and hooliganism in football stadia has been yet taken into serious consideration. Nevertheless, very few attempts have been made in order to prevail deviance in football for the last two months, the effectiveness of which is still under discussion. More detailed, in February 24, 2005, four Greek football spectators of a first league team (Olympiakos) have been put in prison for twelve to fifteen months, since they behaved in a violent and vandal way against people, destroyed public property and put in danger individuals lives at the terraces of the football stadium. Three of them were at the age between eighteen and twenty five years old while the fourth one was

thirty five years old. This is the first time in the history of Greek professional football, that the sport law 3262/04 is fully applied by the court. The motives of the above-mentioned spectators' behaviour are still unknown and so are the genuine reasons of the spectators' behaviour, which often appears to be unexpectedly deviant. It is still unidentified the degree of those fans' involvement in football spectating. It is however estimated by a certain part of the media experts, that they belong to groups of extremist fans, although in some occasions, it is extremely difficult to distinguish the differences between extremist fans, organized and non-organized football fans.

The treatment and sanction of the problem appear to be extremely difficult since among spectators of different spectating groups there is a common feeling that many different kinds of actions which would be considered as deviant in wider society are not deviant thus they become a part of the behavioural patterns followed by them. It means that the police security forces first allowed the manifestation of deviancies and then they did not make arrests of non-decent spectators. Even in cases when they did few arrests, those spectators never faced the sport laws against football deviance since the courts hardly ever applied it. Furthermore the lack of the sanctioning of the football deviances gave a great example to certain number of spectators, who reacted violently and aggressively, behind the anonymity of the crowd with the certainty that they would not be punished for their actions by any means.

Since 1990s, a great part of occasional viewers, non-organized and organized spectators have been complaining about the facilities of the stadia. Together with sport reporters, coaches, managers and players of teams, they believed that such a situation has a negative impact on football spectating subcultures' behaviour. Fourteen years later, in 2004, right after the Olympic Games in Athens, officials at the board council of Greek National Football Association had a dream. Within few years, the football stadia should be as well built, as clear, as safe, as opera buildings. The first step has been made. Certain sets of rules have been formulated and strictly applied concerning the facilities of the football stadia and the financial situation of the football teams. In case the rules will not be followed, the teams will not have the chance to participate in European or World championships. It should be mentioned that some related rules (Licensing System,) have been already applied by the European Football Association

(UEFA) and they are strict but essential as well. Furthermore, in Greece special attempts were made to three directions:

- Facilities of football stadia
- Financial independence
- Administrative set-up and proper sport infrastructure of the football teams

In details, the majority of the stadia should be rebuilt taking into serious consideration the number of spectators (30,000-50,000 people), who will be seated at the grandstands, the size of the playing field (105x68 metres) and the toilet rooms (hot water and there should be a continuous sanitary control). The seats will be numbered and the tickets will be given if first the name of the fan and the number of the seat will be documented. There should also be a parking area around the stadium (for minimum 3,000 cars). Still, each football team should not have a loan from any private or private sector in Greece or abroad. There must be also a minimum amount of employees working for the football team, though four are the key persons who may come to discussions with UEFA, the administrative director, the person in charge of financial issues, the person in charge for the facilities of the stadium and the person who will be responsible for social relationships. After all the above-mentioned changes, it is believed by police authorities and officials at the administrative board of Greek National Football Association and European Football Association that manifestations of different kinds of deviances will be better treated and definitely decreased.

Deviant behaviour has already been partly sanctioned, since special efforts have been made by the Greek National Football Association and police authorities in order to keep away football deviance. The sanction depends on how severe the deviance is, although in any case it is never applied. Until now there have been very few laws on sport deviance. Over the last three years new laws have been formulated but hardly ever properly applied thus the severe social problem of football deviance has not been sanctioned sufficiently. Though it should be mentioned that since authorities decided that the different kinds of deviances perpetuated by spectators should be sanctioned without fail, in a quite short period of time, vandal, violent and aggressive episodes have been decreased in football stadia. Special safety measures have been taken such as increased numbers of police security forces personnel, cameras



monitoring the different surrounding areas of the stadia and the areas in the stadia such as corridors, grandstands and terraces. All the above-mentioned measures in association with the establishment of new sport courts and the formulation of new, strict sport laws such as the law 3262/04, have created a basis for further struggle against football deviance. Certainly that does not mean that deviance will vanish soon. There is still a long way until football stadia will be free of deviant manifestations and what was previously mentioned may only one of the different means for making a stand against football deviance.

There is a certain amount of presidents and board directors of teams who are really interested in their team's sake. They are ones who finally appear to be quite able to make a stand against deviancy in football stadia. A great example of the above-mentioned is what happened almost a year ago in a first league Greek football team, AEK, the board directors in association with the president of the team made the supporters of the team to view spectatorship from a different perspective by creating an atmosphere of cooperation and friendship among spectators of different spectating groups of the same or even other teams.

More detailed they organized friendly games inviting the president and officials of the rival teams to sit at the same place with them at the stands, among spectators of both teams who were put all together at the stands regardless of team preference, degree of effective involvement in football spectating (occasional viewers, non-organized spectators, organized spectators and groups of extremist fans). They also came into discussion with the leaders of the different groups of extremist fans, the so-called "originals". The results were more than encouraging. There were no fights or arguments, verbal assaults, or physical offences among spectators. Especially the members of the "originals" have significantly changed their behaviour, which, doubtless, can be no further considered as deviant by any means. Since then, the number of women and children has steadily increased in matches where AEK's football team plays and the "originals" respect and are respected by the officials in the leadership of the team. That means that they are no longer those who react in an aggressive, violent or even vandal way, but they are those who make others not to respond in such a shocking way. Unfortunately, such examples are quite few in Greek football, nevertheless we strongly hope that such display of initiatives as methods against deviancy in football

stadia will be adopted by presidents and board members of the leadership of teams, since they have been proved to be essentially effective, the results of which may be noticed until nowadays.

