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Football Hooligans in the Czech Republic: Selected Topics

KEY WORDS

subculture, football hooligan, development of the football hooligan subculture, football hooliganism in the Czech Republic,

ABSTRACT

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Since the 1990s organized groups have begun to appear in the Czech Republic called „football hooligans". These groups have drawn the attention of the media, security forces, officials of the Czech Republic Football Association, and the broader public. This text focuses on selected topics associated with the phenomenon of football hooliganism. After a brief history of football hooliganism abroad, especially in England, it will describe the current status of this phenomenon in the Czech Republic. An important part of the text will be devoted to classifying spectators surveyed at football matches into three groups: the broader football audience, fans, and hooligans. Each of these groups will be given a basic description based on previous research carried out at football stadiums.
Another goal of the text will be to present the sociological discussion about this phenomenon in the Czech setting, identify the main research avenues, and present some of the sociological studies done in the Czech Republic in recent years. Another important part of the text will be a conceptualization of individual terms, and a brief history of the phenomenon in the Czech Republic, and in the Czechoslovak Republic prior to 1989. Subsequent passages will present the legislative measures and specific laws that have been adopted to address the phenomenon of football hooliganism.

Introduction: origin of a subculture and its manifestations

The football hooligan subculture grew out of a set of English subcultures active in the 1950s and 1960s: Teddy boys, mods, rockers, and skinheads. At first the

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rowdies at the football stadiums were called bootboys, because some of them wore heavy work boots during their violent clashes. The English media, however, used the label *football hooligans*[2] (Hebdige, 1979; Mareš, 2003; Smolík 2008a, 2010; Charvát, 2008; Sekot 2006, 2008; Wann et al. 2001).

In the last 1970s a symbiosis occurred between the skinhead subculture and football hooligans in England. For skinheads football was one of the dominant events of the week. During the 1968–1969 season the first big gangs of skinheads and mods began to accompany teams like Leeds United, Liverpool, and Everton. Of course the big football clubs like Manchester United had their skinhead fans (in Manchester called the Red Army, for example), the numbers of which could reach several thousand (Smolík, 2010).

Violence at the football stadium took place during the matches (a goal would present a good opportunity for an attack on rival fans), as well as before and after the match. For skinheads the violence during the match was a ritual, as was successfully hiding weapons from the security guards. The police reacted by trying to separate the groups, but this resulted in moving the violence outside the area of the sports match. Restaurants and railroad stations were attacked, along with other places where the fans of another team were expected to be. In the 1960s and 1970s there thus emerged a specific subculture the members of which, in the context of their own identification with a certain football team, fought the fans of rival football teams, security guards and police, regardless of social or legal norms or conventions. Gradually, and not only in England, there emerged well-organized gangs of football rowdies who completely ignored the sports aspect of fandom to concentrate on organized violence; today they use mobile telephones, on-line discussion forums, and e-mail. Since the 1970s communication has taken place through football fan magazines, which present themselves as independent magazines featuring the football activity of their fans[3]. Also appearing in the development of the football hooligan subculture is the graffiti phenomenon (especially in Germany, Poland, Russia, and also the Czech Republic and Slovakia). Especially in recent years elaborate graffiti symbols for particular football clubs (or individual hooligan gangs) have evolved. Individual hooligan gangs present graffiti on their websites. Besides graffiti, hooligan gangs present themselves through **mass appli-**

[2] The original term hooligan appeared in London in the 19th century after an Irish immigrant family called Hooligan or Hoolihan (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004). It was used as a general term for any kind of criminal or disruptive behavior. It has been used in the context of football hooliganism roughly since the 1960s to describe the asocial or anti-social activities of the followers of individual football clubs (viz Smolík, 2010).

[3] The first football fanzine in England was *Foul*, which came out in 1972–1976 (Smolík 2010).

cation of stickers with motifs of their club or gang, for example when attending matches abroad or at home (Smolík, 2010)[4].

The hooligan subculture is founded on groups of young football „fans" who come to the football stadium with the primary intention of provoking conflicts or fights with similar fan groups of an opposing team. These groups have their own names in order to set themselves apart from non-organized groups, and from other groups of a similar character. Some of these groups are very well organized, and are brought together not only by rivalry and hatred for rival hooligan groups, but also by political, racial, religious, nationalist, regional, and social motivations (Smolík 2008a). Football hooligans can thus be distinguished from other football spectators (Table 1).

Football spectators, fans, and hooligans

On the basis of previous research, visitors to football matches can be categorized into three basic groups. These are spectators, fans, and hooligans (Smolík, 2008). Football spectators can be characterized as passive observers of the game who are not affected by the rivalry of the two teams, and watch the game with an entirely neutral attitude. Most attend not only football matches, but other sporting events as well (and events in other areas such as culture). The spectator, as at non-sporting events, is interested in the course of the game and the final score. He is not connected to any one club, does not wear its symbols, nor does he identify with the club. Unlike fans or hooligans he is not biased, which improves his discerning judgment about the quality of play and the individual efforts of the players.

The football spectator is not only present in the football stadium, but often follows the game „passively", or through various media (internet, television, radio, press, mobile telephone, etc.) (Slepička, 2009). Because the football spectator does not usually attend all of the matches, does not know the exact rituals (choruses, chants[5] etc.) usual for football fans, or hooligans. For regular spectators, football is on the same level as a theater performance, because after watching he leaves satisfied with the excitement of the game (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004).

