Collective violence offenders and offending : the role of individual characteristics

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02.
Jekyll or Hyde?
Examining the criminal careers of collective violence offenders

*In the original article, instead of 'collective violence' the term 'public violence' was used. For the sake of readability and consistency, in this chapter the term collective violence is used.

Abstract

Since the 1970s theoretical and empirical work on collective violence has mainly focused on the context in which collective violence takes place, assuming that collective violence offenders are ordinary people acting in extraordinary circumstances. Recent studies however indicate that 'hooligans' share many characteristics with other violent offenders, which has (re)fueled the notion that individual propensity is important in explaining collective violence, and that collective violence offenders generally fit the small group of serious and persistent offenders identified by Moffitt. Based on Dutch police data on 438 individuals involved in collective violence, we examined the criminal careers of collective violence offenders leading up to the date of registration as a collective violence offender. Using group-based models, we distinguished three criminal career trajectories in our sample. Although we found many collective violence offenders had no criminal records whatsoever, we also found a small group of collective violence offenders who exhibited a high frequency of offending, displayed both solo and group violence, and acted violently across different settings. Our results leave us to take a middle ground in the context-propensity debate, because we argue that different categories of collective violence offenders may exist whose behaviour is triggered by different processes. Incorporating the notion of different types of collective violence offenders helps explain the seemingly contradictory findings of prior studies, and suggests new avenues for future research into the intra- and intergroup dynamics of collective violence.

Introduction

Large-scale collective violence incidents have been common throughout modern history. For example, think of the US riots in the 1960s (for example, Caplan and Paige, 1968), the mass demonstrations, strikes and riots in the UK at the end of the 1980s (Burns, 1992; Reicher, 1996; Walton and Ragin, 1990), confrontations between protesters and the police at international summits such as G8 and G20 meetings (Della Porta and Reiter, 2006; Ericson and Doyle, 1999; Herbert, 2007) and reoccurring disturbances between supporters of different football teams (Spaaij, 2006, 2008; Williams et al., 1986). Urban violence and escalated protest events may find grounds in felt injustices at, for instance, the economic, political or social level (Body-Gendrot, 2012; Reicher, 1996; Waddington and King, 2009). Consequently, these types of collective violence can be characterized as issue relevant. Crowd violence surrounding (sport) events on the other hand is considered, at least by outsiders, as issue irrelevant (Marx, 1970; Wann et al., 2001). Despite differences in the nature of collective violence, there are roughly two types of explanation for it (Reicher 1996; Waddington and King, 2005). First, there are theories that focus on the context in which collective violence occurs. Trigger events, group dynamics and (the emergence of) temporary deviant norms in crowds in particular have received scholarly attention (Gamson, 1992; Klandermans, 1997, 2004; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Second, there are theories that focus on individual characteristics of collective violence offenders (hereafter propensity theories). Central to propensity theories is the notion that collective violence reflects the character of

those belonging to the crowd (LeBon, 1895; Taylor, 1984; Waddington, 2003). Taking the argument to the extreme, contextual theories hold that everyone is at equal risk of getting caught up on the spur of the moment and engaging in collective violence. In this sense, collective violence offenders resemble the famous Dr Jekyll, an ordinary person turning to crime and deviance only under very specific conditions (Lösel and Bliesener, 2003). In contrast, propensity theories view collective violence offenders much more as a Mr Hyde. According to these theories, collective violence offenders are not different from other (violent) offenders whose personal and background characteristics constantly put them at risk of frequent offending, both alone and in groups, and not only during adolescence – when delinquency is most common – but also in adulthood. Prevalence, incidence and duration of offending are key elements by which criminal career studies characterize persistent offenders (for example, Blumstein et al., 1986). Propensity theories therefore seem to suggest that collective violence offenders are at risk of developing persistent criminal careers.

Prior research mainly concerns the contextual perspective on collective violence (for example, Reicher et al., 2004, 2007; Waddington, 2007). However, groups of football supporters are known to prearrange confrontations with rival groups. Therefore, not every incident of collective violence seems to be the result of previous trigger events (Adang, 1988, 2011; Armstrong and Harris, 1991; Kerr and De Kock, 2002; Williams et al., 1986; Spaaij, 2008). Furthermore, many people abstain from collective violence even in the face of such trigger events despite evolving group dynamics and the emergence of temporary deviant norms (Adang and Van Ham, 2015). Consequently, the question of who becomes involved in collective violence and why remains in part unanswered when taking a contextual vantage point. Some studies however indicate that collective violence involvement and individual violent offending are explained by similar risk factors and show considerable overlap in their development over the life-course (for example, Farrington, 2006). Therefore, insights from a propensity perspective may fill the void left by contextual theories in explaining collective violence offending (also see Spaaij, 2014). Empirical research into the personal characteristics and criminal careers of collective violence offenders however is scarce, and as yet provides too narrow a foundation to support any general conclusions. The current study therefore aims to broaden knowledge about collective violence offending by examining the criminal careers of a sample of collective violence offenders using Dutch police data. Trajectory modelling is used to distinguish developmental pathways leading up to collective violence, and detailed incident data taken from police records are used to scrutinize the nature of and contexts in which (public) violence takes place.

