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**СУПРОТСТАВЉАЊЕ САВРЕМЕНИМ
ОБЛИЦИМА КРИМИНАЛИТЕТА –
АНАЛИЗА СТАЊА, ЕВРОПСКИ
СТАНДАРДИ И МЕРЕ ЗА УНАПРЕЂЕЊЕ
Том 1**

ЗБОРНИК РАДОВА

КРИМИНАЛИСТИЧКО-ПОЛИЦИЈСКА АКАДЕМИЈА
ФОНДАЦИЈА „ХАНС ЗАЈДЕЛ”
Београд, 2015.

СУПРОТСТАВЉАЊЕ САВРЕМЕНИМ ОБЛИЦИМА КРИМИНАЛИТЕТА
– АНАЛИЗА СТАЊА, ЕВРОПСКИ СТАНДАРДИ И МЕРЕ ЗА УНАПРЕЂЕЊЕ

Том 1

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ПРЕДГОВОР

Криминалистичко-полицијска академија и Фондација „Ханс Зајдел”, уз подршку Министарства унутрашњих послова Републике Србије и Министарства просвете, науке и технолошког развоја Републике Србије, организовали су шести научно-стручни скуп са међународним учешћем „Супротстављање савременим облицима криминалитета – анализа стања, европски стандарди и мере за унапређење“.

Овај тематски зборник у три тома садржи 114 радова, чији су аутори еминентни стручњаци из области права, безбедности, криминалистике, полицијских наука, форензике и информатике, као и припадници националног система безбедности који учествују у едукацији припадника полиције, војске и других служби из Шпаније, Украјине, Немачке, Словеније, Пољске, Турске, Румуније, Македоније, Хрватске, Босне и Херцеговине, Црне Горе и Србије.

Радови, које су рецензирани компетентни стручњаци, садрже приказ савремених тенденција у развоју система полицијског образовања, савремених концепата безбедности и криминалистике, као и анализу активности правне државе у спречавању и сузбијању криминалитета, стања и кретања у тим областима, али и предлоге за њихово системско превазилажење у оквиру међународне полицијске сарадње.

Зборник представља добру теоријску основу како за свестрано сагледавање проблема супротстављања савременим облицима криминалитета тако и за даља истраживања, емпиријска и теоријска, која тек треба да следе.

Захваљујемо ауторима и учесницима научно-стручног скупа са међународним учешћем „Супротстављање савременим облицима криминалитета – анализа стања, европски стандарди и мере за унапређење“, Министарству унутрашњих послова Републике Србије, Министарству просвете, науке и технолошког развоја Републике Србије, као и Фондацији „Ханс Зајдел” за дугогодишњу и плодносну сарадњу.

Београд, мај 2015. године

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HOOLIGANISM AND MEDIA IMAGES IN THE RISK SOCIETY

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Abstract: Since 2000 twelve mostly young people have lost their lives, due to the fan violence in Serbia while the number of injured participants was much higher. Incidents at “Luigi Ferrari” in Genoa (Italy) or in some courts in our country, in connection of fan groups with other social events (burning of embassies, participation in incidents during the Pride Parade, etc.), only encouraged the topicization of this types of conflict, which together with nationalist rhetoric and suggestive propaganda leads to the new forms of conflict, especially among young people. The authors recognize that sport is increasingly becoming a social space of conflict manifestation, especially in complex multicultural, multireligious and multiethnic societies. Incidents are often being repeated, with a more pronounced aggression and intolerance “towards others”, and not just as a random or organized violence, but also in the form of supporting criminogenic activities. The depth and the strategic significance of the changes are slowly recognized in security practice, especially in the sphere of inclusion of civil society cooperation of which is expected to become an indispensable partner in the process of building the overall awareness of the risks of violence at sport events!

Keywords: hooliganism, conflicts, media images, risks, civil society.