[4] In the Czech Republic most of the radical camps have been devoted to these activities over the long term, meanwhile graffiti is seen as just one of the many attributes of football hooliganism (for example fans of Baník Ostrava, Sparta, Slavia, Slovan Liberec, FC Brno, and others).

[5] Balcar (2000) divided the shouts made during football matches into six groups: cries made to encourage one's own club or individual players, shouts against visiting clubs or players, shouts made against referees, against other persons or clubs, shouts made in favor of other clubs, and extremist shouts.

The football fan is tied to football through a favorite team or particular favorite player. He has certain expectations of the game (he demands „his" club win) and because he identifies with his team, he has strong feelings about that club's wins and losses. Fans, for example, have a much stronger reaction to an uncalled foul on their „own" player, and react with greater outrage (Slepička, 1990). The football fan's favorite, beloved sport is football. This category of football fans display their fan identification through club apparel (jerseys, scarves, t-shirts, banners, pins etc.). The very principle of fandom is that during the match a certain kind of rivalry appears in which the fans of one team become a group with its own identity that defends itself against those who are opposing it; that is, the fans of the other team. Characteristic of the football fan is the division between „US" and „THEM" (fans of the other clubs) (Slepička 1990, Tilly, 2006).

Hooligan groups, unlike regular fans, often do not even identify with a football club (or national team), but only with their group. The self-identification of hooligan groups leads to exclusivity (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004; Smolík, 2010). In some cases a kind of „superstructure" of football hooliganism is involvement with organized crime (after all, many hooligans are active in the underworld via individual criminal activity unrelated to the football environment) (Smolík, 2008a).

Typical expressions of the hooligan identity are the symbols of the individual hooligan gangs. These ubiquitous symbols (presented on banners, scarves, and clothing) reinforce the feeling of identification and cohesion among a club's fans. The symbols make it possible to clearly distinguish between groups. Individual groups of football hooligans meet all the criteria for a small social group. These criteria may include stability, structuralization, integrity, cohesion, attractiveness, stability, exclusivity, interactivity among individual groups, intimacy, homogeneity, a specific value system, control of the value system, focus and group goals, satisfaction of individual members, and others. Over the course of time individuals in the group gain experience, relationships between individual members deepen, the motives for the group's behavior change, etc. A certain group dynamic can be observed founded on like values and goals (aversion to police, trust in the hooligan group, striving to be the best hooligan group). Each group has its special norms and limits for interpersonal relations and behavior (for example support/lack of support for team, political stance).

Typical manifestations of football hooliganism include intruding onto the playing field, throwing objects onto the playing field[6] or at individuals on the field, rowdyism, vandalism, verbal conflicts and fistfights, and ending in aggression between hooligans and the referees, hooligans and players, and hooligan groups against one another (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004).

[6] Slepička a kol. (2010: 70) mentions throwing objects onto the field as one of the occurrences that has the most negative impact on the match taking place.

Table 1. Distinguishing between spectators, fans, and hooligans
(Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004: 11)

Criterion	Spectators	Fans	Hooligans
Stability of group	low	high	high
Integration of group	low	high	high
Cohesion	low	medium	high
Attractiveness of group	low	high	high
Stability of group	low	medium	high
Autonomy of group	low	medium	high
Size of group	large	medium	small
Degree of intimacy in group	low	medium	high
Accessibility of group	high	medium	low
Homogeneity/heterogeneity	heterogeneous	homogeneous	homogeneous
Focus of group	low	medium	high
Focus on values	low	medium	high
Degree of satisfaction	low	medium	high
Degree of attractiveness	low	medium	high
Degree of control	low	medium	high
Violent behavior	low	low	high
Displays of nationalism	low	high	high
Expressions of xenophobia and racism	Nonexistent	infrequent	frequent
Degree of ideological focus	Non-existent	non-existent	high
Judgment of game	objective	subjective	subjective
Club chauvinism	low	high	low

The football hooligan subculture in the Czech Republic observes a number of unwritten rules or behavioral norms. These include: avoid violent clashes outside the hooligan subculture (non-use of physical aggression against „normal fans"), never report an incident to the police (even when injuries occur during violent clashes), refuse any cooperation with the media, and non-use of weapons during clashes. Theft of personal belongings during individual fights is also frowned upon (which does not apply to football hooligan banners, however).

The football hooligan subculture: a sociological perspective

The main theoretical and research foundation for the phenomenon of football hooliganism was laid in the late 1960s after sociological, psychological, and anthropological research that was carried out by British and German scholars such as Ian Taylor, John Clark, Stuart Hall, Peter Marsh, John Williams, Anthony King, Wilhelm Heytmeyer, and Günter Pilz.

According to Carnibella et al. (1996) at the moment it is not possible to present a clean, unbiased, and at the same time critical overview of the literature pertaining to football violence in Europe. The basic characteristics of the set of theories pertaining to football violence are according to Carnibella et al. (1996) disunity and deep differences in explanations. Carnibella et al. (1996) opine that the topic of football hooliganism cannot be limited to the actions of radical hard-core fans at football matches. They should also be seen in the context of the general rise in criminality and delinquency among young adults, and the rise of a new deviant subcultures (Carnibella et al., 1996: 33).

Even so I think it is important to discuss some of the approaches taken by current scholars, which often influence the political discussion and individual security measures during the course of the last fifty years.

