SUPROTSTAVLJANJE SAVREMENOM ORGANIZOVANOM KRIMINALU I TERORIZMU

KRIMINALISTIČKO-POLICIJSKA AKADEMIJA

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SADRŽAJ

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PREDGOVOR

Nastavnici, saradnici i istraživači Kriminalističko-policijske akademije u Beogradu realizuju naučnoistraživački projekat „Razvoj institucionalnih kapaciteta, standarda i procedura za suprotstavljanje organizovanom kriminalu i terorizmu u uslovima međunarodnih integracija". Projekat finansira Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije, pod brojem 179045, u vremenu od 2011. do 2014. godine. Deo rezultata istraživanja publikuje se u okviru edicije *ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑ*. Tako je i *Suprotstavljanje savremenom organizovanom kriminalu i terorizmu IV* četvrti tematski zbornik radova nacionalnog značaja i peta publikacija (Knjiga V) ove edicije.

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I ovom prilikom najsrdačnije zahvaljujem Vladi Republike Srbije i Ministarstvu prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja na ukazanom poverenju i podršci. Veliku zahvalnost dugujem i gospođi Mariji Veličković, analitičarki Ministarstva prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja, na razumevanju i pomoći u realizovanju projekta.

Rukovodilac projekta
Prof. dr Saša Mijalković

IMPACT OF YOUTH SUBCULTURES
ON VIOLENCE OF ADOLESCENTS[1]

Srđan Milašinović
Goran Milošević
Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, Belgrade
Želimir Kešetović
Faculty of Security Studies

Abstract: Youth, as individual group with specific marks is a product of modern age. Autors give its definite and basic karakteristics, after what they determine the concept of culture, subculture and kontraculture, after to be devoted to cultures *at al*., and especialy the ones that include violence. The fenomenon of skinheads is more detaily analized and the basic karakteristics of this subculture in the world and at us are given. Autors conclude that the subcultures like this are simbolic rebelion of young generation which does not have the posibilities to expres and confirmes it self in society.
Keywords: youth, culture, subculture, skinheads, violence

Introduction

Only the moder age actualy acknowledges youth as unique social category. Its separation as a individual social groupe is caused by apperance and expansion of system of mass education and, linked to it, socialy acknowledged ekonomic status of supportion, which represents preparation for entrance in the world of grown – ups. Sociologist determine youth as „relativly unique and specific social group", which, from the other hand, looks like other groups: sport, religion, clas, familiy, etc., but also contains five specific marks:

1. Unenviable work – economic position;
2. Marginal political role;
3. Problems with including in secondary social enviroment;
4. Exclusive profile of ideas; and
5. Specific generation structure, as a secundary form of social stratification (Brocic, 1972: 1526–1535).

From the moment when it was recognized as a fenomenon, youth already, practicly becomes permanent social, political and cultural problem. „Adult define youth as a problem, but the main question asks is the problem in them selfes, or in questions given by society it self, which is marked by that same adult members." (Đorđević, 1998: 8). However, it is about the group whose main section is not pleased with present society and its established culture, and because of that, creates its own cultural paterns which are most common led under terms of subculture and anticulture.

Concept of culture

Term of subculture is the one of most complex and controversial terms in sociology and social studies alltogether. Term culture is derived from latin word cultus, which means cultivation, breeding, takeing care of.[2] By some autors, there are 160, and by some others even over 250 diferent definitions of culture.[3]

Under culture T. C. Elliot means „all characteristic activities and interests of one nation. Derby Day regatta in Henley […], the twelfth of august, cup finale, dog races, dart trowing, vensleydejls chesse, cook cabage chopped to pieces, beet in vinegar, gotish churche from nineteenth century…"[4] Culture scopes the wholness of interconnected elements of expressing of human activity. According to Ralph Linton, culture is, before all, social heritage in its own self understanding (Linton, 1964: 21).

The basic meaning of culture us to make sustaining, progres and continuation of human society easier. It is human tool in a battle for survival, that is, the culture is the highest expression of human creativity, which is caused by objective historical circumstances. It was created mostly as a product of human work (conscious or unconscious), an especially creativity, as the highest I most valuable form of work. The main criteria for differentiation of culture and nonculture is the fast is it about making easier the preservation, continuation and progress of society. It si dynamic, historical and development category.

Culture has many functions, and the most significant among them are:
– Function of overcomeing of nature and transforming the world;
– Function of speaking or communication (with nature, self and other people);
– Function of protection (protecting human from all bad environmental influences);
– Function of justification and marking („significative");
– Accumulation, stocking and using of information;

[2] This determinaton, before all, points to human connection with teritory, that is, to an age when agriculture was the main way of production and acquireing the means for survival. Later menaning which this term gets is more expanded and more far away from its original menaning.

[3] Ilic, M. speaks more detailed in *Sociology of culture*, Naučna knjiga, Belgrade, 1987, pg. 7–1. „Political encyclopedia" states that polysemantic term of culture means: wholnes of changesand creations in nature, society, and human thinking, which were created as consequence of human activity, and which sense and goal is: making sustaining easier, extension and progress of human kind. Sturcture of culture, comprehended wide like this, make material (tools, instruments, pottery, cloth, ornaments) and spiritual (customs, social and political institutions, religion, art and work of art, language, games, science, discoveries, etc.) cultures; only spiritual culture; development of specific abilities fo human spirit or body by appropriate exerciseing, nursing, training (fisical culture, musical culture, mathematical culture), and even a personal character formed by that process of education, that is, the process of education it self which gave that character

[4] Notes toward a definition of culture, by Hebridge, D., *Subculture: the meaning of style*, Rad, Belgrade, 1980, p. 18.

