

SUMMARY

English summary of Brå report No 2008:20

Strategies against football-related disorder

brå

brottsförebyggande rådet

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The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) – centre for knowledge about crime and crime prevention measures.

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) works to reduce crime and improve levels of safety in society by producing data and disseminating knowledge on crime and crime prevention work.

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Introduction

During the years 1985-86, the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå), the Swedish government's body of expertise within the judicial system, published a series of reports about football terrace violence¹, as it was then called. More than 20 years have passed since then, and there are signs indicating that the violence has changed in character and moved from the terraces to the area outside the football grounds. In conjunction with this change, there are tendencies that the violence between rival risk supporter groups also has become more organized, by means of the clashes having been planned in advance through communications with the rival supporter group (seminar 1). Often, the pre-arranged fights take place in locations far removed from the arena and at a different time from the match day itself. The image of the loud, over-refreshed supporter wearing team colours and scarf at the football ground has been replaced by casual supporters², who want to project the image of having style and class as words of prestige, and use the street as their arena.

The crime-preventing measures developed in the 1980s can be assumed to be less effective today, as a result of the change in character of disorder. New, alternative crime-preventing and crime-fighting measures, based on today's situation, need to be formulated.

Aim and issues

At the request of the Government, Brå has carried out a survey of current knowledge about successful national and international strategies and methods for reducing the amount of disorder connected with sport. The assignment also included proposing measures for improving the coordination between different actors at all levels. The assignment was carried out in collaboration with the National Swedish Police Board (RPS), which is the central administrative and supervisory authority for the police, led by the National Police Commissioner appointed by the Government, and other actors³.

The questions raised are the following:

1. What are the different problems included in the concept of "disorder in conjunction with football"?
2. What are the crime-preventing and crime-fighting strategies we have today, and are they effective?
3. How can we improve the strategies we have today?

¹ Brå (1985:14); Brå (1985:16); Brå (1986:2); Brå (1986:3) and Brå (1986:10).

² See under the heading Firm culture on page x.

³ See Brå's Regulation Letter for 2008, ref. No B2-0621/2007.

Delimitations

The assignment concerns *disorder in conjunction with sport*, but as most of the research and most of the problems relate to football, the main focus of the report will be specifically on football. However, certain other sports, such as ice hockey, bandy and handball have also had some problems with disorder, although on a smaller scale. The report may however be relevant also for other sports. In principle, the disorder exists at all levels of football, but the focus of this report is on Allsvenskan, the top league in Sweden. The examples in the report often concern Stockholm (the capital of Sweden), which is partly due to the limited time frame for the assignment, and also to the fact that Stockholm has the greatest problems with disorder in conjunction with football (Seminars 1 and 2 and interviews with the police). This is probably due, among other reasons, to Stockholm having three teams in Allsvenskan, and the derby matches are often felt to be charged with much prestige.

Method

Method 1. Literature survey.

The systematic review of relevant literature showed that there is a relatively limited amount of such. Of the studies that can be found in the world of academia, the majority have an Anglo-Saxon perspective. Due to the defective and barely existing Swedish research in the area, this is a problem, as we do not know whether the British problems can be translated into Swedish circumstances (see Larsen, 2004, for a discussion of Danish circumstances).

Method 2. Seminars

Three seminars have been held with invited participants (see Foreword on page x) from relevant authorities, organizations and sports associations. All discussions at the seminars were documented and form the basis for the wording of proposals for crime-preventing and crime-fighting strategies. The seminars were held on 16 April, 13 May and 5 August 2008.

Method 3. Exploratory interviews and participant observation

In order to increase knowledge about the subject, ten exploratory interviews in total have been held with different persons with good knowledge about the various problems. Two participant observation sessions have also been held – on 24 April 2008 at a match between AIK and Djurgården and on 7 May at a match between Djurgården and Hammarby.

Swedish supporter culture

At the end of the 1960s, Swedish television started broadcasting English league matches. The atmosphere and the English fans became examples for the Swedish supporters in the early 1970s. The supporters translated English chants into Swedish or re-wrote Swedish songs. In Gothenburg (on the Swedish west coast), the first supporter club, Änglarna, was formed in 1973, and in the mid 1970s, the first fan groups⁴ could be discerned in Stockholm. These were formed without or with little contact with the parent club. The Stockholm fan groups thus developed their own hierarchy, culture and values, different from those of the rest of society (Ds 1998:38). At the end of the 1970s, we experienced the first more considerable disorder in conjunction with football matches in Sweden. The fighting mainly arose between supporter groups or between these and the police/guards. In 1981, AIK took the initiative of making Black Army its official supporter group, and shortly thereafter the other Stockholm clubs followed suit (Ds 1998:38).

Terrace culture and fan group life

Lalander (1997) thinks that in addition to sport at elite level, terrace culture and in particular the fan group also offers kinship, confirmation, identity and the feeling of participation in something bigger than oneself. Lalander also says that the fan groups fill a function in society, as they offer people, in particular men, an outlet for feelings, identity building and help to master a range of problems that Western society is regarded as having contributed to. Kerr (1994) thinks that supporters regard fan group life as an important valve for feelings and processing frustrations. However, it is exactly these benefits that contribute to the creation of problems with terrace violence. For some supporters, the verbal and/or visual violence is sufficient, while for others it is more important to show their power, masculinity and who they are. Terrace culture is based on spontaneity and expression of feelings, but there are simultaneously demands on how to behave. The balancing act is between, on the one hand, order and security, and on the other, passion and commitment. The difference between carnival and hooliganism is described as paper thin by Brännberg (1993).

