

SOCIOLOGICAL VIEWS ON SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND SPORTS HOOLIGANCY ⁴

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PROFESSIONAL ARTICLE

Summary: The paper will be based on a comparative explanation of social disorganization and sports hooliganism from the point of view of sociological science. The very problem of the work is directed to the explanation of sports hooliganism as aggressive behavior. In order to maintain a stable social order, a normative and value consensus is needed, as well as effective institutional mechanisms of social control. Each system has its own logic of development, it is based on a certain method of production that reproduces all other types of activities such as: ideology, politics, culture, lifestyle and sport. Every sports hazard includes not only unexpectedness and surprise when it comes to the final result, but also a risk that satisfies the audience's need for strong excitement, in which the personality is emptied and freed from aggressiveness. This phenomenon can lead to violence, i.e. into a situation where the impossibility of achieving the rational is justified by the irrational. Social disorganization leads to a break in the balance, as well as a loss of social control, which is accompanied by the breakdown of formal and informal patterns of social relations, which causes the inability to act effectively in accordance with the set goals. The paper advocates the view that in the spread of sports hooliganism, the primary social context is primary, and not biological and psychological dispositions.

Keywords: disorganization, sports hooliganism, deviant behavior, violence, cheering

INTRODUCTION

The concept of social disorganization appeared in Chicago in the early 1900s, and the main goal was to explain crime, delinquency, and other social problems. As an industrial city, with a population of various racial and ethnic backgrounds, the city of Chicago provided a haven for the development of American crime. It is believed that social problems such as crime, hooliganism, arose from the breakdown of social ties that occurred due to the mass migration of the population from rural to

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urban areas. The disorganization itself is caused by the inability of community members to achieve common values and solve problems that have arisen together.

Social disorganization implies the weakening or disintegration of formal and informal patterns of social relations, on which the organization of a group, activity or institution is based, which causes their inability to act effectively in accordance with certain goals. in order for society to function effectively (Mitrović, 2006, pp. 113-115).

Social disorganization is related to the absence of social relations, as well as to the disruption of social institutions (eg family, church, school). The concept was developed to describe the absence of organization among people in relatively small units (neighborhoods, communities), but it is also used to explain variations in crime among larger units (state, nation), as well as variations over time. Disorganization is an integral part of the development process of human society, and deviations occur as a consequence of the construction and dismantling of society. Starting from Merton's classification of deviant behaviors and through their systematic intersection, (Đurić, 1961, pp. 112-115) observed eight types of deviant behaviors. Deviant behavior is observed through the behavior of individuals according to cultural or social values, and through social practice, i.e. the relationship between an individual's words and actions. Those deviant behaviors are:

Inventiveness is a type of deviant behavior that implies the acceptance of cultural values while actively rejecting the practice, that is, rejecting legitimate means. In the example of theft, being rich is accepted as a goal, but not as a means of achieving it;

Larpurartism implies the rejection of social values, but at the same time the introduction of certain novelties into social practice, i.e. discarding legitimate means and finding new ones. An example of such behavior is vandalism, from which the perpetrator does not benefit at all, but this act always has some social meaning;

Opportunism implies rejection of social values and acceptance of practices, i.e. permitted means. This type of deviation is most prevalent in political structures and some social strata that only talk about changes, and things remain the same;

Pharisaism implies the acceptance of social values, but the rejection of legitimate means, ie, there is an opposition between words and parts, between rules and their behavior;

Quietism implies rejection with replacement ie. rejection of social values and complete rejection of legitimate means. For example, going to a monastery in societies that do not know religious values;

Alienation implies the rejection of social values and the permissible means to achieve those goals. For example, begging, alcoholism, drug addiction;

Perfectionism implies the replacement of existing social values with new values, while at the same time accepting and emphasizing existing assets. For example, bureaucrats replace values but retain old means (formalism and strict adherence to rules);

Rebellion implies the rejection of existing values and means, along with demands to establish a new structure and new values (Jugović, 2007).