– Normative function;

– Function of socialization and personalization.[5]

From given it can be seen that on a culture can be looked upon as on a wholnes of answeres – successful and nonsucsessful – which humanity gave od basic human needs altogether, especially on needs of individual human groups, personalities in area of social being and social consciousness, which reciprocally cause eachother in different ways.

Society and culture can not be separated. In culture, as a totality, are different forms of expressing it: work culture, tehnical culture, political, health, fisical, security culture, culture of living, elite culture, public, mass etc. Culturologists believe that, beside this special forms of culture, also exists „common culture", which is prerequisite for performing all other acitivities, and they define it as „thing left to human, when all other is forgotten".

In complex societies, who are differentiated, culture also differentiates in subcultures. Namely, whole culture and everday culture are not indentical any more. Under term of of subculture, sociologists most common understand social, ethnic or economic group with special mark typical only for it inside culture or society. However, insufficient development and noncoherent of sociological admission in studying of relatively new forms of social grouping, contributet that analyses of diverse subcultural discurses rest on and express different theoretical and ideological acsses. That relativism in interpretation contributed that the fenomenon of subcultures in common social – theoretical perspective has more meanings.[6] Research workers notice that the only thing in which all autors, who deal with subcultures, would agree, is that the subcultures are are „groups of people who have something in common, what differentiates them significantly from members of other social groups" (Thornton, 1997: 11). Nonequal and dihotomic comprehension of subcultures, and also multitude of their forms of appearance considerably contributed that even wider social attitudes be distinctively divergent so that subcultures are alternativly rejected, denied and dedicated and also are seen like a „treat to public order and like harmless joke" (Widdicombe, Wooffit, 1995: 18). In a same time, the fact that the subcultures differentiate between themselves by a number of characteristics like: degree and freedom of entrance or exit in given subculture; degree to which they are directed to a group or more spread out among them who are identified or are equal with them, and a degree to which they overlap with other

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[5] More about this in: *Lexicon of sociology*, p. 307.

[6] American sociologists, members of Chicago school of human ecology, used the term of subculture for the first time to attract attention to different cultural patterns and orientations of minor immigrant groups inside American society, with certain problems of adaptation to values of American society. Later appear theories about deviant subcultures which today also have great influence in interpretation of social deviation. One of most influential theories of subcultures, from view of their determinism in creation of deviant behavior, was given by American sociologist Albert Cohen, in study *Delinquent Boys – The Culture of the Gang*, 1963.

Inside this theoretical orientation in subculture, the satisfaction of deviant needs is made easier for deviants, in sense of easier acquireing needed knowledges and skills which certain deviant behavior understands, also in a way of avoiding or diminishing one part of its negative consequences. That kind of grouping helps deviants do gain new identity and status, instead of the one they have lost because deviant behavior and stigmatization from social society. (See more, in: Jevtovic, Milasinovic, *Social pathological appearances*, Academy of Criminalistics and Police Studies, Belgrade, 2006.

subcultures. However, two most common interpretation of subculture are crystallized: one in which subcultures are connected with a social grouping, defined and categorized in one diligently and semanticly negative way, as antisocial, in other words, deviant and criminal; and other, which is very neutral, in other words, which about subcultural social grouping and its members does not bring diligent criticism, neither in sense of judgement of favorising. In any case, when it comes to subcultures, we have in mind relatively cohesive cultural systems which consist of cultural marks who make independent totality, and whose individual bearers are social groups.[7]

By subculture is expressed individuality of cultural elements of some part of global society (class, layer, profession, generation, ethnic group, local community). The rules of behavior, value, belief and knowledge of that part of society – although they make integral part of culture of global society – they are separated on basics of some individual marks. However, special position in society, special way of experiencing reality, different needs and other factors lead to creation of herown unique subculture, which in minor or bigger degree makes totality. So its spoken of youth, ethnic, regional, proffessional and other subcultures whose members share some special interests, dedication to some area, common history, way of life, etc. Just belonging to individual category (race, nation, sex, occupation, area of residence) or the certain behavior are not enough to mark the subculture. Its most significant element is a degree to which the *rules, values, beliefs and identities are shared with the other members of group who accepted certain way of behavior*. Members of subculture are separated from the rest of the society by performing rituals, nursing specific languages and traditions. Their consciousness of own uniqueness is stronger if the degree of social separation from members of wider society is bigger.

Every subculture has its own *subcultural element*, which is based on unique appearance (clothes, shoes, haircut) and common tastes (music, way of having fun). „ Characteristic of subcultures is exactly the treating of „small" and not important things, the way sweater is wore, o how is leg put out when walking. Made as symbols „full" of meaning, which should be decoded, those „small things" will mark precisely built systems of value and lifestyles" (Prica, 1991: 11). Subcultures in symbolic way resist to ideological unity of society, that is, on a level os sign. This resistance through meaning, rejection of given and existing meanings of objects, whit which subculture silently protests and in a magical way solves the conflict with dominant culture, Hebdidge expresses by key term of theory of subculture – term of style (Hebdih, 1980: 28).[8] Shaping of subcultural identities becomes visible through style which is central category for recognizing of youth cultures. Michael Blake determines subcultural style as a combination of three main elements:

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[7] Different comprehension and multitude of forms of appearance contributed to criticism and questioning of concept of „subculture" itself. Some autors attempt to replace it with a concept of „lifestyle" – Miles, S., *Youth Lifestyles in a Changing World Buckingham*: Open University Press, Philadelphia 2000 – or some other appropriate term; Grosberg, for example, uses the concept of „affective alliance", and Perasovic calls them „urban tribes", while others attempt to redefine it completely, considering that „the term of subculture today represents some kind of upper term under which goes everything, and who, because of lot of different interpretations, became rather unclear". Perasovic, B., *Urban tribes: Sociology of subculture in Croatia*, Sveucilisna naklada, 2000, Zagreb; See more, in: Vuckovic, T., *RPG – Subculture*, Diskrepanca, Zagreb, 2003.

