

# "Sport Matters: Hooliganism and Corruption in Football"

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Study Programme: Double Major BA Study Programme in English Language and  
Literature and Hungarian Language and Literature

Antun Budim

**Sport Matters: Hooliganism and Corruption in Football**

Bachelor's Thesis

Supervisor: Dr. Jadranka Zlomislić, Assistant Professor

Osijek, 2018

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Završni Rad

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## Abstract

This paper examines hooliganism and corruption as factors that have a negative impact on football which is considered throughout the world to be one of the most popular spectator sports. From its origins in England to its spread throughout the world and particularly in the Balkan countries, hooliganism has been a disruptive force that has been ruining the enjoyment of real supporters of football clubs all over the world and wreaking havoc and violence. In addition, corruption in football has also degraded the game with numerous scandals, particularly the financial and nationalistic ones. The adored sport that has traditionally fostered fair play and team spirit is more and more known for its scandals and fostering of animosity. Of particular interest for this paper are the efforts of football organizations such as FIFA and UEFA as well as the efforts of individual countries in tackling these two disruptive forces. For years critics of Croatian football have been criticising the unruly conduct of Croatian football fans at matches in the country and abroad, the scandals of match fixing and financial corruption, and the poor management of the Croatian football federation. Major changes were needed to get rid of all the negative connotations related to Croatian football and fortunately for Croatian football lovers as well as for the rest of the nation, the recent victories of the Croatian national team and its supporters nationwide have significantly increased the rating of Croatian football not only in Croatia but globally as well.

**Keywords:** Football, hooliganism, England, the Balkans, corruption

## Introduction

This paper explores hooliganism and corruption as negative factors that have plagued the world's most popular spectator sport of football. Hooliganism has wreaked havoc and violence since its origin in England and has spread worldwide. Of particular interest for this paper is the impact of hooliganism in the Balkan countries, with a particular emphasis on its effect as a disruptive force in Croatia. In addition, the paper examines the negative effects of corruption in football and its degradation of the game through numerous financial and nationalistic scandals.

The first section of the paper provides definitions of hooliganism and gives an overview of its origins. The second section presents numerous occurrences of hooliganism throughout the UK and efforts to subdue this disruptive force. There will be a particular highlight on hooliganism in England as the country of its origin and Scotland where hooliganism also prevailed to a greater extent. The third section will focus on hooliganism in Western Europe to depict the violent and destructive behaviour that happens in Europe's biggest and most developed countries and explore why similar negative events occur throughout Europe. The fourth section gives an overview of the magnitude and extent of hooliganism in the countries of Eastern Europe like Russia, the Ukraine and Poland. The fifth section covers the Balkans as the centre of great riots and football hooligans that would shame even those in England, Russia or Poland. Furthermore, this section highlights two countries that have the greatest football and hooligan rivalry in the Balkans, i.e. Croatia and Serbia, both between the two countries and inside the countries themselves.

The second issue of interest, corruption in football, is covered in the sixth and final section, with a particular emphasis on Croatia, and its many football related affairs. The different corruption scandals will be covered as well as the efforts to overcome the problems. The concluding section deals with the achievements in overcoming hooliganism and corruption in football and examines the present situation in Croatia regarding these two disruptive factors.



# 1. Definition and Origins of Football Hooliganism

## 1.1 Definition of Hooliganism

Most dictionary definitions of hooliganism are very similar, and they all describe behaviour that involves violence. Hooliganism is defined as "rowdy, violent or destructive behaviour" ("hooliganism," M-W) or as "violent or rowdy behaviour by young troublemakers, typically in a gang" ("hooliganism," OED). Many other dictionaries depict the same type of behaviour, with violence as the common factor related to all of them. Hooliganism causes damage and violence is used by hooligans to achieve their disruptive and dangerous goals. Football hooligans fit perfectly into this definition since they use violence to try to prove that their club is better than the opposing club and that they are superior to the fans of the opposing team. The one particularly interesting thing in the Oxford definition is the word young. This makes sense since in most cases hooligans are young people, unmarried, and without children. Perhaps if they were married and had children they would not be travelling all around Europe to fight with other fans but would be watching matches with their families or going and watching the games of their club but not in an unruly manner. A TV interview with Goran Hajduković – Čupko, a former leader of the Bad Blue Boys confirms this assumption. He said that back when he was a rowdy leader he was a stupid young kid who just wanted to fight others and defend the colours of his club, and that now as a married man with children he would never go and do the irresponsible things he did back then, especially because of the family that needs him and depends on him (Boban).

## 1.2 Origin of Football Hooliganism

When talking about origins of football hooliganism it can be said that it has been around in one form or another ever since the very beginnings of football. The following article explains the earliest origins of both football and hooliganism that happened in England:

Football originated, in a rudimentary form, in England in the thirteenth century. A game played between villages often on religious holidays and using a pig bladder as a ball, it was so violent it was almost incomparable to the modern form of the game. Teams from rival villages would essentially battle with each other, the aim seemingly to kick the ball in the other village's church. It was banned in 1349 by King Edward III of England partially because he felt it was

distracting his subjects from their military training, but also because of the social unrest which inevitably surrounded the brutal game. (Worthington)