The time in which we live is characterized by numerous conflicts, growing violence, various fears, but also the strengthening of divisions in almost all areas of life, from politics and ideology, through religion and culture to sports. The reasons for anger and rebellion of young people are rising: unemployment increases as well as the gap between rich and poor, the need for energy supplies is increasingly difficult to satisfy, food and water is lacking, while the population of the planet constantly increases! In response to the evident and confusing changes, the sociological theory offered a notion of risk as a specific social uncertainty, in order to prove that modernization has produced a new type of society, the risk society as called by the German sociologist Ulrich Beck. Looking at society as a broad framework, he did not focus only to the risks to human health and the environment, but he also integrated a number of interrelated processes: change the character of labour, increasing the uncertainty of preserving the workplace, with a transfer to the uncertainty in everyday life, the declining influence of tradition and customs, the collapse of traditional forms and patterns of family, etc.⁴ One could say that it is about revolutionary changes in the relatively peaceful and stable social life, which characterized the second half of the last century. The rigid social structure was dramatically shaken, the explosive triumph of turbo-capitalism reinforced the sense of inequality, resulting in phenomena of extremism internationally, and hooliganism at national venues.⁵ The process of destruction of the foregoing, industrial society for many people is hard to find: beneath its service area, regulated by legislation,

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3 The paper was written under the Project No. 179008, implemented by the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Political Sciences, and the University of Niš – Faculty of Philosophy funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

4 Beck, U.: *Rizično društvo*, Belgrade: Filip Višnjić, 2001.

5 See in: Milašinović, S., Jevtović, Z.: *Sociologija*, Belgrade: The Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, 2014. pp. 219-225.

ideologically lacquer coated and recognizable by geographical embodiment as the state, the *transition* as a multi-layered, undefined and endless change is hidden, as essentially brutal break with the previous identity patterns. In conflictological-security paradigm that process is powered by negative energy that appears from rapidly destroyed connection between people and groups (durkheimic, the connection of organic solidarity),⁶ favouring the organized groups seeking for strong homogenization and external mechanical solidarity, in order to draw attention of the public.

Modern society is tightly integrated within itself, although at first sight this is barely observed. Changes in the economy will be manifested in cultural or crisis patterns, but it is a matter of time when it will come to the surface. The sport, as a specific social phenomenon of interest to the general public, from the original game and entertainment has grown into a big business that besides competition additionally carries out the profit success. With the emergence of the risk society it becomes just one of many ways of spreading economic and political power, but also a place of crisis events with profound consequences among young people, especially among members of the fan groups. According to the transformations discussed, the changes are obvious: to the previous generation sports stadiums and the competition presented a pleasant leisure, without any risk. As pointed out by our sports sociologist Dragan Koković "those were simply relations and processes that assumed quite different needs of today's fans that go to the stadiums for fighting with other fans (violence, hooliganism). Nowadays, everyone that wants to go to the stadium must take all the facts into account and to "factor" the risks when visiting sport events. In the sense of these facts every individual must assess the likelihood of safety and security in any situation"⁷ In other words, today's violence at sport events (whether it comes of the very actors of the events, either from extreme fans) is factored within the risk of presence, while media, by its images and reports often amplified echo of the activities undertaken. Hence, more often instead of sport there is a conflict, instead of supporting rival parties there is a violence and hooliganism, while in the media more space is given to the statements of fan leaders or rampage scenes than to the players themselves?

CHARACTERISTICS OF FAN VIOLENCE IN SERBIA

The manifestation of fan violence in Serbia from 2000 until present cost lives of 12 young people while the number of injured people is much higher. Incidents at "Luigi Ferrari" stadium in Genoa (Italy) or at some stadiums in our country, with the connection of fan groups and other social events (burning of embassies, participation in incidents during the Pride Parade, etc.), only encouraged the topicization of these kinds of conflicts that by incendiary rhetoric and propaganda images extend the duration of the conflict, seeking for the new followers. Sport promotes a winning mentality and the rally, but contains potential "dose" of conflict, which is the initiative trigger of conflicts in national laden, complex ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious communities. Then media, by vandal ignition of the opponent state flag that is even not participating in the event itself, a strange whistling to the hymns (sometimes even to its own) or physical conflicts of fan groups, when recklessly publishing, can produce chain of reactions in the political, diplomatic or the security sphere, with unpredictable consequences. Let us remember the recent scandal with "drone" on Belgrade "Marakana" Stadium,⁸ the rampage of Turkish fans at basketball game "Galatasaray" and "Red Star" in Istanbul (one died), the murder of French football fan Brice Taton, the frequent incidents of fans at the stadiums

6 French sociologist Émile Durkheim defines solidarity as a tether that connects and holds together the members of a society. Solidarity thus becomes one of the basic concepts for understanding the two types of society - primitive, mechanical, and modern, organic society. See more in: Durkheim, E.: *O podeli društvenog rada*, Belgrade: Prosveta, 1972.

