
‘Respect – Diversity Football Unites’ UEFA/FARE Program at EURO 2012 in Poland and Ukraine. Between Pro-diversity Project and Security Policy Towards Far-right Groups

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Introduction

The overall aim of this article is to present the results of evaluation research of the activities that have been developed and organised as part of the Respect Diversity-Football Unites project, which is a specific program of events developed in conjunction with UEFA as part of Euro 2012, held in Poland and Ukraine.

For Euro 2012, UEFA run all their Corporate Social Responsibility program under the heading of ‘Respect’. This move away from the ‘Unite Against Racism’ brand is in-keeping with a current trend to look at society issues of respect amongst people, not only around their ethnic or religious backgrounds but in a wider context². It is crucial that if different communities are to co-exist successfully within Europe then respect, tolerance and understanding are of vital importance. The use of the banner, Respect Diversity-Football Unites illustrates the power that football can have in bringing people together, to help celebrate and recognize diversity and to effect positive change. Football, and in particular large tournaments like the Euros, create an opportunity for unity, by showing that everyone can play and support football regardless of different cultural, national, ethnic, religious or sexual preferences. However, it is worth noting, that the Respect Diversity program had a

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² Philippe Bourgois, *In search of respect*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; New York, 2010.

special, dual character among other three UEFA CSR projects (Respect Health, Respect Inclusion, Respect Fan Culture). On the one hand, its aim was to promote tolerance and multicultural values through the power of football in uniting across differences of race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, disability and gender. But on the other hand, the program aimed both in monitoring incidences of discrimination, particularly racism, intolerance and the presence of the far-right and in managing security policies within and outside stadiums.

Euro 2012 was the first large major sporting event to be held in Eastern Europe since the collapse of the communist regime in this region. In addition to the impact that the Tournament had through the building of new stadiums and the improvements infrastructure in the region, there was also a human impact to the tournament. During the tournament more than 2,5 million foreigners visited host countries, which both have had a difficult historical experience and are known in Europe for the wide prevalence of racism and active radical nationalists. Nazi inspiration and anti-Semitic slogans are particularly shocking given Eastern Europe's World War II history, when millions of people were killed at the hands of the occupying Germans, including the overwhelming majority of the region's Jewish community. The problem with racism touches Poland and Ukraine at the comparable level. Although, Ukraine is much bigger and more various country. There are also more ethnic minorities (22 % of the population) than in Poland (1,5 %). In Poland, while fan organisations insist that extremists do not represent the majority, the issue has been highlighting each year in November since 2010, when hooligans and far-right radicals are joining forces in Warsaw to battle police on Poland's Independence Day.

Football stadiums are often viewed as a snapshot of society, and because this type of nationalist and racist behaviour exists outside of football, then it is only to be expected that

this type of social conflict is also witnessed within football³. It is this type of radical behaviour that the Respect Diversity-Football Unites program of activities were put in place to try to reduce, or to deradicalise. The UEFA program was delivered by the FARE Network - an anti-discrimination group of over 50 NGOs from across Europe, and its long established Eastern European partner – the Never Again Association - the main project co-ordinator. Never Again has been developing and delivering a range of anti-racist activities since it was first established in the mid 1990's in Poland. These include the monitoring of xenophobic, racist, anti-Semitic and nationalist incidents, publishing the magazine “Never Again” and running the “Let's Kick Racism out of the Stadiums” campaign. Never Again is a cofounder and core member of the FARE Network and also participates in the FARE Action Week in October each year. Since 2009, Never Again has co-ordinated the FARE East European Development Project, which has been supported by UEFA in the lead up to Euro 2012 in Poland and Ukraine, and has set up the East Europe Monitoring Centre. As an Euro 2012 legacy the Centre still helps to document racism and xenophobia across the region, which includes Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Moldova, Belarus and Russia.

Although Never Again is based in Poland, the FARE Respect Diversity program was also active in Ukraine since 2009. The activities undertaken in Ukraine were similar to those that had been established in Poland, although they tended to vary in scope depending on local circumstances in each city and region. There are a number of FARE partners in Ukraine. These include the East European Development Institute (EEDI), which is the lead partner on the Streetkick game (one of the RD project activities) and educational program in Ukraine and Football Against Prejudices, which is the lead for monitoring.

³ A. S. Markovits, L. Rensmann, *Gaming the world: how sports are reshaping global politics and culture*, Oxford, Princeton University Press, Princeton N.J., 2010.

Other key partners include, in Kharkiv, the People's Ukrainian Academy and Kharkiv's NURE University, then the African Centre in Kiev, the Congress of National Minorities of Ukraine, the National Council of Youth Organizations of Ukraine, the Kiev Armenian Community, the Crimean Institution for Civil Society, the Women's Rights Centre 'La Strada-Ukraine' and the Donetsk City Charitable Foundation, 'Dobrota'.

Whilst this article's aim is to provide extensive analyse on the activities that took place under the Respect Diversity banner, this may not be an exhaustive list of all that has taken place in the frame of this extremely rich FARE program.

Methodology

The evaluation report was based on the analysis of empirical data collected during six months (from February to July 2012) in Poland (in following key cities: Warsaw, Poznan, Wroclaw, Gdansk and Cracow) and in Ukraine (in Kharkiv and Kiev). To guarantee a high level of evaluation, a series of complex social science methods were used which involved both quantitative and qualitative methodology in the frame of the ex-ante/mid-term/ex-post evaluation mode:

1) Observations (streetkick games in Fanzones/FanCamps; several Inclusive Zones in Poland; opening ceremony on 8 June 2012 in the Polish Foreign Ministry Palace; trainings for stewards and policemen at the National Stadium in Warsaw; trainings for teachers in the Mazovia Centre for Teachers; the semi-final games in Warsaw on 28 June 2012.

