

Tackling back

combating
racism in
scottish
football



Report of a Conference
organised by
Stirling District Council
on 30 June 1992
at Stirling University.

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Chairman's Opening Remarks - Stuart Cosgrove

Stuart Cosgrove introduced himself as a television presenter. In the context of this conference he was also a football fan and the author of the book "Hampden Babylon", the history of sex and scandal in Scottish football.

Football is one of the most important institutions in Scottish life. Many people have said of football that it is merely a sport but it is much more important than that. It is a meeting place in Scottish society for very different and sometimes competing aspirations.

Firstly, but not most importantly, football is a business; a place of Chairmen and boardroom coups; of share issues; bond schemes and redevelopments; of overheads. If you just look at two of our teams in the Scottish League this week you will see two very different experiences. Glasgow Rangers are a team which seems to be perpetually involved in business activities and financial developments. Berwick Rangers were put into administration, prior perhaps to receivership if things worsen.

If football has business concerns, then it is also a place of community as well. It is a place of local pride; a place of centenaries; a place of great nights; a place of great disappointment; of local derbies. For Scotland, perhaps the most significant manifestation of that, over the last year, was the success of Motherwell in the Cup and the significance which that had for a town which is going through a fairly profound economic decline with the closure of the Ravenscraig steel mills. So there is a very direct relationship between the football club and its community.

Football, it goes without saying, in Scotland, is also something of a religion as well as of a community and a business. It is a place of gods; a place of loyalty; a place of shrines; a place of beliefs and a place of religious iconography.

If it is a religion, a community and a business, football is also a comedy club, a place of jokes; a place of comic insight; of haddies; of satirical fanzines, of pantomime poems, complete with idiots, we know them, we've watched them.

If it is a comedy club, a religion, a community and a business, football is also a place of hate; a place of sectarianism; of small minded ugliness; a place where racism and religious bigotry can often go unchecked.

In Scotland, binding all of these things together, there is also the idea that football is in a sense a factory of myths. One of the most important roles which football occupies in Scottish life is the source of some of our most enduring and seductive myths about Scots as people and about Scotland as a nation. The tanner ball player - the small 5 foot player capable of reducing defences to ruins. The idea of playing for the jersey, where loyalty to the nation supersedes financial concerns. The idea of football as a family game. I was not around when it was, but that appears to be one of the myths anyway. The idea that Scotland seems to be in perpetual dispute with the auld enemy, England, whether it is the English football team itself, oppositional images of English football supporters and perhaps most significantly the English media.

So football is a factory of myths, most of which, I think are forged in an unspecified past when Scotland's game was seen to be real, healthy, successful, proud, significant and different. Often our myths are myths which go back to some golden era, real or imagined.

But perhaps the greatest myth of all is one that surrounds race. It is still the case in Scotland even in the most sophisticated debates to hear variations on the theme, that Scotland is not racist or Scotland has a different relationship to racism. Let us first briefly remind ourselves of what some of those ideas are.

We are too welcoming as people. We welcome people. Look at the Tartan army in Sweden - they even kissed the police. How could this community be a racist community? We are not like the English. They've been corrupted by Thatcherism and self centred greed which Scots would not tolerate. That's why we do not have hooligans like they do - another myth which is perpetuated quite frequently in the press.

We have a tourist economy and so our whole socio-cultural infra-structure is based upon accepting outsiders. How can we be racist? I once met a German family in Rothesay.

Wherever you go in the world you will find a Scot. We're well-travelled, international. I know a guy who owns a bar in Malaga. I met him at the World Cup.

All of these ideas circulate frequently in debates about Scotland's character and the way in which Scottish people deal with the issue of race. But I think it goes without saying that we would not be here today if those myths were not very fraudulent and very hollow ones. We're in a situation where we are

very clearly different from England in terms of our football history, where socially and culturally the multi-racial make-up of Scotland is different from that of England. But we are in a situation where black players in the Scottish League are very small in numbers and racism, therefore is seen to be a minor problem.

The aims of this conference then are to look at the problem and to explore it, not simply from the point of view of football, but how football affects us in our communities, in our workplaces, the game itself, the environment, the law as it affects the game. The myths which have grown up around Scottish football have created many illusions about our nation and its football communities.

Hopefully today's conference will take us closer to an understanding of racism in football and in our society and how it can be combated.

Stuart Cosgrove introduced, Dawn Corbett, the Equal Opportunities Officer at Stirling District Council, to make a few preliminary remarks.

Welcome - Dawn Corbett

Dawn Corbett began with an apology. Under normal circumstances, an elected member would be present in order to welcome delegates to the conference. Unfortunately, because of the number of activities which were going on in the Council that day no one was able to attend.

The fact that no elected members are here today is lucky for me in one respect, in that it gives me the opportunity to say something about why the conference was organised. Often people who work within the field of racial equality talk about institutionalised racism, the way in which racism may not be apparent on the surface but the way in which society is structured mitigates against the aspirations or opportunities for black people. That is very difficult for people to grasp, understandably in some respects, because it does not hit them in the face. I was keen to do something on racism in football because racism in football is entirely different - it is overt. It happens in a very public way, in front of thousands of people at a football match and hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people watching on television. It is also a very crude form of racism if there are any subtle forms. If you throw bananas at a black footballer and chant monkey noises then what you are saying quite unequivocally is that you as a black person are no better than an ape. It is an attitude which belongs to South Africa or the period of the slave trade - and yet it is one which occurs today, here in Scotland. Racism in football is also often premeditated and planned. If you bring a bunch of bananas to a football match then what you are doing is something which is thought through and thought out.

Because racism in football is so obvious, so public, so crude and so overt, I did imagine, perhaps naively that people would be able to understand it, respond to it and be repelled by it. That hasn't been the case, and in organising this conference, we came across some of the myths which Stuart mentioned earlier.

The first myth was that racism in football didn't actually happen in Scottish football. Last season Hearts played Falkirk in a televised match. The racial abuse which was directed at a black footballer from Falkirk was quite audible

on the television. It also must have been audible to the home club because in the press the next day there was a small article which said that Hearts had made an announcement at half time asking fans to desist from racist and sectarian chanting. And yet when I called Falkirk to encourage them to attend the conference as one of the few clubs left in Scotland with a black player, they told me quite clearly that there was no problem.

The second myth that I have come across is that racism in football does not actually mean anything. It does happen but it is no different from the abuse that other players get because they are bald, fat or ugly. In fact they are entirely different things. People who are bald, fat or ugly, do not face discrimination in employment, they do not experience harassment on housing estates. Racism in football is part of the wider problem of racism in society and if it goes unchallenged as it often does, then it sends out a signal that racism is O.K. and that racial abuse and harassment of black people is an acceptable form of behaviour when that clearly is not the case.

The third myth which I encountered was that the real problem in Scottish football is sectarianism. As if the presence of one form of bigotry meant that we should do nothing about other forms of bigotry and prejudice.

Even if you believe that those myths are in fact true and that racism in Scottish football is not an issue, then I cannot still imagine that anyone would argue that this is an acceptable form of behaviour. It is something which we should be challenging. During the 1988 European Championships, there was an interview published in the press with Ruud Gullit. He remembered Scotland because he had played in a European cup tie against St. Mirren and it was the first time he had ever experienced racial abuse as a black footballer. So, even if you accept all of those myths which are mentioned previously, it seems pretty pitiful that arguably one of the best footballers in the world should come to Scotland, and the only thing that some people see is the colour of his skin.