As we can see the violence surrounding football in one form or another, dates back for many centuries. Even though the football mentioned in the article is not the modern form we know today it is similar and an ancestor to it so it can be put in the same context. Nevertheless, whether similar or not it had been banned after some years because of social unrest, as mentioned in the above article, meaning that even the crowd then could not keep themselves from fighting each other. In the 1800s, modern football had been affected by the same social unrest as the previous version. Outbreaks of violence were reported from all over the country. In the late 19th century a new group of people appeared on the football violence scene. They are believed to be the first modern version of football hooligans. An article on the Politics.co.uk website describes the situation in Britain:

Although football hooliganism only rose to widespread public attention in the 1960s, it had been with the sport since its earliest development. In the late 19th century, concerns were frequently voiced about groups of "roughs" causing trouble at matches by attacking not only opposing supporters but also players and referees. Many sociologists point to football's origins in working class Britain as a factor distinguishing it from the majority of sports popular today and contributing to its links with aggressive and disorderly behaviour. ("Football Hooliganism")

The saddest occurrence described in the article is that the groups of "ruffians" attacked not only the opposing supporters but also the players which is not sportsmanship behaviour nor any way to express support for your club. The sole intent of such unruly behaviour is to cause trouble and violence.

The worst outbreak of the early football hooliganism happened in 1909 in Glasgow where more than 6000 fans were involved in the incident that resulted in the injury of numerous police officers and fans. Another incident that occurred in Italy in 1920 shook Europe's football scene. It is described in the book *Eurotrashed, The Rise and Rise of Europe's Football Hooligans*: "One of the first recorded cases in Italy happened in 1920 at a match between Viareggio FC and Lincques FC. After the fight between the two fan groups when the game ended, the police came to sort out the mess, but during the fight that followed a stray bullet killed the judge. Then the fight moved to the streets and resulted in total mayhem and vandalism" (Brimson 25). Nevertheless, these incidents were just the tip of the iceberg from what was to come in the period after WW II.

Football hooliganism as it is known today started in the United Kingdom in the 1960s and it spread through Europe when international competitions such as the UEFA Cup and the Champions League started making their first appearances. For many years England and the government of the United Kingdom had problems with these so-called football fans ruining every game with their unruly behaviour and their fights. There were many police and military actions to try and stop the hooligans and to find out their headquarters but most of these efforts were unsuccessful and only generated greater hooligan riots and revenge for disturbing them and trying to stop their forces and organisations that they held sacred. At one point these organizations were a threat to the entire country, they grew bigger in size and were acting like some sort of mafia organization. They were called firms and had networks so deep nobody could know who was at the top of the organization.

With the start of the European competitions, the hooligans upgraded their territory and moved on to other countries. The first records of serious hooliganism outside England were in the Netherlands where English clubs played and their loyal hooligan fans followed them. First it was only one sided with England fans attacking the fans of the opposing club and the police as well as destroying property on the way. Soon other fans decided not to just sit with their arms crossed and watch their co-citizens get bullied and their club brought to shame. They fought back whenever they got the opportunity. In that period real hooliganism as we know it began. It was not just a crowd of angry football fans fighting against each other, but organised rallies planned in detail by the football organizations in England called "The Firm." The war made a big impact on the development of football hooliganism. The article in the new historian once again gives a brief explanation of the link between the war and hooliganism: "The Hooliganism of the 1960s was very much symptomatic of broader unrest among the youth of the post war generation. Equally, it also played into the media narrative of civil unrest meaning it garnered widespread coverage" (Worthington). What this means is that the young generations after the war were angry at their government and at other governments that were involved in war, so they took out their anger on each other within the background of football hooliganism. Maybe this is true and maybe not but hooliganism has been involved in the life of football ever since its very beginnings, and it appears that they go hand in hand

## 2. Situation and the Development of Hooliganism in the United Kingdom

### 2.1. England

In England, football became very popular so that the number of hooligans grew bigger in size. In the beginnings those groups of roughs were unorganised and came to games as they pleased. They did not seem to have anything to do with the club, but just came to make trouble. To be clear, they were just a small group of people, not even 1% of the hooligans that reigned in the second half of the 20th century. The outbursts in the late 19th and the early 20th century were not frequent. Every couple of matches some roughs would show up and ruin the game for everyone. In his book *Barmy Army: The Changing Face of Football Violence* Dougie Brimson describes what was happening at the matches in the 1960's:

Until the times when the game we know and love was given to the general public, in the middle 19th century the troubles with fans were pretty common. Media coverage of those events became more and more frequent, even though in most cases it was not the case of real violence but just insults and pickpocketing. In any case, the nature of any event was completely different from the one people started to see in the middle 1960es. It was very hard to travel back then, even for the players themselves, not to mention the fans, so in most cases not many fans were present at away games, except those played with clubs from the same area. (Brimson 28)

Since they could not travel that often, the incidents happened mostly on levels of neighbouring towns. Nevertheless, as everything changed in the beginning 20<sup>th</sup> century so did the means of transport. Soon the hooligan gangs were mobile and rivalry between clubs of the English Premiere League soon became a rivalry that involved their fans and hooligans as well. As it was mentioned earlier, the times between the two world wars was rather peaceful since everyone was more interested in the war and the damage that happened after it. Actually, there were incidents of hooliganism, but they did not get as much media attention at the time. After World War II, interest in football hooliganism by the media grew rapidly and with it the hooligans and their organizations grew as well. During the 1960s, when the stands were not suited for those faint of heart and the city centres were closed when the game was played, the television became a perfect alternative for peaceful football fans. Watching the game at home was not only cheaper but also safe as well. This of course was not only bad for football but also for the organisers since the attendance was brought down to mainly hooligans. It is no surprise that the rate of violence and disorderly behaviour grew rapidly. England's football federation tried to sustain hooliganism by fining the

clubs if fans misbehave and forbidding them from playing in the league. However, this only angered the hooligans so the federation had no other choice than to let them play again.

