

ODREĐENE KARAKTERISTIKE MALOLETNIKA ČLANOVA NAVIJAČKIH GRUPA U REPUBLICI SRBIJI

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UVOD

I pored nastojanja evropskih država da suzbiju nasilje na sportskim priredbama, ono je i dalje prisutno, u manjoj ili većoj meri, u gotovo svim državama Evrope. Nasilje se može videti na gotovo svim sportskim priredbama, ali se ono najviše vezuje za fudbal (Milojević, Janković, 2011: 738; Bodin, Robene, Heas, 2004). Nasilje i nedolično ponašanje navijača na sportskim priredbama, posebno na fudbalskim utakmicama, je internacionalni problem i ono je danas prisutno u svim zemljama Evrope, kako u onima koje se smatraju tradicionalno opčinjene fudbalom, tako i u onima u kojima taj sport i navijačka subkultura, nemaju duboke korene (Göral, 2008: 502). Huliganizam je ozbiljan socijalni problem koji pogađa razne delove sveta i nije isključivo vezan samo za sportske objekte, već se nasilje odvija na železničkim i autobuskim stanicama, ugostiteljskim i drugim objektima, na dan utakmica, ali i u danima kada se ne odigravaju sportski mečevi (Dunning, 2000: 142).

Nasilje na sportskim priredbama u Srbiji u proteklih dvadesetak godina poprima razmere opšteg društveno-bezbednosnog problema sa velikim posledicama po živote i zdravlje ljudi, sigurnost imovine, ali i stvaranje političkih tenzija koje utiču na opšte stanje u zemlji. To nasilje najčešće generišu nasilne navijačke grupe. Primetna je tendencija da se takvim grupama sve više priključuju maloletnici (Milojević et al., 2014).

Opšti trend rasta nasilja na sportskim priredbama, uticao je na preispitivanje postojećih modela društvene reakcije. Tokom druge polovine 20. veka, došlo je do globalnih promena, kako prirode i dimenzija nasilja u vezi sa sportskim priredbama, tako i naučnog razumevanja uzročnosti i prevencije nasilja na sportskim priredbama (Spaaij, 2005; Janković, Milojević, 2011), naročito u državama Zapadne Evrope (Milojević, Janković, 2012a).

Da bi se uopšte razmišljalo o kreiranju i implementaciji programa prevencije nasilja u vezi sa sportskim priredbama u Srbiji najpre je neophodno prepoznati maloletničku populaciju koja se priključuje navijačkim grupama i učestvuje u nasilju koji je motivisano navijanjem. Jedino kreiranjem preventivnih programa koji će ciljano biti usmereni ka određenoj populaciji mogu se dobiti efektivni rezultati (Milojević, Janković, 2012b). Prema tome, cilj ovog rada je da opiše neke od karakteristika maloletnika koji se priključuju navijačkim grupama i učestvuju u nasilju na sportskim priredbama.

METOD

Da bi se došlo do podataka o učešću mladih i nasilju na sportskim priredbama, a u okviru toga o članstvu maloletnika u navijačkim grupama, tokom 2013. godine pokrenuto je istraživanje pod pokroviteljstvom Ministarstva prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja, Ministarstva za omladine i sporta, misije OEBS-a u Republici Srbiji i Kriminalističko-policijske akademije iz Beograda. Istraživanje se baziralo se na metodi ispitivanja (primenom tehnike anketiranja) i statističkoj metodi.

Metoda ispitivanja sprovedena je anonimnim anketiranjem ispitanika posebno izrađenim instrumentom – anketnim upitnikom – koji je sadržao 42 pitanja. Odgovori na pitanja bili su uglavnom zatvorenog tipa. Na jedno pitanje ispitanici su davali isključivo otvoren (slobodan) odgovor, dok je kod 11 pitanja ispitanicima u okviru ponuđenih zatvorenih odgovora data i mogućnost otvorenog (slobodnog) odgovora.

Prikupljeni podaci obrađeni su metodama statističke analize. Rezultati te analize poslužili su za izvođenje zaključaka o obeležjima karakterističnim za percepciju srednjoškolaca o rasizmu na sportskim manifestacijama. U okviru statističke metode primenjeno je više tehnika obrade podataka. Te tehnike su: određivanje učestalosti (frekvencije) odgovora ispitanika, određivanje procenta učešća određenog odgovora u ukupnoj masi odgovora, χ^2 test nezavisnosti kojim su utvrđivane statistički značajne razlike između grupa koje se porede (Milošević, Milojević, 2001; Tabachnick, B. G., Fidell, L. S., 2007).

