



Excerpts on football hooliganism

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Abstract

The study illustrates the complexity of the issue of football hooliganism, and highlights the innovative solutions for the treatment of it. The background of football hooliganism by presenting domestic and foreign examples, the types of supporters and spectators, and the role of private security and sports policing are observed. In the decades following the regime change, the police lost their monopoly, and private security and civil policing became more prominent in Hungary. Nowadays, the personnel of private security and civil policing are involved in the process of risk assessment of sports events, escorting and transporting groups of supporters, detaining supporters after sports events. It is important to mention sports policing, a specific part of sports administration. This narrow field can be clearly defined as specialised policing, with a set of laws regulating everything related to sports policing, complemented by the regulations of the sports federations, which also serve as guidelines for the maintenance of sports law enforcement records and the security provided at sports events. Football hooliganism is a social and sport security problem that has been present in our world for centuries, and is something that we will probably have to deal with as long as football exists. Football hooligans are a closed community, a subculture with a specific set of rules and a deep knowledge of their functioning is essential to maintain the safety of our sport events. Nowadays, the emphasis is more on understanding the processes, communication and cooperation, as well as openness to innovative solutions.

Keywords: sports police, football hooliganism, ustawka, private security

Introduction

According to Hungary's sports law, '*sport is part of the common good that strengthens the sense of belonging of the members to the community, as well as the physical and mental health of the individual*'.¹ However, reading the preamble of the law, we immediately thought of one of the possible downsides of the experience of belonging to the community, the issue of sports hooliganism, which so often disrupts sporting events.

As defined by the Law Enforcement Lexicon (2019), football hooliganism or sports hooliganism is '*a set of aggressive manifestations associated with sport events – both inside and outside the spectator area – which in many cases show a deviant love of football and a strong tendency to devalue the opponent's supporters, and to cause personal and material injury to the outsiders*' (Boda, 2019). This non-normative love of football brings deviant, clan-like groups together to 'fight' each other, for example through 'wars' (held at hidden locations) among gangs of the supporters, the so-called '*ustawka*', a term we will discuss in more detail later. In the background, there is a deviant system of norms and sometimes political polarisation. Football hooliganism is a grouping of deviant groups operating within a defined framework and rules (Boda, 2019). According to the Italian sociologist, Roversi (1990), football hooliganism is a violent behaviour mainly committed by the people who watch the match. These acts are the result of a combination of vandalism and aggressive behaviour and are more typical in the younger age group, and the acts can also be found inside and outside sports facilities (Roversi, 1990). The concept has to be expanded as football hooliganism is not limited to the violence among spectators, but it also includes aggression against police officers, players, referees, the use of illegal pyrotechnics and vandalism (URL1).

In our study, we examine the background of football hooliganism by presenting domestic and foreign examples and analysing its background from theoretical and practical perspectives.

The emergence of football hooliganism

The tradition of aggression in football can be traced back to the 12th century, when the teams of 11-11 players from English settlements battled and competed in bloody '*folk football*', often resulting in broken bones or even death (URL2).

1 Act I of 2004 on Sports, Introduction.

The football rituals, which were filled with violence and presented as a legal tourist attraction, are still present today in Germany (Knappen) and Florence (Calcio Storico Fiorentino) (Nagy, 2006).

Since football hooliganism first appeared on a huge scale in England, the first research on the subject began there. Taylor had been studying the social causes and effects of football hooliganism since the late 1960s. He observed not only the stadiums, but also the sport facilities in many other sports, but it was clear to him that ensuring the safety of football stadiums was the most important task, partly because football was the sport of the nation and because it attracted the biggest crowds. He identified overcrowding in stadiums as the most significant source of danger, and noted that the main causes of disasters were the outdated stadiums, poor facilities, hooliganism, excessive alcohol consumption, and poor organisation and management. In the following part of our study, we will deal with the practical elements of the Taylor-report and its impact on the security of sport events, taking the Hungarian practice into account and comparing the principles (Tóth, 2019).

The Taylor-report was preceded by eight reports that also documented disasters at sport events. He concluded that crowd behaviour could not be managed by a method that provided complete safety. He observed the problem not from a policing approach but from the so-called complex approach, recognising that it was neither practical nor possible to control fans through criminal justice measures alone. He also suggested that communication with clubs and supporters, as well as with the media, should be improved (Uricska, 2020). In his view, the major problem was the excessive alcohol consumption of the supporters. He drew attention to the inadequate management of national and football organisations, and the lack of modern infrastructure.