At the beginning of 1970s the organizations of football hooligans in England started being more than just a group of people that came together at the stadium to fight. They became organised and well managed groups called "the firms." They emerged associating themselves to the football clubs they supported, so for example there is "The Herd" that supports Arsenal FC, "Villa Hardcore" that supports Aston Villa FC, "The Red Army" that support Manchester United FC and many more for almost every club in the country. This extent of modern football hooliganism was bound to cross the border and move to other countries in Europe. In his book *Eurotrash, The Rise and Rise of Europe's Football Hooligans*, Dougie Brimson describes the first incident that happened on the European level:

In 1974 Tottenham Hotspur fans had the "honour" to become the first English hooligans involved in mass football related violence outside the United Kingdom. This happened in the finals of the UEFA Cup in the second leg against Feyenoord FC from the Netherlands. After the tie 2:2 at White Hart Lane, thousands of Tottenham fans left England determined to support their club in hopes of making an extraordinary win. Being away from home in combination with cheap alcohol led to riots, after the judge ruled out what Tottenham fans considered to be a clean goal. The total number of 200 injured and 70 arrested brought English football on a bad name in the entire Europe. (Brimson 35)



Fig.1. 2Tottenham fans fighting with the Dutch police during the Tottenham: Feyenoord game in Netherlands 1974" <http://www.schotanussschrijft.nl/>

The biggest incident where English fans took it too far was the 1985 UEFA European Cup finals between Liverpool and Juventus, known today as the Heysel disaster. Thirty-nine people died and more than 600 were injured after a mass hooligan fight in the Z section of the stadium. People who were in the stadium that day were in shock years after the incident. Former Liverpool player Mark Lawrenson spoke for the Telegraph on the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the disaster. He gave his views on the entire incident:

The juxtaposition of sport and death was an obscenity, an unforgivable affront to the 39 victims who had perished two hours earlier amid the pandemonium of Section Z. Lawrenson, who played in two consecutive European Cup finals, does not conceal his contempt for the meaninglessness of the 1985 instalment. "Every single player believed that there was no way you could play football on the back of that," he says. "People dying? Young people involved? We all just thought, 'No way am I playing football after that.' I have never to this day seen a moment's footage of that match. I have never had the slightest inclination to (Brown)."

All of this and many more incidents that happened in and outside the grounds of England, for which their fans were responsible, put English football under a magnifying glass in the future. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, hooliganism grew smaller in size but it was not completely gone. The first major competition that English fans/hooligans did not mess up was the 2002 FIFA World Cup in Japan and South Korea. There, true fans showed that in every organization there are good and bad sides and people, and that they can enjoy football without major incidents.

## 2.2. Scotland

Hooliganism in The United Kingdom is not reserved just for English clubs and fans, the Scots had their fair share of hooliganism throughout their history. Just as in England, the records of football hooliganism in Scotland can be traced to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Behaving just as their southern neighbours, the Scots pickpocketed innocent bystanders that came to the games. The portrayal of a Scottish football fan as a merry drunk dressed in a kilt is in many ways wrong. The truth is that Scottish fan culture is not much different from their neighbours, the English. For example, both of them are based on drinking huge amounts of alcohol, gathering at public places and making a mess.

In fact, the beginning of Scottish hooliganism was the same as in England, but their hooligans were involved in only one mass incident before the 1970s. The incident is depicted in the book *Football Cultures and Identities* by two English writers, and it happened like this:

The *Mercury* newspaper had written an article in 1909 on terrible riots that happened after the finals of the Scottish football cup on *Hampden Park*. Fans armed with knives broke through on the pitch, damaged the stadium, and set up barricades that they lit on fire before they started a fight with the police and the fire department. In the riots that ended after almost two hours, several police officers were stabbed with knives. (Armstrong and Giulianotti 78)

Another incident that had happened involving Scottish fans is the incident at Anfield Stadium in 1977, where they played a game against England. 40000 Scottish fans came to the game and what they did surprised everyone. Not only did they roam the streets drunk and made a mess, but when they got to the stadium they caused a mass fight against the England fans. Many different weapons are reported to have been used during the fight and it is a real miracle that no one got killed.

While the attention on hooliganism was focused mainly on England, the Scottish hooligan firms got a chance to grow and spread not just throughout Scotland but also throughout the United Kingdom and later throughout Europe. The main firms at that time were Aberdeen Soccer Casuals that supported Aberdeen F.C., Tannadice Trendies, that supported Dundee United F.C., Celtic Soccer Crew that supported Celtic F.C., and Inter City Firm that supported Glasgow Rangers F.C., and they all had an impact on the forming of other firms for almost every football club.

The Scots soon even surpassed their southern neighbours on the European hooliganism scene, making a major incident in the 1972 UEFA Cup Winner's Cup. The Scottish fans invaded the pitch after an hour in the game when their player was ruled offside. The Guardian, described them as drunk with "mad" faces and bulging eyes. The incident cleared after some time but it was not the end of it. With just 4 minutes left in the game, they once again, invaded the pitch but this time they picked a fight with the Franco police that came after them with bats and managed to chase them away so the game could finish, and they continued their fight outside the stadium (Wilson).

