

Prevention of Violence in Football Stadiums in Europe

- ?? Supporters study
- ?? Hooliganism prevention measures
- ?? European policy of sport violence prevention
- ?? Management of sporting events

Coordination
Manuel COMERON
Pierre VANBELLINGEN

Table of Contents

Preface

European Strategies for the Prevention of Violence in Sport
Michel MARCUS
Executive Director, European Forum for Urban Safety

Introduction

The City, a Catalyst of Prevention Policies
Willy DEMEYER
Mayor, City of Liege, Belgium

The University in Active Interaction with its Environment
Willy LEGROS
Rector, University of Liege, Belgium

An Integrated Approach to Security
Antoine DUQUESNE
Minister of the Interior, Belgium

Part I. Supporterism and Hooliganism: the International Context

The Public at Football Stadiums
Salomé MARIVOET
Faculty of Human Kinetics
Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal

Hooliganism, 'New' Football and Social Policy in England
John WILLIAMS
Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, University of Leicester, UK

Supporterism: Ultras and the World of Football
Nicolas HOURCADE
University of Bordeaux-II / Ecole Centrale of Lyon, France

Violence, carnival and reformation: Scottish Fan Identities
Richard GIULIANOTTI
Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, UK

The Stadium and its Paradox: Enjoying Collective Ecstasy and Fearing Violence
Patrick LACLEMENCE
University of Technology of Troyes and Paris V, France

Part II. International Policies and Institutional Management

A. Management of Major Sports Events

International Sports Federations at the Heart of the Challenge
Walter GAGG

Fédération Internationale de Football Association

Security and the 1998 World Cup

Thierry TERRAUBE

National Police Centre for Study and Training, France

Euro 2000 Management

Monique DE KNOP

Ministry of the Interior, Belgium

Eurofoot 2004: a Systemic Approach to Security

Paulo GOMES

Security Coordination Office

Ministry of Internal Administration, Portugal

B. European Cooperation for Prevention

International Measures for Violence Management at Sports Events in Europe

Mesut ÖZYAVUZ

Sport Division, Council of Europe

The French-German Youth Office: Sport and Prevention within the European Context

Regine DITTMAR

French-German Youth Office

Prevention of Violence in Football: EU Project

Martin KIRCHNER

Gelsenkirchen Police, Germany

Eurofan: European Programme for Study and Prevention of Violence in Sport

Manuel COMERON

Project Supervisor

Pierre VANBELLINGEN

Research assistant

Fan Coaching Association

Part III. Preventive Measures Against Hooliganism and Field Practices

A. Educational Practices and Targeted Prevention

Communication as a Tool for Hooliganism Prevention

Eladio JARENO

Delegacion del Gobierno in Cataluña, Barcelona, Spain

Socioprevention through Social and Pedagogical Coaching

Manuel COMERON

Coordinator “Fan coaching”, City of Liege

Lecturer at the University of Liege, Belgium

Ultras and Society: the Municipality as a Driving Force for Action

Giancarlo NORIS

City of Rome, Italy

B. *Supporter Activities*

Enhancing a Positive Culture among Spectators : the Fair Fans Project

Ronni ABERGEL

Danish Crime Prevention Council

Violence Prevention Unit, Denmark

Federating Supporter Associations and the Football Club

Louis SMAL

Liege Royal Standard Club

Chairman « Famille des Rouches », Belgium

Fans : another world?

Daniela CONTI

Progetto Ultrà – UISP, Italy

C. *Community Involvement and Social Work in the City*

Social Work Initiated by the Football Club in Urban Areas

Sébastien PAMPANAY

Lille O.S.C. Metropole, France

Football in Interaction with the Social Community

Steve SMITH

Program Football and Community

Leeds United, UK

Programmes and Projects against Youth Violence and Juvenile Delinquency in Berlin

Heiner BRANDI

Sportjugend Berlin, Germany

D. *Integrated Approaches to Security*

Risk Management and Spectator Safety

John DE QUIDT

Football Licensing Authority, UK

Maintaining Law and Order: Police Practices

Jacques JACQUEMART

Federal Police, Liege, Belgium

Information Management as a Prevention Support for Security

Henk GROENEVELT

Centraal Informatiepunt Voetbalvandalisme, Netherlands

Part IV. Prospects for International Prevention of Violence in Sport

Yves VAN DE VLOET

Permanent Secretary for Prevention Policy
Ministry of the Interior, Belgium

Conclusion

Preventing Violence during Sports Events: Thinking Globally and Intervening Locally

Georges KELLENS

Professor at the University of Liege

Chairman Fan coaching Association, Belgium

Preface

European Strategies for the Prevention of Violence in Sport

Michel MARCUS

Executive Director

European Forum for Urban Safety

The construction of Europe progresses slowly, at the placid pace of debates on agriculture, industry and the reform of institutions. However, its progress quickens if we consider common struggles aiming at establishing law, and even more when sports, and football in particular, are concerned. The proliferation of European football cups and the will to increase the number of world cups seem to be the expression of the European Idea. For the sake of sport, hundreds of thousands of people cross Europe, go through different cities and streets and meet different cultures. Some will consider them as the new barbarians, and this view will prove right in the light of certain events; others will view this as a premonitory situation of what Europe's daily life will be in some years. This future Europe will offer all Europeans a common job, education and leisure market and will enable citizens to forget geographical, mental or even love borders.

The European utopia originates in a present time still dominated by the conception of inside and outside; the meeting with the club from elsewhere still represents the intrusion of the foreigner, fearing neither God nor man, into our order – which is an order he cannot understand since it is superior to his, it is ours. Building the fortress is the only remedy against this intrusion, which we want to be as short as possible. Powerful systems, aimed at supervising supporters in trains, stations, on the road, at the stadium's entrance and exit doors perfectly illustrate this view. People do not change countries, nor even beers, settings or uniforms when going from a stadium to another.

Strange Europe, identical to the Europe of airports, of business and finance... Marked by modernity, monitored by cameras, contained.

Considering safety during these events and more, discussing the prevention of violence in sport or the role of sport in the prevention of violence, points to a lack of satisfaction about the current situation and indicates the will to view the future under other auspices. Gathering for the sake of sport, culture or music induces the necessity of finding new forms of friendliness and courtesy that cannot entirely be contained in a police structure.

Most professionals agree on the fact that an integrated strategy is needed to guarantee security during sports tournaments. A strictly repressive approach, i.e. resorting to a great number of police agents ready to be deployed instantly, is not enough. It must be complemented by a preventive approach, which will contain and check numerous problems before they get out of control. The ideal solution would combine preventive and repressive strategies.

European cities that host sports meetings must not call their negotiation competence into question and, doing so, renounce their ability to claim social, economic and cultural privileges offered by great sports meetings. They are in essence a privileged institutional partner, able to help sports units to work out an integrated prevention dynamics which will provide them with preventive tools against supporters' violent acts. Although mass events such as these imply

potential security hazards, they are a potential development factor for cities thanks to the cooperation with NGOs, the police, community and cultural groups.

The conference “*Un stade dans la ville, la ville dans le stade : depuis la Coupe du Monde 98 jusqu’à l’Euro 2000*” (“A stadium inside the city, a city inside the stadium: from the 1998 World Cup to Euro 2000”) was organised by the European Forum for Urban Safety¹. It followed considerable preparatory work initiated in 1995 and gathered representatives of European cities and national sports and government authorities. It highlighted that a large-scale sports meeting could be turned into a real economic and social development opportunity for the city and its inhabitants:

- ?? at the economic and financial level, with positive effects in the long run thanks to equipment investments: road and rail infrastructure, urban development, shops, etc. It also implies consequences on employment. The objective is then the integration of a specific dynamics (stadium and meetings) into a collective dynamics (city policy).
- ?? at the social level, with the implementation of local, national and international projects stimulating young people’s cultural integration.

In 2000, the cities that were represented at the conference – among others, Amsterdam, Brussels, Bruges, Charleroi, Eindhoven, Liege and Rotterdam, and the European Forum for Urban Safety decided to continue the studies within the framework of the European *Euro 2000 Cities Against Racism* project² so as to investigate whether and how the fight against racism could be integrated into the global prevention approach of cities hosting international events.

Brent (in the United Kingdom) led an important programme for the fight against racism when it hosted the Euro 1996 football championship at Wembley and its experience provides a good example of towns’ contributions to the development of prevention strategies. Other experiments were led by non-governmental organisations such as *Let’s Kick Racism Out of Football* and *Foxes Against Racism* (United Kingdom), *SOS Racisme* (France) and *Media against Racism* (Germany); these are innovative European strategies in this field and deserve to be largely publicised.

All the work carried out in recent years indicates that preventive strategies (see the *Fan Coaching* project implemented by the city of Liege, Belgium) should be local so as to be able to take the population and the supporters’ specific needs into account. Naturally, they should also be national (or even bi-national) for a maximum level of efficiency and for all actors’ sake, so as to allow visiting supporters to be confronted to the same rules and provided with the same services wherever they are.

It has now become necessary for cities and for all actors implied in the fight against violence in sport – whether they are state institutions, private-sector organisations or volunteer workers – to be included into a permanent and stabilised flow of international communication, which allows them to confront their views and to exchange their best practices.

The dawning European citizenship requires integration and exchange mechanisms ensuring opinion and movement security as well as physical safety. All European cities that participate in the European Forum for Urban Safety strive for this goal.

¹ With the support of the European Commission.

² “*Sécucités Foot*” network, *Euro 2000 Cities against Racism*, European Forum for Urban Safety, December 2000.

Introduction

The City, a Catalyst of Prevention Policies

Willy DEMEYER
Mayor, City of Liege
Belgium

I am glad to introduce this publication on the International Programme for the Prevention of Violence in Football Stadiums in Europe following the conference that was organised in Liege's Palais des Congrès in April 2002.

I am particularly grateful to the Minister of the Interior, the Executive Director of the European Forum for Urban Safety, the Chairman of the Fan Coaching association, as well as the European Commission and all participants for detailing the different themes dealt with within the framework of the Eurofan project.

Liege, like many big cities, is also concerned by the hooliganism issue. The Fan Coaching association, organised by the City of Liege's Security Contract, can be considered a real pioneer in hooliganism management. It has been implementing a social, preventive supervision strategy for about ten years at the instigation of the Ministry of the Interior and in cooperation with the forces of law and order.

In 1990, our City thus became the first experimental City – together with Antwerp – for the preventive management of deviant behaviours related to hooliganism in Belgium.

In the perspective of the European Football Championship in Belgium and the Netherlands, the University of Liege's Criminology department notably carried out a Euro 2000 preparatory study, which allowed organisers to rely on a scientific basis for the preparation of the event. In addition, this also contributed to develop prevention mechanisms such as supporter embassies and supervisors, which helped to avoid excess, but also to channel the overflowing energy of the competing teams' supporters, together with the forces of law and order.

Besides, I would like to emphasise the international supporters' friendly and festive behaviour, which livened up the centre of the City for several days – and often at night.

I am proud of congratulating and encouraging the Fan Coaching team today, for their field work in hooliganism management, which has led to international development and to this meeting in particular.

These activities for violence prevention in European football stadiums fit within the European Commission's Hippocrates programme, and more particularly within the Eurofan project. I hope it will reach its aim while ensuring the exchange and distribution of European hooliganism best prevention practices and stimulating the pooling of scientific studies on this phenomenon in Europe.

Within the framework of its cooperation with the European Forum for Urban Safety and the University of Liege's Criminology department, the City of Liege aims at encouraging an international exchange network with the support of the Ministry of the Interior's Permanent Secretariat for Prevention Policy.

These partners also set out to set up a web site³ so as to allow pooling knowledge on a worldwide scale, and the distribution of prevention good practices in particular.

The Eurofan project also fits within the same context. It brings together university theoreticians, public managers, institutional officials, club leaders, law and order officers and field prevention actors from all over Europe; they exchange their practices and views on interaction between sport, football and violence and on hooliganism management.

Like the European Parliament, which asked for work in this matter, this event contributes to promoting international contact enabling state authorities and security services to gain more pacification when they organise high-risk football matches. It would also be useful to develop an active study approach on the evolution and the management of hooliganism at the international level.

I am delighted that this European Commission programme, supported by our federal Government, backs and strengthens this initiative. The local level is indeed the most concerned by hooliganism and requires an integrated approach of all management methods and practices.

³ <http://www.eurofan.org>

The University in Active Interaction with its Environment

Willy LEGROS

Rector, University of Liege
Belgium

On behalf of the University of Liege, I am delighted to open this publication on the work carried out by the International Programme for the Prevention of Violence in Football Stadiums in Europe.

The importance of sport in individual and collective life is undoubtedly one of the most significant characteristics of recent decades. Indeed, sport synthesises the values that are at the basis of our Western society. It relies on surpassing oneself, competition and performance and can be considered the modern equivalent of ancient warriors' ideals. This is shown by the very vocabulary used by sportsmen and the media. Consequently, it is not surprising that rivalry and desire for domination between groups, cities or countries acquire a symbolic, ritual status in sports clashes.

Sport's symbolic function is naturally rather positive. However, it has been undermined for several years, especially in football, where group identification is sometimes based on violent behaviour. What matters now, is to understand, control and, if possible, suppress hooligan behaviour.

Nowadays, we can consider that violence prevention in and outside football stadiums reaches far beyond the limits of public security. Indeed, football is far more than entertainment or education, it has transformed into a highly significant commercial activity. Many clubs have become real businesses and big sporting events have a major media impact.

The fight against violence in sport must then be viewed in a complex context; questions rise about sport's social function, as well as about the relationship between sports, economic and political interests. In this respect, contamination of some cores of faithful supporters by extreme-right ideologies is particularly alarming. This complexity naturally requires a multidisciplinary approach. This is the objective of the Eurofan project, which associates the diversity of points of view and an international dimension. This is also the approach privileged by the University of Liege, whose high-quality work and initiatives in this field are famous. I particularly have in mind Professor Kellens' s studies and the Fan Coaching Association's work.

I insist on thanking them for their action, as well as the City of Liege, the European Forum for Urban Safety and the Belgian Secretariat for Prevention policy for the instigation of such activities. I would also like to thank the European Commission and all participants of the Eurofan project, whose quality contribution will make for success.

An Integrated Approach to Security

Antoine DUQUESNE⁴

Minister of the Interior
Belgium

I would first like to praise the City and the University of Liege. The City first, which has been actively working on the development of a global policy for fighting against violence in sport at the local level; it notably devotes its efforts to an important fan coaching part. The University also deserves our acknowledgements: everyone knows the work carried out by Professor Georges Kellens's department within the framework of the international study of hooliganism and its remedies.

The Minister of the Interior has insisted on being involved in the Eurofan Programme as an active partner; indeed, this project's theoretical importance and practical applications perfectly fit not only within the prevention policies the successive Ministers of the Interior have been favouring for more than ten years through Security and Prevention Contracts, but also within our concern for the development of an integrated policy in security matters.

Although a lot of attention has already been paid to hooliganism and significant efforts have been made, supporters' violent behaviour still remains and sometimes even evolves. Authorities must thus constantly adapt their efforts so as to take up such new challenges. We know that all of Europe is affected.

Maintaining order during football matches indeed means significant costs for the community in relation to the number of violent – often identified – supporters. Recruiting numerous policemen during high-risk matches does not make it possible to avoid brawls between rival supporter gangs and various other criminal acts. This situation inevitably forces authorities to take all kinds of coercive measures in order to isolate violent supporters from stadiums and surrounding areas, while trying not to penalise the great majority of supporters who express their enthusiasm in a peaceful atmosphere.

This also leads the Ministry of the Interior to wonder about the use of such display of force in relation to the means dedicated to prevention. It appears that maintaining order during football matches monopolises too many policemen, who could better be used for fighting against other forms of crime or insecurity, like road safety problems, which are much more damaging for the population.

Violence prevention relies on time; its nature itself requires a multidisciplinary approach. In this field, supporter social preventive supervision structures, educational measures, the setting-up of supporter embassies during international events and all other security measures aiming at supervising spectators remain fundamental milestones in our policy.

In the last five years, Belgium has developed legislation on security during football matches, which has been completed by several executory decisions. This law obliges organisers to take several steps in relation to stadium security and ticket control. It also provides for administrative sanctions for spectators who disrupt matches or for organisers who do not respect legal requirements.

⁴ With the collaboration of Mr. Philippe LIEVIN, Advisor at the Ministry of the Interior.

I have focused on implementing these legislative measures since the beginning of this term of office. Numerous administrative controls of technical standards in stadiums and ticket management have been carried out. As far as supporters are concerned, the Ministry of the Interior has dealt with nearly 800 cases in three years; this has led to administrative fines, which now amount to 250,000 €, and several hundreds of supporters have temporarily been banned from stadiums.

This 1998 law's positive consequence was the global pacification of stadiums; but its negative consequence was the shifting of violence outside stadiums. I have just introduced a bill aiming at modifying the law so as to extend the application of administrative sanctions to acts committed in an area outside stadiums.

In addition, it is deplorable that clubs have invested more in sports events than in security in recent years, though a secure and well-maintained stadium is a good argument for attracting occasional supporters and their families. Effectively separating rival supporters, both at the entrance and inside the stadium, and offering facilities that sufficiently guarantee public safety and comfort are also major elements for prevention.

I will now deal with the international aspect. Almost two years have passed since the end of the Euro 2000 Championship. If we only keep in mind the tournaments that will be organised in Europe in the next few years, we will be confronted with the European Championship in Portugal in 2004 and to the World Cup in Germany in 2006. These events will provide us with an excellent opportunity to follow the examples of Belgium and the Netherlands during the Euro 2000 Championship, the objective being to develop a coordinated effective policy for hooliganism prevention and suppression. In addition, in the light of this year's World Cup, Japanese and Korean authorities have expressed their interest in Belgium's experiments and methods. Japanese authorities will apply an extremely restrictive policy against violent supporters and already learn from Belgian experiments, notably in using foreign fan-coachers and liaison officers, "spotter" policemen to follow potentially violent supporters and to supervise information exchanges before and during the final phase.

Globalisation now even affects sports; it thus becomes more essential than ever to have a consistent set of means and measures to allow authorities, the police and teams of stewards to be prepared to face such big international events – whether they are meetings between national teams or between clubs with different nationalities.

Some had seen the Euro 2000 Championship as a cataclysm, which would once more make Belgium Europe's battlefield. This event allowed us to test the enforcement of the new national rules on security I have just mentioned in extreme situations. And we can say that the proportionately low number of serious incidents showed that prior analyses and police and non-police preventive strategies were indeed relevant, and that security systems at the borders, in the cities and around stadiums were effective. We were able to prove that Belgian legislation, and its application in the field, were efficient and could be used as examples in other countries and in multilateral international discussions.

In 2001, the European Union's presidency put Belgium at the centre of European discussions aiming at finding a transnational approach of violence in sport.

Relying on the conclusions from the May 2001 international seminar organised in Brussels on prevention and fight against football violence, Belgium introduced a series of proposals that were examined by its European partners during its presidency.

We were able to update the European Manual for the implementation of international police cooperation and measures for violence and trouble prevention and control during international football matches in December 2001. In the same field, the Council Justice and Home Affairs, which is to meet this week, should approve a draft of Decision I introduced last year, which obliges each State to set up a central contact point for the exchange of tactical, strategic and operational information during international football matches.

Belgium continues, and will continue to play a major role in these matters. Not only thanks to our experience, but also relying on the fact that we are utterly convinced that the way we follow and all field actors' daily efforts will lead us to the pacification of stadiums. In this respect, the exchange of national best practices is an essential element in the perspective of the harmonisation of prevention and suppression structures at the European level.

Maintaining order will remain each country's domain, certainly, but this cannot work properly without the full cooperation of neighbouring countries' services.

Security during football matches requires an integrated approach. Clubs, the football Federation, local and federal authorities, the local and federal police and fan-coachers must join forces so as to create a climate of security and confidence for football events.

As a conclusion, I would like to thank all the experts and professionals of this sector for participating in the development of common projects. I hope that their efforts will allow football to become a popular entertainment again, to be enjoyed in complete safety.

Part I

***Supporterism and Hooliganism:
the International Context***

The Public at Football Stadiums

Salomé MARIVOET
Faculty of Human Kinetics
Technical University of Lisbon
Portugal

The public at football matches, beyond being mere spectators, has gradually become an integral part of the spectacle, indeed one of the main protagonists. In order to better understand the specific character of football as a sporting spectacle that involves its spectators on an affective level to the extent that they become fans, we propose three dimensions for analysis. These should not be understood as hermetically separate, but rather are reinforced by the inter-relations established between them.

The first dimension is the specific nature of football as a vehicle for social identity; then there is the spectacular nature of the sport-game in itself; and finally, the nature of the interaction produced between the public and the development of the game. In this brief analysis, within the limitations of time available, we will try to contextualise these analytical dimensions within the more general trends evident in present society, particularly increased globalisation, the intensification of competition, and the changes produced in the ethical regulation of social life.

We start from the assumption that the public at football matches, like in other social spaces, is not a homogeneous social reality, but reveals different cultural representations. From the so-called 'traditional public' to the youth sub-cultures commonly known as '*ultras*', '*hooligans*' and '*casuals*', there are various different involvements expressed in the football public. However, football has some particular characteristics that lead to common features in public behaviour, and it is these that we will be concentrating upon in this paper.

Football Colours as Icons of identity

Football has gradually revealed itself as the sport that most appears to embody the spirit of territoriality, and as such, gives expression to local, regional or national identities. The process of identification produced around teams as representatives of communities is characteristic of modern sport, as Norbert Elias (1986) has shown.

In fact, fan behaviour at championships, whether this involves revelry or support, opposition or even violence, is reinforced by the rivalries existing between different communities in dispute, as has been demonstrated in various studies (Dunning et al., 2002). Thus, there is an intensification of football's seriousness. Identity investments transform tournaments into serious disputes about the supremacy of the communities involved, which gain special importance in world championships that give expression to the most extravagant manifestations of national pride.

Football tends to present itself as an unrivalled space of visibility for different communities, thus permitting affirmation of identity on an increasingly more global level. According to various authors, the present process of globalisation, in contributing to the de-territorialisation of space-time communities through the regulation of markets and lifestyles, has created new social needs for affiliation and affirmation of difference (e.g. Giddens 1995, 1997; Touraine, 1998; Waters, 1999). Nationalist or regionalist manifestations reinforced by football seem to give expression to

these new social needs, thus becoming the vehicle *par excellence* for the expression of feelings of belonging and of affirmation of community in an enlarged space of cultural differences (Maguire, 2000; Miller et al., 2001).

In this context, football spectacles provide a channel for strong emotional investments on the part of a public that identifies with the team's *colours*, seen to represent the community where they feel they belong. This community is territorial, and defined administratively or politically in a way that makes it different from any other.

Naturally, this public involvement in football teams is characterised by strong emotional investment, like all processes of social identification (Durkheim [1912]1968). Victory or defeat on the *field* tends to be experienced like a victory or defeat for the community, from where come the feelings of euphoria and of collectively shared disgrace, as become visible during continental or world championships involving national teams, and also national championships where clubs represent cities in the context of the diversity and rivalries existing within each Nation State.

However, in our opinion, this dimension specific to the public of football cannot be totally understood, even if we bear in mind the present social context that appears to strengthen needs for affiliation, without taking into account the characteristics of football itself as a sport-game.

The Spectacular Game

Football is increasingly becoming a great spectacle, a battle fought out in huge spaces surrounded by rings of public. This dimension makes it enormously important for the understanding of the nature of public involvement in the spectacle.

The character of the struggle played out on the rectangular pitch requires committed action from the players in the field, audacity and resistance, which magnetise spectators, drawing their gaze to the movements of the ball, and whipping up their ardour in support of their team. All this could be felt during our participant observations during the matches. It is above all this emotional involvement that transforms the public from mere spectators into fans.

The greater the intensity of the combat on the pitch, placing the opposing team in danger, and vice versa, the greater is the emotional fervour produced in the fans, who live the alternating moments of danger, disgrace and ecstasy in fractions of a second, in a general atmosphere of great tension.

This atmosphere of excitement mentioned by various authors as specific to football (e.g. Elias & Dunning, 1986), constitutes an emotional experience that reinforces the love of the game, experienced frequently as an irrational passion, as our interviewees have explained. In fact, the impassioned public demands highly competitive spectacles, where it can follow the deeds of its team in the struggle for the victorious goal in an atmosphere of great excitement.

It is a fact that the teams play to win, and therefore they try to have on their teams the best players and technical teams, which consequently requires enormous sums of money. Thus, as it is the public that *feeds* the spectacle, as paying consumers, the more assiduous their attendance at matches, the more the quality of team can be improved by investment. This has thus strengthened the role of the public in the production and commercialisation of football, as is visible in publicity icons which has refined the part played by the fans.

Thus, commercialised professional football has become increasingly competitive and the inherent combative nature of the game has tended to motivate the search for benefits through playing at the *limits of the rules*. The rules have themselves become more flexible, in order to allow the game

to flow at a good pace, thus avoiding repeated moments of paralysis and providing greater interaction in the dispute over the ball, such as in the *off-side* rule.

However, the increased competitiveness and seriousness of football (given the emotional investments of fans, and the financial investments of the clubs, and the great sums of money paid to the *stars of the pitch*) is manifested in the mobilisation of action and reaction strategies in the disciplinary field.

In fact, the search for the benefits of playing close to the *rule limits* has created problems for referees, who encounter increasingly more situations of distrust in their capacity to administer justice in matches. These procedures, while legitimate, also contribute to the increased climate of distrust in referees, while at the same time reinforcing fan involvement in their clubs by opposition to others.

Regulation and Justice in Competitions

If we understand that the football public, while containing cultural differences, is characterised by an involvement in competitions, defending and encouraging their teams to victory as symbol of prestige of a particular community, and if we bear in mind that the achievement of this objective is hindered by the intensification of combat between teams on the pitch, it is easy to understand that the sense of justice of competitions takes on capital importance. This means that the need to *play within the rules* imposes great problems.

The systematic infractions and the controversies around the administration of justice in the game by referee teams, seems increasingly to stimulate fans to participate in the ethical regulation of games. The information available suggests that there has been an increase in the sense of vigilance on the part of the public, which accompanies disciplinary decisions on and off the pitch, manifesting their annoyance in a sometimes violent way in situations that they consider to be unjust (Marivoet, 2002).

Various examples can be given of disciplinary measures from referees that have interfered in the results of championships, where the opportunities to score a goal, and not infrequently victory for one side, follows a series of serious fouls towards their adversaries. In this context, infractions that go unpunished by referees create situations of disadvantage, which weaken the sense of justice, and lead to a loss of credibility of referees and the reinforcement of fan cohesion.

It is worthwhile lingering a while on this aspect to try to understand it a little better. The effectiveness of the ethical principles of social practices is ensured by mechanisms of control and penalty (Durkheim [1893] 1977, Weber [1905]1990). In the social organisation of States, this inspection is carried out by impartial bodies that ensure the consecrated ethical principles are respected, punishing behaviours that contradict them. However, various authors have suggested that the present social context is characterised by the discreditation of regulatory bodies, the establishment of trust in the base of risk, the intensification of reflexivity of social actors and a greater self-awareness of the different interests at stake (Giddens, 1994, 1995; Bourdieu, 1994, 1997; Bauman, 1997; Beck et al., 2000).

Increased reflexivity makes individuals participate more in the judgements and decisions of the regulatory organs of society, intensifying actions of control and denouncement of situations that damage their interests. This tendency is very evident in football, since the different interests under dispute gain enormous visibility, as do disciplinary decisions and their implications.

As Durkheim ([1895] 1991) described, the punishment of infraction of ethical principles of a given community there are accompanied by the reinforcement of the cohesion of the group. In

this context, successive infractions of the rules of the game committed by teams, especially situations that go unpunished by referees, seem to reinforce levels of internal cohesion in the public, the sense of 'us' as opposed to 'them', the other teams and their fans whether favoured or not. These cases constitute facts that *make history* in the opposition between teams and which serve as *signs of distinction* in the legitimacy of the prestige achieved in competition in the collective memory of the fans. The public thus becomes more vigilant and participative, not only during the spectacle, but also by accompanying disciplinary actions that take place around the championships. This contributes to the increase in the demand for news about sport during the week, making the football public into faithful clients of the spectacle both inside and outside the stadiums.

Fan Involvement: A Complex Social Reality

Although we cannot speak of the football public as a homogenous social reality, as we have said, it is possible to identify some characteristics that make it specific, although these may be contradictory.

While the social identification produced by football is an integrating element, reinforcing the feeling of belonging and social cohesion, we cannot forget that it is frequently constructed through opposition to the *others*, those that are not part of *us*. Also, while the vigilance as regards respecting the rules reinforces the feeling of justice expected by the community, the experience of situations felt to be unjust weakens the legitimacy of the regulatory bodies and increases conflict.

This makes football into a complex and contradictory social phenomenon. In fact, while increased opposition between the disputing sides in championships generates levels of cohesion and solidarity within each side, it also tends to aggravate rivalries and provokes hostilities in relation to the others, radicalising interests and divergences.

These hostilities may take the form of violent confrontation, unleashing behaviour designed to take *justice into one's own hands*, or contributing to the affirmation of supremacies experienced or not *on the pitch*. Thus, football violence is one of the most dangerous consequences of the contradictory social realities involved in football, raising important problems for prevention and control.

The different reasons put forward to explain football violence have contributed for a greater understanding of this social phenomenon, which is a multifaceted reality, taking on different specific features in different countries (Dunning et al, 2002). Various studies have shown the importance of traditional rivalries (cultural, political or religious) between communities represented by different teams in the struggle between fans.

Sociological studies have shown that the behaviour of the public cannot be dissociated from cultures of gender and class. This is especially true in the case of a male public of a particular social level, where the recourse to physical violence is a symbol of prestige and virility (Van Limbergen et al, 1987; Murphy et al, 1990; Dunning, 1999). Starting from this assumption, football violence is greater the more violence is current social practice in other spheres of social life. In fact, the recourse to physical violence is, for certain social groups, a resource for the affirmation of their identity and the evaluation of supremacies, and may exceed the plane of competition, making football the vehicle for social affirmation between groups of disadvantaged individuals, or even between ethnic groups or ideological minorities.

Associated to these different realities, the interactions that are established between the developments of the game are also important for the understanding of violence at football matches, particularly the sense of justice and the way in which this is experienced in some

societies by particular groups of public, such as in the Portuguese – Greek example (Marivoet, 2002; Astrinakis, 2002).

Given the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon of football violence, and the characteristics of fan involvement, preventive actions may only have some chance of success if they are based upon a rigorous knowledge of the reality. For example, in the case of Portugal, the launch of the national campaign '1991 Sport Ethics Year' provided a festive image of the groups of young fans (called '*cliques*'), in public opinion and clubs, initiating a process of dialogue between the police and the *cliques* in preparation for the games considered to be high risk (Marivoet, 1992). This measure could only be possible with knowledge of the group involved, particularly its capacity for self-regulation, presently associated to the '*ultra*' sub-culture. This action, which has been under development in Portugal since the beginning of the 1990s, may also be found in Germany (*Fanprojekte*), Belgium (*Fancoaching*) and Great Britain (*Football Supporters Association*) (Roversi & Balestri, 2002).

However, the prevention of violence in sport is beset with difficulties, since the problem, as we have seen, has emerged out of realities that go beyond dialogue between groups of fans, the police and the clubs. Thus, it would seem that these efforts serve merely to diminish the severity of incidents, which continue to occur repeatedly.

Finally, we can conclude that the dynamics created in defence of the interests of the sides in dispute, suggest increased public involvement in an attitude of participative vigilance. This intensifies emotional states marked by the passionate commitment to the spectacle of football, which gives expression and visibility to the new needs for identity affirmation in a social order that is becoming increasingly global.

Hooliganism, 'New' Football and Social Policy in England

John WILLIAMS

Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research
University of Leicester
United Kingdom

The Hooligan Legacy in England

Hooliganism at football was not popularly identified as a serious social problem in England until the 1960s - a long time after English football crowds began to fall - so it certainly cannot account on its own for the game's long-term declining popularity in England after the war. But almost certainly, the experience and particularly the *fear* of, hooliganism did deter at least some older and middle-aged fans from 'respectable' working class and lower middle class backgrounds from attending football matches in England between the late-1960s and the early 1990s. Indeed, surveys and interviews with fans who have recently 'returned' to the sport often identify hooliganism as *the* key reason why they stopped watching football, and its relative disappearance from larger English grounds later as one of the main reasons why they have since returned as football supporters (see Williams and Neatrou, 2001).