A B C

Swedish police divide supporters up into three different groups, depending on the threat they are considered to pose. "A" supporters are considered to be well-behaved supporters who are interested in football and

⁴ The definition of a fan group can be said to be a group of supporters, mainly young men, who stand together in a particular place on the terraces and who support their team with greater commitment than the rest of the spectators (Ds 1998:38).

faithful to their teams. “B” supporters are regarded as potential troublemakers, who can easily be provoked or influenced by the “C” supporters. According to the police, “C” supporters are criminal supporters that are inclined to violence who often use matches as opportunities for starting fights between different supporter groups, or with the police and/or security guards. However, the categorization into A, B and C supporter is on its way out, to be replaced by the concepts of risk supporters and ordinary supporters.

Firm culture

The people known to the police as C supporters, or hooligans as they are popularly known, are divided up into something called firms. The word is a direct translation from the English, with the double meaning of a company and also hard, determined and sure. England in particular is the main example when it comes to football firms and hooligan culture. In the 1980s in England, a change took place within hooligan culture, and the so-called casual culture arose. Being casual means to dress in a particular way, but especially in particular makes of clothes⁵. Most supporters were working class, but wanted to look like a higher social class, and therefore started to dress accordingly, apparently in everyday clothes, but of exclusive brands. This led to a kind of invisibility for these supporters, as they no longer dressed in classic hooligan accessories, such as the team scarf and similar (Thornton, 2003). When English supporters started to follow their teams into Europe, disorder took place, but, in particular, shops were ransacked for their smart and expensive branded clothes, Thornton (2003) remarks.

Swedish firm culture

The larger clubs in Sweden have firms, and this appears to be an increasing feature, according to the supporter police (Stockholm’s Supporter Police Yearbook 2007). The risk supporters, or “guys” as they are called in the firms, are often young men between 15 and 30 years old, who together actively seek confrontations with other like-minded groups (Adang and Valk, 1999).

The violence can be said to be organized, to the extent that contact, usually via mobile phones, is made between the rival groups, and a date, time, location and numbers are set (Seminars 1 and 2). Sometimes they are dressed in different colours, or wear arm bands or similar so as not to get the opponents mixed up with the own group during a fight (Seminar 2). Many times there is a gathering the day before a match, or

⁵ The brands that are currently trendy vary with time, but Stone Island, Hackett, Aquascutum and Henri Lloyd among others are brands that have been around in these circles for some time. White trainers (sports shoes) are a must.

on days with no connection with matches whatsoever, although the supporter police in Stockholm consider that the greatest problem is the match day and that the trend is pointing towards violence again increasing at the football grounds and in their immediate vicinity (Seminar 1). The firm members regard themselves as a kind of elite supporter, and membership of a firm as a kind of lifestyle (Larsen, 2004). The macho culture is extremely central in these groups, and violence is a part of the discourse (Seminar 1).

The firms can be compared to organized criminality in the sense that the members have different functions in the network, although these might not be expressed – someone has contact with other firms, someone gets drugs⁶, someone is responsible for IT and so on (Seminar 1)⁷. Often, the fight is videotaped and posted on the Internet (Stockholm's Supporter Police Yearbook 2007). Being visible in the media and having one's actions written about is one way of showing one's value and a social identity (Larsen, 2004), which is also an important part of organized criminality. A comparison can be made with motorbike gangs, who can achieve certain benefits from using their "capital of fear" (Brå 1999:6). However, an important part of a firm member's life is the personal anonymity. As opposed to organized criminality, the firms are not run for profit motives in the form of money, and if family and employers find out about a firm member's leisure interest, they lose the incentive and have to consider whether they want to continue with this type of lifestyle (Seminar 3).

Baby firms

In recent years, a new phenomenon has developed within the firm culture, namely so-called baby firms. These consist of risk supporters under the age of 18, who are not allowed into the bars where the older supporters usually gather before and after matches, which causes a natural separation from the older members. They often fight to prove their mettle before their elders, in a type of step process, where they qualify for the next step.

The youths in the baby firms who make themselves known for taking part in disorder in conjunction with football are often known by the local social and police authorities in their respective housing areas in accordance with Program Supporter (Program Supporter Annual Report 2007).

⁶ The use of drugs is relatively wide-spread (Seminar 1).

⁷ See Brå 2005:11 for a discussion of the organizational pattern of, for example, narcotics crime.

Football-related problems

At a sports event, a rock concert, a demonstration or other arrangement, where a large number of people are gathered together in one place, disorder often occur. The problems included in the concept of football-related disorder are: disorder arising in conjunction with alcohol and drugs; pyrotechnics; throwing of object onto the pitch; pitch invasions; fights within the sports ground; fights outside the sports ground; fights on the way to and from a match; organized fights between firms and threats and harassment aimed at different actors within football.

Inventory of measures in Sweden

A few Swedish reports have been published concerning different measures and methods for reducing disorder of the peace within football⁸. As just mentioned, there are several different types of sports-related disorder, and several different groups of perpetrators. For this reason, it is important to have varying measures in order to prevent crime, from soft touches, such as information and guidance, to harder measures, such as intelligence gathering and point-marking of active firm members (see Korsell and Nilsson, 2003). Nearly all participants at the two seminars emphasized the importance of targeting the measures correctly – if they are imposed on all supporters, including well-behaved ones, the relation between the association/police/security guards and the supporters worsens, which may lead to the risk supporters gaining a larger recruitment base. An important measure, perhaps even the most important measure for dealing with disorder within football, is said to be all actors have a common view of what the problem is, and a clear division of roles. At both seminars, the participants expressed a feeling of lacking a policy specifying exactly which actor is responsible for what (Seminars 1 and 2). Also, a principal driving the issue was requested.