But why does the English hooligan scene get more media coverage than that of the Scots or anyone else. In his book, Giddens explains that the main reason lies with the media and the governing bodies of their football organization. He says: "For starters, Scottish media and football governing bodies are not the same. While their southern colleagues are persistently trying to display English fans in the worst way, the Scots are doing the exact opposite. Before every major competition, host

cities are bombarded with positive announcements, which results in a friendlier atmosphere at the stadium" (74). It is possible that this is the main reason for the more positive image of Scottish fans or maybe it is just that the English have done so much damage that their reputation is beyond repair. Whatever the reason, the situation today is much calmer compared to the period between the 1960s up until the late 1990s. Bigger fines and penalties have made the hooligans keep a low profile but they are still present at games everywhere, just not in such great numbers, which is better for the clubs and the players that prefer the support from their fans instead of the disturbance and disorder.



### 3. Hooliganism Scene in Western Europe

#### 3.1 France

It is easy to assume that in France, one of the biggest countries in Europe, there is a major problem with hooligans, but in reality it is the exact opposite of that. Incidents that involve French clubs are really rare and definitely not nearly as bad as those happening in their neighbourhood. The reason for that is simple, France is not a football nation. Not a single city, including Paris, has more than one major club. Also, attendance at games is one third of the attendance in England or in Spain, because for the French going to a football game is a pass time not a way of life.

But it was not always like this. In the 1970s and the early 1980s, French football was a home for the *skinhead* culture, and they were known for causing incidents. One of the most famous ones was in 1984 when England came to an away game in Paris and were attacked by French skinheads. The French were beaten but they showed they were not afraid of the infamous English hooligans. After that the dust settled and the skinhead culture pulled away from the football scene, so they embraced the ultras movement from Italy.

The ultras movement combines all sorts of choreographies using flags and pyrotechnics and their main motive is violence and the battle for territory. The French embraced the ultras movement and focused mainly on the choreography, violence was not the main motive for going to games. However, the French showed that hooliganism still exists in their clubs when on March 13<sup>th</sup> 2001 PSG fans made a complete mess an away game against Galatasaray in Turkey. The incident and the consequences are described in an article of The Guardian: "Crowd disturbances broke out at half-time, and the match was stopped for 26 minutes following a second-half pitch invasion. More than 50 spectators were injured and 17 hospitalised. PSG were fined 1m Swiss francs, and Galatasaray 200,000 (£82,000), given the Turkish club's lack of cooperation in controlling their fans" (Burnton). Not many major incidents occurred by the French from since that day, but it is important to mention that on 16 July 2018, after their national footballers came from winning the World Cup in Russia, the fans caused a riot that led to 2 people being killed and many injured all over the country.



Fig. 2. "French Riots after winning the World Cup in Russia 2018."  
<https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/989289/world-cup-final-france-vs-croatia-riots-Paris-French-celebrations>

Except for that incident, French hooligans have not made any incidents for the last fifteen years, maybe because of their recently mentioned lack of interest in football or just because they realised that that sort of behaviour is not benefiting anyone, especially their clubs and football organizations.

### 3.2. Germany

When looking at the German hooligan scene, it is not as influential as the one in England, but they are not insignificant. The history of football hooliganism in Germany does not have such a long history. The first incident happened in 1887 when they hosted England in a friendly match in Dusseldorf which resulted in a few attacks. However, they showed their dark side in the 1988 World Cup that they themselves hosted. Steve McLaughlin Redhead described that incident in one of his books, showing the situation first hand:

The police in Germany had the situation under control, despite the threats we received just a year ago. The only exception is the disturbance that happened in Hamburg after they were defeated by Netherlands, and that stayed one of the most violent hooligan involved incidents seen in Europe so far. The total count of the people arrested that day was more than 1200 and three quarters of that were Germans. (97)

After that incident German fans showed that they got what it takes to be remembered on the hooligan scene. Nevertheless today the fans are mostly involved in the ultras movement giving their players amazing choreographies that go neck to neck with Italian choreographies, and bringing joy to all that watch them.

### 3.3 Italy

When talking about Italy and fans there are three different types of supporters. There are the hooligans that are present everywhere, the regular people that just come for the games and the ultras. People often associate hooligans with the ultras but in fact they are very different types of fans. Hooligans in Italy are motivated mostly by football and their clubs while the ultras organization has other things on their mind. They are army-like organised and extremely tactical. An article in The Guardian perfectly depicts them and their behaviour:

Hooligans were generally chaotic and drunk. Italy's ultras are uber-organised, hierarchical and calculating. They started, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as wannabe paramilitary groups. They gave themselves names that made them sound like insurgents: Commandos, Guerrillas and Fedayeen (the group suspected of Tuesday's violence). Although nominally apolitical, the vast majority of Ultra groups in the 1970s borrowed the images and slogans of the far left, some even using the names of partisan brigades from the Second World War. (Jones)

One of the incidents that involved the ultras group in Italy happened in 1975 when in a game between Roma and Lazio one fan died and many were injured. This is just one of the many incidents this army-like group was responsible for. When looking at Italy and their history with the mafia, it is no surprise that there is an organization like this. But beyond all of their violence there is one thing that stands out in all of this, the ultras are masters at making choreographies at games. Most of them you can never see outside Italy just because of their fabulous organization. At least one good thing came from the ultras, the choreographies that will stay memorised forever in every football fan's mind.



Fig. 3."Italian fans welcome their national team after winning the World cup 2006."  
<http://xxxxx.centerblog.net/387836-Tifo>

### 3.4. Spain

The situation and the relationship between the ultras and clubs in Spain is surprising and it is very hard to picture it. Instead of being a gang of hooligans looking for trouble and an opportunity to pick a fight, they cooperate with clubs and even get free tickets and money for supporting them and creating the choreography for the club to be proud of.

