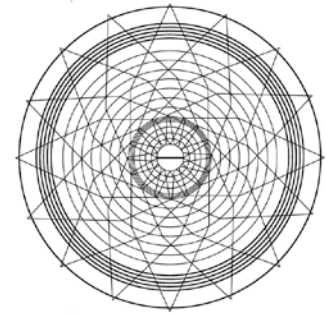


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Russian Football Fans:

Origins, Organization and Mass Actions



RUSSIAN FOOTBALL FANS: ORIGINS, ORGANIZATION AND MASS ACTIONS

Tsyganova L.

Ph.D., Associate Professor, School of Integrated Communications, Faculty of Communications, Media, and Design, National Research University Higher School of Economics (Moscow)

tsyganova@hse.ru

Abstract:

Russian football fandom movement is going through transformations which call for further holistic investigations of its characteristics to develop a comprehensive policy on the issue of youth subcultures. The existing policies in this field are fragmented and do not take into account constantly changing age, social, gender, and ideological aspects of youth subcultures, thus making it harder to predict the direction of the fandom movement development.

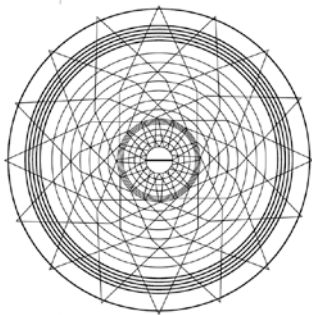
Recent football fan action in Russia and its role in national and international sports events have shown that the phenomenon of football fandom, including its organization and cultural norms, calls for a close investigation. This investigation is essential not only for understanding the patterns of Russian football fan 'mass action,' but also for the development of an effective communication strategy with the fandom organizations.

Keywords: Football fans, subculture, Russian football fandom, nationalism, state criticism, deviance

Introduction

The transformation of football fandom in Russia at the moment places the issue of formation patterns for the phenomenon. Football fans' mass action includes not just activities at the stadium during the game and clashes between firms. A distinctly structured and organized subculture, football fans can mobilize for a mass action within a short time frame. We must consider that the term "football fans" in Russia includes club's supporters as well as hooligans.

The two opposing trends divide current Russian football fandom subculture. The first trend is characterized by precise identification of fans within a particular firm



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(association football fans) with the club they support and total dismissal of the competitors. The second trend is characterized by the union of different football firms during the national team's games (European Championship 2012, 2016 for example). When we try to understand the phenomenon of football fandom in Russia, it is necessary to analyze the origin, organization, and development of the movement, determine the characteristics of the mass actions of Russian football fans and reflections in the media.

Review

Based on the British tradition of cultural studies, culture is interpreted in the framework, not as a way of life in general (human way of life), but the diverse ways of life (or habitation), having the qualitative definitiveness, deterministic material conditions of life (life practice). R. Williams [Williams 1958] followed by R. Hoggart and E. Thompson [Thompson 1991], turned to the study of a cultural phenomenon. Given the origin of the subculture of football fandom, this theoretical basis is relevant for this research. The culture of the working class is based on the idea of a community, and in this sense, it opposes bourgeois culture as a culture of individual creativity. The community considers its members as functions. At the same time, a member of the community perceives the interests of the community as his interests. The coincidence of the interests of members of community and community is the basis of the football fandom. Such as Dr. Jack Fawbert [Fawbert 2011, 2005] or Brake, talking about the study of youth subcultures in general and its class characteristics, noted that there are subcultures of middle and working class, which differ in structure and organization.

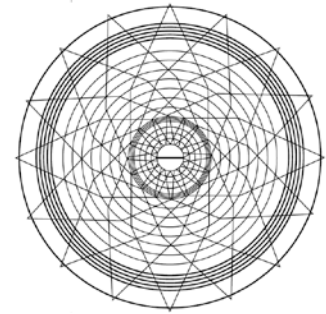
The English school of studying subcultures began to pay attention to the ideology present in a particular subculture. According to the English scholar M. Brake [Brake 1995], "subcultures arise as a collective attempt to solve social problems that arise in society." Accordingly, it can be concluded that the emergence of subcultures is the need for self-actualization in small groups, due to the inability to meet this need through a dominant culture. So we can say that the danger of this or that subculture needs to be explained through the ideology that the members of the subculture adhere to. Buford [Buford 1990] summarized these two findings in his study of English football hooliganism, where he claimed that traditional crowd theories do not take into account complex issues of violence in football movements as a part of English working class phenomenon. However, contemporary scholarship on sports sociology and football fandom subcultures does not recognize the class impact on the near-football movement. G. Armstrong in his study of football hooligans expresses a shadow of doubt towards the statement that violence is in the center of their behavioral choices. The author claims that the roots of hooliganism, as well as its cultural values, rituals, honor codes, and forms should be sought in the working class culture. In his manuscript, which became the first anthropological study of football violence, Armstrong proves that violence among football fandom organized by the top players

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in football fans' groups is a myth. The author explains that such myths are cultivated for the police authority and mass media content to control groups considered to be deviant by the social stereotypes [Armstrong 2003].