Why do people engage in collective violence?
Propensity theories hold that collective violence is the outcome of the convergence of individuals who are predisposed towards creating 'disorder'. The 'riff raff' explanation of collective violence – which states that collective violence reflects the deviant or criminal minded character of those involved – is an illustrative example of this approach (for example, LeBon, 1895; Allport, 1924). From the 1960s onwards this point of view suffered heavy criticism. Critics have argued that propensity theories in general

and the 'riff raff' explanation in particular are reductionist approaches that ignore the social context in which people enter into collective conflict. Therefore, propensity theories are considered ill equipped to explain or predict individual behaviour (violent and non-violent) in social situations (McPhail, 1985, 1991; Smith, 1983; Turner, 1964; Reicher et al., 2004). Furthermore, reasoning that personality characteristics are a constant, it has been pointed out that propensity theories cannot explain why some events do not result in collective violence despite the presence of groups (for example, hooligans[2]) known for their frequent engagement in such behaviour (Waddington and King, 2005). Finally, in an influential review of empirical studies on the personal and background characteristics of collective violence offenders, Reicher (2001) concluded that no specific individual attributes (for example, being a migrant, educational level, social status) that reliably predict collective violence involvement can be identified. Thus, on both theoretical and empirical grounds, the view that collective violence offenders have normal social backgrounds has been dominant since the early 1980s. This in turn has resulted in a lack of further elaboration of propensity theory in the context of collective violence (also see Spaaij, 2014).

Yet the relationship between objective, structural conditions (for example, economic circumstances) and collective action is weak (Green et al., 1998; Tilly et al., 1975). Therefore, contextual theories have mainly focused on three subjective sociopsychological determinants of collective violence: perceived injustice, perceived efficacy and social identity. Perceived injustice relates to economically, politically or socially felt injustices, such as discrimination in education or job opportunities. Perceived efficacy considers collective violence to be the result of rational actions by groups that try to advance their goals and interests (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Social identity relates to the emergence of a 'shared social definition' within a crowd and is at the heart of explaining collective violence (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). The emergence of a shared social definition within a crowd results in an us–them perspective. This us–them perspective serves as a catalyst for collective action in which situation-specific norms guide the behaviour of groups and individuals (Drury and Reicher, 1999, 2000, 2005; Postmes and Spears, 1998; Reicher, 1984, 1987, 1996, 2001). People – including individuals who ordinarily do not resort to violence – thus may participate in collective violence when they feel that they are being treated unjustly, certain events confirm this belief and bring people together in a sense of shared outrage, and this leads to feelings of empowerment to strike back (for example, Hornsey et al., 2006; Reicher and Stott, 2011; Van Zomeren et al., 2004). These findings connect with the notion that crowd events are typically intergroup encounters and consequently the position of any one party must be understood in relation to the ongoing intergroup dynamic (Drury and Reicher, 1999).

Contextual approaches, however, lack the inclusion of consistent data on the age (young) and gender (male) of collective violence offenders (for example, Adang and Van Ham, 2015; Caplan and Paige, 1968; Feagin, 1968; Roversi, 1991; Trivizas, 1980; Zani and Kirchler, 1991) and other individual attributes that have been found to correlate with violent offending and collective violence involvement (Farrington, 1994, 2006; Lösel and Bliesener, 2003). In particular, contextual approaches have difficulty explaining why,

2   There are different definitions of the term 'hooliganism' (see Piquero et al., 2015). In this article, we will not dwell further on this discussion.

even in the face of specific circumstances conducive to collective violence, the majority of people abstain from collective violence. Adang and Van Ham (2015), for instance, note that, during a Project X event[3], a process of self-selection occurred amongst the youngsters present: those who felt uncomfortable with the changing atmosphere left, while others stayed out of curiosity. Only a minority (less than 10 percent) actually got involved in collective violence. Furthermore, relative to all individuals present in a football stadium or during a demonstration, it is always less than 1 percent acting violently (Adang, 2011).

The foregoing suggests that a more interactive understanding of the relationship between collective violence offenders' attributes and the contextual determinants of collective violence is needed, as has also been argued by Spaaij (2014). Although differences in riot behaviour have been addressed (for example, Adang, 1988, 2011; Morrell et al., 2011), differences between collective violence offenders generally have not (Newburn, 2015; Spaaij, 2014). A notable exception is the aforementioned case study of a Project X event by Adang and Van Ham (2015), in which these authors identify two types of collective violence offenders: incidental public order offenders and notorious troublemakers. Both types of collective violence offenders are argued to differ not only in the frequency with which they engage in collective violence but also in the extent to which contextual determinants and individual attributes influence their collective violence involvement. Thereby a position is taken between contextual theories stressing the specific conditions under which people get involved in collective violence, and propensity theories that emphasize the influence of individual characteristics.

