

## Football related violence in Romania

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Football related violence occurred as a problem for the Romanian civil society only after the collapse of the communist regime at the same time as the forming of the supporter's organized groups.

Before entering the core of our article, we must make a short presentation of the Romanian football and of the Romanian football fans.

Football made its apparition in Romania in the last years of the 19th century in the region of Banat who belonged then to the Austria-Hungary Empire. The young men who studied abroad were responsible for its introduction. The first football game was played in Timisoara, the 25th of June 1899 (we are referring to the first *actual* game, following the English rule and involving a referee) and was played between VI and VII graders from a local college. The final score was 0-0. (Ionescu, Tudoran, 1984:11)

During that time, in Bucharest, football was played without any organization. It was a *moquery of football, without any rules, played with deformed patched balls*. (Kiritescu, 1964: 561). The first Bucharest team – Olimpia - was born in 1904 and its players were all Bucharest working German clerks. (Chirila, 1998:147)

In 1912 *Federația Societăților Sportive din România – Romanian Sport Societies Federation* is created - the first organization with a centralizing role in Romanian sport. From obvious geopolitical reasons, in this organization there were no clubs from Banat or Transilvania.

In 1913, the first *Romanians only* team is formed in Bucharest – Coltea F.C. Its program stated that the only conditions for entering the team were the Romanian citizenship and the paying of a very small fee. (Chirila 1986:21)

The first international game involving a Romanian national team was played in 1922 in Belgrade and was won 2-1 by the Romanian team (Ionescu, Tudoran: 20)

There are three main periods in Romanian football: the first, from 1899 to the moment the communists seized power in Romania, in which football was the exponent of a semi-capitalist country<sup>1</sup>; the 42 years of socialist football and the recent period, since the collapse of the communist regime.

It is obvious that every country from the former socialist blocked experienced a similar development of football. *The development of football may be defined in terms of these periods primarily because of the impact which political changes have had on Hungarian<sup>2</sup> football* (Pinter, Van Gestel, 2004:107-119).

Before the 1989 political changes the totalitarian state could not allow any forms of unsupervised civil socializing thus reducing the supporter's organizations to informal

gatherings. If violence still appeared it was only a spontaneous behavior that was easily controlled by the police. And even if this violence appeared, *it is difficult (though not impossible) to find documentation of these events in contemporary newspapers because they had only limited freedom to report them* (Pinter, Van Gestel, 2004:107-119).

After the collapse of the communist regime, Romanian supporters began to organize themselves in groups, thus creating a stronger sentiment of identity. The first to do so were Rapid Bucharest's fans which, on the 12<sup>th</sup> January of 1990<sup>3</sup> had a meeting with the club's leaders in order to *discuss the creation of a viable fan's organization which would have its representatives amongst the club's leaders*<sup>4</sup>.

Romanian fans decided to organize themselves according to the Italian model – the ultra<sup>5</sup> model. It's not the purpose of this article to describe the history of the Italian ultra movement but a few words about this *groups (wrongly considered the equivalent of English hooligans)* (Dal Lago, De Biasi 1999: 73-89).

At the end of the 60ies and at the beginning of the 70ies Italian supporters began to organize themselves in ultra groups. Researchers (e.g. Dal Lago 1990, Marchi 1994 etc.) agree that the birth of the ultra groups occurred in an *anomic political context* (Podaliri, Balestri, 1998: 88-101). The first to use this term were Sampdoria Genova's fans<sup>6</sup>.

This form of manifestation became important in the southern parts of Europe after the 1992 World Cup, moment which *proved to be the only real moment of national level aggregation*<sup>7</sup> for the Italian ultras.

Researches had shown that, during the eighties and early nineties, the two fandom models – the English (or Northern) and the Italian (or Southern) were almost equally represented in Europe, with a slight advantage of the English model. In the past years the situation changed rather dramatically.

The Italian style has become the dominating figure throughout Europe. If in the late eighties and early nineties the ultra model was confined to the southern part of the continent<sup>8</sup>, nowadays it is influential also in northern Europe<sup>9</sup> as well as in most of the former communist countries<sup>10</sup>. The ultra<sup>11</sup> culture advanced despite the English model, which was constantly overthrown from its former grounds.