Two other features are particularly interesting about English football and fan cultures in the 1970s and 1980s. One is actually the strong *nostalgia*, in some quarters, for football culture in this earlier period. There has been a recent re-discovery of this era as a sort of lost golden age, a pre-commercial phase of the sport, which offered an authenticity and a bond to football clubs, grounds and to mates which is supposed to be quite lacking in the culture today. Partly this is about the lost world of the standing terraces and the rise of alienating football business (see Conn, 1997; Hamil et al, 2000).

This sense of regret and loss is especially apparent in the rise of popular 'hooligan' books and websites about the period, in which ex-hooligans fondly recall their various escapades and fighting stories at football, and in which supporter camaraderie and adventure is successfully sealed off in these accounts from the sorts of predatory and 'de-masculinising' influences - older fans, females and middle class and 'consumer' fans, for example - which are supposedly more common at FA Premier League clubs today (see, Williams, et al, 2000).

The second feature which is interesting here in terms of how we relate to these periods is the general public response to the presentation of data on recent apparently *declining* levels of hooliganism at football matches, comparing these earlier 'hooligan' decades to the possibly more peaceful 1990s. At a time when police capacities to *apply* sanctions against hooligans and to investigate and track hooligan offenders (via the use of new legislation, undercover policing, and video and other technologies) have all increased significantly, and when tiny falls in officially measured incidences of other kinds of criminal offences usually herald clarion calls and media overload, the apparent transformation of the *domestic* football hooligan problem in England has been treated much more suspiciously. Counter-intuitively perhaps, as crowds at English football have increased, markedly, over the past 15 years or so (by more than 40%), so *officially* recorded numbers of arrests have decreased quite remarkably too (by more than 50%).

The Decline of Hooliganism in England

The usual approach among those who believe hooliganism has *really* declined is to link its fall in England with a number of things. These include: shifts in youth cultures, especially around the rise of dance and drug cultures; stadium reconstruction post-the Taylor report in 1990, and especially the arrival of all-seater grounds at the top level in England; new intelligence-led policing initiatives and increasing penalties for hooligan offenders; a *cultural* transformation of the sport, informally via events such as the media presentation of the 1990 World Cup finals in Italy, and commercially via the new pricing and marketing strategies of football in England in the 1990s and beyond; and the emergence of a (sometimes overpowering) new focus on promoting crowd management and regulation and especially public safety, and an appeal to a more disciplined family audience at major football venues.

All of these factors have probably had their effect, though directly addressing the deeper, social *causes* of football hooligan behaviour has not been a major feature in the shaping of the current, arguably less troubled, version of the sport in England. Indeed, some British researchers and commentators argue that hooliganism has really not changed at all significantly in terms of its incidence and severity in England. They argue, instead, that the new consumption-driven, middle class version of the English game actually *requires* that the British media underplays hooligan incidents. They contend that *reporting* hooliganism is now a low priority to the British press, which is caught up in the positive account of the popular and commercial revival of the English game.

In these critiques accounts of hooliganism are simply suppressed in England – until they burst, uncontrollably onto the news agenda, such as at England matches abroad or when incidents are revealed by television. I would differ here. I would argue that although hooliganism has far from disappeared, the *experience* of going to an FA Premier League game in England for most people has changed quite dramatically. Unlike the 1970s and 1980s, non-hooligan fans really have to *look* for serious fan action at the highest level today - it's no longer a case of habitually stepping around danger spots, or avoiding major hooligan outbreaks. Of course, interest in, and opportunities for, fighting in *other* contexts in England – in bars and pubs, at holiday resorts, in public streets - have not diminished much, but FA Premier League football has become rather less of a focus than it used to be for this sort of satisfying, collective excitement and identity testing.

On this basis I would suggest that the *routine* place of the serious hooligan encounter, as an obvious and intrusive part of the main football event and on a near-weekly basis at larger football grounds in England 20 years ago, now seems ruptured, possibly for good. Surveys of fans – for example, the FA Premier League National Fan Surveys (Williams et al, 2000, 2001) - and some accounts from 'hooligan' writers in England - would seem to back up these official trends and personal reflections. Routinely, these days, seven-out-of-ten FA Premier League fans in surveys claim *never* to witness fighting or missile throwing in connection with football - though the experience of some travelling fans is different. Today, specific smaller clubs or matches, usually involving well known offenders, or specific club combinations based on geography, or on some other source of rivalry, seem to be the main, but more irregular, hooligan focus in England.

Continuing the Hooligan Tradition

British *police* responses to these apparently positive, if rather uneven, hooligan shifts in England have also been cautious in the extreme. Cynics might suggest that expensive and well resourced police units which have been set up specifically to deal with hooliganism have little interest in

reporting on, or predicting, its immanent demise. But there is rather more to the police case than this.

As I have implied, hooliganism has *not* been quelled at *all* football venues in England and certainly not to the same extent everywhere. Perhaps routine conflicts in and around the stadiums of larger clubs have been 'managed away' more effectively than they have at some smaller grounds, and especially in the more impacted and 'closed' social milieus, where prized hooligan reputations are still fashionable and still persist.

But it is harder to take seriously some British police claims that they are simply suppressing hooliganism at football in England today - 'keeping the lid on'. In fact, the condition of most English stadia - and the arrangements for policing inside and outside them - are by no stretch of the imagination as overtly embattled as those of the recent past. Nor are they like the sorts of military-style arrangements which are still routinely used to control travelling fans on the continent. Indeed, it seems likely that a much wider social range of supporter travels to watch their team away from home in England these days compared to the situation on the continent, where either 'ultras' dominate, or else few fans travel at all.

More professional stewarding, intelligence-led policing using CCTV surveillance, and the use of undercover and police 'spotters', means that what the British call 'police-free' matches are now even possible at some larger English club grounds. This means inside stadiums only private security firms and the club's own part-time stewards manage the crowd. However, it is also worth pointing out that concerns over the aggressive behaviour of some professional club *stewards* in England now increasingly figure in supporter critiques of the sometimes overly-oppressive new management of football fans in stadiums in England.

The complaint today at stadiums such as Old Trafford, for example - home of Manchester United - is that a 'terra-cotta' and 'prawn sandwich' army of new 'consumer' fans at home matches, coupled with prohibitive stewarding, sometimes renders the atmosphere at the club's games very dull and overly-sanitised (see also King, 1997). This issue has also drawn complaints from the club's players and manager that fans at the club have become an ill-informed audience rather than a committed and participatory football *crowd*.

Excluded Fans and Hooligan Displacement

Recent focus group research on 'excluded' Newcastle United fans conducted for the Football Task Force suggests that the attractions of watching live football in a highly managed stadium like the new St James Park, where the identifiable, partisan 'ends' of the ground have effectively disappeared, now compares rather poorly, for some partisan supporters, with the collective experience of watching TV coverage of matches in the more raucous atmosphere of working men's clubs or pubs (see Williams and Perkins, 1999). Perhaps these 'virtual' football TV venues are the new English terraces, places where older traditions of watching football survive rather more easily than they do in the comfortable new disciplinary regimes established at some English football grounds today?

It is certainly true, too, that some hooligan *displacement* - the relocation of hooligan incidents away from grounds and out of the range of CCTV cameras or the police - has also occurred, with most English hooligan rivalries now being played out on a smaller, but perhaps more focused, scale usually some way distant from the grounds which host the more symbolic conflict of the match and the, essentially, non-hooligan fan rivalries which are played out there.

Arguably, some hooliganism displacement also occurred back in the 1970s, when fan disorder involving English supporters abroad became a new and troubling focus for public concern. Certainly today, while followers of English *club* sides abroad have rather revised their self-identity, largely rejecting large-scale hooliganism abroad - if not always the routine incivilities that tend to mark out many English football travellers overseas - followers of the England *national* team have changed rather more slowly.

But even here a new campaign has recently been launched involved England fans to try to 'reclaim' the identity of followers of England, from the dominant hooligan and racist branding of recent years (see Perryman, 2002). The stress here is largely on positive image management abroad and on the informal 'marketing' of a new England fan identity, which takes its lead from the powerful commercial successes of the FA Premier League, as well as the historic importance of the English in the international origins of the sport, and the new internationalism of the English game - including a foreign national team coach.

There is also a strong emphasis here on the multi-ethnic identity of the current England team - and the need to encourage the national fan base to move in the same direction. This, in turn builds on the rather limited successes of the recent national football anti-racism initiatives in England, especially the Kick it Out campaign, and on progress in a small number of local club initiatives (see Garland and Rowe, 2001; Back et al, 2001).

The English hooligan excursions abroad confirm that displacement has actually been a feature of the development of hooligan conflicts for some time, but an important wider point is that *domestic* hooligan displacement in England also seems to be a much more central issue today, as policing and other control strategies; segregation, seating, stewarding and CCTV in and around the larger English football grounds, have become more comprehensive, and especially as restrictions and court *sentences* for hooliganism have become much more forbidding (see Williams, 2001).

Hooligan displacement is also connected to the alleged rise of new technologies - mobile phones, the internet - in *organising* hooligan confrontations. Here the police view seems rather more ambivalent, at one moment criticising the media for its alarmist focus on the 'military precision' and the supposed complex, sometime trans-national - structures and lines of communication of hooligan gangs, and on the other filling the airwaves and newspaper columns with their own ominous messages about 'hooligan summits' and the escalating capacity of hooligans to outwit the authorities at home and abroad. The reality, of course, is that much hooligan activity remains only loosely organised, and opportunistic, and that even when rudimentary strategies for battle are devised by hooligan 'leaders' they remain just that, rudimentary.

Some criminologists might describe the *general* trend in this changing shape and location of hooligan incidents described above as a form of 'positive displacement' - that is, the relocation of a crime or public disorder problem to a context or place where its scale, effects and consequences are likely to be less damaging. Thus, large numbers of non-hooligan football fans and potential hooliganism sympathisers at matches in England are no longer liable routinely to witness serious outbreaks of violence or to come into regular contact with it in quite the same way as they would, say, 15 years ago (though, admittedly, some shoppers or unlucky customers in pubs might).

Football fans in England these days are also less liable to be 'entertained', seduced or to be endangered by the effects of hooliganism as they might have been then. And, 'non-hooligans' are rather less likely than they would have been in earlier periods to be the subject of forms of 'hard' policing and punitive crowd management, inside and outside grounds, aimed at controlling hooliganism. All this means that the fan inertia, or even the tacit 'support' among sections of

crowds *at matches* for the routine activities of core hooligans and of the many more supporters on the fringes of the action, began to shift as English football grounds themselves began to change in the early 1990s and as supporter cultures and the audience for football also began to show a rather different trajectory around this time.

It is certainly true, too, that *exclusion* had a role to play here, especially as it applied to younger working class teenagers, many of whom began to be effectively sealed off from regular live attendance at football in England in the late 1990s. This exclusion was secured by the effect of rising prices – it can cost up to £50 for ‘ordinary’ match tickets at some London football venues – and by oppressive crowd management, or else by the relative decline of the identifiable and atmospheric and participatory football ends at many of the major league grounds in England, and also the ‘street-wise’ and prominent youth football cultures they nurtured.

The Death of the English Stadium?

We can then, broadly speaking, point to some obviously positive developments in English football recent policies for dealing with hooliganism. But we have also alluded to new problems. Firstly, post -Hillsbrough, the prospect of satisfying, if controlled, ‘risk’ for young male fans in England is rapidly being replaced by what some would call an almost suffocating institutional concern for supporter ‘safety’. Some observers argue that one result of this shift has been the near-complete alienation of younger working class male fans from the new English supporter cultures (Gilman, 1994).

Certainly, it is much harder these days at top English venues to identify the groups of teenage and slightly older male fans, who were once the carriers of the traditions and modes of practise of local fan cultures, and who were such a stable and established part of the older terraced standing ‘end’. The English equivalents of the continental ‘ultras’ no longer appropriate and expressively use stadium space at the larger venues in quite the same way as continues to be the tradition abroad.

As a consequence, it is not always clear exactly *who* the next generation of ‘live’ supporters will be for the sport in England as it becomes increasingly difficult for less affluent teenage fans to attend matches on a casual basis, collectively self -supervised and relatively unregulated. Today the search by younger spectators for even modest ‘risk’ at top English football seems much more likely to be confined to the more structured activities of small ‘semi-detached’ residual hooligan gangs.

If the Hillsborough disaster of 1989, in the wake of an apparently chronic domestic English hooliganism problem, reflected an ‘overdetermined’ focus on the *containment* of spectators at a fatal cost to their *safety* (Taylor, 1991), at a more personal or ‘human’ level the coverage of the tragedy did rather more to displace prevailing stereotypes of ‘fans as hooligans’, substituting discourses focused much more through a sense of family and belonging (Brunt, 1989). Such themes have since been eagerly taken up by the new entrepreneurs in charge of clubs who, in the eyes of some fans, seem to be aiming, today, to recruit quite a different football audience.

In terms of stadium change, the British have adopted a unitary – some might say arbitrary and piecemeal – approach to sports stadia development which has relied upon private and speculative developers, in contrast to the later, municipally or state funded and more uniform, approaches established in countries abroad. The overwhelming popularity of football, the lack of *public* funding for stadia, and the class rifts endemic to British sport made unthinkable more classically ‘egalitarian’ designs, stadium sharing, or the multi-sport use of sports venues.

Instead, the forced and uneven development of grounds - relying largely on FA Cup success or fan subscription - cemented the legacy of the fierce physical and psychological attachment, particularly of male spectators, to their idiosyncratic sporting 'homes'. This 'topophilic' attraction, which involves notions of local pride and collective identification: a sacred place and source of local heritage; a 'home' reflecting "all the human beings affective ties with the material environment [coupling] sentiment with place" (Tuan, 1974), contrasts sharply with Relph's (1976) description of the technical and rational but 'dehumanised' landscapes of concrete and glass which often make up new 'modernised' stadia and which exalt the closely surveilled, and highly regulated *seated* spaces. Critics argue these are spaces where little can happen spontaneously, autonomously or accidentally. They offer little scope for the collective expression of human emotions and feelings.

Ironically, given the recent dismantling of the brutal and brutalising stadium perimeter fencing inside grounds in Britain which contributed so centrally to Hillsborough, these new 'rational' but 'tame' stadium landscapes are now regarded by many younger fans as the antitheses of play and freedom; instead they are experienced as a material and symbolic expression of control and restraint.

They are the sites of considerable cultural struggle over the *nature* of spectating and the *role* of spectators in the football 'text'. In the age of the provision of seating in the name of improved spectator safety and crowd management, and as an instrument for more rational planning and marketing, and at a time when the income from *television* coverage of the sport threatens, increasingly, to mark the 'live' audience as background 'colour' for TV viewers, some supporters in England have argued, contrarily, that "the right to be uncomfortable at football" should not be so easily conceded (FSA, 1992).

A new campaign for the limited return of *terracing*, for example, has been gathering momentum in England in the wake of widespread anxiety about the loss of 'atmosphere' at top English stadia and struggles between fans and stewards over the 'right' of supporters to stand in seated areas. A new 'activist' supporter movement has also emerged in England to try to 'resist' some of the processes of modernisation which are reshaping the game in England - though it seems that these groups lack a strong 'class' identity in the conventional sense, beyond their assertions that they regard themselves as 'traditional' fans (Nash, 2001).

The New Management of Football Stadia in England

Steve Frosdick (1996) in a recent series of articles on risk management in football stadia, argues that the managers of the new football venues in Britain are now faced with at least *four* competing demands when staging matches in what he alternatively calls *public assembly facilities* or, rather more poignantly today, '*venues of extremes*'. These are:

- ?? *commercial* pressures connected to attempts by clubs to achieve maximum revenue returns from hosting matches;
- ?? *regulatory* demands for adequate safety and security of supporters in and around the stadium;
- ?? pressures from communities *living around* stadia to limit the negative impact of stadium life on local populations;
- ?? and the pressures from *spectators* for excitement and enjoyment at the match.

Frosdick argues that risk management strategies need to involve equal input from all *four* elements of this equation, though it seems clear that the technical and legal requirements of

regulatory bodies in England will now, necessarily, have primacy on almost *all* occasions and may also usefully connect for clubs issues of the safety and management of spectators with the *commercial* pressures to which Frosdick refers and which have become central in the industry today. They have undoubtedly and substantially reshaped football match attending and supporter cultures in Britain in the late-1990s.

What is clear is that the central marketing and *social* premises for the launch of the new TV-funded FA Premier League in 1992 included the likely increased market segmentation for sport and leisure spending in the 1990s recommending.

For many supporters, the new marketing and cultural re-invention of the sport in England over the last decade has resulted in the recruitment of a very different sort of supporter base.

New 'modern' stadia, with seats in the place of standing terraces, improved catering facilities and *much* higher ticket prices have all contributed to an extraordinary shift in the climate around top British stadia. Positively, more females and children have been attracted to football, and hooliganism has decreased, substantially.

But, at the same time, lower earners have also been lost to the sport and other fans alienated.

The ideological and commercial attractions of focusing strongly on a more middle class 'family' audience for football have also, at many venues, also effectively eroded the proprietorial and self-selective internal *segregation* within English football crowds. This now means that *all* football spectators in the larger stadia are increasingly required to measure up to new stringent social standards which outlaw pretty much any spontaneous, collective 'organisation' or group movement inside stadia, and also the so-called 'foul language' and the routine abuse of opposing teams and players. This, approach, many believe, is sanctioned and enforced by English football clubs under the auspices of concerns about fan *safety* but is really part of a wider repackaging of the sport in England for new sorts of football *consumers* (Williams, 1998).

This overt 'sanitisation' of the culture has provoked, in turn, a somewhat reactionary, libertarian backlash from some fans, who have even identified, for example, new anti-racist initiatives in England as: "The cynical use of politically correct language to gain support for more policing at football." (Cameron, 1998: 4) As the *Liberio!* football fanzine put it recently, according to this sort of view, a: "Mind your language, sit down, shut up culture has developed around the game and is threatening to ruin it" (Brick, 1998: 2).

Recent British Government Policy

At a policy level, the current Labour government's own responses to the causes of hooliganism have been disappointingly similar to the narrow and punitive stance of previous Conservative administrations. They also reflect recent regulatory trends in the sport itself (see, Greenfield and Osborne, 2001). At first there was some promise of a radical new agenda, but it was soon dashed. The 2000/2001 Home Office Working Group on *Football Disorder* which offered, initially at least, the possibility of exploring some of the causal roots of the sort of masculinist identity construction which seems to be at the heart of the hooliganism project, instead rapidly emerged with a tired and largely unimaginative agenda aimed mainly at tightening up hooliganism controls once more and reconfiguring the England Members Club.

The Blair Government's new Football (Disorder) Act 2000 effectively abandons domestic banning orders for football in favour of what the civil liberty group *Liberty* described as: "hopelessly over-inclusive...longer lasting and more intrusive international football banning

orders” (see, Williams, 2001). This initiative followed publicly embarrassing disorder involving England football fans in Belgium during Euro 2000. In the public row in Britain which followed, the Labour administration was accused by the English football authorities and by the Conservative Opposition of failing to act with appropriate legislation before the tournament in order to restrict the travel abroad of ‘known hooligans’ from England.

The new threshold for the imposition of an international banning order on fans from England was thus extended in the new Act to allow courts to ban from football matches (for up to 10 years in cases of fans with previous convictions) on the basis of the legally vague ‘reasonable grounds’ for believing that making such an order would help prevent violence, as opposed to the September 1999 position of being satisfied to the criminal standard that such an order would prevent violence. The prior involvement of suspects in violent and criminal activities *not* at football would also now be included within banning criteria, as would evidence that “the respondent has at any time *caused or contributed* to any violence or disorder in the United Kingdom or elsewhere.”

The civil liberties organisation *Liberty* has pointed out that professional footballers *themselves* might now be subject to international banning orders, given their own records of violence at football and also the convictions of some of them for football-related drinking and driving offences. The liberal broadsheet newspaper *The Guardian*, raised serious questions about the vague wording of the then Bill relating to bans for behaviour which fell *short* of criminal conviction, and also on the trigger which would allow the police to detain suspects for up to 24 hours.

On August 30, a 21 year-old Swindon Town supporter, who had been deported from Euro 2000 but not charged with a specific offence, became the first fan to be banned from all football matches for two years under the new legislation and he is now required to surrender his passport at least five days before England play abroad during this period (*The Guardian*, 31 August, 2000). The Football Supporters Association in England, meanwhile, dealt with a stack of cases of supporters who claim they were wrongly deported from the Low Countries during the 2000 Euro Championships. All of them could now be banned from football travel and football grounds under the new legislation.

The British Labour Government’s obvious determination to pursue this narrow and disturbing law and order agenda reflects, perhaps in part, the inability of academics and others to deliver a coherent and agreed position on the hooligan phenomenon and its seriousness, and thus on a cogent and realistic (read ‘low cost’) social policy programme to combat it. Forms of exclusion and the excessive management of fans has substantially ‘worked’ at FA Premier League level. Support for the England national team probably also requires new ideas about ‘doing’ the English national identity abroad, as a means of challenging the established hooligan label.

The alternative is that under this new, emerging penal policy, *actuarialism* becomes the key strategic principle: that is, the dynamic through which a range of demonised ‘others’ are lumped together and the legal rights of individuals begin, effectively, to be overridden by the assumed qualities of the feared sub-groups to which individuals are thought to belong. Football hooligans are merely the latest, high profile, example of this sort of focus it seems. They are unlikely, I would suggest, to be the last.

Conclusion

It is no easy matter, of course, to shape a modern and pacified spectator sport for the late 20th century that is both *inclusive* and also responsive to the range of motivations and expectations

which spectators have about attending collective sporting events. Inviting a possible return to English football's troubled hooligan days of the 1970s and 1980s – for example by relaxing the new stadium regulation regimes – is, clearly, off the agenda. There are also strong commercial reasons why top English clubs would also resist the return to less regulated football stadia. The dominant rhetoric about the post-Hillsborough concern for 'safety' at football in England also has a significant part to play here.

But the late modern disciplines of the new generation of English football stadia, shaped as they are by the twin concerns of the market *and* of safety, and lately even given expression in formal campaigns in England to try to 're-invent' stadium atmosphere, seem similarly threatening to many fans who attend football not to be 'safe', but to be creative, expressive, *involved* and - within reason - to be 'at risk'.

Supporterism: Ultras and the World of Football

Nicolas HOURCADE

University of Bordeaux-II/Ecole Centrale of Lyon
France

Some particular supporters call themselves «ultras» and have specific relations with football club managers. This paper deals mainly with France, where the major part of our research was carried out.

Different types of supporters are to be distinguished: ultras and hooligans; official supporter associations and independent associations.

The research on football supporter violence identifies different forms of violence. First, spontaneous violence, which is caused by a defeat or a referee's error, has existed since the very beginning of football. Second, on top of this spontaneous kind of violence, premeditated violence, which is largely independent from the match, has been emerging for some 30 years. It is this premeditated violence that specialists call hooliganism.

This premeditated violence can take different forms. In France, two major types of supporters resort to this premeditated violence. On the one hand, those who call themselves hooligans, hools or, like in Belgium, siders. On the other hand, those who call themselves ultras.

Hooligans essentially seek incidents with rival hooligans or with the police. They gather in informal gangs and often have a taste for secrecy. They get moderately involved in supporting the team and even less in the club's life: they are hardly – if at all – interested in giving advice on the managers' policies or on the players' performance.

On the contrary, ultras sometimes resort to violence, but they do not focus on it. Their practice is of a larger type. They strongly engage themselves in supporting the team, they try and sing the whole match, they organise activities for the entrance of the players, and they systematically follow their teams when they play away. They form identifiable associations, with official spokespeople. Their associations want to have relations with club managers and speak with them about their clubs' management.

As Christian Bromberger stressed it, the forms of these groups are meaningful: ultras have their associations, while hooligans merely have informal gangs. This conveys important differences in both groups' practices and logics.

What is ultra supporterism?

Ultra supporterism is of Italian inspiration: the first group of this kind appeared in Italy in the late 1960's. This ultra model is first of all characterised by its organised, spectacular form.

Their support within the stadium is spectacular: activities (with flags, smoke candles, giant veils, coloured paper sheets, ...) are organised when the players enter the field. Choreographies support the songs. Groups of ultras want their supporter activities to be visible (they unquestionably have a desire for appearances, to use Alain Ehrenberg's words). And all these supporting demonstrations are carefully supervised and organised, with leaders conducting the chants and coordinating the ensemble movements with megaphones.

The organisation of ultra groups is also to be observed outside stadiums; they are organised as associations with a managing office and members paying a subscription fee. They have their headquarters in a bar or they rent a room in the city where the members can meet. During the week, they prepare the activities that will take place at the match; they plan trips; they make up gadgets; they publish various media (fanzines, Web sites); they take part in meetings with club managers, etc.

These groups of ultras thus have organisation as well as social visibility.

This form of ultra supporterism relies on particular values, on a particular view of the supporters' role, on what the ultras themselves call the "ultra mentality". It is this mentality that distinguishes ultras from other supporters, even more than the form of support they show toward their team:

?? first, ultras claim their extremism, which means following their ideas of supporterism through to the end. They present themselves as the best supporters, those who support the club the most, who chant the most, who are always present at away matches... Extremism, thus, in the intensity of their support, but extremism as well in their view of football. They do not believe in the ethics of fair play: they see football as a struggle between two camps. And this vindicates abuse towards opponents or referees. This kind of pressure on rival supporters or on the referee is supposed to be favourable to their team.

?? then, they ostensibly want to distinguish themselves from the widespread image of dressed-up and made-up supporters. This desire for distinction, this will to take distance from folk supporters, whom they call "clowns", finds its roots in their desire to be respected. This is why they dress soberly, with clothes they can wear every day. They present themselves as responsible people who think about their acts. They also tend to look potentially aggressive (in their attitudes, provocations, abuse, ...). One could say that they want to inspire fear rather than laughter: the most important thing is to be taken seriously.

?? they also demonstrate a taste for autonomy, for autonomy of action, first. They want to be fully in charge of their realisations: for instance, they prepare their activities on their own, they buy the necessary material with their own money. This is why they sometimes refuse the financial help offered by club managers (such as the financing of their activities or the organisation of trips at advantageous prices).

Autonomy of thought, then. They want to have the ear of the clubs and to have the opportunity to express their point of view, even if (or especially if) it is not the same as the managers' or the players'. They adopt an anti-authority attitude with the most important groups trying to appear as unions fighting for the defence of supporters' interests.

As a consequence, associations of ultras distinguish themselves from so-called official supporter associations that do not take the liberty to criticise managers and players and want to be very close to them. Such official associations have a very consensual vision of the club, with everybody going in the same direction. On the contrary, ultras form associations (often called independent) that do not hesitate to criticise players and managers or to show their disagreement with them.

This accounts for a major characteristic: of ultras, supporterism is a stake in itself. They want to take an active part in it, to demonstrate the importance of their role (they are the indispensable "12th man") and to insist on their autonomy. Therefore, supporterism becomes a real aim for them. Besides the match between players, on the field, there is another match between supporters

in the stands and around the stadium: groups of ultras are in competition with one another. For them, the club and the group are noble causes to fight for.

Their passion is thus double: they are not only interested in their club and the world of football, but also in their group and the world of ultras.

Managers or journalists often reproach ultras for not being really interested in football, but this is not true on the whole: the majority of them are really and sincerely interested in it. One must nevertheless admit that their passion for their own practices often tends to be overwhelming. Yet, even when they are first of all concerned with their group, they are deeply affected by their team's results.

How can we understand the role of violence in their practices? Violence comes from the strong identification with the club and the opposition to other clubs: they build their identities in contrast with the others. An extreme example is an ultra claiming his belonging to Marseilles for feeling anti-Parisian, and vice versa.

Violence also comes from overt extremism: they would do anything to defend their team. And this includes fighting against rival fans.

Eventually, violence also comes from the competition between groups of ultras and their desire to be respected by their peers. The competition between ultra groups can be measured at different levels: the intensity and variety of chants, the quality of activities, their presence at matches away, the influence they have on their clubs... But it is also to be observed in their ability to gain the other ultras' respect. If you can fight better than another group, you are better than this given group.

And yet, ultras do not often seek violence at all costs. Their logic is rather to show their presence ostensibly and to wait for a potential reaction of their opponents, to which they would respond with great delight. Hooligans directly reach for fighting: this is their one and only motivation.

Violence thus belongs to ultra practices, but it is absolutely not its unique aim. Moreover, considering the large number of ultras, only a minority of them are effectively involved in incidents. And most of their activities are non-violent. On the other hand, one can also notice a greater premeditation of some incidents, with ultras going to matches that do not involve their teams, only to attack a rival group.

A complex and ambivalent world

Let us insist on the complexity and ambivalence of the world of ultras, which is more complex, for instance, than the world of hooligans. Hooligans form classic bands. They enhance their self-image by taking on the label of "bad guys". They construct themselves from this negative identity and the affirmation of their physical strength: they transform the mark of vice into pride.

Ultras play at different levels, which they try to make coexist with one another. To put it simply, in the context of football, hooligans are "bad" from beginning to end; they know it and take it on (while they can be correctly inserted in society). For their part, ultras want to be "bad" and "good" at the same time.

The world of ultras is structurally ambivalent. Ultras endeavour to combine opposite styles. For instance, they try to be serious and "raving mad" at the same time. A group with only one of these characteristics will not be recognised as being really ultra by its peers; they have to function as a small enterprise, while keeping underground.

And so, their supporterism style combines order, organisation and delirium: they call it "chaos". Philippe Broussard, in his book *Génération Supporter*, uses a suggestive phrase to describe AS Roma's ultra stand; he says the spectacle is a "combination of Rio Carnival and a military parade in Moscow: a mix of orgiastic jubilation and disciplinary rigour".

This fundamental ambivalence helps to understand how ultras feel towards club managers. They want to be recognised, to be perceived as respectable representatives. But, at the same time, they refuse to be institutionalised and to be “taken over by the system”; they want to remain rebels. In short, they want to deal with managers as equals, but not to be supervised by the club as official associations are.

They have a thirst for recognition and a fear of being “taken over”.

This ambivalence is partly linked to the age of ultra groups’ members. In France, the majority of them are between 16 and 25. They are between teenage and adulthood and play with this status, which offers them the advantages of autonomy without the disadvantages of responsibility.

The older among them, who sometimes work and have a family, enjoy becoming young again in the context of football and taking a distance from adult life’s limitations.

So, ultras have a kind of double personality, and some club managers are puzzled by this “Doctor Jekyll and Mister Hyde” attitude. Contrary to what some journalists or managers say, it is obvious anyway that there is no situation with “good” supporters on one side and “bad” supporters on the other side. Ultras are both “good” and “bad”. The same people encourage their team, organise activities, deal with club managers, collect money for charities, and abuse their opponents or the referee, rob gas stations at matches away, or fight against rival ultras...

Another very common idea has to be nuanced. Very often, people say that those who get out of hand in the stadium are ill-socialised young people unable to make the difference between “good” and “evil”. But, one can see that many ultras are violent only within the framework of football. Many of them are correctly inserted in society and alternate behaviour patterns: in football, they show some kind of behaviour they would not show elsewhere. They are therefore not young people who do not know the rules of the social game, but young people who, within the very frame of football, do not respect the rules deliberately and invent new ones.

Relations between club managers and ultras

Club managers respond to this ambivalent attitude with an ambiguous position towards supporters in general and ultras in particular.

Which place are supporters awarded by managers?

They present supporters as the indispensable twelfth man: the club needs them, needs their cheering and their attachment to the club’s colours. Managers present the club as one big family, of which supporters are important members.

Yet, managers see this family as a traditional and authoritative one: the management office is the boss, the *pater familias*, the one who makes decisions. And the other family members have to obey the management office’s decisions: they have to support the club, but they must not criticise the managers’ policies.

Managers say supporters are actors in the club, but they do not really consider them as such, since they do not take their point of view into account, especially when it is contrary to theirs.

Managers cannot reasonably neglect supporters. They need them: if the club has no popular support, it might well collapse. The managers’ phrase thus seems to be: “Pay, chant, and forget protesting!”.

?? Pay, because the club needs the supporters’ money, be it from tickets or from merchandising. Merchandising is in full bloom and ticket prices tend to increase.

