



ANTI-RACISM IN EUROPEAN FOOTBALL

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How does anti-racist activism by fans challenge racism and xenophobia in European football

This report presents analysis and recommendations on a study into anti-racism in European football. It addresses three case studies: Legia Warsaw in Poland, AS Roma in Italy and Borussia Dortmund in Germany.

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1. Executive Summary

Football's popularity is unsurpassed in global sport. It has the power to bring people of different backgrounds, ages and genders together. This can be through playing, watching or just discussing with friends. Despite this power to unite and bring people together, it also provides opportunities to differentiate yourself and your group from others through violence, abuse, racism and xenophobia.

Racism is a pervading feature of contemporary European football. From Zenith St Petersburg fans declaring that their club should not sign anyone who was not Slavic to Juventus fans racially abusing Mario Balotelli, expressions of racism continue. They take different forms and are grounded in the rivalry that exists within football. Yet each of these expressions derives from different social and historical traditions and cultures.

This report presents an analysis of how anti-racism fan-groups are attempting to combat racism in their club, city, or nation. It addresses three case studies: Legia Warsaw in Poland; Roma in Italy; and Borussia Dortmund in Germany. Each of the three case studies represents an apposite example of a large football club, but in each of the cases, racism and far-right extremism have occurred. Against this background, some fan groups are trying to tackle the problem of racism in a number of ways.

For racism to be eliminated, it requires action from *all* sections of football, from the fans, players, clubs, security forces, national associations, international federations, media and politicians. UEFA and some national federations have taken a clear stance with sanctions, support for anti-racism campaigns, and reinforcing this clear message at games. This underlines how important anti-racism is, and removes it from club rivalries.

Anti-racism campaigners, like FARE, Never Again, and Kick It Out, all have a significant place in the fight. They produce literature, guidance and training to help educate the various groups within the sport about the manifestations of racism and xenophobia in football. Monitoring, as undertaken by Never Again, is vital in order to combat one of the biggest challenges facing anti-racism campaigners: denial. Too often clubs and fans deny the existence of racism at their club and this inhibits any opportunities to tackle the problem. Care must be taken to ensure that racism is differentiated from far-right extremism.



The clubs are central in supporting fans fighting racism. They act as the link between the federations and the fans. They need to be fully committed to eradicating racism and xenophobia from the stadium. Only if they are fully committed can they support the stewards, police and fan-groups that are challenging the problem. Borussia Dortmund (BVB) is a clear example of a club that has taken on board the anti-racism message. It distributes leaflets to all fans clearly explaining what racist and far-right slogans are not permitted in the stadium. They provide resources and space in the stadium for the BVB fan project to educate young fans on racism, intercultural learning and civil courage (how to deal with conflict without violence). Participants have a stadium tour afterwards to link the club explicitly with these sentiments. They also support the *ultras'* initiatives to visit Auschwitz, including loaning the team coach. Also important is the use of star players, and the head coach Jürgen Klopp in promotional material aimed at addressing the problem. This was underlined by the club's decision to take a far-right organisation to court to have the BVB logo removed from their website. This all signifies an unambiguous message that the club does not support racism, extremism and violence.

Fans also have a responsibility to refrain from racism, but understanding fan culture is the key to combatting racism in the stadium. Not all racism is political and ideologically driven. Some of it is organic and comes from a reaction to events on the pitch. Often this fits into a wider fan culture of difference between fan groups. Fans seek to differentiate themselves from their rivals in whichever way they see fit; sometimes this is through skin colour, nationality or religion. Challenging this culture will be difficult, so clear guidance is required.

Certain fan-groups, particularly some *ultras* groups want to be confrontational. They feel persecuted as the *ultras* mode of support is being challenged from various quarters. As a result they are deliberately doing the very actions that are attracting fines and closures. Much of this is linked to wider structural problems in football, both in Italy and Poland. As the authorities seek to clamp down on violence, pyrotechnics, and abuse, the *ultras* are resisting everything. Anti-racism needs to be separated from these other forms of anti-social behaviour in order to be effective, including territorial discrimination.

Understanding racism on matchdays is important. Education of stewards and police is vital so that they recognise racism in the stadium and support fans trying to combat it. Monitoring is also very important to understand the extent of the problem and prevent denial by those in authority. The only proof that racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia are taking place is to monitor it and have valid quantitative and qualitative evidence. Care should be taken to ensure that racist and anti-Semitic flags and chants are recorded separately from Fascist ones. Never Again have established 'best practise' in both fields



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and it should be encouraged to be utilised in other leagues. Kick It Out in Britain has launched mobile phone apps to enable fans to report racist incidents.

Educational projects need to be run by leagues and clubs on an on-going basis, not just around international tournaments. Football clubs need to take this initiative on board and speak to students and schoolchildren in relation to their various teams. In addition, the leagues need to take the initiative and present *all* teams together, so there is not the inter-club rivalry that may arise.

Fan projects and *kibice razem* potentially provide the key to anti-racism. They operate at the nexus of the clubs, authorities, and fans. They need to be social spaces so that trust is built amongst fan project workers, volunteers, fans and parents. A range of activities should be encouraged to bring fans together and help break down barriers. This can include football tournaments, art events and job skills workshops.

The importance of Fanprojekts and *kibice razem* is that they also act as educational spaces where motivations for violence or racism can be discussed and explored. It is the quality of the events that are organised that can impact anti-racism.

Getting to know the young fans as individuals helps the fan project to tackle the individual issues that lead some young fans to engage in anti-social behaviour. It is not just about building trust, but being able to target support. This then becomes a virtuous circle. As support is provided, the fans begin to trust the social worker. This requires dedicated interaction; the project workers have to speak to those who are causing the problems.

Breaking down barriers and reinforcing the inclusive nature of football is fundamental. Shared common experiences help facilitate cross-cultural understanding and shared goals. Streetkick, and other football events help create this shared social space, and help remove the barriers that groups create. It is important to emphasise that football facilitates this contact; it is not just the contact that eradicates barriers and promotes understandings.

Football is a powerful tool to bring people of different backgrounds together. Fan groups in all countries organise football sessions and football tournaments. The quality of the contact experience is what helps to remove barriers and promote cross-cultural understanding. Football becomes the focus, but education and anti-racism messages need to be explicit within these.



2. Introduction

Football's popularity is unsurpassed in global sport. It has the power to bring people of different backgrounds, ages and genders together. This can be through playing, watching or just discussing with friends. Despite this power to unite and bring people together, it also provides opportunities to differentiate yourself and your group from others through violence, abuse, racism and xenophobia.

Racism is a pervading feature of contemporary European football. In December 2012, for example, the Landsrona group of fans of Zenit St Petersburg issued a statement calling for the club to sign only players from Slavic nations and Scandinavia (The Telegraph, 2012). Racist chanting has been heard also in other national leagues. AZ Alkmaar's United States striker, Jozy Altidore, was subjected to persistent racist chanting from Den Bosch fans in January 2013 (Sharpe, 2013). The subject of racism was spectacularly exposed when Kevin-Prince Boateng, AC Milan's Ghanaian midfielder, walked off the pitch after being targeted by Pro Patria fans (Scacchi, 2013). Elsewhere in Italy, Mario Balotelli has been the victim of a wide range of abuse, including from fans of the national team (Romano, 2013). More recently, Manchester City's Yaya Touré was racially abused by CSKA Moscow fans (De Menezes, 2013). Meanwhile there have been well-publicised incidents of racism in England. As Burdsey (2011) argues, the blight of racism has not disappeared in England, and recent events have reinforced this. The abuse in England seems to be performed by individuals, as opposed to mass groups. This has been by players, for example Luis Suárez and John Terry (Barrett, 2011; Hills, 2012), or fans, for instance the incidents at Swansea against Sébastien Bassong in December 2012 and at Millwall against El-Hadji Diouf in February 2013 (Lovejoy, 2012; Yorke, 2013). Racism takes different forms and are grounded in the rivalry that exists within football. Yet each of these expressions derives from different social and historical traditions and cultures.

Racism is an inherently complex issue. Each of those examples detailed above occur due to specific political and social contexts. To understand racism it is important to understand these contexts. As Back et al argue, racism is a

"complex and changing ideology that needs to be situated in specific social and political environments... In practise the rejection of overt racism in one moment can co-exist with exclusion and discrimination in other times and places. The point we want to stress here is that the first question to wrestle with is the fact that there are contradictions and ambivalence within the culture of racism in football that have largely been glossed over in the way the issue has been dealt with publicly. It is feasible for the same crowds of fans... to have - at different



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times - vilified black players as subhumans and eulogised them as sporting heroes" (Back et al 2000:2)

As racism changes from club to club and from league to league, anti-racism campaigners have to be aware of these changing contexts. More importantly, local groups will specifically understand the changing dynamics far more than academics, administrators and campaigners from outside.

This report presents an analysis of how anti-racism fan-groups are attempting to combat racism in their club, city, or nation. It addresses three case studies: Legia Warsaw in Poland; Roma in Italy; and Borussia Dortmund in Germany. Each of the three case studies represents an apposite example of a large football club in one of three different European leagues from Northern, Southern and Eastern Europe. Each club has had instances of racism and far-right extremism in recent seasons. Legia Warsaw were fined €30,000 by UEFA, and had their Kryta stand closed, after racist chants were sung at their Champions League match with The New Saints in the Champions League qualifying rounds in August 2013 (The Telegraph, 2013). This followed a €10,000 fine from UEFA in 2012 when the Legia fans displayed a large banner written in Arabic script proclaiming 'Legia Jihad' against Hapoel Tel Aviv (FARE, 2011). The fact that banner was directed at Israeli opponents is no coincidence, as anti-Semitism is a significant part of the fan culture of some of Poland's leading clubs, including Legia. The *curve* at AS Roma had also displayed anti-Semitic banners. Rather than targeting the Jewish fans of the opposing team, these banners were aimed at Livorno, a team from a city with a strong Jewish history. Racism at the Stadio Olimpico has not been restricted to anti-Semitism. In May 2013, the match between Roma and AC Milan was stopped for two minutes after fans racist chanting was aimed at Mario Balotelli (Romano, 2013). It took the Roma captain pleading with the fans, and announcements across the public address system to restart the match. The club was subsequently fined €50,000 by the Italian league. Borussia Dortmund (BVB) has had slightly different problems with sections of their fanbase. BVB has had some fans exhibiting far-right politics in and around the stadium. Dortmund has long had groups affiliated to the far-right. Since the early 1980s, the Borussenfront fan group, led by Siegfried_Borchardt, has tried to bring Fascism into the stadium, as well as entering local, regional and national politics. Before the 2013 Champions League final between Borussia Dortmund and Bayern München, members of the Borussenfront displayed a banner saying '30 years Borussenfront Dortmund' (Spiegel, 2013). In February of the same year, neo-Nazis physically attacked members of the club and the fan project in the toilet at the away game in Shaktar Donetsk (Reinke, 2013). Despite this, there are no widespread expressions of racism in Dortmund.

Against this background, some fan groups are trying to tackle the problem of racism and far-right extremism in a number of ways. Education becomes the central activity required to challenge these



behaviours. This comes from campaigns, fan groups and those working with fans. Providing opportunities to break down barriers and provide education are also vital in the campaign against racism.

This report presents research that directly asks how anti-racism campaigners are working to fight racism and xenophobia in their local stadiums. It draws out some of the common elements that anti-racism campaigners are doing across Europe. Thanks to organisations like FARE, UISP, Supporters Direct and Football Supporters Europe, campaigners have numerous opportunities to exchange information and share strategies across Europe. These opportunities are very important and face-to-face interaction helps campaigners see anti-racist work in action, as well as gaining ideas to be used elsewhere. They also provide a range of educational resources that help underpin the fight against racism.

Education is the central feature of various fan-led activities, especially fan projects. These originated in Germany, and have recently been adopted in Poland (as *kibice razem*). Fan projects operate as a link between the authorities and fans, as well as providing a range of activities that help bring different fans together. Meeting new people does not miraculously transform people's views; the quality of the interaction is central. More importantly, fan projects are educational spaces that provide this quality and help create a dialogue with fans. They have not been widely adopted elsewhere, yet this report recommends that they potentially provide the key for supporting fan-led anti-racism initiatives. Fundamentally, anti-racism must be

The report also assesses the wider issues that are affecting racism and those campaigning against it. This is not directly related to the research question addressing how fans are challenging racism and xenophobia in European football. It does, however, have a direct impact on how campaigners operate, and significantly impacts their work. This wider context is found in the Appendices.



3. Methodology

This report investigated anti-racism activities by fan groups across Europe. The research was a comparative study of fan-led initiatives from three European leagues from Italy, Germany and Poland; exploring their ideals, aims, activities and achievements. This approach is innovative as there are few comparative studies between anti-racist fan movements. By choosing to compare fan groups from Italy, Germany and Poland, this research provides a view of three different European football cultures, which have evolved in the historical context illustrated in the previous section. These three case studies address three national cultures with political engagement in football and traverse diverse cultures from Northern, Southern and Eastern Europe. Grassroots anti-racism movements operate in difficult environments and this research seeks to discern the similarities and differences of these contexts. The first part of this section will focus on hype reasons for each case study to illustrate their specific local contexts. This will be followed by a discussion of the actual methods used so far in this project. A broad account of the methods will be followed by a detailed discussion of how I accessed the various groups that were used as the basis of this report.

3.1. REASONS FOR EACH CASE STUDY

This research provides a view of three different European football cultures: Germany'; Poland; and Italy. No country in Europe has been immune from the manifestation of racism at football matches. Therefore, any comparative study will have a wealth of national leagues to choose from. Because of the size of Europe, it is difficult to get a fully representative understanding; each nation and sub-region will have distinct historical traditions and cultures that impact racism. But it is important to examine a wide geographical expanse to get a truly accurate picture of racism and xenophobia in European football. By choosing to examine Italy, Poland and Germany, this research addresses three broad geographical areas. These three case studies traverse fan cultures from Northern, Southern and Eastern Europe. There are a number of similar historical factors that impact the wider understanding of nationalism and racism. There are also distinct fan cultures which impact how fans challenge the racism that occurs in football in these three case studies, including fragmented histories followed by periods of dictatorship and *jus sanguis* laws of citizenship.

The rationale for the choice of clubs addressed a number of factors. The clubs had to be a top flight club to ensure that the investigation was tackling a sizeable fan population. Many clubs, particularly



in Italy, have a longstanding political tradition which impacts fan culture. It was important to avoid clubs with this tradition so as to get a representative sample. For this reason clubs such as Livorno, Bologna and St. Pauli were not chosen as the results might not be representative of the wider national fan culture. To get a better understanding of anti-racism initiatives, it was important to choose three clubs that had a history of conflict within the fan culture. This is not to say that the clubs had a history of right-wing extremism, but were reflective of wider society. In this way the research would get a more indicative sample. In addition, there had to be some activism by fans to combat racist elements within the fan-base. With these factors in mind, the following clubs were chosen: Roma, Borussia Dortmund and Legia Warsaw.

Roma represented a typical Italian Serie A club. Although it is not one of the top three clubs in Italy, it still represents one of the largest clubs, both in terms of fan-base and revenue. The club was formed in 1927 from the merger of three smaller clubs as the Fascist regime wanted a strong team in the capital. The club was traditionally based in the working class area of Testaccio. Consequently, the club acted as a symbol of the working class city of Rome, in contrast to the more conservative region of Lazio. These working class roots impacted the political culture of the club's fans. By the 1970s, football fan culture in Italy became highly politicised. Fans took into the stadium the banners and chants from the political protests in the piazza. These political fan groups, the *ultras*, drew on historical traditions to present themselves in the stadium. Consequently, early *ultras* groups at Roma, such as 'Commando Ultrà Curva Sud', were generally considered to be left-wing, particularly in contrast with the Fascist orientation of their local rivals, Lazio.

Although Roma has a tradition of being generally to the left, partially to differentiate themselves from Lazio, the fans have always been politically divided. One of the longest-standing *ultras* group at Roma, 'The Boys', has always had an affiliation to the right. This became more prominent during the 1980s and reflected a general shift to the right amongst many *ultras* in Italy. Indeed, 'The Boys' used the symbol of the right wing group *Ordine Nuovo* (New Order), the double-edged axe, as their symbolic marker (Testa 2009). Despite this shift to the right, other *ultras* groups have remained apolitical, such as 'Fedayn'. Consequently, there is some conflict within the fan culture that produces important outcomes for analyse.

The growth of apolitical fan-groups is also important for this research. The groups may have moved away from ideological politics of left and right. But some still operate politically against various aspects of contemporary football. Movements like 'No Al Calcio Moderno', violence against the police, and protests against laws aimed at football fans have polarised groups in different ways to ideological politics. Anti-racism is not distinct from this. It falls into the broader social movements



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independent of party or ideological politics. Reinforcing this distinction is the one of the most important aspects of anti-racism fan-groups in Europe.

Currently, Borussia Dortmund is one of the "Verdiente Meistervereine" ("distinguished champion clubs") in the German League. They have won the Bundesliga five times, which places them joint-second in overall championships. They last won the title in 2012, and competed for the Champions League final against fellow German side Bayern München in 2013. The club hails from Dortmund in the Ruhr district of North-Eastern Germany. This industrial region is located within the federal state of *Nordrhein-Westfalen* (North Rhine-Westphalia), which has been historically dominated by the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democratic Party). Reflecting the wider region, Dortmund city council has consistently had a majority for the Social Democratic Party since the Second World War. Broadly, the club's fans reflect this wider social democratic political viewpoint. The club was founded by some working class fans in a local pub and took the name 'Borussia' from a local beer. The centre-left approach continued into the Nazi period, as the club president refused to join the Nazi party and others used the club to produce anti-Nazi leaflets.

Although Borussia Dortmund fans have generally reflected the wider area in political viewpoint, there has been a long running issue with right-wing extremist fans. As with other areas of Europe, right-wing extremism began to develop in the late 1970s. After Unification in 1989, there was an increase in right-wing extremism from areas in the former East Germany (Panayi, 1994). In Dortmund, a coalition of right-wing supporters formed the Borussenfront in the early 1980s. Under the leadership of Siegfried 'Siggi' Borchardt, the Borussenfront took an active part in hooliganism and political extremism. The club took a clear stance and banned anyone from displaying their insignia on T-shirts or banners. Meanwhile, the BVB fan project worked hard to educate and tackle right-wing extremism and anti-racism by sections of the fans. After some success, however, the group have resurrected and have been actively trying to recruit younger fans. Many are members of the *Nationale Widerstand Dortmund* (National Dortmund Resistance) that was formed in 2012 by Siegfried Borchardt, and subsequently banned by the regional government. The fan project has continued to tackle the problem, which has led to one member, and a member of the club, being physically assaulted by right-wing fans before the match with Shakhtar Donetsk in February 2013 (Reinke, 2013). Despite the club's zero-tolerance for right-wing extremism, one individual was witnessed performing a Nazi salute at the game against Stuttgart that I attended as part of this project. Consequently, Borussia Dortmund represents an apposite example of a club that has a variety of approaches to tackle racism.



Finding a suitable club in Poland was far harder. The problem of racism, and anti-Semitism in particular, is more prevalent in Polish football. Even though the Holocaust and ethnic relocation of Poles after the Second World War reduced the number of Jews living in Poland, these connotations pervade. Many clubs are still seen as 'Jewish' even though few of the players or fans are Jews. Consequently, this culture of anti-Semitism shifts the analysis of racism for this project.

The Polish context was also complicated by the fact that Polish fans do not have the same political affiliations as German and Italian fans. Partly this is reflective of wider Polish political culture, which is generally conservative. The two main parties in Poland (*Platforma Obywatelska* [Civic Platform] and *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* [Law and Justice] are centre-right and broadly aligned to the Catholic majority in the nation. As a consequence of these factors, there was no clear club that stood out. As the requirements were for large clubs that could be representative, the decision was made to visit Warsaw and speak to fans of Legia Warsaw. Partly this was due to the presence of the anti-racism group Never Again, who are based in Warsaw. It was also due to the fact that Legia Warsaw fans had been accused of racism and therefore represented an example of a group of fans that this project is aimed at. Indeed, at the Europa League match between Legia and the Welsh side, New Saints, racism occurred and led to sanctions from UEFA.

Legia Warsaw represents one of the top clubs in Poland. It has won the Ekstraklasa title nine times and has won the Polish Cup a record sixteen times. The club was formed in 1916 at the end of the First World War, and therefore is slightly older than the Polish nation. Legia last won the Ekstraklasa title in 2013 and during the Golden Age of Polish football in the 1970s, the club reached the last four of the UEFA Cup. The fans of Legia are known for their passion. This often manifests itself in violence and hooliganism, as occurred in 2008 during a match with Vėtra Vilnius in Lithuania, when Legia fans stormed the pitch and dismantled advertising hoardings and threw missiles at the police and opposing fans. Politically, the fans are more right-wing. During Communism, the fans chanted nationalistic and anti-Communist views. Today they still commemorate the Warsaw Uprising and Polish Independence Day with passion. These right-wing views are often expressed through banners, such as one stating that "Kosovo is Serbian". Before the Europa League match against Hapoel Tel Aviv in 2011, the fans displayed a giant banner saying "Jihad Legia" in Arabic-style script. As a result the club was fined €10,000 by UEFA. The fans were even more vocal in their response to UEFA sanctions in 2013. After the club was fined and ordered to play a match with one stand closed, the fans in the Żyleta stand unfurled a banner stating "Ultra Extreme Fanatical Atmosphere" and then detonated a large number of pyrotechnics at the start of the match with Steaua Bucharest. With the rationale behind the clubs and fans determined, the following section will detail how these were incorporated methodologically. This will be followed by a more detailed description of how I accessed these groups.



3.2. RESEARCH PROCESS

To develop a deeper understanding of the fan movements in Dortmund, Warsaw and Rome, it was necessary to undertake ethnographic research. Ethnographic work has a long history in studies of football fandom (Hughson, 1998). Many early ethnographic works focused on the phenomenon of football hooliganism (Giulianotti, 1999; Armstrong, 1998; Marsh et al., 1978; Spaaij, 2006; Murphy et al., 1990). There has been a shift in focus to other types of fan groups and new fan movements (King 1997; 2003; Crawford, 2004; Testa 2009; Doidge 2013a). Anti-racism movements are located within these new forms of fan mobilisations. Given the illumination these types studies have provided, this methodological approach was seen as the focal point for the study.

The benefit of ethnographic research is to get a deeper understanding of the social context of the group they are studying. As the anthropologist Malinowski suggested, the researcher needs to, "relinquish his comfortable position of the verandah" (Malinowski 1926: 147). Social actions do not operate in a vacuum. Fan groups operate in distinctive locales and it is important to visualise these in order to present a grounded overview. Ethnographic fieldwork also allows the researcher the opportunity to ask questions in order to gain a deeper understanding. For the researcher as outsider, it is important to gain an insight into the local culture and social context. Each group has a distinctive outlook and culture drawn from their own group members, the locality and the nation. Ethnographic fieldwork enables the researcher to contextualise this.

Ethnographic research is not without its critics. As the researcher has to immerse themselves within the local culture, there is a danger that the researcher becomes overly sympathetic to the group that they are studying (Hughson et.al. 2005). In extreme cases the researcher may be seen to over-identify with the group they are studying. This can lead to allegations of 'going native' and participation in the deviant activities of the group (eg Dunning 1991). In order to ensure detachment, the researcher has to be reflexive and highly aware of their own position within the group (Giulianotti 1995). It is therefore important to 'manufacture distance', as McCracken (1988) argues. Entering into foreign cultures enables the researcher to not only observe a foreign culture from a distance, but the subsequent return to the researcher's own culture provides a sense of distance. This was reinforced by the fact that as the research trips were limited to one week, there was insufficient time to 'go native'.

Within this study, all respondents were from groups foreign to the researcher. I have used this technique before when researching football fans in Livorno, Italy (Doidge 2014). Being English enabled me to ask questions that I would not have been able to ask had I been Italian, or had I been



asking the same questions of English fans. My nationality enabled me to inquire into specific cultural practises. Within the masculine world of football fandom, there is a wide presumption of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986). One is expected to know how football 'works', the broad social history of the sport, and key players and managers. This goes for the global clubs such as Real Madrid, AC Milan and Manchester United. When you get to smaller clubs then knowledge of their star players and fans' favourites is crucial.

Despite the dangers of being too close to the group, a certain amount of bias is required. This is twofold. The researcher needs to have a certain amount of cultural capital in order to gain access to the groups being studied. In the case of anti-racism fan groups, the researcher needs to be aware of European football and fan-led footballing movements. This permits the researcher to access the groups and engage with the participants. This cultural capital also allows the researcher to cast their critical eye over groups' activities through an understanding of their activities and their motivations.

