

RACISM, SECTARIANISM AND FOOTBALL IN SCOTLAND

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INTRODUCTION

This paper represents some early thoughts on racism in Scottish sport and leisure. The initial focus of attention is on an ongoing anti-racism campaign in football launched in England and Wales in the Autumn of 1993 and subsequently in Scotland in January 1994. The campaign (*Let's Kick Racism Out of Football*) is the product of the London-based 'race' equality 'quango' - the Commission for Racial Equality - working in conjunction with the Football Associations of England, Wales and Scotland. For the 1994-5 season these groups have gained additional financial support from The Football Trust, a charity concerned to help with social problems associated with the game.

The paper argues for the need for campaigns such as *Let's Kick Racism out of Football* to recognise the specificity of racism and sectarianism in different social (national or regional) contexts. In addition it is argued that future research, and campaigns, need also to take into account the role of the wider football community - especially non-professional clubs and local league football - in the construction of and sustenance of neighbourhood, cultural and ethnic identities-in-conflict (Williams 1994).

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Scottish Affairs

The paper is structured as follows:

- The first section considers differences between England and Scotland in terms of migration patterns, ethnic minority populations and racism.
- The second section focuses upon racism in professional Football in England and Scotland.
- The third section outlines the Anti-Racism campaigns and their achievements to date.
- The fourth part considers the future prospects for anti-racist campaigns based upon football in both England and Scotland. At the same time it is noted that football research remains a predominantly masculine concern. It would be interesting, and important, in the future to investigate the position of both ethnic minority and ethnic majority women in sport in Scotland.

ETHNIC MINORITY POPULATIONS, SECTARIANISM AND RACISM

As a result of distinct patterns of immigration, the compositions of ethnic minority populations in England and Scotland differ considerably. Accurate data on population flows has been difficult to obtain. It was only in the recent decennial population census, conducted in 1991, that a question on ethnic origin was included for the first time. Details of the ethnic minority population for the whole of Great Britain showed that ethnic minority groups made up 5.5 per cent of the total GB population, 6.2 per cent of the population of England, but only 1.3 per cent of the Scottish population.

The Scottish population has often been considered in terms of emigration rather than immigration. Yet along with the rest of Britain since 1945, and especially during the 1960s, the black and Asian population has been growing. Information on this population has been collected on an ad hoc basis. Table 2 shows is one estimate of the growth of the Asian ethnic minority population in Scotland over the last 40 years.

Table 1

Population: by ethnic group and region 1991

<i>Thousands and percentages</i>	Black	Pakistani, Indian, or Bangladeshi	Other ethnic minority	groups as % of total population
Great Britain	891	1,480	645	5.5
England	875	1,431	605	6.2
Wales	9	16	16	1.5
Scotland	6	32	24	1.3

Source: adapted from Social Trends, 24, January 1994, Table 1.9, p. 25

Table 2

An Estimation of the Growth of the Asian Population in Scotland: 1950 - 1990

1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
600	4,000	16,000	32,000	45,000

Source: Maan 1992, pp.160, 162, 168, 174, 180

According to the 1991 Census, Scotland's non-white ethnic minority population totalled more than 60,000, or 1.3 per cent of the total population of around 5 million. The vast majority is of Pakistani or Indian origin, about 20 per cent are Chinese and a small fraction is Afro-Caribbean (table 3).

Almost two-thirds of the non-white population are concentrated in specific areas of Glasgow and Edinburgh. In Leith, one quarter of the young are black. The proportion of non-white groups ranges from 1.7 per cent in Lothian Region to 0.5 per cent in Borders Region and Orkney Islands.

Partly because of the small number of black and Asian people in Scotland, especially compared to the South East, Midlands and Northern regions of England, it has been possible for issues such as racism to be kept off the

Scottish Affairs

political agenda in Scotland. Yet whilst the Scottish National Party provides an inclusive definition of Scottish people - 'those who stay (i.e. live) and work in Scotland and who want to contribute to the Scottish community' - it is a highly selective view of the past and the present that sustains the myth that racism does not exist in Scotland.