That is the situation now, but in the 20<sup>th</sup> century things were a little bit different. The ultras cooperated with the clubs but there were many hooligans, like everywhere in Europe that fought each other. Just like in France, the hooligans were mostly "skinheads" and people that defied the Franco regime. Those people considered that Franco had been fettering Spain and isolating it from Europe, in football as well as in other matters. After the death of the dictator, many radical fan organizations emerged after seeing what other countries had to offer after the 1982 FIFA World Cup held in Spain. Through the 1980s and 1990s there were a few incidents that involved Spanish fans. Many of them were as they say initiated by the police. In 1995 the police brutally treated Chelsea fans and beat many of them, and in 2001 the revenge took place. Celtic and Athletic Bilbao fans joined forces and drove the police out of the event. That was the day that showed that football is a means of connecting people and that fans are not just bound by violence and riots.

Several incidents happened through the 80s and 90s involving Spanish fans but nothing excessive. After the Franco regime, the ultras that cooperated with the fans were the main fan group and they focused mostly on making a good atmosphere during the game, and continued working together with their football organizations and the clubs that financially supported and still support them.

## 4. The Situation with Football Hooliganism in Eastern Europe

### 4. 1. Russia

For many years Russia had been a communist country led by leaders that all looked up to figures like Stalin and Lenin. It is no surprise that up until recent times and the break of communism Russia had no football culture and no problems with hooligans. In the 1970s, the football situation was, it is fair to say, awful. The fans had no chance to display their loyalty towards their club, without considering it an act against the system. Club officials had problems with the government and they had even been accused of working for the CIA.

In 1979 the situation slightly changed when Spartak, a club from Moscow, formed a non-official fan club and started supporting their players by singing and waving their homemade flags and banners. Moreover, the situation changed at the end of the 1980s when president Gorbačov came to power. All of a sudden firms started to sprout all over the country. The happiest ones were Spartak Moscow fans and their firm "Fanats" that after all these years had a chance to freely support their club. This decision brought joy to all and people were happier.

After getting the freedom they wanted they immediately turned to other fan cultures to imitate their behaviour. They turned to England mostly and did all the things the English did, sang, chanted, and waved flags and banners. Unfortunately cheering their club is not the only thing they adopted from the English, as hooliganism also made it to their ranks. Soon the freedom firms began to cause many problems for the police and clubs all over Europe and Russia. The incidents that occurred were also reported in Dougie Brimson's book *Eurotrashed, The Rise and Rise of Europe's Football Hooligans*. For example, he described the worst case of hooliganism in the Soviet Union: "In 1987 happened one of the biggest mass incidents in the history of the Soviet Union, when almost 300 Spartak Moscow supporters travelled to Kiev where they confronted with local Dynamo Kiev fans" (171). Also, Brimson mentioned the clash when Spartak supporters travelled to an away game in Prague: "In 1990 a large group of hooligans from Spartak Moscow followed the team to Prague, but after they made an incident in the town centre, they were attacked by Hooligans of Sparta Prague and heavily beaten" (171).

The police today are taking serious measures to ensure the games go without incidents, and FIFA and UEFA are doing their part by fining all those causing such incidents. On the positive side, it is noteworthy to mention that Russian football is not just associated with negativity, as was proven

recently in the amazing job they did hosting the World Cup. In particular their efforts to provide security for players and spectators was well done, so there were not major incidents that would cause riots or mass fights on the streets.

#### 4. 2. Ukraine

As it was the case in many countries formed after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the history of Ukraine football culture started during the late 1980s and early 1990s, after the communism in Eastern Europe started to wear down. However, their games were not all peaceful, far from it, they were after all involved in the 1987 incident in Kiev described in the previous section. After gaining their freedom, the interest of fans and hooligans decreased. The main reason was probably the fact that they were no longer competing with big Russian clubs, so they had no motivation until their league became stronger and more good clubs appeared on the scene.

Like the case in Russia, Ukrainian hooligans imitated the English football culture, i.e. their way of supporting and fighting on the stands. The first signs of real problems happened in Kiev in 2001 when Dynamo Kiev fans joined a group of people protesting against the regime of president Kuchma. Also, a couple more incidents happened throughout the years, but the worst one happened in April 2002 when a group of anti-Semites attacked a Synagogue in Kiev. The attack was recorded in papers all over Europe, and the article from the website called the *Jewish Telegraph Agency* described the incident:

Some Jewish observers in Ukraine say there have not been significant levels of anti-Semitism there lately. They may have to re-evaluate after last Saturday night, when about 50 youths shouting "Kill the Jews" attacked the central synagogue in Kiev, beating three people, hurling bottles and breaking windows. "I call this act a pogrom," Kiev Chief Rabbi Moshe-Reuven Azman said. "It's a miracle that it was not worse." The attack belies the rosy outlook that some have expressed for Jews in Ukraine." (Gorodetsky)

Since then several incidents have occurred but not major or worthy of mention. In the previous years, Ukraine had their personal troubles with Russians so they had no cause to create any problems for the football organizations and their clubs, and also they have, like almost in every country, settled down and distanced themselves slightly from hooliganism.

