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Identity Crossbreeding in Soccer Fan Groups: A Social Approach. The Case of Marseille (France)

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Abstract

The object of this investigation was to clarify certain mechanisms of identity categorization by studying, from a sociohistorical and psychological perspective, two groups of soccer fans from the city of Marseille. Through this pluralistic social approach, a more precise differentiation of the types of identity construction for both groups was able to be determined. Each type is the product of identity crossbreeding, dependant on specific social, historical and psychological factors. The "Commando Ultra" ("CU") group develops a *conservative* attitude in that its national culture becomes a reference criterion for *ethnocentric* fans. The fan group, "South Winners" ("SW") develops a *syncretistic* attitude for *regional* fans who defend the multicultural identity of Marseille.

Keywords : sociohistorical, social psychology, psycholinguistic methodology, identity, fan group, soccer

Scientific interest regarding spectators does not appear to correspond to the significance of its social impact (Wann, Melnick, Russell, & Pease, 2001). Considering the salaries of the professionals and various product sales, the violence occurring within stadiums and elsewhere, the continuous growth of spectators and sponsors, sports have become a real social entity of contemporary society. Changes in consumer preferences regarding spectator sports on television and in stadiums appears to be, more and more, an illustration of the general transformation of social groups in society, particularly with respect to leisure activities. But one should not be mistaken about the meaning of participation for certain groups of spectators (Bouchet & Bourgeon, 2001; Holt, 1995; Wann et al., 2001). It is not only a matter of blending into the crowd and forgetting the constraints of one's lifestyle for a short period of time. Sporting events often coincide with the expression of shared feelings: the game is experienced in stadium stands (or in lounges) in the same way it is experienced on the field (or watching television). In viewing sports, people may identify with, and assert themselves, as belonging to a group; the sporting event thus becomes a powerful instrument for social categorization. Despite the violence and negative values possibly conveyed through war analogies, for example (End, Kretschmar, Campbell, Mueller, & Dietz-Uhler, 2003), sports participate, to a large extent, in identity and social group construction. This phenomenon is particularly striking in soccer where different fan groups exist (Giulianotti, 2002). Sports fans of various ages, genders, and social groups perceive events differently based on specific social and psychological viewpoints, with national and local culture also influencing preferences. The integration of sports fans, acting instrumentally in allowing the symbolic dimension of the object (i.e., the supported team) to be assimilated, operates in two directions (Holt, 1995). On one hand, the individual assimilates the match in terms of the identity of the fan group (process of self-extension) and, on the other hand, he reorients his self-concept, adapting it to an identity, more or less defined institutionally. The games, therefore, provide a way to express support to diverse facets (professional, regional, ethnic, national . . .) of the individual's identity. This often occurs in one place, a stadium, where a match is observed directly while, at the same time, being watched by other spectators (and television viewers). Attending a game is obviously an indicator of the spectator's association with the values of a sport, club, the athletes supported, or a specific event. Membership with certain groups or categories of fans is distinguished by its association with objects and actions that are exhibited publicly. The stadium stands are often hierarchically organized, with different areas being occupied, usually well visible and/or symbolic, where the resonating clamor has certain meaning. The spectators transmit to others the meaning of their actions during their game experience by the way they express their ideas and preferences and by their participation in ordinary activities. But the understanding of this process in differentiating spectators only provides a few elements for analyzing the mechanisms in the identity construction of fan groups.

“Social” Analysis of Fan Groups: Additional Contributions

The vast majority of the research on fan groups arises from ethnological and sociological analyses in connection with the violence observed in stadiums (Giulianotti, Bonney, & Hepworth, 1994; Roversi, 1991) and with the hooligans (Bodin, 1999; Bröhm, 1993; Dunning & Sheard, 1989), or the marketing and legal issues in relation to the sponsoring and merchandising (Kahle & Riley, 2004; Pons, Laroche, Nyeck, & Perreault, 2001). However, the evolution of sports in our society and soccer, in particular, has led to a more in-depth analysis of the characteristics of fan groups. Results from two fields of study, psychosociology and ethnosociology, dealing with categorization methods for these groups, have been promising. In social psychology, new research emerged from the work of Wann et al. (2001), which was particularly prolific, regarding three classification distinctions of spectator groups. The first one differentiates direct and indirect consumption. The former implies personal presence during a sports event and the possibility of having an impact on the environment, whereas the latter implies an exposure to sports through diverse forms of media such as television, radio, or Internet (Kenyon, 1969; McPherson, 1975). According to Wann et al. (2001), this distinction is important because the situational context of attending an event could have an impact on spectator reactions during a match (Brummett & Duncan, 1990; Duncan & Brummett, 1989; Wenner & Gantz, 1989). The second distinction differentiates the fans who are interested and follow a sport, a team, and/or an athlete from the spectators, who attend a sporting event either in person or through some form of media (Wann, 1997). The “simple” spectators will tend to have an indirect and, occasionally, a direct consumption of sports, while the fans’ consumption will mainly be direct. The final distinction concerns the fans who identify strongly or very little. The identification to a team, in “psychological” terms, refers to the fact that a fan can feel psychologically connected to it (Guttmann, 1986; Hirt, Zillmann, Erickson, & Kennedy, 1992; Real & Mechikoff, 1992; Sloan, 1989; Wann & Branscombe, 1993). The less identified fans seem relatively disinterested in the event that they are attending, do not wear accessories signifying their membership, and rarely applaud in support of their team. Their role in supporting their team is simply a peripheral component of their own self-concept (Wann et al., 2001). On the contrary, for the highly identified fans, this role is a central component of their identity and the team becomes an extension of themselves (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The victories or losses of the team become those of the fans who are immersed in the game. They are dressed (or painted) in their team colors, support it actively trying to destabilize opponents, confront the fans of opposing teams, and express dissatisfaction when the referee calls a fault against their team. Furthermore, they constantly exhibit a high identification level from one game to another, year after year (Wann, 1996, 2000; Wann, Dolan, McGeorge, & Allison, 1994; Wann & Schrader, 1996). Although this research on sport fans indicates cognitive, emotional, and behavioral differences, it provides few explanatory elements on the diversity of group membership for highly identified fans. In ethnology and sociology, the works of Bromberger (1995, 1998) are at the origin of the research (Bodin, 1999; Roumestan, 1998) on types of soccer spectators, analyzed according to their degree of belonging (also see Giulianotti, 2002). According to this researcher, the competitions, with its fans and ordinary spectators, create a range of various identifications and generate a symbolic representation of societal values. During soccer games one can celebrate together as a group or express discontent. Each confrontation provides the symbolic support of some facet (ethnic, professional, regional) of the spectator’s identity. The feeling of belonging is built from a more or less conflicting relationship among these aspects. Sometimes religious cleavages are exacerbated (as between the Protestant and Catholic clubs in Great Britain) and, at other times, nationalistic aspirations are expressed (demands for independence: certain clubs in France and Spain). Despite the consensus uniting the supporters of a club, differences may exist between individual groups. Each group reflects a specific social world and occupies an area in the stadium to which a certain identity is attached and expressed in group excitement. The identification processes that are then manifested are also present when analyzing age categories, preferences for certain players, member tastes, lifestyle, behavior . . . Two observations emerge from studies on soccer. On one hand, it is when the identities of communities and regions weaken that the fans display their identity more virulently. Feelings of belonging are not just reflections of cultural specificity. On the other hand, this identity process involves an individual’s uniqueness, socially structured groups and networks and a “group mentality,” requiring a multilevel pluralistic analysis. Otherwise, the variety of the identification process could be meaninglessly classified. Focusing on the analysis of fan group identities (formation, negotiation, and modification) provides a better understanding of the consensual and contradictory elements acting on these individuals in their interactions with others.