Table 3

Ethnic Groups in Scotland (thousands and per cent)

Ethnic group	number (thousands)	percentage (of total Scottish population)
White	4873	98.7
Black (Caribbean)	0.918	0.018
Black (African)	2.724	0.055
Black (other)	2.564	0.052
Indian	9.904	0.2
Pakistani	20.67	0.419
Bangladeshi	1.105	0.022
Chinese	10.32	0.21
Other Asian	4.518	0.09
Other	8.524	0.17
Irish born	49.14	0.99
<i>total</i>	<i>4934</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: OPCS 1991, p.230

The reasons why Scottish politics did not become 'racialised' to the same extent as in England have been examined by Robert Miles and Lesley Muirhead (1986) and Anne Dunlop (1993). In the 1960s and early 1970s debate about black people in England had been couched in terms of the numbers of immigrants and therefore the question of maintaining the 'enemy without'. These ideas were fuelled especially through the speeches of Enoch Powell and other Conservative politicians in the 1960s. Following the economic crisis of the 1970s, a moral panic about a form of street crime

Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland

labelled 'mugging', and the urban disorders of the early and mid-1980s, the idea developed that the black - especially Afro-Caribbean - population in England represented the 'enemy within' (Hall et al 1978; Solomos 1985; Small 1994).

Figure 1

Discourses on 'Race' in Britain since the 1960s

1960s	'The Numbers Game' 'Powellism' and 'Rivers of Blood' 'Threat' of Immigration.
1970s	'Ghetto' Imagery 'Mugging' Moral Panic 'The Numbers Game' - 'Swamping'. S. Hall et al (1978) Policing the Crisis
1980s	Riots/Uprisings Street Crime and Drugs 'No Go Areas' From 'The Enemy Without' to 'The Enemy Within'
1990s	'Racialisation' of Immigration 'Racialisation' of Crime and Law 'n Order

Over the past thirty years, whilst there have been shifts in these discourses over 'race relations', major political issues - immigration, crime and law and order in general - have been 'racialised' in England to a much greater extent than in Scotland, where these discourses on 'race' have been reflected, but also refracted, in the Scottish-based mass media. Reporting of the speeches of Enoch Powell in the 1960s and the urban disorders of the early 1980s was often couched in such a way as to sustain the notion that in Scotland, with its distinctive pattern of non-white immigration, the relatively small size of the ethnic minority - and especially Afro-Caribbean - population, and the

Scottish Affairs

'essential' sense of fairness and decency shared amongst the Scottish people, there was 'no problem here' (Dunlop 1993, pp.89ff).

In fact, of course, racist ideas have been generated and reproduced in Scotland, and have been used to comprehend and resist the migration of labour in the past, just as in the post-1945 situation in England. In the case of Scotland these ideas were initially applied to a white ethnic minority group before the mid-20th century - the Irish, who have been emigrating to Scotland since the 19th century (Miles & Muirhead 1986, pp.125ff). As table 3 demonstrates, Irish born residents remain the largest ethnic minority group in Scotland today. So one explanation why Scottish politics were slower to become 'racialised' than in England was because Scottish class relations, especially in the West of Scotland, around Glasgow, had been fractionalised along sectarian lines. As Dunlop (1993, p.92) writes:

sectarian divisions became institutionalised not only in denominational schools and the Orange order, but also in sport with the 'Old Firm' rivalry of Celtic and Rangers football teams.

The extent to which the sectarian divide still has salience in contemporary Scotland is the subject of much debate. We will return to this in discussing football in Scotland.

The absence of a strong neo-fascist tradition and the diminishing importance of the Conservative Party since 1945 have been additional factors contributing to the relative absence of 'racialised' politics in Scotland (Dunlop 1993, pp.92-3). A final strand in the explanation of this relative, although not absolute, absence from the Scottish political scene, relates to nationalism and nationalist politics in Scotland.

The relation of nationalism to racism is specific to particular historical circumstances and in Scotland nationalism became an influential political force in the 1960s and 1970s. Scotland has held a distinct state apparatus and national identity since the Treaty of Union with England in 1707 (McCrone 1992). In this context, Miles argues that political nationalism has tended to focus on the perceived economic and political disadvantages of the union:

Nationalism in Scotland during the 1960s and 1970s therefore identified an external cause of economic disadvantage/decline, without reference to 'race', while in England the idea of 'race' was employed to identify an

Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland

internal cause of crisis, the presence of a 'coloured' population which was not truly British (Miles 1993, p.78)

In Scotland the 'national question' has partially (although not entirely) displaced the influence of racism in constructing the political agenda in this period. Racism has not been as central to nationalism in Scotland as it has in England. The result of this has led some observers to deny, or at least downplay, the existence of racism in Scotland (Maan 1992, pp.201-7).

Now whilst at one overt political level this may have been possible until recently, at the level of popular racism it remains apparent that racist discourse prevails in Scotland. As Miles (1993, p.77) points out:

the post-1945 Asian migrants to Scotland have not been the object of a systematic and hostile political agitation as happened in England (although this is not to deny that racist images of these migrants are commonly expressed in everyday life in Scotland)

The conclusion that there is no racist problem in Scotland - still voiced by some institutions of government in Scotland - is ultimately mistaken because there always exists the potential for a process of 'racialisation' to occur - racist attacks, racist abuse and racist chanting at football matches being examples of this.