2) 17 In-Depth-Interviews - individual and collective - were conducted in four languages: Polish, English, Russian and French. The interviews were led mainly with project coordinators (project officers, policemen and stewards, security officers, teachers) and with fans in host cities.

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- 3) Mini-FGI (Focus Group Interview), with the project officers from Never Again Association (as ex-post mode).
 - 4) Audio-visual method the majority of IDI's, observations and mini FGI were filmed, in order to present a part of the results in the frame of the documentary available online.
 - 5) Exit poll surveys (N=200) - conducted in Fan Zones and Camps areas in host cities: Warsaw, Poznan, Wroclaw, Gdansk
 - 6) Omnibus survey in Poland (N=1000) among adults in Fan Zones and Camps areas in the 5 key cities in Poland: Warsaw, Poznan, Wroclaw, Gdansk and Cracow.
 - 7) Desk Research
 - 8) Media-content analysis.

Main objectives and activities of the program

The core objectives of the Respect Diversity – Football unites project were:

- 1) To build on the educational lobbying and capacity building security program undertaken by the FARE Eastern European Project partners in Poland and Ukraine.
- 2) To celebrate diversity and the power of football to unite across differences of race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, disability and gender.
- 3) To monitor incidences of discrimination, particularly racism, intolerance and the presence of the far-right and managing security policies within and outside stadiums in cooperation with UEFA security officers⁴.

It is crucial to highlight the overall target groups for the project, which was not only football fans, but a wider range of participants and the general public. Specific groups of

⁴ Respect Diversity- Football Unites, EURO 2012 Anti-Discrimination and Diversity Programme.

people included: ethnic minorities groups; players and coaches; policemen, security officers, spotters and stewards; teachers; local communities; fans; public opinion leaders; institutions linked to the organization of Euro and to the anti-racist activity (public administration, educational establishment, etc.); national societies at global stage.

Preparation for the tournament

Firstly, one of the major Respect Diversity activities, led by Never Again, was to provide *trainings* to security personnel that was based in stadiums on issues such as recognising racist symbols and identifying potential security issues. For Euro 2012, both in Poland and Ukraine, a total of 8400 stewards of mixed ages and backgrounds have completed the training course on anti-racism, anti-discrimination and security policy of the tournament. In the case of Poland, the trainings were prepared especially for Euro 2012 stewards trainers from all around Poland, especially those who were working in football clubs (two top divisions, two persons from each club and Security Schools representatives) who also train stewards in each football club. The NA Association educational materials were used in every steward training in Poland. It is worth noting that 4900 of these 8000 trained stewards were working during Euro 2012. Secondly, between 2009-2012, Never Again also led anti-discrimination training for spotters and policemen in the whole country, for instance, in the city of Legionowo, where the Polish Police Academy is placed. Three training sessions were held in conjunction with Never Again, at which 160 Polish spotters were in attendance. Polish police also received further anti-racism and anti-discrimination training in accordance with the overall Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) program, 'Counteracting the hate crimes'. As part of this project, each police officer in Poland should be educated on understanding and counteracting hate crime. Consecutively, in Poland and Ukraine, in the frame of the Respect Diversity project,

around 80 000 policemen and spotters have been trained. The majority of policemen in Poland were equipped with the educational material about hate crime that includes info about racist symbols – specially prepared for Police trainings by NA Association. What is more, some extra trainings were prepared especially for police trainers who regularly train police in Poland almost every day, in groups around 20 people each training.

As well as training sessions for people working within stadiums, Never Again has also been involved in an *educational program* aimed at teachers in Polish schools and other educational institutions. The aim of the program was to raise awareness amongst teachers about how to tackle racism, xenophobia and intolerance, with a special emphasis on addressing issues around sport and football. The training courses were carried out by specially trained representatives of Never Again, in co-operation with workers within the Educational Department of the University of Warsaw. An exhibition about multicultural aspects of Polish football also was available for schools to use with the support and involvement of the Ministry of National Education of Poland. The educational program was also run in Ukraine in the build-up to Euro 2012. Moreover, a number of other Ukrainian based organisations have also been involved. This included the East European Development Institute (EEDI) who was involved in running additional educational and training programs around anti-racism and the Respect theme, supported by FARE and Never Again. This included training for around 2 000 of Euro 2012 volunteers in all the host cities in Ukraine prior to the start of the tournament. Also, the People's Academy of Ukraine and Kharkiv NURE University put on a series of multi-ethnic football tournaments, with the participation of mixed student teams from African and Asian countries and the local community, alongside the parents of the school children involved. In total, within Poland and Ukraine, there have been trained 5500 volunteers and 4400 teachers working in schools and others professional groups on issues of racism and

discrimination. Importantly, each teacher received anti-discrimination info materials for future work with children and teenagers. The ‘Let’s Kick Racism out of the Stadiums’ campaign and Respect Diversity message was also promoted through musical means at Polish Woodstock, Europe’s largest non-commercial open-air music festival which attracted about 700,000 participants to Kostrzyn near the Polish-German border on 4-6 August 2011.

Activities during the Euro 2012

One of FARE’s established activities as part of previous European Championships is the production of a *fanzine* aimed at people attending the tournament. The Euro 2012 ‘Football Unites’ fanzine was produced in four languages, English, German, Polish and Russian. The publication featured interviews with Portugal’s captain, Cristiano Ronaldo, Ukraine’s captain, Andriy Shevchenko and the former Polish player, Dariusz Dziekanowski. There was also a feature on the women’s game, UEFA’s Respect Program, the work of FARE and preparations for Euro 2012, and the need to challenge sex discrimination and homophobia in the game. Around 40,000 copies of the fanzine were printed and distributed via Streetkick, local Polish and Ukrainian partners and mobile Fan Zones and Fan Camps⁵.

