The Faces Behind the Flags: Football-Hooliganism's connections to Civil-Society in Moscow

Opening and Definitions:

Football is a passionate game. Plenty of sports have their passion, however football remains the most tribalistic. The seemingly most average, mild-mannered man can turn into the vein-in-the-forehead, most vulgar person because of a contentious call. The game brings to the surface emotions that do not usually appear in everyday life; the anger, venom, vitriol, bitterness, hatred, elation, and relief, all rise up to their extremes. If a referee disallows a perfectly good goal, it is as if he has burgled everyone sitting in the stands. If a side secures a late winner, fans act as if it is the birth of a first child. On occasion, conventional logic, morality and human decency go out the window when football is involved. It is a primal game. Surrounded by other primal creatures, the effects of these attitudes reverberate through stadiums and they echo through the streets after the match is done. There is an underlying issue of alcoholism, which has been infused in the Russian psyche that allows for such actions to be perpetrated by otherwise well-mannered citizens.

Fueled by this liquid courage, the perpetrators of these actions have been deemed historically as “Football-Firms” since the 1960s in England. Within these Football-Firms are people that have now been deemed as “Football-Hooligans.” To some, a Football-Firm is a gang formed for the specific purpose of antagonizing and physically attacking supporters of other clubs. Some others say that a Football-Firm is created to support clubs through a greater fan base and a fan club that assists in transportation, ticket purchasing and merchandising. Some firms may exist to promote fringe political
causes, both on the far left and right, and, in some cases, the promotion of political ideals through violence is of greater importance than the Football-Club itself. This is transcendence from the game itself. Football-Hooligans use current tendencies in Russian Civil-Society as excuses for violence, racism and nationalism as means of pursuing their own agendas that mimic Russian Civil-Society. Football-Hooligans serve as a microcosm for certain trends permeating throughout Russian Civil-Society.

The blatantly racist and nationalistic actions pursued by fans during international matches proves to the rest of the football world that these Hooligans are supported by the Russian Federation's top football officials. They are usually never persecuted for their actions against foreigners whether on Russian soil or in other countries. The Russian Civil-Society mimics those actions by their policies pursued against non-nationals and foreigners throughout the 1990s to the present. These examples will be given later in the essay.

The violence perpetrated by these fans through the greater fan base and antagonizing other fans and players mirrors that of certain sections in Russian Civil-Society. These all demonstrate transcendence from the game that has mired and scarred the face of Russian football. These actions have political connotations as the Football-Hooligans are acting out the beliefs of other citizens and possibly having connections to policies pursued by the Russian government; these connections will be discussed later. Russian Hooligans often have an underlying resentment towards Russia's perceived political rivals, which is manifested in matches against former republics in international matches and in domestic matches as well. The stadiums serve as outlets for political, social and economic frustrations felt by Russian citizens.

There are prevailing political context into which these actions can be placed because of past and present actions in Civil-Society that mirror the Football-Firms actions. To understand how Football-Hooligans act within the greater Russian society, for the purpose of this essay, specifically based in
Moscow, the actions of Civil-Society and motivations of past and present Russian Civil-Society and the word “Hooligan” itself need to be put into context to demonstrate how they mirror and influence each other.

Through research, fieldwork and interviewing processes with Muscovites and non-nationals, a question can be postulated: In what ways do Football-Hooligans in Russia and the Civil-Society in Russia mirror and influence each other in reference to alcoholism, nationalism, racism and violence?

_A brief history of the term “Hooligan” in Russia:_

Describing the historical adaptation of the word “Hooligan” in his essay, "Rural Crime in Tsarist Russia: The Question of Hooliganism, 1905-1914," author Neil B. Weissman, comments that:

“For some, [Hooliganism] was synonymous with crime itself, applicable to all illegal acts. For others, it connoted a particular attitude with which certain crimes were committed, such as extreme cruelty. And there were those for whom Hooliganism represented a state of mind, a psychological condition of 'moral insanity' or 'moral nihilism.'”

Although this essay was written in response to a only a nine-year span in which people acted out against the Tsarist regime in the countryside, the definition remains the same in present-day politics. In the Soviet Union and Russia today, Hooliganism is legally defined this way: "In the Soviet Union 'Hooliganism' (хулиганство) was made a criminal offense under the penal codes of the Soviet Republics. In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), article 216 of the penal code defined 'Hooliganism' as 'any deliberate behavior that violates public order and expresses explicit disrespect toward society.' This article was used to cover a wide range of behaviors such as vagrancy, stalking, foul language, etc.”

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2 Ibid.
the government and greater Civil-Society turn a blind eye toward actions that get international coverage, there is a problem with tolerance of Hooliganism that was once synonymous with criminality. These Hooligan-Firms have rich pasts themselves but have taken on a different form of the word; it is embraced rather than negated.

Football Hooliganism has become prevalent in Russia since the beginning of the 70s, growing from almost nothing into some of the most feared Hooligans in the world. The most ruthless firms in Russia are very often linked to the Moscow teams, such as FC Spartak Moscow (Gladiators, Union), FC Lokomotiv Moscow (Red-Green's, Vikings, BHZ, Trains Team), CSKA Moscow (RBW, Gallant Steeds) FC Dynamo Moscow (Capitals) and FC Torpedo Moscow (Tubes, TroubleMakers) but face tough competition from the internationally feared firms of FC Zenit (Music Hall, Coalition, Snakes Firm) from Saint Petersburg. When any of these teams meet, the tension is felt from the Metro to the football stadium by an increased police presence equipped with helmets and weapons ready to ensure that if any of these fans start a fight, they will be met swiftly. There is a distinctive difference however, because the police are not there to arrest if Hooligans get out of line and beat non-nationals. The police are there to restore order and then turn their backs. However, as it has been seen in Russia quite recently if a group offends a segment of society that is connected with the government, then things get muddy.

Placed in a certain context, acting against the government, the church or another body within the state can be deemed as 'Hooliganism” and punishable by the fullest extent of the law, depending on how the government chooses to apply it. It was only at the point when Russia transitioned to a “democracy”, on paper that is, that the government made it clear that the right to free speech and expression was something to which they were going to install into their Civil-Society. The dissident minority understood that the government and constitution were operating hypocritically and that the way to be a dissident was to expose that hypocrisy. Therefore, in certain contexts, being a dissident is akin to being a “Hooligan”— a criminal acting against the will of the people and the legitimacy of the
Pussy Riot Hooligans v Football Hooligans:

A recent example of Hooliganism outside of the football stadiums in the Russian context is the band Pussy Riot. The members of the band were deemed as “Hooligans” by the highest court in Russia because of their planned actions to incite a public response against the current authority in Russia. Their punishments were swift, albeit alleviated for one member in recent months. Although one member has been released as of October 10th, 2012, the other two members are still incarcerated for two years. Both being moved to prison colonies far from Moscow on October 22nd, 2012 for the duration of two years. The harshness of their incarceration has turned a spotlight on the limits of free expression and revealed a stark connection between supposed 'old' and 'new' Russian politics and how to behave in Civil-Society in Russia. The women were incarcerated because they supposedly offended the religious believers at Christ the Savior Cathedral earlier in the year by chanting “God save us from Putin” before the “elections” in 2012 where Putin was slated to win by a landslide; and win he did.

In the Russian Federation, criticizing the church has become a political gesture. This is something of old, not of new. The political connection between the religious and the state was something that the Soviets were trying to abolish. In fact, the Soviets tried to abolish religion altogether and replace it with the cult of personality for their leaders. The resurgence of religion in Russia allows for Putin's policies of connecting the religious bodies within Russia and the state itself into an interesting combination. This fosters a cult of personality for Putin himself using the believers as a base for his power. It allowed for him to have the group arrested under the guise of offending religious believers, a crime that is only punishable by a 15-day prison sentence. A clear loss to Civil-Society and those who try to voice their opinions on the corrupted actions of their government officials.

