The Transformation of the Spectator Behaviour in Professional Football –

Necessities, Possibilities and Limits of Social Reaction

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I. Introduction

The meta study "The Transformation of the Spectator Behavior in Professional Football – Necessities, Possibilities and Limits of Social Reaction" has dealt with the current development within the fan scene and its periphery in three part studies since the beginning of 2004. Besides the analysis of the ultra culture and research of the interfacing work between police and social work, a focused look is taken at racist, xenophobic and extreme right wing spectator behavior.

The meta study works with methods of qualitative empirical social research whereby the part study concerning the „Ultra Scene in Germany" constitutes an exception

and in it a quantitative questionnaire survey among scene members is used besides its qualitative methodology focus as an additional source of data capture.

Observations in the field, flexible situation conversations with fans, ultras, etc., qualitative content analyses of magazines and internet pages, guideline-based fan/ultra and problem-orientated expert interviews, symposia in selected locations as well as foreign expertise in data capture are of value besides the document and literature research.

In the following, the main results of the three part studies are briefly introduced.

II. Ultra Scene in Germany

Initial Situation and Aim

Since the middle/end of the nineties, Ultras have increasingly been playing the most acoustically and optically noticeable role in the stadium. Independent monographs on this subject do not exist in this country to date and the stigma and clichés of past fan cultures (*"extreme right wing", "highly educated thugs in pinstripe", "criminal organizations following the Italian example",* etc.) are often used for the ultras without further thought.

The aim of this study is therefore to analyze the ultras' culture and make it understandable in order to respond to the ultras' needs more adequately and to be able to react better to possible negative developments regarding the clubs, associations, fan projects, fan support and police.

Results

"The" German ultra scene does not exist.

Rather there are different groupings which each internally have different structures, rules, focus issues and ideas about what "ultra" means to them. There can even be different views and attitudes within individual groups to politics, for example.

Solely the experience-orientated will to support, the extreme desire to support the club or team non-stop for 90 minutes both acoustically and optically, as well as to prepare these activities within the week before the game and at the same time to regard the club critically, seem to form the denominator which all German ultras have in common.

With the term "ultras", particularly passionate, emotional and committed fans are meant who are fascinated by the culture of firing up the team in southern countries and have given themselves the task of providing a better atmosphere in German stadiums in an organized way. They only have one identity – their ultra identity – which they live out both during the week and at the weekend.

Profiling oneself is a constituent part of the ultra culture.

Ultras do love their club, independent of the people who assume functions in it, but they do not need the club alone for their identity. The ultra groups create the fan identities themselves. In the self-image of one of the biggest ultra groupings it is even stated e.g.: *"We explicitly refuse to be an unpopular part of this big "event" football…We are the most important thing! WE are the game and the club (or its remains)…"*

The increasing professionalization of the sport and the ever clearer separation between spectators and players as well as the increasing distance between both sides, has led to the fact that the spectators – the ultras in particular – are developing an increasing sensitivity to their own presence. Because the players are moving too far away from them and are hardly still tangible, the ultras are concerning themselves ever more with

themselves. Almost every group which thinks something of itself operates its own website to profile itself, publishes its own ultra magazine and develops its own collection of polo-shirts, sweatshirts, caps and scarves with its own group name, logo or symbol.

The ultra culture can be understood as an affection, protest, demonstration and provocation culture.

With help from the extremely time and cost intensive choreography, fanzines, or internet pages as well as with their chants and fan songs, the ultras express their love and connection to their club and to the place where they come from. They show emotion, which is sometimes on the level of a kind of hero-worshipping, as at the leave-taking of a club figurehead such as Reiner Calmund from Bayer 04 Leverkusen or a "football god" like Carsten Linke from Hanover 96.

Ultras are the heart of a fan curve but also its voice. They react like a seismograph to club problems and league politics problems. Ticket price increases, measures regarding to regulations, every player transfer or the preparation for the World Cup in their own country are all critically observed and commented on by the ultras – be it in form of chants and placards in the stadium or with demonstrations on the street. In the age of "eventisization" of football, the ultras see themselves as a critical counterforce which fights to maintain the traditional fan culture, for standing place curves, for more right to co-determination in the club or against stadium bans or too much police deployment.