Sports hooliganism means "causing damage, insulting, endangering the health and life of the opposing group of fans, players of the opposing team, referees, the

police, and even their own team they support, due to dissatisfaction with the result, disruption of public order and peace, destruction of social goods" (Vejnović, 2011, p. 22). There is an unwritten rule among sports hooligans: if the club loses, the fan group must not lose as well. At the same time, intention and destruction stand out as important characteristics of sports hooligans. Furthermore, a distinction should be made between fan groups and groups of sports hooligans. Fan groups are "structured, permanent, composed of individuals who have common goals, a certain system of values, awareness of group belonging, norms, defined roles of members, established forms of behavior, and for them violence is not one of the fundamental characteristics" (Kuljić & Koković, 2009, p. 338). Cheering ceases to be the primary pursuit of sports hooligans, and they come to games more and more often to create disturbances and spread hate speech. Hooligans are a special type of audience who, motivated by sports events, use violence as a basic method of action.

Violence in sports is a chronological deviation in which the absence of basic social norms within sports comes to the fore. Manifestations of sports hooliganism are reflected in cursing, offensive throwing, violation of public order and safety of citizens, antisocial behavior in public places, fights between fans, confrontation with law enforcement agencies. One of the key characteristics of sports hooligans is the display of violence. By violence we mean "any form of committed or repeated verbal or non-verbal behavior, which results in actual or potential endangerment of the health of a certain person or group of people - the destructive behavior of hooligans at sports events often includes the infliction of minor or serious physical injuries, which can have fatal outcomes" (Tramošljanin & Latinović, 2011, p. 69).

DEVIANCE, AGGRESSION AND SPORTS HOOLIGANCY

Violent behavior at sports events has become part of everyday life. Inscriptions in newspapers, news on television, and Internet sites abound with information about the violent behavior of fans: insults, fights during matches, scheduling fights after matches, and even murders have become indispensable features of the behavior of aggressive fans. Such violent behavior of fans is called hooliganism. Other determinants of hooliganism include "obscene swearing in public places, insulting jokes, annoying and other similar actions that disrupt public order and tranquility of citizens - antisocial behavior in public places that can cause alarm" (Koković, 2010, p. 159).

When it comes to the classification of socially pathological phenomena, they are usually divided into three groups: social diseases, social disorganization and sociopathy, and we classify hooliganism as the last type, in the category of social violence. Sociopathies are social-pathological phenomena that are characterized by asocial behavior and attitudes, and the existence of abnormalities, and include "toxicomania, perversions and aggression" (Kovačević & Perić, 2009, p. 3).

In the literature, we find various theories of deviance, and by deviant we mean "any action and behavior that deviates and violates the values and norms that are generally accepted in a society, and that causes negative reactions" (Bošković, 2000, p. 38). Therefore, any form of deviation from given values, spiritual norms and patterns of behavior is considered deviant. Anthony Giddens (2007, p. 211) defines deviance (criminality) as the non-recognition of a given set of norms accepted by a

significant number of people in a society, while he defines social deviations as a type of individual and group behavior that results in the appearance of socially destructive, pathological and delinquent behavior, and causes social reaction. Deviance is often the result of the social situation, social disorganization, inconsistency and the tension of demands placed on individuals.

Aggression is not only the result of instinctive dispositions, nor are we exclusively biologically predisposed to it, but we must always take into account the social context as a determinant of aggression. Etymologically, the term aggression originates from the Latin word *ad-* towards, towards and *gradus-* a step, so in a literal translation it would mean forward movement or attack, onslaught. Aggression can be defined as "the drive for cruelty, the desire to inflict pain on another, or to destroy an object perceived as hostile" (Koković, 2010, p. 29).