One of the most innovative aspects of the Respect Diversity-Football Unites program of activities was the establishment of *inclusive zones*. The aim of such zones was to designate areas and buildings in all host cities and across Poland and Ukraine which were accessible and welcoming to all fans, regardless of their ethnic or national identity, gender, disability or sexual orientation. In other words, within such urban areas foreign fans could feel safe and well accommodated. Many different buildings put themselves forward as

⁵ “Respect Diversity-Football Unites”, The FARE Network’s Programme of Activities, at Euro 2012, Project report, August, 2012.

Inclusive Zones, including schools, public offices, cultural institutions, community centres, sports clubs as well as business and entertainment, shops, restaurants and pubs. The Inclusive Zones were visible and marked through posters and stickers and as part of the initiative each site involved receives information about ongoing anti-discrimination activities before, during and after Euro 2012. In this case, the organisers hoped that they become part of a broad and lasting anti-discrimination network. Indeed, there has been a large response in two host countries – around 2462 (the organizers thought that there would be maximum around 200) public and private facilities and institutions participated in the project as open spaces. A cross-border campaign has been undertaken with many different partners to include the Local Organizing Committees of the host countries. It is worth noting that the concept of Inclusive Zones received strong support by government departments and local authorities across both Poland and Ukraine, including Poland's equalities minister, Agnieszka Kozłowska-Rajewicz, the city authorities in Gdansk, Krakow and Donetsk and the regional authorities of the Mazovian (Warsaw) area.

Another deradicalization activity consisted on *streetkick* - a kind of mobile game sited in the right part of a city, an idea of engagement with fans, residents, young people and ethnic minority communities during a football tournament is a well-established FARE concept. Its main goal is to create a positive interaction between fans of different national groups and help to generate a welcoming and friendly atmosphere by reducing tensions between them. Streetkick was first developed by the Football Unites, Racism Divides (FURD) project in Sheffield in 2002, when one of their project volunteers built a mobile wooden pitch to take out on to the streets of Sheffield to get young people to play together. Since that time, streetkick has developed into an inflatable mobile game that has been used at major tournaments across Europe including Euro 2004 in Portugal, Euro 2008 in Austria and Switzerland and the World Cup in Germany in 2006.

Indeed *monitoring* racist and discriminatory violent actions, chanting and symbols was a key element of the security strategy over a number of football tournaments from Euro 2004 in Portugal, the World Cup in Germany in 2006 and Euro 2008 in Austria and Switzerland. Within Poland and Ukraine the need for monitoring was arguably even more important because of the prevalence of far-right banners and potential for racist, homophobic and other forms of discriminatory abuse and interactions. Using the experience of the Monitoring Centre established as part of FARE's East Europe Project, data has been collected through a network of monitors throughout Poland and Ukraine. For the first time, UEFA has agreed to have two FARE monitors at each match during Euro 2012. An open application process was put in place to recruit the monitors, and, in total, 30 FARE monitors were chosen out of the 100 of people who applied. Each match day FARE monitors investigated and reported racist and discriminatory incidents that took place both inside and outside stadiums, working in close co-operation with UEFA security officials. This special report was fed in to UEFA's Stadium and Security team as well as the Control and Discipline board. A number of third party reports were also fed into UEFA through the monitoring co-ordination team, which were received from individuals, fan groups and the media. As part of the FARE monitoring program, fans were also urged to report any incidents of racism or discrimination that they witnessed. This could be undertaken through calling a dedicated hotline number staffed by Never Again volunteers and also by downloading a report form from the Football Unites website. The monitors were also invited to attend UEFA's pre-match security briefings to feedback on whether any planned activity was expected and also to make contact with UEFA security officials, so that information could be passed directly to them during the course of the game.

Like in 2008, the *semi-finals* of the tournament were officially dedicated to the campaign - before the start of each match – held in Donetsk and Warsaw -, the captains of the teams read out an anti-racism message that encouraged respect towards others.

One of FARE's main targets for the activities in Eastern Europe is a legacy of understanding around the importance of using football in order to counteract such negative social problems as racism and far-right extremism. The main task of the *evaluation research program* of the Respect Diversity was whether the aims and objectives of this project have been met, and to identify where there have been specific successes and highlight areas that may not have met the objectives. Furthermore, the research also aimed to study carefully the preparation and organisation of the Respect Diversity activities, highlighting examples of good practices and legacy upon which future anti-racist work in Polish and Ukrainian football could be conducted.

Qualitative and quantitative findings

Unexpected and promising high media and public interest in the program

One of the main objectives of the Respect Diversity was to spread out publicly a positive message of multicultural inclusivity via football and to raise awareness of racism before and during the Tournament. Media content analysis shows that this message successfully reached the mainstream media: 1) foreign such as – BBC, CNN, Euronews, SVT, The Guardian, Le Monde, etc.; 2) and national and local media, for example, Polish media such as - TVP, TVN, Polsat, ONTV, Gazeta Wyborcza, Rzeczpospolita, Wprost, etc.⁶ In the evaluation interviews, the organizers were apparently surprised and pleased by

⁶ <http://www.nigdywiecej.org/>. An evidence of media activity has been collected systematically by Never Again staff in the run up to and through the Euro.

