

The Runnymede Bulletin

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Multiple identities debated

“Who are we? Who do we want to be?” asked the chair of the Runnymede Trust, Trevor Phillips, in his opening remarks to the Runnymede conference on Citizenship and Identity in March. “I was born in what used to be a working class district called Islington, which unfortunately couldn’t be called that anymore since all sorts of people have moved in and out.

“But friends of mine who still live there, when they are asked the questions ‘Who are you?’ ‘What’s your name?’ have an absolutely characteristic response which I grew up with, which is ‘Who’s asking?’”

Trevor Phillips continued: “British people are in some senses a little like that at the moment: uncertain about who we are. We are suspicious about why people might want to ask about our identity but aware that we are passing through a phase of profound change, most of which is not in our hands.”

The conference, organised by the Runnymede Trust in association with the Citizenship Foundation and the Commission for Racial Equality, examined changing notions of citizenship and what it means to be British in Europe. To complement the conference a survey of young people’s attitudes and opinions was published. A summary of the survey is published on pages 2-3.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, said that different groups look at citizenship and identity from different perspectives. “I would be interested to compare the attitudes of young people. I can’t say I could do it with great authority, but I have a sense that young Irish people would be much more likely to sense themselves as being Irish and European: one reinforcing the other,



Mary Robinson

comfortable in both skins, and their Irish identity is reinforced by being embedded in a European, wider nationality. That of course would have something to do with it being easier to have relations with ‘big neighbour’ next door by both being partners together within a wider Europe.

Different perspectives

“So, even on an issue like Europe, there are different perspectives, different ways of looking at issues of citizenship and identity,” she said. “I’ve been very interested at the way in which the European Union is moving closer to links with the citizen: that is what was the focus of the Amsterdam Treaty in particular. In a sense the historic task of the

European Union during this phase of European history is to use its resources and institutions to ensure that all of Europe, a wider Europe, by opening its doors and extending itself, is committed to the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law.”

The poet John Agard said that we ought to widen our notions of language to accommodate the wider range of choices of identities available to us from the whole global context.

“We cannot engage with our identity without engaging with notions of the Diaspora — the Caribbean Diaspora, for example, or the Irish Diaspora — and this ultimately leads to the simple but at times puzzling truth: that we are all contributing to a human odyssey.” Mr Agard read a poem specially written for the conference. It is printed in the box on page 3. Mr Agard is currently the BBC’s first poet in residence.

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Mixed attitudes among young

A survey, commissioned by the Runnymede Trust, on young people's attitudes to Europe was launched in March at a conference organised jointly by the Trust, the Commission for Racial Equality, the Citizenship Foundation and the UK Race and Europe Network.

Discussion on European citizenship and identity often neglects the views of young people. With the anticipated continuing expansion of the European Union in the future, this survey shows how important it is to look at how young people feel and where they stand on this issue.

Some of the key points of interest to emerge are:

- There is a lack of enthusiasm towards the concept of Europe. Very few young people think of themselves as European.
- The majority of youth participating in the survey identified their nationality as "British". Black and ethnic minority youth favoured "Black British" and "Asian British".
- There was a general lack of knowledge about the European Union.
- Nearly 70 per cent of young people said they thought of Britain as part of Europe.
- Sixty-one per cent said they never or rarely identified themselves as European. South Asian youth were more reluctant to identify themselves as European.
- The majority did not express interest in European issues and did not believe that decisions taken at European level affected them.
- Most felt that the information on European matters from school, the government and the media, was inadequate and in some cases misleading.

Identity and 'Britishness'

Generally, young people across all ethnic groups were more likely to identify themselves as British, both in terms of nationality and in relation to ethnic origin. The majority of ethnic minority youth referred to themselves as "Black British" and "Asian British". Overall, almost three-quarters of respondents identified their nationality as British. Of the total white population 73 per cent identified themselves as British, the

remaining 27 per cent choosing to designate themselves as something other, including English, Welsh and Scottish.

When asked what images came to mind when they thought of the word "British", by and large respondents across all ethnic groups mentioned formal institutions such as the monarchy and the government. There was also a strong tendency to relate "British" with the land mass of the British Isles in a geographical sense. Many youth mentioned things like fish and chips, tea and various sports teams. Others mentioned images related to economic activities, including the former British Empire and Britain as a world power.