This backlash comes down to activity against those who are in authority. This was subversive in a state like Russia. This approach to the toleration of free-speech has kept Russia in the spotlight as a
failing state and an authoritarian-democracy instead of a democracy with guaranteed rights of speech; this is demonstrated by a lack of Civil-Society. According to the annual study on Failed States by Fund for Peace, Russia ranks 83rd out of 177 states; between Venezuela and Thailand. Russia is ranked the highest out of all industrialized nations; it is also the highest ranked out of the BRIC states. 3 Not surprisingly, the highest ranked category for Russia is “The violation of human rights and the rule of law.” 4 Therefore, the greatest threat to the state, dissidents and opposition groups, are quickly met by a crushing force from the state with long repercussions that hinder the development of free speech.

The state system in Russia is run by a government that does not tolerate opposition. The thing about the law against Hooliganism is that it is so capacious and so interpretable that the Russian government can apply it to whatever case they wish to their advantage. What states count as “Hooliganism” really points to what they worry most about: the delegitimization of their power and the exposure of their hypocrisy on domestic and especially international levels. It seems quite backward. Backward is a concept that has plagued Russia historically and the new burgeoning Russian Civil-Society. In democracies, the freedom of speech should be tolerated and accepted by government for the greater good of Civil-Society; only under certain contexts should the exercising of speech be condemned, such as racism, nationalist tendencies leading towards fascism, and violence.

However, when it comes to free speech for Football-Hooligans, the government is absent in their reactions, save the support of the fans when Russians are injured or killed during the madness. This form of free speech is violent, racist, nationalistic, and full of hatred towards other countries that are deemed as enemies. For the most part, this free speech is tolerated by the Russian government and has been for quite some time. As previously mentioned, these connections between trends in Russian Civil-Society are due to social-inequality, economic disparity and political crackdowns have developed into trends of racism, nationalism and violence from Football-Hooligans and other members of Russia's

3 “Failed States Index 2012”
4 Ibid.
civil-society.

**Parallels between Football-Hooliganism and Russian civil-society:**

**Alcoholism:**

One of the greatest threats to Russian civil-society has long been an institution that has mired the Russian psyche and has had lasting demographic impacts. It is the fountain that opens up and permeates through every crack in Russian civil-society. It is the root from which civil unrest and crimes sprout up. It is the problem of drunkenness and alcoholism. This is not a new problem for the Russian civil-society. According to the Lykoshin Commission Report in 1905:

“One obvious factor, for example, was widespread drunkenness and the existence of a large traffic in the illegal production and sale of intoxicating beverages. Officials in Smolensk described vodka as “the prime mover of Hooliganism”, and a campaign against drunkenness was foremost on the lists of preventative measures...”

Even before the report, this was the common nomenclature. Alcoholism has been the catalyst to many problems, and has been used as a solution to many problems as well. The Lykoshin Commission sought out the Hooligans in the countryside as drunkards, people who incite unrest and undermine the legitimacy of the civil-society and more importantly, undermine the legitimacy of the state. Alcohol is the fuel to Football-Hooligans' fire. It is the marrow to the bloodline of acts carried out by Football-Hooligans just as it was for those deemed as Hooligans in the Lykoshin Commission. This problem transcends the football stadiums and infiltrates all civil-society in Russia. Fueled with passion and alcohol, the Football-Hooligans are doing the same thing; they are undermining the legitimacy of the changing face of civil-society in Russia by tainting it with their actions and staining it with their vodka-laced voices spouting hate towards other Muscovites, to other team's fans and their players.

According to The Ministry of Health and Social Development “one of every fifth death in
Russia is attributed to alcohol.”⁶ That is over 500,000 deaths a year attributed to alcohol. These statistics only take into account the lethal effects of alcohol poisoning, leaving out suicides and murders committed in a state of intoxication, accidents at work and fatal injuries caused by drunkenness, as well as car accidents provoked by drunken drivers.⁷ Therefore, according to studies and the Ministry of Health, alcoholism clearly plagues civil-society in Russia. If a problem arises or a person is rambunctious or asleep in a public place, namely the Metro, the nomenclature response is that they are inebriated. No matter what time of day.

This seems to be the source for courage that fans get to enact on their passions at the football games. These men, and sometimes women, that display their passion for their team from the simplicity of cheering, to the destruction that befalls stadiums, Metro areas, and other locations have a connection to alcohol and drunkenness.

Put quite simply by people that have been interviewed that responded to my questionnaire, the problem of Football-Hooliganism is a mixture of the process of “mob mentality”, “not being easily detected in a group of people”⁸, and “alcoholism, as well as the availability of alcohol served at the stadiums.”⁹ The fans show up to the stadium inebriated and continue to get intoxicated during the match. It is a solution to a problem of a tough Russian life. It is a coping mechanism for Football fans that are trying to find their own solutions to social problems, economic hardships and a political regime that is unresponsive and unsupportive to liberal changes in civil-society.

This is their liquid courage. They tarnish the support of Russian football-clubs and represent the Russian society that has the same alcohol problems; problems that, for the most part have not been taken care of by the government in a pursuit to eradicate problems created by alcoholism in everyday life. In this nucleus of alcohol keeping the Football-Hooligans warm during their pursuit of supporting

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⁷ Ibid.
their teams to the fullest, there are instances where nationalism, violence and racism come to the forefront of their support. It is quite impossible to eradicate this problem from Russian society but the government has made small steps to prevent such numbers in the next evaluation of Russian mortality rates. These will be discussed in the conclusion section of this essay.

Nationalism:

Historically, whether it has been a Tsar, General Secretary or now Prime Minister, the Russian people have always craved and needed a strong leader at the helm to direct public and even private life. From the leader of the people and church in the form of a Tsar, to a father-figure during the Soviet times and now a “Superman” figure, in regards to Putin, the Russian people have received what they have supposedly desired. There is an underlying factor of pride that Russians hold quite dear to themselves. Since the Soviet-era there has been a drive to be more than man, a strong Russian/Soviet man. With these leaders trying to “Russify” Russia, the newest wave of Neo-Nazis and Fascism runs rampant through Metro systems, rallies, and parades and hides behind football scarves. It is only when this nationalism and love of one's own country becomes tainted with xenophobia and hatred for, in Russia's case, former republics and semi-autonomous region's non-nationals, that this national pride goes awry and becomes Fascist, violent and potentially a support for the current political regime if social unrest becomes too much to handle for the government.

There has been a drive recently for a “purification” of sorts from within society. The Russian people do not wish to acknowledge that their relationship with non-nationals is rather symbiotic and their current situation could hurt their image in the future when the international community comes to their soil for the World Cup and the Olympics. However, as a nation, this phrase holds: “Russia stands on its supports.” 1 These supports are tainted with nationalist tendencies that are overtly Fascist in

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nature and have been supported by their government. With the depletion of sections of Russia's demographics, a lack of economic incentives, the collapse of the Soviet Union, wars in Dagestan and Chechnya, the Russian people once again looked towards a leader and an ideology that would help Russians heal their bruised egos. Licking their wounds, the Russian Football-Hooligans and certain factions of Russian society blamed their woes on non-nationals and immigrants, a very typical thing to do in time of a social crisis.

Away from the Red Square and Metro, the stadiums serve as battlegrounds--a place where nations collide. A place where wars and regimes of the past are resurfaced. And as the saying goes, old habits die hard. As die hard fans and nationalists, the vitriol and bitterness towards other nations rematerialize for Football-Hooligans who have experienced the break-up of the Soviet Union and the Great War against Fascism. Football in Russia has become, as it has elsewhere in Europe, a magnet for a Fascist backlash to social changes and an inability to deal with changing demographics, and an inability to deal with globalization and internationalization.

