

SUBCULTURE OF STADIUM HOOLIGANS – PATHOLOGY OR CRIME?

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ABSTRACT

Aggressive behaviour of hooligans is not a new phenomenon, but has its roots in ancient times. From that era it developed and evolved, with particular dynamics at the turn of the 1950s/60s of the last century. In Poland this phenomenon and the violence appeared later, in the 1970s. Authors also presented classification of the fans by presenting the attributes and characteristics of particular groups. These often brutal and violent behavior have also been analysed in this article –authors have presented the most spectacular tragedies caused by aggression of hooligans. It was showed that modern groups of football hooligans in Poland often have criminal nature, and are an important part of organised (often international) crime, connected with smuggling and drug trafficking.

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One of the serious threats that appear in public space, especially large cities, are ultras, due to scarves worn on neck in colours of the club, also known as “scarfers” [pol. “szalikowcy”]. They are perpetrators of serious collective distortion of order and security. To restore order the Police is

forced to use regular subunits, which often use coercive means such as water¹, horses², non-penetrating bullets³ or incapacitating chemicals⁴. Such arsenal is necessary to control riots, which participants are armed with stones, batons, and sometimes cleavers or machetes. Riots occur not only in stands during the match, but in the streets when the feuding groups are reaching the stadium or leaving it. Increasingly mass organized fights [pol. “ustawki”] are arranged – their participants agree on a regular battle that is fought in public places, often using dangerous tools. It is not surprising that this kind of excesses ends with not only the destruction of stadium infrastructure, whether the destruction of public transport vehicles and cars parked in the streets but also people may suffer serious injury, and sometimes even die.

Authors considered that such an important, from the point of view of public security, negative phenomenon which is the activity of hooligans, requires providing research, to formulate some solutions both in sphere of prevention and its effective eradication. For this purpose they have formulated the main research problem: whether it is possible to improve efficiency of actions of the Police in combating hooligans’ crime. To find the answer to this question authors have also identified specific questions to be resolved in this article. The rest is going to be analysed in the next publication, which will present results of provided research. Detailed research problems that authors decided to settle in this article are:

- Whether the aggressive behaviour of hooligans is a new phenomenon or evolves?
- Does ultras are a homogeneous group?
- Does football hooligans’ behaviour have criminal nature?

It turns out that roots of such behavior date back to ancient times. In 1300 BC Egyptian fans as a result of the so-called stadium “war” led to the outbreak of civil war, which resulted in the overthrow of Pharaoh Fikas. Similar way of rooting had also place in the Roman Empire during the Colosseum chariot racing. About the fact of the first murder on sports arena we find out from the ancient Roman chronicles.

¹ Art. 12 par. 1 pt. 8 of Ustawa z dnia 24 maja 2013 r. o środkach przymusu bezpośredniego i broni palnej, Dz.U. 2013 poz. 628.

² Ibidem, art. 12 par. 1 pt. 10.

³ Ibidem, art. 12 par. 1 pt. 11.

⁴ Ibidem, art. 12 par. 1 pt. 12.

A consequence of such negative behavior was the introduction of a number of security procedures, some of which are applied until present times. An example of such preventive action was introduced in 450 BC in the city of Delphi – prohibition of bringing in alcohol into the stadium⁵.

“Scarfers” is a specific subculture associated with sport, and the name of such groups is derived from the scarf with the name and logo of beloved team. Their members are the biggest problem among fans of football teams. They behave in a very brutal way, using obscene language and commit acts of vandalism. These groups are characterized by the most aggressive attitudes and provocative style of being.

The origins of the modern stadium hooliganism have been reported already at the turn of 50s and 60s of the last century in the UK. There fights between fans of opposing teams occurred during football matches. Aggressive fans, wearing club colours, firstly began to cheer their team only in the United Kingdom, and later in the whole Europe.

On the unofficial website of the ARKA Gdynia “Ultra Hools” you read that hooligans’ behavior in the stadium lasts more than one hundred years, and that at the end of the 19th century at the head of the hooligans’ gang stood Irish magnate Edward Hooligan and his life full of excesses gave rise today commonly term “hooligans”⁶.

A guiding spirit role for stadium hooliganism played in the UK mainly the Chelsea fans – “head hunters” and fans of the Manchester United – “Red Army”. Ultras of Chelsea for a very long time were the most dangerous and unpredictable fans in the UK, causing deaths, coming on stadiums with dangerous items such as knives or axes.