Uzorak sa kojim je obavljeno anketiranje obuhvatio je učenike srednjih škola sa teritorije Republike Srbije. Stratifikacija uzorka obavljena je po sledećim kriterijumima:

1. Gradovi u kojima se nalaze škole iz kojih su birani ispitanici imali su prvoligaške klubove iz Super lige Srbije u sezoni 2012./2013. godine¹⁾;
2. U izabranim gradovima odabrane su po dve srednje škole koje su najbliže fudbalskom stadionu²⁾ na kojima fudbalski klubovi³⁾ Super lige Srbije iz sezone 2012./2013. imaju svoje sedišta. Na taj način odabrano je 25 srednjih škola⁴⁾;
3. U svakoj od odabranih škola anketirani su učenici iz po dva odeljenja svih razreda i to odeljenje koji je imalo najmanje izostanaka sa nastave i odeljenje koje je imalo najviše izostanaka. Dakle, ukupno je anketirano 200 odeljenja.

Po ovim kriterijumima stratifikacije došlo se do uzorka ispitanika od 3662 učenika. Ako se uzme u obzir da je, po podacima Republičkog zavoda za statistiku, na početku školske 2012./2013. godine bilo 280.422 učenika srednjih škola u Republici Srbiji, uzorak je obuhvatio 1,3% populacije učenika srednjih škola⁵⁾. Imajući u vidu da se radi o stratifikovanom uzorku, njegova veličina u potpunosti reprezentuje ciljanu populaciju učenika srednjih škola starosti od 14 do 19 godina.

1) To su: Subotica, Pećinci, Kula, Novi Sad, Beograd, Smederevo, Kragujevac, Jagodina, Niš, Užice, Ivanjica i Novi Pazar

2) Huliganizam u Srbiji najizraženiji je na fudbalskim terenima, ali se on prenosi i na druge sportove.

3) Misli se na: FK Crvena zvezda, FK Partizan, FK Rad, OFK Beograd, FK BSK, FK Vojvodina, FK Donji Srem, FK Hajduk, FK Spartak Zlatibor voda, FK Jagodina, FK Radnički, FK Smederevo, FK Javor, FK Sloboda Point, FK Novi Pazar i FK Radnički 1923.

4) Tom metodologijom stratifikacije trebalo je da se odaberu 32 srednje škole (16 klubova po 2 škole). Međutim, ispostavilo se da Pećinci imaju samo jednu srednju školu, a da su XII beogradska gimnazija i IV beogradska gimnazija istovremeno najbliže stadionima FK Crvena zvezda, FK Partizan, FK Rad, dok su Peta beogradska gimnazija i Srednja tehnička PTT škola istovremeno najbliže stadionima OFK Beograd i FK BSK.

5) Izvor: <http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/WebSite/Public/ReportResultView.aspx?rptKey=indId%3d110302IND01%2629%3d%23Last%231%26102%3dRS%2cRS1%2cRS11%2cRS12%2cRS2%2cRS21%2cRS22%2cRS23%2625%3d0%2c2%26sAreaId%3d110302%26dType%3dName%26lType%3dSerbianCyrillic>, (16.10.2013.).

REZULTATI I DISKUSIJA

Od 3662 ispitanika njih 539 (ili 14,7%) su se izjasnili da su članovi navijačkih grupa. Istraživanjem su identifikovane 93 navijačke grupe u koje su se ispitanici svrstavali. Imajući u vidu reprezentativnost uzorka, može se ustvrditi da se veliki broj srednjoškolaca priključuje navijačkim grupama.

Tabela 1. Raspodela ispitanika po mestu prebivališta i članstvu u navijačkim grupama

Mesto prebivališta ispitanika	Ukupan Učestalost	uzorak Procenat	Članovi navijačkih grupa	
			Učestalost	Procenat
Subotica	319	8.7	45	14,1
Pećinci	172	4.7	31	18,0
Kula	328	9.0	59	18,0
Novi Sad	224	6.1	26	11,6
Beograd	613	16.7	98	16,0
Smederevo	298	8.1	31	10,4
Kragujevac	290	7.9	35	12,1
Jagodina	260	7.1	56	21,5
Niš	370	10.1	28	7,6
Užice	331	9.0	41	12,4
Ivanjica	138	3.8	19	13,8
Novi Pazar	319	8.7	70	21,9

Ispitanici iz Novog Pazara, Jagodine, Pećinaca, Kule i Beograda su se češće izjašnjavali da su članovi navijačkih grupa. Sa druge strane, Nišlije se mnogo ređe izjašnjavaju kao članovi navijačkih grupa (tabela 1). Statistička značajnost razlike članstva u navijačkim grupama po gradovima potvrđena je χ^2 testom nezavisnosti pri čemu su dobijene vrednosti $\chi^2 (11, n=3662) = 52,47, p = 0.00$, pri čemu je Kramerov koeficijent $V = 0,12$. Na osnovu tog koeficijenta razlika se može okarakterisati kao mala (Cohen, 1988). Ti rezultati su saglasni i sa zvaničnim podacima policije Srbije. Prema njima, samo u Beogradu evidentirano je 2525 članova navijačkih grupa, od kojih su 875 nasilnici, a 1389 su potencijalni nasilnici. Pri tome, nešto manje od polovine lica o kojima je reč su maloletnici (Otašević, 2010: 271).