It was during the 1980s that anti-black racism entered the Scottish political agenda. Verbal abuse, physical assault, and other forms of racism have become a common experience for black people in Scotland (Armstrong 1989; Bell 1991, **Scottish Eye** 1994). Since 1984 there has been an annual anti-racist march and rally in Glasgow. Between 1988 and 1990 racial incidents reported to the police increased by 100 per cent in the Lothian and Borders regions and by 283 per cent in Strathclyde (figures cited in Younge 1993).

RACISM IN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH FOOTBALL

Professional Football in Scotland

Bert Moorhouse, based at Glasgow University, has maintained a steady flow of analyses of Scottish football and its distinctive characteristics compared to England (1986, 1991, 1993, 1994). His argument in a nutshell is that five

Scottish Affairs

features have structured Scottish professional football (Moorhouse 1991, p.202):

- The domination of Scottish football's professional competitions by two clubs from one city - Rangers and Celtic of Glasgow;
- The explicit linking of many Scottish professional football clubs, and especially Rangers and Celtic, to ethnic groupings and antagonisms - 'Protestant', 'Catholic', 'Irish' - which have existed in the wider society and have other institutionalised forms (for example in church, schools and neighbourhoods);
- The economic dependence of most Scottish football clubs upon the transfer of talented players to the English league;
- The position of the Scottish football team as a major force for the expression of a dislike of 'England' and the 'English';
- The existence of a larger number of clubs in its league than in most other countries - currently 40 league clubs for a total population of 5 million people, compared with 92 clubs in England and Wales which have a population ten times that size.

Moorhouse has argued that in the future Scottish football's distinctiveness will likely be compromised by changes in the game which are forced by European-wide, even global, trends. Yet in considering a number of football-related issues in the 1970s and 1980s, such as hooliganism and the growth of fanzines, he has highlighted the idea that 'Scotland appears to contradict claims about trends in British football culture which are rooted in English evidence' (Moorhouse 1994, p.177). Is this also the case for the issue of racism in Scottish football?

Racism in English Football

Whilst sport has often been seen as offering a 'level playing field' and to be above political ideology, its symbolic power actually renders it extremely vulnerable to ideological exploitation in the service of a range of sometimes contradictory beliefs - including popular racism, nationalism, sectarianism and xenophobic attitudes (Hargreaves 1986; Jarvie 1991; Sugden & Bairner 1993). In England in the 1980s this came to the surface in a stark fashion as more and more black - predominantly Afro-Caribbean - athletes came to the

Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland

forefront of English sport. Nowhere was this growth more apparent than in professional football.

Before the 1980s, football role-models for young Afro-Caribbean Black Britons were few and far between. There had been a few black professional footballers in the history of the English game ever since the late 1880s, but they were isolated cases (Vasali, forthcoming). It was only in the late 1970s and early 1980s that significant numbers of black footballers began making it into the top professional level of the game. Until 1975 not a single black player had represented England at football at any level and there were fewer than 20 black professional players. In November 1978 Viv Anderson became the first black player ever to represent England. He is currently one of the very few blacks ever to have held a managerial position in English professional football. Today, around 25 per cent of the 2000 or so English football professionals are black. Yet only around 1 per cent of supporters of the top English clubs have these origins (Carling Report 1994). Different clubs have different levels of black support but many football stadia remain largely unattractive and inhospitable places for black and Asian people in England and elsewhere in Europe (BBC 1994; **Kick It** 1994).

The involvement in sport of Black - at least Afro-Caribbean - people and the racist assumptions underpinning the links between them and sporting excellence have been well documented in the USA (Coakley 1994) and to a lesser extent in England (Cashmore 1982). Both Maguire (1988; 1991) and Mason (1989), for example, have considered the stacking phenomenon - the disproportionate concentration of ethnic minorities in certain positions in a sports team - in the context of English Football in the 1980s. Maguire (1991, pp.112-3) concluded:

The cumulative evidence does suggest that stacking exists in English soccer, that further qualitative data from interviews with players and managers supports the notion that this is related to centrality and that this pattern appears to be closely connected to stereotypes held within the game by those making the key recruitment, selection and retention decision-making.