such massive media interest in the subject. Moreover, media analysis which has been done in Ukraine based on Internet sources (June 1 – 30 2012) reveals that amongst all four individual CSR Euro 2012 projects, Respect Diversity scored the best result in this dimension. In addition, starting from 27 June, the ‘Respect Diversity’ campaign was more emphasized than others UEFA projects. Indeed, all UEFA worldwide broadcast partners were informed that the captains of the semi-finalists would read out an antiracist message. In this context, it is hard to imagine better possibility to spread the anti-racist values like through such massive event like Euro to reach out to a large public. Indeed, the reception of the semi-finals was worldwide. On the other hand, the organizers in the host city of Kharkiv were met with a real and specific barrier. At that time, the media interest was focused on other, more political events, such as the imprisonment of Yulia Tymoshenko’s⁷. This was emphasized by Maryna Stepanova, from People’s Ukrainian Academy. *“It was surprisingly that media was not present during our whole week of tournaments in the frame of the Respect Diversity. It was a special time when so many different ethnic groups met together. You could feel this warm atmosphere and good emotions. It was like one-week holidays.”*

The media attention on the anti-racist issues did not have such a high visibility in Ukraine down to another type of barrier, highlighted by Pavel Klymenko, from Football Against Prejudices. It seems that generally in Ukraine, there is a high risk of becoming a potential victim for ultra-nationalist groups after promoting a positive message of multiculturalism⁸.

The effectiveness of spreading the anti-racist message and a high public interest in the Respect Diversity-Football Unites program can be also measured by other Internet source - Facebook engagement statistics, commonly defined as “likes”. Whilst this report

⁷ This IDI was led in Kharkiv on 23 May, 2012.

⁸ This IDI was led in Warsaw on 17 May, 2012.

was being written down there were 524 “likes” on the Respect Diversity Facebook page. Here, one more time, Respect Diversity scored the best results among all four individual CSR Euro 2012 projects – 391 in comparison with Respect Inclusion – 391 or Respect Your Health – Euroschools - 187⁹.

The BBC Panorama documentary

It is worth noting other media related factor - the BBC current affairs program *Panorama*, entitled “Euro2012: Stadiums of Hate”, which represented a major turning point for the Respect Diversity programme. This TV reportage, first broadcast on 28 May 2012, concentrated on showing some brutal aspects of fans behavior on the terraces of Ukrainian and Polish club teams, particularly around racist and far-right behavior. For example, the program showed footage of hooligans attacking non-white fans as the police stood by; other fans unfurling a giant anti-Semitic banner; fans of Karpaty Lviv making monkey noises at black players and other fans were shown appearing to give Nazi salutes during matches. Whilst the program did illustrate some of the initiatives taking place in Poland to address the issue, such as the monitoring undertaken by Never Again, none of the work being done in Ukraine, for example by Football Against Prejudices was mentioned. The broadcast of the documentary was an important moment in the Respect Diversity as it brought a huge amount of international attention on the problem. On the other hand, due to this programme, in which, for example, former England captain Sol Campbell advised English fans to avoid traveling to Ukraine and Poland, and even questioned why UEFA had awarded Euro 2012 to these countries given their fans’ history of racism, many British fans did not come. All personnel involved in the Respect Diversity in Poland were called on to do numerous media interviews, explaining that whilst this may be a huge problem within

⁹ <http://www.facebook.com/respect.diversity> and other CSR projects respectively on their Facebook pages.

club football, it does not follow that it would be a major problem during Euro 2012, which was namely confirmed throughout the whole Tournament.

Bureaucratic barriers for streetkick

Whilst the footballing element of the streetkick program was delivered successfully, with around 2,500 people estimated to have taken part during the tournament, there were a number of difficulties encountered in the organisation and project planning stage. In February 2012, Never Again submitted a request to the City of Warsaw authorities to place streetkick in the main FanZone at Parade square in the city centre. The same request was also submitted in Poznan, Cracow and Kiev. Unfortunately in Warsaw, the streetkick organisers were met with a bureaucratic wall as representatives of the city's authorities declared that there was no space for streetkick within the FanZone. This was in contrast to the reaction from the City of Poznan authorities who agreed to locate streetkick within the FanZone, even though it is only 10% of the size of the FanZone in Warsaw¹⁰. Moreover, Cracow has also declared all its public buildings as inclusive zones. According to the project co-ordinator, Rafal Pankowski, the issue in Warsaw illustrates the problem that can arise when the success of the program depends on the attitude of one official¹¹. According to Simon Hyacinth, from Football Unites, Racism Divides, to summarise all Streetkicks which were organised in Poland for Euro, it was in Cracow, where they were the most successful. However, in the end, the streetkick games attracted far more people during the previous Euros in Portugal (2004) and in Switzerland and Austria, the same as during the WorldCup in Germany in 2006¹². There were also logistical difficulties with the organisation of the Ukrainian element of the tour. Representatives at EEDI suggested that it would not be

¹⁰ "Zagrać z rasizmem" [To play with racism], *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 20/04/2012.

¹¹ This IDI was conducted in Warsaw on April 23, 2012.

¹² This IDI was led in Poznan on 19 June, 2012.

advisable for FURD to transport their own game to Ukraine as it may be held up in customs, and it proved difficult to negotiate with officials responsible for the FanZone at Independence Square (Majdan) in Kiev to have the game present on more than four occasions. Mostly, due to a “*bureaucratic chaos, lack of coordination*”, as it called Mridula Gosh, coordinator from East European Development Centre from Kiev¹³, the game was only allowed to take place for around two hours on each of these occasions, at the start of the day, despite the fact the FanZone was open for around 12 hours every day of the Tournament. This also had an impact on the amount of people able to participate. This was additionally emphasized by Mridula Gosh: “*It was a great regret because it is crucial to have enough time during streetkick not only to play but to talk with participants to be able to spread the flyers and to talk about anti-racism*”.

