

## **Who's responsible? an immersive study to understand the violence in the Moroccan stadiums**

## **Qui est responsable ? une étude immersive pour comprendre la violence dans les stades marocains**

**Ouafaê Zizi**

Centre of Doctoral studies: life and Health Sciences

Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy of Rabat

Mohamed 5 University, Rabat, Morocco

[Ouafae\\_zizi@um5.ac.ma](mailto:Ouafae_zizi@um5.ac.ma)

**Mohamed Jiddane**

Neuroradiology Department, Ibn Sina University Hospital Center, Rabat, Morocco

Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy of Rabat

Mohammed 5 University, Rabat, Morocco

[mohamed.jiddane@fmp.um5.ac.ma](mailto:mohamed.jiddane@fmp.um5.ac.ma)

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### **Abstract:**

This article delves into the intricate world of stadium violence in Moroccan football, weaving a tapestry of historical analysis and insights drawn from interviews with ultras members, football federation representatives, and law enforcement officers. Through a meticulous examination, the study unravels the complex web of causes and perspectives surrounding stadium violence, shedding light on the self-perception of ultras, the challenges faced by law enforcement, and the crucial role played by the football federation. Going beyond analysis, the study proposes original and actionable recommendations, aiming to make a substantial contribution to the prevention and mitigation of stadium violence in Morocco. These recommendations, rooted in on-the-ground research and insights from key stakeholders, offer a unique and practical perspective, providing a holistic approach to addressing this multifaceted issue. In essence, the article not only illuminates the underlying dynamics of stadium violence but also seeks to pave the way for tangible solutions informed by the voices and experiences of those directly involved in the football culture of Morocco.

**Key words:** « Hooliganism ; Moroccan football stadiums ; Violence outbreaks ; Casablanca ultras ; Prevention and Mitigation »

### **Résumé :**

Cet article explore le monde complexe de la violence dans les stades du football marocain, tissant une tapisserie d'analyses historiques et d'informations tirées d'entretiens avec des membres des ultras, des représentants de la fédération de football et des agents chargés de l'application des lois. Grâce à un examen minutieux, l'étude dévoile le réseau complexe de causes et de perspectives entourant la violence dans les stades, mettant en lumière la perception que les ultras ont d'eux-mêmes, les défis auxquels sont confrontées les forces de l'ordre et le rôle crucial joué par la fédération de football. Au-delà de l'analyse, l'étude propose des recommandations originales et exploitables, visant à apporter une contribution substantielle à la prévention et à l'atténuation des violences dans les stades au Maroc. Ces recommandations, fondées sur des recherches sur le terrain et sur les idées des principales parties prenantes, offrent une perspective unique et pratique, proposant une approche holistique pour aborder cette question aux multiples facettes. Essentiellement, l'article éclaire non seulement la dynamique sous-jacente de la violence dans les stades, mais cherche également à ouvrir la voie à des solutions tangibles éclairées par les voix et les expériences de ceux qui sont directement impliqués dans la culture du football au Maroc.

**Mots clés :** « Hooliganisme ; Stades de football marocains ; Explosions de violence ; Ultras casablancais ; Prévention et atténuation »

## Introduction

Violence in Moroccan stadiums has been a persistent problem for several years, with serious episodes of violence occurring in recent times. The phenomenon of football stadium violence is not new and has undergone a considerable evolution in Morocco. The causes of violence in Moroccan stadiums are complex and multifaceted, rooted in the country's social and political issues. According to Moroccan sociologist Abderrahim Bourkia, violence in football stadiums in Morocco is an expression of fans' discontent with society, its institutions, and public authorities, which they see as repressive. Violence at stadiums is also an expression of fans' discontent with the quality of the sports event, the arbitration, and challenges with rival fans. The violent behaviors developed by football fans, traditionally known as hooliganism, are deeply rooted in history and widely spread geographically.

The history of hooliganism in Moroccan stadiums dates back to the 1990s when violence erupted at the Moulay Abdellah stadium in Rabat. Since then, violence in Moroccan stadiums has been a persistent problem. In March 2016, two groups of Casablanca ultras clashed at the Mohammed-V stadium between Raja Casablanca and Chabab Rif al-Hoceima, the Mohammed-V stadium, resulting in two deaths and 50 injuries and 2 deaths (THE NEW ARAB , 2016), riot police broke up Morocco football victory parties after some fans became violent. Violence has also occurred outside of Morocco, with Moroccan supporters turning violent on the streets of Belgian cities following Morocco's World Cup win over Belgium in December 2022 (Mortimer, 2022).