## CONCLUSIONS

The economical changes, the social stratification, the important social problems and the global changes around the continent, play primary role on crowd and individuals' behaviour. The value system of each local society and the personal involvement in traditional actions and interactions, play also vital role in their behaviour. Great example of all the above mentioned appears to be the traditional Greek local (rural in most cases) societies in the countryside. There are very few left but they appear to be well organized, excluding or solving the most important social problems by having a strong, healthy, traditional value system. The meaning of civilization in such local societies is close connected to tradition (celebrations with national Greek dances, religious-related wedding celebrations) and healthy value system of the society, which is based on the historical background, natural environment, and commitment of humans towards natural environment. On the other hand, people in the capital and other economical centres of Greece have lost the "final destination of their trip in life".

People's increased interest in winning more money in order to spend it for useless purposes, their behaviour which in most cases can be characterized as deviant, aggressive, violent or even bloody, the lack of respect to other human beings around them, to the natural environment (forests, rivers, lakes) and animals, can be only explained in the broader spectrum of the rapid social changes and consequently changes in values, norms or even habits of societies in the countryside. It should be noted that the vast majority of the population in Athens and other cities with a high population comes from the countryside. Accordingly, in Greek modern societies, the basic values and the social rules resulting from them appear to be not accepted by all persons and thus particular subsystems sets are formed, the members of which, do not acknowledge the general social value and thus in most cases they act contrary to the generally accepted social principles. Yet, nowadays, individuals are lost within an anonymous society, single trivial units for which no one is interested in. By joining in some groups, individuals gain forms of relating, and their behaviour is seriously influenced by the social rules resulting from the value system of the members of the above-mentioned subgroups.

Capitalism, state socialism, globalisation and the economical and political changes throughout Europe, are often suspected to raise social problems such as violence, aggression, social disorganization racism and social inequalities. According to our opinion, it is the moral collapse and “weakness” of a great number of members of the society as individual units to fight against all the above-mentioned social problems. The psychological disorganization and depression of low class and middle low class people often occurs after comparing their prestige, financial situation and quality of life with those of people from higher socio-economical classes. Consequently, first the social problems in larger society and more specifically the problems in each local society should be solved and then there are chances to solve problems in sports and especially football such as violence and aggression. In all cases **family** is the principal factor influencing individuals’ and thus crowds’ behaviour since in it; young people are provided with a healthy value system shaping their character, being mentally, psychologically and physically prepared to live in larger society outside family borders. Following Haritopoulos (2003), the most important social problems are the crucial problems of the youth. Nowadays, young people experience intense psychological and emotional conflict. They realize that social institutions such as schools and families have taught them half of the truth about life. They understand that they are not well prepared to face crude reality. As a result of the above-mentioned situation comes the demolishment of the idols to which young individuals believed in and the rejection of all the values they had been taught thus far. So, in football fields they may use violence running contrary to the basic behavioural rules of society. Nevertheless, the state and the officials of the Ministry of Culture (sub Ministry of youth), the police authorities and the different sport and especially football associations do not apply the policies, strategies and measures which have already formulated over the last ten years to make a stand against the real causes of violence and aggression in larger society and sports world. Following the same author, politicians should be satisfied since all those young people spend their depressed energy in the football fields without going out on the public roads of the cities and outside the parliament or other governmental buildings in order to argue and ask for solutions in the social problems they are faced with, such as proper higher education and job opportunities.

Improvement of standards of living (mainly in Greek urban societies) leads to lack of physical fatigue. Thus football deviance occurs reasonably often in Greek stadia. It is the surplus of energy, which needs to be somehow channelled from the body in such a way (crowd deviant behaviour) and in such areas of sport and particularly football stadia, which would cause small reaction by the state officials and police authorities. The responsibility of such kind of problems is shared among the government, the different governmental regional organizations, the municipalities and each member of the society as an individual social unit. In England it is believed by police authorities, and spectators that security personnel is always willing to help football fans. In Greece it is believed by a great part of the different groups of spectators that police security forces are only there in order to punish them whether their behaviour is deviant or not. Communication between spectators and security forces has been lost. The historical, political and cultural background of individuals does not only influence spectator's behaviour, it is manipulated and controlled by authorities of the different football clubs. Sport may be an excellent vehicle for individuals' self-understanding and evaluation, expression of ideas and personal beliefs and development of physical and mental skills.

In Europe and in Greece as well, among different kinds of deviance, many violent incidents and aggressive conduct among spectators have been recorded over the last decades and especially the last years in and out of the Greek football stadia. Furthermore, there are specific groups of individuals who react in a deviant and aggressive way, separating themselves from the rest of the groups of spectators. Those specific groups have partly the same, partly different value system with the majority of the football fans. Nevertheless, aggressive and violent incidents have been often committed by individuals of groups of occasional spectators (see Appendix B, Picture 5), at areas away from those where extremist fans were. Following Foldesi (1999), in Hungary deviant incidents in football fields occur very often to such a degree that it is considered to be a serious social problem and the real causes appear to be deeply rooted in society after the political and economical changes in Hungary over the last decades. According to the same author the results of an empirical research which was carried out in 1990 indicated that over the last decades, within the different groups of spectators, there have been subgroups of individuals acting in a violent and aggressive way, who

share partly the same, partly different values, beliefs and customs with the rest of the football spectators.