- ?? Chant, because the team needs support. Encouragement can help get better results. Moreover, a good atmosphere is proof that a match is an event deserving strong mediatisation.
- ?? Forget protesting, because managers want to be the only decision-makers. The players' autonomy already irritates them, and they do not want to hear of supporters' autonomy. One could think clubs function on a democratic basis, as is the case with some Spanish clubs whose presidents are elected by "socios" (season-ticket holders), whom they have to account to. But, it does not seem that club managers, in France at least, are ready for such a democratic organisation.

How do managers perceive ultras?

Ultras irritate managers since their bad behaviour gives the club a bad image, forces it to pay fines or spend a lot to ensure security. But, ultras also irritate managers because they frequently contest their policies, because they are not afraid of sharply criticising, and because they claim supporter power. Ultras are thus irritating for their behaviour and their critical mind.

Consequently, it is easy to understand that the relations between ultras and managers are difficult on the whole, even if they can vary from club to club and according to the managers' level of responsibility. The first thing is managers and ultras do not have the same definition of football. Next thing is managers have a poor opinion of ultras, whom they see as louts and intruders: they often find it difficult to see them as respectable representatives. Reciprocally, ultras want to be recognised by managers, but do not want to be too close to them: they do not want to enter a negotiation relation with managers.

It is therefore difficult to reach mutual respect between the two parties, especially since conflicts are maintained by generational and social differences.

High managers are middle-aged; ultras are young. Oversimplifying somewhat, one could say that seniors want to keep managing, while juniors rebel against the established order.

Moreover, despite social mixity, groups of ultras rarely come from the same social environment as managers. And even if they do, because of their age, they have not acquired an important social status yet. Ultras have interiorised this social indignity and stigmatisation of their practices. They feel inferior to managers, even if they refuse to be seen as inferior. All this gives rise to a certain kind of aggression. Managers tend to see ultras as socially inferior people, all the more since many managers have a high opinion of themselves on the pretence that they belong to a highly mediatised environment.

What type of relation is to be favoured between managers and ultras?

Under these circumstances, what can be done in order to improve the relations between ultras and managers, and to limit ultras' deviancies? What can club managers, football federations and the legislator do for this?

There are probably two major orientations that can improve relations between ultras and managers:

- ?? it is necessary to take into account the fact that ultras form associations and are willing to have a dialogue. They are not just louts. Ultras have identified leaders who generally control their troops. It is better to have a dialogue with such representatives than to try and speak with informal gangs one does not understand the functioning of. Moreover, associations of ultras can be a protection against more disorganised and violent forms of supporterism. These associations of ultras should therefore not only be considered from

a security point of view. This means having a real dialogue with associations, considering them as serious representatives and making them aware of their responsibilities. More generally, it seems that it will be the clubs' advantage to function on a more democratic basis and to involve all actors. But this poses the problem of the club's nature. Is the club a private company or is it linked to the community it belongs to? Being linked to the community implies social duties.

- ?? one should also differentiate acts according to their seriousness, so as to organise well-targeted repression. Besides largely known and intolerable deeds, other deeds whose seriousness can be called into question are incriminated by the law or simply not tolerated in some stadiums. One can thus see legal proceedings or clashes between supporters and the police take place for seemingly petty deeds. And this makes ultras think they are systematically stigmatised, no matter what they do.
The struggle against violence might be more efficient if it dealt primarily with supporters' really serious deeds. And this presupposes a definition of what is unacceptable.

Here are some examples to illustrate these ideas.

- ?? The ideal interface between football clubs and associations of ultras is a "Supporter Manager" rather than a "Security Manager". Some French clubs have already appointed such a supporter manager, others have not as yet. The creation of this function is not merely anecdotal since it reflects the fact that supporters are not just viewed from a security perspective.
- ?? Supporters should be entitled to contest managers' policies and to show their disapproval on banderoles. Some clubs tolerate it, while others do not, which gives rise to incidents. Managers should not only accept this criticism, but also address it.
- ?? It is necessary to find an answer to the problem of smoke candles and torches. These fireworks are used in two different ways: most of the time in order to liven up stadiums, and sometimes as missiles. Since they are dangerous missiles, theoretically they are strictly forbidden. But this prohibition proves to be inefficient: groups of ultras light torches all the same because they think they really liven up the stadium. Hence conflicts with stadium stewards and totally random legal proceedings. Moreover, torches are always lighted on the sly, which increases risks.
The situation is thus paradoxical. Medias are fond of images of stands illuminated by torches. In some cities, clubs and authorities tolerate such smoke candles. And yet, this kind of behaviour remains criminalised. Should justice not deal with more serious problems, even those involving supporters?
How to get out of this impasse? One could try and make the groups of supporters aware of their responsibilities, as some countries (like Austria) do. Groups of supporters have to warn before lighting torches or smoke candles, and to appoint responsible people. Material (buckets to extinguish smoke candles) and sometimes competent manpower (firefighters) are at their disposal. And unauthorised practices get the people in charge into trouble. This solution is not easy to implement and ultras would have to accept it, but its great merit would be to make supporters aware of their responsibilities.

Anyway, it seems necessary to refocus the (public or private) security forces' activities on serious deeds, with adapted legal sanctions. It also seems necessary for club managers to stimulate the dialogue with groups of independent supporters, including the so-called deviant supporters.

Violence, carnival and reformation: Scottish Fan Identities

Richard GIULIANOTTI

Department of Sociology
University of Aberdeen, Scotland
United Kingdom

Historically speaking, violent and disorderly conduct has been in Scottish football for a very long time. Indeed, like England and most other nations, there is a kind of 'hidden history' of disorderly incidents in Scotland, although it was not particularly commonplace in the Late Victorian period (cf. Tranter 1995). In Scotland, as early as the 1880s, supporter groups were often organised into so-called 'Brake Clubs'. And these groups of travelling fans could often get caught up in disorderly incidents (Murray 1984).

In Glasgow, by 1900, Celtic and Rangers were established as the most popular clubs, and this remains especially today. Of course, there is their infamous 'religious sectarianism' between the clubs, with Rangers being associated with Protestant communities, and Celtic being linked to Irish-Catholic immigrants (Finn 1991, 1999; Murray 1984; Walker 1992). This opposition fuelled an intense rivalry between the supporters; the opposition has long been highly profitable, and encouraged the clubs to be known as the 'Old Firm'.

The most convincing arguments about football sectarianism emphasise the importance of Rangers' strong anti-Catholicism, notably their refusal to sign Catholic players. The most notorious, early violence occurred at the 1909 Scottish Cup final, when Rangers and Celtic fans joined together to invade the pitch, wreck the stadium, and riot against police. But violence between these fans also occurred. This reflected the sectarian divisions within Scottish society at this time; it reflected also the wider gang violence in the slums of Glasgow, violence that often involved weapons such as razors.

By the inter-war years, Glasgow had produced some notorious gangs. For example, the 'Bridgeton Billy Boys' were a well-known Protestant and Unionist gang associated with Glasgow Rangers; one particular song that Rangers fans sing today celebrates this gang. So, if we define modern football hooliganism as involving violent sub-cultures, with people who set out to fight opposing sub-cultures, then we have to say that Scotland was there at the outset with its hooligan groups (Giulianotti 2002).

During the 1960s and 1970s, violence involving Scottish club fans – especially the Old Firm – became more prominent. This violence would take the form of disturbances inside the crowd, even among their own supporters; and it also produced pitch invasions, especially involving Rangers fans as the Rangers team fell into competitive decline. Rangers fans were particularly notorious when they travelled outside Scotland. The club received a European ban, after 1972, when Rangers had won the European Cup-Winners' Cup in Barcelona, and the supporters had charged on to the pitch, resulting in violent exchanges with General Franco's security forces. The low-point came at the 1980 Scottish Cup final. Before an international television audience, after the game, Rangers and Celtic fans charged on to the pitch to fight; mounted police cleared the field.

Supporters of the Scottish national team were also coming to wider media and political attention. By tradition, every two years, Scotland had played England at Wembley; thousands of Scots always travelled south to attend the game. 'Wembley weekends' were a real holiday time, with much drinking and carousing, and they were part of a wider, boisterous carnival culture surrounding leisure time and holidays for Scots, especially males. During the 1970s, 'Wembley weekends' became more informal in dress, accommodation arrangements, and behavioural codes. The Scots grew increasingly committed to 'taking over' Wembley, dominating the English in their own stadium. And the rise in popular Scottish nationalism, as reflected through an anti-Englishness, also gave the match a stronger edge (Giulianotti 1996). In 1977, the Scots won the game 2-1; supporters invaded the pitch, tearing up the turf, wrecking the goalposts. The moment was celebrated in Scotland, but the English press and courts became less and less tolerant of the Scots' excesses. Hence, the behaviour of these Scottish fans was referenced as part of the wider political and social discourse, that 'something needed to be done' about Scottish fan behaviour.

The major legislative response was the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act of 1980. Alcohol had been identified as a major 'cause' of hooliganism. Hence, the act controlled alcohol consumption at grounds, and banned drunkenness among spectators. Ironically, football's sponsorship by alcohol companies was allowed to increase. Stronger segregation measures became more apparent, inside and outside grounds. At large grounds like Ibrox in Glasgow and Pittodrie in Aberdeen, new stands were built with seating, helping to prevent supporters from moving around freely. The Scottish Football Association opened a 'travel club' for supporters of the national team. It became the key ticket outlet for big games. But its rules were absurdly strict: members were required to be sober in dress, and sober in behaviour. Supporters, as a rule, ignored these strictures. But the travel club did promote a dialogical relationship with supporters, particularly through its female co-ordinator who became very popular with the hard-core fans.

The Scottish authorities in football, politics and the law have always promoted the efficacy of these measures. Among Scottish fans, policies of 'self-policing' and self-restraint were promoted. But 'self-policing' of supporters really grew up at grassroots level, among the supporters themselves. Some of the oldest fans point to a match in Israel in 1981 when the local press took an immense liking to the Scottish fans, and for many supporters this became a watershed, a time when they realised making friends could give them a better experience.

Within Scotland, the national media were keen to argue that the legislation had worked. More 'responsible' reporting of fan behaviour became more prominent; the reporters were self-conscious about their role. And, during the early 1980s, English fan violence became more newsworthy. Hence, Scottish media, politicians and fans could use their traditional sense of opposition to the English in a positive, self-serving way; the contrast was made between 'hooligan English' and 'friendly Scottish' fans.

Ironically enough, the new social policies came before the emergence of a new genre of hooliganism. New 'casual' subcultures sprang up at most large Scottish clubs during the early 1980s. In the mid-1980s, these groups reached a numerical peak. Several hundred of these self-identifying casuals would attend games. That figure fell into rapid decline in the late 1980s, so that for the largest games only 50-100 casuals are to be found on each side; and usually, the figures are a long way below that. Although some clubs showed signs of a Far Right presence – especially at Rangers or the odd smaller club like Airdrie – there has been very limited official neo-Nazi penetration of these hooligan groups. If it does arise, then it occurs at the individual rather than collective levels.

The hooligan rivalries involving these groups tend to have a mixture of two characteristics. On the one hand, they possess sub-cultural dynamics. On the other hand, they reflect and add to the pre-existing rivalries between specific fan communities, or between the clubs themselves, or between the regions that the clubs represent. The rivalry between Aberdeen and Hibs casuals is essentially a subcultural one. It is rooted in the distinctive history of violence and antagonism that has grown up around these two sets of supporters. The Aberdeen and Rangers rivalry reflects a strong rivalry between the clubs, between the rival supporters, and between the regions – the North-East of Scotland, and the majority communities in the south-west of Scotland (cf. Giulianotti & Gerrard 2001).

Among the casuals, we find obvious signs of subcultural institutionalization. An informal communication network has grown up across the various hooligan groups, allowing information to be passed around. The internet provides more global basis for hooligan groups to announce their presence; and to debate the various status claims of different hooligan groups, regarding performances. The mobile phone is a very practical way of seeking to organise violence, although often the calls between groups don't really come to anything due to plain-clothes policing. Friendship networks have grown between specific hooligan groups. Usually, these involve only a small handful of individuals; in regard to links between overseas groups, this again constitutes very small numbers. But some long-term friendships, notably between some English and Scottish hooligan groups, can be more substantial and involve 20-30 lads travelling to games (Giulianotti & Armstrong 2002).

Among Scotland's international fans, the history of violence is mainly focused on relations with England fans. The annual Scotland-England fixture finished in 1989 when over 250 arrests were made.

In the meantime, the reputation of the so-called Tartan Army has flourished in direct opposition to the status of the national team, as the people in Belgium here know. The fans have won various awards at tournaments for being the best-behaved supporters. They have become renowned for the 'carnival' behaviour that helps football's authorities promote the good image of the game. The behaviour is boisterous, usually intoxicated, but also, perhaps, less and less spontaneous and more 'harmonized' in its deliberate presentation of Scotland as a friendly nation.

Many of the hard-core Tartan Army have sought to remain outside the regulations and control of the Scotland Travel Club. Others admit to having had a history of involvement in football disorder, or having other criminal convictions that, if they were English, would perhaps undermine their involvement at tournaments. It's interesting to note that some individuals within Scottish hooligan groups have also travelled abroad with Scotland. But in their case, they did not engage in hooliganism, instead they were very much involved in the dominant culture of the Tartan Army – boisterous, friendly behaviour, wearing the usual over-the-top attire, and so on. In this sense, the Tartan Army appears as a cultural space that individuals can move into, even if in other circumstances these individuals are part of a self-identifying hooligan group.

However, since around 1994 when Scotland visited Holland for a friendly, there have been some efforts to construct a Scottish hooligan group. This group has mainly sought to appear at matches where rival hooligans might be around – such as in Belgium, Holland, and certainly in England. Internal club divisions have undermined the size of this 'Scottish' mob to date (Finn & Giulianotti.1998).

This year, the issue of football hooliganism in Scotland has gained a significantly larger share of media and political attention. This has been largely due to a single fixture between Aberdeen and Rangers played in January 2002. At this game, an Aberdeen player, Robbie Winters was struck by

a coin that had been thrown from the Rangers section of the ground. After Winters' injury, about 30 Aberdeen fans charged onto the pitch to confront Rangers fans. There was very little real violence that took place as a consequence. The major incident centred on an elderly Rangers fan who jumped over the fence to challenge the Aberdeen fans; he was hurt on the head, presumably by accident by somebody from among the Rangers support.

The game was halted, players were taken from the pitch, and riot police emerged to take control of the situation. The match went out live on TV, and so generated a sizeable media response. An incipient moral panic got going, but it never quite reached a climax. Some newspapers blamed the violence on English hooligans – in fact, this was the major story about the game for the first two days. This was factually wrong; neither Rangers nor Aberdeen had any English lads up to Scotland for the game.

A wider story concerned the view that this pointed to a 'resurgence' in Scottish hooliganism. Of course, the routine answer to the 'resurgence' discourse is that football hooliganism never entirely went away. In addition, hooligans themselves were somewhat bemused because the actual level of violence that occurred was really minimal. The point here is that the real football-related disorder, and more significant police work, obviously takes place outside grounds, away from the public eye.

But what was more significant for me was the emergence of a reporter 'realism' about the phenomenon. This was most evident in relation to the follow-up analysis of the violence. Media people were also accepting the view that going for a full-scale moral panic regarding the incident was not a sensible approach towards reporting football hooliganism in Scotland generally. In the end, the police went about their business, and used CCTV to make a sizeable number of arrests. The website run by one of the hooligan groups – the Aberdeen casuals – was closed down for a while until the storm settled.

Finishing points about Scottish fan violence are the following. First of all, the fan cultures in Scotland inevitably reflect the distinctive cultural context. Historically, the sectarianism of the Old Firm is a case in point. Today's hooligan subcultures are long-standing ones. They've been around for twenty years or longer. Some of the participants have been around for twenty years. Hence their involvement will not be broken entirely – the deep biographical association with the firm, and its subcultural standing, as well as the individual 'pull' of being part of the mob, are all factors that continue to draw the older lads in (cf. Hobbs & Robins 1991). The individuals as a whole are therefore getting older, but there are regular signs of some younger lads coming through.

At the national level, we have the dominant culture of the Tartan Army, as well-behaved. There is the obvious paradox here, in terms of a dependency on the English – on the one hand, Scottish fans wish to assert their national differences to the English, when they travel abroad. On the other hand, the Scots rely on the image of the English as hooligans, to gain an identity. The presentation of English fans in this way is highly simplistic; but it also raises wider questions about Scotland's relations with England. Are Scottish fans able to break out of this dependence on the English for identity? What happens when the English decide to start behaving?

The interesting links between the two extremes, or at least the apparent extremes: the hooligan and the carnival fans. Biographically, there are links, since some individuals move from one to the other category. There are also cultural links between the two as well. Both categories engage in a culture of excess, and both tend to have reasonable social relations with large sections of non-Scottish fans (such as with local hosts at a tournament); except of course for the relations that the self-identifying hooligan groups have with some sections of the opposing fans. The

Tartan Army and the hooligan groups constitute distinctive expressive spaces – or ‘neo-tribal’ spaces – in which social actors can move in or across.

With the Scotland fans, at specific fixtures, there does seem to be a ‘two cultures’ scenario: where the self-identifying hooligan casuals visibly stand out from the others, in terms of dress, in terms of space, in terms of social relations. In terms of gaining an effective social policy response towards hooliganism, it appears that an empowering and dialogical model has done an important job, notably with the Tartan Army. The idea of self-policing devolves regulation down to the supporters themselves. This is obviously far more successful than a policy of exclusion and ejection. It is also more successful than heavy-handed regulation of the supporter group – if this arose, alienation and dissent would set in.

Hence, perhaps a realist perspective is required when analysing the Scottish situation: hooliganism has been contained, important cultural changes took place within it as well. One key policy would be to promote the emergence of an enjoyable non-hooligan cultural space for ‘lads’ to move into. This occurred in the early 1980s with the Tartan Army. In the end, as many others have argued in other locations, we should perhaps live with the realization that the phenomenon of hooliganism will never be eradicated by social policy initiatives alone. The difference between Scotland and much of Europe is that Scottish political and social measures are geared towards the confrontational eradication of hooligan groups. There are no ‘fan projects’ with these or other supporters, since such measures would be regarded politically as a way of legitimizing hooligans. Yet, as we have seen, denying hooligans their public identity does not make them go away; in fact, the reverse is often the case.

The Stadium and its Paradox: Enjoying Collective Ecstasy and Fearing Violence

Patrick LACLEMENCE

University of Technology of Troyes and Paris V
France

First, we should emphasise that the Stadium is built to host a whole city's population in a few square kilometres – in an atmosphere of collective ecstasy. For a certain time, the monumental structure contains crowds of individuals, who are submitted both to physical pressure due to thronging fans and to psychological pressure due to the exacerbation of collective identity. Apart from this observation, we can say that the pleasure of experiencing the present event is the most important feeling, and the people in charge of the event must take up a real challenge when spectators mass in the stands.

In beginning my talk with this focus, I naturally just emphasise an obvious fact, but it is important to be aware of it. People who organise events such as football matches have to face risks that are linked to crowd control and to repression of individual violence within the crowd. This type of big meeting presupposes an international scenario; expected supporters come from all sides with the reconstruction of a national or local identity in mind. In this context, the stadium can be considered a central element of our industrial civilisation. The city's temple of modern times has become one of the most visible grounds for this intermittent socialisation phenomenon of the 20th-century. It guarantees the conflicting presence of impulses and frustration. Emotion intermingles with passion. Actions even lead to tension between opposed sides.

We can feel we are French, Spanish or Belgian inside the stadium. We can feel we belong to a city or to a neighbourhood. Identity becomes physical. Each fixture is a real meeting for a community whose members do not share each other's daily lives and wait for the exceptional gathering to be together. In public transport busses or trains, in the street, at the centre of a square, at the corner of a street or elsewhere, each of them is waiting for this unique moment. Without even noticing the other, the individual in the city is experiencing a hidden passion: the passion of collective ecstasy. People who pass by and are unaware of each other's existence belong to the same civilisation. They share a rhythm and will be at the same meeting. Time is punctuated by festivals, rituals and ceremonies. For each of us, these moments are points of reference.

From local fetes to musical festivals, to stadium roars, it is hard to compensate for the lack of real relationships. And it is surprising to hear about harm when proximity is promoted extensively, as if the lack was unbearable to us. Of course, we could reject any form of socialisation and refuse to meet. We rejoice at being together and building a collective identity; our community feeling allows us to rediscover the joy of living a moment of harmony. Moments of collective ecstasy have acquired a predominant place in today's city. They provide us with a calendar for events allowing every individual to find a community identity. Identity then becomes visible. It can be seen, felt and understood by all. A moment's harmony becomes part of history.

How many of us break ordinary life rules in a stadium's highly charged atmosphere? This space establishes itself as a place of reunion for all of us, who are lost in permanent individualism. To be set, these steps must be situated within a life cycle. The meeting with the others is a major

experience in anonymous people's daily lives. It structures them thanks to its beginning and its end. All these points of reference in time allow us to be integrated into our common history. Men have built their rhythm and their meeting together. Time is punctuated by festivals, rituals and ceremonies. In this context, collective experience is essential to maintain a unifying relationship.

Unfortunately, this passion also has negative aspects; it can be imbued by tension and extremism. Enthusiastic excesses sometimes attract individuals without social being, who take advantage of popular and media events. These undesirable people infiltrate the group anonymously, like ordinary supporters. Can we be surprised at this, when we hope to stir the crowds? Today, the thwarted dream could become part of the present time instead of remaining a doomsday scenario or a simple past story. It would be useless to once more recall the events that have punctuated this sport's history since the last century: brawls, violence, barbarians from the streets, the policing that ends up having pernicious effects (the police frighten people and drive louts to hide), the spiral that leads law and order officers to fight against shadows, the unknown man who takes advantage of the public event to appear suddenly and terrify people, the man whom we call "hooligan", who benefits from the escalation of violence and from the demonstration to reinforce its fame and survive after lights out in the stadium.

After more than a quarter of a century, against a background of crisis management, we can consider that everything has been said on this phenomenon. In this process, we first saw violent supporters suddenly appear from the stands and now see society-banned people come from towns. From Skinheads to extremists, they are looking for recognition and seek to become part of an exceptionally reconstituted social body. Such louts from the streets are called "hooligans". They are watched and wanted. They mingle with the crowd to better threaten it. But there are now instruments against violence and hooligans' acts are now counted and analysed to better fight them. Each country has implemented plans against violence, which notably consist of social educational programmes (Fan Coaching, youth and social workers); these programmes have managed to channel most fans at the national level, but indirectly cause the most violent people – the ones who commit violent hooligan acts at the international level – to be marginalised. This shows the necessity to develop a European approach to the issue.

Percentages, counting scales, repertoires, statistics, etc. make the problem commonplace and have increased public awareness at the same time. But they also allow us to strengthen our position and to keep violence on its territory: the territory of excess and collective ecstasy. In fact, stadium spectators are threatened by some, and suspected by others. Over the years, they have reluctantly become both the barbarians' accomplices and hostages. Winning sportsmen can see their victory turned into the triumph of violence in a few minutes – in or around the stands. In this highly charged atmosphere, the stadium as a space dedicated to passion can become an area of tension. There remains one question to be answered about such festive events, despite security measures and organisers' efforts: is it still possible to die on a match evening? With hooligans and all those who threaten jubilant crowds, violence can emerge at any time. Violence bursts, it appears suddenly, but it ends up being blurred when it is lost in the collective imagination.

This will be my next argument. Indeed, beyond each party's interests and even if the stadium gets perfectly integrated into a divided up agenda linked to industrialisation, we must now submit to another law: the law of communication, the law of distinct instants turned into continuous time. Since human mobilisation can be shown and organised by the media, teenagers have found a means to be in the spotlight and the strategy used to be seen in one's best light has become codified. Image is our society's supreme ruler and finally establishes itself as an information transmitter and human relationship supervisor. This transformation leads us to a situation where

information can be distributed and free itself from any rule. News only fades after it has been exhausted and emptied of its emotional substance. Information empties emotion reserves that have been accumulated in a community of anonymous individuals who lack proximity. A new means of expression might spring up there to convey feelings, emotions, passion in our society beyond deontology, crisis, events, “news in brief” and even the stadium and its agenda.

At the dawn of the third millennium, our world privileges appearances and more and more teenagers step from the world of childhood into the world of criminals. There is a new threat: what happens when human mobilisation can be orchestrated by the media? Flashes ripple, images unfold, reports add up and the force of words becomes oppressive. Against a background of crisis, actors are publicised too much by the media and have an unidentified existence. The terror feeling depends more on the criminal's anonymity than on the strength of the blow. In this process, the culture of images has become more important than the culture of senses, and we can witness the consequences of this evolution: standardisation, development, fantasy... The cloning operation is successful; actors change, but scenarios remain the same and worry witnesses. Passive observers are pestered by sensational information and reach the limits of their tolerance. Violence is all the more a cause of concern as it appears to be difficult to show and identify criminals today, to give a definition of actors and to make sense of it. But the feeling remains and gets stronger with each reconstruction.

A person can be everywhere and nowhere at the same time. Violent acts committed by only one of us can affect and terrify people all over the world. The September 11th events revealed to the world that some extremists can find a means to exist publicly. With my focusing on this last point, I offer you a new vision of the violence issue, in which media images can distort society, irrationality and imagination get intermingled, thought can travel freely in an open space, without limits nor borders. Will we always be able to control violence actors? We could be confronted to the proliferation of role-plays that urge actors to commit suicide, of crimes committed by children-murderers, of techno-parties where young teenagers use ecstasy and dance until they collapse from exhaustion. They may be seeking freedom in these imaginary lands. They find it in a world where violence inhibition does not exist any more. Will we be forced to play until death's last limits to push violence back to controllable physical areas? This is what Nero and his pancratium wrestlers, taumachy and the scapegoat do. Will we have to witness such a decline, when human duels get replaced by dog fights?

But a question must be asked before: are we able to admit our violence, to be confronted with savagery, to accept this difference between animals' natural aggression and the human being's vestigial violence? That is: images of our own violence haunt our memory, they remind us of what we are and force us to build up this collective conscience that underlies our morality. This process led us to exorcise evil with good so as not to allow animals to be at the centre of the city. Inhibited wild instincts and aggression had to be controlled to allow the weakest to survive. Respect, social standards, morality, contained, social violence made wild violence decline. And this has been lasting since the dawn of time. In defining rules for channelling violence, sport played a tremendously important role in the release of energy.

So, before we get everywhere and nowhere, before we experience imagination in real time, I am convinced that we will be able to develop this collective conscience, which makes the human being an ambivalent creature between memory and oblivion. I want to remain optimistic and I shall conclude by citing Greek mythological gods. Thanks to Atlas's strength, who supported the heavens, we were able to survive on earth and adapt to nature. After he created man, Prometheus

gave us the passion of knowledge, which is transmitted from generation to generation. Let's hope that Hermes, the travellers' guide, the gods' messenger, will protect communication and help people to stay in contact. I wish this millennium, which begins in a communication-based society, would not endanger the human community. On the contrary, our communication tools should help us to construct this universal conscience through knowledge transfer: this is now possible for the first time since the beginning of humanity thanks to our planetary platform's immense communication network.

Part II

International Policies and Institutional Management

A. Management of Major Sports Events

International Sports Federations at the Heart of the Challenge

Walter GAGG

Fédération Internationale de Football Association

The organisation and setting up of international sports events are directly related to violence prevention in football stadiums. The FIFA can help improve the situation, give answers and find solutions to existing problems.

For obvious reasons, the FIFA cannot limit its organisation and prevention activities to Europe; it now comprises 204 national associations on the six continents – Europe being one of the continents and the UEFA being one of the six confederations (it is made up of 52 national associations affiliated to the FIFA). Europe, i.e. the continent with most professional footballers and clubs, where facilities should be the best – given advanced civilisations' financial possibilities and know-how – still went through black tragedies in stadiums during big international or national events. We all painfully remember Heysel, Sheffield, Bradford and Glasgow.

These tragedies were often due to violence, to alcohol or drugs, to a lack of discipline, to the urge to riot – to harm. Why does this happen? Our stadiums and compounds comply with safety standards, though.

?? Because of the spectators' panic (Bastia May 1992, 19 dead, over 2000 injured, of which about a hundred will need a wheelchair for life);

?? The lack of know-how and training among police and security people.

A year ago, Lars Gustaffson, a Swedish member of Parliament, suggested awarding the FIFA the Nobel Prize. Requirements such as fraternity and harmony, as well as mutual understanding between peoples must be met to support such a proposal.

Why then propose the FIFA? We must acknowledge that football grounds sometimes are the only place that allows two conflicting states to meet as "friends" for a fraternal, correct, fair-play fight without reservation.

Do you remember the match between the USA and Iran during the FIFA's 1998 World Cup in Lyon? What a wonderful, unforgettable memory! Sport, football in particular, succeeded to create something strong, something the political world could not have created!

Albert Camus wrote:

Tout ce que je sais de la morale, je le dois au football. (Everything I know about morality, I owe to football.)

With these two examples – the Scandinavian Member of Parliament and the French poet and writer – we have definitely made our point.

Football – game even – is universal. It is the only universal language, it is the most popular sport in the world; it is intelligible and prodigiously simple with 17 game rules – it is the university of life!

Why, then, use this sport when violence is involved? There is only one answer: violence, as we see it in football today, reflects our society where cheating, brutality, lie, profit misused to harm fellow citizens, anti-game – provocation – aggression, vicious fouls, intolerance, profit at all costs, the disrespect for the opponent regrettably exist!

And unfortunately, we must note that these negative factors are commonplace in families, in workplaces, in the political world – in our daily lives.

Yet, sport in general is a matter of humility, of respect for the opponent, whoever he may be – like in everyday life!

What, then, gives us the right to condemn our sport – football – and all its negative sides and make it carry the can? We are simply not entitled to that, we must fight against these blights and join forces to combine peace, harmony and fraternity!

But how should we go to work?

Europe had to lament the useless deaths of numerous people in or around football stadiums – only then did we begin taking strict and enforceable measures! We cannot accept that our football stadiums turn into death places!

We needed government and sports authorities' help and support. We will no longer accept images depicting young people crushed by wire nettings or beaten to death by police officers or stewards.

How can we fight this violence? What measures should be taken?

Observations

- ?? Most stadiums on the continent date back to the 60's ...
- ?? Some police officers in charge of maintaining order become passive spectators.
- ?? In many stadiums, spectators' comfort is obviously not a priority: badly (or not at all) maintained restrooms; frequent jostling at the entrance due to the crowd of people buying tickets on the very day of the match.
- ?? The lure of profit prompts some leaders to sell more tickets than available seats in the stadium. We will not accept this!
- ?? During Euro 2000, up to 3,600 police officers were mobilised for 30,000 to 40,000 spectators (i.e. about 10 officers for 100 spectators). This number curiously contrasts with what happens in some countries, where only 200 to 300 police officers maintain order during so-called high-risk matches – about 10 to 20 times less than needed.

Measures to be taken by governments and sports authorities

The State, the number one decision-maker

- ?? Due to the importance of football today (as a health factor, as a socialisation element, as an educational tool for young people and as entertainment for all), governments must meet the population's needs in sports matters. As they build roads, schools and hospitals, governments finance stadiums and other sports facilities. Sports federations' leaders may not always be consulted when projects aiming at setting up sports facilities are worked out. In this case, obviously, facilities do not completely comply with the Football

International Federation Association's (FIFA) safety standards. We thus hope for an effective cooperation between national (or local) and sports authorities in the future so as to better take safety standards into account when building football stadiums.

- ?? As a guardian of public interest (crowd safety), the State is responsible for maintaining order in stadiums and during other crowd-pulling events. It thus has to appoint a number of officers to this task that corresponds with the scale of the assistance needed. Unfortunately, it already happened that national championship matches, attracting more than 30,000 people, take place in the presence of about 50 police officers because of a lack of cooperation between authorities! What could they do if anything should happen? Is that not proof of some football leaders' irresponsibility?
- ?? Police officers must be trained to maintain order in stadiums where spectators must be treated humanely. They must be made to stop ill-treating people who are there for the sake of entertainment and stop using water cannons and teargas excessively!
- ?? Investments should be made so as to renovate stadiums and make them comply with safety standards in force. Metal nettings must be removed and the number of exits must be increased further so as to make it possible to leave the stadium as fast as possible (in less than 10 minutes, for instance); Federations must be headed by people who know football (for loving and practising it) and supporters must be educated further and be made to understand that football remains a game.

