LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Legitimation of Violence in Swedish Football Supporters:
The Mediational Relationship Between Need for Cognitive Closure,
Group Identity and Dehumanization

Lisa Espinosa

Master's Thesis
Spring Term 2014

Supervisor: Emma Bäck

Author note

Abstract

Football supporters' violence in Sweden is a current societal issue, which lacks experimental investigations. The current study aims to address this gap by investigating social and cognitive factors in order to better understand the mechanisms behind legitimation of violence towards supporters of the opposing team (the out-group). A football supporter and a social science student samples answered an online survey to assess the differential relationship between need for closure, social identification, dehumanization and legitimation of violence for both samples. Results indicate a significant difference between the two samples on all the variables of interest. Moreover, a mediation analysis indicates that it is through a high level of social identification that supporters with high need for cognitive closure dehumanize supporters from the opposing team, however, this mediational relationship was not found for the student sample. Finally, the interaction analysis shows that there is a positive relationship between dehumanization and legitimation of violence for the supporters but not for the students. This study brings a better understanding of the dynamic behind legitimation of violence towards supporters from opposing teams. Furthermore, it illustrates the impact of studying different groups (students versus real groups) in relation to extreme behaviors. Indeed, this study suggests that real groups might carry stronger group values and beliefs than student groups, which might affect not only the extent of members' identification with their in-group, but also members' perception of the out-group. Implications of the findings and suggestions for further research are discussed.

Key words: Football supporters' violence; need for cognitive closure; social identification; dehumanization; legitimation of violence

Legitimation of Violence in Swedish Football Supporters: The Mediational Relationship

Between Need for Cognitive Closure, Group Identity and Dehumanization

On Sunday March 30th 2014, the first football games of the season for the Allsvenska division took place. Supporters all around Sweden were eager for the season to finally start. Unfortunately, this joyful day was abruptly cut short by the death of a Djurgården IF supporter who was on his way to see the game between Helsingborg IF and Djurgården IF in Helsingborg. According to Sydsvenskan (Magnusson, 2014), after an altercation with three Helsingborg IF supporters, a 43-year-old man, father of four children, received a blow behind the head that led him to his death. The news of this tragedy quickly reached the stands of the Djurgården supporters in the Olympia football Stadium, who started to shout "Murderers, murderers" to the Helsingborg IF supporters. Forty minutes into the first half, Djurgården supporters stormed into the field, which forced the game to be cancelled. The violent altercations between supporters of both teams did not end inside the doors of the Stadium and until 7pm on this Sunday evening, police attempted to control the confrontations happening in the center of Helsingborg.

This kind of violence surrounding football games is by no means a unique case. On March 15th 2014, the football game between Malmö FF and Hammarby IF ended in riots when Hammarby supporters climbed over the fences and threw objects at police officers. After the game, despite the extended efforts from the police, Sydsvenskan described the situation as a "state of war" between the supporters and the police (Ladelius & Jönsson, 2014).

The violence surrounding football games in Sweden is widely reported by the media, however the events that have taken place in the past few months have propelled a debate regarding what to do to prevent violence that occurs before, during and after football games ("Direktdebatt, fotbollen och våldet", 2014). Apart from the technical solutions that have been suggested such as increasing the price of tickets, removing the standing places in Stadiums or forbidding supporters to attend away games, there is a need to, not only better understand the football supporter culture in general, but also identify the personal characteristics of supporters that could lead them to behave so violently or accept this violence. Studies in psychology have investigated different factors underlying sport riots and violence. Russell (2004) offers a review of the social-psychological research field, which aims to identify the factors facilitating violent behaviors surrounding sport. These studies have been looking at

situational factors (e.g. temperature, noise), individual characteristics (e.g. demographic characteristics, personality, physiological processes, etc.), social factors (identification, group behaviors) and cognitive factors (priming, hostile attribution bias), in the interest in developing controlled measures against violent behaviors in sport. However, how do these factors apply to football and to Sweden? Indeed, in Sweden, football was the most popular competitive sport for adults and the third most popular activity for children in 2013 (Thiborg, 2014). For these reasons there is a need to increase research about violence surrounding this sport in Sweden.

Football Supporter Culture

In a book about supporters of the Stockholm team of Hammarby, Kuick (2013) portrays the joy an individual can experience at a football game, the brotherhood, the excitement and the traditions related to what it is to be a supporter of Hammarby, or a "*Hammarbyare*". Giulianotti, Bonney and Hepworth (1994) describe these strong emotions as being related to a powerful sense of community brought by the intense tie between supporters, football players and the club. This sense of being part of a family leads football supporters to identify to a great extent with the club they support. The club becomes a part of their identity. Percy and Taylor (1997) even depict being a football supporter as a type of religious activity and report similarities such as the support and the feeling of community that both *activities* offer to people. In her book, Kuick (2013) portrays the entire scale that represents football supporters; from families and children, to older supporters and *Ultras* groups (which represent the more fanatic and extreme supporters' groups). All have a passion for their team, from coming occasionally to games to following the team to every away game. Nevertheless, independently of that, being a *Hammarbyare* is part of who they are.

> Other identities change over time. We stop being married and being a spouse, we stop being masters to our dogs, we stop growing geranium, we stop bike deliveries. Love fades, dogs pass away, we start growing roses instead, we change jobs or retire. However, the identity of Hammarby persists (Kuick, 2013, p. 49, own translation).

According to Giulianotti et al. (1994), this intense identification is the heart of the quest to understand the violence surrounding football. Indeed, social identification has been shown to be strongly related to verbal and physical aggression in football hooliganism (Van

Hiel, Hautman, Cornelis & De Clercq, 2007) and has also been studied as a mediator of supporters' violence (Russell, 2004). These two studies report the importance of social identification in explaining violence, however, they lack explanation of where individuals' high identification comes from and what are the mechanism leading to violence.

Giulianotti et al. describe football as having a culture of quasi-violence more than a culture of violence. That is because while it is an aggressive sport where certain violent actions are legitimate, other violent actions are prohibited. What makes football a controverted sport is that the extent of the illegitimate violent actions on the field (tackles, pushing or shoving) is ambivalent but usually accepted and tolerated by the supporters. Off-field, supporters behaviors are then also guided by the same ambivalent moral code (Giulianotti et al., 1994). Confrontation with the opposing team is evident and accepted, however the support of violent behaviors is again related to different factors (the duration of the altercation, if it is a response to provocation or the age of the people involved), which deems these behaviors unacceptable or entertaining. Regardless of the acceptance of violent behaviors, it is believable that supporters become, during the games, the twelfth player and are emotionally tied to what happens on the field. For these reasons, football is a sport surrounded by a cultural framework involving violence on and off the field, even if a great amount of supporters do not approve it.

The present study intends to approach the football supporter's culture from a psychological angle in order to extend the empirical understanding of why certain supporters are violent and others are not. This study is not exclusively focused on the most extreme supporters such as hooligans, but on the broader range of supporters. More specifically, the current study aims to look at violence between supporters from opposing teams, in order to understand the psychological mechanisms underlying the violent movements surrounding the games. The next part of this thesis will highlight the social and then the cognitive concepts tied to the question of the importance of one's in-group and social identification.

Social Factor - Group Identity

Many social psychological theories have intended to understand the dynamic behind group membership and its consequences on members' perception of themselves and others. Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory (SIT) is the main theory on group membership. This theory assumes that group membership constitutes a significant source of self-esteem because it is an important component of self-identity. Moreover, individuals

identify themselves with groups, and because of the need to maintain positive self-esteem, they tend to favor their in-group over other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The SIT has been the basis for many theories developed to understand the dynamic underlying in-group favoritism and out-group derogation. Another theory is the self-categorization theory, which was developed from the SIT. According to Turner (2007) this theory focuses on the many categories individuals use to define themselves, which can have different group levels and is represented by one's social identity, representing the group level ("us, as Swedish" as opposed to "you, as European") versus one's personal identity, which represents the individual level ("I Sarah Andersson" as opposed to "You Erik Johansson"). This switch from personal identity, where individuals perceive themselves as unique individuals, to social identity leads people to change from being an individual to being a member of a group and drives them to change their response or behaviors to a response based on the group's social identity. Interestingly, Turner (2007) states that individuals are most likely to see themselves as an individual when surrounded by only in-group members, however, their social identity arises in presence of out-group members. Thus, individuals' social identity tends to be more powerful in conflict situations with other groups, which creates high conformity within the in-group and a strong group attitude. Thus, when psychological or situational factors make individuals' social identity more salient, individuals in the same group perceive and define themselves as being more similar. The self-categorization theory also describes the development of the perceptions of similarity and interchangeability of in-group member's identities, also mentioned as depersonalization, which is seen as the basic process behind phenomena such as social stereotyping, social influence and intergroup bias.

Group-centrism. Groups with a strong overlap between personal identity and group identity illustrate the concept of *group-centrism* (Kruglanski, Pierro, Mannetti & De Grada, 2006). Group-centrism defines groups where the group fulfills an epistemic function, which provides its members with a shared reality. Moreover, shared beliefs or group beliefs, is the basic element for the formation of a common social identity, which provides members with validated information about reality (Bar-Tal, 2000). Members of the group construct their beliefs together with other members, which are evidently grounded in the shared reality of the group (Kruglanski et al., 2006).