Tabela 2. Raspodela ispitanika po klubu za koji navijaju i članstvu u navijačkim grupama

Klub za koji ispitanik navija	Ukupan Učestalost	uzorak Procenat	Članovi navijačkih grupa	
			Učestalost	Procenat
FK Spartak Zlatibor voda	48	1,3	15	31,3
FK Partizan	1042	28,5	133	12,8
FK Crvena Zvezda	1310	35,8	187	14,3
FK Donji Srem	16	0,4	2	12,5
FK Vojvodina	55	1,5	11	20,0
FK Rad	33	0,9	14	42,4
FK Hajduk	25	0,7	9	36,0
OFK Beograd	4	0,1	-	-
FK BSK	3	0,1	-	-
FK Smederevo	27	0,7	13	48,1
FK Radnički (Kragujevac)	82	2,2	18	22
FK Radnički (Niš)	43	1,2	7	16,3
FK Jagodina	20	0,5	3	15,0
FK Sloboda Point	76	2,1	20	26,3
FK Javor	16	0,4	2	12,5
FK Novi Pazar	174	4,8	58	33,3

Od ukupnog broja ispitanika najveći broj se izjasnio da navija za FK Crvenu Zvezdu odnosno za Partizan. Međutim, samo 14,3% navijača Crvene Zvezde i 12,8% navijača Partizana se izjašnjavaju kao članovi navijačkih grupa. Sa druge strane, 48,1% navijača FK Smederevo, 42,4% navijača FK Rada, 36,6% navijača FK Hajduka, 33,3% navijača FK Novi Pazar i 31,2% navijača FK Spartak se izjašnjavaju kao članovi organizovanih navijačkih grupa. Ispitivanjem je obuhvaćen veoma mali broj navijača OFK Beograda i FK BSK-a, pa stoga najverovatnije uzorkom nisu obuhvaćeni članovi njihovih navijačkih grupa (tabela 2). Statistička značajnost razlike članstva u navijačkim grupama po klubovima za koje navijaju potvrđena je χ^2 testom nezavisnosti. Dobijene vrednosti su χ^2 (15, n=2974) = 93,92, p = 0.00, pri čemu je koeficijent V = 0,19. Na osnovu tog koeficijenta razlika se može okarakterisati kao mala (Cohen, 1988).

Tabela 3. Raspodela ispitanika po polu i članstvu u navijačkim grupama

Pol ispitanika	Ukupan Učestalost	uzorak Procenat	Članovi navijačkih grupa	
			Učestalost	Procenat
Muški	2024	55,3	454	22,4
Ženski	1632	44,6	84	5,1

Mnogo veći procenat muških ispitanika se izjasnio da je član neke organizovane navijačke grupe (tabela 3). Statistička značajnost razlike između članova navijačkih grupa i onih ispitanika koji to nisu po polu potvrđena je χ^2 testom nezavisnosti. Dobijene vrednosti su $\chi^2 (1, n=3623) = 221,25$ (uz korekciju prema Jejtisu), $p = 0,00$, pri čemu je koeficijent $j = 0,19$. Na osnovu tog koeficijenta razlika se može okarakterisati kao mala (Cohen, 1988). Ti rezultati u skladu su sa istraživanjem kriminaliteta maloletnika na teritoriji grada Beograda u periodu 1998–2006, sprovedenom na reprezentativnom uzorku, u kojem Biljana Simeunović-Patić navodi da je nasilničko ponašanje na sportskoj priredbi jedno od krivičnih dela kod kojih su se, kao učinioci, u uzorku pojavili isključivo maloletnici muškog pola (Simeunović-Patić, 2009).

Tabela 4. Raspodela ispitanika po životnoj dobi i članstvu u navijačkim grupama

Životna dob ispitanika	Ukupan Učestalost	uzorak Procenat	Članovi navijačkih grupa	
			Učestalost	Procenat
14 godina	10	0.3	1	10
15 godina	569	15.5	93	16,3
16 godina	991	27.1	160	16,1
17 godina	1003	27.4	163	16,3
18 godina	801	21.9	88	11,0
19 godina	279	7.6	34	12,2

