Non-Technical Summary: Crowd dynamics, policing and 'hooliganism' at Euro2004

This research project was designed to analyse the impact of public order policing strategies and tactics upon levels of 'hooliganism' at the UEFA European Championships in Portugal in June and July, 2004. The project combined two methodological approaches of structured observation and ethnography to collect data on the police and fans during the event.

The research team recruited and trained a team of 16 observers from the Portuguese Police Academy and the Universities in Coimbra, Oporto and Lisbon. The senior and junior researchers attended the tournament for its duration and we were able to gain accreditation for the entire team. The structured observation team conducted 14 structured observations (seven low risk and seven increased risk matches) taking a total of 2204 samples across all but one of the tournament venues. In addition four researchers were also deployed utilising an ethnographic methodology which allowed us to: directly observe police deployments and key moments in fan behaviour; conduct approximately 300 interviews with fans and to interview police commanders, other key police officers in both the PSP and GNR, foreign police teams, consulate officials and other security officials (U.E.F.A., F.A. etc). In addition we were able to collect questionnaires both before and after the tournament from 138 England fans using a website developed through project funds located at www.footballfans.org.uk.

The analysis of the data is still ongoing. The structured observation data has identified that a 'low profile' approach to policing was adopted. If police were visibly present the proportion of visible officers was on average 4 officers per 100 fans, both in normal and increased risk situations. Note should be taken of the fact that in Portugal, extensive use was made of plainclothes police officers, who were deployed wherever fans gathered in large numbers. If police were present, this was not in the form of full riot police. However, our interviews with commanders allowed us to identify that riot police units were in fact present but positioned in such a way that they were not directly or easily visible to fans.

Importantly, during Euro 2004, there were almost no incidents of disorder recorded during the structured observations (just 0,4% of all samples). Analysis of the data obtained in this independent evaluation allows us to address the important issue of the cause of the low frequency of incidents within Portugal; the fact that known troublemakers were prevented from travelling to Portugal certainly was a factor. However, both our observations and interviews with foreign police teams indicated that individuals known as "hooligans" or characterizing themselves as such were in fact present. Although incidents were rare and limited, we were able to observe most of the incidents that occurred. We were also able to observe some situations that could be classified as potential incidents and that had all the ingredients for escalation, but did not in fact escalate. We are therefore in a position to state that, in spite of low visible police presence, most of these incidents were responded to quickly and clear behavioural limits were set by the Police. Moreover, police deployments were in line with the recommendations we made to the PSP prior to the tournament. The absence of major incidents was therefore not just a matter of chance, quick and targeted low-profile police interventions that were in line with our theoretical model prevented escalation.

Our questionnaire and qualitative data has allowed us to determine that Police strategy and tactics contributed to an atmosphere where fans actually formed

common bonds of identification with the police fans of other nations. As a consequence, non-violent behaviour was the norm and fans opposing violence became empowered and we saw several examples of self-policing among fans. This argument is strengthened by incidents that did occur in the Algarve (in Albufeira), where police tactics differed. Initially, behavioural limits were not set and the police response to beginning incidents did not differentiate between troublemakers and bystanders. Here, those willing to use violence were empowered and escalation occurred. Thus, the evidence supports the contention that when policing was conducted in line with our recommendations we saw psychological and behavioural responses among fans in line with our predictions. There is good qualitative evidence that these processes were cross cultural.

End of Award Report

Crowd dynamics, policing and 'hooliganism' at 'Euro2004'

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Background

Three explanatory problems for the hooligan account.

Dominant explanations of 'hooliganism'[1] point to the role of social forces in creating violent masculinity that is in turn understood to cause 'hooliganism'. For example, Dunning (1994) argues that 'hooliganism' is an outcome of class-based relationships that lead sections of the working class to become socialised into relatively fixed norms of violent masculinity. These 'rough' working class males express their masculinity as football 'hooliganism'. The models ultimately suggest that the football crowd is an opportunity for the convergence of football 'hooligans' and that therefore other than banning these individuals from football or controlling them with the heavy use of police resources there is little that can be done. Therefore these traditional accounts provide powerful theoretical explanations of 'violent' masculinity and 'hooligan' culture but little in the way of practical solutions to the problem.

Despite the popularity of the concept there are serious problems using it to try to explain football related 'disorder', particularly at football matches with an international dimension. Firstly, the vast majority of those arrested during widespread incidents of 'disorder' involving English fans at international competitions have not been previously known to the U.K. police. It is therefore difficult to sustain the argument that these individuals have a history of involvement in hooliganism. Secondly, the presence of 'hooligans' does not inevitably lead to large-scale incidents of 'public disorder'. Third, any explanation based upon notions of a convergence of 'hooligans' fails to adequately explain the specific conditions under which such 'violence' will occur and when it does who will be subjected to attacks. Put more simply, a 'hooligan' account of major 'disorder' leaves critical questions unanswered. Why is it that 'non-hooligan' fans become involved in major incidents of 'disorder'? Why is it that major incidents of 'disorder' do *not* occur even when 'hooligans' are present? What are the precise circumstances where violence will (and will not) occur and why during those instances it is that certain targets are selected over and above others?

The importance of 'interaction' in football related 'disorder'.