Here today we have people from a variety of agencies. The Scottish Football Association are represented, supporters' organisations, the police authorities, local authorities, racial equality councils, individual supporters and fanzines. I hope that after today everyone here will be able to go away with some strategies for combating what I see as a very serious issue.

Stuart Cosgrove introduced Brian Holland who was Social Policy Officer with the Commission for Racial Equality, although today he was not speaking in that capacity. He was speaking as an independent researcher who has been undertaking research at Bradford University since 1989 into racial harassment in football, looking specifically at Newcastle United and Leeds United. He has worked for the Commission for Racial Equality since 1982 specialising in Criminal Justice and Racial Harassment.

Brian Holland

Introduction

It is very encouraging to see first of all so many people here but also that this event is happening at all. My understanding is that this is a first for Scotland and indeed Britain as a whole. Whilst there have been some local initiatives, there has been no English equivalent to this type of event. There has been many debates about hooliganism but nothing about racism in football.

This whole area is regarded by some as a joke. They regard it as trivia to regard racism in football on a Saturday afternoon as being important. It is a fact that racism exists. It does not help the feeling that there is no problem in Scotland by the fact that when the Football Offences Act was passed in 1991, it did not cover Scotland. And there was some surprise in some circles that had not actually happened. Why not Scotland? By this afternoon we might be in a position to tell the parliamentarians on the Home Affairs Select Committee that they should have extended it to Scotland after all.

My particular interest in my work at the Commission for Racial Equality is racial harassment and a few years ago I combined this with my interest in occasional visits to Leeds United, when I began research work into racial harassment at football grounds. This led me to ask myself, how is it possible that such overt and explicit racism can continue? We have had legislation, certainly covering this form of explicit racism since 1965 when the first Race Relations Act was passed which attempted to stamp out the most obvious forms of racial discrimination and racism. How then can we still be talking in 1992 of racism going on not in some private alleyway or some estate in Pollokshields, but in front of thousands of people, maybe millions of people on television? How is it that groups of fans can carry on in that way with virtual impunity?

Most of my research is biased. It is English based, in fact North of England based. But there are relevant lessons to be learned which I hope that you will be able to draw on.

In discussing racism in football there are a number of key questions which we should ask ourselves. The first point which we should address is, is racism in soccer a public issue? It is something which those concerned with public

policy, local authorities, football associations should be involved in. I think it is. A key area of my research is how you separate racism from the problem of football hooliganism. One of the classic aspects of football hooliganism is that it is about behaviour between fans and between fans and the authorities. But very rarely is football hooliganism aimed at the pitch. When we talk about racism and football, we are talking about behaviour which is aimed at the football pitch, and I might say occasionally at black and Asian officials. There is also the political dimension and the role of the British National Party and NF. Is it there, is it relevant, is it a source of racism in football? This is another key question which needs to be addressed. Also, what is the affect upon black players? How do they handle it? How do they feel? You can use your imagination about how they must feel in such circumstances. Do they discuss it with managers and officials or is it not discussed at all? My research also looks at, not just what is happening inside football grounds but what is happening outside. So what are the experiences of local ethnic minorities living near football grounds? Do they get harassment on match days and how do they feel? Then generally speaking who cares about this racism? The clubs, the police forces, the FA, the league, super-league - what are their views and their policies? And then of course, do fans themselves feel worried or embarrassed when they see evidence of racism at football grounds. What do the official supporters' organisations feel about it? And finally does the law, in its various facets, have a role to play? These were some of the key questions which I asked myself.

Commonly held beliefs

Here are some of the comments which I have picked up in the course of my research from fans, the police and football officials in the years since 1989.

"It's only a small minority which we are talking about"

"It's the hooligans who spoil it, but what can we do?"

"What's all the fuss, it's only a bit of swearing?"

"White players get abused as well you know"

"It's the media's fault. They encourage it, make it worse, blow it all up"

"Those anti-facist people don't help. There are no facists stirring it up really"

"The police do their best. Things are under control"

"It's not easy making arrests. Sometimes you can cause more trouble by trying"

"The law is not clear in this area. The new football bill will help"

It's all familiar stuff isn't it?

Research at Leeds United and Newcastle United

I have quite deliberately talked about this research being about racial harassment and I would like you to recognise that what is happening within grounds is an example of racial harassment. On that basis I looked at Leeds United and Newcastle United in particular and I attempted to tease out the racial dimension because, as you can see from those comments people tend to see this behaviour as part of going to a football match. People feel that racial abuse falls into the same category as calling Paul Gascoigne "fatty". Abuse against a black player who is being called a "black bastard" or a "nigger" is not of the same order. I wanted to show that these two things are not equivalent. So I went to matches, stood on the terraces and listened and watched. I took a tape recorder and made notes and attempted to categorise what I observed at these various matches. The results were as follows:

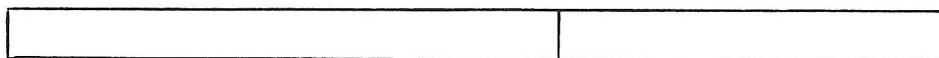
Overall Distribution of Abuse/Harassment

	Leeds	Newcastle
Non-racial booing, jeering, chanting & singing	20%	33%
Non racial abuse/swearing	36%	38%
Racial abuse/swearing	31%	22%
Racial monkey chanting	13%	14%
Racial singing	0%	3%
	44%	39%

The patterns at both Leeds and Newcastle were very similar. There is approximately a 60/40 breakdown between non-racial and racial. On face value, you might think, well this is not so good but the non-racial element is still the majority of what is going on. But if you analyse the figures further and analyse the distribution of those incidents, and to whom they are directed you will find the following. Approximately 60% of the abuse is directed at black players and the remaining 40% at white players.

Distribution of Abuse/Harassment against players

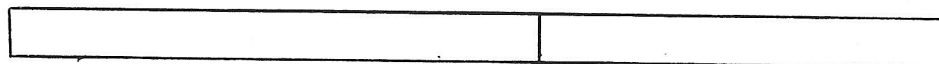
Leeds United Matches



61% Against black
players

39% Against white
players

Newcastle United Matches



58% Against black
players

42% Against white
players

At Leeds/Newcastle matches

59.5% of abuse/harassment directed at black players

40.5% of abuse/harassment directed at white players

We can take these figures even further. Black players tend to be very much in the minority. In a match between Leeds and Swindon, just before Leeds went into the first division, there was one black player playing for Leeds and two playing for Swindon. I stood with the home fans and counted 46 incidents in the five categories described earlier. The black Swindon players received 23 pieces of abuse directed at them. I estimated that the two black Swindon players received an average of 11.5 pieces of abuse each as opposed to approximately 2 pieces against white Leeds players. Therefore the Swindon players received 5 to six times more abuse at that match than their white counterparts on the Leeds team. So the burden on black players is far greater than on white players and disproportionate to the numbers of black players involved. These figures also destroy the myth that if you have a black player on your side then the racism will go away.