Za razumevanje nasilja u vezi sa sportskim priredbama veoma su važna i kriminološka istraživanja koja za predmet izučavanja imaju udruživanje maloletnika i mlađih punoletnih lica u grupe, koje su sklone kriminalnom i nasilnom ponašanju. Mladi su u okviru grupe agresivniji i spremniji da izazovu nered i nasilje, nego njihovi vršnjaci koji nisu organizovani (Earle, 2011: 129). I rezultati dobijeni istraživanjem saglasni su sa time. Naime, prosečna starost ispitanika bila je 16,78 godina. U skladu sa tim, najviše ispitanih srednoškolaca bilo je u životnoj dobi od 16 i 17 godina. Ipak, članovi navijačkih grupa najviše su zastupljeni u životnoj dobi od 15, 16 i 17 godina, odnosno prosečna starost ispitanika koji su se izjasnili kao članovi organizovanih navijačkih grupa bila je 16,64 godina (tabela 4). Statistička značajnost razlike između članova navijačkih grupa i onih ispitanika koji to nisu po životnoj dobi potvrđena je χ^2 testom nezavisnosti. Dobijene vrednosti su $\chi^2 (5, n=3620) = 15,55$, $p = 0,00$, pri čemu je koeficijent $V = 0,07$. Na osnovu tog koeficijenta razlika se može okarakterisati kao mala (Cohen, 1988). Od sličnih rezultata došlo se i u pomenutom istraživanju kriminaliteta maloletnika na teritoriji grada Beograda u periodu 1998–2006. Po njemu, tipičan izvršilac krivičnog dela nasilja na sportskoj priredbi je stariji maloletnik: prosečan uzrast izvršilaca ove kategorije u beogradskom uzorku iznosio je 16,23 godine (Simeunović-Patić, 2009). Slični rezultati dobijeni su i istraživanjem sprovedenim 2010. godine koje je ukazalo na veliko učešće mladih u nasilju na sportskim priredbama (Janković, 2010: 138). Naime, anketirani su policijski službenici, koji obavljaju poslove obezbeđenja sportskih priredbi, i koji su izneli svoja zapažanja koja se odnose na uzrast lica koja vrše nasilje. Oni su se u 94% slučajeva izjasnili, da su to lica uzrasta od 14 do 25 godina, a u 6% slučajeva da su to lica od 25 do 35 godina.

Tabela 5. Raspodela ispitanika na osnovu stava prema policiji i članstvu u navijačkim grupama

Kakav je stav ispitanika prema policiji ⁶⁾	Ukupan Učestalost	uzorak Procenat	Članovi navijačkih grupa	
			Učestalost	Procenat
Povoljan	1008	27,5	97	9,6
Nepovoljan	1001	27,3	235	23,5

Nepovoljan stav u odnosu prema policiji u skoro dva i po puta (procentualno) slučajeva zauzimaju ispitanici članovi navijačkih grupa (tabela 5). Statistička značajnost razlike između članova navijačkih grupa i onih ispitanika koji to nisu po stavu prema policiji potvrđena je χ^2 testom nezavisnosti. Dobijene vrednosti su $\chi^2 (1, n=2009) = 68,88$ (uz korekciju prema Jejtsu), $p = 0,00$, pri čemu je koeficijent $j = 0,19$. Na osnovu tog koeficijenta razlika se može okarakterisati kao mala (Cohen, 1988).

Tabela 6. Raspodela ispitanika po više karakteristika i članstvu u navijačkim grupama

Karakteristika	UKUPAN UZORAK		ČLANOVI NAVIJAČKIH GRUPA	
	Učestalost	Procenat	Učestalost	Procenat
Konзумiranje alkohola	2525	69,0	400	74,2
Zloupotreba narkotika	352	9,6	101	18,7
Učešće u sukobu zbog navijanja	926	25,3	365	67,7
Privođen zbog nasilja na utakmici	202	5,6	121	23,2
Podnesena prekršajna prijava zbog navijačkog nasilja	136	3,8	79	15,0
Podnesena krivična prijava zbog navijačkog nasilja	115	3,2	71	13,7

Prethodna tabela 6 pokazuje da se više od dve trećina ispitivanih srednjoškolca, mahom maloletnih lica, izjasnilo da konzumira alkohol, što sa stanovišta nacionalnog zdravlja predstavlja značajan problem. Članovi navijačkih grupa prednjače u konzumaciji alkohola. Takođe, skoro desetina od ukupnog broja ispitanika zloupotrebljava narkotike. To je naročito izraženo u populaciji članova navijačkih grupa u kojoj narkotike, procentualno, zloupotrebljava duplo više ispitanika. Pored toga, u sukobima zbog navijačkih strasti učestvovalo je nešto više od četvrtine ispitanika. Pri tome, članovi navijačkih grupa u tome uveliko prednjače jer ih je u sukobima zbog navijanja učestvovalo više od dve trećine. Iako je procenat od ukupnog broja ispitanika koji su učestvovali u sukobu zbog navijanja dosta veliki, policija je privela relativno mali broj ispitanika zbog takvog vida nasilja (5,6%). Pri tome, skoro pet puta češće su privođeni članovi navijačkih grupa. U skladu sa malim procentom privedenih ispitanika (kada je reč o ukupnoj populaciji), i broj podnetih prekršajnih i krivičnih prijava je relativno mali. Ali, protiv članova navijačkih grupa pet, odnosno četiri puta (procentualno) češće su podnošene prekršajne, odnosno krivične prijave zbog nasilničkog ponašanja na sportskim priredbama. Da su razlike u navedenim karakteristikama statistički značajne pokazuju i rezultati χ^2 testa nezavisnosti dati u tabeli 7.