Structured observations of 78 'high-risk[2]' football matches in the Netherlands (Adang, 1990, 1998) made clear that both the interactions between rival fan-groups and the interactions between fans and the police were crucial in understanding the initiation and escalation of football related violence. It also demonstrated that the targets of violence were not randomly selected. This research corresponds with a series of social psychological studies of incidents of 'disorder'. This latter research approaches such incidents as crowd events and demonstrates that widespread *collective* 'disorder' is made possible through the shared social identity (common self definition as group members) among crowd participants. The salience and defining dimensions of this identity serve to explain the normative limits of collective action (what people do), and the extent of participation (who does and does not join in) during a crowd event (Reicher, 1984, 1987). This psychological analysis is based upon a body of

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[1] 'hooliganism' is a poorly defined term which is often used loosely to refer to a variety of behaviours considered undesirable. For the purpose of this study, we define 'hooliganism' as expressions of violence against individuals or property in the wide context of football matches. A 'hooligan' is then an individual actively seeking opportunities to display 'hooliganism'.

[2] Risk is a term used to describe the likelihood that a situation of serious disorder will occur during an event.

evidence suggesting that group interaction during a crowd event is integral to the onset and escalation of widespread ''rioting' (Drury & Reicher, 1999, 2000; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Drury, 2000; Stott & Reicher, 1998b). Importantly, there is strong evidence that such interaction processes have underpinned incidents of widespread 'disorder' involving England fans attending major international football competitions (Stott & Reicher, 1998a; Stott et al, 2001).

Importance of examining the role of police crowd interactions.

Research on the pattern of the interaction occurring during crowd events has highlighted the ways in which attempts to control 'disorder' can actually create the conditions for widespread conflict as a kind of 'self-fulfilling prophesy'. This occurs because of the ways in which police activity against the crowd creates a pattern of interaction that changes the nature of the crowd's identity. Particularly forms of police intervention into a crowd which are understood as illegitimate and indiscriminate increase the likelihood of crowd members understanding conflict with the police as acceptable and those who engage in conflict as common ingroup members (Stott & Reicher, 1998b Drury, Stott & Farsides, 2003, Stott, 2003).

Therefore, by redefining major incidents of 'hooliganism' as crowd events existing research demonstrates that there is an empirical requirement to examine the impact of different forms of police tactics on crowd psychology and the subsequent role this has in escalating (or undermining) the dynamics of 'disorder' in the context of football crowd events. This requirement gains further support from a major study of police crowd interaction during the last European Championships, 'Euro2000'. Using a structured observational methodology Adang & Cuvelier (2001) were able to analyse the relationship between police tactics and observed levels of 'disorder' in situations that had been defined by the authorities as posing either a 'low' or 'increased' risk to 'public order'. They detected two contrasting styles of public order policing at work during the tournament, characterised as 'low profile' and 'high profile'[3].

The study was able to identify that the greatest levels of 'disorder' actually occurred in 'low risk' situations when 'high profile' policing had been utilised. Indeed, in 'low risk' situations with 'high profile' deployments there was approximately twice the level of observed 'disorder' in contrast to 'low profile' deployments with the same level of risk. Moreover, in 'high risk' situations there were no significant differences in the levels of observed 'disorder' despite the fact that there were nearly three times as many officers deployed visibly on the ground. The study therefore demonstrates that there is a quantifiably detectable association between the ways in which the police deploy tactically and the observed levels of 'disorder'. However, the observational study alone could not reveal the underlying processes through which this relationship occurs.

Pilot Research.
Thus to begin to develop understanding of the dynamics of police crowd interactions in the context of football a small scale three year programme of pilot research, funded primarily by the U.K. Home office, began in October, 2001. This pilot research involved semi-structured observations of 35 football matches with an international dimension involving English fans across nine different (primarily EU) states. The project was successful in its 3 main objectives; 1) to develop further theoretical

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[3] It is essential to note that 'high profile' deployments were defined in terms of approximately three times the level of visibly deployed police officers, greater visibility of 'riot' police and 'riot' vehicles and despite the larger number officers on the ground a lower overall level and quality of contact between police and fans. This is different to the term 'high profile' as used in the current version of the ACPO handbook for policing football.

understanding of the precise relationship between police deployment, fan behaviour and its underlying social psychology; 2) to develop an international framework of access to police, fan and football organisations to make effective data collection and dissemination possible; 3) to provide a preliminary model of best practice for public order policing in the context of international football tournaments (see Stott & Adang, 2003).

Analytically the pilot research focused upon the impact of different forms of policing on the social psychology and behaviour of high risk fans. This research provided evidence that it is the relationships between the 'profile' of police deployment and the shared perception among fans of the legitimacy of their social relations with the police that governs shifts toward or away from collective conflict. Moreover, the research provided evidence that when fans understood police profile as in 'balance' with the levels and sources of 'risk' their relationship with the police tended to be understood as legitimate. This perceived legitimacy then appeared to be associated with a decrease in the levels of disorder, an increasing number of incidents of 'self policing' (i.e. fans actively intervening to prevent fellow group members from behaving anti-socially) and increasing marginalisation of and differentiation from 'hooligans' by the main body of fans. In other words when high risk fans understood the police to be acting legitimately the likelihood of 'self policing' among high risk fans was increased and the likelihood of widespread incidents of 'disorder' decreased.