Taylor analysed European observations, particularly the examples of the Netherlands and Italy, as well as the relevant FIFA regulations, urged speeding up sentencing and increasing the penalties, as well as creating new legislation to keep convicts off the pitch. He also specifically addressed the issue of access and the importance of the use of physical segregation, particularly fencing within the establishment. In order to protect the pitch, the so-called line of prohibition was used to define the protected areas, its crossing automatically entailed severe penalties. Nowadays, crossing the imaginary line of prohibition, which means entering the area closed to spectators, is a criminal offence (Tóth, 2019).

The event and its location provide an opportunity for those who need a crowd to take advantage of its anonymity to commit acts of disorder and hooliganism. The physical vicinity and the separation of the opposing fan camps are beneficial for curtailing rowdy behaviour. The smaller the area where the fans are

crowded together, the greater the internal pressure and the crowd is more aggressive (Végh, 2001). This was also observed at the matches included in the Taylor report.

It also set out the principles and practices for the provision of security for sports events in Europe in detail, standardised the principles and measures, and had a significant impact on the Hungarian practice.

It is important to observe the causes of football hooliganism and the history of stadium disasters in recent decades, which have drawn the attention of those involved in event security to the necessity for changing the established practice and creating new legal norms. Taylor added that complacency and assumption were the biggest enemies of security in the report on his experience of securing sport events, and it radically changed regulation in Europe (URL3). The stadium was the scene of violence.

In 1960, a part of the legal community considered hooliganism to be an antisocial form of life and behaviour in its content and form. In terms of its dimension, hooliganism was typical within a relatively narrow layer of the youth population at that time. *'The attractiveness of hooliganism was enhanced by its romantic appeal, and made popular also with the honest classes of young people'* (ELTE, 1960). During this period, the legal community drew attention to the need for a separate law on hooliganism. Such behaviour was punished as rioting, and the acts of hooligans were already within the scope of this offence, since the most characteristic feature was the scandalous behaviour of some supporters, which caused outrage and alarm (ELTE, 1960).

Issues relating to the security of sport events raise social, legal, law enforcement and moral problems. The phenomenon of football hooliganism is complex and complicated. 94% of fans are engaged in this type of activity at football matches. No other sport is able to attract such large crowds for a major event on a regular and periodic basis, as a major match can attract tens of thousands of people. There is no other sport where the contrast between supporters is so vigorous, and this is reinforced by the segregation within the stadium. The fans of the same team are placed in the same sector, which strengthens their sense of community, making them feel stronger, but they are quite close to the fans of the opposing team, whom they are confined to a relatively small area with (Tóth, 2017).

Stadium disasters around the world

There were dozens of stadium disasters in the last hundred years. Since the Second World War, more than sixty stadium disasters have resulted in the death of

1,500 people. The huge crowds that regularly gather in football stadiums were a new social phenomenon born in the first years of the 20th century. Only war situations, political mass events, religious festivals, major cultural events and sometimes competitions in other sports were associated with the presence of such huge crowds. Overcrowding, excessive display of emotions, disturbances, often poor management or the inadequate condition of stadiums as well as sometimes tragic coincidence has led to serious stadium accidents from time to time (Tóth, 2017).

One of the most devastating incidents in the world happened in 1964, when 318 people died in Lima after a Peru-Argentina match. The police used tear gas grenades against the fans, who attempted to flee but the stadium exits were sealed off. Besides the 318 deaths, more than 500 people were seriously injured. 127 people died in Ghana in a hasty police attack in 2001. Panicked crowds trampled each other to get out, but most gates were locked here, too. In a bizarre case, 93 people died in Nepal in 1988 when a huge hailstorm hit the stadium in the middle of a Nepal-Bangladesh match. The spectators tried to flee from the natural disaster, but the crowd was detained by police for unknown reasons and then turned back, so it is no wonder the crowd trampled each other to death. In 1985, a discarded cigarette butt caused a fire that burned down a stand at Bradford stadium in England in a matter of minutes. The police were forced to evacuate spectators onto the pitch, but they could not avoid a tragedy that caused 56 deaths.

An interesting fact related to the above is that in Hungary, as early as 1948, the Ministry of the Interior issued a service regulation for the police that stated *'Smoking is prohibited in the wooden spectator areas (stands) of sports and competition grounds. This prohibition had to be pointed out to the public by means of conspicuously placed signs.'* (Regulations of the Ministry of the Interior, 1948).