Differentiating between different types of collective violence offenders connects with research that has studied collective violence offenders from a developmental life-course perspective in general and Moffitt's taxonomy (Moffitt, 1993, 1997) in particular (Farrington, 1994, 2006; Lösel and Bliesener, 2003; Piquero et al., 2015). Within this taxonomy two distinct groups of (violent) offenders are identified: (1) offenders whose criminal career remains limited to adolescence (adolescence-limited offenders), and (2) offenders who persist in delinquency well into adulthood (life-course-persistent offenders). The delinquency of adolescence-limited offenders is mainly attributed to contextual circumstances. The continuing of delinquency into adulthood however is explained amongst other things, by individual determinants (for example, (neuro)psychological deficits).

Prior empirical work

Only a limited number of prior studies provide empirically based information on the criminal career of collective violence offenders, more specifically hooligans.[4] Based on self-report information, Lösel and

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3 On 21 September 2012, thousands of young people responded to an invitation to a sweet 16 party erroneously posted publicly on Facebook. The term refers to the movie 'Project X', which had been released earlier that year, which deals with a birthday party getting out of hand. The movie inspired other events that resulted in public violence, for example in the US, France and Germany (Adang and Van Ham, 2015).

4 Marsh et al. (1978) also discuss the 'careers' of hooligans. However, these careers relate to the fan group within the overall fan base of a football club with which supporters (were) identified (for example, novices, hooligans). This classification of careers is based on an ethnographic approach that does not explicitly include criminal career characteristics (for example, age of onset, frequency of offending).

Bliesener (2003) compiled 33 detailed case reports of male football hooligans from different German cities that were part of the local hard-core hooligan scene. These males were contacted via social workers, special police units and others in close contact with the hooligan scene. The profile resulting from these interviews is very similar to that of Moffitt's persistent offender. First, 75 percent of the hard core hooligans interviewed reported behavioral problems already at an early age. Over 70 percent of those interviewed reported having engaged in multiple property offences, and 57 percent admitted to having committed multiple robberies. For over two-thirds, these crimes resulted in their having a criminal record for crimes unrelated to hooliganism. Many reported other forms of deviance as well, including alcohol and substance abuse, and one in four reported having lost their driver's license because of that. Apart from their criminal careers, these hard-core hooligans fitted the image of life-course persistent offenders in terms of personal and childhood risk factors. Over half came from a broken home, and nearly one in four had experienced domestic violence. The majority had been subjected to poor parenting, and one-third reported having an alcoholic father. Many could be categorized as aggressive and highly impulsive, and 72 percent showed a tendency towards antisocial personality disorder; 27 percent showed signs of psychopathy. The fact that at an average age of 29.4 years they were still active in the hard-core hooligan scene by itself signifies that, unlike the bulk of adolescent offenders, these individuals persisted in their deviant behaviour well into their adult years.

A second series of studies (Farrington, 1994, 2006; Piquero et al., 2015) used data from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development. Football hooligans in the Cambridge study were identified at age 18 based on (1) self-reported attendance at professional football matches and (2) involvement in at least one fight inside or outside football grounds in the three preceding years. Of the 238 males attending matches, 39 reported having been involved in fights, and 17 of them were apprehended by the police (226 persons of whom 34 reported having been involved in fights for the Piquero et al., 2015 study). The profile of hooligans resulting from these studies is also very similar to that of Moffitt's persistent offender. Farrington (1994) showed that hooligans were raised in large families with poor parental supervision and left school at an early age. They were also more likely to display impulsive and sexually promiscuous behaviour, to use drugs and to drink heavily. In 2006, Farrington provided evidence that hooligans were similar to violent offenders in terms of childhood, adolescence and adulthood risk factors. In their 2015 study, Piquero et al. found that males involved in hooliganism incurred more convictions up to age 56 compared with non-fighting counterparts, and were more likely to be found in chronic offending trajectories.

Furthermore, their findings supported the view that hooliganism and criminal offending over the life-course are well explained by the same early risk and other correlates. Results from the aforementioned studies connect with other – albeit scarce (see Newburn, 2015; Spaaij, 2014) – research on collective violence offenders' characteristics. Although studies do not address these issues for urban violence or escalated protest events, findings regarding hooliganism and events getting out of hand, for instance, imply that being impulsive or sensation-seeking or having ADHD contributes to