One of the limitations of this study is the language proficiency of the author. As an English and Italian speaker, communicating with German and Polish fans and activists was a problem. Yet this varied by location. Within Dortmund, the problem was less significant. English is part of the school curriculum and most fans had a basic understanding of English. Indeed, many had an excellent understanding of the language and were happy to converse. Since Poland has joined the EU many Polish people have migrated to Britain and now English is widely spoken among the younger generation. Consequently, when the author attended fan events and spoke to fans, there was a clear understanding that the researcher was an outsider. This allowed me to 'manufacture distance' and ask questions that would not ordinarily be asked.

Access to fan-groups can always be problematic. Initial contact was with a range of gatekeepers. Colleagues, UEFA and members of anti-racist and fan groups like Football Against Racism Europe (FARE), Football Supporters Europe (FSE), and Unione Italiana Sport Per Tutti (UISP), all provided valuable assistance in providing names, emails and phone numbers for key individuals. It was then possible to 'snowball' the research as these gatekeepers provided additional contacts.

Specific local factors also impacted access to groups. Within Poland, for example, I was warned of a distrust of British researchers. Shortly before the 2012 UEFA European Championships hosted by Poland and Ukraine, the BBC current affairs programme *Panorama* broadcast a documentary on the growth of racism and hooliganism in Eastern Europe. Many fans felt that the programme and subsequent media attention was grossly exaggerated and misrepresentative. Therefore I was advised that some fans might not speak to me and that it might be potentially dangerous.



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Having access to certain groups can also alienate the researcher from others. Being seen to be too close to one group can result in the researcher being seen by other fans as part of that group. In some cases groups were seen as ideological or politically aligned. When anti-racism is seen as ideological, as Appendices A.2. and D.7. highlight, it can cause some fans to disengage, especially if they do not identify with that political approach. The implications for the researcher is that fans that identify in this way will not engage with a researcher who is also seen in this 'political' light.

3.3. ACCESSING ANTI-RACISM GROUPS

3.3.1. Dortmund

The focus of the fieldwork in Dortmund centred on the work of the Borussia Dortmund (BVB) fan project. Access to this project was provided through a colleague at the University of Brighton, Udo Merkel who had undertaken research with the BVB fan project ten years previously. He provided me with the email for the founder of the fan project, and personally introduced me to him. Fan projects emerged in Germany in the 1980s, starting in Werder Bremen; the BVB fan project was the fourth of its kind in Germany. Established by Rolf-Arnd Merewski in 1988, the fan project has grown to be one of the largest in Germany and employs five people alongside many volunteers. It is fairly typical of fan projects in Germany and undertakes a wide range of social and community work in the city. It is affiliated to the club, the city council and the regional government (funding is divided equally between these three groups). Effectively fan projects are social work projects but are explicitly linked to football and utilise football to engage with the community. They have the express goal of working with football fans. The fan project began by working with hooligans in an attempt to prevent violence and disorder associated with football. It has developed to embrace the *ultras* phenomenon of fandom. Significantly for this project, it has also engaged in a range of anti-racism initiatives. The BVB fan project was also one of the founding groups of FARE.

Ethnographic fieldwork at the fan project consisted of two key events. First it consisted of visiting the headquarters of the fan-project in order to understand its geographical location and importance to the local community. Seeing the headquarters of the fan project allowed me to understand their activities more fully. By visualising their work I could better understand their activities, but also see how they differ from other fan-groups and organisations. This allowed for a better comparative study.

Through the fan project I was able to attend a five-a-side football tournament that was organised by the fan project. This tournament was hosted at a local school and contested between different BVB organised fan-groups. Attending this tournament gave me an understanding of German fan culture



and how fan-groups formally organise, as well as seeing the work of the fan project in action. It also gave me the opportunity to speak to a range of BVB fans in a social context away from the match. Through these conversations I was able to develop a detailed understanding of German fan culture and their viewpoint on racism and anti-racism associated with football. It also gave me opportunities to snowball my research and meet other fans engaged with anti-racism. I spoke to some members of The Unity *ultras* group, including one who gave me an interview via email. These *ultras* worked with the BVB fan project to organise trips for young people from Dortmund to visit Auschwitz and camps local to Dortmund in order to educate fans of the impact of racism and anti-Semitism.

There were some individuals I was unable to secure interviews with some key individuals. Daniela Wurbs at FSE was an immense help for me during the project, not only by providing contacts, but also through her extensive knowledge that she was happy to share. She provided various contacts, including Daniel Lörcher, the Supporters Liaison Officer at BVB. Although we engaged in some email correspondence, I was not able to find suitable times to speak. A similar problem occurred with Gerd Dembowski, whose contact details an academic colleague from Germany provided. Gerd Dembowski provided some early support for this project but I was unable to speak to him when I visited Dortmund. I was unable to secure a convenient time for an interview with Dembowski nor his colleague at the University of Hanover, Professor Gunter Pilz. I also contacted writers Ronny Blaschke and Uli Hesse for background information. They did not feel that they had sufficient insight into BVB to provide suitable interviews.

3.3.2. Warsaw

Initial contact with fans in Warsaw was through the organisation 'Nigdy Więcej' Stowarzyszenie ('Never Again' Association). My colleague Mark Perryman provided the contact for Jacek Purski who is a central activist for the organisation. Never Again was also given as the contact by Piara Powar of FARE. Like the BVB fan project, Never Again were one of the founder-members of FARE. Through Mark Perryman, I was invited to meet Jacek Purski at Wembley just before the World Cup qualifying match between England and Poland. This gave me an opportunity to speak to him informally and understand the Polish context, as well as the work of Never Again. As a result of this meeting, I interviewed Jacek via Skype in order to gain a detailed explanation of the Polish context.

Jacek Purski became a central contact prior to my visit to Warsaw. I coincided this trip with the Europa League match between Legia Warsaw and Lazio on November 27th 2013. There had been racism at the previous match (which led to UEFA imposed sanctions on Lazio) and it was presumed that similar problems might occur in the return match. Jacek Purski was kind enough to ask one of Never Again's spotters to attend the match with me. This enabled me to ask questions, and have a local gatekeeper explaining the Polish context.



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Further contacts were provided by UEFA. These were primarily academic. Thomas Junod at UEFA provided the names Seweryn Dmowski and Aleksander Salanski who both worked at Warsaw University. I had some correspondence with Dmowski, but was unable to arrange a meeting when I was in Warsaw. Dmowski also provided the contact of Dominik Antonowicz of Torun University. Antonowicz is an expert on Polish fan culture and I had a Skype interview with him in Warsaw. Antonowicz also provided the contact of Dariusz Łapiński who previously worked for PL.2012, the state-owned company responsible for the preparation of EURO2012. Łapiński has since moved to the Polish FA and has been instrumental implementing Supporters Liaison Officers in all thirty-four Ekstraklasa clubs. He has also established fan projects, in the style of Germany, to combat football hooliganism. At the moment, anti-racism is not on the agenda of Polish fans so this is not being covered. Łapiński was unable to meet me as he was in Gdansk on the dates I was in Warsaw. However, he provided me with some a lot of useful information on his work, and engaged in an email interview. A similar process occurred with Michał Karaś, a journalist and webmaster of stadiony.net, a website on football stadiums. An interviewee in Rome provided the contact for Karaś and he supplied a lot of very useful information and insights into the Polish context.

Due to the overarching political identity of the Legia Warsaw fans, finding groups engaged in anti-racism proved difficult. I interviewed one Legia, Robert, who provided some useful information. I also spoke to a number Polish fans to understand the context, including personal contacts through social media. Through Jacek Purski, I also interviewed a fan of Polonia, Jacek Kaminski. He was a member of the Polonia Geriatrics fan group and had written a book on the history of Polonia,. Kaminski was interested in cross-cultural aspects of football and organised a variety of events with the club. Although he was not a fan of Legia, he gave me some useful insight into the rivalries in Warsaw, as well as some knowledge into the Polonia fan project.

3.3.3. Roma

Accessing specific fan groups in Rome proved to be the trickiest to facilitate. After speaking to all friends, acquaintances and contacts associated with Roma, it transpired that no-one knew of any fan-groups working with anti-racism. Following a recommendation from a colleague in the US, I attended Roma Club Testaccio to ascertain of any group working with anti-racism and was met with the same response. The termination of *progetto ultra* meant that here was no clear anti-racism group working with fans directly. This was further complicated after contact with Daniela Conti at UISP (Unione Italiana Sport Per Tutti) who said stated that no Roma fan-group or *ultras* group is known to be explicitly working with anti-racism. After speaking with Patrick Gasser, Senior CSR Manager at UEFA, he provided details of Daniela Wurbs at FSE who suggested Riccardo Bertolin working with the AS Roma fan trust movement, myRoma. Bertolin was in Padova with work when I was in Rome, but we



were able to have a Skype interview upon my return. As the Supporters Trust movement is relatively young in Italy, Bertolin's insights gave a fascinating insight into this new approach. I was also able to interview the vice-president of myRoma, Lorenzo Contucci, who is also a lawyer and webmaster for asromaultras.org. Contucci is active in various areas of Italian fan movements, particularly in relation to recent changes to the law. In addition, his website proved to be a useful resource in understanding the background of the club and *ultras* at AS Roma.

The other avenue for research was provided by UISP. I initially had some email correspondence with Daniela Conti at UISP in Rome, but was unable to secure an interview when I visited in January. I was more successful with Carlo Balestri who established *progetto ultra*. Balestri's depth of knowledge was invaluable, but he was also unable to provide any Roma fan groups engaged in anti-racism. As highlighted in Appendix D., the main focus of *ultras* and fan groups is on new laws aimed at controlling the excesses of the *ultras*. With the exception of some fan groups at clubs that have a tradition of left-wing activity, like Livorno, Ternana, Bologna and Genoa, there are few fan groups engaged in anti-racism campaigns. The structural problems of Italian football are the biggest issue affecting fans engagement with wider issues in the sport.

During the fieldwork in Rome I contacted various other people via twitter and email, including academics, journalists and colleagues. Through this process I obtained the details of Vanda Wilcox, an academic at the John Cabot University in Rome, who was also an *ultras* member of AS Roma and a Serie D club. As an English academic in Rome, Wilcox had an outsider's eye to observe the events on the *curva*. She had been attending matches for many years until racism stopped her from going. Wilcox provided some interesting analysis and proved to be an excellent interviewee.

3.4. THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

This report focuses on the work of anti-racism movements led by fans. Due to the brief duration of the ethnographic visits, the research required additional information to fully understand and contextualise the work of the anti-racism. For the purposes of this study, qualitative semi-structured interviews were also utilised. This gave me the opportunity to hear the activities of the groups 'in their own words'. The key aspect of undertaking interviews is to allow the interviewee to speak, so "that the investigator allow the respondent to tell his or her own story in his or her own terms" (McCracken, 1988: 22). It also provided me with the opportunity to expand on some of the background research that had been undertaken, as well as ask specific questions based on my ethnographic observations.

The actual process followed similar lines. All participants were given an information sheet to detail the project. This gave the interviewee a clear understanding of the project, but also contact details should



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they feel that the process was unfair. All interviews followed a semi-structured approach; similar questions were asked in order to gauge similar responses across the three case studies. All Interviews were conducted in English and with those participants who spoke English well. This was primarily for transcription purposes, but in the case of the German and Polish participants, due to the language limitations of the researcher. One interview, the one with Carlo Balestri, was undertaken in Italian.

As outlined above, accessing the correct individuals can be problematic. I had a number of informal (and unrecorded) interviews with many BVB fans at the football tournament. These were recorded in field notes after the event. I formally interviewed two people associated with the fan project in Dortmund, and have an email dialogue with a member of the *ultras*. I also interviewed eight people from Poland, two of which were undertaken via email. Four interviews were performed with groups associated with Italy. As these interviews provide an in depth understanding of certain key individuals' viewpoints, it was also necessary to gain a broader understanding. This has been done through online forums.

3.4. ONLINE METHODOLOGY

This project was triangulated with online methods using forums and social media. As stated by Nowell-Smith (1979), football does not just take place on a Saturday or Sunday afternoon, but lives in the conversations of fans throughout the week. These take place at work, in pubs, and in supporters' clubs and help shape fans' understandings of the match, players and rival supporters. Increasingly these conversations aren't taking place online. Social media gives a new medium to discuss these opinions, even though they are representative of a restricted demographic (Williams, 2008). As Ruddock (2005: 378) states, forums "represent strategies and vocabularies that material fans use in negotiating football's cultural politics, particularly in these cases around race, class and gender". Their views are not changed to reflect the perceived reception by an ethnographer or interviewer, especially a foreign one. Millward (2009) reinforces this through his analysis of racism on e-zines. Message boards and forums provide wide-ranging discourse and narratives "at the very moment it is produced", which can be analysed for underlying notions of identity (Millward, 2008). For this research content analysis of Facebook pages and football forums provide a wider context. These pages were read and analysed prior to ethnographic fieldwork in order to give a broader context for the fieldwork.

Borussia Dortmund has a vibrant online fan community. In keeping with the large number of organised fan clubs there are also a sizeable number of online clubs, forums and social media pages. Many of



these focus principally on the performance of the team. In some cases they also focus on the performance of the fans by posting the photos of 'the yellow wall' or fans in public spaces displaying their yellow and black flags. Although these are good for a general understanding of the fan culture and the club, I have not been able to find forums that are discussing racism and fan activism. Even though The Unity *ultras* group has its own website, and is actively engaged in anti-racism activities, there was nothing on their website discussing their campaigns. I was advised that this is because many *ultras* groups want to be seen as apolitical. This point is important when addressing anti-racism activities.

Legia Warsaw have two public forums easily obtainable through google. The Forum Kibiców Legii Warszawa (<http://forum.legionisci.com>) has an English language section for which made for easier analysis. Meanwhile, the Legia Forum Fans (<http://www.legiaforumfans.pl/>) was written in Polish. However, google translate was used to try and understand certain comments. Both forums had a search function which allowed the researcher the opportunity to search for terms like Racism, anti-Semitism and Never Again. This permits a broad understanding of Polish fan culture. During the course of this research only a small number of fans, on two threads, were engaging with discussions about events that are seen as 'political', which included anti-racism in two comments. This reflects the limitations of the researchers Polish, but also the limited number of fans who think that anti-racism is important.

The same problem occurred with AS Roma forums. AS Roma has a wide online presence. This reflects a similar media profile in the city (there are a number of local radio stations dedicated to the club, for instance). Two forums were engaged with: AS Roma 1927; and asroma-addict.com. The former is in Italian, the latter in English. Racism was not discussed, although the issue of 'territorial discrimination' became a frequent topic due to the impact that it had on fans in general and AS Roma in particular. This helped to provide a wider context for anti-racism projects in Rome and the impact on their success (as discussed in the Appendices). Anti-racism was not something that warranted discussion. This reflects that racism and xenophobia are not of paramount concern to a wide range of fans and *ultras* at AS Roma. The structural issues and sentiments towards the FIGC and government have undermined anti-racism work in Italy.

Ultimately, the online forums provided a useful context to the research but failed to provide sufficient in-depth data on fan-led anti-racism projects and ideas. This does not disqualify the importance of this research, but merely reflects the wider context of fan culture.



4. Anti-Racism Fan Movements

In keeping with the diverse cultures across Europe, there is a range of fan-led initiatives aimed at tackling racism and xenophobia. These initiatives range from organisations staffed by football fans who are trying to challenge racist behaviour, initiatives led by fan-groups and *ultras*, and organisations that work with fans and authorities. This section comprises of the main outcomes of this research. Although there are numerous other factors affecting racism in football across Europe, these are not the main focus of the research question that specifically addressed fan-led initiatives. These other factors are still important and are include in the Appendices. This section evaluates:

- 6.1. Non-Governmental Organisations
- 6.2. Supporters Trusts
- 6.3. Fan projects
- 6.4. Ultras
- 6.5. Streetkick
- 6.6. Other Football Tournaments

The first four subsections address particular supporters' movements; the final two look at specific approaches using football.

Within these broad outlines, there are five themes that cut across all areas.

- i. Many fans see themselves as a bounded group and protect themselves from outsiders. For anti-racism initiatives to work, they need to be supported by those considered insiders. This can be from other fans, members of fan projects and supporters associations, or the club.
- ii. The football club potentially has a very important role to play in persuading fans to stop performing racist abuse at matches. They need to take a lead role in campaigning and work with non-governmental organisations like FARE, Never Again and UISP to implement best practise.
- iii. Education is fundamental. Although dialogue and shared experiences help to break down barriers, education needs to be embedded in socio-preventative work. Values based coaching and teaching helps to promote understanding.
- iv. Different local conditions impact on fan engagement. Civil society in Germany, Poland and Italy is different due to a number of political and historical reasons. Support should always be given to local organisations who understand the context.
- v. There are many creative and exciting ideas being tried across Europe. Support should be given to those attempting different initiatives, and these ideas should be shared.



4.1. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Unione Italiana Sport Per tutti (UISP) is an Italian association founded in the 1980s, which aims to extend the right to sport for all citizens. Central to their mission is inclusion. They campaign and raise awareness for the rights of women and men of all ages, abilities, disabilities, sexual differences, and racial and ethnic backgrounds. Fundamentally, this is an organisation that addresses all sport, not just football. As football is Italy's most popular sport, however, there have been a number of initiatives to get different people interested in the sport, such as *Matti per il calcio* ('crazy for football') to encourage the socialisation of those suffering with mental illnesses. They have also targeted discrimination in football.

The Emilia-Romagna UISP helped establish *Progetto Ultra*, an organisation that sought to work with *ultras* in order to educate them around racism and Fascism. *Progetto Ultra* was set up and run by Carlo Balestri, who still works for UISP. The central focus of *Progetto Ultra* was to combat the growing racism that was being exhibited in the Italian stadiums. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, there was a growing instrumental racism associated with far-Right extremism amongst the *ultras*. *Progetto Ultra* was important because it became a resource for a wide range of measures that affected *ultras*, including the commercialisation of the game, legal 'repression' and racism. It also sought to break down the barriers between traditional rivalries and open a dialogue between fans. As Podaliri and Balestri argue, the growth of localism reinforced the identity of the *ultras*, and 'this link to the small 'mother country', which is very close to extreme right-wing values, facilitate racist and xenophobic behavioral patterns inside the stadia' (Podaliri and Balestri, 1998: 95). Creating spaces where fans and *ultras* could talk to each other, rather than confront each other and defend their 'small mother country', was an important process in breaking down these barriers.

Although *Progetto Ultra* is not longer funded, it's legacy remains with the *Mondiali Antirazzisti* ('Anti-Racist World Cup'). This annual event began in 1997 and takes place near Modena every July. It has grown from an event with just 8 teams to one of two-hundred teams. It has expanded from football to include basketball, rugby, volleyball, softball, and cricket. A key feature of the *Mondiali* is that the tournament is run in a festival spirit. The tournament is non-competitive as they seek to reinforce the inclusive nature of football, rather than the divisive. It also includes art and music events alongside the football. Talks and education programmes are also included as part of the week. This atmosphere ensures that the event is one of cultural awareness and provides a space where disparate groups can come together and interact, helping to break down barriers.



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Despite the obvious success of the *Mondiali*, it is still a long process. As King argues, “an event like the Anti-Racist World Cup provides an arena of interaction where new genuinely multi-ethnic groups might emerge but the event also demonstrates that this process is a slow one” (King, 2003: 238). Many of the participants already have an interest in anti-racism campaigns. The real challenge is integrating those groups who do not see racism as important, or are opposed to racial integration. **Organisations like UISP and events like the *Mondiali* need to be seen as ideologically apolitical. In a polarised society like Italy, projects or ideas that are seen as left-wing or right-wing are often rejected by the opposing side. Anti-racism needs to be seen as distinct from anti-Communism or anti-Fascism.**

Nigdy Więcej ('Never Again') an organisation that seeks to promote multicultural understanding and to contribute to the development of a democratic civil society in Poland. It was formed in 1992 as a result of growing nationalism and racism in Poland after the fall of Communism. It is particularly concerned with the problem of racial and ethnic discrimination. Football falls under this broad organisation as it is one of the most prominent areas where racial discrimination occurs.

Never Again undertake a range of activities to promote awareness of racism, anti-Semitism and Fascism. They are affiliated to FARE and incorporate their broader campaigns in Poland and into Eastern Europe. These activities include publishing a magazine (called *Never Again*) that helps disseminate information on racism and far-right extremism. They also publish a magazine dedicated to combatting racism in sport, called *The Stadium*. The organisation also acts a media contact in Eastern Europe to help discuss the problem.

Never Again also have a range of campaigns aimed at tackling racism in different arenas, such as on the internet and in the stadium. They have worked with the Polish FA and clubs to have the anti-racist message printed in programmes, and helped implement a 'best practise' guide for stewards and clubs. Over the last year the most active of their campaigns has been focussed on football and is called 'Let's kick racism out of the stadiums'. **These campaigns are important as they emphasise the importance of anti-racism. They also de-couple it from other forms of political activism and make it palatable to a wider audience. These, and campaigns run by FARE, are central in communicating the message.**

“I think it is very important what they (FARE) do. They have big promotions – and their transfer is very good – the ideas – the democratic ideas. And they are a very good institution to work with the single clubs and the associations – so UEFA or FIFA. So this is good that before games there is a trailer on the television against racism and it is great. I think that is



very important because it must be more often and more often and more often, and for the young boys to get it into their minds.” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

A key part of Never Again’s activities is focussed on monitoring. This is one aspect of anti-racism that was initiated by Never Again. They have established best practise and have started training monitors across the FARE network. The important thing about racism is acknowledging the extent and depth of the problem.

“we all say that there is no real chance to be successful in fighting racism if we don’t describe it properly... so we monitor it and we publish it, and we also spread the information among the football family, to show how difficult the topic is and how different levels it reaches. So actually monitoring is a very, very important part of our activity.” Jacek Purski, Never Again

It is easy to dismiss the extent of the problem. This is true of those in authority, as well as with fans. Many groups, especially within football, deny the extent of the problem. As Back et al state,

The typical ‘public’ response of football clubs and individuals associated with the game to allegations of racism has historically been one of denial: denial that the problem exists at any significant level at individual clubs or amongst players, denial that there is a problem within the game more generally and, on occasion, denial that racism itself exists as a problem in society” (Back et al, 2001: 164).

Fundamentally, as noted in Appendix A., racism in football is a product of wider society. Challenging those in football for things they do and say outside of the game can cause this denial. More fundamentally, it reiterates the importance of monitoring. **The only proof that racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia are taking place is to monitor it and have valid quantitative and qualitative evidence. Care should be taken to ensure that racist and anti-Semitic flags and chants are recorded separately from Fascist ones.** In some cases the two may be conflated, but these should be reported separately, as section D.2. argues. It is important to distinguish racism from nationalism so that those people who may not be involved in radical politics are also aware of the impact of racism.

Racism associated with football does not just take place in the stadium. Never Again’s monitoring covers a range of social spaces, including online forums. This is important so that events occurring in the stadium can be understood.



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“Well of course we monitor the press and we monitor the internet and we monitor the media generally speaking. But we also have people at the stadium, who are just football fans, and they are present at the games and give us a message if something racist appears so that we can describe it and publish it.” Jacek Purski, Never Again

Monitoring can be a dangerous activity, as those engaged in extremist behaviour may want to prevent the information being disseminated. Great care must be exercised when undertaking this activity. Wider institutional support is essential (see Appendix C.) as this reinforces the importance of the process as well as signifying that racism is not tolerated.

“But I think it is our role as a Watch Dog if you like, as a monitoring organisation, to raise some of those issues publically. We have been criticised for this, but we don’t believe that pretending those issues don’t exist will make those issues go away. We think that it is quite the other way around, and you need to talk about those issues in an open way, and discuss them in an open way and be able to make any steps.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

Never Again are also UEFA’s representatives in Poland, and helped organise a range of events and activities during the 2012 European Championships. Prior to the Championships, there was greater media and social awareness of potential racism and far-right activities at the tournament. To counteract this, there was the message to ‘Respect Diversity – Football Unites’. Within this programme of activities, Never Again continued their monitoring, with at least two independent monitors attending every match. All monitors were trained in their activities to ensure that they knew what they were looking for and were tasked with reporting back to UEFA security officials when incidents occurred.¹

As well as monitoring potential racist activity, the ‘Respect Diversity – Football Unites’ project established a series of inclusive zones across the host cities, which include cafes, shops and public buildings. These were clearly marked with ‘Respect Diversity – Football Unites’ to show that they were a part of the initiative. Alongside these inclusive zones, the project also engaged in Steetkick (see Section 6.5. below). A range of media was used to communicate the message and the activities. This included establishing a website (footballunites.org), establishing a social media profile, and publishing a ‘Football Unites’ fanzine, translated into Russian, English, Polish, and German. **Clear communication is central to ensure the message is available. This does not mean that the message is understood and accepted, but it shows that there is institutional support for the message. More importantly, it**

¹ There were 13 incidents, 5 related to racist or homophobic chanting, and 8 related to racist and/or far-right banners. Seven incidents led to fines being imposed by UEFA.



helps to remove the ambiguity from the message. Fans will quickly highlight hypocrisy and confusion in order to justify their behaviour and assert their independence.