The Role of the far right

How did the racism get there? Was it the National Front? My research indicates that that is not the case. I have interviewed a number of black players including Charlie Williams who played for Doncaster Rovers between 1953 and 1961 and was one of the first black players to play in an English Team. He said that initially there was the novelty of "having a darkie" playing for the team but then it turned into abuse. Yet as you move into the sixties, particularly around 1968, around the time that Enoch Powell made his infamous speeches, there is evidence of chants of "Enoch, Enoch" against players such as Clyde Best of West Ham United. The monkey calling really started between about 1968 and 1972. There is a lot of controversy about the

influence of sub cultures such as skin heads in such chanting. They were heavily involved in the seventies in what became known as "Paki Bashing". These same people were also displaying their racism on the terraces at football matches. However, there were very few black players to start off with and so there was very little evidence of racial harassment. But in England between 1972 and 1982, the growth in black players went from nine to ninety which is an enormous expansion. This just refers to first team players. Between 1982 and 1992 it went from 90 to 190. So this growth in the number of black players is very significant.

Around 1978, the National Front began to rise in profile before they attempted to gain electoral credibility. This coincided with a shift in the power structure of the National Front, as it became dominated by a younger age group. Evidence of their appearances on the terraces of football matches becomes apparent around 1979 and 1980 when "seig heiling" began to take place. This political manifestation of racism had not been evident before this period. So we should not kid ourselves that racism in football began with the National Front in the late seventies. It was there beforehand but was not apparent because of the small number of black players.

The Legal Position

I just wanted to touch on the legal position. I have already mentioned that the Football Offences Act does not cover Scotland. In 1990 there was a Home Affairs Select Committee on "Policing Football Hooliganism". The Scottish representatives felt that the common law offence of breach of the peace was quite sufficient. When it came to debating the Football Offences Bill, the two Scottish MPs Menzies Campbell and Ernie Ross initially wanted to include Scotland. However, they were persuaded by the argument that there was less of a problem in Scotland and that there was better use of breach of the peace in Scotland. Hence the resulting Act excluded Scotland.

There is a feeling that because the Football Offences Act does not cover Scotland, that Scotland has been left out. However, the law is not a problem. The problem lies in a lack of motivation to use the law. I interviewed the match commander at Leeds United, Chief Superintendent David Clark. His view was that the Football Offences Act was a "luxury" and that the Public Order Act was quite sufficient. Arrests for "seig Heiling" had taken place at Leeds United as long ago as 1984. So the law has always been adequate. It is more a question of motivation plus the difficulties of arresting an individual within a large crowd. However, with close circuit television and the provisions under the 1986 Public Order Act which allows for arrest by plain clothes officers, individuals can be arrested as they leave the ground.

There have been some initiatives in Strathclyde. Strathclyde Community Relations Council have been very concerned about the harassment of people from the Asian Community living near to both football grounds, and have conducted work in this area.

There have also been individual responses. John Colquhoun responded to racism directed at Paul Elliot during a Hearts v Celtic match. Also Tony Higgins of the PFA wrote to Mark Walters following the racism directed at him, apologising for the behaviour of fans.

Racism outside football grounds

I conducted a survey in the Spring of this year. There are 92 Race Equality Councils in England, Wales and Scotland. To find out if there were ethnic minority communities living near to football grounds and what their experiences were. What came out of that was that 36% of returns revealed that local minority communities (mainly Asian) receive racial abuse/harassment by white fans on match days. This was most common when fans passed the house or parked their cars. Shop keepers also, are particularly vulnerable.

I conducted a survey of an area of one town in the North of England in April 1992 in the vicinity of a ground. This survey revealed that 45% of the local community was of ethnic minority origin. (91% were Asian, the majority Pakistani-Muslim). 61% of them had lived in the street for over 20 years. Only 33% of white respondents had lived in the street for over 10 years. And yet 65% of white respondents had been to a match, whereas only 25% of ethnic minority respondents had been to a match. Then I asked about their experiences at matches. 64% of ethnic minority respondents attending a match were harassed compared to only 9% of white respondents.

Away from the matches themselves, in the street where they lived near to the ground, 35% of ethnic minority respondents had been harassed, 50% of which was racial abuse. Only 13% of white respondents had been harassed.

I then asked them about their feelings on match days. 73% of white respondents were either comfortable or relaxed, compared to only 15% of ethnic minority respondents 85% felt either uncomfortable, nervous or fearful.

Therefore, we need to consider what is happening both inside and outside grounds.

The Lessons

I would identify the following key lessons which need addressed, if we are to combat racism in football.

1. **Racist Culture should not be allowed to take root.**
2. **Tackling Racism in football should not be left to one organisation or party to tackle.**
3. **Racism should be treated as a non-political issue. To allow it to get a "political" tag will alienate some parties and is a recipe for non-action.**

4. **All interested parties need to meet to agree a strategy and decide who does what.**
5. **Racist fans need to be told directly and clearly that racist behaviour will not be tolerated and this to be backed up by action by club/police etc.**

So what needs to be done? I would identify the following actions points:

All Clubs, as well as the Scottish League and SFA should:

1. **Ensure that ground Regulations incorporate a "No Racial Harassment" clause.**
2. **Provide a clear and unambiguous statement condemning racial harassment inside and outside grounds.**
3. **Adopt an Equal Opportunities Policy.**
4. **Ensure good communications with local communities living near grounds.**
5. **Be prepared to ban racist fans.**

Stuart Cosgrove introduced David Hewitt who describes himself as a Hearts supporter and a founder member of the Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Football (SCARF). He is also Chairperson of that organisation and works as a Community Worker in Wester Hailes.

David Hewitt

My own contribution will be essentially a personal one which I hope will be complementary to what Brian has just said. I also hope what I say will reflect the feelings of a wider cross section of Scottish football supporters.

SCARF is a forum of football fans in Edinburgh. The majority of members are Hearts and Hibernian fans, although there are also Celtic fans through in Glasgow. Indeed the membership spreads throughout Scotland and England. We also have members in Europe as well.

We were formed early last year in response to the scenes which welcomed Mark Walters and Paul Elliot to Scottish football. Anyone who was present at the games or who watched the games on TV will understand the disgust that many of us felt at those disgraceful scenes. There was also a growing awareness amongst fans on the terraces that these scenes were planned and co-ordinated to an extent and that some neo-nazi groups were becoming more active at football grounds in particular, Ku Klux Klan, National Front and in Scotland the British National Party.

There is a school of thought which says that the appearance of hundreds if not thousands of banana waving fans at football matches has been a coincidence. In SCARF we would view that as nonsense. In one incident at Tynecastle Park, a dead chicken was thrown onto the pitch during a period of heavy racial abuse. Who takes dead chicken to football matches? So, SCARF were very concerned about the fact that some incidents at matches were clearly organised but also we were concerned about the racist attitudes displayed by hundreds of ordinary fans at the game.

One of the questions which Brian asked was, did racism matter? Did it matter to the fans? For us in SCARF and many other fans it does matter. I personally felt that it was a question of either tackling the problem or never to go back to another football match.

Initially when we set up, we made contact with a large range of football organisations, football clubs, the SFA and anti-racist groups. Very few clubs have responded favourably to us. It is part of the syndrome which Brian mentioned earlier - that the way to tackle this problem is to keep it under wraps and "Don't make this bigger than it is". We were also told that our organisation is political. We feel quite strongly that this is a political problem and needs to be tackled in a political way.