7 See more in: Koković, D.: *Rizično društvo i upravljanje rizicima u sportu, Proceedings Menadžment bezbednosti sportskih takmičenja*, Belgrade: Faculty of Sports University „Union – Nikola Tesla“, 2014. p. 9.

8 Match between national teams of Serbia and Albania in the stage of qualifications for the European Championship 2016, played 24th of October 2014. was interrupted in 42nd minute after provocation of fans of the visiting team who set the drone with a map of "Greater Albania and Small Serbia", followed by a general uproar in the stadium, but also a lot of dissatisfaction of the Serbian public, threatening by termination of diplomatic relations!

in Novi Pazar, in Kragujevac, the rampaging of hooligans in the streets of Belgrade, and so on. The incidents are periodically repeated, sometimes with the participation of already registered persons of crimogenic sphere, but also with the changed role of fans as security Belgrade river nightclubs, nightclubs and similar places that are brought into relation with drugs, easy life and fast earning. Thus, in the region without open conflict, behind controlled security curtains mutual conflicts between passionate fans, divided ethnic, class and religious communities, crimogenic groups and extremist-minded individuals are smouldering, contributing to maintaining of the spiral of violence.

Democratic quality within a given society - the totality of its relations and social operation - significantly affects the security feature of sport, as its structural element. According to available data, in Serbia nowadays there is "around 6000 extremist fans, of whom 2800 or 46.7 % is professionally classified as non-violent extremists, 1800 or 30 % as potentially violent and about 1400 or 23.33 % as violent. According to the Ministry of Interior there are about 40 organized fan groups and sub-groups gaining about 3000 members so far, generally falling into the category of violent or potentially violent groups. It is estimated that there is considerably large number of extreme fans, even about 15000"⁹ These are important data in prevention research of socio-conflictological process since it indicates a fertile ground for the emergence of new forms of violence at sport events, which, together with the study of the role of the state (like social structure), nationalism (as ideological factors) and publicity (such as media power and attention) leads to the points that should be subject of greater security attention.

The problem is on-going and globally evident, and, as pointed out by Lynn Marie Jamieson and Thomas Orr, the violence in sport may occur in as many as eighteen different forms. They typically stand out for "violence under the influence of drugs, violence with the ultimate goal of humiliating of an individual, the interference of the crime to the sport, the violence under the influence of nationalist ideology..."¹⁰ To this empirically adjusted division the violence under the influence of alcohol, the violence with the implementation of hooliganism and violence as media spectacle could be added, as very present forms in our stadiums. The sports scene has developed a special type of the spectators' logistics and didactics: from the rich choreography, that always contains a symbolic message through organized noise and choral cheer, to physical endurance and activity in the crowd. Possible incidents and unforeseen situations that could occur in live (direct) broadcasting only stimulate the imagination of the organizers, while increasingly organizing the capture of target sequences and its online social networks uploading promote themselves activities.¹¹

Looking at the local sport events, we noticed that racial, ethnic and religious intolerance ("Knife-wire-Srebrnica", "Kill the Serb", "Kill the Albanians", "Serbs are cancer of Europe", etc.) is promoted, not only due to the fact that behind the insults a certain geopolitical and social circles stand, but also because of the ambivalent behaviour of the majority of the media, that often suppress unpleasant facts. Problem of conflicts at sport events is closely associated with the interplay of political elites, clubs and fans, specifically appeared after Željko Ražnatović – Arkan and his concept of sports events management. While the politicians try to avoid direct opinions on the occasion of the fan hooliganism, it does not prevent them to use those fans as their personal security on political rallies or as a physical threat to the political rivals. Hence, they often relativize various forms of aggression and violence as an expression of youthful excesses, inexperience and imprudence. However, what "Serbian disease" (to paraphrase authors who called hooliganism an "English disease") differs from other forms of hooliganism is the context in which violence is manifested. Characteristically for Serbia, but also other former