According to Bar-Tal (2000), being aware of these shared beliefs is fundamental for members to construct their social reality and through social validation, individuals transform their beliefs, which are regulated by the in-group prototype. Homogeneous and self-similar

groups then validates members' opinions and attitudes, which creates groups that attract individuals with high need for epistemic confidence (Kruglanski, Shah, Pierro & Mannetti, 2002). This awareness makes these beliefs more resistant to change by increasing their validity in the eyes of the members. Moreover, the recognition from the group that one holds valid beliefs leads members to have a feeling of self-satisfaction and high self-esteem, and also increases the sense of similarity between members. According to Bar-Tal (2000), these processes lead to an increase of different factors such as identification with the group, cohesiveness, perception of homogeneity, pressure to conformity or differentiation from out-groups. Consequently, because of the value of this shared reality, the group will tend to encourage conformity and reject deviant opinions in order to maintain it, hence in-group favoritism and out-group derogation (Kruglanski et al., 2006). This illustrates the importance of individuals' social identity for the perception of others. In addition, Swann, Gómez, Seyle, Morales and Huici (2009) discuss such a fused relation between the self and the group and suggest that fused individuals increase their willingness to endorse radical behaviors on behalf of the group. According to their results, individuals with such a strong social identity tend to merge their self with the group, which provides them with a high motivation and devotion and can lead them to take extreme actions on behalf of the group. Indeed, Swann, Gómez, Dovidio, Hart and Jetten's (2010) results illustrate how these individuals get involved in collective actions and perform extreme behaviors for the group, e.g. being willing to sacrifice themselves to save the life of an in-group member.

The literature mentioned above describes how individuals whose personal identity merges with their social identity can drive them to perform extreme actions for their in-group. However, these studies don't explain why these people experience this fusion or where this high social identification with the in-group can originate. The objective with the next part of this introduction is to assess a possible cognitive factor in terms of information processing leading to the development of in-group favoritism and out-group derogation.

Cognitive Factor - Information Processing

One of the main interests in cognitive psychology is how individuals reason. Human reasoning has long been established to be biased. This is because individuals cannot process all available information and tend to use a selective process, which in turn can lead to errors (Evans, 1989). Consequently, humans use heuristics because of the limited cognitive capacity to process all information, and although it can contribute to biases in reasoning and judgment,

"selection is fundamental to intelligence" (Evans, 1989, p. 20). Individuals can only process a selection of all the information they receive, therefore, one can reflect on individuals' differential motivations in processing this information; how do different individuals process information? How much information do they actually process? Do two individuals process the same information? And what are the consequences for their behavior? Indeed, some individuals tend to have an intrinsic motivation to think more deliberately while others prefer to use cognitive shortcuts (Klein & Webster, 2000). By focusing on heuristic cues when making decisions, some individuals become more easily persuaded by the amount of arguments and not their strength, while others pursue a more peripheral route by reflecting on the new information in order to reach an accurate conclusion (Klein & Webster, 2000).

One of the major concepts behind the research on differential information processing is the notion of need for cognitive closure (NFCC) introduced by Kruglanski in the early 90's. This notion illustrates the differential motivations that people have to process information. More specifically, it defines the need for individuals to quickly process information versus the need to reflect on this information.

Need for cognitive closure. NFCC is a motivation to process information, which describes the need for individuals to achieve the cognitive end state of closure by receiving definite and firm information rather than confused and ambiguous information (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996; Klein & Webster, 2000; Kruglanski et al., 2006). On the one hand, a high NFCC illustrates a motivated tendency to reach closure fast, and maintain it permanently (Kruglanski et al., 2006). On the other hand, a low NFCC illustrates a tendency to keep an open mind and accept different opinions, which requires more thinking and therefore delays closure (Klein & Webster, 2000). In their study, Kruglanski and Webster (1996) explain that individuals standing at both ends of the NFCC continuum process information, however, it's the extent to which they process that is different. A person with high NFCC processes information more briefly and less methodically than a person with low NFCC. Hence, the formers tend to "seize" new information, which allows them to make a fast judgment on the topic at hand, and then "freeze" it in order to perpetuate closure by preserving this knowledge (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996). Because of this tendency to "seize" information and directly "freeze" it, individuals with high NFCC might base their judgment on preexisting cues rather than on new information, therefore, leading them to rely more on stereotypes simply because stereotypes are based in preexisting knowledge whereas relying on case-specific information would require further processing (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996). The crystallization of this

new information can reveal an unwillingness to continue to process information and can therefore drive individuals with high NFCC to resist persuasion (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996). Furthermore, the need to maintain the state of closure draws individuals with high NFCC to prefer unanimous opinions, which are unlikely to be challenged and therefore, leading them to associate with similar others and dislike individuals whose opinions deviate from their own and threaten the group's social consensus (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996). Kruglanski and Webster use the term close-mindedness to describe this attitude toward new information. These notions imply that there will be a reduction in internal hypotheses generation for individuals with high NFCC. Therefore, unlike people low in NFCC who process new information, adapt knowledge and form new internal hypothesis accordingly, individuals high in NFCC generate fewer hypotheses and therefore, attain a judgment with high confidence more rapidly. Accordingly, Kruglanski and Webster (1996) state that because of their need to secure knowledge, individuals with high NFCC might adapt their behavior in order to protect their sense of validity by not paying attention to information that might contradict their hypotheses.

Different contextual aspects have been shown to trigger a high need for cognitive closure, such as time pressure, ambient noise or fatigue, all of which make information processing more difficult, which increases individuals' desire for closure (Kruglanski et al., 2006). However, NFCC also varies across individuals in relation to a dispositional NFCC and comes close the openness factor of the Big Five (Kruglanski et al., 2006).

This personal disposition can draw individuals to have differential epistemic motivations. However, in which way could NFCC have a role in the formation of in-group bias? This next part aims to connect the cognitive concept of NFCC and the social concept of group identification together in order to explain in-group bias and its potential consequences for the perception of others.

NFCC increases in-group favoritism and out-group derogation. As discussed earlier, being part of a group is sharing the group's reality. Thus, members of the same group tend to show shared opinions in order to maintain the entitativity of the group (Kruglanski et al., 2006). In their study, Shah et al. (1998) investigate the causal direction between NFCC and in-group bias and found that indeed, a high NFCC increases in-group bias by increasing the importance of the shared social reality. Along the same lines, Kruglanski et al. (2002) state that the in-group is perceived as "reality providers" (p. 649), which leads to the emergence of in-group centrism. Moreover, the quest to maintain this shared reality can lead

members to reject opinions that challenge their beliefs, creating favoritism for the in-group. Consequently, the in-group holds a function of uncertainty-reduction (Hogg and Abrams, 1993 cited by Shah et al., 1998) and of potential gratification, which means that the in-group is more valued than the out-group (Shah et al., 1998). As a result, because of the value of the in-group's reality, out-group derogation is supposedly coming from the need to maintain or defend the in-group's social reality (Shah et al., 1998). Studies have demonstrated that there is a significant relation between NFCC and in-group favoritism and NFCC and out-group derogation (Kruglanski et al., 2002). Moreover, Kruglanski et al. (2006) recognize that this group-centrism can manifest itself in many different ways; they mention that group-centrism promotes the rejection of deviant opinions, fosters the tendency to resist changes, leads to a higher level of stabilization of group norms and aggressive response to normative violations. As Levin and Sidanius (1999) highlight, the differential processes behind in-group and out-group ratings led researchers to develop an interest in understanding the factors leading to the development of extreme forms of out-group aggression. Therefore, there is a need to investigate how high NFCC can alter the perception of an out-group member.

Dehumanization

One factor that has been found to be of importance in intergroup context and in predicting out-group derogation is dehumanization. Dehumanization is described as a disengagement mechanism, more specifically, a moral disengagement, which enables individuals to act without self-condemnation (Jackson & Gaertner, 2010). Bandura (1999) states that by attributing animal-like and less human characteristics to others it becomes easier to mistreat others because one would then feel less personal distress and guilt (which are feelings one expects to have when hurting a humanized individual).

In an integrative review of the concept of dehumanization, Haslam (2006) proposes a dual model of dehumanization; animalistic and mechanistic. This model illustrates the qualitative differences among the forms of dehumanization. According to Haslam, the animalistic form is based on the emotion of disgust towards others and involves not attributing them human characteristics, such as moral sensibility, rationality and civility, which distinguish humans from animals. The act of dehumanization has indeed been shown to have the same neural signature as disgust (high reaction of the amygdala and insula) by individuals who are presented with pictures of social groups with low competence and low warmth (Harris & Fiske, 2006). Mechanistic dehumanization, in contrast, is based on

disregard and indifference. Moreover, mechanistic dehumanization involves denying characteristics of human nature to others and perceiving them as lacking in interpersonal warmth and cognitive openness. In this sense, the animalistic dehumanization leads to a vertical comparison between groups, while the mechanistic form leads to a horizontal comparison. Furthermore, quantitative differences among the forms of dehumanization have been pointed out by Haslam and Loughnan (2014). According to their review, dehumanization has been represented as a spectrum from explicit to implicit dehumanization, from sever to moderate. At the blatant end of the spectrum, Haslam and Loughnan (2014) describe cases where individuals link others directly, openly and consciously to non-human characteristics, such as vermin or other animals. In the middle of the spectrum is a less blatant but still explicit dehumanization, which is related to the perception of the target as lacking human characteristics. On the milder end, the link is more indirect and usually unconscious, and individuals attribute few human characteristics to the target.