Research and Policy for Euro2004
Thus by redefining the issues as one of crowd management scientifically derived principles could be developed that would be useful in minimising conflict and promoting a culture of non-violence among high risk fan groups attending football matches with an international dimension. To this end, and through a partnership developed during the course of the research, the team began a process of consultation with the Public Security Police (PSP) in Portugal in their preparation of the safety and security strategy for Euro2004. This process of consultation involved a series of invited formal evaluations of policing, lectures, seminars and workshops with key police trainers and commanders using the existing research to address acknowledged weakness in their understanding of international police co-operation and crowd dynamics. These consultations underpinned and supported the development of the PSP's security policy for the tournament.

Research questions.
Limitations with existing research.
While the existing research had already provided substantial developments there were still important scientific limitations to the analysis. The emerging theoretical analysis still required the opportunity to a) gather data from both fans *and* police contemporaneously across a number of events and b) conduct large scale field based systematic quantitative validation using structured observation in *combination* with ethnographic methodologies.

An unprecedented opportunity for research
As an outcome of our role as lead scientific consultants to the PSP the authors were invited to conduct a systematic evaluation of policing of Euro2004 and provided full accreditation by the Euro2004 organising committee. The PSP were responsible for the policing of all cities and seven of the ten stadiums in which matches took place[4]. Thus, since extensive access to both fans and police was available, and there was

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[4] Guardia Nacional (Military Gendarmerie) were responsible for the police operation in the remaining three stadiums. On the basis of extensive consultation with the PSP it was anticipated that Guardia Nacional and PSP would differ significantly in their approach to public order management

the anticipation of important differences in the styles of policing that would be adopted, Euro2004 provided an unprecedented and unparalleled opportunity to develop the existing research.

Research questions.
From the existing research it was possible to develop specific predictions regarding the relationships between public order policing and fan behaviour. A simplistic model of the factors associated to low and high levels of disorder at football matches with an international dimension are outlined in figures 1 and 2 respectively.
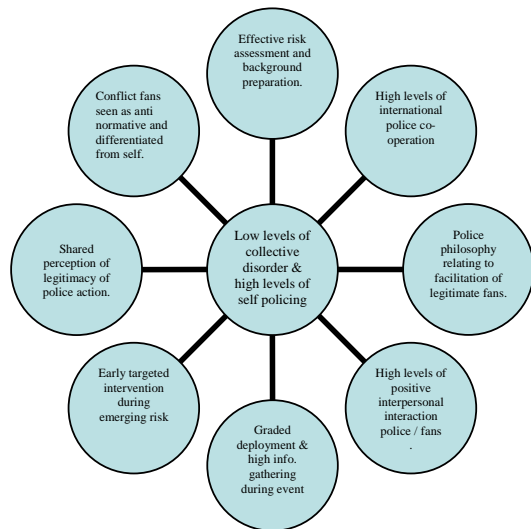

Figure 1: Factors that are predicted to be associated with low levels of 'disorder' at football matches with an international dimension
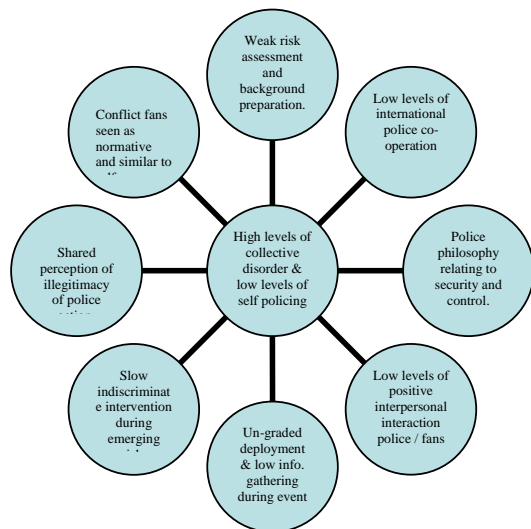

Figure 2: Factors that are predicted to be associated with high levels of 'disorder'

Methodology

The tournament took place between June 12th, 2004 and July 4th, 2004. During this time a total of 31 matches were played in 8 cities across Portugal. 16 of these matches were observed in seven cities. This included 11 matches played in the group phase, 3 quarterfinals and both semi finals. The Portuguese security police, *Policia de Seguranra Publics* (PSP) was responsible for the policing of 12 observed matches while 4 observed matches were policed by the national gendarmerie, *Guardia Nacional do Republics* (GNR)[5]. Data was gathered on all first round matches with a participation of Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, England, and all matches after the first round. All matches played by Germany and England had been classified as "high risk" by the PSP prior to the tournament. Due to incidents involving English fans, additional observations were carried out at the Algarve in the town of Albufeira.

Data Gathering

The research combined two methodologies: Structured observation and ethnography. Using this combined methodology data was gathered on the following broad categories a) police perspective, operational structure, strategy, tactics and behaviour b) fan perspectives and behaviour c) police-fan interactions d) overall levels of `disorder'.

Structural Observations

Structured observations were carried out by local observation teams of 16 Portuguese observers in total, half of whom were either final year Psychology students or postgraduates, recruited from local universities and half final year students from the National Portuguese Police Academy. The observation team was trained in a 3-day workshop preceding the tournament; this included information on the theoretical background, observation techniques and a final test observation around the Portuguese Cup Final on May 16, 2004.