[8] Style understands relatively constant and limited number of markers which point to some concrete ideological content.

– image – outside appearance which scopes clothes, haircut, jewelry and artefacts;

– appearance – expression, walking, posture;

– jargon – special dictionary and way of expressing (Breic, 1985).

Phil Choen thinks that the style in subculture is created in four ways: by clothes, music, rituals and jargon. Beside style, these groups also have their own system of values, which they, almost always, overexpose. Style is, that is, just a reflection of implicit ideology.

Subcultures always exist just in relation to dominant cultural paterns, and critical mood is often for subcultures inside society. That is, subcultures, with their diversity, can be considered not important, they can be looked upon positively, but also negative, if they are evaluated as deviant.

Because of rejection by wider society, they, who are classified as different can be additionaly isolated by turning to their own sources, developing their own values, beliefs, favors and status symbols.[9]

Numerous theories are trying to explain creation, characteristics and variations of subcultures. However, as it is seen by James Short, there is still no common theory of subculture. The most significant are the American theory of delikvency and british subcultural theory which agree in the fact that they understand the delinkvent behavior as „try to solve collective issues, created on contradictory of social structure".[10] However, especially the younger part of population is unsatisfied with a world of adults an its place in it, and aware that it can't do almost anything to change the present state, and resorts to solutions on level of symbols. Using symbols, they change the world of adults on ideal plate, or confront it. Psychological dimension of this resistance is based on fact that, during psychical development of young man starts to realize „how things could be", a how are they in real world. That often leads to sharp criticism of established values and norms which are confirmed by parents, school and society. It is not unusual that this process evolves parallel with development of ideals, intensively used and characterized especially by absolutism in relation with norms and values learned from parents. From the other side, sociologists form so called Birmingham school consider, by introduction of class regulation, that subcultures are created as symbolical resistance („resistance through rituals") of members of work class by values of dominant culture. It emphasizes that, by shaping the most important elements of life orientations and style, young people, members of subcultures, integrate „underground (unusual, specific) values" with desired signs, thus producing noticeable protest on class social level.[11] This way, for example, youth subcultures offer collective identity,

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[9] That is, for example, case with religious sects, delinkvent and similar groups who retreat from social society.

[10] For detailed information about this theories, look, in: Maric, R., „Subculture", in: *Encyclopedia of political culture*, Savremena administracija, Belgrade, 1995, pp. 902–911.

[11] During the seventies, british sociologists – T. R. Midlton, P. Corigan, A. Mecrobi, S. Jones, P. Villes, S. Fritt and others, explained youth subcultural styles in music, dressing, communication etc., as specific forms of ressistance of young people from work class families, who, only by everyday use of subcultural style, discovered sensation that they have the ability to control their own lives. It was emphasized that subcultures are created not only as a reaction to specific experience of tennagers from working class, but also as a „political" response to various experiences, subordinated to young people from any class, especially in societies where authoritative political style and misuse of tradicional values are active. (See more, in: Jevtovic, Milasinovic, 2013: 80–89).

that is, referent group in which teenagers can develop and confirm chosen identity. By creating favorable opportunity to develop alternative, specific lifestyle, which will shield them from adult supervisory and protect them from repressive authority of superiors, subcultures actually release space for expression of youth desires. It comes to that that for its members subculture represents temporary alternative reality, because they cannot find their place in existing cultural reality.

British youth subculture, which does not fit into given theoretical model, is the most studied, because their styles are not the way of life, but forms of leisure, that is ways of conducting free time. It is not important how much arethey different from each other, such youth groups (differences sometimes cause ritual fight), equally mock the „righteous" society – adults: shopowners, police, teachers, newspapers. They are quick in using weird expressions (girls ware rings in their noses, boys tatty their heads) because of possibility to shock.

The most common form of exception from leading culture, scopes certain lifestyles of youth subgroups („children of flowers") and individuals who radically confront the society of plenty. Determined to seek out new lifestyle, they move away from ideals, oppose to values and disturb the moral of civic world. So hippies, different subgroups in area of bohemian and student cultures, except art and literary intelligence and top representatives of rock music, also included youth oriented to rebellion. Alternative lifestyles symbolized: free love, life in communes, use of hallucinogenic drugs, free education, individualism, underground publications, progressive rock music, abscence of control and prohibition, care for quality of life, experiencing mystical and exotic experiences, reaching deeper state of mind. Dreaming about carrier, life subordinated to logic of money and business is rejected, together with strong resistance to rational and technocratic basics of society and pointing to hypocrisy, lie and violence of modern civilization.[12] In any case, relation between dominant culture and some of her segments, like subcultures, is complex, often contradictory, which is, at the end, caused by a degree of normative, ethical and eve religious, social – political and ethnic cohesion of given social community.[13]