9 According to: Petrović, R.: Značaj menadžmenta kriznog komuniciranja i novih medija za bezbednosnu prevenciju u sportu, *Proceedings Menadžment bezbednosti sportskih takmičenja*, Belgrade: Faculty of Sports University „Union – Nikola Tesla“, 2014, pp. 145.

10 Jamieson, L. M., Orr, T.: *Sport and violence: a critical examination of sport*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009, p.10.

11 Qualifying matches for EURO 2016 between Montenegro and Russia (27th of March 2015) was twice interrupted, in the first minute after the home fans hit the goalkeeper Igor Akinfejeva with a torch in the head and in the 67th minute when Dmitri Kombarov was hit. Fan leader of Montenegrins apologized through PA system and noted that the hooligan was identified thanks to the mobile phone footage of one of the fans.

Yugoslav republics is fraught legacy of ethnic conflict in the nineties of the last century, a strong nationalism and state legal disorder that was never seriously engaged to find the permanent solution of this problem.¹²

VIOLENCE AND HOOLIGANISM IN THE MEDIA

The European experience shows that a single definition of hooligan violence and hooliganism at sports events are still lacking. It is certain that "it is required to draw a distinction between spontaneous, relatively isolated incidents caused by fans and incidents that occur because of conflicts of the organized hooligan groups"¹³ Hooliganism, in its focus, has inconsiderate, useless action, followed by the public expression of contempt for certain personalities or to the society, in general; the organized behaviour that grossly violates the public peace and order, with a rude expression and vulgar gestures publicly, solicitation the citizens and similar activities. Hooliganism is aggressive, antisocial, sometimes delinquent behaviour of usually young people, often associated in groups. Fan conflicts and hooliganism move rigid social structure as there is no social space that would amortize them within it. With the decay of the numerous functions of the state the process of socialization decreased, so the role of the family and pedagogue is now increasingly taken by the mass media. If carelessly reporting or glorifying of the individual¹⁴ media makes real heroes of hooligans the result would be even more pronounced phenomenon of violence at lower levels, especially among young people.¹⁵

Although sociologists address the conflict in different ways, they agree that in its core there are two or more actors, incompatible goals, acts on the principle of one actor against another in order to influence or control the behaviour and activities and opponent of the attacked ones (the other side) but also warn that they were "primarily large and massive social action, or conscious, focused, dynamic and practical mutual confrontation and struggle of collective social actors because of the significant and, by nature, limited resources".¹⁶ The violence discussed in this paper has escalated in recent decades, in parallel with the rise of political conflicts and the emergence of new technologies that have enabled global visibility (especially social networks). Because of its strong echo in public opinion, hooliganism has become the subject of increased attention to safety through three aspects: 1) expansion of security culture in prevention; 2) techniques of opposition and sanctions; and 3) the creation of media images. As a consequence, we have noted the emergence of a growing instrumentalization of the young people by both, sport clubs and associations, and political parties, nationalistic and chauvinistic organizations and associations, criminal groups and similar informal forms of interest associations. Researchers in England found even more reasons for strengthening extremism among young people: a social crisis, the collapse of the system of values, the collapse of great ideas, hopelessness, the institutionalization of hooliganism through the fan groups, clubs patronizing attitude towards the fans and general benevolence toward misconduct.¹⁷ Parallels between England and Serbia

12 Conflicts of fans in Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly from different ethnic groups, confirm that the sports facilities have become a battleground in which conflicts after Dayton Peace Agreement continue. The riots mostly involve minors who even do not remember the war, but on the wings of daily political turmoil do not choose ways to offend the other. War iconography, Nazi symbols, offensive exclamations, of which every normal man is chilling, are just part of the repertoire of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina's fan Army.