One of the first social scientists to study football hooliganism was British psychiatrist John Harrington. He concentrated mainly on following individual pathological reactions by fans during the matches; he often used terms such ask „immaturity" and „loss of control". His studies were seen as reinforcing the popular opinion that hooliganism is explainable as the result of the psychological problems of individuals (emotional imbalance, abnormal temperament) (see Carnibella a kol., 1996; Smolík, 2008a).

In the early 1970s sociologist Ian Taylor tried to explain football hooliganism from a neo-Marxist position. He concluded that football hooliganism is a vehicle mainly for the lower classes (Mikšík, 2005). He explained football hooliganism in terms of the changing nature of football and related changes in the role of games and local clubs in the lives of the working class. He spoke of the process of „bourgeoisification" of football, and its professionalization and commercialization in the post-war years. Shaped by these factors, he said, football gradually ceased to be part of the working-class community. This alienation of football, Taylor said, was a part of deeper changes in the labor market and the corresponding breakup of many working-class communities. Football violence should be understood as a consequence of the decline of traditional working-class values, and as an attempt to recapture the game from the rich elites (Smolík, 2008a; Charvát 2008).

This concept seemed satisfactory for a time, but was soon faced with arguments and statistical facts that again pointed out that a significant number of the people involved in violence do not come from the stereotypical working class, but from the middle and upper classes. The problem of football violence could not be explained merely as a specific kind of deviant behavior among members of a certain social class. Taylor's approach and conclusion was close to that of social scientists at the Leicester School, which explained the clashes and violent behavior accompanying football as the only source of self-respect and respect for one's surrounding for an uneducated working-class man, for „strata with typically low social status". The authors of the Leicester School did not emphasize such aspects of life as deprivation, frustration, or alienation, but concentrated on the mechanisms by which the subculture itself legitimizes violence (Carnibella et al., 1996)

A counterweight to the above theories emphasizing class and macro-political changes was the approach taken by Peter Marsh, co-author of the study *Football Violence and Hooliganism in Europe*. He based his studies on participant observation of football hooligans and interviews with them. Marsh spent three years going to football games, in trains and buses full of football fans and hooligans, in pubs and other places where hooligans spend their free time. His goal was to get an inside view of football hooligans as „one of them" and use this to come up with his own theory on football hooliganism. Marsh came to the conclusions that violence has a fundamental importance for constituting the identity of young football fans, and that its negative impacts are minimal compared to the positive (Carnibella et al., 1996: 41).

Among the first research on the football hooligan subculture was the well-known study by the trio Marsh, Rosser, and Harré from 1978 (Marsh, Rosser, Harré, 1978). On the basis of participant observation and analyzing videos of behavior by fans of FC Oxford they distinguished among seven types of social roles among active fans in the „cauldron", which represented different types of behavior and require different individual capacities: *chant leader, aggro leader, nutter, hooligan, organizer, fighter,* and *heavy drinker*.

For Elias and Dunning (1969; Pácl 1978) displays of football hooliganism are displays of *pleasant excitement,* which which give people an out-of-the-ordinary experience. Modern society, say the authors, is characterized by „a lack of excitement". People long for excitement, not the kind of authentic excitement they would feel in actual critical situations, but a nice pleasant imitation to provide some break in the tension from a physiological standpoint, and on the psychological side a certain catharsis (Pácl, 1978). Many people experience monotony in their jobs and private lives (Pácl, 1978). For some people, an „exciting" activity

such as football hooliganism can bring a refreshing change from the everyday boredom of life.

Many past studies have pointed to the low social status of hooligans and their low levels of education, the search for identity, the need to provoke or shock, disinterest in the actual football match, or on the other hand emphasize the direct connection between violence and what takes place on the pitch (for example a referee's decision as the trigger for aggressive fan behavior). Carnibella et al. (1996) correctly point out the fact that attempts to explain hooligan behavior on the basis of research in individual countries cannot be regarded as universal, mainly because of differences in class and social structure among the countries.

An interesting trend was described by Mark Gilman, who investigated football hooliganism in relation to drug use. His conclusion was that thanks to the use of dance drugs at so-called rave parties in the early 1990s in England, there were fewer violent clashes at football matches (Saunders, 1996: 53–56). After a few years football radicals turned away from dance drugs and back to alcohol and cocaine.

Football hooligans in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic

In the development of football hooliganism in the Czech lands up to now, two basic stages can be distinguished. The first can be called the „pre-hooligan stage of unorganized football violence, rowdyism and vandalism". The second stage can be characterized as „the modern football hooliganism of organized gangs". In the pre-hooligan era there were random incidents committed by individuals or non-consistent groups. This stage basically lasted from the beginnings of football in the Czech lands in the late 19th century, with the phenomenon assuming greater relevance from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004).

Incidents of hooligan violence on the Czechoslovak football pitches and in and around the stands begin to appear over the last half of the 20th century (though isolated incidents occurred even earlier). In view of the repressive character of the communist regime at the time, the only effective method of dealing with any kind of outlying group of young people, including football rowdies, was considered to be forced elimination, usually dispersal by the forces of „public security", as the police of the time were euphemistically called. Official ideology insisted that young people in this country, unburdened by the past and raised under communist ideas, would become the bearers of „bright tomorrows"; any blot on this brightly-colored canvas must be removed, and its perpetrators punished. Held at fault were not only in the bad actors in the stands, but the teachers, trainers, journalists, club officials, and youth organizations within whose reach the trouble occurred. This assured

that such „extraordinary events" would be swept under the rug, denied publicity, diminished and dismissed. Thus we have no reliable sources on the numbers and extent of excesses related to football matches during the communist era; in other words the sources cannot be considered as reliable sources (Charvát, 2008: 72).