In Germany, football deviance can also be often witnessed in stadia. The problem seems to be generated in larger society. According to Tokarski (1999), in order to solve the problem of violence, aggression and racism in German football fields, common efforts and strategies should be successfully applied, first in larger society and then in sports and especially in football. It is quite probable that in British football stadia, the manifestation of different kinds of deviances is a more complex phenomenon demanding multidimensional approaches and special attention. Following Dimeo (1999), football related deviance is still witnessed in England (see Appendix B, Picture 6), playing important role in British football. It is a social-related problem affecting spectators' involvement and motivations towards football matches although it appears to be remarkably diminished in national football matches and only abroad there are still noticeable violent and aggressive contacts among different groups of spectators in international matches.

Few decades ago the grandstands and terraced of football stadia were regarded, among others, as appropriate places for young boys' socialization. Indeed, young fans could learn about fair play, friendship, honest and proper behaviour. Since then, many changes have occurred in wider society and football as well, establishing football stadia, arenas for different kinds of deviances such as verbal deviant manifestations, aggressive conduct among members of different groups of spectators and violent or even vandal incidents (see Appendix B, Picture 7) in and outside stadia perpetuated mainly by a remarkable number of organized and extremist fans. Although in many European countries such behaviour within football spectating subculture has been treated in a preventive phase and sanctioned efficiently if occurred, in Greece the frequency and intension of deviant episodes is steadily increasing

Yet it is quite interesting, that spectators gave a positive evaluation of football fans behaviour although quite often many different kinds of deviant incidents occur in football matches. That probably means that they accept as non-rule-breaking behaviour the one, which outside football stadia, in wider society, is considered to be deviant. Although it runs contrary to the ethical behavioural patterns of Greek society in general, it seems to them to be a part of the spectating subculture where they belong to. Since

there is certain interconnectedness between sport/football and wider society, such behavioural patterns may be severely transferred in wider society and then the management of crowd's behaviour and sanctioning of the different kinds of deviancies will be much difficult.

Based on the results of this study, the first hypothesis according to which the demographic characteristics and the socio-economic composition of Greek football spectators have remarkably changed over the last decades is justified. In fact, over the last decades there were noteworthy differences in the age of the football fans. The number of spectators from the countryside has increased and even though males still dominate the stands at the football stadia the number of females attending matches has steadily increased.

The second hypothesis according to which, the more young are the spectators, the more often they attend football matches was also confirmed. Over 50% of the spectators attending football matches between teams of first league in Greek football stadia are at the age of 16-24 years old.

The third hypothesis was also justified. Indeed, racism and xenophobia are not present in Greek football stadia to such an extent as they are in other European countries such as Hungary, Belgium and Austria. Although football deviance and especially hooliganism are constantly increasing in Greece, the racist and xenophobic manifestations within football spectating subculture in and out of the stadia are rare as it is in wider Greek society as well.

The fourth hypothesis according to which, alcohol consumption is not considered to be a major factor influencing spectators' behaviour. The Greek football spectators appear to drink less alcohol than those of many European countries. Furthermore, the majority of drinking episodes do not lead to violent and aggressive episodes before, during or even after the game.

Furthermore, the fifth hypothesis according to which, defective policing of football stadia by police security forces, unreliable arbitration and the impact of mass media in football spectating are the basic causes of deviance in Football stadia. Moreover, the results of our research indicated that the mass media by promoting aggressive and violent incidents as well bad models for the majority of the spectators seriously influence spectators behaviour. It is a common belief among spectators that the

arbitration is, in most football games, unreliable. Nevertheless, we state that untrustworthy arbitration is partly a serious cause of football deviance, partly an excuse for organized and extremist fans to react in a violent aggressive or even vandal way. The results of our research also indicated that defective policing of the areas in and around the football stadia is often a reason for violent and aggressive incidents among different groups of football fans.

The sixth hypothesis, according to which there are remarkable differences in the customs and motivations of individuals belonging to different spectating groups, is justified. In fact, the rapid changes, which have occurred within Greek society during the last decades in association with the changes in sports and particularly in football, brought notable changes in the customs and motivations of Greek football fans in the last years.

Based on the results of our research, the following recommendations are made in order to improve the situation in football spectating subculture. The importance and necessity of making a stand against the multidimensional social problem, suggests that football spectators' deviant behaviour should be faced as learning behaviour involving features of violence and aggressiveness. In this case, essential control mechanisms may come from external agencies such as family, school, church, or youth organizations. Through the above-mentioned social institutions young people may be trained in conflict resolution skills, providing them with alternative strategies to handle the conflicts they face. Regarding football stadia, spectator violence and aggression often occur before, during and after the football match. In some cases, violent incidents become even more intensive during the match after a "false" decision of the referees or an aggressive contact among players. Nevertheless the probability that the above-mentioned process may work inversely cannot be denied. That means that deviance in wider society in general and especially in family, at school, within groups of friends and in the neighbourhood, later tends to be the object of imitation in sport arenas and especially in football spectating subculture. It is thus believed that what is going on in sport and especially in football is closely interconnected with changes in norms, values and customs in wider society.