The Football-Hooligans and their counterparts in Fascist groups in civil-society do not even attempt to hide a readily observable connection. There is a domestic political element to the Kremlin’s indulgence of Russia’s Football-Hooligans. Since December of 2010, Moscow’s streets have become a factor in Russia’s political equation. A riot on Red Square two Decembers ago marked the start of this startling overt connection between these two groups, the Fascist radical right-wing and Football-Hooligans as explained by Vladimir Kvachkov a retired Russian military intelligence colonel, and creator of The People's Liberation Front for Russia:

"when these young people went out onto the streets, they were not just football fans, they were not out there rooting for their team..." ".they were shouting ... slogans that highlight their national identity. So naturally they
turned to us after this... this was just the beginning." 12

These rallies of course became violent and non-nationals were murdered in the Metro after the rally was over, by 14 year-olds nonetheless. These 14 year-olds will be grown men by the time the World Cup and Olympics come to Russia. With this hateful rhetoric and violence one could speculate that the government would once again restore order against “Hooligans” in Russia and return to the status-quo instead of idly sitting by and allowing for this to happen. Unfortunately, saner heads will probably not prevail for quite some time. The Football-Hooligans and their counterparts in the Neo-Nazi movement in Russia serve as support and as one interviewee put it:

“in light of this [nationalism], the political system has little incentive to crack down on sports-related Hooliganism with more force. As long as this Hooliganism continues to increase residents’ loyalty to, and pride for, the Russian homeland, Russian politicians will reap the benefits of this “pride” and remain in power.”13

Evgeny Valyaev, a leader of the nationalist group Russky Obraz, told TIME magazine that soccer fans and nationalists have become "completely intertwined", claiming that about 80% of fans back the nationalist cause.14 This radicalization of nationalism in Russia splintered the nationalist groups during their protests on Russia's Unity Day in early November of 2012. There are a few nationalist groups within Russia but those with more radical ideas, such as racism and violence, overshadow those who try to become more mainstream by creating political parties. As described by an interviewee

“there is increased violence at games during major days such as the aforementioned Unity Day, which is a day when many racist and far-right extremists demonstrate against the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Russia. So I

1  3  Kolya, "Study-Abroad Enhancement Grant Interview," conversation with author, 9 Nov. 2012
1  4  Ibid. See 12.
believe that many supporters/fan clubs have a political motive and that they are a political force at the same time.”

There have actually been great strides in civil-society participation in Russia over the past few years. Just the mere existence of political groups other than the leading United Russia, is an astounding occurrence in a country which was run two decades ago by a regime that did not permit different political parties. However, what this can lead to the demise of civil-society in Russia is if the nationalist movements that are violent and racist gain the backing of the government and businessmen. Like the Nazis did in the 20s and 30s. So far there is no evidence to prove the contrary from happening. The political climate is reflective of the Football-Hooligans nationalist approach of support for their teams.

In a fresh blow to Russia's already belittled immigrant community, immigration officials in Moscow have toughened their stance on illegal immigrants by arresting and deporting those caught running afoul of immigration requirements. This statement was made by Federal Migration Services Head, Konstantin Romodanovsky. He continued to note that “14 million foreign nationals come to Russia annually, and 77 percent of those are citizens of former Soviet states.” The current regime running the Russian Football Union is reflective of the Football-Hooligans nationalist approach to fan support as well. Russian Football Union's new boss Sergei Fursenko, raised eyebrows around the world when he claimed after the 1-0 win over Slovakia on Putin's birthday earlier in October this year was the National Team's present to Putin on his birthday. One can speculate that the win for the Russian National Team is a win for the country itself. This is a connection that is difficult to be asserted and suggests that these two bodies are connected themselves. An interviewee points to the contrary:

“As football hooliganism “proves” loyalty to the team and the country as a whole, Russian politicians take advantage of this and distort it to portray that support for the current political system is synonymous to loyalty to the

2. Taj Adelaja, "The Migration Menace;”: Culture and Living: RussianProfile.org (2011)
The Football-Hooligans clearly show trends that range from nationalistic to Fascist in nature and are the same people that Putin could use if things start to get troublesome for him with the rise of political opposition parties and a growing Orange movement—a liberal political movement. However, Putin is creating a system where foreigners are the enemy and Russians are potential collaborators. Both are watched by government and controlled through legislation. Laws such as the Hooliganism Law, the Extremism Law and now a new law on treason have been put into force. These laws are intentionally vague to enable the government to crack down on dissent and stoke xenophobia. In this current climate of fear and distrust, government oversight is being flexed for wider use, as was noted in the governmental abuse of power concerning the members of Pussy Riot. The pursuit of stability, at least as Putin defines it, is used as a rationale for repression. Those who abuse human rights are given impunity, and those who seek to protect human rights are in danger. However, those who are violent nationalists are not reprimanded for their actions. In such a climate, it is not surprising that there is an increase in displays of violent intolerance and subsequently tolerance of their violence.

*Racism:*

Placed in an historical context, the Russian Federation has been suffering from severe social malaise and economic depression for well over a decade, save for the Oligarchs. As a result of Russia's socio-political instability and economic depression, Russians have naturally begun to grow increasingly intolerant and in some cases aggressive towards non-ethnic Russians living amongst them. In any given country where there is economic crisis and/or weakened central government, social order suffers and crime rates increase as a result. In hard socio-economic times, natives in any given country tend persecute those who they perceive to be outsiders taking advantage of their nation. Since the Soviet
collapse, Russia has had severe problems with all types of social disorders and criminal groups (mob, black-market etc.) Many of these criminal groups have been at times manipulated due to foreign interests. Authorities in Moscow have finally begun to combat this serious problem, a problem that is also detrimental to Russia's progress. However, now the weakened central government has become too centralized and has turned a blind eye, for the most part against this rising problem of racism induced by social-instability and economic troubles. It is well known that the years following the collapse of the Soviet Union saw a drastic rise in violent crime, chronic corruption, unemployment, moral degradation, broken families and a lack of education.

The nationalistic/Fascist Neo-Nazi phenomenon in Russia that has been discussed in the previous section has led to the persecution of other races, especially those from areas where Russia has previously had a strong foot hold, the North Caucasus and Central Asia. Neo-Nazis permeate through the cracks in civil-society and have grown into a force with which to be reckoned with throughout all facets of society. It is important to note that the same people that have been killing Armenians throughout the last few years are from the same demographic of people in Russian society that have been in the spotlight for racist and xenophobic actions in football stadiums. These people believe that they are “the true patriots,” and “can use the stadiums to express those [racist] feelings...”

Working to alleviate racism in Russia, former Deputy Director of the Russian SOVA Center for Information and Analysis, Galina Kozhevnikova, suggested that the Russian Football Union “has its head in the sand over the issue of racism.” She was referring to the refusal by Russian Football Union's Head Director Sorokin to admit that Zenit fans displaying bananas and posters of bananas to black players was not an issue of race but of an idiom “to fail a test.” This issue was not even brought up with Sorokin by FIFA's Inspection Team just weeks after the incident. Sorokin is quoted to having

1 Alexey, "Study-Abroad Enhancement Grant Interview," conversation with author, 15 Nov. 2012
2 Rafael Saakov and John Sinnott, “Russia World Cup Chief Bid Defends Racism Record,” BBC:BBC Sports (2010)
2 Ibid.
said:

“I don't understand why did everybody decide that there is such a burning question for us? There is no such problem in itself.”

This is a classic approach of Russians—denying the problem and allowing for further degradation of civil-society to happen. This is a factor that contributes to why the international community is skeptical about coming to Russia for the World Cup and the Olympics. In reaction to the 5,000 man march on Manezh Square to protest the death of a Spartak Fan which resulted in a clash with police and chanting phrases such as “Russia is for Russians, Moscow is a Russian City” Galina is quoted to having said that,"it's not a question of government sympathy or antipathy, it's a question of loyalty..." "...If a group is loyal to the government, it can do what ever it wants." Therefore, the ultra-rightist groups in the Hooligan-Firm system have legal rights to hold demonstrations with racial undertones and are supported by Medvedev and Putin, who have done little to nothing to fix this problem. This issue of racist toleration has put the government and Russian civil-society in the spotlight of semi-democratic countries that do not allow for protests for people in support of SOVA to demonstrate but, if the Neo-Nazi groups want to have a protest in front of Red Square, their government is there to clean up the mess without incarcerating anyone.