6) U analizi nisu uzimani u obzir odgovori ispitanika koji su se izjasnili da nemaju nikakav stav u odnosu prema policiji.

Tabela 7. Rezultati χ^2 testa

Statistički značajna razlika	N	df	χ^2	p	ϕ
Konзумiranje alkohola	3662	1	7,88	0,01	0,05
Zloupotreba narkotika	3662	1	59,36	0,00	0,13
Učešće u sukobu zbog navijanja	3662	1	599,66	0,00	0,41
Privođen zbog nasilja na utakmici	3602	1	352,22	0,00	0,31
Podnesena prekršajna prijava zbog navijačkog nasilja	3612	1	211,57	0,00	0,24
Podnesena krivična prijava zbog navijačkog nasilja	3593	1	211,09	0,00	0,25

ZAKLJUČAK

Rezultati istraživanja potvrdili su rezultate ranijih istraživačkih radova – porast učešća maloletnika u organizovanim navijačkim grupama. Skoro šestina ispitivanog uzorka izjasnila se da su članovi navijačkih grupa, što imajući u vidu reprezentativnost uzorka po broju ispitanika i njihovoj prostornoj distribuciji, predstavlja vrlo ozbiljan podatak.

Na osnovu dobijenih rezultata može se zaključiti da se srednjoškolci češće priključuju navijačkim grupama u Novom Pazaru, Jagodini, Pećincima, Kuli i Beogradu. Organizovanju u navijačke grupe skloniji su navijači FK Smederevo, FK Rad, FK Hajduk, FK Novi Pazar i FK Spartak. Oni su češće muškoga pola prosečne starosti 16,64 godine sa nepovoljnim stavom prema policiji. Srednjoškolci koji se priključuju navijačkim grupama su češći konzumenti alkohola i mnogo češće zloupotrebljavaju narkotike nego njihovi vršnjaci bez interesovanja za navijačko organizovanje. Maloletni članovi navijačkih grupa mnogo češće ulaze u sukobe motivisane navijanjem, pa su u skladu sa tim češće i privođeni od strane policije zbog nasilja na sportskim priredbama. Iz toga proizilazi da se protivu njim mnogo češće podnose prekršajne i krivične prijave.

Opisane karakteristike pružaju polazne osnove za usmeravanje preventivnih edukativnih programa kojima bi se uticalo na smanjenje nasilja na sportskim priredbama. Takve programe trebalo bi usmeriti ka učenicima drugog i trećeg razreda srednje škole, koji imaju sklonost ka alkoholu i opijatima i registrovani su kao problematična deca, sklona nasilju.

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Napomena

Rad je deo Projekta „Efekti primenjene fizičke aktivnosti na lokomotorni, metabolički, psiho-socijalni i vaspitni status populacije Republike Srbije” pod brojem III47015, a kao deo potprojekta “Efekti primenjene fizičke aktivnosti na lokomotorni, metabolički, psiho-socijalni i vaspitni status populacije policije R. Srbije” koji se finansira od strane Ministarstva prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja R. Srbije – ciklus naučnih projekata 2011-2015.

CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF MINORS – MEMBERS OF SUPPORTERS' GROUPS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

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INTRODUCTION

Despite the efforts of European countries to fight violence at sporting events, it is still present to a greater or lesser extent, in almost all European countries. Violence can be seen in almost all sporting events, but it is most associated with football (Milojević, Janković, 2011: 738; Bodin, Robe-ne, Heas, 2004). Violence and misbehaviour of fans at sporting events, especially at football matches, is an international problem and it is now present in all European countries, as in those considered as traditionally fascinated with football, as well as in those where the sport and fan subculture, have no deep roots (Göral, 2008: 502). Hooliganism is a serious social problem that affects various parts of the world and not exclusively tied to the sporting facilities, but the violence takes place in railway and bus stations, restaurants and other facilities, on match days, but in the days when no sporting matches are played (Dunning, 2000: 142).

In the past twenty years, violence at sporting events in Serbia gets proportions of the general social security problem with major consequences for the lives and health of people, the security of property, but also creation of political tensions that affect the general situation in the country. This violence usually is generated by violent fan groups. There is tendency of increased joining of minors to such groups (Milojević et al., 2014).

The general upward trend in violence at sporting events caused the review of existing models of social reaction. During the second half of the 20th century, there were global changes in nature and dimensions of violence related to sporting events, as well in scientific understanding of causation and prevention of violence at sporting events (Spaaij, 2005; Janković, Milojević, 2011), especially in countries of Western Europe (Milojević, Janković, 2012a).

