

Football supporters: Group identity, perception of in-group and out-group members and pro-group action tendencies

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Abstract

A study of 568 football supporters from club communities in Poland examined whether willingness to engage in collective action would be independently predicted by perceived communal relationship with in-group members and by perceived disengagement from and lack of acceptance of out-group members. The role of feeling of self-expansion related to participation in sport events was tested as well. The results indicate (a) a positive relationship between collective action and identity fusion; (b) a positive relationship between collective action tendencies and negative perception of out-group members; (c) an interaction effect between perception of out-group members and identity fusion on collective action tendency; (d) a significant mediating effect of self-expansion and group efficacy on the relationship between identity fusion and collective actions.

Keywords: Group processes, football supporters, social identity, applied psychology

Strong identification with team is related to various psychological outcomes, from motivation to attend sports events and invest personal resources to support team, to distinctive patterns of self-enhancing attributions (e.g. Kossakowski, 2015; van Hiel, Hautman, Cornelis and De Clercq, 2007; Wann and Branscombe, 1993). To understand an involvement in actions on behalf of one's team and engagement in collective action with other supporters, integrative approaches introduced by social psychologists could be applied. In their dynamic dual pathway model, van Zomeren, Leach, and Spears (2012) conceptualized collective action as a form of coping with collective disadvantage. When a group is perceived as relevant to the self, the two main paths to collective action are based on (1) external blame for unjust treatment leading to group-based anger and (2) coping potential of perceived group efficacy as a problem-focused approach to addressing unfairness. Van Zomeren (2015) focused on the relational aspects of the process of becoming an activist—that is, on how changes in relations with out-groups (e.g., those higher in the social hierarchy) and in-groups (fellow social group members) might influence self-perception and willingness to act on behalf of the group. In general, according to van Zomeren (2015), one more readily becomes an activist when (1) relations with in-group members develop from a null or tit-for-tat market pricing relationship to a strong sense of “we-ness” and communal sharing; and (2) an out-group is perceived as having broken the rules of relationship, leading to a rejection of their authority, as for instance when those in power treat in-group members unfairly and their rules are no longer perceived as valid. Thus, the first main

goal of the current study, was to explore and test these mechanisms in the context of football supporters' actions on behalf of their team. Moreover, we were interested in the role played by engagement in the supporters' community in self-perception and feelings of self-growth.

Relations with ingroup members and pro-group action tendencies

Previous studies revealed that violent actions by radical football supporters could be better explained by their strong group identity than by any diminished private or public self-awareness (van Hiel, et al., 2007). Following this line of reasoning, researchers have begun to explore the consequences of personal and group identity fusion. The state of identity fusion describes the markedly strong visceral feelings of unity and oneness with a group characterizing people whose personal and social identities are interchangeable (Gómez, Morales, Hart, Vázquez and Swann, 2011; Swann, Jetten, Gómez, Whitehouse, and Bastian, 2012). Swann and colleagues (Swann, Gómez, Seyle, Morales, and Huici, 2009) introduce personal and group identity fusion to characterize people who are ready to initiate and engage in radical progroup behaviours (i.e. fight and self-sacrifice for a group) and not merely follow group norms (Atran, Sheikh and Gómez, 2014). For fused individuals, their group becomes a personal matter, and in-group members are perceived as extended family (Swann et al., 2014). This state of overlap between group and personal identity could be studied in various social contexts. Previous research explored, for example, the role of identi-

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ty fusion with one's country (Swann et al., 2009), religious group (Besta, Gómez, and Vázquez, 2014), and protestors and demonstrators during mass-gatherings (Besta, Jaśkiewicz, Kosakowska-Berezecka, Lawendowski, and Zawadzka, 2017; Zumeta, Basabe, Włodarczyk, Bobowik, and Páez, 2016). In the context of sport and team identity, a previous study of a small sample of football hooligans confirmed that identity fusion is a better predictor of the tendency to use violence in defense of the in-group (than group membership itself – here, being a self-declared football hooligan) (Besta, Szulc and Jaśkiewicz, 2015). Identity fusion can emerge not only in small close groups, such as families, army units, or tribes, but also in relatively large groups. In these larger groups, where it is impossible to form close relationships with all members, fusion may be related to the projection of family-like relations onto other in-group members, leading to stronger willingness to act in defense of the group (Swann et al., 2014).