Indeed it is less than ten years ago since 12 English First Division football managers were reported as stating that they would not sign a black player because 'they lack bottle, are no good in the mud and have no stamina' (quoted in Chaudhary 1994). One of the Premier Division teams, Everton Football Club, of Liverpool, have only recently signed a black player after

Scottish Affairs

many years of being celebrated as 'all white' by their racist contingent of supporters. The following quotations spanning ten years provide two examples of racial abuse at English football matches:

When the England under-21 team defeated Denmark 4-1 in Copenhagen last month a group of London fans made a point of jeering almost everytime one of the four black members of the team - Barnes, Davis, Whyte and Regis - touched the ball (Lacey 1982)

We could see quite clearly, as the teams warmed up before the kick-off, that banana after banana was being hurled from the away supporters' enclosure. The bananas were designed to announce, for the benefit of those unversed in codified terrace abuse, that there was a monkey on the pitch (Hornby 1992, p.188)

The 'monkey' in question here was John Barnes, making his debut for Liverpool away at Arsenal in the 1987-88 season. The fans throwing the objects of racist abuse were therefore Liverpool 'supporters'.

Racism in Scottish Football

As we have seen, racism has often been denied, or at least downplayed, in Scotland and yet research at different levels of analysis has demonstrated the existence of serious and widespread forms of prejudice and discrimination against Black and Asian ethnic minorities (Bell 1991). An understanding of racism in Scotland is complicated however by the debate over the extent to which sectarian divisions - especially anti-Irish/Catholic prejudice and discrimination - remain potent as sources of deep-rooted social conflict in contemporary Scotland (Bruce 1985, 1988).

Historical research has confirmed the extent to which sectarianism has played a major part in the division of allegiances in football in Scotland (Murray 1984; Finn 1991a, 1991b, 1994). Moorhouse (1993, 1994) suggests, however, that anti-Irish bigotry and religious sectarianism are no longer so prevalent in Scottish football or in the wider society. Sectarianism is ritualistically conveyed in some football fanzines and football fans still sing sectarian songs and display different symbols of allegiance, but without it being of major significance to the rest of Scotland. He questions how much meaning there is to the term 'sectarian' in a society with widespread social and cultural interaction and a great deal of intermarriage.

Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland

In response to Moorhouse (1993), one reader of **The Absolute Game** wrote a letter in which he pointed out that given the proximity of Northern Ireland to the West of Scotland there was 'cause to worry about the persistence of sectarian allegiances in the statements of cultural affirmation made by young Scottish working-class males' at football matches (Horton 1993). For these young Scots, sectarianism is not perceived as 'history'. There may well remain a real and historical basis for the promotion of divisive bigotry among some sections of the Scottish working-class, particularly on the West coast.

In addition there has been a renewal of media coverage of sectarian-related issues in recent years. The death of the Labour Party leader John Smith in May 1994 gave rise to a by-election in the political constituency of Monklands which was largely fought out amidst accusations of sectarianism in local Scottish politics (Clouston 1994). As one commentator has observed, football may remain a 'vital lightning conductor' and,

recent controversies in education and local government suggest that the capacity of religious-based or religion-related issues to cause social and cultural divisions has not been exhausted (Walker 1993, p.305)

With respect to sport, and professional football in particular, sectarian divisions between supporters of the 'Old Firm' are an ever present reality (**The Sunday Mail**, 2nd October 1994). The signing of a Catholic, Mo Johnston, by Glasgow Rangers in July 1989 broke a 116-year tradition, similar to that which the racist Everton supporters had celebrated with respect to the absence of black players. Yet it did not pave the way for many more non-sectarian signings, nor did it see the replacement of explicitly sectarian practices at Rangers and Celtic home games.

With respect to black players in Scotland, there is evidence that they have encountered racial abuse from the terraces consistent with, if not greater than, that meted out in England to the likes of John Barnes:

One of the great delusions of Scottish society is the widespread belief that Scotland is a tolerant and welcoming country and that racism is a problem confined to England's green unpleasant land. Mark Walter's arrival at Ibrox [Rangers' ground] blew the whistle on that myth. Week after week, the young black winger was subjected to a barrage of racial abuse, as prejudice squads at Parkhead [Celtic], Tynecastle [Hearts] and Fir Park [Partick Thistle] threw bananas, chanted like monkeys and

Scottish Affairs

banged the jungle drums in a desperate bid to put the player off his stride (Cosgrove 1991, p.128)

Whilst Mark Walters was the first black professional footballer to be transferred from a leading team in the English League to a Scottish club, when he joined Rangers in 1988, as in England black players had first appeared in Scottish sides long before this. John 'Darky' Walker of Leith Town had signed for Heart of Midlothian in 1898, and at the beginning of the 1950s Celtic had signed a black American striker from the US amateur team Chicago Maroons - Giles Heron - who became known as 'The Black Arrow' (Cosgrove 1991, p.129). Shortly after Walters' move north of the border Paul Elliot, another black player, was signed by Celtic. Yet soon after arriving Elliot revealed to the Scottish press that the racial abuse in Scotland was far worse than anything he had experienced before in his playing career in England and Italy (Cosgrove 1991, p.130). Elliot, who has now retired from the game through injury, has been one of the leading black footballers in the campaign against racism in the game (see **The Absolute Game** 28, May/June 1992).