Some subcultures are not only different, but they are explicit (and not only symbolical) confronted to main cultural values of society, and because of that, they are marked as anticultures. Anticulture is a form of subculture, which is in a conflict with other subcultures, in frames of dominant cultural system. That is to say, subculture does not have to „include not even a difference, or differentiation, or negation of dominant culture, but not always her rejection and negation, until anticulture understands differentiation, rejection and confrontation to dominant culture" (Joksimovic, 1998: 7). The question is if it can be spoken of anticultural behavior as of cultural activity, by which personality and human lifestyle are advanced. However, if the culture is comprehended as a form of everyday life, then it also includes anticultural behaviours, like different destructing and social pathological phenomenons are (drug addiction, alcoholism, gambling, prostitution, etc.) Those behaviours are created in conditions when individuals and groups are deprived of access to significant social values, when

[12] Same.
[13] It is known that closed and conservative social environments mostly have hostile, and even critical attitude to individuals in narrower social groups, which show different values, goals, behavior, artifacts and lifestyles at all, in relation to dominant values and norms of wider community.

they are frustrated in a way of satisfying of their essential needs, and also as a disorder in system of values, and because of to weak, or to strong social control.

During qualification of certain subculture as anticulture, we should keep in mind next:

– Dominant social strengths try to, by various means, including repression, to adapt subcultures to whole social culture. So progressive subcultures can be anticultures in relation to dominant cultural model, can question values of conventional view on world and thus endanger the foundations of technocracy. In certain sense, modern forms of subculture can be considered successors of early Christians, slaves under Spartacus.

– Anticulture is related to delinkvent social groupings which, with their behavior and acting, directly endanger generally known social and cultural norms in one community. These subcultures are criminal, prostitution, alcoholism, drug addiction.

When it is spoken about anticulture, there should be kept in mind that it is not always about subversive contraculture of young people, who do not have enough power to confront to values of middle class, but also about expressing free and critical spirit.

Subcultures and anti-cultures are most often connected to young people who often confront to conventional, established culture of „righteous" society. Different studies about drug addicts, tedy boys, mods, skinheads, punkers and others show that youth subcultures:

1. Do not grasp all youth, that is, most of young people manage to go through life, without participation in any of the teen cultures, or at least in their forms which are not considered deviant. They can be grasped by mode, but not always by lifestyles (Breic, 1985: 93–108);
2. They mostly consist of young people from working class, that is, its lower leves;
3. They are made of men, that is, they favor manhood in opposite to womanhood, which is the reflection of sexuality of outside world;
4. They come from so called culture of parent class;
5. In work, education and boredom they embody generational uniqueness, because they meet with problems of their class culture in institutions and experiences different than their parents (Klark, 1985: 21–92);
6. They form and express with characteristic styles, key spots of their differentiation; and
7. React – by values, ideology, style, lifestyle, rebellion, symbolical forms and imagination, are trying to solve basic contradictory of culture of their own class and global society.

Youth subcultures in Serbia

Investigators notice that foreign theoretical models are not usable for interpretation of domestic conditions, because Serbian society does not look like western in indented and stability of social stratification and differentiation, status and perspective of young people. While most subcultures in Europe is connected to teen population from lover levels of work class, and anti-cultural movements of young people come from middle class, our„subcultural" are „young men from suburbs and from working

families, but also from urban cores, families of poor middle classes and prosperous nouveau riche… are youth subcultures – hippies and rockers, skinheads and punkers, metal and makeups, repers and reyvers, diesels and women who look for sponsors, rolers and skaters… – make „guys like us", „our children", from our own home, neighborhood, quart or town; those young people who we meet in elevator and down on a corner, in school yard or college auditorium, sit beside them in a theatre or they serve us in our favorite restaurant. That is, contrary to our wider naïve opinion, among them: many of them work hard to survive, but number of them is unemployed; most of them are successful and hard working students, but there are those who drooped out of school; polite and tolerant prevail, while chauvinists, racists, delinquents are a minority (Đorđević, 1998: 13–14).

Subcultures which were created on our areas (hippies, rockers, heavymetal, punkers, skin-heads) are not the original and native form of our culture, but they represent the result of expansion and almost mechanical transfer of worldwide ideological based style movements. Some others, for example makeups, with taken iconographical pattern formed contextual, „acquired" ideology (Prica, 1991: 16).

In nineteen eighty's, the most prominent subcultures in our country were punkers and makeups. The end of ninety's was marked by revival of skin heads as a youth subculture (anti-culture), especially interesting from view of challenge, threats and direct endangering of safety.

Skinheads subculture[14]

Creation of skinhead movement, originaly british youth subculture, is rather hard to determine. It is considered that their beginnings are in Great Britain, where, during the the sixty's, began to form groups „haters of Paki's"[15], who were, in great waves of immigrants, were coming to Britain, violating the social structure of british society, creating, before all, competition in area of work and employment. First skinheads appeared in 1968 in infamous quarters of London, just to be spread out to south and east English cities, and almost disappeared at the beginning of seventies. They reappear at the end of eighty's and beginning of ninety's.

Members of skinheads originated from poor and uneducated environments and proletarian families. Brutal manly appearance expressed aggression, creating for them image of the ones who make trouble. Skins wanted to be different from other parts of youth population also by the music which they were listening. Therefore, they adopted ska and regae music from Jamaica, which was to southeast London broth by black communities from their homeland.[16] By the end of seventies, they were trilled with energy and messages of punk music and they create its extreme variant – OI. Skins are the passionate lovers of football and ardent fans of football clubs, so much that the stands on which they gathered got the common nominator – Arsenals north, Chelsey's west and Liverpool's east. The game of football was an event were skinheads show their

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[14] Word skinhead itself is English neologism from words skin and head. That is why we often call this group „baldheads".