Within the ongoing discussion of prevailing group identities among radical football fans (Stott, Hutchison and Drury, 2001), previous studies have highlighted the importance of shared group identity not only in explaining radical action on behalf of the group (i.e. violence), but also in understanding pro-community behaviors. These behaviors include the rescue of struggling clubs by supporters (Lomax, 2000); the establishment of a new club by supporters themselves (Garcia and Wilford, 2015), and the preparation of collective performances (Kossakowski, Szlendak and Antonowicz, 2016). When Polish context is considered, there are many examples of actions based on collective identity among Polish supporters, including collective cheering, collective activities aimed at defending group honor, and even supporting fan of other teams in confrontations with the police. Specifically, two of the most important collective actions of football supporters in Poland are the annual Independence March, that take place in Warsaw, November, 11th, and the annual supporters' pilgrimage to Jasna Góra Monastery.

Relations with outgroup members and pro-group action tendencies

In addition to the development of strong communal connection with other ingroup members, perception of outgroup could also serve as an important trigger for engagement in radical progroup behaviors and collective action. As van Zomeren suggested (2015) especially perception of those in power as being unfair and unjust, could broke relations with these outgroups. As a consequence, this perception of outgroup members might lead ingroup members to become more willing to engage in actions on behalf of the group. Indeed, previous studies highlighted the role of conflict with the police in producing an oppositional definition of the ingroup identity, enabling associates with others in resistance to authority perceived as illegitimate. The role of the police forces in radicaliza-

tion of football supporters was also extensively studied by crowd behavior researchers (Reicher, 2001). Elaborated social identity model (ESIM) of crowds' behaviors postulates that perception of "other side" (e.g. police) is an important factor in ingroup transformation and radical collective actions against outgroups seen as illegitimate authority (Reicher, 2001; Reicher et al., 2007). In the context of Polish football supporters, tension between them and the police forces is also considered to be intense, especially when it comes to relation between organized fans groups and the police (e.g. this tension is expressed in internal regulations that forbids contacts between ingroup members and the police; see: Kossakowski, 2015).

Moreover many Polish football supporters' organizations, in the time of our study was conducted, were engaged in antigovernment protests. Being rather on the conservative and nationalistic right-wing political spectrum, football supporters were in general dissatisfied by center-right and liberal political reforms and saw center-right government as an outgroup that should be removed from power (Chwedoruk, 2015). Thus, in our study we included measures of perception of outgroups, that were related to both (a) the police forces as an proximal outgroup, and (b) laws and social system in Poland managed by distal outgroups – "those in power".

Engagement in the supporters' community and self-perception

Along exploring relationship between perception of outgroups and ingroups and willingness to act on behalf of one's group, the second main goal of our study was to examine if engagement in the supporters' community and close ties to other ingroup members, could serve as a basis for feelings of self-expansion. Self-expansion is considered a motive to expand one's self-concept by either including close others into the self-definition or by engaging in interactions and activities that results in feeling of self-growth (e.g. Mattingly and Lewandowski, 2013a). Self-expansion model proposed that there are activities that are novel, exciting, and interesting that could lead the feeling of self-construct being expanded (Mattingly and Lewandowski, 2013b). Broadening the self by acquiring new knowledge or a new identity may lead in turn to a feeling of self-expansion, and people self-expand in order to increase sense of general self-efficacy and agency (Mattingly and Lewandowski, 2013a; Wright, Aron and Tropp, 2002). Mass-gatherings could be a good opportunity for self-expansion, as in crowds and at communal meetings, participants may be developing their perspectives on social issues, be engaged in novel activities, and feel empowered to express their values (e.g. Besta, et al., 2017; Drury and Reicher, 2005). Based on these theories and findings, the present study includes a measure of self-expansion to explore whether the sense of self-growth through interactions with other supporters and engagement in community practices media-

tes the relationship between identity fusion and feelings of group efficacy and a willingness to participate in collective action on behalf of the group.