being involved in collective violence (Adang and Van Ham, 2015; Arms and Russell, 1997; Mustonen et al., 1996; Russell, 1995; Russell and Arms, 1995, 1998). Furthermore, some studies show that those involved in hooliganism repeatedly display aggressive and violent behaviour in other circumstances as well (Van den Brug, 1986; Van de Valk and Linckens, 1988; Ferwerda et al., 2010). Of notable relevance, however, is that most persons involved in collective violence have normal social backgrounds (Reicher, 2001) and only a minority of those involved have a criminal record or suffer from psychopathology (Adang and Van Ham, 2015).[5] Furthermore, studies show that collective violence offenders are generally male minors and adolescents (Adang and Van Ham, 2015; Caplan and Paige, 1968; Feagin, 1968; Roversi, 1991; Zani and Kirchler, 1991), rather than individuals who have continued with (violent) crime well into adulthood. All in all, prior empirical work thus not only supports contextual theory (i.e. that collective violence offenders have normal social backgrounds) but also supports propensity theory by suggesting a resemblance between collective violence offenders and life-course-persistent offenders. From a developmental life-course perspective then, the current empirical evidence seems to suggest that criminal career trajectories of collective violence offenders – and therewith the root causes of collective violence involvement – might diverge. Thus far, however, this perspective has not been put forward in the theoretical debate on the initiation and escalation of collective violence, and it is unclear whether and to what extent this may be of relevance.

Current Study

Hooligans in the Cambridge study were identified by reportedly being involved in a fight surrounding a football match between 15 and 18 years of age (15–17 years in the Piquero et al., 2015, study). No longitudinal information on hooliganism is available in these data. Therefore it remains unclear how hooliganism develops over the life-course in conjunction with other types of (violent) crime. Furthermore, although these studies gathered detailed data, owing to their limited sample size the extent to which their findings can be generalized remains unclear. Also, the Cambridge data pertain to those involved in hooliganism in the 1970s. To ascertain whether the nature of hooliganism and with it those involved in collective violence did or did not change, research on present-day samples is warranted. Finally, restricted by the available data, prior studies did not address the way collective violence develops with age and over the course of the individual's criminal career. The current study addresses these shortcomings by using longitudinal data on a large and contemporary sample of registered collective violence offenders. Extending previous studies, the current study has three aims: (1) to provide a detailed description of the criminal careers of those involved in collective violence in terms of the onset, frequency and diversity of their offending; (2) to explore their developmental pathways in delinquency and crime, and (3) to examine the extent to which other violent offences are committed.

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5   Please note that these findings are based on a limited number of case studies. Without being clear whether these cases are representative, it is uncertain to what extent findings can be generalized.

Data and methods
Sample

Over the past few years, the Netherlands has faced several incidents of large-scale collective violence. Collective violence incidents that have attracted much attention and have been investigated by independent bodies concern two football matches in 2011[6] and a Project X event in September 2012. Given their excessive nature, these incidents were thoroughly investigated by the Dutch police and camera footage was made public to facilitate arrests. For these three incidents a total of 214 persons were arrested (hereafter, incident sample). In all three cases, police were confident the persons arrested formed an adequate representation of those responsible and/or involved in the violence. Case studies conducted by independent bodies concluded these incidents were not specifically related to salient social issues in Dutch society (Auditteam Voetbal and Veiligheid, 2012a, 2012b; Cohen Commission, 2013).

Furthermore, the Dutch National Football Intelligence Unit (CIV in Dutch) maintains a database of those frequently involved in hooliganism. To assess whether individuals are to be recorded in this database, the 'Focus on Hooligans' (Dutch: *Hooligans in Beeld*) approach is used. In short, this method aims to monitor and control football fans whose behaviour is considered problematic by means of targeted intelligence. Information on problematic fan groups and individual football fans associated with these groups is obtained from various data systems and concerns behaviour on match days as well as offences and disorderly behaviour at other times and locations (Spaaij, 2013). The information held by the police on problematic fan groups and the individuals associated with these groups is 'quite good' (Auditteam Voetbal and Veiligheid, 2013). In August 2012, the names of all 228 persons registered in the CIV database at that time were recorded (hereafter, CIV sample). Four people from the CIV sample had already been included in the incident sample as a result of their arrest during one of these incidents. Therefore, the sample for the current study consists of a total of 438 unique individuals.

Data

For this study, we used information about our sample population recorded in two separate police registration systems: HKS and BVH. The HKS system contains information on every suspect detained by the Dutch police and the indictable offences involved. Indictable offences that at a later stage result in an acquittal or discharge from further prosecution are, in principle, removed from the HKS, as are prosecutorial dismissals owing to illegally obtained evidence, unlawful use of force or being wrongly accused. Individuals who accept an out-of-court settlement remain in the HKS, as do prosecutorial waivers for policy reasons or technical reasons other than those already mentioned. Note that we use the term 'in principle' here, because the removal of acquittals and discharges from prosecution from the HKS has not always been carried out accurately. Though in use since 1986, the HKS is suitable for scientific research only since 1996 (Bijleveld, 2007). For the individuals in our sample we thus have retrospective HKS data on their criminal careers from the year they were included in the sample (either 2011 or 2012) back to 1996. Given that the minimum age of legal responsibility in the Netherlands is 12, for those aged 27–28 or under this age period

pertains to their entire officially registered criminal career. For those aged over 27–28 in 2011–12, however, registered information on the onset of offending may be lacking. For the purpose of this study, all offences recorded in the HKS were categorized as either *group violence* or *non-group violence*. Offences were categorized as group violence when they could be committed only in association. With only a few exceptions, all offences categorized as group violence concerned 'collective violence in association' (section 141 of the Dutch Penal Code).