There are a number of measures aimed at influencing disorder within football. In order to make these clearer, the measures have been divided up into three categories. These are social, situational and repressive measures.

Social measures

When it comes to football, the measures often concern strengthening the positive supporter culture, that is being engaged and cheering on the team, and showing young people other alternatives to fighting in order to be a good supporter.

⁸ See for example the Brå series: Brå 1986:3; Ds 1998:38 and Gemensamt arbete mot läktarvåld, 1997.

Influencing the attitudes and values of supporters

Some of the larger clubs in Allsvenskan today have some form of programme aimed at influencing the attitudes and values of their supporters when it comes to behaviour during football matches. The preventative aim is to increase the individual's links to a more positive network and strengthen the individual's self-control. Some examples of this type of measures are:

AIK-stilen – Älska AIK varsamt

“AIK-stilen – Älska AIK varsamt” (“The AIK style – Love AIK carefully”) is a preventative programme also aimed at supporters who have already ended up or are at risk of ending up at odds with the supportership. The programme collaborates with the municipality, schools and assistants in the field (www.aikfotboll.se).

Dagens ungdom – Vår framtid

“Dagens ungdom – Vår framtid” (“Today's youth – Our future”) is a project by Helsingborgs IF aimed at all year six school classes in the municipality. (www.hif.se).

Fotbollsalliansen

“Fotbollsalliansen” (“The Football Alliance”) is a collaboration between the three Stockholm clubs – AIK, Djurgården and Hammarby – and Fryshuset⁹. The collaboration is in the process of expanding to include Helsingborgs IF as well. Together with Fryshuset, Fotbollsalliansen is today working on promoting positive supportership. One of the basic tenets is to prevent young people from searching out the so-called firms. Fotbollsalliansen wishes to create an alternative for pupils and show them that being an active supporter does not mean having to use violence (www.fryshuset.se).

Ge rasismen rött kort

“Ge rasismen rött kort” (“Give racism the red card”) is an example of a Swedish common football campaign started to prevent racism from growing strong on the terraces (www.svenskfotboll.se).

Program Supporter

“Program Supporter” is a network of field workers from the different areas of Stockholm and a couple of surrounding municipalities. One of its aims is to prevent new recruits to negative supporter behaviour and

⁹ Fryshuset is located in Södra Hammarbyhamnen in Stockholm and is a meeting place for all, but perhaps particularly for young people.

to reduce destructive behaviour at and around sports events. What is unique about Program Supporter is that it works across city area borders, and goes with “its” young people into the arenas. In conjunction with matches, the field assistants in Program Supporter meet up and talk to young people who have been turned away from the arena during matches due to unsuitable behaviour. They make contact with the young people who remain around the arena during a match in progress, to find out why they are hanging around without a ticket. They also ward off conflicts between young people and guide them to and from the sports ground area when circumstances are unsettled. Together with the duty social workers, the field assistants in Program Supporter take care of drunken youths and contact their parents or guardians. Program Supporter now exists in several places around the country, for instance Gothenburg (Program Supporter’s Operational Plan 2008).

Increasing the feeling of belonging and participation in the club

Other measures are aimed at increasing the feeling of belonging and participation in the club. By strengthening the relationship with the supporters, increase participation and giving supporters a chance to enter established society (here represented by association life), the anonymity is broken (Sarnecki, 2004). This increases the social control and the idea is to influence supporter’s propensity to commit crimes and take part in anti-social activities.

Klocktornet

“Klocktornet” (“Clock Tower”) is a part of the Djurgården spirit and aims to strengthen the relationship between supporters, members of Järnkaminerna and Djurgården Fotboll (www.dif.se).

AIK Stilen Norra

“AIK Stilen Norra” (“The AIK Style North”) is a group consisting of adults who are present at AIK’s home matches. The aim is to create security and relationships with young supporters at and outside the Råsunda football ground (www.aikfotboll.se).

Is influencing attitudes effective?

It is difficult to say whether these measures have any preventative effect, as most of them have not been evaluated. In particular, it is too early to make any statement, in view of the long-term idea behind the programmes. However, Program Supporter has been evaluated, and the evaluation of the project states, among other things, that Program Supporter has gained experience in how to carry out youth work, which is of benefit also within other areas. “The project can form a basis for a municipal model for meeting different types of city-wide problems relating to youths, such as graffiti, racism, vandalism and substance abuse” (Arevik 2003). However, it should be remembered that it is mainly

young supporters who are reached using this type of measure, and not those who are already established in the firm culture, as the firms consist of organized individuals who to a large extent distance themselves from ordinary supporters by regarding themselves as some kind of elite supporters. The feature that appears to be particularly important is to carry on a discussion about what should be included in a positive supporter culture.

Situational measures

The aim of situational crime prevention is primarily to influence the circumstances surrounding the actual criminal event. This is thus about making the opportunity to commit a crime more difficult (Brå 2004:2). This might be situations where friction easily arises between persons (such as in the queue into the arena), which in turn can lead to violence and other criminal acts.