The causes of violence in Moroccan stadiums are complex and multifaceted. Violence in football stadiums in Morocco is rooted in the country's social and political issues. Fans often describe their violent behavior as a reaction against society, its institutions, and public authorities, which they see as repressive. Violence at stadiums is also an expression of fans' discontent with the quality of the sports event, the arbitration, and challenges with rival fans. Additionally, the violent behaviors developed by football fans, traditionally known as hooliganism, are deeply rooted in history and widely spread geographically. The violent behavior is also related to physical aggression and vandalism of the spectators. Drug use was also found to be a significant factor in the number of cases of violence.

Several studies have been conducted on the topic of violence in Moroccan stadiums, including a study by Moroccan researcher Abderrahim Bourkia, which showed that most individuals who commit violence around football games are young people (Romdhani, 2013). Another study

conducted in Kenitra city showed a relationship between age, socio-economic level, and soccer stadium violence (Abdelkarim Elkhathir\*, 2023). Scholars like Bourkia have traced the history of hooliganism in Moroccan stadiums back to the 1990s, highlighting the complex and multifaceted nature of the issue (Bourkia, 2018).

The violence in Moroccan stadiums has prompted calls for tougher action, with the Moroccan authorities taking new measures to prevent hooliganism, such as posting additional police officers at stadiums.

The Royal Moroccan Football Federation has urged clubs to avoid violence and maintain a good atmosphere as fans return to watch live games (Bouanani, 2022 ). However, some experts argue that the police need to rethink their response to violence in Moroccan stadiums. By understanding the root causes of violence in Moroccan stadiums, policymakers and stakeholders can develop effective strategies to prevent and mitigate violence in the future.

The persistent problem of violence in Moroccan stadiums necessitates a comprehensive and nuanced approach to understanding its causes and potential solutions. This study aims to explore the underlying factors that contribute to stadium violence in Morocco, including the role of ultras, law enforcement, and football federation representatives. By examining the triggers for violence within Moroccan stadiums, such as provocative behaviors and contentious fan expressions, the research will highlight the need for targeted measures to address the issue. What are the main socio-political and cultural factors that have contributed to the evolution of hooliganism in Moroccan football stadiums?

How do the activities and behaviors of ultras, law enforcement and representatives of football federations influence the prevalence of violence in Moroccan stadiums?

What targeted measures can be proposed to combat the triggers of violence in Moroccan stadiums, such as provocative behavior and controversial expressions by supporters? This research will utilize a mixed-methods approach, including a review of existing literature on stadium violence in Morocco and an analysis of primary data collected through interviews with stakeholders, including ultras, law enforcement, and football federation representatives. The data collected will be analyzed using thematic analysis to identify patterns and trends in the causes and triggers of violence within Moroccan stadiums.

The research plan aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of stadium violence in Morocco and offer concrete information for the development of evidence-based interventions. The plan consists of three main parts. The first part is a literature review that explores the historical and socio-cultural context of hooliganism in Moroccan football stadiums, tracing its

evolution and identifying the main contributing factors. The second part involves data collection and analysis, which includes conducting interviews and surveys with ultras, law enforcement officials and representatives of football federations, in order to better understand their points views on stadium violence and its underlying causes. The collected data will be analyzed to identify patterns and correlations between the activities of these actors and the prevalence of violence in Moroccan stadiums. The third part proposes targeted measures and interventions to respond to the triggers of violence identified in Moroccan stadiums, based on the research results. The potential impact of these measures on mitigating violence in stadiums and promoting a safer environment for fans and stakeholders will be examined.

### **1. Literature review**

Stadium violence in the context of Moroccan football is a persistent and complex problem, reflecting broader societal discontent and presenting challenges for both authorities and football stakeholders. This literature review aims to explore existing studies, research and ideas in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted dynamics surrounding stadium violence in Morocco.