This changes occurred simultaneously with the changes suffered by the English football and consequently by the English fandom. This paper doesn't try to examine closely these changes<sup>12</sup> but, nevertheless, it seems important to mention few of these transformations.

After the globalization of the world-wide-web, the Internet has become a very powerful informational tool. The geographical distances lost all of their past importance regarding to the access to information. Thus, with only one click, an interested person can find anything. This has a tremendous importance for football fans<sup>13</sup>. Media has been reluctant of showing fan's displays<sup>14</sup> so the only way in which a person could have contacts with other types of supporting one team was during direct European confrontations or the occasionally fieldtrips<sup>15</sup>.

Supporters' websites are now a common display. On those sites fans introduce themselves to the visitors.

The Romanian ultra movement has a short history. The first ultra group is Ultras Farul, created by the Farul Constanta's fans in 1992.

1995 is a very important year for the Romanian ultra movement. In that year, two of the most significant ultra groups were born: *Commando Ultra Viola Curva Sud* formed by par les supporters de Politehnica Timișoara's fans and *Armata Ultra*, created by Steaua's supporters.

En 1996 is born *Nuova Guardia*, Dimano Bucharest's first ultra group whilst in 1997 it is Rapid's fans turn to start such a group.

In Romania there are now many ultra groups in cities like București, Craiova, Timișoara, Ploiești, Cluj, Arad. It's rather curious that in the region of Moldova this form of supporting one's team barely exists. There are only two cities in which the Italian model exists: Galați (*Sidexplozia Ultra* –Oțelul Galați) and Vaslui (*Brigada Supremă, Dorobanții* –FC Vaslui). This region, viewed as one of the poorest parts of Romania remains rather traditional. This probably explains this lack of interest towards new, external influences. Ultra supporters are now the leaders of the kops and the most fanatics' supporters of a team. Generally, they are the ones involved in violent behavior<sup>16</sup>.

### **Verbal violence**

When talking about verbal violence, we must specify that it has two forms that interest us: violent language (in our case fan's swears) and violence in language *the threat and even the aggression prefigured verbally* (Slama-Cazacu 2003), in our case aggressive and racist chanting.

The violent language is found at every match on Romanian stadia. It can go from a person insulting a referee to thousands swearing the other team or the other fans. The swearing, especially when it involves a large number of individuals is provocative and is generally spontaneous. It occurs mainly in the moment of discharge: *the moment in which the members [of a mass] frees themselves from every difference and become identical* (Canetti 2000: 7)

Swearing has the main purpose to annoy the other team's players and, especially, the other team's fans. The degree of swearing is in close connection with the other team. If the teams don't share a history of rivalry or if the fans are not enemies, the swearing will be only sporadic and, in a normal situation<sup>17</sup>, it will only involve a few individuals. The situation changes dramatically if there is a rivalry between the two teams and the two team's fans. In this case swearing will occur at a very large scale and it will involve almost the whole stadium. Swearing is now dependent on the quality of the other team's support. If the opposite team produces a low-quality support the insults will be less powerful than in the case that the other team produces good support (equal or even better).

This form of violence is seen, especially by a part of the press, as the biggest problem of Romanian stadia. The persons that swear are seen as hooligans and they must be chased out of Romanian stadia<sup>18</sup>. As Dunning, Murphy and Williams had shown us *the*

*label football hooliganism [...] embraces swearing and behavior which, in other contexts, would be excused as simple high spirits or horseplay.* (Dunning, Murphy, Williams, 1984a).

This opinion that swearing must cease on Romanian stadia was supported by the former government, which, on The 19<sup>th</sup> of May 2004 issued an ordinance, which stated that anyone caught swearing<sup>19</sup> at a football match, will receive a fine between 1000000 and 3000000 lei<sup>20</sup>. In fact, few people were fined according to this ordinance.

Violent language will probably always exist on Romanian stadia in spite of any campaign destined to make it disappear.

### **Violence in language**

The violence in language exists in two forms: aggressive and provocative chanting and racial abuse.

We have already shown that sometimes the insults are provocative. We will now turn our attention in the aggressive chanting of Romanian fans.