The Ultras have taken up the sports competition from the pitch and carry it on into the curves or the internet as choreography and supporter competition against the rival ultras. Just as they are original, funny, creative and committed, support their own team and question problems in the club critically, they also try to provoke the club personnel,

sponsors or the rival fans. But the nature of this provocation is often not in good taste – especially during demonstrations of hate against rivals. "Friendships" and "Hostilities" are lived more by the ultras.

Stealing rival fan articles such as fence fans, double staff holders, placards or scarves is enjoying increasing popularity. Stolen trophies are provocatively presented the wrong way round to the rival ultras on the fence during the match. With graffiti and self-designed stickers, ultras try to present themselves further.

Ultras are not hooligans.

This is also true for the small part of the German ultra culture which openly admits to violence or through group processes and solidarization effects now and again provokes incidents. For the predominant part of the ultras, it is not about living out violent needs and the enjoyment of violence. They carry out their ritualized battle against rival fans in the curves, on the internet or during the journey to the match verbally and optically. For them, it is more about provocation, rivalry, self-profiling and differentiation from other fan and ultra groups.

The motives for the use of violence are also different. Hooligan violence can be interpreted as an affective, expressive and relishingly emphasized form or as a means of creating a positive identity, strengthening self confidence. Ultra violence, however, is more reactive and instrumental. Reactive violence to state intervention, instrumental violence as "means to an end" to defend the "territory". Correspondingly, hooligans and ultras perceive police very differently and react very differently to police presence.

While hooligans feel themselves as recognized by the presence of police, even in deployment uniform – the ultras feel threatened and provoked by the mere presence of police and get into an aggressive mood.

There are differences between ultras in the new and old federal states.

In the case of the ultras in the new federal states, the willingness to use violence is more present (*"Thank god the East has still not become as soft as the West"*, to quote an ultra from the new federal states). Furthermore, the ultras live out racist and xenophobic emotions – when they exist – more openly in the new federal states. This has, among other things, to do with the world they live in and their future prospects, but also with the football infrastructure in the new federal states (predominantly lower leagues, i.e. the professionalization of the football sport, the stadiums, the fan work, but also the safety measures, is not as far advanced as in the old federal states). This situation, however, welds the ultras in the new federal states more closely together (this way, the cohesion between the ultras in the new federal states is tighter, for example).

Ultras have three distinct concepts of an enemy: the police, the football associations and the media.

The ultras accuse the media of fragmentation of game plans, insufficient differentiation of the fan scene and eventisization of football. The clubs and associations are reproached with commercialization and that they often regard ultras as troublemakers and thus are, in their opinion unreasonably, banned from the stadium; the police are mainly accused of arbitrariness and exaggerated action.

It is striking here that these concepts of the enemy have developed uniformly nationwide despite the heterogeneity of the ultra scene and that they have already been partially passed on to members of traditional fan clubs.

The common concepts of the enemy seem to level differences and rivalries as, e.g. the joint ultra demonstration on the occasion of the Confederations Cup against "repression" and supposed "arbitrariness" as well as the solidarity effects against members of the police within the fan block, show.

Solidarity effects and trips to away matches are critical areas within the ultra culture.

Problematic areas like *"disproportionate police operations"* and *"arbitrariness of thepolice and stewards"* are a permanent topic within ultra circles. The complaint about the arbitrary operations of the stewards and the police varies considerably depending on whether the matches are away or home matches. The stewards and police on duty during home matches are evaluated much more positively. There are two reasons: on the one hand, the stewards and police on duty during away matches hardly, or do not at all, know the arriving ultras and thus can anticipate their behavior less well or, similarly, hardly know how to talk to them in problematic situations as they would at home matches. On the other hand – and this point is often trivialized or simply denied by the ultras – ultras are often less conform and reserved due to group-dynamic processes (they adrenalize, e.g. within the group that arrives at the location, and chant abuse) and excessive alcohol consumption during the long journey there. Therefore, the ultras behave accordingly emotionalized and thus require earlier intervention by the police.