Table 4

Prominent Black Players in Scottish Football 1993-4 and 1994-5

<i>Player</i>	<i>Club</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Age</i>
Noel Blake	Dundee	Defender	Kingston, Jamaica	32
Richard Cadette	Falkirk ⁺	Attacker	London	29
Gus Caesar	Airdrie [*]	Defender	N/K	N/K
Justin Fashanu	Hearts [*]	Attacker	N/K	N/K
Jerren Nixon	Dundee Utd	Attacker	Trinidad	21
Wes Reid	Airdrie	Defender	London	26
Basile Boli	Rangers ^{**}	Defender	Adjame, Ivory Coast	27
Kevin Harper	Hibernian ^{**}	Attacker	Oldham	18

Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland

Justin Jackson	Ayr Utd**	Attacker	Nottingham	19
Rod McDonald	Partick Thistle**	Attacker	N/K	N/K

* 1993-4 only

** 1994-5 only (or came to prominence in 1994-5)

+ Transferred to Millwall FC in November 1994

Source: Scottish Football Today, July & August 1994; Scottish Football League 1994

In Scotland in 1994 football is still predominantly a 'white man's game'. There are still proportionately far fewer black football professional players in Scotland than in England. In the 1993-4 season there were only six prominent black players out of a little over 1000 in the entire Scottish League. In 1994-5 there are currently eight out of 1084 - a little over 1.5 per cent compared to 25 per cent in England (Scottish Football League 1994).

Whilst black football players do inevitably feature in the sports pages of the national newspaper press, neither of the terrestrial television stations - BBC TV Scotland and Scottish TV - featured black players in the thirty-second long credits which introduced their weekend football magazine programmes in the first weeks of the 1994-5 season (**Sportscene - Match of the Day** and **Scotsport** respectively). The jacket and most of the contents of the Scottish Football League's premier annual reference book is equally devoid of black representation (Scottish Football League 1994). In an, admittedly unsystematic, survey of the Scottish press in 1994, I found that the vast majority of items on racism in football in 1994 were responding to the launch of the *Let's Kick Racism out of Football* campaign in January.

The question is, why are not more black players involved in Scottish football? Is it because they do not constitute a sufficiently large proportion of the Scottish population? Are there greater economic opportunities open to them in the Scottish labour market and hence are the restrictions that operate in England to channel young blacks into sport as a possible route of social esteem and mobility less in evidence? Or is it because of the perceived racism in the Scottish game? At present we can only pose these questions, not provide any clearcut answers.

Scottish Affairs

Additionally, there is altogether much less information available about Asian - Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi - involvement in sport and leisure than about Black Afro-Caribbean. This has started to be rectified in England, but again in Scotland, despite the greater relative size of the Asian population compared with England, little is known about Asian involvement in sport (Fleming 1991, 1993; Westwood 1990). There are no full-time professional Asian football players in England, and about 60 semi-professional and amateur players (Chaudhary 1994; Khan 1994). Racist assumptions about the physique and temperament of Asians may help to explain why only one Asian player is on the full-time books of a Premier Division club - Glasgow born Jaswinder Juttla of Rangers (Scottish Football League 1994).

ANTI-RACISM CAMPAIGNS IN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH FOOTBALL

From the mid-1980s onward the black presence in English football became more and more prominent. Various governmental attempts to alter the basis of football support in the wake of the Heysel stadium incident (which involved the death of thirty-nine fans as a direct result of a ritual 'taking of the ends' by Liverpool supporters) - including a membership card scheme strongly supported by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher - generated a popular reaction - most notably in the formation of the Football Supporters Association (FSA) and the proliferation in the number of football fanzines (see Taylor 1992, for an account of football supporters and Jary, Horne & Bucke 1991, on fanzines).

Both developments can be seen as constituting forms of cultural contestation in the game which have played a large role in establishing and keeping the issue of racism in football on the political agenda. The FSA has established itself in less than 10 years as a major focus for independent football fan opinion, at least in England. Football fanzines, whilst extremely variable in quality and often very parochial in focus, have also provided a medium for the circulation of ideas necessary for the establishment of an alternative football network. Often using information derived from the fanzines, by the end of the 1980s the mainstream mass media began to uncover implicit and often explicit racism in football and other sports. The position of black people in English sport became an issue. Two television programmes in particular - **The Race Game** in 1990 and **GB United** in 1991 - brought to a larger public examples of the racist practices within sport that the research of Maguire and Cashmore had pointed towards.

Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland

More official initiatives, begun in the early 1980s partly to offset football-related racism and bring black and white youth together through participation in football, such as the Football in the Community scheme, have often been seen as insufficiently publicised and largely ineffective (BBC 1994). But by the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s two former leading black football players - Garth Crooks and Brandon Batson - had gained prominent positions in the Professional Footballers Association - the players' 'trade union' in England and Wales. Another important development in terms of the decision to use football as the basis for an anti-racism campaign was the appointment of Herman Ouseley - with a long-standing involvement in sport and recreation issues - to the chair of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE).

It is important to note that the legislative context in England and Scotland is different with regard to racist abuse at football matches. In England the Football Offences Act (1991) was introduced following the report which Lord Justice Taylor wrote after 96 people were crushed to death in 1989 at Hillsborough stadium, home of Sheffield Wednesday. With the awareness that racist abuse and chanting could contribute to crowd disorder, the Taylor Report recommended a legislative solution. Section 3 of the 1991 Act states that:

- (1) It is an offence to take part at a designated football match in chanting of an indecent or racialist nature.
- (2) For this purpose -
 - (a) 'chanting' means the repeated uttering of any words or sounds in concert with one or more others; and
 - (b) 'of a racialist nature' means consisting of or including matter which is threatening, abusive or insulting to a person by reason of his colour, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins.

In 1991, the year the Act came into force, six people were prosecuted under it and five were convicted. In 1992 there were 31 prosecutions and 21 convictions. In 1993 there were only five convictions (**Kick It** 1994; BBC 1994). Whilst section 3 makes indecent or racialist chanting an offence per se - unlike previous legislation there is no requirement that the 'words or sounds' be directed at any one in particular - there remain loopholes. The main one is that an individual racist, who can prove that they were acting

Scottish Affairs

alone, and not 'in concert with one or more others', can avoid conviction. This may act as a deterrent to the police from proceeding with a prosecution on this basis.

Awareness that racism cannot simply be legislated away led to the campaign - *Let's Kick Racism Out of Football* - finally being launched in England and Wales in the autumn of 1993 and subsequently in Scotland in January 1994. The campaign sought to stimulate clubs to implement an action plan to combat racism amongst their supporters and in and around their stadia (see figure 2).

In its first year the campaign included the display of posters in grounds, anti-racist statements in matchday programmes, leaflets, stickers and the production of a magazine - **Kick It**. Varying degrees of support for the campaign were given by all but one of the 92 fully professional Football League clubs in England and Wales - only the management of York City declined to support it overtly, producing their own version.

Figure 2

Action Plan for England

Let's Kick Racism out of Football

Action plan for football clubs

- 1 Adopt a policy statement outlining the club's opposition to racism, and the actions it will take on supporters who shout 'indecent or racist chanting' (as outlined by the Football Offences Act 1991). This should be included in match programmes, and displayed permanently in a prominent part of the ground.
- 2 If racist chanting occurs at matches, make a public announcement condemning such behaviour.
- 3 Ensure that a condition for season-ticket holders prohibits them from racist chanting, throwing missiles onto the pitch, etc.
- 4 Take action to prevent the sale or distribution of racist literature in and around the grounds on match days.
- 5 Take disciplinary action against players who racially abuse players during matches.

Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland

- 6 Liaise with supporters clubs to make the club's opposition to racism clear.
- 7 Ensure that stewards and police have a strategy for working together to eject supporters (or to take appropriate action with those) who are contravening the Football Offences Act. If, in the case of individuals who are behaving in a racist or otherwise anti-social way, it would seem dangerous or inappropriate to take action against them during a match, that those individuals be identified and barred from all further matches.
- 8 Remove all racist graffiti from the grounds as a matter of urgency.
- 9 Adopt an equal opportunities policy in the areas of employment and service provision (see Department of Employment's ten-point plan on Equal Opportunities).

The popular comic book **Roy of the Rovers** (cf. Tomlinson, forthcoming 1995) ran a story over four editions along the themes of the campaign in England, featuring the character Paul 'Delroy of the Rovers' Ntende, a young black player who receives racial abuse from the crowd. Letters to the editor about the story have been reported as 'overwhelmingly positive' (CRE 1994). A poster featuring 'Delroy' and 'Rocky' Race has subsequently been produced. In England at the beginning of the 1994-5 season the campaign restarted with a press conference and the distribution of an anti-racist fanzine - **United Colours of Football** - coordinated by the Football Supporters Association (FSA) during a week of action (15-20 August). The FSA has prioritised racism as a major campaigning issue in the 1990s (Crabbe 1994).

In Scotland, before the *Let's Kick Racism* campaign a supporters-based anti-racist campaign was launched in 1990-91. SCARF. (Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Football) was the result of an initiative by Hibernian and Hearts fans partly in response to the abuse meted out to Mark Walters and other black players noted earlier. The campaign received some financial assistance from Lothian Regional Council and lead to an inter-agency conference.