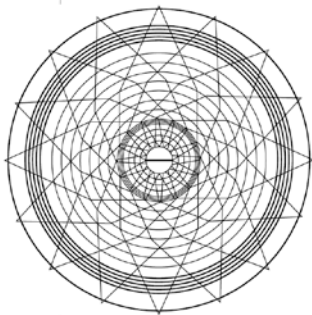
Most of the research on the history and development of football fandom is sociological. J.E. Hughson [Hughson 2004] became the first to use football fandom as an object of study in his ethnography "The Making of Sporting Cultures" [Hughson 2009]. He investigated the role of collective feelings and passions in sport's development as a lifestyle and concluded that sport would not have the place it has in the contemporary society without the active fans support.

The collection of works on football fandom research outlines the ways football fans express their support towards the club as well as towards the national team. Despite the fact that football fandom subcultures in different countries have their features, they also have similar characteristics disregarding geographical and cultural differences. Many Western studies on football fandom cover sizeable geographical area; however, Russian movement, despite its scale, is barely mentioned in the key works on the topic. It is also essential to add the issue of identity and self-identity to the study of football fandom subculture.

Shepanskaya [Shepanskaya 1993] notes that some youth subculture representatives convert particular culture's components into their cultural values. Using the findings of Levikova's study, we see that subcultures present themselves as dynamic systems continually changing internally and externally [Levikova 2002, 1996]. Thus, football fandom subculture can adapt to the continually changing social conditions. The Russian researcher of subcultures E. Omelchenko [Omelchenko 2000] summarizing the factors included in the subcultural theory concluded that subcultural associations use "their own paradigm of power." That is, they deliberately do not accept the situation that occurs with them in society, this is unemployment, lack of equality, tolerance on the one hand, but on the other, they accept it, due to the fatalities of their position in society. It is worth noting that subcultures are of course associated with resistance to a dominant culture, but unification and even collectivization are associated with subcultures.

There are strong indications that soccer hooligans are still active and that they are adapting and changing their strategies and relocating their violent activities [Kerr 1994]. For events at the Euro 2012 (fight fans Russia and Poland), at the Euro 2016 in France (fight Russian and English fans) Unlike similar subcultures in Europe, Russian fans rarely have the political commitment to any party. Currently, in Russia as well as in the West there is a change in the football fandom movement. On the one hand, there is a shift from hooliganism towards a socially accepted fandom; on the other hand, this change poses the following question: as hooliganism was an essential part of a particular subculture, what will happen to this subculture after it disappears?

The roots of Russian football fandom subculture can be found in Western countries, specifically in Great Britain. Those roots explain the similarities in the movement's development (even though Russian football fandom emerged several decades after it appeared as a subculture in Great Britain). However, despite the typological similarity,



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Russian and Western football fandom phenomena are based on different cultures and mentalities.

The History of Football Fan Movement in Russia

Historically, the emergence of fan movements in Russia started in 1970 - 1980. The first fan groups carried out a set of actions, such as visiting 'away' matches of their favorite team and chanting songs (unique content) at the stadium during the matches.

Besides, due to the limitations, the new public cultural phenomenon was localized in specific areas (mostly in large cities: Moscow, Kiev, Tbilisi) and was limited in size (on average, no more than 100 people). Since the inception of fan movements and before the collapse of the USSR (1991), there were no government agencies regulating fan movements in Russia. A characteristic feature of the post-Soviet period was that recruitment resources were beyond the scope of fan associations and groups. Over time, the fan movement faced severe difficulties in attracting and mobilizing human resources. As a result, restructuring of specific fan movements was inevitable.

In 1992, the RFU was formed - the first regulatory body for the management of all aspects of Russian football. 1991-1994 was a period of decline of the Russian fandom. At the end of this period, the formation of the first firms in the leading Moscow teams began. Fans' firm formed by themselves. RFU was supposed to regulate the fans. The emergence of firms among Russian football fandom characterized the new era, and it marked a new stage of its development [Brimson, 2003].