There were two disasters in Scotland. The more serious one was caused by a newly built wooden grandstand that was flooded by heavy rain and collapsed during a match. Hundreds of fans fell, causing the deaths of 25 people. A decree after the incident provided for the construction of reinforced concrete stadiums in the UK. In 1982, Russia's worst sports disaster occurred in Moscow, at Lenin Stadium, when the management of the facility decided to open only the western and eastern grandstands to spectators as only these were able to be cleared of the snow that had fallen in the days before the match. A few people fell over the barriers and swept several others along with them. The chain reaction-like events killed 66 fans ([URL4](#)).

In Brussels, experienced organisers were involved in the securing of sport events. The Belgian Minister of the Interior mobilised the police, fire brigade

and ambulance services. More than 3,000 police officers secured the stadium and the entire city police force was on standby, and there were seven emergency vehicles and a medical liaison vehicle at the stadium. The Heysel tragedy was unequivocally caused by the increasing football hooliganism of the seventies and eighties. In England, the tragedy that happened almost thirty years ago is still etched in the memory of the public. It was the event that changed English football forever. The next day, the line *'Football as a game is dead'* was published in *The Times*. As a result of major changes, a rebirth of football occurred, and from its ruins it has become one of the most successful European businesses in a very short time (Tóth, 2019).

On 19 August 1985, the Council of Europe adopted a convention on violence at sport events, particularly football matches. Its principles were incorporated into the Hungarian Sports Law. The Committee proposed that the responsibilities of the director and the organiser of sport events should be clarified. It was defined that the police should only be involved in securing sport events to carry out public duties and restore disorder. It was decided that the police should assign one or more police constables to assist the organisers of sporting events which they consider to be risky, who could monitor the security of the event during its organisation and while it is in progress in compliance with the legal requirements, and could initiate police intervention if necessary. The idea was that the police should be empowered by law to declare the event closed, to remove the troublemakers or, if this is not possible, to disperse the crowd, if the behaviour of the participants is prejudicial to the safe conduct of the sports event and if the disruption cannot be otherwise managed ([URL5](#)).

The emergence of football hooliganism in Hungary

Even in the beginning of the 20th century, football was a sport that attracted particularly large crowds and because of its popularity, more attention was paid to the supervision of football competitions. In 1922, a match not open to the public was organised by the National Police Commissioner. In 1937, 14 mounted officers and 10 on foot stopped 2,000 fans at the Ferencváros-Debrecen match. In 1937, a newspaper article was published with the title: *'Organise a sports police force to restrain scandals at the football pitches.'* At that time, the impetuous behaviour of the public attending football matches was so dangerous to the fair play of the matches that public order and personal safety were often at risk. Of course, the rude behaviour of some players on the pitch also contributed to these phenomena, which angered some members of the crowd. For this

reason, the management of the football association and the police decided to take measures to prevent similar scandals in the future (Tóth, 2019). In 1947, a near disaster occurred during the match between the national teams of Hungary and Austria. The 50th anniversary of Hungarian football was celebrated at the Ferencváros sports ground on Üllői Street. More than 40,000 people crowded into the wooden stands. As the structure could not hold that many spectators, it gave way causing 200 fans to fall along with the eight-metres wide partition of the stands ([URL4](#)).

In 1959, a report on the events of the football match between Dózsa of Pécs and Vasas of Budapest stated that the head of the Pécs city police headquarters sent 37 police officers on duty and 25 volunteer police officers, led by two officers, to secure the football match based on a pre-drafted plan. The police officers maintained the order during the parade and the match according to how they were briefed beforehand. During the match, there were about 15,000 people on the pitch. At the end of the match, a number of fans who condemned the referee's behaviour jumped onto the pitch, one of them ran to the referee and shook him. The police also rushed toward the referee, removing the people jumping onto the pitch, ensuring the referee's unharmed escape. More and more individuals in plain clothes appeared on the pitch and tried to attack the referee. The two police officers were able to defend the referee from any attacks. The crowd protested indignantly at the referee's behaviour, many shouted that this was how 2 points had been taken away from the team in both the Honvéd and BVSC (the names of Hungarian football clubs) games. They demanded that the referees decide objectively, and equal treatment for teams from Budapest and the countryside be applied on the pitch. The dispersal of the crowd was carried out by the head of the county law enforcement headquarters with the help of police officers as well as volunteer police officers. The comrades quickly removed the large crowds from the sports field and the retreat route. During the removal of the crowd, the atmosphere was extremely heated, several people shouted that they would report the series of unqualified, unsportsmanlike refereeing behaviours to the party headquarters and the government. The crowd was not completely cleared when the Vasas players and their entourage were taken away by the Vasas bus from Budapest, as were the referee and the Dózsa (Pécs) players with their own bus. The two buses were secured by two police officers. On the way, the two buses had objects thrown at them by unknown persons, but no serious damage was caused. After the end of the match, people gathered in groups at various places of entertainment, in Széchenyi Square and in the streets of Pécs, and discussed the referee's behaviour in very irritated tones, and there were also voices saying that there was no need for sports