Value of a Pluralistic Social Study of Fan Group Identity

Results of the research on spectators in the psychosociological and ethnosociological fields demonstrate interest in a combined analytical study of various fan groups. Although the scientific relevance seems obvious (Hogg & Ridgeway, 2003¹), the theoretical and methodological feasibility is complex and debatable. In addition, the present proposal for a social study of fan groups is both exploratory and incomplete. Nevertheless, it can prefigure a way of anticipating and enriching what is known about groups and intergroup relations by combining the different approaches and protocols. The psychosocial literature on group identity and intergroup relations has been extensive since the precursor studies (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) in the areas of relations between races (Anastasio, Bachman, Gaetner, & Dovidio, 1997; Smith, Stratton, Stones, & Naidoo, 2003), ethnic conflicts (Hunter, Platow, Howard, & Stringer, 1996; Verkuyten, 2003) and political allegiance (Reicher, Hopkins, & Condor, 1997). However, the fan's identification with a team is an area that has not been investigated much although it constitutes an advantageous context to test the hypotheses of social identity theory (Boen, Vanbeselaere, & Feys, 2002; Boen, Vanbeselaere, & Swinnen, 2005; Branscombe & Wann, 1991; Capozza & Brown, 2000; Wann, Dolan, McGeorge, & Allison, 1994). The underlying mechanism of social categorization in this theory refers to the psychological processes that order the human environment in terms of categories, classified as Endogroup or Exogroup (Bourhis & Gagnon, 1994). It postulates that individuals can classify others, as well as themselves, simultaneously, in numerous specific membership categories, of the same level ("a young person" or "an old man"), or of more or less inclusive levels ("French speaking" is more inclusive than "French," for example). If social identity theory allows for a better understanding of intergroup relations (Oakes, 2002; Turner & Reynolds, 2003), Verkuyten (1997) notes that certain social identities are very often maintained and constitute the beginning point for analyzing categorization bias (perceptive, evaluative, behavioral). Turner (1991) emphasizes that one's self-concept and identity are constructed within a context but that there are insufficient studies that consider the impact of history and culture (Huddy, 2001). Consequently, it seems essential to consider the processes involved in constructing one's identity by taking into account the relations among the coexisting groups within a sociological context. As the fans who support their winning or losing teams are rarely alone in a stadium, the dynamics of their identity development appear to be of particular interest. The research conducted on sports fans reveals that most of the mechanisms result from defending one's identity with regard to a specific group (the supported team, the opponents, the spectators of the opposing team). Thus "Ultra" fans share a common experience that distinguishes them from "ordinary" spectators. First of all, they demonstrate extreme attachment to their team, which monopolizes a great part of their time, thoughts, energy, and money, as well. In addition, they violate taboos through various forms of war, sexual and death metaphors, through alcohol and, perhaps, even drug consumption. Nevertheless, these "rebellious" behaviors do not exclude the general recognition of rules and values among the various "Ultra" groups: respect for the internal hierarchy of the group, oath of secrecy in the event of a problem with one of the members, solidarity (contribute in paying the punishment fine for a member's misconduct), and agreement regarding leadership qualities: seniority (must be one of the founders), courageousness (demonstration of a heroic deed), charisma, unfailing commitment, and organizational qualities (Bromberger, 1995). All of these elements suggest that "Ultra" fans express themselves by testing their limits and, at times, behaving excessively, which seems to symbolize a need for high social visibility. "To be 'Ultra' is to live an overflowing passion, a particular lifestyle with signs of belonging to a specific community" (Bodin, 1999). From this perspective, there seems to be some uniformity in "Ultra" fan groups as if, other than the level of identification to the supported team, no other criteria are considered in distinguishing the behaviors of these groups. Considering the level of team identification is necessary, initially, to observe the degree of dedication of the group studied, but this is not sufficient in itself, according to the authors of this investigation, in understanding the type of social identity that the group constructs. It is important not to conduct this study out of context, to understand the way each group structures its social environment through the analysis of the categorization processes. Within the framework of this research, it is essential to examine the manner in which fan groups categorize themselves and other groups present, to access the social reality constructed by each group and, in this way, reveal their social identity (Deschamps, Morales, Paez, & Worchel, 1999). In distinguishing between "them" and "us," "us" may be understood in contrast with a distanced "them," but also, at times, by "not us" and "not them," which remain to be defined according to the multiple categories revealed within the social context of the groups present. For sociologists, the new generation of fans, the subcategories and the separation of "us"—"them" no longer refer only to "us," the fans from one city and "them," the fans from a rival city, but "us" also refers to members of a particular group of fans and "them" to members of another group of fans from the same club. So, fans will be implicated in several categorizations, which may have significant effects on their social perception (Crisp & Hewton, 1999). Depending on the fan group and the context, fans may prefer to identify with the broader category, "fans of this city," or to the less inclusive category, "fans of this group." All of these categorization processes appear to be

particularly relevant for “Ultra” soccer fans because the “us”—“them” separation will be magnified in this sport which, as noted by sociologists, is based on passion and favoritism (Bodin, 1999; Bromberger, 1995). The object of this study is to determine a certain number of mechanisms of social identity categorization by investigating, from a sociohistorical and psychosociological perspective, two fan groups (“Commando Ultra” and “SouthWinners”) from the soccer club of the city of Marseille. It is expected that each group will construct its identity differently, which should be reflected in its specific positioning relative to the other groups.

Sociohistorical Approach in Studying the Identity of Fans From the Soccer Club in Marseille

Soccer fan clubs appeared in England at the beginning of the century and were numerous enough to form an association in 1913. But, on the European continent, such organizations remained sparse from 1920 to 1930. They really began to develop just after the Second World War. According to Bromberger (1995), the pioneers of these clubs belonged to the lower middle class and chose a bar in the city center as their headquarters and meeting place. The importance and magnitude of these associations structured urban social life and participated, more or less officially, in the functioning of the clubs (Nuytens, 2004). This type of support no longer dominates today because it was replaced by a new type of sports fan, more virulent and organized, originating with the “Greens of St. Etienne” at a period when, for the first time, a French club played in the European Soccer Cup Championships at Reims Stadium. This new type of sports fan called “Ultra” is characterized by extravagant behavior, which has increased throughout all of the European clubs since the mid-1980s. It is distinguishable according to two models. The first one is the English model, which appeared in the 1960s with fan groups called “crews,” linked to the emergence of adolescent working-class subcultures (teddy boys, punk, rockers. . .). The “crews” model, which spread throughout diverse nations of Northern Europe (Belgium, Holland, Germany. . .), is characterized by a native ritual and an immediate expression of violence. The second model is Italian, which was developed essentially in Southern Europe. The social origins of the pioneers were diverse (high school and college students, young workers . . .). The fan groups of both models form rigorously structured associations, with a locality, membership cards, membership fees, and task planning. In French soccer championships, there are 50 professional clubs having at least two groups of fans, representing approximately 200 associations and 20 % of the spectators per match (Bromberger, 1995).