In Poland “szalikowcy” appeared at stadiums later, in the mid-70s of the last century⁷. At that time tv started to broadcast English league matches, and these broadcasts showed Polish fans a whole new world, new forms of rooting and supporters wearing the club’s colours, with fan attributes i.e. scarvers and flags of favourite club.

Another important factor for creation of ultras subculture in Poland was that fans began to travel for matches with their teams, thus creating integrated group with informal leaders.

⁵ Comp. P. Piotrowski, *Szalikowcy. O zachowaniach dewiacyjnych kibiców sportowych*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2000, p. 15.

⁶ J. Dudała, *Fani-chuligani. Recz o polskich kibolach studium socjologiczne*, Wyd. Akademickie „Żak”, Warszawa 2004, p. 27.

⁷ J. Dudała, *Kibic to potęga. Część I*, „Sport”, 7.03.2001.

For the moment, supporters of some clubs are ongoing a dispute, who in Poland was the first to organise such forms of team support. Łukasz Staniek, in an article on a website shows his own observations⁸.

In his opinion “scarfers” of the ŁKS were the avant-garde. *A group of students dressed in scarves, armed with flags, meet every match in the same place, singing songs and chanting lyrics on ŁKS (...).* To be the precursors of “scarfers” movement candidate, in addition to fans of the ŁKS, aspire at least three club teams: Polonia Bytom, Legia Warszawa and Lechia Gdańsk. The fact is that at the beginning of the 70s fans of the ŁKS were the largest, most colourful and the most active group. Immediately after them were supporters of Lech Poznań, Legia Warszawa, Lechia Gdańsk, Wisła Kraków and Polonia Bytom. Soon they were joined by supporters of: ARKA Gdynia, Pogoń Szczecin, Silesia Wrocław and GKS Tychy⁹.

Of course, as the most hardcore were the groups whose roots reached the beginning of the 1970s. However, there were no fully consolidated groups, that made being a fans an essence of their life. Everywhere there was a scheme that fans after leaving the army went in privacy. Others got married and also disappeared from stadiums. At the beginning of the 1980s, this stereotype slowly began to disappear. Until then, as the biggest football hooligans were seen those who could showed themselves on the matches away in places, where, as the locals sang, “death was waiting for them”. Then no one could count on that militiaman will take care about carnality of visiting. He had only to rely on his own strength. Who was strong at the end of the decade of the propaganda success? Surely Silesia. To show twice in Szczecin, also in Poznan, Warsaw before 1976, when there were a consent with Legia, require a considerable courage. We are talking about the departure of groups of fans, and not trips of coaches handled by industrial companies. Because in those days such matches also happen. It was possible to show for some clubs: Pogoń Szczecin, Polonia Bytom, Wisła Kraków, Lechia, Zawisza Bydgoszcz, Lechia and Arka of the Three-City, Zagłębie Sosnowiec, Ruch and Górnik. Surely ŁKS, Legia. The forerunners of stadium fanaticism¹⁰.

⁸ <http://www.kibice.net/kibice>.

⁹ P. Sielecki, P. Sobiech, *Szalikowcy- podstawy informacyjne*, Zakład Taktyki i Techniki Interwencji, Szkoła w Katowicach 2006, p. 10.

¹⁰ J. Dudała, *Fani- chuligani Recz o polskich kibolach studium socjologiczne*, Wyd. Akademickie „Żak”, Warszawa 2004, p. 33.

The value of competition of sports players is often determined by the number of viewers who are interested in it. The players, accepting their “service” role stress that they play for the audience, and even that playing sports without viewers does not make sense¹¹.

A group of spectators watching sporting events at the stadium is, of course, strongly varied, mainly they are differed by intensity of emotions.

You must extract the group of so-called “**real audience**”. This group primarily consists of people in mature age, stabilised financial situation and good social position. This group comes on the stadium mainly to participate in a good sports show, and their behaviour is consistent with the “fair play”.

Another group are **the fans**. This group, in contrast to the “real audience”, emotionally solidarises with their team. As a rule, these are young people, identifying with their club. They like to watch match directly at the stadium, and the result they treat in terms of personal success or failure.