German ultras display distance from the national team.

Ultras are very locally rooted with "their" team, with "their" club. Their heart belongs to "their" city and the club; thus it is hard for many of them to transfer their ultra mentality, their emotional enthusiasm and their creative commitment to the national team in the same way. First and foremost, they regard themselves as fans of the club, not of the national team.

If ultras are present when the national team is playing, they usually do not appear as one unified ultra group, but rather as individual fans or smaller groups, purely interested in football, which neither show any ultra-specific behavior nor plan extravagant choreographies. With such matches, it is generally the case that – if they even have tickets – more likely hooligans or normal supporters appear in the stadiums.

Action Recommendations

It has to be the priority aim to reduce the concepts of the "police", "DFB/DFL" and "FIFA/UEFA" as enemies that are distinctly present within the ultra scene. The following action recommendations are intended to contribute to this.

Supporting and demanding self regulation processes from ultras (or all fans).
To avoid escalation processes and solidarization , the ultras are, by means of self regulation, required not to belittle, play down or trivialize violent, politically extreme, sexist and homophobic behavior within their own ranks, but to take it seriously and to prevent it. An internal to external regulation of the fan scene is important for the ultras. Therefore, those processes that are carried out successfully in some fan curves, e.g. at FC Sachsen Leipzig have to be specifically supported and demanded externally as well – by fan projects and fan supporters.

Improving communication among each other.

The ultras' severe distinctness of the concepts of the enemy as well as the prevalent stigmatization of the ultras as problematic fans on the part of the media, the associations or the police make intense exchanges on both sides necessary regarding requirements, behaviors and behavioral necessities.

People's behavior does not depend on their situation, but on their interpretation of their situation. For this reason, the discussions about motivation for specific patterns of action, as well as about needs for action and highlighting interpretation aids for the action specific to the ultras and also to the police, are an important contribution to the avoidance of assumptions of arbitrariness and to the overcome of concepts of the enemy and solidarization processes. Clarifying, serious dialogues have to take place and be institutionalized – with the DFB, DFL, fans, ultras, fan organizers, members of the fan projects and the police. As long as you do not know the tasks, aims and limits of the other party and try to understand or accept them, concepts of the enemy cannot be overcome; solidarization and escalation processes can scarcely be avoided.

Transferring the "National Concept of Sport and Security" to lower leagues.

The „National Concept of Sport and Security" is designed for the three professional leagues and has had an effect there. Since a lot of the traditional clubs in the new federal states play in lower leagues where a lot of problems accumulate, it has to be demanded that at least in the new federal states – partially in the old federal states as well – club fan projects and fan support have to be promoted as extensively as possible in the lower leagues according to the standards of the National Concept.

Furthermore, the local committees "sport and security", that are regarded as compulsory for fan project work by the National Concept of Sports and Security, are not only to be continued theoretically, but they finally have to be implemented practically everywhere. Two meetings of these local committees (one after the first half series, one at the end of the season) are a minimum requirement.

Applying police conflict managers.

The concept "Polizeiliches Konfliktmanagement bei der Fußball-Weltmeisterschaft 2006" [Conflict management during the Football World Cup 2006] by Gremmler (2005) is an important component of the fight against solidarization and escalation processes and to overcome of the distinct concept of the police as an enemy. Before the police intervene, conflict management officers should contribute to the transparency of the police operations by means of information and conversation. They should give persons concerned the possibility of self regulation on the one hand and the chance of correctly assessing the police operations on the other.

Developing compulsory fan charters with the ultras and other fan groupings.

The manual "Zur Entwicklung und Etablierung von Fan-Chartas in Europa" (2005) [The Development and Establishment of Fan Charts in Europe (2005)] is concerned with the concept of the club/association as an enemy. The aim is to improve the relationship between clubs and fans and to re-establish compulsory, binding closeness to prevent or to reduce problems like spectator violence and racist behavior etc. in an era of increasing commercialization and professionalization of football. The fan charter is intended to be developed as a part of an integrated prevention strategy by fans and clubs/associations

together where compulsory obligations as well as duties of both parties are determined. A very important contribution here is the contact points that are to be established by DFB and DLF that allow and optimize the record of ultra-specific actions in the DFB and DLF on the one hand, and club and association-specific operations or decisions/regulations to the ultra scene on the other.