Despite this, due to the lack of proper expertise and a sufficient number of precedents, the representatives of the RFU did not succeed in regulating relations between football fans. As the number of active football fans increased, there were more frequent skirmishes, protests, and provocations. Russian football developed an atmosphere of misunderstanding and disrespect. Neither creation of the Russian Football Union, nor the second regulatory body (Russian Premier League, 2001) is not stabilized the situation with the fans. Premier League was formed to control the Premier Division of the Russian championship and, therefore, the fans of its teams.

Structure of Russian Football Fandom

There are several reasons for joining a subculture: the fans themselves often cannot explain why they started to support one club or another ('historically'); fans in the generation, support the local club; quality/ beauty of the game of the club; and admiration for a person, a player or the coach's work.

Two groups represent Russian football subculture: 'kuzmichi' (passive) and fans (active). Active fans support service, performance and the ultras (football hooligans, karlany, gopniky). In general, fans follow the game of their favorite team, but do not participate in the battles with the fans of other clubs and try to avoid power collisions.

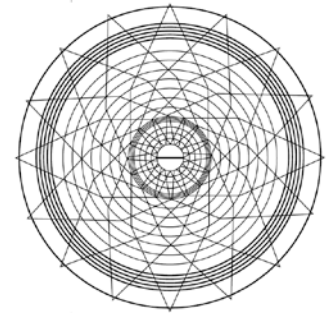
Supports are the people who are active in the stadium and beyond, distinguishable by attributes (scarves, T-shirts), following a precise fashion (clothing). They are involved in the power clashes, but their primary task is to support the club.

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Football hooligans, in addition to support for their team, are more focused on maintaining power clashes against certain enemies (opponents, support another football club). Regarding the motivation of hooligans, there is a tendency for it to be perceived by many firms as a sport; as having rules, values and traditions. Initially, the firm aims to take the top position in the movement of a fan club and at the next level, it 'battles' with 'foreign' firms. The present level of development allows fandoms to engage in serious fights, but only people with a high level of physical fitness. Among the firms, there are informal standings, based on the results of fights, by which the firm leaders choose their opponents. There are two reasons why people participate in fandoms: for some it is a real sport, checking their physical strength, and for others to uphold the honor of the club.

It is essential to understand that the fights take place according to clear rules on the principle of 'fair play.' Recently fights have 'gone to the forest,' which means that they were moved from the streets to more remote places. G. Armstrong questioned the assumption that violence is central to the behavior of hooligans. The author considers that the concept of hooliganism, concerning its cultural values, rituals, and codes of honor, is thought to have originated in the working class and its culture [Armstrong 2003].

'Karlany' are teenagers hiding behind their involvement in the subculture, for self-fulfillment in the eyes of adult football fans and hooligans, to support the clubs they sometimes have nothing to do with.

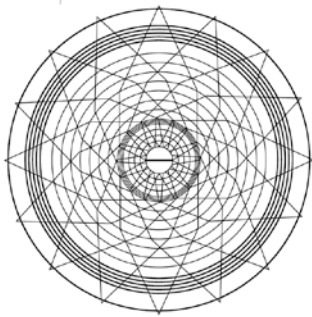
'Gopniki' are often random people pretending to have subculture knowledge about life, while they are poorly versed in it. Their support of the club is often indifferent, and they are prone to violence.

There has been penetration into the subculture by so-called 'mods' due to the visibility in popular culture.

'Sportiki' or sports personality's professionals are far from football and the ideas of fandom but participate in fights characterizing the current state of fandom.

The Russian term 'okolofutbol' (around football) refers not only to the groups of people, but also the processes, events, and phenomena, which are in some way connected with football as a social and entertainment area. Their subcultures have a particular system of values, behaviors, and lifestyle social groups representing an independent holistic entity within the dominant culture.

Active representation of subculture works by 'natural' selection, which means the fan movement is not made up of casual, partly, untested people, but keeps the ranks of fans and hooligans guided by a shared system of values, which support the adoption of a particular way of life and appropriate behavior. Sports fans are a constructible social community, often groups of young people with aberrant identities. Such groups have a clear structure and are capable of rapid mobilization. Initially, subculture members were natives of the city "ghetto," the workers as well as former intellectual families. The members of this subculture were in a state of cultural collapse; they noted the commitment of "force." Groups of fans became the group of "reset



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aggression." It is a kind of return to the archaic behavior when the world is divided into "us vs. them" [Ponomarev 2004].