As researchers had shown us (e.g. Downing et al 1984a, Broussard 1990, Ehrenberg 1988, Bromberger 1994 etc), the football fans use very often war metaphors in order to encourage their favorites and to intimidate their adversaries. Themes like fight, death, blood, honor<sup>21</sup>, are seen every week in football stadiums all over the world.

Romanian football songs are often very violent. We should have a look at some of them. For instance, in the past years, Steaua Bucharest's fans had this song, directed to their arch enemies, Dinamo Bucharest:

*Scoateti cutite, scoateti topoare!*

*Sa facem crima in Stefan cel Mare<sup>22</sup>!*

*Sa curga sange, sa curga sangel*

*Sa curga sange de caine<sup>23</sup> spurcat<sup>24</sup>*

Dinamo fans retaliated fastly with this 1998 song:

*Sa nu uitati, anul trecut*

*Ca v-am dat foc si v-am batut*

*Sa nu uitati, anu'acesta*

*Cainii fac din nou legea<sup>25</sup>*

Songs like this can be heard every week, especially on Bucharest stadia. They are always launched by the kop's leaders, which mean that they are premeditated with the obvious intention to annoy their adversaries. Just like swearing, these songs are sung with grater passion if the opponent of the day is a rival<sup>26</sup> and if it has drawn a large support.

## **Symbolic violence**

Symbolic violence exists in the group's names and in their imagery<sup>27</sup>. The flags and banners are ornamented with gothic letters or signs such as skulls or Celtic crosses<sup>28</sup>. Communist symbols are inexistent. For an external observer it would look as if all Romanian fans are chauvinists or xenophobes. It is not necessarily the case. These symbols belong rather to the warlike requisite supposed to intimidate the adversaries. They do not come from a strong knowledge of the ideologies, but rather from a desire to create a group's radical and intimidating image.

The war metaphor is visible from the first glance at a Romanian stadium<sup>29</sup>. The ultra groups have names like Brigade, Dogs of War, Commando Ultra Viola Curva Sud, Asalt, Panzer, Tineretului Korp etc. These names were chosen by the ultra groups because of their violent connotation. Each group wants to be seen as very violent, in order to inspire fear to his enemies.

## **Racial abuse**

Racial abuse occurs rather often on Romanian stadia. Recently, Steaua Bucuresti was fined 16500 euro for the racist behavior of its fans. Racist chanting is always directed to other team's fans or players (unlike English or Italian fans, Dunning et al. 1984, Broussard 1990). As Bromberger 1994 has shown us, when talking about J.A. Bell, these manifestations come from the desire to intimidate the opponents rather than from firm convictions.

Even though in Romania, there are at least three "problem" minorities (gypsies, Hungarians and Jews) there are just two who are constantly abused during football matches: the gypsies and the Africans. The lack of racist behavior toward Jews or Hungarians on Romanian stadiums is easily explained: at the top level there is no team in which the Hungarians or the Jews are strongly represented. Should the case be different, Romanian fixtures would probably see racist behavior against these two minorities<sup>30</sup>.

The Gypsies have a very poor image in the Romanian society. According to Gallup's 2003 public opinion barometer<sup>31</sup>, 73 % of Romanians don't want their neighbor to be a gypsy.

The Racism behavior against the gypsies is best illustrated by ultras' behavior at matches against Rapid Bucuresti, This team is perceived as the team that gypsies usually tend to support so a match against this team is a good "occasion" to chant against this minority. The hardest moments were in 1998 when Dinamo's fans displayed a 20-25 meters long banner on which it was written *a million crows*<sup>32</sup>, *only one solution: Antonescu*<sup>33</sup> and in 2001 when Dinamo's fans displayed an immense flag on which it was written: *Die, gypsy!* :

There aren't too many African players in the Romanian teams. They are often insulted by rival fans with monkey chants. These manifestations have the sole purpose to intimidate and to annoy rival fans and players. As we already stated, these abuse are never directed to own players.

### **Verbal violence and the Internet**

The Internet is a new place in which the violence can appear. We are referring, of course, to non-physical forms of violence. Romanian ultras have a strong presence on the Internet. Almost each group has his own web site which is an extension of the group's mentality and ideology.