The players of the opposing team, their fans, and often referees, are seen as an obstacle that must be removed that “ours” won. Defeat is a highly frustrating event and often leads to violent acts of retaliation. The goal is a humiliation of rival – “a stain on the honor”, which is a lost on the pitch, can be taken away even on the stands or in after-match clashes¹².

The last group are so-called **hools or hooligans**. Hools are aggressive, come at the stadium mainly to satisfy the need for strong sensations, experience the adventure and make a riot at the occasion of the match. This group is often completely not interested in what happens on the pitch because they really not not have an emotional bond with the team.

“Scarfers” subculture is certainly the most numerous group of stadium subcultures. They are mainly young people aged 15 to 25 years, mostly bald or with very short haircut, dressed in sports clothes of reputable companies. On necks they are wearing scarves, flags in their hands, and hats in the colours of own club.

The “scarfers” group is characterized by the crime associated with sports. They are the people with high aggression in both words and deeds. Their behaviour is destructive and is a result of sense of impunity, anonymity and the “distraction” of responsibility. These young people often commit acts,

¹¹ P. Piotrowski, *Szalikowcy-o zachowaniach dewiacyjnych kibiców sportowych*, wyd. Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2000, p. 9.

¹² Ibidem, p. 10.

which they would never had committed alone. Often during commitment of these acts they are under influence of alcohol or other drugs.

For “scarfers” the most important is the club membership and the ability to show in a group, which, according to them, means something. An important factor is also the desire to be the most important in the group. The primary attribute of fan is of course scarf, and its loss is the largest humiliation of a member of such informal group. The amount of acquired scarves of the opposing team is meticulously recorded in the fan-zones because it shows hooliganic strength of the group. Later such “gained” scarves are hung on the fences of stadiums, next to one another as a trophy. Sometimes they are put on fire.

The strength of the club is also measured by number of designs of scarves. The most numerous groups of supporters have even more than 100 designs of this club attribute¹³. As a rule, scarves are made on orders of fan-clubs or militias. It was only at the beginning of the 90s of the last century when have appeared scarves produced by specialized companies, from computer-made subtitles or crests.

The meeting point of this subculture is a stadium and a place called “mill” or “boiler”, mostly “vis a vis” tribune of honour. “The mill” has its own name, usually from the determination of the sector in which it is located. And so the fans Wisła Kraków “mill” call – “X Sector”, and Legia Warsaw fans – “Razor”.

The size of the “mill” is very important, because it shows the level of fans. When assessing the “mill” counts its abundance, quality, flags, and age fans. While the team that does not have it, in general, is not taken into account in the creation of the so-called Polish fan society maps.

Each “mill” has also its commander and bandleaders leading the applause. “Mills” often change their place and sometimes at the stadium there are from two to three of them.

Among “scarfers” there is always the leader – the commander, which manifests the courage, bravery and loyalty to other hooligans. He is also known among football hooligans from other teams and does not take a direct part in fights. His responsibilities include organization and liaising with leaders or representatives of other groups of football hooligans. As a rule, it is he who decides with whom his group has an alliance and who

¹³ Authors: comm. P. Sielecki, comm. P. Sobiech, *Szalikowcy- podstawy informacyjne*, Zakład Taktyki i Techniki Interwencji, Szkoła w Katowicach 2006, p. 18.

is most hated. It also happens that the leader leads cheering and intonates song sung or chanted slogans.

“Scarfers” in “mill” keep cheering, singing songs, chant slogans to relieve atmosphere, support players or offend fans of the opposing team. They sing club songs during public transport rides on the way to the stadium. Each group of supporters of particular football team has its own repertoire and its anthem.

Supporters of Wisła Kraków for years are singing:

*Jak długo na Warwelu
Zygmunta bije dzwon
Tak długo nasza Wisła
Zwycięzać będzie wciąż
Zwycięży Gwiazda Biała
Nasza wiślacka brać
Zastuga to niemata
Tych, co umieją grać¹⁴.*

In turn, supporters of Legia Warszawa intone:

*Mistrzem Polski jest Legia
Legia najlepsza jest
Legia to jest potęga
Legia CWKS¹⁵.*

Club anthem is always sung before the beginning of each match, and during the fans get up and keep spread scarves over heads or “sector flag” [pol. “sektorówka”]. “Sektorówka” is a huge flag sometimes covering several sectors, passed hand to hand by fans. Until recently, the largest sector flag belonged to ŁKS Łódź.