[15] „Paki" is a insulting name for Pakistan. Songs are about drink, drugs, injustice, but there are also love songs. Their musical heroes are Screwdriver, Sham 69.

[16] Bob Marley, Black Uhuru and other rege performers.

strength and gain support and admiration of their friends. Conflicts with police and fans from the opposite group, singing ritual songs, drinking together and discharging anger gave special excitement. Because football is considered as a battle, they bring to games different tools and weapons.[17]

The way and level of organization of skinhead groups is different. Some gangs are firmer, while other are more loosely organized. They get their name by their leader (for example, Smith's gang) or by name of neighborhood which they come from (Somers town boys). There are more subgroups of skinheads. Some of them are aggressive, others are not, main activity for some is listening to punk and post punk („oi") music, while others are interested in beating and molesting, even for killing of their „target groups". Beside „pure skinheads", „soft skinheads", „gay skinheads", or „sacto (old) skinheads", there are also „odinists", „identities", „creationists", and others. Its mainly about groups who gather up to 10 members, but sometimes also appear gangs who gather several tenths of skinheads. The most common are the young people, ages from 13 to 25, a lot more boys than girls.

Seen from an angle of endangering safety, the most important grouping is made of nazi skins, and especially their connection with ultra – right political parties and movements. In the late seventies comes to that symbiosis, when many nationalistic and ultra – rightist parties felt how skinheads, especially nazi skins, have much strength for manipulating and exploiting. National front and British movement were excelling. Today there are many nazi skins organizations, among which are the most numerous the ones which are defined as Hammerskinheads and they are closely connected with neonazi and ultra – rightist parties and movements all over West Europe.[18] Those are militant organizations, whose members lead healthy life, do not drink, are occupied with sport, train for fight, teach and spread political program of their organization, that is, national – socialism. Big part in all that has publishing firm for press and music, Blood and Honor, whose starter was great national – skins activist Jan Stuart.

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[17] Members of this subculture also cherish certain habits, like snapping fingers, girls dance in couples at bus stations, with thumbs in the air, young boys comb their shaven head with still combs, etc. They fought with each other (mainly because of territory), against other subcultures and everything what was different and unknown for them. Their main target are groups which they define as outsiders. Skinheads are exclusively male youth subculture, but among them are also girls, so called skinets, who can be hardly recognized because they dress like boys and shave their heads. Girls are included almost as much as boys, and they are ready to „make trouble" all the time (Breic, 101).

[18] Nazi skins groups in Germany are closely connected with extremely rightist neonazi nationaldemocratic party of Germany (NDP), which won more than 7% of votes on recent local elections in 2006, and entered in several parliamentary in ex DDR. Its president is Udo Foigt, who says: „When we come to power, every German will have job. We will put an end to globalization and stop infiltration of foreigners. Germans will then have the future." In racist and neonazist campains, together with nazi skins, is also active Democratic national Union (DNU), which, according to report, provides money support to racist groups for their numerous activities. Symbiosis of nazi skins and neonazists is, except in Germany, today also present in Italy, France, USA, Great Britain, Portugal, Hungary, Poland and other post socialistic countries, by harassing public with their activities and public appearances. Spanish police discovered recently the Spanish division of international neonazi organization Blood and Honor, and arrested 21 persons, who are suspected for glorification of racism, genocide and selling weapons. Spanish minister of inner affairs, H. Antonio Alonso said to journalists that there is „clear connestion (of Spanish division of organization) with six countries of European Union and USA".

Majority of nazi – skins organizations from all over the world are in contact with each other and advise each other how and in which direction to direct their fight, and the most organized are, for sure, English Combat 18 and Northern Hammer Skinheads from USA. Those movements are well organized and they spread their propaganda through all kinds of music: metal, rock, techno and through a number of magazines, especially „The Order", „Resistance" and „Blood and Honor". Expressing of scorn towards every government, power and authority, and especially toward school and police is characteristic for them (Clark, 1996).

Potential or real victims of skinheads today are Jews, members of „nations who are not white enough" (Arabs, Gypsies, Hindy), that is, yellow or black, white people who are in friendly relationships whit members of these groups, or are married with them, and also everyone who does not fit into their comprehension of „righteous" religion belief, or „righteous" sexual determination. They are also characterized by xenophobia. One of their main goals is preservation of purity of white race. They „protect" their world from „pollution" by immigrants who are for them lazy, filthy and unworthy of respect, from sinfulness of homosexuals, who are repulsive, sinful etc.

During the attack, they mostly use fists and legs on which they wear plated soldier's boots, sticks and baseball bats, knifes and metal rods, and sometimes fire weapon, „Molotov cocktails", and even explosive devices. The conceptual pattern of their acting is quite simple: first they drink a little, then comes the fight, and after retelling „accomplishments" and „successful" evening in the house of one of the members or in other meeting places, with a lot of loud music and great quantities of alcoholic drinks, mostly bear.[19] If the agro is not made, day was not successful, and it is hard to go to bed.

Their visual appearance grasps tattooing bodies, writing graphites with racist and nazi messages, droving swastikas on jewish graveyards, walls of synagogues, monuments etc.