The amount of people working at the stadia at the main entrances should be higher in order to check the tickets and the fans whether they carry some dangerous



objects (knives, fireworks). The control procedure must be quick and effective. The fans should not be kept waiting for too long because it is noticed that they often lose part of the game. Then they are disappointed and react in an aggressive, violent or even vandal way, in and out of the stadia. Police officers should be well trained, well educated and should respect the football fans, not treat them like criminals. In this way, we assume that there is a high probability, that spectators will also respect police security personnel, since sooner or later they will understand they are there in order to help them and not punish them. Yet, the cooperation of police in order to help football fans to get to the stadium easily, as fast as possible is considered to be necessary and rather central for the prevention of football deviance in or out of the stadia.

We suggest that before an attempt is made to struggle against football deviance in Greek stadia, the following matters indicated by the results of our research, should be seriously taken into consideration:

- Psychological disorientation, disintegration of values, and the growing anomie in Greek society, in association with the fact that football attracts relatively large attendance and stadia are often used as avenues to release tension, is a major reason of deviancy in football spectating.
- Fighting deviant behaviour needs not only special established sport laws but also their more severe application.
- Football society must lead the fight against deviances.
- The issue of the media's coverage of deviant behaviour by different groups of football spectators as well as the extremist fans' aggressive and vandal actions is very important, and the way it happens appears to be essential for the football fans' behavioural patterns. Furthermore, a great part of the mass media are also responsible for the steadily increase of football deviance.

Football deviancy will hardly disappear from Greek stadia. It is however a challenge for the state, scientists, police authorities and personnel of the administrative boards of the different football associations, to understand, properly treat and gradually decrease the problem to the greatest possible extent. We assume that the very last attempts for making a stand against all kinds of deviances within football spectating subculture will bring notable results and may be used as a basis for further struggle against this multidimensional social problem.

## NOTES

1. Source: Pouloupoulos, S. (2005, February 22). *Directly to jail*. Πρωταθλητής, 6. Athens: UP publications A.E.
2. Sources: Pitsidopoylos, K. (2005, February 22). *The first step has finally made*. Goal news, 11. Athens.
3. Source: Dinning, E. (1990). Sociological reflections on sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. Volume 25 / No 1, 65-82.
4. The results of the empirical research in Greece indicated that the greatest part (81%) of the football spectators belong to the middle socio-economic classes.
5. The distinction between non-organized and organized spectators was based partly to their self evaluation, partly to the research assistants' evaluation regarding the clothing style of the members of the different groups, the way they behaved (singing, shouting slogans, or just talk) and the banners, special flags and symbols they carried with themselves.
6. Manifestation of deviances did not necessarily occurred close to the respondents/spectators or even in area of stands (gate) from which they were watching the game. The intention, frequency and kinds of deviancies were different regarding the area at the stands and the kinds of spectators standing at the different areas.
7. In our survey we could not make differences between the different strata within the middle class, however there is a high probability that a great part of spectators belongs to low middle class.

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## APPENDIX A

### Ερωτηματολόγιο

- 1) Καλησπέρα σας θα μπορούσα να σας απασχολήσω για 10 λεπτά προκειμένου να μου απαντήσετε σε κάποιες ερωτήσεις για το ποδόσφαιρο;

	107
ΝΑΙ	1
ΟΧΙ	2

- 2) Είσαι οπαδός κάποιας Ελληνικής ποδοσφαιρικής ομάδας και αν ναι, ποιας;

	108	
Παναθηναϊκός	1	
Ολυμπιακός	2	
ΑΕΚ	3	
Αιγάλεω	4	
Απόλλων Καλαμαριάς	5	
Άρης	6	
Εργοτέλης	7	
Ηρακλής	8	
Ιωνικός	9	
Καλλιθέα	0	
Κέρκυρα	X	
ΟΦΗ	Ψ	
	109	
Πανιώνιος	1	
ΠΑΟΚ	2	
Σκόντα Ξάνθη	3	
Χαλκηδόνα	4	
Δεν είμαι οπαδός καμίας ομάδας		
Άλλη ποια; Διευκρινίστε...	5	110



2β) Έχετε κάποια αγαπημένη ομάδα από το εξωτερικό και αν ΝΑΙ ποια είναι αυτή;			
ΔΙΕΥΚΡΙΝΙΣΤΕ ΠΛΗΡΩΣ	111	112	113

3) Για ποιους λόγους συνήθως πηγαίνετε σε ένα ποδοσφαιρικό αγώνα; (Πολ/τητα)

Για να διασκεδάσω	114	
για να συναντηθώ με φίλους	1	
για να παρακολουθήσω έναν καλό αγώνα	2	
για να παρακολουθήσω τους αγαπημένους μου παίκτες	3	
για να παρακολουθήσω την αγαπημένη μου ομάδα	4	
γιατί είμαι φίλαθλος	5	
γιατί είχα προγραμματίσει με την οικογένειά μου να έρθουμε όλοι μαζί	6	
γιατί δεν είχα κάτι καλύτερο να κάνω	7	
Άλλος λόγος; Διευκρινίστε.....	8	115

4) Πόσες συχνά παρακολούθησες ποδοσφαιρικούς αγώνες τον τελευταίο χρόνο;