According to Fromm (1980, p. 12), aggression means "all actions that cause or intend to cause harm to another person". Also, it is necessary to recall Fromm's distinction between benign aggression (as defensive and reactive that arises as a consequence of endangering vital interests) and malignant aggression (as a specifically human tendency towards destruction and destructiveness, towards absolute power, pleasure is sought in the very act of aggression). Malignant aggression arises from the interaction of social conditions and human existential needs, and it is precisely this type of aggression that is associated with sports hooliganism. Therefore, man's innate aggression is in the service of life and is not related to subjective intolerance, while destructive aggression is related to violence and destructive tendencies. Social factors often cause violent behavior that can be manifested as sports hooliganism. Fromm believes that modern civilization, oriented towards material values and necrophilia, i.e. the worship of dead things necessarily produces violence and destruction, as well as mechanisms of escape from freedom: authoritarianism, destructiveness and conformity (Fromm, 1973, p. 134).

A distinction should be made between violence and aggression. According to Simeunović (1989, p. 71), aggressiveness is a category of motivation and incentive, and violence belongs to the category of behavior. Although all violence is a form of aggression, aggression does not have to be negative if it is properly channeled, and violence is always destructive. Hooliganism of sports fans is a negative way of showing aggression.

THE PHENOMENON OF ORGANIZED CHEATING

Fan groups are suitable for the manifestation of aggressive behavior of individuals, so they are often used as instruments to achieve other goals, which have nothing to do with sports, and one of them is opposition to the social system and its institutions. Thus, social disorganization encourages the aggressive behavior of hooligan fans (Koković, 2011). The obsessive, modern habit of identifying with certain nations and states, seeing everything through forms of competition and international rivalry, leads to top sports being perceived as "a different reflection that created nationalism" (Koković, 2011, p. 31). As an example, we can cite the case of fans in Serbia who led a fiery struggle against the regime of Slobodan Milošević, which culminated in the demonstrations on October 5, 2000.

According to some sources, the term hooligan comes from the Irish Hooligan family, from the notorious Patrick Hooligan, a criminal sentenced to death. The term hooligan was used for a vagrant, an anti-woman, and today hooliganism is a form of violence that is associated with sports fans, and only men. However, it should be emphasized that not all fans are hooligans, although all sports hooligans are fans. Fans are all sympathizers and fans of a certain team, that is, individuals who support the national team of their country. Certain rituals are associated with the fan group: verbal expression (singing, chanting), visual expression (banners, flags, scarves, pyrotechnics), expression of bodily physical violence (which characterizes hooligan fans) (Koković, 2000).

The term hooliganism is related to the term vandalism - gratuitous destructiveness. Vandalism primarily refers to "wild, unmotivated destruction or damage to property without any benefit for anyone, least of all for the perpetrator" (Koković, 2000, p. 145), and hooliganism also includes violence against people. Unlike vandalism, hooliganism is always premeditated and organized violence. And they have in common the use of violence, which is usually irrational.

The phenomenon of organized cheering appeared in England in the 60s, and then spread to other countries of Western Europe, and then to the former SFRY. It should be mentioned that in Europe two fan schools stood out: Italian (they sing songs all the time, have choreography, never sit during the game, emphasis on visual effects...) and English (more extreme, riots, fights). At that time SFRY was a socialist country, there were both rich and poor at the stadiums and there was not a lot of idleness, so the stadium looked like a theater, where you could go without fear in order to have fun. At the end of the 60s, at the beginning of the 70s, a crisis began in the former Yugoslavia (great social stratification, educated people leaving, athletes going abroad). Passions in the stadiums heat up, but the police prevent incidents from happening until the 70s. After the death of the SFRY president Tito in 1980 and new hints of the economic crisis, there was an upward trend in fan extremism, and such a situation has continued to this day.