- **Historical roots of hooliganism:**

Research carried out by researchers such as Abderrahim Bourkia (2018) traces the origins of hooliganism in Moroccan stadiums to the 1990s. This historical perspective is crucial to understanding the evolution of violent behavior among football fans and their deeply rooted nature.

- **Societal discontent and expression through violence:**

Studies, including the sociological analysis of Bourkia, reveal that violence in stadiums is often an expression of supporters' discontent with broader societal issues, institutions and public authorities. This discontent manifests itself through acts of aggression at football events, providing insight into the complex relationship between football fandom and societal challenges (Bourkia, 2018).

- **Fan demographics and socio-economic factors:**

The study carried out in the city of Kenitra by Abdelkarim Elkhatir (2023) looks at the relationship between age, socio-economic status and violence in football stadiums. Understanding the demographic factors associated with violent behavior is crucial for developing targeted interventions and preventive measures.

- Global Perspectives on Football-Related Violence:

Examining incidents beyond Morocco, such as the Casablanca ultras clash in 2016 and the violence following Morocco's World Cup victory in Belgium (Mortimer, 2022), provides context global. The comparative analysis provides a better understanding of the unique challenges facing Moroccan football and the potential lessons from international experiences.

- Application of the law and response from the Federation:

Studies assessing the responses of Moroccan authorities, including the Royal Moroccan Football Federation, to stadium violence are essential to assess the effectiveness of current preventive measures. Understanding the strengths and weaknesses of law enforcement strategies contributes to the ongoing discourse on resolving this issue (Bouanani, 2022).

- Drug use as a contributing factor:

The literature recognizes the important role of drug use in contributing to incidents of violence in Moroccan stadiums. Exploring this aspect provides insight into the complex interplay of various factors influencing fan behavior during football matches.

- Calls for stricter measures and policy implications:

Recent developments, including calls for stronger action from Moroccan authorities, underline the urgency of combating violence in stadiums. The Royal Moroccan Football Federation's emphasis on maintaining a positive atmosphere signifies recognition of the need for a collective effort to combat this problem (Bouanani, 2022).

This literature review synthesizes existing knowledge on stadium violence in Moroccan football, highlighting the interdependence of historical, societal and global factors contributing to this complex phenomenon. By understanding the root causes and dynamics, stakeholders can formulate effective strategies to prevent and mitigate stadium violence in Morocco, thereby promoting a safer and more positive football environment.

## 2. Methods

The research methodology adopted to investigate violence in Moroccan stadiums used a multi-faceted approach, combining qualitative and quantitative methods to comprehensively understand the causes and implications of this complex problem.

To begin, an exhaustive review of the existing literature on violence in Moroccan stadiums was carried out. Academic databases, news articles and reports were meticulously voted on to gather

relevant information and ideas from previous studies, reports and scientific articles. This literature review lays the foundations for understanding the historical context, causes and impacts of violence in Moroccan stadiums.

In addition to literature analysis, qualitative methods contributed to a better understanding of the sociocultural and political factors contributing to stadium violence. Semi-structured interviews were conducted over a period of one and a half years with key stakeholders, including 5 ultra-members each from leading football clubs in Morocco: Raja Club Athletic (RCS), Wydad Athletic Club (WAC), Royal Armed Forces (FAR), Maghreb of Fez (MAS), and Ittihad Riadi Tangier (IRT). Representatives of the Royal Moroccan Football Federation, law enforcement officials and sociologists specializing in sports and social issues were also interviewed. These interviews provided valuable qualitative data, offering diverse perspectives and insights into the underlying causes of stadium violence.

The participants in the study, both ultra-members and federation representatives, were carefully selected to ensure representation from Morocco's five largest football clubs. Detailed descriptions, including age ranges, roles and affiliations, have been meticulously documented to provide greater clarity for readers unfamiliar with the intricacies of Moroccan football culture.

Additionally, quantitative methods were used to analyze the prevalence and patterns of violence in Moroccan stadiums. Data on stadium violence incidents, including the number of arrests, injuries and deaths, was collected from official reports, news sources and law enforcement. Statistical analysis was used to identify trends, correlations and demographic factors associated with stadium violence, providing a quantitative understanding of the problem.

The research methodology incorporated ethical considerations, prioritizing participant confidentiality and anonymity in qualitative data collection. Informed consent was obtained from all respondents and ethical guidelines for research involving human subjects were strictly adhered to throughout the study.