Netting and fences

At disorder in conjunction with matches, the Swedish Football Association, SvFF, may decide to order the club to install netting or other protection in front of a section of terracing. This measure is paid for by the club. In many sports grounds, there is a fence separating the terraces from the pitch, to prevent supporters from invading the pitch. A fence can also be used to separate off one section from another in order to keep different supporter groupings apart. Despite some horrific examples, some clubs choose not to use fences, as these are sometimes felt by clubs and those responsible for security as preventing the positive terrace culture and punishing all supporters, including those who would never even think about throwing something onto the pitch (Seminars 1 and 2).

Metal detectors

In 2007, IFK Göteborg tried using metal detectors at Ullevi, in order to deal with Bengal fires and metal objects being smuggled in to be used as weapons. Hand detectors have also been tested. IFK Göteborg thinks that the methods worked well, but they do not use them any longer, as they caused lengthy queues (according to a telephone interview with a manager at the club).

Ticket handling/separation of supporters

A basic measure when it comes to disorder is to keep rival supporters apart. This applies both outside and inside the grounds, and before, during and after the match. The supporter police are also working in the city to ensure the different supporter groups do not meet and fights arise. Once the supporters arrive at the grounds, the aim is to keep the groupings separated. This is usually done by the arranger having different entrance points, perhaps on different sides of the grounds, and that

each supporter group is herded into a terrace set aside specifically for them (see Brå 1986:3 for an in-depth analysis). Some seminar participants emphasized that the recipe for successful supporter separation is careful ticket handling; ensuring rival supporters are not mixed up during ticket sales. At Seminar 2, some participants stated that this does not always work satisfactorily.

Camera surveillance

Equipment for camera surveillance shall be present at all Allsvenskan football grounds. The aim is to identify and bar from matches those individuals who are responsible for disorder. Previously, the police handled the surveillance film, which was a problem for the clubs, as the police was not entitled to hand over the surveillance footage for reasons of confidentiality. However, nowadays the football clubs have taken over the camera surveillance during matches, and they are not bound by the same confidentiality, which makes it easy for them to hand over the films to the police. According to an interview with the supporter police, the camera equipment has also got better, which means better image quality and greater opportunities for the police to identify persons on the surveillance footage. However, there are differing views on this. At the seminars, criticism was voiced against the technical equipment that is installed in sports grounds today. The seminars gave a picture of the clubs instead using press images and pictures from TV channels to identify supporters responsible for disorder. The long-term effect would probably be greater if there were opportunities to also interrupt or clear up crimes (investigate/prove) with the help of surveillance cameras.

Move away supporters

The police have the power to transport away supporters who participate in “gatherings of people in breach of the peace”. However, this measure has a limited effect, especially in Stockholm, where the well-developed public transport network means that the supporters moved away quickly can return to the place again. The Ministry of Justice has proposed to give the police the power to “bus” those who breach the peace to locations at up to two hours’ distance. However, the police may not transport them further away than the situation requires (Ds 2008:54).

Pyrotechnics dogs

IFK Göteborg was the first club to use so-called pyrotechnics dogs to sniff out pyrotechnic devices smuggled into the football ground. The pyrotechnics dogs are deployed at the entrances and on the terraces to seek out hidden Bengal fires and similar. At several matches where pyrotechnics dogs have been used, a number of pyrotechnic devices have been found, and as a result these matches have been spared any pyro-

technics in principle. The problem is that there are not all that many trained pyrotechnics dogs as yet¹⁰. Another problem with pyrotechnics dogs is that they are expensive to use, which has led IFK Göteborg, despite good results, to no longer use this method¹¹.

Spectator hosts

A spectator host is often a supporter, and according to the Swedish Sports Confederation, he or she should be a member of the sports association in question. In order to become a spectator host, you have to be at least 18 years old and must not have a criminal record. The spectator hosts wear special jackets and shall be well visible (www.rf.se). At away matches, the spectator hosts are responsible for their own team's supporters at the assigned entrance and terrace section, and also often carry out searches of the own team's supporters (www.svff.se). The spectator hosts usually work for free, even if the trend is towards increased professionalization (Seminar 1), where the clubs hire in spectator hosts from security and events companies.

Supporter police/intelligence work

Nowadays, all Swedish clubs in the Allsvenskan and Superettan divisions have a supporter police attached to them. They work with supporter problems connected to sport, in particular football, but also ice hockey and bandy, for instance. During Allsvenskan football matches, the supporter police are deployed around the town before and after matches and in the grounds during the match. Their job is to locate and follow the firm groupings to prevent fights. When it comes to younger risk supporters, who have not yet reached 18, the supporter police in Stockholm works in a socially preventative way together with Program Supporter and the associations to support young supporters who are not firmly attached to the firms, in order to break their negative behaviour.

Different ways of working around the country

The supporter police work in slightly different ways around the country, and there are sometimes differing views as to which working method is best. In both Malmö and Gothenburg, the supporter police work in uniform as opposed to Stockholm, where they are dressed in plain clothes. The supporter police also send letters to parents and the social services when they take action against youths under the age of 18. The supporter police in Skåne in the southern part of Sweden have a slightly different working method, and make home visits, as they feel that letters have a tendency of not reaching the right recipient or not achieving the full effect. They have also noticed that those youths who have been sub-

¹⁰ According to a security manager at a Stockholm club.

¹¹ According to a telephone interview with a security manager at a club.

ject to police action and who are visited at home often do not appear again (according to an interview with a supporter policeman in Malmö). In order to raise the competence of the supporter police and achieve a uniform working method, in 2009 the National Swedish Police Board will introduce a national training scheme for all supporter police staff.