There are countless anecdotes connecting Russian civil-society's darker side to Football-Hooligans such as on Mar 23, 2012, Roberto Carlos, a Brazilian playing for Anzhi, (the Russian Premier League team from Dagestan), and a football legend nonetheless, facing the racist taunts the 2018 World Cup hosts are famous for, a hand-out from a fan, a banana. The non-national players and fans will surely be victim to racist crimes whether it's on the field, in the stands or in another area. Seeing it first hand after a Barcelona-Spartak match made me feel terrible for walking with other Spartak fans towards the Metro. Even policemen were saying racial slurs towards the Barcelona fans as

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2  2  Ibid.
they simply walked back towards the Metro after a game after Spartak lost 3-0 to Barcelona.

This problem of racism in football stadiums is not exclusive to Moscow alone. St. Petersburg is notorious for their fans holding racist banners and bananas to non-national players. “There’s no black in the colors of Zenit,” says the notorious motto of the Saint Petersburg Hooligan-Firm, The Snakes. It’s backed by the fact that players with African or Latin American roots have never appeared on the team’s lineup. Dick Advocaat, who was Zenit’s coach in 2006 – 2009, once confessed that the club’s core fans (Hooligans) have prevented him from signing players based on their skin color. The refusal to be signed or even speak to Zenit by French player, Yani M’Vila, is indicative of the rampant racism that has befallen the St. Petersburg firm which has direct influence on their squad that they put on the field.\textsuperscript{24} It is surprising that there has not been reports of racism against St. Petersburg's new Midfielder, Danny from Brazil. But it is important to note that for a Muscovite when posed with the question “why do you think people yell obscenities or become violent against non-nationals?” the response of, “racism is caused by a large number of foreign players having too large salary and giving little on the field,”\textsuperscript{25} leaves me with a sick feeling in my stomach. I hope that for Danny's sake he can keep performing well to avoid any problems.

As well as the previously mentioned incidents, the last couple of years have seen fans wearing Ku Klux Klan hoods to matches, a flag depicting a portrait of Hitler and monkey noises directed at black players. The Interior Ministry have just promised more money and tougher action to deal with hooligans, including, finally, the creation of wanted-lists of troublemakers. At present, justice appears to be applied selectively, and particularly softly when non-whites are the target. This seems to be the only way to deal with problems, throw enough money at it until it disappears. Unless there is real social reform, like the work that Galina Kozhevnikova has done with SOVA, the money will keep on flowing and so will the racist banners at the stadiums. As human-beings growing up facing adversity because of

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{2} No Author. "Racist Fans scare M’Vila away from Zenit," \textit{RT.com} 23 August 2012.
\bibitem{2} Roman, "Study-Abroad Enhancement Grant Interview," conversation with author, 15 Sept. 2012
\end{thebibliography}
their skin color, and as professionals, the players that have been victimized by Russian Football-Hooligans can and have turned their backs to such attacks. However, it becomes the most problematic when the Football-Hooligans attack the players and their fans when their backs are turned.

Violence:

Pride has been a trademark of the Russian psyche since the onset of the Russian nation's Tsar refusing to pay the Tatars tribute a millennium ago in order to gain support of countrymen. This pride has been imprinted on Russians throughout the centuries and is still alive and well in present day Russia. Russian fans see their athlete's trials and tribulations competing against other nations akin to those on the battlefield of generals who beat back Napoleon and who fought in the Great War against Fascism. The Russians use the sports arenas as pseudo battlegrounds to settle their disputes that can otherwise not be solved by brute force like they used to be with other nations. The collapse of the Soviet Union, economic hardships, social disorder and political crackdowns on dissent have all bruised the egos of Russians. Once an epitome of civilization according to Marx and Engels, the communist society, where history was thought to have ended, in turn collapsed and has thrown the Russian people into a state of transition. Through this transition, some Russian people have been clinging to a past regime ideology. They have used violence on groups and individuals domestically and in the near-abroad to reassert their dominance in the region. The men and women who witnessed the collapse of a semi-stable Soviet Union have reverted back to violence and pre-Soviet ideals of exclusion of non-nationals and more importantly, have instilled this hatred in their children. Noted by the 14-year olds previously discussed. Football-Hooligans attempt to do the same. They have used violence against players, clubs, officials, individuals on and off the field to get their point across. If Russia is still to be a major world player, the Russian Hooligans will go through any means to do prove that Russia is still powerful and a force to be reckoned with at home and abroad.

The Hooligans are able to enact their violent measures against unsuspecting victims and ready-
to-fight Hooligan-Firms through the process of top-down administrative actions within the Football-Firms. The firms themselves can assist Football-Hooliganism by creating a greater base to assist in transportation, ticket purchasing and creating loopholes for certain fans. These fans are known as Ultras. They are the members of firms who are designated certain areas in the stadium, are given privileges to bring in fireworks, flags and drums to support their team during games. They are only at stadiums to be a side-show. The Football-Hooligans are more inconspicuous. The clearest distinction is that Ultras sport their teams colors and are the ones in the crowd that chant slogans and hold up banners during the game. They are watched just as much as the football game itself. Those who are in the violent Football-Firms are harder to spot. They wear normal clothes and look like normal fans, but are the groups that perpetrate the violence against others. They hide in plain sight. The distinction is difficult to make. When there are riots and fights in the streets, the police are swift to restore a semblance of order with no real repercussions against anyone who should be guilty of crimes. The police are either supportive of the actions, a topic to be discussed, or they simply do not know who was being violent because of the mistaken identities between Ultras and Football-Hooligans. There is a distinction that needs to be discussed between the actions of the Football-Hooligans when there is a domestic match between Russian teams, between Russia and the near-abroad countries and finally, between other international countries that were either once under the direct influence of Moscow under the Soviet system.

Domestic Violence: Moscow v. Moscow

The ultimate manifestation of aggression, disappointment, frustration, winning, losing with the underpinning of alcoholism, is violence. To understand how the Football-Hooligans function as a paramilitary group within civil-society one needs to understand how the violence is tolerated within the Football-Firms themselves. The Football-Hooligans set up their own section within Football-Firms by recruiting the best fighters in other firms that support the same team to join a new firm with the main
goal of violence against other firms. The time and location for the fight is pre-arranged; no weapons are
used and the numbers taking part in each side are agreed in advance. The Russian Hooligans say the
fair play agreement shows respect for everyone involved. The Football-Firms try to create a semblance
of fair play, in order to prevent the deaths of individuals in other firms. These firms treat Hooliganism
like a sport with rules to be followed. Or in other terms, like troops in an army that obey the rules of
war. This phenomenon could be controlled and isolated if the Hooligans continued only inter-firm
fighting. However, aptly observed by an interviewee: "The worst part about football hooliganism is
how it can spill onto the streets after matches in the form of riots."26 It is when these rules within the
firms themselves extend to individuals and groups that are outside of firms, that the rules of fair play do
not apply. It is especially problematic when a team that a Football Hooligan-Firm supports is on the
losing side of a match.

Russians are accustomed to violence and crackdowns against of the police state against
citizens; but when it comes to Football-Hooliganism it is less of police vs civilian and more of civilians
vs civilians or ministry vs ministry within the Russian state itself. One interviewee noted this
specifically noted the latter when he remarked that, “...tsSKA [is the] army group, Dinamo is the
police, clubs belong to social level. Ministries are always against each other."27 This is manifested in
their struggles against each other outside of the government ministries offices. Their disputes are
settled with pre-arranged fights by Football-Hooligans that have the support of these different
ministries. Therefore, one can infer that the people who are perpetrating this violence will get off easily
because they have the support of a major ministry within the Russian government. No official wants to
see their ministry fall to another--just as no one wants to see their club fall to another. The ministry
with the bigger stick, in this case, the most Hooligans on the street, is the stronger ministry. However,
when the government itself comes under scrutiny or is undermined by another party, group or

26 Kolya, "Study-Abroad Enhancement Grant Interview," conversation with author, 9 November 2012
27 Irakli Bolkvadze, "Study-Abroad Enhancement Grant Interview," conversation with author, 28
October 2012
individual within the country, there is no ministry to back them up. They are punished under whichever law the state decides to apply to them.