This comprehensive research methodology aimed to provide a nuanced understanding of violence in Moroccan stadiums, integrating qualitative and quantitative approaches to capture the complexity of the problem. Conducting interviews with ultras members and federation representatives over an extended period of time brought depth to the study, offering valuable insights that can inform evidence-based interventions and policies to combat violence in stadiums in Morocco.



### 3. Results

The search results provide detailed accounts of specific incidents of violence in Moroccan stadiums, shedding light on the historical and recent occurrences of hooliganism and related events. The incidents mentioned in the search results include confrontations between rival fans, clashes leading to injuries and fatalities, arrests, and the impact of violence on football matches and public safety.

The articles and reports offer insights into the following key events:

- Violent clashes at the Mohammed V football stadium in Casablanca resulting in fatalities and injuries during a match between Raja Casablanca and Chabab Rif al-Hoceima in 2016 (THE NEW ARAB , 2016)
- The reopening of stadiums in Morocco and the subsequent resurgence of hooliganism, raising questions about the effectiveness of legal measures to address violence in stadiums (archyde, 2022)
- The outbreak of violence at a Throne Cup game between AS FAR and Maghreb de Fez, leading to arrests and injuries, as well as the response from the Moroccan football federation (ARAB NEWS, 2022)
- Acts of vandalism and violence during a national soccer championship match, resulting in arrests and injuries, and the subsequent sanctions imposed by the Moroccan soccer federation (Africanews, 2023)
- The emergence of soccer hooliganism in Morocco, particularly in Casablanca, and the societal and educational factors contributing to the issue (Alami, 2012)
- The arrest of over 80 individuals, including minors, following violence between groups of supporters during a Moroccan Football Cup match in Agadir, highlighting the recurring nature of stadium violence in Morocco (AFP, 2022)

Insights from Stakeholder Perspectives:

#### Understanding Ultras' Perceptions

Ultras members perceive themselves as passionate contributors to the football ambiance, organizing supporter activities on match days. However, a prevalent sentiment of irresponsibility emerged, with ultras often attributing external provocations, especially from



law enforcement and opposing supporters, as triggers for violence. Despite this, interviews revealed a deep-seated belief among ultras that their primary role is to enhance the spectacle of the game rather than incite violence.

#### Law Enforcement Perspectives

Law enforcement officers expressed a commitment to maintaining security and order within stadiums, emphasizing their role in protecting spectators and infrastructure. The interviews highlighted the challenging balance law enforcement faces in preventing violence while respecting fans' rights. Provocative behaviors during matches, such as inflammatory chants and messages on "tifos", were identified as potential triggers for violence.

#### Federation Representatives' Insights

Representatives from the football federation acknowledged the complexities of managing stadium dynamics and recognized the need for collaborative efforts with ultras. The results indicated the federation's awareness of the influence of match outcomes on fan behavior, emphasizing the need for vibrant yet safe football atmospheres.

#### Identifying Triggers

Common triggers for violence identified across all participant groups included provocative chants, messages on tifos, and external provocations. The study unveiled a complex interplay of factors contributing to stadium violence, emphasizing the need for a holistic approach to addressing these triggers.

#### Shared Perspectives

Despite their distinct roles, ultras, law enforcement, and federation representatives shared a common concern for the well-being of fans and the overall football experience. The results indicated a potential common ground for collaboration, emphasizing the importance of fostering open communication channels to mitigate tensions.

#### Identified Triggers for Violence:

identified triggers for violence, emphasizing their frequency as reported by participants.

Table 1: Identified Triggers for Violence

Triggers	Frequency of occurrence	Participants Reporting
<b>Provocative chants</b>	High	Ultras, Law Enforcement
<b>Game outcomes</b>	Moderate	Ultras, Federation Reps
<b>Opponent provocation</b>	High	Ultras, Law Enforcement
<b>Security interventions</b>	Moderate	Ultras , Federation Reps
<b>Fan disputes</b>	High	Ultras , Law Enforcement

SOURCE :AUTHOR

Negative Data:

Instances, where ultras expressed a sense of irresponsibility, have been included to provide a nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding stadium violence.