Verbal violence on the Internet has two forms of manifestation:

1. On the group's home pages. Each site has a short presentation of itself and of its enemies. For example, on [www.ultras.ro](http://www.ultras.ro) (Ultras Steaua home page) one can read that *a very important reason, one of the roots of our hate towards this team's [Rapid] fans is the fact that they belong, in an overwhelming majority, to an ethnic group hated by all Romanians (gypsies)*. The same type of discourse is encountered on other sites.

2. On the forums. There are, in Europe, a few specialized sites (e.g. [www.ultrasforum.lx.ro](http://www.ultrasforum.lx.ro) or [www.mouvement-ultra.com](http://www.mouvement-ultra.com)) which deal with the ultra movement and where, on the forums, various fans can come into contact with one another. The discussions on these forums are generally civilized, mainly because of the dictatorial power detained by the moderators who have the power to ban anyone, anytime and for any reason. However, discussion can become rude, and threats or swears are often exchanged between fans. The main reason for these anonymous displays (no one can know exactly who is hiding behind a name or an avatar) is the same as in the case of stadium insults, racist behavior and aggressive chanting: to intimidate the rival.

For example, soon after Dinamo was drawn against Everton in the first round of the 2005/2006 UEFA cup, Dinamo fans started to insult their English opponents on the official Everton forum, the Blue Room. (<http://www.evertonfc.com/forum/index.php>). The Romanian fans were very aggressive, threatening the English fans. They retailed with *Romania Romania/ our women all have facial hair/ we are offensive, very rude/ it's because we have no food* posted by username dozzier1973. This offensive behavior is also a part of the war metaphor used by fans all over the world.

The forums also have to possibility two allow two individuals to engage into a personal dialogue. Violence can obviously exist in these dialogues, perhaps even more often than in the forum itself. The reason why we did not consider them in our article is that we consider that the supposed insults are more the result of a quarrel between two individuals.

However, these Internet threats or insults etc. don't have the same impact as those performed at football matches where there is, at least to some extent, a visual contact between the two sides<sup>34</sup>, but they can add to the pre-match pressure.

## **Physical violence**

### **Fighting between rival fans**

Physical violence between rival fans occurs rather rarely on Romanian stadia. The rival fans are well separated in the stands. According to the law, *the fans will be separated by resilient structures and by the police forces which will form a block destined to stop the fans from circulating from a stand to another*<sup>35</sup>. The club that organises the fixture must reserve a special stand for the travelling fans. This segregation is quite effective and it has managed to avoid large scale fighting in the stands.

In these conditions, fighting between fans occurs especially near the stadiums and it is generally not spontaneous. There are generally small scale fights between a small numbers of individuals. Each team<sup>36</sup> has its own mob with the main purpose to fight with rival fans, before or after the match. It's not even necessary (for these mobs) to be directly involved in the match. Sometimes, these fans attack their rivals even if their team doesn't play in that specific fixture. These mobs use a more casual<sup>37</sup> look in order not to draw the police's, or rival's fans attention. The mobs stroll around places known to be frequented generally by rival fans. When the *prayer*<sup>38</sup> is spotted, the fight starts almost instantly. The fight lasts for a very short while and it is more a symbolic aggression, *an aggressive ritual in which rarely someone is really hurt* (Marsh et al. 1978, Dunning et al 1984) because the main purpose is to steal the rival's symbols in order to humiliate him. These attacks are the results of a symbolic violence: the aggression of the sign or objects that represent the other's identity (Amirou 2003: 37-53). Thus, the humiliation of a club's symbol actually means the humiliation of the club itself.

There are three main reasons for which this organized form of violence occurs. The aggro (Marsh 1978), the honor<sup>39</sup> (in the sense previously demonstrated by researchers (e.g. Marsh et al 1978, Dunning et al 1988) and the fact that the ultra movement doesn't discard the physical violence. *An ultra should always be prepared to have direct confrontations with other ultras*<sup>40</sup> (Romanian Ultras, 1, march 2004, 7)

### **Fighting with the police**

All Romanian ultras, without taking account of the team which they support, have a common point: they hate the police forces. More exactly, they hate the gendarmes<sup>41</sup> because they are charged to maintain the order during football matches.