Sergei Udaltsov, a leader of the Left Front protest movement, who lead demonstrations against Putin this winter, was put under house arrest with 18 other activists, as a part of a new wave of political repression by the Kremlin. This is more psychologically frightening for the rest of the country. The government cannot be actively violent against citizens due to international laws on human rights, and the social media. People are now becoming prisoners of consciousness, a violence that is more subtle but has more repercussions. The arbitrary applications of laws put people under the government's radar 24/7. The Russian people are victims of a mind-set created by Putin that does not tolerate a delegitimization of the state through political or social dissent. As long as the Football-Hooligans stay repressive against the Orange movement in Russia, Putin does not have to worry about them delegitimizing the government. Surprisingly however, Medvedev recently put a foot down to curb this violence, at least inside the stadiums.

Earlier this year, on November 17th, A firecracker thrown by a Zenit fan injured Dynamo's goalkeeper during the game in Khimki arena near Moscow. Following the incident, the control–disciplinary board of the Russian Football Union fined Zenit and ordered the club to play next two games without fans inside the stadium. The move was designed to force Zenit fans to take responsibility for their unacceptable behavior. Prime Minister Medvedev barred all fans from entering stadiums as punishment for an individual's actions. Another Muscovite interviewed agreed with Medvedev's measure saying that: "...I personally think they are on the right track. [For example,]stopping a match if during a national anthem the crowd starts yelling," however, when it comes to violence outside of the stadium, the penalties applied are not as strict--even when the stakes

Anna Nemstova, "Vladimir Putin's Latest Crackdown on Dissent" The Daily Beast: World News 18 October 2012

No Author, "Football fans attack Mcdonald's restaurant in Russia's St. Petersburg," Pravda.ru. 23 August 2012.
are life and death.

It is a widely known fact that recently, the Russian nationalists have targeted people from the North Caucasus and Central Asia when things have gone wrong. It is when this scapegoat mentality, alcohol and a loss in a football match becomes violent “on the base of personal hostile relations.”30 One incident is emblematic of the previously explained mixture of alcohol, nationalism, racism and Football-Hooliganism at its darkest. Zenit (St. Petersburg) football fans, after losing to Anzhi (Dagestan) took their personal vengeance out on civilians after the game at a McDonalds. Football-Hooligans put men, women and children within their crossheirs. Some fled inside and others eating outside on the warm August day were victims of Football-Hooligans exacting their revenge on people because of their support of a different Football-Club; but more importantly because they are not “true Russians” like the fans of St. Petersburg. These assaulters were not incarcerated and no legal action was taken against anyone involved. It is difficult to curb these isolated incidents of passion and rage but the government is made an effort to prevent this problem from reaching the stadiums. This is something the Russian Football Union and government will have to work on for the upcoming Olympics and World Cup.

*Violence Abroad: The Near Abroad*

International football matches for Hooligans have been interpreted as metaphors for war in team of peace. As noted by an interviewee, “supporters feel that they can’t express these feelings in a political party or in another forum”31 The constant changing of the national boards after two world wars, dissolution of the USSR, recognition of sub-national units in Western Europe in 1990s led to comprehension that the national identity for Russians is unconditional. Those who go against it, those who don't speak Russian like Russians, those who are not of the correct skin-tone, or those from the near-abroad are subject to this violence. To these Football-Firms, there needs to be a group of people or

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individuals to blame for societal hardships. The violence is applied at will—either implicit or explicit. A few recent political moves will be connected to Football-Hooligan attacks. Although there are many connections to be made, only Poland and the Czech Republic will be assessed.

*Poland*

It is no surprise that recently Russia has been falling behind economically to Poland and will eventually be surpassed. Poland is no longer the plaything of geography—a land to be partitioned. It is now a major pivot state between Western and Eastern Europe. It has a newly developed economy in natural resources and the inclusion of NATO will only allow for Poland break away from big-brother Russia and eventually surpass the state that has been guiding it for centuries. Poland's increased ties to Germany and the United States give it more leverage in international matters than Russia, save for the UN Security Council, where Russia plays the role of nay-sayer to the United States' measures. Russia is coping with this situation in one of the few ways Russian people know how to react after their egos have been bruised by a former satellite-state—violence. Football-Hooligans are proponents of this mentality and have taken out their anger for their country's lack of economic prosperity out on the Poles during the most recent UEFA Champions League games where Russia and Poland went head to head on and off the field. A poorly timed match by UEFA—June 12th marks Russia Day and was the same day that The Russian National Team was set to play The Polish National Team. In scuffles and brawls that occurred prior to the match and post-match, “there were at least 15 injured, 100 arrested and 15 dead, out of which 1 being a Russian, 1 German and the rest were Polish nationals.”32 This violence perpetrated against Polish nationals and an unlucky German, was only met with a response from the Russian government asking for the best translators and hospitals for the Russian nationals. No Russian official condemned Russian Hooligans for their actions.

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The same coldness felt by the Poles is felt by Czechs when confronted with Football-Hooligans from Russia. Czechoslovakia's decision to elect a president, change a Stalinist Central-Planned economy to a Titoist-Decentralized economy and national pride for separate nations, frightened the USSR during the Prague Spring of 1968. The rebellion needed to be crushed, Dubcek needed to be crushed and that semblance of power for the USSR needed to be reconstructed in any form possible. This of course, came in the form of tanks rolling through Prague and big brother Russia once again restoring order to a burgeoning democracy in their sphere of influence.

At the same event, UEFA Champions League, Russian Hooligans beat a Czech steward, surprisingly enough amidst The Russian National Team's 4-1 win over The Czech Republic National Team. There seems to be no need for this violence as it most frequently occurs after The Russian National Team loses. There can be only one explanation for this, a deep-seeded hatred for the Czechs by Football-Hooligans in Russia. To make matters worse, in the pool group for the UEFA Champions League matches, Greek fans were left out of the violence by Russian fans. This could be attributed to the historic connection between Greece and Russia. Their connection through orthodoxy is a platform that Putin and the Russian government have used to gain support in Greece, especially during Greece's plunging market. It is no surprise though that Russian millionnaires have relocated businesses to Greece and reports have stated that Russia can refinance Greece through its' troubles better than the EU can. It is disocomforting to see that the Russian National Team beat the Greek National Team and Hooligans did not attack them. They beat the Czech National Team and Hooligans attacked their fans. The Russian National Team tied the Poles and attacks started even before the match began. There must be another factor aside from the football match itself influencing this violence against other fans by Football-Hooligans.

These crimes and this mindset of the Russian Football-Hooligans until recently, have been tolerated. Thankfully, Medvedev has began to put a stop to Hooliganism. This is a good start for a
country that will host the world for two major events in the next six years. Things still need to be done to prevent this phenomenon from spilling over into the government; but in the famous words of Lenin, there still remains a question, what is to be done?

**Conclusion:**

*What is the connection between Russian civil-society and Football-Hooliganism? How does Russia alleviate this phenomenon?*

From a first-hand account interviewing people and being accosted by Hooligans, it is safe to assert that Football-Hooliganism serves as a microcosm for the nationalist/fascist movement that uses, racism and violence to enhance their political, social and economic agenda. They want a Russification of Russia. If adopted by government officials and businessmen, this can be a clear problem to the stability of the civil-society in Russia that has made great strides for human, civil and political rights in the past few decades. In order to quell this problem overall, a vast majority of officials and civil participants will need to come together to prevent this Football-Hooliganism phenomenon from becoming a major political party or a support on which the current political regime can depend.