In order for a fan group to be considered serious, it should be well organized, numerous and ready to create an incident. In the 80s, core fan groups were formed. Then the hooliganism of the fans takes on greater proportions, and the violence from the matches is transferred to the streets, and minor children become hooligans. In this respect, the most important fan groups, among which we find the most extreme fans, from the area of the former Yugoslavia are: Delije (FK Crvena Zvezda, and over time subgroups have emerged, some of which are: Ultra Boys, Belgrade Boys, Ultras, Red Devils...), Undertaker (FK Partizan, subgroups: Alkatraz, Zabranjeni, Ludaci-Padinska skela, Anti Roma, South Family, Head Hunters, Irricucibili- NBG, Shadows, Extreme Boys, Brain Damage...), Maniacs (FK Željo), Horde Zla (FK Sarajevo), Bad Blue Boys (Dinamo-Zagreb), Torcida (Hajduk-Split).

Until the 90s, cheering in those areas was more harmless, and conflicts were mostly between clubs, and since then, hooliganism in the true sense of the word has appeared. Luis Kozer notes that it is generally accepted that the difference between "we, or the we-group, i.e. internal, and all other groups, i.e. other or external groups" is established only through conflict (Kozer, 2007, p. 45). The period of the 90s is characterized by numerous crises and tensions, and the search for a new identity

begins. This situation was transferred to sports events, which resulted in the escalation of nationalism in the areas of the former SFRY. In 1990, at the World Cup match between Yugoslavia and the Netherlands, 40,000 fans whistled the Yugoslav national anthem. Even in the twenty-first century, the violence of sports hooligans does not abate, but becomes more and more extreme, spreading along with the world economic crisis, numerous wars, and increased national and religious intolerance. As long as the party in the conflict tries to present itself as a mediator and as long as one of the parties is treated as "irrational", the conflict will continue. Advocating for peace and peaceful settlement of disputes is not compatible with efforts that are contrary to the fulfillment of the two most important preconditions for conflict resolution. At the same time, we emphasize that these are necessary but not sufficient conditions (Šljukić, 2012, p. 48).

We can take Poland as an example of countries whose disorganization has influenced the increasing spread of sports hooliganism. Polish hooliganism escalated after the collapse of communism in 1989 and the emergence of the economic crisis that affected the entire Eastern Bloc. As a result of unemployment, economic crisis, and poverty, a small part of Polish youth increasingly decided to engage in sports hooliganism. Young men who could not prove themselves at school, at work saw stadiums as places where they could vent their anger and frustration. The most famous hooligan group is the Wisla Sharks, who support the football team Wisla Krakow.

Also, a good example is the Arab world, which in 2011 was hit by the so-called the "Arab Spring" which is manifested by the overthrow of multi-decade regimes and a new wave of democratization. Socio-political tensions and the struggle for supremacy manifested themselves in 2012, after a football match in Port Said, when riots broke out between the fans of FC "Al Masri" (supporters of Mubarak's policies) and FC "Al Ahli" (participated in the overthrow of the Mubarak regime). , and it is one of the biggest tragedies at sporting events. Al Masri won, and the passions of the Al Ahli fans flared up. The hooligan fans came out on the field and started fighting with each other. The Egyptian court made a decision on the suspension of the Al Masri club for two years and that matches will not be held at the stadium in Port Said for three years. Such a decision further upset the hooligans in the already unstable Egyptian society. Hooligans took to the streets and clashed with the police. We find the causes of this hooligan act of fans in the frustration due to social tensions that caused the poor standard of living and the lack of prospects of the youth.

Sports hooliganism most often occurs in football stadiums, although it follows other types of sports as well (e.g. in 2006 at the basketball match between Zvezda and Partizan. Hooliganism did not bypass even tennis at the Australian Open in 2007, when Serbian and Croatian fans were ejected due to a mass fight). The origin of football hooliganism is linked to Great Britain (60s), i.e. to the television broadcast of the match between "Tottenham" and "Sunderland", when scenes of violence, vandalism, provocation of the police were shown. In Great Britain, the first punishments for violent behavior of fans were passed.

THE CONNECTION OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND SPORTS HOOLIGANCY

We look for the sources of sports hooliganism in the very nature of society, i.e. its disorganization, because all the characteristics of social relations are transferred to sport, as a segment of society, and therefore to sports fans, without whom sports events have become unimaginable. Accordingly, there are many elements of social disorganization that influence the appearance and spread of sports hooliganism.