Sports fans play within a system built upon norms of exclusion and deviant careers, which is enhanced regarding the contiguity of representatives adapting layers, showing the distance from formal identification symbols and negative solidarity.

However, we must remember that, in the past few years, there has been a change in the social composition of the subculture, which is, for one, due to economic factors (increases in ticket prices and attributes). The subculture of football fans is becoming to the mainstream, but it is still a semi-closed group, with memberships of another class [Salahetdinov 1995].

There have been changes in the subculture of football fans, and there is an extensive public discussion of what football fandom should be in a multicultural society, and the potential and the risks involved.

Russian football fans' mass actions

Football fans tend to create social tension and thus attract mass media attention through their provocative actions. At the same time, this subculture in Russia is rather exclusive and doesn't pay attention to its image in mass consciousness. This fact gives mass media an opportunity to create a deceitful image of a football fan, which results in an erroneous perception of the representatives of this subculture since mass media is poorly informed on the internal structure and codes of Russian football fans' movement.

At first, mass media interest towards football fans did not have a distinct negative or positive connotation and was most entertaining and exciting for the media audience. With the formation of football firms, Russian near-football started to emerge. The process was accompanied by several mass fights in Moscow region, where Russian police and riot police also played a big part. Videotapes of these events were the first appearance of football fans on the Russian national television, which substantially influenced the formation of their contemporary media image and created a stereotype for the following mentioning of this subculture in Russian media.

In the first half of 1990s Russian society first learned about the "aggressive football fans." Copying English counterparts' behavior, Russian fans started to unite in firms and organize fights; football as a sport was more of an excuse than a hobby. However, there was only one mass fight which happened in 2002 on the Manezh Square in Moscow after the Russia-Japan game broadcast; as a result of this clash, 47 people were wounded, and one died in the hospital. In reaction to this "mass action," Russian parliament ruled a more strict punishment for extremism.

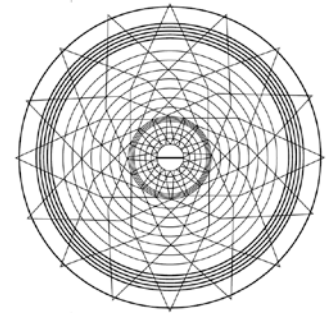
At the beginning of 21st century, following the vital decade for Russian near-football organizations' development, there is a serious increase in the number of football fans, accompanied with structural sophistication and growing mass media interest towards this type of Russian youth activism. Sports press tends to mention new fans' "actions

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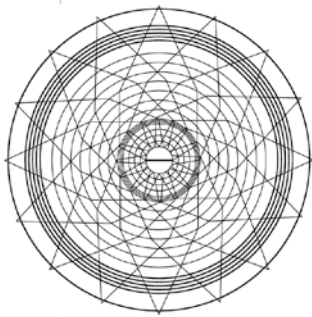
often," and Russian football fandom leaders are invited on national television and radio for an interview. As well as that, various pictures of the clashes between football fans and Russian police give journalists an information occasion to conduct their investigations and present them as exciting and stimulating programs on the key Russian TV channels.

To identify the character of Russian football fans' mass actions, we will present several case studies and include the results of opinion polls and interviews, as well as the media analysis of mass actions after the series of football fans' murders in Moscow in 2010.

Yuriy Volkov case

In July 2010 Yuriy Volkov, a fan of "Spartak" football club, was murdered in Moscow; the suspects of this murder were three Chechen citizens. This murder highly resonated with the public: several thousand football fans gathered for his memorial, and local political and administrative leaders left their comments. A number of media outlets and journalists right after the murder suggested that the murder was a common act of violence, explaining it through the presence of ultra-right fans' groups at the events. "SOVA" press center internet portal posted the following: "There is an opinion that the deceased and other fight participants from Moscow were the followers of ultra-right views and, moreover, the police do not exclude a possibility of them triggering the fight. Ultra-radical forums also mention that Volkov was a member of the ultra-right movement, and the attempts to mobilize neo-Nazis for the pressure on the local police and prosecutor's office were made." Later the information appeared that Volkov was a part of "Spartak" fandom movement without being ultra-right, and the fight was a joint criminal action; the ultra-right organizations though did not stop to speculate on this murder even after the information reached the public.