It was clear that the decision to finish up with the streetkick so early was caused by a bureaucratic, artificial barrier, especially when we take into account that the streetkick area was afterwards transferred to a regular and empty marching place. Furthermore, this decision to finish up with Streetkick so early was regrettable also because such high visibility of foreigners, in particular of African backgrounds at the main square in the city was very important for this FARE campaign's impact on Ukrainian public. Charles Assante-Yeboah, from the African Centre in Kiev, put it in this way: “*One picture speaks for 1000 words*”¹⁴.

Role of football in fight against today's racism and in promotion of diversity

The whole idea of streetkick introduced an extremely crucial question for the Respect Diversity: to which extent football can help in fighting racism? In this case, the

¹³ This IDI was conducted in Kiev on 11 June, 2012.

¹⁴ This IDI was conducted in Kiev on 11 June 2012.

empirical investigation pointed to a main result related to the high collective belief shared by all programme organisers in Poland and Ukraine, that football can be used as a means of challenging racism and far-right extremism. Some of our interlocutors/organisers, who are anti-racist activists not always related to sports, pointed that they have learned from Euro 2012 overall experience that sports events can be sometimes even more useful in this sense than cultural and scientific activities: Maryna Stepanova, from People's Ukrainian Academy put it in this way: *"I have tried several times to galvanise the members of ethnic minorities in Kharkiv without any success. For instance, I have organised several conferences and debates but only football attracts so many participants"*¹⁵. Mridula Gosh from East European Development Centre in Kiev highlighted her own experience in this subject¹⁶: *"Football has its own language, its own culture and it is not only sporting but most of all a social phenomenon. Football has science and culture around and you have to understand it in a professional way. Football goes much beyond sports, it affects economy and politics and international relations. You can spread a strong message through the football. By using football you can promote a lot of things like education and social integration – antiracist activity. Football can be used as a tool to promote something. Important. In the same way, transforming football you can transform the whole societies.* However, Mridula Gosh underlined that sports, such as football, should not be overestimated in fight against racism in general. This organiser of streetkicks in Kiev underlined that it takes time to provoke decisive changes: *"You cannot change a society by one or two our Streetkick. Such short action are more symbolic"*. Like Issa Sadio Diallo, vice-president of the African Council in Ukraine from Kiev, put it in other way, that football facilitate contact between people like any other social activity: *"Football is a first step in relation that need to be developed by other*

¹⁵ This IDI was undertaken in Kharkiv on 23 May, 2012.

¹⁶ This IDI was conducted in Kiev on 11 June, 2012.

means like cultural, artistic and why not commercial events".¹⁷ To illustrate exposed above social dynamics, when asked about his streetkick experience, one Ukrainian participant/fan highlighted that: *"I have never talked to an African. I was surprised when I saw them here, at Majdan Square. I realised what was this event about and I enjoyed the idea of playing it. After I shaked a hand of African, no problem. It was fanny to play with them"*. It demonstrates that even one or two-hour streetkick game can represent a unique occasion for first, and importantly, a positive experience of multicultural human relations.

Project officers from NA association were also asked about the role of football in fight against racism in general, in the frame of mini-Focus Group Interview (FGI)¹⁸. To clarify, the approach of mini-FGI was thought as post-test method, which aimed to summarise the project with its officers. It is worth noting that concentrated dialogue amongst a small number of FARE activists is one of the main recommendations of the Evaluation Report of the Warsaw - Unite Against Racism Conference¹⁹. The participants of FGI agreed that mainly thanks to Euro their general anti-racist work would be more effective. The NA association has become more known publicly and new contacts with new important partners were established, which will facilitate next projects not only related to football. What is more, the role of anti-racist organisations can be even more important in football than in society at large, which consequently makes anti-racism in football more urgently demanded. This interesting point was highlighted in the Ukrainian context, by the organisers from Football Against Prejudices: *"The ultra-nationalists has started, since around 2009, to gather themselves mainly in the football clubs. So, if we wanted before to fight racism, it was more a youth problem situated outside the stadium. Today, in Ukraine, if*

¹⁷ This IDI was led in Kiev on 11 June, 2012.

¹⁸ FGI was conducted in Warsaw on 6 July, 2012.

¹⁹ Unite Against Racism Conference, 3-4 March, 2009. Evaluation Report, Schwery Consulting, Biel/Bienne, July 2009, p. 17.

*you want to fight racism in our society, you should focus on the fan culture*²⁰. In addition, this social dynamic appropriate for Ukraine is similar for the Russian society. However, in this country, there is another important reason for ultra-nationalists to galvanize informally within football clubs. This is linked to extremely repressive police control in relation to radical Russian youth²¹. Finally, the IDI with an adult fan (Kamil, student, 20 years old) undertaken in Warsaw demonstrated to which extent such important football tournament can develop multicultural attitudes in a deeper sense amongst individuals living in the contemporary cities. The heritage of modern urban sociology has already informed us about the role that global circulation of national imaginaries via international media plays in the individual perception of urban life²². The personal subjects throughout the Internet or TV observe others, different societies situated in different cities and become influenced by them. For instance, the individuals can find out about the habits of Americans who live in multi-ethnic New York and try to copy their open minded attitude and behaviour, lifestyles. In this case, this process did not need the intermediary of the international media but was happening „in reality“ in Warsaw, therefore was more powerful for Kamil, who said: *„Warsaw has become much better city. In general, I love my town but with all these foreigners of different ethnic backgrounds it is even better. It was like on TV in other countries. I had not travelled so much in my life like others but the World just came to me in Warsaw. I could speak with Spanish, Greeks or even with Brazilians! I wish that one day Warsaw were such every day*²³.

²⁰ This IDI was conducted on 12 June, 2012.

