

Culture, Citizen Security, and Football

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What conversation topics do you think would lead to a fight with your best friend?

In Latin American society, the third most recurring motive of social violence is football (Latinobarómetro 2017). The 328 deaths from football related violence in Argentina since 1992 (Salvemosalfutbol 2018) is just the tip of the iceberg. Football related violence¹ in Latin America is not limited to homicides and quarrels, it is imperative to consider their role in naturalizing violence in Latin American societies.

With some exceptions, if regional public policy aimed at dealing with violence in football continues down the same path, the situation can only get worse (Puentes Sánchez 2015). The mistake made by the Latin American government entities is the stigmatization² of organized supporters' groups³ of professional football teams⁴. In doing so, they resort to coercive policies that are usually not effective and can be counterproductive.

1. We use the word "violence" to refer to the different forms of violence that exist in football (gender, racial, physical, verbal, psychological, among others). Although from now on we talk about violence in the singular, we are really referring to a multiplicity of representations and actions. Isla and Miguez (2003) rightly propose we discuss violence (s).
2. It is mistakenly believed that violence in football is an "irrational" and "barbaric" act performed by "misfits". This could lead to the design of misguided policies. As José Garriga Zucal indicates, "eliminating violence is thus transformed, by supine ignorance, into the policy of eliminating 'those that are violent and not the social and cultural causes that produce violent action'" (2013A, 16-17, own translation).

To tackle football related violence in Latin America, we need to disentangle the relationship between violence and organized supporters' groups through public policy aimed at creating citizen culture. To do this, we present three recommendations, based on available studies, that seek to transform the cultural conditions that foster violence in football in Latin America⁵: 1) create the Fan Statute; 2) renew stadium environment by improving infrastructure and replacing armed police officers with trained civilian personnel; and 3) consolidate a survey and database to monitor and evaluate the effects.

In this document we begin by explaining how a citizen culture approach differs from public security policies commonly used in Latin America. Then, we explain why violent action by organized supporters' groups is related to cultural and identity aspects. Finally, we present three recommendations to mitigate football-related violence, responsibility for which lies with all stakeholders.



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3. We will call groups of fans that support a professional football club organized supporters' groups. They are mostly made up of men between the ages of 20 and 30. In Brazil, these groups are known as torcidas.

4. This paper studies organized supporters' groups of regional professional football clubs. On organized supporters' groups of national football leagues and national identity, see: Quitán *et al.* Eds. 2007 and Dávila Ladrón de Guevara 2014.

5. Although there are historical and contextual differences between Latin American countries, we also have Latin American commonalities, such as stigmatizing supporters and the cultural and identity dimensions of violence in football. Therefore, we, the authors of this document, allow ourselves to generate generic recommendations that must be adapted according to regional particularities.

Common public security policies in Latin America

It is possible to categorize dominant security policies in Latin America into two trends: coercive and economic. The former approach attempts to deter those who commit crimes or are tempted to do so through coercive measures. In this case, the aim is to discourage criminal acts by increasing the cost and probability of being arrested. The latter approach aims at reducing violence deploying "counterbalances to the incentives that could lead someone to consider committing a crime" (Ruiz and Murraín 2012, 2, own translation). This is usually achieved through social assistance programs that improve structural problems, such as poverty.

However, **"to achieve substantive changes in security in Latin American cities, it is not enough to increase police capacity, reduce socioeconomic inequalities or modify laws, since people's behaviors also respond to other factors"** (Mockus, Murraín and Villa 2012, introduction, own translation). Citizen security policies commonly used in Latin America restrict the scope of action to modify individual behavior. There are other social norms and cultural phenomena that also encourage the use of violence, such as within organized crime gangs (Alda and Beliz 2007), in drug trafficking organizations (Cruz Sierra 2014; Abello Vives 2009) and in organized supporters' groups.

Another less-known policy, seeks to reduce violence through culture⁶. Citizen cultural policy aims at modifying specific behaviors and promote attitudes that create a sense of community, where people's lives and integrity are increasingly valued (Mockus, Murraín and Villa 2012A). Unlike coercive and economic policies, the aim is to establish a change in the behavior from within. Individuals are conceived as beings capable of self regulation through a triad of mechanisms: laws, morals and culture.

6. We take the definition of culture proposed by Ruiz and Murraín (2012, 5, own translation): "lessons adopted by human groups after shared practices that regulate the actions of the whole". These practices are based on social norms (Turiel 2002).