III. Social work and the police in the European context of fan support

Initial Situation and Aim

The police and fan projects have identical target groups. They often work at the same place at the same time. They are asked to cooperate to contribute to e.g. the prevention of violence. Additionally, they implement distinctive action and organization concepts within the operating field. Legal foundations, aims, tasks and methodical operations of each institution are recorded in detail (basic conceptions of fan projects, concepts and steps concerning police intervention) and discussed with the (professional) public in various publications. But there are no structured descriptions, analyses and operating guidelines about how to achieve cooperation between the institutions in daily life. Instead there is insecurity, isolation and even negative criticism prevailing within the direct relationship that, sometimes severely, stresses the relations between the individual participants. The study accordingly focuses on the contact and communication structure between fan projects and the police. It is not entitled to analyse the work outside this "interface" or to assess it at all. The results of the study are meant to contribute to the consolidation of the operating sureness of the institutions in their mutual relations and thus to increase the quality of fan supporting means. The involvement of experience in other European countries should grant an international transfer of knowledge to exploit all the

possibilities regarding differentiated accesses to cooperation in fan support and adequate operating strategies for everyone involved in the process.

Results

The evaluation of the ascertained data resulted in a very heterogeneous image about in which form and to which intensity the contacts between the police and fan projects develop on local levels. With regard to this, it is altogether rather difficult to express the summarizing result in such a way that each local experience can be described and analyzed in detail. Nevertheless, the overall result allows a global insight into the "architecture of contacts and communication between fan projects and the police" while taking different basic conditions and working approaches in different cities and regions into account. Not only are the distinctions concerning the individual relations between the fan projects and the police included here, but also the basic conditions and working approaches (conduction of the operation) that show, sometimes distinctively, differences within the internal institutional comparison of fan projects and police. The resource conditions (finances, employees, facilities etc.) as well as the different concentrations of social-pedagogical and social work dealing with young people (target groups, task and goal setting) have to be especially emphasized in this context with regard to the fan projects. For the police, the surveys regarding, among other things, the framework conditions and focus issues showed that officers with good knowledge of the scene are not identified within the personnel plan in all the relevant cities, that the number and the tasks of those officers partially differ considerably, that often different units of the riot police go into action in one city and that various heads of operation (even in the same city) might pursue different operation strategies (in preparation, execution and evaluation of the operation afterwards) – not only

depending on the rating of the explosive nature of the respective football match.

A distinction between the discourse and the action levels has to be made in the content analysis. On the discourse level, close contact, good communication – sometimes called cooperation, is usually aimed for. The achievement of common aims and the optimization of the work (for fan projects in the interest of their target groups) are important arguments for a successful relationship. The operationalization of the discourse on an action level – and thus the institutionalization of common, connecting structures – cannot be pursued generally, but rather in certain points and sequentially.

None of the representatives of the locations covered in the survey mentioned that there is a framework concept that determines the existing contact and communication structures between the police and fan projects. Basically, such a basis was not required by representatives of the police or the fan projects – the fact was only hinted at that a guideline offering orientation – also (or especially) for the nationwide level – could be useful for the commitment of local contacts and communication.

In particular on the part of the fan projects, reserve in using the term cooperation (with the police) can be noticed while police representatives show less inhibitions about calling concrete situations or the carrying out of requests involving the fan projects cooperation. Altogether, the use of this term in the respective disciplines seems to be too varied and, additionally, still too "loaded" to be suitable for describing the working relation between the police and the fan projects. Nevertheless, a usually large number of person and occasion-related contacts can be noticed which altogether hints at an operating quality of the approachability. Nonetheless, reservations with regards to context and person – variously distinctive at different locations – towards representatives of the other occupational group can be recognized. The reasons for such partially disparate positions

especially arise due an intense ignorance about the tasks, aims and basic conditions of the other occupational group. A positive argument based on the principle that neither the work of fan projects nor that of the police is meant to aggravate police or social work – even if situations might occur in the field where the police or social work is complicated by representatives of the other institution – would be a helpful further step of "approaching each other". Furthermore there are sections that remain controversial despite all the transparency of basic conditions, aims and tasks of the representative occupational group.