²¹ Lukasz Jurczyszyn, „Pilkarski stadion: wspolczesny bastion rosyjskich radykalnych nacjonalistow” [Football stadium: bastion of contemporary Russian radical nationalists], *Magazin Never Again*, spring 2012, No. (20), specially devoted to EURO 2012, p. 34-35. The author studied empirically racism and far-right extremism in Russian football for several years.

²² Saskia Sassen, *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 2001; and Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

²³ This IDI was led in Warsaw on 27 June, 2012.

Rise of sensitivity to racist discourse: Figurski's hate speech

UEFA fired Michal Figurski, a popular Polish radio journalist, for his racist, anti-Ukrainian comments after the match England vs Ukraine. As a result, Figurski could not be, as agreed before, a master of ceremony of semi-final game at the National Stadium in Warsaw, which was officially dedicated to the Respect Diversity campaign. More precisely, Figurski - with another journalist, Kuba Wojewodzki -, on 12 June, during their live programme on the Radio Eska joked offensively about the Ukrainian women, for instance, saying that "he might have raped them". Furthermore, this hate speech provoked an adequate reaction of Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, which protested and demanded public apologies for unacceptable statements that offended the honour and dignity of the Ukrainians²⁴. The National Council for Television and Radio of Poland also recognized that the journalist's words were a demonstration of xenophobia and were not just blatant rudeness, but a typical hate speech²⁵. In this context, such appropriate reactions and decisions of several subjects like: UEFA, National Council for Television and Radio of Poland and the divers representatives of public opinion, illustrated the rise of public sensitivity to racist discourse in both Polish and Ukrainian societies. Without any doubt, this rise of sensitivity was also linked to the special atmosphere created by the Respect Diversity-Football Unites programme during the Tournament.

Riots between Russian and Poland fans in Warsaw

Another turning point for the Respect Diversity in Poland was linked to the riots between Russian and Poland fans, which clashed with each other and police ahead of group match in Warsaw on 12 June 2012. Like in most cases of riots, such collective violence

²⁴ www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/kyiv-demands-public-apology-from-polish-djs-for-in.html.

²⁵ www.radaetykimediow.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=230:stanowisko-rem-z-24-czerwca-2012-r&catid=33:nasze-stanowisko&Itemid=40

cannot be explained by pure hooliganism but more as national hate motivated violence²⁶. The organizers highlighted that except for this scandalous violence there were also taking place not less scandalous behaviours of Polish ultra-nationalist football hooligans such as: “fishing” the Russian flags or “checking” the Russian names by asking to expose the tickets. The interviews and surveys undertaken in five Polish cities confirmed that the hooligans motivated by racism and nationalism were not only from Warsaw, but they came from numbers of Polish cities. In this context, it seemed that namely following such concerns raised about Euro 2012 being held in Poland and Ukraine because of the possibility of racist and far-right activity, and as part of an extension of the monitoring activities carried out as part of the East Europe Monitoring Centre, UEFA agreed to support a full monitoring program during the tournament. This meant that for the first time at a major football tournament, two independent monitors, appointed by FARE were present at each match to report back on any racist, far-right or other discriminatory behaviour or activity that took place. Looking back to these shameful events, it was particularly shocking, when Polish young football fans and/or hooligans were attacking Russian families around the City Centre. At the same time, so many of them, define themselves as “true patriots”. On the other hand, these events should not chock so much, taking into account previous similar events that had occurred during the Independence Day, which once again illustrated political and destructive potential of the groups of fans infiltrated by ultranationalist movement. The most active and numbered were namely the football supporters. These extremist and destructive demonstrations (two TV tracks were completely burned) were supported by several football clubs such as Lechia Gdansk or Slask Wroclaw. The organizers of the Respect Diversity-Football Unites programme highlighted in interviews

²⁶ Lukasz Jurczyszyn, *Violences urbaines. Une comparaison: France, Russie, Pologne*, Presses Académiques Francophones.

that the context of Independence Day was important during the period of preparation for Euro.

The changes within institutional practice provoked by the program

The law related to the hate crimes has been established for many years both in Poland and Ukraine. Although, this legislation had been used very rarely for many years either, especially according to the football context but not only. Rafal Pankowski said that there has been a change and, in particular during the preparation period for Euro “*the right institutions visibly started to react adequately*”: “*A positive influence on public service is visible both in Poland and in Ukraine, which is also related to the ongoing pressure of public opinion in those countries. For instance, the list of forbidden racist and fascist symbols had been established in both countries and there has been visible improvement in using it. The overall direction has been going in the right direction*”²⁷. Other example, the organisers from Football Against Prejudice declared that due to publishing of monitoring with FARE/Never Again network²⁸, they became more recognized by Ukrainian Football Association. Since then (2011), their “initiative” (they prefer using this name than “organisation”, because they want to act in less “formal way”) has been finally collecting pure data, which they could present as an example of the gravity of the problem of racism and neo-fascism in the Ukrainian football. In the majority of cases, such presentation is quite shocking for football officials. Since then, as activists, they have been treated in more “serious way”, which represents a crucial improvement of their relation with football officials in Ukraine. In the same way, the organisers from Football Against Prejudices