To account for some of the phenomenon’s main features, (racism, nationalism, violence and alcoholism) a distinction should be drawn between spontaneous, relatively isolated incidents of spectator violence and the behavior of socially organized or institutionalized Hooligan groups which engage in competitive violence, principally with other Hooligan groups or against specific players and groups. This distinction is historically observable through a shift from a pattern in which attacks on match officials and opposing players predominated attacks on rival fans, to a pattern in which fighting between fans and the police became the predominant form of Football-Hooliganism's violence. Local patterns and forms of Football-Hooliganism evolve through the continuous interactions between authorities, clubs and fan community. One way of approaching these inter-group dynamics is to focus on the effects of official attempts to curb Football-Hooliganism. It is imperative for groups within the
civil-society to interact with each other in order to eradicate or to prevent a problem from arising especially in the upcoming years at the World Cup and Olympics.

The country in which these Hooligans are operating within are responsible for the actions of their citizens. There have been preventative measures--albeit small and inadequate for the prevention of Football-Hooliganism in Russia. The origin of social-unrest, disorderly conduct, and delegitimization of the state can be traced back to alcoholism statistics. The Football-Hooligans are not exempt from this scrutiny from international organizations and within the state itself. As it has become apparent, Football-Hooligans are representatives of a greater portion of Civil-Society in Russia. Through the questionnaire I conducted with fans at Luzhniki Stadium one observer aptly put it quite simply that, “the different branches have to organize and coordinate on another level than they’ve done so far.” In my attempts to decipher a connection between the two groups: civil-society in Russia and Football-Hooligans in Moscow, groups can come to the forefront and alleviate some underlying problems in Football-Hooligans. All is well for Russians when talking to foreigners, but when things really get bad, the easiest thing to do is to cover-up problems and sweep them under the rug so the international community cannot find the source of the problems. The other option is for the government to crackdown on opposition who attempt to find the sources. This is a part of Russian culture, not only civil-society but for the government as well. Governments rarely admit fault in past dealings but to become more transparent is something that needs to be accomplished in Russian politics. This idea can be seen in the responses by Muscovites in my questionnaire. There are remedies and things that can be potentially done to curb the rise of Football-Hooliganism in order to restore it to a football match without the racism, nationalism, violence and alcohol. Bolstering this idea is an outlier in the responses, when posed with the question “is Football-Hooliganism a problem or not?”, one Muscovite simply responded “Of course it is, football is about sportsmanship and teamwork, and this is something

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The following conclusion includes options that various groups and sections of civil-society can adhere to in order to fix this problem that is overwhelming the Russian sport and certain people in civil-society in order to restore Russian football to a sport and not a representation of ideologies and misguided civil-society activities.

Firstly, in reference to alcoholism, the Russian government has been discussing options with Professor Vladimir Zhdanov, the chairman of the Union of People's Struggle For Sobriety and popularizer of non-medical method of treating addictions. Zhdanov's concept supported by many public figures is focused on the consistent "sobering" of Russia without rigid restrictions. First, state monopoly on the production of any alcohol should be introduced. Second, alcohol must be sold only to customers over 21 years old, only with a state license identification card, only in specialty stores, only at certain times and only at a very high price, and in restaurants and nightclubs - at even higher price. Therefore, if it is more difficult for someone to purchase alcohol then it will become more difficult for them to become intoxicated.

There is a problem with this however. Firstly, it has not been implemented. However, there have been a few laws that prevent alcohol consumption in Russia. The first being that no alcohol can be purchased after 11pm anywhere. Beer is still available for purchase however. The second is a preventative measure for people drinking in public places. Medvedev and Putin do not want to make the same mistake as Gorbachev. They also do not want to be seen as a drunkards like Yeltsin who encouraged the production of vodka after the fall of the Soviet Union. So as things seem, the Football-Hooligans will have their alcohol to fuel themselves, along with almost every other Russian.

This leaves the police force, the football club, the international football community and fan groups to work together to curb this problem. There are a few options that are feasible but will use a very different approach to civil-society than Russia is used to having in their society.

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Option 1: Intelligence in Police Force spotters and intelligence officers monitor the activities of groups of football hooligans, gathering information on their membership, whereabouts and intentions. Use an interconnected database from these intelligence officers to help curb Firms and Hooligans from getting into international matches akin to what happened in 2004 at the UEFA Champions League. Ubiquitous mobile-phone cameras and instant Internet distribution constrain the use of public force. Local elites must act adroitly to keep this new mood from developing into a combustible mix.

Problems with this: Hooligans will surely go to other locations to fight like what has happened in the past. They travel to remote locations to settle conflicts instead of fighting at stadiums. Also, the support of different teams in Russia are supported by different ministries within the government itself. Dinamo is supported by the police and tsSKA is supported by the Army. The ministry of defense is at odds with the ministry of the interior for supremacy which is manifested in the fights between Dinamo and tsSKA. It is more socially acceptable for these ministries football supporters to fight in a parking lot wearing soccer gear than to fight in meetings.

Option 2: The possibility to use sport as a means for socialization and crime prevention. By giving young football fans outlets to other things and career opportunities aside from becoming Football-Hooligans, their relations with the football-firms, other citizens and authority figures will become better. Social programs can be implemented for convicted Football-Hooligans to find work. There can be surveillance of younger people outside of the stadium walls to ensure that they work with local institutions and authority figures for their prevention of violent acts. There are games, the “We, Together, Are Against Terror” games held every so often that help alleviate tension between teams. These games are held without allowing Football-Firms to show up. The game itself is focused on, but is altered. There are women referees, and the halves are cut short. It is a striking difference compared to the regular games.

Problem with this approach: This does not address already committed Football-Hooligans. By addressing the would-be Hooligans, the other Hooligans are left out and will continue to do the things
they are doing now. However, some measures like the “We, Together, Are Against Terror” movement can gain momentum and influence would-be Hooligans to think twice before joining a violent firm.

Option 3: Football Clubs can implement a zero tolerance policy. The violence perpetrated was due to the fact that football clubs recently have given concessions to the firms by giving them special places to sit in the stands, reduced priced tickets, travel arrangements and storage in the stadium for their flags and other objects used during the game. This could mean a life-time banishment from stadiums or an internal review of the firms themselves to kick out people who are tarnishing the name of the firms. The clubs themselves are usually fined for the actions of their fans. Therefore, this could alleviate some of the fines that are bestowed upon teams because of their fans.

Problems with this approach: This could lump the people who are generally passionate fans with those who are deemed as “Hooligans”. This can be problematic as teams have many firms usually.

Option 4: Yuri Demidov, the head of the Anti-Hooligan unit of Police in Moscow along with the State Duma have agreed on legislation to curb Hooligans by giving them greater fines and making them more accountable for their actions rather than fining the clubs. This is finally an acceptance that there is a problem which needs adapted and more strict legislation against a certain demographic of people in Russia.

Problems with this approach: Not all people in the government are on board with the stiffening of policies against Hooligans—Putin included. After the savage beating of Polish fans, racist slurs against a Czech player, and the beating of stewards at the most recent UEFA Champions League tournament, Putin phoned the Prime Minister of Poland to make sure his men were being treated fairly. He acted as if the Russian Hooligans were the victims.