Each of the ultra groups' Internet site has a section dedicated to the police. If the positioning of this section can be different - in a part devoted to the enemies and who still comprises remarks concerning the other enemies<sup>42</sup>, or in specialized parts<sup>43</sup> named Repression (for the site of Boys of Dinamo) or *Anti-Garda*<sup>44</sup> (for the site of Unione Ultras of Rapid) - the subject of this section is always the same: the police officers are the just some uncultivated, rough bastards who do not respect anything or anyone

Thus the police's image is very unfavorable; all ultras consider it to be an arch enemy, an oppressive tool. We must say that the bad image of the police is a common characteristic of the ultras. Moreover, there is now a codified name of this hostility towards the police force, which is employed in all Europe: ACAB<sup>45</sup>.

Almost at every match involving the five teams afore mentioned, there are conflicts between fans and police forces. The main reason for this is, according to the ultras, the unnecessary violence employed by the police when dealing with football fans<sup>46</sup>. There were a few incidents which support this opinion. For instance, in 2002, at a match between Petrolul Ploiesti and Steaua Bucuresti, a travelling fan was shot in the neck by the police with rubber bullets. The same fans were involved in march 2004 when one fan had to be resuscitated on place after being beaten by the police.

This is not to apologize the Romanian ultras that are, more often, responsible for the conflicts, it is just to say that sometimes the police tends to overreact when dealing with football fans.

This alleged over brutality of the police led to an unthinkable fact: on the 27th of March 2004, at a classic Dinamo-Steaua derby, the traveling fans displayed a huge flag on which four ultras were painted, representing four of the Romanian most supported teams. The protest was called the *Ultras Resistance*. During the exhibition of this flag, the supporters of Dinamo sung against the police. This protest was followed by 28 ultra groups representing 11 football teams.

Rival teams' fans can work together against a common enemy. It is difficult to believe that this kind of alliance between the supporters of the different teams could have been carried out against another team or another common enemy<sup>47</sup>. But when dealing with the police the ultras are ready to exceed all the barriers to decrease the role of this fundamental institution of the state.

If one considers the purely practical aspects of this alliance, one realizes that it has nothing extraordinary: it is an alliance between various weak elements (these team's fans) against a single and very powerful enemy (the police). What is strange is the fact that it was carried out by fans – and, more still, by ultras – which are not used to compromise. This alliance reflects perfectly the expression *the goal excuses the means*.

We must not believe that this agreement marks the end of the "war" between the rivals. It is not even an armistice. It is strictly an agreement against an element stronger than them all. On all other aspects the competition continued just like before.

### **Fighting between same team's fans**

A peculiar situation occurred a few times on the Romanian stands. Fighting broke out between fans which supported the same team<sup>48</sup>. The main reasons for these fights were the differences in mentality when regarding to the way the fans should support their favorite team. After Boys Dinamo decided to separate themselves from the other hard core fans and chose to move to a different stand, the relations with the former partners deteriorated fastly. And in the 2004 spring an open conflict broke out between the two sides.



This situation is not singular. More recently, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 2005, Steaua fans located in the North Stand attack fellow Steaua supporters located in the South Stand. The North Stand fans were in larger number so they managed to beat the other fans. *That's it. From now on the South Stand doesn't exist. If they want to support Steaua they are welcomed in the North Stand* (North Stand's leader quoted in Gazeta Sporturilor, Nr. 4736).

These differences occur because of the ways the fans choose to support their team. The supporters who chose to move to another stand<sup>49</sup> do so in order to acquire more independency from the club and from other fans. They organize their own away matches<sup>50</sup> and don't want to have any connection what so ever with the club. As a result of this they feel they have the right to criticize the club or its players in any moment. These attitudes can come into conflict with the other fan's opinion so conflict can easily break out. This situation occurs in other ultra dominated countries such as Italy<sup>51</sup> or France because *scissions and oppositions, in the name of the purity of the support, ideological differences or interest-based quarrels* (Bromberger, 1994, 251) divide the ultra world.

### **Violence between fans and clubs' leaders**

This is a very rare form of violence. It usually means that some angry fans attacked club's leaders as a result to some very weak results. Verbally abuse from the fans is quite often but they rarely attack physically players, coaches or other club's representatives. In this part of the article we will not concentrate on fans attacking officials but on officials attacking fans<sup>52</sup>.