Emergence of “Ultra” Groups in Marseille “the Rebel”

Whether it is in soccer, or in other areas of social and political life, Marseille is, in France, a figure of exception. In no other city in the country does a local club (“OM”) arouse so much fervor, commentary, discussion and, at times, even spectacular events (Bromberger, 1995). This general observation is based on a certain number of inquiry results revealed from interviews, narratives, and questionnaires. First of all, no other club in France has as many members (approximately 15,000 in 2001-2002), or as many fan groups: currently, there are eight groups, with some split into multiple sections (about 50). In the regional press, “OM” often obtains the most coverage. The daily paper, *Le Provençal*, for example, dedicates 150 to 200 pages a year to it. The “OM” of Marseille is also “exceptional” due to the fact that it is the only club participating in the national championships that is, and has been for a long time, recognized everywhere by its initials. According to Bromberger (1995), such admiration is due to three main factors. First, Marseille has a “bad reputation,” which it inherited from its unique history, and it has unfavorable stereotypes associated with it. This negative image is accentuated because of the industrial crisis that caused the decline of shipping after decolonization. It seems, therefore, that, underlying the passion for “OM,” there is constant bitterness: any exploit of the club offers revenge for a difficult fate and any problem provokes feelings of injustice against this “victimized” city. Second, Marseille is a harbor city, at the crossroads between the North and South, with the image of a rebel “having turned its back on France.” Their awareness of this scorned identity, combined with their tradition of conflicting with the authority in power, resulted in the creation, for example, of a short-lived Republic of Marseille in the 13th century. Third, the passion for this soccer club is connected to the demographics of the city: its cosmopolitanism. Marseille is a place of transit or refuge, which was shaped by much migratory movement, linked, at certain times, to the expansion of industry and shipping and, at other times, to colonization or exile. For these immigrants or sons of immigrants, membership in the “OM” and participation in the stadium stands appear as rites of passage for their integration. Beyond these contrasts and differences, “OM” represents a sort of “symbolic cement” (Bromberger, 1995) for the people of Marseille who can distinguish their ancestry, political choices, and territory. Factors marking the local history of Marseille’s fans include dissension, rivalry of member recruitment, controversy regarding forms of support for the team, circumstantial alliances, and antagonism within the executive committee of

the “OM.” This competitive spirit, which is manifested more intensely in the stands, is accentuated by young “Ultras” who demonstrate great interest in the spectacular aspect. The emergence and behavior of these fan groups are reflected in many ways. At times, the resurgence of “archaism and tribes” (Maffesoli, 1988) or abandonment in a crisis is mentioned, at other times, extremist movements exhibit their ideas in the stands to unite activists. In fact, these preconceived notions mask a more complex reality. On the whole, the “Ultra” movement does not seem to form a homogeneous and united entity for the entire city. Splits, conflict simply out of pure commitment, ideological differences, and interest disputes are integral parts of Marseille’s sports fans. “OM” “Ultra” groups are numerous and they did not all appear at the same time. To summarize the history of these fan groups, the six main stages characteristic of their evolution are presented, according to Roumestan (1998). The first of two groups to have started the “Ultra” movement in Marseille was the “Commando Ultra” (“CU”) founded in 1984 and modeled after large Italian groups such as Turin, Naples, or Milan. This group was soon characterized by its desire to separate itself from turbulent groups in Marseille, particularly immigrants, occupying the southern end of the less populated cycling stadium. This desire for independence quickly led to a strict organization, developing the means and an infrastructure (collection of dues, marketing of scarves, hats). The “CU” dominated the sports fans of Marseille, exceeding such groups as the North Yankee Army, which appeared in 1988, and the Dodgers. The second stage was the creation of a new group founded by high school students, younger and more cosmopolitan than the “CU” of April, 1987. This was the “South Winners” (“SW”) group, arising from students who were friends from the same school. Its decision to not integrate with the “CU” came from its desire to create its own identity, to be independent and autonomous with respect to this larger structure. Its desire for distinction was also expressed in its choice for an English name (as opposed to the Italian name “Commando Ultra”) since fan groups were just beginning in France and they did not have enough power to create one which was “specifically French.” Initially, the “SW” went into another section of the south stands where there were older spectators, but it quickly decided to migrate to the southern end and occupy a section adjoining that of the “CU.” The third stage marked the appearance of initial tension with the “CU.” This latter group hardly appreciated the ascendancy of the “SW” and had no intention of sharing its control of the end, even with a small group. The “SW,” however, did not have much influence yet, but the “CU” was, nevertheless, no longer alone in spreading its culture in this end section. The fourth stage was a short-lived phase of harmony between both groups creating in 1990, the “FUW” (“Fanatic-Ultra-Winners”), the fan club of Marseille (the “Fanatics” appeared in 1988). But with the arrival of new leaders and ideological differences, this temporary accord was broken. The split between the “CU” and the “SW,” resulting from very deep ideological, organizational, and competitive divergence then became quite clear. The fifth stage was characterized by a migration of the groups in the stadium imposed by “OM” during the 1991-1992 season, which aggravated the tension among them. In resuming the championship games in 1993, the “SW” decided to return to the south end alone, as the two other groups refused to go back to that section. This decision of the “CU” to remain behind the goals “to be closer to the players” (causing them to be less noticeable than before, and making it more difficult to compare themselves with the other fan groups), is the reason for its loss of intensity, according to certain members. The “CU” then left to found the “Thundernord,” a small group occupying an eminent position in the northern end. This event accelerated the development of the “SW” which had to equip itself with the necessary material for creating an exciting atmosphere in the southern end where new members were integrated into the group, many of whom were the sons or daughters of North African immigrants. This is what contributed to the demand for a cosmopolitan group and an antifascist ideal. The last stage took place during the summer of 1993 when the “SW” finally joined the “CU” in the hierarchy of the fan groups from Marseille.

“Commando Ultra” and “South Winners”: Distinct Cultural Identities

According to Roumestan (1998), if some elements are common to the “CU” and “SW,” others are unique in that these groups of “Ultra” fans possess their own culture and identity, which seem to explain why they do not get along even though they are “fighting” for the same team. First of all, the “CU” and “SW” interpret “success” differently. The former group models success according to large Italian groups, whereas the latter group tends to differentiate itself, refusing any model, while being inspired, of course, by the “Ultra” phenomenon. From a broader perspective, it can be stated that these groups have opposite conceptions of the world. The “CU” is strongly influenced by corporate culture, dominating the city to the point of becoming a business. They unite young middleclass people, with few immigrants (or sons of immigrants) and leaders who, for a long time, have admitted liberal or national political preferences. At the organizational level, the “CU” differs in that their tasks are rigorously divided, stemming from their corporate culture. They maintain good relations with club leaders whose meetings often resemble those of businessmen. Finally, the “CU” has a real sense of self-promotion and, very early on, markets scarves, jackets, hats . . . , to anyone (members or nonmembers). According to Roumestan (1998), this tendency of “unlimited” expansion,