Overview of the present study

Based on the model proposed by van Zomeren et al. (2015), our hypotheses 1 and 2 stated that identity fusion (H1) and perception of out-groups (police —H2a, and general relations within the social system—H2b) will independently predict collective action tendencies. Our first research question (RQ1) asks whether identity fusion and perception of out-group members have an interactive effect on collective action. For example, while it is plausible that people with higher levels of identity fusion would be willing to engage in collective action despite their attitudes to out-group members, it seems more likely that perceptions of the police and social system would drive those with lower levels of fusion to engage on behalf of the group, complementing the high-fusion path to active group membership. On that basis, we decided also to explore the interactive effect of fusion and out-group perception on collective action.

In H3, we assumed that self-expansion resulting from crowd participation mediates the relationship between identity fusion with crowd attendees, group efficacy, and collective action tendencies. Perception of out-groups was measured by (1) perception of those out-groups (police) likely to engage in-groups (football supporters) in close encounters during the game and (2) general perceptions of the social system (e.g., acceptance of power relations and democratic procedures in Polish society). This latter measure was based on reasoning by van Zomeren (2015) on breaking the relationship with those in power as a factor in the development of an activist's identity).

As we were interested in predictors of collective action among people who do not perceive themselves as activists, as active organizers of the group, or who do not already work on behalf of the group, we included only football supporters who were not engaged in any formal or informal supporter groups; ultras and hooligan group members were excluded. This focus on supporters who attend matches but are not yet involved in supporters' association actions captures the state of pre-activist identity, allowing us to capture the relationship between willingness to act on behalf of other supporters of one's club and perception of communal sharing, "we-ness" (here operationalized as identity fusion), perception of proximal out-groups (here operationalized as police) and relations with the surrounding social system (distal out-groups).

Method

Participants

Self-declared football supporters, actively engaged in backing their football club, participated in the study. We exclu-

ded those who declared engagement in formal or informal groups (e.g., hooligans, ultras, supporters' associations), concentrating solely on supporters who were not yet behaving as activists. In total, 568 individuals completed all questionnaires (65 women; mean age = 27.02; SD = 8.12).

Procedure and materials

The questionnaire was administered online. The invitation to participate in the study was sent to Polish supporters' associations, football organizations, and web sites related to football and fan culture. A short paragraph introduced the study, and participants who volunteered to participate were asked to answer scale items that (along with others unrelated to this article) included identity fusion with other participants, attitude to the police, perception of Poland's social system, self-expansion, group efficacy, and collective action tendencies.

Identity fusion

To assess the degree of overlap between personal and group identity, we used the Polish version (Besta, Gómez and Vázquez, 2014) of the seven-item identity fusion scale (Gómez et al., 2011) to measure feelings of unity and "we-ness" with other supporters of the club (e.g., "I feel at one with other supporters of my club"; "I have a deep emotional bond with other supporters of my club"; "I'll do for my club's supporters more than any of the other group members would do"; "I am strong because of my group of supporters I belong to"). Participants responded on a 7-point scale (0 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). The scale showed very good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$).

Self-expansion

To access the feeling of self-expansion from being part of a supporters' group, attending football matches, and interacting with other supporters, we used the individual nonrelational self-expansion questionnaire (ISEQ) (Mattingly and Lewandowski, 2013b). Participants were asked to answer questions in relation to game attendance and meetings with supporters of their chosen football club, and to describe how these events had influenced them (e.g., "How much do you feel that you have a larger perspective on things?"; "Do you feel a greater awareness of things?"). Participants responded on a 7-point scale (1 = *not very much* to 7 = *very much*). The scale proved reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$).

Group efficacy

We assessed group efficacy using one item—"I think that together with others we are able to change situation of football supporters in Poland"—based on a previously used approach to collective action research (van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer and Leach, 2004). Participants indicated their answers on a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*).