Finally, dehumanization is considered as one of the main factors in the perpetration of brutalities, such as inhumanities perpetuated during the Holocaust by SS-officers operating the gas chambers (Haslam, 2006). Costelo and Hodson (2010) explain that the foundation of dehumanization is the categorization between "us" and "them", which accentuates the differences between groups. This separation then creates a base for out-group dehumanization. Combined with a diffused responsibility (e.g. being part of a crowd, having a sense of anonymity), dehumanization can lead to an increase of punitive behaviors (Bandura, 1999). Moreover, Haslam (2006) states that the theoretical perspectives on dehumanization have established its position as a pre-condition of violence. In the current study, dehumanization is predicted to be a factor leading to legitimation of violence. Indeed, dehumanization is predicted to be a consequence of group-centrism, brought by a high NFCC, and a high social identification with the group.

The literature indicates that individuals have differential epistemic motivation, which can have an impact on their perception of their in-group. Because the in-group provides its members with a shared reality and thus unambiguous information about the world, groups with a strong social reality attract high NFCC individuals (Kruglanski et al., 2006). Moreover, as the group holds an important source of closure for individuals with high NFCC, out-groups that challenge the group's reality are therefore expected to be perceived differently (dehumanized) and rejected. Consequently, this study intends to question the relationship between NFCC, group identity and the mechanisms leading to legitimation of violence

towards the out-group using two natural samples. In the search for understanding the mechanism of intergroup violence, the current study aims to answer the question: In which way could information processing (in terms of NFCC) and the group's social reality explain the disengagement mechanism of dehumanization, and lead to legitimation of violence towards an out-group?

Goal of the Present Study

The goal of this research is to investigate the factors driving extreme forms of out-group derogation in football supporters. Considerable research has been done to explain hooliganism and riots, however, this study plans to better understand violence surrounding football games by investigating the underlying factors driving the legitimation of violence towards the opposing team. Indeed, it has been pointed out that in order to understand supporters' violence, researchers have to investigate the internal elements by which individual factors translate into violence (Van Hiel et al., 2007). Therefore, the present study aims to understand the possible cognitive and social reasons that may account for why some supporters act violently on behalf of their group, or accept that the other supporters of their group act violently towards supporters from the opposing team. As mentioned in the introduction, football supporters share a common social reality; they are united by their passion for their team. Even if violent behaviors are not accepted by the majority of them, violence towards the supporters of the opposing team remains, and is part of supporters' reality.

Hypotheses

This study aims to demonstrate the differential effect of belonging to a group, such as football supporters or students in social sciences, on the disengagement mechanism of dehumanization, which would predict legitimation of violence (see Figure 1). First, the current study predicts that there will be a difference of dehumanization and legitimation of violence between students in social sciences and football supporters. On the one hand, football supporters are aware of their membership, which is attached to a particular social reality (specific shared beliefs and clear values). On the other hand, students are not expected to have such a strong social reality attached to their social science student identity. Thus, the hypotheses are the following:

H1: *Supporters dehumanize the out-group significantly more than students.*

H2: *Supporters legitimate violence towards their out-group significantly more than students.*

This study then aims to investigate if, because of the characteristics of the group, football supporters (versus students) have a higher level of social identity and NFCC.

H3: *Supporters display a significantly higher level of social identification with their in-group than students.*

H4: *Supporters display significantly higher levels of dispositional NFCC than students.*

Additionally, this study intends to determine the role of NFCC on how individuals perceive their social identity when belonging to a group such as football supporters. In other words, it predicts that football supporters with high NFCC will tend to identify to a higher degree to their group because the group is perceived as source of closure by serving a role of uncertainty-reduction.

H5: *Supporters reporting a high dispositional NFCC show a higher level of group identity, than students with high level of NFCC.*

Finally, this study aims to investigate the mediational effect of group identity on the relationship between NFCC and dehumanization in a football supporter sample. This study predicts that through their high identity with the group, supporters with high NFCC will have an increase of dehumanization of supporters from the opposing team, which is a mechanism that enables the legitimation of violent behaviors towards them.

H6: *In contrast to students, football supporters' social identity mediates the relationship between NFCC and dehumanization of the out-group, which leads to legitimation of violence.*
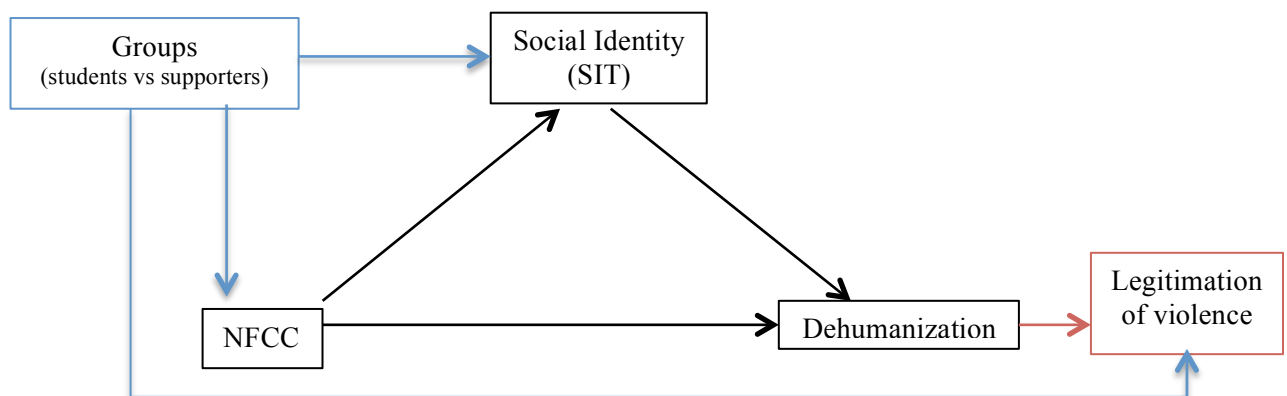

Figure 1. Figure illustrating the factors investigated in this study and their predicted relationships.

Method

Experimental Design

A between-subject quasi-experimental design was conducted. The two independent variables were participants' dispositional NFCC and the group they belonged to (supporters/students). Participants' level of social identification with their in-group and the degree to which participants dehumanized out-group members are mediators. Finally, the dependent variable was the extent to which the participants legitimize violence towards the out-group (supporters from the opposing team/natural science students).

Participants

First, a sample of 367 football supporters from four Swedish football teams were recruited for this study; Malmö FF (N = 246), Djurgården IF (N = 44), Hammarby (N = 65) and AIK (N = 11). Twelve women and 350 men answered the online-survey. Four participants did not mention their gender. The participants were between the age of 17 and 72 (*M* = 32.99, *SD* = 10.91).

Second, a sample of 100 social sciences students was recruited. In this study, the only requirement was that participants were studying a social science subject in order to control their in-group (social science student) and out-group (e.g. natural sciences students). Seventy-nine women and 20 men participated, one participant did not mention their gender.[1] The participants were between the age of 19 and 43 (*M* = 24.68, *SD* = 4.43).

Measures

The first measure of this survey was the measure of the dispositional NFCC (or the need to avoid cognitive closure). Participants dispositional NFCC was assessed by using the short version of the revised need for cognitive closure scale (NFCS), which was evaluated by a 15-item self-reported instrument developed by Roets and Van Hiel (2011). The NFCC scale contained five major aspects tapping diverse manifestation of the NFCC; the first aspect assessed participants' preference for order and structure in their environment, e.g. *"I find that a well ordered life with regular hours suits my temperament"*. The second aspect looked at the affective discomfort occasioned by the absence of closure, e.g. *"I don't like to go into a*

---

[1] Despite the majority of women in this sample, independent samples t-tests were performed and indicated that there were no significant gender differences for any of the variables of interest in the student sample.

situation without knowing what I can expect from it". The third aspect assessed the urgency of seeking closure in judgment and decision-making, e.g. *"I would quickly become impatient and irritated if I would not find a solution to a problem immediately"*. The fourth aspect looked at the desire for secure knowledge, e.g. *"I feel uncomfortable when I don't understand the reason why an event occurred in my life"*. Finally, the last aspect of the NFCC scale assessed to the close-mindedness or the reluctance to have one's knowledge confronted by other options or inconsistent evidence, e.g. *"I feel irritated when one person disagrees with what everyone else in a group believes"*. Participants were asked to rate on a 6-points response scale the extent to which they *strongly disagree* (1) or *strongly agree* (6) with each statement. An additive index of the scores was created by calculating a mean of all 15 responses. The reliability analysis showed a high reliability of the NFCC scale for both groups (supporters, α = 0.84; students, α = 0.83).