During the tournament each observation was carried out by a group of four observers in two pairs each consisting of one psychology and one police student. Observations started generally at 8 p.m. on the day preceding the selected match and continued until 12pm and began again on the match day itself between 12 p.m. and 12 a.m. Each observation included regular refreshment breaks. Each observer chose an area where large groups of fans gathered, e.g. at official fan zones, in public squares, outside of stadiums etc.. They then selected a separate physical location within that area and began observations for at least one hour. Every fifteen minutes one sample was taken on a series of pre-selected and defined categories. Observers also gathered data on their qualitative impressions. Each observation was recorded directly onto a paper copy of a blank Excel spreadsheet and later transcribed. A total of 2204 samples were taken.

Ethnographic data collection

The structured observations were complimented with semi-structured observations, interviews, questionnaires, web based surveys and video footage of/with fans and police. The experience of the research team combined with close liaison between the PSP and the observation teams allowed for appropriately targeted observations. The research team was accompanied on most occasions by a senior PSP officer. Data was gathered on police preparations, risk assessment, operational procedures, structures and philosophies. This method also allowed for extensive interviewing of both fans and police in the context of the events that were occurring. It

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[5] Although it should be noted that many observations were conducted in the nearby towns which were often under the control of the PSP.

was also used to gather direct observational data on police and fans' behaviour.

Prior to, during and after the tournament the senior researchers were in close liaison with their relevant national police delegations (Dutch, English and German). In addition the researchers spoke to the Head of Police of German States, Head of German Police Delegation in Portugal, German Police Delegation gathering information for Germany 2006, the members of the Czech, German, Dutch, English Fan Embassies, Heads of the International Fan Projects, the Head and several members of U.E.F.A. sponsored FARE-Organisation (Football against Racism in Europe). Detailed interviews were also conducted with: all local match commanders (or city commander if match was hosted in GNR areas); the Head of Police Education for the PSP; Head of the Intervention Squad in Oporto, Head of the plain clothes Police in Oporto and Deputy Head in Lisbon. Captain of the intervention squad in Albufeira; representatives of the English and Dutch F.A.. and representatives of the British and Dutch Embassies.

International monitoring team
An international monitoring team of three highly experienced police commanders from Scotland and the Netherlands also collected data on police deployment, composition of fan groups and the work and cooperation of international police teams and delegations during the tournament. In the period form the 12th to the 30th of June 2004 the monitoring team visited 12 matches in the cities of Aveiro, Braga, Coimbra, Porto and Lisbon. All observations were made around matches that included at least one of the targeted fan groups from Portugal, the Netherlands, England or Germany. Additional observations were made on 6 days amongst English supporters in the city centre of Lisbon and in the tourist areas of Cascais and Estoril.

Internet Data
A web site with questionnaires in four languages: English, Portuguese, Dutch and German was developed in order to collect comparable quantitative data from fans. The site could be accessed at http://www.footballfans.org.uk. Questionnaire data was collected on fans' perceptions of hosting, policing and their relationship with other fan groups. In addition, the questionnaire measured key psychological reactions among fans. For English fans additional pre-tournament questionnaires were provided. Due to confrontations involving English fans at the Algarve, an additional questionnaire was designed in order to collect qualitative data from fans that witnessed the incidents. 132 England fans completed questionnaires but only limited numbers of German, Dutch and Portuguese fans.

Results.
Police deployment
According to official policy documents the policing of the tournament was based upon a strategy of 'low profile' policing with graded and information led interventions designed specifically to differentiate between those acting in a 'disorderly' manner and those fans who were behaving legitimately. The policy was also designed to ensure that police profile was at all time proportionate to the risk posed by the situation within which police were deployed. This was essentially to ensure that police deployment did not provoke perceptions of illegitimacy among fans and was a policy in line with the recommendations arising from the research outlined above.

The grading of police deployment for public order was essentially defined in terms of four levels. The first was officers in standard uniform acting in pairs. Their brief was to provide surveillance, communicate with and support the legitimate intentions of fans and to act when low level intervention was required (Level 1). These officers were supported by rapid intervention teams of four officers who could intervene

without (Level 2) or with (Level 3) protective equipment depending upon the severity of the incident. Finally, there were intervention squads that could be used in serious outbreaks of disorder (Level 4). These intervention squads had protective equipment, batons, gas and water cannon at their disposal. However, it should be noted that there was extensive use made of plain clothed officers who acted at level 1 & 2 which would not have been recorded by our structured sampling technique.

The structured observational data confirms the 'low profile' pattern of police deployment across the tournament. All figures are displayed in the Appendix. Firstly, with roughly forty five percent of our samples recording no visible police at all there was a relatively low level of visible police deployment during crowd events (Figure 3). Moreover, when visible, the proportion of police to the number of fans present was also very low (Figure 4). Intervention squads were located near to gathering points but deliberately kept in their vehicles and out of sight. This is reflected in our data which indicates a very low number of visible riot police and a total absence of visible riot vehicles (Figure 5). Our data also indicates that the levels of interaction between police and fans were low, but since structured observations recorded no negative interaction between police and fans, all interaction was overwhelmingly positive (Figure 6).

Our semi-structured observations and interviews confirm the overall pattern of police deployment. Moreover, we were also able to determine the important role played by the plain clothed police in PSP areas. These officers were all highly experienced in policing football and where necessary acted quickly to set 'behavioural limits' through early, low level, accurately targeted and low impact interventions. For example, where small groups of fans began to behave in an anti social manner during 'high risk' crowd events this was quickly detected by police (because they were deployed within and throughout the crowd). These fans were informed verbally that their behaviour was unacceptable. If and when fans did not respond positively they were arrested. Moreover, because interventions were information led they tended to correspond with the emerging intergroup dynamics. Our observations record that the GNR did not make extensive use of this low impact, differentiated form of intervention but relied more upon the use of 'intervention squads'.