FIFA measures

In accordance with circular Nr. 603 (October 22, 1996)

- ?? Only tickets for numbered seats in stands may be sold (tickets for standing places must not be sold and these sections must remain empty).
- ?? The stadium's capacity must be checked carefully and can be exceeded on no account.
- ?? The ticket sale system must be organised so as to prevent any ticket forgery.
- ?? Kicking-off is allowed only if the situation in and around the stadium is under control. The FIFA commissioner is the only person to be authorised to make a decision, in consultation with local authorities.
- ?? One or two police cordons must necessarily be organised around the stadium (first control and channelling spectators).
- ?? The FIFA commissioner (or the FIFA security officer in high-risk matches) must systematically control safety measures in and around the stadium for each World Cup match. For that purpose, the FIFA commissioner (or the FIFA security officer) must control each item on the FIFA's "Security" control list (see point 7.1 of the "Guidelines for FIFA match officials").
- ?? Technical measures must be taken in stadiums where nettings isolate the ground from spectator stands so that spectators can immediately enter the ground if need be ("evacuation doors" in the middle of nettings are not sufficient).
- ?? For evening matches, stadiums must be equipped with a permanent lighting system to make sure matches can be played normally. This rule also applies if trouble can be foreseen (especially in countries with limited electrical power).

If such lighting is not available, the national organising association must set the beginning time of the match so that it can be entirely played in daylight. In addition, the FIFA Organising Commission can immediately order a security official to carry out a detailed extra inspection when he considers it necessary to do so.

Prospects

During the FIFA's Buenos Aires Extraordinary Conference in July 2001, we presented our plans and draft security regulations for the FIFA regarding national associations: a security officer should be appointed in each national association so that clubs can be informed about necessary safety measures.

Security and the 1998 World Cup

Thierry TERRAUBE

National Police Centre for Study and Training
France

A number of important lessons can be drawn from the organisation of the 1998 World Cup in France, but I am certain that Belgian and Dutch police authorities will not be surprised.

I will indeed state as a preamble that a valuable cooperation between German, Belgian, English and French police authorities – in terms of information exchange and participation in training seminars – took place during the Cup's preparation. This unfailing international cooperation produced concrete results in the field throughout the event. If the World Cup can be considered globally positive as far as security is concerned, it is mainly thanks to foreign police officers' investment in the missions that were assigned to them. The first lesson we can learn is thus that an international football event cannot be organised without the cooperation of participating and neighbouring countries' police services on the spot.

State services and private organisers must share the same views on security. The event must take place in a festive and friendly atmosphere before anything else, but this must not be the end of considerations. Any event that generates major crowd transfers requires a specific approach of passive and active security measures. Security must be co-produced and everything must be prepared with meticulous care on a maximal security basis: from renovated facilities to the timing of activities before and after matches, from supporter information and supervision to ticket management, from assistance structures to the management of transit influxes and places by train, plane or motorway. This approach should be global and then reproduced on all sites, while keeping in mind that the event is taking place all over the country and not in ten cities, and that these do not organise their own matches alone, but in cooperation with the rest of organising authorities. If anything should happen in any of these cities, all of them would automatically be concerned.

Another important lesson we can draw is that the event lives and evolves before, during and after its opening and closing ceremonies. Major incidents took place in Paris on the day before the first match and after the final.

A relevant assessment and a detailed analysis of information are required so as to optimise the organisation of order services and especially to allow them to adapt and react appropriately to local incidents. All police officers and stewards know indeed that it is impossible to reach a zero-risk level. That is why the ins and outs of all situations that are intrinsically manageable by police services and stewards should be examined so as to better foresee unexpected incidents. The unfailing management of a so-called low-risk match makes it possible to reassure normal spectators, to worry potential troublemakers and to involve members of the police and steward teams.

Order-related reports drawn up during the 1998 World Cup indicate that the incidents mainly took place outside stadiums, in city centres. (Alcohol is a predominant factor to be taken into account according to hooligans' origins.) This observation leads us to another essential element: supporter influxes management so as to avoid meetings – especially in the case of recognised

antagonism. Policemen at the borders, SNCF security services and spotter policemen played a crucial role during the 1998 World Cup.

Creating Fan embassies – which was not done in France – is without doubt a relevant initiative. It is indeed important to have real-time indicators, which can reflect the present supporters' state of mind, the number of supporters and even their typologies (type A-B-C). The supervision of supporters thanks to activities in places identified by the police is an interesting alternative, as idleness often causes drinking sessions and attacks.

Quality information to supporters and local inhabitants will make it easier to manage such activities. The central idea is to set up a security operation FOR protecting the population that will follow the event – whether they will take a close interest in it or not – and not to devise an operation AGAINST specific phenomena such as terrorism, hooliganism, urban violence, social issues, crime. Perfectly controlled passive security measures will promote the implementation of active security measures. The only things wrong – terrorism and hooliganism – make it necessary to fight constantly, apart from the organisation of a major international event. Mastering all parameters related to a major event will make it possible to analyse all potential risks associated to both phenomena.

Such large-scale events account for another difficulty on top of these aspects: it is related to the management of important people.

The Ministry of Justice's investment showed the effectiveness of a quick, fair and exemplary response.

It is imperative, but difficult, that press management should be cared for during a large-scale international event such as the World Cup. Controlling official releases must happen in combination with controlling everyday contacts in the field between officers and journalists. Any false rumour can harm security operations: e.g. supporters can be induced to fear trouble and avoid attending the match – and decide to sell their tickets on the black market, which would have serious consequences on the stadium's division plan.

As a conclusion, we should say that preventive measures are the essential complement to security measures. Initiatives such as receiving foreign supporters in complete safety while being careful not to neglect local supporters and young people from sensitive housing estates so as to allow them to positively take part in the event, will bear fruit in the long term.

We must acknowledge that resorting to order services indicates that all preparatory measures were partly inadequate, since there is no such thing as a zero-risk level.

Euro 2000 Management

Monique DE KNOP
Ministry of the Interior
Belgium

Trends up to the end of the last decade (90's)

- a) There was little willingness to implement autocontrol and sports events officials and organisers invested little energy, so football stadiums sometimes were in a poor state. At the time, it was simply considered that the State should take care of security.
- b) Considerable investments in public safety by authorities (so that public opinion clearly reacted and felt outraged at the fact that some oddballs' behaviour could lead to police investments reaching several dozens of millions of euros).
- c) Attempt at introducing preventive solutions such as fan coaching – with mixed results.

The EURO 2000 Championship and Belgian authorities' approach

Authorities resolutely opted for an approach consisting of measures at three levels:

- a) National level: a football law and royal executory decisions were introduced; they provided a clear definition of responsibilities and laid down strict standards (facilities, personal tickets, entry control, stewarding, expulsions) as well as administrative measures against organisers (expulsions were first to be decided on by organisers, but this method produced irrelevant results since organisers were reluctant to expel "their" supporters). As far as supporters were concerned, a prevention and fan coaching policy was implemented, and forbidden and punishable types of behaviour accompanied by administrative measures were defined – and at present they turn to have a real impact in the field, even if some hard-core agitators remain.
- b) Bilateral level: as a preparation for the Euro 2000 Championship, the Minister of the Interior visited several European countries and sought their participation in an active policy towards Belgium; this led to cooperation agreements with neighbouring/participating countries on information exchange and analysis, mutual aid structures, information distribution to supporters, but also on preventing some people from traveling to Belgium.
- c) International level: Belgium was very active within the framework of a European harmonisation policy thanks to directive bills and to the working out of a security manual in football stadiums – this shows Belgium's major role in security matters.

To sum up, each concerned country's authorities are expected to take action as follows:

- 1) Supporters must know what is permitted and what is not; as a consequence, a tolerance limit must be defined.
- 2) A preventive policy must be implemented through supporter information, reception and adequate supervision.
- 3) In order-related matters, an expertise and information exchange network should be set up, as well as a permanent cooperation system with liaison officers and spotters.
- 4) Identified and targeted high-risk supporters should be appropriately subjected to control measures at the borders.
- 5) Organisers should be made aware of their responsibilities, at least for matters such as facilities, tickets, entry control, the appropriate management of supporter distribution inside the stadium, stewarding and supporter information, as well as their active participation in the stadium ban policy.
- 6) A fair, strict, fast sanction policy must be implemented.
- 7) A partnership with all field actors should be set up – notably between public authorities and private partners so as to better control the phenomenon.

Eurofoot 2004: a Systemic Approach to Security

Paulo GOMES

Security Coordination Office
Ministry of Internal Administration
Portugal

1. Legal approach

The Portuguese legal system has four specific references to the issue of violence in sport, at different levels:

- 1) Constitution of the Republic, art. 79 about the State's responsibility in citizens' rights in physical exercise and sport matters; 1989 constitutional review: addendum to article 79, nr. 2: the State is also responsible for the prevention of violence in sport.

- 2) International Conventions

Portugal officialised its adherence to the European Convention on spectator violence on June 26, 1987 (passed by the Assembly of the Republic's Resolution nr. 11/87, March 10).

In 1997, Portugal volunteered to participate in the first stage of the project on honouring the commitments of the European Convention on spectator violence during sports events.

The Report drafted by the examiners who visited Portugal at the end of 1999 recommended that Portuguese authorities should specifically focus on the following aspects of law and order and match management:

- implementing an integrated crowd control and security management system which would clearly define the police and the club's respective roles;
- introducing a more proactive security management system, while working out and checking emergency plans and the use of stewards;
- setting up effective control and communication structures.

- 3) Basic law on the sports system - Law nr. 1/90, January 13, art. 2: sets the development of sports policy and sports ethics guarantee as one of the fundamental principles of the State's action.

Defending sports ethics implies that the State must adopt preventive and punitive measures against anti-sports acts, notably resorting to violence (nr. 3 in article 5); these measures should rule either sports practising or the public and all actors who play a role in the sports process through their managing or technical activities.

- 4) Legislation and rules that directly deal with violence in sport:

- a) Government decree nr. 238/92, October 29: sets a control and functioning system relating to responsibilities with the police during sports events:
 - State: effective responsibility relating to policing outside sports compounds;

- Organisers: responsibility through security promotion within sports compounds, as far as requisitioning police services takes place on a voluntary basis.
- b) Resolution of the Council of Ministers nr. 17/96, February 26: adoption of stadium modernisation programme:
- 1996: programme contract with the Football League (LPFP) providing for the implementation of an entry control system (1st and 2nd-League stadiums) and the installation of video monitoring systems (1st-League stadiums);
 - 1998: programme contract with the League and the Federation (FPF) providing for individual seats (1st and 2nd-League stadiums).
- c) Law nr. 38/98, August 4: defines preventive and punitive measures against violent acts associated with sport:
- Emphasises prevention, but also strengthens and updates repressive aspects;
 - In acknowledging that fighting against violence also means fighting to defend sports ethics, sports actors are given a sense of co-responsibility thanks to the implementation of preventive measures and to the adoption and enforcement of internal rules;
 - Clear distinction between working methods in professional (strict measures) and non-professional competitions;
 - Preventive procedures (two major concerns): improving the quality of facilities and event organisation – compounds for professional competitions: seats, video and CCTV monitoring, adequate parking stands and special entrances for disabled people;
 - Professional competitions: security coordinator, in charge of guaranteeing the match's normal progress;
 - Police services: not only controlling alcohol drinking, but also checking suspected drug users and body searching of spectators if necessary so as to avoid prohibited objects in the stadium;
 - Sports rules must provide for preventive procedures related to supporter groups for the organisation of sports events, in consultation with police services:
 - ~~///~~ Separation of rival supporter groups into distinct zones;
 - ~~///~~ Control of ticket sales so as to guarantee the separation of supporter groups;
 - ~~///~~ Supervision and monitoring of supporter groups, notably during transfers to matches in other stadiums.
 - Offences (two innovations) :
 - ~~///~~ Clubs' or sports societies' illegal support of supporter groups that would not be set up as an association in legal terms;
 - ~~///~~ Introducing or using fireworks or similar objects.

National Council against violence in sport (CNVD) :

- Cooperation and coordination body, which accompanies the certificate's application, notably the promotion and coordination of violence prevention measures and the control of their implementation;

- Specific competences: assessing the stadium's capacities, promoting consultation with the police and campaigning against violence and for fair play;
 - Prevention competences: controlling the presence of security systems; classifying matches according to risk levels, while establishing "reasonable" measures in consultation with Federations and Leagues.
- d) Regulatory decree nr. 10/2001, June 7:
- Establishes the technical requirements to be met by stadiums and specific implementation places, aiming at ensuring the best security, functionality and comfort conditions, limiting risks of accidents and other predictable exceptional incidents, and making evacuation and emergency interventions easier;
 - Providing for a command and coordination centre for safety and security and spectator control systems.

2. Towards Euro 2004

Ensuring security during such a large-scale international sports event comes within the Organiser's competence but also pertains to the hosting public authorities, since the event takes place in a public-owned place, or even on the public highway, and peace disturbances can happen – which could only be regulated by the State.

Principles and specific texts will be created so as to clarify the State's and the Organiser's respective responsibility areas.

2.2. Distribution of responsibility areas:

- EURO 2004 company ? Portugal 2004, public company: monitoring and controlling the building programme for stadiums and other facilities with a view to the EURO 2004 Championship (State: 95 %, FPF: 5 %).
- ? EURO 2004, public company: designing, planning, promoting and implementing EURO 2004 (UEFA: 55 %, FPF: 40 %, State: 5 %).

The State's responsibilities (Ministry of the Interior):

- national coordination of security and public safety activities;
- activity of security forces outside stadiums (and inside stadiums in case of peace disturbance);
- directing the working out of the global security plan (Master Plan);
- defining the coordination between the State's and the organising companies' activities in terms of security and safety;
- collaborating on steward organisation (legislation);
- drafting and updating legislation;
- organising seminars and visits related to the event's security;
- working out protocols: State/organisers;
- and joint Declaration on international police cooperation.

The Organiser's responsibilities (EURO 2004 company):

In general, caring for security management inside stadiums, notably:

- a) trips and stays – and other extraordinary costs – required within the framework of the EURO 2004 Security Commission's work on matters related to security management inside stadiums and coordination with global security's other aspects;
- b) security forces, services and bodies' activities that imply direct profit for the event, notably:
 - ~~/~~ setting up, establishing and maintaining the Security Information Coordinating Centre (CCIS) and the private communication network;
 - ~~/~~ national trips, stays and other extraordinary costs incurred by European police departments' liaison officers;
 - ~~/~~ organisation of seminars, meetings and visits on security management inside stadiums and coordination with global security's other aspects;
 - ~~/~~ insurances covering security forces, services and bodies' specific activities.

2.3. Laws recently passed or in preparation

1) Relating to national and international events:

- a) Reviewing the Law against violence in sport (Law 38/98): stadium bans; the Ministry of Education's and sports journalists' representatives;
- b) Decree on football stadiums' security approval and certification;
- c) Reviewing the government decree on private security (stewarding);
- d) Reviewing the regulatory decree nr. 10/2001: conditions for the compulsory adoption of a stewarding system;
- e) Joint decree by the Minister of the Interior and the Sport Secretary of State on stewards' status and training;
- f) Decree by the Sport Secretary of State on voluntary stewards;
- g) Police – Organiser Protocols;
- h) Internal stadium regulations (spectators' rights/duties).

2) With view to EURO 2004, in particular:

- a) The Council of Ministers' resolution, which:
 - approves of the EURO 2004 security and safety macrostructure;
 - sets up the EURO 2004 Security and Safety Commission;
- b) Protocol between the State and both companies on the sharing out of responsibilities and costs related to security and safety;

- c) Joint declaration by the European Union's Ministers of the Interior on international police cooperation (Schengen Convention).

Context:

- ~~///~~ First event that requires such an important commitment of all police specific activities and techniques at the national level;
- ~~///~~ First large-scale practical police cooperation event in Portugal;
- ~~///~~ Season: summer holiday, school exams, numerous popular festivals of Christian patron saints;
- ~~///~~ Portugal is a peripheral country;
- ~~///~~ Legislation on drug use and alcohol drinking.

3. Conclusion

- Beyond the international legal framework, national legislation will have to consider the latest European Championships and the Football World Cup's experiences – without imperilling the basis of our legal system and our sports legislation's coherence.
- A systemic approach of security in major sports events will be needed: public, private and facilities security.
- Violence in sport is a relatively important phenomenon; its evolution is a real cause for concern in given sectors.
- However, problems related to crowd management nowadays become more and more important – more than violence prevention in football stadiums.

Answers:

- Holistic, preventive approach of violence in sport: work on personal and social factors.
- Integrated sports policy promoting good supporters and fair play and eradication of violent "supporters".
- Quality improvement of facilities and passive security systems.
- Coordinating the different actors' activities and guaranteeing their professionalism and sense of responsibility.
- Proactive, deterrent and reactive police strategies.
- Watchdog against violence in sport.

Truth must be established without violence

Leon Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, book II, 3rd part, 7

B. European Cooperation for Prevention

International Measures for Violence Management at Sports Events in Europe

Mesut ÖZYAVUZ

Sport Division, Council of Europe

Football: pleasure of the game or violence in the stands?

The 1985 Heysel stadium tragedy is engraved in our memories forever. The European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events was set up shortly afterwards.

A Standing Committee sees to it that the measures against violence defined by the Convention are respected and proposes implementation procedures – e.g. a list made up of 70 security measures that should be checked before organising major matches.

The Convention recommends to station police contingents and teams of stewards in stadiums and along approach roads; to separate rival supporters; to control ticket sales; to expel troublemakers; to restrict alcohol drinking; to set up security controls; to clearly divide up responsibilities between organisers and authorities; to adapt stadiums and temporary stands so as to guarantee spectators' safety.

Specific action is also being set up so that racist behaviours and discriminatory attitudes can be prevented during sports events.

The Council of Europe works closely with the UEFA and the FIFA, football's European and world governing organisations. The Italian National Olympic Committee (CONI) is another partner and organises an architecture contest for sports facilities under the aegis of the Council of Europe.

The Convention on spectator violence mentions a number of practical measures, which are presented in detail in the Standing Committee's articles and recommendations. The Committee participates in the working out of security and safety measures for major international sports events and for football competitions in particular; it monitors the implementation of safety measures in stadiums, international police cooperation, ticket sales, alcohol sales, crowd control and preventive measures during high-risk matches.

The Standing Committee set up by the Convention provides the European intergovernmental forum that makes it possible to coordinate approaches, to share experiences related to spectator behaviour and security, to draft standards and to promote best practices in its domain.

**The French-German Youth Office.
Sport and Prevention within the European context**

Regine DITTMAR
French-German Youth Office

The French-German Youth Office is a binational organisation that was set up in 1963 by the Elysée Treaty between France and Germany. This institution's mission is essentially to develop and promote relationships between young people in France and Germany in subsidising meetings and training young people on intercultural pedagogy and linguistic learning.

The Office's work originally aimed at reconciling both countries; today – almost 40 years after it was set up – its main tasks consist in promoting European unification and providing young people with qualifications through intercultural and linguistic learning thanks to regular meetings.

Since the Office was set up, more than 6 million young people have participated in French-German meetings. It now subsidises about 7,000 programmes each year, which accounts for an average of 150,000 participants each year.

Action sectors

The Office's action sectors are varied and relate to all domains of youth and social work: cultural and educational programmes, city exchanges, professional and cultural programmes. Sports is also a major work dimension.

Beyond such programmes, intercultural and linguistic trainings nowadays play a great part in the Office's programmes.

Europe

As was said before, the Office's tasks have changed a lot in recent years and European unification has become a central issue in French-German programmes.

As far as basic work is concerned, this means:

- ?? openness to Europe through French-German programmes;
- ?? openness to Europe through trilateral programmes;
- ?? considering the French-German association as a potential European unifying scheme;
- ?? guaranteeing experience transfer related to intercultural training from French-German programmes to multilateral programmes.

These trilateral programmes' main interest is to extend binational programmes and the two partners' experience towards a multilateral – notably European – dimension. Nowadays, there is a particular focus on integrating Central, Eastern and South-Eastern European countries into trilateral programmes.

Sport and prevention

The Office has been pursuing a policy in the extracurricular sector, focusing on the following themes:

- ?? violence prevention
- ?? social integration
- ?? French-German work on xenophobia and racism

Some activities:

- ?? Trilateral seminar on “Fair Play and Violence” involving France, Germany and England;
- ?? French-German seminar on “Sport as an integration and prevention tool”;
- ?? The prevention of addictions in sport in France and Germany.
- ?? Football:

The World Cup in France

The 1998 Football World Cup in France provided the Office with the opportunity to hold French-German programmes on preventive activities targeted at football supporters. These programmes were held at two levels:

- ?? at the institutional level;
- ?? at the level of youth exchanges.

At the institutional level, the Office played a large part in putting the World Cup’s security officials in contact with their German counterparts.

Managers of German “supporter projects” (“Fan-Projekte”) transferred German experience to the French teams. French security officials also supported the Fan-Projekte’s social work during the World Cup so as to guarantee the best possible working conditions.

At the level of youth exchanges, the Office put German Fan-Projekte and French organisations (such as football clubs, social projects, etc.) in contact so as to launch French-German exchange programmes between young French and German supporters. Programmes were held between Hamburg and Marseilles, between Karlsruhe and Marseille, between Bremen and Nantes.

Eurofoot 2000

After the World Cup, French-German programmes’ natural result was to set up a trilateral framework with a view to Euro 2000. The Office largely contributed to the organisation of a large-scale conference on prevention policy so as to prepare for Euro 2000’s preventive work.

These projects’ partners were the French “European Forum for Urban Safety” and the Belgian Ministry of the Interior’s Permanent Secretariat for Prevention Policy.

Experiences and consequences

The main interest of institutional programmes such as seminars and conferences is to guarantee experience transfer between countries, on the one hand, and to allow this sector's officials to make contact, on the other hand.

The French World Cup programmes' results once again emphasised that international cooperation work is not achievable without preliminary intercultural preparation. This indicates that a simple experience transfer within the framework of an international seminar, for instance, can produce results only if participants are made aware of the other's differences and of intercultural understanding. Understanding your partners' work requires a basic level of knowledge about the context, structures and culture of the country in which they work.

Unfortunately, these aspects are often neglected. Experience transfer too often happens without the partners isolating themselves from the usual context; the interpretation of common work is too often carried out on the basis of each partner's own national experience. Such processes can engender misunderstanding and can even lead partners to break off.

Preliminary intercultural work is thus required to allow partners to guarantee a successful top-level international cooperation programme and meaningful results for all.

Requirements are:

- ?? getting to know the other country (or countries);
- ?? making participants aware of cultural differences;
- ?? ensuring openness to different or unknown facts;
- ?? accepting a partner and different working conditions in the other country.

Prevention of Violence in Football: EU Project

Martin KIRCHNER
Gelsenkirchen Police
Germany

This Project also linked with the European Commission deals with practical subjects of police work.

In Germany, the local police authority is responsible for the detailed planning of the police action, where the football-event takes place.

Three cooperation partners work together

This partners are the Northumbria Police in Newcastle (Great Britain), the Politie Gelderland Midden in Arnhem (Netherlands) and Polizeipräsidium Gelsenkirchen from Germany.

The question is: does Gelsenkirchen have a problem with hooliganism or why was this Project initiated? The answer is simple: NO..., no problem, or better not at the moment.

It was the idea of the head of our police force in Gelsenkirchen (Mr. Von Schoenfeldt) to make "violence in football" subject of an european project.

The reason was

The general and social conditions changed constantly. The police has to adapt to these conditions if the police work shall be successful in future. We have permanent questions of

?? WHO are members of high-risk-groups at the moment

?? WHEN and WHERE do we find risky situations where the police has to take action

?? WHY does it happen exactly in this place

In this context I would like to remind you of the hooligan-fights far abroad the stadiums, on meadows/on a non-match-day.

It is also obvious which preventive measures cause an impact on violence and which one are more or less useless.

The police can over only a small part of prevention and so congresses like this one here in Liege are important and useful. The cooperation of different institutions is necessary to tackle violence in football.

The managing of police actions at major football events has an international dimension for the Police Service of Gelsenkirchen, because Gelsenkirchen is – when Schalke 04 plays successfully – the location that is going to have lots of international meetings of the Champions League, UEFA-Cup, and other friendly games. Gelsenkirchen is also one of the cities where the World-Championship-matches will be played in 2006.

How does the Project run ?

The project members of one participating city present all relevant informations of how to run a police action to the others. Meeting of three to four days are held in each city. That's the reason why we are meeting in Newcastle the following week-end. The English colleagues present how they perform their police actions and their preventive measures during a football game. Some police students will have studies where they'll find answers to current problems, but I will refer to it a little bit later. For that purpose the students meet in every partner city to discuss their Project works.

For the German colleagues from the "Ruhr Region" it is not so easy to have all the conversation in English, the Project language, because we normally don't need English that often. So we had some language lessons of several days before the first meeting. So the communication is often held verbally or via E-mail in English language.

Thus the aim of the partners is to monitor how the others work to optimize their own prevention conception. All results will be presented as a whole.

On which subjects do the students work on ?

- ?? Analyses of the different behaviour between supporters in football stadiums and in football-hall like "Arena AufSchalke"
- ?? Influence of drugs and alcohol on the violence in football stadiums
- ?? Planned fights of different groups of hooligans, who are enemies-outside the stadiums
- ?? Current strategies on prevention of the public authorities with the football clubs in the first and second league
- ?? Technical possibilities and legal problems of the video surveillance of football events
- ?? Behaviour of the supporters during travel and possible legal reactions of the police authorities.

That are very extensive problems which can only be sketched by the single students. That means – every student has to work on one particular subject and has to find a solution to or a description of the problem. Later the problems of the partners will be compared.

What is behind the expression "partner" and so on

It is a mixture of police-experts of football events and general prevention.

In Gelsenkirchen, there are also some persons working in the background. They are advisers. To this group of people belongs the permanent commander, as well as the spotters (police officers). It is the job of the spotters to be in close contact with the supporters to gather information that is relevant for the police and give this information to the involved police officers.

Funding of the Project

The total amount of money that the Project may spend is 55 000 €. You see, it is a low-budget one. Approximately 65% are necessary travel costs and costs for the stay. The rest is spent on technical realization, training and so on...

The project is supported by EU by 70% which is the maximum amount.

Which targets does our police authority have with this Project

On one hand we want to optimize the local prevention conception to tackle violence in football and bring good ideas and experiences forward. For us this shall be the basis of our preparations for the major football events in future.

It is an interesting question how the ambience of a football hall influences the behaviour of the spectators and also on violent seeking supporters. As I already mentioned, we don't have a problem like this in Gelsenkirchen. But for how long, is it the calm before the storm?

On the other hand it is an important target to support the international cooperation. We want to learn about the different conceptions and methods at the major football events. We want to implement a communication network of the project via Internet and make intensify international contacts in Europe.

What happened until now ?

On the 6th of September 2001 there was the handover of the application to the European Commission. The approve of the Project follows on the 6th of November. The first meeting of the Project Members of Gelsenkirchen was on the 26th of November. The Public related signature of the agreement was on the 6th of December last year.

The Project passes – like every new project – 5 different phases

During the “Storming-Phase” everybody asked, why am I here, what is demanded? In the “Forming-Phase” the team has been formed. During the “Norming-Phase” the work and different tasks were arranged and given to the team. Since a few weeks we are in the “Working-Phase” and we are looking for interesting news even here in Liege.

How is the Project-structure like ?

The project is part of the OISIN II program. The target is to intensify the cooperation of prosecutive authorities. The Project will run until the end of 2002 and lasts 14 months. One basic condition was that police forces of 3 different European countries, who are members of the EU work together. Now 4 polices officers from Newcastle, 4 police officers from Arnhem and 4 police officers from Gelsenkirchen and 6 students of every country work together. The project office is in Gelsenkirchen and consists of three additional police officers.

Why do especially these partner cooperate ?

Arnhem has a football team that plays in Dutch First National League. The stadium “Gelredome” is the model for the “Arena AufSchalke”. It would like to mention that the child “Arena” is a little bit bigger than the mother “Gelredome”. And it happens quite often that the children become bigger than their parents. There are lots of similarities.

And also, the Netherlands gathered information because EURO 2000 took place in Belgium and the Netherlands. It is very positive that Arnhem is not far away from Gelsenkirchen and can be reached within one hour, if there is no traffic jam.

Newcastle has already been twin-city of Gelsenkirchen. Northumbria police is responsible for two Premier League clubs: FC Newcastle United and Sunderland AFC.

I can say that three big football nations meet within this Project. When the supporters come together there is always a risk of violence. At least the cooperation have a certain number of hooligans, although the situation in Gelsenkirchen is not very risky.

Which way of publication do we choose ?

At the moment we are preparing an Internet presentation on the server of our country. Lots of E-mail will be exchanged to bring these sites to life. Perhaps you can help us to fulfill.

It is intended to publish the site and addresses at the end of May 2002. The address will be www.provif.de. It is an abbreviation of 'Prevention Of Violence In Football'.

This morning and yesterday you've heard that it is important to integrate all participating partners, - as well the non-police cooperation partners-.

The better this cooperation works and more reliable the basic structure is, the better the results will be. Beneath the general meetings of the round-table "Örtlicher Ausschuss Sport und Sicherheit" there are additional project-discussions with all participants.

What do we try ?

There is a huge number of good ideas and measures. Inside police organisations and outside. We have to try search and collect them as well as use them coordinated. On the area of the German football we already did a lot. We, as well as the Dutch and English colleagues, reached a high level. We want to keep this level. But the conditions change.

Today we find smoke powder in form of a pill, fight of enemy hooligans abroad the stadiums areas and new groups like Ultra-supporters. The police has to keep pace with this development by exchange of experience with the police partners.

Eurofan
European Programme for Study and Prevention of Violence in Sport

Manuel COMERON

Project Supervisor

Pierre VANBELLINGEN

Research assistant

Fan Coaching Association

Context

Violence in sport is a cause of concern following from incessant hooligan manifestations in the different European countries and on other continents. As far as management is concerned, quality prevention initiatives are being developed throughout Europe and complement classical police measures, passive security measures related to the improvement of infrastructure, and legislative measures.

The European Parliament's 1998 resolutions, the recommendations of the Council of Europe's 1999 conference on sport's social dimensions, the conclusions of the Council of Europe's 2000 report on hooliganism point at the necessity to implement programmes for hooliganism prevention on a worldwide scale and to instigate surveys on this phenomenon in Europe. Following these events, the Brussels 2001 seminar elaborated a series of proposals focusing on the need to implement social prevention action relating to permanent supporters' groups, to ensure the preventive reception of supporters during matches and to encourage the spread of prevention best practices through an international network. The European Commission's Hippocrates programme is based on these different aspects. The European Union and the Council of Europe have been considering the prevention of violence in sport in their work activities since 2002.

Relating to violence in sport and to hooliganism in particular, it thus appears useful and necessary to implement the following steps on a worldwide scale:

- ?? Supporting the development of preventive action so as to contribute to the decrease of violence during sports events, with the partnership of local projects and national and international institutions.
- ?? Promoting the sharing and distribution of scientific knowledge on the phenomenon so as to contribute to the development of an international reference framework.
- ?? Ensuring support for the preventive supervision of major sports events and collaborating to the implementation of resource people's transnational exchanges: field practitioners, institutional officials and scientific experts.

Description

The Eurofan project aims to ensure a link between field preventive actions in Europe and on other continents and potentialise these resources : by identifying quality preventive actions and by organising international exchanges based on knowledge and know-how transfer through seminars and conferences on best prevention practices, as well as by ensuring their diffusion.

The European programme for Hooliganism Studies and Prevention also aims at pooling thematic university studies while promoting transfer to operators and the distribution of scientific work from different European countries, notably through a specialised university-level training session for prevention-centred actors.

This type of international cooperation between field practitioners, institutional officials and scientific experts aims at enriching and strengthening the phenomenon's preventive supervision, both at the international level and local level.

The European programme for Hooliganism Studies and Prevention's activities should enable European authorities and national supervisors to receive up-to-date information on useful prevention mechanisms for tackling the problem, and on the situation of hooliganism.

The Eurofan project relies on an international platform for local prevention activities within the framework of the 'European network for hooliganism preventive management', made up of representatives of cities, universities, football clubs and federations, of forces of law and order, prevention workers and institutional authorities.

This transversal network supports the distribution of practices related to violence management in sport. These structured experience transfers and expertise exchanges are notably oriented towards the support of international programmes and local authorities.

The Eurofan project can draft proposals for international institutions aiming at harmonizing security during sports events and hooliganism preventive supervision. This cooperation's purpose is also to support an international prevention policy against violence in sport.