If we talk about racism in Scottish football, then the manifestation of that racism is significantly different to what occurs in England. There have always been black players in Scottish football. Heart of Midlothian had a black player at the turn of the century and they have appeared in Scottish football from time to time since then. The situation has been that it is only recently that there has been a small influx of black players into Scottish football. The scale of the problem is significantly different to the situation down south. There are far fewer black players within the professional, Scottish leagues and generally the ethnic minority communities are smaller. We have therefore not focussed upon the problem of racism as clearly as people down south have done. But that is not to say that there has not been any racism.

Of course, the people who experience racism now are the black community. But racism was present in Scottish football before the settlement of black people. Years ago it was the Irish community who constituted the ethnic minority population. Call it bigotry or sectarianism if you like, but it is nothing less than anti-Irish racism. The loyalism which we have seen in Scottish football has been racist in character. The "orange ideology" over the years has been increasingly xenophobic. If you hate the Irish because they are Catholic and Irish, Christians from just over the Irish Sea, then what chance do the Moslem Bengalis have? There are clear links between the ethos of loyalism, racism and arguably facism. It is not surprising that the British National Party have targeted the loyalist population in Scotland, seeing that as their natural constituency. It is significant that neo-nazi groups do not sell their newspapers in the vicinity of Celtic's ground or outside Hibernian's ground, Easter Road. Yet they do sell newspapers outside Ibrox Park and Tynecastle. SCARF, has therefore, set out to tackle sectarian bigotry as well as racism, since we see them as almost identical.

A real danger for Clubs such as Hearts and Rangers and other clubs in Scotland who have a significant element of loyalism, is that loyalism has been unchallenged. It has been implicitly accepted as part of Scottish football. It is almost seen as integral. In some ways the whole thing is almost lauded. "The big game between the Old Firm" - the religious hatred which comes out there is something which is seen as an asset to the game. If racism increases in the same way then there is a danger that that will become integral to football too.

In SCARF we have seen some of the worst manifestations of racism. Most people will be aware of the abuse that Mark Walters and Paul Elliot received. But we have also witnessed Nazi salutes on the terraces. I was in a beer kellar in Munich where several Hearts supporters were wearing Ku Klux Klan T-shirts. After the Hearts/Hibs derby match, following Hibernian's win in the League Cup, the British National Party appeared in large numbers on the terraces. They had a banner on the terraces and a black Hearts supporter was physically and verbally abused. As a result some supporters rallied around to help him. But it is disturbing to witness fans on the terraces being harassed as well as the players on the pitch.

Activities by SCARF have tended to be directed towards leafleting at games where we felt there may be problems, for example where there is a black player on the opposing team or if we have heard that the British National Party are mobilising for a particular game. But its probably the hardest way to get a message across. The fans go to watch the game and tend to just throw leaflets away. Pointing out to facists, the error of their ways, has been difficult. One member of SCARF has been threatened and others have received threats. We never did feel that we could overcome racism at football grounds on our own. It requires a multi-agency approach involving fans, the police and clubs. To that end, we have produced a ten point action plan for clubs. (See appendix 2).

I will draw attention to just some of the points in the action plan. Point one says, "Adopt a policy statement outlining the club's opposition to racism and sectarianism, which should be included in match programmes and other club literature". Some people would say that that is already being done. And that is true. Hearts have done it. They have made it quite clear at a couple of games that the club opposes racism and sectarianism. But it has to be a longer term, ongoing educational process. Otherwise, it is simply a token gesture.

The second point states that Clubs should "Take action to prevent the sale or distribution of racist and fascist literature in the vicinity of the groups on match days". It might be argued that clubs have little or no say over what goes on in the vicinity of grounds. But football clubs are part of the local community, so the onus is on the club to do something about it. Heart of Midlothian occupy a huge position within the community around the Gorgie/Dalry area of Edinburgh, where there is a significant ethnic minority population. If the supporters who attend the club are being influenced by racists then the club has a duty to confront racists.

The third point relates to racist/sectarian chanting. All senior clubs employ stewards. If they are not employed to tell people to desist from racist or sectarian chanting, then I am not sure why they are there.

Responsibility also lies with individual supporters. So we've included a commitment within the action plan to liaise with supporters' clubs to make clear the club's opposition to racism and sectarianism. Again, we are aware that both Hearts and Rangers have done this. But all clubs should follow this line, and not only do it, but be seen to be doing it.

What the 10 point action plan shows is that there are actions which everyone who cares about football can get involved in to combat the threat which racism is to football. The problem, we believe, is a lack of will to bring about change. I would like to mention one or two examples in football where action has brought about change.

Firstly, there is the reputation of Scottish football fans. It is not such a long time ago that Scottish football fans were feared wherever they went. Ask the residents of Wembley or ask the West Indians who worked on the under-

ground in London what Scottish football fans were like. But the SFA took on board the need to take action and over a period of time by encouraging supporters to be more responsible and by banning alcohol, they changed attitudes amongst supporters who travelled away.

Similarly, Heart of Midlothian had a poor reputation in the seventies and in the eighties a "casual" problem emerged. The club took action over a long period of time to discourage fans from getting involved with casuals. Wallace Mercer made a number of announcements and they also asked the club's programme and local newspapers, to state clearly and publicly to the fans that this is a problem which had no place in Tynecastle and it worked. The clubs saw hooliganism as a problem and they tackled it. We believe that racism in football should be tackled in a similar manner.

If you are looking for role models then you would do worse than looking overseas to F.C. St Pauli of Hamburg that many people will have heard about. The season before last they had substantial problems with Nazis attending matches. This was tackled at the instigation of the fans but the club directors got behind supporters and put forward a programme of events. The club invited hundreds of local Turks to one particular game and took huge banners with anti-racist and anti-facist slogans. The problem is still there but it has by and large been overcome.

Finally, I would like to touch upon the Football Offences Act. We in SCARF would like to see this Act extended to Scotland. Having spoken to a number of people including the police, they feel that breach of the peace is adequate to deal with incidents of racism at football matches. Perhaps, Brian is right, the problem is a lack of willingness to take action. But we feel that using breach of the peace camouflages racial abuse, racist incidents in Scottish football under the catch all heading of breach of the peace. It masks the significance of racist incidents. On the other hand, the Football Offences Act could highlight the problem, and raise awareness that this is a problem in Scotland. It would also give a clear, unequivocal signal to fans that racism is unacceptable.

To wind up, SCARF has tried to tackle the problem in conjunction with other authorities in Scotland and with other groups of fans. I think that we would like to see a situation where when club stewards, fans and the police see a racist incident on the terracing that they are aware of the problem and know how to respond and deal with it accordingly. But more importantly we would like to see fans on the terraces, identifying it as being unwanted and dealing with it themselves.

Summary of Morning Plenary Session

A number of statements were made from the floor.

Martin Rose of the National Federation of Supporters Clubs suggested that the situation in Scotland was entirely different. There was a danger that by adopting the Football Offences Act Scotland would, once again, be subject to bad legislation which was appropriate to the situation in England. What was required was a response which was relevant to Scotland. Secondly, he felt that good work had been done and it was necessary to build on that. Simply because action had been taken which was not overt did not mean that no action had been taken. The police authorities had taken a number of steps to combat sectarianism and racism.

