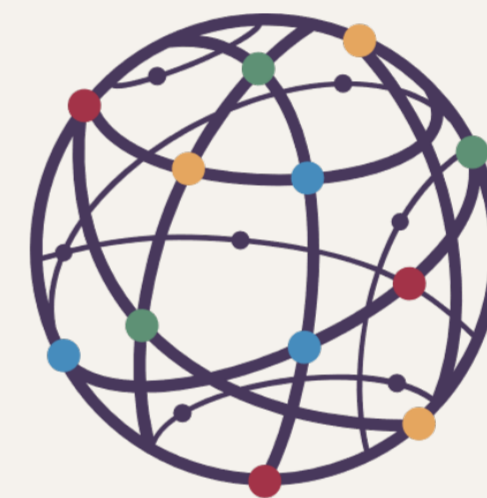


DANGEROUS GAMES:
FOOTBALL HOOLIGANISM, POLITICS
AND CRIME IN THE WESTERN
BALKANS SIX



**GLOBAL
INITIATIVE**
AGAINST TRANSNATIONAL
ORGANIZED CRIME

THE MAIN FOCUS OF THE REPORT

What are the most significant ultras groups in the WB6?

How do they function?
(recruitment,
organization and
communication)

What ultras groups can be defined as hooligan groups? (Links with violence, politics and crime)

WHO ARE THE ULTRAS?

- **hardcore football fans.** The phenomenon and expression originated in Italy in the late 1960s and spread across south-eastern Europe in the 1980s.
- **characterized by strong organization and often an association to a political ideology.** Sometimes, political and football passions, combined with a kind of tribal attachment to a particular neighborhood or city, trigger violence, particularly against other ultras groups.
- **not all ultras are violent.** Groups in the region promote art and poetry or provide social and humanitarian assistance.
- **ultras are not always hooligans.** hooliganism-based violence perpetrated by ultras group members is often the reason why some devoted fans leave their groups



SELECTION CRITERIA

STUDY SUBJECTS:

ULTRAS

122 CLUBS SCRUTINIZED

78 GROUPS SELECTED

Criterium 1 - estimated fan base in thousands/size of the stadium:		
Up to 10 thousand seats	10 to 20 thousand seats	30 thousand + seats
small	medium	large

Criterium 2 - number of titles won by the football club:		
No titles	Up to 5 titles and qualifications	6+ titles
small	medium	large

Criterium 3 - Ultras activity present on social media:	
Pictures and videos available	
yes	no

Criterium 4 - Media reporting on ultras activity:	
Media talking about the group activities	
yes	no