	Διεθνείς Αγώνες	Αγώνες Α Εθνικής	Άλλοι Αγώνες
	116	117	118
1 φορά την εβδομάδα ή παραπάνω	1	1	1
1 φορά κάθε 15 ημέρες	2	2	2
1 φορά το μήνα	3	3	3
1 φορά τους 2 μήνες	4	4	4
1 φορά τους 3 μήνες	5	5	5
1 φορά κάθε 6 μήνες	6	6	6
1 φορά το χρόνο	7	7	7
Ποτέ	ψ	ψ	ψ

5) Συνήθως με ποιον / ποιους παρακολουθείς ποδοσφαιρικούς αγώνες; (Πολ/τητα)

	119	
Με την οικογένειά μου	1	
με συγγενείς	2	
με έναν-δύο φίλους	3	
με γείτονες, με μεγάλη παρέα φίλων	4	
με συναδέλφους	5	
με κάποιους φιλάθλους που γνώρισα στο γήπεδο	6	
μόνος	7	
Άλλο Διευκρινίστε.....	9	120

6) Πως θα αξιολογούσες τη συμπεριφορά των οργανωμένων ελλήνων οπαδών τον τελευταίο χρόνο;

	πολύ κακή	κακή	μέτρια	καλή	πολύ καλή	
Θεατές που υποστηρίζουν την γηπεδούχο ομάδα	1	2	3	4	5	121
Θεατές που υποστηρίζουν την φιλοξενούμενη ομάδα	1	2	3	4	5	122

7.) Πως θα αξιολογούσες τη συμπεριφορά των ελλήνων φιλάθλων γενικότερα στα ποδοσφαιρικά γήπεδα τον τελευταίο χρόνο;

	Πολύ κακή	κακή	μέτρια	καλή	Πολύ καλή	
Θεατές που υποστηρίζουν την γηπεδούχο ομάδα	1	2	3	4	5	123
Θεατές που υποστηρίζουν την φιλοξενούμενη ομάδα	1	2	3	4	5	124

8.) Έχεις παρατηρήσει ποτέ επεισόδια κατά την διάρκεια ενός ποδοσφαιρικού αγώνα;

	Θεατές από την ομάδα που παίζει εντός έδρας	Θεατές από την ομάδα που φιλοξενείται
	125	126
Ναι, έχω δει κάποιους να ξεκινούν κάποια επεισόδια	1	1
Ναι, έχω δει κάποιους να αμύνονται	2	2
Όχι	3	3
Όχι κοντά σε εμένα	4	4

8\_1 Αν έχεις παρατηρήσει επεισόδια, τι είδους επεισόδια είναι;

	129	
Χτυπήματα	1	
σπρωξίματα	2	
πέταγμα νομισμάτων	3	
πέταγμα άλλων αντικειμένων	4	
«βρόμικα» λόγια	5	
Ρατσιστικά λόγια	6	
σπάσιμο καθισμάτων	7	
Δεν έχω παρατηρήσει	8	
Άλλο Διευκρινίστε.....	9	130

9) Ποιο μέσο μεταφοράς χρησιμοποιείς και πόση ώρα χρειάζεσαι για να πας στο γήπεδο συνήθως;

	Δεν το χρησιμοποιώ	Λιγότερο από 15 λεπτά	16-30 λεπτά	31-60 λεπτά	61-90 λεπτά	Περισσότερο από 90 λεπτά	
Περπάτημα	1	2	3	4	5	6	131
Ποδήλατο	1	2	3	4	5	6	132
Μηχανή	1	2	3	4	5	6	133
Δικό μου αυτοκίνητο	1	2	3	4	5	6	134
Αυτοκίνητο άλλου	1	2	3	4	5	6	135
Μετρό, ηλεκτρικό	1	2	3	4	5	6	136
Λεωφορείο	1	2	3	4	5	6	137
Τρένο, λεωφορείο εκτός Αθήνας	1	2	3	4	5	6	138

10) Τι κάνεις συνήθως κατά τη διάρκεια της ποδοσφαιρικού αγώνα;

	139
Συζητάς	1
διαπληκτίζεσαι	2
φωνάζεις συνθήματα	3
απαγγέλλεις ποιήματα/ τραγουδάς τραγούδια	4
εκφράζεις την άποψή σου για της παίχτες	5
εκφράζεις την άποψή σου για της διαιτητές	6
σχολιάζεις την αντίπαλη ομάδα	7
σχολιάζεις της θεατές της αντίπαλης ομάδας	8
Απλά παρακολουθώ τον αγώνα	9
Άλλο διευκρινίστε....	0

11) Σε ποιο βαθμό, κατά την άποψή σου, οι έλληνες θεατές γνωρίζουν τους ποδοσφαιρικούς κανονισμούς;

	Θεατές της δικής σου ομάδας	Θεατές που υποστηρίζουν τη γηπεδούχο ομάδα	Θεατές που υποστηρίζουν τη φιλοξενούμενη ομάδα
	140	141	142
Χαμηλό επίπεδο γνώσης	1	1	1
Μέτριο επίπεδο γνώσης	2	2	2
Υψηλό επίπεδο γνώσης	3	3	3
ΔΓ/ΔΑ	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ

12.) Καταναλώνεις ποτό στους ποδοσφαιρικούς αγώνες;

	Πριν τον Αγώνα	Κατά τη διάρκεια του αγώνα	Μετά τον αγώνα
	143	144	145
Ποτέ	1	1	1
Αραιά	2	2	2
Συχνά	3	3	3
Πάντα	4	4	4
Δεν απαντώ	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ

13) Σου αρέσει το ποδόσφαιρο;