“Well we are not claiming to represent all the Polish football fans. But maybe we have some role giving a voice to those fans who feel intimidated. They consider themselves fans, but they don’t have a voice in forms of those formal or informal structures that exist. And, you know, we are often approached by people who say – ‘I really agree with you but in my stadium I cannot really stand up and say this openly, because that would be too dangerous’. So that would not be accepted. And I think our task is also to shed some light on this environment sometimes.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

Education is a central part of the Never Again’s work. Racism is not something that is always politically motivated, nor obvious to those who are not victims. Although fan-groups have their part to play (see below), they need to be supported by those with the authority to enforce the fan-groups. The clubs need to support those fans and groups that try to highlight and prevent racism in the stadium. Never Again lobby the authorities to emphasise the importance of this support.

The safety-security representatives are key figures in their educational work. Never Again train the safety-security representatives – the stewards and police - and they train them on how racism manifests in the stadium, what the symbols are, and what are the activities of the racist fans. They also do educational work at the Stadiums and use the various information materials at the stadiums to highlight the issue. **Communication does not ensure understanding and acceptance, but it reinforces that the issue will be taken seriously. Education of stewards and police is paramount to ensure that any behaviour is targeted, and any fans who raise the issue are supported. This also removes the ambiguity. This could be used in conjunction with social media reporting. Kick It Out in Britain have launched apps to enable fans to report racist incidents.**

“But we are not focussed on changing the views of the racist fans; we are more focussed on the young fans who are just starting their activities at the stadium. We want to be – to secure them of the racist ideology if you know what I mean.” Jacek Purski, Never Again

Educating younger children on racism is the key. Giving children a broad understanding of inclusion helps them respect different groups and cultures. This will help them to make rounded choices later in life, rather than simply following the crowd. Prevention is better than the cure. This is also one of the foci for fan projects (see 6.3. below). Never Again have a special exhibition that visits different schools and social projects. There are five copies of the exhibition that discusses



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multiculturalism in sport and about the problem of racism and how to fight it. This began in preparation for EURO 2012. **Educational projects like this need to continue after major tournaments. Football clubs need to take this initiative on board and speak to students and schoolchildren in relation to their various teams. In addition, the leagues (Ekstraklasa, Bundesliga, Serie A and others) need to take the initiative and present all teams together, so that inter-club rivalry does not jeopardise the message.**

Anti-racism needs to begin in schools. Values based education is becoming the mainstay of sport for development and peace activities (Sugden, 2006). Educating the coaches and teachers will help instil key values into school children and embed the virtues of respect as part of the sport.

“And I don’t know if you have heard about that, but we have a very interesting project, again connected with Euro 2012, targeting teachers of physical education in particular – so trying to inject the physical education with some education about values, which are mostly missing in Polish schools. So, you know, to teach teachers about dangers of racist-xenophobia so that they can address it with their pupils.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

Never Again have produced a CD that contains best practices from Western Europe and what clubs can do to fight racism. It includes fifteen different ideas with examples and movies, as well as coming with ready prepared materials that the teachers can use.

Organisations like Never Again need to show that they are ideologically apolitical. The complex political culture in Poland means that when certain projects or ideas are associated with the left-wing of politics then they get sucked into a broader culture of anti-Communism and are automatically rejected. It is very important then to separate anti-racism from anti-Fascism. This message needs to be communicated clearly.

“I think what we are talking about is basically just making sure that some minimum standards are in place. We are not forcing people to become sort of ‘left-wing progressives’ if they don’t want to! It is just about making sure that the basic standards – well you could call it the basic standards of human dignity are there. It is not OK to abuse a player because he is black. And it is not OK to have a racist-fascist slogan in the middle of the stand. So we think this is basic. We are not telling people what to think.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic



4.2. SUPPORTERS TRUSTS

Supporters Trusts emerged in the UK as a result of some highly publicised financial problems in English football. These Supporters Trusts emerged out of the Independent Supporters Association (ISA) that evolved in the 1990s. These Independent Supporters Associations were at the vanguard of a number of protests and challenges to English football. In particular anti-racism and equality were central to many of these ISAs. However ISAs have not had the same development in Poland, Germany or Italy. German regulations enforce the '50+1 rule', which gives supporters some ownership of 'their' club. This means that German fans have not had to create independent groups to challenge for more democracy in the boardroom. Similarly, Supporters Trusts in Poland have not gained any popularity.

Single issues are a feature of these movements. Supporters-led movements have crystallised around issues that are important to the fan-group (King, 1997; 2003; Testa and Armstrong, 2010). This is true of the Supporters Trusts themselves. They formed at a time when the fans' clubs were facing financial difficulties. The ISAs emerged in relation to the economic transformation of English football during the 1990s. In Italy, the movements have also developed due to specific localised events. The Supporters Trust at AS Roma, myRoma, began in 2009 after a conversation about growing fan involvement in clubs across Europe, and the thought that it might be worth starting in Rome. Thanks to involvement of fans linked to Supporters Direct and FSE, these fans wanted to look to the model developed outside Italy as a way of having more say in the running of their clubs, particularly when there was uncertainty over the ownership of AS Roma. **It is important for fans to share their experiences and draw on the successes and failures of others. FSE, Supporters Direct, and Supporters in Campo, provide umbrella support. Local trusts need to be part of these networks to strengthen links**

Italy, however, has seen an interest in Supporters Trusts grow. There is an umbrella organisation, 'Supporters in Campo' which is trying to promote increased democracy in Italian football through direct participation in the governance of clubs and the federation.

"I will tell you what I think is potentially very interesting is the Sports Trust Movement here... and a lot of them are interested in incorporating things like anti-racist activities in the overall umbrella of fan-led movements and fan activities." Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

These Supporters Trusts are following a similar model to the ISAs and Supporters Trusts in England where broader issues, such as racism, were central to these groups. Anti-racism and anti-discrimination



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is embedded within the myRoma trust and is one of the guiding principles

“myRoma has a clear statement against racism and any form of discrimination. Our principles are anti-discrimination. But we are not organising campaigns, although we did take part in a FARE Action Week last year” Riccardo Bertolin, myRoma

ISAs and Supporters Trusts in England did not derive from the same social groups as those who were often taking part in violence, racism, or other forms of anti-social behaviour (King, 1997; 2003). This is not to say that the groups are hermetically sealed from each other. As King argues, there are some members of ISAs who have links to hooliganism, as “English football culture between 1960s and 1990s was heavily informed by hooligan rivalries, which were an organic part of football at the time” (King, 2003: 174). Although this may sit uneasily with those who do not want to engage with this type of supporter, it makes cross-fertilisation of ideas more difficult if hooligans are excluded. Vanda makes a similar point in relation to ‘Supporters in Campo’

“The problem with this is that the kind of people who get involved in that, are not usually *ultras*. So do they drown the ultra out? Do the *ultras* decide to join because they can see the sense of it? If these guys can make their case, and if the Supporters Trust people can make a case so wow and so clearly that actually at least some of the ultra will be on-side, then there is a real prospect for a grass-roots led change.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

The challenge for supporters trusts in Italy, is about being able to make their case to other fans, *ultras*, the media, the club, and the authorities. Unlike Germany, there are no regulations governing fan involvement in clubs. And unlike England, there are no longstanding traditions of fan participation that are being challenged by owners; many of these owner practises have been operating for decades. This has enabled the only national supporters association, the *Federazione Italiana Sostenitori Squadre Calcio* (FISSC), to be incorporated into the wider network of clubs and owners. Although they do some good work for supporters, they do not seek to challenge some of the bigger issues impacting fans, such as the *tessera del tifoso* and other issues impacting football, like racism. Consequently, the trusts operate in the middle ground between the FISSC and the *ultras*. **Supporters Trusts can provide a critical eye to football governance, but also an active approach to issues such as anti-racism, and other forms of discrimination. Where possible, Supporters Trusts should be supported in their endeavours so they can become the critical friends of clubs but also help challenge discriminatory behaviour.**



4.3. FAN PROJECTS

Anti-racism needs an integrated approach from fans, clubs, football associations, anti-racism organisations, and political authorities. Fan projects in Germany are a form of socio-preventative fan work that operate as a link between these different organisations and groups. The first fan project was set up in Bremen in 1981, after a fan died as a result of hooliganism. Since 1992, the fan projects are an integral component of the Sport Security National Concept and are supported by the regions, local authority organisations, and football institutions. Although they started in an attempt to tackle hooliganism, anti-racism has been incorporated into their rationale over their history. Borussia Dortmund's fan project was central to this focus, as it joined with FURD and *Progetto Ultra* to share ideas across Europe about anti-racism.

Fan projects are not usually fan-driven initiatives. They are independent projects financed mainly by public authorities – Dortmund's fan project is part financed by Borussia Dortmund, the municipal council and the regional government. They are run by *sozialarbeiter* ('social workers') who do outreach work with football fans. Some of this is focussed on helping local fans get skills suitable for employment, preventing anti-social behaviour, and emotional support. They also have the objective to address violence and racism from a preventative angle via empowering the fans. This is achieved thanks to a deep understanding of the everyday life of the football fans. The fan project workers are on the terrace with the fans, go to away games, and physically talk with them on a regular basis.

“Each game we are with them. We follow them wherever they go and we are always the contact person and we solve problems for them, and this way we always try to get in contact with them and to talk about them when this problem arises or when they say something. So, it is always kind of anti-racist work. You can never say it is over.” Tina, BVB fan project

Socio-preventative fan work needs a social space for the fans. The BVB fan project has offices in the city, which include computers for educational purposes and a meeting space. Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) have shown that shared experiences that promote common goals and equal status amongst participants helps reduce inter-group discrimination. Shared common identity helps break down the barriers between those considered outsiders from the group. **The social space of the fan project, combined with the activities they provide, help to create the environment and atmosphere where cross-community understanding can take place. These meeting spaces are vital to bring fans engaged in anti-social behaviour together. Motivations for violence or racism can be discussed and explored in these neutral spaces away from the authorities.**



It is important to engage children and adolescents in the fan project. This helps develop trust with the young people. More importantly it gives confidence to the parents, as they know that they are with a responsible group.

“We have also got a program with the younger kids and with the young fans from Borussia Dortmund which is my special part that I am doing. We are driving to the away games with them. Without nicotine, and without alcohol, and without drugs and so the parents say – ‘Ok we can let you go’. And so that is a very preventive and important point for us, because then we can change them or we can intervene, in a very young age.” Tina, BVB fan project

Education should not be restricted to football. As mentioned in Appendix A., racism is part of wider society. So it is important to situate football, Dortmund and BVB in the wider political and social world. By linking the football club to the programmes, the young people become more engaged, and it is less abstracted than in the schoolroom.

“With these younger kids, we also drive to Berlin each year, every year – and there we are doing a political journey. So we are going to parliament and we are talking about the German history, and what happens in Germany. And that is very important because in school they have to learn it, and with us it is again the context of Borussia Dortmund.” Tina, BVB fan project

The Borussia Dortmund fan project is a communication hub between the various authorities and fans. Their focus is to support the fans, but they liaise with police, lawyers, and the club. Ultimately they are on the fans ‘side’ but talk with the authorities to deal with problems. If they are seen as being part of the authorities then they will be seen as ‘outsiders’ and unable to engage with the fans.

“The Fan project in general – is one where we protect and we support the fans - sometimes we protect them from themselves. But at every game we are there, and are ready to speak with them. And in Germany we have a phrase which is a ‘Turn Around’ institution where we see the football game as a whole event. And, with a lot of people who are around it – the police, the club, the stewards, the lawyers and the fans. And we are just in the middle looking and seeing the desires of all directions and trying to bring them together. And this is our normal job” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

The BVB fan project is supported by the football club. They have a *Lernzentrum* (‘Learning centre’) in



the stadium where they undertake education programmes (<http://www.bvb-lernzentrum.de>). There are three modules that are taught there. One teaches participants about civil courage – how they can prevent violence and conflict in their daily lives. More pertinent to this report are the other two modules. One deals with intercultural learning, to learn about different groups in the world. The other is explicitly related to racism and the far-right and discusses the identity of the participants and how they understand other groups, particularly in relation to stereotypes. Through discussions and role play the participants critically analyse these stereotypes and understand the impact of their actions.

“Everything is in the stadium so it is a different place to meet and to learn. We want to catch the fascination of Borussia Dortmund and yes put it together within the content that they think about. And afterwards they are going through the stadium and look at everything, and they can see everything from the stadium... And the kids won't forget it and they put it [Borussia Dortmund and anti-racism or civil courage] together as one. “ Tina, BVB fan project

Club support is central. Funding for the activities helps these activities to operate. But it is also symbolically important to hold the sessions at the stadium. This explicitly ties the club with the activities. The young participants clearly understand the importance of civil courage and anti-racism to BVB. This is reinforced with the stadium tour. Support from the team is also important. The coach, Jürgen Klopp, and players like Nuri Şahin and Mats Hummels, took part in the advertising for the Lernzentrum. Players also visit the centre to meet with students and give autographs. This shows that it is not just the ‘authorities’, but the star players who also see anti-racism and civil courage are important.

The Fan project social workers in Dortmund are physically on the terrace. When something happens they go over and speak to them because they are known to them and are part of the fan group. It is also direct and ‘in the moment’. As they are physically with the fans they can speak at the time it happens and say to them, ‘you know what, that is not really the thing to do’ and explain why. It is done in real time and it is done at the time when something takes place. They also build a relationship with the fans so that they are known to be trusted. There seems to be a respect. Although the fan project talks to the police, they talk to the authorities, and they talk to the club, they still seem to be on the fans’ side. This is a very hard tightrope to walk, but they seem to be doing it. Because there is that mutual respect they can go and talk to people and say ‘that is not acceptable’ and explain why.

There are a number of challenges for the fan projects. Fans have this amazing ability to determine who is a member and who is an outsider. This is where racism, homophobia and anti-Semitism fit in. Fans are saying ‘we are not you’ and ‘you are that’ and ‘we are better than



you'. Being part of the group helps to challenge these positions. If you are inside that group, then you have respect and you have trust and it is from that position that we need to try to challenge some of the more abusive and negative aspects, such as racism. This is where the fan projects work best. They do not exclude ; they engage with fans. Fans are finely tuned to hypocrisy and it is problematic to say we should not exclude on the grounds of skin colour or religion, but it is perfectly acceptable to exclude on the grounds of violence or racism. These individuals need to be spoken to and educated.

Respect and trust are vital. The contradictory nature of some fan groups means that without trust and respect, they will resist changes or requests.

“they accept that we are doing that, and that is very good, because we have been doing that for twenty-five years now! And they know that and – ‘OK it is the Fan project and they can say that’.” Tina, BVB fan project

It takes a long time to build this respect. The BVB fan project can work with the fans and the club because it has twenty-five years of experience; it has been around for longer than many of the young people it helps. It took a lot of dedication and determination from Rolf-Arnd to initiate the project. The fan project started in order to deal with violence and hooliganism. In the 1980s, racism was not seen as the same pressing concern. Anti-racism initiatives were introduced as the scheme became embedded. Rolf-Arnd would physically go and meet with the young men who were engaging in violent action. He had to be where they were, and where they socialised.

“in the first four years that was a problem for me as well, because I said we must integrate the fans, we must integrate the violent people and we must integrate the young people who were sometimes stupid in the head. But I know these guys – these stupid guys... And I had to meet and I had to know the other part. And that was not very easy. I know a lot of reasons for violence, and to work with violence – and I am just the ‘Violence Pope’. And nobody wanted, in the first year, wanted to be seen with me. If somebody else sees us both together, then he says - “oh he could be a client of Rolf-Arnd”, because Rolf-Arnd works with violence.” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

It took over four years to build that trust. In the early days of the fan project, the young fans did not know which side Rolf-Arnd was on. Was he part of the authorities or was he on their side. There was also the stigma of being associated with him. As he was seen as part of the authorities, and more importantly, seen as someone who helps young people in trouble, being seen with him was a public



admission of the young person's deviance. **This period of 'getting to know' the young people is crucial in gaining trust. Only by knowing them, and more importantly, helping them, can the social workers and volunteers be seen to be on the side of the fans.**

Getting to know the young fans as individuals helps the fan project to tackle the individual issues that lead some young fans to engage in anti-social behaviour. It is not just about building trust, but being able to target support. This then becomes a virtuous circle. As support is provided, the fans begin to trust the social worker. This requires dedicated interaction; the project workers have to speak to those who are causing the problems.

"In the first years I went out and went with them to several games and tried to know them. To know them very extremely – but I wanted to see how they live in their spare lives and how they live in their jobs (if they had a job or not). And then we had to find a job for them. I tried to find the reasons why these guys need the kick of violence every Saturday. And when I found this – and when I found this reason – then I tried to solve the problems for this reason, together with these guys... there are a lot of individual reasons – a lot of individual reasons.

I think the main reason is the fact that you see the *ultras* - they try to present themselves. Because this is normal in educating and growing up in the analytical sense. If a young guy wants to set a sign in the world of the 'bigs' – in the world of the adults – every young boy or girl wants to be something special and wants to be seen by the adults as a special individual... if somebody has this ability to show the adults that he is something special and he can play a piano then he doesn't need violence. If somebody is a good footballer in youth then he doesn't need violence for presenting himself. It is very easy to get into or to come into a group who will accept you if you have the same ideas like them – or if you have the same 'lack' as the others... This is the time of adolescence. I know that it could be hard and it can be hard for some guys." Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

Understanding these reasons helps explain why certain fans engage in certain behaviour. Socio-preventative fan work ensures that dedicated education can then be targeted at the right groups. If these young men (and they are predominantly young men), are excluded, then they will find a group that will accept them. And this could be a group that engages in violence, racism, extreme politics, and crime.

"Because we know them – we know them, and we talk to them, and everybody sees that we talk to them. And sometimes the racists – if we talk to one or two racists – or if I have to do



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that – then he is very happy that I am talking with him because without me he could be a problem.” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

Dedicated social spaces for the fan projects are important. It reduces the focus on one area of deviance (such as violence or racism) and makes it a general and ‘safe’ space. Individuals visiting the social space are not stigmatised by going because they are not going just to be seen about violence or racism. Other social activities, like playing football, showing matches, and other games and recreations help foster an inclusive atmosphere of trust. This relationship then opens up the young fans to education. They will listen to the social workers and respect their views.

It also took time to build up the trust and support of the authorities. The fan project is caught between fans who do not trust them, and politicians and authorities who want a quick victory and cessation of violence or racism.

“In former times the media and other politicians and so on, said – “Oh, oh, what is that footballer?” “He goes to dangerous situations and he can’t keep the violence out of the place here and out of the heads of young people”. And it needed a few years, until the society said – “OK Rolf-Arnd did this good job”. But it needed a long time. In former times they were critical – very critical. And the development from a hooligan project to a Fan Project – that needed a long time as well.” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

The problem for the fan project is proving that something is working, when their *raison d’être* is to stop something from happening. How do you prove that someone hasn’t engaged in violence, or hasn’t chanted racist abuse? It also takes time for trust to build from other bodies.

Part of fan projects’ success can be explained by German social and political culture. There is a strong civil society and one that respects the state. In England, the organisation FURD (Football Unites, Racism Divides) operates in a similar manner to fan projects. It is a youth work organisation which seeks to work with the local youth community to educate and support their life choices. They do this through working with local authorities and community groups. They go into schools and prisons to talk about racism and its impact on society. What sets them apart is that they use the power of football to bring people together. This is done through working with the two Sheffield clubs, Sheffield United and Sheffield Wednesday. It’s also done through Streetkick, a mobile football event. However, FURD is almost unique in England. This is partly because the civil society of England does not engage with social workers and youth workers in the same way. The libertarian underpinnings of some political



parties do not see the state's role as interfering in people's personal lives. As a result, similar projects would struggle to gain the authorities acceptance in order to gain funds.

Before the 2012 European championships held in Poland (and Ukraine), there was a pilot project to implement fan projects, in the style of Germany, to combat football hooliganism. These grew out of the Fan Embassies that were established for the European Championships with the express objective of clubs including local fan communities in the Tournament organisation process.

These projects were initiated by Dariusz Łapiński who previously worked for PL.2012, a state-owned company responsible for coordination of the preparation process for EURO 2012 and now works for the Polish FA as the National Supporters Liaison Officer (he has since established SLOs at all 34 Ekstraklasa clubs). Łapiński's organized Fans' Embassies as part of UEFA's social responsibility programme. He also established fan projects as the legacy of the tournament.

Called *Kibice razem* ('Supporters United'), the projects have been trialled with four clubs: Lechia Gdańsk; Arka Gdynia; Polonia Warszawa; and Śląsk Wrocław. Volunteers from these groups were involved in the Fan Embassies and helped generate interest and knowledge amongst the fans. Plans are in place for two new *kibice razem* and twelve other groups are interested. Cross-European co-operation was secured from different partner projects in Germany who provided advice and support (Although this has stopped or weakened since the championships). Support for these *kibice razem* also came from Football Supporters Europe (FSE).

The challenge in Poland is that not only is this a new initiative, but it is working with an emerging civil society. Post-Communist countries have been seen to have a weak civil society which impacts on their ability to engage in the democratic process (Holland, 2002). Even though Poland rapidly developed after 1989, the public's engagement in politics is still relatively weak. This form of socio-preventative fan work is an attempt to build on this weak civil society, but the process will be a long one.

"I see my work as building of civil society in that specific field. "Specific", because football fans are weak organized, have almost no skills that would enable them to act as a social partner, have no serious elites and strong affiliation to violence. There has never been an effort to bring them back to the society, and as the problem grew big, it has been laid in hands of Police." Dariusz Łapiński, Initiator of *kibice razem*

Polish fans seem no different from those in Germany and Italy. Legislators have tried to implement a variety of sanctions from above in an attempt to limit the hooliganism and other actions undertaken



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by fans, such as the use of pyrotechnics. As in other countries, these measures are often automatically resisted. As mentioned in Appendix D below, if all anti-social behaviours are conflated, then many fans will resist all of them. These sanctions need to be explained and debated; *kibice razem* are spaces where fans can participate in these discussions.

“The key principle of my work is participation. It does not make much sense to complain about fans, I try to get in touch with them, to hear them and to help them. They need to articulate their points, learn to discuss, organize in a democratic way, understand what a "compromise" is... The idea of participation is the reason why I'm respected among football supporters in Poland. On the other hand, the constraints mentioned above are the reason why only 16-18 fangroups (out of maybe 40-50) want to cooperate with me. The lack of money is the reason why there are only six fan-projects in Poland.” Dariusz Łapiński, Initiator of *kibice razem*

Various events and activities are required to engage with fans. The *kibice razem* act as this intermediary and organise a variety of activities to bring fans together, including art projects, poetry competitions, football tournaments, picnics and first aid courses for fans.

“In some way they did some educational work because they did an exhibition about different nationalities and different nationality of players in the history of Poland. Not only Polonia but in Warsaw. This exhibition was in the Territorial Club on the Main Square. And it was very positive.” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

The importance is to build trust and this requires involvement with the fans. This takes time and dedication.

“I think if you engage people in the fan projects you can actually find – you can build the trust and you can communicate important messages to them. If you don't have trust... don't expect outcomes” Dominik Antonowicz, academic

Even though fan projects are not fan-led initiatives, they have developed the trust of the fans through hard work and dedication. The problem in implementing something new is that the fans will be suspicious. It is important to include the fans from the beginning, as fans tend to trust other fans. This common identity often unites disparate groups.

“This Fan project is very difficult, because they... can easily be seen as betrayers. But because they have the trust of the fan project, and they are fans of Śląsk Wrocław or of



Lechia Gdańsk or Arka Gdynia, but at the end of the day they are fans. And I think the fans tend to trust other fans – even if they don't agree with their political views. More than outsiders who approach or invade the pitch – pointing their fingers and saying 'this is wrong', 'this is wrong'." Dominik Antonowicz, academic

The *kibice razem* have encountered some teething problems, just as the BVB fan project did. One of the problems Rolf-Arnd had at the BVB fan project was convincing fans and authorities alike that the scheme had merits and was working. This is also true of the *kibice razem*, especially after violence continues. In March 2014 the Ekstraklasa match between Legia Warsaw and Jagiellonia Bialystok was abandoned after 45 minutes. Legia fans held up stolen Jagiellonia banners to provoke them and then stormed their section of the stadium. This violence leads the authorities to question the success of these anti-hooliganism projects. Interesting, neither of the clubs involved have *kibice razem*.