RELEVANT ULTRAS GROUPS IN THE WESTERN BALKAN SIX

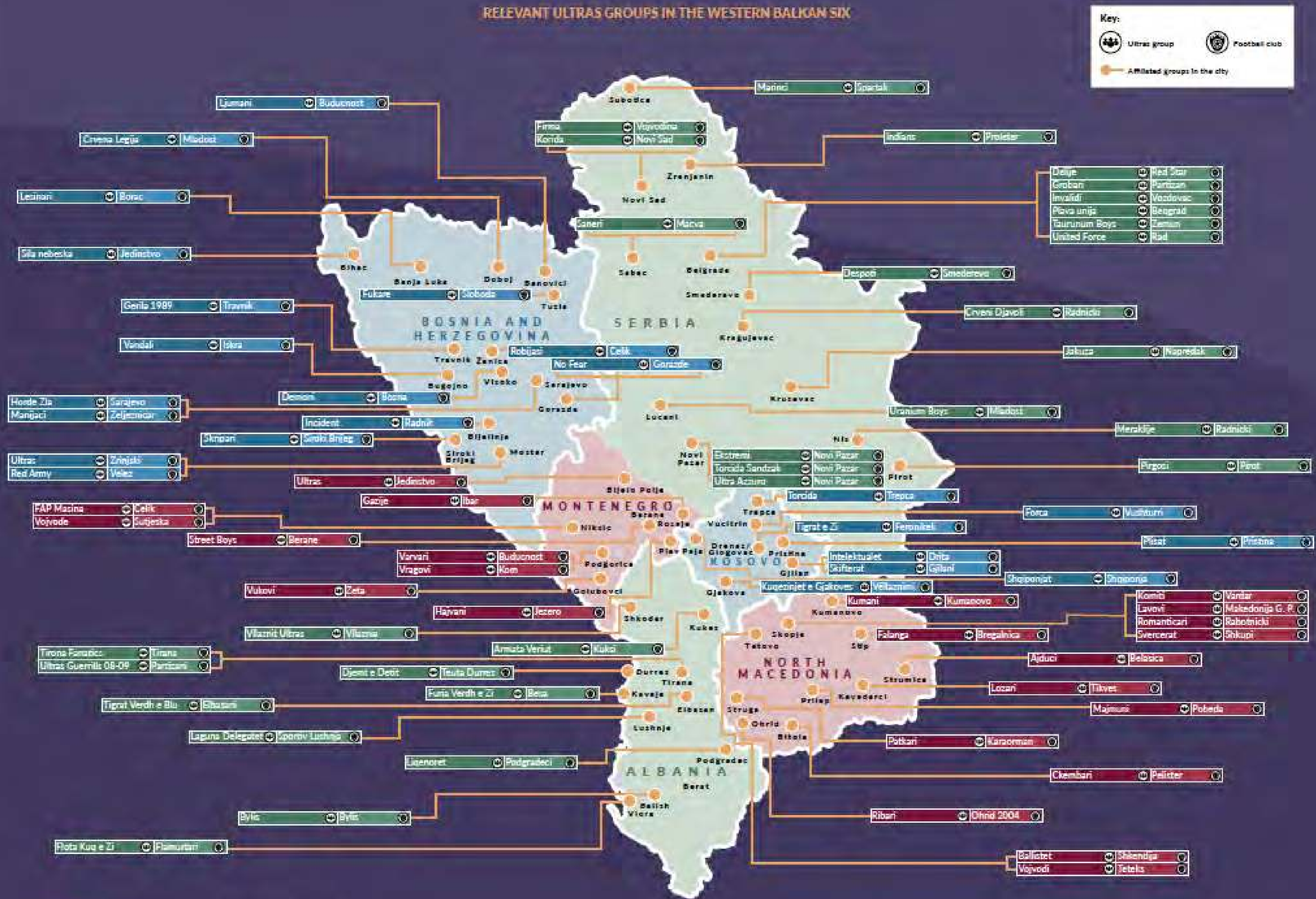


FIGURE 4 Ultras groups identified in the Western Balkan 6 (n = 78).



WHO ARE THE HOOLIGANS?

- definitions of Cambridge and Oxford dictionaries: “behavior of a violent person who fights or causes damage in public places” or “a violent or rowdy behavior by young troublemakers, typically in a gang” applied to football spaces.
- violence is carried out by a group (“typically **in a gang**”)—the “hooligans” are usually referred to in the plural.
- In the WB6, the group-dynamic of hooligans is closely linked to the characteristics of ultras.
- ‘**cover-all sense** meant to represent a rather **violent section of ultras**, organized in groups which manifest an **extremist** ethnic, religious, or political identity through the use of verbal and/or physical violence, and through activities causing ‘harm’ of different kinds and extents to society including the commission of crimes (both petty and organized).



STUDY SUBJECTS: HOOLIGANS

SELECTION CRITERIA

- Criterium 1 - Do members of this ultras group engage in particularly violent behaviours?
(+5 SUBQUESTIONS)

- Criterium 2 - Do members of this ultras group manifest/display an extremist political view?
(+4 SUBQUESTIONS)

- Criterium 3 - Do members of this group commit any crime in relation to the group activity?
(+3 SUBQUESTIONS)