Therefore, an individual "not only responds to the coercive power of the law, but will obey much more strongly to his own principles and the need to comply with those of others" (Ruiz and Murraín 2012, 7, own translation). There are three mechanisms of behavior regulation: legal, moral and social norms. Citizen culture policy is not limited to appealing to fear of the law, but broadens the repertoire (especially towards moral and social norms) to promote favorable habits for coexistence and moving away from violence.



Violent action as a cultural identity

In order to address the structural causes of violence, we need to understand the cultural environment that legitimizes violent practices in football and among supporters. Specifically, the role played by building identity through, and the symbology behind, grit. Grit is a concept that underpins the identity of football supporters' groups and is expressed through a code of honor. It has to do with the strength of body to fight and resist pain: "fighting and enduring with courage in a bodily struggle is proof of grit" (Garriga Zucal 2013B, 377, own translation). Some of its most visible manifestations are physical fights, with or without the use of weapons, between different organized supporters' groups; fights within organized supporters' groups; assaults on police; ritual songs that allude to the use of violence; and insults and threats towards referees and players.

Grit is a stamp of membership within organized supporters' groups that holds a dual identity function. First, it consolidates the community around a common element. Organized supporters' groups are made up of a multiplicity of heterogeneous individuals⁷ where grit becomes a unifying criterion (Alabarces 2006). Second, grit gives way to an "otherness"; distinction from the rest of society and other football spectators (Alabarces, Garriga Zucal and Moreira 2008). Therefore, violence "becomes a symbolic asset", a "manifestation of honor" and, above all, a legitimate practice (Garriga Zucal 2013, 377, own translation). Violence is a resource that allows the individual to belong and gain a reputation within a community that provides both moral and material benefits⁸.



On co-responsibility

Citizen culture policy seeks to hold citizens accountable, understanding them as individuals capable of exercising moral autonomy to regulate their behaviors and contribute towards consolidating a violence-free and civil society.

7. Also economically. See: Archetti (1992).

8. Belonging to this community implies having access to a network of comradery, support and protection in neighborhood, labor, and union life, among others. Likewise, some clubs offer economic benefits to supporters (money, travel, work, tickets, etc.).

In this way, security becomes “a public asset that is at the same time provided by the State and built by citizens” (Ruiz and Murraín 2012, 18, own translation). The citizen is therefore co-responsible for security.

Responsibility for promoting a football-related violence culture lies with all of us, including researchers, government entities, club directors, the media⁹, players and supporters, among others (See: Albarces *et al.* 2013). Each one, in their own way, is enabling a culture that fosters violence. The citizen security approach commits all citizens to respect the rights of others, but also to fulfill their obligations. Success in the short, medium and long term depends on (and is maximized thanks to) its adoption by each citizen. Therefore, the first proposal of this document is to create a Fan Statute.

1) The Fan Statute

To create a Fan Statute implies recognizing fans as citizens, bearing rights and obligations. We propose an institutional document, duly supported by law, created from the dialogue between the academy, organized supporters' groups, clubs and governmental entities to establish rights and obligations for all parties. With Decree 164 of May 31, 2004 and Law 1270 of 2009, Colombia is an internationally recognized benchmark in this matter (Villanueva and Rodríguez 2013). Brazil has also implemented a similar policy with the *Estatuto do Torcedor* (See: Reis 2010) although it still needs to recognize the positive value of including the *torcidas* (organized supporters' groups) in the solution to violence.

The Fan Statute will contribute towards establishing a benefit society and a culture of respect for citizens' rights. The specific guidelines will depend on each circumstance, although it is important that: 1) specific responsibilities, functions and duties are delegated to each of the parties; and 2) there is horizontal dialogue with organized supporters' groups. Dialogue with organized supporters' groups “means recognizing them [organized supporters' groups] as stakeholders, the transformation of said groups into community organizations, and their strengthening towards becoming nuclei of civil society” (Alabarces 2014, 35, own translation).

9. Sodo (2013) and Alabarces (2014), among others, explain various ways in which sports journalism promotes football-related violence.

Football-related violence would be diminished because it commits each party (including organized supporters' groups) to being part of the solution. As the agreement would be prescribed by those involved in the problem, which recognizes them as autonomous stakeholders and citizens, the chances of them complying and safeguarding it are greater. The statute will treat group members and other actors involved as autonomous civilians. An individual behaves and identifies himself according to the way he is seen and treated by society (Smith 1982).

The Fan Statute will allow individuals to create an identity within their groups separated from violence, since it displaces violence from the identity creation mechanism. The common element within the groups, in part, will be to preserve the agreement, instead of exercising violence. In addition, the groups will no longer create their identity as counterpart to civil society. Once they have integrated themselves into society, violence related to grit would no longer be a legitimate practice.