Unfavorable economic conditions are one of the important causes of deviant phenomena, and therefore of sports hooliganism. The frustrated life that the fans of the countries affected by the economic crisis are experiencing causes violence to become an increasingly frequent phenomenon. The economic crisis (poverty of a huge number of people, large social differences, unemployment, low wages, the appearance of general poverty) has as a logical consequence social disorganization. Bearing in mind such a situation, sports hooliganism becomes almost the only way for social confirmation and the possibility for an individual or a group to be noticed.

The disorganization of society has a boomerang effect on the family. Family crises occur, family relationships are disturbed, the educational and cohesive function of the family weakens, various forms of deviant behavior appear and flourish: alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, begging, theft, banditry, sports hooliganism. In such conditions, love for the club is a kind of substitute for the lack of family love and harmony.

Social disorganization prevents people from making progress, achievement, meaning, and the possibility of confirmation. For people who lack a vision of the future, sports hooliganism offers a sense of purpose. Through violence, they gain a status that replaces the status they could not achieve in a disorganized society, giving them a recognizable identity. The need to be part of a group gives sports hooligans a sense of power and belonging and greatly influences the construction of their identity. Making a big scandal automatically means being known in the public, to be written about and talked about. That's how it actually attracts attention. Groups of sports hooligans have their own structure, anthem or songs, symbols in the form of crests or flags, scarves. For them, the flag has a sacred character, and the scarf is also an important symbol of identity. Stealing the opponent's scarf means humiliating him for the fans. Many fan songs are offensive in nature and try to demotivate the opposing team. And there are songs that are dedicated to the team they support and their function is to motivate the team. Whistling the national anthem to the opposing team shows disrespect to the rival.

Wars, also, they lead to the disintegration of the existing social structure and the increase of all types of deviations. War always "softens" the legal order, so the criminalization of activities begins to be considered acceptable. The incident that took place at the Maksimir stadium in Zagreb in 1990, when there was a massive conflict between fans of Red Star and Dinamo, marked the beginning of the war in the then SFRY. That match was not even played, the Croats chanted "Serbs on the willows", and the Serbs sang Chetnik songs: "Comrade Tito, the Serbs are lying to you, they love General Draža...". Maksimir was then a reflection of the political situation before the collapse of the SFRY. However, at that time the police had authority, and since then a turning point has occurred and the attitude towards the

police has changed. Furthermore, wars lead to the general impoverishment of the population, which also affects the intellectual strata, thus disorganizing the strongest opponents of the ruling group. They also cause cultural backwardness, weakening of the educational system. The permanent observation of violence during the war with the model of imitation is transferred to aggressive sports fans - hooligans. By behaving violently at matches, hooligans only reproduce their usual behavior.

Society functions through social institutions and organizations. Institutions prescribe and sanction the goals and behavior of people within society, at the same time conveying certain norms and values to them. And social disorganization has the effect that institutions become powerless and cease to be a mechanism for controlling human behavior and actions. In such a situation, they can no longer direct individual interests in the direction of expected desirable behavior. In a situation where there is no system of values and norms, as well as appropriate sanctions, individuals do not avoid expressing violence. Not infrequently, the violence of sports hooligans also represents rebellion against certain institutions or, as a result of general dissatisfaction with social (dis)opportunities. Hence the increasingly frequent attacks by sports hooligans on referees and the police. By attacking the police, hooligans also attack the state itself, which they consider the main culprit of their unsatisfactory social status.

It should be emphasized that every fan group functions according to the principle of loyalty and devotion. Betrayal is paid dearly, and the proof of loyalty is reflected in violence towards other fans, where the conflict with the police is especially valued among sports hooligans. The abbreviation ACAB (All Cops Are Bastards) is well known among hooligans, which is often written on their shirts, and expresses contempt for the police. Since the meaning of this abbreviation has become well known to the police, they use 1.3.1.2 instead, which is another name for ACAB. The state of disorganization leads to lawlessness, and the law is necessary to define at least the basic rights and obligations of sports fans (Nikolić, 2009, p. 855).