78 GROUPS
SCRUTINIZED

21 GROUPS
SELECTED

STUDY SUBJECTS: HOOLIGANS

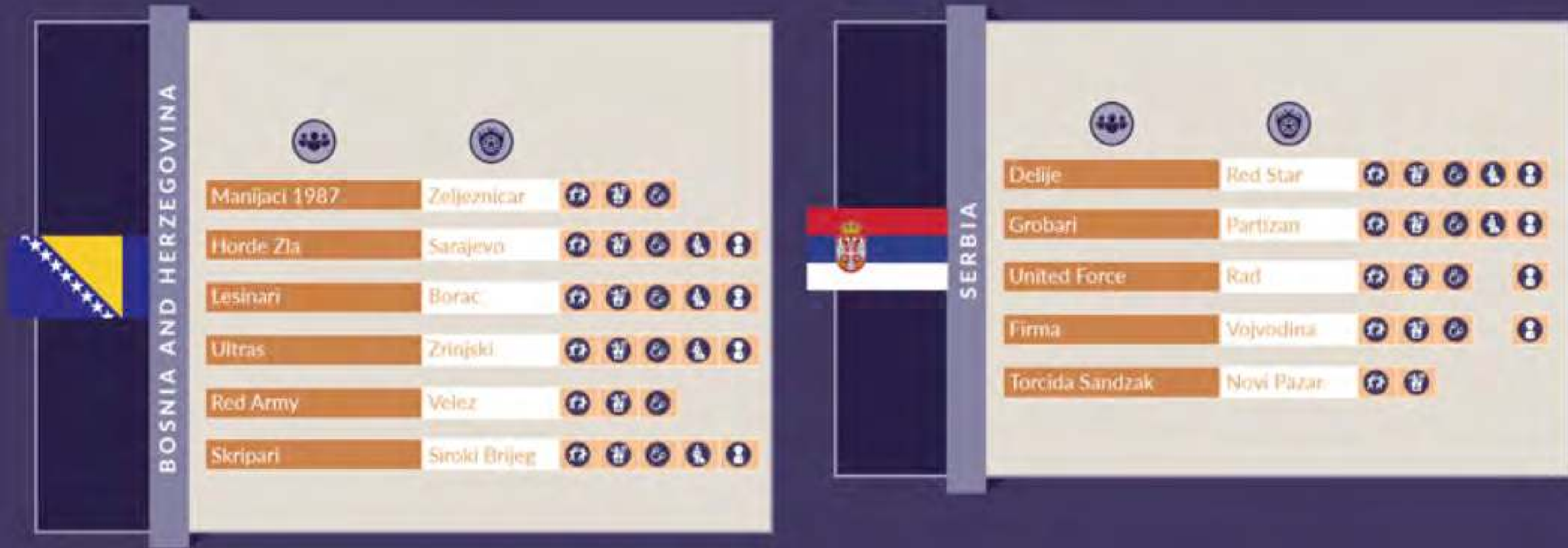


FIGURE 8 groups in the Western Balkan 6 with links to violence, politics and crime.