A number of famous Russian football clubs' fans organized several mass memorials in Volkov's honor, such as raising a banner with the slogan "Yura, we remember!" after the game "Spartak"- "Rubin" or "Zenit" fans' banner to mark the memory of Yuri after their team's game with "Sibir" football club. Another type of memorial was held on the 14th of July when somewhat between 300 and 500 Moscow football fans organized an action [Teh – nomad. Livejournal 17.07.2010; The new times 18.07.2010; Spynet blog 26.07.2010] next to the "Chistiye Prudi" subway station. Those who participated in this action demanded an objective investigation of this murder: people brought candles and flowers and gathered in a big circle around the site of the murder, several people silently handed leaflets with the details of the tragedy. The authors of leaflets claimed that there were three Chechen nationals detained by the police as suspects for Volkov's murder; however, two of the three were released on restricted residence order. There also were last name and telephone number of this crime investigator on the leaflet. Local police were not ready to handle such a crowd: the first riot squad buses arrived to "Chistiye Prudi" half an hour after the action began, but the fans were calm, did not chant or showed any billboards. By 10:30 PM the participants started to



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head home, but law enforcement representatives walked them to the metro station showing disbelief in the peacefulness of this event. This action, which united the fans of various clubs, was generally directed at the national policies and legal environment criticism; however, the texts provoking national conflicts were found written on the subway building walls ("Chechens killed a Russian," for example).

Sviridov case

The case revolved around the law enforcement actions towards the murder of Moscow "Spartak" football club fan E. Sviridov by youth from the Northern Caucasus, which were considered as covering up the suspects. The "action" on Moscow's Manezh escalated into clashes with police. After the riots, a series of mass demonstrations happened in other Russian cities accompanied by street clashes between Russian citizens and natives of the Caucasus republics. The fans were supported by bikers and fans of other football clubs. The unauthorized "action" in Moscow gathered from 5000 (according to the Moscow police data) to 50,000 participants (according to the TV channel "Russia 24" data). The participants of the rally chanted: "Russians - onward," "One for all and all for one," as well as nationalist slogans [Russian service BBC 21.12.2010].

Passers and bystanders of non-white appearance were beaten up; as a result; there were massive clashes between the protesters with the riot squad. A total of 35 people were injured, 65 people detained, and the police officials refuted the reports of one death. Interior Ministry officials claimed that activists of the Movement against Illegal Migration were the ones who organized the rally on Moscow's Manezh square. The action was followed by a return action from the North Caucasus natives. About a thousand people were detained, and more than a hundred of them, mostly North Caucasus representatives, were armed with the steel and traumatic weapon. Mass fights were prevented, as a result of emergency police measures; but there were a lot of local fights, including December 15th actions at the Europe Square, Kiev Railway Station and Smolenskaya subway station followed by mass arrests, which were seen in some media and blogs as triggered by the law enforcement officials in order to demonstrate their power and determination and restore their reputation in the eyes of the public. These events have caused a massive public outcry [Siberian news agency 13.12.2010].

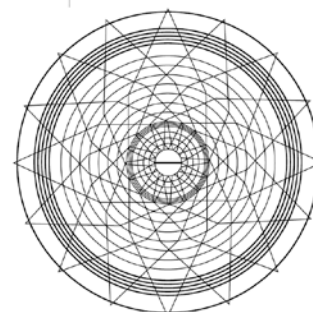
In the course of December, there were protest actions in St. Petersburg, Voronezh, Yaroslavl, Astrakhan and other cities of Russian Federation [RIA Novosti 23.12.2010]. According to the agency of social technologies "Polytech" with the assistance of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 76% of young people sympathized with the participants of Manezh Square actions in Moscow, 78% of respondents viewed events on Manezh Square as a protest action against corruption and the so-called ethnic crime (58%) and did not see it as a nationalist demonstration despite the fact that the main slogans were "Russia for the Russians"

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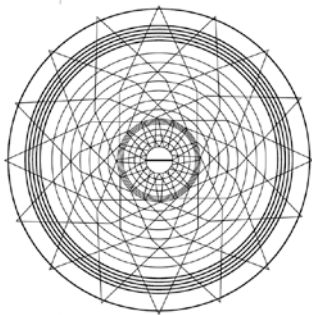
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and "Moscow for Muscovites." However, some experts do not see this data as a representation of xenophobia or hatred towards the "others," rather interpreting the numbers as discontent with the "Caucasians" or so-called "Caucasian behavior" [Fergananeews 30.04.2011].