	146
Καθόλου	1
Λίγο	2
Αρκετά	3
Πολύ	4
πάρα πολύ	5

14.) Με ποιους άλλους τρόπους ασχολείσαι με το ποδόσφαιρο και πόσο συχνά; ΔΙΑΒΑΣΕ

	Ποτέ	Μία-δύο φορές το χρόνο	Μία-δύο φορές το μήνα	Μία-δύο φορές την εβδομάδα	Σχεδόν Κάθε μέρα	
Παρακολουθώ τηλεόραση	1	2	3	4	5	147
Ακούω ράδιο	1	2	3	4	5	148
Διαβάζω Εφημερίδα	1	2	3	4	5	149
Διαβάζω βιβλία	1	2	3	4	5	150
Συζητώ	1	2	3	4	5	151
Παίζω Ποδόσφαιρο	1	2	3	4	5	152

14\_1 Με ποια άλλα αθλήματα ασχολείσαι;

	153	
Μπάσκετ	1	
Βόλεϊ	2	
Τένις	3	
Πινγκ-Πονγκ	4	
Κολύμβηση	5	
Χάντμπολ	6	
Πόλο	7	
Άλλο Διευκρινίστε.....	8	154

15.) Έχεις ασχοληθεί με κάποιο άλλο άθλημα τον τελευταίο χρόνο και αν ΝΑΙ με ποιο τρόπο και πόσο συχνά; ΔΙΑΒΑΣΕ

	Ποτέ	Μία-δύο φορές το χρόνο	Μία-δύο φορές το μήνα	Μία-δύο φορές την εβδομάδα	Σχεδόν Κάθε μέρα	
Παρακολουθούσα αγώνες ζωντανά	1	2	3	4	5	155
Στην τηλεόραση	1	2	3	4	5	156
Στο ράδιο	1	2	3	4	5	157
Στην εφημερίδα	1	2	3	4	5	158
Σε βιβλία	1	2	3	4	5	159
Σε διάφορες συζητήσεις	1	2	3	4	5	160
Έπαιζα ο ίδιος/ η ίδια	1	2	3	4	5	161

16.) Ποια είναι η άποψή σου σχετικά με την τιμή του εισιτηρίου στους ποδοσφαιρικούς αγώνες;

	πολύ φθηνό	Φθηνό	καλή τιμή	ακριβό	πολύ ακριβό	
Διεθνείς αγώνες	1	2	3	4	5	162
Αγώνες Α εθνικής	1	2	3	4	5	163

17.) Ποια είναι κατά την άποψή σου τα κύρια προβλήματα που πρέπει να λυθούν στα Ελληνικά ποδοσφαιρικά γήπεδα;

ΔΙΕΥΚΡΙΝΙΣΤΕ ΠΛΗΡΩΣ	164	165

## ΔΗΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ

Σε ποια ηλικιακή ομάδα ανήκετε;

	207
Κάτω από 15 ετών	1
16 – 24 ετών	2
25 – 34 ετών	3
35 – 44 ετών	4
45 – 54 ετών	5
55+ ετών	6

ΦΥΛΟ

	208
Άνδρας	1
Γυναίκα	2

Ποιο είναι το επάγγελμα σας; Και ποιο του κυρίου εισοδηματίας;

**ΔΙΑΒΑΣΕ ΤΗ ΛΙΣΤΑ**

	Ερωτώμενη	Κύριος εισοδηματίας
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΙ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΙΕΣ / ΑΥΤΟΑΠΑΣΧΟΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>213</b>
Γεωργός (μέχρι 50 στρέμματα) / Κτηνοτρόφος (έως 100 ζώα)	1	1
Γεωργός (με 50+ στρέμματα) / Κτηνοτρόφος (με 100+ ζώα)	2	2
Ελεύθερος επαγγελματίας (χωρίς υπαλλήλους)	3	3
Ελεύθερος επαγγελματίας (με 1-2 υπαλλήλους)	4	4
Ελεύθερος επαγγελματίας (με 3-5 υπαλλήλους)	5	5
Ελεύθερος επαγγελματίας (με 6-10 υπαλλήλους)	6	6
Ελεύθερος επαγγελματίας (με 11-49 υπαλλήλους)	7	7
Ελεύθερος επαγγελματίας (με 50+ υπαλλήλους)	8	8
Επιστήμονας / Ειδικός	9	9
Άνεργος / Στρατιώτης	0	0
Συνταξιούχος	X	X
Άρνηση επαγγέλματος	Ψ	Ψ
<b>ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΟΙ (Γραφική εργασία)</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>214</b>
Επιστήμονας / Ειδικός	1	1
Γενικός Διευθυντής / Στέλεχος επιχείρησης με μέχρι 5 υπαλλήλους	2	2
Γενικός Διευθυντής / Στέλεχος επιχείρησης με 6-10 υπαλλήλους	3	3
Γενικός Διευθυντής / Στέλεχος επιχείρησης με 11+ υπαλλήλους	4	4
Προϊστάμενος τμημάτων με μέχρι 5 υπαλλήλους	5	5
Προϊστάμενος τμημάτων με 6+ υπαλλήλους	6	6
Υπάλληλος γραφείου	7	7
Υπάλληλος (γραφική / πνευματική εργασία) εκτός γραφείου	8	8
<b>ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΟΙ – ΧΕΙΡΟΝΑΚΤΙΚΗ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ</b>		
Ειδικευμένος τεχνίτης / υπάλληλος	9	9
Ανειδίκευτος τεχνίτης / υπάλληλος	0	0
<b>ΧΩΡΙΣ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑ</b>		
Νοικοκυρά / Εισοδηματίας	X	X
Φοιτητής / Σπουδαστής	Ψ	Ψ