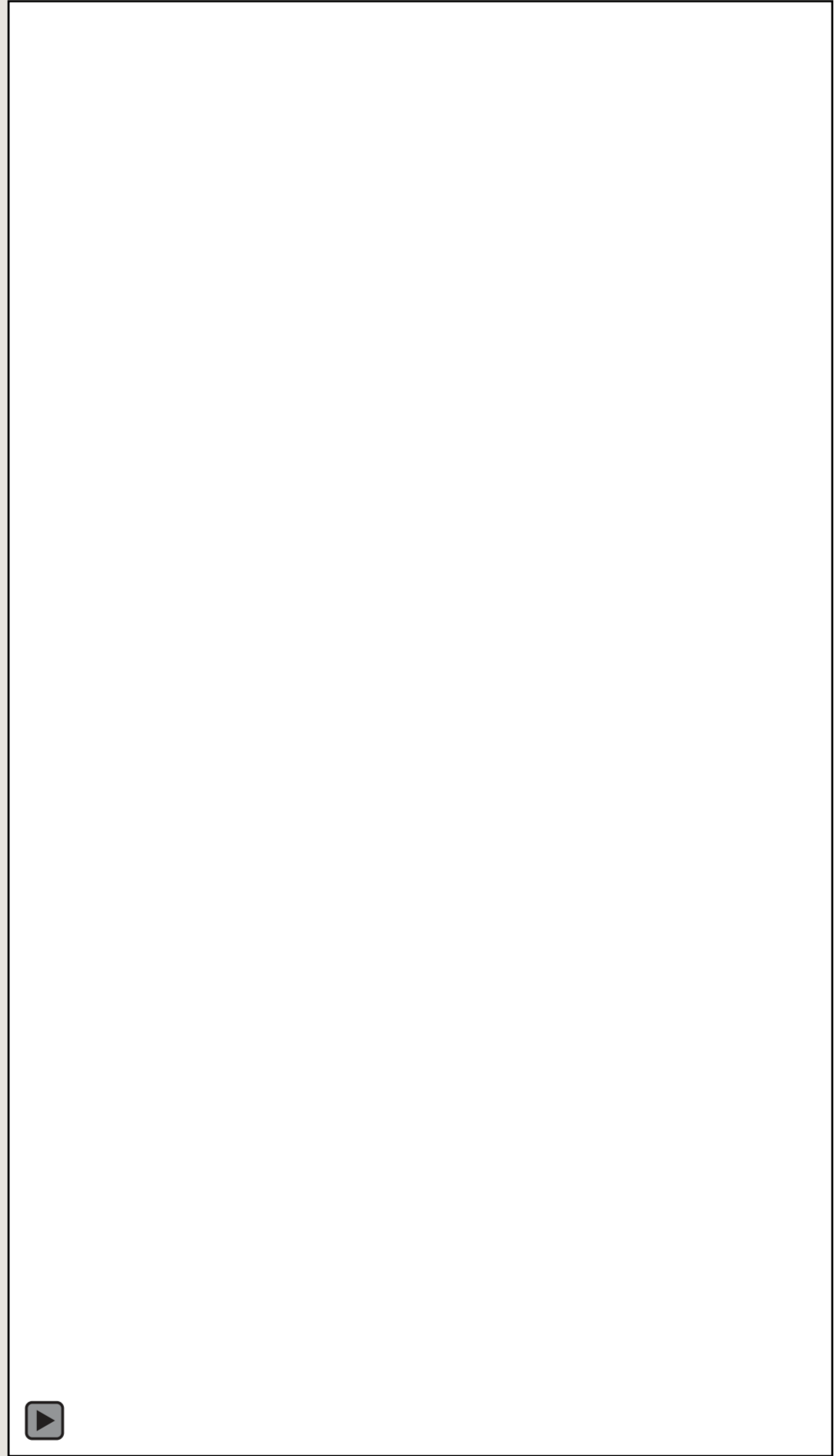
Key:

-  Violence
  Politics
  Crime
-  Organized crime
  Paramilitary groups
-  Hooligans group
  Football club

MACRO-LEVEL ANALYSIS

COUNTRY	RISK		
	VIOLENCE	POLITICAL LINKS	CRIME
Albania	Medium	Low	Absent
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Very high	High	Medium
Kosovo	Medium	Medium	Low
North Macedonia	High	High	Low
Montenegro	High	Low	Low
Serbia	Very high	High	High