If we leave out the frequently humorous incidents between individuals at football matches during the early 20th century, then the first important incident meeting the criteria for football hooliganism was the 1985 demolition of a train carrying Sparta Praha fans on their way to a football match in Banská Bystrica. The incident was the subject of director Karel Smyczek's film *Proč?* (1987), which paradoxically popularized hooliganism among young people (to this day it remains a cult film, with the role of a skinhead played by Daniel Landa, later a singer in the cult skinhead band Orlík) (Mareš 2003; Smolík 2008a, 2011).

In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in the 1980s there were entirely spontaneous displays of football hooliganism, but in the 1990s the Czech Republic became one of the many countries where organized hooligan groups became active.

In the late 1990s, gangs based on the English model rose up and consolidated around some clubs, and took on distinctive names. Thus began the second era of „modern football hooliganism by organized gangs", characterized by focused activity on the part of stable groups, with members seeing themselves as part of a specific (hooligan) entity (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004). Interest in the skinhead subculture produced interest in the issue of football hooliganism. Starting in the late 1990s to the present, Czechs have been confronted with several highly-medialized cases of football hooliganism.

One of the most serious incidents took place in August 1999, when a thirty-two-year-old woman was seriously injured while travelling train to Ostrava on the same train as fans of Sigma Olomouc. Hooligans from Baník Ostrava threw a rock at the train while it was in motion. A court in Ostrava sentenced the perpetrators to prison terms from 26 months to four years (for disorderly conduct, assault with intent to cause bodily harm, reckless endangerment) (Smolík, 2008a).

In the CR at present there are around 30 hooligan gangs, each of which is made up of a few dozen members at most (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004: 135–137). The most active hooligan groups support football clubs AC Sparta Praha, SK Slavia Praha, FC Baník Ostrava, 1. FC Brno, SK Sigma Olomouc, and Bohemians Praha 1905. As in other countries, in the CR a relatively homogeneous subculture of football hooligans has risen up observing a very specific set of social norms (and exhibiting stability, structure, integrity, cohesiveness, a specific value system, a sense of focus, group goals, etc.) (Smolík, 2008a: 134).

On an official level no truce between hooligan groups has ever been observed, which has frequently led to higher numbers of incidents between individual hooligan groups. Even so it is evident that orders from the top have not been of major

interest for many individual hooligan groups. Especially among hooligan gangs in the CR and Slovakia there have been many cases of coming so so-called partnerships aimed at strengthening individual hooligan camps. There is an international partnership between hooligans of 1. FC Brno and ŠK Slovan Bratislava that goes back to 1996. One of the strongest is the respect and friendship between radicals from Košice and Sparta Praha fans that goes back to the Czechoslovak era).

In the past there was a strong international bonds between hooligan groups from Baník Ostrava – Spartak Trnava (since 1988) and GKS Katowice (since 1996). At present there is only the partnership friendship agreement between followers of Baník Ostrava and GKS Katowice. There is another Czech – Polish relationship between radical followers of Silesian Football Club Opava and Slask Wroclav. There are also strong ties between Slavia and Bohemians 1905 in Prague and Górnik Walbrzych (since 1999). In the past there was friendship or at least support between followers of KSZO Ostrowiec who attend matches with Slovan Liberec, and Cracovia Krakow who supported Viktoria Žižkov. Matches of Ferencvaros Budapest are attended by Sparta Praha radicals, but it is not a partnership in the proper sense of the word (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004).

An example of a major clash between international partners would be the cup match between the teams SFC Opava and FC Baník Ostrava on 16 September 2009. During the course of the match Opava and Wroclaw radicals attacked followers of Baník Ostrava and GKS Katowice. The match was interrupted; after intervention by the Police CR it was completed, only to have the fights move into the streets and continue there. This, too, illustrates that hooligan clashes are not always between just two groups, but in many cases between individual coalitions..

Research on football hooligan subcultures?

The view of Czech sociologists and social psychologists on the phenomenon of football hooliganism and fandom can be found in several monographs and research studies (Slepička 1990, Slepička et al., 2010; Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004; Smolík 2008a).

For example the research by Beyer and Smolík (2007), in which persons from the Czech fan scene took part, tried to map out the people present at the so-called „kettle" at football stadiums. The study took the form of a questionnaire survey; it strove to capture the social makeup, attitudes, and opinions of people for whom „fandom" represents an active way of spending their leisure time. The study was conducted with the participation of active fans directly in the „cauldrons", that is among respondents whose opinions are not usually easy to get. In fact, research or surveys done among football fans (including football hooligans) are definitely not

a common thing in the CR, unlike Great Britain for example. Insufficient relevant information on this social group may lead to misinterpretation of their attitudes and motivations, or become the cause of ineffective measures like those usually taken against this very specific „subculture", whether through legislation or at the level of the clubs.