### 4.3. Poland

When you ask a football fan to name the most violent football supporters in Europe, the Polish will certainly be in the first three. Polish fans are said to be the cruellest hooligans in Europe, mainly because in most of their clashes they use different weapons like knives and baseball bats. But it is not just the violence that gives them this reputation, it is also because they are extremely racist. For a country that is over 90% Catholic the amount of racism is unbelievable. The previously mentioned writer Dougie Brimson presented an article by a football supporter's magazine called *To My Kibice*, in which the entire history of the hooliganism in Poland is described.

The Polish started their hooligan journey in the 1970s, when for the first couple of years, the firms started to form and hooligans emerged to the scene. In the late 1970s fighting between football fans became frequent and happened almost every football weekend. Described in the article is one of the first mass incidents that happened in Poland in 1980 during the cup final game between Legia Warsaw and Lech Poznan in Czestochow. More than 7000 Poznan fans were involved in a mass fight in the streets and later on at the stadium. More than 100 Legia fans were seriously injured and at least one was killed as the hooligans used knives, rocks and baseball bats and even fought with the police after a special police ZOMO came from a neighbouring town (Brimson 186-193).

Incidents like this happened many more times in Poland and everywhere the Polish hooligans went. After reading the entire article, it was clear that the Polish hooligans are among the most infamous football hooligans. Even though English fans are the most famous since they are the longest standing ones in history, the Polish are the most violent ones. The English hooligans go by some sort of a code, something that Polish fans have not learned by imitating them. They have been a problem for Europe for many years now and who knows when their uber-violent behaviour will come to an end, so they can rid themselves of the reputation of being the most vicious fans in the world.

## 5. Hooliganism on the Balkans

### 5. 1. Serbia

After mentioning all the other parts of Europe and their connection and history of hooliganism, the Balkans cannot be left out. The history of this type of behaviour in Serbia is definitely longer than the history of the country itself. Before their independence in 1992, Serbia was a part of a communist country Yugoslavia, alongside with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Slovenia. Two main football firms have given the government of Yugoslavia many problems through the years, Delije that support the club Red Star Belgrade and Grobari that support the club Partizan also from Belgrade.

The history of fan violence in Serbia goes back to the 1940s, when the clubs were formed and includes the 1966 European championship game against Real Madrid FC when Partizan fans tried to enter the pitch on multiple occasions after they lost 2:1 to the Spanish champions. However, the real violence by the two supporting firms started in the 1980s when these firms were formed. After the death of the country's leader Josip Broz Tito in 1980 there was confusion in the country itself and the tension in the relations among the member states was also reflected on the hooliganism scene.

The Delije and Grobari have a long history of clashes given that they are both from the Serbian capital Belgrade, but they also have clashed with the two biggest Croatian club firms, the Bad Blue Boys and Torcida. The two Belgrade clubs have played over 150 games and to this day not one of them has ended in a peaceful manner. Every game there is a mass fight at the stadium and of course on the streets of the Serbian capital. Just in the year 2017, 10 major incidents happened that include these two firms both home and in Europe. The *Telegraf* internet portal from Serbia, has reported a short summary that includes videos of these events. The ranges of the incidents go from fights at stadiums between the Delije and Grobari in their eternal derby, to picking fights on the streets in front of the temple of St. Savo, their patriot saint, to displaying nationalistic banners: "Kosovo is Serbia" in a game against FK Budućnost Podgorica ("10 najbrutalnijih").





Fig. 4 "Grobari burning torches in front of the temple of Saint Sava in Belgrade 2017"  
<https://www.espreso.rs/sport/navijaci/149669/bakljada-grobara-ispred-hrama-posle-ovoga-je-usledio-munjeviti-napad-deliya-i-poceo-brutalni-okrsaj-foto-video>

Not only do they fight with opposing firms, but they are also constantly involved in fights with the police. The range of weapons they use is astonishing, from boxers, baseball bats, bottles, knives, rockets and sometime even fire arms, there is nothing these fans will use to defend the honour of their club. Not only is this hatred present towards their eternal rivals but the hatred is displayed towards other nationalities of former Yugoslavia and towards people of other races and religious beliefs. No one knows when and if this rivalry and savage behaviour will ever leave the Balkans and when they will learn to appreciate football for what it can offer, the friendship and opportunities for many poor players to get their one chance for success.

## 5.2. Croatia

Just like in Serbia there is a similar situation on the football grounds in Croatia. The rivalry of clubs and especially their fans has a long-standing history with many clashes, fights, and injured people. Croatia like Serbia had been a part of the former county Yugoslavia and there they played in a national league that consisted of clubs from all the member states in Yugoslavia at the time. There they clashed with clubs like Partizan, Red Star, FK Sarajevo and many others. The nationalism had been present in the country from the very beginning, and every member state in Yugoslavia considered itself to be independent and its football as well.

The two biggest firms in Croatia are the Bad Blue Boys, the supporters of GNK Dinamo Zagreb and Torcida that supports NK Hajduk Split. Ever since the firm's establishment in 1986, the Bad Blue Boys have followed their club to every game giving their best banners and choreographies

and of course battling for the honour of the club with other firms and fans. Their biggest rivals, Torcida formed its ranks way back in 1950 and ever since they have stood behind their club and fought for it in many ways. The history of clashes between these two fan firms is as long as the one in Serbia, maybe even longer, so it is not surprising that the Internet and newspapers have been full of these reports for many years now. Whether the game is played in Zagreb or in Split, the presence of fans is constant, and the stadium is almost always full, except when one of the groups gets a ban from FIFA that is. Members of Torcida have been known to operate mostly within their borders and in the region of the former country, but the Bad Blue Boys or BBB as they are also known, have spread their reputation all over the Europe, with their violent outbursts and riots.