Erik Geddes, a Partick Thistle fan, argued that racism within Scottish football was a political issue. The role of the National Front and British National Party had made it a political issue. In addition, political parties relied on racial divisions and ethnic minorities were often at the receiving end of working class frustration. He added that the fans had to play a role in combating racism at football grounds.

Alistair Kelly of Celtic Supporters Club reiterated the points made about the role of far right parties. He felt that education had a role to play. He had often witnessed very young fans of 7 or 8 years old using the term "Paki" or "Black" as a term of abuse. The BNP were exploiting this ignorance for their own political ends. He felt that clubs could play an educational role through work in the community to build allegiance and respect for the club.

Maggie Chetty of Strathclyde Community Relations Council welcomed the advent of the conference because football grounds provided the most public expression of racism, the most up front, the most apparent. It involved many young, white people. It was therefore of great concern to her organisation and had a high priority in their community development work. They had been in contact with Rangers Football Club through "Communities United" a multi-racial organisation in the Govan/Ibrox area. The police had also played a positive role in attempting to control the activities of the British National Party. Strathclyde Community Relations Council saw the process of simply "getting together" as very important. Any strategy to combat racism in football should not be political but should involve all agencies.

Councillor Ken Murray of Strathclyde Regional Council, and Partick Thistle fan addressed the question posed by Brian Holland about the ownership of the problem. He felt that football clubs should take the initiative in attempting to combat racism at grounds. Local authorities are responsible for licensing stadia and they can remove licences if a club keeps a disorderly house. He suggested that local authorities should use these powers to ensure that clubs took action against supporters guilty of racial abuse or harassment.

He also questioned the solidarity of players. If a black player is subject to abuse then they should get support from their colleagues. Perhaps the Players Union should be saying "Get your act together" and protect colleagues who are subject to this type of abuse.

Stuart Cosgrove referred to the West German vs Holland match during the 1990 World Cup where racial abuse had been used as a tactic or a strategy to unsettle opposition players.

Kaliani Lyle of Edinburgh District Council referred to the discussion on the political nature of racism at football matches. Brian Holland had traced the way that racial abuse had become politicised during Enoch Powell's speeches on immigration. She felt there was a close link between political statements on immigration and the levels of racial abuse experienced by black people on a day to day basis. However, the strategy has to be a broad one which took on board as many people as possible, and that need not be party political. She also referred to race relations in Scotland which was often subject to the "numbers game". If there were too many black people then they had to be kept out, if there were too few then they are not a priority.

Rogan Taylor from the Sir Norman Chester Centre for football research at Leicester University suggested that there was a close link between hooliganism and racism. The peculiarity of English hooliganism was its ability to export itself. At the recent European Championships there were acts of hooliganism abroad by countries other than England. There is no doubt about the association between that and the emergence of neo-nazi groups both in Sweden and the united Germany. The German F.A. prior to the European Championship took a very high profile in addressing the problem of hooliganism/racism directly through the press, television and their leading players. Our own administrative body, however, seem much more reluctant in dealing with issues like that from the top and using the power which they can exercise. He recognised that the situation was different in Scotland. Amongst English fans, oppressive nationalism led to hooliganism whilst in Scotland, patriotism worked for discipline because Scots did not wish to look like the English.

Mark Dingwall of "Follow, Follow", felt that fascist groups had been confined to football grounds, whilst in England they were active elsewhere. He asked that people should not identify Nazism with loyalism because it was the only way in for right groups. He felt that the problem of racism was far greater than the presence of Nazism. At Ibrox there was a hard core of BNP members who sold literature at matches, but they were small in number and largely ineffectual.

David Helliwell was introduced as an elected member from Calderdale Metropolitan Borough Council. During his term as leader of the Labour Group, Councillor Helliwell was a director of Halifax Town Football Club, the local authority being the major shareholder.

Councillor David Helliwell

There was a wide ranging discussion this morning which looked at dealing with racism by methods from persuading people not to chant or not to be racist to actually pitching them out. I would say, what would that do? If you pitch them out then you will put racists somewhere else in some other guise. Besides, I don't think, in the context of football, racism is a disease. It is a symptom of something much wider than that. And I really want to talk about the culture of society and how the interactions lead to what we have seen - the manifestations that we discussed this morning.

I have been an average soccer fan all my life, watching Halifax Town. You can only be an average soccer fan if you watch Halifax Town. There are few very exciting games. I can remember as a very small boy, in 1953, when we reached the fifth round of the Cup and lost at Tottenham Hotspur with Alf Ramsay as the full-back. There were 36,000 people there. But the 36,000 went down and remained somewhere under 2,000, indeed not much over 1,000. So there is very little of the kind of excitement that leads to the kind of mass hysteria which leads to racism or collective racism. What I perceived was that the football club, indeed any football club was the property of the wider community, in a very real sense. Leeds United belongs to all of the people of Leeds in a very active way. And that was demonstrated in their success and the euphoria with which it was received. It's not just Leeds, it's the area of West Yorkshire who identify and who think of Leeds as their team. I find it strange that when a team represents the collective will of a very large group of people, that they don't want to have ownership of it. And we've talked this morning about the ownership of the problem. I think that the ownership of the football team is part of the ownership of the problem. Because whilst football teams are felt as having been possessed by very large numbers of people they are in reality the preserve of a very small number of people indeed. Leeds United is owned by a collective of white, male, middle class businessmen who own it and control it and decide issues of fundamental policy. No one seems to connect those policies which are pursued through the boardroom with the outcome in terms of the behaviour of the crowd. For some reason, there is a feeling that ownership in that sense, management in the real sense, is divorced from the outcomes. Now I find that puzzling to a very large degree.

I had the opportunity through circumstances of taking a football team out of the "Butcher, Baker, Candlestick Maker" model. A team like Halifax Town is generally owned by the plumber or the baker, possibly the Estate Agent. All men of course. All with a set view of the world which is about traditional values of superiority of their kind, of their class - the bourgeoisie. They own these things and we don't seem to argue with it. When our football team

went down owing three quarters of a million pounds it seemed to me the opportunity to take the club away from these people who had so demonstrably failed to run it. And that is not just hearsay. Most football clubs in Britain are hugely in debt and two have fallen in the last few months. I fear that there will be many, many more before Christmas.

We had the opportunity to take the club into our ownership by taking the issued share capital and transferring it to an unpaid debt and therefore taking that share capital. Now instead of that being greeted by universal euphoria, that the age of public ownership had really come of age and the people's team was owned by the people for the people's game, the reverse was in fact truth. It was the most unpopular political act which has ever been carried forward in Calderdale. It was completely and utterly misunderstood or not understood. People's view was, that the ownership of football teams was like the ownership of a printing works or grocers. It was about men owning this commodity which they then ran and then made a profit or loss. The fact that they all made a loss and that they all needed support from the public purse in one way or another seemed not to matter. Our directors wanted to sell the ground, which they didn't happen to own because it was owned by the Council. They wanted to sell it, pay off the three quarters of a million pounds accumulated debt and then build another stadium with some of the money and then just carry on as if nothing had happened. Because it wasn't their fault at all. It was just one of these accidents that they had failed to pay the VAT for several years, the PAYE or anyone else for that matter and really it was sad. It wasn't their fault. It was the equivalent of my father selling his council flat because he had run up a few debts at the bookies. And it is no different than that.