Besides the identification of basic demographic characteristics among the studied groups, the study was also designed to allow people to sound off about current issues discussed within the community of fans, or on topics relevant for describing the problematic behavior exhibited by some fans. Unsurprisingly, the typical respondent in the obtained sample was a man from 20 to 29 years old, but there were also many under 20. In terms of education, the large number of secondary school graduates was somewhat surprising; in socioeconomic terms it was the low number of unemployed. One interesting target of the study was the socioeconomic activity of respondents, which showed that an important group is made up of students and employed persons (Tables 2, 3, 4).

Table 2. Respondents by age category (%)

10–19	35,7
20–29	51,3
30–39	11,7
40 and over	1,3

Table 3. Respondents by education (%)

Basic	23,2
Secondary without graduation	32,5
Secondary with graduation	42,4
University	1,9

Table 4. Respondents by socioeconomic activity (%)

Employee	39,7
Student	42,4
Self-employed	10,6
Unemployed	7,3

The study sought to break down fans more or less into: sports spectators (mainly watching the game), fans (actively rooting), the ultras[7] (who plan the choreography, use of pyrotechnics, banners, etc.), and hooligans (who take advantage of the football match to „cut loose", get into fights with rival fans, etc.)(see Table 5).

Table 5. Identification of football spectators by category (v %)

Ultra	38,5
Fan	25,9
Hooligan	19,3
No category	11,1
Spectator	5,2

Most respondents confirmed a link between football hooliganism and the existence of a distinct subculture; i.e., the subculture of football hooligans. Agreement was expressed by 56,8 % of fans (see Sekot, Smolík, 2009) (see Table 6).

Table 6. Connection to a certain type of youth subculture

Agree	% in agreement
Totally agree	24,5
Somewhat agree	32,3
Neutral	12,3
Somewhat disagree	10,3
Complete disagreement	12,3
No answer, don't know	9,0

Slepička et al. (2010) points to another opportunity for research on this topic; that is, the individual motivations of participants in football hooliganism, assembled on the basis of semi-structured interviews, with respondents chosen

[7] Ultras are groups of football fans who are distinctively different in each country. In some countries like Germany these groups present themselves as football fans, in other countries like Italy they are a phenomenon unto themselves, and may present themselves as radicals or openly as football hooligans. The ultras mainly work to affect the atmosphere inside the football stadium (Smolík 2008). Slepička et al. (2010: 152) points out, however, that ultras and hooligans are mixed, and it is very difficult to draw a clear line between the two. Some ultras are capable from time to time of taking part in organized fights, while some hooligans take part in the mass fandom and sometimes even help to prepare the choreography.

during the course of participant observation at football stadiums (Slepička et al. 2010: 149–157).

A quantitative study by Slepička et al. (2010), which was aimed at a more general sports audience (5560 questionnaires were processed out of 6120 total; i.e. a response rate over 90%), and which was carried out during 2007–2009, showed that the dominant age category attending football matches was the 15–18 age group (see Table 7). It can be assumed, then, that this is the group from which football hooligans due to socializing mechanisms will be recruited after they have turned 20 (see Table 2).

Table 7. Structure of football audience by age (%), see Slepička et al. (2010: 34)

Age	Age of football audience (%)
Up to 15	11,0
15–18	19,3
19–22	15,1
23–30	15,3
31–40	13,4
41–50	10,9
51–60	8,2
Over 60	6,4
Total	100,0

The football hooligan subculture as seen by the media

As we said before, football hooligans have a negative attitude towards representatives of the media sphere. The first reporting on disorder and violent clashes during football matches go back to the 1950s, when concern was growing in British society over increasing crime by younger people and by youth violence in general. „The press began to devote more and more attention to violent stories, and football matches were a good place to find them. Although many reports still tried to minimize the problem, the foundations of the panic were laid by the frequent articles about the hooligan minority. In the mid-1960s during the World Championship in England the press began to print warnings that hooligans could destroy the whole tournament. The 1966 World Championship went off without incident, but the moral panic over hooliganism grew." (Carnibella et al., 1996: 79; Frosdick,

Marsh, 2005). In the 1970s some print media began to pay less attention to the game and more attention to the aggressive excesses and some of the persons from the ranks of the football hooligans (Frosdick, Marsh 2005). A common way journalists picked up this story was by putting together various lists, such as lists of arrested or convicted club followers for incidents related to football hooliganism. These lists even became the cause of more disorders and clashes. Many researchers and non-academic observers maintain that the hunt for sensation, along with the „predictive" manner in which violence at some of the matches is anticipated in the media, aggravates the entire problem (Carnibella at al. 1996, Frosdick, Marsh 2005). In this regard the concept of moral panic was coined. The phenomenon was dealt with by Stanley Cohen (1972), who chose as an example the media interpretation of unrest, rowdiness and clashes between the mods and rockers subcultures in Margate or Brighton (commentators spoke of the „Battle of Brighton") (Cohen, 2002; Hall, Jefferson, 1976). In effect the press created a social problem out of a minor violation of civic order; it began to report on increasing criminal behavior, the number of violent acts committed by young people; it speculated over an uncertain future and described individual subcultures in opposition to the dominant strata of conservative British society.

In this atmosphere football was now labeled by the media as a platform that allows, supports, and propagates these undesirable phenomena. The wave of moral panic reached a new height with the emergence of a territorially-defined subculture of skinheads, the spread of football violence, and the destruction of railroad property (Hall, Jefferson, 1976).