Objectives

- ?? Develop a partnership based on the exchange of preventive field practices for violence supervision in sport, and see to their distribution.
- ?? Promote the phenomenon's study through university cooperation and pooled scientific expertise.
- ?? Encourage the adapted transfer of theoretical research to operational actors, notably through specialised thematic training.
- ?? Starting from international cooperation, stimulate the setting up of innovative projects and the development of preventive action strategies.
- ?? Constitute a resource for European public institutions and international sports authorities so as to complement competent national structures.
- ?? Set up communication ways between the organisers of international tournaments and large-scale sports events allowing them to develop common strategies for the preventive supervision of such events.
- ?? Develop a culture against violence in sport, for the promotion of tolerance thanks to transnational preventive events.

Method

- ?? Organising international meetings (seminars, conferences) based on practice and experience exchanges and their distribution through specialised publications.
- ?? Pooling university work and collecting scientific research as well as communication to operational actors.
- ?? Organising international training for the sector's professionals so as to consolidate and enrich field practitioners' action potential.
- ?? Promoting communication through access to up-to-date information and to a specialised network of professionals and associations via a web site.
- ?? Stimulating the initiation of prevention actions adapted to local conditions, based on quality expertise and experiments in Europe and on other continents.
- ?? Encouraging sports organisations and local authorities to develop pedagogical and educational youth programmes in an approach aiming at integrating the stadium into the 'city' and the city into the 'stadium'.
- ?? Promoting exchanges of prevention workers and young supporters in European cities within the framework of pedagogical or sports, cultural programmes against violence.
- ?? Fuelling European institutions and international sports federations and actively supporting the organisers of big events thanks to a network relying on specialised and varied expertise and experience.

Cooperation

The Eurofan project, initiated by the Fan Coaching Association - which aims at the prevention of violence with young supporters since 1990 - relies on partners who have been acquiring a high level of experience in violence prevention in sport at the local, national and international levels for several years.

At the international level, cooperation on prevention of violence in football, which was initiated by the European Forum for Urban Safety, led to numerous international events and exchanges rallying top-level practitioners and scientists: Liege 1996 and 1998, Barcelona 1998, Brussels 1999, Saint Denis 1999, and notably the European Union's 'Euro 2000 cities against racism' (Amsterdam and Liege, 2000).

At the national level, the Belgian Ministry of the Interior's Secretariat for Prevention Policy coordinates Belgian fan coaching associations' activities; together with the Dutch Ministry of Health and Sports, it organised the Eurofoot 2000 prevention programme (supporters' Supervisors and Embassies), and took its leadership in Belgium. It contributes to the European Crime Prevention Network's activities and to management of the International Centre for Crime Prevention.

At the local level, the connection between the Liege Security and Prevention Contract and the University of Liege's Criminology department made it possible to implement an integrated policy for local prevention through social preventive action against hooliganism – 'fan coaching' – with young football supporters; this action contributed to decreasing violence in the *Standard de Liege* club's stadium. Not only was it awarded a university prize in 1995 (prize 'Baron Constant' for criminal sciences), it was also nominated for the Belgian prize for Crime Prevention in 1997 and became a finalist of the International Crime Prevention Award in 1998. Carrying out scientific studies and implementing combined action and research efforts on supporterism and football violence phenomena, on social and educational methodologies with young supporters, and notably the national research carried out as a preparatory study for the Euro 2000 championship, made it possible to collect specialised information; specific trainings sessions were also organised for stewards from Belgian football clubs and Euro 2000 stewards.

The Eurofan project's activities fit within an integrated dimension and a transversal approach. The project enjoyed the high-quality expertise of experienced partners such as Spain's *Delegacion del Gobierno en Cataluña* from Barcelona, the City of St. Denis, France's *Centre National d'Etude et de Formation de la Police*, England's Centre for Football Research University of Leicester and the *Institut National des Sciences et de l'Éducation Physique's* sociology laboratory, the University of Aix-Marseille's ethnopsychological department, the French-German Youth Office and De Montfort University of Leicester's history department.

In an evolution perspective, the project can rely on the participation of top partners: the Ministry of the Interior's Security Coordinating Cabinet and the *Universidade Técnica de Lisboa* from Portugal, the *Sportjugend Berlin* from Germany, the *Université de Technologie* of Troyes, the *Ecole Centrale de Lyon/Université de Bordeaux II* and the *LOSC Lille Métropole* from France, the Leeds United 'Community', *Kick It Out*, the University of Aberdeen's Sociology department from the United Kingdom, the Danish Crime Prevention Council from Denmark, the City of Rome in Italy, the Polish Ministry of Education and Sport, among other partners.

This partnership is part and parcel of a desire for keeping an open network, which will be oriented towards loyal cooperation and the respect of cultural characteristics.

Local authorities, university research centres, national governments and non-governmental organisations, sport organisations endeavour to pool their resources and competences regardless of national borders.

The international framework given to prevention by the European Union and the Council of Europe will be an important driving force for the future and the implementation of common operational programmes.

Eurofan Programme

International cooperation within an integrated approach for:

- ~~///~~ Developing the exchange of prevention good practices against violence in sport and seeing to their dissemination.
- ~~///~~ Promoting the phenomenon's study and pooling scientific expertise.
- ~~///~~ Encouraging the transfer of theoretical knowledge to operational actors through specialised thematic training and publications.
- ~~///~~ Encouraging sport organisations and local authorities to develop pedagogical projects and social, educational action strategies.
- ~~///~~ Constituting a resource organisation for public institutions and international sport federations.
- ~~///~~ Supporting organisers of sport competitions and important events as regards preventive supervision of such events.
- ~~///~~ Developing a culture against violence, for the promotion of tolerance in sport thanks to transnational events centred on the exchange of prevention workers and young supporters.

Part III

Preventive Measures Against Hooliganism and Field Practices

A. Educational Practices and Targeted Prevention

Communication as a Tool for Hooliganism Prevention

Eladio JARENO

Delegacion del Gobierno in Cataluña
Barcelona, Spain

Introduction

The work initiated within the framework of the Eurofan International Programme on “Prevention of violence in football stadiums in Europe” takes a particular importance in the perspective of the development of the European Champions League, the World Cup organised in Japan and Korea, and the national football leagues’ championships: different factors that account for massive movements of supporters throughout the continent. Recent events have shown the need for such an initiative aiming at setting up a hooliganism prevention policy at the European level.

The existence of police prevention measures around football matches is obvious, as are the management of violence organised by groups of ultras and the penal or administrative sanctions of behaviours that are detrimental to conviviality and security in sport.

Yet, social prevention also seems to be necessary, as well as the stimulation of positive actions and awareness campaigns on the phenomenon of supporterism, in order to turn it onto the play, cultural and festive values of sport.

The communication campaign in Barcelona

In order to insure a communication campaign’s penetration and to motivate its participants, actors and target groups, positive streams and negative situations must always be used at the same time. As for Barcelona, the positive stream was a wave of optimism created by the Olympic Games, which are favourable to the exalting of the most peaceful and pure values of sport. On the other hand, negative aspects were various criminal deeds, such as the murder of a French ultra supporter of Español, Frédéric Rouquier, by hooligans from Barcelona, the death of a child hit by a smoke candle in Sarrià or other violent actions from radical supporters of F.C. Barcelona and Español.

The communication campaign against violence in sport and in favour of conviviality was set up so as to make all sport-related sectors aware of their responsibilities, by asking the active cooperation of the different actors and levels of responsibility, on the assumption that everybody could help improve the situation. It was decided to spread all positive initiatives and actions and not to confine to a mere advertising campaign, which had brought poor results in a previous experiment in Madrid. The development of a project of this type takes a long time, and results have to be consolidated at middle and long term.

The indispensable awareness strategy of the different sport sectors was implemented step by step, so as to ensure their involvement and the media broadcasting of successfully achieved initiatives and agreements.

1. Managers

The first meeting took place with the presidents and managers of F.C. Barcelona and R.C.D. Español, the city's major clubs. Those representatives were asked to support the campaign by improving security measures in stadiums in accordance with the Law on Sport.

They were also asked not to support, tolerate nor finance groups of ultras, at home or away.

They were further asked to avoid provocative statements or declarations likely to give rise to violence or resentment, to favour young supporter groups (that ensure festive activities in the stadiums), and, generally speaking, to encourage strongly all positive initiatives that could come from supporters.

In the latest seasons, these club presidents and most of their managers have been able to maintain a policy of mutual respect. Potential conflicts were immediately limited and deprived of negative connotation so as to reduce the existing tension: presidents would meet for lunch spontaneously in a hearty climate, and their efforts found a large echo in the press.

Managers have also adopted a more adapted attitude towards the phenomenon of organised violence. R.C.D. Mallorca signed for instance an agreement with its season-ticket holders, stating different revocation and exclusion conditions for supporters taking part in or encouraging violent deeds.

2. Communication media

In a communication campaign on such a serious theme and of such social importance, understanding, cooperation and complicity of the press are more necessary than ever if one is to achieve solid results.

A "Follow-up Committee" was immediately created in Barcelona, with sports press directors and chief editors from other media in order to bring new ideas and follow the campaign's evolution, but also to form the "Premios Hurra a la Deportividad" jury ("Hurrah for Sportsmanship Prize"), which rewards sportsmen or people in relation with sport who stand out by their promotion of positive values.

The involvement of Barcelona's sports press was made obvious by a clear editorial line continuously condemning and denouncing violent attitudes and acts (by players, managers, supporters, etc.), and unconditionally supporting the various constructive initiatives taken by the different sports sectors. Moreover, televisions realised the *tour de force* of not showing any abusive or racist placards or flags, nor other forms of expression that could incite to violence, in their reports or commentaries.

Barcelona's major communication media, whose majority has a national coverage, signed a manifesto entitled "Violence is stupid" stating that: "refusing violence and supporting those who promote positive values in sport has proved the best prevention tool to eradicate violent acts and re-establish conviviality and integration in a social phenomenon with a certain level of culture. There can be neither passivity nor disengagement. Conviviality, be it for amateur sport or for professional sport, involves active and brave involvement of all its actors".

3. Federations

Meetings were held with presidents and representatives of the major (football and basketball) federations as well as with the Union of Catalan Sport Federations. The focus here was essentially on the actions these associations could take in mass sport and in sports where local and regional rivalries prevail, as is the case in hockey.

The impact of these measures on sport education or on inferior categories proved considerable and was reflected in mass sport. Federations have the opportunity to act and influence, and they absolutely have to materialize it.

4. Supporter associations, clubs and groups (“Peñas”)

Although meetings with supporter groups’ representatives have been held, the first objective was to target the young supporter groups (“peñas”) that generally commit or are the victims of violence.

Following various initial contacts, meetings were organized with peaceful young supporter groups from Barcelona (“Almogàvers”, “Sang Culè”, “Unibarçataris”) and Español (“Peña Juvenil” and “Peña Universitaria Españolista”) to take the pulse of their worries and problems. Indeed, the response of these young supporter groups exceeded the most optimistic expectations.

Both young supporters from F.C. Barcelona and Español wanted special zones for young supporters in the stands (behind the goals, or in zones with good visibility) to gather young supporter groups and promote the play and festive animation of their teams (chants, flags, choreographies and other coloured and spectacular but not violent or aggressive demonstrations). They could rely on our support from the very beginning and clubs allowed the creation of the “Youth Stand” in F.C. Barcelona and the “Implacable Stand” in Español. At the same time, peaceful young supporter groups have also realised a series of actions that improved their status as a powerful reference towards the club’s young supporters, which has reduced the potential influence of violent groups.

Some examples give an idea of the young supporter groups’ commitment:

- ?? Following the death of an Italian supporter, Vincenzo Spagnolo, in Genoa, and the mobilisation against violence in Italy, some young supporter groups’ representatives went to the young boy’s funeral and invited young supporter groups’ leaders from Genoa and Sampdoria to a conference in Barcelona where members of 16 Spanish supporter groups signed a manifesto against violence.
- ?? After the play-off hockey match between Barcelona and Igualada (the new champion), Igualada’s supporters, who were more numerous in the stands, abused Barcelona’s young supporter groups, who resisted temptation and displayed a large placard saying “Hurrah for Igualada”. The audience was puzzled and applauded back Barcelona’s young supporters. Fair play emerged as the winner from this difficult moment.
- ?? Barcelona’s young supporter groups notably organised aid campaigns for Bosnia, while those from Español collected food for people in distress. Some young supporters took part in sociological study projects or in study sessions on the phenomenon of violence, they edited brochures and fanzines in favour of conviviality. To put it simply, they took a leading position in all initiatives for the promotion of sportsmanship.

5. Players and trainers

The main objective of the meetings with football and other professional sport players – who are idols and models – was to make them aware of their responsibilities towards society in general and towards teenagers and children in particular. A player’s attitude on and outside the field can

be imitated by thousands of young supporters. Players must be aware of their positive or negative influence. The aim is not to be too restrictive, but to force them to take their responsibilities.

As far as trainers are concerned, it is important for them to know how to instil fair play values into their players, how to encourage them to be restrained in what they say and to avoid provocative public statements, especially before derbies or high-risk matches.

6. Referees

Following meetings with the Catalan Referee Committee and some representative referees, it was decided that referees would try to adopt calm and moderate attitudes in doing their job. Referees' moderation and coherent sanctions of unsporting behaviour have proved very important. Referees form the subject of a great debate because of their potential technical errors, but they can improve the social respect they deserve by showing an adequate professional behaviour.

7. Institutions

The Supreme Council of Sport is an essential communication and cooperation institution between the different federations, international sport administrations and institutions (among which the International Olympic Committee), the Council of Europe and other European political bodies. It proved essential to obtain institutional support at the highest level.

The Director General of Sports presides over the "National Commission against Violence in Sport Events", that gathers the Supreme Council of Sport, the Spanish Home Office, as well as representatives from autonomous communities, municipalities, federations, clubs, the professional Football League, sports associations, etc.

The Professional Football League's president and manager accepted to take their responsibilities as organisers of professional events and federators of the main clubs. The League tended to see violence as a very indirect consequence of football, since it often takes place around or outside stadiums. Alas! Facts proved this conception to be wrong: clubs that discouraged any act of violence, that refused to tolerate groups of ultras, or that supported positive animation activities, have been able to reduce the violent deeds related to their teams.

The various meetings held with the Administration for Education and Culture, and with various sports schools, aimed at involving them into a fundamental aspect of the campaign pursuing long-term effects through awareness of sporting, civic and cultural values of sport at school. Education to "clean play", respect for the adversary and promotion of sport as a cultural element are the cornerstone of the education of those who will be active in professional sport later, be it as players, trainers, referees, federal agents, managers or supporters.

8. Different initiatives and conferences

In order to have a targeted and efficient campaign, one is forced to organise discussion forums within the framework of study sessions and conferences on the phenomenon of violence in sport.

A one-day "Sports Journalism and Society" study session was organised, and a first discussion took place during round tables between renowned journalists that led to a debate between famous sportsmen on the theme of "the sportsman and his role in social conviviality". This session was followed by a conference on the organisation of sports events.

A conference entitled "Sport without violence", under the presidency of Infante Doña Christina, gave famous players, trainers, managers, supporters, journalists and politicians from different

European countries the opportunity to discuss four themes: the influence of communication media, international experiments, violence around sport, and prevention measures against violence at sports events.

One should also mention the one-day sessions called “Stands without violence” aimed at supporter groups and young “peñas” throughout Spain: they were invited to discuss and sign a document bearing the name of the session and stating that they would assume collective responsibility in order to eradicate intolerance and violence thanks to the integration of supporters’ representatives into all possible forums, debates and decisions.

Eventually, all spontaneous initiatives taken in Catalonia were supported and relayed; the people in charge were invited to include their activities’ promotion into the campaign. Examples of these initiatives are the creation of the association “Sportsmen against drugs”, the youth stand in Manresa basketball club, and the “White Shoe” campaign in favour of sportsmanship among indoor football supporters.

9. “Hurrah for Sportsmanship” Prizes

The “Hurrah for Sportsmanship” Prizes were created to award fair play actions or actions favouring conviviality. On a monthly basis at first, then each year, the award ceremony celebrates great figures of sport, with a jury formed by a committee of journalists who work on the campaign.

Two famous prize-winners were for instance motorcycle champion Jordi Arcarons, who stopped in order to help a injured competitor while he was leading the Tunisian Rally, and who lost the race but saved a life, or Dutch trainer Guus Hiddink, who refused to begin a match in his Valencia stadium until nazi, racist and violent placards were taken away from the stands.

10. Advertising

Advertising was used in order to support the campaign, but was not its major element. Through advertising actions, we tried to broadcast strong messages and fundamental ideas that gave the campaign a public recognition and identification. Priority was always given to the important work of co-awareness in the different sport sectors with a view on long term.

The advertising impact focused on:

- ?? Giving out illustrated leaflets with cartoons against violence and for conviviality to F.C. Barcelona and R.C.D. Español’s supporters.
- ?? Targeted mailing of a Christmas card with selected pictures and information to a large panel of people related to sport.
- ?? Making a commercial with real and obvious violent images, which was broadcasted before football matches with good ratings and before the sports programme summarising the football day.

11. Latest initiatives

Aiming once again at involving all social and sports sectors into the promotion of positive values around sport and against aggressive behaviours, a Ten-Commandment declaration was set up with the cooperation of various sports organisations. This declaration is entitled “Against Hooliganism: Rooliganism” and is based on the Danish word “rolig” (friend) and the example of Danish supporters’ behaviour, be it on national club level or at international level; its objective is

to favour the “Rooliganism” model with peaceful supporters who embody the opposite of hooligans and hooliganism.

The declaration “Against Hooliganism: Rooliganism” was signed by the Government’s Delegation in Catalonia, Barcelona’s Town Council, the High court, the Town Police, the Chamber of Lawyers, the industrial sector, the labour organizations, merchants’ and local associations, the Civil Rights Inspector, the Journalists’ Association and the Directorate-General for Security in the Region.

Obviously, a constant vigilance is required in order to follow up the campaign with all these positive actions and ideas taking place; the campaign also needs to be intensified in more delicate steps.

From Barcelona we will publish the reports and conclusions made by the various City Councils and participating associations’ representatives within the framework of the international “Prevention of Hooliganism” programme, based in Liege. It is quite obvious that the exchange of experience inside Eurofan must help mobilise all of European society to guarantee a real and efficient prevention of the phenomenon of hooliganism.

Socioprevention through Social and Pedagogical Coaching

Manuel COMERON

Coordinator “Fan coaching”, City of Liege
Lecturer at the University of Liege
Belgium

Hooliganism: a contemporary phenomenon

The concept of hooliganism refers to physical aggression and vandalism behaviour in spectators of a specific sports event – i.e. a football match – which is shown in a specific geographical area – i.e. the football field and its urban surroundings. Characteristically, hooliganism has deep historical roots: since football became a public event, at the end of last century, we have been able to list numerous incidents involving spectators, whatever the competition's level. The phenomenon of violence in stadiums is also widely spread from a geographical point of view: hooliganism affects most European countries as well as other continents such as Latin America (and Africa, where eruptive violent incidents, which often originate in established social violence, punctuate football competitions).

Security measures and society response

Major security measures were taken in Belgium after the 1985 Heysel tragedy so as to minimise consequences. The police mobilise large highly organised teams in order to supervise supporters and to maintain public order in and around stadiums. The courts, which had long been accused of being too lax, now administer heavy and harsh sentences to supporters who get in trouble with judicial authorities. Stadium facilities are strictly controlled and many clubs were obliged to carry out improvements in order to meet strict security requirements. Ultimate stage in the social control: most stadiums are equipped with surveillance cameras. At the same time, social prevention projects for hard-core supporters, called Fan Coaching, have been developed in clubs with “high-risk” supporters, notably in Antwerp FC and Standard Liege, but also in Gent and Charleroi.

Social prevention measures

In Belgium, the Fan Coaching programme carries out in-depth educational work and directly targets high-risk spectators (offensive prevention). It is in charge of hard-core supporters' coaching during sporting events. This programme was initiated by the Ministry of the Interior with the cooperation of the *Fondation Roi Baudouin* in Antwerp in 1988 and in Liege (with the support of the French-speaking Community and the Walloon Region)⁵. In view of these experimental pilot-projects, new schemes were initiated in other clubs. Nowadays, Belgian operational Fan Coaching initiatives are integrated in the Security and Prevention Contracts implemented by the Ministry of the Interior with the cooperation of Cities and municipalities. The Secretariat for Prevention Policy is in charge of national cooperation. Such field work is carried out by specialist actors (youth and social workers) and is instigated by the Cities within the

⁵The Liege project is jointly supervised by the City of Liege and Fan coaching ASBL, whose head office is located in the Department of criminology, University of Liege.

framework of an integrated approach, in partnership with football clubs, the national football federation, the police, universities, judicial authorities, social institutions, associations, etc.

The programme is based on 4 main lines:

a. *Preventive supervision and physical attendance of hard core supporters* by youth and social workers at all matches. The objective is to guarantee institutional representation within the “side” and to set up a communication channel between supporters and authorities (forces of law and order and club managers). This supervision also allows fan coaches to nip some incidents in the bud thanks to their special position at the heart of the event, and notably to take action on the “triggering” phenomenon. Similarly, the presence of fan coaches induces a kind of informal social control that generates positive behaviour in supporters.

b. *Pedagogical and sporting activities*. We aim at offering an alternative so as to counter supporters’ urban inactivity and providing them with social cultural added value. One of the fan coaching project’s central themes is that sport not only allows youth and social workers to establish initial contact and to build a confidence relationship with the target group, but also works as a social integration and development vehicle for young people. Activities must also meet their need for action, excitement and prestige in a positive way. In addition to traditional sport (football, minifoot), extreme sports also represent an efficient educational tool: climbing, canyoning, potholing, rafting, parachuting, etc.

c. *The Fan Home* is located on the stadium site and welcomes supporters on weekdays in the evening and on match days at home. It is an alternative to neighbourhoods or cafés conducive to crime and allows young people to enjoy their group life under social educational supervision. With the guidance of youth workers, young people are in charge of the Fan Home and its facilities’ practical management; the Fan Home includes pedagogical material (audiovisual equipment, etc.) and recreational material (billiard table, table football, etc.). In addition, informal contact in the Fan Home between youth workers and supporters before and after matches also leads to in-depth educational work and can contribute to preventing violence or vandalism acts. Similarly, meetings organised between young people and club leaders, coaches or players aim at giving supporters a sense of responsibility towards their club and vice versa.

d. *Social reintegration* is an important constituent of the programme: we consider the living conditions and future prospects of socially vulnerable young supporters. In this context, social assistance is available to all supporters who wish it and take the necessary steps. Social workers help young people to regularise their position and, for the most serious cases, act as intermediaries for the competent social institutions (social assistance centre, national employment institution, etc.). They also carry out mediation work in relation to police or judicial authorities.

At the same time, initiatives in cooperation with legal institutions allow certain young hooligans to be administered alternative imprisonment measures.

Offensive socioprevention: a double challenge in violence management

- First, at the level of event supervision: the Fan Coaching carries out selective interventions related to the football match situation. Such work typically requires “here and now”, mediation and communication interventions, targeting the phenomenon’s critical manifestations. Fan coaches work side by side with other security actors (club stewards, the police, etc.). The Fan Coaching, as another prevention structure, complements classic repression and organisation structures. It adapts to them and is a mobile prevention

structure, which can travel from city to city (for championship, cup and national matches) and from country to country (European cup matches and international competitions).

- Second, at the level of basic supervision: the Fan Coaching permanently works on the phenomenon's fundamental aspects and carries out long-term pedagogical work focused on its internal causes so as to solve the problems that generate it. We aim at changing things progressively in working at the heart of the problem and directing solutions, while making sure the changes provide deviant elements with a structure and do not exclude them.

International work opportunities

An encouraging prospect for the future – which was already investigated within the framework of the European Forum for Urban Safety's activities – consists in structuring, at the international level, the exchange of local experiences and the interconnection between research centres relating to the integrated management of violence in sport.

Concrete work paths should be considered; in addition to the support of government and sports organisations, they would benefit from the support of public authorities such as the European Union or the Council of Europe, and from the active cooperation of sports federations such as the Olympic Committee, the UEFA or the FIFA.

First, educational and pedagogical intervention committees, integrated within the local environment and relying on qualified professional workers, should be set up within European Cities and football clubs. Such structures must be able to grasp the phenomenon and to directly target supporters directly, notably young fans because “the hooligans of tomorrow are on the children's playground today”. The committees must work in cooperation with the other actors (clubs, forces of law and order, courts, etc.) in agreeing on common operational aims. They care for an adapted solution to violence management, both at the level of event supervision and selective interventions and at the level of permanent supervision and long-term, basic supervision.

Second, prevention advisory commissions should be set up within local authorities. They would gather two types of members: on one hand, field actors, directly affected by the phenomenon in their everyday lives and who will share their precise knowledge of the problem and their concrete resolution capacity; on the other hand, institutional representatives involved in the phenomenon's supervision, who will share their objectivity capacity for the analysis required for the strategic management prior to decision-making.

Finally, an international network, centred on hooliganism prevention and characterised by its actors' transversality (social preventive actors, police departments, magistrates, municipality officials, academics, etc.) should be strengthened. This international network should make for the free movement of specific know-how and experiences. It would aim at exchanging prevention methodologies and sharing knowledge related to the management of violence in sport so as to improve and enrich field actions and prevention policies.

Ultras and Society The Municipality as a Driving Force for Action

Giancarlo NORIS
City of Rome
Italy

I am pleased to remind you of two famous characters' phrases, which could help us to understand and to commit ourselves to football and associated manifestations of violence.

About thirty years ago, Pier Paolo Pasolini said that football matches were like a great theatre show and that all people inside the stadium were actors: players, referees, society and the public.

At the same time, Martin Luther King declared on another topic that he did not fear "the hateful words and actions of the bad people, but [...] the appalling silence of the good people".

In view of the imminence of a football match, quick and effective interventions are often required; operating modes look more like emergency interventions than like carefully planned actions in order to contain hooligans and to prevent their presence's negative impact.

But every time we try to tackle this problem seriously, in a controlled, reasoned, competent way so as to limit, control or solve the psychological, social, human and public-order phenomenon of hooliganism, we also have to consider its origin (which is different in each country or region), its quality, its impact, its violence level and operating modes, its social impact and the possibility to gain followers, the population's attitude, society's composition and concerned social strata and our intervention possibilities and modes. This is no easy business.

The problem of violence in stadiums does not derive from specific local situations. Hooligans appeared in England in the 70's, as well as in Belgium and Germany. Danish supporters, on the contrary, emphasise sport's spirit of conciliation and celebration. In England, compounds were reinforced, as well as supporter stands and family-specific places inside stadiums; families were given separate travel possibilities. Violence moved from inside to outside stadiums. One year before our law comes into force, the same happens in Italy. In Rome, fights and violent incidents take place outside stadiums. Football's Sunday ritual has acquired social importance and concerns every social stratum. In Italy, violence was not supporters' main characteristic for a great many years.

How has the world of Italian ultras changed – and particularly the world of Roman ultras? Quantitatively, even if figures on organised groups vary – they only account for a minimal percentage of normal participants. The number of violent ultras is even more reduced.

Ultras and their leaders in Italy and in Rome

Ultras appeared in Italy from the 80's onwards. Groups were marked by two clear trends: extreme right and extreme left. Some had realised the usefulness of public bustle, which held the police's attention so that they could not be used for fighting against ordinary and organised crime – as it was the case during right- and left-wing subversion.

New political balances and new policy-making modes began to take shape. When these opposed extremist movements came to an end, extreme right and left lost many possibilities to gain followers in the different social strata, even in the weakest ones. The only profitable solution was then to discover new horizons and to meet football supporters. Indeed, they are known to be subjected to constant discord and rivalry and to have a strong sense of belonging and enthusiasm.

Italian ultras appeared in this particular climate. Banderols in stadiums are the banderoles extremists used when they demonstrated in the streets; they turned them over to cover with new slogans. As years went by, only right-references were still to be found in stadiums, as slogans and symbols clearly indicated.

New interest subjects appeared: new types of associations, new tastes, ... in sports clubs too, which considered this phenomenon as an unexpected form of support to the "favourite team" – implying considerable financial resources.

We should distinguish organising ultras (the organisation's *golden share*) from the mass of ultras (*cannon fodder*). Golden share ultras defend great economic interests: organising supporters' travel, producing and selling merchandising products and tee-shirts, drafting electronic magazines for trustworthy customers and paper magazines for all supporters, supervising the teams' supporter clubs. They organise intervention times, pressure and hooligan protest against society or the police.

Cannon fodder ultras will stop at nothing. They are ready to confront the police, come wind or foul weather, with brothers and against enemies; sometimes with enemies, against other enemies, just to have another ultra experience. It indeed happened that rival supporter clubs from the same city unite in other cities to confront that day's enemies. Such facts confirm extremist supporters' political identity, even if they belong to rival sports factions. A psychological diagnosis of such extremist members and a social analysis of family and cultural backgrounds and of their environment would undoubtedly reveal numerous elements.

Stadiums: Sunday fans vs. potential hooligans

Unquestionably, Sunday fans firmly believe that they participate in football matches not as spectators, but as actors – which reminds us of Pier Paolo Pasolini's phrase on football/theatre. But these fans do not want to participate in violent acts or crowd commotion either as spectators or as actors. Such fans belong to families, to circles of friends, to the favourite team; they are professional people, workers, employees, shopkeepers, grandfathers who take their grandchildren or neighbours who take their own children and their friends' to a local celebration where it is good to be together, where people can experience and share strong emotions without harming anybody or damaging anything. At least, this is what they intend to do. These fans immediately leave the stadium when participating in the celebration becomes too dangerous and implies possible consequences for personal safety. And here Martin Luther King's phrase on "the appalling silence of the good people" comes back to mind.

On the other hand, ultras always choose to sit behind the goalkeeper. It is the worst place to watch the match, but they feel they are at the heart of the celebration and plunge into the fray – close to their beloved players. *The player is yours, yours only. You will protect him and touch him when you want to. You will covet him and enjoy his presence when he enthusiastically celebrates a goal, jumps over the fences and gets close to you. How rewarding, after so much frustration and last week's abuse – in real life, in work, in worklessness, in reality! Now you can enjoy yourself! Your pleasure is legitimate and your gang defends it because you are one of them.*

The Roman local government's project

This project was initiated following the town council's insistence. This council had approved a series of decisions against violence and racist banderols in the Olympic stadium on several occasions. The Roman press increasingly paid attention to this matter. Attention and receptiveness were growing stronger.

The City of Rome invited the Roma and Lazio football clubs, officers from the police headquarters, sports officials, police unions, education authorities/the "Academy Inspectorate", journalists (especially from private radio stations), members from social centres and some violent supporter groups to cooperate, so as to understand the context and to identify possible municipal action.

Manifestations of violence are not the work of fate; neither are they due to simple discontent. They rather seem to indicate group infiltration akin to the remains of political extremism – and I do not think this phenomenon is limited to the city of Rome. Most participants are well known by the police. They display racist and subversive slogans and choreographies and even cause real outbursts of violence.

On the other hand, when clubs had to face their responsibilities, they generally adopted an indifferent attitude or underestimated facts. They tended to "tolerate" violence, but their attitude has changed in part.

Relying on local authorities' specific task – preventing insecurity-related incidents – we launched a project consisting in large-scale consciousness-raising campaigns to stimulate supporters and young people to actively participate in the process. Our project also lays the foundations of a more careful intervention by training the major witnesses and people in charge and giving them specific skills for sports mediation.

To set our intervention back in context, I need to remind you of the law against manifestations of violence during sports events, which was passed on October 19, 2001. This law is about public order and sentence toughening matters, but does not provide for resources for local authorities that carry out prevention projects, though many municipalities and the City of Rome asked for it.

In Rome, we preferred intervening outside the stadium, in local areas, in social centres, in places where supporters meet, football fields and suburb sports associations; we focused on possible hooligans, on people who imitate hooligan behaviour and on population groups that can be contacted through schools and local sports events. We try to make the most of such events so as to get a message across to supporters and to offer them a new kind of participation in sports events.

This resulted in a primary prevention project, which consisted of external interventions (outside stadiums) and reflecting their impact inside stadiums. The project was submitted by the Mayor, in cooperation with Minister Melandri, who follows up its development. In this context, the municipality of Rome intended to launch a project aiming at investigating possible future intervention modes and at working out more specific instruments.