An article on the online news portal Tportal.hr shows what kind of acts the two Croatian firms have committed over the years. In clashes against big European clubs like AC Milan, Young Boys Bern and others, the BBB have shown they are not to be messed with and that they do not fear any fan organization and firm. In Milan they caused a riot on the streets after they had been drinking in a bar and the waiter just wanted to charge them for the drinks they consumed. Also, in a small town of Kapfenberg the BBB caused such a big fight when they played against Rapid Vienna, using all sorts of weapons that resulted in the locals literally hiding in their basements.

Likewise, Torcida is no stranger to international incidents, particularly in the second part of the previous century. An incident that is remembered most of all is when they went to an away game to London against Tottenham Hotspur in 1983. Hajduk fans shocked everybody when they performed an act of slaying a live rooster, otherwise a symbol of the English club, on the stands showing they are not intimidated by anyone (S.Š. A.D).

Even though all these clashes have been horrid, there is one that will be remembered in Croatian and Serbian history for many years. It is the incident in Zagreb from May 13, 1990 during a game between Red Star Belgrade and Dinamo Zagreb. An article in *24sata.hr* is one of hundreds of papers to describe the incident which is more important when you look at the political picture at that time. Croatia had declared their independence from Yugoslavia and held their first elections earlier that year. The Delije that came from Belgrade just wanted to provoke the BBBs and make them fight. So before the game started, the Delije broke the fence of their southern stands and started throwing seats and other props on the Dinamo players and innocent civilians. The head man of Red Star at that time was Željko Ražnatović called "Arkan," who came to the pitch with a rifle. Surprisingly the police had not reacted until the Bad Blue Boys had had enough and they

fought back. The video tapes clearly show that the police was beating only the Croatian fans and turned a blind eye to the violence and havoc caused by the Serbs. The move that caught the attention of the entire world was when the Dinamo player Zvonimir Boban kicked a police officer who was beating a Croatian fan. Such clashes between the Croats and Serbs continued in the years to come when they fought in a war for Independence. Some believe that precisely this incident sparked the war but the situation had been intense for some time so this probably is not the main trigger for the war. (Šindarić).



Fig.5. "Images from the Maksimir incident 13 March 1990" <http://radiobambi.com/vesti/secanje-na-nerede-u-zagrebu/>

After looking at all these situations and incidents from the Balkans, it is fair to say that Croatia and Serbia are known in Europe, and that even though they are small countries and their firms are younger than many others they are not afraid to stand up to them. Moreover, since the situation on the Balkans is still tense because of the war there are no signs that the clashes will soon settle down.

## 6. Corruption that Changed Football

### 6.1. Corruption in Europe and the World

As it is known to everyone, the football industry acts like every other major profit organization in the world. The main motive for playing football nowadays is of course money, and it is not surprising that this is the case since the world of football has turned into a business that has skyrocketed in the last 15 or so years. Money brings corruption this is visible in the numerous scandals worldwide, from marketing frauds, to avoiding taxes, frauds in the transfer market, referee pay offs, fixing of games between clubs, and even investigations about fixing the contest for the host of the World Cup. All of these problems have been and are still a part of football today.

The cases of match fixing are the most numerous and appear most often in courts and in papers all over the world. The range of clubs and leagues that this phenomenon appears in is surprising, from leagues like the Italian Serie A, and their greatest clubs Juventus, Milan, Lazio, Fiorentina, and others. A match fixing scandal that surprised everyone in the world was reported in the Guardian article "Juventus hit rock bottom as Italy's cheats are relegated." It presented the sentence and punishment for all the clubs in Italian Serie A in July 2006 when the investigating bodies revealed the evidence of fixing matches and paying off the judges. The Italian nation was shocked to find out their favourite and praised clubs had been involved in this kind of matter. Every club and the people involved received either high fines, jail sentences or relegation to lower leagues. The worst punishment was received by Juventus which was relegated to Serie B league and given 30 points reduction at the start of the next season, not to mention millions of euros in fines (Hooper).

The most interesting corruption cases found while investigating this topic were described in the article "10 of the ugliest match-fixing scandals in football history" published in the *FourFourTwo* online magazine called. It reported that in 2010 when Togo played Bahrain and surprisingly won 3:0, the Bahrain manager called the Togo football organization to congratulate them on the win but they were confused saying that they do not know what he is talking about. It turned out that their coach brought fake players to play the game and win so he could profit from the win. Another case reported by McIntyre disclosed that a goalkeeper from an Italian third division club spiked his teammate's water bottles with tranquilisers, so they played poorly, and he could pay off his gambling debts (McIntyre).

It appears that even the biggest football organization like FIFA cannot avoid corruption. There have been reports of the fixing of the 2010 contest for the countries that would host the World Cup in 2018 and 2022. The countries chosen were Russia for the 2018 and Qatar for the 2022 World Cup. The Swiss police found electronic documents that show financial payments to 10 officials that voted for both for Russia and Qatar. The court case is still in progress and all officials have been removed from their positions. All these investigations and discoveries discredit the organizations and clubs looked up to by so many people and shows that football has long ago stopped being just a clean game that has been uniting people for decades.

## 6.2. Football Corruption in Croatia

As has been shown, hooliganism has had a longstanding tradition in Croatian football, but so has corruption. Unfortunately corruption is still a raging problem for the government and the football authorities. Since Croatia is a relatively small and young country, the focus on their football activities has not been given much media attention until the recent years. In the last five or more years, numerous cases of racketeering, transfer frauds, contract frauds and match fixing were unearthed.