I only can say that the general problem is the nature of my success. How can I report on incidents that never happened, or banners that only could have been shown? It is much easier to count problems and blow the whistle." Dariusz Łapiński, Initiator of *kibice razem*

Communicating any success is also difficult to other fans and organisations. There is some cynicism from other fans. One fan of Polonia, who is aware of the Polonia *kibic razem*, suggests that they are just a Public Relations exercise.

"It is more about building a positive image of Fans and not changing the fans themselves – not changing the real structure of the fans" Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

Others are more suspicious of how the schemes can tackle the anti-social problems in Poland. This stems from the nature of fan-engagement and comes down to a fundamental point about whether one should engage with fans who are behaving in these anti-social ways, or to ostracise them. The Borussia Dortmund fan project's approach is to engage with these fans, as Rolf-Arnd said, "we must integrate the violent people and we must integrate the young people who were sometimes stupid in the head". In this way the BVB fan project was able to gain their trust and explain the problems.

"Actually I can see some positive developments in Germany that took place according to the fan projects... the Polish structures are so strong that it is dominated and it is organised by hooligans and organised crime. So when they started as a Ministry, they started the project in different cities, the people who were accepting it – if it can happen or not in each city – were the hooligans. So the benefit from this actually went to the hooligans as well. And they didn't



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allow, in any of those projects, to do anything that is against their ideology. So I know it is a great idea from Germany – and it works in Germany – and in some of the clubs” Jacek Purski, Never Again

The danger is that the *kibice razem* are seen as co-opting the hooligans and giving them more legitimacy than before. There needs to be a clear understanding of which hooligans are being involved and what educational approaches have been tried.

“The project is near to the ghetto. So there were some new anti-Semitic slogans present at the area where the project is and the ghetto was. And at the same time they appeared, and everyone knows that they were painted by the young nationalists from Polonia, and the project doesn’t take responsibility for it and says it is not our problem. Although in a way, they created the infrastructure and the place for those things. They pretend that they don’t see it, those anti-Semitic slogans written by young nationalists of the Polonia football club, guys of the project, because they are afraid. They are afraid for their safety, but also they are afraid, and this is crucial, of losing the players and then losing the funding.” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

It is not for this report to prove the veracity of this statement. It was not party to any discussions. What it demonstrates is a level of suspicion from some fans about their success. The graffiti projects are important cultural events to bring the young fans together and help them trust the workers at the *kibice razem*. The key feature of socio-preventative fan work is to be a space to educate fans when their behaviour is outside of certain social standards. What needed to occur (and I do not know if it did or not) is that the perpetrators were spoken to about the anti-Semitic graffiti and educated about its impact. ***Kibice Razem* do not make anti-social problems disappear but they are a space to challenge and educate perpetrators. There needs be adequate funds available to ensure that the projects have the security to spend the time to educate the fans on their behaviour. *Kibice Razem* and fan projects need to take responsibility for their immediate environment to gain legitimacy.**

The challenge is to ensure that the social workers and project leaders in the *kibice razem* have sufficient funds, support and security to engage in the educational work.

“In practice it's not as great as it sounds, because the fan associations still have a very limited range (limited funds + their tensions with more radical factions). I'm also unsure whether the balance between fan projects and fan associations is kept right in Poland. For example, in Gdansk I think the two almost merge to one and the fan association runs the fan project to



support what they would do either way. It's not bad in this particular case because the people running it are prosperous, creative, self-conscious and responsible. But should less 'fortunate' people get their hands on these additional funds and legitimacy, I'd say it's risky." Michał Karaś, journalist

There needs to be provisions in place to change the course of fan projects and *kibice razem* when they are not fulfilling their criteria. The danger with any fan-led initiative is that the fans may run the project in a way that is very different to how it was conceived. **There need to be clear criteria for *kibice razem*, which is aligned to funding to ensure that the hooligans or far-right extremists don't gain control.**

"there are some clear rules of fan projects: no politics, no violence, no hate. I try to give fans some tools to do something good for their own community, club, social environment, but it is clearly said, that no action AGAINST anything (other fangroup/club/community) will be accepted." Dariusz Łapiński, Initiator of *kibice razem*

Part of the rationale for *kibice razem* is to empower fans. Certain groundrules have been established. **These need to be clearly policed to avoid accusations of empowering fans in anti-social ways. These groundrules should align with the FSE objectives of: i) 'We do not tolerate discrimination of any individuals on any grounds including the following: ethnic origin, ability, religion and belief, gender, sexual orientation and age'; ii) 'We reject violence, both verbal and physical'. This provides clear and unambiguous guidance across Europe and prevents accusations of hypocrisy from the fans.**

These organisations also need to be resolutely ideologically apolitical and independent of ideology. It must be clear that anti-racism and anti-Fascism are distinct. But it also needs to be clear that engagement with far-right extremism is not permitted due to the potential impact of this type of affiliation. This is not to say that these groups can't be patriotic.

"So, I know great fan projects in Germany, but they were from the beginning left-wing orientated and there was a group of left-wing fans who were supporting it. But if you do it in the hooligan structure, when everyone is totally extreme right orientated, the result is that you support the right-wing extremism – and this is how it worked in Poland." Jacek Purski, Never Again

"They do quite a lot of interesting and potentially positive actions. But won't even question the



leading core of the nationalist extreme right leaders” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

“I can give you an example: Lechia Gdansk is a big club in Gdansk which is known and notorious for racism and extreme right tendencies within the fan movement. And for some years they have had this project, and they have had the Fan Association and the Alliance of the North. And they had fan projects sponsored from different sources – local government and the national government. But they are just as xenophobic and right-wing as it gets. Each year they support the far-right marches on the Independence Day etc. etc. and they are not part of the solution at all, they are part of the problem.

I think the risk with that strategy is the naive assumption that if you empower a Fan Group then that will result in a miracle which is about transforming them into nice guys. And I don't think this happens like this! There is a big difference with Germany – where you have the general culture and also the fan culture that is affected by right-wing ideology. But it is not necessarily dominant. But in Eastern Europe, and certainly in Poland, you have the far right nationalist ideology that is absolutely hegemonic. So if you just give tools to those groups to empower them and organising them better, well then you end up with a massive far right movement that you end up sponsoring. Which, I think is the case in Gdansk.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

The broader social and political culture is an important impact on these organisations. This can hinder the opportunities to affect change. In Germany there is a general awareness of its history and a broader fear of far-right extremism re-emerging. This is not to say that the far-right does not exist, and that they have not achieved some subcultural impact, but they are one voice amongst many. In Poland, the centre-right is the dominant political position, and the lines between patriotism and nationalism are blurred. It makes it much harder to delineate between the far-right, extreme nationalism and patriotism. This makes the work for the *kibice razem* much harder. It is harder to find fans who don't subscribe to these ideas, and harder to challenge these dominant beliefs. This can be overcome by having anti-racism embedded in the core principles of the fan projects.

The experience from Germany would suggest that fan projects are a good way of talking to fans 'on the ground' and tackle problems as they occur. From the Polish perspective, these are one of the few positive examples of engagement with fans.

“I have never tried to define my work in terms of "antiracism", but I think it has positive outcomes on this field too. People start to focus on practical projects, get involved in



partnerships, have the feeling to be treated seriously, and suddenly... they lose any interest on ideological debates. There are many examples for this. One year ago fans of Lechia Gdansk rejected a "cooperation" with a right-wing political party. In this very moment the fangroup of Slask Wroclaw is getting rid of its old leaders with a clear Nazi-attitude. I travel to Wroclaw on April 9th to see it with my own eyes. Of course it is difficult to say if that things would happen without the previous work done by the local fan projects - there are always many factors and reasons." Dariusz Łapiński, Initiator of *kibice razem*

"I think that fan projects in general are one of the best things that happened to the fanbases of clubs where they operate...The projects are sometimes literally the only alternative to the supporter associations, which often don't represent interests of many/some fans. So in a way this is the very single attempt from authorities at getting fans involved in creative, genuinely good stuff (I mean those fans who weren't fond of their fan groups) rather than the radical side of fandom." Michał Karaś, journalist

"So I think the politics of small steps – however it is unacceptable by the people who live and work outside of the football culture – but have a strong view and a strong conviction from little evidence and experience of working with fans. And really working with fans... So I think he [Dariusz Łapiński] is doing truly great work – even if the steps he makes are very small, but the direction is very good. And I think he is quite realistic because he is well-experienced working with the fans... And you have to be very careful not to take too radical steps otherwise you would have to take two-steps-backwards." Dominik Antonowicz, academic

Fan projects provide a useful model to help engage in dialogue with fans. There is much to recommend this form of socio-preventative fan work strengthening fan involvement in football in general. This dialogical model also works well with anti-social behaviours, including anti-racism. There is much to recommend this model being implemented outside of Germany. The *Kibice Razem* should be supported for this reason. The Polish context also highlights the importance of understanding local contexts and the dangers of just imposing this model on fans. There needs to be a 'small steps' approach to gradually build the trust of the fans so that education can occur. In order for fan projects and *kibice razem* to be a success there need to be a number of clear points:

- i. **Fans must be empowered through these projects**
- ii. **They should align with the FSE objectives of:**
 - a. **'We do not tolerate discrimination of any individuals on any grounds including the following: ethnic origin, ability, religion and belief, gender, sexual orientation and age';**



- b. **'We reject violence, both verbal and physical'**
- iii. **They must be ideologically apolitical. They cannot be seen to be right-wing or left-wing. This helps to differentiate anti-racism from other forms of political discourse**
- iv. **Anti-social behaviour must be coached as it occurs so that the perpetrators understand the impact of their behaviour**
- v. **Anti-racism must be embedded within the broader education programme**
- vi. **Anti-racism and anti-hooliganism must be dealt with separately. If there are educational programmes, like the Civil Courage, Intercultural learning, and Anti-racism modules at Dortmund, then they must be taught separately (as they do at Dortmund).**
- vii. **Part of the funding package must provide security. If workers feel afraid to challenge behaviour, then the behaviour will not be challenged.**
- viii. **The creativity and hard work of the workers and volunteers should be encouraged. The various social events, football tournaments and art installations all encourage interaction and provide educational opportunities.**
- ix. **Pan-European collaboration should be encouraged. Not only is this good for the workers and volunteers to gain new ideas, but it helps the participants at these organisations to meet people from different cultural backgrounds and provides opportunities to break down barriers.**

4.4. ULTRAS

The *ultras* are the single biggest fan movement affecting European football. They are often labelled as the main proponents of racism and other forms of anti-social behaviour. It is important to state the point that not all *ultras* are racist and not all racists are *ultras*. There are many different *ultras* groups across Europe. Many would see themselves as ideologically apolitical. Others have explicitly political outcomes. Certain *ultras* groups, such as Sankt Pauli in Germany and Livorno in Italy, have fan groups that consider themselves to be left-wing. Meanwhile, fans of Lazio and Verona in Italy, and Legia Warsaw in Poland, have more right-wing fan groups. Historical traditions help explain some of the political affiliations. These groups are not homogenous and immutable. Different groups co-exist amongst the fanbase. For example, *The Boys* at Roma have links to Fascism, but other Roma *ultras* groups such as *Fedayn*, are apolitical. Increasingly, the overarching *ultras* identity is what links fans together, irrespective of politics.

Where *ultras* groups consider themselves left wing, anti-Fascist or anti-Racist, there is space to encourage anti-racist activities. **This is a fine line. It is important to reinforce the ideologically**



apolitical nature of anti-racism (see D.6. below). Supporting *ultras* that are left-wing could be seen as political. Fans from opposing ideologies may continue to resist to reinforce their 'right-wing' credentials.

"I'd much rather call for a redefinition of the term "politics" not being reduced to a battle of "the far right" vs "the left-wing" only in combination with a strong message that anti-racism and the desire to establish a welcoming message inside all stands and stadia should be common sense rather than being associated with something "radical left" only. This is more or less the "party line" we adopt when it comes to these discussions with supporters. I even argue with anti-fascist supporters along this line. Because whilst explicitly "apolitical" supporters love to deal with typical fan political topics such as "kick-off times", "ticket pricing", "good governance" and even "community work" in football etc... they only call "anti-racism" a "political" activity. Bizarre situation actually." Daniela Wurbs, Fan Supporters Europe

This report has consistently used the term 'ideologically apolitical' to reinforce the fact that anti-racism must be seen as separate from left- and right-wing politics. The best way of dealing with this is to make clear statements that anti-racism is not left-wing, but 'common sense, as Daniela said. In Germany, the *ultras* from the national Ultra Network ProFans clearly state at their national network events that they are banning any forms of racism, discrimination and far right symbols with the additional remark "we are not doing this because we are left-wing radicals or anything like that, but just we think this should be common sense." (<http://www.fankongress.de/faq/>)

The internal dynamics of the *ultras* can impact on anti-racist activities. Borussia Dortmund has a number of fan groups, including *ultras* and hooligans. One of these *ultras* groups is *The Unity*, a broadly antifascist group. Due to this political outlook, members of this group actively engage with anti-racism.

"Due to a number of issues within our own fanscene, it is extremely difficult to carry out antifascist work... Numerous occurrences, some well known to the public, painfully show that not all is well within the Dortmund *Ultras* scene. At the very latest, with the commencement of the season just gone, reports of occurrences and conflicts, that could be traced back to rightwing football fans started to pile up." Kolja, *The Unity*

It is important to reinforce the distinction between hooliganism and racism, but violence can still be used as a way to intimidate fans. **Physical intimidation and the threat of violence can stop people engaging in anti-racist activities.**



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“There was a time when one guy... wore a t-shirt on which said ‘love football hate racism’ and they said ‘go away’... it never happened again that he wore this shirt. So this is something that we really have to work on. We really notice that the violent people or the more powerful people... so the violent people get much more power. And also in the psychological way, it is not always that they do something against the others. They all know, and they know, that ‘if I do that’ then the consequence will be that [violence].” Tina, BVB fan project

Stewards and fan-groups need to be aware this aspect of anti-racism. For some fans, wearing or supporting anti-racism is seen as a political message and some fans want to resist this and will use violence and intimidation to do this.

The Unity ultras have tried a range of activities to promote anti-racism. Some of these have been incorporated into the *ultras* style of support, such as flags, banners and chants. Many of these also came about due to specific instances of racism or far-Right extremism associated with the club.

“The second home match of the season took place under the motto of “Borussia verbindet Generationen, Männer und Frauen, alle Nationen” (Borussia connects generations, men and women, of all nations). As part of this t-shirts with the same declaration were produced in high numbers and sold by *The Unity*. A paper banner addressing the same topic was also held up at the beginning of the match. The Fan Department [a department within BVB to liaise with fans] also took part in the campaign, distributing 60k flyers and hanging a 50m long banner across the Nordtribüne (Northstand) for the duration of the match. The reason for this campaign was to counter a number of occurrences that had been carried out by right-wingers in connection with BVB matches.” Kolja, *The Unity*

This reinforces the importance of institutional support. BVB supported the actions of *The Unity* who were trying to support anti-racism. As the club supported the fans, the power shifted from being inter-group conflicts, towards a central message that was for *all* fans. **Where fans are engaging with anti-racism initiatives, clubs need to lend their support. This helps to overcome the internal politics and power struggles within the fan groups.**

Much of the German context is linked to its history. There is a real fear that far-right extremism might return and infiltrate the *tribüne*. Many actions of *The Unity* are campaigns to explicitly challenge this.

“In the weeks prior, at a Champions League away match in Donetsk, Jens Volke, our Fan Liaison Officer, and Thilo Danielsmeyer from the fan project were physically attacked by



fascists. Sadly it takes such an awful incident for the complete fanscene to realise that there has been a problem with Nazis in connection with BVB for years. Two and a half weeks after this attack, a broad reaction against this problem took place within the ground. Just before kick-off, more and more paper banners across all stands and terraces within the Westfalenstadion were held up. The fans' message was one of clear defiance against rightwing tendencies within the ground and at their club. "Rollis gegen Rechts" (Wheelchairs against fascism), "Kein Bock auf Nazis" (No to Nazis), "Dortmund gegen Rassismus" (Dortmund against Racism), as well as "Solidarität mit Jens & Thilo" (Solidarity with Jens and Thilo) were just a few examples of the many banners on display." Kolja, The Unity

Once again, however, anti-racism and anti-Fascism have been conflated. Nevertheless, the messages of support for Jens and Thilo shows the immense standing that the fan project and club's liaison officer holds within Dortmund fan culture. It also shows the outrage that far-right extremism and violence causes in Dortmund society. **Anti-racism needs this broader culture of outrage to reinforce that tolerance and equality is a right for all fans. The support of the club, fan project, and authorities all are required to maintain that culture.**

The most thoughtful initiative promoted by The Unity is an annual visit to Auschwitz. The trip lasts a week, and includes a great deal of detail, as well as a guided tour of the three camps. These trips have been run for three years. The trip is part financed by the German-Polish-Youthwork Organisation. In 2013 BVB helped finance the visit. They also donated the bus used by the team so that the fans would be able to sit in the same seats as their heroes. This is another example of the importance of the club in supporting these projects.

Education is central to these trips. They start with pre-meetings where they educate the young fans about the context and ensure that the level of knowledge is of the same level. They then visit the Polish town of Oświęcim, where the Camps are situated; Auschwitz is simply the name of the Camps. On the last day of the trip, they go to Krakow and the Ghetto in the western part of the town. A few months afterwards, they have a meeting in Dortmund, and visit the city's *Steinwache* (Nazi prison). They try to connect both things: their home town (or the city of the team they love) and the Holocaust. This allows them to see how much Dortmund has changed, because the Jewish way of life is not seen in the same way as it was before. Quotations from victims of the Holocaust, as well as local people from Dortmund are also used to explicitly link the events in Auschwitz and World War II with individual human emotion. **It is important that these historical examples, or concepts like racism, are explicitly linked to the lived reality of the fans. Clearly tying the Auschwitz trip to Dortmund enabled to participants to understand the impact of racism and anti-Semitism locally and globally.**



“And that was also a very visual way to show them that there has been a very long time before the World War when Jewish people were treated differently and it still goes on and it is very dangerous. And they all have to open our eyes and that we have to say something if we just notice anybody. There are some *ultras* that really say that ‘changed my mind’ or that it ‘opened my eyes’ much more than they were before.” Tina, BVB fan project

Even though this is another conflation of racism, anti-Semitism and Fascism, this project works in a more nuanced way. It shows how everyday racism and anti-Semitism can lead to a more systematic exclusion through the legal and political organisations. This can also lead to persecution and genocide on a mass scale. **It is important that racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia are not abstract concepts. It is not just something that happens to ‘other people’ but has real victims and a significant impact on society, both in Dortmund and across Europe.**

It is important to pitch these trips at the right audience. The target audience has to be young enough to be open to the experience, and old enough to be able to deal with the information they are going to witness. These trips are aimed at youth people, who often have not yet formed a political viewpoint of their own.

“Each time there were 40 people... around the age of 16 to 23. We just didn’t want any younger people, because it is too harsh to see all of that. And too many who are older because then there is too great a difference in the ages. And they know different things...”
Tina, BVB fan project

Even though these trips are fairly small scale, they can build into something bigger.

“This is an important thing and you reach just another small group of guys. But if you reach a lot of small groups it will be a big group sometimes. And then you can do something against racism” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

Education is a long, hard process. The Auschwitz trips reinforce the importance of education, as well as targeting younger people before they have been influenced by racist views. Education is also an ongoing process and is not restricted to the Auschwitz trip. When Borussia Dortmund play an opponent who have a ground that is near a memorial relating to this subject, The Unity spend the whole weekend in the area. In this way, the match can be combined with anti-racist educational work. So far there have been three trips to Dachau when BVB away at Bayern München, two trips to



Sachsenhausen when playing away to Hertha BSC Berlin, and one trip to Flossenbürg in combination with the match at SpVgg Fürth. The Fan project help support these trips, both educationally and financially. Once again, institutional support helps these educational projects to continue.

Trips to Auschwitz are not an original idea from the *ultras* of Borussia Dortmund. It had been undertaken by other *ultras* groups in Germany (for example Frankfurter). **What is significant, is that when a powerful idea takes hold, there are supporters groups and support networks that can allow it to take root. Club support, fan project organisation, and the hard work of the fans help these ideas to take off. Funding and institutional support are required for these to be a success.**

It cannot automatically be assumed that these educational trips will succeed outside of Germany. Much of Europe knows German history, and this is more keenly felt in Germany itself. As there is a broader culture that fears a return of Fascism and its impact on German society, this permits a spirit of education that would not be found elsewhere.

“I think that such an event cannot happen, but not because of anti-Semitism. But because Auschwitz is a place where the Polish were also murdered. The problem is that the ‘right’ side of politics is very general and very wide. Not only the radicals but the centre-right, they commemorate and they respect the victims of communism and not fascism and the Nazis. They are not interested in remembering the victims of Nazism.” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

The broader political culture in Poland is focussed on the recent past, rather than the more distant past. The spectre of Communism is still strong in many of the political establishment, including the Church. Consequently, the dominant discourse in Poland is about anti-Communism rather than the atrocities of World War II, even though Auschwitz is located in Poland and Polish people were murdered. Trips to Auschwitz by Polish groups would have to plan their approach very carefully so as not to fuel anti-Semitism.

4.5. STREETKICK

Streetkick was devised by FURD (Football Unites, Racism Divides) in Sheffield in 1998. FURD is probably the closest equivalent in the UK to a fan project as it has social and youth work at its core. Streetkick is a mobile mini-football pitch. It is inflatable, which allows it to be packed in trailer and moved around the city and set up in a variety of locations. The mobile nature of the game enables it to visit places that lack facilities, but also to travel all over the city. As Ruth Johnson of FURD explains,



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“Streetkick is an excellent method of reaching significant numbers of young people with information about the antiracist campaign in football” (Johnson, 2009).

Underlying Streetkick are three fundamental principles:

- Targeting areas of social deprivation where football facilities may be limited. Often these locations are where the highest numbers of immigrant and Black and Ethnic Community young people are based;
- Targeting areas with known racial problems to raise awareness of racial issues;
- Bringing young people together from different cultural, racial and ethnic backgrounds in order to break down barriers

This principle has been adopted by the BVB fan project. They go into the various areas of the city with their Streetkick.

“And so we go into the suburbs with a lot of foreign people and a lot of foreign children, with a lot of cultures and nationalities and let them play [football] together... We show them that if they read, if they talk together, if they speak to the other nationalities or to the other guys who are in front of them, and this is very important. I think this is a very good thing. Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

Breaking down barriers to reinforce the inclusive nature of football is fundamental. As education is an integral feature of Streetkick, it enables the youth workers to promote inclusivity and awareness.

“It is very crucial to meet using such opportunities, and getting to know each other because in Poland, the number of minorities is relatively small. So if you don’t take regular possibilities to meet those people you know. And if you don’t meet them then you actually have a potential for hate-speech, if you know what I mean. If you don’t have that personal relation then you are already those who can be attracted by the right-wing ideologies. And you can be attracted by stereotyping.” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

Ignorance of other cultures enables stereotypes to perpetuate. This opens the door to discrimination, and potentially far-right politics. Notwithstanding the danger of conflating racism and far-right politics, it is important to provide a space where fans meet around the common symbol of football, rather than the difference of culture, religion or ethnicity. As mentioned before in relation to fan projects in general, **shared common experiences help facilitate cross-cultural understanding and**



shared goals. Streetkick, and other football events (see 6.6. below) help create this shared social space, and helps remove the barriers that groups create. It is important to emphasise that football facilitates this contact, it is not just the contact that eradicates barriers and promotes understandings. As Sugden argues, “While football provides an important focus for such contact, research has shown that it is not contact per se that facilitates improvement in inter-group and inter-ethnic relations. The quality and nature of the contact experiences are vital in determining whether or not community relations programmes succeed” (Sugden, 2006: 228).

“For example, we are going through Dortmund and through neighbourhood towns, and there we are playing football with kids from different cultures... And so we are just trying to show them, when they are playing football together, that all of them are the same. There are no differences between all of us. And to teach them to play fair – and we hope by teaching them how to play in a fair way, that they can also live in that way, so that they can transport it into their daily lives. We are working together with other professional social workers that do something for the youth. So it is ... sometimes we are driving into schools and sometimes we are going to meeting points where different and younger people meet... from the age of 6 up to 16-17-18. The motto is ‘Kick Racism Out’ – so it is to use the football... to teach them something for their lives.” Tina, BVB fan project

Anti-racism messages need to be embedded within the tournament. Education is central to Streetkick. It is not sufficient that players come together and just play football. A values-based education programme needs to run in parallel with the sport.