When the result is unsatisfactory for the hooligans, they initiate fights, trying to stop the match by throwing different pitches or burning flares on the pitch. Often they also destroy stadium equipment, high chairs, sidewalks, fences and throw them in rivals, or in a competitive football players.

At this point it is worth mentioning about phenomenon known as “kosa” [eng. scythe], which involves mutual combating of antagonised groups of supporters. These are, first of all, fights taking place before the game, during the match and after its ending. It is also a verbal aggres-

¹⁴ Website <http://www.wisla.koti.com.pl/>.

¹⁵ P. Sielecki, P. Sobiech, *Szalikowcy- podstawy informacyjne*, Zakład Taktyki i Techniki Interwencji, Szkoła w Katowicach 2006, p. 20.

sion of cries and songs insulting fans of the opposing team. In the framework of the “kosa” can also be counted, for example, ambushes on the bus, or train, with fans of another team. They are aimed at acquiring rivals’ fans attributes and later their destruction (usually by burning) during the match.

Fans also have their code of honour, which make up the rules that force specified behaviour, clearly specifying what can and what cannot a member of the group do.

Here are the records of the informal but widely recognised fan’s code of honour:

1. Fan does not cooperate with the Police, do not seek for their protection against other fans, in conflict fan – the Police always supports the former (even if it would be a fan of the most hated group). This principle is commonly obeyed.
 - It is forbidden to blow the whistle to the Police on even most antagonistic opponents. “Scarfer” even heavily beaten, when asked by the Police to identify the perpetrator, should remain silent.
 - If some scarves, flags, which previously have been taken away by the Police officers, as their hands are disgraceful, can no longer be hoisted at the stadiums. This rule is not strictly obeyed.
 - When the Police, during intervention uses force against “scrafers” even from the most hated club, the duty is to support them. In these situations they sing: “Zawsze i wszędzie Policja jebana będzie” [“Always and everywhere the Police will be fucked”].
 - “Scafer” has his honour and does not need Police protection. “Scrafers” looking for Police protection are exposed to the greatest contempt. As more valuable is even seen an escape from the field of battle, than this type of action.
 - Do not taking care of checking theirs’ identity papers by the Police. Lastly such operations of the officers, as a rule, include recording of the images.
2. The song “If you lose, or not, I still love you” [“Czy przegrywasz, czy też nie, ja i tak kocham Cię”] is the most important section of the code of fan: to be on good and bad with the club, regardless of the attitude of players. The true fan is identified with the name of the club, its tradition, colours, coat of arms, and not with the players, sponsors or activists. They often change. But there is no tolerance for sold and set matches

or lazy players. They may lose, but they have to fight until the end. This rule is obeyed.

3. A fight between fans – hooligans should be carried out on the bare fists, and only in specific cases, with the agreement of both parties, by using the so-called “items”. The battle should be carried out in a secluded location to do not to fight others form “outside” of the group. This rule absolutely is not obeyed. Hooligans are fighting using all available and dangerous objects. Any prior agreements and contracts are broken, and the teams that violate these rules are not generally condemned by the hooligans. After all, only the main objective counts, which is to win and to humiliate the opponent. Defeated no one listens to. Dishonourable victory is valued higher than honoured defeat.
4. Hostile hooligans – you cannot take mobile phones, jackets, shoes and other things not related to being a fan – the fans are not thieves. The rule is not obeyed, now everything is stolen: money, watches, jackets, cell phones, cameras. Some teams even boast how much money they had “made”. Such an attitude also does not meet with condemnation of the environment.
5. When a hostile fan will give a scarf or a flag and do not want to fight, he should be let go, and when he is alone against a larger group, you can at most offer “a solo fight”. You cannot ride roughshod over defeated opponent. The rule is completely disobeyed. Several attackers beat a lonely opponent often with dangerous items, so as to make him the greatest harm. Often very young fans – children – are beaten up, causing a feeling of “pride” of the fact that some oppononts had to be taken to hospital.
6. On the national team matches a truce should be respected by fans – all we are cheering one and the same team. This rule is not obeyed.
7. Respect own “consent” and “settings”. Consent cannot be denied in any situation. Lastly in this field there are some ambiguities. Particularly in large groups are subgroups having their own preferences and personal contacts¹⁶.