So we came by the football club but we were not well received. Attempts to influence that football club in say equal opportunities aspects, the organisation, personnel were met with a stony silence. We had tried to democratize the election of directors by forming a constituency of registered supporters who would select from amongst themselves people who would be fit to serve upon the board of management with the support of the Council. The Council would also be able to provide a range of specialist services. The Football Supporters Association in England believes that we should have a representative director on the board. Our view was that we should have a board of directors entirely from those who are supporters and who are elected by their other constituent members for that purpose. They should retire in rotation. It all seemed very simple to me and I therefore was simply not prepared for the kind of reaction that we got. The upshot was that after four years of real struggle to put over this idea of the public ownership of something which was so demonstrably public property, we had to retreat for political purposes in that this was a real millstone around our necks, particularly as we had the merest control over the Council. So we had to accept that we would have to reinvest the 76% shareholding and the

businessmen would again take over. Previously we had tried to make certain that we had women on the board and of course we have not talked issues of gender in football at this conference. That is just as much part of the general malaise as issues surrounding race, in my view in football. We did have two women directors briefly but the bourgeois directors, for want of a better word said "Yes they were very interested in getting women to watch football matches". So they would have Ladies Day. I tried very hard to explain that in the world that I lived in the ladies made the tea and women made decisions and that in the term there was a great difference. However, in this particular enterprise we really did fail to make progress.

The four year experiment which has now ended attracted a lot of smart papers from other interested elements but it never took the public's fancy. The people of Halifax remained utterly oblivious as to what happened to their football team. They would occasionally pipe up that it would do better if it was controlled by businessmen who know about these things. The same businessmen who know so much about it that it was three quarters of a million pounds in debt. So the experiment has ended there.

What I am saying is that there is a mismatch between perhaps what we are discussing, the importance which we attach to what we are discussing - but the public out there see football in a different way. They see it largely the way that they have been told to see it, and the images on television reflect this.

In the presentations by the Jimmy Hills, football is a war. It is simply war by another means, between countries in the European Championships, by tribes in next year's Premier League. So when we then expect people to behave differently from how they would in a war, it is difficult for them to conceive. Even the work of football is about war, if you think of the commentaries and the things that are said, they are very much about physical aggression in that context. So people obviously think of it in that way. It becomes an opportunity to express violence collectively. Therefore the expression of racist sentiments is a real expression of the way that society is and it's no good treating the symptom in isolation. What we have got to do in football is to alter the culture which means that such a thing is even permissible. The boardroom, sadly, is full of racists. There are very few black directors of football clubs.

On the terraces, as we have already said, the black community is under-represented. And one of the issues that comes into the discussion here, is the difference between Afro-Caribbean and Asian groups. In my town, the predominant black group is Asian and their representation in the stadium is very small, even though we tried very hard indeed when we were in control, to get schools involved and to get players into schools and to try and make people from the Asian community see that it was for them. We have failed to do that.

There are some black people on the terraces, but very few and even fewer on the boards of clubs. One of the central problems is the distance between the boardroom and the terraces. In my estimation it's about a million miles. And I think, over recent years it has got wider. To be overtly political, the change in the culture over the past years has led to entrepreneurial activity which has led to a view which says "the football club which I have bought, I will run as an extension of myself". We have examples of that in Scotland and we've got lots of them in England - people who use football clubs as simply an extension of their personalities.

When you think of racism as a symptom of this, you have to look at other sports. The classic ways of escaping poverty, the classic routes out for black kids are pop music and sport. One of the changes is that you create a class of "honorary whites". Linford Christie is an "honorary white". There is a strong tendency to create this new class of people - they are no longer valued for their intrinsic worth - they are elevated to a new position. So success in sport is a double-edged sword. In this respect it's interesting to watch crowds. The black player who plays for us is great. He's on the ball and he's playing great because he's playing for us. At what point does he stop being one of us? Is it when he does something wrong? The loyalty you have for him, then disappears. You are happy to embrace a winner because he is then an "honorary white". But when he does something wrong, he suddenly becomes very black. So within a game, within a minute, that change in emotions can be expressed.

Now in other sports, that doesn't actually seem to be the case. Rugby League has had black players for a very long time. Soccer has had the odd black player for some time. Charlie Williams was mentioned earlier. (I knew Charlie Williams. He wasn't a very good soccer player and he wasn't a very good comedian but he was a very nice man). But in Rugby League we have had a number of black players for a very long time indeed. Billy Boston played for Wigan and came from the black community in Cardiff which has also been established there for centuries. I don't remember, as a child, any discussion of Billy Boston's race or other black players. It just wasn't an issue. Recently, it has started to become an issue as the football culture has begun to invade Rugby League - noticeably in Hull. My father, who is 81, remembers black players in Rugby League in the 1920's, but it wasn't an issue.

Think about cricket. In Yorkshire recently we decided to admit people to play for Yorkshire who were born outside of Yorkshire. But in Yorkshire for at least one generation we have had a large number of people of Asian origin. Many are very fine cricketers who play in the Bradford League and go to play in the Indian Sub Continent during other parts of the year. Not one single Asian has ever played for Yorkshire, ever. It is completely inconceivable that there has not been one good enough. What do we do when we relax the ban

on players from outside the country? Who is the first player we admit? Tendulkar, who is a brilliant player. For some reason we could get Tendulkar - he's all right, he's an honorary white. But all of those black local people, playing in the Bradford League to the highest standard are never considered. And that is racism in action in cricket.

I realise that these are some random thoughts but what I am trying to get across is that it is football's culture which leads to racism. It's a culture, where there are no black managers, where stereotypes about black players are widespread. "A black player puts his head down when the chips are down". It's those things which we have to challenge because those sort of assumptions undermine football's culture. They will be said by managers at half time, in the boardroom and certainly on television during Jimmy Hill's half time analysis.

Finally, I would just like to say that I went to Wembley for the first time in my life only a few weeks ago to watch Brazil. And I was utterly appalled by the conduct of the English fans. I was adjacent to the Brazilian fans and they were an example of how to be supportive of your team and at the same time make it a festival and not be threatening. Because the noise they generated was phenomenal. It was a wonderful spectacle to see these people dancing and shouting rhythmically and then I looked in front of me at the assembled intellectual might of Newham. The most they could do was to gesticulate in the air and make weird grunting noises. One would only contrast these two attitudes to the game. The attitude to the game is born from the culture of football and that culture is born from those above it - the Mandarins and the managers.

John Colquhoun was introduced as a professional football player with Millwall F.C. He had formerly played with Stirling Albion, Celtic and Heart of Midlothian and during his time in Scotland was Chairman of the Scottish Professional Footballers Association.

John Colquhoun

I would just like to introduce myself by saying that I am not used to speaking and I am different from other speakers in that I don't know Charlie Williams at all.

Racism is something that I feel very strongly about. I think it is something which really needs to be addressed. Speaking to people over the last couple of days, I was asked why I was coming up to Scotland just for one day. When I told them they said, "But there's not a problem up here". And I think that that is the attitude that we really have to fight against. And really it shouldn't be me up here talking, it should be somebody like Mark Walters or Paul Elliot or someone like Wesley Reid who now plays for Airdrie and who did a great deal of work at Millwall when he first broke through. Unfortunately, I am just a spectator like a lot of other people. They could probably tell you a lot more.