“there are always social workers there who always have a look for the social behaviour, and when they are behaving in an unsocial way, we are always talking to them. And that is the way we want to get them on the way to think about these things” Tina, BVB fan project

In this way, behaviour that can be seen as anti-social is clearly explained. Rather than the sanctions being abstracted from the behaviour, educators and social workers clearly link behaviour to outcomes. **Taking the fight against racism to children is the best way to counter any future anti-social behaviour. Education is very important.**

Streetkick was used during EURO2012. This demonstrates the importance of sharing successful ideas across Europe. Organisers in Poland were very enthusiastic about it, even though there was some trepidation about who would arrive.



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“We were doing it [Streetkick] during the Euros at the streets in Warsaw. This is very risky because we don’t know who will come, but the results were really great. This is what was what was the ‘under topic’ of our program for ‘Football Unites’, and it was wonderful.” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

Underlying this apprehension is the culture of opposition that exists within many fan groups. Anti-racism initiatives can provide a spark to attract fans with opposing views. The international aspect of the European Championships helps override this.

"It has been a very good start to our Streetkick campaign. It's important for us to have support from famous international players. We encourage people from different countries to play, not against, but with each other. So we are mixing squads, and Polish fans can play with fans from another country in one team. It helps to create a positive relationship between people from different parts of Europe." Simon Hyacinth (FURD) (cited in Król, 2012)

Prominent international players, such as Ruud Gullit, and Dariusz Dziekanowski helped highlight the importance of the message. **Having local representatives, like Dziekanowski, is crucial to secure local support. Otherwise rival fans will see the player as unrepresentative of ‘their’ team.**

4.6. OTHER FOOTBALL TOURNAMENTS

Although Streetkick is an organised social event and mobile, it is not the only form of football where the anti-racism message can be conveyed. **Football is a powerful tool to bring people of different backgrounds together. Fan groups in all countries organise football sessions and football tournaments. As emphasised with Streetkick above, the quality of the contact experience is what helps to remove barriers and promote cross-cultural understanding. Football becomes the focus, but education and anti-racism messages need to be explicit within these.**

A legacy of *progetto ultra* was the *Mondiali Antirazzisti*. This has continued to be organised by UISP and has grown in popularity. The festival spirit and atmosphere of inclusion that this event fosters is a powerful space for promoting anti-racism. However, this event tends to appeal to groups and individuals who are already interested in anti-racism. As a result, there is a danger that it is ‘preaching to the converted’. Despite this, it provides a powerful model that can be incorporated into other events and inspire those already interested in anti-racism to continue the hard work. It also provides a space for campaigners from different countries to meet and share ideas and strategies.



“In Italy the focus of the newspapers and politicians is on repressive regulations, not on social interventions because that is more laborious to change the behaviour of fans. There are no ‘community schemes’ in Italy, like in England. They would only do, or think to do, if they were told by UEFA. Instead these approaches come from certain fan groups, like Rude Boys and Girls at Sampdoria on racism and anti-racism. For thirty years they have organised a football tournament with schools to create a culture of anti-racism. They ask the fans for their ideas to work with the kids at this tournament” Carlo Balestri, UISP and Progetto Ultra

The ‘Rude Boys and Girls Tournament’ runs under the banner of ‘Love Samp, Hate Racism’ is important because it is a fan-led tournament that works with schoolchildren to create a culture of anti-racism. It is very important as it links anti-racism to the club, not to some abstract concept from outside the city. For the schoolchildren, anti-racism and Sampdoria are one and the same.

This stimulus was evident in both Warsaw and Dortmund. During the fieldwork for this report, I attended a football tournament organised by the Borussia Dortmund fan project. The tournament was held for all the various BVB fan groups to come together and play football. It was held on a national holiday, which enabled more attendees. Players and fans felt that these regular events, like football tournament, helped to promote an inclusive BVB community, allowing them to meet BVB fans from across the city and region. Alongside the banners and flags of the local BVB supporters clubs, and the sponsors, there were also the banners of the organisers. The fan project have placed anti-racism central to their educational work and placed banners and posters around the arenas. All of the referees wore T-Shirts and hoodies saying ‘Kick Racism Out’ in English. Volunteers also wore ‘Anti-racism’ T-Shirts, which reinforced the importance of the message. As with the tournament organised by ‘Rude Boys and Girls’ in Sampdoria, it also ties anti-racism with the club. **This is where the promotional material produced by UEFA and FARE is the most valuable. From conversations with players and fans, they felt that it highlighted the importance of anti-racism and reminded players and fans to be aware of racism.**

The ‘Never Again’ organisation also organise football tournaments. During FARE action weeks they organise the The Warsaw Cup of Nations. Last year, there were sixteen different nations from Warsaw. The players wear their national shirts. This emphasises the difference between the players, but the nature of the event, coupled with the educational material from Never Again and FARE, help to promote the inclusivity of football, whilst still permitting the differences. The importance of using a local organisation like Never Again, is that they understand the local context more clearly, and they are able to produce educational materials in the local language. Even though English has become the



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universal language, even amongst *ultras* who display banners saying 'No to modern football' across Europe. **Whilst 'Kick Racism Out' is important, it is also important to translate into local languages so this is not seen as a 'foreign' imposition.**

If anti-racism is going to be adopted in wider society, it is important to take these events away from the groups of fans already involved in anti-racism. One of the best examples of this is the Anti-racism Cup of Poland organised by Never Again. Unlike the *Mondiali Antirazzisti* in Italy Never Again take the message to a wider audience. The event is held during the biggest European open air music festival that is called the Woodstock Przystanek, the Polish Woodstock. It is attended by more than 500,000 people and has a range of music and cultural events. Within this Never Again organise a three-day tournament for amateur teams. This reinforces the 'Football Unites' message in the carnivalesque atmosphere of the festival. More importantly, it brings the message to a wider audience; not just anti-racist football fans, but other football fans, and non-fans alike.

Local fan groups also organise football tournaments. A group of Polonia fans in Warsaw organise regular tournaments with groups from various ethnic and national backgrounds, including Chinese and Belarusian. This tournament arose because the Belarusians were trying to organise their own tournament. But the tournament was stopped because they were beaten by Legia hooligans. After a large media outrage, the Polonia fans suggested that they organise such a tournament at Polonia, at the training field next to the Stadium. This type of event had problems within Warsaw as it could have attracted the attention of the far-right nationalists from Legia and Polonia. They informed, however, the group called the Polonia Patriots, a group that is 'nationalist-lite' and not as radical. They took part in the tournament and they played with Chinese and the Belarusians. They didn't make any problems and they felt comfortable when they were playing.

"It was organised by supporters... this is our way of thinking about using football as a tool for multiculturalism and combatting racism. You can combat symbols. You can combat those people because they break the Polish law and this is obvious. But with what they have in their mind, you can actually succeed only with bringing people together like football." Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

Some of these fan groups have to work very hard to support these initiatives to prevent the more violent fans from attending and making a political scene. When moderate fans are included, these events can be very educational and break down barriers between different communities.

There can be problems associated with these events. At another event the tournament included



Polonia Virtus, a Polish club in Lithuania, as well as the Polonia Patriots and a team comprised of Nigerians. The Patriots were happy to play against the Nigerian team. The problems occurred afterwards.

“The problem appeared when on the internet the pictures were shown from this game were published. They wanted them to remove those pictures. The pictures were on our profile – on our website – and they wanted to remove it because they were afraid that for playing in this game they would be punished by the leaders of the nationalists. And this is how it goes in practice. And it is so funny, because their biggest problem was the picture with the slogan – ‘Let’s Kick Racism out of the Stadium’ with a banner. And we were laughing that they were standing under the picture and they did this picture and they took part in it. But when it was published they said no-no-no.” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

Once again there is the distinction to be made between nationalism and patriotism. The political culture in Warsaw can impact how conservatives view racism. Yet the very people that anti-racist campaigners need to reach out to, can still see the banners around these tournaments as ‘dangerous’. The most important aspect of this is that the conservative fans attend the event. Their wishes afterwards need to be respected.



5. Summary and Future Directions

5.1. SUMMARY

This report draws together research of fan-led anti-racism initiatives in Dortmund, Rome and Warsaw. It evaluates the different projects that are being undertaken, and reasons why racism is not being assessed in certain locales. The project ran from July 2013 to March 2014, with the main fieldwork undertaken from November 2013 until January 2014. It spoke to a variety of groups, from non-governmental organisations, fans, fan projects and campaigners. What is clear is that there are a number of people who are working very hard to fight racism, often in incredibly dangerous situations and at great personal risk. These groups and individuals need to be continually supported.

Across the project five key themes were identified. First, it is important to locate racism within fan culture. Second, clubs and institutions have an important role to play. Third, prevention needs to come from education. Fourth, local conditions impact on fan engagement. Fifth, support should be given to those attempting different initiatives, and these ideas should be shared.

Understanding fan culture is the key to combatting racism in the stadium. Not all racism is political and ideologically driven. Some of it is organic and comes from a reaction to events on the pitch. Often this fits into a wider fan culture of difference between fan groups. Fans seek to differentiate themselves from their rivals in whichever way they see fit; sometimes this is through skin colour, nationality or religion. Often this is explicitly tied with a desire to be contrary and anti-establishment or anti-authority. Challenging this culture will be difficult, so clear guidance is required. Being seen as an insider 'on the fans' side' will help to break this. Opening a dialogue will help to start this process.

Institutional support is vital. Every level of football must support it, from UEFA and the national federations through to clubs, and fan movements. Where fans are engaging with anti-racism initiatives, clubs need to lend their support. Physical intimidation and the threat of violence can stop people engaging in anti-racist activities. Stewards and fan-groups need to be aware this aspect of anti-racism. For some fans, wearing or supporting anti-racism is seen as a political message and some fans want to resist this and will use violence and intimidation to do this. National campaigns run by UISP and Never Again, as well as those run by FARE, are central in communicating the message. Clear communication does not mean that the message is understood and accepted, but institutional support for the message reinforces its importance. Club support is also vital, not just through financial support



(although this is important). It is also symbolically ties the club with the activities and campaigns. Support of players and management also shows that it is not just the 'authorities', but the stars also see anti-racism and civil courage are important.

Racism often stems from a lack of understanding of its impact. Providing spaces to help build understanding is an excellent way of breaking down barriers. Football tournaments help to do this as they use the popularity of football to bring different people together in a shared activity. This can also be done through other events, including art and skills workshops. The quality of this interaction is important, so education has to be central to helping fans understand the impact of racism.

Education of stewards and police is paramount to ensure that any behaviour is targeted, and any fans who raise the issue are supported. Never Again's approach to this should also be used as 'best practise'. Educating the coaches and teachers will also help instil key values into school children and embed the virtues of respect as part of the sport. They can then give children a broad understanding of inclusion which helps them respect different groups and cultures. This will help them to make rounded choices later in life, rather than simply following the crowd.

Educational projects need to be run by leagues and clubs on an on-going basis, not just around international tournaments. Football clubs need to take this initiative on board and speak to students and schoolchildren in relation to their various teams. In addition, the leagues (Ekstraklasa, Bundesliga, Serie A and others) need to take the initiative and present *all* teams together, so there is not the inter-club rivalry that may arise.

The final themes are more general, but stem from a twin process of supporting local organisations and groups, combined with providing international opportunities to share ideas. Different fan groups have different approaches, histories and internal dynamics. Anti-racism campaigners working in fan projects, supporters trusts or charities (like Never Again) understand these dynamics and can adapt their campaigns and conversations accordingly. In addition to this

5.2. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Football is a powerful tool to bring people of different backgrounds together. Fan groups in all countries organise football sessions and football tournaments. The quality of the contact experience is what helps to remove barriers and promote cross-cultural understanding. Football becomes the focus, but education and anti-racism messages need to be explicit within these.



Monitoring is very important to understand the extent of the problem and prevent denial by those in authority. The only proof that racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia are taking place is to monitor it and have valid quantitative and qualitative evidence. Care should be taken to ensure that racist and anti-Semitic flags and chants are recorded separately from Fascist ones. Never Again have established 'best practise' and it should be encouraged to be utilised in other leagues.

Breaking down barriers and reinforcing the inclusive nature of football is fundamental. Shared common experiences help facilitate cross-cultural understanding and shared goals. Streetkick, and other football events help create this shared social space, and help remove the barriers that groups create. It is important to emphasise that football facilitates this contact; education helps eradicate barriers and promotes understandings.

Socio-preventative fan work is potentially the way forward in the fight against racism. This report has noted that the fan project model has much to recommend it provided certain ground rules are established, which includes having anti-racism and xenophobia at its core. Fan projects and *kibice razem* operate at the nexus of the clubs, authorities, and fans. They are educational and social spaces that provide activities and workshops for fans, and are places where violence and racism can be discussed. More importantly, they are guided by the local context and traditions of the club and city. This needs to be taken into account should this model be adopted outside of Germany (as the Polish experience highlights).



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Appendix A – Racism in Society

A.1. RACISM AS A WIDER SOCIAL PROBLEM

Football reflects the society; it is not separate and distinct. Ultimately football should not have to solve the wider social problem. The problems that occur in wider society also occur in football. Likewise, the issues that divide people outside of football also occur in the stadium and amongst football fans. Unfortunately as football provides the space where people can articulate these feelings, is what attracts most of the attention, particularly in the media and amongst politicians.

“But racism is normal for the society. It is normal in society if a big part of Dortmund society is in the stadium... I can't say it in English as I want to – but I think you can compare the racism in the whole society and the racism on the south stands – the south area, because this is a part of society.” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

“And I think racism in Poland, I think is a margin: and I think this margin is more... is easiest to see in the stadiums. In the everyday life you won't observe it. When someone ... when a person is racist he doesn't go to the television 'I am racist' 'I am racist – you hear me?' No! He just talks to his friends drinking some beer and complaining about foreigners. But stadiums are different. In the stadium you can scream your ideas or your thoughts. And in the stadiums you don't have to be politically correct.” Robert, Legia fan

“The whole Italian society is riddled with racism. I have got a black female friend here who is American, who has had men stop her in the street and tell her that she could be a prostitute or that she should be a prostitute! And when she has objected they have said she should be flattered. And this is not once – but multiple times! And if that is happening to a black American girl walking down the street in the city in daylight, we are not going to get rid of racism in Italian football.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

Football can be, however, a powerful tool to help wider society. As will be shown Section 6, on the activities of fan movements, football can bring people together and promote inclusion and understanding. It is these aspects that will form the basis of the recommendations of this report.



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However they are harder to tackle and more expensive which constitutes a real challenge to the simple narratives that come from fans, politicians and the media.

A.2. EXTREME NATIONALISM IN WIDER SOCIETY

Political extremism was a constant theme throughout this project. Broad stereotypes in the British media suggest that *ultras* are racist hooligans, whilst Polish football is blighted by racism and far-right extremism. Whilst these are based on legitimate fears, these simplified generalisations are extremely unhelpful. Violence and racism continue in British society; there are still racist incidents at football matches, even if collective racist chanting has been all but eliminated.

The question of the far-right and Fascism was mentioned in every location visited. Each group had examples of where the far-right had been seen in the stadium. In relation to Dortmund and Italy, this was more prevalent in the 1980s.

“We had a problem in Dortmund, because of – I think because of the football - and because of the fact that Dortmund and Borussia Dortmund had a big... the Borussenfront, the racist fan club there in the '80s and 90's. Because of the fact that football is very popular and racism is in society and it is a big part of society. Because of that there are meetings – there are right-wing meetings, once a year or twice a year, are in Dortmund. And the racists from all over Germany come down here. And this is very ... because of the fascination of racism.” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

“There was racism from teams who politically identified with the right, or who had been infiltrated by those from Fascist groups. This occurred more in the 1990s. This was very structured, Padova, Verona, Lazio and also groups in the *curve* of Roma. It was very instrumental and groups wanted to recruit fans to display the symbols of the right. In the 2000s there have been groups affiliated to the right at Inter, Juventus, Milan but the racism is more organic because of the behaviour of a player on the pitch. In this cauldron, it is not just racism, but abuse at any type of player. It was a purpose to attack the opposing player. Not political.” Carlo Balestri, UISP and Progetto Ultra

Although there are still political groups who would have racist ideology at their heart in Italy and Germany, their influence in football has waned. In Dortmund, in particular, there was a genuine concern that history does not repeat itself, especially as there had been examples of neo-Nazi



involvement. The region of North Rhine-Westphalia records the highest levels of right-wing offences. This has directly impacted the club of Borussia Dortmund as neo-Nazis physically attacked the BVB fan representative, Jens Volke, and Thilo Danielsmeyer of the BVB fan project. Likewise, there continues to be some Fascist involvement amongst The Boys at Roma, although this is not as strong as a decade ago.

Poland, and other areas of Eastern Europe, has gained a reputation for far-right Nationalism. This is not confined to football, but it is finding an expression in football stadiums. Young male football fans have been actively recruited to join far-right organisations, as well as fans incorporating nationalist sentiments into their matchday songs and flags.

"I would say that it is very clever-consequence of regular and focussed mobilising of more and more people: a strategy of the extreme right movements. So this is their strategy: to be present there, to spread the message, to be active at this field, to be represented as the most important ones among the hooligans and fans, to recruit more people, to put the ideology on the internet forums etc. etc. etc. I think it is a regular strategy by organisations and political parties like the National Rebirth of Poland, All Polish Youth, the Polish National Camp. And nowadays the All Polish Youth are more active under the name there – National Movement. – The Polish National Party. I have seen twice the leader of the Polish National Party who is spreading his leaflets." Jacek Purski, Never Again

"In recent years, we have seen the importance of football vis a vis the extreme right and racism – it has grown for different reasons. One reason is Euro 2012 which gave an extra importance to any issue connected with football. But also, we have seen the infiltration of fan groups by the far right on a scale which is serious, especially in the last period. And I think the key issue for now, is the appearance of the new far right movement, which is called the National Movement or the Nationalist Movement, which is built on several existing organisations but it is a new label. And the organising method which they have used is very clearly drawing football fans into the political movement." Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

Legia have had a number of flags and banners that displayed far-right symbols, especially swastikas and Celtic crosses. In recent years the club has worked with fans to have these symbols removed. Never Again monitor the appearance of these symbols. During fieldwork for this project, however, it was observed that a range of stickers promoting far-right politics was on display on a column directly outside the ticket office at the Legia Warsaw Stadium (Figures A.1. and A.2.). These stickers are



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amongst many other stickers highlighting various fan associations. The location, however, does give credence to the impression that some Legia Warsaw fans are politically associated and are using football to promote their ideology.



Figure A.1 Stickers outside Legia Warsaw's ticket office



Figure A.2 Stickers outside Legia Warsaw's ticket office

"In recent years there's a very strong tendency of growing nationalism. Of course there's a



very intensive context to all of that with Euro 2012, the Smolensk disaster and increasing polarity of our political stage, etc. What's important is that you can find 50 fan associations celebrating anti-communist anniversaries (in recent years the 'Cursed Soldiers' myth grew to immense proportions), while it would be hard to find one that got involved in any equality project, except maybe those for social inclusion of disabled or underprivileged people. You could write books about great, amazing charity initiatives held by fans, but I don't think you'd find one that would go beyond the local community. In fact, in recent years most large fan associations established official "patriotic" or even openly nationalist factions. There are meetings with historians (of course as long as they tell the expected vision of history), with priests (yes, the Catholic church makes very good use of football fans, much like the orthodox church in Russia), with right-wing politicians. There's patriotic graffiti (some of it is top class and really patriotic/heartwarming/uplifting, but the vision of patriotism is extremely one-sided overall)." Michał Karaś, journalist

The difficulty in Poland is differentiating what is Nationalistic and associated with the far-right, and what is simply patriotic. Unlike Poland and Germany, Poland was occupied and partitioned before it won independence on Armistice Day 1918. Prior to Independence, Poland was divided between Austria, Russia and Prussia. Consequently, there is a tradition and rich history of nationalist movements that are tapped into by the current generation of nationalists. Unlike Germany, and to a lesser extent, Italy, there is not the same stigma associated with the far-right. In contrast, the stigma is associated with Communism. Patriotism and anti-Communism are bound together.

"But it is not a homogenous group. There are people who are anti-communist and conservative but never fascist. But there are also fascist who are more radical. There are also some neo-Nazis quite often present there in some parts. And I think that ... anti-communism is uniting really, really different groups. I think that you know, the conservative guy is going to the stadium, would never accept a neo-Nazi but they stand together because anti-communism is something that unites them." Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

Individuals and groups are often united in what they have different from others, rather than what they have in common. For example, Jacek's comment shows that anti-Communism unites people of different political beliefs. Anti-racist campaigns have to be aware of these political cultures. Anti-racism must not be associated with the left, or Communism, as it will be rejected by many people, not just Fascists.

It is not as simple as just being anti-Communist however. Racism and xenophobia were not associated with the Solidarity movement and the struggle against Communism in the 1980s. This movement is



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relatively recent, and is populated by young men who were not even born when Communism was in place. There is a much more subtle political culture underpinning this wider identity.

“We are now twenty-five years after communism and so I think this is not ... there is no direct correlation. Maybe indirectly OK, yes – but not directly. And certainly in the 80s when the struggle against the Communist system was happening, you didn’t see much of sort of racist xenophobia, certainly in football. So this is something that ... that doesn’t really result in ... the whole sort of anti-communist identity of the Polish and the hooligans – I find it is a kind of an artificial identity construction project that is contemporary rather than...it has very little to do with any real experiences of those people who are not even old enough to know what they are talking about.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

The spectre of Russia also manifests itself in relation to the Communist era. Many Polish citizens wish to distance themselves from Communism. This helps to explain why Russia is more of a political symbol than Germany, even though historically Poland was occupied by Germany and they were invaded at the start of the Second World War. Poland’s complicated history helps explain why nationalism competitors continue more so than in Italy or Germany. As Poland was partitioned between Austria, Germany and Russia, and did not win independence until 11th November 1918, illustrates why national pride is still prominent. Poland’s national day (on Armistice Day) attracts many people to celebrate Polish independence. These rituals of nationalism help reinforce a conception of Polish history. What this creates is a complex arena for the discussion of racism and xenophobia.

“There is a very thin line between patriotism and nationalism. “ Dominik Antonowicz, academic

“We mustn’t mix those words: patriotism, nationalism, racism and xenophobia – they are not the same. It is not the same. But I think they [anti-racism campaigners] throw them into one basket.” Robert, Legia fan

Section 5.2. highlights the issue with conflating racism, nationalism and far-right politics. As Robert states here, they are often put together. If this happens, this enables those people who see themselves as patriotic to also resist anti-racism measures. Racism needs to be clearly separated from nationalism and patriotism.



A.3. THE ROLE OF POLITICIANS

As football reflects wider society, wider political culture also impacts racism in the stadium. Racism and xenophobia expressed by politicians accounts for many of the problems associated with football. Many of the chants and banners were also replicated in the media and in particular from politicians as they campaign on nationalist issues. In Italy since the 1980s there's been a growth in support of the *Lega Nord*, which has openly campaigned on an anti-Southern and anti immigrant platform. Undoubtedly this is linked to wider issues are an immigration starting in the 1980s which was reflected in the growth of racism in the stadiums at the same time.

“You have to know that we had, until a couple of years ago, the Internal Minister [Roberto Maroni] was a very big exponent of *Lega Nord*, which is a xenophobic party. So it is very stupid to think that in *curva* you can't do what your government does.” Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

Indeed, the lack of action by politicians to the wider social aspects of racism and xenophobia in Italy was highlighted in the following comment.

“And I also think that it is sort of pointless that we try to tackle monkey noises in the stadium, when the state is permitting hundreds of people to drown off Lampedusa, or allowing homeless black immigrants to be set on fire in public parks. Can we tackle that first and then maybe we will worry about what is happening in the stadium? Instead Italy salves its conscience by jumping up and down and shouting, recently at least, about what is happening in the stadium. And it is doing nothing about actual social exclusion of Roma people, of the Romanians, of black immigrants, of the Chinese.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

Radical groups in the wider public are not only ones undertaking racist and extremely violent actions. The state is engaging in systematic racism against illegal immigrants who are dying off the coast of Italy. The leader of *Lega Nord*, Umberto Bossi, stated that “I want to hear the roar of the canon. The immigrants must be hunted down, for better or worse ... At the second or third warning - boom! Fire the canons at them! Otherwise this will never stop” {Andrews, 2005: 56}. When a minister of the government is calling for officials to open fire on boats of immigrants in order to prevent them landing, then it is unsurprising that racism exists in football.



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In Poland, the two main political parties are based on the centre-right and campaign by appealing to nationalist sentiment. Poland's fractured history has provided a range of enemies in order to reinforce national identity. In particular Russia has become the new *bête noire* of Poland and is frequently invoked to highlight the difference of Poland from the former Soviet Bloc.

“It is a relatively new thing. It is linked with strengthening the anti-Russian propaganda by some political organisations. Just to be very, very precise: it is not about the radical right-wing but it is by the accepted right-wing, like Law and Justice [political party].” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

Both of the major political parties in Poland are centre-right. The image of Russia provides a useful tool to differentiate Poland and highlight that they are looking west towards the European Union, rather than East towards Russia. This reflects a wider culture of xenophobia towards Russia.