Albert Jawłowski from the Youth Research Centre, Institute of Applied Social Sciences of the University of Warsaw presented a different typology of fans, constructed on the basis of slang expressions in this social group. It shall be as follows¹⁷:

¹⁶ P. Sielecki, P. Sobiech, *Szalikowcy- podstawy informacyjne*, Zakład Taktyki i Techniki Interwencji, Szkoła w Katowicach 2006, p. 35-37.

¹⁷ A. Jawłowski, *Zabawa na śmierć i życie*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 7.04.2003.

- **Ordinary fans**, otherwise known as “picnic participants” or buzzards. This is a group of fans who come to the stadium to watch the match, often with children, they react emotionally, but their expression ends at this moment. They support the team when it is successful but as soon as it is defeated, they distract. They treat match as entertainment and a way to get away from daily duties. Specifying them as “picnic participants” comes from the fact that they are the fans, who only occasionally, with family members, go with the team for the away match.
- Another group is **ultras** or fans, who are preparing the celebration of game, fire flares, flags, develop banners, they throw streamers. They take part in the show and take care of fiesta and show at the stadium. The behaviour of ultras are often a threat to the other participants in the match. Ultras do not attack fans of the opposing team but if they are taunted and attacked they are taking part in a brawl.
- **Animals** – is a group of the most aggressive supporters, are the least interested in what happens on the pitch, and the show is only a pretext for them to participate in the “blowout” or street riots. Animals often do not even know what teams played and what was the final score of the match. According to this group of fans, match at the stadium is a sufficient opportunity for “blowout” and therefore do not go on away matches.
- **Zadymiarz** [“blowout” participant] – what differ them from the previous group is that they go on away matches, and remember who played and what was the score. Therefore, “zadymiarz” is a little more conscious than animals.
- **Scarfer** – is a real fan and a lover of the sport. He is watching retransmissions of matches on television, and is involved in fights only after being provoked. Scarfer has big respect for club colours, which he demonstrates in appearance and fan attributes such as scarf, flag, t-shirt or sweatshirt.
- **Fan** just like scarfer has a scarf, a flag and a very high knowledge of the sport, from the television and press. Occasionally he goes on away matches, not far from their place of residence, and at most incognito. While at matches, in the area of his residence, trying to always be present. Fan rather avoids fighting.
- **Fanatic** – does not take to match any accessories, and with his team can run over the whole country, and even Europe. Fanatic condemns the “hooligans” and “scarfers”.

– **Hooligans** [pol. Pseudokibice] is the most dangerous group.

They include skinheads who treat match as an opportunity to fight with other hooligans and the Police. Many famous Polish clubs have this kind of militias, for example Wisła Kraków has “White Star Army”, and Cracovia “Cops Hunter”. Hooligans is a group that has a lot of aggressive behaviour and uses to fight dangerous items: machetes, brass knuckles, baseball bats or sticks.

They also often use: firecrackers, smoke candles, serpentine, trumpets or fire sirens. The latter are often now being replaced by orchestras, in which “play” only hooligans.

Often they break the law by making a number of thefts, robberies, vandalism in the means of public transport at the time of travel for the match or return to the place of residence. Also they commit acts such as throwing people from trains and attacking people who, according to them, in some way shared the beliefs of the opposing team.

Hooligans can also, during the intervention of the Police subunits, quickly join forces with rivals of the opposing team to jointly confront officers. They unify together with existing rivals by shouting, language and style, because they believe that the Police are their biggest enemy. Hence, if the Police are trying to neutralize aggressive fans, the opposing team fans sympathize with them and come to their aid. By hools every person in the stadium wearing uniform, is hated. For the attack on the “uniformed”, insulting them or throwing in them dangerous items, hools gains additional respect in their group.

Hooligans travel in small groups, often by their private cars and using cell phones they inform the other members of the planned attack, or so called “entrance” on housing estate of the opposing team. Hools very often carry out attacks also on routes leading to the stadium.

Hooligans live from match to match, and family life is for them on the second plan. The most important are matches of the team, regardless of results and its position in the table.

Their ideology is shortened in the words: *a true fan always supports the team in bad and good, with promotion and degradation, in local and away matches, despite the hills and holes and no matter the cost*¹⁸.