An approach based on cause analysis

If you consider most violent actors' young age, it seems obvious that the youngest – teenagers – are influenced by their environment, that they undergo stronger identity crises and, if they did

sport with an inappropriate attitude, that this activity can have an impact of their way to view football's spectacular phenomena.

Considering football interpretation modes and people's propensity to participate in manifestations of violence or not, we should wonder about the gratification individuals expect from such sports events:

- ?? Gratification through success only;

- ?? Gratification through participation.

The following motives are inappropriate:

- ?? Assert one's superiority;

- ?? Identify with the result;

- ?? Consider defeat unacceptable.

People who view sport in this way are obviously more inclined to commit violent acts, which depend on the match's expected result, not on the team's actual result.

The following motives are appropriate:

- ?? Put victories and defeats into perspective;

- ?? Find gratification in action;

- ?? Seek self-reward.

Sports activities cannot aim at asserting a subject or a team's superiority in comparison to others. Victory and defeat are temporary events; results are sometimes fortuitous. Beyond psychological, psychoanalytical, anthropological, social, economic considerations, we can bring out two essential reasons for such inappropriate motives:

- ?? Our contemporary disease, our desire for "appearance" or "possessing instead of being" – without any moralistic intention;

- ?? The sports system's crisis.

The sports system's crisis does not affect only Italy; it also hits the international system. Mass media have contributed to heighten victory, to finally turn it into a key conception and give it commercial value. Such football becomes an aggressive metaphor, considering its psychological and anthropological aspects. The stadium thus becomes a real battlefield and violence is turned into a form of ritualisation. For spectators, football becomes symbolically significant and implies specific communication; aggressiveness is turned into a form of mimicked, simulated fight. In reality, all concerned actors – players, spectators, journalists, the police – comply with identical rules, which cause aggressiveness to be transformed into violence instead of ability, competitiveness and emulation and to be ritualised. Active spectators form a complex organisation; controlled fanaticism is used as an autonomous forum for identification and social practices. Ritualised violence and the friend/enemy scheme provide us with a sense of group belonging. Ultra groups are informal but structured; they have hierarchical roles, assign tasks and enact behaviour rules. We must distinguish aggressiveness and violence. Aggressiveness is expressed through mimicked, ritualised actions; the word is derived from Latin "aggredior": to go up the stairs. Fanaticism is thus ritualised according to rules that are shared with other fan groups and aim at "going beyond" in order to forge ahead.

On the contrary, when fans turn to violent action, aggressiveness control and supervision are channelled towards destruction: ritual becomes destructive action.

Fanaticism meets young people's need for identity. Young supporters strongly need to feel they belong to the group. Their sense of belonging is methodically reinforced by violence so as to

reinforce identity – which is a marginal group's identity and allows young supporters to differentiate themselves from adults and shared rules.

Some initiatives focused on:

- 1) Providing 50 sports referees from sports clubs, schools, social centres, municipalities and Clubs with basic training;
- 2) Meetings and seminars in 19 municipalities with the Municipal School Sports Committees (territorial operation structure involving municipalities, education authorities – the “Academy Inspectorate” – and sports clubs); the Committees then organised meetings, interviews with young people, tournaments and debates in schools and sports centres and set up debates on the appropriate attitude towards sport;
- 3) An agreement with the “Academy Inspectorate” introducing the project and our watchword into its programmes, directives and the sports games it organised;
- 4) Two table football tournaments with 45 Roman Club teams (adults/supporters);
- 5) Five youth tournaments (schools, sports centres, etc.) with 80 teams;
- 6) Research work on “Roma” and “Lazio” ultras and on the major forms of groups and organisations;
- 7) An interactive web site allowing us to collect testimonies, to which experts responded;
- 8) A banner design contest for school pupils;
- 9) The Derby of the Heart and May 1 for Sport;
- 10) The presentations of the project's banners during some matches by pupils who participated in the contest;
- 11) Films (*Ultras*, for instance) showed in higher education establishments allowing us to organise debates and to promote meetings between young people and experts (psychologists, anthropologists, sportsmen).

How do we intend to progress in Rome?

Our project notably resulted in promoting the debate, attracting attention and above all, allowing informal leaders and referents to experiment on sports mediation – as mentioned before. This experiment must be considered at our territorial level: 2,5 millions inhabitants, 700,000 young people, 19 municipalities that account for two thirds of all county towns, etc. Such a project had to be supervised at the central level and must be seen as a first experiment. We should be inspired by it to better understand how we should proceed to the following steps.

We carried out informal experiments and used them as a link to conflict mediation. Our experimental project gave us the means to identify the phenomenon and understand the way to confront it.

Now we have to move on to the next step. Whereas macropolitics aims at working out, building and planning interventions, so-called “on-sight politics” consists in listening to citizens – young people and supporters, in this case. We must identify their expectations, their discontent and their motives so as to be able to rethink interventions with their cooperation, allowing them to become real protagonists, while following and educating them. We know that this is the right way; this is what we call: “participative security”.

Neither public order laws nor thousands of lined-up police officers, nor any sanction imposed by football clubs could solve the problem. So why would we not support young people's participative security and active testimony programmes? The Tamplere Council identifies such

operating programmes as one of the European Union's three priorities within the framework of preventive interventions against discontent and crime. These are contemporary events, which can turn into social urgency problems in some cases.

We should incorporate the prevention of violence in stadiums into a targeted programme for schools and youth associations and allocate municipal resources to small-scale projects on legal education, football violence, high-risk behaviour during adolescence, alcohol abuse and drug addiction, male chauvinism and school violence, internet video poker and chat addiction, so as to allow young people to work and to produce, to encourage them to make plans for the future and to allow them to have positive, self-controlled experiences under the supervision of adults, specially trained young people and experts.

Young Romans were surprised when we met them in schools and asked them: "Can you guess how many football fields in the suburbs, how many sports centres, how many gym halls in schools local authorities could build if they could save the 30 billion they have to spend annually on policemen and firemen's overtime during the Championship in Rome? Can you imagine the impact of vandalism and urban equipment destruction on our municipality's budget? Let's work together to improve your school's gym hall, commit yourselves to talk about this with your friends, with other supporters, with ultras, when you go to the stadium on Sunday. Wear a jersey with our project's slogans: 'Violence in stadiums kills football' and 'Have fun, everyone's celebrating!'"»

Laws are essential, of course, but football clubs must truly commit themselves. We have to make them understand that it is more profitable to support celebrating fans who choose cheap tickets and that violence costs must be paid by the community – while television rights remain the prerogative of football clubs that do not pay for security.

We still have to examine another question. Are police officers – including policemen who are mobilised each Sunday – trained to take on prevention and repression tasks, different mediation and contact tasks with supports and ultras?

According to some ultras we interviewed, travelling together in a police-escorted coach (which does not even stop to allow them to go to the toilet), waiting for hours before being allowed to enter the stadium and going out of it to avoid meeting rival supporters just strengthen aggressiveness and violent reactions. Let's analyse such phenomena and let's listen to experts' advice.

Lining up 1,000 riot-uniformed policemen during a derby gives the picture of an "armed" stadium, which frightens families and elderly people away. Police officers' communication and supporter behaviour interpretation skills should be improved. The police would then work as proximity police and would initiate a dialogue with supporters and spectators. In addition, harsh law enforcement is now emerging and affects young minors too, without considering rehabilitation possibilities and other solutions; we might lose them forever!

Suggestions

I hope our experience will prove useful. Stadiums gather numerous interests; collective imagination sees them as violent places. We must give them their entertaining, joyful calling again by implementing targeted measures such as special rates for students and older people.

We must promote the prevention of male chauvinistic phenomena in schools, in developing individuals' capacity to resist group pressure and reinforcing adolescents' psychological skills.

We must set up youth gathering places: when young people gather in joint, the socialisation level is low and messages may be violent. Many young people did sport, but stopped because they did not feel they corresponded to the proposed model; "if you cannot reach level 100, you are a nonentity and it means you are frustrated".

We must start from schools and local areas, from places where mass sport is done and where it turns out to be difficult to do it, by transmitting appropriate messages on sport.

We must convey intelligent, educational, modern, attractive messages thanks to hoardings, TV commercials and the Internet. The State and public bodies must feel obliged to take action too.

We could also consider some research work on high-risk groups and an anonymous study on all subjects who were taken in for questioning in police stations because of violent acts or in any case, during football matches.

Above all, local authorities must show the intensity of their commitment.

We must study man, masses, psyche and aggressiveness: how is it possible to remain serene even in the case of a defeat? How can we make all supporters realise that we have a clear, strong, positive, humane rule that is applicable to everyone, even to those who do not have rules?

Our attention must never slacken. Public authorities must implement programmes promoting research, activities and solutions likely to improve stadium's friendly atmosphere and relationships within groups – whether they are large or small groups. Authorities must always strive to promote civil and constructive friendliness, which is one of our society's basic principles.

B. Supporter Activities

Enhancing a Positive Culture among Spectators : The Fair Fans Project

Ronni ABERGEL

Danish Crime Prevention Council
Violence Prevention Unit
Denmark

Fair Fans is about what can be done to prevent violence through the official fanclubs. In this case all the Premier League teams fanclubs have decided to join an initiative that aims to prevent violence through sensitising fans to the behaviour of fans.

In short Fair Fans is a co-operation between police, danish football association, national crime prevention council, premier league clubs and especially premier league fan clubs.

A joint effort to create a more safe environment surrounding football matches and in general to ensure the safety of fans.

Football in Denmark

- ?? Premier League
- ?? 12 Football Clubs with more than 40.000 registered members
- ?? Fanclubs independent from football clubs
- ?? No Hooliganism
- ?? 6-8 radical groups
- ?? 75-100 active members (decreasing)
- ?? 2 groups with racist tendencies
- ?? Often very visible in media

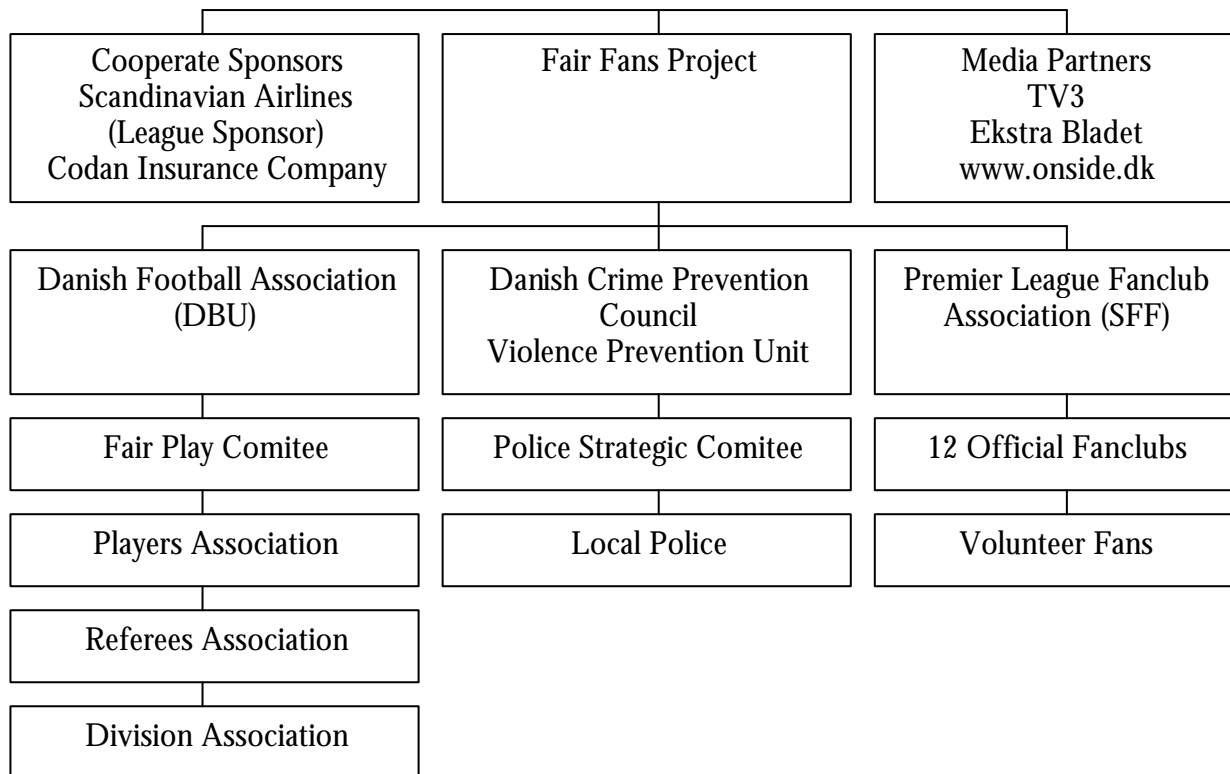
Mission

- ?? To encourage Fair Fans through co-operation with the official fanclubs
- ?? Promoting non violence and anti-discrimination as a way of supporting your team
- ?? Stating that a bad image for clubs fans = bad club image = bad business
- ?? Actively involving the large group of good fans by offering responsibility

How?

- ?? Fan Guides ensuring the youngsters safe passage to and from matches
- ?? Banners at matches
- ?? Fair Fans Patches for supporters team shirts
- ?? Fair Fans Events at 6 stadiums every leg
- ?? Fan Club League
- ?? Select players from all clubs appear in Fair Fans advertisements
- ?? Fair Fans Competition
- ?? Selfregulatory behavior
- ?? Fair Fan Cup 2003
- ?? Fan Greetings before each match

Project Overview



Information exchange

- ?? Fan Clubs inform local police and visiting club of how many fans can be expected
- ?? Dialogue with police regarding sanctions
- ?? Living up to the responsibility of excluding elements home and away by bringing stewards/spotters to away games
- ?? Participating in Police planning and threat assesments

Media Role

- ?? Media plays a key role
- ?? Too much publicity surrounding violent events before and after matches
- ?? Helping establish the identity of “violent groups”
- ?? Bringing fuel to a fire

Media’s NEW ROLE

- ?? No exposure to boost identity of group
- ?? Meaning little or no exposure to violent groups
- ?? No sensationalising the deeds of football bullies

Federating Supporter Associations and the Football Club

Louis SMAL

Liege Royal Standard Club
Chairman “Famille des Rouches”
Belgium

The most important thing for top football clubs is that there is a symbiosis between the club's management and supporters. Communication and the club's relationship with official supporter clubs obviously play a major role too.

The Fan Coaching Association has been doing remarkable work in Liege Standard Club for years. This supporter pedagogical reception and social supervision structure is managed by the City and makes it possible to channel supporters' behaviour and to prevent excesses. We are now far from past situations; incidents and acts of violence were indeed very frequent some years ago.

In addition, our club's management has decided to invest in relationship matters and appointed a director in charge of supervising relations with supporter clubs' different elements. This initiative materialised in an association called the “Famille des Rouches” (the Reds Family), which aims at federating supporter associations.

Personally, I am having an enriching contact experience with the different groups, especially with the Fan Coaching Association.

We believe that the most important things are to promote human contact and to initiate organised activities in the stadium during matches. It is important to provide supporters with the required financial means so as to allow them to organise their event, to show them that the club could not exist without them – in our money-conscious world. They must also be able to choose themes for their activities or tifos autonomously, on condition that they respect security requirements.

It is also essential to cooperate with competent authorities – the police and rescue teams. Consequently, communication between partners is fundamental in this context.

In any case, our aim is to re-create a relaxed, friendly atmosphere in our football stadiums.

Fans: another world?

Daniela CONTI
Progetto Ulrà – UISP
Italy

Progetto Ulrà was created in 1995, inside UISP of Emilia-Romagna (Italian “Sport for All” Association).

Our main objectives are defence of the popular culture of fans and the limitation of violence and racism through social work on and by fans.

Our work areas are as follows:

Documentation centre

We collect and catalogue documentation from all over Europe: books, fanzines, press cuttings, degree theses, magazines, photos and videos on fans and sport; material on violence, racism and youth cultures.

The centre is a real observatory on the fan's world and has become a meeting point for reading and researching for fans, supporters, scholars and students.

Information and communication inside the fans' world

We publish and spread information material on the rights and duties of fans. We also offer support to those groups requiring it, providing them with material on the excess of business in sport and informing them about different experiences abroad, proposing alternative actions (concerning new stadium models, the hyper-power of television in the programming of matches, on ticket price). We organise, or contribute to the organisation, of meetings between different fan groups on specific topics (new laws, ticket price, reduction of violence, etc.). Moreover, we propose, co-ordinate or support , initiatives for the defence of the popular culture of fans from an organisational viewpoint (against the criminalisation of fans and the excessive commercialisation of football).

Information and communication

We continuously work on informing and sensitising public opinion, which often considers the fan phenomenon only as a violent one, with the goal of offering a comprehensive and more complex analysis of the fans' world. The diverse actions performed include: meetings in schools, organisation and/or participation in conferences and seminars, interviews with media; realisation of exhibitions, videos, etc., production of articles and papers.

At an institutional level, we attempt to struggle against the idea that fans in stadiums are nothing but a problem of public order, while promoting the idea of fans as a social aggregation, which can produce violence, but which is surely a generator of enormous energies and sociality.

Mediation of conflicts

Progetto Ulrà considers itself as a centre for communication and comparison among the different subjects of spontaneous aggregation (fan groups, also rivals) and between fans and institutions.

For this reason, where possible and required, we try to operate as a mediator: both among different groups that are in conflict because of a misunderstanding, which can provoke trouble if it is not clarified, and between groups and institutions or the police in order to try to solve problems linked to conflicts (thanks to these meetings, unjustified punishments were sometimes removed).

Finally, we promote the development of aggregation centres for fans throughout Italy. These places should become structures of social intervention on the territory for the fans of a specific team; real centres of conflict mediation, of services and counselling for fans, with the goal of promoting aggregation and socialisation based on the values of the fans' popular culture.

Organisation of antiracist activities

We are a founder member of FARE (Football Against Racism in Europe), a network of European organisations, associations and fan groups engaged in the struggle against discrimination in football. We co-ordinate in Italy the initiatives of the Antiracist Week, a week of mobilisation to say "no" to racism in European stadiums.

Moreover, each year we organise the Antiracist World Cup, a highly appreciated manifestation, where for 4 days about 1,500 people from different countries, colours, religions, cultures and fan groups stay together to get to know each other, play football and have fun together.

Support for fans who follow the team abroad

At an international level, we work on supporting fans who follow their team abroad.

On the occasion of the European Football Cup of Euro 2000, we joined the Belgian and Dutch Governments in order to co-operate in building a Fan Embassy for Italian fans and streetwork, to provide assistance in the resolution of different problems that the supporters might encounter (tickets, accommodation, mediation, information), and for this opportunity we thank Belgium Fan coaching and Dutch Eurosupport.

A project was planned together with the English and German Associations for France '98, but was not realised due to lack of funds. With several of these organisations – the most structured in the area of social work with fans – such as English FSA (Football Supporter Association), German KOS (co-ordination of the German Fanproject) and Dutch Eurosupport, we have created a common idea in work methodology in order to create a real network (*Football Supporters International*).

The network has developed initiatives (such as the co-operation last year for matches, including Germany-England, Netherlands-England, England-Germany, England-Italy in Leeds and for the UEFA Cup match PSV Eindhoven-Leeds). It has created new projects in the perspective of the World Cup 2002 (with a specific multilingual web site and FSA workers who will go to Japan and Korea), and in the perspective of some European Cup matches or between national teams, but in particular for preparing the work for the two forthcoming competitions in Europe (Portugal 2004 and Germany 2006).

If we want to consider social work with fans, one must cite KOS's experience, which was the first organisation in Europe to construct social actions (since 1982!). KOS has significant experience that has inspired all the other organisations. The Germans were the first to reflect on the possibility of counselling and support during international competitions (Italy '90).

The FSA is the large organisation that first (on the occasion of Euro England '96) created (supported by the Germans) the Fan Embassy (a place where the supporters of a country can find support, information, assistance for problems related to their supporters status in a foreign country).

Eurosupport is the organisation, like Belgian Fan coaching, which organised and co-ordinated the social work activities during Euro 2000.

These are associations that exist and actually work in the optic of social work, unlike others which are not really structured.

When we talk about violence in stadiums, we can see that there are two types of interventions: on one hand, there is a paradigm linked to policing measures, such as repressive laws, which have the goal of maintaining public order, while on the other hand, there is the paradigm linked to social work.

These two paths have the same goals: to struggle against violence, but the first one is substantially based on a form of social control, repression and imposition; the second is based on damage limitation and works on slow but constant changes of mentality in young people, trying to make them become active protagonists of changes and stimulating problem awareness.

The first approach responds to emergency needs of control and public order, while the second works with a long-term vision, using streetwork tools in order to motivate fan groups or single supporters to gradually modify their attitudes and behaviours with increased awareness.

The two methodologies for facing the problem are not alternatives, but they have to function in parallel; they can't fuse one with another, but rather each maintains its autonomy.

The most recent European laws, such as those promoted by the Belgian Government (Preparatory Acts pursuant to Title VI of the Treaty of the European Union of 15th September, 2001) and the handbook with recommendations for international police cooperation (Council Resolution of 6th December, 2001) show scenarios that create ambiguity in the relationship between the two conceptions. It seems, reading between the lines, that those two dispositions stole the space for social intervention measures and promoted a scenario in which this kind of work is subjected to the police needs for control, targeting and spreading of information (normally reserved for social workers who operate in at risk areas).

Social work that is linked more with Security (with a capital letter) needs, and less autonomous in daily work seems the approach chosen by Belgian Fan Coaching association (also during Euro 2000).

The other organisations, like KOS and FSA, stress the need for complete autonomy in intervention and moment of dialogue. They criticise the total co-operation and confusion of roles with the police system.

Progetto Ulrà agrees with them because we believe that fans and the police are like two opposite worlds (with different cultures, rites and behaviours). Using a metaphor, they are like two different circles that touch themselves when the police from one side and the mediators from the other, activate a dialogue and a comparison. These two are the touching points of the circles, recognised and respected by their own worlds, which can create the mediation work. There is no confusion of roles where the policeman is half-fan (who risks losing the respect of other

colleagues) or the mediator half-policeman (who risks quarrelling with the fans), but there are two different figures that try to co-operate to find the best solution.

In this way we have a sort of a neutral zone where it is possible to insert those social activities previously mentioned .

In conclusion, in order to develop effective and efficacious violence prevention work, we believe it necessary to closely preview repressive laws and social actions, which recognise the popular culture of fans, to be able to insert positive values into the fans' world, mediate crisis situations and stimulate social activities.

This is the approach we intend to develop at a European level, together with the Germans, English, Dutch and also the Belgians, if they so desire, in prevision of the two large manifestations in Europe: Portugal 2004 and Germany 2006.

C. Community Involvement and Social Work in the City

Social Work Initiated by the Football Club in Urban Areas

Sébastien PAMPANAY

Lille O.S.C. Metropole
France

At the beginning of the 21st century, sport in general – football in particular – plays a major role in citizens' lives.

The LOSC Lille Métropole club wondered whether sport as a show (which is a city's media showcase) is still linked to citizens' sports activity; whether our daily action would enable sport to take on its educational and prevention roles and to act as a social regulator.

Nowadays, modern clubs must consider sport from several points of view that can correspond to the population's expectations and need for "competition, new practices and social action".

The City's elected representatives are interpellated and must face today's growing crime and exclusion. The City's sports actors are urged to take action, sports activities are considered to be an effective integration tool.

Implementing this policy of integration through sport, which brings professional players and children from the street together, creates a kind of social link. This requires financial resources, which must be fairly distributed among people in an acceptable way.

But sports activities will be likely to play their expected social role in the long term only. Project consistency and long-term human investment are the only elements that allow us to hope for success.

Our field experience indicates that for many young people who must face major financial difficulties, access to sport and more particularly to traditional sports facilities (clubs, associations, ...) is very difficult.

Consequently, our approach aims at providing youngsters with practice fields or moving to their living places, simply trying to enhance their daily lives and giving them quality moments. By offering them cultural and sporting activity spaces, by involving them in organisation and supervision tasks, we participate in re-socialising their living environment.

LOSC Lille Métropole has been working out a series of different activities for 6 sporting seasons. Such activities are meant to reach young people within their environment, by installing an inflatable football pitch on a proximity field; or by letting children come to the stadium for activities related to the professional team's matches – for example the football school and the goal keeper trophy.

Our initiatives

Pedagogical afternoons:

Football introductory sessions are organised by LOSC's technical managers for children from neighbouring social structures and from sports clubs.

This campaign's final event is the professional team's training session on the selected ground. Our aim is to allow small municipalities to receive top-level sportsmen and to encourage a direct relationship with a child from a remote area, far from the urban community.

From 1995 to 1999, we had 16 such afternoons and visited 14 municipalities. More than 1,800 children participated in these activities.

The goalkeeper trophy:

This activity is only meant for children who are not members of a football club. It is the Social Policy's key operation and can encourage "unstructured" youngsters to get closer to clubs and social structures in their area.

This shot-at-goal contest allows us to liven up local fields for four months each year.

From 1995 to 2001, 24 towns participated in the contest, i.e. 7,400 children in total.

The football school:

It is organised with the cooperation of the National Union for School Sport and of physical education teachers. This tournament is spread over four months and is meant for junior secondary school pupils (*Boys and Girls since 2000*) from public and private establishments. It enjoys growing success each year.

We have also been organising a competition for younger pupils for two years (*the Resourceful Kids' Contest*).

We organise forums and exhibitions on "Fighting Drug Addiction" during each meeting.

It was essential to give children who do not usually play football the opportunity to participate in a large-scale campaign within the school framework, with LOSC as a referent. This activity relies on LOSC's quality support and allows children who are members of football clubs and children who are not to play together.

From 1995 to 2001, 12,700 children participated in this activity, i.e. 35 metropolitan junior secondary schools each year on average.

Multisports holidays:

In partnership with the Lille Université Club, LOSC Lille Métropole cares for about 50 children from the city's underprivileged areas and offers them the opportunity to do multisport activities.

Such holidays are essentially meant for children who do not have the possibility to go on holiday.

From 1995 to 2000, we organised 121 training days for 5,247 children.

Inflatable football pitch activities:

These organised activities are meant for local youngsters and are set up in partnership with local social structures. We put up an inflatable football pitch or an inflatable table football game on a car park or a proximity field.

Inflatable equipment makes it possible to organise a normal football match on an area that is five times smaller than a normal field, but that is arranged originally. The aim is to make the game more technical, faster and more recreational. This activity is very attractive and very popular.

We have used such inflatable pitches 208 times and we have been to about 100 local areas since 1996. 17,950 children were given the opportunity to enjoy this activity in only 5 years' time.

Tickets for matches:

The LOSC Lille Métropole club provides social organisations, schools and sports associations with special-rate seats for each match at home. The seats are meant for the most underprivileged youngsters under 16.

From 1995 to 2001, more than 31,802 seats were distributed to Pas-de-Calais, Picardy and Belgian municipalities.

Other activities:

Curtain ups, sports days organised in cooperation with the juvenile judicial protection services, the quarters' tournament, the indoor football tournament, the quarters' Euro Foot competition, activities with the female participants, the FUTSALA, the CROSS UNSS's activities, LOSC's discovery days, Associations forums – these are activities we are proud of.

In total, more than 95,000 youngsters from 6 to 25 were able to come into contact with a professional football club.

We have felt growing support for our initiative for the last six years – from elected politicians, social actors, youth workers and sports coordinators, and from all youngsters who trust us and respect our hard work, friendliness and mutual respect values.

Our initiative is now considered an integral part of northern France's football scene.

Professional training opportunities and job creation:

In addition to all these activities, LOSC's social policy works as a professional training structure for sports activity coordination. For this purpose, trainees from the "sport intégration" and "BAPAAT" training courses have been assisting the Animation Sociale's youth workers' pool each summer for four years.

The youth workers' pool was created in 1995 and allowed some workers to find jobs as local authority employees for quarter coordination, the management of the city's climbing, roller skating and rugby activities and local field activity coordination; they sometimes also work on a mission related to prevention and security in Lille's public transport.

Conclusion

This new, large-scale policy, initiated by a professional football club, is almost unique in France and deserves to be encouraged so as to reinforce the different actors' enthusiasm.

The continuity of these activities is an indisputable factor of stability for the Club and the region. It is thus essential to pursue and extend such a policy in the future, or even to extend it to other sports organisations.

Football in Interaction with the Social Community

Steve SMITH

Program Football and Community
Leeds United
United Kingdom

Introduction

In describing to you the work that Leeds United, in partnership with 'Education Leeds', is doing with its fan base and its local community – that is, those most affected by having the Club on its doorstep – it's important to set the context for the work we do at Leeds United.

The Club is located in the south of the City: Inner South – 2nd most densely populated area of Europe – where the location of headquarters of finance and banking companies has created a lot of jobs.

Inner South would seem like a prosperous area – but that is not the case.

- ?? 45% of households rely on State benefit.
- ?? 8% unemployment.
- ?? 11.7% ethnic minority – mainly Asian, taking advantage of cheap terraced housing.
- ?? Only 15% of the workforce in local industry is from the Inner South Leeds area. The local population don't have the skills to access to newly created job opportunities.
- ?? 38% on FSM.
- ?? 43% of children fall below the National average at 11y.o. in English and Maths.
- ?? Many families have had negative educational experiences and therefore their expectation of what they get from the system is influenced significantly.
- ?? Main issues – mention racism / a hot bed for all the problems which surround the great game of football.
- ?? Right in the middle of all that, stands the massive edifice – Elland Rd. The home of Leeds United AFC. The place where dreams are made – the anthem, "marching on together".

Vogue to enter the field to a theme song / tune. In recent times we've had 'Fanfare for the Common Man' – 'Eye of the Tiger' – theme from the Rocky film – music which stirs the spirit and speaks of empowerment. And more recently Chumbawamba 'Tubthumping' – words: "I get knocked down – but I get up again – you're never going to keep me down..." The anthem can be heard echoing through the South Leeds community on matchday.

- ?? Not the experience of many people in South Leeds – who are economically and socially disadvantaged – who have not been able to maximise their full potential – who have had poor role models – who have been knocked down by circumstances, by lack of opportunity, and they have been disappointed. They have been 'knocked down' – and the have not "got up again". They've stayed down and reacted negatively to their lot.

And then comes a vision from within the Club. They develop something called Community United – which grows to be not just the only non-profit making dept. within the Club – but also

the largest department, with 40 staff. And the Club dedicates the entire underneath of the South Stand and develops it as a purpose built community education centre, which includes:

- ?? It works in partnership with existing educational establishments to enrich, extend and enable the individual
- ?? It provides an opportunity for learners to have a fresh identity, in a new setting, which vibrates with quality – and which stimulates them.
- ?? It provides a place where they encounter a relaxed atmosphere, a supportive system based on good relationships, with positive role models.
- ?? And it excites them!

The local community join something which makes them feel success by association – they are attracted and engaged by the power of the brand name – of the Club that's going places – young players with a 'no fear' attitude to their play – and a Club ethos that say's "we're young, we're learning together – and we're determined to be successful".

We have a simple message to our community – and we are beginning to gain their trust. We have got quite a number of hooks into them through schools, and community events. We spread the message about 'life-long learning' and show them that it can happen anywhere / any time / to anybody etc. We are beginning to engage the local community as partners. We are beginning to raise aspiration levels. After 4 years of operation we are beginning to affect a culture.

Move from a model which 'labels' individuals to one which empowers.

Use the principles of 'accelerated learning'

Hydrated brain in a secure and positive environment where there is a clear purpose.

Where we balance challenge and skills for each individual in order to motivate. In order to make learning achievable and winnable.

- ?? The importance of self esteem in the individual as part of the process of building well rounded citizens - and where that self esteem comes from.
- ?? Cannot underestimate the importance of how someone feels about themselves if you are going to re engage them and we are ideally placed in a Premiership Stadium, to provide the ingredients.
- ?? Balance skills and challenge.
- ?? Football which has the power to create negativity – has a great potential, when harnessed to be a positive influence.
- ?? Of course it was important not just to have the ideas, the vision, the philosophy – but also to have the funding partners to realise it all.
- ?? And also to have business partners to provide a vast range of 'in kind' support. Incentives / awards / goods and services.
- ?? The power of the brand which attracts the learner also attracts the partner –

Why should business partners want to be involved?