Collective action tendencies

To assess collective action tendencies, we used three items based on van Zomeren et al. (2004), including “I am willing to act together with others to stop the actions directed against the supporters.” Participants indicated their answers on a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*). The scale proved reliable (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .93$).

Perception of the social system

To assess perception/acceptance of the general socio-political system, we constructed a scale comprising three items (e.g., “Democracy as it is in Poland very much suits me”; “The present Poland is similar to the Poland in which I would like to live”; “Law and social system in Poland should be changed radically” (reversed coding)); higher scores indicated greater acceptance of the current socio-political system (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .84$).

Perception of the police

To assess perception of proximal out-groups that may often be seen as antagonists of radical football fans (police), we used two items: “Police forces provoke football fans with their behavior,” and “Police are not needed to protect football matches”). Higher results indicate more negative perceptions of the police; the correlation between items was $r = .52$.

Results

Preliminary analyses

Preliminary correlation analyses showed that all the variables were correlated. The analyses revealed only relatively small correlations between main predictors of collective action tendencies—that is, between identity fusion and negative police perception ($r = .31$) and acceptance of social system ($r = -.19$) (see Table 1). This suggests that fusion with the group and perception of out-groups may represent two separate pathways to collective action tendencies.

Table 1

Zero-order correlations with Pearson r , $n=568$.

	2	3	4	5	6
1. Identity fusion	.31*	-.19*	.63*	.31*	.57*
2. Negative perception of police	-	-.26*	.29*	.22*	.38*
3. Acceptance of social system		-	-.19*	-.22*	-.37*
4. Self-expansion			-	.39*	.54*
5. Group-efficacy				-	.64*
6. Collective action tendencies					-

Note: * $p < .001$.

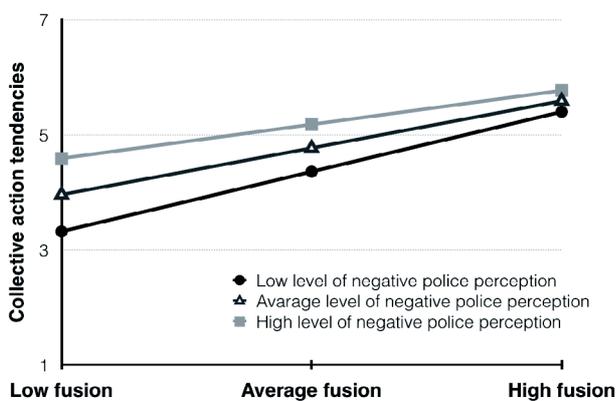
Identity fusion and perception of out-groups as two pathways to collective action

To examine hypotheses 1 and 2 (that identity fusion and perception of out-groups independently predict collective action tendencies), we conducted a series of moderation analyses, based on 10,000 bootstrap samples using the Process macro, model 1 (Hayes, 2013). We included the identity fusion as the predictor, collective action tendency as the dependent variable, and the perception of proximal out-group members (police forces) as the moderator of the relation between identity fusion and collective action. R^2 for the model was .39; $F(3,564) = 119.72$; $p < .001$. As expected, there was a significant effect of identity fusion on collective action tendencies (beta coefficient 1.01; $SE = .11$; $p < .001$; bias-corrected confidence interval above zero = 0.79–1.22). Similarly, there was a significant effect of negative police perception on collective action tendencies (beta coefficient 0.91; $SE = .13$; $p < .001$; bias-corrected confidence interval above zero = 0.65–1.17). In answering RQ1 concerning an interaction effect between fusion and police perception, a significant interaction between identity fusion and perception of police was revealed (beta coefficient $-.17$; $SE = .04$; $p < .001$; bias-corrected confidence interval entirely below zero = $-.25$ – $-.09$). That is moderation effect emerged, with relationship between identity fusion and collective action tendencies stronger at low level (minus one standard deviation from mean) of negative perception of police (beta coefficient 0.71; $SE = .05$; $p < .001$; bias-corrected confidence interval above zero = 0.61–0.81), than at high level (plus one standard deviation from mean) of negative perception of police (beta coefficient 0.40; $SE = .06$; $p < .001$; bias-corrected confidence interval above zero = 0.29–0.52) (see Figure 1).