symbolic of the group's power, radically opposes the conception of the "SW" who favor the quality, rather than the quantity, of member relations. The "SW" has working-class culture and values, with many people living at the extreme northern section of the city, coming from different generations of immigration that have occurred in Marseille over the past century. It claims to be cosmopolitan and makes this a supplementary criterion of membership. It is a younger group, but also more turbulent and antiauthority, showing antifascist, extreme left-wing political tendencies, according to certain sources. However, one must qualify this political aspect because, if it participates in this differentiation process just for show, it is not generally based on deep convictions (few fans belong to political movements). The "SW" also forms its identity by emphasizing the importance of solidarity within the group. Nevertheless, one should not think that this group is unorganized. Its growth over the years has been accompanied by a refinement of its internal system with nonprofit structural management to deal with the group's expansion. The relationship of the "OM" and "SW" leaders oscillates between its rebellious character and its desire to be recognized and leave its mark on the club's history. The "SW" is no longer the small group of young turbulent and hostile people who will not compromise, and it has to continuously prove its credibility to the club to maintain a diplomatic relationship. Furthermore, it is the only one to display its approval of cannabis and its by-products (Jamaican or African flags, Bob Marley effigies) and refuses any twin-city association or contact with foreign fan clubs. Its refusal of a sports fan model indicates that its identity is not built like a preconstructed model. In fact, the "SW" is proud to be from Marseille and sometimes refuses to call itself "French." This distinction is maintained by certain city symbols (harbor, sea, cathedral of Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde) found on gadgets or in its *fanzines* (magazines produced by each of the fan groups). Moreover, the cosmopolitanism claimed by the "SW" is tied to its will to construct this "Marseille" identity. The sociohistorical and cultural differences between the "CU" and "SW" are anchored not only in time but also in spirit, and these antagonisms reappear several times during the season, causing incidents that add excitement to the games. Nevertheless, for Roumestan (1998), expressing these differences would damage relations between the groups during the games. This is because, on one hand, their reason a priori for existing is to support the team and, on the other hand, it seems to contradict a common principle of the fans: unconditional support. Thus other reasons for this disaccord during the games exist. First of all, it is due to the fact that the "CU" and "SW" are the two largest "Ultra" groups in Marseille, who organize most of the choreography, create the best atmosphere, and are the most respected. In addition, they must dominate and distinguish themselves from the others the most, even though they appear to be similar. Furthermore, the "SW" has been considered, for a long time, as the small group of young people, far behind the "CU," which is older, more numerous, more experienced, and better organized. So, the behavior of the fans in the stands seems as much a way of providing support for the team, as the desire to upset the hierarchy within the groups of Marseille fans. Finally, the explanation for these constant conflicts may lie in the fact that, through discrediting the "Ultra" fans by criticizing their characteristics, the "SW" defines itself. The notion of "purity" is essential for fan groups, each interpreting its acts, its mode of functioning as the most, or even the *only*, acceptable way to be and to act.

Psychosocial Approach in Studying the Identities of Two "Ultra" Fan Groups in Marseille

Considering the results emanating from the sociohistorical research, the psychosocial approach should reveal different methods of identity formation for the "CU" and "SW." To accomplish this, *fanzines* were studied and analyzed, and their positioning was determined, compared to all of the other groups existing in their environment. According to Social Identity Theory, the groups revealed were classified as "Global" Endogroup (which is the group itself: i.e., "SW" or "CU"), the supported team (i.e., "OM"), other groups to which Marseille's fans will assimilate or the "Global" Exogroup (which includes the "rival team fans," the "rival teams," and the "criticized" fans of Marseille or those fans belonging to another "Ultra" group of Marseille; see Appendix A). The works on language in social psychology provided the basis of this investigation, which postulates that linguistic choices reflect sociocognitive processes (Ghiglione, Matalon, & Bacri, 1985) activated by the subject who speaks. Focusing on specific referents enables one to determine their importance and representation for the speaker (Castel & Lacassagne, 1994). Thus certain behavioral aspects, as noted by sociologists, can be reflected in the way humans express themselves. Since the *fanzines* are a group product, one would expect them to be representative of what the group expresses and of the way that they deal with information. The discursive mechanisms in the "CU" and "SW" *fanzines* ("Official Magazine of the Commando Ultra" and "Revolution Orange," respectively), were then analyzed. They provide an interesting means of accessing the identity of these fan groups from Marseille. Indeed, in these *fanzines*, fan groups are able to express their own conceptions of fans, soccer, and society in general (Haynes, 1995; Roumestan, 1998). This identity object, created by the groups themselves and specific for each group, enables them, therefore, to

effectively differentiate themselves from one another a priori. Morespecifically, game narratives were selected by the authors to compare the groups, consisting, in general, of a segment dealing with group life (movements, preparations, intergroup relations) and another segment linked more to the actual description of the game. This discursive space allows the conception of the group to be exposed, its perception of the “OM,” the rival teams, and fans. Besides, game narratives represent the most “neutral” section of these magazines as opposed to the “Editorial” or “Critic” sections. Approximately 11,000 words were obtained for the “SW” group and 15,000 for the “CU” group, which were treated according to a specific methodology stemming from speech analysis (see Appendix A). The following results reveal distinct social identities for these two groups of “Ultra” fans.²

Results for the “Commando Ultra” Group

For the “CU,” there clearly emerges an ethnocentric identity construction from the word clusters, according to the original definition of Allport (1954), which is to consider its group as superior in evaluating the others groups, but not necessarily in a negative way. Three subcategories of the “global” Endogroup confirm this tendency (see Table 1). First of all, it appears that the “CU” strongly focalizes on its “own group.” This priority is coupled with very little assimilation to the other hierarchically ordered groups of “Marseille fans.” The “CU” prioritizes its own group, almost exclusively, and avoids integrating with the more inclusive category of “Marseille fans.” It seems that, in a way, emphasizes the “OM” more through possessive pronouns (us, our) than the “SW,” as if the team were helping in its identity construction. This frequent use of categorical membership markings shows that the “CU” wants the supported team to belong to it. This tendency is confirmed by the position of the “CU” to act on the “OM,” whereby the “OM” becomes primarily a passive entity. The “OM,” which was, at first, the cause of its creation, becomes a means of selling the group as a registered trademark. It is in this sense that the “OM” is used “instrumentally,” with the “CU” proclaiming itself more as “Ultra of the Ultras than Ultra of the OM” (Demazière, Carpentier- Bogaert, Maerten, Nuytens, & Roquet, 1998). The “CU’s” ethnocentric attitude, in its relationship with the Endogroup subcategories, is confirmed in the links established with the three Exogroup subcategories (see Table 3). The “CU” practically ignores the existence of the Exogroup concerning “rival fans” and “Marseille fans.” These two subcategories are almost nonexistent in the fanzines. The “CU” does not seem to compete with other fan groups, whether they are from “OM” or elsewhere, and it cannot even seem to “imagine” the existence of other fan groups besides itself. There is almost an absence of categorization for the “CU.” In a sense, its identity forms on its own, exclusively through using the “OM” that belongs to it. This identity construction of the “CU” occurs in isolation, as if no other fan groups existed who were able to join it, either in the hierarchy of the Marseille “Ultras” or elsewhere. The “CU” frequently displays a banner on which is written “Forever first,” as much with reference to the victory of the “OM” in the Champions league (first victory ever for a French club), as to its own ancestry of the cycling stadium (Roumestan, 1998). The “them and only them” suggests a “return” to the group’s own identity. All of the indicators that emerge from the fanzines indicate an *ethnocentric* category according to Allport’s concept (1954). This formation recognizes that a positive attitude regarding the Endogroup (the “CU” with regard to itself) does not necessarily imply hostility toward Exogroups; it is, however, compatible with a range of attitudes, such as disdain and indifference, which are characteristic of “Ultra” fans (Brewer, 1979, 1999; Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). The graphic representation of the identity construction method for the “CU” group can be schematized according to the following category differentiation links (see Figure 1).