Table 1. *Russian football fans' mass actions.*

	Yuriy Volkov case	Sviridov case
Data	July 2010	December 2010
Place	Moscow	Moscow
Occasion	the murder of a football fan by Chechen citizens	the murder of a football fan by natives of the North Caucasus
Reason	demanding an objective investigation of this murder, judicial field criticism	The case evolved around the law enforcement actions towards the murder of Moscow 'Spartak' football club fan E. Sviridov by youth from the Northern Caucasus, which were considered as covering up the suspects.
Nature of the action	peaceful	clashes with police; after the riots, a series of mass demonstrations happened in other Russian cities accompanied by street clashes between Russian citizens and natives of the Caucasus republics; Passers and bystanders of non-white appearance were beaten up; as a result, there were massive clashes between the protesters with the riot squad. A total of 35 people injured, 65 people detained
Structure	fans of other football clubs	Bikers, fans of other football clubs, nationalists, skinheads
Quantity	от 300 до 500	5000-50000
Slogans	the texts provoking national conflicts were found written on the subway building walls ('Chechens killed a Russian', for example).	'Russians – onward', 'One for all and all for one', as well as nationalist slogans
The number of references for a month (by Integrum)	10.07.2010-10.08.2010	06.12.2010-06.01.2010
Federal Press	100	344
Federal news agencies	2	75
Federal Internet	12	345



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publications		
Regional press	117	314
Regional Internet publications	1	6

Table 1. (Part 2) Russian football fans' mass actions.

Moscow football fans' "mass actions" showed that the new generation of football fandom presents a significant threat as they are large in numbers, organized, aggressive and do not see official fandom groups or police forces as an authority. They do not have distinct leadership structure, but they have radical right political views and demands and capability of quick mobilization for a thousand-people demonstration right in front of Kremlin.

A comparison of the two actions showed that despite the similarity of situations and demands (honest investigation), the second action was related to violence, excursive behavior and clashes and the manifestation of nationalism. This is due primarily to the social composition, in December 2010 not only the fans took part in the action. The first events immediately after the murder of E. Sidorov, which involved only representatives of fan companies were not aggressive.

Many interviews with football fans showed that the ones who showed up at Manezh Square and Europe Square are sneeringly called "carlani" by the fans "from the sector" [Kozenko A., Kashin O. 21.12.2010]. The basis of football fandom movement consists of people of 30 or more year old who are well educated, employed, do not have nationalistic views, and can afford European tours with their supported team, while the rest 90% are "carlani" or ruleless youth that does not respect any authority. Although the majority of Manezh Square participants were 20-25-year-olds, the rest of the actions consisted of aggressive and huge in numbers youth groups with no leadership. Such a crowd is well-coordinated and managed through social networks (for example, the fans started protest actions against the firm leaders' warnings who acted by the police orders). This organized crowd attracted the attention of many political groups, including nationalists from the Movement against Illegal Immigration, "Slavic Force," and "Strategy 31" who tried to agitate "carlani" for joining their movement.

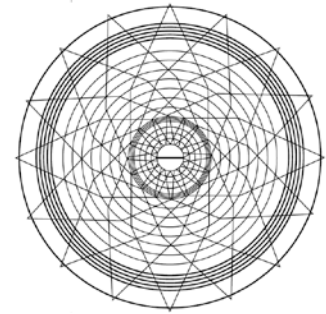
Some experts believe that this destructively focused crowd is more likely to act on their own in the social and political arena once they realize their power. It even has a version of political agenda – discontent with the present national government and protests against the officials' stance on the national policy – but the majority of rioters can barely verbalize it except for the "Russia for Russians" slogan. The police carefully monitor These fans; however, they cannot be influenced for they have no leadership structure but thousands of youth groups. This fact shows that English system of life bans for stadium presence during the games will not work in Russian realities since the majority of protesters may not have attended a single game. According to different sources, the organization of mass action on Manezh Square was handled by left

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radical youth and football fans' aggressive actions were provoked by the radical nationalist movement leaders. Another example of such kind of protest movements is the action organized after the death of a local football fan in Rostov in March 2013 [Nezavisimaya Gazeta. 31.03.2013]. According to political analyst Georgiy Bochkarev, this protest action was a backlash for the passive behavior of local authorities and law enforcement officials.

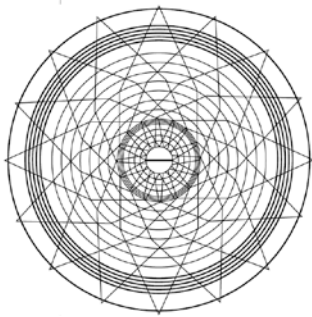
At first, football fans' mass actions were directed against the national judicial system and appeared as a cry for fair investigation as it was obvious that state policy was directed at minimizing of "national component. Hence, football fans' mass actions may have a different focus: while December 2010 actions can be analyzed as deviant, nationalistic, and critical towards the national policies, July 2010 action was a demand for a fair investigation.