The BVH system is the operational system of the Dutch police which contains information on all incidents that police officers were concerned with during their shift, including civilians involved either as suspects, victims or bystanders as identified by witnesses and police officers. Unlike the HKS system, which contains information only on the sections of the legal code under which suspected offenders were indicted, the BVH allows police officers to add a more detailed dvescription of the situation and the behaviours of those involved. For privacy reasons, however, the BVH records are accessible for a five-year period only. Therefore, BVH records for the CIV sample and those arrested for their involvement in the Project X disorder cover the period 2008–12. BVH records obtained from the other people in the incident sample concern the period 2007–11.[7]

Results
Collective violence offenders' main characteristics

Table 1 displays the number of collective violence offenders per age category. Most people in the incident sample were young adults aged 18-24, as were those included in the CIV sample. However, compared with people from the incident sample, the proportion of minors in the CIV sample was smaller (2 percent versus 24 percent) and the proportion of adults was bigger (57 percent versus 21 percent).

Table 1. Number of collective violence offenders per public order incident, by age category

| Incident	Age category						Total	
	12-17		18-24		25+			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Feyenoord v. De Graafschap	3	10	23	77	4	13	30	100
FC Utrecht v. FC Twente	18	24	31	41	27	36	76	100
Project X	30	28	65	61	13	12	108	100
Total incident	**51**	**24**	**119**	**56**	**44**	**21**	**214**	**100**
CIV sample	5	2	93	42	126	56	224	100
Total sample	**56**	**13**	**212**	**48**	**170**	**39**	**438**	**100**

Collective violence offenders' offending frequency

The persons included in the incident sample accounted for 262 records in the HKS. The persons included in the CIV sample had a total of 1568 HKS records. Figure 1 displays the distribution of the criminal records of collective violence offenders. For both the incident sample and the CIV sample this distribution is heavily skewed, with a relatively small group being responsible for a disproportionate share of all registered offences. The distribution is less skewed – yet far from negligible – for those included in the

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7 Individuals registered in the HKS (indicted offenders) and the BVH (suspects) differ in legal status. However, for reasons of readability and to adhere to the criminal career terminology, we refer to individuals registered in the HKS or the BVH as 'offenders'

CIV database. This may reflect the fact that those included in the CIV sample are considered 'problematic' fans to begin with.

Figure 1. Skewness in the general offending of collective violence offenders
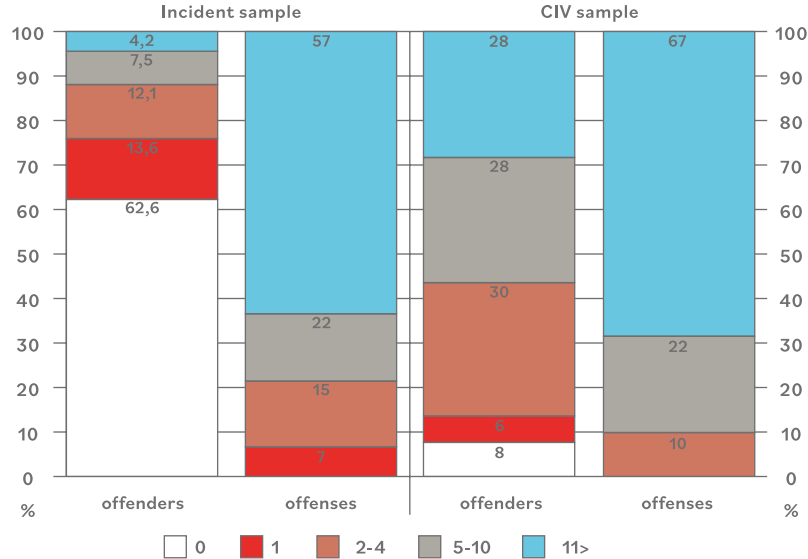
In order to assess whether the age of onset of offending influences offending frequency, the mean number of registered offences per life year was calculated.[8] Individuals offending before reaching the age of 18 on average had a higher offending rate than individuals whose first offence was registered at age 18 or over ($p < .01$).[9] This finding was replicated when the analysis was limited to individuals who had at least one registration for group violence either before or after reaching the age of 18 (see Table 2). These differences may to some extent be confounded by the age at time of selection, for which early- and late-onset offenders in our sample differ ($p < .01$). Additional analysis, however, indicates that this difference in mean age did not influence our results: for both young adults (18–24, $n = 137$) and adults (25+ older, $n = 144$) at the time of selection, overall offending frequency was higher for individuals who were under-age at the time of their first HKS-registered offence ($p < .01$).[10]

Table 2. The relationship between age of onset, type of registered offense and overall offending frequency

	Age of onset <18			Age of onset >17		
	Overall offending frequency per life year	n	Mean age	Overall offending frequency per life year	n	Mean age
Overall offending	0.71	158	24.7	0.32	128	27.3
Group violence	0.24	79	24.1	0.16	128	28.4

8   Because a person can be registered in the HKS only from the age of 12, the previous 11 years were not used in calculating mean scores.