**ΣΕ ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΟΥΧΟΥ / ΑΝΕΡΓΟΥ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΑΠΑΣΧΟΛΗΣΗ**

Μέχρι ποια τάξη πήγατε σχολείο; Μέχρι ποια τάξη πήγε σχολείο ο κύριος εισοδηματίας;

	Ερωτώμενη	Κύριος εισοδηματίας
	215	216
Δεν έχει πάει καθόλου σχολείο ή έχει φθάσει μέχρι τη δεύτερη τάξη του Δημοτικού (Καθόλου ή σχεδόν καθόλου μόρφωση)	1	1
Από την 3 <sup>η</sup> Δημοτικού μέχρι την 3 <sup>η</sup> Γυμνασίου (Κατώτερη μόρφωση)	2	2
1 <sup>η</sup> μέχρι 3 <sup>η</sup> Λυκείου ή 4 <sup>η</sup> μέχρι 6 <sup>η</sup> τάξη του παλαιού Γυμνασίου (Μέση μόρφωση)	3	3
Απόφοιτοι ΤΕΙ ή άλλων ιδιωτικών σχολών όπως ΔΕΡΕΕ, σχολές πληροφορικής, λογιστών, γραμματέων, τεχνικές σχολές κτλ. (Ανώτερη μόρφωση)	4	4
Απόφοιτοι Πανεπιστημίου, Πολυτεχνείου ή άλλων αντίστοιχων Πανεπιστημίων εξωτερικού με ή χωρίς μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές (Ανώτατη μόρφωση)	5	5

Μπορείτε να μου πείτε την οικογενειακή σας κατάσταση;

	217
Παντρεμένη	1
Ανύπαντρη	2
Χωρισμένη / Χήρα	3

**Σε ποια κατηγορία θεατών ανήκεις;**

	220
Απλός θεατής	1
απλός φίλαθλος	2
οργανωμένος φίλαθλος	3
χούλιγκαν	4
δεν απαντώ	5

Σε ποια πόλη μένετε;

	221
ΑΘΗΝΑ	1
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ	2
Άλλη μεγάλη πόλη	3
Μικρή πόλη	4
Κωμόπολη	5
Χωριό	6

Αγώνα που παρακολούθησες

	222
25/9 ΑΡΗΣ – ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΚΟΣ	1
25/9 ΠΑΟ – ΞΑΝΘΗ	2
25/9 ΑΕΚ – ΚΕΡΚΥΡΑ	3
2/10 ΠΑΟΚ – ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ	4
17/10 ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΚΟΣ - ΕΡΓΟΤΕΛΗΣ	5

Σας ευχαριστώ για την συμμετοχή σας.



## Questionnaire

1) Good afternoon, would you please answer few questions about football?

	107
YES	1
NO	2

2) Are you fun of any Greek football team and if YES, which one?

	108	
Panathinaikos	1	
Olympiakos	2	
AEK	3	
Egaleo	4	
Apollon Kalamarias	5	
Aris	6	
Ergotelis	7	
Iraklis	8	
Ionikos	9	
Kallithea	0	
Kerkira	X	
OFI	Ψ	
	109	
Panionios	1	
PAOK	2	
Skoda Xanthi	3	
Halkidona	4	
I am not a fun of any team		
Other team	5	110

2b) Do you have any favourite team abroad and if YES which one?			
	111	112	113

3) For which reasons do you usually attend a football match?

To have fun	114	
To meet some friends	1	
To watch a qualitative match	2	
To watch my favorite soccer players	3	
To watch my favorite team	4	
Because I am a fan	5	
Because I had planned with my family to come and watch this match	6	
I did not have something better to do	7	
Some other reasons. Please explain	8	115

4) How often did you attend football matches over the last year?

	International Once per 6 months	National football matches of first league	Other football matches
	116	117	118
Once a week or more often	1	1	1
Once every 15 days	2	2	2
Once a month	3	3	3
Once per 2 months	4	4	4
Once per 3 months	5	5	5
Once per 6 months	6	6	6
Once a year	7	7	7
Never	ψ	ψ	ψ

5) With whom do you usually watch football games?

	119
With members of my family	1
With relatives	2
With one-two friends	3
With my neighbours or a big company of friends	4
With some colleagues	5
With some people I met at the stadium	6
Alone	7

6) How would you evaluate the behaviour of Greek organized spectators in football stadia in the last year?

	Very bad	Bad	Not good	Good	Very good	
Spectators of "home" team	1	2	3	4	5	121
Spectators of "guest" team	1	2	3	4	5	122

7.) How would you evaluate the behaviour of Greek non-organized spectators in football stadia in the last year?

	Very bad	Bad	No good	Good	Very good	
Spectators of "home" team	1	2	3	4	5	123
Spectators of "guest" team	1	2	3	4	5	124

8.) Have you ever encountered deviant incidents during football matches?

	Spectators of the "home" team	Spectators of the "guest" team
	125	126
Yes I have seen some people starting certain incidents	1	1
Yes I have seen some people defending themselves	2	2
No	3	3
Not close to me	4	4

8\_1 If you have encountered some, what kind of deviant incidents were they?