Surrounding events/Increasing the carnival feeling around football

Surrounding events in the form of music, appearances and activities are a method that was discussed already in the middle of the 1980s in Sweden (Brå 1986:3). The idea is that the more family-like the atmosphere is outside the grounds, the less the spectators are inclined to fight (Ds 1998:38). The participants at the two seminars consider that the street scene needs to be influenced. Surrounding arrangements are also considered to tempt spectators to turn up earlier for matches, avoiding the chaos that sometimes arises at the entrances, when large numbers of spectators arrive a few minutes before the start of the match (Seminars 1 and 2). Also, this gives time to search the spectators. However, the participants at both Seminar 1 and Seminar 2 transmitted an impression that it is often difficult to get permission from the police to arrange surrounding events, as the police strive to have as clear a view as possible over the area outside the grounds. This is to have a better view when firms and other risk supporters are approaching the grounds.

Repressive measures

The repressive measures mean that the importance of punishment and laws is emphasized. The risk of repressive measures is that they can strengthen the sub-culture, whose members in various ways then resist the law givers and the authorities (Sarnecki, 2004). Below follows a review of the measures of a more repressive character used in Sweden.

Laws, regulations, prohibitions, barring, play before empty terraces and fines

As well as rules of the game on the pitch, the football clubs are subject to competition rules laid down by the Swedish Football Association (SvFF). These stipulate, among other things:

- Arranging and visiting associations are responsible for the behaviour of their own players, leaders and supporters in conjunction with and during the match.
- Arranging associations are responsible for informing the spectators about the rules of behaviour that apply in conjunction with and during the match.
- The associations are responsible for identifying and barring any of their own supporters in breach of the peace through so-called arranger's exclusion and/or applying for an admittance prohibition.

Other sanctions for clubs can entail one or several matches being played at grounds other than the club's ordinary home ground; one or several matches played before empty terraces; one or several of the club's home and/or away matches being played with one or several terrace sections closed to spectators and/or a club being ordered to install netting or other protection in front of a section of terraces.

Pyrotechnics

According to the rules of play for football in Sweden, since 2007 there has been a complete prohibition against using pyrotechnics in football grounds for reasons of security (Chapter 6, Clause 3 of SvFF's rules of play). Any breach of the prohibition leads to a fine on the association whose supporters have used pyrotechnics.

Throwing objects onto the pitch

According to the regulatory framework of sports, it is of course forbidden to throw objects onto the pitch, and any breach can lead to a fine on the association whose supporters have thrown objects. With current legislation, it is difficult to prosecute the person throwing; even if a person on the pitch is hit, the prosecutor must be able to show an intent to damage.

Pitch invasions

According to the rules of play for football in Sweden, it is forbidden to set foot on the pitch without permission, and transgressions can lead to a fine for the association whose supporters have invaded the pitch. Current legislation has meant that a person who wrongly sets foot on a pitch during a match in progress is guilty of unlawful intrusion, which is normally punishable by a fine.

Admittance prohibition

Swedish legal support for barring known perpetrators of outrage from grounds is based on the Admittance Prohibition to Sports Events Act (2005:321), also known as the Hooligan Act. Since 1 July 2005, it has been possible to use a punishment-sanctioned admittance prohibition to bar a person from a sports ground when sports events have been arranged at the location. The presumed crime shall in its nature be such that it can be considered to be aimed at breaching the peace or security during the match. Such crimes may be assault and criminal damage, for instance. Today, only sports organizations can apply for an admittance prohibition. The number of applications for admittance prohibitions has to date been relatively few, and one reason for this is said to be that the clubs find it difficult to get hold of the information needed to make an application. Often, the firms agree a location and time and fight each other far from the grounds, and according to current legislation, the police is not permitted to inform the sports arrangers of the persons

who have been involved in the fights. Another reason is said to be that some clubs are worried about imposing sanctions such as exclusions on firm members, as they fear being exposed to threats and harassment.

Body searches of spectators

Body searches of spectators are a measure that has been used for a long time in Sweden (Brå 1986:3). The aim is to turn away spectators who behave in a disorderly way or are drunk or have taken drugs. The search is also to prevent alcoholic drinks from being brought in. The checks also cover objects that may cause damage, such as bottles that can be thrown onto the pitch, weapons, metal bars, flagpoles and pyrotechnics (Brå 1985:16). Each association is responsible for searching its supporters. The searching of spectators takes place as a result of a civil law agreement between spectators and arranger. Usually the search of spectators is carried out by the spectator hosts (du Rées Nordenstad, 1998). Most participants in the seminars and interviewees consider that the admission control is an area where queues often arise, causing irritation and sometimes creating a risk of trouble. Often, there is an intense influx of spectators just before the match, which sometimes leads to difficulties in managing a careful search of all spectators. Improved body searches and encouraging spectators to arrive in good time at the grounds are measures that are also raised in the concluding chapter.

Alcohol restrictions

In order to counteract problems caused by alcohol in conjunction with sport, there are special alcohol restrictions. For instance, it is forbidden to bring or drink spirits, wine or strong beer at sports grounds. In the majority of studies, it is found that alcohol is a contributory factor to creating both the party spirit and the violence associated with football. An established and very often mentioned explanation for the rise of hooliganism is the degree of intoxication in supporters (Dunning, 2000). Other researchers consider that this explanation is problematic, in view of the many supporters who drink alcohol before a match, but the few who are violent (Estrada and Tryggvesson, 2001). However, research has shown that people who have consumed alcohol are more inclined to violence in situations where frustration and stress arises. One reason for this is that the alcohol-affected perpetrator of an outrage experience conflict situations as more frustrating and insulting (Lenke, 1990). According to a participant in the third seminar, the problem is rather that there is no clear limit on alcohol intoxication imposed by the arranger, who will often say that "if you can stand up, you can come in".