The data also exposes the differing models of international police co-operation at work during the tournament. Some international spotting 'teams' played a role of creating and supporting the communication and dialogue with fans (Level 1 role – see above) rather than exclusively focussing upon the gathering of 'criminal intelligence' on known or suspected 'hooligans' (although this was of course also part of their duties). In addition, these teams tended to extend their operational role (in collaboration with their local hosts) to assisting in the management of situations that might otherwise have escalated into serious disorder by targeting and intervening against fans acting in anti-social or otherwise criminal manner (Level 2 role – see above) (see also Adang, 2005).

Fan behaviour.
The levels of 'disorder' at Euro2004 were extremely low. For example in areas controlled by the PSP only one England fan was arrested for a violence related offence. Despite reports to the contrary there were no incidents of disorder in areas controlled by the PSP. Interactions between fan groups were overwhelmingly positive. While there were low numbers of 'known hooligans' present among English fans there were still many fans who posed risk. This is perhaps reflected in the fact that there were two serious incidents of 'rioting' involving English fans in Albufeira where 53 fans were arrested (Albufeira is controlled by the GNR). Moreover, according to Dutch and German police there were significant numbers of known

Dutch and German hooligans present at the tournament. None the less there were critical moments of 'self-policing' during crowd events among high risk fans. For example, at moments where conflict was likely to develop, England fans began to self regulate the behaviour of other England fans away from conflict. Also, minor incidents of disorder did occur during crowd events involving England and Germany fans in match cities. Importantly, these incidents did not generalise. For full and detailed descriptions of these events see Stott, Livingstone and Adang (in submission).

Fan psychology
Qualitative analysis of fan psychology in PSP areas.
The qualitative data indicates that fans understood their social relations with the police as legitimate. For example, fans described policing in PSP areas as *"much better than almost anywhere I can remember and I have only missed a handful of games in the last 10 years. It sounds corny but even in their full body kit their body language was non-confrontational."* This sense of legitimacy in relations with the police supported identification with fans of other nations defined in terms of non-violent football fandom. One fan described how he *"felt I was of a similar vein with football supporters from other countries. We were all there to watch good football and support our country."* Corresponding with this common non-violent identity, 'hooligans' were understood as marginalised to the main social group. For example, when discussing those involved in 'disorder' one fan said *"I am a supporter of England they [hooligans] are not"*. This psychology in turn led to an understanding of a widespread lack of support for anti-social activity (thus empowering those seeking to self-police). As one fan mentioned *"I feel that the majority of fans who follow England now do so to support the team and will not tolerate their enjoyment as supporters curtailed by people out for trouble"*.

Quantitative analysis of fan psychology in PSP areas.
The quantitative data helps to support and develop this analysis. Firstly, measures of perceived legitimacy indicated fans tended to perceive their social relations with opposition fans, the local population and the police as legitimate (Figure 5 & 6 respectively). Moreover, the quantitative measure indicates that fans felt a strong sense of identification (perceived similarity) with fans of other nations (Figure 7) and differentiated themselves from 'hooligans' (Figure 8). It was also possible to examine the relationships between measures of perceived legitimacy and measures of identification (these correlations are displayed in Table 1).

On the basis of the qualitative analysis we expected that the measures of legitimacy in intergroup relations would correlate with the measure of super-ordinate identification between fans. They did not. However, rather surprisingly, the legitimacy measures did correlate with a measure of identification with the police. Exploring this further it was found that measures of the treatment of fans by the police as 'hooligans' was an independent predictor of identification with the police (B=.0.42, p<0.01). In other words, when fans felt that they were NOT treated as 'hooligans' they started to see themselves as similar to the police. In addition, the measure of perceived legitimacy of intergroup relationships with the police also predicted identification with the police (b=0.051, p<0.01). Importantly, when these two measures were statistically regressed together upon identification with the police perceived treatment as hooligans was no longer a significant predictor (B=0.06, p>0.05). This pattern indicates that perceptions of legitimate social relations with the police act as a mediator of identification with police. In addition, identification with the police was a predictor of supra-ordinate fan identification (B=0.32; p<0.05) which in turn was a predictor of differentiation from 'hooligans' (B=0.461; p<0.01).

Put less technically, this indicates that England fans who felt they had not been treated as hooligans tended to see themselves as more similar (to identify) with the police. This was possible because they felt the police were behaving legitimately toward England fans (i.e. treating them as fans rather than hooligans). Moreover, those fans who tended to identify with the police also tended to define themselves in terms of non-violent football fandom and as such to see themselves as similar to (and friends with) fans from other nations. This common football fan identity then increased the likelihood of England fans seeing themselves as different from (or psychological marginalising) those fans who were actively seeking 'disorder'. In other words, by supporting the legitimate intentions of ordinary fans the psychological basis for widespread rioting during crowd events was undermined, the ability of high risk fans to self police was increased and serious incidents of disorder were prevented.