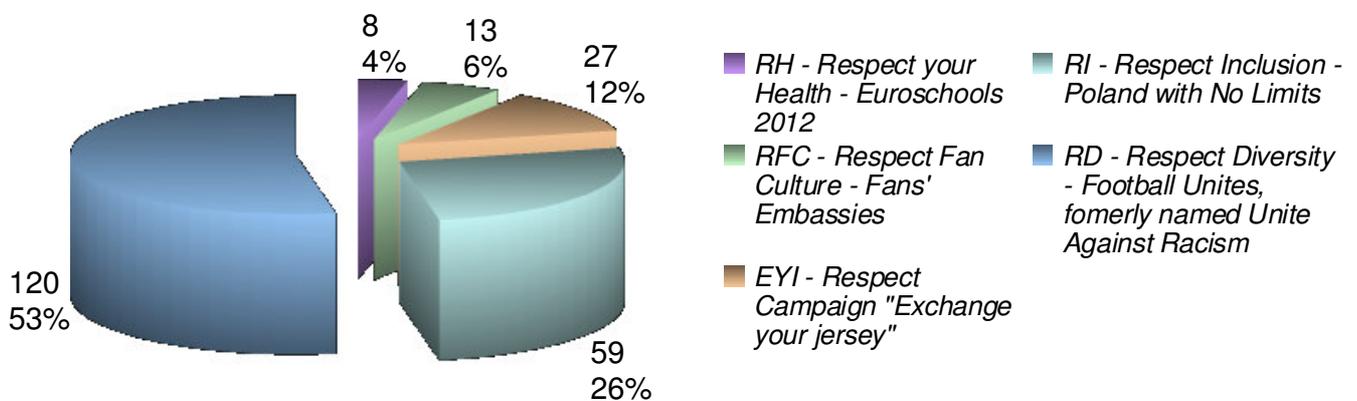
²⁷ This IDI was led in Warsaw on April 23, 2012.

²⁸ Rafal Pankowski (red.), *Hateful: Monitoring racism, discrimination and hate crime in Polish and Ukrainian football 2009-2011*, East Europe Monitoring Centre, Warsaw-Kyiv-London, 2011.

underlined that they have been treated in better way also due to the fact that they have been acted in conjunction with such serious and internationally recognized partner as FARE.

For the quantitative data, at first, fans questioned in the frame of the omnibus survey in the Fan Zones and Camps of five key cities in Poland (Warsaw, Poznan, Wroclaw, Gdansk and Cracow), were asked two questions concerning the Respect Diversity-Football Unites campaign. The first asked respondents, if they generally had heard about the Respect Programmes connected with the Euro2012. Nearly half (43,9%, 439 of 1000) answered that they had. The second asked which of the Programmes in the framework of Respect they had heard about. Here, over half (53%, 120 of 227) indicated the Respect Diversity-Football Unites programme, which means that the programme was the most

Which of the Programs in the framework of Respect have you heard about ? N=227



visible among other Respect projects. Similar statistical results were reported after Euro 2008 in Austria and Switzerland, where over half (106 of 194) questioned fans had heard about the Unite Against Racism Campaign. Moreover, only in Switzerland, a national

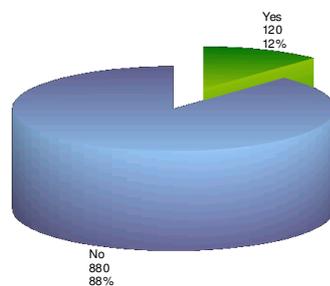
survey showed that over half of the population (54%) was aware of the Unite Against Racism project²⁹.

Secondly, an exit-poll (N=200) with fans at the Stadiums and FanZones/FanCamps areas in four host cities in Poland showed that:

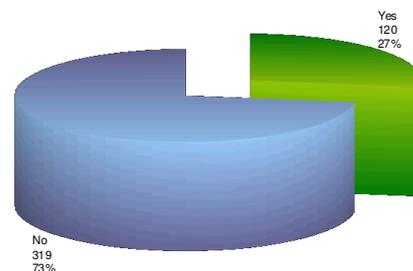
1. 56,2% had heard about the Respect Diversity programme.
2. When asked where they had found out about it, the resulting frequencies were: 36,9% TV, 21,1% Internet, 20,1% Public space, 10,3% radio, 6,9% Newspaper, 3,8% Social Network, 1,7% Never Again Association.
3. 32,8% participated in the programme and almost half of them (46,9%) in the frame of the Inclusive Zones. Streetkick scored the second position with 42,8%.

This result was dedicated to the fact that our national survey was done exclusively in the

Have you heard about program Respect Diversity? N=1000



Have you heard about program Respect Diversity? N=439



Fans Zones and Camps - amongst mostly aware and interested people. In addition, 87,5% of such respondents were satisfied about the quality of such RD activities.

4. The survey proved that our respondents – the public at the Fan Zones and Camps were aware enough of the objectives of the RD programme. When asked about the main aims of the RD programme, 32,1% pointed that it was „to celebrate diversity and the power of football to unite across difference of race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, etc.“, 23,9%

²⁹ UEFA EURO 2008, Football & Social responsibility Evaluation Report, Schwery Consulting, Biel/Bienne, October 2008.

marked that it was „to educate the society about the culture differences“, and 13,9% that it was „to monitor and address discrimination, racism, intolerance and the presence of the far-right“. It is worth noting that only 6,7% of our respondents thought that the main aim was to provide „entertainment during the EURO 2012“ and that 4,6 % declared that it was „to enlarge the cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian societies“.

5. 89,9% had not hear or witnessed a racist incident during the Euro and consequently - 10% pointed that they had, which confirms an overall positive atmosphere of the Tournament in terms of problems related to racism and far-right extremism.
6. When asked if such antiracist campaign can decrease the level of racism at the Polish stadiums, 76,3% promisingly agreed, 23,1% disagreed and 0,5% did not know what to say.
7. 86,8% rated that the Respect Diversity programme should be more extensive during Euro and 85,9 % declared that there should be more such initiatives after the Tournament and only 3% thought the opposite. These answers clearly illustrate a significant public acceptance and also need for such antiracist programmes not only in football but in general.
8. When asked which institutions, organizations, should be responsible for anti-racist activities in Polish football, surprisingly 16,2% pointed UEFA, 14,1% FIFA and only 11,4% PZPN. In fact, it proves that there is more trust in this matter in foreign, more professional football institutions than national ones. In this context, the other important result is that our respondents placed almost at the same level football clubs (12,3%), police (11,8%) and justice (11,4%) as subjects responsible for anti-racist activities in Polish football. Just as the institutions of such strong social control are appealed to fight racism in sports, it proves the high level of gravity of the situation from the society perspective.