Police and security guards

The police are involved before, during and after a football match and ready to deploy if there are disturbances or fights in or around the grounds. If no disorder occurs, the police remain outside the grounds. A grounds officer directs the police work in the grounds during the foot-

ball match, and can in exceptional circumstances also take command over the arranger's security guards. However, the security guards are under the authority of a policeman, and the permit for the event states the number of guards the arranger has to appoint. Normally, the arranger's security manager directs the security guards' work inside the grounds (www.polisen.se).

Special police tactics

The aim of special police tactics is to work with large crowds of people and disorder in a more qualitative manner. Formerly, they worked in close ranks with police equipped in riot gear with helmets and shields, and circled all the activists. The problem was that both peaceful and violent activists were caught in the circle, and even people who just happened to be in the vicinity (according to one interviewee at the National Swedish Police Board [Rikspolisstyrelsen]). The old way of working has been replaced by rapid "quality interventions", which mean that plain clothes policemen, who are placed close to the centre of demonstrations, quickly can intervene against persons who, for instance, are breaking windows, before the situation escalates. The concept entails the police working more preventatively and interacting with the crowd, trying to be there before the tumult erupts. The experiences of using the special police tactic during demonstrations and political manifestations are good, according to the National Swedish Police Board. On the other hand, some work remains to achieve a good result for the tactic at football events.

Tactical problems

Representatives of the clubs and supporter clubs agree that the police appear a little unsure of how to handle the situation, and consider that the police sometimes are a contributory factor to the problem, through their behaviour around the grounds. The clubs' security managers, who took part in Seminar 2, consider that the new tactics of the police have harmed the work, while other interviewees consider that the problem is not the SPT training itself, but rather the lack of training of some groups within the police.

Large crowds and disorder

During Seminar 1, the researchers taking part pointed out that it is important to emphasize the interaction taking place between the police and the crowd at football events. Research indicates that the police do not always regard their own role in the situations that can arise, which is that they can be a contributory factor to the escalating disorder. Instead, the police are stated to have a tendency to look for the explanation in the behaviour of the crowd (Guvå, 2005). From a police perspective, it is about identifying an agitator or instigator and quite simply to convey or remove him – in the opinion of Guvå (2005), (see also Holgersson, 2007, Stott and Reicher, 1998, and Reicher et al, 2004). One

risk, says Holgersson (2007), is that the intervention of the police also affects those persons in the crowd who initially do not support the provocateurs. The others can take sides against the police due to an intervention being seen to be brutal, or that they are treated as though they are perpetrators of outrage through the body language, physical intervention or verbal expressions of the police. An intervention that is seen as unjustified can make more individuals join the groupings proposing more confrontative solutions. Holgersson (2007) considers that if the police make a collective intervention against the crowd, an "us-against-them" feeling is created, which can unite an initially heterogeneous group by making them feel the police are attackers. In this situation, the police often consider themselves as forced to use tougher methods, which increase the risk of escalating the conflict. Guvå (2005) refers to Stott, Hutchinson and Drury (2001), who point out that one risk of treating supporters as potential hooligans and interpreting collective behaviours as "dangerous" is that this in the longer term can lead to supporters feeling that "they are denied what they consider to be their proper right, to behave loudly, noisily and in high spirits". "Resistance against the police can then be seen as a defence of the right to behave in a carnival manner in a group, rather than as a behaviour based on a culture of violence" (Guvå, 2005:10).

Security guards

Participants in the seminars consider that the attitude towards the supporters must change. The criticism aimed against the police applies in principle also to the security guards. Some policemen from the seminars and interviewees from RPS state that there are failings in the training of security guards when it comes to football-related disorder, and consider that the police must take greater responsibility for training.

Special investigation register (SUR)

A special investigation register (SUR) is a register in which the police gather, process and analyze statements and information about a certain type of crime. The aim of an SUR is to enable processing of intelligence information in a more effective manner than is possible in the police's fixed register, for instance MR/BR (suspicion register/charge register). However, according to one interviewee, there are some failings in the work with SUR. The reason for this is that resources do not permit the police to analyze the information in sufficient detail (interviewee at the National Swedish Police Board). Another problem is said to be that National Criminal Investigation Department (Rikskriminalpolisen) does not get sufficient information from the supporter police. The supporter police in Stockholm has its own local SUR, but here too they say that they lack time to administer it, which in turn means that the national SUR is suffering (supporter police in Stockholm).

Inventory of measures in Europe

Social measures

Some countries in Europe, such as Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, have structured and institutionalized supporter projects. The idea is to use social work to widen the communication channels between supporters, police, clubs and local society.

Situational measures

England is looked upon as an example when it comes to situational measures. The British Government commissioned Lord Justice Taylor to prepare a report due to the situation with disorder. Some of the points in the report that are described as having improved the English situation were: improved security and comfort of football grounds; the introduction of seating only; season tickets and playing matches earlier in the day. All points can perhaps not be translated into Swedish circumstances, but improved grounds in relation to increased security and playing high-risk matches in the daytime at weekends are judged to be important measures.