- ?? Warm feeling! It feels right to be doing it.
- ?? Helps achieve own objectives
- ?? Contribute to the brand profile
- ?? Brings high profile with key opinion formers, customers, the media
- ?? It provides a staff development opportunity
- ?? Added value for customers
- ?? Opportunity to develop a focussed approach to community investment – not an ad hoc reactive approach but one which is pro active and targeted

- ?? It enables them to develop a long-term partnership approach to community investment
- ?? Incentives for staff – eg tickets
- ?? It gives the business a positive profile

A quote from one of our key business partners: Lynne Walker, Area Manager, HSBC Bank

She said:

“I think everybody looks back - and there are turning points in their life. There was a day when something meant something when it didn't before. And I think for lots of the learners that come here – that's the day”.

Developed a Mentoring system to support the young learners involving 130 volunteers who act as role models and guides – both in the Centre and now brokering back in school. An incredibly supportive system.

- ?? So what do we actually do?
- ?? 6 days Playing for Success – out of school hours
- ?? 4 days PASS (Pupils Accessing Study Support) – during school hours
- ?? 3 days LTF (Learning Through Football)
- ?? 1.5 days anti-racism
- ?? Monthly UFA (University of the First Age) days
- ?? Holiday provision – Social Services. / Excellence Challenge for Gifted And Talented pupils.
- ?? Parents and Mentors – adult learners.
- ?? In addition to Princes Trust – 16 to 25 y.o. unemployed aim to give them key skills for life.
- ?? FitC
- ?? We harness that part of football which makes the game so attractive – we celebrate achievement.
- ?? We are ‘teaching’ a community to celebrate its achievements – how we do that. Presentation events and awards ceremonies.

The Staff Team (2 teachers shortly to become 4)

So does it work?

Hard evidence – the quantitative.

- ?? National and local evaluations show raised standards of achievement.
- ?? Better Standard Assessment Task results in schools.

Soft evidence – the qualitative.

- ?? Teachers report better school / parent relationships.
- ?? Adults engaged and returning to further training.
- ?? The first educational establishment in the country to become a ‘kite marked’ Established Study Support Centre.
- ?? This term 26 of our ‘mentors’ - young people accredited through OCN towards certification in ‘Voluntary Work’ – equivalent to GCSE.
- ?? We see a Club at the heart of its community. Engaged as a supportive partner. Interacting with its fan base.

The payback for the Club is considerable.

- ?? It has been calculated that the amount of positive publicity gained is valued at 5x the amount of investment in monetary terms.
- ?? Tackling some of the key issues through education – for example racism.
- ?? A community and fan base involved with the club.
- ?? Being involved with key opinion formers.

Programmes and Projects against Youth Violence and Juvenile Delinquency in Berlin

Heiner BRANDI
Sportjugend Berlin
Germany

About the Sportjugend Berlin Programme and its background

Sportjugend Berlin (or Sport Youth Berlin) is a youth organisation which is a part of the Sports Association in the German capital. Sport Youth Berlin is an umbrella organisation for 220,000 young people who are members of nearly 2000 sports clubs in the city.

Sport Youth is an interdisciplinary programme involving sports, youth work and social work for nearly 30,000 (disorganised) disadvantaged and underprivileged young people in the inner-city neighbourhoods of Berlin.

We are a non-government and non-profit organisation. We work in the interest of the public and are part of federal welfare system. Our financial resources come from our own capital, various foundations and public money earmarked for programmes and projects in youth and social work. Our staff is composed of individuals from a wide range of professions, e.g. social workers, sport instructors, mobile teams of field workers and teachers. Assisting the professional staff is a support team of almost 400 young volunteers.

The objective is to provide young people with opportunities to develop their personal abilities and social skills and to help them to solve the problems in their everyday life.

To this end, an integrated network of leisure time programmes and projects for the social and pedagogical support of young people have been developed.

The dual aim of these projects is to also prevent crime, violence and racism.

An overview of the programmes and projects in the prevention of violence

Sport Youth operate in over 20 local youth centers in socially disadvantaged areas of Berlin and in quarters with a high percentage of migrants.

The local youth centers offer open space opportunities, group activities and sports.

Instructors and child and youth care workers collaborate closely with sports clubs in the neighbourhood and with schools and other social institutions. We call this: community approach with a high level of informal education.

Teams of field workers are mobilized to specific areas. They carry out outreach work, pedagogical intervention and prevention in difficult cases.

One of these teams is called "Youth Create Adventure Spaces".

This team designs and constructs playgrounds and sports facilities wherever possible in the midst of an urban environment. Local young people participate in the planning and working processes.

This network of different prevention programmes is aided by a youth educational center. The center provides young people with a set of useful social skills and key qualifications.

The educational center prepares youths with qualifications for volunteer jobs and offers courses in mediation, methods in social work and in the prevention of violence, crime and racism. It offers career counseling and assists young people in the entry to the job market. Above all, we aim to empower young people with the will to undertake social responsibility in their community.

Also, integrated into the network is the Fan Coaching Project which addresses sports fans involved in the hooligan scene, “Ultras” and other problematic behaviours.

However I do not wish to dwell on the work of the Fan Coaching Project right now.

There are two reasons for this: the Berlin Fan Coaching Project is comparable to other projects in Europe which is developed in this publication.

The Berlin Fan Coaching Project is part of the political measures implemented in the prevention of violence around football matches endemic in Germany. Fan Coaching Projects are partially financed by the communities, where first and second league football clubs play and the German Football Association.

The other reason is that youth violence and crime is not solely a problem of football fans. It is a symptom of something more insidious and serious in the day-to-day life of young people - what leads me to my last item.

A selected example: Kick – sport and youth work against juvenile delinquency

After the wall came down, we had a dramatic increase in the rates of delinquency in Berlin, most of which occurred among the younger population, specifically robbery, violence and gangs of thieves.

To counteract this development the Berlin parliament set up a special political programme called “Youth with Future - Against Violence and Crime.”

The Kick Project was founded in 1991 as a complementary measure to the programme.

The idea originated from a police officer. The idea was very simple but, nevertheless, effective.

In most cases, delinquent behaviour is thought to arise out of boredom, frustration, aggression and for the lack of opportunities in daily life or the future, or both.

By integrating youths into sports clubs and the various projects of our network, Kick guides young people towards a meaningful use of their free time.

We work to stabilise their situations and help them to find prospects for their future.

Close cooperation between police, sports and social work in the neighbourhood has made it possible for juvenile delinquents detained by the police to meet up with Kick workers.

After having gone through the interrogation process, the police tells the youths about the Kick Project and how they can participate.

It is important to mention that the young people join Kick on a voluntary basis. They are not forced to participate nor are they punished if they refuse.

The starting point of our pedagogical concept is that young people attend the Kick Program as a way to help themselves cope with their day-to-day problems in life and to have something to fill up their free time.

Their primary concerns are:

- ?? school
- ?? delinquency
- ?? work or unemployment and
- ?? parents.

Very often sports is the key that opens the door to the recognition these problems. Since sports is very attractive to young people, it allows you to reach disadvantaged or delinquent young people and to build up trusting relationships between the sport instructors, the social workers and the clients.

Here at Kick we try to find out about the background and current situation its clients are in. Then we create strategies which identify, help and support for them – depending on their individual needs.

At this point Kick very often cooperates with the Fan Coaching Project because most of the problems that such fans have are similar to those of the delinquent youths in the Kick Project. However, there are times when Kick can't help.

But the fundamental methods used by Kick youth workers and sports instructors in such cases are counselling and assisting young people to find support from other institutions or specialists in the social and educational field.

Finally, some results:

The criminality rates of young people in Berlin has decline significantly in the last five years. Hooliganism and hard-core fan behaviour as well have decline.

This is not only a result of the Kick Project or the Fan Coaching Project. It is combined with other measures and prevention strategies of the police as well as other authorities in Berlin.

Nevertheless the Fan Coaching Project and especially the Kick Project have a very prominent status in the network of violence prevention and the social integration of young people.

D. Integrated Approaches to Security

Risk Management and Spectator Safety

John DE QUIDT

Football Licensing Authority
United Kingdom

The basic premise is that spectators have the right to enter any stadium, knowing that:

- ?? they will be protected from harm;
- ?? they will be welcomed everywhere without discrimination and with the same courtesy;
- ?? they will be made aware of what is permitted and what is forbidden.

To this end, the stadium's management, the police, the fire brigade, the first-aid department and local and government authorities must cooperate and implement a common strategy and a consistent and integrated programme. Above all, actors must guarantee the balance between security measures (maintaining law and order) and safety measures (spectator protection).

Responsibilities

All actors should grasp the extent of their own responsibilities, but also of the others' responsibilities. In England, the stadium's management is responsible for spectator reception and protection. As clubs usually own stadiums, club chairpeople are consequently personally responsible. It is essential to identify responsible people so as to avoid confusion, chaos and catastrophes. And we may say there were quite a lot of catastrophes in Great Britain.

Safety is not imposed by any external force. The people in charge must be convinced and act without any reservation. All staff members should have a safety culture so as to be able to identify and solve any problem before it becomes serious.

Each club should draft a document identifying its policy and procedures so as to guarantee spectators' safety. This document would also define each person's responsibilities. Setting a policy in writing will enable actors to realise whether theirs is a real, effective policy.

For the same reason, the club should assess potential risks that could threaten spectators' safety. The probability of incidents and their consequences should be clearly identified: not only should major risks – such as terrorist actions, fire, collapsing stands – be considered, but minor events should also be foreseen – power failures, spectator's late arrivals, fake tickets, cancellation of the match due to bad weather conditions or a spectator's heart failure.

Personnel

Implementing a plan requires personnel. Each club has a safety manager for its stadium. This manager needs competent and well-trained personnel: stewards.

Stewards must be able to take their responsibilities in a calm and fair way so as to be respected by spectators. We found that female stewards are often perfectly adapted to the role. They are able to control spectators without confronting them.

Not everybody can work as a steward. A 16-year-old boy or an old man with a walking stick could not do the work. Stewards must be healthy and good-tempered. Neither fascists nor fighters can be hired – nor fellows who will run away as fast as they can when a spectator cries wolf.

In Great Britain, the emphasis is laid on the fact that stadiers must not be supporters who wish to watch the match. Stewards are forbidden to sport the club's badge or to celebrate when the team scores. Stewards must indeed remain vigilant at such very specific moments. They are also required to subscribe to a code of good conduct. They must treat all spectators with the same courtesy and avoid any rude words or obscenities.

The police

The police will always keep their essential role in stadiums. They will remain responsible for maintaining law and order, crime prevention, troublemakers' detention and traffic control.

Formerly, the police were asked to care for spectators' safety. Nobody felt responsible for this work. There was a vacuum that only the police could fill. This remains true in many countries. But police officers are not stewards; they have not been trained to receive spectators. This is not their role.

Nowadays, clubs and the police sign a written agreement at the beginning of each season. This agreement specifies the person in charge of each task. For instance, will stewards or police officers be responsible for body searching or palpating? Stewards are, in Great Britain – since the stadium is owned by the club.

Common philosophy and policy must be agreed on, especially between the safety manager and the police. For instance, if organisers want to create a relaxed atmosphere inside the stadium, the situation must be similar outside. If not, the balance between safety and security can be lost, which would have very serious consequences.

Rules

Spectators are entitled to know what is permitted and what is forbidden in advance. And rules must be applied in a fair, logical, consistent way. Spectators who are good citizens might overreact if they feel they are treated unfairly. When two cultures confront each other and people do not understand each other, the conflict can get worse.

This system is strengthened by criminal sanctions against the small antisocial minority. In Great Britain, it is strictly forbidden to enter the grounds, to throw objects, to shout or to sing in a racist or rude manner.

The court can decide to expel people who are found guilty of a criminal offence during a football match for a specific period of time. The court can order people to present themselves at the police station when the match is supposed to begin. In addition, the club's authorities themselves – as the stadium's owners – can expel a spectator who behaves badly.

Facilities

But rules alone do not create a friendly atmosphere. Stadium management must be considered in its entirety. I refer not only to the control system, but also to all stadium elements that can affect spectators' pleasure, for instance its plans and layout.

The stadium must be adapted to its function. Does it allow the security team to effectively control spectators' entries and exits, comings and goings as far as comfort and safety are concerned? Does the architect understand spectators' movements? Did he consult the people in charge of influx management? Or does he seek to build the most impressive stadium in the world? The Titanic was a wonderful ship... but Noah's ark was built by the man who was to use it.

In Great Britain, spectators' entries are very strictly controlled. For each stadium, local authorities determine a maximum capacity, which accounts for its physical condition and safety quality. An electronic system registers the number of spectators in each sector. These data are displayed on a screen in the control centre, where the safety manager and the police chief – or their deputies – are working. The centre also houses all surveillance and communication systems, above all, video camera displays. The value of these cameras is inestimable in spectator safety and order matters. They enable the safety manager and the police to watch over the crowd and identify potential problems before they become serious.

Security officers should also consider where spectators will be coming from and what means of transport they are going to use. The situation is complex if people who walk must use the same way as cars, or, outside the stadium, if people from the city have to meet people who come from the motorway. Carefully defining in advance where each group is to be placed in the stadium can normally prevent this type of situation.

It would be an illusion to believe that all spectators will know where they need to go. Clear and effective information boards and ticket notices can make it possible to avoid congestion outside the stadium. During the 2000 Championship, each sector had been decorated in a single colour. It was so simple and effective.

Seat arrangement contributes enormously to safety and security in stadiums, because it influences spectators' behaviour.

Far fewer spectators are injured in stadiums where only seating places are available than in stadiums where standing is allowed. Let us consider Liverpool's old famous Kop: during each match, there were 10 to 25 injured spectators in this stand. Now, in the entire stadium, only about 3 or 4 spectators need first-aid posts – and the majority of them are sick people.

Individual seats provide each spectator with their own room. This is crucial for women, children and older people. It is more comfortable and civilised. We should ask ourselves a very important question: whom do we want to attract into stadiums? Are stadiums only meant for sturdily built young men? What about women, children, elderly and disabled people? Do they not have the same right to take part in the match comfortably and in complete safety?

Other elements can influence the atmosphere. How would it be possible to create a relaxed atmosphere inside a fenced cage-like stand?! Spectators will not react positively if they feel they are treated like dangerous animals. Wire nettings should not be tolerated; in places where they are used, they should be removed cautiously. Only when an integrated security and safety system is set up, does it become possible – and imperative – to remove nettings. This is the ultimate target.

One last element can affect the atmosphere, but management tends to ignore it: the quality of facilities, such as restrooms and refreshment areas. Luxury is not needed, but if you are confronted with unhealthy restrooms, you cannot imagine that the club cares for your safety. What about women's restrooms? Their absence sounds like a subliminal message: "Ladies, stay home! We want only boys here!".

Nowadays, about 15 percent of spectators are women in Great Britain. Football attracts new supporters. Each club maintains a sector for families with children. They are the supporters of the future.

As a conclusion, effective prevention requires:

- ?? stadiums' good condition;
- ?? a friendly atmosphere;
- ?? clear task distribution and responsibilities;
- ?? safety systems with video cameras and stewards;
- ?? a good balance between safety and security.

Before anything else, we must work together and have a common aim, else we will be thrown into difficulties – all together.

Maintaining Law and Order: Police Practices

Jacques JACQUEMART

Federal Police, Liege
Belgium

Preamble

Police field experience in Liege is based on 15 years of police action at the STANDARD de LIEGE club.

Police practitioners know that police action is not a strictly scientific process, but it is more like a series of trials and errors that are progressively amended. Police responsibility can thus be considered tantamount to receiving a series of slaps in the face that help you improve.

The action's general background

? ? Together

Even if police action mainly aims at ensuring security, we should not forget that sport's first objective is to allow people to meet – actors in the field, spectators in the stands. We keep on dreaming of stadiums where so-called rival supporters will be together again in the terraces and they will get together with players after the match for a collective celebration!

? ? Generalisation

97 % of supporters are “good supporters”... who must be protected so as to allow them to be present at the event that they are entitled to see. Too often, in reaction to incidents, police officers intervene without proper judgement against the crowd; as a result, all supporters tend to side with the minority (*hooligans*) against the police.

? ? Removing all sense of responsibility

Seeing all supporters as a homogeneous mass might lead to simply consider all of them as idiots. They are given orders as if they were irresponsible, or infantile advice as if they were stupid. However, some people among them might be a great support if we managed to stimulate, or simply encourage them.

? ? Two levers

Using two circumstance-related levers can guarantee most improvements.

The first lever is the will and the energy all actors and people show after a serious accident – especially if it becomes the focus of media attention. We should not let this energy fade before we take improvement measures.

The second lever appears as a major event (*such as EURO 2000*) draws nearer. All those who want to take part in the event open their minds to new ideas, open their energy reserves and their budgets.

? ? *The club*

Though it is the first concerned, it is far from being the first actor. Clubs indeed consider security measures as a necessary evil – such measures are too expensive and should be met by official authorities. In the past, club leaders (who were generally amateurs at that time) were indeed penniless; nowadays they handle considerable budgets, but pretend to be hindered by commercial requirements.

? ? *“Commuter trains”*

At first, individual comings and goings around a stadium give an impression of terrible chaos and people seem to move at random. But if we take a closer look, we can see that there are rules, that each individual always keeps the same place, follows the same timetable, meets the same neighbours, etc. like in a commuter train!

If the police take the trouble to discover these habits and rituals, they will be able to better target action against hooligans without disturbing spectators too much – and thus making an ally of them, if only passively. To achieve this, it is necessary to be present regularly and to listen/observe.

? ? *Every week*

Not being present regularly is a “tactical” drawback for the police, while hooligans are present every week (*at home and away*). Hooligans know the field perfectly, as well as police methods (*they frequently send ahead youngsters who want to get themselves accepted by the group*) and they try to take them by surprise in organising very violent, short incidents.

? ? *A 3-step cycle*

Before they turn to violent action, almost all hooligans need to be challenged, to be victimised or to feel resentment that arouses their spirit of revenge. In this context, each match is a third step to them – the first two steps being:

?? the first leg against the same team;

?? the previous season’s match against the same team.

If we do not know what happened during these previous matches, we are unable to anticipate the hooligans’ “legitimate revenge” acts.

Space management

? ? *Division*

Several years ago, some stadiums were surrounded with car parks or unfenced waste land (*whose ground was strewn with all sorts of projectiles*) that delighted hooligans when the police attempted to intercept them. It is imperative to fence in as many plots as possible in collaboration with institutions, clubs and even private actors – but without creating bottlenecks, which could cause dangerous situations and/or increase tension.

? ? ***“Pie quarters”***

Whereas supporters generally move within a radius “between their home to the field” (*see previously mentioned “rites”*), hooligans rather tend to move around the stadium in search of cronies, rivals or to observe the order service’s organisation.

During each high-risk match, it is useful to place obstacles to hinder such circular movements, dividing up the stadium’s surroundings into “pie quarters” based on the stands’ organisation and the different supporter clans’ routes. Technical means are varied: patrols, empty busses, containers, embankment, fences, ...

? ? ***Think positive***

It would be useless to give supporters new grounds for remonstrance. In addition, supporters tend to behave better if they are well treated. With all partners’ cooperation, it is imperative to care for quality lighting, sanitation, aesthetic aspects, signalling, available food and drinks in each compound, to make sure that no projectiles can be found, ...

? ? ***Stadium facilities***

Facilities standards in Belgium are set by the Royal Decree of June 2, 1999 that specifies that each stadium must be controlled at least once a year by a commission, which always includes police representatives.

People management (in general)

? ? ***Actors (managers/players/personnel)***

Their attitudes can greatly affect supporters: players making obscene gestures, behaving in a violent or provocative way by climbing onto the netting; rude controllers, carrying out ineffective body searches, turning a blind eye to let friends enter for nothing; and such problems concern managers too: lack of respect for safety rules in ticket matters, lack of information to supporters, provocative price increase against rival supporters, trainers or directors uselessly mingling with the aggressive crowd, ... Such behaviour could potentially lead to incidents, to which the police try to draw these actors’ attention. The police’s attempt to advise actors and to punish them if necessary (*1998 Football Law*) although they know a productive climate of cooperation makes it possible to reach better results faster.

? ? ***Spectators***

Spectators are the people the event is organised for – at least, it is what they think... And they sometimes pay extremely high prices to get tickets. As a consequence, they expect to be respected and want their opinion to be taken into account.

Permanent mobility and security rules (whatever the match’s risk level may be) are likely to prevent them from feeling “trapped” during high-risk matches. Even if some supporters are violent, the vast majority of supporters is not and we should involve them more in our fight against hooliganism by encouraging positive solidarity.

For instance, material incentives can stimulate the setting up of supporter clubs. Supporters will then carry out their own social control within clubs, and this will allow us to better

locate them during away matches. A good means to achieve this would be to increase the number of security car parks for supporter coaches in the proximity of stadiums and to couple ticket sales to the obligation to come by coach.

? ? *Professionals (peddlers/bars/coach drivers/public transport)*

They are in charge of supporters' comfort and increase supporters' satisfaction. But doing this, they should not reinforce high-risk situations: ban on alcohol and hard containers, separate routes for rival supporters, stops close to the stadium, ...

? ? *Residents*

Residents cannot be forced to like football and to watch matches. In order to prevent tensions between residents and supporters, we take care to respect their mobility so as to allow them to go out and to have friends to dinner, to prevent cars from parking on the pavement in front of their houses, to avoid supporters' movements in residential areas, ... As far as public health is concerned, peddlers must provide enough bins and rubbish must be collected very early the next morning.

? ? *Rioting demonstrators*

During very publicised events (*ex: EURO 2000*), young people from underprivileged areas tend to reinforce supporters' hard cores – out of frustration or opportunism. Both social activities and police control measures (*in-depth safety zones*) are likely to weaken such groups.

Partners

? ? *The police*

Like clubs, police services do not have unlimited financial resources. Attempting to decrease the necessary workforce essentially depends on four main lines:

- ?? Giving police officers, especially senior officers, better training so as to improve the quality of interventions while decreasing the global workforce; this training consists both in learning techniques and in drill and exercises in the field so as to improve officers' stress resistance;
- ?? Since knowing the place and the actors is essential, services are always organised so as to guarantee that teams are always made up of the same officers; they thoroughly inspect the stadium and its surroundings and have precise plans at their disposal;
- ?? Contrary to what we might suppose, supporter police officers are not fit to maintain order in such situations: they might be tempted to watch the match and tend to forget hooligans; they are likely to be prejudiced against such "football louts" and lack objectivity and could fail to their duty of confidentiality. It is thus better to bring in volunteers who are interested in the mission, not in the game itself;
- ?? Assessing the danger also requires effective communication; to improve communication, (*in addition to regular exchanges of statutory forms*) we privilege systematic debriefing sessions and direct contact with our counterparts at the

international level, through participating in forums or bilateral exchanges during specific matches.

? ? *Rescue teams (fire brigade and medical teams)*

They are special – and essential – partners both during facilities preventive controls and for reactive interventions. Close cooperation makes it possible to create a very friendly atmosphere and real mutual trust.

During matches, they stand at the police's side (*together with organisers*) in the control centre. We also make sure that all partners use the same plans.

? ? *Non-police organisations*

The first one is the “fan coaching association”. We have been supporting it morally since it was launched in 1990, because “truncheon policing” cannot solve all problems (*and certainly not in the long term*). The historical distrust between the police and social workers first had to be overcome so as to allow each party to get to know the other and to make sure they did not undermine the other's work unintentionally.

The current cooperation indicates that active collaboration developed between the police and the fan coaching association in order to analyse and acquire knowledge on hooliganism.

We should also mention all technical services working on signalling, lighting, creating car parks, installing improvised obstacles, ... We cannot emphasise enough the importance of these services in creating a non-violent atmosphere. In this case too, it is necessary to take the time in order to create a climate of cooperation and mutual respect.

Let's also mention the local public transport, an efficient partner that should not be ignored – notably when violent or non-violent supporters have to be transported off the cuff on the occasion of an international match.

Under some circumstances, local transport is the perfect complement of railway transport. We do not use it for national events anymore: whereas it allows us to locate visiting supporters in space and time, it necessarily brings all supporters together and helps create synergies between “good supporters” and hooligans. However, railway transport has some clear advantages for international matches, especially if we can couple it with an intermediary station outside the town.

The last association we would like to mention is the “Famille des Rouches” (*the Reds Family*), a supporter association, which is the subject of these talks.

Remark

To improve dialogue between all partners (*ranging from the club management to non-police organisations, to residents, ...*), Belgium has an interesting tool: the Security Advisory Council (*Conseil Consultatif de Sécurité*).

It was set up by the Royal Decree of June 15, 1999 and regularly calls security actors, residents and prevention actors together. All members can freely express their views on any subject, which neutralises many previous tensions. This Advisory Council notably worked out a Security Charter.

The hard core

The hard core of violent supporters is naturally the action's main (almost unique) target. In this respect, several complementary, sometimes simultaneous steps are needed:

- ?? Knowing them: the police's knowledge of the hard core was too long limited to rumours, to press information, to hasty judgement. It is now necessary to organise action so as to collect relevant data; this is mainly to be done through spotters, systematic assessment reports and exchanges with special partners.
- ?? Deterring them: since violent acts cannot be prevented, positioning uniformed police officers at key points makes it possible to move violence away towards places where we think it will be less dangerous; in addition, if hooligans notice plain-clothes policemen (spotters) who know their identities, they refrain from committing violent acts or move to a place where they can act anonymously.
- ?? Objectifying: hooligans seek violence. If there are no rival hooligans and we give them police officers to beat up, they reach their aim. The best weapon is thus neither a truncheon nor a water cannon, but an individual sanction before a judge. For that purpose, evidence means must be developed: photographs or videos, special teams for statements of offences, investigating officers available during the week after each match; the prosecution should also be made aware of the problem and a specialised magistrate should be appointed and be present at matches.
- ?? Sanctioning: the next step (*mainly in charge of the specialised magistrate*) aims at making judges aware of the gravity of committed acts – even if they are just minor offences in everyday life – and at imposing concrete and quick sanctions that affect hooligans (*such as banning such supporters from stadiums and obliging them to “sign on” at the police station during the match*).
- ?? Giving the right to make mistakes: after the sanction is served, we must be able to forgive, to give a second chance (*after what was a youthful mistake, according to some*); for lack of understanding, the number of hooligans could keep on increasing.
- ?? Sublimating: it remains nonetheless obvious that many young people need action and rushes of adrenaline; they need to have fun and to be noticed by the group. In this respect, psycho-social action, like Fan Coaching's action, ideally complements police action. In this context, all organised activities – that young people call “Tifo” – must be promoted and encouraged, while carrying out necessary security controls.

All steps of the investigation into such hard cores should ideally – but not only – take place in cooperation with spotters. Spotters' action notably implies “living together”. Spotters do not act like cameras pointing at hard cores; they take seats in the stands, together with hooligans, have talks with them (*they do not work undercover*) and above all, they accompany groups during away matches (*we all know that we naturally tend to get closer to our fellow-countrypeople when we are abroad*).

Even if spotters' action is not completely without danger for their physical integrity, we may say that the openness of their work at least allows them to create a kind of mutual respect, which guarantee their safety.

While implementing strategies and measures related to the local hard core and the visiting hard core, actors should remain aware of possible “reinforcements”. Other (*national or*

foreign) hard cores can indeed reinforce hooligans according to the national schedule (*no other match on the same day*) or to possible alliances. Such “external” reinforcements often prove to be more dangerous than the competing clubs’ hooligan hard core.

2002 World Cup

In Japan, as it was already the case in the USA, the 2002 World Cup’s organising country is not familiar with “European” hooligans’ operating modes. Under such circumstances, the police sometimes tend to be too wary, or even nervous towards all supporters – whether they are hooligans or not.

On the contrary, potential hooligans show themselves to be very wary, even cautious, because they do not know the local police’s operating modes. In addition, travel expenses and the loss they would have to face if they were turned back early encourage them to remain quiet.

In fact, the most frequent problems are based on cultural rituals: “good supporters could let themselves go (*especially when alcohol helps to celebrate*), express themselves immoderately because they are used to the European police’s progressiveness. Since the hosting country’s policemen are on the defensive, have to work in an unusual context and are not able to judge supporters’ behaviour pertinently, they might intervene at the wrong moment.

In such a context, in addition to combating possible hooligan acts, spotters’ main role will be to enter into dialogue with the hosting country’s police as well as with foreign supporters so as to provide them with mutual information and to lessen risks of culture-related incidents. We could put forward that stewards and social workers could do the job; but local authorities tend to have more confidence in police officers.

By way of conclusion

Such police field practices – as tried out in Liege – are a real step towards more supporter safety. They aim at protecting supporters from danger when they come to stadiums and allowing them to come back with their families.

Information Management as a Prevention Support for Security

Henk GROENEVELT

Centraal Informatiepunt Voetbalvandalisme
Netherlands

The history and the set-up of the CIV

In 1984 questions were asked in the Dutch parliament about the approach to football hooliganism. At the time the ministers of the Interior and of Justice agreed that they would take a co-ordinated and integrated approach. It was also indicated that the integrated approach would depend on all parties getting the information they needed. To realise this it was decided to form a national information centre. This information centre was to collect information on methods used by the police, on the various organisations – like local authorities, the police, the Crown Prosecution Service, the Dutch Football Association (the KNVB), the clubs and Dutch Railways. In particular it would focus on measure taken, match schedules etc. It was to be an accessible information point for all co-operating organisations.

In 1985 the Mayor of Utrecht – in his position as director of city police – offered the minister of the Interior to bring the central information unit under the umbrella of the Utrecht police. And that is what eventually happened on 1 March 1986.

Organisational embedding of the CIV in the Netherlands police service

In 1993 the whole police set-up was re-organised. We then had 165 independent municipal forces and the national police were converted into regional police with nationwide, back-up services. The Netherlands now has 25 police regions and one national region. The regions are autonomous and are financed by the ministry of the Interior.

The national region is in fact a nationwide back-up service of specialities. These include air police, Interpol, highway police, national criminal databases etc. Almost all the nationwide services or specialities come under this nationwide region. But the CIV has been left with the Utrecht regional police force.

In terms of content the head of the regional police has no say about the CIV. He is responsible for management. In other words the police has no say about the CIV. He is basic conditions that enable CIV to function smoothly – like finance, personnel policy and so on. The ministry of the Interior gives the Utrecht regional force funding exclusively for the CIV.

Following the 1993 reorganisation, there was structural consultation involving all the regional police chiefs, with the objective of fine-tuning the details. Each police chief was given a special area of attention. So the head of the Gelderland-Central force got the football hooliganism portfolio. In fact, he directs the CIV and the CIV is his advisor on issues around football hooliganism. He also has a sort of sounding board called the Football Advisory Group. This includes a number of senior police officers, from several regions. All them are experts.

We have a very pragmatic relationship with the ministry of the Interior. Like in many countries the ministry of the Interior is directly responsible for the whole police service – and the CIV is a police department. But unlike other police departements we interact directly with the ministry of the Interior. We don't have to go via a senior officer.

Strictly speaking, in formal terms, the ministry of the Interior has no authority on the CIV. But as we work very closely together, and because of the frequent questions from the politicians, in practice we see this ministry as a “client”. We advise the ministry of the Interior directly – without the mediation of the responsible chief of police. Certainly, we inform him, but with our more-or-less independent position, we do not exclusively represent the police standpoint.

The organisation of the CIV

As head of the CIV I’m responsible for the unit. Our team also includes policy staffers, one person specialising in operational contacts, two analysts and a secretary. That brings the CIV up to the team of 6 we have today.

An evaluation of the position, tasks, manpower and desired quality is planned for this year. And it is quite possible this evaluation may recommend one or two more reinforcements.

In the Netherlands there is an agreement that every professional football club has its own police officer. He or she is responsible for safety measures at matches. We call them “football co-ordinators”. They know their clubs inside out. The same goes for the supporters in local town. They are our most important information “users” and sources of information. There is an intensive exchange of information and the CIV gives support where necessary.

For the co-ordinators the CIV is also a source of information on national and international policy. And, sometimes the CIV is used to raise certain issues nationwide.

Twice a year, in January and August, we organise a conference with the co-ordinators. This is to discuss problems and clarify new regulations. Usually we invite a guest speaker to shine some light on an issue – or to confront these officers with an alternative approach to a problem.

In short, we have quite a good and intensive contact with the football co-ordinators. Indeed, we talk on the phone almost every week.