In order to consider the creation and implementation of violence prevention programs related to sporting events in Serbia, firstly it is necessary to identify the juvenile population who join fan groups and take part in the violence that is motivated by cheering. Only by creating of prevention programs that will be specifically directed to a specific population we can get effective results (Milojević, Janković, 2012b). Therefore, the aim of this paper is to describe some of the characteristics of minors who join fan groups and take part in the violence at sporting events.

METHOD

In order to obtain data on the participation of youth and violence at sporting events, and within that about the membership of minors in fan groups, in 2013 it was launched a study with support of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the OSCE mission in the Republic of Serbia and the Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies in Belgrade. The research was based on questioning (using the interview technique) and statistical methods.

Method of questioning was conducted through anonymous survey of respondents by specially designed instrument - the questionnaire - which contained 42 questions. Responses to the questions were mostly closed-ended. Respondents gave exclusively open-ended (free) response to one question, while in 11 questions respondents had possibility of open-ended (free) response within offered closed-ended responses.

The collected data were analysed using statistical analysis methods. The results of this analysis were used to draw conclusions about characteristics typical for perception of high school students about racism in sporting events. Within statistical method several techniques of data processing were applied. These techniques include: determination of frequency (frequency) of responses of respondents, determination of percentage of participation of a certain response in the total mass of responses, χ^2 test of independence for determination of statistically significant differences between the groups being compared (Milošević, Milojević, 2001; Tabachnick, B. G., Fidell, L. S., 2007).

The sample of survey included high school students from the territory of the Republic of Serbia. The stratification of the sample was carried out according to the following criteria:

1. Cities of schools from which respondents were selected had first league teams from the Serbian Super League in season 2012/2013¹⁾;
2. For each selected city two high schools were selected that are closest to the football stadium²⁾ where football teams³⁾ from the 2012/2013 Serbian Super League season have their places. In this way, 25 high schools were selected⁴⁾;
3. In each of the selected schools students were surveyed from two classes of all years, the class that had a minimum of absences from school and the class that had most absences. Therefore, a total of 200 classes were interviewed.

These criteria of stratification resulted in the sample of respondents consisting 3662 students. If we take into account that, according to data from the National Statistics, at the beginning of the school year 2012/2013 there were 280 422 high schools students in the Republic of Serbia, the sample comprised 1.3% of the population of high school students⁵⁾. Bearing in mind that it is a stratified sample, its size completely represents the target population of high school students aged 14 to 19 years.

1) These are: Subotica, Pećinci, Kula, Novi Sad, Belgrade, Smederevo, Kragujevac, Jagodina, Niš, Užice, Ivanjica and Novi Pazar

2) Hooliganism in Serbia is most pronounced on a football fields, but it is being transferred to other sports.

3) These are: FK Crvena zvezda, FK Partizan, FK Rad, OFK Beograd, FK BSK, FK Vojvodina, FK Donji Srem, FK Hajduk, FK Spartak Zlatibor voda, FK Jagodina, FK Radnički, FK Smederevo, FK Javor, FK Sloboda Point, FK Novi Pazar and FK Radnički 1923.

4) The methodology of stratification should give selection of 32 high schools (16 teams per 2 schools). However, it turned out that Pećinci had only one high school, and that the XII Belgrade High School and IV Belgrade Gymnasium are nearest to stadiums of FK Crvena Zvezda, FK Partizan FK Rad, while the Fifth Belgrade High School and Secondary Technical PTT School are at the same time nearest to stadiums of OFK Beograd and FK BSK..

5) Source: <http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/WebSite/Public/ReportResultView.aspx?rptKey=indId%3d110302IND01%2629%3d%23Last%231%26102%3dRS%2cRS1%2cRS11%2cRS12%2cRS2%2cRS21%2cRS22%2cRS23%2625%3d0%2c2%26sAreaId%3d110302%26dType%3dName%26lType%3dSerbianCyrillic>, (16th Oct.,2013.).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Of 3662 respondents, 539 of them (or 14.7%) have declared themselves to be members of fan groups. The survey identified 93 fan groups in which respondents placed themselves. Bearing in mind the representativeness of the sample, it can be argued that a large number of high school join fan groups.