Repressive measures

When comparing the different national crime-preventing strategies in Europe, the English response is considered to have been primarily reactive, with sophisticated surveillance methods, intelligence operations, electronic surveillance, access denials and travel restrictions. The repressive methods are: Denial of access to the grounds, electronic surveillance, police methods in relation to the handling of large crowds and tips to the public issued by texting.

Proposals for future strategies

Here the strategies are presented that Brå considers should be implemented in conjunction with football matches. The measures have been developed in collaboration with the various actors in conjunction with seminars, interviews and participant observation. Brå can state that the most important measure for successfully dealing with disorder in conjunction with football is considered to be the introduction of a *national plan of measures*. It is clear that there is great doubt about who is responsible for what, who are to collaborate and who are to have a joint approach to what, and that the different actors lack a unifying and driving force. In order to facilitate the reading, the proposals for future strategies are divided up into a list of the most important short- and long-term measures that Brå considers can influence the situation even now.

Short-term measures

1. Creating events outside and inside the grounds with the aim of reducing the aggressive atmosphere and making the spectators arrive earlier at the grounds. In this way, long queues are avoided, which creates space for a more detailed search.
2. Be clear not to accept noticeable drunkenness at entry.
3. Play all high-risk matches at lunchtime on weekends.
4. Increase collaboration with local public transport to convey spectators quickly from the area around the grounds, so that the police can concentrate on the supporters breaching the peace.
5. Also check over the technical equipment in terms of camera surveillance in grounds with the aim of safeguarding identification.

Long-term measures

1. Create a national plan of measures containing formats for collaboration and showing who is to do what.
2. The Government should appoint a principal to investigate and create the national plan of measures against football-related disorder and who works to ensure the plan is implemented.
3. Carry out a review of existing grounds with the aim of improving security and comfort.
4. Creating a national specialist training course for security guards working in conjunction with football matches.
5. Increase the police's knowledge about handling crowds; "friendly but firm" and "low policing".
6. The police should use targeted interventions against certain selected firm members as a working methods aimed at prosecuting and breaking up firm groupings.

Creating a national action plan, corresponding to the English Taylor report, is a measure that the participants consider to be vital for the future. In England, the Government drove the process, but irrespective of who assumed responsibility in Sweden, it is important for all actors to have respect for the principal and comply with the decisions made. It is thus important to have a principal who does not favour any individual actor. In the long term, it is important to ensure that the national plan of measures prescribes that a clear and common attitude is introduced throughout the country and at all matches, in order to reduce uncertainty. Brå proposes a number of measures that we consider the national plan of measures should contain. These are: a common view; increased security at grounds; measures for increased positive atmosphere; competence-raising measures for police and security guards and a more targeted fight against crime. The proposals can be regarded as support and guidance for the investigator/principal of the future national plan of measures, and thus it becomes the principal's role to present measures at detailed level and to implement these.

A common view

In the world of football, a large number of actors are involved, and all have their own, sometimes contradictory, interests. It is therefore necessary to bring about a common view on issues of importance to order and security. Some circumstances in which apparently irreconcilable interests prevail and where a common view should be striven for and permeate the national plan of measures are described below. Which supporters do the actors want? Should the focus be on individual persons or the entirety? What is a positive atmosphere on the terraces? What is a "reasonable" level of alcohol consumption?

Increased safety in football grounds

The fact that it is possible to some extent to build to prevent crime has been known some time (see for instance Brå, 2002; Brå, 2005). When building new football grounds, the crime-preventing design should be included in the construction right from the start, but also existing grounds in Sweden are considered to be in need of a review in terms of security.

Body searches

The report shows that security in grounds can be improved through a raft of measures. A basic measure is to make spectators arrive in good time at the grounds, so that the arranger has time to *body search all* with the aim of preventing Bengal fires and similar being brought into the grounds, something that is already happening at large championships, such as the World Cup and European Cup. A possible measure

may be to introduce a rule that states that you have to be in place, for instance, 30 minutes before kick-off, or risk not being let into the grounds as a spectator. In other circumstances, people accept and respect an "at the latest" time, for instance in air travel, where travellers know that check-in closes at a certain time, or theatre performances, where members of the audience know that late arrivals are not let in. It should be possible to get spectators to take into account that they may not be let in if they are late, even in the case of football.

Camera surveillance

So far, the surveillance footage does not appear to have had any noticeable effect in terms of exclusions or court cases. If camera surveillance is to be effective, it is important that the spectators see and experience that there is a potential risk of being discovered and prosecuted. However, the most important feature is that the technology has to be of satisfactory quality, so that the identity of the perpetrator in question can be determined. From the seminars, a picture emerged where the camera equipment at football grounds is not always functional. If this is the case, a review should be made of the technical equipment, and faulty equipment be exchanged for functioning cameras. The technology for getting good surveillance pictures exists, and it is important to use the measures that are available. In England, camera surveillance is said to have had a considerable effect on disorder within football grounds, and supporters confronted with pictures of themselves have been forced to confess themselves guilty (Taylor Report, 1989).

Modelling

When a team arrives in a new town and a new stadium, the club must know how to act if anything goes wrong, but often the away club is not even included in the discussion between the police and the home team's security organization (according to an interview with a security manager at a club and Seminar 2). One way of dealing with this is to have joint modelling rehearsals. Modelling is a way of trying to find "the difference that makes the difference". The participants in the modelling simply go through the arrangements bit by bit, before, during and after the match. "What does it look like?" "What can be expected?" "What can go wrong?" and "What do we do then?" and similar issues are discussed.