9   The HKS is suitable for scientific research only since 1996 (Bijleveld, 2007). Results, however, were significant as well when those born before 1984 were left out of the analyses (available upon request).

10   For minors ages between 12 and 17 ($n = 5$) at the time of selection, this analysis is not possible.

Criminal career trajectories of collective violence offenders
—   To explore whether distinct criminal career patterns leading up to collective violence could be distinguished in our data, we used Nagin's (2005) semi-parametric group-based model, with the number of registered offences in HKS in a given year as the dependent variable.[11] Unlike growth-curve models, group-based models do not model individual development as diversions from the overall group mean. Rather, both the level and the shape of the developmental curve are allowed to vary across a preset number of groups. The Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) (higher values indicating better model fit), average posterior group probabilities (values above .7 indicating good model fit) and the odds of correct classification (values above 5 indicating good model fit) can be used to determine the optimal number of groups (Nagin, 2005: 75). To account for the fact that, even for frequent offenders, registered offences are relatively rare events, we fitted zero-inflated Poisson models so as to allow subjects to have short periods of non-offending without this resulting in disjunct changes in the modelled rate of offending (Bushway et al., 2003).

       A total of 152 individuals were not registered in the HKS at the time of selection (also see Figure 1). They were excluded from trajectory modelling and were categorized as trajectory '0' Consequently, trajectory modelling was applied for the 286 remaining individuals. This resulted in the identification of two additional criminal career trajectories.[12] The mean age of onset and the frequency of offending characteristics for both trajectories are displayed in Table 3. From this table it can be derived that a minority of 57 people have been categorized in a separate criminal career trajectory (trajectory '2'). They differed significantly ($p < .01$) in mean age of onset of offending (earlier) and in frequency of offending (higher) compared with the 229 individuals categorized in trajectory '1'.

Table 3. Main characteristics of distinct criminal careers of collective violence offenders

	Trajectory 0 34.7 percent (n=152)	Trajectory 1 52.3 percent (n=229)	Trajectory 2 13.0 percent (n=57)
Mean age of onset	N/A	18.1	15.1
Frequency of offending			
Mean (SD)	N/A	4.0 (3.1)	16.2 (11.2)
Median	N/A	3.0	14.0
Mode	N/A	2	9a

a. Multiple modes exist – the smallest value is shown; the higher value is 12.

       As noted in the method section of the article, the BVH system allows police officers to add more detailed descriptions of incidents and those involved as either a suspect, victim or bystander. We will further detail differences between the trajectories identified on the basis of these BVH records.

The extent of violent behaviour over the previous five years
—   In the five-year period prior to the sampling year, the 438 offenders in our sample generated 6878 BVH records. These records were screened to verify whether the record pertained to a particular offence. Screening resulted in the exclusion of 4715 records that were general in nature and/

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11   The BVH records are accessible for a five-year period only. Therefore, BVH records are of no use for trajectory modelling.

12   BIC = −3201.71 (n = 4387), average fit = .967, OCC = 51.91.

or did not relate to any particular offence (for example, reports about the course of football matches, monitoring and surveillance, reports of nuisance). The remaining 2163 records were screened for violent offences for which the sampled individual was considered a 'suspect' in the broad sense of the term. This resulted in selecting 1174 violent incidents for further analysis. Table 4 presents the number of violent offenders and number of violent offences per criminal career trajectory. With respectively 82 and 98 percent, individuals categorized in criminal career trajectories '1' and '2' were registered relatively more often in the BVH for a violent incident over the previous five years than those in trajectory '0'. Furthermore, the mean, mode and median of violent offences generally supported the conclusions drawn on the basis of HKS data, more specifically a heavily skewed distribution of (in this case violent) offending.