These are the controversial issues existing in the field – for example the file of violent criminals in sport – that usually do not develop from the relation between police and fan project, but rather concern the target group(s) directly. At this point, the importance of the respective reference systems within the field of action is mentioned that outside, but on the basis of the legal specifications, have special influence on the work of the fan projects in particular.

The evaluation of the European expertise revealed that a direct reference of the statements and the summarizing results to the questions of cooperation between social work and the police within the context of fan support – different from what was assumed at the beginning of the study – altogether seems to be hardly reliable, as the German situation with its trend-setting system of network-oriented socially preventive fan work differs distinctively from that in other European countries. As a network dialogue, this German system, with its area-wide promotion of socially preventative fan work which is standardized and carried out in the National Concept of Sport and Security on the basis of the introduced European standards, appears proven. It currently seems to provide the furthest developed solution for a necessary but regulated dialogue between the different responsibility systems in the general field of football as a spectator sport. With emphasis on

the institutionalization of local responsibilities and duties in preventive networking, an aspect also important for German networking can be derived from the European examples: the outstanding function of highly positioned public representatives (e.g. mayor) as the central local representation of responsibility. In this connection, the local committees of Sports and Security conceived according to the National Concept of Sports and Security have to be mentioned here that have – even more than the advisory boards of the local fan projects – an indispensable function in the organization of a constant and increasingly strong dialogue between the representatives of interests concerning security, order, football, publicity and prevention. In Germany, various interviewed persons hinted at the fact that the relevant public positions are usually filled by high position representatives as chairpersons where the local committees work best.

Action recommendations

The action recommendations pick up on measures and structures of the differentiated activity and organization concepts for which evaluation and updating is equally valid and which are not already available. Procedures are suggested on different levels which increase the quality of fan support measures by, for example, strengthening confidence of action in police and fan support dealings and differentiated accesses to consultation in fan support. They mirror the declared interest of almost all questioned for an optimization of the relationship between police and fan projects in the sense of preventative fan work. This is done effectively using the available resources and the different approaches of the two systems.

The following individual action recommendations are suggested:

Establishment of an AG effectiveness dialogue with the aim of further optimizing the effectiveness of security concepts of changing fan scenes (sub cultures) for further development or promotion of "self policing" / of self regulation approaches of the individual fan scenes.

Development of binding guidelines / process for contact and communication structures of police and fan support with the aim of creating binding foundations with cross regional effectiveness, which, however, offer enough space to accommodate the individual regional differences, characteristics and strengths in the relationship of police and fan support.

Development of a contact and communication concept, *which contains preferably cross regional, binding processes for everyday contact/work and for conflict management.*

Development and implementation of a (common) educational concept "preventative fan work" which offers, among other things, the foundation for understanding the different action requirements in the individual professional roles, discussing the other party's expectations and checking the functionality of action models for the everyday situation.

Agreeing a quality assurance procedure through improved documentation and evaluation of contact and communication structures of good and bad practice", as common activities are, in practice, poorly evaluated and not well publicized to other interested parties.

Re-organization and adaptation of fan project personnel*,* to perform, for example, the management of regional conflicts (such as between fan projects and police) directly, with commitment and responsibly with an operation model which is as uniform as possible. Confusion and disagreements concerning different views and/or orientations of fan work could be decided in a target orientated way in a binding, structural framework in a concept of responsibly acting people.

IV. Racism, Xenophobia and Right-Wing Extremism in Spectator Behavior and the Development of Counter Strategies

Initial Situation and Aim

Xenophobia, racism and right-wing extremism in the context of football matches have been observed and debated for many years. As a result, there has been reaction on several levels. Fan projects, clubs, associations and police, but also fans themselves, have developed different strategies to take action against racist and right-wing extremist incidents or to prevent them in advance wherever possible.