I have been in dressing rooms and on terraces in football for ten or fifteen years now. As early as the 1970s I went to Celtic Park and there was a black player playing then called Paul Wilson. I can't remember any opponents or supporters giving him much stick. But now in Scotland it is becoming more and more of a problem as more and more black players come up here to play. However I don't think that it is as overt and as naked as it is down south. I was asked to talk about my experiences here today. The first time I ever came up against racism was at the infamous Mark Walters incident. We were playing Rangers and Mark Walters was having a great game against us. Then all of a sudden all of these bananas and monkey shouts came on the pitch. It was really shocking. I honestly can't even remember the score. But I was disappointed. I was disappointed in the Hearts supporters. I know that there are a few of them here today but I am sure that they would feel the same. I was also disappointed in my own performance. Not for what I did on the park but because I let this go on. I didn't do anything. I felt that, if I was in a small circle of friends and somebody had done something like this or told a racist joke, I would pride myself in confronting the issue. I would say something to make them feel uncomfortable. I had to ask myself why I didn't do anything, just because there was a different set of rules. Is there a different set of rules because there are 30,000 of them? I didn't think it should be. So I said to myself that if this problem came up again then I would try and do something about it. I didn't really know what I could do, I didn't know if I could do anything.

About a year later we played Celtic at Parkhead and the Hearts supporters were obviously there. After the Mark Walters incident, Wallace Mercer had done a lot of good work, a lot of leafleting, PA work. He worked with the police, worked with the Supporters Federation to try and get the message

over that racism and sectarianism had no place in his football club. I think he must be commended for that. But obviously the message did not get through. We went through to Parkhead and Paul Elliot was given a terrible time. I can't remember exactly what happened but the ball went out for a corner. He went up and the monkey grunts were deafening and I tried to subdue them. I don't know if it worked but I got a lot of response in the mail, a lot unfavourable, but also a lot favourable. But that wasn't important. What was important was that I had done something and been honest to myself. I think it is important that we all do that within our own circle of friends, within whatever influence we have. We all have responsibilities.

I don't think it changes anybody or I would very much doubt it. I think the people who did that, who organised it were people about my own age. I don't think the attitudes of people my age can be changed. You have to legislate against them and regulate against them rather than try and change their attitudes, because I personally don't think that it is possible. They are too entrenched. But, you can educate youngsters.

I know down south, it's a different problem, as we've already mentioned. But I think up here it's becoming more of a problem, although there are some problems down south, within the football clubs, which have never occurred up here. A point was made earlier that players should show solidarity. In my experience of ten years in professional football, I never heard a racist comment made to another player nor witnessed any racism within the dressing room in all my time up here. It took exactly three weeks down south to hear it. That's when you realised how cocooned we are up here. We don't really realise the scale of the problem. They make remarks openly to young, black players. And when you challenge them they say "Ask him, he doesn't mind. He doesn't mind being called so and so". This is to a player of 19 or 20 trying to make their way in the game. What are they going to do? Confront an older, senior professional and cause trouble against the establishment, as it were. I don't know if I would do that.

There was a great programme called "Great Britain United" made for television. Ron Noades, Chairman of Crystal Palace made what he thought was an innocent comment. He said that on a cold November Saturday afternoon, you wouldn't want black players out there. It's all right on a summers day, but on a cold wet November's day you want a good Englishman, with moral fibre. I don't know about Mr Noades but I wouldn't put up with what the black players I've played with put up with. I would have chucked it long ago. There was also a comment in that programme by the England Captain at that time, Bryan Robson, who I think is one of the greatest players I have ever seen. But he went down in my estimation. He said that they (Manchester United) had a black player playing at the time called Remi Moses. He said that Remi had called another black player, Danny Wallace, "Sambo", and that if it was O.K. for him to say it then surely it was alright for us to say it. Surely both of them are wrong. It's the responsibility of the black players as well to look after themselves and to speak up for themselves. Black players have a special role to play in all this.

I would like to talk about Millwall community scheme for a few minutes. The very name Millwall frightens people. They have a legacy lasting ten or fifteen years as the most violent team in England, if not the world. It went hand in hand with the National Front racists who came to matches from Bermondsey, Southwark and inner city areas around and about the ground. The club decided that the only way to change things was to establish a community scheme that was going to affect people's lives by integrating the club totally into the community. They set up women's football teams, basketball teams, young kids' teams from 12 years up to 17 and 18. They also got players to go to the schools to coaching courses and a range of different community involvement schemes. English football is a bit more strict. When you sign for a club you have to sign a sheet saying what you will get bonuses for, whereas Scottish teams don't have to. At Millwall you have to sign a form saying that you have got to put in four hours community work a week if required. I think that is the least one should do. I think footballers will go along, if asked. It makes you aware of your responsibilities.

If you go along to a school - I don't know why - but kids are in awe of footballers. If players such as John Barnes, Andy Gray or Keith Curle go along to a school and the children see them speaking, then they will see them in a different light. They won't see them as that black "B" on a Saturday. They will see him as a person who is coming out to there school and they may be less likely to call out the racist abuse. The lad which I mentioned earlier, Wesley Reid, he changed a lot of people's attitudes that way in England.

The other thing that we do is run coaching courses. Not coaching courses like other clubs do. For instance the courses run by Arsenal cost £60 per head. In inner cities people do not have that kind of money. In Bermondsey and Deptford, around Millwall, people haven't got that. So what they do is to go where the kids play football, to go where they throw their jackets down. You have got to run over bricks, run over the shale, where the kids play. And it costs them nothing. Millwall run coaching courses that are paid and they subsidise these other ones. This is a useful thing to do. In a five-a-side game, they teach you that you can teach kids just about every thing that goes in life. There will be violence in a five-a-side game, whether it is kicking or fighting. There will be racial abuse and sexism, if its a mixed game. There will be people who criticise a fellow player for not being as good. But you can stop the game and ask them why do they keep criticising the other player. You teach them to encourage. You won't change people overnight but you might change some things over a period of time.

So, I think education is the route to take. It's not the only route. I don't have a five point plan or a ten point plan but I think we all have a responsibility to try and change attitudes and do our own bit. I know the board at Hearts, which I know best, have done a lot, but they haven't done enough. I don't think we can do enough. From the boardroom down, on the terracing and on the pitch, we've all got to try and do a bit more.

It is important that we have a good cross-section of the community here today. There is the police, SFA, football clubs, local authorities and people from ethnic minority groups. I was speaking to one or two people from Lothian earlier on, who said they had set up a Gorgie and Dalry against racism. The first meeting was busy, but at the second meeting there was hardly anyone there. You have to keep things going. Everyone has to try and take a lead.

Summary of Afternoon Plenary Session

Rogan Taylor of the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research described research which he was conducting for the English FA which involved interviewing the England players. He had been very impressed by what they said within the context of an interview which would not be regurgitated for the back pages of a newspaper. They appeared to be willing to do a lot more than they actually do. For a lot of white players racism was a lot more embarrassing than for the black players since they had experienced it on and off the pitch all their lives. Players could play a very powerful force used in the community. He asked John Colquhoun what would be required to get them into action. John felt that most players simply needed to be asked, but journalists tended not even to think about asking. There was the added difficulty that at some clubs, to be openly political was not the done thing although he himself had not encountered any difficulties. It was more difficult for young, black players who would be seen to be making trouble if they challenged racism. David Helliwell added that football clubs were a very rigid entity and that the idea that players could talk about policy within the organisation is totally alien to Directors.