Table 1. The Different Subcategories of the “Global” Endogroup

Subcategories	Examples	Explanations
Own group	1. “Thanks to 20-25 ultras always present whatever the weather, the day and the price”	Refers to its group members; highlights the identity of each group
OM	2. “[. . .] The OM only has one more goal before the halftime”	Refers to the team (OM, players . . .)
Marseille fans	3. “The stadium seems very empty but is quickly going to vibrate thanks to the Marseille fans”	No longer refer to its specific group, but integrates with the fans of Marseille

Table 2. The Different Nominal Phrases of the “global” Endogroup Subcategories

Nominal phrases	Examples	Explanations
Team	1. “Our team shows a great deal of determination [. . .]”	Usage of “team” in referring to OM
Players	2. “[. . .] An experience that we hope will occur often this season for our players”	Usage of “players” in referring to OM
Olympians	3. “In the field, the Olympians are less efficient than the people in the stands”	Usage of “olympians” in referring to OM
Player (name)	4. “Toulouse could have been Fabrizio Ravanelli’s first game”	Usage of the “player’s name” in referring to OM
OM	5. “The OM gives up at the end of the game”	Usage of “OM” in referring to OM
Player (expression)	6. “[. . .] the new joker entering the game who will be greatly applauded”	Usage of “expression” in referring to OM
Club	7. “Thanks to the club for this action”	Usage of “club” in referring to OM

Table 3. The different subcategories of the “global” Exogroup

Subcategories	Examples	Explanations
Rival teams	1. “. . . It is in an friendly atmosphere that the game against Monaco was anticipated”	Refers to rival teams
Rival fans	2. “After the game, rival fans throw objects”	Refers to rival fans
Marseille fans	3. “Good participation at the beginning of the game where songs are well coordinated with the ‘CU’”	Refers to the other fan groups of Marseille or to “ordinary spectators”

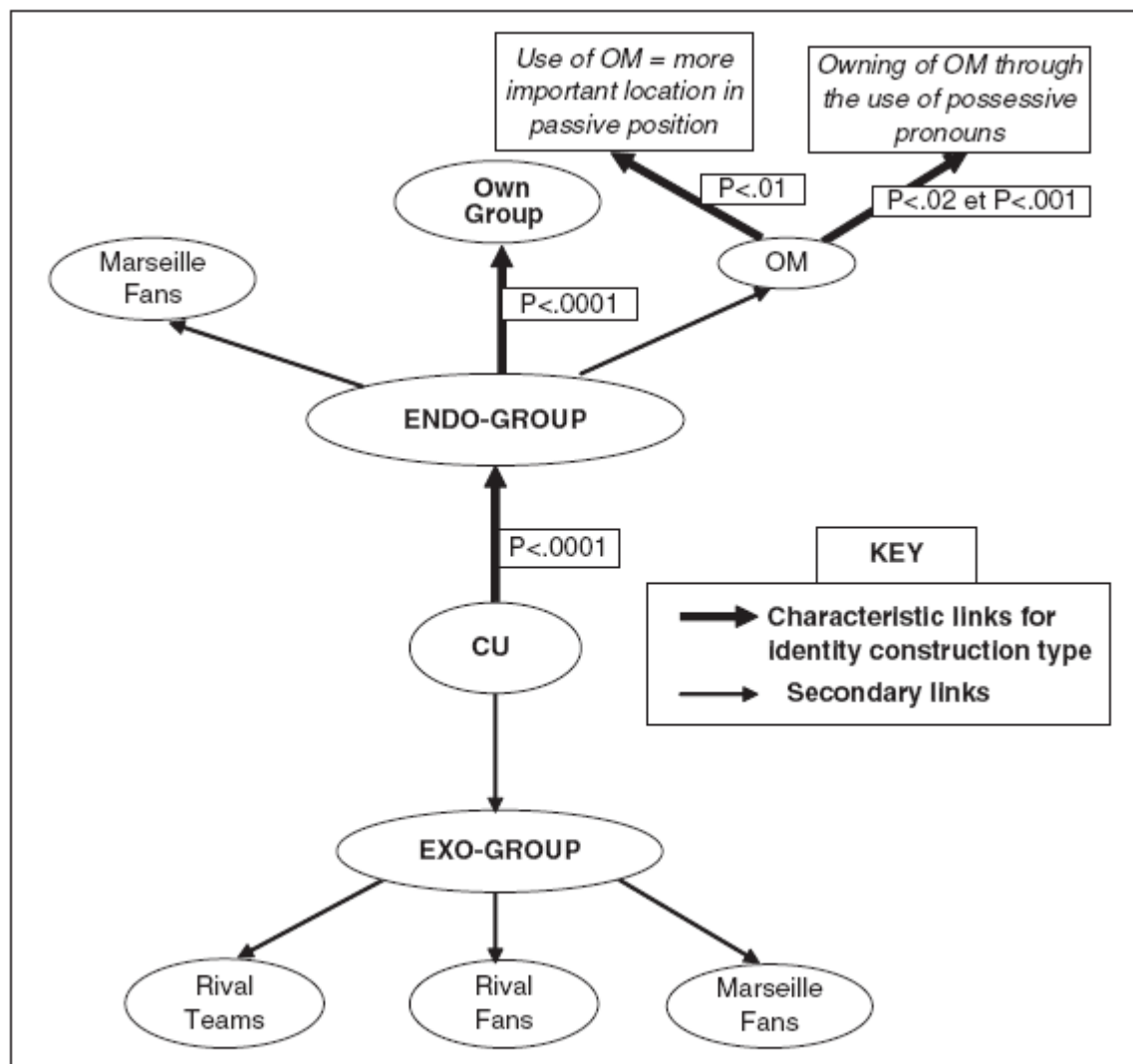


Figure 1. "CU" identity construction type

The *p* value represents a significantly different usage between the "CU" and the "SW" of the corresponding indicator.