Skinheads use the most different symbols, like flaming cruxes, flaming daved's star, swastikas, nazi helmets, fists and crossed hammers. They also have their war shouts to which they attribute almost magical powers. Beside usual nazi phraseology, appears one, almost mystical, word, that is shout and salute „rahova", whose meaning is hard to determine.

International organizations, who deal with protection of human rights (like Hatewatch) follow the activities of skinheads. They several times warned that the skinheads should not be understud as temporary and insignificant phenomenon, which should be ignored, but as serious phenomenon, which does not know the national boundaries. It is considered that the most skinheads are in Germany (about 5.000, whose victims are mostly Turks), Hungary and Bohemia (more than 4.000 in each, whose most common victims are Gypsies), USA (around 3.500, among who are the perpetrators of at least 37 murders), Poland, Great Britain, Brazil, Italy and Sweden (from 1.000 to 2.000 in each of these countries), Spain, Holland, Canada and France (around 500 in each), while there is a lot less of them in other countries. Their existence is recorded in 33 countries, but is estimated that there is 70.000 all over the world. At the end of ninety's, Brandenburg minister of inner affairs, Alvin Cill formed „mobile unit for eradication of violence toward strangers – MEGA" whose main task is to

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[19] Skinheads, almost always, are not inclined to using drugs, but they consume great quantities of bear.

„make life of young people willing to commit violence more bitter". One of their most significant target groups are skinheads.

However, it should be pointed out that this, and similar subcultures (anti-cultures) in western countries, although a form of challenge and treat to safety, they are less violent, that is, they do not represent sources of safety treats that much. System made them, used them, calmed them down and now is selling them as „styles". That is why skinheads in western countries do not represent dangerous group, but part of folklore.

In the beginning of ninety's, in post socialistic societies of East Europe, newly formed atmosphere of openness and freedom to make individual choices and follow individual opportunities, had her own dark side. It, from one hand, enabled liberation of attitudes and feelings which were under control of authoritative government, while, from the other hand, cruel, almost kleptokratic nature of transition enabled that the most people starts to feel socialy isolated, outcasted and excluded. Circumstances of extreme social and economical division, growth and appearance of poverty, urged the growth of rightist and ultra rightist ideologies, populist leaders and parties and also accusation of others and the ones who are different for own difficult position and loss of work spot. The degree of racial intolerance experienced dramatic growth after reforms from 1989, so that some autors speak of „revival of racism in Europe." [20]

In these social structural circumstances, youth subcultures, especially the ones who lean toward to anti cultural matrix, like skinheads of nazi beliefs, represent significant factor of endangering safety. It is because these subcultural and anti cultural groups are closely connected with violence because of different frustrations, anxiety, culture of poverty and survival strategy in conditions of existential minimum on the edge of poverty, and also xenophobia and grooving nationalism. It is about closed groups of exclusive ideologies, created on foundations on non democratic, authoritative political climate and radical political culture. By rule, those groups are made of non favorite and declassed social classes, whose ideological matrix and beliefs are:

1. Racial discrimination and awareness of elite epistle;
2. Rejection of plural society;
3. Rejection of individualism;
4. Irrational political performance;
5. Intolerance, nationalism and ethnocentrism.

„Blood and Honor", which, in 2006, disturbed civil by posting on their web site names and addresses of fighters for human rights, against xenophobia and racism, is active in Poland. Slovakia, by analysis of researcher, represents a country in which racism, xenophobia and neonazism are already present among pupils of elementary and high schools, and nazi skins are fighting not without success to gain political support.[21] In Hungary, by researchers opinion, came to significant growth of intolerance on ethnic and national basics. Five people were hurt in 2008, from which two of them are policemen, and more than forty are arrested, in attack of skinhead and rightist extremists on participants of homosexual parade „Gay pride" in Budapest.

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[20] *Le monde diplomatique*, 4/03.
[21] „We already noticed racist tendency at thirteenyearolds. That number is much more noticeable in high schools", said the director of Centre for environmental and ethical education, Yuray Hipish for Slovakian journal „CME".

In Bohemia, who is amongst the most developed post socialistic countries, the results of investigation of public opinion, which show that the racial intolerance is not at all limited to skinhead movement, are distressing. Some results show that 80% to 90% percent of total ethnic bohemians has ethnical prejudices towards various groups, and especially Gypsies (Milasinovic, 2007). During 1991, 25 skinhead attacks from clearly racial motives is recorded. Next year was 31, in 1993. 46, and since then their number is grooving fast, so, by official police statistics, total number of violent actions of skinheads from 1991 until today excided 1.000. Their goal is to move Gypsies from Bohemia, and their victims are also Vietnams, Chinese, Arabians, students from Africa and foreign tourists. Bohemian skinheads maintain connections with similar organizations from Europe, publish several magazines on their own, have four musical groups which publish their records in more than 100.000 copies, enter the Internet and over it send their racial messages.

The recent event in Russia, which caused disbelief of world's public opinion, says that it is significant safety problem. It is about a charge rissen in 2008 against the members of gang, with two teenage leaders, which accusses them for 20 brutal murders and 12 attemted murders on racial and national basics. In the announcement of Vladimir Markin, portparol of investigation commetee from office of public prosecutor in Moscow, states that the charges were risen against nine pople who are 17–22 years old, and a girl among them. He added that the victims vere chosen by their look, and that the attackers were trying to inflict them the most deadly injuries as fast as they could. The atackers vere described as „skinheads". At the time the crimes vere commited, two group leaders were under 16.