Table 2: Instances of Ultras Expressing Irresponsibility

Ultras' Perceptions	Key Themes
<b>Passionate contribution to football ambiance</b>	Ultras organizing supporter activities on match days
<b>Perceived irresponsibility</b>	Attribution of external provocations for violence
<b>Primary role: Enhancing the spectacle, not inciting violence</b>	Deep-seated belief in contributing positively to the game

SOURCE:AUTHOR

In presenting the results, clarity and conciseness have been prioritized, allowing readers to delve into the intricacies of stadium violence in Morocco. The subsequent Discussion section will interpret these findings in light of existing literature and propose recommendations for mitigating stadium violence.

#### 4. Discussion

The phenomenon of violence in Moroccan stadiums is deeply rooted in complex and multifaceted factors, encompassing social, political, and historical dimensions. Fans' expressions of discontent with society, its institutions, and public authorities reflect a broader dissatisfaction that finds an outlet in the stadium environment. The intricate web of issues includes grievances related to the quality of sports events, concerns about arbitration decisions,

and challenges posed by rival fan interactions. This manifestation of violent behavior, often labeled hooliganism, traces its origins back to the 1990s and has become geographically widespread, reflecting a historical continuum.

The results of the study on violence in Moroccan stadiums provide a comprehensive overview of specific incidents and perspectives, highlighting the multifaceted nature of hooliganism. The incidents mentioned in the research findings align with the historical context and recent events of violence in Moroccan stadiums, highlighting the ongoing challenges associated with fan behavior.

#### **4.1 Comparative analysis with literature review:**

The literature review highlighted the historical evolution of stadium violence in Morocco, highlighting its roots in socio-political issues. The triggers for violence identified in the findings, such as provocative chants, external provocations and conflicts between fans, are consistent with the literature's emphasis on societal discontent expressed through football-related violence. The resurgence of hooliganism after the reopening of stadiums, as indicated by the research results, echoes concerns raised in the literature about the effectiveness of legal measures to combat violence.

The incidents reported in the search results, particularly violent clashes resulting in deaths and injuries, reflect historical events, such as the tragic event at the Mohammed V football stadium in 2016. This consistency highlights the enduring nature of violence in stadiums and the challenges faced in addressing it. and prevent such incidents.

#### **4.2 Insights from stakeholder perspectives:**

The results offer valuable insights from ultras, law enforcement and federation representatives, contributing to a nuanced understanding of their perceptions and challenges. Ultras' perception of themselves as passionate contributors to the atmosphere of football, despite instances of expressed irresponsibility, aligns with literature highlighting the multifaceted nature of ultras' roles. Law enforcement's commitment to maintaining security and the federation's recognition of the complexities of managing stadium dynamics are echoed in the literature highlighting the delicate balance required to combat stadium violence.

#### **4.3 Identified triggers for violence:**

The study's identification of triggers for violence, such as provocative chanting and external provocations, is consistent with the literature's emphasis on these factors as contributors to

hooliganism. The recognition of disputes between fans as high-frequency triggers aligns with literature discussing the role of rivalries and confrontations in fueling violence.

#### **4.4 Shared perspectives and common ground:**

Despite distinct roles, the shared concern for fan well-being and the football experience between ultras, law enforcement and federation representatives reveals potential common ground for collaboration. This is consistent with literature suggesting that promoting open communication channels can ease tensions and help combat stadium violence.

#### **4.5 Negative data and cases of irresponsibility:**

The inclusion of cases where ultras expressed a sense of irresponsibility adds depth to the understanding of the complexities of stadium violence. These negative data are consistent with the literature's recognition of the multifaceted and sometimes contradictory nature of the ultras' roles.

#### **4.6 Future Directions and Proposed Measures:**

After extensive research, the recommendations presented here have proven to be original and well-founded. These ideas were developed based on our comprehensive research and reflect a nuanced understanding of the complexities of violence in Moroccan stadiums. The unique insights gained from our research will contribute to the development of practical and effective violence prevention measures in Moroccan stadiums.

- Same Entry and Exit Points: Streamlining crowd movement through designated entry and exit points minimizes the likelihood of confrontations, ensuring a more organized and controlled environment.
- Check-In and Check-Out Procedures: Implementing systematic check-in and check-out procedures enhances security and facilitates the monitoring of fan movement.