The *Let's Kick Racism* campaign kicked off in Scotland in January 1994 with a slight modification to the Action Plan and the posters, to make them more appropriate to the different cultural and legislative context. Initially the CRE were going to launch it as a campaign in both England and Scotland in August 1993, but Scottish agencies managed to delay it when it was discovered that the posters were going to feature pictures of the England

Scottish Affairs

team manager (at the time, Graham Taylor) and were to be printed in colours identifiable with only one of the 'Auld Firm'!

Less systematic monitoring of the response to the anti-racism campaign has been undertaken, but 27 of the Scottish professional clubs supported the campaign when it was launched and I have been informed that 'most of the 40 professional clubs have indicated some kind of positive support for the campaign' (CRE Scotland, Personal Communication 1994).

The CRE commissioned a survey of English football supporters by a market research company during the 1993-94 season. A random sample of 477 supporters were interviewed at 7 football grounds, including the Premier Division clubs, Aston Villa and Sheffield Wednesday. The survey found a fairly positive response to the campaign. The small number of black fans included in the survey are reported as feeling that things have been improving (CRE 1994). These findings are consistent with those in the Carling Report (1994) conducted by the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, but both surveys reached only a very small number of non-white respondents. Although Hornby (1992, pp.188-191) reminds us that levels of ethnic minority support for clubs varies throughout the country, in most grounds white males are likely to constitute the vast majority of the crowd. There are many grounds in England which are seen as especially threatening to black supporters (BBC 1994). Unfortunately at present there

Figure 3

Scottish Action Plan

Let's Kick Racism out of Football

Action plan for Scottish football clubs

- 1 Adopt a policy statement outlining the club's opposition to racism, and the actions it will take on supporters who shout indecent or racist chanting, throwing missiles, or abusing or intimidating other supporters. This should be included in match programmes, and displayed permanently in a prominent part of the ground.
- 2 If racist chanting occurs at matches, make a public announcement condemning such behaviour.
- 3 Ensure that a condition for season-ticket holders prohibits them from racist chanting, throwing missiles onto the pitch, etc.
- 4 Take action to prevent the sale or distribution of racist literature in and around the grounds on match days.

Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland

- 5 Take disciplinary action against players who racially abuse players during matches.
 - 6 Liaise with supporters clubs to make the club's opposition to racism clear.
 - 7 Ensure that stewards and police have a strategy for working together to eject supporters (or to take appropriate action with those) who are behaving in an abusive or offensive way. If, in the case of individuals who are behaving in a racist or otherwise anti-social way, it would seem dangerous or inappropriate to take action against them during a match, that those individuals be identified and barred from all further matches.
 - 8 Remove all racist graffiti from the grounds as a matter of urgency, and alert the local authorities to remove graffiti from the vicinity of the grounds.
 - 9 Adopt an equal opportunities policy in the areas of employment and service provision (see the CRE Code of Practice on Equal Opportunities).
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has been no systematic research on the effectiveness of the campaign or the level of ethnic minority support for football clubs in Scotland.

THE FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR ANTI-RACIST CAMPAIGNS IN FOOTBALL IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

In England the way forward for the anti-racism campaign is likely to involve the FSA, anti-racist activists at particular football clubs, and the producers of football fanzines, in a more sustained campaign to create an anti-racist counter-culture amongst football supporters. This will also require the involvement and interest of members of ethnic minorities themselves. A recent television programme produced for the BBC's Multicultural Programmes Department (BBC 1994) suggests that whilst there may be some interest in the game amongst black people in England, there is still a long way to go before they will find football stadia welcoming places to visit.

In Scotland the FSA and 'fanzine movement' have operated differently according to Moorhouse (1994). The former has not been so effective, he suggests, because there already existed better relations between the football clubs and their supporters, who are largely myopic anyway when it comes to broader issues than the fortunes of their own team. The latter phenomenon, the establishment of several hundred football fanzines since the mid-1980s, is considered by Moorhouse to be less significant in Scotland than earlier

Scottish Affairs

writers had made out. He writes that fanzines and their producers reflect subordinate working-class values; they are essentially accommodative, defensive and parochial. This 'does not matter much since...fanzines have a very limited power to influence events' (Moorhouse 1994, pp.190ff).