There was a discussion about the need to use the media and for players and football authorities to come together and communicate to people how distasteful racism is. Stuart Cosgrove drew attention to American sport where they were much more conscious of how to use role models. Basketball players such as Magic Johnston took on role model responsibilities. John Colquhoun said that sportsmen of outstanding abilities could carry out this work much more easily because nothing was going to happen to them.

Kaliani Lyle of Edinburgh District Council suggested that there were a whole range of reasons why black people may not wish to be used as "role models", not least because it takes a lot of courage to do it and to present themselves as "victims".

Brian Holland described his interviews with black players, some had been disappointed with the PFA and felt that as the union, the PFA should have done more. Interviewing Brendan Batson of the PFA, Brian had suggested that black players should come together and take collective action over racism. Apparently that had been a possibility at one time but nothing came of it. Collective action was necessary because it was so difficult for players to go out on a limb.

Maggie Chetty of Strathclyde Community Relations Council said that the community work as described by John had an important role to play, particularly if it encouraged participation and involvement by Asian and Chinese children. David Helliwell said that his experience of community involvement schemes by clubs, was that they tended to fail to involve the community served by the club. A sports club set up by Sheffield United was arguably used by people from affluent areas away from the catchment area around the ground. At Halifax Town, community work by the players was discouraged by the manager who felt that all footballers should do was to train and play.

Councillor Ken Murray asked whether players would ever show solidarity with black players by stopping playing in the face of banana throwing, monkey chanting fans. John said that football tended to be a selfish industry. Their concern was whether or not their name was on the team sheet the following week. If you asked players to walk off, most would stay on the pitch.

Anne Martin from Central Scotland Racial Equality Council said that football clubs were employers and therefore had responsibilities under the Race Relations Act. They should be protecting black players and had a legal duty to do so. Brian Holland replied that this would require a "victim" to come forward and make a complaint. No black player had made a complaint. In theory there was nothing to prevent a player bringing a case of racial discrimination. Martin Rose of the National Federation of Supporters Club said that many things seemed to occur in football which were outwith the parameters of employment legislation, such as deductions from salary. The difficulties in making a complaint clearly prevented players from taking action. He suggested that a more profitable approach would be a multi-agency one involving all sections of the football community and agencies such as local authorities.

Mrs Pek Yeong Berry from Central Scotland Racial Equality Council pointed out that there were a number of pieces of legislation available which could be used. There was no point in having legislation if this legislation was not being used. Superintendent Jim Johnson of the Association of Scottish Police Superintendents said that he felt that the media played a role in stirring up hatred between supporters. He agreed with comments made earlier. Racism did not infest Rugby. He had policed more than 50 internationals at Murrayfield and had never heard a racist statement. This differed from his experiences at Tynecastle where he had come into contact with BNP, NF and Ku Klux Klan sympathisers. They began policing matches early in the

morning to prevent street traders selling racist or sectarian literature. They had even heard racist chanting coming from mothers and children in the family enclosure. He felt that education was crucial, rather than arrest in such circumstances. A joint approach was required. The police needed co-operation and he had received good co-operation from Hearts. Gillian Strachan from SCARF pointed out that on occasions she had reported incidents to the police and nothing had happened. Superintendent Johnson, said that he was distressed to hear about such incidents, but how to deal with racism was part of national police training.

Stuart Cosgrove concluded by thanking everyone for attending and in particular the four speakers.

Appendix 1**TACKLING BACK**

10.30 - 11 am	Registration, tea, coffee
11.00 - 11.10	Chairman's Remarks - Stuart Cosgrove
11.10 - 11.20	Welcome - Dawn Corbett, Equal Opportunities Officer Stirling District Council
11.20 - 12.00	Brian Holland, Commission for Racial Equality
12.00 - 12.20	David Hewitt, Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Scotland
12.20 - 1.00	Questions
1.00 - 2.15	Lunch
2.15 - 2.45	Councilor David Helliewll, Calderdale Metropolitan Borough Council
2.45 - 3.15	John Colquhon, Millwall Football Club
3.15 - 3.45	Questions
3.45	Tea, coffee

ENDS

Appendix 2**Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Football****10 Point Action Plan For Football Clubs****Combating Racism at Football Grounds**

1. Adopt a policy statement outlining the club's opposition to racism and sectarianism, which should be included in match programmes and other relevant club literature.
2. Take action to prevent the sale or distribution of racist and fascist literature in the vicinity of the grounds on match days.
3. If racist/sectarian chanting occurs at matches, make a public announcement condemning such behaviour.
4. Take disciplinary action against players who racially abuse players during matches.
5. Liaise with supporters clubs to make clear the clubs opposition to racism and sectarianism.
6. Ask supporters and match stewards to report all instances of racist and fascist behaviour at matches or in the vicinity of the grounds to the police.
7. Liaise with the police to ensure that appropriate action is taken against supporters who engage in racist and fascist activity.
8. Remove all racist and fascist graffiti from grounds as a matter of extreme urgency.
9. Report racist and fascist graffiti in the vicinity of grounds to local authority cleansing departments and request their urgent removal.
10. Adopt an equal opportunities policy in employment to ensure a fair representation of minority ethnic workers amongst the club's staff.

Appendix 3**DELEGATE LIST****POLICE**

Chief Superintendent J. Johnstone
Association of Scottish Police Superintendents

Chief Superintendent J. Kay
Strathclyde Police

Inspector Ian Jackson
Lothian & Borders Police

Superintendent Forbes
Central Scotland Police

LOCAL AUTHORITIES**Strathclyde Regional Council**

Councillor Ken Murray

Edinburgh District Council

Kaliani Lyle
Kerry Higgins

Lothian Regional Council

Arnold Cook

Dunfermline District Council

Councillor J. Cameron
Councillor N. Turner

Central Regional Council

Iftikhar Chaudry

Stirling District Council

Howard Gee
Iain Blyth
Jean Faichney
Dawn Corbett
Anne Rennie
Heddy Campbell
Betty Morton
Don Monteith

FOOTBALL ASSOCIATIONS

Scottish Football Association

Mr David McLaren

Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research

Rogan Taylor

Federation of Hearts Supporters

Alex Jones

National Federation of Football Supporter's Clubs

Martin Rose

Scottish Campaign Against Racism in Football

Gillian Strachan

Peter Meechan

Roland Bain

Follow Follow Ltd

Mark Dingwall

Celtic Supporters Club

Alistair Kelly

Individual Supporters

Craig Geddes

Brenda McTier

Erik Geddes

Joe Wright

RACIAL EQUALITY ORGANISATIONS

Strathclyde Community Relations Council

Maggie Chetty

Lothian Racial Equality Council

Tara Moore

Central Scotland Racial Equality Council

Pek Yeong Berry
Anne Matin
Sura Osagee
Andrew Okundaye
Mavis Okundaye
Shamin Akthar
Naseem Akthar

SPEAKERS

Stuart Cosgrove

Brian Holland
Commission for Racial Equality

David Hewitt
Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Football

Councillor David Helliwell
Calderdale Metropolitan Borough Council

John Colquhon
Millwall Football Club

PRESS

Kate Fawcett, BBC Radio
John Smith, The Scotsman
Tim Bugler, Central Scotland News Agency