According to Cohen (1972) the media structure of the public debate in the following manner:

U1 ---> U2 ---> U3 ---> U4 ---> U5 ---> U6

U1 – Case, incident, event.
U2 – Event captures attention of media.
U3 – Case is described by media as a broader and more serious social problem.
U4 – Case is turned into a scandal, stereotypes emerge, the issue becomes distorted.
U5 – Public opinion begins to speak out on the problem.
U6 – Political solutions to the problem are demanded (demand for remedy) (Hall, Jefferson, 1976: 77).

Disorders related to football were and are labeled as the raging of wild „animals", „primitives", or „savages", or as a „war", „slaughter", or „wild rampage". It often proved, however, that the described situations were not quite as dramatic (Beyer,

2002). Totally unacceptable was the practice of the tabloid press which at one time directly initiated individual clashes among football fans (for example during the World Championship in Italy in 1990).

Another inappropriate description is comparison of football matches to historic or political themes. One example might be the comparison that appeared during the European Championship in 1996, when a match between England and West Germany was declared to be the continuation of the Second World War (Frosdick, Marsh, 2005).

A report by the Italian paper La Republica before the World Championship in Germany in 2006 was probably a lie; it reported that neo-Nazi football hooligans from all over Europe were preparing to attack Muslims during the championship. In March 2006 there was a report that there would be a meeting in Branau, Austria, where all of the radical camps in Europe would unite (Sekot, 2006).

The significance of journalism for the problem has been noticed by the European Parliament, which in the 1990s recommended to European journalists not to describe fans as animals, and likewise recommended less sensationalism for reporters on the question of football hooliganism (Frosdick, Marsh, 2005).

Disinformation on the part of the print media occurs in the Czech Republic as well. In May 2008 the media reported that a train had been damaged after a Slavia Praha vs. Baník Ostrava match. Czech Railroads spokesman Petr Šťáhlavský had to deny the report, and confirmed that the fans caused no damage (Smolík, 2008b).

In describing the incidents involving football hooligans the media commits frequent inaccuracies, and often distorts social reality, which can have an influence on the behavior of more and more fans. As in many other situations, the picture of football fans is still seen through the prism of the 1960s. The media must be seen as an important socializing factor, which especially affects adolescents, who may imitate a pattern of behavior or adopt it as his own.

Football hooligan subculture: football match organizers

At football stadiums in the CR the team of organizers includes the main organizer, the deputy of the main organizer, the organizer, ushers and cashiers, medical services, the announcer, and the main lighting technician (more in Smolík, 2008a: 177–178).

The organizing team sometimes includes employees of private security agencies. This outsourcing may be beneficial only to a certain degree, because members of private security agencies do not have full knowledge of the football stadium environment and the basic norms of behavior among fans or football hooligans (for example provocation, exaggeration, sarcasm, etc.) (Smolík, 2008a; Čarnogurský, 2009).

The organizing teams are seen by football hooligans quite negatively; individual clashes are seen as the result of provocation from the side of the organizers. In some cases of attack on (visiting) fans the spectators reported that the reaction by the organizing team and security agencies was inadequate, provocative, and brutal.

It is not out of place to state], Despite the absence of empirical data on organizing team members and the security agencies, it is not out of place to mention that some member individuals from this environment are active in martial sports and improved physical condition (karate, boxing, kick-boxing, Thai boxing, fitness), which in situations of heightened psychic psychological pressure can lead to displays of aggression. Some cases have even ended in injury: in 2010 a fan of Viktoria Plzeň ended up in critical condition after a match with Bohemians Praha; in the spring of 2011 a fan of Zbrojovka Brno was taken to the hospital, etc.

Čarnogurský (2009) observes that the presence of members of the security agency is evident mainly in the so-called risk sections; i.e. the sections for visiting fans. He further observes that conflicts most often occur in cases when home fans try to get at the visiting fans, in trying to force their way into the stadium, during the use of pyrotechnics, during attempts to arrest individuals trying to damage the stadium, etc. (Čarnogurský, 2009).

Also very alarming is the finding that some football hooligans serve at the home games of their team as part of the organization team. With a view to reducing violent incidents, this observation, too, should receive increased attention (Smolík, 2010).

Policies taken against football hooliganism in the Czech Republic

If we are to take a look at policies and legislation against football hooliganism, first we must discuss a problem related to the politicization of this phenomenon. The politicization itself can be seen as a situation in which a primarily non-political theme (area, situation, problem, reality) is ascribed a political character. An originally non-political circumstance, in our case displays of so-called football hooliganism, acquires a political context, which may eventually grow into a whole new politics (in the broadest sense: polity, policy, and politics) (Smolík, 2008a: 7–8).

A major contributing factor to the politicization of football hooliganism are the individual national policies and implementation of domestic legislative norms, as well as international legislative measures based on international agreements and on the process of so-called Europeanization. In this sense we define Europeanization as „the impact of clearly defined individual policy measures by the European

Union on the existing policies, political, and administrative processes and structures of the member states (Havlík, Pšeja, 2007: 9).

Since the 1990s football hooliganism has been a topic of conversation mainly in the context of security measures taken for particular high-risk matches (Slepička 1990, Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004, Smolík, 2008a).