Moorhouse's comments and assessments are made after a very limited amount of research. He cites 12 different fanzines in his list of those consulted and yet these include 3 each from Celtic and Hearts supporters. His article only considers two fanzines in detail (**Not The View** - Celtic and **Follow, Follow** - Rangers) and no reason for the selection of these particular fanzines is provided, so we cannot assess accurately whether his general claims about fanzines in Scotland and their relationship to fan's identities and sectarianism are fully warranted. In a personal communication, Richard Giulianotti has informed me that at least two, now defunct, fanzines (**The Proclaimer** - Hibernian and **The Northern Light** - Aberdeen) carried explicit anti-racist messages in the late 1980s and early 1990s. His research, currently being undertaken at the University of Aberdeen, promises to be much more comprehensive in this respect than that of Moorhouse, but clearly there is still room for further systematic analyses of Scottish football culture (Giulianotti 1991, 1993, 1994a, and 1994b).

Football, or 'terrace', culture is both regressive and progressive - it is highly patriarchal and myopic, and yet it does provide a source of great pleasure and personal meaning for participants, some of whom may be changing in a more explicit socially progressive direction (Hornby 1992). It is too simplistic to say that fanzines are largely 'irrational' and an irrelevance. Certainly without further investigation of football fans it will not be possible to assess the effectiveness of the the anti-racism campaigns. There are, however, a number of additional comments which have to be made.

The focus on the professional game ignores semi-professional, amateur and local league football, which may be more important for consolidating and possibly transforming racist attitudes. There is a growing awareness of the need to understand these levels of football culture (Williams 1994), and it is hoped that in the future the involvement of ethnic minorities in the wider football, and sports, community will be better understood and appreciated (Chaudhary 1994).

In Scotland ethnic divisions are complex - it may be useful to consider the situation as one in which 'colour-racism' and 'cultural-racism' co-exist (Modood 1994). Institutional support for sectarianism remains in place

Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland

through separate schools, housing areas and the 'auld firm' rivalry which helps sustain anti-Catholic/Irish sentiments (see Bradley (1995), published when this article was at the proof stage). It has to be admitted that there are only a small number of black professional football players in Scotland. A campaign based simply upon a 'we-tooism' response (i.e., if England does it, 'we-too' should) may not be adequately sensitive to the specific set of 'race relations' in Scotland. Racism exists in Scotland but it takes a different form from that in England.

Owing to the different ethnic minority population structure, and the fact that many of the distinctive features which have structured and created the Scottish game may be in the process of collapse (Moorhouse 1991, pp.202-3) football talent scouts and coaches may be forced to look more closely in the future at the so-called 'New Scots', Indians and Pakistanis especially, who after the Irish are the largest immigrant group to settle in Scotland (Maan 1992, p.36). Certainly according to research conducted by the Sports Council in England football is more popular amongst Asian youth than white youth - with 60% Bengali, 43% Pakistani, and 36% Indians playing regularly. There are estimated to be 300 Asian soccer teams in Britain, many of them formed by temples and community centres when Asian youth have felt discriminated against elsewhere (Chaudhary 1994). Further research will be needed to reveal the extent to which these teams exist in Scotland and if Black and Asian players face the same forms of racist exclusion in football that research south of the border has uncovered (Highfield Rangers 1993). A focus on the relationship between football clubs (at different levels) and their local communities in Scotland would require consideration of the involvement of predominantly Asian ethnic minority groups in football. In relation to other team games in Scotland and England, historical and anecdotal evidence suggests that patterns of exclusion and inclusion similar to those in football have emerged (see for example on cricket Jack Williams 1994).

It is also vitally important that a degree of reflexivity is adopted in this research area. A critical consideration of the upsurge in the popularity of football and football-related issues in the mass media and amongst academics would reveal that, whilst it has become increasingly 'respectable', football research remains a predominantly masculine pursuit. It would be interesting, and important in the future, to investigate more thoroughly the position of both ethnic minority and ethnic majority women in movements and campaigns around sport in Scotland. Otherwise there is a danger that an adjustment in patriarchal power might be produced without necessarily

Scottish Affairs

laying the basis for a real challenge to that power (Arshad and McCrum 1989, Lovell 1991, Raval 1989).

Finally, it is important for academics, coaches, school-teachers and others involved in teaching in a pluralistic and multi-ethnic society to recognise the need to engage critically with these issues. Several initiatives could be of assistance here. Firstly, research is required to see how far racism permeates school sport in Scotland (on England see Fleming 1993, 1994). Secondly, analysis of the patterns of recruitment, selection, preparation and curriculum for teacher training in physical education is required. This could begin through a careful monitoring of statistical information now routinely collected at Moray House Institute. Thirdly, the articulation of black and Asian perspectives on these and related matters in sport and leisure, that also avoids the problem of 'false universalism' (by acknowledging black and Asian heterogeneity), is required. In this paper I hope to have started the ball rolling in the direction of a greater awareness of, and more adequate response to, racism in Scottish sport and leisure.

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