13 Giulianotti, R.: *A different kind of carnival*. In: Perryman, M. (ed.): *Hooligan wars. Causes and effects of football violence*, Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing, 2001, p. 141.

14 For example, the torch event, which is prohibited, reporters say: "Great introduction to sports events staged by the fans ...", or when the fans come to fight each other as "the stands was a minor incident..."

15 Dragan Ćibić, Chief of the General Police of the Ministry of Interior of Republic of Srpska, at the Second Conference on Prevention in preventing incidents at sport events in BiH, in March of this year said "that the van with 16 other members of the Banja Luka Borac fans returning from a match in the Federation, stopped along the way and demolished one catering facility. Of 16 of them, 15 were minors. What parents knew, and did they even know where their kids were, 200 kilometers from the town, who were with, when did they leave, what trouble did they cause?"

16 Milašinović, R., Milašinović, S., Putnik, N.: *Teorije konflikta*, Belgrade: Faculty of Security Studies, 2012, pp. 16.

17 Sketch of average guy hooligans looks like this: 1) a person who has not completed primary school, uneducated and without qualification; 2) comes to the matches from a different place (50 to 80 %); 3) carries dangerous items; 4) about 19 years of age.

is not accidental: a rigorous penal policy, from the ID inspection obligation at the entrance to the stadium, to the introduction of surveillance cameras and adequate judicial treatment after only few years converted the English stadiums into safe areas offering true paradise for sports fans! Obligatory seating at stadiums, under the guise of modifications, prevented the traditional way of supporting and collective action of hooligans. The Conservative government of Mrs Margaret Thatcher knew well what to do: under the guise of fighting for the safety of the stadiums the football was completely commercialized: the former audience, primarily from the working class, was not the target group – instead, the new layer of visitors willing to allocate 40 pounds for one match of Premier League is brought! Instead of local, ethnic identity, football has become a place of identity, popular culture, while the clubs instead of spenders become corporate enterprises that contribute to the community.¹⁸

The life in the risk society takes place in the area of potential conflict and cooperation, as the sports arenas and competition in Serbia are increasingly risky places for gathering. Forcing political, but also financial, religious, security and other powers, thanks to the media, prompted the change patterns of values and social identity, but not to the extent of the radical rupture with the past. Fan conflicts are constructed by forcing different interests among competing ideological centres or interest groups. For example, Serbian hooligans are closely linked to the certain political centres, and the violent behaviour is often related to the interests of their political patrons. How to explain, for instance, a sudden lack of fan campaign with the paradigm of “Kosovo is Serbia”, although that was the slogan with which the “Delije”, “Grobari” and other fan groups were proud, and that would, after the signing of the Brussels Treaty, this slogan was read in Greek, Polish, Russian or Slovak stadiums, but not in Serbia’s. Media exposures of such phenomena mobilize the public to action, by implying possible solutions and creating opportunities for communication manoeuvre!¹⁹

Dušan Lakićević, in his book “Football from entertainment to violence”, characterizes the average Serbian hooligan: “He wants a permanent presence in the media. Incidents do not start until journalists’ appearance that will write and talk about them”. This is consistent with the hypothesis of the authors that “views and values are easily imposed by public communication channels”,²⁰ so that the washed media image should popularize false patriotism and team spirit. Few reporters when considering violence distinguishes direct and indirect participants, but also a wider range of interested parties, because that is the only way to determine the extent to which conflict is actual term of incompatibility of the interests of conflicting parties, and to what extent it is provoked by a third, indirect party. The police claim that the hierarchy in organized fan group is built on the basis of published media images, where scenes of extreme violence or injured actors increase the function of the perpetrator in a hierarchical structure. Therefore, it is not recommended to publish photographs of dead or injured spectators on the first page, but to emphasize the representation of the consequences of such violence. Incidents with elements of hooligan violence cannot be accessed sensationally and tabloid (uncritical actors statement reporting, pictures of the act ...), but non-violent means for achieving success in sport should be encouraged: grit, courage, agility, resourcefulness, perseverance, courage... It is not good even when the front pages or prime-time television shows broadcast interviews with so-called ‘lads’, because the media should not promote violence and violent people, by giving them social visibility. It is a bad example of the growing population of young people, that with no clear moral and value standards, passively adopt this behaviour as something natural and normal to imitate. Young people are the target group of fan groups, as unsociable as yet unbuilt