Results for the "South Winners"

The categorical structure, which emerges for the "SW," is a *regional* identity type. It focuses less on its own group than the "CU," but it blends in much more to the other fan groups of Marseille. There is less claim of belonging to its own group than to the hierarchically ordered category of "Marseille fans." This desire to form sort of a "Marseille block" when confronted with adversity, is exactly what is threatening the identity of Marseille and is present in the relationship between the "SW" and the "OM." Indeed, the relationship with the "OM" is established with greater equality because it is positioned more as an entity that acts. Furthermore, the "SW" use more expressions referring to territory (i.e., nominal phrases: "Olympians" and "people of Marseille"⁴), thereby stressing their desire to belong ("proud to be from Marseille"). The "OM" appears here as an entity defending the identity of Marseille above all else. Concerning the subcategories of the Exogroup, the different nominal phrases (or expressions) that are revealed are presented below (see Table 4). It is especially the "rival team fans" who appear to be the rival "figures," demonstrating that its role as a fan is the central component of its identity (Wann et al., 2001). The "SW" primarily claims this identity of the "other" city,⁵ found in expressions like "fans of," which could be defined through this title of an "independent" brochure from a fanzine: "Marseille is not France." However, this "Us"–"Them" categorization such as "Marseille fans and Marseille team"–"Rival fans" is not made according to the classic process of

discrimination inherent in social categorization. There is no explicit discrimination of “rival fans” and “teams.” By the mere fact that it is “other” than from Marseille, the rival figure cannot have a positive image. The discrimination applies more for spectators (i.e., see Wann et al., 2001, for a definition of spectator), connected or not with “Ultra” groups, susceptible to threaten the identity of Marseille by not giving enough active support to “OM”; “SW” goes to the point of excluding members of their own group for not having exhibited unconditional support for their team (Roumestan, 1998). All of the fans who are not “deserving representatives” from Marseille, who do not defend the “honor” of the club and their city, are isolated, through the use of negative expressions. This exclusion of the inhabitants of Marseille who do not fulfill their “role” as fans again confirms that the “SW” defends the identity of Marseille above all else. This result is explained by the “black sheep effect” as noted by Marques and Yzerbyt (1988), which consists of group members distancing themselves from a certain number of members of the Endogroup who do not sufficiently respect the internal standards and may threaten the positive identity of the group. The categorical construction of the “SW” refers to a *regional* identity strategy, whereby it defends its club and the region beyond its city, by its activities as fans. Through this logic, it is less “tense” about belonging to the “Ultra” group. The “SW” considers itself as a fan of Marseille according to “ordinary” tradition (support the city without reference to a particular group), but limits this category to its own, relatively strict, criteria. The graphic representation of the method of identity construction for the “SW” group can be schematized according to the following links of categorical differentiation (see Figure 2).

Table 4. The different nominal phrases of the “global” Exogroup subcategories

Subcategories of the “global” Exogroup		
Rival teams	Rival fans	Marseille fans
Team name ^a (e.g., “Sedan”)	Group’s name (e.g., “Supras”)	Group’s name (e.g., “CU”)
Players names (e.g., “Papin”)	Fan from ^a (e.g., “Messins”)	Neutral term (e.g., “other groups”)
Players from ^a (e.g., “Nantais”)	Neutral term (e.g., “Ultra group”)	Positive term (e.g., “our friends from ‘Hell Side’”)
Team (e.g., “Rennes team”)	Positive term (e.g., “reference”)	Negative term ^a (e.g., “mastres”)
Club (e.g., “Sedan club”)	Negative term (e.g., “truffles”)	

Note: Furthermore, it is interesting to clarify that for the subcategory “Rival team,” a classification according to positive or negative valences was not indicated in this table. A great majority of the terms used were neutral (0 positive terms for “CU,” 2 for “SW” and 3 negative terms for “CU” and “SW”).

a. Denotes significant results.

Sociohistorical and Psychosocial Identity Categorization of the “South Winners” and the “Commando Ultra”

The results of this sociohistorical and psychosocial study on the identities of the “SW” and “CU” fan groups demonstrate the importance of a pluralistic social approach. The findings from these two investigations facilitate the understanding of the method of identity construction for each of these two groups, appearing to be the product of specific identity crossbreeding (see Table 5). The categorization of the “CU” and the “SW,” emanating from sociohistorical and psychosocial approaches, reveal quite distinct egocentric identities. The *Commando Ultra* develops a conservative attitude whereby it refers to only one culture: the “Ultra” culture, which attempts to protect the cultural system around which it was built while ignoring, as much as possible, the other culture of origin, the ordinary sports fans (only representing the city). Through its ethnocentric identity construction, it develops an attitude that consists of using the values of its own culture as absolute reference criteria. With this identity reference,

it manifests an attitude and behavior similar to racism, or even nationalism, whereby there is contempt for differences (denial of other fan groups from Marseille or elsewhere, no mixing with any of Marseille's fans). It avoids internal conflict at the expense of its adaptive and entrepreneurial culture, overrating the ontological function of its identity (the "CU" registered trademark) at the cost of its pragmatic function. It symbolizes "egocentric fans," where the essential object of the "Ultras" soccer passion is no longer only the sport, the club or the team, but rather the group itself (Bodin, 1999). Being the first group established in France, it considers itself to be the best, and even the sole representative of this "Ultra" culture, depending completely on its culture of origin. The South Winners develops a syncretistic attitude whereby it is a combination of two fan groups: "ordinary" because it emphasizes the broad sense of being a Marseille fan and "Ultra" because everyone is not accepted as a fan of Marseille. It has to demonstrate a certain level of involvement or it risks being excluded from this category (it symbolizes the new generation of fans, having broken with the former generation and having established its own "code"). It develops a regional type of identity construction in that, it is not enough to be from Marseille to be accepted, one must also subscribe to an identified "Ultra" group, confirming one's commitment, loyalty . . . This is who determines the strict criteria for whether one is categorized as a "good" or "bad" resident of Marseille. It borrows certain aspects from both groups in that it works, with total commitment, abiding by specific rules, to the cause of defending the identity of Marseille. There is no place for "false fans" or simple spectators who remain seated during the game or who reflect the colors of the club without belonging to a particular "Ultra" group. The "SW" feels a profound love for Marseille, along with a strong feeling of belonging to this town, the pleasure of being together and not only because of soccer (Roumestan, 1998). But the "SW" identity also appears to be a complex and syncretistic cultural construction where the fans try to maximize their personal advantages in both cultures ("cosmopolitan" and "Ultra"), without necessarily worrying about contradictions and corresponding obligations. This intercultural construction results in the crossbreeding of the identity of fans demanding that an "effort" be made in becoming socially (cosmopolitan) and politically (antifascist) implicated in supporting a soccer club which uses them for its own needs and interests.