The next measure aimed to establish the participant's sense of identification with the in-group, therefore participants were asked to answer a few questions about how they perceived and valued their membership to their in-group. Participants completed a social identity scale (SIT) used in Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer and Leach (2004). According to Van Zomeren, Postmes and Spears (2008) social identity consists of what is expected to be part of the group's social reality. It includes what it means to be part of the group, and in-group and out-group opinions. This measure contained four items related to how participants identified themselves as a supporter or as a student. These questions were different for both groups; *"I feel connected with other MFF-supporters [social science students]"* or *"I identify myself with other MFF-supporters [social science students]"*. Each statement was answered on a 7-points response scale, from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly disagree* (7). An index of the score was created by adding the mean of the four items. A reliability analysis indicated a high reliability of the SIT scale for both groups (supporters, α = 0.78; students, α = 0.90).

Then participants were asked to report to which extent they *strongly disagree* (1) or *strongly agree* (7) with each statement of a measure of dehumanization used in Jackson and Gaertner (2010). This measure was adapted to refer to the specific groups of interest for this study. This measure of dehumanization contained six items such as *"Supporters from the opposing team are beastly"* (for the supporter group) or *"Violence is usually a result of a provocation from students from another Faculty (e.g. natural science students)"* (for the student group). An index was created from the six items. A reliability analysis showed a high

reliability of the dehumanization scale for the supporter group, $\alpha = 0.78$. However, the dehumanization scale for the student group showed a moderate reliability, $\alpha = 0.54$.

In order to assess the dependent variable, both samples were asked to indicate the degree to which they legitimated violence towards the out-group by answering a unique item asking, *"To what extent do you think that violence against supporters from the opposing team [natural science students] is legitimate?"* Participants were asked to indicate in which extent did they agree on a 7-points response scale from *strongly disagree* (1) or *strongly agree* (7). This item was adapted from a study conducted by Larsson, Björklund and Bäckström (2012). The participants ended the survey by answering a few background questions.

Because this study was part of another project, additional scales were measured in the survey, which will be used in future projects.

Procedure

The quantitative data was collected through a 15 minutes survey. For the supporter group, the link to an online-survey made on *Google doc survey* was shared on the Forums of four teams on *www.svenskafans.se*. On this webpage, each team has its own page, which contains a Forum for supporters to share thoughts and links. The online-survey was posted on the Forum of the four teams of interest: Malmö FF, Djurgården, AIK and Hammarby. The link was also shared on the Facebook page of the Malmö FF supporter group. These teams were chosen because they are known to have a large amount of supporters. The reason for using an Internet survey for this study was to facilitate the access to a sample of supporters from all around Sweden.

For the student group, the first 57 students were recruited by sharing the link of an online version of the survey on different groups on Facebook related to social sciences. Additionally, 43 students received a Tia lottery ticket in return for their participation to the paper version of the survey, and consisted of students reached in the Gender Studies, Social Sciences and Psychology departments at Lund University. Although this first study aimed to be exclusively an online-survey, the paper version helped reaching the students that were unable to be reached from social media outlets.

This study was introduced as a study investigating attitudes related to how it is to be a football supporter or how it is to be a social science student. On the first page of the survey, participants were informed about the goal and the length of the survey. They were also

notified that their answers are completely anonymous and confidential. Finally, they were informed that by starting the survey they would agree to participate to the study.

The survey contained two parts; this first part was common to all participants and contained unrelated items and the need for cognitive closure scale. After these measures, participants of the supporter group were asked to indicate in a multiple-choice question which team they were supporting between Malmö FF, Djurgården, AIK and Hammarby. Participants from the students group were not asked this question. Depending on their answer to this question, supporters were directed to the rest of the questionnaire (SIT, dehumanization, legitimation of violence, self-involvement in violent behavior and loyal actions) containing the same questions for everyone, however the questions were directed toward their specific team, e.g. *"I identify myself as a Malmö FF supporter"* or *"I see myself as part of the Hammarby supporters club or supporters' collective of which I am a member".* Accordingly, after answering the first part of the survey mentioned above, the students were asked to answer the SIT, dehumanization and legitimation of violence measures containing questions directed towards students in social science. Finally, all participants were asked to answer a few background questions.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

When screening the data, 12 cases of multivariate outliers were detected (8 supporters and 4 students), which had higher Mahalanobis distances than the critical value of 16.27. These multivariate outliers were erased from the data file. To handle the missing data, the exclude cases pairwise option was used in order to exclude the missing cases in the related analyses. The data was then investigated for violation of the assumptions, however all the assumptions were met.

Bivariate Correlations

Bivariate correlations between all the variables of interest were performed, results are presented in Table 1 and below.

Supporters. A bivariate correlation between all the variables of interest was performed for the supporter group. As shown in Table 1, all variables of interest were significantly correlated, except for NFCC and legitimation of violence. These correlations illustrate the relationship between the four variables of interests and support the model

predicting that NFCC is not directly associated with legitimation of violence. In line with this, Table 1 also shows that dehumanization was highly correlated with legitimation of violence, which illustrates the important role of the mechanism of dehumanization in legitimation of violence.

Table 1.
Intercorrelations Matrix for the four variables of interest

		1	2	3	4
1. NFCC	Pearson	-	.18**	.13*	.03
	Correlation sign. (2-tailed)		.00	.02	.60
2. Social Identification	Pearson	.10	-	.22**	.18**
	Correlation sign. (2-tailed)	.34		.00	.00
3. Dehumanization	Pearson	.06	-.09	-	.68**
	Correlation sign. (2-tailed)	.57	.40		.00
4. Legitimation of violence	Pearson	.02	-.07	.18	-
	Correlation sign. (2-tailed)	.81	.50	.08	

Note. Intercorrelations for the supporter group (n = 358) are presented above the diagonal, and intercorrelation for the student groups (n = 96) are presented below the diagonal.
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Students. As indicated in Table 1, none of the variables of interest were significantly correlated to each other for the student sample. These results support the assumption that the model would exclusively hold for a particular group such as football supporters, which is embodied in a social reality shared by all members.

Differences between Supporters and Students on Legitimation of Violence, NFCC and Social Identification

Independent-samples t-tests were performed in order to answer the four first hypotheses predicting that supporters would report higher legitimation of violence, dehumanization, NFCC and social identity levels than students. Results indicated that there were significant differences between the supporters and the students on all the four variables; NFCC, $t(432) = -2.16$, $d = .27$; social identification, $t(117.63) = 12.08$, $d = 1.55$; dehumanization, $t(321.39) = 12.13$, $d = 1.11$ and legitimation of violence, $t(367.01) = 7.29$, d

= .66. Descriptive analyses from Table 2 indicated that, as predicted, supporters reported a significantly higher level of social identity, dehumanization and legitimation of violence than students. However, supporters indicated a slightly but significantly lower level of NFCC than students. These results therefore confirmed three out of four hypotheses.

Table 2.
Means and standard deviations for both supporter and student groups for each variable of interest and p-values for the Independent-samples t-tests

	Groups	N	Mean Std.	Std. Deviation	*p*-values
NFCC	Supporters	343	3.34	.78	.03*
	Students	91	3.54	.71	
Social identification	Supporters	357	6.19	.84	.00***
	Students	99	4.37	1.43	
Dehumanization	Supporters	357	1.96	.88	.00***
	Students	96	1.19	.43	
Legitimation	Supporters	358	1.84	1.36	.00***
of violence	Students	98	1.15	.60	

*Note. * p <.05, ** p <.01, *** p <.001*

Analyses of the Mediation Effect of Social Identification

A mediation analysis was conducted in order to assess the mediational role of social identification in the relation between NFCC and dehumanization. Preacher and Hayes (2008) SPSS Macro for Multiple Mediation was used to assess the predicted indirect effect of social identification.

Supporters. It was predicted that it is through a heightened social identification level that individuals with a high NFCC dehumanize supporters from the opposing team to a greater extent than those with a low NFCC, because of the importance of protecting their in-group's social reality.