Tasks of the CIV

The integrated approach to the problem – which the government backed in 1984 – received an extra boost in 1997. On 23 March 1997 Ajax and Feyenoord supporters made a date to meet up for a fight, on the way to a match. Despite a large police presence, it was not possible to prevent a confrontation. The two groups attacked each other in a field next to the highway. This resulted in one dead Ajax supporter. This was unacceptable for the government and all the other parties involved in combatting football hooliganism.

They got together and made solid agreements. These were set out in a policy document, the Policy Framework for Combating football hooliganism and violence. At the heart of these agreements was the so-called “chain-approach”. The measures and the parties responsible for them were clearly set out. And the starting point was that the measures should be mutually tuned. The principle was that the chain is only as strong as its weakest link. And, on this basis, any party could call on any other party to observe its responsibilities.

Alongside the usual tasks of collecting information according to the mentioned Policy Framework, the CIV was also given a central role in monitoring compliance with certain agreements. The CIV is seen as a friendly spider in the web of information resources, and it has to be aware of the various national and possibly international agreements.

Partly due to the events of 1997, the CIV was also given a number of additional tasks. The present tasks of the CIV are:

1. *Collecting and distributing information on a national and international basis*

Their actual content must be reasonably clear to everyone. Over the course of time we have acquired a lot of data. This also covers the clubs and the way foreign supporters behave. At the national level our key sources are the football co-ordinators. For four years they have been linked up in a national database where they can input their own information.

Since 1999 the Football Hooligan Hotline is operational. This national telephone number gives people the opportunity to call and report matters relating to football hooliganism. The CIV manage this hotline. We analyse the information we get and pass it through to the police. The judgement of the value of the information is not easy, because of most people give the information anonymous.

2. *Providing support for parties involved in football*

The second task is also quite clear. With our expertise we can provide support for a whole range of organisations and bodies. Support that is requested – and support that we give of our own initiative. Often these parties are the football co-ordinators and the Crown Prosecution Service. And we regularly attend matches.

3. *Management and control of national data*

The management and control of the National Football Hooliganism Database is rather a special task. This database, or VVS, contains a very large quantity of information from and for the various partners in combating football hooliganism.

The most important data in the VVS are:

- ?? Reports on matches, incidents, crowd numbers etc;
- ?? Policing (“types” of police, numbers and hours);
- ?? Arrested supporters;
- ?? Supporters who have a stadium ban, with or without a photo;
- ?? Action taken by the police after an arrest (dropping a case, cash fine or charge);
- ?? Action taken by the Crown Prosecution Service on the basis of the charge made by the police (cash fine or court summons);
- ?? The court verdict (not guilty or some sort of penalty);
- ?? Action taken by the Dutch football association in regard to a possible stadium ban.

These and other data are important for several partners. Partner “B” may only be able to take a next step if partner “A” has already made its contribution. We call it the chain approach. And, here again, as well all know, “The chain is as strong as its weakest link”.

The partners linked into the VVS are:

- ?? The football co-ordinators
- ?? The Crown Prosecution Service
- ?? The Dutch Football Association
- ?? And certain clubs.

A number of control functions were built into the national database. The basic idea here was that any incident should be followed up by the processes of law, as soon possible. This meant a restrictive repressive policy. On one hand the Dutch Football Association was expected to impose a civil stadium ban as soon as possible. On the other hand the police and the Crown Prosecution Service were expected to accelerate criminal

proceedings as much as possible. The compliance mechanism in the VVS enables the CIV to monitor how all three bodies – football association, police and prosecution service – process matters. Quite often we have to request the responsible police officers or crown prosecutors to take a decision and complete the processing of a case. In the meantime, in practice, this approach has been working well. More football cases are being dealt with sooner – and certainly faster than for normal, every-day criminal offences.

4. *Trend analysis, policy and investigation*

The task around analysis of data and trends is obvious.

5. *Co-ordination and control tasks under the “Policy Framework for Combating football hooliganism and violence”*

The monitoring or control function given to the CIV after establishment of the Policy Framework in 1997 is comparable to our role with the VVS.

As part of the Policy Framework, agreements were made on allocation of responsibilities and tasking. As the CIV we have to monitor these agreements on a regular basis. We do so in regard to police tasks and we report on it to the senior police officer with the national portfolio for football hooliganism. The same applies for tasks allocated to the municipal authorities and the mayors. And so, for example, in early 1999 we completed a study into agreements, which the municipal authorities, under the authority of the mayor, were meant to make with the police, the Crown Prosecution Service and the clubs. These agreements were to be formalised in local covenants. Our study showed that in several towns the quality of these covenants was not in line with agreements.

We reported our findings to the ministry of the Interior. Later on it appeared that several municipalities did not agree with our findings – and there were angry reactions from several mayors.

6. *Advice around policy*

The CIV has a large store of knowledge. This is not confined to incidents but it also includes the policy of various national and international institutions. In some cases we are viewed as the “friendly spider in the web”.

Thanks to our knowledge, experience and overall view – and the national and international levels – we are regularly consulted by the police, the Dutch Football Association, the ministry of the Interior and other institutions. We also sit in various committees and ad hoc working groups, like working groups on prevention. In this way CIV data is used for community-prevention projects, among other things, to target the right group.

The year 1998 saw the establishment of a special agency dedicated to public policy around prevention. This body comes under the Dutch Football Association and is financed by the association, together with the ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport. The agency aims to develop a local prevention policy by clubs – for supporters. All this happens in co-operation with youth workers, the supporters association, the municipality and the police.

In this context CIV data is also used to measure the impact of local efforts. Put differently, for many organisations the data from the CIV are an important tool in dealing with the issue. Unfortunately the CIV does not have the in-house capacity or the expertise to carry out this type of scientific study. But, perhaps one day it will happen.

7. *Maintaining international contacts including international police support around the national team*

The ministry of the Interior has appointed the CIV as the Dutch contact point in the international context of public order around football hooliganism. This task has been expanded due to the increase in international competitions and the increasing demand for information, within this scene.

All information which is sent abroad in regard to a given match comes from the CIV. We also ensure that order “stakeholders” like the border patrol, are kept up to date.

In the meantime we have also been devoting a lot of effort to creating a good international exchange of information. That includes information after the match. Last year the CIV organised a gathering in the context of the Champions League. Invitations went to all national information centres from the countries involved, and colleagues from the hometowns of the actual football clubs. We have decided to do the same this year.

Our aim is to collect all the information on the matches. To this we will add first-hand experience from the club profiles we received at the start of the Champions League. We certainly hope that we can give our colleagues who come to the meeting even more information than last year. One thing is very clear – co-operation from and between the various national information points is crucial.

Lastly, we are responsible for deployment of the national police spotter’s team at home matches, and matches abroad, involving the Dutch national team. So much for the tasks of the CIV.

Self evidently, the CIV is more than simply a data-collecting body. The institutions involved in combating football hooliganism recognise the value of the CIV’s knowledge and expertise. This promotes even more feedback – which can only help to further improve the quality of our products.

The CIV’s position is more and more important for the integrated approach. Increasingly we take an independent position alongside our actual “clients”. Looking ahead to the evaluation of the CIV, I do not rule out the reinforcement of our position and tasks.

Part IV

***Prospects for International Prevention
of Violence in Sport***

Prospects for International Prevention of Violence in Sport

Yves VAN DE VLOET

Permanent Secretary for Prevention Policy
Ministry of the Interior, Belgium

In the context of the implementation of a prevention policy related to violence in sport in Europe, it may be useful to emphasise the major elements brought to light by the Eurofan project.

Obviously, the publication and distribution of this work will allow all actors to thoroughly acquaint themselves with each analysis and proposal.

Considering the international dimension first means bringing up the 1985 “European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events”, which encouraged members of the Council of Europe to implement a series of clear measures so as to control the development of misbehaviour at football matches. In many countries, significant progress can be observed in the field of stadium security, supporter separation, the development of legislative measures aiming at banning troublemakers from stadiums and, more generally, in the setting up of consistent structures for a global and concerted approach to security – be they prevention, police or judicial approaches.

Football stadium spectators

Harmonising prevention and repression policies presupposes adequate knowledge, tried and tested in the field, of individuals and elements that generate this particular type of violence. It is thus obviously meaningful to bring together the actors working on the phenomenon’s scientific analysis and field actors. We cannot admit that misunderstanding, prejudices and short-term problem assessment lead to a dichotomy between the reflection on the origins of problems and the solutions to be implemented. Studies on stadium spectators must then fuel our thinking on the best way to consider spectators while taking specific national characteristics into account when we organise national competitions, and while avoiding lumping together overflowing supporterism and hooliganism together.

Hooliganism and the international situation

The experts’ description of European hooliganism not only points to existing cultural particularities, but also to recurrent elements of what we may call a particular culture of belonging, expressed through codified violence. The virtual ritualisation of misbehaviour and the groups’ functioning – with leaders, honour codes and war-connoted paralanguage – can lead us to make out the emergence of an unhealthy modern mythology.

Our analysis of this phenomenon cannot ignore the permanent internationalisation of football matches and the significance of European tournaments in popular culture. Some behaviour patterns that could remain limited to a particular country or region now spread at an incredible speed via the Web, the media and international matches. It would be completely anachronistic to restrain our search for answers to our local experience and to compartmentalise research.

Although local action remains the basis for our reflection, it has become necessary to view the management of violence in sport from an international point of view.

The role of institutions and the management of international sports events

Representatives of European political and sports institutions stress the transnational nature of hooliganism and the actors' willingness to work out solutions that go beyond national borders. This European cooperation dimension was at the heart of the security and prevention structure during Euro 2000. Portugal will host the European Championship in 2004 and Germany will host the 2006 World Cup. This is where the major interest of a programme for the prevention of violence in sport lies. We do not aim at assessing or listing our previous activities, tracing the history of our successes or dwelling on the causes of our failures, but at laying the foundations for perpetuating the European approach's advantages for stadium security policies and the pacification of behaviours related to supporterism.

The joint presence of public authority officials and international sports authorities' representatives has a symbolic value. In the different partners' awareness process, it is indeed essential to persevere in a logic of cooperation that does not only take into account the commercial aspects of today's great football shows, but also the human aspects related to thousands of supporters. This consideration should be expressed not only in the implementation of security measures, but also in a broader reflection on the role of football in our society and on the contribution of sport to our society's integration, education and development.

In brief, expectations towards each country's authorities must combine:

- ?? the definition of tolerance thresholds;
- ?? a prevention policy through adequate supporter information, reception and supervision;
- ?? at the level of maintaining order, the setting up of an information structure and a permanent cooperation system relying on liaison officers and spotters;
- ?? at the borders: adequate use of measures for the control of identified, targeted high-risk supporters;
- ?? giving organisers a sense of responsibility, at least regarding facilities, ticket management, entrance control, supporter separation inside the stadium, stewarding, supporter information and active participation in the stadium ban policy;
- ?? a policy of fair, firmly, fast applied sanctions;
- ?? the development of partnerships with all field actors.

Targeted hooliganism prevention and pedagogical practices

In addition to the dialogue between clubs and supporter associations, previously mentioned, another significant element of prevention policies lies in supporter social preventive supervision policies. Such supervision is based on a three-step structure:

Supporter social preventive supervision during matches

Such supervision aims at providing a non-repressive institutional presence within supporter groups. This allows workers to establish special contact with supporters and to create a dialogue between supporters on one hand, and local authorities, the forces of law and order and the club, on the other hand.

During events, fan coaches seek to defuse possible tension between supporters. They can also act as mediators between supporters and the police or stewards. The main distinction between the different fan coaching projects lies in the choice of the targeted public: either fan coaches attempt to work with all supporters – and their task is then rather centred on general problems, such as spectator reception and environment, or they focus on hard cores (hooligans).

The organisation of pedagogical, sports and cultural activities

Such activities mainly target young people from hard cores – sometimes more radical, often fragile. They aim at leading young people to express themselves outside the stadium. Sport is used as an integration vehicle – respect for the rules, team spirit. These activities also represent an alternative to many young people's idleness.

Individualised social follow-up

Finally, fan coaches' main work is done outside of matches. It consists in an individualised social follow-up of supporters. This work is optimal in clubs where links between social exclusion and belonging to violent groups are proven.

Educational practices and supporter activities

Long-term work is the most important element. If we consider the gap between today's most popular sport and professional football's "star system", we can easily assess the necessary educational efforts to make in order to redefine this sport's beautiful values. Clubs and federations should be made aware of their responsibilities towards young people and not recreate the systems that dominate high-flying players. At all levels, actors must yearn for a new balance: players, through their roles of models for young people; parents, whose expectations and attitudes towards their children must not look like supporters'; football, which is but a means for children to grow up and get structured; public authorities, which must take on their regulation role and attempt to recreate the link between the city and the stadium, together with clubs and federations. We must aim for a club acting as a social partner.

Players who meet young schoolchildren, clubs that establish contact with their supporters and, cities that invest in proximity sports facilities for young people, concretely illustrate such good practices.

Let us stress the significance of social and occupational integration initiatives, which has contributed to give work to socially and economically underprivileged young people; they notably carry out tasks such as prevention and security team maintenance, following the example of the city of Saint-Denis.

Finally, I would like to focus on what needs to be the driving force of the Eurofan project: showing the same voluntarism for prevention as for other football security matters.

Police action and integrated approach

The complementarity of all structures, implemented by clubs and by public authorities in prevention and repression fields, is an essential factor for success in security matters. The integrated approach is a pragmatic concept that directly originates in field experience. Even if it seems to result from obvious logic, all actors are required to make an effort for open-mindedness

to their partners' specific characteristics. The connection prevention-repression is a major stake of security policies and this does not only apply to football only.

It would be an illusion to believe that we could spare police structures, even in the long term. It would also be an illusion to believe that reinforcing security measures only alone could solve the problem of violence in stadiums. Our plural vision will allow police and prevention action to develop, in interaction and cooperation.

Community work and involvement of the local population

Even if the security and prevention approach must involve supporters, it cannot underestimate the management of meetings between supporters and the local population, and the impact of football matches between communities that live on our territory, a part of which will be particularly affected by the scores of the teams from their countries of origin.

Whereas some scores will make for multicultural festivities in a tolerance and exchange climate – notably for communities that have been living here for decades – it will not necessarily be the case for more recently settled communities, less structured with associations and subjected to internal tension related to the situation in their countries of origin.

We must not forget that very often, football festivities are inaccessible to a significant part of populations that live in our neighbourhoods. The caricatural image of this event, which handles huge amounts of money, could contribute to the expression of social unrest, which some troublemakers could emphasise to legitimate their protest. This possibility needs to be considered, all the more since hosting countries will be covered by media from all over the world, which could provide some groups and/or associations with the opportunity to use them for another purpose than the event's coverage.

In 1999, on the occasion of the European Conference on football's social dimensions, Hans Christian Krüger, Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe, emphasised:

In fact, football gives rise to so much controversy that it can be considered a means to analyse our contemporary world's contradictions. Of course, considering professional football's excessive commercialisation and the way football is associated with cheating, corruption, violence in stadiums, illegal drug use, fanatic xenophobia and racism, means comprehending sport in a context where its potential is used ill-advisedly. However, football, as a universal sport, can generate solidarity, generosity and mutual respect. It can act as an educational instrument for teaching essential human values.

Some recommendations by way of prospects...

It is not easy to list all profitable prevention experiments that have been carried out in Europe. Some practices are significant. They can partly be used as models and have a similar goal: to prevent delinquency and hooliganism and, for those who do not consider prevention to be enough, fight such phenomena.

We can learn from so many years' practice that an efficient policy can only be realised through cooperation. Problems of violence at sports events cannot be tackled with a single solution, but with a series of convergent actions, integrating repressive and structural aspects as well as preventive aspects. The fight against hooliganism cannot rely only on limited, selective event

security measures – although such measures need to be applied – but must also imply an educational dimension and the long-term social follow-up of supporters.

The Eurofan project involves police officers, prevention workers, lawyers, sports officials and political decision-makers; this demonstrates that it would be a false dilemma to oppose prevention and repression. The work, which has been carried out on a worldwide scale in recent years, most of all emphasises the necessity to implement an integrated approach to prevention. This conclusion can also be drawn in other fields than sport or football.

We aim at taking the first steps towards better security management in sporting events. At the international level, our cooperation dynamics is getting a new lease of life and we think that each country, thanks to its experience, has an essential role to play in new developments.

The objective of a European programme for the prevention of violence in sport should not be to try and limit such diversity for the sake of promoting a single model, but to set up a common work methodology, which could integrate all actors towards an international prevention policy. A European project must also allow countries that seek to develop prevention structures to benefit from pioneer countries' experience, particularly by exchanging and promoting best practices and pooling scientific expertise.

Some fields should be improved, among which operational actors' training. It is essential to ensure knowledge transfer to firing-line actors so as to reinforce their skills and enhance their action potential. Similarly, a "prevention handbook" should be published and distributed. A reference methodological tool will provide institutional decision-makers, event organisers and field workers with the operating modes required for implementing effective local prevention actions and prevention structures adapted to sports competitions.

In addition, Michel Marcus, Executive Director of the European Forum for Urban Safety, hinting at the eruptive emergence of intolerance and extremism in our democracies through electoral channels, has reminded us that we can but reject and fight the rejection of the other and the assertion of national preference.

Sports scores and sports fields must not be corrupted by the exacerbation of ultranationalist, racist, xenophobic feelings. Everything indicates that we must be on our guard. This will conclude part of the debates, but also the informal, friendly discussions that have marked our workshops and reflection.

Together, our cities, our clubs, our countries, the European Commission and the Council of Europe are intent on promoting sports spirit, tolerance and fair play. Let us reaffirm our determination and say "no to hatred".

Conclusion

Preventing Violence during Sports Events: Thinking Globally and Intervening Locally

Georges KELLENS

Professor at the University of Liege
Chairman of the Fan Coaching Association⁶
Belgium

Since the setting up of the Fan Coaching Association in 1990, we have been able to notice that violence during sports events has stabilised, but still remains a significant fact in all European countries.

Noble values are proclaimed, people of good will expend all their energy, but the spirit of tolerance in sport is scorned regularly, both at the amateur and professional level.

Bribery and illegal drug use, sportsmen and spectators' violence is a disagreeable aspect of today's sporting reality.

Stadiums and sports fields can catalyse the noblest feelings. Moving images of friendly effusions between Danish and Czech supporters, stewards and even police officers that we witnessed in Liege during Euro 2000's last match, or the emotional harmony between Scots and Norwegians in Bordeaux during the 1998 World Cup, lead us to hope for a spontaneous peaceful outcome. Under some circumstances, clashes between supporters following constantly exacerbated rivalry feelings can become exceptional or even be considered atypical.

Sportsmen have a significant role to play. Whether they are anonymous, voluntary amateurs or famous intercontinental multimillionaires, they are at the root of the sports event and are the cement that will make it possible to set up an effective prevention policy.

This was dazzlingly illustrated during the latest World Cup in Asia. All over the world, viewers – all generations and social categories taken together – were positively affected by the exemplary behaviours of Turkish and Korean semi-finalists. They proved that football is but a *game* and that sports competition can be a pretext in itself to cultivate friendship between peoples and individuals. Our contemporary world and the football world met again for an ephemeral but harmonious reunion.

Despite such good will, we have no choice but to observe that football matches are the scenes of permanent violence manifestations, both on the field and in the stands. It seems as if our contemporary societies – which claim to be “civilised” and to have managed, more or less successfully, to contain their members' aggressive instinct and warlike impulses – should generate eruptive, almost hysterical manifestations of violence originating in passionate drifts.

Society has spared no effort to tackle this phenomenon. Sizeable sums are allocated to maintaining law and order, and national legislations sanction troublemakers mercilessly. As far as prevention is concerned, government programmes are implemented and local associations put themselves to some trouble to set up activities that are very often innovative and creative.

⁶ I would especially like to thank Manuel Comeron for his valuable suggestions.

Considering the multiplicity of (mostly high-quality) scientific studies and local prevention activities, it turns out to be necessary to provide the prevention policy for sports events with a structure and an international reference operating framework.

The Eurofan project is a programme for hooliganism prevention and study; it– modestly but determinedly – aims at contributing to violence management during sports events, notably supporter violence in European football stadiums.

The interconnection of scientific experts through an international platform with field actors, allows for the setting up of an exchange, consultation and communication forum, which should also activate a common thinking and intervention framework.

Scientific light needs to be cast on the project. The brilliant contributions of the University of Leicester's Centre for Football Research combine notably with contributions of the Universities of Lisbon, Troyes, Bordeaux, and Aberdeen.

At the international cooperation level, European institutions can support prevention activities. The internationalisation of sport and inherent hooliganism make it essential to reinforce international prevention. The European Union and the Council of Europe have already put themselves into specific prevention measures and continue their efforts.

Each nation has its own characteristics and implements measures in function of local features. The first step in promoting international relations between the different structures is to encourage the exchange of practices and know-how so as to reinforce and enhance actors' experience in each country, while taking cultural differences into account.

During the Euro 2000 competition, we saw the benefit that can be gained from international exchanges thanks to preliminary activities. Those activities made it possible to develop a successful programme focused on supporter supervision as well as a hospitality policy supported by specialised centres (Fan Embassy).

We were also able to assess, in the field, the danger and counterproductivity of semiautonomous external structures that did not take the hosting country's cultural and institutional situations into account and that could destabilise complex structures in a highly sensitive context. This also leads us to wonder about the responsibilities of transnational bodies, which provide such projects or structures with international credibility in promoting them without really mastering their contents and without following up real work practices. It is one thing to praise intercultural practices in speeches, quite another to take them on in a responsible way.

We hope that future international sports events' organisers will be able to assess the value of the different types of experiences.

An international exchange programme on the prevention of violence in sport represents a positive element for the reinforcement of the European prevention policy. A concept of integrated prevention underlies the policy's modern version. The so-called "compartmentalised" intrasectoral approach has had its day.

While respecting each actor's professional tasks, without any actor being subordinated to the other, transversal cooperation between the different sectors has proven to be effective. This

naturally implies consultation, communication and the sincere will to open up to partnership while respecting other actors' differences.

Some reluctance remains, which can be blamed on the social work sectors' typical forms of archaism. Certain social workers refuse or avoid evolution and convey obsolete views: perception of social workers and police officers as two opposing worlds.

An ideology of social work advocating the virtues of violence and rallies' positive energies for the emancipation of masses undermines efforts to construct adult, clear, open, responsible, respectful prevention policies.

Positive and fair cooperation between security departments (notably the police) and prevention structures (notably social structures) is essential to a long-term, structured, effective prevention policy.

The Eurofan programme obviously fits into an open cooperation scheme based on synergies. As parallel lines cannot meet, parallel approaches cannot create effective partnerships.

Along more constructive and productive lines, international exchanges within the framework of the Eurofan programme have emphasised a series of field best practices that deserve to be distributed internationally. Let us consider for example educational or social measures aiming at long-term, in-depth work, and the preventive know-how based on mediation and communication work; they lie at the very heart of the Dutch, German and Belgian fan coaching projects.

Let us stress that sports federations promote a fair-play culture among their national supporters who become ambassadors and encourage positive relationships between rival supporters in giving them a sense of responsibility (in Denmark, for instance).

Clubs make official supporter associations attractive; they promote their setting up and grant them a role in the club's sphere. Supporters are associated to the club's life through the appointment of a "representative for supporter relations", in charge of supporting supporter associations (in Standard Liege, for instance) or through the "supporter departments" that act as a special permanent intermediary between supporters and the club's management – as in France.

The club and supporters' involvement in a common partnership initiative requires that each party's rights and duties should be taken into account and written down in a "Charter" drafted by the club and representatives of the supporter associations, which records the club's obligations towards supporters and the supporters' obligations towards the club.

With the government's support, local organisations implement prevention measures based on communication and cooperation with local authorities, clubs, and media so as to promote fair play in sport – as in Barcelona.

Thanks to the intense symbolism they convey, some clubs play a dynamic role in neighbourhoods or urban communities all week long. The club acts as a lever that supports larger social policies, stimulates educational processes in young people and promotes citizen integration. This is illustrated by "community" programmes in England (in Leeds, for instance) and Lille OSC's "social committee", which promotes football in local areas through football tournaments for amateurs and the involvement of professional players in campaigns based on sport and ethics.

Activities targeting very young supporters develop sports and pedagogical activities as well as social help under educational supervision. They aim at showing groups of young supporters to the best advantage when they have a positive mentality and behaviour and at creating a tolerant sports culture within a new generation of supporters.

Local authorities and public proximity institutions (notably cities) are catalysts of prevention policies and instigate action involving sports organisations or associations. Actions are being organised with young schoolchildren; they aim at teaching them fair play and tolerance and giving them a sense of respect for other cultures in making them aware of the fight against racism – as in Rome. In this spirit, “Kick it Out” organises campaigns against racism in Great Britain. A particular type of intervention intends to take action in local areas through prevention policies based on sport for young people – as in Berlin.

Under the aegis of the local political authority, a commission made up of the operational partners (such as the fan coaching association, the police, the football club, the courts), youth and sports associations and the university can promote consultation on implemented measures and give rise to permanent reflection on violence in sport. The commission’s recommendations and proposals are transmitted to the local political authority and help to select specific prevention policies and programmes to be developed – as in the City of Liege.

St. Denis’ programme aims at promoting city-dwellers’ involvement in the sports context and integrating sports facilities into the urban dimension, while making the most of the mine of new jobs created by the event in synergy with social reintegration programmes for young people.

The Football Licensing Authority intends to work out risk management models based on spectator security.

Portugal plans to organise the Euro 2004 international competition in a systemic perspective. This is also what the Belgian and Dutch governments did for Euro 2000.

Utrecht CIV and Düsseldorf ZIS provided us with a model for optimal information management that makes it possible to limit high-risk situations requiring police intervention.

Practices presented within the framework of the Eurofan project have proven to be effective and have met concrete needs requiring an adequate response. Most European countries show their willingness to prevent violence in sport through multidisciplinary strategies expended at the local or national level.

A certain local or national compartmentalisation can be observed and requires an international exchange of prevention practices and the distribution of potentially transposable good practices.

To prevent violence in sporting events, we must think globally and intervene locally, respecting what is best in people and in the society they have built.

EUROFAN International Conference
Liege, April 22-23, 2002.

The international conference *Prevention of violence in football stadiums in Europe* – which took place in the city of Liege, on April 22 & 23, 2002 – was organised within the Eurofan project by the Fan coaching Association in partnership with the City of Liege, the University of Liege, the European Forum for Urban Safety and in collaboration with the Permanent Secretariat for Prevention Policy.

Animation:

Jean-Luc JACQUINET, Centre de Dynamique des Groupes et Analyse Institutionnelle

Chairmanship:

Françoise PISSART, Fondation Roi Baudouin
Catherine SCHLITZ, Security Contract, City of Liege
Herman BLIKI, Federal Police, Belgium
Jean-Paul BUFFAT, European Forum for Urban Safety
Jean-Marie DEFOURNY, Fan coaching ASBL
Jean-Maurice DEHOUSSE, European Parliament
Dominique DELHAUTEUR, Walloon Government
Miguel MEVIS, Deputy Burgomaster for Youth and Sport, City of Liege

With the contribution of:

Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Portugal ; Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, University of Leicester, United Kingdom ; Université Bordeaux-II/ Ecole Centrale de Lyon, France ; University of Aberdeen, Scotland, United Kingdom ; Université de Technologie de Troyes et Paris V, France ; Fédération Internationale de Football Association ; Centre National d'Etude et de Formation de la Police Nationale, France ; Ministry of the Interior, Belgium ; Gabinete Coordenador de Segurança, Ministério da Administração Interna, Portugal ; Sport Division, Council of Europe ; French-German Youth Office ; Gelsenkirchen Polizei, Germany ; Fan coaching Association ; Delegacion del Gobierno en Cataluña, Barcelona, Spain ; City of Rome, Italy ; Danish Crime Prevention Council, Violence Prevention Unit, Denmark ; Royal Standard Club de Liège, Belgium ; Progetto Ulrà, UISP, Italy ; Lille O.S.C. Métropole, France ; Program Football and Community, Leeds United, United Kingdom ; Sportjugend Berlin, Germany ; Football Licensing Authority, United Kingdom ; Federal Police, Liege, Belgium ; Centraal Informatiepunt Voetbalvandalisme, Netherlands.

As well as:

Phil VASILI, Kick It Out Racism, United Kingdom
Francis LANGLADE, City of Saint Denis, France

And the participation of:

Commune d'Anderlecht ; Agency of Youth and Sport, Republic Macedonia, ; Belgium Fan coaching ; BVO Vitesse Arnhem Fan Project, Netherlands ; Cabinet du Ministre de l'Aménagement du Territoire, de l'Urbanisme et de l'Environnement du Gouvernement Wallon ; Cabinet du Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports de la Communauté française ; Euro Support, Netherlands ; Fédération Française de Football ; FC Girondins de Bordeaux ; Korean Organizing Committee 2002 FIFA World Cup - Korea/Japan ; La Libre Belgique ; Service Jeunesse, Sport et Interculturel, Ville de Liège ; Koordinationsstelle Fan-Projekte, Germany ; Maison des Sports de La Louvière ;

Ministère de l'Intérieur ; Ministry of Sports, Netherlands ; Ministry of the Interior, Germany ; Ville de Namur ; Paris Saint Germain ; Parquet Général de Bruxelles ; Police fédérale ; Police Générale du Royaume ; Police locale Basse Meuse, Charleroi, Liège, Molenbeek Saint Jean, Sint Truiden, Eupen ; Royal Standard Club de Liège ; Royal Sporting Club Charleroi ; Commune de Saint Gilles ; SCAT, Bruxelles ; Safety Council, Ministry National Education and Sport, Poland ; Université de Liège ; Université de Technologie de Troyes ; Union Royale Belge des Sociétés de Football Association ; Stadium Dinamo Minsk, Belarus ; Ministry of Internal Affairs, Belarus.

General coordination:

Manuel COMERON, Eurofan Project Supervisor
Pierre VANBELLINGEN, Eurofan University Representative

Administration and logistics coordination:

Florence GILSOUL, Fan coaching Liege
Isabelle HEUCHAMPS, Youth, Sport and Interculturality Department, City of Liege
Christophe LOUIS, Security Contract, City of Liege

Communication:

Laurence COMMINETTE and Marie NEUFORGE, Security Contract, City of Liege

International technical support:

Elizabeth JOHNSTON, European Forum for Urban Safety
Jean Paul BUFFAT, European Forum for Urban Safety

Local technical support:

Salomon AKTAN, Toni FILIPPOZZI, Fan coaching Liege
Carine ONCKELINX, Foyer Permanent Bressoux-Droixhe

Financial management:

Guy WIETKIN, Fan coaching ASBL

Steering committee:

Michel MARCUS, Jean-Paul BUFFAT, European Forum for Urban Security
Georges KELLENS, Luc BIHAIN, University of Liege
Willy DEMEYER, Catherine SCHLITZ, City of Liege
Yves VAN DE VLOET, Olivier NINANE, Permanent Secretariat for Prevention Policy

Conference location: Palais des Congrès, Liege, Belgium

Hotel and restaurant: Holiday Inn and Resto Meuse

Reception: La Reine Margaux

Translation: Accents

Travel agency: Ligne Bleue

Graphic design and printing: Rollmops

Publication translation: English Editing Service – ISLV, University of Liege

Thanks to ASBL Les Péniches, CID Informatique and R. Standard C.L.

Web site: www.eurofan.org

The publication is available in French.

“Authors are responsible for their texts. Titles are composed by the editorial staff.”

Practical Information

EUROFAN – European Programme for Study and Prevention of Violence in Sport

c/o Service de Criminologie – University of Liege
Boulevard du Rectorat (B33) – 4000 Liege
Belgium

E-mail : contact@eurofan.org
Website : www.eurofan.org

With the support of

European Commission

In partnership with

City of Liege – Belgium

University of Liege – Belgium

European Forum for Urban Safety

Permanent Secretary for Prevention Policy – Belgium

Centre National de Formation de la Police Nationale – France

Delegacion del Gobierno en Cataluña – Espagne

Sportjugend Berlin – Germany

Ministério da Administração Interna – Portugal

Danish Crime Prevention Council – Denmark

Université de Technologie de Troyes – France

Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research – United Kingdom

Universidade Técnica de Lisboa – Portugal

University of Aberdeen, Scotland – United Kingdom

Program Football and Community, Leeds United – United Kingdom

Kick it Out – United Kingdom

LOSC Lille Métropole Association – France

Université de Bordeaux II / Ecole Centrale de Lyon – France

Ministry National Education and Sport – Poland

Ville de Saint Denis - France