They were and are perpetrators of the most serious, often tragic consequences of mass disruption of security and public order. The most spec-

¹⁸ M. Coileman, *Sfoulowany futbol*, Warszawa 2000, p. 126.

tacular event of security disruption on the sporting event was a meeting at the Heysel Stadium in Brussels. Before the final match of the European Cup there was a clash between fans of Juventus and Liverpool¹⁹. This was made possible by the mistake of the organiser, who placed supporters of the opposing teams in the sectors that were next to each other.

Another mistake of the organiser were the gates left insecure, resulting in an excessive concentration of viewers in the sectors. Supporters of opposing teams were separated from each other only by 3-meters fence. Already before the meeting one could feel the atmosphere of a great competition. Fans had a verbal clash even before the referee began meeting. For 45 minutes before the first whistle, English fans began throwing pieces of concrete at the fans of Juventus. When the Italian fans began to withdraw, Liverpool fans armed with metal rods forced their way through the fence and brutally attacked supporters of the opposing team. The Italians found themselves trapped, began to flee towards the three-meter concrete edge, trampling each other. Pressing crowd caused the collapse of part of the stands, which squashed Italian fans. 39 people were killed, including 10-years old child, 425 people were injured, including 12 heavy.

Another tragedy, associated not so much with aggression but rather with bad security, took place at the match between Spartak Moscow and Dutch HFC Haarlem²⁰. In winter, in frosty Russian evening on the Lenin stadium pitch 1/8 final of the UEFA Cup was played. Bad weather has made that at the stadium were less than 15 000 fans. Fans of both teams were placed on one of the eastern stand. The other stands were not even cleared of snow. To the stand led only one narrow and icy patch. At the end of the match fans began to leave the stadium. When Spartak scored at the end of the match, some fans wanting to see the joy of players decided to go back to their seats. Dutch fans, after losing the meeting, wanted to leave the stadium as soon as possible, while Russian fans wanted to celebrate with their players and promotion to the next round. The passage got very crowded, fans began to push against each other and pushing to the walls of tunnel. As resumes one of the best Russian tennis players Andrei Chesnokov, there were no escape out of the tunnel. Fans tipped on each other like dominoes, were trampled to death. Russian media report that killed 67 fans. Unofficially, however, it is said to be up to 340 victims.

¹⁹ See R. Cohn, J. Russell, *Heysel Stadium disaster*, 2012.

²⁰ See R. Edelman, *Spartak Moscow: A History of the People's Team in the Workers' State*, Nowy York 2012.

Tragic consequences have also match in 1992 between Bastia and Olympique Marsylie. At the stadium that could accommodate 8500 fans, stand collapsed. As recounted by the French media in the stadium were two times more fans than was provided for capacity. 18 people were killed, 2,357 were injured²¹.

In Poland there were no security risks due to the poor state of the object or overpopulation. The biggest threat to the Polish stadiums were clashes of hooligans. One of the biggest got in Wrocław in 2003 during a match between Śląsk Wrocław and ARKA Gdynia. The first skirmish of fans began even before the match. A mass fight broke out when supporters of the Arka moved to match the Grabiszyńska Street. About 100 fans of Arka were then attacked by Śląsk hooligans. According to Police information, hooligans of both teams agreed there to fight “an organised fight”. Fights moved to nearby housing estates. Police officers who intervened were thrown stones. As recounts one of the witnesses, every few metres one could see a lying unconscious man. After some time the Police took control of the situation. At the Perec square layed in a row 100 hooligans wearing handcuffs. As a result of those events, one person died and several others were severely injured. Police detained 212 scarfers²².

In Warsaw in 2006 a match between Legia and Wisła was played. Legia won, securing the Polish championship. Fans of Warsaw decided to celebrate success of the team by demolishing the capital. At the Castle Square hooligans had tried to invade the liquor store. During the Police intervention officers were thrown bricks. As a result of clashes the Police detained more than 230 people²³.

Unfortunately the dynamics of these pathological behaviour is increasing, and forces the entire security system to joint action, which is not only to intervene but also emergency reconnaissance and prophylactic. The Police, to effectively prevent hooligans’ aggression, organises at voivodship level specialized cells to gain information about planned excesses and conduct reconnaissance among football hooligans. This is particularly important due to the fact that, in addition to organizing the riots, these groups also lead criminal activities, such as distribution of drugs or their smug-

²¹ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catastrophe_de_Furiani (accessed: 30.11.2016).