Illustrated by Figure 2, analyses performed through the statistical mediation analysis showed that NFCC was positively related to social identity (a-path, β = .19, $t(332)$ = 3.19, $p <$ .01). This result confirms the hypothesis stating that supporters reporting a high NFCC would show a higher level of group identity. Furthermore, analyses showed that social identity was positively related to dehumanization (b-path, β = .19, $t(332)$ = 3.72, $p <$ .001). Finally, it was found that NFCC was positively associated with dehumanization (c-path, B = .14, $t(332)$ =

2.39, $p < .05$). Because the a-path, b-path and c-path of the proposed mediation model were significant, mediation analysis were conducted using the Bootstrapping method with the 95% confidence interval of the indirect effect, which was obtained using 5000 bootstrap resamples (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results of the mediation analysis confirmed the mediating role of social identity in the relation between NFCC and dehumanization as the confidence intervals did not include the value zero ($\beta = .04$, CI = .01 to .07). Moreover, results showed that the direct effect of NFCC on dehumanization became non-significant when controlling for social identity (c'-path, $\beta = 0.10$, $t(332) = 1.76$, $p = 0.8$), suggesting a total mediation.
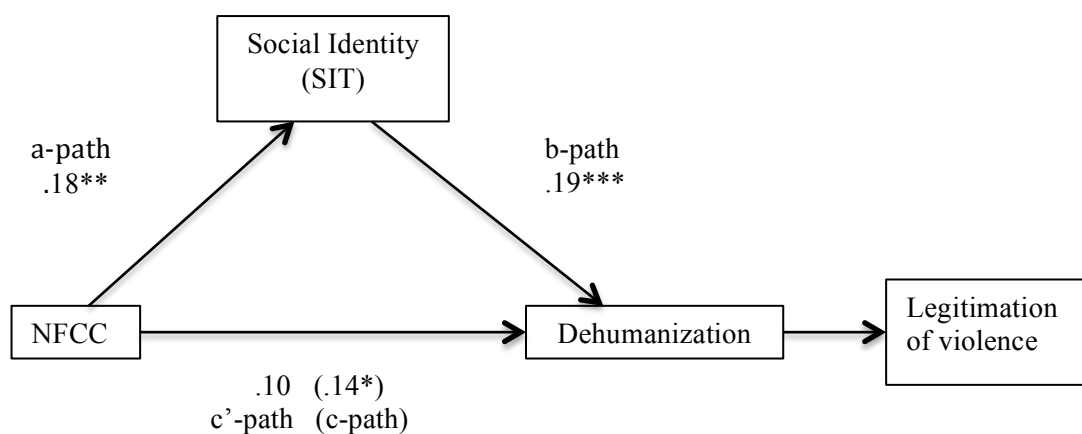
Figure 2. Figure indicating the indirect effect of NFCC on dehumanization through social identity for the supporter group.

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Students. Because the bivariate correlation analyses presented earlier showed that none of the variables were correlated, the mediation analysis was not conducted for this sample. This result confirmed the hypothesis predicting that there would not be a mediation effect of social identification on the relationship between NFCC and dehumanization.

Effect of Dehumanization on Legitimation of Violence

A linear regression analysis was performed in order to illustrate the differential effect of the disengagement mechanism of dehumanization on legitimation of violence in regards of the two groups (supporters/students), thus investigating the last part of the model presented earlier (Figure 1).

Model 1 of the linear regression containing exclusively the variable groups was significant, R^2 = .05, $F(1, 443)$ = 24.52, $p < .001$ (β = .23, SE = .14). When adding dehumanization, model 2 was also significant R^2 = .36, $F(1, 442)$ = 127.23, $p < .001$ and indicated that dehumanization had a significant unique contribution to the prediction of legitimation of violence, R^2 change = .31, F change(1, 442) = 218.03, $p < .001$ (β = .93, SE = .06). Finally, model 3 including the interaction of groups and dehumanization was also significant R^2 = .38, $F(1, 441)$ = 91.85, $p < .001$, and revealed that the interaction effect contributed significantly, R^2 change = .02, F change(1, 444) = 13.76, $p < .001$ (β = .89, SE = 24). This interaction, illustrated in Figure 3, indicates that there is a positive relationship between dehumanization and legitimation of violence for the supporters, however there is no such relationship for the students. More specifically, supporters reporting a high level of dehumanization showed a significantly higher legitimation of violence, than students reporting a high level of dehumanization of the out-group.
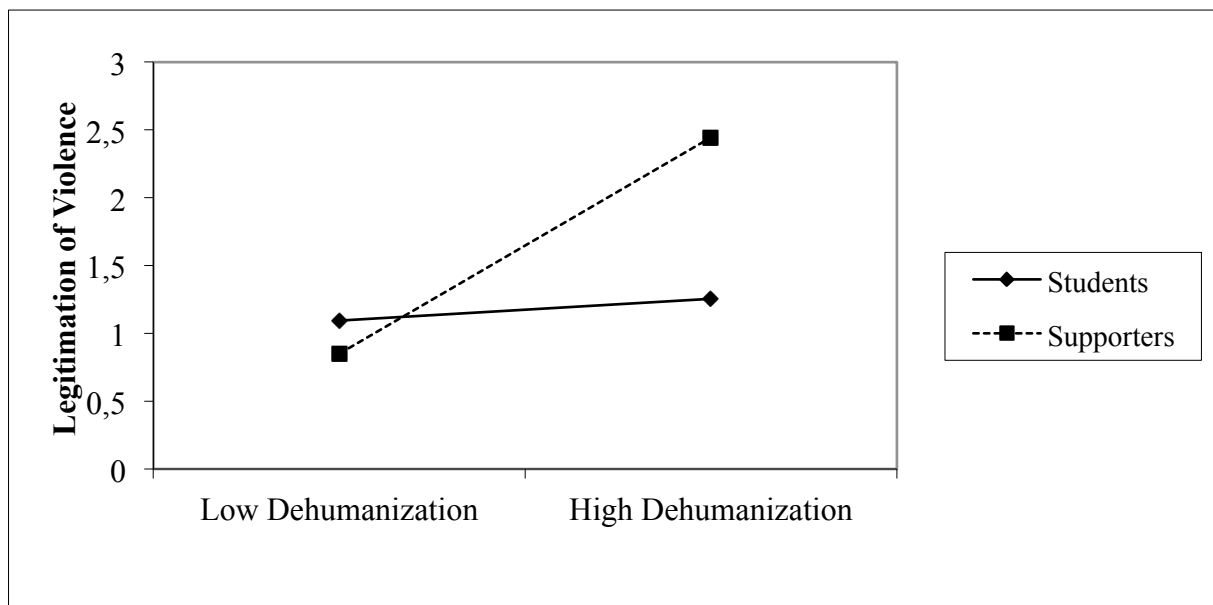
Figure 3. Figure illustrating the interaction effect of groups (supporters/students) and dehumanization on legitimation of violence.

Discussion

Individuals with high NFCC have a motivation to reach the end state of closure, fast and in a permanent way. This drives individuals with high NFCC to crystallize their knowledge and resist persuasion (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996). This study predicted that

because of this need for closure, the individuals belonging to a group with a specific social reality will report a higher group centrism and social identification because the group then fulfills a role of closure-provider and uncertainty-reduction by confirming the individual's beliefs and values through the shared social reality (Kruglanski et al., 2002). Moreover, it was predicted that everyone who challenges the group's social reality by questioning the values of the group would be derogated. The current study then integrated the notion of dehumanization in the hope of explaining the process through which individuals legitimate violence against the out-group.

Data from 366 football supporters and 100 students was collected in order to investigate the relationship between NFCC, group identity and the mechanisms leading to legitimation of violence towards the out-group to better understand football supporters' violence. This study compared two groups (supporters versus students), which possess different characteristics in order to explore the effect of own membership to a group and its effect on the perception of the out-group. Thus, to demonstrate that depending on what kind of group one belongs to, one might (or not) develop an extreme form of out-group derogation.

Results

First, this study predicted that there would be a difference in the extent to which supporters and students dehumanize and legitimate violence towards their respective out-group. Results showed that, indeed, supporters dehumanize and legitimate violence significantly more than students, confirming the two first hypotheses. The fairly large and significant differences between the groups in their level of dehumanization and legitimation of violence indicate that the characteristics that define a group's social reality, such as values, beliefs and perception of in/out-group influence out-group derogation. Unlike football supporters, students in social sciences are not expected to be attached to such a strong social reality related to being a social science student, much less that it would be related to out-group derogation.

It was then predicted that because supporters belong to a group with such a strong social reality, while students do not, supporters would report a higher level of social identification and NFCC than students. Indeed, because of their epistemic purpose, groups such as football supporters should be appealing to individuals with high NFCC (Kruglanski et al., 2002). Results indicated that, although the difference between supporters and students is small, contrary to the prediction, supporters reported a lower NFCC than students. The

prediction was that a group such as football supporters would be composed of members with higher NFCC than students because the social reality shared by the supporters' group would attract individuals with high NFCC. The results of the current study, however, imply that in this study it is not the type of group that defines if its members have a high or low NFCC. Additionally, it suggests that what characterizes the difference between groups such as students and supporters is not simply the level of NFCC, but the social reality and identity attached to the groups, which can, together with a high level of NFCC, lead individuals to have differential perceptions of the out-group.

Moreover, supporters were expected to be more attached to their supporter identity than students to their student identity because of the strong social reality attached to the supporter group. Results supported the prediction that supporters have a significantly higher level of social identification with their in-group than students. This result confirms the idea that being part of a specific group such as a football supporter group, which possesses shared beliefs that consolidate individuals' membership, leads to an increase of members' identification with the in-group.