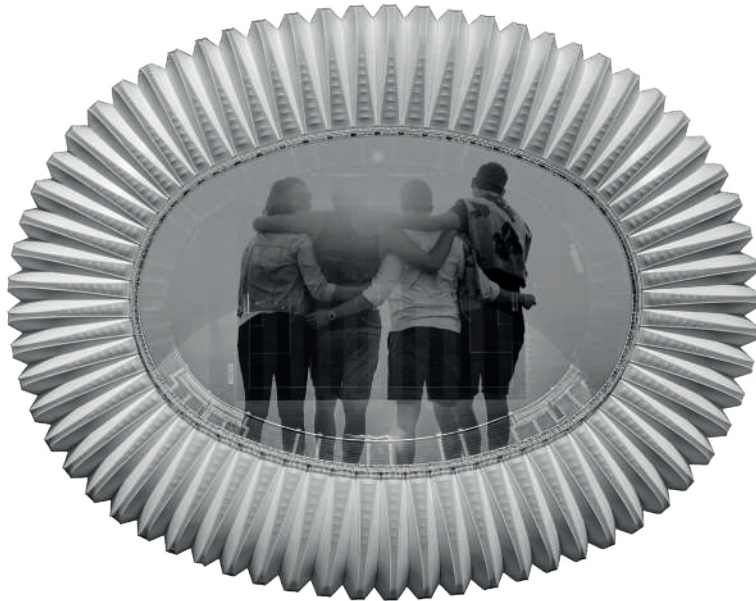
The act of creating an institutional document jointly also opens the doors for contiguous work in various areas; for example, designing security operations. As indicated by Alabarces, "there is no one better than a fan to know where to go and where not to" (2014, 35, own translation).

2) Renewing the stadium environment

All Latin American stadiums must have an infrastructure that is safe, pleasant and clean. Most stadiums do not have such infrastructure, and therefore we must renew it to promote respectful coexistence. Consolidating a favorable citizen culture requires all public meeting points (in this case, stadiums) be safe, pleasant and clean. This proposal entails improving aesthetics, lighting, entry and exit points, toilets and, above all, eliminating wire fences¹⁰.

In addition to infrastructure, each stadium should have civilian personnel specifically trained in managing football matches, which would replace, to some extent, police forces.

10. This is a key measure. As indicated by Alabarces *et al.*, "If fans are treated as animals, we should expect that they behave like animals" (2013, 55, own translation). On the relationship between space and social behaviors, see: Martínez and Puig 2002; Muntañola and Muntañola 2011.



This measure would create suitable staff both to deter violence and to handle emergencies. Part of the identity of grit is fighting the police, yet it does not include attacking women or someone who is unarmed: "fights are between males". Germany and Belgium are examples of the effectiveness of such a policy in reducing violence in stadiums (Segura M. Trejo and Murzi 2013). In Belgium, the stadium's logistics staff is made up of young students (mostly women) while police officers are stationed outside the stadium in case their intervention is necessary. In Brazil, during the Penabuco classic of 2015, supporters' own mothers were hired as security guards, and it was a success in deterring violence.

According to the 2017 *Latinobarómetro* survey, in Latin America 65% of individuals have little or no trust in the police (35.16% and 29.51%, respectively). Replacing police officers with trained civilian personnel helps improve relations between the police (who see organized supporters' groups as potential criminals) and the supporters (who see the police as just another enemy against whom to fight) (Gil 2008).

This will help improve relations and trust between citizens in general and the police, since it changes the view that each group has of the other. It is a particularly necessary policy in countries where the relation between citizens and the police is fraught, such as in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Mexico¹¹.

3) Consolidating a database and survey

All policies must be evaluated during and after their implementation. To this end, consolidating a database and designing a survey that measures citizen culture (attitudes and beliefs) is essential. Fan ID Cards would allow registering stadium attendees and latter using the data to design more and more successful policies. This measure, which should be led by mayoral offices, would entail encouraging all fans to participate and register. Clubs can sponsor this measure, for example, by offering tickets to those who sign up. It would also be necessary for entities in charge of regulating stadium entrance to eventually not allow entry to those who are not yet registered. In order to achieve this, the state would also need to work closely with club directors.

It is worth clarifying that the Fan ID Card, under this approach, would not seek to stigmatize or intimidate fans: it is not a coercive measure. On the contrary, it would consolidate a database of citizens who attend football games used to verify that policies designed to serve them really are acutally doing so.