	129	
Beating	1	
Pushing	2	
Throwing of coins	3	
Throwing of objects	4	
"Dirty" words	5	
Racist words	6	
Breaking of seats	7	
I have noticed any deviant incident	8	
Other...	9	130

9) What mean of transport do you use and how long does it take you to go to the football stadium?

	<i>I do not use it</i>	<i>Less than 15 minutes</i>	<i>16-30 minutes</i>	<i>31-60 minutes</i>	<i>61-90 minutes</i>	<i>More than 90 minutes</i>	
Walk	1	2	3	4	5	6	131
Bicycle	1	2	3	4	5	6	132
Motorbike	1	2	3	4	5	6	133
My car	1	2	3	4	5	6	134
Others' car	1	2	3	4	5	6	135
Metro, train	1	2	3	4	5	6	136
Bus	1	2	3	4	5	6	137
Train, bus out of Athens	1	2	3	4	5	6	138

10) What do you usually do during a football game?

	139
Talk	1
Fight	2
Shout slogans	3
Say poems/sing songs	4
Express your opinion about the players	5
Express your opinion about the referees	6
Pass comments about the opponent team	7
Pass comments about the spectators of the opponent team	8
I just watch the game	9
Other...	0

11) According to your opinion, to which extent the Greek spectators are familiar with the football-related rules?

	Spectators of your team	Spectators of "home" team	Spectators of "guest" team
	140	141	142
Low level of knowledge	1	1	1
Medium level of knowledge	2	2	2
High level of knowledge	3	3	3
I do not know/I do not answer	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ

12.) Do you consume alcohol before, during or after football matches?

	Before the game	During the game	After the game
	143	144	145
Never	1	1	1
Rarely	2	2	2
Often	3	3	3
Always	4	4	4
No answer	Ψ	Ψ	Ψ

13) Do you like football?

	146
Not at all	1
Little	2
Enough	3
A lot	4
Very much	5

14.) What other activities do you occupy yourself with regarding football and how often?

	Never	Once-twice a year	Once-twice a month	Once-twice a week	Almost every day	
TV	1	2	3	4	5	147
Radio	1	2	3	4	5	148
Newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	149
Redd books	1	2	3	4	5	150
Talk	1	2	3	4	5	151
I play football	1	2	3	4	5	152

14\_1 What other sports do you do?

	153	
Basketball	1	
Volleyball	2	
Tennis	3	
Ping-Pong	4	
Swimming	5	
Handball	6	
Polo	7	
Other...	8	154

15.) Have you ever occupied yourself with any other sport in the last year and if yes in which way and how often?

	Never	Once-twice a year	Once-twice a month	Once-twice a week	Almost every day	
Live games	1	2	3	4	5	155
TV	1	2	3	4	5	156
Radio	1	2	3	4	5	157
Newspaper	1	2	3	4	5	158
Books	1	2	3	4	5	159
In various discussions	1	2	3	4	5	160
I played some times	1	2	3	4	5	161

16.) Which is your opinion regarding the price of the ticket in football games?

	Very cheap	Cheap	Good price	Expensive	Very expensive	
International matches	1	2	3	4	5	162
National matches of first league	1	2	3	4	5	163

17.) According to your opinion, which are the major problems in Greek football stadia that should be solved?

	164	165

### Demographic Characteristics\*

\* In the questionnaire there were also questions referring to the *demographic characteristics* of the Greek football spectators such as *age, sex, occupation, level of education, marital status* and spectators' *self evaluation* about which category of football spectators they belong to.

## APPENDIX B

### Pictures related to deviant incidents in football stadia since 1985

Picture 1 Heysel stadium in Brussels in 1985



Source: Eleftherotypia (2003, June 4), issue 8.377, 60-61

Picture 2 Karaiskaki stadium in Athens in 2003



Source: Eleftherotypia (2003, June 5), 61

Picture 3 Kaftajoglio stadium in Thessalonica, in 2003



Source: Eleftherotypia (2003, June 2), 36

Picture 4 OAKA stadium in Athens, in 2004



Source: Eleftherotypia (2003, June 2), 36

Picture 5 Stadium of Rizoupoli stadium in Athens, in 2003



Source: Eleftherotypia (2003, June 9), 46

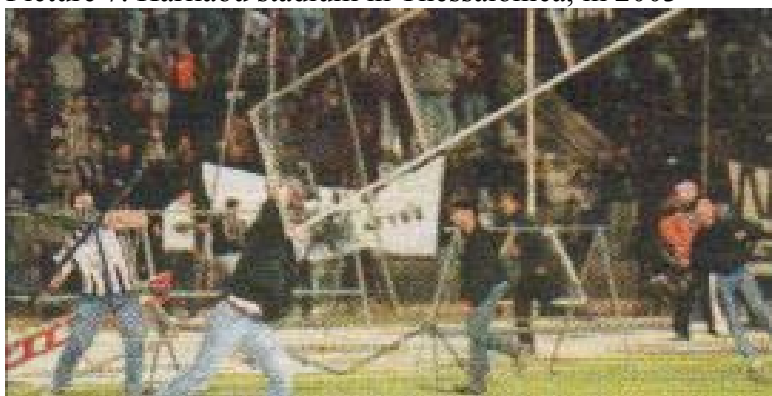
Picture 6 Football hooliganism in England



Source: The Economist (June 12<sup>th</sup> 2004), 54  
[www.economist.com/europe](http://www.economist.com/europe)



Picture 7. Harilaou stadium in Thessalonica, in 2003



Source: Πρωταθλητής (2002, March 30), 29.