Skinheads in Serbia

By the facts of Hatewatch organization, in countries of ex Yugoslavia, skinheads are the most common in Serbia and Slovenia, while they are not registrated in other countries. Despite that, skinheads in our country are distinctively minor youth subculture, which comes to life relatively late – at the end of eighty's. It is assumed that the number of „real" skinheads goes form 600 to 800, from which the majority is in cities (Belgrade arround 200, Novi Sad arround 100, Nis arround 50, etc.). It is estimated that that there are three to four thousands of young people who are connected to this subculture: „first are passive, hidden and concealed – by system of values and appearance, skinheads in soul and body, but because of the family, school and public surroundings, they can not express loyalty and they are just waiting for the right moment; second are open sympathizers – they somewhat share the ideology and fashion, support the baldies, and „constantly mill arround them", but they will never become real streat soldiers; the third are declaired as skiners – they want ot be „them" by imitation of their lifestyle and fashion, but they are just dandyes, traveling companions on the way, during the time of puberty (Đorđević, 1998: 18). „Real" skinheads despise all olthers and poin out that the skinhead movement is not fashion, but a lifestyle.

In difference from western, who have work, that is, lumenproleterian origin, skinheads in Serbia are regruted from all social classes. They are also different by the fact that they supprot finishing of school and acquireing higher education, insist on socialization and considere each others brothers, that is, great international

family.[22] We do not have firmer skinhead organization, they do not have their leader, but there is leadership in some groups, there is no strict hierarchy and formal relations, but the wiser and older are respected.

It is considered that the skinheads in Serbia are, except by the list of races that should be „hated and tortured", also characterised by loyalty to serbian chauvinistic ideas, hatred against members of muslim and albanian national minority, new world order and United Nations, who are proclamed to be „the branch of jew power". Fans of football club „Rad" (called „United force), „Proleter" (Ultra Banat), „Beograd" and „Vojvodina" are almost always skinheads. Fans of „Rad" are especialy skilfull in streat fights.

Researchers of subcultures consider that in countries like Serbia, in which the xenofobia and nationalism are constantly rising, political and intelektual elites carry the bigest responsibility for not confrontng the groups which represent extreme and radicaly rightist ideas and ideologies. Besides, expret claim that big parts of political and intelektual elites in Serbia have their interest in exsistance of these groups, because they keep their most personal beliefs, which they can not always express in public. When it is about extreme youth subcultures in Serbia, it is „noticeable thath those young people mostly do not form their ideas, but just repeat what they heard and learned. The language of hatred comes from official media and political elites, so they just recycle those ideas and carry them on. How much will that ideology be luring and accessible to young people, it depends on how much it is marginalized and negatively valued on social level" (Bayford, 2005).

In our conditions, we can speak of three diferentiated currents of skinheads. First is made of those who listen special kind od music „oi", by which the are called „ois", who gather on their own known places and are fans of some football club. Second subgroup is made of „ultra" with ultra rightist ortodox omens, who go to church, carry ortodox marks, and the third group, who has some signs of fascism and uses its symbols (Kokovic, 1997: 5).

By summing up the program, that is, the system of values of our skinheads, the most prominent places from view of endangering safety are:

1. „They are against the criminal of any kind, and are for countries strong actions in that area."
2. They are agains drugs – from „heavy" to „easy", from cocain to marijuana; (Skinheads do not use drugs and are directly confronted to other subcultures in which narcotics are main part of lifestyle. They are in open confrontation with hipies, metals, etc.).
3. They are against sexyal strangenes, they torment transvestites, homosexyals, lesbians and prostitutes
4. They are aganist satanistic, destructive cults, and any kind of religous sects; (It interesting that they know that the most common sects are the small protestant religious communities, and the skinheads from West are most commonly the protestants, especialy in USA, Canada, Great Britain, Germany and nordic

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[22] „At authentic skinheads and certain subgroups (nazis) this connection takes proportions of fanatical; We document that in Tuluse, france skinhead, when he accidentaly meets our and sees in what kind of trouble he is, not even knowing him, he will do everything, even pledge his life to save his serbian brother" (Đorđević, 1998: 21).

countries. They explain that illogical fact by fact that they are against protestan religious groups, because they bite in to serbian ortodox beliefs. They equaly attack roman catolic church because it became „intimate with Jews“).

5. They are against masonery, as halfsecret organization and informal centre of power in global and local, big and small level.

6. They are against Gypsies (racism), Albanians and Muslims (chauvinism); (Here they combine rasizm and chauvinism – although serbian skinheads denie that, and call it mildely „nationalism“ – they show animosity toward „other“ and „diferent“ by collor, anthropologycal, that is, racial basics, „other“ and „different“ by ethnical and religious origin. Their moto „Serbian skinheads do not hate anyone, they just love Serbian nationality“ is clearly a fasade.

7. They pledge for serbian national countru of central type, in whose background are monarchy and ortodox, and which would be ruled by limited democracy („measured democracy“) (Đorđević, 1998: 23–24).

Belgrade skinheads listen to musical groups „Shaht“ and „Ritam nereda“, and earlier group „Direktori“, which sings about injustices in society, for which they think its not giving them enough chances. Those who are closer to nazism, mainly cut their hair short, and always try to keep it that way, wear suspenders on their pants, characteristic swastika on their zippers, at winter black caps, or hats with little parasols. This subgroup never wears earings, they have on their jackets badge with political messages, while on their boots they wear white shoelaces.