Analysis of psychological reactions to policing in GNR areas.
In Albufeira fans understood differences in the style of policing to that which they were experiencing in match cities. For example, when one fan was asked about policing in the Algarve he replied that it "*was different and more intimidating. Police appeared to be more 'in your face', and we had and saw several examples of where police came and stood one yard away from us with their riot gear on because we were English.*" Those England fans who experienced police intervention understood it as reflecting the kinds of tactical depth and ability to exercise pro-active management prior to disorder that were observed in match cities. For example, one fan described how fans were able to behave prior to forceful police intervention, "*..snorting charlie, smoking coke* [i.e. openly consuming cocaine]. *It was fucking daft, fucking police were letting you get away with anything. But when it goes off it's riot shields the lot. One extreme to another*". Moreover, intervention when it did occur was understood as undifferentiated & generally targeted against those who had done little "*what a bunch of cunts* [GNR] *we weren't doing fuck all*". This was a context in which fans began to identify with (rather than reject) 'hooligan' activity. For example, one fan stated during a GNR intervention "*They* [generic reference to GNR] *fucking talk about trouble, and they wonder why they get it*". During interventions there was an increasing legitimacy of violence in local context. For example, during our observation as the GNR baton charged a bar one fan admitted to throwing plastic pint glass at police, and pushing table in their way in order to escape. Confrontational elements were also drawn to the area and *empowered* to live out a particular version of intergroup relations, and *impose* it on non-confrontational group members. One fan recalling events on the second day of 'disorder' stated that "*rumours went round of English being badly treated (I even heard of one English fan being beaten to death) by the police [GNR], and one trait common amongst the English is that we are not backward in defending ourselves or perceived injustices. Therefore more wanted a night out on the strip after that*".

Conclusions
The fact that known troublemakers were prevented from travelling to Portugal certainly was a factor in the low levels of 'disorder'. Moreover, there were important initiatives developed by visiting police forces (including the U.K.), the British Embassy in Portugal, and Fan Organisations (including the FSF and various independent groups) that made major contributions to the success of the tournament. However, both our observations and interviews with foreign police teams indicated that individuals known as 'hooligans' or characterizing themselves as such were in fact present and that serious incidents of 'disorder' could have occurred.

The observational data confirms that a 'low profile' policy was adopted in all match cities. This low profile approach was characterised by graded and information led policing with the primary mode of operation being officers in pairs in standard uniform

with 'riot' police kept well out of sight. In addition there was extensive use made of officers in plain clothes. This strategy was in line with the recommendations arising from this research programme. The tactics allowed police to accurately differentiate between legitimate and non-legitimate fans and when necessary to intervene at an early stage, in a targeted way that was sensitive to the emerging intergroup dynamic.

These tactical options in turn created a psychological identification among high risk fan groups with the police that was made possible by a perception among fans of a legitimate social relationship with the police. This identification with the police appears to have also supported a shared identification among fans (even of different nations) defined in terms of non-confrontational forms of football fandom and a differentiation from those seeking to create disorder. This form of identity in turn appears to have empowered legitimate fans and enhanced the development of a 'self policing' culture among high risk groups. The evidence suggests that this 'self-policing' played an important role in the absence of disorder during crowd events.

Widespread disorder did not generalise in crowd events in match cities but did occur in circumstances where the strategic and tactical options used in match cities were apparently not available and where there was no evidence of their use. In such situations interventions occurred at relatively late stages during 'disorderly' events and made more extensive use of coercive force (batons, etc) in relatively undifferentiated ways. This in turn was associated with widespread perceptions of illegitimate social relations with the police and increasing levels of legitimisation and identification with those who were seeking conflict. Moreover, such tactics appear to have created an environment where 'hooligan' fans were empowered and more able to act in ways likely to provoke 'disorder'.

Taken together the data provides strong empirical support for the psychological analysis of football related disorder outlined above. What appears to be critical is the 'depth' of tactical response in public order policing. By developing methods of managing situations 'proactively' whereby interventions can be accurately targeted prior to the outbreak of 'disorder' (i.e. public order management), police can affect the social psychological dynamics of crowds in ways that empower and encourage self policing whilst simultaneously disempowered and marginalising those who seek confrontation. Where tactics simply allow for the reaction to outbreaks of 'disorder' with the use of relatively indiscriminate coercive force the possibility of proactively managing the group level dynamics of crowds is reduced. Moreover, while the use of overwhelming and resource heavy coercive force may mange conflict in the short term it may well also entrench 'hooligans' within high risk groups and undermine those fans seeking to 'self police' thus recapitulating increased risk for future events.

Dissemination.

A research report has been submitted to the European Journal of Social Psychology – see Stott, Livingstone and Adang (in submission). Other publications are in preparation. Our team has already been able to disseminate key findings at important conferences and meetings. These include: a) the Association of Chief Police Officers U.K. National Football Ground Commanders Conference at Keele University, July 2004 & at Liverpool University in 2005 b) the annual meeting of Police Commanders involved in policing the Champions League held at Schipol Airport in Amsterdam in September 2004 c) a meeting of key security officials from the German Federal Government involved with the security planning for the World Cup Final in October 2004 attended by Germanys most senior Policeman; d) a meeting of the EU Task Force Chiefs of Police held in the Netherlands in October e) a meeting of E.U. policing experts in Brussels in December, 2004 f) Presentation to the Standing

Committee of the European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events in June 2005 g) a presentation to the PSP Commanders final Euro2004 debrief in Lisbon in January, 2005. b) a three day conference at the German Police College in Munster which was attended by all of the Police Commanders from cities hosting matches during WC2006 in March, 2005.