in the countryside, because the rural workers did not seem to deserve to see quality sports. In order to secure the matches better, they urged the leadership of the Pécs Vasutas Sport Club to ensure that the players' exit be covered with a dense wire mesh. Permanent official commissioners were appointed for future matches. The police officers also regulated the location of the sports officials attending the match on the pitch and the staff who could enter the playing field. Our experience is that in all cases the scandals were triggered by the bias of the referees, not by the team's defeat. With objective refereeing, when the team lost, there was no scandal. The Deputy Minister of Interior was asked by the head of the county police headquarters to raise the issue with the relevant sports bodies in the Ministry of Interior, as this problem led to a series of scandals and police interventions (Tóth, 2019).

Football hooliganism in the second half of the 20th century

The decree draft of the Deputy Minister of the Interior of the Hungarian People's Republic in 1964 indicated that different practices had developed in the implementation of security at that time. Some events lacked planning, which reduced the effectiveness of police measures. Even then, the organisers were responsible for maintaining order. Sports clubs and event operators were responsible for ensuring the appropriate number of organisers to ensure that the event went smoothly. The organisers were obliged to maintain order, prevent any disorder and, if necessary, request the assistance of the police to restore order.

In 1964, to secure sport events, the competent police forces were obliged to prepare a unified plan for the implementation of the security and operational tasks. The security plan, approved by the head of the competent police force, included the following: the subject, location and time of the event, the name of the organiser, the commanding officer, the location, the number of police forces involved, their tasks, the number and location of the reserves, the number of organisers, the location of arraignment (Tóth, 2019).

It can be stated that incidents of hooliganism in and around the stands were very rare in a controlled society before the regime change, and they were rarely reported by the controlled media. The slogans were also more presentable. After the regime change, violence in the spectator areas of sports grounds increased. The media were no longer silent, although their reports were often tabloid-styled and sensationalist. Unfortunately, violence became a way of spending leisure time.

From spectators to football hooligans

With regard to football hooliganism, which is still present today, the following types of supporters and spectators can be distinguished on the basis of behaviour at the event, as described in the report by the Expert Committee against Football hooliganism No. 4/28-1/2003 ([URL6](#)). Typification of the participants at sport events, the estimated number of participants, and the possible offenders' behaviour can be great help in preparing and taking the necessary security measures to maintain order at the event.

Spectators are those who prefer to watch football matches at home on television. Their priority is the love of the sport, so they do not always cheer for a particular team, but if they are committed to a football team, they watch other matches, too. This type of supporters is very unlikely to get involved in any kind of football hooliganism.

Supporters also have a similar quality to spectators, as there is very little chance of being involved in any disorderly conduct. However, it is important to note that this group has stronger ties to a club and loyalty to their team than to the aesthetics and spectacle of the match itself. Not only do they watch their favourite team on television, they sometimes attend home games, but they rarely go to away-games.

The enthusiasm and club sympathy of fans are present and important throughout most of their lives. They attend the matches of the team they support on a regular basis and collect all sorts of memorabilia related to their team. The fans may sometimes get involved in illegal acts and disturbances, but not of their own volition.

Basically, the ultras are not very aggressive and do not generate fights and disturbances, but it is not typical for them to stay out of these situations. They are committed to their favourite team, which is an important part of their lives. They are the scenery supervisors, design and prepare all the scenery elements and drapery. They spend a lot of time and money on this activity, but they do not mind it. They attend every match of their favourite team.

Hooligans, like the ultras are present at all the matches of their team, but their focus is not on the spectacle, but on the fight on and off the pitch. It is not unusual for them to create disturbances and fights with the opposing supporters, and it is not only the stands that are suitable for this type of action, but also the streets and squares.

