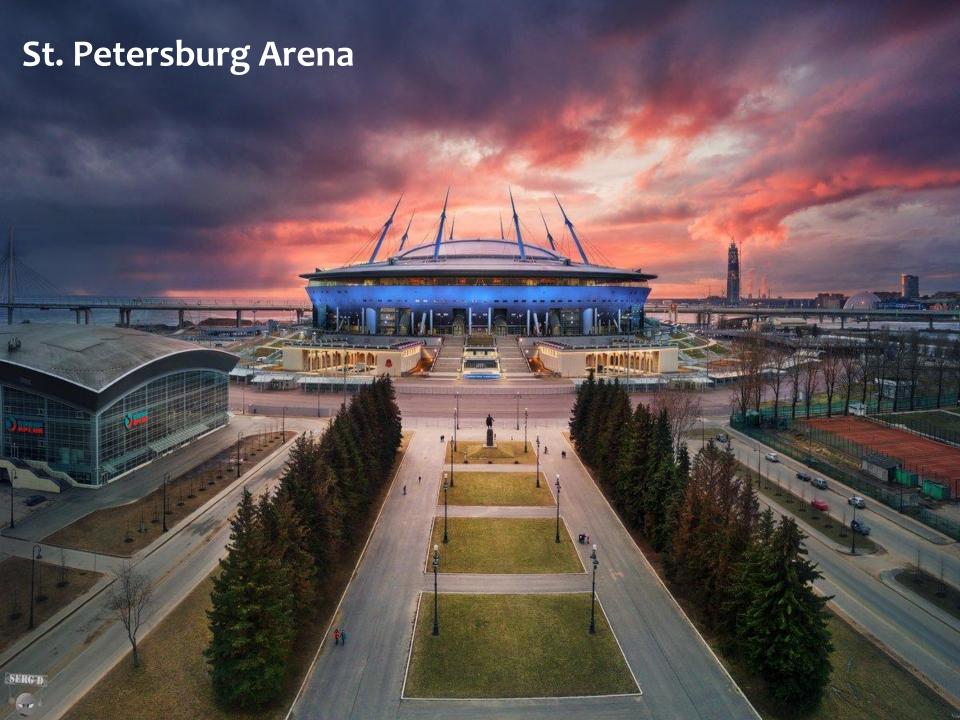
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When ultras control the terraces: social inclusion and exclusion at the stadium in St. Petersburg

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Outline



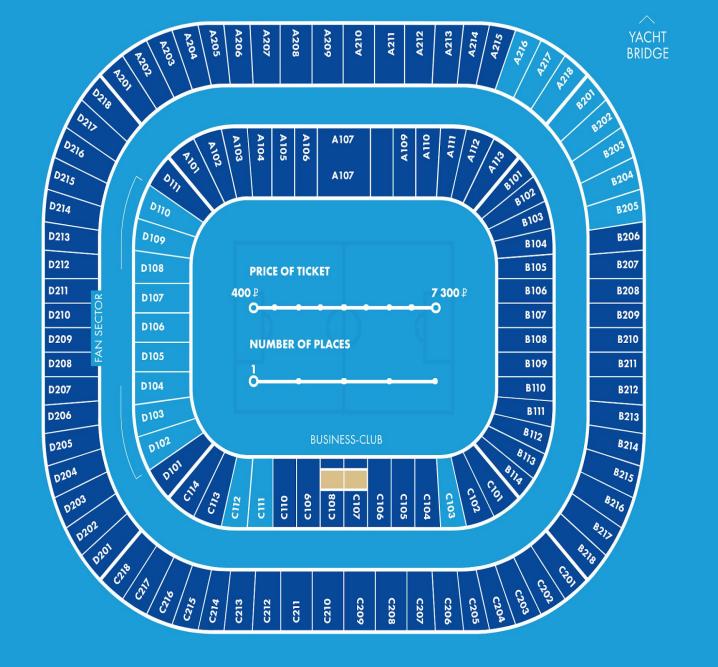
Each one of them has his own story: the first match in life for a young spectator, a devoted football fan, who has shouted cherished "chants" at the fan sector more than once, a warm meeting for a company of old friends

http://volga-volga.com/works/branch/127/











	The Virage (Sector D 102-110)	Second Level (Sector D 203-216)	Other sectors
Purchase of tickets/season tickets	Not available/Only if one passes an interview with the leaders of ultras	Free purchase, available online	Free purchase, available online
Security	The roles of stewards are maintained by chosen fans. No club security services nor the Police present	Stewards, the Police if necessary	Stewards, the Police if necessary
Seating/Standi ng	Only stands	Stands and seating area	Only seating area
Participation in choreography	An obligation	Strongly recommended	Spectatorship
Performances	Organisation, realisation	Realisation	
Dress code	All the supporters are expected to wear Zenit colours	Highly desirable	

Practices of maintaining 'the order'

- * Instructions on performance and choreography from the leaders
- * Preventing from entering or occupying a certain place if something is amiss
- * Verbal warnings, threats
- * Interference in personal space, physical actions

«We will not let you in,» he said to me.

«What do you mean?» I asked.

«You are wearing the wrong clothes.»

And I'm with the kid, he is 11, so it's obvious he cannot go alone.

«We can let the kid in,» he said.

«Are you joking right now?»,

«No,» he said.

It turned out that the colours of our clothes were the CSKA ones. How was I supposed to know? It was a Bosco Sport jersey with Russian national colours, but it didn't matter (...).

When I watched the records of the match, it's beautiful, the performance, very beautiful. But we were strangers there.

But the point is that I bought the ticket for this terraces, it cost a thousand rubles, and they are going to tell me what kind of shirt I must wear?

Anne (50 years old), a spectator Personal communication, 2018

A 'true' supporter

Alex: It used to be hard to get into the Virage. And now you can easily get in. There were interviews before, like three years ago.

Max: Yes, there were ideas! Nowadays there are also interviews, but it's more like a formal procedure. There are a lot of schoolboys there and girls for some bloody reason.

Alex: It's just... people go to the stadium not because of football itself or because of the fan culture, but rather because of the fashion

Alex (24 years old) and Max (25 years old), Zenit ultras, personal communication, 2014

What about the girls?

J.A.: Why haven't you ever tried to buy a season ticket to the Virage?

Mary: Well, because I m not a bother to anybody on my terrace and it is me who is responsible for myself. I have a season ticket on the second level in the front row. It's all the same, but it is not the Virage and nobody will tell me to go away because I am a girl.

The times I was at the Virage, nobody told me anything, but then again, there are guys there, my friends, and I don't want them to worry whether I was expelled or not.

> Mary (25 years old), a Zenit supporter Personal communication, 2018

Conclusions