Similar results were obtained when we included acceptance of social system as the moderator of relationship between identity fusion and collective action. Here, R^2 for the model was .40, $F(3,564) = 123.57$; $p < .001$. As expected, there was a significant effect of identity fusion on collective action tendencies (beta coefficient 0.48; $SE = .07$; $p < .001$; bias-corrected confidence interval above zero = 0.35–0.62). Similarly, there was a significant effect of system acceptance on collective action tendencies (beta coefficient -0.46 ; $SE = .08$; $p < .001$; bias-corrected confidence interval below zero = -0.61 – -0.31). A small significant interaction effect between identity fusion and social system acceptance emerged for collective action tendencies (beta coefficient 0.06; $SE = .03$; $p = .03$; bias-corrected confidence interval entirely above zero = 0.01–0.11). That is, the relationship between identity fusion and collective action tendencies was stronger when acceptance of the system was high (beta coefficient 0.69; $SE = .05$; $p < .001$; bias-corrected confidence interval above zero = 0.58–0.80) than when system acceptance was low (beta coefficient 0.52; $SE = .05$; $p < .001$; bias-corrected confidence interval above zero = 0.41–0.63) (see Figure 2).

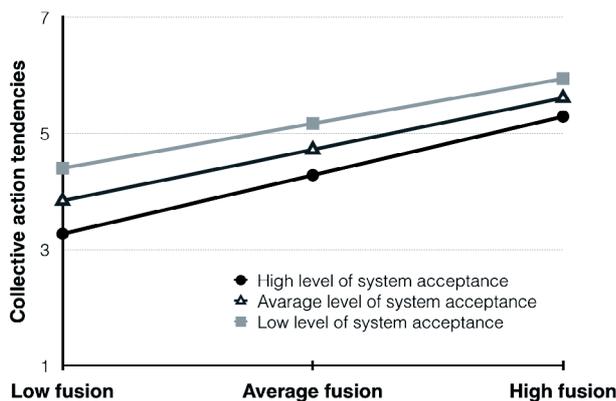
Hypotheses 1 and 2 were supported, with both identity fusion (designating communal, family-like ties with a group) and out-group perception (measured as a perception of both police forces and general social system) independently predicting tendencies for engagement in collective action on behalf of the group. An interaction effect between identity fusion and out-group perception was stronger when relationships with out-groups were measured by attitudes toward police forces than when measured by acceptance of the socio-political system.

Figure 1
Moderator effect between identity fusion and negative perception of the police forces



Note: Low and high results are based on -1 standard deviation and +1 standard deviation from the mean respectively.

Figure 2
Moderator effect between identity fusion and system acceptance



Note: Low and high results are based on -1 standard deviation and +1 standard deviation from the mean respectively.

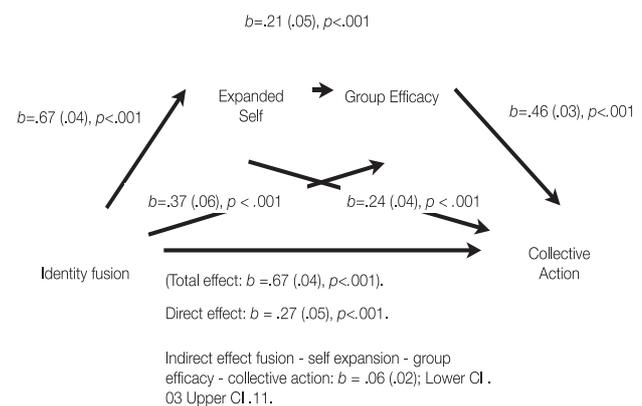
Self-expansion, identity fusion and collective action tendencies