In total, the Euro 2012’s organizing body has fined the Russian Football Federation $235,000 for the behavior of Russian fans in Poland. On June 25, Fursenko resigned as head of the Federation of Russian Football. He apologized to Putin and to fans for the national team’s poor performance not for the lack of action against Football-Hooligans.
A combination of these options would be best for preventing this phenomenon from spreading and getting any worse than it already has become. If these groups in civil-society: fan-groups, football-clubs, educational institutions, correctional facilities, and police can work together then there can be progress in alleviating stresses on Russian culture. There has been major headway made in the progress to curb alcoholism in Russia over the past few years even though it seems menial to outsiders. The violence, nationalism and racism will remain in the game so long as when posed with a question of "why do you think people shout obscenities and get violent at games?" responses like, from an interviewee saying, "racism [violence] is caused by a large number of foreign players is too large salary, and gave a little on the field."\textsuperscript{37} These three things are very intertwined not only on the level of Football-Hooliganism but on the level of civil-society as well. Russian people are used to suffering and plight. But self-induced plight and suffering because of a small group in civil-society acting as a representative for the Russian people at international gatherings needs to be stopped. The football pitch is not akin to a war zone or killing field as the Football-Hooligans have treated it. The pitch should be returned to its former status as an arena of competitive play that ends when the final whistle blows--not when the final blow is giving to a victim by a Hooligan.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid. See 25.


http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/8955148.stm

http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2039519,00.html


http://www.jstor.org/stable/2497602
Consolidated Answers to Questionnaire:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Violence- VM</th>
<th>Nationalism-NX</th>
<th>Racism-R</th>
<th>Alcoholism-A</th>
<th>Conclusion- C</th>
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Disclaimer:
Здравствуйте, меня зовут Дениел Ходоровский. Я студент из Америки, который в настоящее время учится в РГГУ на факультете международных отношений и лингвистики. Я делаю научный проект по культуре футбола в Москве, Кубку мира, Олимпийским играм и футбольному хулиганству. Пожалуйста, не могли бы вы ответить на эти вопросы, это должно занять около 5 минут. Если вы хотите, вы можете ответить на эти 16 простых вопросов анонимно. Когда я вернусь в мой университет в Америке, я представлю свои выводы.

Hello, my name is Daniel Hodorowski. I am a student from America currently studying at RSUH in the International Relations and Linguistics faculties. I am doing a research-project on soccer-culture in Moscow, World Cup and Olympics and football-hooliganism. Please can you answer these questions it should only take about 5 minutes. If you want, you can answer these 16 simple questions anonymously. When I return to my university in America I will present my findings.

Highlighted text in the Consolidated Answers are used in the essay itself.

Как вас зовут? (Необязательно)
What is your name? (Optional)
1) Artem
2) Irakli Bolkvadze
3) Roman
4) Helena
5) Artem
6) Olga
7) Grigory
8) Alexey
9) Kolya
10) Espen
11) Johan

Вы из Москвы?
Are you from Moscow?
1) Yes, I am from Moscow
2) No, Georgia
3) Yes
4) Yes
5) Yes
6) No, Krasnodar
7) Yes
8) Yes
9) No
10) No, from Oslo, Norway
11) No, I’m from Uppsala, Sweden.

Сколько вам лет? (Необязательно)
How old are you?
1) I am 22 years
2) 34
3) 20
4) 34
5) 21
6) (25)
7) 20
8) 33
9) 20
10) 25
11) 20

Какая у вас профессия?
What is your profession?
1) Doing musical accompaniment in bars, restaurants, fast food restaurants, etc.
2) Program coordinator for Beloit and RSUH
3) Student
4) Teacher
5) Student
6) Professor
7) Student
8) Software Engineer
9) Student
10) I’m currently studying history in Moscow
11) Currently I study at RGGU in Moscow, but I’m on an exchange programme from my university in Sweden, Uppsala University.

Какая ваша любимая команда?
What is your favorite team?
1) favorite team CSKA
2) Brasilian National Team
3) CSKA
4) CSKA
5) None
6) Kuban
7) None
8) None
9) None
10) In Moscow, none. In Norway, Lyn. In England, Arsenal
11) My favorite team is CSKA Moscow here in Russia. I have other favorite teams as well, mainly Halmstad BK in Sweden.

являетесь ли вы членом одним из фан-групп? (фан-клубов)
Are you a member of a fan club / football firm?
  1) Am
  2) No.
  3) Yes
  4) no
  5) no
  6) no
  7) no
  8) no
  9) no
  10) Yes, in Norway
  11) I’m not a fan member of a fan club/football firm.

Вы рады, что Кубок мира и Олимпийские игры пройдут в России?
Are you excited for the World Cup and the Olympics?
  1) partly yes, partly no
  2) No. I don't care.
  3) No
  4) yes
  5) yes
  6) yes
  7) no
  8) no
  9) yes
  10) Well, yes, I have plans travelling to Russia in 2018
  11) Yes, I’m excited for both the Olympics and the World Cup.

Пойдете ли вы на них?
Will you go to them?
  1) I will try to visit some interesting matches of the World Cup football.
  2) Maybe. (Yes)
  3) do not deny
  4) The Olympics, probably not. because they will be in Sochi.
  World Cup - I do not know, maybe there too - all you can see on TV
  5) hard to say, maybe
6) no
7) no
8) no
9) no
10) Yes, hopefully the 2018 championship
11) I will not go to the Olympics in Sochi 2014, but I’m planning to go to the World Cup.

Как Вы думаете, это хорошо для Москвы и России?
Do you think they are good for Moscow for Russia?

1) In general, yes, because it is a little closer to Europe and Russia to the rest of the world in general. Makes it more evropezirovannoy. A of our country is not enough.
2) Yes. Popularity, advertisement. No problem.
3) Only certain individuals who will benefit financially from these activities organitsatsii
4) Yes, of course, because it will be made good repair
5) Yes, it is an excellent opportunity to fix infrastructure
6) Not for the people who live in Sochi
7) Yes from one perspective, to show people all around the world that Russia is a civilized country and that its people are the same as everyone else in the world. It creates jobs, people get a chance to feed their families. But on the other hand the way it is executed is unacceptable, many lose their homes and are forced out because of they made money that their homes are worth during these games. -C
8) no
9) undecided
10) No, I think they spend way too much money on it
11) Yes, I think the events will be a good thing for Russia, as it gets a chance to show the world that it’s capable of arranging these types of events, but I think it can also be an opportunity for the state to show Russia as a stable and unified country and I think that they also see it as a chance to show the world of Russia’s prosperity and disprove some of the stereotypes and prejudices that people have about Russia. There are, though, still a lot of things that the Russian people and authorities have to improve before these events. -C

Вы когда-нибудь участвовали или видели футбольные демонстрации футбольных болельщиков, или знаете кого-то, кто в этом участвовал? Когда и где?
Have you ever participated or seen a soccer rally or riot, or known someone who has? When and where?

1) Yes, participated.
2) Never. Only on tv.
3) Addresses and phone numbers to write? Seen.
4) Only on TV
5) No.
6) No.
7) I only saw them on tv. Some of my school friends used to go to rallies of sorts, but I don’t really know the details.
8) no
9) no
10) I don’t really understand what a soccer rally is, but I see football fans mostly at the stands
11) I’ve never participated in a rally or riot but I know people who have and I’ve also seen riots. It’s a common phenomenon in the derbies between rivaling teams in Stockholm, but especially between the two teams Djurgården och AIK and some of my friends have been part of or witnessed some of these riots. I’ve also witnessed a minor fight at a derby in Moscow at Luzhniki between Spartak and CSKA Moscow.

Что вы думаете по поводу термина "футбольное хулиганство?"
What do you think about the term "football hooliganism?"

1) The term football hooliganism has a lot of different transcripts for each they own.
2) In every crowd, stupidest crowd. Alcoholism.
3) Football hooliganism has been, is and will be. Without it, football is not the same.
4) It exists.
5) I think that hooliganism is not appropriate and is not associated with the sport, if we understand the term "hooliganism" any violence.
6) I hate it. Back in the day we did not have it.
7) It is natural, even if you take the wisest people on the planet and put them in a mob, they will act savage, because of the mob mentality. That’s just how things work. And you can add the fact that they represent one side and are in the same place with people who represent what they hate.
8) I think the term is vague. I don’t think the “hooliganism” as seen in Russia is the same “hooliganism” as in Europe. In Russia, the police are surprisingly tolerant of the riots by soccer fans. Compare that to the handling of Strategy-31 meetings.
9) It is a sad reality that, unfortunately, is applicable to what often occurs at Moscow football matches. The worst part about football hooliganism is how it can spill onto the streets after matches in the form of riots.
10) That’s the expression I use for “fans” mostly interested in trouble
11) In Sweden it’s considered to be a negative term, connected to violence and destruction and most people view it as a very negative and bad thing for football and it is something which the authorities try to stop. In Russia though, I don’t think they take it as seriously as they do in Sweden or in England.