The aim of the study is to analyze the most recent developments relating to xenophobia, racism and right-wing extremism in spectator behavior and identify provisions, possibilities, and limitations of counter strategies, and then to create action recommendations on this basis. It is thus important to formulate conditions which are necessary for successful work, or, aspects which can limit the effectiveness of antiracist work. In doing this, the different action fields and perspectives of the involved parties are considered.

Results: Description of the Situation

In almost all national league clubs which were studied during the research period 2004 to the first half year 2005, *visible* and *audible* xenophobic and ring-wing extreme behavior *in the tiers of the stadium* has reduced in recent years but has not disappeared. In the individual stadium location, there has been a decline both on different levels and also in different problem situations. While it is mostly individuals or small groups in most places who involve themselves in these kinds of expressions, a whole block of several hundred to one thousand fans in some locations has involved itself in xenophobic discrimination independent of the events in the match.

Furthermore, it can be seen that problematic behavior is not restricted to only the ultra scene or the standing area, but rather can be found in the seated area, too. A shift in racism and right-wing extremist behavior away from the stadium and toward the journey to and from the match was identified – this creates a public beyond the stadium, for example in public transport. Bus and train journeys during away games are also used as a place for staging racist and right-wing extremist songs.

Furthermore, a shift in racism and right-wing extremist behavior away from the premier league and toward the lower leagues was identified. Here we can see problem situations which in some cases require urgent attention. As a cause of such a shift, the following could be named: missing fan projects and other offers which look after fans who are susceptible to problematic behavior and attitudes; the lower public and media pressure leads to the fact that such incidents often do not become known to public; less police and club control as well as lacking club commitment and financial resources.

With regard to the national team, a decline in the visibility of right-wing extremist expressions or xenophobic presence has been seen in recent years. Parallel to this however, severe racist and/or right-wing extremist behavior is very much in trend, particularly at away games. For example, this could be seen at the games in Celje in March 2005 and in Bratislava in September 2005. These incidents are not seen by the questioned experts as a new phenomenon, but rather that they show a "*wave pattern*": right-wing extremist and racist expressions come again and again – often also together with violence – at national team matches, especially in Eastern Europe.

The described decline in problematic behavior in the analyzed premier league clubs does not necessarily mean a decline in problematic attitude patterns. There could be a discrepancy between attitude and behavior. Problematic attitude patterns could have become less visible – this is indicated by interviews with fans and experts. This is the case to a considerable extent for the area of right-wing extremism. The right-wing extremist scene has changed its strategy and communicates using hidden codes of right-wing extreme attitudes and a corresponding symbol system which often is only recognizable to insiders. This puts high demands on fan project workers, stewards, and fan supporters because they first have to learn this expert knowledge which is normally not available to them.

Racism is also still just as present in the premier league stadiums. It has however also taken on other, less obvious forms, besides the direct insulting of spectators which still exists (as we saw in the recent events of the 2005/2006 season). Subtle racism can be recognized in that black and also East European players are more readily criticized by fans and have to perform better than German or West European players. If black players are criticized, they are likely to be de-personalized and thus change from an individual to a black man.

Racism, xenophobia and right-wing extremism are certainly perceived in the stadium and partly critically discussed. Homophobia and sexism however are much less perceptible and also less often questioned. Thus, a hierarchy of discrimination has developed – although homophobia and sexism are more prevalent in stadiums than xenophobia and right-wing extremism. Homophobic fan songs belong particularly to the standard repertoire in many football stadiums and are not questioned. At the same time, football belongs to one of the last social bastions in which homosexuality is generally a taboo. Sexist merchandising articles are very common and are considered as a "normal" part of football culture.

Results: Counter Strategies

As reasons for the decline in racist and ring-wing extremist spectator behavior, changes in football culture are also named in interviews besides the explicit counter strategies and the self regulation mechanisms in the fan scene. These are things such as the stronger presence and normality of black players in the teams and the "civilization" of football through the "eventisization" which increasingly attracts the middle class into the stadiums to whom the "culture of insults" is alien.