Conclusion

This lack of consistency in the actions of fandom movement leadership as well as media coverage of the issue results in the fact that 38% of respondents see negative connotation in the phrase "football fan," 46% have a neutral attitude towards this subculture, and 16% gave positive evaluations. The main indicators of negativity were such words as "aggressive," "angry," "insane," "violating," "unrests," etc. As a rule, such evaluations were longer than the others and listed the unlawful actions of the object. The actions included "fights," "breaching the law," and "the use of pyrotechnics." The indicators of positive attitude included "devoted," "supportive," "active," "loving," and others. Such evaluations were the shortest, did not mention fans' unlawful actions, and mostly described the fans' feelings towards their football clubs and the activeness of their life position. Russian football fandom movement is going through transformations which call for further holistic investigations of its characteristics to develop a comprehensive policy on the issue of youth subcultures. The existing policies in this field are fragmented and do not take into account constantly changing age, social, gender, and ideological aspects of youth subcultures, thus making it harder to predict the direction of the fandom movement development.

In the era of globalization, understanding of youth subcultures is complicated and leads to a paradox: on the one hand, they serve a necessary element of society; on the other, it is apparent that "post-subculture" is becoming a trend towards unification and standardization of human consciousness.

Events of the Euro 2016 demonstrated that the Russian football clubs interact badly with fans. Sentenced to prison terms: the head of the department on work with the fans of the Moscow "Locomotive" Alex Erunov" Executive Director of the fan club of the Tula "Arsenal" Sergei Gorbachev, the head of the fan club of the Moscow "Dynamo" Nikolai Morozov. That there are people who need to know the logic of history and the consequences of hooliganism and understand the boundary between a fan, challenge and consequences, not for them personally but for the team or country.



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Some media outlets, sports journalists, and bloggers (Andrew Malosolov) reacted positively to the event in Marseilles, thereby transforming the image of the hero fan in the battlefield. The social networks of a number of senior Russian officials Vladimir Markin, Lebedev also passed laudatory comments to our fans. D. Peskov, the spokesman for Russian President, condemned the behavior of football fans rioted.

Russian fan movement is developing in the English model. Moreover, all that one can read in D. Brimson and J. King became apparent Russia (D. Lekukh), but at a specific work with young people and those who work with them, possibly following the English model before the end? If the social ladder has to climb the stairs to the next, it is not necessary to wait that the Russian fans for 15-20 years will be the way in which England has spent more than 60 years.

Currently, there is the trend of transformation clearly visible subculture of football fans. Recently describe this transformation as a transition from "expressive" of football fandom in "humble" fandom. The emerging transition from disorderly conduct (hooliganism) and deviant behavior to the cultural fandom leads to the degeneration of the movement and possible death. If bullies are an integral part of this culture, and their departure is possible to speak about the death or degeneration of culture? If hooliganism was one of the attributes of culture, but now it is not (will not), then what happens to the culture? Will it be different? Alternatively, it will not? Good or bad, but the most obvious among fans is the willingness to say that a person involved in collective struggles are not "true" football fans.

Football fans created a certain model of development and the existence of a subculture, but at the moment the subculture is losing leadership in their models. Fan associations and fan clubs in the middle of the 20th century did not become a source of significant changes through active political life in Europe and the world. At the moment, there is no political activity, except for Ukraine and possibly later, Russia. Therefore, there is the question of whether this subculture can create a new society and a new morality.

Changing the discourse in the media football fans in general and their actions create social tensions and thus attract more media attention. However, at the same time, this subculture is entirely closed and always pays attention to public opinion - that leaves the media (often not aware of the internal structure and the laws of the fan movement) the right to create the image of a fan, and this situation often leads to an erroneous perception of the members of this subculture.

In turn, the media often pay attention to the combination of football fans in connection with the growing problem of violence. The comments are usually emphasized that the events related to the actions of football fans, socially dangerous and bring considerable material damage.

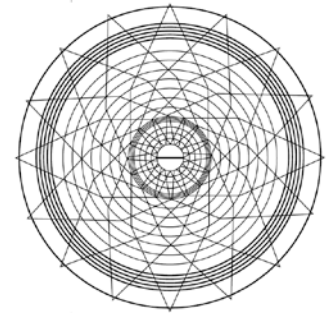
At the beginning of the 21 century, when the key for the development of Russian football organization fanaticism decades, marked the years of significant growth in the number of fans, the complexity of the structure and movement during the growing interest shown by the major media to this unusual display of Russian youth activity.