A third prediction was made, which stated that supporters with high NFCC would report a high level of social identity. Thus, the group-centrism created by a high NFCC was predicted to lead individuals to identify themselves more with the in-group. Results supported this prediction, which give an insight to the way supporters process information can influence the extent to which they identify with their in-group. Aligned with Kruglanski et al. (2002), because of their heightened NFCC, these individuals will seek to achieve the cognitive end state of closure and will perceive other members of their in-group as reality and truth providers. Thus, the in-group gains in importance as it is seen as a constant source of closure, by confirming and reassuring individuals' values and beliefs. Thereby, this in-group centrism would be the reason for a heightened identification with the in-group.

Finally, this study predicted a mediation effect of social identification on the relationship between NFCC and dehumanization and its effect on legitimation of violence. Results supported the mediation effect and indicated that it is through a high level of social identification that supporters with high NFCC dehumanize supporters from the opposing team, consequently, establishing the impact of how supporters with high NFCC perceive themselves as belonging to a group on the mechanism of dehumanization. These results imply that the group-centrism brought by a heightened NFCC, which explains individuals' high social identification with the group, leads these individuals to perceive the out-group as not

deserving to be treated like humans. In a study exploring the roots of dehumanization, Costello and Hodson (2009) demonstrate that when they present Canadian students an image of immigrants as highly similar to themselves, the students indicate an increase of humanization towards immigrants. According to these results, Costello and Hodson (2009) suggest that (re)categorization of the out-group would be at the foundation of humanization/dehumanization. Therefore, the results of the current study can illustrate the differentiation between in and out-groups for individuals with high NFCC, who create a categorization between their in and out-groups and therefore perceive the out-group as significantly different from themselves. This categorization between "us, as Malmö FF supporters" and "them, as Djurgården supporters" can explain why supporters with a high NFCC reported a high dehumanization of the supporters of the opposing team.

In addition to this mediation effect, this study predicted that the dehumanization of the out-group would enable supporters to legitimate violence towards the supporters from the opposing team. Indeed, Banduras (1999) indicates that dehumanization promotes punitiveness by decreasing one sense of responsibility. As revealed by the interaction analysis, there is a positive relationship between dehumanization and legitimation of violence for the supporters but not for the students. Furthermore, as indicated by the bivariate correlations for the supporter group, NFCC is not correlated with legitimation of violence. Thus, the in-group centrism brought by a heightened NFCC does not directly predict legitimation of violence towards the opposing team, however it does through the mechanism of dehumanization. These results illustrate the crucial position of the mechanism of dehumanization in explaining legitimation of violence in football supporters. A high NFCC is expected to lead to legitimation of violence only through a heightened social identification and group-centrism that it creates, and the less-human like image of the out-group that it generates. This study therefore displays the importance of investigating several predictors in order to have an idea of the dynamic behind legitimation of violence.

Besides these psychological factors, the environment surrounding football games, such as the competition and the atmosphere on the stands can only enlarge supporters' attachment to their team. These characteristics lead supporters to develop a clear separation between "us" and "them". In addition to this categorization, the brotherhood, the share of the wins and losses with other supporters, and the chants sung during games can be perceived as the basis for dehumanization; "A monkey goes on Djurgår'n, On the way to his cage, He performs the chattering he, On the song goes in a major key" (football chant from AIK's supporters to

Djurgården's supporters). The dehumanization process of the out-group can therefore be seen as particular in the case of football supporters, which can explain its relation to legitimation of violence towards this out-group. Furthermore, by being in a crowd and feeling part of something, supporters can experience deindividualization, which can influence the diffusion of responsibility in aggressive situations (Bandura, Underwood & Fromson, 1975).

Method

The differential results between the two groups point out the relevance of using real groups, that is, groups that exist in society (versus students). This current study demonstrates that because of the groups' attributes (shares beliefs or values), supporters and students do not have the same perceptions of their out-group. This difference questions the external validity of the studies using student samples when investigating dimensions such as extreme behaviors. Indeed, the literature investigating in-group bias emphasizes the fact that in-group love does not lead to out-group hate. Brewer (1999) explains that, indeed, the assumption of negative reciprocity between the groups is not accurate, as researches have demonstrated that "variations in in-group positivity and social identification do not systematically correlate with degree of bias or negativity toward out-groups" (p. 432). More specifically, categorization into groups (e.g. through a minimal group paradigm) has been shown to induce in-group favoritism in the extent to how many positive stimuli are allocated to the in-group (versus out-group), however, this asymmetry is not found for the allocation of negative stimuli (Mummendey & Otten, 1998). The results from the current study showed a difference of dehumanization and legitimation of violence between a student group and a real group, therefore accentuating the relevance of investigating real groups. Thus, real groups might carry stronger group values and beliefs than students or laboratory groups, which might affect not only the extent of the members' identification, but also members' perception of the out-group. Therefore, because of these differential findings between previous research on out-group derogation and the results presented in this study, researchers would be advised to be careful as to the external validity of research on in-group bias using student samples.

Limitations

The first limitation of this study is the asymmetrical sample size. The reason for this asymmetry is that although football supporters were really receptive to answering the survey, students were more reluctant (probably because of the amount of students collecting data at

that moment). That is why almost half of the student sample's data was collected through a paper-pen version. It is due to time limitation that not more students were found.

Another limitation is the fact that the supporter sample was mainly composed of men, which limits the external validity of the results. Indeed, it can be expected that a group mainly composed of men legitimize violence to a higher degree than a group mainly composed of women. Therefore, the application of this model on other groups is limited and could not be used for groups with mostly women. Nevertheless, in the current case, the majority of males in the sample accurately reflect the population of football supporters, as they are primarily men.

Additionally, the student group was mostly composed of women, which can have created a confounding effect of gender. Indeed women supposedly are less violent and don't legitimatize violence to the same extent than men. However, as indicated earlier, no significant difference between men and women was found on legitimation of violence. Therefore, it can be suggested that the difference between the group is not confounded by their gender differences.

Finally, the use of Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) could have helped in order to increase the statistical validity of this study. The statistical methods used in this study helped assessing the relationship between the different factors, however SEM would have enabled a more accurate investigation of the validity of the model on the two samples by testing all the paths simultaneously. No SEM-softwares were available for this study, however, this method will definitely be used for further projects investigating this model.

Further research

In order to have a better understanding of the direction of NFCC's relation with the other predictors, further research should include a manipulation of individual's NFCC. This manipulation can be done by triggering high or low situational NFC. In their study Shah et al. (1998) demonstrate that it is a high NFCC that leads people to develop a higher in-group centrism, however, it could be interesting to confirm these findings on the samples used in this study.

Another suggestion for further research would be to investigate and compare different teams on the ground of their status and the type of fan clubs supporters belong to (e.g. fanatic or moderate). According to Zani and Kirchler (1991), fanatic supporters identify themselves more with their club than moderate supporters. Nevertheless, they suggest that the extent to

which supporters identify with their club is not only related to being fanatic or moderate supporters, but also to the increase of self-esteem supporters receive from the position of the team in the league. Thus, they suggest that supporters from a successful team would report higher identification than supporters from a more unsuccessful team. One can suppose that because of this higher identification, the supporters of the successful team would act more violently, but Zani and Kirchler (1991) suggest that because, unlike supporters from the successful team, supporters from the unsuccessful team do not see their self-esteem increasing thanks to the wins of their team, they therefore cause disturbances on the basis of other motives than a high identity. For instance, supporters from the unsuccessful team might come to the games not to support their team but as a way to hang out with their friends or to experience a feeling of strength. Therefore, further studies should take into consideration the differences between different clubs to better understand the role of social identification on supporters' violence.

Implications

Football supporter violence is a current issue in Sweden and in many other countries around the world. After the events that have taken place in the past few months in Sweden, supporters report being scared to bring their children to football games. Taking into account the small amount of experimental research on football supporters' violence in Sweden, this study can be perceived as a slight progression, which will hopefully lead to more research. Moreover, accounting for the amount of data that was able to be collected through football supporters' Forums, this study highlights not only the positive participation from supporters to help understanding the phenomenon of violence surrounding football games, but also the possibility of using these channels to reach participants in future research.

This study presents a more complex investigation of football supporters' violence by using social and cognitive concepts, and brings more understanding to the underlying mechanisms behind legitimation of violence. Consequently, the results of the current study promote the need for a more integrative approach to the field of supporters' violence, by employing mediation analyses in order to explain the dynamic behind it. Several studies have investigated the role of identification on violence surrounding football supporters (Russell, 2004; Van Hiel et al., 2007), however this study contribute to a deeper understanding of a possible cognitive component behind social identification, and its impact on how they perceive supporters from the opposing team.

Conclusion

Studies within the field of football violence have been attempting to identify who are the supporters provoking violence by listing demographical information (gender, work and financial situation and history of violence). However, a wider range of psychological and empirical work needs to be done in order to understand why certain supporters are violent, while others are not. Hopefully, this study will bring awareness to the need to continue developing research investigating the impact of how people perceive themselves and others, on their behaviors towards others, through social or cognitive approaches. Furthermore, this study gives the opportunity to explore groups' dynamic in a wider range. Consequently, although this study focuses on football supporters, this model could be looked at in relation to other groups, such as extreme religious groups, political groups or criminal organizations. Football supporters are individuals from all social classes, with different financial situations and with all types of background and therefore reflect society in general. That is why understanding the reasons for legitimation of violence in a football supporter sample can also help understanding violence between other groups.