Analysis from the study has also been disseminated at academic conferences including i) the conference of the British Psychological Society in Liverpool in September 2004; ii) 'The Dynamics of Social Change Conference' at the Australian National University in November, 2004 iii) the 2005 National Conference of the British Psychological Society in Manchester iv) the Association of Experimental Social Psychology in Munster in June, 2005 v) the Peace Psychology Conference in Erlangen, June 2005 vi) a Conference on Contemporary Developments in Sports Law Research at the University of Central Lancashire in April, 2005. Vii) Conference of the International Society for Research on Aggression, ISRA, September 2004, Santorini. Presentations will also be given in 2005 at the Universities of Brisbane, Sydney, Adelaide and the Australian National University. Presentations will also be given at the Australian Centre for Policing Research and the New South Wales Police Training Colleges in Manly and Goulburn.

Impacts
The research findings have already contributed to the developments in policy among the European Council Police Co-operation Working Party and have stimulated new research

1. Impact at a European level
Firstly, policy has been developed through initiatives developed by the Netherlands delegation to the European Council Police Cooperation Working Party. These include agreements concerning a) dynamic models of risk assessment b) Police tactical performance for public order management in connection with international football matches c) Pilot project: an evaluation team of policing international football matches.
2. Impact within the UK
Additionally, a programme of pilot research has been developed in England and Wales supported by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO). This two year pilot project is designed specifically to a) extend the existing international research work into the context of U.K. policing b) to examine the impact of public order policing strategies on crowd dynamics, fan identity and patterns of 'disorder' in the context of English domestic football competition c) develop a platform for developing models of good practice within the U.K. with respect to policing football d) develop models of conflict reduction across the medium to long term d) integrating the research findings into training and operational practice within the U.K.
3. New research
Subsequently, further funding has been obtained for 2 PhD students (one from the ESRC and one from the U.K. Home Office) to enable a) the longer term development of the research programme b) the development of in depth research on crowd dynamics and public order policing within the U.K. and across Europe c) the development of additional skilled researchers in this field who are capable of broadening and developing the research programme in the medium to long term.

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Teams, Date, Location, Observer	No of samples	Content of data file
ESP v POR 200604 Lisbon S3A	35	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
ESP v POR 200604 Lisbon S3B	38	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
ESP v POR 200604 Lisbon S3C	12 21	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction 19 June 2004 20 June 2004
ESP v POR 200604 Lisbon S3D	11 20	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction 19 June 2004 20 June 2004
POR v GRE 120604 Porto N1A	29	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location information
POR v GRE 120604 Porto N1B	37	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
POR v GRE 120604 Porto N1C	26	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
POR v GRE 120604 Porto N1D	38	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
RUS v POR 160604 Lisbon S4A	35	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
RUS v POR 160604 Lisbon S4B	42	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
RUS v POR 160604 Lisbon S4C	36	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
RUS v POR 160604 Lisbon S4D	35	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
CRO v ENG 210604 Lisbon S4A	37	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
CRO v ENG 210604 Lisbon S4B	47	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
CRO v ENG 210604 Lisbon S4C	28	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction

|		Site: location info
CRO v ENG 210604 Lisbon S4D	41	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
E60E5000		No file
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FRA v ENG 130604 Lisbon S3A	34	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
FRA v ENG 130604 Lisbon S3B	42	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
FRA v ENG 130604 Lisbon S3C	10 20	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction 12 June 2004 13 June 2004
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GER v CZE 230604 Lisbon S3A	35	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
GER v CZE 230604 Lisbon S3B	43	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
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GER v CZE 230604 Lisbon S3D		City: no of samples, behaviour &

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		23 June 2004
GER v NED 150604 Porto N2A	33	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
GER v NED 150604 Porto N2B	33	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
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CZE v DEN 270604 Porto N2C	20	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
CZE v DEN 270604 Porto N2D	25 26	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction 11 23
POR v ENG 240604 Lisbon S4A	37	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
POR v ENG 240604 Lisbon S4B	42	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
POR v ENG 240604 Lisbon S4C	33	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
POR v ENG 240604 Lisbon S4D	36	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
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POR v NED 300604 Lisbon S4A	38	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
POR v NED 300604 Lisbon S4B	44	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
POR v NED 300604 Lisbon S4C	38	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
POR v NED 300604 Lisbon S4D	33	City: no of samples, behaviour & interaction Site: location info
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englandfansdata		England fans data

footballfans.org.uk
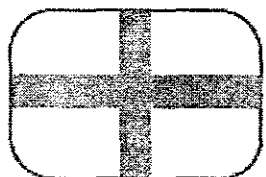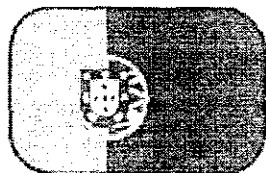
Portugal v England 24th June, Lisbon

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this survey. Your views and responses are important.

This questionnaire is for those England fans that travelled to Lisbon for the match between Portugal and England. It does not matter if you attend the match itself or not but you must have been in Lisbon on the day of, or on the night before, the match. If you find a statement refers to a part of the event at which you were not present then just select the 'not applicable' box.