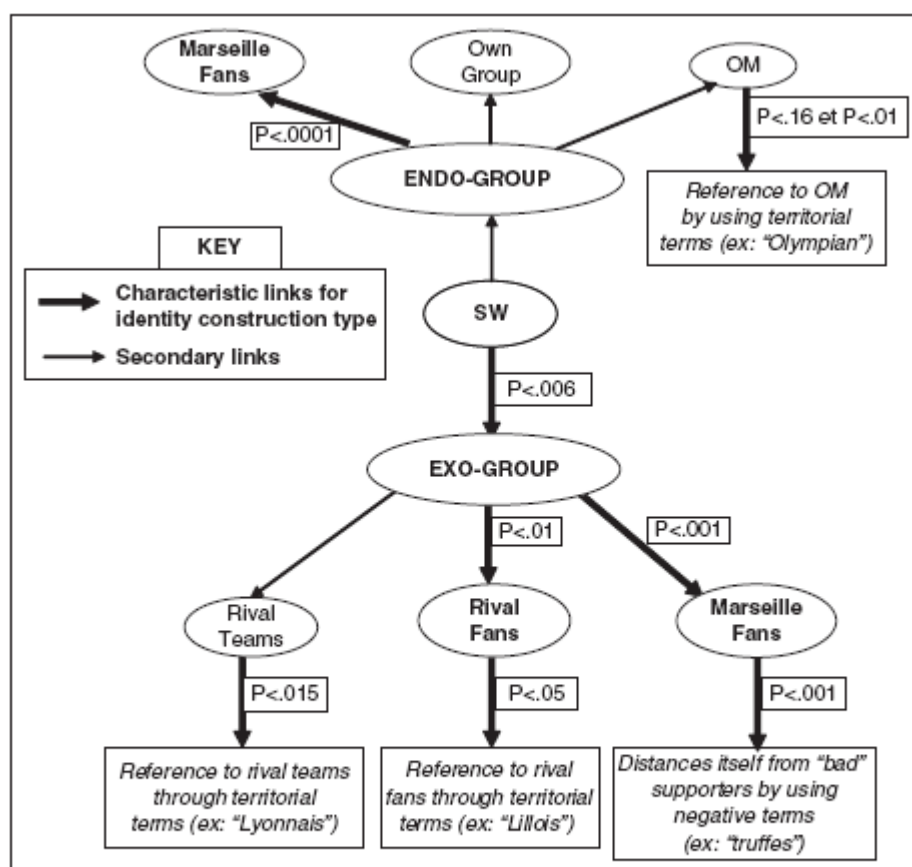


Figure 2. "SW" identity construction type

The p value represents a significantly different usage between the "CU" and the "SW" of the corresponding indicator.

Table 5. Sociohistorical and psychosociological categorization for the egocentric identities of the “CU” and “SW”

	Egocentric identities of the fan groups	
	Commando Ultra (CU) Reference to a single culture	South Winners (SW) Mixture and organization of cultures
Contributions of psychosocial research	Ethnocentric Identity Conservative attitude Return to the “Ultra” identity	Regionalistic Identity Syncretistic attitude Marseille’s fans
Contributions of sociohistorical research	“Italian nationalism” young people inserted professionally southern end “less visible” corporate culture National registered trade mark	“Antifascist” cosmopolitanism young “Immigrants” of Northern districts southern end “highly visible” association Struggle for Marseille’s independence

These results on identity construction methods also provide practical guidelines. These categories have implications regarding the representation of social groups and regarding the actions taken against them (Leyens, 1993). Although the “CU” and the “SW” strongly identify with the “OM,” it is possible to expect different behaviors. Indeed, it seems that, for the “CU,” there is less conflict with rival fan groups due to its high egocentricity, whereas the “SW,” for whom the Marseille identity construction is a central component of their identity, tends to look for conflict with rival fan groups (Bodin, Héas, & Robène, 2004).

The Analysis of Identity Crossbreeding in Fan Groups: Summary and Implications for Future Research

This pluralistic social approach enabled a more precise differentiation of identity construction methods for two groups of Marseille fans, which appears as the product of identity crossbreeding dependant on specific sociohistorical and psychosociological factors. The “Commando Ultra” develops a *conservative* attitude whereby its nationalistic culture becomes a reference criterion through *ethnocentric* fans. The “South Winners” develops a *syncretistic* attitude whereby it defends the multicultural identity of Marseille through *regional* fans. According to Laplantine (1994), everyone is a composite being, influenced by several groups of affiliation, none of which are exclusively sufficient in defining someone. Psychologists, sociologists, and ethnologists demonstrate the many implications of identity crossbreeding in professional, family, ethnic, religious spheres But still rare are works which investigate real world identity construction methods for groups (Huddy, 2001), especially sports, where the consequences, in terms of deviant or violent behavior, could be disastrous. The “Ultra” fans of Marseille and Paris often conflict with each other when their soccer teams meet, but they are “strongly united” in supporting the French team. The “pure” identity of a group does not exist. It is the product of crossbreeding dependant on uniting and differentiating factors, which may or may not become superimposed or crossed. The individual is therefore at an intersection of multiple voluntary and involuntary associations, organizing either his search of himself or his dispersion and wandering. That identity appears as an entity, a given, a polysemous notion (Brubaker, 2001), is rejected, and rightly so, in more and more of the social science research insisting, to the contrary, on the fact that it is constructed from crossbreeding (Kaufmann, 2004). This pluralistic social study of two soccer fan groups from Marseille joins in this field of thought by demonstrating that fan groups, and associated social identities, are not monolithic, homogeneous entities. Sociohistorical knowledge emanating from previous research provides contextual information enabling an in-depth study, through the quantitative method of discourse analysis, of the identity construction processes developed by the two groups. The combination of the two approaches, sociohistorical (i.e., qualitative) and psychosocial (i.e., quantitative), seems to be particularly pertinent in the study of sports fandom to construct, first of all, the most complete image possible of the group studied and, second, to use a methodology enabling an objective statistical measure of the phenomena studied to confirm or reject them. As early as 1997 (p. 4), Jones noted the theoretical importance of such a pluralistic approach in the study of fan groups: “The researcher should aim to “blend qualitative and quantitative research methods, producing a final product that can highlight the

significant contributions of both” (Nau, 1995, p. 1), where “the qualitative data support and explain the quantitative research” (Jayaratne, 1993, p. 117). By adopting the following assumptions, the researcher should ensure that the final product maximizes the strengths of a mixedmethod approach”. The authors of the present study support this perspective entirely. As far as these researchers are aware, this work is the first concrete attempt of a pluralistic approach in studying sports fans. Nevertheless, it is important that the results obtained in the present study be replicated in different sport contexts, using larger samples. Consequently, it is important to be cautious in generalizing these results and the specific context of the findings must be taken into account. Future research is needed regarding the theoretical and methodological aspects. These authors plan on pursuing this crossed methodological approach in the study of “real-world” groups. First of all, it would be interesting to establish a sociological profile of the groups studied by using “traditional” sociohistorical indicators (date the group was created, number of individuals in the group, average age of the members, social status of the members, composition according to gender and ethnic origin, place of residence . . .), as well as other elements of interest within the framework of this study, such as, group positioning in the stadium (i.e., owning a particular territory), group functioning (administrative status, financial and humanistic organization of the group, sale of objects as an effigy of the group, relations with the club). Furthermore, in addition to the unique sociohistorical information of each fan group, which provides a general “picture” of the subjects being investigated (Jones, 1997), the intergroup context in which fan groups develop can be specified. According to Social Identity Theory, the perceived type of intergroup context (permeability, stability, and legitimacy) determines individual and group preferences for identity management strategies (see Niens & Cairns, 2003 for a review). Consequently, future research should investigate specific sociological factors (i.e., social and structural) that contribute to the emergence of various processes in different groups. Parallel to this construction of a “group profile,” objective quantitative methods should be used to statistically validate or invalidate the previously revealed notions. Discourse analysis, for example, seems to be an appropriate method to reveal and specify relationships with other groups involved in the sport (supported team, rival teams, rival fans, fans of the same team). In addition, it is essential that group members complete psychometric scales measuring the level of identification with a team, which previous research has shown to be an effective predictor of fan behaviors (see Wann, 2006 for a review), or the level of identification with the territory (within the framework of this study, the “SW” shows strong identification to the territory of Marseille, greatly influencing the type of identity that it constructs), to obtain the greatest possible scientific understanding of fan group behaviors (“Quantitative methodologies allow comparison and replication. Reliability and validity may be determined more objectively than qualitative techniques,” Jones, 1997, p. 2). The theoretical (due to domainbased differences regarding perspective, terminology, scientific culture) and methodological (time involved in conducting research, availability of the subjects, sample size) feasibility of a crossed methodological approach seems complex and debatable. However, the rationale proposed for a pluralistic investigation seems to offer a certain number of advantages in the research of fan groups and, therefore, despite the drawbacks, is particularly appealing.