The main legal norm applying to the phenomenon of football hooliganism is Law No. 40/2009 of the criminal law code. On the basis of experience of previous years the following crimes can be associated with cases of football hooliganism:

- § 145, grievous bodily harm;
- § 146, actual bodily harm (Braunšleger, 2010: 48–49);
- § 325, violence against a public official (in this case against members of the Police CR);
- § 358, rioting;
- § 360, intoxication;
- § 158, fighting;
- § 352, violence against groups and individuals;
- § 355, defamation of a nationality, race, ethnic, or other group of individuals;
- § 356, incitement to hatred against a group of individuals or to limit their rights and freedoms;
- § 403, establishment, support, and propagation of a movement tending towards aimed at repressing human rights and freedoms;
- § 404, expression of sympathy for movements aimed at repressing human rights and freedoms. Whoever expresses sympathy with a movement as defined in § 403 par. 1 will be sentenced to incarceration for a period of six months to three years;
- § 404, refusal of entry;
- § 80, deportation (see Criminal Law 2009).

Law No. 40/2009 of the Criminal Code deals with the issue of sports violence mainly in Articles 76 a 77:

- § 76, ban on admission to sports, cultural, and other social events. 1) The court may ban entry to sporting, cultural, and other social events for up to ten years, if the individual commits a premeditated crime associated with attending such an event. 2) A ban on admission to sporting, cultural, and other social events may be applied as an independent sentence if, in view of the nature and seriousness of the act committed and the person and condition of the perpetrator, the situation does not require the imposition of any other penalty. 3) A ban on admission to sporting, cultural and other social events means that for the duration of the sentence the convicted person is forbidden to take part in the specified sporting, cultural, and other events.

– § 77, ban on admission to sporting, cultural, and other social events. 1) For the duration of the sentence, the convicted person is required to cooperate with the probation office in the manner prescribed, particularly to observe the assigned probation plan, attend the assigned social retraining and awareness programs, psychological advisory programs and, if the probation official determines a need, to report according to his order during the period of the sentence to the specified unit of the Police Czech Republic. 2) The period of the ban on admission to sporting, cultural, and other social events is not counted during the time the individual is incarcerated. (see Trestní zákoník 2009, Braunšleger 2010: 50)

As is evident from the above legal norms, it is not true that the issue of so-called football hooliganism (or in the Czech idiom „spectator violence") is not addressed under the law of the Czech Republic. Although there are frequent calls to make the law tougher, this line of argumentation must be taken as a certain ritual that appears whenever public order is violated before, during, or briefly after a football match.

Conclusion

This text has attempted to describe the phenomenon of football hooliganism in the Czech Republic. We have presented a brief overview of the development of the football hooligan subculture, and typical displays by these groups. We then presented a classification of the spectators at football matches into three distinct categories. We went on to recapitulate selected topics in regard to this phenomenon: the perspective of foreign sociologists, and a description of the situation in the Czech Republic. Subsequent passages dealt with football hooligans' relationship with the media, and with security agencies and organization teams. The final topic was a short description of the legislation in this area.

This text should be seen as a basic introduction to a much more complex problem. Here we see a great potential for further sociological study. In general we are seeing each year an increase in the number of academic texts on the phenomenon of football hooliganism; nevertheless only a fraction of it is based on primary data collected within the radical football hooligan environment. The Czech and Slovak football hooligan environments are prime candidates for further sociological research, which for example might study differences in hooligan behavior in relation to that of their western models. Since the 1990s there has been an apparent trend in which the main violent events have taken place mostly in the post-Soviet area (the former Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, etc.). For this reason, too, one issue of growing importance is the Europeanization of this problem, which at the legislative level might eliminate some of the negative displays by groups of football hooligans.

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Chuliganie stadionowi w Republice Czeskiej: wybrane wątki

Streszczenie

W Republice Czeskiej od lat 90. XX w. funkcjonują zorganizowane grupy kibiców piłkarskich, które oznaczane są jako chuliganie stadionowi (szalikowcy, kibole). Tekst ten przedstawia krótką historię chuligaństwa stadionowego w innych krajach, głównie w Anglii, oraz opis tego fenomenu w Czechach na podstawie wybranych badań prowadzonych przez socjologów czeskich.

Pierwsze zorganizowane grupy chuliganów piłkarskich powstały w związku z wpływem niektórych angielskich subkultur młodzieżowych funkcjonujących w latach 50. i 60. XX w., takich jak *teddy boys*, *mods*, *rockers*. Pod koniec lat 70. XX w. doszło do swoistej symbiozy ruchu kibicowskiego i subkultury skinheadów w Anglii. Mecze piłki nożnej dla skinheadów były jednym z dominujących wydarzeń tygodnia; przemoc stadionowa związana z meczem stała się określonym rytuałem. Powstała w ten sposób pewna specyficzna subkultura, której członkowie, dążąc do identyfikacji z określonym klubem piłkarskim, demonstrowali to (i dalej to czynią) w aktach przemocy skierowanych pod adresem fanów drużyny przeciwnej, służb porządkowych na stadionie oraz policji, odrzucając w ten sposób społeczne i prawne normy oraz konwencje regulujące formy kibicowania sportowego. Stopniowo (nie tylko w Anglii) powstawały dobrze zorganizowane grupy chuliganów stadionowych, dla których strona sportowa kibicowania była tylko tłem, a najważniejszymi były akty przemocy, organizowane współcześnie także za pomocą sieci telefonów komórkowych oraz Internetu.