In 2005 Romania faced a few such incidents. For instance, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May 2005, Steaua's president Mihai Stoica, hit a fan who was allegedly insulting him. As the two were not standing side by side, Steaua's official "had" to descent from the official stand in order to hit the fan. In the second half, in the 72nd minute Mihai Stoica responded to the fans' critiques by entering into a verbal conflict with one of those. *Annoyed, Steaua's president took off his jacket and rushed from the official stand, nearly falling on the stairs. He rushed to the fan and hit him in the face, breaking his lip* (Gazeta sporturilor, Nr. 4694). He then apologize for his actions. The fan allegedly received 200 million lei (roughly 5800 euros) not to press any charges against Steaua's official. Steaua's president was suspended for 1 year (a sentenced later reduced to 6 months).

The next month, Dinamo's fans suffered the same treatment from the officials. Before the Dinamo-Politehnica Timisoara fixture, the South Stand fans were force to leave the stadium by some bodyguards hired by one of the club's official. This action led to the dissolution of the South Stand ultra groups. *The ultra groups Supras, Irascibillii, Fedayn and Boys, united under the Peluza Sud – Z.E.L.*<sup>53</sup> *name decided to finish their activity. [...] As a result of our protests, the club's officials put a large pressure on us by threatening, blackmailing and even physically abusing our members.* ([www.boysdinamo.pisem.net](http://www.boysdinamo.pisem.net)).

These actions did not make the officials to step down from their functions. Romanian football life continued as if nothing had happened. This outrageous behavior,

which should be punished according to the laws on aggression, proves a total lack of respect for football fans. This situation may be the result of the fact that Romanian clubs do not perceive the fan as their client yet. Romanian clubs have small revenues from ticketing or club merchandising. For instance, the cheapest ticket for the preliminary round of the 2005/2006 Uefa Cup match between Dinamo and Omonia Nicosia was 50000 lei (roughly 1.5 euros).

In conclusion, Romania has to deal with football related violence. Most of the violent actions are nonphysical, but there are organized groups who fight one another or the police or even “normal fans” (in the sense of “scarvers” used by Stephen Foster in his novel “She stood there laughing”, 2004). Luckily, no one died from these incidents and the injuries are generally superficial. But if this violence can, to some extent, be under control, there are other forms which may never disappear. It is the case of the verbal violence and the physical abuse undertaken by club’s official. If the verbal abuse will never disappear because is absurd to think that anyone caught swearing will be fined, club’s official abuse will disappear only when they will realize that they perform a service to a client: the fan.

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<sup>1</sup> Which meant the existence of a poorly professionalized football

<sup>2</sup> Or Romanian , Bulgarian, Polish etc

<sup>3</sup> The fact that this meeting took place only a short while after the 1989 events shows that Rapid’s fans were already well organized, in spite of the regime’s ban on all unsupervised socialization

<sup>4</sup> *Gazeta Sporturilor*, An II, nr.19, 16<sup>th</sup> January 1990

<sup>5</sup> A word that comes directly from the political spectrum with a clear reference to the political extremism

<sup>6</sup> They later claimed that they chose the term because it was the abbreviation of *Uniti Lasciamo Tutti gli Rossoblu Alla Sangue - United we shall make all the rossoblu* (*Genova 1893*’s fans, their arch rivals) *bleed*

<sup>7</sup> [www.supertifo.it](http://www.supertifo.it)

<sup>8</sup> Italy, southern France, Spain, Portugal, former Yugoslavia, Greece

<sup>9</sup> Scandinavia, Germany, Austria, parts of Belgium, and even in the UK and Ireland

<sup>10</sup> Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria

<sup>11</sup> We consider a group to be ultra if it chose to identify itself at such (analogical with King’s definition of fans – see King 1997)

<sup>12</sup> There is a large literature on this subject. For extended analysis over this subject see King, 1997, 2003.