To explore the role of feeling of self-extension and to examine hypothesis 3, we conducted a mediation analysis, based

on the PROCESS bootstrapping macro (model 6; Hayes, 2013), with identity fusion as a predictor, self-expansion as first mediator, group efficacy as second mediator, and collective action tendencies as the dependent variable. Indirect effects of fusion on collective action tendencies through feelings of self-expansion and group efficacy turned out to be significant (see Figure 3). Stronger fusion was related to a feeling of self-expansion ($a_1 = .67$). Participants who felt greater self-expansion as a result of attendance at such events expressed stronger beliefs that they could be efficient in pursuing common goals with other supporters ($d_{21} = .21$). This group efficacy belief was positively related to collective action tendencies ($b_2 = .46$). A bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect ($a_1 d_{21} b_2 = .06$), based on 10,000 bootstrap samples, was entirely above zero (0.03–0.11). Identity fusion was independently related to collective action tendencies along with the indirect effect through the feeling of self-expansion and group efficacy ($c' = 0.27$; $p < .001$). Moreover, indirect effects of identity fusion on collective action tendencies through feeling of self-expansion only ($a_1 b_1 = .16$; interval 0.09–0.24), and through group-efficacy only ($a_2 b_2 = .17$; interval 0.11–0.24) were also significant.

The results of this analysis are in line with hypothesis 3. That is the feelings of self-expansion and self-growth related to the interaction with football fans during mass-gatherings help to explain the link between identity fusion and tendencies to act collectively on behalf of the group.

Figure 3
Model of identity fusion as predictor of collective action tendencies, with mediator self-expansion and group-efficacy; n=568



Note: Standard errors in parenthesis; number of bootstrap resamples: 10,000. Bootstrap CI method: biased corrected; 95% level of confidence intervals.

Discussion

This study of Polish supporters indicates the important role of the group for individual experiences and behaviors. To that extent, supporting a team is not only an entertainment

but also an important building block of identity that underpins future engagement in pro-group activities. Our research shows that, in the case of high-level identity fusion, supporters exhibit a tendency for collective action regardless of (for example) their attitude to police. For low levels of identity fusion, negative perceptions of the police and social system influence involvement in collective activity. This suggests that for low levels of identity fusion, a negative attitude to out-groups induces activity for the benefit of the community. Our results align with the reasoning of van Zomeren (2015), identifying a troubled relation with out-groups (or a perceived non-relation due to out-group actions) as a path to becoming an activist that differs from that of developing communal relations with in-groups. For these low-fusion individuals in particular, who feel no communion with other supporters, negative perceptions of the police and the general social system may strengthen their desire to work within a community framework. One could speculate, that when the outside world is perceived as hostile and in need of drastic change, this may represent a kind of “escape” to the familiar world of football.

Strong identity fusion renders attitude to the social system irrelevant—a positive or negative evaluation of the police did not affect the strong willingness to act on behalf of the group among high-fusion individuals. We might assume that such supporters need no additional motivating factor for collective actions beyond the power of “we” (strengthened by the overlap between personal and group identities). Clearly, then, negative perception of the social system is more important at low levels of identity fusion. In line with our prediction, lower levels of collective action tendencies ensued when low-fusion individuals with no communal relation to the group did not perceive out-groups as hostile.

While identity fusion proved to be an important factor in undertaking community actions, this relationship requires some explanation. As our results indicate, this relationship is partly mediated by feelings of self-expansion and group efficacy; any direct effect of fusion on collective action is reduced, though still significant. It is worth emphasizing the strong, significant relationship between identity fusion and expanded self. We proposed an addition to previous models of collective action, in which group identity and feeling of efficacy (or perceived instrumentality of participation) were associated with willingness to act (e.g. Kelloway, Francis, Catano and Teed, 2007). In our view, and in line with Drury and Reicher (2005) conclusions, interacting with other group members (e.g., engaging in club-supporting actions) and being part of the crowd gives the individual an opportunity to express their social identity. This may relate to self-expansion, as interactions with close others may deliver new ideas and points of view, leading to the formation of new cognitive representations of social reality and increasing the relevance of one’s group identity (Reicher and Haslam, 2013). Self-expansion based on

crowd experiences may increase feelings of group efficacy and collective action tendencies, as members of communal gatherings are empowered to express their beliefs and group identity.