Uczestników meczów piłkarskich na stadionach można zaklasyfikować do trzech kategorii: widzów piłkarskich, kibiców (fanów) piłkarskich oraz chuliganów (kiboli, szalikowców). Widz piłkarski to bierny i neutralny obserwator gry, nie utożsamia się wyłącznie z jedną drużyną, nie jest przywiązany do emblematów i symboli drużyny, mecz traktuje w kategoriach spektaklu, widowiska. Na stadion przychodzi nieregularnie, nie zna więc dokładnie aktualnych rytuałów kibicowania (śpiewów chóralnych, zawołań, itp.).

Kibic (fan) pilkarski jest przywiązany do piłki nożnej za pośrednictwem ulubionej drużyny lub konkretnego ulubionego piłkarza. Jego identyfikacja z określoną drużyną jest silniejsza, można w jej postrzeganiu zaobserwować podział na „my" i „oni".

Grupy chuliganów stadionowych (kiboli, szalikowców) w odróżnieniu od fanów (zwykłych kibiców) często nawet nie identyfikują się z drużyną, lecz wyłącznie z grupą własną (grupą kiboli). Wyrazem tej identyfikacji są symbole (flagi, szaliki, ubiór). Poszczególne grupy chuliganów odznaczają się typowymi cechami małych grup społecznych – stabilnością, zamknięciem, spójnością, interaktywnością wewnątrzgrupową, jednorodnością, specyficznym systemem wartości itp.

Subkultury szalikowców (kiboli) oraz przemoc stadionowa z ich udziałem stały się przedmiotem systematycznych badań socjologicznych pod koniec lat 60. XX w. głównie w Anglii (np. I. Taylor, J.C. Hall) i w Niemczech (W. Heytmeyer, G. Pilz). Nie ma jednak jednej platformy teoretycznej w podejściu do tego zjawiska. Socjolog Ian Taylor w latach 70. XX w. próbował np. opisać zjawisko chuligaństwa stadionowego, bazując na założeniach neomarksizmu, jako wyraz upadku tradycyjnych robotniczych wspólnot i zarazem próbę odzyskania zawłaszczonej przez klasy wyższe typowo robotniczej rozrywki**.**

Peter Marsh w badaniu pt. *Football Violence and Hooliganism in Europe* w przeciwieństwie do teorii koncentrujących się na przemianach klasowych i makrospołecznych podkreślał funkcję przemocy stadionowej w powstawaniu i umacnianiu społecznej tożsamości młodych kibiców piłkarskich. W wielu badaniach wskazywano z kolei na zaspokajanie potrzeby przyjemnego podniecenia lub prowokowania i szokowania.

W badaniach czeskich socjologów, które systematycznie prowadzono od początku lat 90. XX w. (por. np. Slepička, 1990; Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004) badano różnice klasyfikacyjne pomiędzy uczestnikami meczów piłkarskich (czyli widzami, kibicami i szalikowcami), ich skład demograficzny ((Beyer, Smolík, 2007) – przeważają młodzi mężczyźni w kategorii wiekowej 20–29, duże zastąpienie mają uczniowie i absolwenci szkół średnich, a wielkość skrajnych, skłonnych do przemocy grup szacuje się na ok. 20% wszystkich uczestników meczów piłkarskich. W badaniach ankietowych wśród uczestników meczów większość respondentów (ok. 57%) potwierdziło związek pomiędzy przemocą stadionową a istnieniem specyficznej subkultury – czyli subkultury szalikowców (Sekot, Smolík, 2009).

W Republice Czeskiej istnieje obecnie ok. 30 grup chuliganów stadionowych, każda z nich liczy po kilkadziesiąt osób. Najbardziej aktywne to te wspierające kluby piłkarskie AC Sparta Praha, Sk Slavia Praha, FC Baník Ostrava, 1.FC Brno, SK Sigma Olomouc, Bohemians Praha 1905.

Szalikowców (nie tylko w Czechach) cechuje negatywny stosunek do reprezentantów sfery medialnej. Dzieje się tak dlatego, że często w relacjach dziennikarskich kibice piłkarscy są negatywnie etykietowani (np. nazywani są „zwierzętami"). Nieodpowiedzialne, dezinformujące, sensacyjne opisy zachowań kibicowskich poza tym prowadzą do wywołania tzw. paniki moralnej, której zwieńczeniem zwykle bywa polityzacja oraz kryminalizacja zjawiska. Media w ogóle należy uznać za istotny czynnik konstruowania rzeczywistości społecznej, w tym także ważny czynnik socjalizacyjny.

Innym czynnikiem – przez kibiców jednoznacznie postrzeganym jako prowokacyjny – wpływającym na przebieg meczu i ewentualnie przemoc stadionową – jest funkcjonowanie służb porządkowych na stadionie, rekrutujących się zwykle spośród pracowników agencji ochroniarskich, nierzadko także spośród dawnych członków kibicowskich grup chuligańskich.

W ramach polityki państwa wobec przemocy stadionowej wprowadzono w Czechach (wzorem innych państw) tzw. zakaz stadionowy (chodzi o §76 i §77 czeskiego KK), choć nieustająco odzywają się głosy żądające wprowadzenia bardziej restrykcyjnych środków.

Ponieważ chuligaństwo stadionowe – kiedyś specyficznie zachodnioeuropejskie – od upadku „żelaznej kurtyny" rozprzestrzenia się na tereny Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, na znaczeniu zyskuje jednolita polityka europejska wobec tego fenomenu, czyli wprowadzenie jednolitych regulacji prawnych w celu podniesienia bezpieczeństwa na stadionach piłkarskich.