When the word corruption is mentioned there is one name that just pops in the mind of every Croatian. Zdravko Mamić, the businessman and former director of GNK Dinamo Zagreb has been the main topic of Croatian papers and TV networks for many years now. His specific and vulgar way of expressing himself, not to mention his numerous fraud accusations, have made him the most hated man in Croatian football. Mamić has been the director of Dinamo for almost twenty years and in that time, he has made over 280 million kuna through what proved to be fixed games and transfers. The biggest fraud happened in the transfer market cases involving many famous Croatian players like Luka Modrić, Dejan Lovren, Vedran Ćorluka and Tin Jedvaj whose contracts contained clauses that state that, in case of a transfer at any time in the future and from any club, the biggest sum of money goes to Mamić and his associates. Besides the accusations for transfer fraud, Mamić has been accused of tax evasion that damaged the club in the amount of 80 million kuna. This year Mamić was sentenced to 6 and a half years in prison with over 50 million kuna in fines, but he has escaped punishment for the present by escaping to Bosnia.

Mamić may be the biggest and most known person that was involved in corruption in Croatia's football organization, but he is certainly not the only one. In 2009 an investigation called *Operation*

*Offside* started where 21 people, judges, players and club officials from different football clubs, were accused of fixing matches. An article in a Croatian paper *Jutarnji list* states that all people involved have been arrested and it has been found out that they received between 200 000 and 300 000 euros to ensure that the clubs and players get "fair" treatment in their matches. All 21 people have been declared guilty and got fines and some even got jail sentences for their criminal actions (Jurišić).

All of these cases and many others have given Croatian football a bad name and a bad reputation in European football. As a result, the corruption has completely driven people away from football itself, which is evident from the decrease in attendance at football matches. In the last 4 years, since the accusations of Zlatko Mamić started to go public, the number of spectators at Dinamo games has decreased by three quarter. People refuse to go to matches because of the knowledge that the money they spend for tickets will end up in someone's pocket rather than going to the club and the players that they have been faithfully supporting.

Things started to get worse when supporters refused to go to international matches because they suspected they have been corrupted as well, since some of Mamić's associates were in the Croatian Football Federation. The corruption escalated to the point that even government departments like USKOK got involved in order to attempt to solve the problem. As a result, in the last 10 years many different operations and court cases have been introduced to prevent corruption from destroying football in Croatia.

On a more positive note, since Mamić left Dinamo, the spectators have returned to the stands and his associates all over the country have distanced themselves from football. Croatian football supporters believe that this could be the start of a new era in Croatian football, with less corruption and a greater focus on football itself.

## Conclusion

After taking a closer look at hooliganism, it is evident that this problem has been associated with the game of football nearly from its beginnings. Even in the 14<sup>th</sup> century when people played with pig bladders and the main aim of the game was to kick the ball closest to a rivalling village's church tower, there were spectators that sometimes fought each other in the heat of the game to prove the supremacy of their village. A lot has changed since those days, the game does not look anything like then and neither do the spectators or hooligans, but the question why do the so-called fans resort to such violent and destructive behaviour? While researching this subject, I have concluded that the behaviour can be traced to the nature of humans to fight. A look at the entire history of humans reveals a pattern of people fighting for their own survival, their family and friends, their property, their country, and of course for the sake of their pride.

The situation is similar in football and football hooliganism, when fans fight other fans to prove their club is the best, to preserve the honour of their club and their friends. A football game could, in their mind, be like a battle in the war and they are fighting for their own cause. All throughout Europe and the world football clubs and nations have their supporters and their hooligans. All have faced or are still facing this problem, whether we consider England as the motherland of football, the "civilised" western nations like Germany, France and Italy, or the so-called undeveloped countries on the Balkans.

The aim of this paper was to explain the meaning of hooliganism through the various definitions in dictionaries and illustrate its meaning by providing examples of such behaviour that football fans display and have displayed throughout the history of the game. The focus of the paper has been on two aspects concerning football. Firstly, on the portrayal of the origins and development of hooliganism throughout Europe and secondly on the impact of corruption on the game. By examining numerous sources, it becomes evident that hooliganism and corruption are the two major factors of disruption and destruction that have had a negative impact on football in all its spheres. As the documented material shows, almost every club and organization in Europe has been affected in a negative way. The rude and violent behaviour of hooligans has wreaked havoc on and off the fields and the corruption in football, from racketeering to fixing matches and frauds in the transfer market has benefited the greedy and power-hungry people who have nothing to do with the true meaning of football as a sport. To sum up, hooliganism was and is a problem for football organizations and clubs, and it has caused much material damage and loss of human lives.

Football clubs, and particularly the players, need the support of their fans but not the type of support that hooliganism offer. Instead of true support, hooligans not only give them a bad reputation but also are a financial burden because of the fines for their interruptions of games and disruptive behaviour. The best example of how fans should behave is the non-violent participation with choreographies and banners of the ultras movement of the Italian fans.

The calm situation at the present characterised by the lack of major incidents could be an indicator that football could be returning to the values it had in the beginnings, namely the intention to connect people and bring them together in a manner that suits all fans worldwide. The corruption in world of football has also been reduced, by the distancing and imprisonment of those guilty of committing corruption. Whatever the case may be, the fans are returning to the stands and that is the true reflection of the current situation in football.



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