“Russia-phobia... is accepted by the majority of the nation.” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

The result is that any form of challenge to racism and xenophobia has to understand local context. In the Section A.6., this point will be re-asserted. Fans and the public establish a hierarchy of races, ethnicities and nationalities that determines legitimate and illegitimate victims. Some forms of discrimination are deeply embedded culturally and tackling these will be harder than relatively new forms of discrimination, such as abuse of Africans or Muslims.

Football provides the opportunity for this xenophobia to manifest itself. Ordinary citizens and members of the public can engage in political discourse independent of the politicians. Unfortunately, UEFA competitions, such as the European Championship, Champions League and Europa League provide the space for this xenophobia.

“Legia played a Russian team two years ago, in the European Cup. In the biggest Polish tabloid newspaper, there was a picture of this guy attacking policemen in Russia. So the actions against Russia generally, Russia and Russians, are more serious, are more clear than attacks or violent action or whatever, against black skinned. And it is because there are possibilities and occasions for manifesting this. Like for example, matches between Poland and Russia – and Polish clubs playing Russian clubs. And also manifestations which are focussed on gathering football fans.” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group



“I have noticed, maybe not racism but it is sometimes xenophobia. For example we play with Spartak Moscow, so the head of the fans screams ‘Fuck Russia’.” Robert, Legia fan

Wider political extremism and football combined during Poland’s National Day on 11th November. Violence has occurred during the last three years. After the march in 2013, a group of youths attacked the Russian embassy with fire bombs. They were identified as football fans as they were wearing balaclavas in their teams’ colours. They also set fire to a large rainbow coloured display in Zbawiciela Square that symbolised the gay and lesbian district. When the broader political culture is xenophobic towards certain groups, it is difficult to root this out of football.

The forms and types of rhetoric exhibited in Italy and Poland are not replicated in Germany. Whereas the spectre of Communism is stronger in recent memory for the Polish, in Germany the same is true of Nazis. Consequently, there seems to be a genuine concern not to be associated with the past and politicians, clubs and members of the public are keen to distance themselves.

“[politicians won’t use racist language] because otherwise they would not be re-elected... I think most of the Germans know about their history.” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

An awareness of history is prominent in Germany. Most people I spoke to during my fieldtrips to Germany mentioned ‘the war’ fairly quickly in the conversation. They also used it as evidence of the importance of anti-racism for Borussia Dortmund, and the German nation.



Appendix B – Racism in the Stadium

B.1. MANIFESTATIONS OF RACISM IN THE STADIUM

This report focuses on racism around the culture of football fans. The fans and activists interviewed were not engaged in the wider structural and institutional racism that might inhibit certain ethnic groups' access to football and positions within the game. They focus on the manifestation of racism at matches and associated with fan culture. Broadly, there are two types of racism that manifests itself in the stadium. There are those who are politically motivated and ideologically driven. These are members of far-right organisations who use the stadium to promote their political beliefs. This is 'instrumental' racism (Back et al, 2001) or 'real' racism (Müller et al, 2007). In contrast to this politically motivated racism, there is 'organic' racism (Back et al, 2001) or 'accidental' racism (Müller et al, 2007). This is where the crowd respond to events on the pitch, and say or chant things that might be considered to be racist, but without the wider political intent. This form of abuse is usually aligned to the broader football culture that seeks to take a contradictory stance to the opponents. Fans (and players) see abuse of rivals as a way of challenging them and giving their team an advantage. They also see it as a way of determining their group identity and reinforcing what they are not. Within this broader abuse, markers of difference are highlighted and extenuated. This can include skin colour, height, hair (or lack of it), and perceived masculinity.

“There was racism from teams who politically identified with the right, or who had been infiltrated by those from Fascist groups. This occurred more in the 1990s. This was very structured, Padova, Verona, Lazio and also groups in the *curve* of Roma. It was very instrumental and groups wanted to recruit fans to display the symbols of the right. In the 2000s there have been groups affiliated to the right at Inter, Juventus, Milan but the racism is more organic because of the behaviour of a player on the pitch. In this cauldron, it is not just racism, but abuse at any type of player. It was a purpose to attack the opposing player. Not political” Carlo Balestri, UISP and Progetto Ultra

“And it is very easy that a few gestures, they can be sometimes instrumentalised. Because I don't like that sometimes we can hear in the stadium now, some (not chants) but monkey shouts against some black players. Even if this is lower than in the past. In the past I remember



much, much more. Now, we have some single cases, especially against one player, which is Balotelli, and this is what I was writing to you about. What is racism and what is not racism. Because Balotelli is a very particular player and he is very provocative. And you know I am bald: and if I go and play in a football game probably if you have to insult me you will say 'you are bald' or you are something like this. I think that in football sometimes, and I am not saying that is correct, but what you immediately feel and what you *immediately look for is some difference.*" Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

We have to be very careful to assert that members of far-right organisations, or people who are ideologically driven on racial difference, perform all racism. Racism is not automatically politically motivated. As Lorenzo argues, football fans look for some difference and use that to abuse their rivals. Skin colour, religion and nationalities are all markers of difference that highlight that the victim is different from the group of fans.

The problem with these two approaches is that abuse is not always as a result of events on the pitch. Sometimes they are due to ignorance and lack of awareness. Others they are due to an ingrained culture. Despite this, they do not have to be politically driven, instrumentalised actions. The following two quotes highlight the deeply embedded culture of difference in Italy and Poland. In addition to politically-driven racism and organic racism, there is a Volks racism that makes challenging racism very difficult. What may be understood as racism in England or Germany, is not seen the same way in different cultures.

"You know the *venditori* the drinks selling guys, who are certainly here, universally black Africans. They are doing a really shitty horrible job and they are being paid fuck-all and they have to kind of wrestle their way through these crowds of people and often get abuse for it. Anyway this guy happened to wander by the *curva*, by the main *tribune*. Obviously he looked nothing like Balotelli but he just happened to have the same skin colour. One of these guys sort of grabbed him and went: 'Ooh he looks like Balotelli. And the whole *curva* began doing their a-e-i-o-u-u-u monkey chant. And then, when they finished, they gave themselves a round of applause because they were so funny. And I just walked out half-way through the game. I was kind of shaking. And I was like: 'this is it and I cannot do this anymore' This is not a minority – this isn't just something that you can kind of ignore – it is nearly everybody. And applauding themselves!

And the thing ... well it didn't because I had always known, but the thing that made it very clear was that there is always this factitious divide. People always say – well Balotelli can



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look after himself, he is so rich and he is so powerful it is nothing to him. But you say to them, well what about the guys on the street. What are you saying to the other black people in Italian society? And as far as they are concerned these guys don't exist. But when you do the act in the *curva* you are explicit with that contempt. It is nothing to do with Balotelli being a prima-donna. Balotelli objectively, is a bit of an ass, so fine, insult him. But that transference to the *venditore* drink seller, for me was my cut-off." Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

"Anti-Semitism is a traditional Polish characteristic which is deeply rooted, like a people's anti-Semitism, like Volks [anti-Semitism]. Not ideological but very deeply rooted. There are examples of numbers of clubs where they use 'Jew' as an offensive word. This is very difficult for Poland. In Poland a Jew is a pejorative way of expressing this lack of respect. At the matches you don't call the opposite supporters 'fucking Jews' they say 'Jews' because this is already enough if you know what I mean! This word is already something negative. Eliminating the nationalism from the stadium will not solve the problem of anti-Semitism in this Volks type of anti-Semitism" Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

Challenging this ignorance is the greatest difficulty in removing racist abuse from the stadium. Until there is an adequate theory of racism in these countries, that clearly links to local culture, rather than is abstracted. More importantly, it needs to come from within the local culture, otherwise it looks like the Anglo-Saxons forcing their ideas onto others. For example, in Poland Pankowski argues that Polish authorities underestimate the number of hate crimes in Poland, because they understand racism to mean "racism against black people." (opendemocracy) The Never Again organisation estimate a greater number of racial and xenophobic crimes as they use a broader understanding of racism. Section A.5. will highlight the different hierarchies of racism which illustrates the complex spectrum that anti-racist campaigners and authorities need to be aware of. Suffice to say, racism is not just directed at people with black skin.

In Italy, racism is only perceived as structural racism. Racism is the structural obstruction of individuals from accessing jobs, housing or other areas of social life on the grounds of their race or ethnicity. Racial abuse, and abuse in general, is deemed to be victimless and not hurt the intended recipient. In Italy, there is no connection between verbal and physical abuse. They are not part of a continuum, but are distinct and separate.

"Well the other thing I would say is this: is that given the robustness and rough and tumble of some of the sort of casual low-level aggression of all kinds of Italian political discourse. For a lot of Italians racism is something that has to be quite serious. They don't accept words as



racism: it is a sticks-and-stones attitude.

If you don't hire someone because they are black then that is racism.

If you refuse to let them your property because they are black that is racism.

If you attacked them in the street or if you set them on fire when they are homeless (and these are things that happen) those are racism.

If you make a monkey noise at them or you sing and if you jump up and down this person will die. Or if you say they are not Italian...to be honest who cares? Like - what is the big deal? People say mean things so get over it. That is the kind of assumption." Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

" And if you are bald, you would say bald. And he [Balotelli] is black – and it is an insult because he is black. But Milan who have a lot of other people who are black and they are not insulted. I think that real racism is to discriminate someone. And this is what the majority of fans think in Italy. But you know, even the Supreme Court of Italy said this; the Supreme Court said that it is not racist to insult someone because he is a different skin colour, but it can be racist if you express it in this way, not a generic insult but something more – a real discrimination. This is what I think is Italian law." Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

Both Vanda and Lorenzo suggest that Italians see structural discrimination as racism, not abuse. Lorenzo, a lawyer who has defended many *ultras*, suggests that Italian law has differentiated between structural racism and words and insults. Conforming to what Vanda said, there is a cultural (and legal) distinction between what constitutes racism in Italy. This is not restricted to Italy. Back et al have demonstrated similar cultural trends in England in the 1990s. 'Common sense' understandings of abuse centre on abusing people for difference. Just as Lorenzo states, abuse will focus on weight, baldness or skin colour. For many people performing racist abuse in the stadiums, racism is purely structural – restricting people based on the colour of their skin.

Understanding what constitutes racial abuse is culturally understood. Different national cultures have different understandings of abuse. In Britain and the US the wider public is more attuned to 'political correctness' after many years of racially mixed populations. Commenting on skin colour, or attempting to sport the same skin colour, is not seen in the same way in Italy. When the former Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi, complimented Barack Obama for being 'young, handsome and sun-tanned', this was not deemed offensive.



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“The Italian media have no clue of what racism is: and the Italian society as a whole and the Italian anti-racist campaigners... When Obama was insulted by Berlusconi with that thing about sun-tanned – OK – a bunch of Italians went and protested outside the parliament to show solidarity with Obama with a sign saying ‘Berlusconi is not my president’... ‘Sorry Mister Obama’. What did they do to emphasise the point? They blacked-up! They went and did it in black face make-up to show their solidarity with Obama and their rejection of racism.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

This occurred in Treviso in 2001 when one of their players was racially abused; the rest of the team ‘blacked up’ to show solidarity. The problem here is that in the Anglo-Saxon world, especially in the UK And US, this is seen as an insult based on a longstanding minstrel tradition that sought to mimic African culture. These traditions don’t exist in Italy, so the cultural significance is not understood.

The outcome of this confusion and lack of clarity on what constitutes racism is that the term becomes misunderstood and deliberately obfuscated. Any form of abuse that is labelled at other groups or individuals is called ‘racism’. Rather than abuse being ‘discrimination’ it is classed as ‘racism’. **Racism needs to be clearly defined so that fans and authorities are clear what it means. This needs to be covered in any educational materials provided to fans.**

“But the alternative to that is that – that it is totally white and black – is that all forms of prejudice are racism... I mean there was this ridiculous and farcical thing a couple of years ago, when Roma for the derby, to try and keep trouble from happening in the *curve* decided that they were only going to sell tickets in a certain part of the ground to women, children and old people. Some said ‘oh this is racism, this is racism against men’. **So racism is either so specific as to be useless: or so general as to be useless.** Any kind of prejudice that we don’t like is racism: racism against Italians if we try and give equal opportunities to someone else, etc., and conflation of nationality and all sorts of really lazy unclear thinking.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

How racism is being presented is leading to a reaction from fans. They see the projection of any form of abuse onto specific players, such as Mario Balotelli as racism. Abuse of a black player is not automatically racism. **Ultimately this is due to the problems of using the term ‘racism’. By identifying people with black skin as the victims of racism, it infers that they are a separate ‘race’ and any abuse is attacking that ‘race’. This applies to all black and other minority ethnic groups. Ultimately, the abuse is about discrimination, and discriminating others based on perceived racial, ethnic and national inferiorities. Campaigners and authorities are placed in a difficult**



position here. Many football fans will not accept that discrimination is a problem (for the problems on conflating territorial discrimination with racism, see D.5. below). Others see it as the rights or duties of football fans to abuse their rivals.

“I have to say that there is not a strong resistance against racism in Italy because fans feel that it is two ways of addressing the problem. It is too over-rated. Because I believe that it was not racism the way that Balotelli has been insulted... If, in Milan, the Milan fans say to taunt you - ‘you son of a bitch’ there is no fine. But if you say – ‘Balotelli you son of a bitch’ there is a fine. So people say this is not fair – and it is not correct.” Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

As Vanda said, the *ultras* are finely tuned to hypocrisy. As soon as they sense it, they will react. Doidge (2013b) has argued that the Balotelli situation is highly nuanced and complicated. Abuse is prima facie not automatically racism. Chants such as “se saltelli, muore Balotelli” (“If you jump up and down, Balotelli dies”) are not automatically racist. But they are levelled at players who are seen as different. The same chant was levelled at Cristiano Lucarelli, a Livorno player who was noted for his Communist politics. When you start to analyse the comments around Balotelli, many racialised slurs are incorporated into the abuse. This is not to say that *all* people abusing Balotelli are racist, but some are using racist language. **The challenge for the authorities is to clearly delineate between racist language and abuse. This is not to say that abuse is perfectly acceptable, but this is a significant part of the *ultras* identity. Consequently, fines should be for explicit racist language and gestures. Federations should not fine fans for abusing a player who happens to be black.**

B.2. HIERARCHIES OF RACISM

The legal and ‘common sense’ understandings of racism do not take into account the complexities of racism. As mentioned in B.1. above, for many fans, media and politicians in Poland and Italy, racism is seen as perpetrating discrimination against black people. Racism is not a ‘black and white’ issue (pardon the pun).

“The racism that you see more is against blacks... the pure racism is against blacks – the pure racism.” Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

As Back et al (2001) argues, fans construct hierarchies of racism that assumes that white is normal. Within this framework, the African is placed at the bottom. Consequently, ‘pure’ racism, as Lorenzo



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called it, is directed at people with black skin. Therefore, the most prevalent abuse is directed at those of African descent. Within this schema other groups are placed. Nations are constructed on a continuum. In England, the chant "I'd rather be a Paki than a Scouse" intimates that the Pakistani community is considered low down the hierarchy. By placing them above Scousers (people from Liverpool), this group is below the lowest and consequently open to abuse. The chant is changed when some England teams play Turkish teams, so 'I'd rather be a Paki than a Turk' is sung. Again, this places Turkey lower down the hierarchy than Pakistan. The xenophobia in these cases is racialised, where these groups are implicitly stigmatised for skin colour and religion, and for being outside of the European 'norm'.

Xenophobia becomes much harder to identify, as it is more culturally accepted. As A.3. mentioned above, xenophobia is prevalent in the wider media and political discourse. As a result it is much harder to gain fan support for. The problem for football is that the stadium becomes the site for these expressions of wider political discourse. Regular matches in international and European competition provide the symbolic space to demonstrate national differences. In Poland, this is specifically addressed at Russia and reflects the broader political xenophobia in wider society.

"There is one that is very short and very direct which is ... 'Russian Bitch-Russian Whore'. It is very directly linked with propaganda and the ideology, which is very strong now in Poland and which is against Russia" Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

"It depends on the history. If Legia plays, for example with Ferencváros, I think this screaming will not appear, because we have good relations with the Hungarian people. Or for example Croatia we have good relations. And football fans know it. And maybe it is not very known and popular that football fans know history and they are ... they ... football fans often have national political views. They have very often national views. So when Legia are playing Spartak Moskwa it is Poland against Russia and not Legia against Spartak Moskwa" Robert, Legia fan

"There is no movement in the politics, on this openly direct racism and anti-Semitism. But there is a movement, which has a direct agenda of anti-Russian agenda and 'nationality'. And this movement is for the political guys at the stadium. So in this sense this is a political problem." Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

Other victims are from groups which are so culturally embedded as outsiders that abuse of these groups is seen as legitimate. These can be Roma in Italy and Jews in Poland. Abuse towards 'gypsies',



and racism against Eastern Europeans (which is often conflated) is the 'acceptable' face of racism. Even though hundreds of thousands of gypsies were murdered during the Holocaust, their status as victims of racism is ignored.

“Even the closure of the Curva and about the monkey chanting and anti-black racism has at least happened. I have not heard of any sustained effort by the authorities to do anything about anti-gypsy racism. Even people who would see themselves as lifelong Communist supporters and resolutely anti-racist against black people, still find it acceptable to use the term *zingari* as a perjorative term.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

Anti-Roma abuse is so culturally ingrained across Europe that it is still acceptable for daily newspapers in England, particularly *The Sun*, to run anti-Gypsy headlines and articles. No other ethnic group would be faced with the same systematic media campaign in England. Yet many members of the English media continue to point the finger abroad (especially to Italy and Eastern Europe) to highlight their racism, as if to absolve the situation in England. Groups like the Roma, are not on the radar of racism and considered a legitimate target by politicians, media and fans alike. **The result is that challenging anti-Roma abuse, and educating fans, will take many more resources and more time.**

“I have a colleague who works with the Roma community in Rome and I said do you know anyone who is working in the world of football? And she just laughed at me and said – there is no point! We are trying to get the government to not be racist against us – so let's try and do that before we deal with football fans.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

The culture of anti-Semitism in football also reflects a deeply embedded racism in wider society. Anti-Semitism is deeply embedded within Polish culture in particular. This can be illustrated by a court ruling in January 2014, that decreed that "Move on, Jews! Your home is at Auschwitz! Send you to the gas (chamber)!" was not anti-Semitic (Masters, 2014). The prosecutor did not take the case further as the abuse was levelled at opposing fans, rather than Jews in particular. Consequently it was not seen as anti-Semitic.

“I think people use anti-Semitic language to abuse other teams, but not any particular player. I mean Maor Melikson, who was one of the key playmakers at Wisła Kraków, was a hero. He is Israeli and he is a huge hero of the crowd. But the crowd still abuse with some anti-Semitic songs, but not to him, but to the Cracovia fans... people use anti-Semitic language because it is a simple way to call ... 'Jew' is an enemy in this very primitive language.” Dominik Antonowicz,



academic

Unlike abuse of individual black players, Russians, or Turks, anti-Semitism in Poland and Italy are directed at clubs that are deemed to have a historical link to the Jewish community. In Italy this has been Livorno and Roma. Lazio have displayed banners like 'team of blacks, *curve* or Jews' to abuse Roma fans. When there was more right-wing ideology in the Roma *Curva Sud*, *ultras* held up a banner at Livorno fans saying 'Lazio-Livorno, same initials, same ovens'. The inference in both cases is that Jews are lower down the racial hierarchy. Equating rival fans with Jews places them at the bottom of the pecking order.

"If you go to Crakovia you can see 'fuck Jewish' there but it is nothing to do with the real Jewish. It is nothing to do with the Jews from Crakovia which includes the Jews. That is more complicated than one might think. Yes, the anti-Semitic stuff is just more complex... but this is the way that you call the enemy that you hate: the most primitive way to call the enemy that you hate.." Dominik Antonowicz, academic

The difficulty of removing anti-Semitism from the stadiums is not just about how deep it is culturally embedded in wider society. There are also problems of defining the abuse.

"But also it happened that they... I think it is either a German or Italian way of expressing anti-Semitism, doing this 'gas' sound." Jacek Purski, Never Again

Mimicking the gas of the concentration camps reinforces the subtle ways that racism manifests itself. It is not just verbal and physical insults; it draws on a range of cultural markers and pulls them into a wider system of abuse.



Appendix C – The Importance of Institutional Support

Racism is not restricted to football. As Appendix A argued, racism is prevalent in wider society. Football fans merely draw on this wider culture to abuse their rivals. **In order to challenge this wider culture, all sections of the football family need to unite and provide support. UEFA are central to this as they provide the uniform structure across Europe. They have placed this central to their mission and have supported pan-European campaigns to highlight the issue, including support for FARE. This is vitally important as it removes racism from being an inter-club problem, or inter-nation problem, but a universal problem. Having the anti-racism messages at UEFA events reinforces the importance to all fans and players.**

C.1. THE IMPORTANCE OF FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION SUPPORT

National federations also have to take ownership. It is easy to blame football fans for the problem of racism in football, but many of the club owners and those in authority share the same views. The *Alive and still kicking* report (1996) by the Advisory Group Against Racism & Intimidation reviewed the launch of the Kick It Out campaign. Some clubs did not see racism as a priority and did not want to be associated with the campaign in case people thought their club was racist. Lack of support leads to nonchalance and this feeds the wider supporter culture. Furthermore, ambiguity and piecemeal enforcement of anti-racism rules also cause confusion and leads to resentment from fans and a higher risk that they will resist any campaign.

“Well first of all I don’t think they see it as a priority. They don’t see it as really important. They see it as important in so far as they can’t afford to offend international opinion. You know, they have tried twice to get European Championships and they have been turned down. So they can see that they are upsetting UEFA and they are upsetting international opinion and they are getting criticised in the foreign press, and they resent it. So, we have to do something. But it is tokenism and it is insincere, and it is fundamentally based on a misunderstanding of what racism is.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

The issue is not seen as a priority in Italy. There is a feeling that they are enforcing anti-racism rules in order to demonstrate to UEFA that they can host the European Championships. International pressure



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may be a good thing, but it is not coming from a desire to eliminate discrimination. Instead the authorities are focused on enforcing the Pisanu laws (see D.4. below) to combat violence and dissent in the stadiums. This has resulted in fans being more focussed on resisting this wider 'repression'. This has changed somewhat during the 2013-4 season, as the FIGC has began a programme of sanctions aimed at stopping racism and territorial discrimination. Whilst this is to be applauded, the conflation of the two has seen the *ultras* place this into the same 'repression' and resisted (see D.5. below).

“Well it should [come from the Polish FA] but I think the realisation that would be in the long-term interest of Polish football is not necessarily there. So I think what we are seeing now, is the thing which is more or less along the lines of let's make a deal with those guys so that they will not shout obscene stuff against the FA. Which happened a lot before – and now it is happening less. It is considered to be a big success.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

National federations need to understand that it is in their long-term benefit to support anti-racism measures. It helps the international image of the country, the league, and the clubs. With European integration, being seen as welcoming and inclusive will assist the recruitment of new fans and players. Leagues or clubs with reputations of abuse and discrimination will find it harder financially.

In Poland, the opposite is happening. In contrast to the internationalisation of football that took place after the Bosman ruling, the Polish FA is re-imposing restrictions on non-Polish players. This reinforces that these are cultural outsiders and not welcome in the league. Effectively they are legitimating the fans who shout discriminatory abuse.

“And now again, and this is just this week, the Football Association announced that in two or three (until 2015) so in two years they will impose an official cap on the number of non-European players the clubs will be allowed to field, which will be two for the top division and one for the lower divisions. Which means – well it is about Africans mostly, but also East Europeans because there are a few players from the Balkans.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

Football associations face a constant battle for legitimacy, especially when confronted with global forces and powerful clubs. Regulations of players' nationalities is one way to try and impose legitimacy (unless the rules are inadequately enforced). The Polish FA has faced some questions and has been viewed with suspicion by some fans. However, there has been a change of management as the former Juventus player, Zbigniew Boniek, became chair of the PZPN. Boniek's reputation, and



political approach to the position, will provide some trust for fans. Sometimes it requires famous players or credible candidates to provide the FAs with legitimacy to tackle issues like racism and xenophobia in football.