Как Вы думаете, это проблема или нет?
Do you think it is a problem or not?

1) It's not bad, because it does not harm the people around them, and if they hurt, then indirectly. Too much attention is given to all of this, make of people who are involved in this real beasts with which they are not. Categorical attitude to football hooligans in Russia is creating entirely negative. Although
many of the adults, adequate people do not see anything wrong with that.
2) Yes. More security. Cameras.
3) If hooliganism moderate, it is not a problem.
4) It is gradually becoming more of a problem.
5) I think this is not a problem, as long as not to cause harm to society.
6) huge problem
7) Of course it is, football is about sportsmanship and teamwork, and this is something opposite.-C
8) yes
9) yes
10) Yes, I think it is a problem, not so much when they meet outside the arenas and fight, but more when they threaten normal, innocent people
11) I believe that it is a problem, but different countries have different and bigger problems with hooliganism. In Sweden, hooliganism isn’t connected to politics at all and it’s not that big of a nuisance, but in for example Italy, hooliganism is much more connected to politics, where for example Lazio is a club famous for their fan clubs/supporters having extreme right leanings. I think it varies a lot between different countries. I would say that hooliganism is a much bigger problem in Russia, Ukraine and, to some extent, Poland than it is in many of its European counterparts.

Почему вы думаете, что люди становятся жестокими или кричат оскорбления на внутренних или международных футбольных матчах?
Why do you think people get violent or yell obscenities at domestic or international football matches?

1) People do not become violent, they're just in a more rigid form expressed, but it is Mr. ezhestokost overall. All these zhetskie comments shouting and so carry the idea, an idea that will help develop football. Sometimes, yes, it happens much too categorical, but it is only in rare cases.
2) Educational level, cultural level-A are low. They don't respect the sport. Emotional level.
3) Speaking of Russia, racism is caused by a large number of foreign players is too large salary, and gave a little on the field
4) At a football game all around general excitement. The crowd - not a group of people, it have special creature. In addition, it is in the world of sports, we are confronted with the most nationalist issues.-N
5) I think it's herd mentality-A and hostility towards the enemy.
6) They are stupid
7) Because of racial differences-R
8) Because they feel they are the true “patriots”-R/N
9) Individuals see pride in a particular sports team as synonymous to pride in a given city or country.-N Thus, people become violent at these matches to show their pride for a given team. This is particularly true when an international football match takes place, for it increases passions as people attempt to prove their loyalty to both a team and a region.-N
10) Some have anger that needs to get out, but the violent fans are in my opinion mostly social outskirts having trouble finding their place in society
11) One reason can be because alcohol is served in some countries at the games, but it can also be because people feel that they will not be reprimanded or viewed differently when they are in a big crowd and therefore not easy to single out or detect.-A
Cómo piensas que hay una conexión entre la violencia del fútbol y el sistema político de Rusia?

Do you think there is a connection between football-violence and the Russian political system?

1) football and politics for the fans two things are incompatible.
2) Not directly. Caucus region, behave as racists and nationalists. Russia is for Russians.
3) No
4) No
5) I do not think there is a connection, but you can use the potential of football fans for political purposes
6) No. Even in Stalin times we did not have it.
7) No.
8) No
9) Yes. I believe that those within the upper strands of the Russian political system feed upon Russian sports-related hooliganism. As football hooliganism “proves” loyalty to the team and the country as a whole, Russian politicians take advantage of this and distort it to portray that support for the current political system is synonymous to loyalty to the Russian homeland.-N/X As a result, support for the political system and Russian hooliganism are synonymous as they both prove loyalty to the Russian land. In light of this, the political system has little incentive to crack down on sports-related hooliganism with more force. As long as this hooliganism continues to increase residents’ loyalty to, and pride for, the Russian homeland, Russian politicians will reap the benefits of this “pride” and remain in power.-N
10) Football holiganism exists in many countries, so in principle I must say no. But there obviously is a connection between football hooligans and right-wing nationalists-N
11) Yes, I believe there is a connection between the two. Many fan clubs and supporters have, at many times, a racist undertone-R, something I’ve noticed at some of the games I’ve been to here in Russia. I think that many supporters feel that they can’t express these feelings in a political party or in another forum, because the state may prevent them in their efforts to express those feelings. At the football stadium though, they can express those feelings whether they have racist, regime critical or any other motives.-R

¿Cómo crees que la cultura del fútbol en Rusia tiene motivos políticos o podría convertirse en una fuerza política?

Do you think that soccer-culture in Russia has a political motive or could become a political force?

1) Political force in football has never become, but at times to speak on this subject can not deny, for freedom of speech. All just love to search everywhere political context unfortunately.
2) Not a force but for different groups, CSKA army group, Dinamo police, Clubs belong to social level. Ministries always against each other.-V
3) There is a phrase in the circles of football fans outside of politics. Russian stands on its support-N
4) No
5) Maybe it will happen, but it will not be the most popular political force
6) No
7) No, these things are unrelated in my mind.
8) Yes, fan clubs are supported by the government as the nationalist movements are.-N
No, they cannot become a political force, but they can and are used for political reasons. 9) Soccer-culture in Russia serves as a form of national pride. Although I do not believe that it has a political motive, it theoretically could become a political force due to its large membership and ability to organize. Nevertheless, I believe that contemporary soccer-culture in Russia is more a form of civil society.

10) Not the soccer-culture in itself, but elements from the soccer-culture could be recruited into in Russia mostly nationalists movements, wich also appreciate violence. N/R I don’t think these can be a political force, more a nationalists-racists force in the streets

11) Yes. Recently, there was a derby between Lokomotiv and CSKA Moscow at Luzhniki, but there were only about 12000 people at the game. That was most probably because the game was at the same day as the Unity Day, which is a day when many racist and far-right extremists demonstrate against the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Russia. So I believe that many supporters/fan clubs have a political motive and that they are a political force at the same time, although they don’t have that much of an impact as the other opposition marches in Russia have had.-N

Что, как вы думаете, должно правительство, ФИФА, УЕФА и Кубка мира предпринять по поводу людей, которые участвуют в футбольном насилии или футбольном хулиганстве?

What do you think the government, FIFA, UEFA and The World Cup should do about people who participate in football-violence or football-hooliganism?

1) Some sanctions, but to use them to detail and how you can thoroughly understand the one or other situations

2) Punish the government financially,

3) In our country, they will not work. In Poland, it did not work for them.

4) Need to toughen penalties for football hooliganism. Also, you need to fine clubs for the behavior of their fans

5) Penalties for teams - the best punishment.

6) Educate them how normal people should behave.

7) Well, I personally think they are on the right track. Like stopping a match if during a national anthem when the crowd starts yelling

8) The government will not do anything as “fans” are their friends. Unfortunately, they are used when brute force is needed. The “fans” are often play a role of provocateurs in political opposition events

9) As stated, the government has little incentive to crack down on football violence and hooliganism, for it wants to reap the benefits of national pride. FIFA, UEFA, and The World Cup should introduce stiffer penalties, such as large fines, for those that take part in violence and/or hooliganism in sports-related events. With stiffer penalties, people will think twice before taking part in violence and/or hooliganism. Nevertheless, Russia’s hosting of The World Cup suggests that The World Cup does not view this as a serious problem.

10) When they now who they are, they must of course be excluded from every match all over Europe, though this of course can be hard to forefill. About football-hooliganism in general, everyone must see it in the context of social problems and youngsters who have small opportunities to succeede in life

11) I think they should be able to fine people who commit some sort of hooliganism or suspend them from coming to any football games (depending on the severity of what the person has done) for a period of time and in order to do that, the different branches have to organize and coordinate on
another level than they’ve done so far.-C