Members of a mob and criminals may look similar to hooligans at first glance, but there is a big difference. This group attends matches specifically for the trouble, they are not interested in the football team, and usually do not go to away

matches. The members of mobs are not exactly like hooligans, as the mobs often use underhanded methods to beat the opposing fans. They are not averse to using stabbing and cutting devices, and they are far from morality and lack a kind of 'honour among thieves.'

Manipulators are not interested in the match or the team. Their only aim is to promote and preach some – usually extreme – political ideology, and possibly invite members to join a community with such a view. We usually mean educated people when we talk about manipulators.

Football hooligans usually belong to a low social class and/or they are very young, and therefore develop a feeling of inferiority, which can cause psychological damage and, in more serious cases, personality disorders (they try to compensate for this feeling with specific methods). In their everyday life, they have little power, so they want to live out their desire for power, and it often manifests in aggression against the opposing fans. Their daily existence does not give enough excitement and variety; therefore, they find disorderly conduct and the atmosphere in the stands provides good opportunities to gain this experience. At work, they usually have low-prestige jobs where they are subordinates. They are not able to release tension, so they do so with aggression at football matches. In the stands, they can do what they want, they choose to spend their time there, where they feel free without any constraints. Football hooligans are very complex personalities. They are driven by their emotions, which often lead them to ignore facts and not pay attention to doubts. They avoid uncertainty, which stems from their characteristic lack of self-confidence. This lack of self-confidence can be traced back to their low social class (Szabó, 2003).

They have a unique worldview, the central element of which is their opposition to almost everything and everyone. They also have a different set of values, power and notoriety are their top priorities. Everyday problems do not matter if they win a fight or cheer louder than the opposition. However, this system of values is only valid within their social circles. Because of their passion and emotionally based worldview, they often do not even realise that the ideal they represent is socially almost useless. The quality of their actions is more important than the importance of them. They ignore the results and usefulness of their acts, however if they are good and efficient at what they do, they are proud. It is interesting to note that football hooligans also attribute the team winning to their own merit. If the team loses the game, the football hooligans blame someone else (Szabó, 2003).

A further motivational factor can be sensationalist media coverage when the football hooligans' acts are presented on a variety of platforms leading to fame and notoriety not only in their own subculture but in other areas of society which can

be seen as a success by the football hooligan (Szabó, 2003). Based on the above, it is clear that the individuals and groups organised around football clubs form a very complex and highly structured mass of people, often with a huge number of members, they have a specific set of rules, and this knowledge is essential for the professionals involved in the organisation of the event. The analysis of crowds and the behaviour of individuals in crowds are well beyond the scope of the present study. It should be noted that the presence of the others and a shared mindset give a sense of security and extra strength to the members of the groups, and they are more inclined to act on their natural instincts. In a crowd, the individuals often prioritise the goods of the crowd, and the members may feel that they are outside the community's control, and therefore they are less visible (Le Bon, 1895).

The Ustawka in Hungary

As already mentioned, football hooliganism in its current form emerged in the 1990s, when hooligans fought at almost all sport events, broke and smashed items in the streets, underpasses and stadiums. These fights were not organised, almost all of them were spontaneous. There were no rules, it was free to use drink bottles, various impact-enhancing devices and knives. Football hooligans refer to this phenomenon as '*old school*' hooliganism, which was increasingly overshadowed by tougher penalties, better policing and more modern stadium security. Nowadays, *ustawka* (or '*remote location fight*' the word *ustawka* means meeting, setup, or staged occasion in Polish) is popular, as these fights do not take place in cities but on the edges of forests, in fields and often on private land, in order to get out of sight of law enforcement.

The *ustawka* means '*fair boxing*' within the fan circles, agreed upon in advance, where the parties (fan groups) can settle their disagreements without weapons according to agreed-upon rules, in equal numbers and in a secluded place, or they may just fight each other to see who is better or stronger. They are hooligans or simply fanatic supporters (ultras), fans of their team or they just want to '*get some exercise*'. Although there are some injuries in this case too (the use of mouthguards and bandages is allowed), we cannot consider this a real fight, but a kind of specific and very rough training done by the ultras. *Ustawka* originated in the Slavic countries (Poland, Russia), where it has a long tradition and is often fought by teams of 100 people each, but 50-50 or 25-25 people on each side are not uncommon either. It is interesting to note that there is a website with photographs of domestic *ustawka* events on the Internet, listing the names of the participating teams and their numbers ([URL7](#)).