Finally, although the extent of studies on supporters' violence in the UK is large, Swedish studies are only scarce. Therefore, more research should be done using Swedish sample and should take advantage of a more multidisciplinary view of the issue, through sociology, criminology and psychology, in order to have a more extensive knowledge about who, how and why supporters' violence is a recurring societal issue.

References

Bandura, A. (1999). Moral disengagement in the perpetration of inhumanities. *Personality and social psychology review*, *3*(3), 193-209. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr0303_3

Bandura, A., Underwood, B., & Fromson, M. E. (1975). Disinhibition of aggression through diffusion of responsibility and dehumanization of victims. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *9*(4), 253-269. doi:10.1016/0092-6566(75)90001-X

Bar-Tal, D. (2000). *Shared beliefs in a society: Social psychological analysis*. London: Sage.

Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love and outgroup hate?. *Journal of social issues*, *55*(3), 429-444. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00126

Costello, K., & Hodson, G. (2010). Exploring the roots of dehumanization: The role of animal-human similarity in promoting immigrant humanization. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *13*(1), 3-22. doi:10.1177/1368430209347725

Direktdebatt, fotbollen och våldet (2014, april 1st). *Sydsvenskan.* Retrieved from http://www.sydsvenskan.se

Evans, J. S. B. (1989). *Bias in human reasoning: Causes and consequences*. Hillsdale, NJ, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Giulianotti, R., Bonney, N., & Hepworth, M. (Ed.). (1994). *Football, violence and social identity*. London: Routledge.

Harris, L. T., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Dehumanizing the lowest of the low neuroimaging responses to extreme out-groups. *Psychological Science*, *17*(10), 847-853. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01793.x

Haslam, N. (2006). Dehumanization: An integrative review. *Personality and social psychology review*, *10*(3), 252-264. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_4

Haslam, N., & Loughnan, S. (2014). Dehumanization and Infrahumanization. *Annual review of psychology*, *65*, 399-423. doi: 10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115045

Jackson, L. E., & Gaertner, L. (2010). Mechanisms of moral disengagement and their differential use by right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation in support of war. *Aggressive behavior*, *36*(4), 238-250. doi:10.1002/ab.20344

Klein, C. T., & Webster, D. M. (2000). Individual differences in argument scrutiny as motivated by need for cognitive closure. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *22*(2), 119-129. doi:10.1207/S15324834BASP2202_5

Kruglanski, A. W., Pierro, A., Mannetti, L., & De Grada, E. (2006). Groups as epistemic providers: need for closure and the unfolding of group-centrism. *Psychological review*, *113*(1), 84. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.113.1.84

Kruglanski, A. W., Shah, J. Y., Pierro, A., & Mannetti, L. (2002). When similarity breeds content: Need for closure and the allure of homogeneous and self-resembling groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *83*(3), 648. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.83.3.648

Kruglanski, A. W., & Webster, D. M. (1996). Motivated closing of the mind:" Seizing" and" freezing." *Psychological review*, *103*(2), 263. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.103.2.263

Kuick. K., & Qvarfordt. B. (2013). *Jag hör till de få som kan leva – en bok om supporterkultur*. Lettland: Ordblandning.

Landelius, M. (2014, March 16). Matchen kantades av bråk och stök. *Sydsvenskan.* Retrieved from http://www.sydsvenskan.se

Larsson, M. R., Björklund, F., & Bäckström, M. (2012). Right-wing authoritarianism is a risk factor of torture-like abuse, but so is social dominance orientation. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *53*(7), 927-929. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2012.06.015

Levin, S., & Sidanius, J. (1999). Social dominance and social identity in the United States and Israel: Ingroup favoritism or outgroup derogation? *Political Psychology*, *20*(1), 99-126. doi:10.1111/0162-895X.00138

Magnusson, E. (2014, april 1st). "Han befann sig uppenbart på fel plats". *Sydsvenskan.* Retrieved from http://www.sydsvenskan.se/

Mummendey, A., & Otten, S. (1998). Positive–negative asymmetry in social discrimination. *European review of social psychology*, *9*(1), 107-143. doi:10.1080/14792779843000063

Percy, M., & Taylor, R. (1997). Something for the weekend, sir? Leisure, ecstasy and identity in football and contemporary religion. *Leisure Studies*, *16*(1), 37-49. doi:10.1080/026143697375502

Roets, A. & Van Hiel, A. (2011). Item selection and validation of a brief, 15-item version of the need for closure scale. *Personality and Individual Differences, 50,* 90-94. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2010.09.004

Russell, G. W. (2004). Sport riots: A social–psychological review. *Aggression and violent behavior*, *9*(4), 353-378. doi:10.1016/S1359-1789(03)00031-4

Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2008). Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models. *Behavior research methods*, *40*(3), 879-891. doi:10.3758/BRM.40.3.879

Shah, J. Y., Kruglanski, A. W., & Thompson, E. P. (1998). Membership has its (epistemic) rewards: need for closure effects on in-group bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *75*(2), 383. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.75.2.383

Swann Jr, W. B., Gómez, Á., Dovidio, J. F., Hart, S., & Jetten, J. (2010). Dying and Killing for One's Group Identity Fusion Moderates Responses to Intergroup Versions of the Trolley Problem. *Psychological Science*, *21*(8), 1176-1183. doi:10.1177/0956797610376656

Swann Jr, W. B., Gómez, Á., Seyle, D. C., Morales, J., & Huici, C. (2009). Identity fusion: the interplay of personal and social identities in extreme group behavior. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *96*(5), 995. doi:10.1037/a0013668

Tajfel, H., & Turner. J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W.G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp.7-24). Chigago: Nelson-Hall.

Thiborg, J. (2014, May 7). *Svensk idrott i samhället.* Retrieved from: http://www.rf.se/Undermeny/Statistik/

Turner, J. (2007). Self-categorization theory. In R. Baumeister, & K. Vohs (Eds.). *Encyclopedia in social psychology.* (pp. 793-795). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi:*http://dx.doi.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.4135/9781412956253.n474*

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Cambridge, MA, US: Basil Blackwell.

Van Hiel, A., Hautman, L., Cornelis, I., & De Clercq, B. (2007). Football hooliganism: comparing self-awareness and social identity theory explanations. *Journal of community & applied social psychology*, *17*(3), 169-186. doi:10.1002/casp.902

Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: a quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological bulletin*, *134*(4), 504. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504

Van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Fischer, A. H., & Leach, C. W. (2004). Put your money where your mouth is! Explaining collective action tendencies through group-based anger and group efficacy. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *87*(5), 649. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.649

Zani, B., & Kirchler, E. (1991). When violence overshadows the spirit of sporting competition: Italian football fans and their clubs. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *1*(1), 5-21. doi:10.1002/casp.2450010103

Appendix

Survey, students' version

Studie om attityder

Välkommen till ett forskningsprojekt från Lunds universitet! Syftet är att undersöka olika attityder som relaterar till hur det är att vara en student i samhällsvetenskap.

Ditt deltagande är helt frivilligt. Om du bestämmer dig för att delta i denna undersökning, kan du närsomhelst välja att avsluta.

Undersökningen tar ungefär 15 minuter. Ditt svar är helt anonymt och konfidentiellt. Ingen kommer att kunna spåra enskilda svar till någon individ. Resultaten kommer endast att analyseras på gruppnivå och endast att användas i forskningssammanhang.

Tänk på att inga svar är rätt eller fel, utan svara som du spontant känner.
Genom att starta undersökningen godkänner du att delta i studien.

Tack för att deltagande!

Nedan beskrivs ett antal situationer där man frågar andra om hjälp eller dylikt. Försök sätta dig in i dessa situationer.

A) Du närmar dig en vän för att prata efter ha gjort eller sagt något som kan ha upprört henne/honom väldigt mycket.

  - **Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida din vän skulle vilja prata med dig?**

1   2   3   4   5   6

Inte alls orolig   Mycket orolig

  - **Hur sannolikt tror du det är att din vän skulle vilja prata med dig?**

1   2   3   4   5   6

Inte alls sannolikt   Mycket sannolikt

B) Du har blivit arbetslös och du frågar dina närmaste om du kan bo hos dem ett tag.

  - **Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida dina närmaste skulle låta dig bo hos dem?**

1   2   3   4   5   6

Inte alls orolig   Mycket orolig

  - **Hur sannolikt tror du det är att dina närmaste skulle låta dig bo hos dem.**

1   2   3   4   5   6

Inte alls sannolikt   Mycket sannolikt

C) Du ringer din partner efter ett stort bråk och säger till honom/henne att du vill träffas (om du inte har en partner för tillfället, föreställ dig att du hade det).

  - **Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida din partner skulle vilja träffas?**

1   2   3   4   5   6

Inte alls orolig   Mycket orolig

  - **Hur sannolikt tror du att det skulle vara att din partner skulle vilja träffas?**

1   2   3   4   5   6

Inte alls sannolikt   Mycket sannolikt

D) Du har dåligt med pengar och du frågar dina närmaste (t ex familj, nära vänner) om du kan få låna pengar av dem för att betala din hyra eller en annan viktig utgift.