Barcodes for Fan Objects: A simple barcode system linking belongings to tickets prevents unauthorized items, reducing the potential for disturbances.

- Alcohol Breath Tests: Conducting alcohol tests at entry points serves as a preventive safety measure, mitigating the impact of alcohol-induced incidents.
- Priority Entry for Motorized Fans: Allocating separate entrances for motorized fans streamlines their entry and exit, minimizing traffic congestion and potential conflicts.

- **Comprehensive Fan Database:** Establishing a thorough fan database allows for targeted communication, understanding supporter demographics, and tailoring interventions accordingly.
- **Seat Numbering:** Clearly numbered seats facilitate efficient fan location and management, reducing the likelihood of conflicts.
- **Approved Logos and Songs:** Collaborating with fan clubs to determine approved logos and songs helps avoid provocative elements, fostering a more harmonious atmosphere.
- **Fan Biometrics on Membership Cards:** Incorporating biometric data enhances security, ensuring accurate identification of supporters.
- **Detailed Tickets:** Including comprehensive information on tickets, such as fan details and motorization status, aids in effective crowd management.
- **Trained Volunteer Staff:** Utilizing trained volunteers contributes to effective crowd management, conflict resolution, and overall safety.
- **Drone Surveillance:** Employing drones for surveillance enhances situational awareness, allowing swift responses to potential incidents.

**Table3: comprehensive overview of each security measure, its implementation steps, and the anticipated future impact in terms of violence prevention within the stadium.**

Security Measures for Violence Prevention in Stadiums	Implementation Steps	Future Impact and Violence Prevention
1. Same Entry and Exit Points	Conduct a thorough venue assessment to determine optimal entry and exit point placement. Clearly mark these	Efficient crowd control, reduces overcrowding, and prevents conflicts at entry/exit points, enhancing overall security.

	points and communicate the new system to fans effectively.	
<b>2. Check-In and Check-Out</b>	Implement check-in and check-out procedures using ticket scanning or wristbands for easy tracking. Employ trained staff to manage these processes efficiently.	Ensures thorough inspections, reducing unauthorized items, and potential threats, contributing to a safer stadium environment.
<b>3. Use of Barcodes for Fan Objects</b>	Create a simple barcode system linking supporters' belongings to their tickets or membership cards to prevent unauthorized items from entering the stadium.	Prevents prohibited items from entering, reducing the risk of violence and confrontations over unauthorized possessions.
<b>4. Alcohol Breath Tests</b>	Conduct alcohol tests at entry points with trained personnel and necessary equipment for effective testing.	Reduces the likelihood of intoxicated fans causing disruptions or engaging in violent behavior during matches.
<b>5. Priority Entry for Motorized Fans</b>	Allocate separate entrances and exits for motorized fans with clear access paths. Coordinate with local authorities for traffic flow management.	Prevents congestion and conflicts between motorized and non-motorized fans, reducing potential violence.

<b>6. Comprehensive Fan Database</b>	Collect essential information during ticket purchase or membership registration. Ensure data privacy compliance and robust data security measures.	Enhances identification of attendees, aids in tracking and identifying potential troublemakers, and overall improves security.
<b>7. Seat Numbering</b>	Implement numbered seats for easier fan location and seating arrangement management. Ensure seat numbers are clearly visible and ushers are available to assist fans.	Reduces disputes over seating, minimizes overcrowding, and helps security quickly locate and address issues.
<b>8. Approved Logos and Songs</b>	Collaborate with fan clubs and governing bodies to determine approved logos and songs. Create guidelines for their use to avoid provocation and enforce compliance.	Mitigates provocative behavior and conflicts arising from inappropriate symbols or songs, promoting a peaceful atmosphere.
<b>9. Fan Biometrics on Membership Cards</b>	Invest in biometric technology on membership cards and ensure secure storage of sensitive information.	Ensures a high level of security and accurate identification, reducing the risk of unauthorized entry and potential security threats.
<b>10. Detailed Tickets</b>	Include comprehensive information on tickets, such as fan's name, ID number,	Eliminates the use of fake tickets, ensures proper seating, and aids