Measures for increased positive atmosphere

Creating a positive framework and preventing an aggressive atmosphere from getting the upper hand are considered to be of great importance, as football matches otherwise can be felt to be a dangerous environment to be in. The sometimes felt insecurity is regarded as an important cause for some choosing not to go to football matches. There is also reason to

believe that supporters can be thought to be less inclined to fight and create disorder if one can reduce the number of felt provocations. Making the experience of football more pleasant and more family-minded may possibly attract other types of spectators, such as families with children, women and middle-aged people, something that is considered to have a favourable effect on disorder. At an event of this size and type, there are some weak points, which may be important to review. These weak points are such that cause irritation, frustration and an aggressive atmosphere, which, in conjunction with alcohol, can lead to disorder. Under this heading, measures that contribute to reduced frustration and an increased positive atmosphere are presented.

Earlier match times

A number of actors claim that the choice of match time can be crucial for the degree of disorder. The participants in the seminars considered that playing high-risk matches at lunchtime on weekends affects the intakes of alcohol and drugs, as time becomes short before an earlier match. Derby matches are played at 8pm on weekday evenings, and end just before 10pm. This is one of the reasons why, for instance, many families choose not to attend the matches.

Increase collaboration with local public transport

At Seminar 2, club representatives stated that they felt the collaboration with local public transport does not work satisfactorily. Representatives of the clubs argue that it is better to get most of the ordinary spectators completely away after the end of the match, so that they could then focus on the “rotten eggs” (Seminar 2). Irrespective of what the police chooses to do, it is important to inform spectators clearly about how to get home after the match. Increasing collaboration with the traffic companies with the aim of quickly removing spectators from the area around the grounds appears to be an urgent measure. A possible proposal is to agree with the local public transport that a number of buses will be waiting at the end of the match, to ferry spectators to another underground station.

Competence-raising measures

Increasing the police's and security guards' knowledge about handling crowds

Interviewees within the police consider, as previously mentioned, that the police does not yet properly handle the special police tactics, SPT. It is therefore important to ensure that police who are working in conjunction with football matches, among other events, receive both a theoretical and practical insight into SPT to the extent that the police feel secure with the concept. Holgersson (2007) considers that increased understanding among police staff about the social identities and goals of dif-

ferent groups can increase understanding about which police actions can be considered as provocative. Only then can the police behave calmly and securely and be as helpful and accessible as their English colleagues are claimed to be. This, most of the participants in the seminars and interviewees point out, is important for the atmosphere. Research has shown that the football matches that have the greatest chance of taking place without any great disorder are those where the police presence is discreet and polite, but clear when needed, or “friendly but firm” (see for instance Stott and Adang, 2003; Guvå, 2005; Holgersson, 2007). The starting point for the work with football matches should in the first instance be “low policing”, which means a limited police force in ordinary uniform, patrolling in pairs or a small group, and interacting with the supporters.

Training operational managers

Participants at the first two seminars described that different police intervention managers had different ideas about the level to pitch the maintenance of order at. This variation of the level of tolerance risks resulting in uncertainty among the arrangers, clubs, supporters, the uniformed police and security guards, among others.

Introduce a national specialist training course for security guards

As previously mentioned, security guards were sometimes criticized for their attitude to supporters. Reports about batons at the ready and excess violence have emerged from supporters and the media, but also from certain interviewees and seminar participants. Working as a security guard during a football match is no easy task. Some of the interviewees consider that the security guards take on too great a responsibility and it is important to discuss the responsibility that rests on their shoulders and whether it is a reasonable burden of work. Security guards are in an exposed position – they have less authority, protection and training than the police. It is reasonably a great difference between being a security guard in a shopping centre, for instance, and handling more than 30,000 spectators at a derby match.

More targeted actions against crime

Targeted interventions

In the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, the police has been successful with the tactic of targeted interventions against specific goals, or the police using intelligence work to focus on the criminality of certain, selected individuals. Research also shows that targeted intervention is a successful working method (Weisburd et al, 2006). A recommended tactic is therefore for the police to focus on the risk supporters who commit serious crimes (Ds 1998:38). If the police succeed in prosecuting a number of firm members, this may contribute to weakening the

grouping. However, it is important to aim interventions primarily against firm members at other times than during the match itself, as the police through these measures can cause more disorder than, as intended, prevent them. Gathering all the evidence in a kind of “chronological portfolio” in order to lay clear a pattern of violent crime has, as previously mentioned, been shown to work in the United Kingdom (see the example Operation Fixture). In all probability, a systematic documentation of all the transgressions of a firm member, with the aim of clarifying a pattern, may be a good working method in Sweden too. For this reason, it may be suitable to give the actors in the judicial system increased knowledge about the issue.

The example of organized crime

Brå has published a number of reports about how organized crime should be combated and, even if firm groupings cannot be translated direct to organized criminality, there are similarities. A commonly held view is that it is only possible to damage organized crime by arresting the top chiefs, but earlier studies by Brå show that this is not the case; instead it is about arresting people of importance in the networks (Brå, 2005:11). The seminars also show that it is difficult to achieve a guilty verdict when it comes to organized fights or participation in violent riots. A possible strategy is to target resources on other aspects of the risk supporters’ criminality, such as drugs crime. A comparison can be made with the organizational pattern of drugs criminality. The Brå report shows the importance of targeting the work of the authorities towards more aspects than just drugs, when it comes to combating the narcotics networks. For instance, increased focus on the money is assessed as causing great damage to the networks. In the same way, alternative methods are needed to flush out the risk supporters (Brå, 2005:11).

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