Table 1. Distribution of respondents by place of residence and membership in fan groups

Place of residence of respondents	Total Frequency	sample Percentage	Members of fan groups	
			Frequency	Percentage
Subotica	319	8.7	45	14,1
Pećinci	172	4.7	31	18,0
Kula	328	9.0	59	18,0
Novi Sad	224	6.1	26	11,6
Begrade	613	16.7	98	16,0
Smederevo	298	8.1	31	10,4
Kragujevac	290	7.9	35	12,1
Jagodina	260	7.1	56	21,5
Niš	370	10.1	28	7,6
Užice	331	9.0	41	12,4
Ivanjica	138	3.8	19	13,8
Novi Pazar	319	8.7	70	21,9

Respondents from Novi Pazar, Jagodina, Pećinici, Kula and Belgrade were often declared as members of fan groups. On the other hand, respondents from Niš much rarely identify themselves as members of fan groups (Table 1). The statistical significance of differences of membership in fan groups by cities was confirmed by χ^2 test of independence with the obtained values of $\chi^2 (11, n = 3662) = 52.47, p = 0:00$, and Cramer's $V = 0.12$. Based on this coefficient, the difference can be characterized as small (Cohen, 1988). These results are consistent with the official data of the Serbian police. According to them, just in Belgrade 2525 members of fan groups were recorded, of which 875 are bullies, and 1389 are potential bullies. In addition, slightly less than half of them are minors (Otašević, 2010: 271).

Table 2. Distribution of respondents according to the club they support and membership in fan groups

Club supported by respondent	Total Frequency	sample Percentage	Members of fan groups	
			Frequency	Percentage
FK Spartak Zlatibor voda	48	1,3	15	31,3
FK Partizan	1042	28,5	133	12,8
FK Crvena Zvezda	1310	35,8	187	14,3
FK Donji Srem	16	0,4	2	12,5
FK Vojvodina	55	1,5	11	20,0
FK Rad	33	0,9	14	42,4
FK Hajduk	25	0,7	9	36,0
OFK Beograd	4	0,1	-	-
FK BSK	3	0,1	-	-
FK Smederevo	27	0,7	13	48,1
FK Radnički (Kragujevac)	82	2,2	18	22
FK Radnički (Niš)	43	1,2	7	16,3
FK Jagodina	20	0,5	3	15,0
FK Sloboda Point	76	2,1	20	26,3
FK Javor	16	0,4	2	12,5
FK Novi Pazar	174	4,8	58	33,3

Of the total number of respondents, the largest number identified themselves as fans of FK Crvena Zvezda or Partizan. However, only 14.3% of fans of Crvena Zvezda and 12.8% of Partizan fans identified themselves as members of fan groups. On the other hand, 48.1% of fans of FK Smederevo, 42.4% of fans of FK Rad, 36.6% of fans of FK Hajduk, 33.3% of fans of FK Novi Pazar and 31.2% of fans of FK Spartak identify themselves as members of organized fan groups. The study included a very small number of fans of OFK Beograd and FK BSK, and therefore most likely pattern did not included members of their fan groups (Table 2). The statistical significance of difference of membership in fan groups by clubs they support was confirmed by χ^2 test of independence. The obtained values are $\chi^2(15, n = 2974) = 93.92, p = 0.00$, and Cramer's $V = 0.19$. Based on this coefficient, the difference can be characterized as small (Cohen, 1988).

Table 3. Distribution of respondents by gender and membership in fan groups

Gender of respondent	Total Frequency	sample Percentage	Members of fan groups	
			Frequency	Percentage
Male	2024	55.3	454	22,4
Female	1632	44.6	84	5,1

A much higher percentage of male respondents identified themselves as members of an organized fan group (Table 3). The statistical significance of difference between members of fan groups and those respondents who are not members by gender was confirmed by the χ^2 test of independence. The values were $\chi^2(1, N = 3623) = 221.25$ (with the Yates correction), $p = 0.00$, and the coefficient $j = 0.19$. Based on this coefficient, the difference can be characterized as small (Cohen, 1988). These results are consistent with the research of juvenile criminality in the city of Belgrade in the period 1998-2006, conducted on a representative sample, in which Biljana Simeunović-Patić states that violent behaviour at sporting events is one of the crimes for which, as perpetrators, in the sample appeared exclusively male minors (Simeunović-Patić, 2009).

Table 4. Distribution of respondents by age and membership in fan groups

Age of the respondents	Total Frequency	sample Percentage	Members of fan groups	
			Frequency	Percentage
14 years	10	0.3	1	10
15 years	569	15.5	93	16,3
16 years	991	27.1	160	16,1
17 years	1003	27.4	163	16,3
18 years	801	21.9	88	11,0
19 years	279	7.6	34	12,2

For an understanding of violence related to sporting events are very important criminological research of association of minors and young adults in groups, who are prone to criminal and violent behaviour. Young people in a group are more aggressive and more likely to cause trouble and violence than their peers who are not organized (Earle, 2011: 129). Research results are consistent with that. The mean age of respondents was 16.78 years. Accordingly, most of high school students were aged between 16 and 17 years. However, members of fan groups are represented mostly at the age of 15, 16 and 17 years, i.e. the average age of respondents who identified themselves as members of organized fan groups was 16.64 years (Table 4). The statistical significance of difference between members of fan groups and those respondents who are not members by age was confirmed by χ^2 test of independence. The obtained values are $\chi^2(5, n = 3620) = 15.55$, $p = 0.00$, and Cramer's $V = 0.07$. Based on this coefficient, the difference can be characterized as small (Cohen, 1988). Similar results were obtained in the aforementioned study of juvenile criminality in the city of Belgrade in the period 1998-2006. According to this research, typical perpetrator of a crime of violence at sporting events is an older minor: the average age of the perpetrators of this category in Belgrade sample was 16.23 years (Simeunović-Patić, 2009). Similar results were obtained in survey conducted in 2010 which showed a lot of youth participation in violence at sporting events (Janković, 2010: 138). Specifically, respondents were police officers who provide security at sporting events, and who shared