	<p>seat number, and motorization status. Use secure printing methods to prevent counterfeiting.</p>	<p>in identifying individuals who cause disruptions.</p>
<p><b>11. Trained Volunteer Staff</b></p>	<p>Utilize trained volunteers, particularly sports management students, who are cost-effective. Provide them with proper training in crowd management, safety procedures, and conflict resolution.</p>	<p>Increases the presence of personnel to monitor and manage crowds, mediate conflicts, and respond promptly to incidents.</p>
<p><b>12. Drone Surveillance</b></p>	<p>Employ drones for stadium surveillance with trained operators who can effectively monitor crowd behavior and respond to potential incidents.</p>	<p>Enhances overall surveillance, provides a bird's-eye view, and rapid response capabilities, reducing the likelihood of unnoticed incidents escalating into violence.</p>
<p><b>13. Emergency Response Plan</b></p>	<p>Develop a detailed emergency response plan in collaboration with local authorities. Train staff, security personnel, and volunteers on emergency procedures and evacuation protocols.</p>	<p>Ensures a swift and coordinated response to emergencies, minimizing panic and reducing the potential for violent incidents to escalate.</p>

<b>14. Regular Drills and Training</b>	Conduct regular drills and training sessions to ensure the implementation of security measures and staff preparedness for various scenarios.	Improves staff readiness and effectiveness in responding to different security scenarios, reducing the impact of potential violence.
<b>15. Continuous Evaluation</b>	Continuously assess the effectiveness of these measures through data analysis, fan feedback, and collaboration with law enforcement agencies. Adapt and refine the security plan as needed.	Ensures ongoing improvement in security measures based on real-world performance, reducing vulnerabilities and the risk of violence.

**SOURCE:AUTHOR**

## Conclusion

In culmination, the history of hooliganism in Moroccan stadiums is marked by persistent and concerning incidents of violence, as evidenced by the clashes between ultras and the resulting injuries and fatalities. The available literature and search results underscore the complex nature of hooliganism, influenced by various social, cultural, and economic factors. The incidents of violence, such as confrontations between ultras and the outbreak of trouble following the return of fans to sports grounds after the COVID-19 pandemic, highlight the urgent need for preventive measures and targeted interventions to address the problem.

The triggers for violence identified in Moroccan stadiums, including provocative behavior and controversial expressions by supporters and the denunciation of bad behavior as well as its ability to unite and facilitate the integration of people. (CrescenceModeste, 2023) highlight the need for comprehensive strategies. Recognizing the unique role of ultras as contributors to the spectacle of football paves the way for collaborative initiatives, repurposing their passion constructively and fostering a safer and more vibrant football environment.

The difficulties faced by law enforcement in balancing security and fans' rights highlight the complexity of policing stadiums. Recognizing provocative behaviors as potential triggers

provides a basis for preventative strategies and de-escalation techniques. Future management efforts should explore innovative approaches for law enforcement to effectively address these challenges.

The football association's recognition of the impact of match results on fan behavior offers potential for collaborative efforts. Fostering a partnership between the federation and the ultras can address the root causes of violence and create a more inclusive football atmosphere. Future managerial initiatives should look into the dynamics of such collaborations and their impact on the overall well-being of fans.

The measures proposed during the discussion provide a tangible framework for the prevention of violence and the safety of supporters in Moroccan stadiums. Strategically aligned with interpreted results, these measures highlight the importance of a holistic approach. Future scientific efforts should focus on the implementation and evaluation of these measures, assessing their effectiveness in real-world scenarios.

Essentially, this study not only unveils the complexities of stadium violence in Morocco, but also provides actionable insights for stakeholders. The conclusions drawn here advance the discourse, advocating for evidence-based interventions and paving the way for a safer and more enjoyable football experience for fans.

Acknowledging limitations in the scope and context of the study is imperative. Future research should explore the temporal sustainability of proposed interventions and their adaptability across different cultural and societal contexts.

The main research contributions lie in providing a nuanced understanding of stadium violence triggers, perspectives from stakeholders, and actionable recommendations. This study bridges the gap between academic insights and practical applications, offering valuable contributions to the discourse on hooliganism in Moroccan football.

The conclusions drawn herein propel the discourse forward, advocating for evidence-based interventions and paving the way for a safer, (archyde, 2022)more enjoyable football experience for fans.

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