Table 4. Main characteristics of distinct criminal careers of collective violence offenders

Criminal career trajectory	Number of violent offenders in the BVH (percent of offenders in this trajectory)	Number of violent offenses in the BVH		
		Mean (SD)	Mode	Median
0	72 (47.4%)	1.1 (1.7)	0	0
1	188 (82.1%)	2.7 (2.5)	1	2
2	56 (98.2%)	7.1 (4.6)	9	6
Total	316	2.7 (3.3)	0	1

The 1174 violent incidents registered in the BVH concerned 298 cases of violence against objects and 876 aimed at persons. Analysis indicated that, of the individuals belonging to trajectory '0', about one-third (30 percent) had been involved in person-oriented aggression.[13] With a prevalence of respectively 75 percent and 95 percent, person-oriented aggression was more common for individuals belonging to criminal career trajectories '1' and '2'. For person-oriented aggression it was determined whether the violent act was verbal (for example, insulting, threatening) or physical (for example, hitting, kicking, assaulting) in nature.

Table 5. Number of violent offenses in the BVH against objects and persons, by criminal career trajectory (mean per registered offender in parentheses)

Criminal career trajectory	Objects	Persons		Total
		Verbal	Physical	
0 (n=72)	73 (1.0)	1.1 (1.7)	60 (0.8)	159 (2.2)
1 (n=188)	132 (0.7)	2.7 (2.5)	367 (2.0)	608 (3.2)
2 (n=56)	93 (1.7)	7.1 (4.6)	201 (3.6)	407 (7.3)
Total (n=316)	298 (0.9)	2.7 (3.3)	628 (2.0)	1174 (3.7)

Per criminal career trajectory, Table 5 displays the total and mean number of violent offences against objects and persons, distinguishing between verbal and physical violence for the latter. The distribution of violent offences is skewed for collective violence offenders belonging to trajectory '2', who comprise 18 percent (56/316) of the sample registered in BVH but are responsible for about one-third of object-oriented aggression (31 percent), about half of verbal person-oriented aggression (46 percent) and about one-third of physical person-oriented aggression (32 percent).[14]

13 Because these incidents did not result in the individual being arrested (and consequently having a record in the HKS), the seriousness of these offences may be debatable.

14 Mean scores based on individuals who have been registered in the BVH for a violent incident. Including individuals who have not been registered in the BVH for a violent incident results in even more pronounced differences. The same is true for the results displayed in Table 6.

Subsequent analysis indicates that collective violence offenders categorized in trajectory '2' on average commit significantly more ($p < .01$) violent offences, whether object or person oriented, than do other collective violence offenders.

Incidents that, as became evident from the incident description in the BVH data, involved more than one perpetrator and/or whose development was influenced by the perpetrators' peer group (for example, encouraging or spurring on) were categorized as group violence. Incidents that involved one perpetrator and lacked peer or group influences were categorized as individual violence. In total, the BVH contained 372 cases of individual violence.

Table 6. Number of violent offenses in the BVH against objects and persons, by criminal career trajectory (mean per registered offender in parentheses)

Criminal career trajectory	Incidents of individual violent offending	Violent incidents in a private setting
0 (n=72)	48 (0.7)	21 (0.3)
1 (n=188)	163 (0.9)	68 (0.4)
2 (n=56)	161 (2.9)	59 (1.1)
Total (n=316)	372 (1.2)	148 (0.5)

Table 6 displays the number of individually committed violent offences per criminal career trajectory. As before, the distribution of individual violence offences is skewed: collective violence offenders belonging to trajectory '2', who comprise 18 percent of the sample, are responsible for 43 percent of all individual violence incidents. Furthermore, collective violence offenders categorized in trajectory '2' more often (70 percent) have committed at least one act of individual violence compared with collective violence offenders in trajectories '0' (18 percent) and '1' (36 percent). Additional analyses showed that individuals belonging to criminal career trajectory '2' were significantly ($p < .01$) more often involved in individual violent offending than were other collective violence offenders.

The settings in which violent offending occurred were also categorized, either as (semi)public or private. Private violence pertained almost exclusively to domestic violence against a (former) spouse, but also to some incidents of violent offending at work. Violence that was committed on the streets, while going out, during events or around football matches was categorized as violence in a (semi)public setting.[15] In total, the BVH contained 148 cases of private violence. The distribution of private violence is skewed for collective violence offenders belonging to trajectory '2', who comprise 18 percent of the sample but are responsible for 40 percent of all private violence incidents. Furthermore, the prevalence of private violence was higher for collective violence offenders categorized in trajectory '2' (44 percent) compared with collective violence offenders in trajectories '0' (10 percent) and '1' (15 percent). Additional analyses showed that individuals belonging to criminal career trajectory '2' were significantly ($p < .01$) more often involved in private violent offending than were other collective violence offenders.

15 However, when the victim was the (former) spouse of the assailant, the incident was categorized as private violence.

Results

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the debate on the initiation and escalation of collective violence, which concerns the relative contribution of individual and contextual determinants. Given that there are almost no current points of reference that include individual determinants, despite compelling arguments to do so (see Spaaij, 2014), we have done this by building on recent research conducted from a developmental life course perspective. The results of these prior studies indicate amongst other things that those involved in hooliganism, a specific form of collective violence, resemble Moffitt's life-course-persistent offender, and that specific individual attributes of those involved can be identified (Piquero et al., 2015). This, however, contradicts findings of studies indicating that many of those involved in collective violence come from unproblematic social backgrounds and that only a few show signs of psychopathology (Adang and Van Ham, 2015; Reicher, 2001).