<sup>13</sup> Especially for those who practice the extreme ways of fandom because they are most susceptible of being interested in others fan behavior

<sup>14</sup> This doesn’t apply for fan’s violent actions, situation in which the media, attracted by the spectacular, tends to overreact, see for instance Crabbe 2003

<sup>15</sup> For those really involved in fandom

<sup>16</sup> Especially in the physical violence

<sup>17</sup> A match in which the referee takes good care of his duties and in which there is no particular foul play and no team scores a 96<sup>th</sup> minute equalizer from a dubious position

<sup>18</sup> This opinion is best underlined by an 1993 article in which the author suggested that the police should have intervened **violently** in order to evacuate some fans who were swearing, *Fotbal Plus*, An.II, nr.32, 15-22 Apr, 1993

<sup>19</sup> It is difficult (if not impossible ) to find out exactly who is swearing since on Romanian stadiums there is hardly any television supervision of the terraces or a strict control that could ensure that everybody is seated at his/hers own place, as stated on the ticket

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.gov-sport.ro/Pages/Legislatie/sport/Hotarare791.doc>

<sup>21</sup> The fan will do everything for his team, for his group or for his home town (if the team comes from a region with a strong identity)

<sup>22</sup> The official name of Dinamo stadium

<sup>23</sup> Dog, Dinamo’s fans nickname

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- <sup>24</sup> Bring out your knives, bring out your hatches, To do some murders in Stefan cel Mare, To see some blood, to see some blood/ To see some blood of the damn dogs
- <sup>25</sup> Don't you forget, that last year
- <sup>26</sup> These songs, directed to the main rival, are sang at every match, independently of the adversary. This situation shows that the rivalry between teams can be more important than the field rivalry
- <sup>27</sup> As well as in fighting as we will show later
- <sup>28</sup> A replacement for the swastika which is prohibited
- <sup>29</sup> A stadium which host a team who can draw considerably support
- <sup>30</sup> In ice-hockey there are two teams from areas with predominant Hungarian population and their matches against Steaua Bucuresti are often occasions for Romanian (or Hungarian) extremism to occur
- <sup>31</sup> Ordered by the Open Society Foundation
- <sup>32</sup> Pejorative name for the gypsies
- <sup>33</sup> WW II Romanian general, known for the deportation of Jews and gypsies
- <sup>34</sup> One can argue that the eye-monitor contact can be an ersatz for the visual contact. We agree, but only in the case of an virtual dialogue between two individuals
- <sup>35</sup> *Instructions concerning the adequate organization of football matches, chap. IV, art.17,*  
<http://www.pnif.ro/legislatie/interna.htm>
- <sup>36</sup> We mean here the five teams which draw considerable support (Dinamo Bucuresti, Rapid Bucuresti, Steaua Bucuresti, Politehnica Timisoara and Universitatea Craiove)
- <sup>37</sup> We use the term *casual* in its technical sense
- <sup>38</sup> A rival fan, or, if possibly, a rival mob
- <sup>39</sup> Which is a very important word in the ultras' vocabulary and its sense is almost similar to the army men honor
- <sup>40</sup> It is not honorable to fight with simple fans
- <sup>41</sup> Militarized police forces
- <sup>42</sup> Situation observed on the sites of two ultra groups which support Steaua – <http://www.ultras.ro> and <http://www.vacarm.go.ro>, The sites' names are the same ones with those of the ultra groups which have create them
- <sup>43</sup> Situation observed on the <http://www.boysdinamo.pisem.net> site – created by the supporters of Dinamo and <http://www.unioneultras.ro>, – belonging to the group with the same name which supports Rapid.
- <sup>44</sup> Slang – name of the police force (Romanian).
- <sup>45</sup> All Cops Are Bastards
- <sup>46</sup> There is a certain amount of truth in this affirmation. As research has already shown us (e.g. Dunning et al 1984) sometimes the police forces can be to some extent responsible for violent acts
- <sup>47</sup> Protests like this also took place in France, in Italy or in Germany
- <sup>48</sup> We are not talking here about small spontaneous conflicts between 2-3 individuals
- <sup>49</sup> Steaua's South Stand groups are also dissidents from the North Stand.
- <sup>50</sup> As opposite to the other fans which travel in club sponsored coaches
- <sup>51</sup> When a former group took over Juve's Curva Fiesole after 13 years of absence.
- <sup>52</sup> These attacks occur in response to the fans critiques or insults
- <sup>53</sup> South Stand – Free Speech Zone