- **Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida dina närmaste skulle låna dig pengar?**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Inte alls orolig   Mycket orolig

- **Hur sannolikt tror du det är att dina närmaste skulle låna dig pengar?**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Inte alls sannolikt   Mycket sannolikt

E) Du ber dina närmaste (t ex familj, nära vänner) att komma till ett tillfälle som är viktigt för dig.

- **Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida de skulle komma?**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Inte alls orolig   Mycket orolig

- **Hur sannolikt tror du det är att de skulle komma?**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Inte alls sannolikt   Mycket sannolikt

(F) Du ber en nära vän att göra dig en stor tjänst.

- **Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida han/hon skulle göra dig denna tjänst?**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Inte alls orolig   Mycket orolig

- **Hur sannolikt tror du det är att han/hon skulle göra dig denna tjänst?**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Inte alls sannolikt   Mycket sannolikt

G) Du frågar din partner om han/hon älskar dig (om du inte har en partner för tillfället, föreställ dig att du hade det)

- **Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida han/hon skulle säga ja?**

1	2	3	4	5	6

Inte alls orolig   Mycket orolig

- **Hur sannolikt tror du det är att han/hon skulle säga ja?**

1	2	3	4	5	6

Inte alls sannolikt   Mycket sannolikt

H) Du är på en social tillställning (t ex fest) och känner ingen annan, men bestämmer dig för att börja prata med en person som står i närheten av dig.

- **Hur orolig skulle du vara över huruvida han/hon skulle vilja prata med dig?**

1	2	3	4	5	6

Inte alls orolig   Mycket orolig

- **Hur sannolikt tror du det är att han/hon skulle vilja prata med dig?**

1	2	3	4	5	6

Inte alls sannolikt   Mycket sannolikt

Nedanstående frågor ska besvaras utifrån hur du känner att du fungerar som person. Ringa in ett av alternativen nedan för varje skala.

---

1. Det stör mig inte om andra människor inte verkar acceptera mig.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

2. Jag försöker att inte göra saker som kan få andra människor att undvika eller avvisa mig.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

3. Jag oroar mig sällan över huruvida andra människor bryr sig om mig.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

4. Jag behöver känna att det finns människor jag kan vända mig till i nöd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

5. Jag vill att andra människor ska acceptera mig.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

6. Jag tycker inte om att vara ensam.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

7. Att vara ifrån mina vänner under långa tidsperioder stör mig inte.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

8. Jag har ett stort behov av att passa in.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

9. Det stör mig mycket när jag inte blir inkluderad i andra människors planer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

10. Jag blir lätt sårad när jag känner att andra människor inte verkar acceptera mig.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

11. Jag anser att det går att lita på människor i allmänhet?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

Nedanstående frågor ska besvaras utifrån hur du känner att du fungerar som person. Ringa in ett av alternativen nedan för varje skala.

---

1. Jag tycker inte om situationer som är osäkra.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

2. Jag ogillar frågor som kan besvaras på många olika sätt.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

3. Jag tycker att ett väl ordnade liv med routiner passar mitt temperament.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

4. Jag mår dåligt när jag inte förstår anledningen till att en händelse inträffat i mitt liv.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

5. Jag känner mig irriterad när en person inte håller med vad alla andra i en grupp tror.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

6. Jag tycker inte om att gå in i en situation utan att veta vad jag kan förvänta sig av den.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

7. När jag har tagit ett beslut, känner jag mig lättad

1	2	3	4	5	6

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

8. När jag konfronteras med ett problem, längtar jag efter att nå en lösning snabbt.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

9. Jag skulle snabbt bli otålig och irriterad om jag inte skulle hitta en lösning på ett problem direkt.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

10. Jag tycker inte om att vara med människor som agerar oväntat.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

11. Jag ogillar när en persons uttalande kan betyda många olika saker.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

12. Jag tycker att inrättande av en fast rutin gör att jag kan njuta av livet mer.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

13. Jag tycker om att ha ett tydligt och strukturerat sätt att leva.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

14. Jag brukar inte rådfråga många olika åsikter innan bilda min egen uppfattning.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

15. Jag tycker inte om oförutsägbar situationer

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

Ange vilken av figurerna som representerar bäst hur du uppfattar din relation till andra samhällsvetarstudenter.

- o A
- o B
- o C
- o D
- o E

Ange nedan hur varma eller kalla känslor du har gentemot andra samhällsvetarstudenter generellt, på en skala från 0-100 där 0 = mycket kalla känslor, och 100 = mycket varma känslor.

Svar: _____

Ange nedan hur varma eller kalla känslor du har gentemot studenter i andra ämnen (t. ex, naturvetarstudenter…) på en skala från 0-100 där 0 = mycket kalla känslor, och 100 = mycket varma känslor.

Svar: _____

Nedan följer några frågor om hur du ser på dig själv. Ringa in ett av alternativen nedan för varje skala.

1. Jag ser mig själv som en samhällsvetarstudenter.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

2. Jag är glad över att vara en samhällsvetarstudent.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

3. Jag identifierar mig med andra samhällsvetarstudenter.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

4. Jag känner samhörighet med andra samhällsvetarstudenter.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

5. Jag ser mig själv som en del av studentkåren.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

6. Jag är glad över att vara en del av studentkåren.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

7. Jag identifierar mig med studentkåren.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

8. Jag känner samhörighet med studentkåren.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

Nedan följer några påståenden. Ringa in ett av alternativen nedan för varje skala om hur mycket du håller med.

1. Våld är vanligtvis ett resultat av en provokation från studenter från andra ämnen, t. ex. naturvetarstudenter

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

2. Studenter från andra ämnen (t. ex. naturvetarstudenter) förtjänar stryk så som de beter sig.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

3. Studenter från andra ämnen (t. ex. naturvetarstudenter) är djuriska.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

4. Studenter från andra ämnen (t. ex. naturvetarstudenter) förtjänar inte att bli behandlade som människor.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

5. Studenter från andra ämnen (t. ex. naturvetarstudenter) är ohyra som måste bli utrotade.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

6. Studenter från andra ämnen (t. ex. naturvetarstudenter) är människor som du och jag.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stämmer inte alls   Stämmer helt

Till vilken grad tycker du att våldshandlingar gentemot studenter från andra ämnen (t. ex. naturvetarstudenter) är legitimt?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Ej legitimt   Mycket legitimt

Till vilken grad tror du att du skulle kunna involvera dig i våldhandlingar gentemot en student från andra ämnen (t. ex. naturvetarstudent) ?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Inte alls   Mycket

Båkgrundfrågor

Ålder: _____

Kön: K / M

Ibland talar man om olika "klasser" i samhället. Vilken klass skulle du själv säga att du tillhör?

1. Arbetarklass
2. Lägre medelklass
3. Högre medelklass
4. Överklass
5. Vet ej

> *Det finns olika sätt att försöka förbättra saker i Sverige eller hjälpa till att hindra saker från att gå fel. Vad skulle du själv kunna tänka dig att göra?*
>
> *Kryssa i samtliga som stämmer.*

1. I vilken utsträckning skulle du kunna tänka dig att kontakta en politiker, myndighet, eller lokal ämbetsman?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inte alls troligt						Mycket troligt

2. I vilken utsträckning skulle du kunna tänka dig att arbeta i ett politiskt parti eller en aktionsgrupp?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inte alls troligt						Mycket troligt

3. I vilken utsträckning skulle du kunna tänka dig att arbeta i en annan politisk organisation?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inte alls troligt						Mycket troligt

4. I vilken utsträckning skulle du kunna tänka dig att delta i en laglig demonstration (annan än 1a maj)?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Inte alls troligt   Mycket troligt

5. I vilken utsträckning skulle du kunna tänka dig att skriva på en namninsamling?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Inte alls troligt   Mycket troligt

6. I vilken utsträckning skulle du kunna tänka dig att bojkotta vissa produkter?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Inte alls troligt   Mycket troligt

7. I vilken utsträckning skulle du kunna tänka dig att delta i illegala politiska aktiviteter?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Inte alls troligt   Mycket troligt

8. I vilken utsträckning skulle du kunna tänka dig att använda sociala media i politiskt syfte?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Inte alls troligt   Mycket troligt

Inom politiken talar man ibland om "vänstern" och "högern". Var någonstans skulle du placera dig själv på den här skalan?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Vänster   Höger

En del människor är väldigt måna om att tillhöra en viss grupp och kan därför göra olagliga saker för att visa lojalitet till gruppen. I vilken utsträckning skulle du kunna tänka dig att utföra aktiviteter följande aktiviteter?

1. Delta i slagsmål mot motståndarlaget

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Inte alls troligt   Mycket troligt

2. Vandalisera

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Inte alls troligt   Mycket troligt

3. Trakassera/hota spelare i motståndarlaget

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Inte alls troligt   Mycket troligt

Tack så mycket!