The ID Card would also serve towards de-stigmatizing members of organized supporters' groups. Occasionally, organized crime uses social networks created by organized supporters' groups to their own benefit (Villanueva and Rodríguez 2013). In several Latin American countries, drug trafficking has permeated various spheres of football. In *Cocaine Goals* (2017), for example, journalist Martha Soto denounces the most recent relations between drug trafficking and Colombian football. The ID Cards would help identify individuals that promote organized crime in order to separate organized supporters' groups from these organizations.

11. In Bogotá, under mayor Antanas Mockus (1995-1997 and 2001-2003), the strategy of replacing police officers with mimes to regulate traffic was a success. Not only were socially desirable behaviors adopted but violence declined, all while public perception of government institutions improved (Sánchez 2012).

Organized supporters' groups, recognized by third parties and by themselves as separate from criminal gangs, are likely to distance themselves from violent practices. Gradually, the identity of organized supporters' groups would not be shaped by the use of violence.

Criminal gangs represent a culture that, although also based on violence as an identity element (Alda and Beliz 2007; Gómez, Garavito and Zúñiga 2012; Ramírez 2006), develop different patterns and pursue other motivations. Therefore, these should not be treated in the same way organized supporters' groups¹².

Designing a survey to measure citizens' beliefs, attitudes and behaviors over time is also necessary in the process of evaluating citizen culture policies. We recommend using the Citizen Culture Survey designed by the *Corporación Visionarios por Colombia (Corpovisionarios)* as a guide.

Conclusions

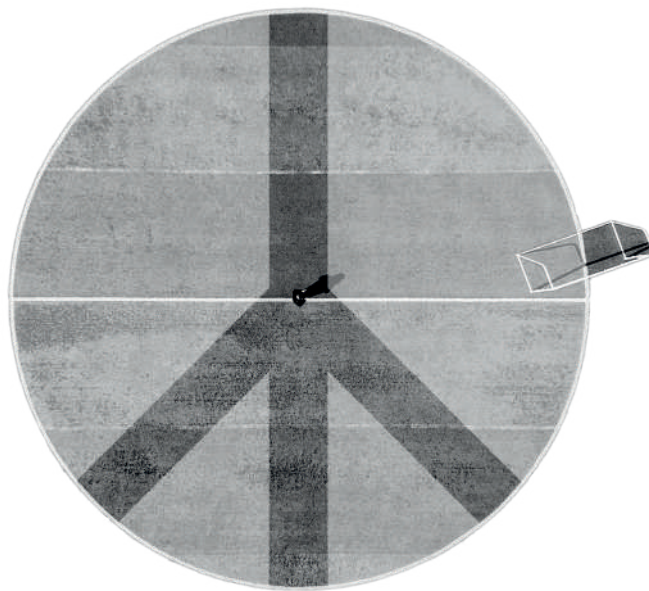
It is common to refer to the Taylor Report from the United Kingdom as a success story in reducing violence in football. Although it is innovative in the way it understands violence in football as a broad phenomenon and recognizes that responsibility also rests with the state and professional football clubs (Betancourt 2007), it attacked community ties within organized supporters' groups (instead of using them in their favor to transform behavior throughout the community) and marginalized the lower classes from the stadiums. In addition, some researchers claim that violence was not eliminated, but moved to other locations outside the stadiums such as pubs (Segura M. Trejo and Murzi 2013).

The three proposals made in this document seek to reduce violence by attacking the underlying cultural cause. Each of them introduces a change in behavior, in the imaginary, in the identity, and in the communities created around football. It does not seek to reduce violence

12. On recent contributions in organized crime and drug markets from Latin American, see: Castilla, Arjona and Galán, 2019.

by breaking up community ties between the fans, nor does it compromise the festive stadium scenario nor its characteristic as a popular sport, open to all social classes.

The benefits of taking such measures extend beyond the violence surrounding football. Maintaining community ties opens the door to opportunities to transform society as a whole. For individuals, belonging to a community is favorable, since they are part of a network of social relationships that provides security, solidarity bonds, economic benefits, contacts in the labor market and a sense of identity, among others (Reis 2006; Garriga Zucal 2013C; Alabarces *et al.* 2013). Positively using these spaces allows for the design of social policies and projects that establish socially desirable values and relationships. It brings the opportunity to work with young people and help them build identities away from violence and crime¹³. Subsequent work could compile the social efforts that link organized supporters' groups with community work.



13. This is particularly relevant since, as Villanueva and Rodríguez indicate, "the youths in organized supporters' groups are at risk of being used for common and organized crime" (2013, 262, own translation).

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