9. Finally, results demonstrated that Polish adult visitors of FanZones and Camps described the gravity of racism and ultranationalism at the national stadiums as social problem which can be defined as “particularly serious.” Only 2% described this problem as being “insignificant”. In this context, it is interesting that the majority of our respondents (almost 60%) thought that there is a far enough or sufficient level of awareness of racism and far-right movement activity in football in Polish society. But all together almost 40% of them stated the opposite.

Consequently, both tables inform us about a very important current social dynamics in the subject: In general, not only society is aware of the problem but thinks it is fair serious. Concluding, it is crucial to underscore, that 50% of our respondents were highly educated people, 46,5 % with a secondary and only 3,5 % with a primary education. It means that the FanZones and Camps in host cities in Poland attracted better than less educated citizens.

Final Conclusions

To conclude, taking into account, firstly, the key aims and objectives of the Respect Diversity program of activities for Euro 2012, and secondly, the quality of their realization since 2009 up to the end of the Tournament, this UEFA CSR project was more than successful. For instance, one of the main objectives of the Respect Diversity was to minimalize risk of racism. In fact, during 31 matches, not only the FARE monitors reported merely 13 racist incidents (Poland 9 and Ukraine 4) but there were 100% direct action taken. More precisely, five incidents were related to racist or homophobic comments or chanting and eight related to the displaying of racist/far right banners. To date, UEFA has imposed fines for eight of the incidents (one in Ukraine and seven in Poland). This system proved that worked well in both countries but we can highlight that according to indicated numbers and hooligan/nationalist violence that took place in Warsaw, the Polish case was

more complicated than the Ukrainian, in contrast to many pre-Euro previsions. In general, the overall impression of Euro is positive in spite of pre-tournament preoccupations concerning the threat of attacks by racists and ultra-far-right nationalist, just to mention the BBC *Panaroma* content. Nevertheless that the Respect Diversity program of activities was divided on two parts, there are several following practical consequences of the project, which are the indicators of success and also constitute a very important legacy of the project: In both, Poland and Ukraine, all persons, who were trained how to counteract against racism and radical nationalism, in order to maintain public security in football stadiums, could ultimately serve both societies on the occasion of the various national or international football championships in the future. This training module was prepared specifically for UEFA Euro 2012.

It is evident that through the Respect Diversity project a high level of awareness of existence and danger of racism and far-right activity has been raised amongst the general public in Poland in particular. In a mono-ethnic country such as Poland an important access to the public with multicultural message may have an effect on the attitude and actions of political and administrative decision makers in the future and may help them embrace these types of activities, for instance in dealing with the current immigration crisis in Europe. What is more, the organizers of the Respect Diversity from two host countries, for the first time on such a large scale, were cooperating systematically since 2009 and this collaboration could have its impact in an important support that Polish citizens and politicians proved helping Ukrainians during their recent democratic revolution.

Finally, the interviews the project officers often underlined the improvement of their professional experience. Leading the Respect Diversity programme represented a huge development in their career. There was so much work to be done that, as one of them said, *“I had never worked so hard in my life. There will be so much to transfer to my kids”*. The

project officers accentuated that thanks to Euro 2012, there appeared several changes in their practice. Firstly, in Poland, the institution such as police and justice gave more respect and confidence to project officers comparing to the pre-Euro period. Secondly, the project officers from NA association confirmed that thanks to Euro their volunteering database has been grown without any precedence and these persons will serve in future anti-racist projects.

Recommendations for UEFA, FARE and host countries

First of all, recommendations are made on the basis that FARE with conjunction with UEFA and Never Again Association can and should continue to play a big role in the fight against racism not only in football but on a global stage. Euro 2012 in Poland and Ukraine, proved that thanks to financial, logistics and promotional capacities of UEFA, this fight can be both successful and promising. The author had been analysing racism in French society since 2005 and the need for this campaign in France is not less even if compared with the Eastern European societies.

Indeed, the main functional barriers represented a bureaucratic one, which were mostly provoked by the officials of middle or lower level like in the case of the streetkick in Warsaw and Kiev. But it is recommended that streetkick games should be held always in the right place of the city. This fact would assure the maximum amount of people able to participate.

According to practical recommendations, UEFA agreed that for the first time at a major football tournament, two independent monitors, appointed by FARE were present at each match. These monitors should have a free access to different sectors of the stadiums, which was not always the case, limiting their work. For instance, the monitors not always

were allowed to enter to the spectator sectors; which could provoke limitations to their work. In that case, they were allowed only to walk along the passages behind the spectators sectors. It was the case in Kiev and Donetsk. On the other hand, the bad practice of limitation of space for FARE monitors depended also on the precise stadium infrastructure, namely the organisation of VIP areas. In this context, monitors also could not freely move within the stadium which limited their working space to only one sector of the stadium - ¼ of the tribune.

Around 80 applications were received, and 30 monitors were appointed. All monitors were chosen because of their previous experience in monitoring racist and far right incidences. A number of monitors were chosen because of their specific knowledge of fan culture and far-right activity within one of the countries competing in Euro 2012, whilst others were chosen because of their wide and general international experience. However, it is recommended for UEFA and host countries to focus more on improvement of conditions of the monitor's work. Firstly, the local/national monitors should be trained for and during the national and international championships to gain their necessary experience. Secondly, there should be more national football games covered by the anti-racist monitoring in Poland and Ukraine. This would be a good improvement of the monitoring in this region.

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