There is no question that *ustawka* violates a number of legal regulations and is a danger to society. Our aim was to illustrate the complexity of the issue of football hooliganism, its reality beyond the physical location of sports facilities, which tries to circumvent the pre-emptive measures of law enforcement agencies.

Private security and football hooliganism

In the decades following the regime change the police lost their monopoly, and we can observe the necessary pluralisation of policing. Private security and civil policing became more prominent, whilst the paradigm of policing as a state monopoly was diminished (Kerezsi & Nagy, 2017). The free market economy, the rise of private property, the need for protection of private property, which grew at an astonishing rate, inevitably gave rise to private security companies operating on a business basis after the regime change. Private security service providers that complement public security are becoming increasingly important in all areas of value and asset protection as their professional and business experience grow, and the availability of professional private security professionals is a key element of their predictable operation. It is interesting to note that in 2008, Hungary was already among the ten European countries where the number of private security service providers was higher than that of public security agencies due to the opening of the market (Tóth, 2017). In 2020, the number of private security companies in Hungary was 6461, while the number of issued identity and property cards² was 96 008³ (Christián & Lippai, 2021).

As stated in our current crime prevention strategy, *'public safety is part of the quality of life in society, a product of collective value, and its creation and preservation is a common concern'*.⁴ Maintaining public order and public security is essentially the task of the police, albeit the police are an organisation that no longer possess the force, means or infrastructure necessary to prevent all illegal behaviour that threatens security in all its segments. It can be said that the police, although they play a decisive role, are only one element of security as a service, and the complementary law enforcement actors, regulated by the legislature, are increasingly present; they are effective and professional actors

2 Enterprises (personal and property security, private investigator, designer-installer), people with badges/certificates (personal and property security guard, private investigator, designer-installer of security systems, installer of security systems).

3 According to the statistics provided by the Administrative Police Department of the National Police Headquarters, aggregated as of 31 December 2020.

4 1744/2013. (X.17) Government Decision on the National Crime Prevention Strategy (2013-2023). Conceptual background of crime prevention.

that reinforce public security. It has become a self-evident element of today's reality, and it is also reflected in public thinking, that part of law enforcement tasks – without diminishing the powers of the police, but complementing their activities – must be delegated to civil society actors, so when we talk about public security and its protection, the participation of the civilian element can no longer be avoided ([URL8](#)) (Lippai, 2021). With the continuous expansion of the security activities of private security service providers and companies, personal and property guards can now not only control the legality of entry and exit to the event venue (often privately owned) and the observance of the rules of participation, but they have also become an active part of the various phases of event security. For example, they are involved in the process of risk assessment of sports events, escorting and transporting groups of supporters, detaining supporters after sports events, and organising music festivals with large crowds.

If we are talking about the theoretical implementation of sports events and the potential occurrence of disturbances, we should think in terms of a triad of prevention, response and action. If we imagine a timeline and an 'x' on it, representing the policing tasks related to a sports event, then it is logical to separate the different policing roles. In the period before 'x', we can talk about prevention. It is the responsibility of the professionals of a private security company contracted under a civil law contract to provide the elements of the service. After the 'x' there is a clear justification for response and action; these tasks belong partly to private security providers, but typically the tasks fall within the remit of state law enforcement agencies, most notably the police.

Professionally operating private security service providers with a strong emphasis on prevention can make a significant contribution to the further reduction of the burden on state law enforcement agencies, to a more economical and cost-effective police operation, to the efficient management of resources while cooperating with the private security and municipal sectors. In addition, by streamlining security activities, many state law enforcement tasks could be partly or entirely transferred to non-state actors, which could result in savings of billions of euros for the national economy annually.

It is important to mention that a specific part of sports administration is sports policing. This narrow field can be clearly defined as specialised policing, with a set of laws regulating everything related to sports policing, complemented by the regulations of the sports federations, which also serve as guidelines for the maintenance of sports law enforcement records and the security provided at sports events (Tóth, 2018).

Conclusion

Football hooliganism is a social and sport security problem that has been present in our world for centuries, and is something that we will probably have to deal with as long as football exists. Although football hooligans are ‘*the products*’ of our society, they are a closed community, a subculture with a specific set of rules and a deep knowledge of their functioning is essential to maintain the safety of our sport events. Not so long ago, we would have called it the fight against football hooliganism, whereas today the emphasis is more on understanding the processes, communication and cooperation, as well as openness to innovative solutions.

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