Many studies indicate a connection between inadequate socialization and sports hooliganism. In order for man to realize himself as a social being, he must adopt a certain system of values and norms in the process of socialization. Also, the type and degree of aggressive behavior largely depends on upbringing and on the reaction of the environment to the expressed aggressiveness. And, as social disorganization affects all spheres of society, it is transmitted to the family as the basic cell of society, which is also the primary agent of socialization. Anomie, which is closely related to social disorganization, affects the loss of family harmony. Inadequate socialization is a frequent consequence of such a condition and can result in aggressive and aggressive behavior of an antisocial individual due to emotional insecurity and a feeling of not being accepted.

Fromm (1973, p. 67) believed that loss of love is one of the predisposing factors of aggressiveness. The way of socialization largely depends on whether aggression will remain at the level of harmless benign aggression or whether it will turn into destructive malignant aggression. The consequence of inadequate socialization is alienation. Such a personality perceives the environment as hostile and through sports hooliganism manifests its defense mechanism by behaving aggressively towards it. Insecurity and the desire for what is missing tends to be

found in another emotional environment. And fan groups are extremely suitable ground for finding such an environment. Banding together based on common enemies is what affects the cohesion of a fan group. Therefore, the way of reacting to the state of social disorganization can be withdrawal into special subcultural patterns of living. With all these statements, it is very important to emphasize that all societies know some mechanisms of social control of their members, and that the categories of normality and deviance differ from society to society, and change throughout history. Something that was once deviant can seem quite normal today, and vice versa. Something that is deviant in one society may be normal in another. But it is certain that there are no societies without mechanisms of social control, regardless of their forms (Marinković, 2008, p. 105).

CONCLUSION

Observing social situations such as economic and political crisis, loss of family harmony and stability, wars, collapse of social control mechanisms, non-existence of values and norms, we can see a link, i.e. the cause-and-effect relationship between social disorganization and the emergence and spread of sports hooliganism. Social disorganization is preceded by conflicts within society, as well as the destruction of social institutions. This phenomenon is accompanied by conflicts that further disorganize society by breaking the law, increasing the rate of crime and violence. When an individual cannot realize his own identity, and encounters a loss of sense of belonging due to family and social disorganization, as well as due to not fitting into social flows, which are accompanied by insufficient social mobility and an unfulfilled desire for a higher status in society, individuals enter fan groups that offer them a sense of belonging, purpose, solidarity.

Following the development of fan groups, from their formation until today, we have seen that violence among sports fans is becoming more and more extreme, along with the increasing economic crisis and the permanent erosion of moral values and norms. Unlike earlier times when fans fought only at matches, today hooligan acts are increasingly transferred outside the sports fields to the streets. In the past, the police had authority in preventing incidents at sports events, while in a state of social disorganization, its authority is weakening, and increasingly, as the embodiment of state power, which is perceived as the main culprit for the lack of prospects and dissatisfaction of individuals, it is becoming the main target of hooligan attacks.

However, in addition to sanctioning certain phenomena that society considers deviant, more fundamental changes in society itself are needed in order to act on the very causes of deviant phenomena. It is necessary to develop the awareness of the population about the importance of the functioning of institutions and their adequate application in all spheres of society. In a functionalist way, this will enable the smooth creation and operation of institutions that guarantee the smooth functioning of the social system. Society must ensure the existence of people, adequate educational systems, efficient functioning of institutions, and only then start dealing with hooligans. This is evidenced by the example of Serbia, which passed the Law on the Prevention of Violence and Misbehavior at Sports Events in

2003, but despite this, it failed to suppress sports hooliganism. Even in societies with efficient systems, there is (and always will be) hooliganism, but on a smaller scale.

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