To begin with the questionnaire asks you to provide us with some information about your age and gender. Following this you will find a series of statements designed to measure aspects of your experience during your visit to this host city on the day of the game. These items are identical in each of our questionnaires to allow us to make comparisons between venues. Please respond to each item by selecting the check box that best represents your views. At the end of the questionnaire we have asked you to provide a description of your experiences in your own words, the more details you provide of your experiences the better.

The questionnaire takes about 5 to 10 minutes to complete depending upon how much detail you wish to provide us with. Once again thank you for taking the time to help. Your views and responses will help us in our attempts to improve the experiences of football fans travelling abroad to watch their team.

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1. Please tell us your age, then your gender:

⌐‾‾‾ age   ⌒ male   ⌒ female

2. Level of experience:

How many times have you travelled abroad to watch England games in the last 4 years

○ over 15   ○ 11 - 15   ○ 6 - 10   ○ 1 - 5   ○ none

3. Fan group:

I feel similar to other England fans in terms of my attitudes and beliefs

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

I feel a sense of belonging when I am with other England fans

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

Being an England fan is part of who I am

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

I am committed to being an England fan

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

England fans are a united group

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

As an England fan I am different to those fans who get involved in trouble

⊂ strongly agree   ⊂ agree   ⊂ not sure   ⊂ disagree   ⊂ strongly disagree

As an England fan I feel similar to football fans from other nations

⊂ strongly agree   ⊂ agree   ⊂ not sure   ⊂ disagree   ⊂ strongly disagree

4. Sense of welcome:

I felt welcome as an England fan in this host city

⊂ strongly agree   ⊂ agree   ⊂ not sure   ⊂ disagree   ⊂ strongly disagree

I was pleased with the facilities provided for England fans by the host city

⊂ strongly agree   ⊂ agree   ⊂ not sure   ⊂ disagree   ⊂ strongly disagree

The local population of this host city was friendly toward England fans

⊂ strongly agree   ⊂ agree   ⊂ not sure   ⊂ disagree   ⊂ strongly disagree

The local population in this host city treated all England fans as hooligans

⊂ strongly agree   ⊂ agree   ⊂ not sure   ⊂ disagree   ⊂ strongly disagree

Opposition fans were friendly toward England fans

⊂ strongly agree   ⊂ agree   ⊂ not sure   ⊂ disagree   ⊂ strongly disagree

I felt safe as an England fan in this host city

   C   strongly agree   C agree   C not sure   C disagree   C strongly disagree

5. Fan behaviour:

I was happy with the behaviour of England fans that I saw in the city centre

   C strongly agree   C agree   C not sure   C disagree   C strongly disagree

   C not applicable, I was not in the city centre

I thought England fans that I saw at the stadium were all well behaved

   C strongly agree   C agree   C not sure   C disagree   C strongly disagree

   C not applicable, I was not at the stadium

The behaviour of England fans was always appropriate in the circumstances

   C strongly agree   C agree   C not sure   C disagree   C strongly disagree

I was unhappy about the behaviour of some England fans

   C strongly agree   C agree   C not sure   C disagree   C strongly disagree

I was happy to be associated with the behaviour of England fans in this host city

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

I was unhappy with the behaviour of fans of other nations in this host city

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

6. Policing:

The police were friendly toward England fans in and around the city centre

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

○ not applicable, I was not in the city centre

The police were friendly toward England fans in and around the stadium

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

○ not applicable, I was not at the stadium

The behaviour of the police toward England fans was better in comparison to other venues I have travelled to as an England fan

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

○ not applicable, this was my first England away match

Overall I think England fans were treated justly by the police

⟨ strongly agree   ⟨ agree   ⟨ not sure   ⟨ disagree   ⟨ strongly disagree

⟨ not applicable, I was not at the stadium

8. Transport:

Getting to the stadium was easy for me

⟨ strongly agree   ⟨ agree   ⟨ not sure   ⟨ disagree   ⟨ strongly disagree

⟨ not applicable, I was not at the stadium

Public transport to the stadium was good

⟨ strongly agree   ⟨ agree   ⟨ not sure   ⟨ disagree   ⟨ strongly disagree

⟨ not applicable, I did not use public transport

Getting away from the stadium after the match was easy for me

⟨ strongly agree   ⟨ agree   ⟨ not sure   ⟨ disagree   ⟨ strongly disagree

⟨ not applicable, I was not at the stadium

Getting through the ticket checks was a problem for fans with tickets

⟨ strongly agree   ⟨ agree   ⟨ not sure   ⟨ disagree   ⟨ strongly disagree

⟨ not applicable, I was not at the stadium

9. Assistance:

I knew about the fan embassy

○ yes   ○ no

I used the fan embassy

○ yes   ○ no

The fan embassy is useful for England fans

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

The English Football Association could have done more to help England fans during this event

○ strongly agree   ○ agree   ○ not sure   ○ disagree   ○ strongly disagree

Thank you very much for completing the above items. We would also very much like to hear from you in your own words about your experiences as an England fan during your time in this host city. If you are willing to provide us with your views then please type your responses to the questions in the relevant text box below.

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10. Please provide any opinions you have about issues or events that were relevant to you or other England fans during events surrounding this match. (Please note that we are only interested in events that happened off the pitch, not the match itself):

18/10/2004

11. If you have not already done so please describe your views upon the overall quality of the policing or stewarding of England fans in this host city:

Thank you again for completing this survey, please submit your responses by clicking the 'submit' button below.

Submit