18 This change is best seen in the words of one of Manchester United fan who explains: “They do not want the average person from the working class. They want people who will spend 150 pounds. Such will eat a meal, buy something in the club shop ... The fans are no more desirable - unless they are very wealthy supporters who can afford to spend as much money as companies want to”. In: Dubal, S.: The neoliberalization of football: Rethinking neoliberalism through the commercialization of the beautiful game, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 45, 2010, p. 135.

19 Milašinović, S., Jevtović, Z.: *Metodologija istraživanja konflikata i komuniciranje u savremenom društvu*, Belgrade: The Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, 2013. pp. 103-118.

20 Jevtović, Z.: *Javno mnjenje i politika*, Belgrade: Akademija lepih umetnosti i Centar za savremenu žurnalistiku, 2003, pp. 100.

identity (personality) search for a group that will accept them. Internet and social networks (via Facebook, Twitter, etc.) facilitates the process of social networking, usually overlooking that the data obtained by this way are often unreliable and manipulative. If the family, the school environment or close friends do not affect the proper orientation of young people, it is easy to reach for an alternative, and it can be any either marginal or fan group.

The phenomenon of our research is very current in almost all countries in Europe and around the world. For example, police reports from Germany indicate that in the 2011/12 season due to violence in sport the most criminal trials in the last 12 years were launched. Nevertheless, the number of injured fans was nearly doubled, and the numbers of criminal acts was increased for 70 %. Translated into numbers, 8143 criminal proceedings were initiated, compared to 5818 during the previous season. These data are in contradictions with the financial “boom” that German football is experiencing, with high match viewer ratings – 42000 spectators per match in average.²¹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

At a time when Serbia is trying to reform and adapt their institutions to EU standards in some areas of our social life an ambivalent - both positive and negative – signals are transmitted. One of these areas is definitely the sport that in the last few decades, especially with the returning of the Serbian statehood, has great cultural, political, and economic, security and other importance. The complex nature of the sport were first observed in the simultaneous presence of homogeneous (integrative) and antagonizing (disintegrative) social potential; sport is suited to connecting different groups, nations and cultures, but in connection with it versatile violence often occurs that has the opposite effect. The state of disorder caused by violence manifests as a potential conflict of low intensity, which may involve, firstly, only some of its segments, and then, the entire society, overflowing to the relations with the neighbouring and other countries, and, finally, as an extreme form of conflict, that threatens the overall normative and regulatory order.

Hence the elimination of violence and hooliganism off the stadiums must become a priority in the reform of the civil society. Extremism, hate speech and politically incorrect slogans should be replaced with a genuine supporting, but to make these changes an economic revolution should be performed: the privatization of clubs, which would gain profit from TV rights, commercial activities and revenue on the day of the game. The example of England is realistic even in our practice: when the sport becomes self-financing branch of industry, paying the “fans” will be unnecessary, politicians and criminal groups will realize that they do not belong there, and entire families will come back to the events, willing to spend their free time in a safe environment. The fight against extremism is obtained primarily in the sphere of awareness, proactive social action that extends the perspective on deviance of any form of violence. This will reduce the number of police officers and emergency unit at the matches significantly, as the prosecutors and judges by implementing legal measures send offenders by effective measures to the appropriate place! The prevention emphasizes education programs, fan projects, projects of integration of fan groups and communities of citizens, action through the mass media, preventive activities in places of gathering of fans, etc. In accordance with the new priorities it is necessary to raise overall awareness of the problem of violence in sport through continuous education, sensitization and public security culture that promotes the values and norms of non-violence behaviour and condemns any form of violent behaviour (physical and mental).

²¹ Domestic football fans rarely go to our football stadiums, and every season average visit is reduced. In the first seven rounds of the spring part of the national championship an average of 2151 fans per game were gathered, which means that income could not cover the costs of organization of the match, let alone premium and salaries of players, personnel, maintenance of grounds and so on.

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