their observations relating to the age of persons who commit violence. In 94% of cases they said, that these persons are aged 14 to 25, and in 6% of cases these persons are aged 25 to 35.

Table 5. Distribution of respondents based on attitudes towards the police and membership in fan groups

What is the attitude of respondents towards the police ⁶⁾	Total Frequency	sample Percentage	Members of fan groups	
			Frequency	Percentage
Favourable	1008	27,5	97	9,6
Unfavourable	1001	27,3	235	23,5

Unfavourable attitude towards the police in nearly two and a half times (in percentage) of cases have respondents who are members of fan groups (Table 5). The statistical significance of difference between members of fan groups and those respondents who are not members by the attitude towards the police was confirmed by the χ^2 test of independence. The values were $\chi^2(1, N = 2009) = 68.88$ (with the Yeats correction), $p = 0:00$, and the coefficient $j = 0.19$. Based on this coefficient, the difference can be characterized as small (Cohen, 1988).

Table 6. Distribution of respondents according to several characteristics and membership in fan groups

Characteristic	TOTAL SAMPLE		MEMBERS OF FAN GROUPS	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Alcohol consumption	2525	69,0	400	74,2
Drug abuse	352	9,6	101	18,7
Participation in conflict because of cheering	926	25,3	365	67,7
Arrested for violence at matches	202	5,6	121	23,2
Filed misdemeanour charges due to fan violence	136	3,8	79	15,0
Filed criminal charges due to fan violence	115	3,2	71	13,7

The table 6 shows that more than two-third of surveyed high school students, mostly minors, said that they consume alcohol, which, from the standpoint of national health, is a significant problem. Members of the fan groups lead in alcohol consumption. Also, nearly one tenth of the total number of respondents abuse drugs. This is especially true in the population of members of fan groups in which drugs, in percentages, are abused by twice as many respondents. In addition, in conflicts due to fan passions participated more than a quarter of respondents. In addition, members of fan groups are the most numerous because more than two-thirds of them took part in conflicts due to cheering. Although the percentage of total respondents who participated in the conflict because of cheering is a quite large, police detained a relatively small number of respondents for such a form of

6) The analysis did not comprise the answers of respondents who said that they have no attitude in relation to the police.

violence (5.6%). In addition, nearly five times more often have been detained members of fan groups. In accordance with a small percentage of arrested respondents (in terms of total population), the number of filed misdemeanour and criminal charges is relatively small. But, against members of fan groups five or four times (in percentages) more often were filed misdemeanour or criminal charges for violent behaviour at sporting events. Statistically significant differences in these characteristics were confirmed by results of χ^2 test of independence given in Table 7.

Table 7. Results of the c^2 test

Statistically significant difference	N	df	χ^2	p	ϕ
Alcohol consumption	3662	1	7,88	0,01	0,05
Drug abuse	3662	1	59,36	0,00	0,13
Participation in conflict because of cheering	3662	1	599,66	0,00	0,41
Arrested for violence at matches	3602	1	352,22	0,00	0,31
Filed misdemeanour charges due to fan violence	3612	1	211,57	0,00	0,24
Filed criminal charges due to fan violence	3593	1	211,09	0,00	0,25

CONCLUSION

Results of study confirmed results of previous studies - increase in participation of minors in organized fan groups. Nearly one sixth of the test sample identified themselves as members of fan groups, which in view of the representativeness of the sample by the number of respondents and their spatial distribution is a very serious fact.

Based on the obtained results it can be concluded that high school students often join fan groups in Novi Pazar, Jagodina, Pećinci, Kula and Belgrade. Fans of FK Smederevo, FK, FK, FK Novi Pazar and FK Spartak are more prone to organizing into fan groups. They are most often males with mean age of 16.64 years with unfavourable attitude towards the police. High school students who join fan groups are more often consumers of alcohol and abuse drugs more often than their peers without interest for fan groups. Juvenile members of fan groups more often have conflicts motivated by cheering, and accordingly they are more often detained by the police because of violence at sporting events. It follows that misdemeanour and criminal charges are more often filed against them.

Described features provide a starting point for directing of preventive educational programs that might contribute to reduction of violence at sporting events. Such programs should be directed towards students of second and third year of high school, who are prone to alcohol and opiates and are registered as problematic children, prone to violence.

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