VIOLENCE



POLITCS



CRIME

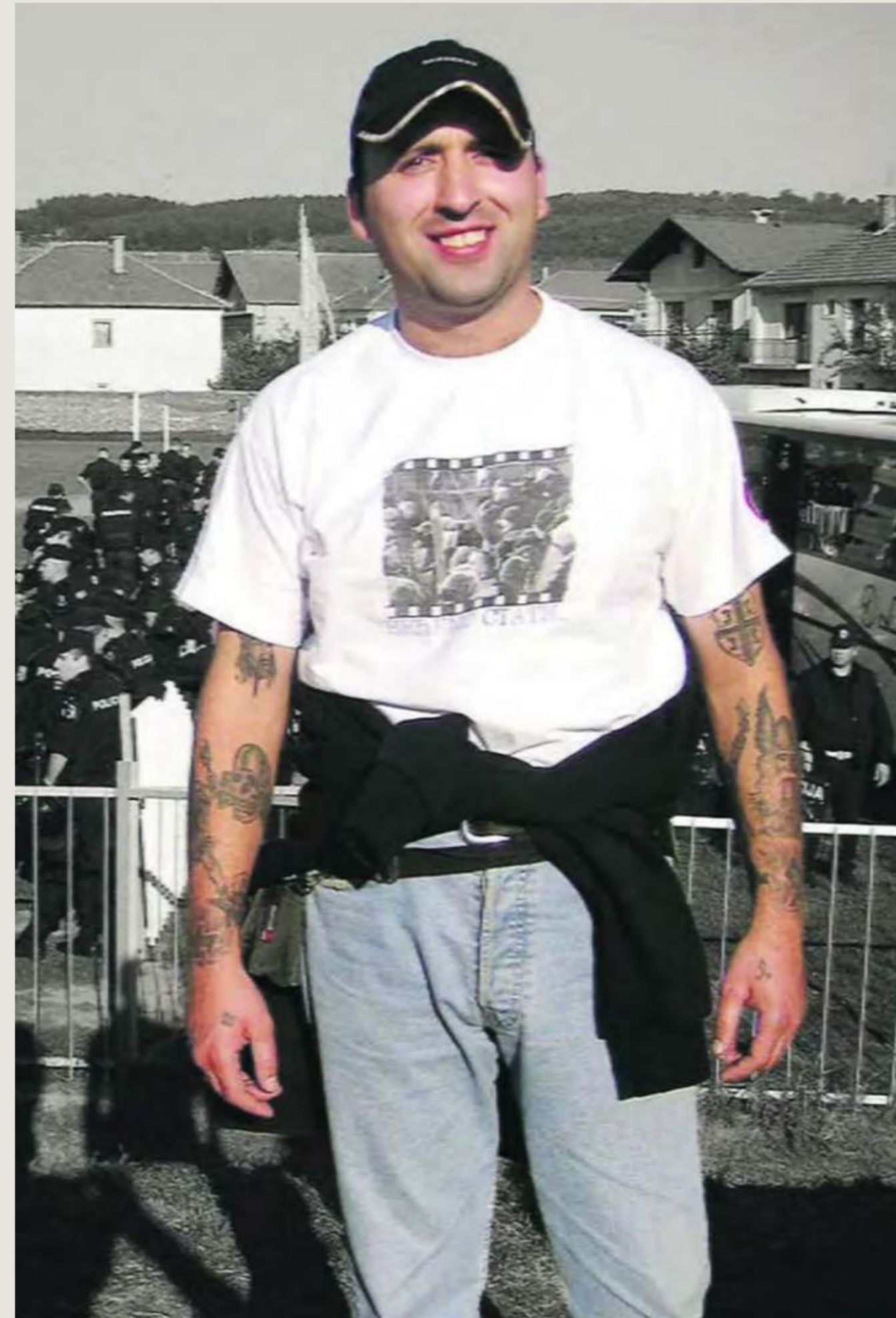


How do they function?
(recruitment, organization and
communication)