Skinheads from Novi Sad had their own fanzin called[23] „Three brothers“. Some data show that the groupation of belgrade skinheads, which leans toward nazi ideas, publishes once a month, or less frequently, fanzin called „Blood and Glory“ which has arround twenty pages, connected with stapler, in which they write about politcs and nazi ideas ajusted to our conditions, new songs of their groups, etc. They get their literature, badges, CD's and other symbols from likeminders from foreign countries, for what they most commonly use the Internet.

Sporadic attacks and violence of skinheads are recorded in our countru even before the Gipsy boy, Jovanović Dušan vas killed, however, altogether, there was no foundations for accusation that it is realy violent subculture. After the murder commited by two skinheads in october 18. 1997, which had extraordinary media publicity, in a period from 18. 10. – 10. 11. 1997. was recorded nine more attacks on 18 Gypsies, because of national and racial motives, when one person got difficult body injuries, and four lighter. In a same time came to revenge of certain number of Gypsies, and six cases of attacks on ten members of skinheads were recorded, that is, on persons who, by their apearance looked like members of this group, and in that time one person was difficultly injured and six got lighter injuries. Certain number of mutual provocations by writing of nationalist slogans („Death to Gypsies“, „Chinese bastards“ etc.), drowing of swastikas, announcements of organising Gypsy night waches were also recorded, etc. Acting by ordered security measurments, members of ministry of inner affairs listed members of skinheads in Zrenjanin, Nis, Jagodina, Pancevo, etc.

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[23] Fanzin is a kind of magazine with drowing similar to commic, that is, comments under the „frame“, that is, picture. They are drown by hand, printed in private, or photocopied.

That even today skinheads, especialy the ones who are of most rightist provinience, represent significant security problem, shows the event that happened in Sombor, in which, in 2007, a group of skinheads beated Dalibor Borota to death in a fight after the concert of punk rock group „Ritam nereda". Police arrested 13 young boys, from which nine is suspected for murder, and four of them for criminal act of provoking national, racial and religious hatred. Just a month before this event, members of similar movement in Nis attacked one of the activists of Peace caravan. In that attack, several activists were injured, and one of the visitors of the event was cutted by skinheads with broken bottle on neck and head.

Today in Serbia there are no reliable data about the number and structure of organizations which act as extreme national and ultrarightist. However, sociologists and psychologists make clear difference between organizations and groups. It is emphasized that some of them, like „Dveri", „Obraz", „1389" or „Nomokanon" can be observed as formal organizations, because they are mostly registered as student or civil associations called, or even as NGO, altgough they call them selves „peoples non govermental organizations" to be diferentiated from its ideological opponents. From the other hand, far more militant of all these organizations, are the ultrarightist groups as „Nacionalni front", „Stormfron", „Rasonalisti", ili „Skinhedi", which are united by set of ideas or modus operandi. The most militant are groupings of skinheads, for sure, that is, open racist groups, who are mostly gathered arround football clubs, like Rad. However, although they present them selves in public as very dangerous, their object of hate are almost always national minorities.[24]

Concluding remarks

What is the cause of violente subcultures in our country? How did skinheads come to Serbia? From where came the nazi ideas in country in which nazists a century ago took children from classes to firing squad? All these questions deserve deeper sociologycal and psychological analysis, but also adequate reactions of social community. Disintegration and countries falling apart, war in direct encirclement, labor pains of transition in economy, politics and culture, especialy falling apart of old and incomplete new system of values, affected to crumblying of culture and creating the cult of violence. Subcultures, which west resells as styles, here transform in violence.

Recations on appearance of skinheads in our areas, until today, vere weak and were reduced to isolated warnings and appearance of grafities like „Skins have more hair than brain". The newest tumultuous reactions of public oppinion, political parties and mass media look like they are going to the other extreme, by giving to this events enormous publicity and exaggerateing their dimensions, often in purpose of political manipulations and cheap political points. Results of these reactions can be calls to revenge, a return game, by what the spiral of violence would just speed up, and the problem would not be solved. Investigators considere that sleepy civil awareness, in parts of population inspired by nationalism and chauvinism, and also elements of Gypsy discrimination in economical, political and cultural sphere, which lead to their geotisation and segregatiobn, represent the environment in which happened murder from

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[24] Bayford, Y., proffesor on cathedra for social sciences on Open University in Milton Kince in England, and author of book *Denial and suppresion of antisemitizm*, Helsinki board, Belgrade, 2005. He dealed with acting of rightist groups in Serbia most detailed.

racist incentives, and the murderers should be punished, but not to stigmatize whole subculture of skinheads and by that cause the appearance of black streat soldiers. You do not fight against racism, violence and chauvinism with violence and revenge, but with nursing of human values, creating conditions for building of civil society and authenthic culture, capable to include in it self universal ideals of humanity and also local characteristics, uniquness and tradition.

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UTICAJ SUBKULTURA MLADIH NA ADOLESCENTSKO NASILJE

Apstrakt: Mladi, kao individualne grupe sa specifičnim obeležjima, ili subkultura mladih proizvod je modernog doba. Autori daju njihove konačne i osnovne karakteristike nakon što su utvrdili koncept kulture, potkulture i kontrakulture, i pošto su se posvetili kulturi kao opštem pojmu, naročito onom koji uključuje nasilje. Skinhedski fenomen je više podrobno analiziran i osnovne karakteristike ove subkulture u svetu i kod nas već su date. Autori zaključuju da su potkulture kao što je ova simbol buntovništva mlade generacije koja nema mogućnosti da se izrazi i samopotvrdi u društvu.
Ključne reči: mladi, kultura, potkultura, skinhedsi, nasilje