²² <http://kibole.wroclaw.pl/relacja2.html> (accessed: 30.11.2016).

²³ <http://www.polskieradio.pl/43/265/Artykul/370367,Najwieksze-zadymy-polskich-pseudokibicow> (accessed: 30.11.2016).

gling from other countries. Often this criminal activity has the nature of transnational organised crime. This means that it meets the criteria laid down by the United Nations on 12 December, 2000 in the Convention against transnational organised crime (the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime), which was signed in Palermo by one hundred and twenty-three states that are its signatories²⁴.

In art. 2 par. 2 the Convention²⁵ precise international nature of the crime, recognizing that such character they have, when they have been made in the area of more than one state or were committed in one state, but an important part of the preparation, planning or directing took place in another state. For any, it is also a crime committed in one country, but in connection with organised crime group operating in more than one state. Finally, the international character also has a crime committed in one country if its important effects have occurred in the country. According to the cited Convention organised criminal group is a group that has created the structure, and so was not random, it works for a while and it works in consultation, with the aim of committing a serious crime, which shall be prosecuted on the basis of the Convention. The purpose of such criminal activity is to achieve financial benefit or other benefits. There is no doubt that “scarfers” in large part correspond to the scope of the specified in regulations adopted by the United Nations. An example of such activities carried out by hooligans was an attempt of smuggling from Spain to Poland 65 pounds of marijuana valued at close to 2 million zł. Policemen from the CBŚP arrested five people that were “hooligans” one of Krakow’s clubs. Policemen have prepared an ambush at the transfer point. Detained were in age from 28 to 40 years at the head of the group; in addition to marijuana they had hashish, two cars, and seventy thousands zł. All detained were accused by the prosecution of being members of organized criminal group and smuggling large quantities of drugs. According to the speaker of the CBŚP comm. Agnieszka Hamelusz²⁶ these drugs were to be distributed among Krakow’s hooligans. So “scarfers” were in this case in the double negative role, as drugs smugglers and traffickers

²⁴ See S. Redo, *Uzbekistan i narody zjednoczone w walce z międzynarodową przestępczością zorganizowaną*, Warszawa 2001, p. 468.

²⁵ General Assembly resolution 55/25 of 15 November 2000.

²⁶ <http://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/wydarzenia/artykuly/529719,kibole-z-krakowa-chcieli-przemycic-65-kg-marihuany-za-2-mln-zl-piec-osob-zatrzymanych.html> (accessed: 22.11.2016).

and their consumers. So it is how contemporary picture of the environment looks like. Funds derived from drug crime are spent mostly on legal and medical support as well as to pay for trips, or the provision of assistance to the families of arrested hooligans.

In most cases, hooligans, who broke the law, are not captured and brought to the court. This is due to the fact that among the hooligans is the so-called “conspiracy of silence”. The buyer of drug not also do not informs about it to avoid criminal liability. This causes these acts have the highest “black rate” of crimes. The mass drugs selling that are willing to reach the largest audience, mostly young people, requires dealers who also recruit from the youth. It is the first contact with the criminal group, most often motivated by the desire to obtain drugs for their own use.

Provided research allowed the authors to gain answers to detailed problems, which were formulated at the beginning of this publication. The authors pointed out that aggressive behaviour of hooligans is not a new phenomenon, but has its roots in ancient times. From that era it developed and evolved, with particular dynamics at the turn of the 1950s/60s of the last century. In Poland this phenomenon and the violence appeared later, in the 1970s. Then on Polish stadiums come young people dressed in the colours of their clubs and fighting with supporters of other football clubs. A way of manifesting their devotion to the team, and an arsenal of often illegal means to combat the antagonistic groups is constantly evolving, which was described in details by the authors.

Authors have also given classification of the fans by presenting the attributes and characteristics of particular groups. The same they showed that the environment of fans is not homogeneous, and belonging to a particular group implies the characteristic behaviour of its members.

These often brutal and violence behaviour have also been analysed in this article – the authors have presented the most spectacular tragedies caused by aggression of hooligans.

What is especially important, authors showed that modern groups of football hooligans in Poland often have criminal nature, and are an important part of organised crime. The authors showed also that this crime has international character, and especially is connected with smuggling and drug trafficking.

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