“I think the first ball should be for our FA because the Board of our FA changed last year, and they have a good opinion. And the environment, the football environment trusts them – the journalists and the fans and public opinion. And Zbigniew Boniek is the current leader. He is respected because he is very ... he likes transparency of his organisation... When he won the voting, for the position, he pulled out the dirty things about the FA – what is wrong – what in the finances is wrong. And there were a lot of things to repair and so that people trust him because they know he wanted to change something. And now every initiative run by Boniek is not criticised at the first point. But he has a trust credit, you know?... last week the police told the public, that we should forbid the away fans. To the end of the season, to go on the first big matches – and Boniek said that this doesn't work and we cannot ... it is against the normal fans and it is against football. So the football fans like Boniek and he has very high respect. So Boniek is a very good example for the fans and they might listen to him.” Robert, Legia fan

Ultimately, support from the federation reinforces the importance of the issue. It separates racism from the clubs and inter-club rivalry and places the problem central. More importantly, it provides tacit support to those groups who are working to fight racism and xenophobia. Without this support, fans and groups are just another group highlighting different opinions. With FA support, campaigners can point to this and legitimate their work.

“They (the DFB) do a lot of campaigns. But this is important, and I told you before. You must do anything against racism. The campaigns – the campaigns are very... they will seize everything and everybody or which could be seen by everybody. And the small things that I do or other guys do, the social workers do in the Fan projects and so on, and it must all come together and then you have a chance, a good chance.” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

C.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF CLUB SUPPORT

Too often the blame for racism in football is placed solely on fans. Whilst they are not innocent, they are not the only problem. As they reflect the wider society, it is not inconceivable that the management and authorities involved in football also share their prejudices. This could be seen in February 2013 when Paolo Berlusconi, the owner of *Il Giornale* newspaper and brother of the AC



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Milan owner and former Prime Minister Silvio, spoke at a meeting for his brother's political party. He referred to Mario Balotelli as the *negrretto* of the family, which translates as 'little black boy', 'little negro' or 'little nigger'. In Britain and the US, this would be considered offensive whichever way it was meant, yet in Italy Paolo Berlusconi said he was being "affectionate". When senior figures in the media who are connected to clubs and politics are using this language, it is unsurprising that fans will do likewise.

The wider political situation between fans and clubs needs to be taken into account. D.4. below talks about the *ultras* and other fans' resentment of the 'repression' of fans in Italy. This has led to the authorities not being respected. The club could be a conduit in this case to negotiate these changes – challenging the authorities on some things and the fans on issues like racism.

"The club are not so much in authority. So there might be room there. If the club is seen as pursuing its own thing, and not just being a puppet and being manipulated by the FIGC or the state or whatever, then there might be scope for the club perhaps to take the action if it seems to be done in a way that is in harmony with the fans. If they could get at least a majority of the fans on side, and if they even seem in general open and interested, then perhaps can be a way for things to work." Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

The strength of fan groups, and their power relationship with the club, also needs to be taken into account. One player who challenged many notions of national identity in Poland was Emmanuel Olisadebe. The Nigerian-born player achieved Polish citizenship in 2000 and went on to represent the Polish national team. He received a wide range of racist abuse, including banners suggesting he wasn't Polish and was frequently showered with bananas. After leaving Polonia he played in Greece but went back to Poland and had a trial with Lechia Gdansk two years ago. Despite being a famous player for the national team, Olisadebe still attracted problems for the Gdansk.

"It is a brilliant marketing trick for the club, because he is such a famous name Emmanuel Olisadebe. So, it doesn't matter how he plays, so that would be very good for the club in terms of selling tickets and so on. But it was not the case. The Fan Association, [for Lechia Gdansk], they went to the club and they said – 'we don't want you to sign Olisadebe because we are afraid it will result in our fans not going to games, which was basically threatening a boycott. But they made it public and they wrote a public letter against signing Olisadebe, because the fans would not consider it attractive to buy tickets. That was to say, that if you get Olisadebe we will organise a boycott of our own club – which again says something about who dominates some of those fan institutions. So they didn't sign him." Rafal Pankowski,



Never Again and academic

The clubs allow themselves to be bullied by certain fan groups. It takes strength and determination to challenge these fan groups. This is why federation support is important. But the clubs also need to do the right thing. It is entirely possible that Olisadebe was not good enough for Gdansk, as he was nearing retirement. But it also sends a message to fans that they can bully the club into not signing players from specific cultural groups.

“I have spoken to the president of the club recently, about his flags and stuff. Because the FARE... questioned a number of the flags that have been used for Legia for about twenty years... My talk with Mr. Leśnodorski, I mean they want to, and I think he wants to combat it. But he wants also to engage fans in this issue, because some of them are just not aware that the signs have different ... have various different meanings including, you know, fascist or racist. So, as far as I am aware, he said the flags have been really questioned by FARE and UEFA as well, even though they have been in Legia for about twenty years. Now they are gone, simply because the fans say that is ... you know, the club asked them. I don't know how the conversation went, or if it went smoothly or not, but it had the effect that he said that the outcomes were very clear and the flags just disappeared.” Dominik Antonowicz, academic

The clubs are the conduit between the fans and UEFA, the actions of the fans and the regulations. Having the fans on board ensures that they are going to take ownership of their actions. However this is a complex negotiation. As stated in D.4., many of the problems are coming from a persecution complex amongst the *ultras*. Continued sanctions and regulations placed upon them over pyrotechnics, banners, chants and violence is leading to them to resist *all* changes. If the clubs, like Legia, can negotiate with fans then there is more chance that the fans will engage with the request, rather than automatically resist it. When Legia Warsaw had the Kryta stand closed and were fined €30,000 by UEFA after racist chants were sung at their Champions League match with The New Saints (The Telegraph, 2013). In retaliation the Legia *ultras* staged an extensive pyrotechnic display in the match against Steaua Bucharest to reassert their ‘rebellion’ over UEFA. The clubs need to reinforce and support UEFA rather than bow to the immediate pressure of the fan-groups.

This must be done in negotiation with the fans, and not be seen as some arbitrary imposition. A good example of this is in Germany where discussions were held about having special pyro-zones for fireworks and flares. This was a compromise proposal to prevent fans smuggling flares into stadiums (this situation was complicated by the DFB and clubs denying this compromise occurred, reinforcing the *ultras* perceptions that the league was cheating them).



Borussia Dortmund are an excellent example of a club that is taking racism seriously. The various elements of their support are throughout section 4, above. Briefly, however, BVB produce posters and leaflets that clearly state what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and banners. At their match with Stuttgart, leaflets entitled 'That Looks Forbidden', were placed on every seat to reiterate which chants and symbols were forbidden in the stadium. A fan that was photographed performing a Nazi salute at the same game was given four-year stadium ban, the maximum allowed. The club has also taken the far-right political party *Die Rechte* ('The Right') to court. The party had displayed posters for the candidature of Siegfried Borchardt in the council elections. These posters were printed with the club colours of yellow and black and the message, "From the Südtribüne into Parliament". The court ruled that even though the club's logo was not used, the inference was still that the club supported this party (). The fact club pursued this through the courts highlights how serious they saw this campaign.

Borussia Dortmund also provides symbolic support through the use of club resources (like the team coach and stadium). More importantly, the players and manager advertise anti-racism messages. **Clear support from the club reinforces the importance of anti-racism and helps support those campaigning to remove racism and xenophobia from football.**

"We are also using Borussia Dortmund, because they have been very cooperative, especially in the last years. The trainer [Jürgen Klopp] and some players also shot photos. And it is a photo [of Klopp] saying 'we want you to show civil courage'. Or Nuri Şahin and Mats Hummels... they are playing with each other 'snick-snack-snook' and it has got there 'we don't play with racists'. **So these are things we want – the way that we want to show that Borussia Dortmund also does not want any racism games. So think about it, if you want to be part of the family of Borussia Dortmund**" Tina, BVB fan project



Appendix D – The Dangers of Conflating Racism With Other Forms of Anti-Social Behaviour

Football fans engage in a wide range of activities. This can range from boisterous singing, heavy drinking, and public nudity through to racism and violence. Legislation in various European countries seeks to minimise the disruption of football to the general public. There are also a range of laws and approaches to tackle specific elements of anti-social behaviour, such as hooliganism and choreographies. It is beyond the scope of this report to enter into a discussion of these laws. More broadly though, these individual responses need to be kept separate to hold any legitimacy.

“The more you bracket stuff together, which doesn’t belong together, the less effective any of those single strategies will be.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

D.1. CONFLATION OF RACISM AND HOOLIGANISM

Back et al (1999) have highlighted the danger in conflating hooliganism and racism. In England, the media and authorities equated that hooligans performed racism. This tapped into the popular folk devil image of the skinhead hooligan who was aligned to the far-right. This was convenient for the authorities who could place racism at the margins of football fandom. This was not about something systemic and widespread, but confined to a small group of young men who were becoming increasingly unwelcome in the newly commodified stadiums. This ‘racist/hooligan couplet’ did not take into account those people who engaged in racist behaviour who did not consider themselves as hooligans. It also does not take into account that not all hooligans are racist,

“I think also, among the hard core fans, also among hooligans (and also among the fans that would be the first to demonstrate anti-social behaviours) there is an awareness that this [racism] is unacceptable also among them. And that is from my personal experience. We have got researchers on the stands, on the ground and they have experienced that one or two people have tried to play ‘monkey chants’ and, you know, the hooligans have almost killed them!” Dominik Antonowicz, academic



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Specific strategies need to be implemented that deal with hooliganism, and other strategies need to be implemented for racism. Conflating racism and hooliganism can be counter-productive, but focussing on one over the other can have similar consequences.

“And I think if you don’t address that then you don’t get very far. You empower those groups and I think that is very dangerous and that is playing with fire. If you tell them it is ok to be racist just don’t be too violent – I don’t think that is a very good strategy. I find it very risky even if the intentions are good.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

Violence, or the threat of violence, is still a way to intimidate those that act counter to the wishes of the group. Tackling violence remains important, even in places where hooliganism may have waned.

“So we get different groups of *ultras* and they know each other and they are friends. They know their faces and they know where they live and that can be a great problem if they just behave in the wrong way.” Tina, BVB fan project

A clear distinction needs to be made between strategies aimed at violence, and strategies aimed at racism. Hooliganism is a pressing concern in Poland, and has focussed the attention of the media, authorities and clubs. It can also have the impact of putting off fans who are scared to go to stadiums.

“It is quite a big number generally of people who are not coming. They are not there because of the violence and hooliganism – not necessarily the political image of the *ultras* - but it is more about being safe from the violence and things like that.” Jacek Kaminski, Polonia fan group

“Football is by far the most popular sport in Poland, as in many other cases. So there are many people here who are really interested in football. You know, they follow it very closely and they are very passionate about it. But they may or may not go to the games. If they don’t go to the games, despite this strong interest in football, this is mostly because, or often because, of this current state of the football culture which is strongly violent and xenophobic. So that really puts a lot of people off.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

Fans that do not engage in these extreme patterns of behaviour stop going to the stadium. This magnifies the presence and legitimacy of those that remain: the *ultras* and hooligans. Extreme views and actions become magnified when this group are left undiluted.



The concept of the 'racist/hooligan couplet' needs to be expanded outside of Britain to include other forms of fan culture, particularly the *ultras*. We have to move beyond the 'racist/*ultras* couplet'. Not all *ultras* are racist, and not all people who partake in racist behaviour are *ultras*. Although the *ultras* are organised fan groups and they do organise chants against players who are seen as outsiders. Yet other fans also take part in these chants and also make racist comments. Educational resources, and comments from the media and authorities need to shift the focus from the *ultras*. This is especially true in Italy, where the *ultras* movement started. The role of the *ultras* is important, especially in understanding the authorities' responses to them.

D.2. CONFLATION OF RACISM AND FASCISM

Section A.4. below discussed the difference between 'instrumental' or politically motivated racism and 'organic' racism which was where the events on the pitch led to some form of racist abuse. It is not for this report to determine how many fans are ideologically driven to use football to protest about racial difference. It can be asserted that all people who engage in racist or discriminatory practices are members of far-right political organisations. We should understand broader football fan culture to locate the abuse taking place. De Biasi and Lanfranchi (1997) have argued that the 'importance of difference' is central to the *ultras* identity. Highlighting what 'we' dislike, is reasserting what 'we' are not. Abuse is directed at those that don't fit into what Back et al (2001) call a 'structure of antipathy'. Racism is part of this wider performance of abuse.

Authorities and activists need to untangle this abuse. All forms of abuse should not be seen as racist, and all racism is not ideologically driven. Just as with the 'racist/hooligan couplet', not all people who engage in racist behaviour are engaged in far right politics. Some people are politically 'conservative' and might hold views that could be considered right-wing, but that does not automatically mean they are racist.

"I think the organisations will put their anti-racism into political ideology, they can also throw it into one basket all the conservative people. So all 'conservative people' are racist in their opinions in their minds." Robert, Legia fan

This is also not to say that those engaged in far-right politics are not a problem, and not engaged in violence, but those fighting racism need to reinforce the difference to ensure those who are engaging in racist activity engage with the campaigns, rather than refuse simply because they do not identify with extreme right-wing politics or hooliganism.



“there are racist groups among the fans, but they are not hooligans. They are tough. They are skinheads. They are not really in the mainstream fighting, some of them could be... But clearly I would say they are two separate issues. And you know, they overlap: the groups overlap. The racist groups are not that big and the hooligans are much bigger. But I would say they overlap. And the racists, when you call them racists with race-based violence, are very, very radical.” Dominik Antonowicz, academic

It is beyond the scope of this report to determine the extent of political recruitment at grounds. It is clear that right-wing graffiti and stickers help advertise far-right political groups at grounds in both Warsaw and Rome (nothing was witnessed in Dortmund). There had been systematic recruitment of football fans to far-right political groups in England in the 1970s (Back et al, 2001). Podaliri and Balestri (1998) highlight how this also occurred in Italy in the 1980s. Lorenzo Contucci supported this,

“[Roma] had about 20 years ago, we had a strong presence of the right-wing in *Curva Sud*, but not because of the external someone entered in the *curva*, but because the people were more on the right side, you know. And you could feel this, and you could see this because there were a lot of Celtic crosses or symbols. But we have not any more. But racism, occasionally it can happen that a black player makes a bad foul – what is the name of the – trying to destroy the leg of a player! And the reaction of people is to hit him for what you see most – which is that he is black, and that is the problem.” Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

During a specific stage in Italy’s political history racism was more instrumental and associated with the far-right. The 1980s and 1990s was when Italy changed from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. This led to a challenge to the fragile sense of Italian unity. As, Italy has changed, the more explicit link between the far-right and *ultras* has waned. Now racism at Roma is more organic.

It could be argued that a similar progression has occurred in Poland. Racism and far-right nationalism became very strong after the fall of Communism in 1990. This was reflected in the stadiums, particularly at certain clubs.

“There are several clubs known for such actions, like Lechia Gdansk, where the skinhead movement had very strong influence in 1990s and some of it was still present a couple years ago... I recall a banner with 'white power' slogan posted by Legia fans two years ago. It was very small, 1x1meter maybe, but it made its way into the stadium and was hanged with no open condemnation of the fans association. It's pretty much isolated as an incident, but a signal



that there are still such people inside stadiums. Celtic crosses, 'SS' shaped s letters as well, unfortunately. All of which could have been found at Legia, nowadays less exposed, more hidden and less direct.” Michał Karaś, journalist

A further problem of conflating Fascism with racism is about meaning. Barthes (1957) highlighted that a sign is divided into two parts: the signifier and the signified. There is a difference between what is meant by the symbol and how the audience perceives it. Without further investigation, it cannot be assumed that all fans ascribe a far-right meaning to the symbols on their *curva*. Political symbols can become emptied of their original political meaning and come to signify the locality, club, or fan-group. The swastika itself has become a symbol of the far-right and Nazism despite various historical uses, including widespread use in Hinduism. This practise is not restricted to participants of groups with a right-wing affiliation. Che Guevara and other symbols of the left have also been emptied of their original meaning and come to signify a localised footballing identity (Doidge, 2013a).

“The fans were quite determined to also work with him [Bogusław Leśnodorski, Legia president], with the booklets, on what is legal and what is not legal. You know, to help the club not to pay fines. And my understanding is that there were flags where clearly – there were some groups that were clearly trying to sneak in their political views – quite radical views. But there were also flags that, you know, most people just got used to and the signs – they demonstrated or presented different meanings – and one of them was obviously those illegal ones: the abusive ones. You know, these signs didn’t mean to ... probably by the majority of the audience or mean anything or nothing ... have any irrational connections.” Dominik Antonowicz, academic

It is dangerous to assume that all fans understand the meaning of the symbols. For many fans they are simply symbols that are associated with the club and the fans. Only a small minority will be using them for instrumental purposes to make a political point.

D.3. THE PROBLEM OF LEGISLATION TO DEAL WITH THE ULTRAS

Despite football uniting fans in a common event, some fan groups want to differentiate themselves from others. De Biasi and Lanfranchi (1997) have argued that the ‘importance of difference’ is central to the *ultras* identity. They need to differentiate themselves from their rivals. Desecrating the symbols of the opponents not only unifies the group, but it also determines what we are not. This can work in relation to racism. Back et al (2001) have highlighted how football fan culture, especially at some



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clubs, is to be contradictory. At the official launch of 'Lets Kick Racism – Respect All Fans' in the UK, the home teams paraded a banner promoting the campaign's message. This allowed the away fans to jeer the campaign, and undermined it.

The *ultras* want to be seen as independent and transgressive. Being deliberately contrary is a way of asserting this independence. They emerged in the 1970s as a subculture that incorporated the politics of wider Italian society into their support for their local club. This local identity, or *campanilismo*, strengthened in the 1980s. This reflected the separatist movement in the North of Italy that fuelled the growth of the *Lega Nord*. Anti-Southern comments, such as 'Welcome to Italy' or 'Forza Etna' were chanted or displayed on banners. This 'territorial discrimination' became a crucial link to racism in 2013 (and will be discussed in section 5.X. later). During the 1980s violence amongst the *ultras* also increased. State and police measures increased to combat these. The most punitive of these, the Pisanu Laws, were passed in 2005, but only implemented in 2007 by the Interior minister Roberto Maroni after the death of a policeman, Filippo Raciti, after riots in the Sicilian derby in Catania.

The result of the Pisanu Laws is growing resentment and falling attendances. Tickets have to be bought from designated ticket-offices and have the name of the fan imprinted upon it. These are double-checked by stewards against forms of identity. Police have been stationed around the stadium for several years, but now there is an additional set of security fences and police so that these ticket checks can be performed. The Pisanu Laws also implemented the *Tessera del Tifoso* as an identity card that would allow fans to enter into the stadium. The *Tessera* became the symbol of resistance for fans and *ultras* from across Italy (Gushwan, 2013). In addition, strict rules were placed on away travel. All fans, including fans of official supporters clubs, have a police escort to the away stadium, and are faced with riot police in the *settore ospiti*. Many games have bans imposed on away fans by the *osservatorio*. This gives rise to resentment about the opaque running of the *osservatorio* as there are no fan representatives in the decision-making process. **Fan representatives should be included in the evaluation and implementation of all decisions impacting fans.**

"And once in the '80s it was not like this. The violence in Italy was much more than it is ... you cannot do a comparison between the violence in the '80s and the violence now. But I remember that we arrived a lot of hours before the game. And the correct strategy was to go inside the stadium immediately because you cannot do anything in the stadium... What the government did simply make a rule that you can't go to away games. And they say there are no more troubles in the stadium. It is normal, because if you don't permit the people to go to an away game then it is ...and this is the Italian way to solve it. It is like a blockade: I close the highway because there are too many car crashes! You know. And then I say 'there are no



more car crashes’.” Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

"It is a harmful and punitive legislation because it assumes that all the fans are potential criminals and therefore are fined. The *Tessera del tifoso* is merely an example of a further bureaucratization and it seems to confirm a trend for some time by the biggest football clubs to move the interest of the matches to television viewing, focus on royalties and discourage participation in the stadiums." Carlo Balestri, UISP and Progetto Ultra

These Pisanu Laws are the single biggest problem affecting anti-racism in Italian football. Ultras and many fans who do not see themselves as ultras see the laws as ‘repression’. As Contucci and Francesio argue, “they are trying to chase the violent people from the stadium – they have chased away everyone but the violent people.” (Contucci and Francesio, 2013). The unintended consequence of the Pisanu Laws is that it has legitimated the *ultras*. By imposing these regulations on *all* fans, the authorities have helped to drive away non-*ultras* and more moderate fans. This is compounded by the media regulations in Italy that permit all matches to be shown live on television.

“In Italy only the hardest fans go to the stadium. And this is the problem and the difference with England. Because we had so many years of stronger rules and we have difficulty to take tickets and we have difficulties of every kind... All the matches on the TV screen. I can see that my daughter, who is a big Roma fan, but sometimes she prefers to see it on the TV. And you don’t risk anything and you can shout at the television and you don’t get a banning order. You spend a lot less... But I believe that in Italy, if they want to bring back people into the stadium, you have to divide the stadium in a passionate way.” Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

Other regulations are governing what *ultras* can take into the ground, such as certain banners, drums and loud-speakers. Even the length of flagpoles are open to discussion as to whether they constitute a weapon. However, these regulations are enforced locally, which adds to confusion and allegations of hypocrisy. Some *questore* forbid drums entering the stadium, others accept them. Likewise, some banners are forbidden. In the cases of racist banners, this is clearly a positive move. Political banners are also forbidden. Yet this also causes consternation amongst *ultras* who want to engage in a political performance. Far-right symbols are forbidden by law and consequently, clubs are fined if fans take these into the stadium. Clearly the authorities see no irony in the fact that the Stadio Olimpico is owned by the Italian Olympic Committee and is situated in a complex built by Mussolini. Surrounding the Stadium are numerous symbols of Fascism, including mosaics extolling “Duce, Duce” and an obelisk declaring “Mussolini Dux” that welcomes fans as they approach the main entrance of



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the stadium (See figures 5.1. and 5.2.).



Figure D.1. Obelisk outside Stadio Olimpico

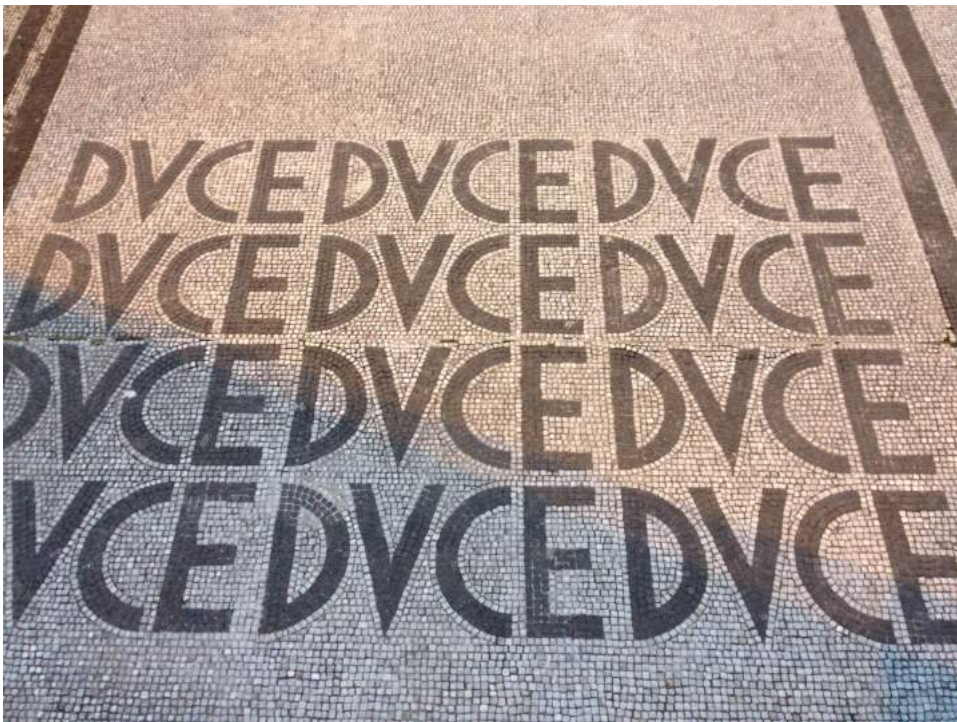


Figure D.2. Mosaics outside Stadio Olimpico

The other problem with banning all political paraphernalia from the stadium is that the authorities also ban left-wing symbols and banners. These are not banned by law (unlike far-right symbols), and



this leads to resentment and allegations of hypocrisy by fans and *ultras* that choose to display their identity in this way. Often these are the same fans who engage in anti-racism activities. Clearly, permitting these left-wing symbols would equally lead to resentment from those on the right who would level a similar charge of hypocrisy. **Authorities need to ensure that anti-racism banners are not considered political and banned from the stadium.**

The *ultras* identity is performed in various ways; from the spectacular choreographies of flags and banners to singing and chanting. It has also incorporated violence in some groups, although this is declining. The problem with these laws is that slowly the various areas of the *ultras* performance are being eroded. This is leaving fewer avenues for self-expression.