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The sports press increasingly mentions the new "share" of fans of different clubs. On radio and television are beginning to invite the leaders of fan movements to be interviewed. Besides, the accumulated footage of fans clashes with each other and with the police gives journalists a reason to conduct its investigation and to provide the viewer in the form of educational programs in vital Russian channels.

It is widely believed that the representations in the media of football fans were resistant to cultural shifts, of violence in club football. At the same time, relying on a more romanticized reading of "traditional" rigid identity of the working class of English football and xenophobic hostility against the "other," it can also operate in less subjective terms. Steve Redhead, thinking about saying the writer Paul Morley that "you have to suffer, to watch football," argues that commentators, representing the interests of the middle-class talk about the widespread populist cultural beliefs in the "reality" or authenticity - working-class culture of the fandom should be intact streamlined technologically sophisticated "modern", and to be perceived as coming from continental Europe or the United States. This view is itself a myth that reproduces itself as a popular sport and cultural "history."

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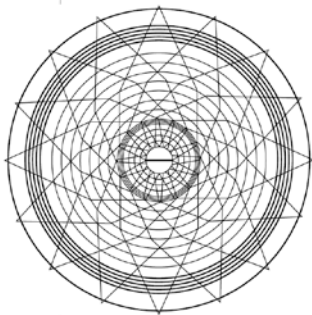
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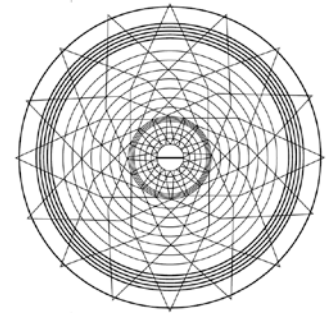
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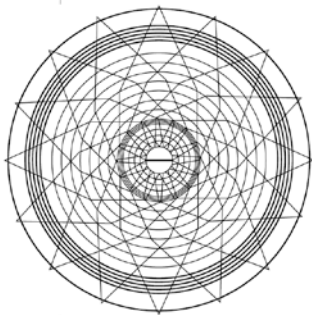
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РОССИЙСКИЕ ФУТБОЛЬНЫЕ ФАНАТЫ: ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЕ ДВИЖЕНИЯ, ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ И МАССОВОЕ ПОВЕДЕНИЕ

Цыганова Л. А.

Кандидат исторических наук, Доцент, Департамент интегрированных коммуникаций, Факультет коммуникаций, медиа и дизайна, Национальный Исследовательский Университет "Высшая Школа Экономики" (Москва)

ltsyganova@hse.ru



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Аннотация:

Российское движение футбольных фанатов переживает трансформации, которые требуют дальнейшего целостного изучения его особенностей с целью выработки комплексной политики в отношении молодежных субкультур. Проводимая в этой области политика носит фрагментарный характер и не учитывает постоянно меняющиеся возрастные, социальные, гендерные и идеологические аспекты молодежных субкультур, что затрудняет прогнозирование направления развития этого сообщества.

Недавние действия футбольных фанатов в России и их роль в национальных и международных спортивных мероприятиях показали, что феномен футбольного сообщества, включая его организацию и культурные нормы, требует тщательного изучения. Данное исследование имеет большое значение не только для понимания паттернов массового поведения российских футбольных фанатов, но и для разработки эффективной коммуникационной стратегии с этим сообществом.

Ключевые слова: Футбольные фанаты, идентичность, самоидентификация, субкультура, российское футбольное сообщество, институционализация

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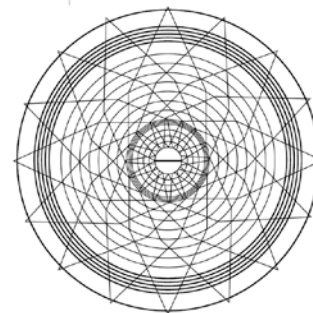
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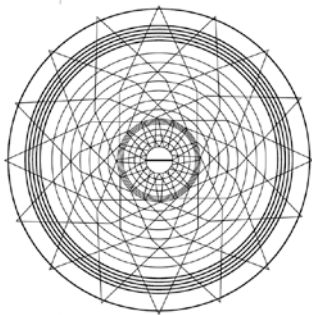
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