Appendix A

Protocol

This study used the narratives of 40 games of the French soccer championship, present in both types of fanzines, opposing the “OM” to French teams for the seasons between 1997 and 2003. A corpus was obtained, which had the following characteristics: 23 away games and 17 home games; 18 losses, 17 victories, and 5 draws. The selection of a period over 7 years enabled the authors to control for the fact that the editorial staff had changed. Forty texts were compared, scanned, and translated using “Word” to facilitate the analysis of the discursive mechanisms used by fan groups. A corpus of approximately 11,000 words for the “SW” and 15,000 words for “CU” (the ratio of 1.3 is entirely acceptable for comparing these two corpora) was obtained. To highlight different methods of identity construction for the “SW” and “CU,” an analysis of the text was conducted according to three main stages.

Procedure

First, the existence or the absence of relationship to other groups was determined through the “core referents” representing the various groups of people. The notion of “core referent” refers to “all the terms in speech indicating the same object” (Castel, 1995; Ghiglione et al., 1985). The purpose of this meticulous collection was to indicate whether or not the fan groups mentioned the endogroup or exogroup subcategories more often in the fanzines. The subcategories of the “global” Endogroup include their

own group (“SW” or “CU”), the supported team (“OM”), and the other groups of Marseille fans to which they assimilate. The subcategories of the “global” Exogroup are the “rival fans,” the “rival teams,” and the “bad” fans of Marseille or fans of another “Ultra” group from Marseille. In the second stage, the relationship of each group with the “global” endogroup and “global” exogroup subcategories were studied more closely. For that purpose, the second indicator used refers mainly to nominal phrases (Castel, 1995), used by both groups in referring to these subcategories. Finally, to refine the nature of the relationship of the “SW” and “CU” with the other groups, the position of the terms in the phrases were located. A term can be positioned as a subject or a complement, in other words, active or passive, (Castel & Lacassagne, 1994). This indicator highlights that the more the status of an object in the social representation is important, the more the term that indicates it tends to have a main function in the sentence (grammatical subject).

Measures

The design used is $S40 < T2 >$. The independent variable is the group (“SW” or “CU”). The dependent variables are the frequency of occurrence for the “core referents,” the types of nominal phrases used, and the location of the “core referents” as active or passive. The methods of calculation are generally used in the study of discursive mechanisms of written or spoken language (Robinson & Giles, 2000). From an operational viewpoint, the first dependent variable was tested by counting in each text the number of occurrences of “core referents” (various subcategories belonging to the endogroup or exogroup) divided by the total number of words for the corresponding text. The mean of this indicator was then calculated according to the following formula:

$$FO = \frac{\sum_{T=1}^{40} (N/m)}{40}$$

where FO = frequency occurrence, N = number of occurrences of “core referent,” and m = number of total words. The second dependant variable was tested by calculating the mean of the various nominal phrases of the endogroup and exogroup subcategories from 40 texts. This mean was computed by dividing by the number of words referring to each respective subcategory. Finally, with respect to the third dependent variable, the mean of the location as “active” or “passive” of the various nominal phrases for the endogroup and exogroup subcategories was calculated, by dividing it by the number of words referring to each respective subcategory.

Appendix B

Results

For the analyses carried out, the figure between parentheses represents the size (i.e. the number of texts in which the indicator was present), and the other figure represents the mean. A χ^2 test was used when less than 10% of the texts contained the studied indicator, as the mean was irrelevant for comparison. Student *t* test was used to compare means.

Appendix B1. Sizes and Means of the 3 Subcategories of “Global” Endogroup

Subcategories	Target groups		<i>p</i> value
	SW	CU	
Own group	.44 (39)	.71 (40)	<.0001
Marseille fans	.26 (35)	.03 (16)	<.0001
OM	.28 (38)	.29 (38)	<i>ns</i>

Appendix B2. Sizes and Means of Various Nominal Phrases of OM

OM noun phrases	Target groups		<i>p</i> value
	SW	CU	
Team	.07 (08)	.15 (19)	<.005
Players	.11 (14)	.19 (22)	= .07
Olympians	.15 (18)	.07 (12)	= .16
Players (name)	.26 (25)	.12 (21)	<i>ns</i>
OM	.31 (26)	.22 (24)	<i>ns</i>
Players (expression)	.04 (06)	.03 (08)	<i>ns</i>
Club	.08 (01)	.02 (02)	<i>ns</i>

Appendix B3. Sizes and Means of Words Indicating Category Membership Referring to the Nominal Phrases “Team” and “Players”

Indicators of ownership	Target groups		<i>p</i> value
	SW	CU	
Our “team”	.06 (06)	.10 (15)	<.02
Our “players”	.09 (03)	.17 (17)	<.001

Appendix B4. Sizes and Means of Various Active and Passive Nominal Phrases Referring to OM

Grammatical status	Target groups		<i>p</i> value
	SW	CU	
Active	.59 (36)	.42 (33)	<.01
Passive	.31 (26)	.49 (34)	<.01

Appendix B5. Sizes and Means of the 3 Subcategories of “Global” Exogroup

Subcategories	Target groups		<i>p</i> value
	SW	CU	
Rival teams	.33 (30)	.51 (28)	<i>ns</i>
Rival fans	.18 (19)	.07 (07)	<.01
Marseille fans	.31 (27)	.15 (09)	<.0001

Appendix B6. Sizes and Means of Nominal Phrases “Team Name,” “Player From,” “Fan of” and Negative Terms for Marseille Fans

Various significant nominal phrases of global Exogroup	Target groups		p value
	SW	CU	
Team name	.45 (08)	.68 (15)	= .08
Player from	.45 (17)	.20 (07)	= .015
Fan of	.45 (12)	.002 (05)	= .055
Negative terms for Marseille fans	.00 (09)	.00 (00)	< .001

Authors' Note

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Notes

1. In *Social Identity: Sociological and Social Psychological Perspectives* Hogg and Ridgeway (2003) state, “Interdisciplinary cross-fertilization has benefited research on groups, identity and behavior in both sociological and social psychological studies” (p. 98).
2. For an ease of reading the results, all the necessary statistical analyses were placed in Appendix B.
3. There is no significant difference between “CU” and “SW” in terms of the way they refer to the “OM” because they are well invested in supporting the team and, therefore, there will be no difference in terms of their level or degree of identification. The difference will be found in the type of relationship established with the team.
4. Although this result does not appear in Appendix B2, the “SW” uses the term “people of Marseille” six times to speak about “OM” team members, whereas the “CU” never use this term (corrected $\chi^2 = 6,49$; $p < .01$).
5. The logic of this definition for the opponent “figure,” in terms of individuals representing the rival city, is confirmed by the more frequent usage of the nominal phrase “players of” by the “SW” in referring to rival teams.

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