“The football stadiums are stages for their choreographies and their singing and they just present themselves...This is the biggest problem that we have – to find a way to let young people present themselves without conflicts.” Rolf-Arnd, Borussia BVB fan project

“As violence decreases, other forms of transgression are taking its place - something to assert that you are that transgressing individual. Because actually, if you have bought a ticket and you have jumped through all of the hoops that you have to jump through to buy the ticket – and if you are still that transgressive, rule-breaking, bad-boy anymore, what are you going to do to prove that you still are? So much of it is performance. The ultra identity is purely a performance thing. And many of the traditional forms of performance are being stripped away. You can't take in your funny interesting *striscione* and you can't take in your banners and flags anymore etc. etc. etc. And there is also an issue about ... you know, you don't have the numbers, you can't take your drums inside. You don't have the numbers and you don't have loads and loads of kids willing to be respectful and do the graft and get the abuse and be the apprentices, and follow their superiors and learn what it is all about, etc. etc. So all of these things are being undermined and that doesn't leave very much – it leaves chanting basically. Some banners – some pyrotechnics: but those are increasingly difficult and you never know. And it cuts down the scope – all of these other ways of performing your identity. The increase of police escorts: you can't march through your rival's city centre chanting and singing and waving your flags any more. You can't even go to all of the away games that you want to. The scope for the performance of identity is decreasing almost week-on-week” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

This is the biggest issue impacting anti-racism in Italian football. The Pisanu Laws do not just erode the opportunities for the *ultras*' performance by restricting the flags and banners for the choreographies;



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they are imposing regulations on *all* fans. They make it more difficult for ordinary fans to attend the stadium. For the purposes of this report, buying a ticket for the match between AS Roma and Genoa was fraught with difficulties. I could not buy it online as the system did not recognise a British postcode. Attending the stadium on the day, I asked the police where the ticket office was. They said you couldn't buy tickets on the day of a match. At this point another police officer broke off his phone conversation and said that you could, but only in the *tribune*. I asked several stewards and club representatives and eventually found the ticket office, about two kilometres away. The only tickets available were in the *tribune* at a minimum price of €60. The lack of information, combined with the price of tickets, helps to restrict *all* fans. **The result is that those fans that have gone through all the problems and bureaucracy feel more authentic and legitimate than those who have not attended. They feel that their opinion is more valid and justified than those that are not attending. The lack of moderate fans helps to amplify these contrary views.**

The unintended consequence of this legislation is that it feeds into the *ultras* mentality to be transgressive and contrary. Fans that want to be seen as transgressive use the limited resources available to continue to allow them to present themselves as 'bad boys'.

"[The *ultras* will go] against the laws that they feel are not correct. In Italy when there is *confusione* you know, when there is an accident in the stadium, after two or three days you have a new law. It is an emotional law and sometimes it is not fair and it is not correct. In Italy the *Daspo* it is done directly by the police and there is no control over it. While in England there is a proposal I think, by the police, and then there is the judge that gives the banning order." Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

"And I think a lot of *ultras*, who are hyper-alert to hypocrisy and moralising patronising discourses from above – will say 'this is bullshit' and 'why are we the bad guys when you are the people who are exploiting these people in slave labour or whatever else it may be'. And I kind of agree to a point. You can't say they are wrong in that sense. And I think above all, when it comes to the *ultras*, who are the people who are chiefly responsible for racism in football, **their perception of State hypocrisy and the moralising of the main-stream media, drives everything. It is the most important thing. As soon as they feel patronised or talked down to, or as soon as they sense hypocrisy, they will deliberately do that thing that you don't want them to do, just to try and sort of highlight it.** This shock factor – the deliberate wind-up – is very powerful. The more the state does these quite ineffectual and superficial gestures, the more that the Italian *ultras* will deliberately go out there to offend. And recently, for example, this so called solidarity between Inter and Milan fans, that is about them saying



‘let’s shut down every Curva in the land’. ‘Let’s get everybody to do monkey noises’ and we will see what they do about it... **Which paradoxically, the authorities have helped to create.**” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

Another unintended consequence of the perceived state repression is that the *ultras* are uniting in their transgression. *Ultras* are putting aside their club allegiances to unite under the broader banner of the *ultras*. The roots of this occurred in 1995 after the death of a young Genoa fan called Vincenzo Spagnolo. Various *ultras* groups came together to hold a meeting and lay out a set of ground rules for *ultras*. This has continued in recent years with *ultras* of rival clubs, such as Lazio and Roma, joining forces to attack the police, make protests and campaign against the ‘repression’. The imposition of the *Tessera del Tifoso* helped to unite fans and *ultras* in their resistance.

“The problem is that for the *ultras* thinking, if a majority impose on you something we are against – this is the problem.” Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

“I think that the Italian anti-racism initiatives are fundamentally flawed... they are tied up with all sorts of other very problematic control mechanisms that are applied to, above all, the *ultras*. **And that therefore to resist one, or to perceive one as illegitimate, is to perceive it all as illegitimate.** And so not only territorial discrimination, but the *legge Pisanu*, and the closure of the ‘away sections’ and the limitations on travel and the ridiculous rules on how to buy a ticket, and the stupid rule that says you can’t buy a ticket on the day of the game and if you are resident here you can’t ... and all that crap! **The problem is, is that it is the same, and they wrap it all into one package and so if you reject one you reject all. And I think that the Italian strategy for anti-racism is almost the worst strategy for anti-racism that you could possibly come up with if you actually put your mind to it.**” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

The problem with the Pisanu laws is that they have wrapped up all anti-social behaviour into one set of regulations. They have not tackled specific aspects of racism, territorial discrimination, hooliganism, political activism, and pyrotechnics. The *ultras* are therefore resisting all aspects of the legislation, including areas that should be considered legitimate (such as anti-racism).

Similar trends are appearing in Poland. Like Italy, many of the laws are focussed on limiting violence and hooliganism. They also include regulations on political slogans, racist chanting and pyrotechnics. As in Italy, many Polish fans, *ultras* and hooligans are uniting to combat some of these tendencies. As occurred after the Spagnolo murder in Genoa, Polish hooligans formed the Poznan Pact in 2004 to



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establish ground rules for conflict. A consequence of this is that they no longer fight at matches involving the national team. As a result, violence has declined at national matches, but so has the interest of these groups. This has opened up the audience to more moderate fans at national matches.

The hooligans and *ultras* are also uniting against the authorities in various ways, especially around certain rules and regulations governing how they perform their identity.

“I think now, fans are in conflict with the football government, they are making the borders from them in supporting: making borders in the choreographing flares and also with transference with words which they write on their flags. Some of them are forbidden: political are forbidden. Most of the football fans in Poland are against the current Prime Minister, Donald Tusk. They want to scream it in the stadium during matches, but it is forbidden. So I think now the football fans are aggressive to government and to football government and also to UEFA. I think the problem with football fans – more important than racism – is the problem between fans, because they are fighting each other. And I think it was the success that now they don’t fight in the stadiums – but they used to, a few years ago, before we built some modern stadiums, but they still do this.” Robert, Legia fan

One of the unintended consequences of the various hooligan and *ultras* groups joining forces is that they are uniting under the political of the far-right. This has occurred at public events, especially on Polish Independence Day. As mentioned in section 4, rioters associated with football teams fire-bombed the Russian embassy during these marches in November 2013.

“And, what is also important – after the 11th of 11 – the Polish Independence Day – when usually the fascists are marching in Warsaw... they consider this the most important match, because it is like a huge gathering for all of them from all around Poland. From time-to-time, sometimes I make jokes that this is the most colourful demonstration in Poland. Because all of them they wear those balaclavas in their club colours. So when they start fighting the police it is really so colourful, because then they are united Nationalists against the ‘whatever’ – Jewish Police. They wear it but not their balaclavas. They wear the flags and they wear usually the flags and banners: but when it comes to action they put on their balaclavas. But the balaclavas that they have are the ones that they brought with themselves, so they are the club colours. But they usually don’t wear... for this manifestation they don’t wear for example scarves – which they do like to do” Jacek Purski, *Never Again*

This is an interesting paradox. Fascist organisations strive for a strong, centralised state; clearly the



police would be central to organising this. Yet right-wing hooligans and *ultras* see the police as the enemy who are seeking to stop their activities. This is reflected in the fact that even though the march on 11th movement was a nationalist march, the fan groups were wearing club colours. They wore nationalist colours for the march, but club colours for the violence against the police afterwards.

The situation in Poland is different. State legislation is not preventing moderate fans from attending the stadium. Moderate fans are not attending because of the violence. *Ultras* and hooligans then see themselves as the legitimate fans and justified in their actions as they are the only ones attending.

“And you know the smaller the size of it [the crowd], then the easier it is for an extremist minority to impose their rules of the game.” Rafal Pankowski, Never Again and academic

“I was going to matches: I come from a little town, 30,000 of people. So maybe 200-300-400 fans go every match. And the *ultras* sector is about 20 or 30 people. So there are some colleagues – so it is enough to have five or six people to do monkey sounds and you have racism on the stadium. So it is easier.” Robert, Legia fan

The concentration of one dominant fan group means that diverse and opposing views are not taken into account, or are actively opposed. This is especially true at smaller clubs lower down the leagues. If the *ultras* or hooligans become a singular force, with no opposition from moderate fans, then certain behaviours will be accepted and valorised.

“Legia is arguably the biggest club in terms of fanbase, but not diverse as far as mainstream ideas/behaviour are concerned. As with most clubs, there's only one official organisation of supporters, which limits pluralism severely - any form of activity not welcome by those running the association is met with hostility, though I don't mean violence. That said, most fan associations in Poland are dominated by people who are given respect in the stands for number of away games, hooligan experiences, etc. This means these organisations are very strong and consolidated communities, further adding to the limited diversity. At the same time these organisations don't seem to be fully aware of the outside world's rules/viewpoints, or if they are, they sometimes openly oppose them.” Michał Karaś, journalist

The problem for the Polish authorities is that they need to tackle violence at the stadium to encourage other fans to attend. Otherwise the more extreme fans become seen as the ‘normal’ way of supporting football. Another reason to tackle hooliganism is that the leaders on the terrace are those who have respect for this violence. This allows them to assert their ideas and lead the group. If they



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wish to adopt a political approach to the fan group then they physically assert it. But anti-hooliganism measures have to be separated from anti-racism campaigns and sanctions. The 'racist/hooligan couplet' needs to be clearly demarcated and education and dialogue used to explain the reasons.

There has been some success with tackling extremist symbols and racism in Polish stadiums in recent years. In particular, the clubs themselves have worked with fans in order to do this. This is clearly a complex negotiation, with difficult compromises. **Clear instruction on what is acceptable, and what is not, is important. The reasons for the regulation or sanction also need to be explained and understood. Education and dialogue is important. Once again, the club can play an important role in engaging in this dialogue.**

"Another level that is very, very important – and probably it is the most important one – are the flags which fascist symbols or racist symbols. I mean, mainly these are Celtic crosses and other symbols like ... linked with the topic. There are a number of them. That is why we started with this brochure and with special training for the safety security representatives of the FA. And we actually managed to reduce the number of flags really, really very hardly. I remember the time about ten years ago, when at each of 8 matches of the – then it was 9 matches of the League had 9 racist incidents linked with a flag and usually it was a Celtic cross. So that was on every single stadium. Nowadays the incidents linked with displaying racist flags are really reduced to the top 2 or 3 levels. Because there are the safety security representatives of the so-called the match delegates from the FA, and they use the brochure. So, according to the display of racist symbols it was reduced really very hard. Any type of promoting racist, fascists, anti-Semitic or totalitarian views is forbidden in Poland." Jacek Purski, Never Again

"But the fireworks and the UEFA sanctions that is one thing. And I think this is what most of the fans, or the majority of the fans, would sympathise with. You just try to defy UEFA. But the racist one is just a completely different story. You can't really get support in the mainstream fan for your racist flags or your racist political abuse. It is a different story... it has not been questioned, either by the clubs, nor by the fan groups. They know racism is not acceptable. But in terms of the fireworks – they don't understand it! And they don't like to accept it. And they feel that we have had some support from the clubs and a number of the people around. But within this, is the anti UEFA and anti-regulation... racism is not in the basket." Dominik Antonowicz, academic

If the fans understand the reasons for the regulation then they are more willing to accept it. Problems



occur when they do not understand and refuse to obey the sanctions.

D.4. CONFLATION OF RACISM AND TERRITORIAL DISCRIMINATION

The biggest challenge to anti-racism in Italy has come from a series of sanctions aimed at stopping racism and ‘territorial discrimination’ in the stadium. Broadly, fans and *ultras* have accepted sanctions related to racism. They do not, however, understand the sanctions for ‘territorial discrimination’. As a result they have expanded their use of songs and banners in order to challenge the regulations. Racist chanting has been used to challenge the rules and led to the use of the very behaviour it is trying to stop.

“I think there is a fascinating conflation here, by the authorities, between racism and territorial prejudice. Which I think is the single biggest obstacle to an effective fight against racism in Italian football clubs.” Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

“The biggest problem is the repressive system, the regulations for the closure of the curve, like at Inter for territorial discrimination against Napoli. This leads to a resistance and they [the *ultras*] respond in a negative manner.” Carlo Balestri, UISP and Progetto Ultra

The growth of localism enhanced the identity of the *ultras* in the 1980s. This was reflected in chants such as ‘Bergamo is a Nation, all the rest is South’, and ‘Brescia to the people from Brescia’. On the one hand this ties in with the ‘importance of difference’ for the *ultras*. Denigrating rivals is part of this ritual. As fans do not understand the importance of ‘territorial discrimination’ then they do not accept the sanctions imposed upon them.

“You will never eradicate the desire of Livorno fans to insult Pisa or whatever. And by telling them that is the same as monkey chanting, you will never eradicate monkey chanting either.”
Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

The issue is that ‘territorial discrimination’ and racism have become conflated. The problem for the authorities in Italy is that the abuse of the South has become racialised. They are abused in a *similar* way to the way groups who are considered to be outside of Italy. From a theoretical, academic perspective, it is possible to see how this abuse evolves in a similar way to nationalist and racist abuse. With cities being ‘small mother countries’, fuelled by *campanilismo*, fans can abuse others who do not fit into their understanding of their city. As the South has been presented as different to the



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North in political rhetoric, it is seen as a different country. Banners have even said 'Welcome to Italy', which suggests that the South is not just outside of Italy, but outside of Europe.

"I think it is interesting and complex when we talk about Napoli, because the people from Napoli are discriminated against in a racial style way – but it is still different than skin-colour based racism. And I do still think it is unhelpful to conflate the two things. And I think the overall effect which is to say that to say these things totally undermines any kind of campaigning. Because nobody in this country thinks that regional discrimination is discrimination. Nobody thinks it is real and nobody cares." Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

Fans in the stadium do not see this abuse in the same way as racism. Even though they are abusing the South in this way, they still see it as part of inter-club culture, not 'xenophobic' abuse.

"And actually what is happening is that you can't help any more *campanilismo* because if you insult Napoli fans then you make this discrimination – you make a territorial discrimination. But the same doesn't happen if Milan fans insult our fans... there are not certain rules well written. If I know a rule I can respect it. If the rule is not written then it is impossible." Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

"The system in Italy is unclear. Juventus fans can make banners against Superga, the air crash, but in Rome if we make chants against Napoli, we get fined" Riccardo Bertolin, myRoma

The hyper-sensitivity of *ultras* and fans to any hypocrisy undermines any attempts to stop this abuse. Abuse between Milan and Roma, or Juventus and Torino is accepted by the authorities, but abuse toward Napoli is seen in a different way. **The Federation needs to impose equal sanctions on inter-club abuse between all clubs in order to have any legitimacy in the sanctions. However, this is unlikely to win popular support.**

Italian authorities also need to separate racism and 'territorial discrimination' to stop fans conflating the two and resisting both. As in other areas of European football culture, fans are uniting against rules and regulations that are seen as illegitimate. *Ultras* from a number of different clubs united to resist the stadium and *curve* closures. When Milan had a *curva* closed after *ultras* displayed a banner saying 'Napoli cholera-sufferes', *ultras* from rival clubs united, led by groups from Juventus, Inter and Milan. They sought to engage in the very behaviour that would close stadiums. In this way they would thought they could get all the stadiums closed and highlight the hypocrisy of the law. To reinforce the unified approach of diverse *ultras* groups, Napoli fans



displayed a banner saying something very similar to the Milan fans. It stated 'Naples cholera-sufferers. Now close our curva!'; the Napoli fans abused themselves.

“And the paradox is that the Napoli fans made a banner with, you know, to say *Napoli Colera* even they would like to be insulted by the other fans, because it is a sort of the chants and the rivalry between the fans, I think.” Lorenzo Contucci, AS Roma and lawyer

The problem for regulations aimed at tackling the *ultras* is that it needs to be seen as legitimate, with the reasons for the sanctions clearly stated. On the one hand, the *ultras* like to be contrary and independent. But 'territorial discrimination' does not have wider acceptance with the broader fanbase. In February 2014, Roma had two *curve* closed due to 'territorial discrimination'. Fans in the *tribune* (which is populated by ordinary fans, not *ultras*), began calling for Mount Vesuvius to 'wash [Naples] with fire', the same chants that got the other two stands closed. As the broader fanbase does not understand the reasons for the closures, they are uniting more fans in opposition. This undermines anti-racism approaches.

D.5. THE PROBLEMS OF CLOSING CURVE AND STADIUMS

UEFA and national federations have instigated a programme of full or part stadium closures to penalise racist and territorial abuse. As with other areas of campaigning on anti-racism, this stance should be applauded. It highlights the importance of the issue to the federations. This is paramount as unequivocal support for anti-racism helps to place the issue centrally, it helps to de-politicise it from left and right-wing politics, and it gives support to victims and clubs who are trying to tackle the problem. Use of these sanctions need to be placed into a wider communication and education strategy.

- i. **There needs to be a tiered approach to the sanctions. Curve should not be closed in the first instance. A series of fines and education strategies should be imposed, which ultimately lead to closure of curve.**
- ii. **Clubs have to be given the opportunity to show that they have attempted to deal with the problem.**
- iii. **Potentially the fines could be used to pay for organisations like Never Again to coach the club on racism and xenophobia. Alternatively, sanctions could include forcing clubs to have educational resources on racism, including workshops, educational spaces and other activities where anti-racism is discussed.**
- iv. **The reasons for sanctions need to be clearly stated. It is not sufficient to say that it is**



'against the rules'. If fans do not see the 'rules' as legitimate, then they will not accept the sanction.

- v. Every opportunity has got to be taken to incorporate the majority of fans. If all fans are penalised then they will side with the *ultras* who will defend the rights of fans.**

Opinions on the closure of stands and stadiums are conflicted.

"I think the opinions are shared: some fans know that we are forbidden to use flares, 'so don't use them'. You used them, and we are punished. You do wrong, the *ultras* do wrong. But some of them think that 'flares are OK', but no one is beaten by a flare or a fired by a flare, so it is OK. The stadium looks good, the atmosphere looks good and the match is watched better. So opinions are shared, I think." Robert, Legia fan

"From my perspective this is something very interesting, because on the one side I am ... OK it doesn't make sense to punish everyone for the behaviour of some individuals. But on the other hand, if you punish the whole stadium, then in a way, you force the regular fans to take action if something like this will happen again, if you know what I mean?" Jacek Purski, Never Again

The key is to get the broader fanbase on side. Some will see the value of banning pyrotechnics or racism. For others, it is not something they think about. They would then feel resentful if they are being punished. Ultimately, it is important to have significant sanctions like these. But these have to be used as a last resort. Fans often side with their fellow fans. The danger with penalising all fans for racism and territorial discrimination is that anti-racist fans will not tackle the abuse as it might mean that the stadium is closed as a result of their actions. Ultimately, they will be banned as well and are less likely to report the abuse. More significantly, as the *ultras* have been at the vanguard of resisting punitive legislation on all fans, they become the 'freedom fighters' for all fans. *Ultras* are legitimated by the rest of the fanbase, and this strengthens their self-belief that what they are doing is correct.

"Most people, even if they are not racist, may think there are other people in my Curva who are racist but in other respects they are OK guys. And ultimately you are all fans of 'X' club. And we are all going to stick together if we are attacked from the outside. And the fact that there is nothing coming from inside the fan movements means that ultimately you side with the person who is a fellow fan of your club even if they are fascist. Rather than with various hypocritical bossy corrupt authorities who go: 'no, no, no, don't do that!'" Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic



“The police – the government – is the bigger opposite. And one important thing - flags and flares. It is a little problem, but when the fans do something wrong, for example flares, they are closing stadiums. And this is a problem which annoys not only those *ultras* fans, but also the typical average fans, who goes with the hamburger and popcorn and watches the match – and they cannot. I went to a match - Legia-Śląsk - and the *ultras* sector was just covered by a big flag Legia – and it was empty. It is horrible. They know that it doesn't solve the problem, but it is the easiest way.” Robert, Legia fan

Stadium bans must be seen as proportionate and legitimate, otherwise they will be resisted. Sanctions must be seen to punish the perpetrators in the first instance, rather than the wider fanbase. If you treat all fans as criminals, then they are more likely to join forces and resist. Isolating the perpetrators is the correct way to start these sanctions.

“You can't ban people, because you can't exclude young cultures or young people, you must integrate them. if you exclude them and then they come together, you get a mass or a group that you cannot handle and you cannot organise. And you haven't got any influence from outside, to this group. So it is better and there must be another punishment. But the club knows – for an *ultra* – is a stadium ban and it is the biggest punishment more than money or anything else. It is the biggest punishment for the guys that they could get. Sometimes it is funny! If some boy or some fan has been arrested by the police, because he did something wrong, and then he must be punished by lawyers. The only thing which is interesting, interesting for this guy, is how long is my stadium ban? And nothing else!” Rolf-Arnd, BVB fan project

In the first instance, the individuals should be spoken to and educated. The club should take the initiative when these problems emerge. The individual or individuals who are perpetrating the abuse should be educated by the club and other bodies working with anti-racism (see section 6). The club could also ban the fan from the stadium. For some young fans, being banned from the stadium is the worst punishment as that is where they get their wider social identity. Education is important, and opportunities to re-enter the stadium presented otherwise there is a danger that the individual might be pushed into other groups outside of the stadium, which are more dangerous or extreme. It is harder to control these away from the stadium and might magnify the problem.

If they continue then individual Football Banning Orders should be implemented. This can be seen as a problem. In Italy, banning orders ('*Daspos*') are not seen as legitimate. They are controlled by the police, rather than the courts (as in England). The police have become the symbols of the state on the ground, illegitimate and therefore a group to be resisted. *Ultras* groups across Europe are now



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calling themselves variations of 'ACAB' (standing for All Cops Are Bastards). This has created what Stefanini (2009) calls "ACAB syndrome", where the police have to resist at all costs. For *Daspos* and Football Banning Orders to be effective an independent judiciary with clear rules and guidelines for their enforcement must administer them.

Clubs should be given the opportunity to tackle the problem. This is where organisations like FARE, Never Again, and FSE (amongst others) can be useful. They have the resources and skills to go to clubs to talk to them about the problems and potential solutions.

D.6. THE PROBLEMS OF 'POLITICAL' MOVEMENTS

The important thing for fan groups associated with anti-racism is not to be seen as political. In countries that are politically polarised, those who do not see themselves as affiliated to that political thought will reject campaigns that are seen as 'political'. Anti-racism has been associated with clubs with fans who identify as left wing, especially in Italy. As Ruddock (2005) has argued, fans do not appreciate groups or media using their club for political purposes. In England, there was considerable conflict amongst the fans of West Ham United when Lee Bowyer was rumoured to be signing for their club. Many fans did not welcome someone who had been guilty of racial assault stigmatising their club. Equally they also did not want it to be used as a 'political' agenda by those outside the club. Therefore organisations have to walk this delicate balance in order to not be seen as political outsiders.

"Of course there is the left-right thing, and there is the *Progetto Ultra*, which is problematic... it had two flaws. It was too openly political and a lot of hard-core *ultras* would go with a no-politics on the *curva* thing. And secondly it was too connected to the authorities. It was taking money from the European Union." Vanda Wilcox, Roma fan and academic

"This is the main argument why the supporters are not working with us. They see us as a political organisation. That is why whenever I start any lecture or presentation or whatever, I say – 'Hello I am Jacek Purski and I am from a non-political organisation called the Never Again Association.' And this is my first sentence: always." Jacek Purski, Never Again

Many fans and *ultras* subscribe to the idea that there are no politics in football. More importantly, they don't want politics associated with their club. **All organisations involved in anti-racism need to clearly state the human rights aspect of anti-racism. They need to stress that this is not about left-**



right politics; it is a universal right.

“They say ‘we don’t want politics in the stadium’ it is football. And then we are saying that this is not really politics it is something that has to be a fact for everyone. A human right, this is what we are discussing. And when it comes to a discussion it is a very good sign because it shows that people are starting to think about it.” Tina, BVB fan project