Our analyses show that the age of onset of overall and group violence offending predicts overall offending frequency. Together with the age-collective violence offending distribution in our sample, this addresses a potential bias that was introduced in other studies either by including only those who reported being involved in collective violence between the ages of 15 and 17 (Piquero et al., 2015) or by including only individuals who have persisted in deviant behaviour well into their adult years (Lösel and Bliesener, 2003). Indeed, different criminal career trajectories of collective violence offenders can be identified, with only a minority of all collective violence offenders offending frequently from an early age – individually and in groups – in a variety of situations (including domestic violence).

However, it is important to keep in mind the limitations of our data. Individuals are registered in the HKS when they have been detained by the Dutch police. Although self-reported and registered crimes often show a fairly similar pattern (Farrington et al., 2003), the chances of being apprehended are low. First, victims and witnesses may not recognize crimes as such and thus leave them unreported to the police. Furthermore, registration of a particular (type of) crime and subsequent arrest are dependent on the investigation policy of the police and the prosecution policy of the Public Prosecution Service. In other words, before the police record a crime and an arrest is made a number of filters have already been passed through (Wittebrood and Junger, 2002). Reliance on official data therefore is likely to underestimate the actual criminal behaviour of those in the sample. More problematic is that we have no way of knowing whether this bias is similar across groups. For instance, it could be argued that individuals who are already known to the police are more likely to be identified (that is, arrested), thus reducing the gap between actual and registered offending, but only for those with already extensive criminal careers (Ball and Drury, 2012). On the other hand, it can be argued that 'experienced' collective violence offenders are better at evading arrest (for example, by concealing their face or taking into account the position of CCTV). To (partly) address these issues, collective violence incidents where the police arrested every suspect they wanted to detain on the basis of camera footage (which is not selective) were included in the study. Furthermore, we used not only HKS data but also data from incidents registered in the BVH. Using BVH data diminishes the chance of bias because all incidents that police officers are concerned with

during their shifts are registered, and non-arrested persons who have been involved in the incident are also recorded.

Conclusion

Thus far, two opposing theoretical perspectives have been used to explain collective violence. These theoretical perspectives differ in the explanatory power assigned to contextual and predispositional influences. Research has mainly been conducted from a contextual perspective, leaving the subject of predispositions largely untouched. Consequently, an interactive approach to explain collective violence is missing.

Our results suggest that there is a minority group of collective violence offenders who, from an early age, frequently offend well into adulthood. Their violent behaviour is not limited to football matches, but extends to other (semi-)public and private settings and is committed both in groups and alone. Their criminal career characteristics and the frequency and seriousness of their violent offending are in sharp contrast with those of other collective violence offenders, many of whom have no or only marginal prior criminal records up to their involvement in collective violence. The findings of this study therefore are supportive of a Moffitt-like typology of collective violence offenders, connecting with the notion that a one size fits all approach does not suffice to explain and tackle criminal behaviour (Lambie and Seymour, 2006).

Although differences in criminal career characteristics and violent offending between collective violence offenders in themselves are insufficient to explain collective violence, our findings suggests that a developmental life-course perspective could be fruitfully employed to contribute to our understanding. The developmental life-course perspective in general and Moffitt's taxonomy in particular suggest that individual risk factors mainly predict those fitting a life-course-persistent criminal trajectory, whereas contextual aspects are of specific relevance for adolescence-limited offenders. From such a perspective, the historical idea of the 'riff raff' approach may be broadened by assessing the predictive value of attributes that are associated with general violent behaviour (for example, impulsivity, hyperactivity) to explain collective violence as well – at least for a certain group of offenders. This connects with the recent notion that underscores the relevance of context, intergroup interaction and intergroup relationships in the initiation of public disorder but also stresses variations in the willingness of individuals to become involved in violence (Adang, 1988, 2011; Adang and Van Ham, 2015).

Our findings offer additional empirical data for the point of view that the contextual and predispositional perspectives are not mutually exclusive (also see Spaaij, 2014). Future research needs to address the feasibility of an offender typology to further empirically support the notion of such an interactive approach. To what extent are theoretically relevant individual characteristics associated with distinct collective violence offenders' criminal trajectories? Although determining these trajectories in hindsight is informative, a true test of any offender typology would also need to involve prediction. A recidivism study within the current sample group of known offenders could be employed to test the predictive value of collective violence offenders' predispositions for various criminal career features

to shed further light on the influence of individual attributes on repeat collective violence offending. Such studies not only have the potential to further shape collective violence theory, but may also provide input for future crowd management policies and situational preventive measures as well as a person-oriented approach targeting persistent collective violence offenders.