Counter strategies can be differentiated by agent and type of strategy. Important agents are fan projects, police, clubs, associations, fan initiatives and fans. Counter strategies are available in the area of pedagogical work, campaign work, self regulation mechanisms, rules, sanctions as well as networking. There are no panaceas for work against right-wing extremism, racism and xenophobia. Continuous work with different approaches and a constructive, networking cooperation between the agents is necessary.

Since the beginning of the eighties, the associations – DFB, but also some federal state associations, too – have highlighted the problem with right-wing extremism and racism in the stadiums and tried to work against these problems on various levels.

Since the end of the nineties, the DFB has gone from more singular campaigns over to the development of a comprehensive concept against racist tendencies in football stadiums and to consistent involvement of the premier league clubs. It has agreed on a 10 point plan against racism which, among other things, advises implementing an antiracism paragraph in the stadium rules and requires a clear positioning of the club against racism. The DFB participates in the FIFA and UEFA conferences against racism and thus can promote the implementation of international resolutions against racism in the premier league.

Self regulation mechanisms in the fan scene are a considerably important aspect in the development of counter strategies. They must be sustainable supported. "Politics doesn't belong in the stadium" is an argument of many fans to prevent racist and rightwing extremist statements. However, this argument is also often used to stop antiracist activities. Fans realize at the same time that racist and right-wing extremist behavior brings negative headlines for the club. With fans or spectators who identify with the club, they are careful not to damage the club's image and behave appropriately without necessarily identifying with the content of an anti-racist attitude.

It is clear that some of the fans intervene in racist and right-wing extremism with courage because they do not want to tolerate such discrimination and statements. These fans must be supported by the club and the fan project. This is also true for fan initiatives which act explicitly against racism and right-wing extremism in football. Framework conditions and guidelines can be formulated for work against racism, xenophobia and right-

wing extremism so that this work is sustainably effective. With regard to the club, it is important that it positions itself clearly and early against racism and right-wing extremism in order to avoid an undertow effect in the fan scene. A club is only then credible in its commitment against xenophobia and right-wing extremism when it also deals with its own fans respectfully and democratically and continually works on the racism theme instead of only reacting whenever there is a problem which is publicized by the media.

Building blocks for the work against racism have been developed through the study based on interview analysis. They should be implemented in the daily work. Fan projects are confronted with numerous tasks with the result that anti-racist work is often pushed aside and violence prevention is favored. The complexity of the subject and the necessary expertise regarding right-wing extremism, which is often not available in sufficient quantity, add to the difficulties.

The functioning communication between the different agents connected with the stadium is of high importance. Practical examples show how breakdowns in communication, e.g. between the club and the fan project, reduce the effectiveness of the work or even inhibit activities. The determination of responsibilities and the networking of the agents are very important in this context. It must be clear to all the agents that anti-racism has to be understood as a cross-section task and not as a compulsory programm. Especially campaign work may not be a one-off occurrence. It must be accompanied by additional measures. Campaigns are only then credible when they are part of a continuous concept. The general rule is that the social anchoring of measures increases their effectiveness. That means that measures are particularly effective when they are developed together with the fans, or at least are supported by the fans.

Furthermore, anti-racist work means opening your own institution – for example with regard to the participation of migrants.

Action Recommendations

The following action recommendations are suggested for the work against racism, xenophobia and right-wing extremism

Development of an education programm „Work for Respect and Tolerance" for the fan project and regularly carrying out training and workshops for fan project workers

Training with multiplicators or key figures from the fan scene through the fan project

Regular training of stewards, security personnel, and fan supporters especially on the subject of recent developments in right-wing extremism and training on intervention action in the stadium

Carrying out an event day for respect and tolerance against xenophobia, sexism and homophobia in the premier league

Development of a traveling exhibition on the subject of "Women, Football and Sexism"

Establishment of a share fund to support specific activities for respect and tolerance in the fan scene

Organizing an instructor on the subject of "Xenophobia and Right-Wing Extremism" at the fan project coordination point (KOS)

Organizing a voluntary instructor/contact person for the work for respect and tolerance in the club

Implementation of an interdisciplinary work group for respect and tolerance on the national level.

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