MOTIVES TO JOIN



THE IMPORTANCE OF SYMBOLS



SYMBOLS



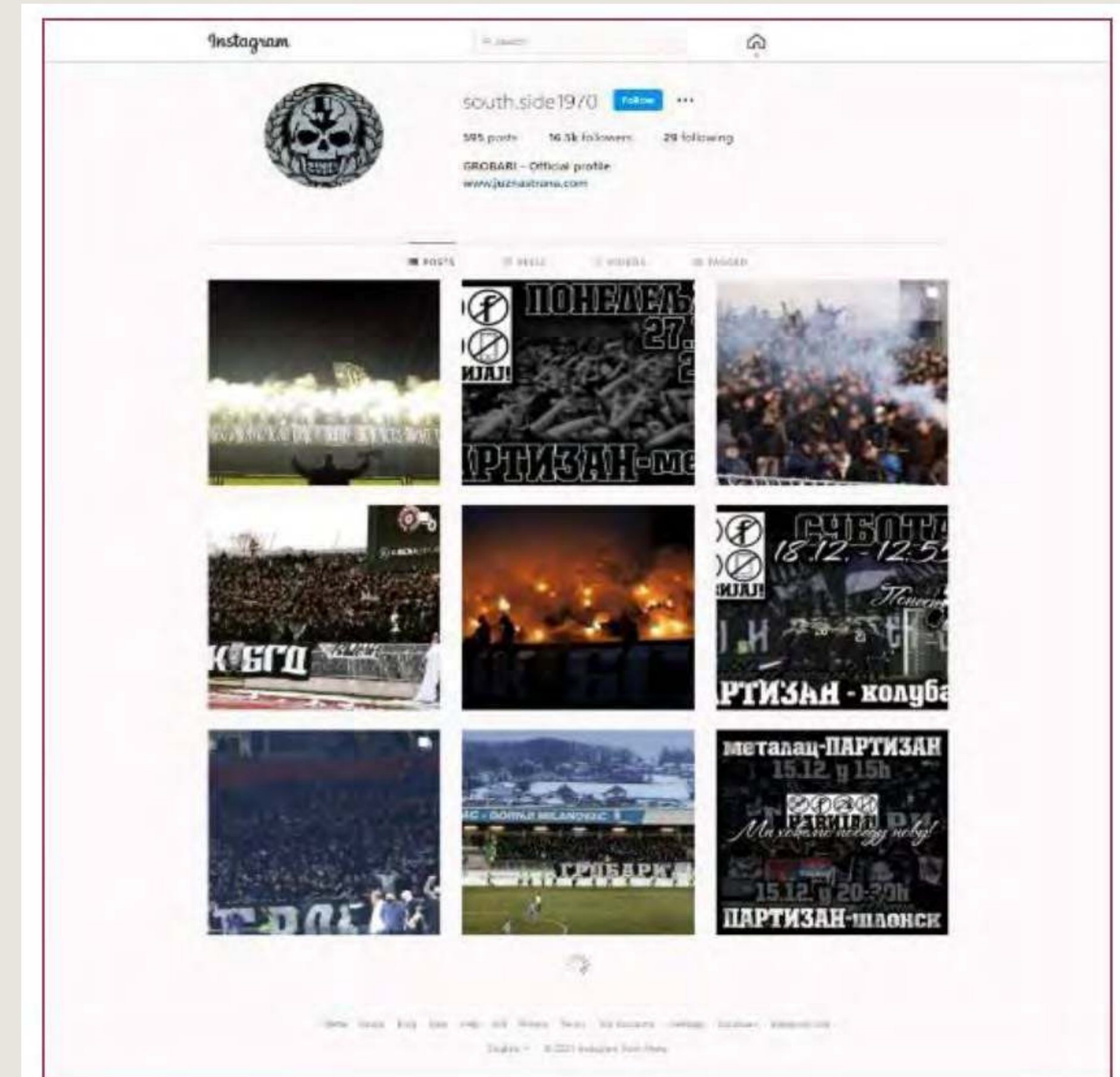
GOING INTERNATIONAL



SOCIAL MEDIA USE

✓ - share	X - do not share	Blank cell - no sufficient information available
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Group name	Number of followers	Recurring items				
		Lifestyle	Merch	Political messages	Violence	Stands activities
Ultras Guerrills ⁵⁸	Account set private					
Tirona Fanatics ⁵⁹	5,839	✓	X	✓	X	✓
Manijaci ⁶⁰	2,006	✓	X	X	X	✓
Horde zla ⁶¹	10.6k	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Lesinari ⁶²	4,266	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ultras ⁶³	991	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Red Army ⁶⁴	2,935	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Skripari ⁶⁵	930	X	✓	✓	X	✓
Plisat ⁶⁶	7,684	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Shqiponjat	Multiple pages					



THANK YOU