It is interesting to consider how these results might relate to earlier qualitative and theoretical research. Ethnographic studies have demonstrated the role of social identity in relations with out-groups and in building relationships within the in-group (Stott, Hutchison, and Drury, 2001). On the other hand, our study can be related to Randall Collins’ (2004) concept of “interaction ritual chains.” He argues that in the group assembly (bodily co-presence), which creates barriers for strangers (e.g., a separate section for “hostile” or away supporters), people focus on common actions such as cheering and share a common mood and emotional experience. The outcomes of collective ritual are high levels of individual emotional energy, group solidarity, symbols of social relationship, and standards of morality. In pointing out these group factors, Collins (2004) does not disregard the individual consequences, as emotional energy promotes feelings of confidence, elation, strength, enthusiasm, and initiative taking. To an extent, this can be seen to correspond to self-expansion—the sense that one can achieve more, thanks to the group.

One of the limitations of our research is that we did not conduct experimental study. Future research on this topic should include an experimental approach, as analysing the effects of experimental manipulations of presented variables would provide stronger empirical evidence for our model. Another limitation is that our study was not conducted in places of most relevance to supporters’ experiences (the stadium, the pub, or public transport as supporters are heading to the game). We understand that identity fusion may be fully developed only during such gatherings, when the social group is salient and close and communal in-group relations predominate. Nevertheless, some respondents are characterized by high levels of identity fusion, and even away from the group assembly, their identity refers strongly to the group. It seems, then, that community supports constitute an influential environment for identity-making—perhaps even for socialization, given the young age of most respondents. Indeed, supporters’ movements might be interpreted as a kind of cultural or social alternative to individualistic trends in Western culture.

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Hinchas de Fútbol: Identidad grupal, percepción de miembros dentro y fuera del grupo y tendencias de acción pro-grupo

Resumen

Un estudio de 568 aficionados al fútbol de las comunidades de clubes de Polonia examinó si la predisposición a participar en una acción colectiva se prevería independientemente por la relación comunitaria percibida con los miembros del grupo y por la desconexión y la falta de aceptación de los miembros de fuera del grupo. También se puso a prueba el papel del sentimiento de autoexpansión relacionado con la participación en eventos deportivos. Los resultados indican (a) una relación positiva entre la acción colectiva y la fusión de identidad; (b) una relación positiva entre las tendencias de acción colectiva y la percepción negativa de los miembros de fuera del grupo; (c) un efecto de interacción entre la percepción de los miembros de fuera del grupo y la fusión de identidad en la tendencia de acción colectiva; (d) un efecto mediador significativo de la autoexpansión y la eficacia del grupo sobre la relación entre fusión de identidad y acciones colectivas.

Palabras clave: Procesos grupales, hinchas de fútbol, identidad social, psicología aplicada

Apoiantes de futebol: identidade do grupo, percepção dos membros dentro e fora do grupo e tendências de ação pró-grupo

Resumo

Um estudo de 568 partidários de futebol de comunidades de clubes na Polônia examinou se a vontade de se envolver em ações coletivas seria predita de forma independente pelo relacionamento comunal percebido com membros do grupo e pelo desconhecimento e falta de aceitação de membros fora do grupo. O papel do sentimento de auto-expansão relacionado à participação em eventos esportivos também foi testado. Os resultados indicam (a) uma relação positiva entre ação coletiva e fusão de identidade; (b) uma relação positiva entre tendências de ação coletiva e percepção negativa de membros fora do grupo; (c) um efeito de interação entre a percepção dos membros fora do grupo e a fusão da identidade na tendência da ação coletiva; (d) um efeito mediador significativo da auto-expansão e da eficácia grupal na relação entre fusão identitária e ações coletivas.

Palavras-chave: Processos em grupo, apoiantes de futebol, identidade social, psicologia aplicada

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