Among white youth there were a few responses which identified "British" with white people generally. Only two respondents explicitly stated that their image of "British" included such racist elements as the BNP, Combat 18 and the National Front. Likewise two respondents saw "British" as meaning multi-cultural and made up of black and white people in a positive way.

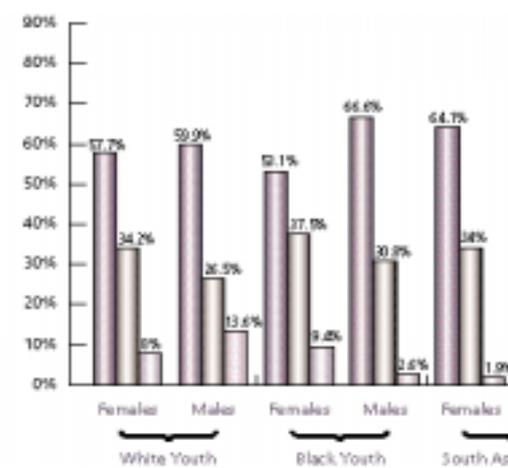
Black and South Asian youth occasionally mentioned images of "British" as meaning white people generally and mentioned nationalistic tendencies in a few instances. Most notable was that black and South Asian youth thought of "British" as meaning people of different cultures and ethnic backgrounds in a positive sense, more so than their white counterparts.

Overall white youth tended to agree with the idea that Britain is a multi-cultural society and defined what this meant in similar ways as the black and South Asian youth. However a small number of both young men and women did not think Britain was multicultural and felt that there were too many people from other countries and cultures living here.

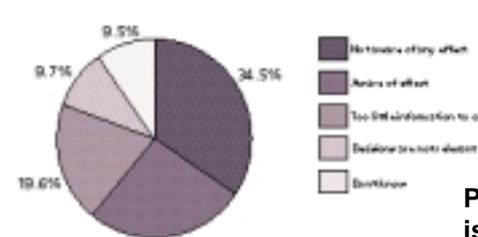
EU and identity

Perhaps the most striking result of this survey was the general lack of knowledge about the European Union. Over 60 per

Extent to which youth think of themselves by gender and ethnic group.



Extent of young people's awareness of effects of European-level decisions on their lives



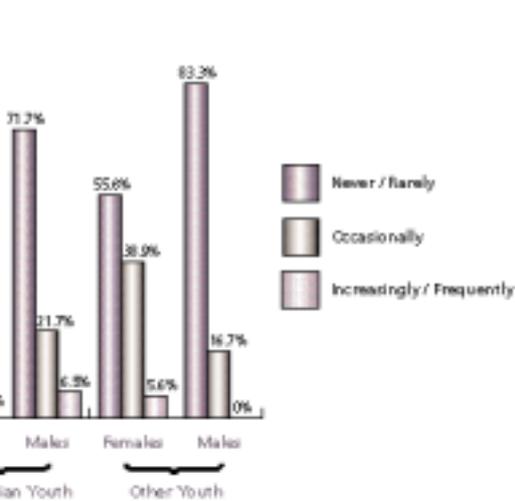
cent of young people said they did not know much about the European Union. South Asian youth were significantly more likely to say that they did know about the European Union with over half stating this, compared to only 36 per cent of white youth and 30 per cent of black youth.

When asked about their sense of European identity, 69 per cent of young people said they thought of Britain as being part of Europe. White youth were less likely to think this, with two thirds stating this compared to 69 per cent of black youth, 74 per cent of South Asian youth and 78 per cent of others.

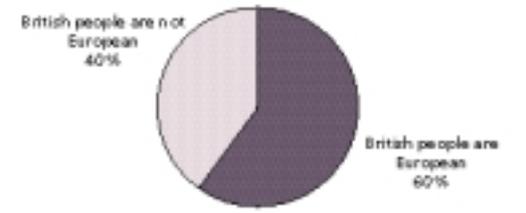
However, when asked if they thought of British people as Europeans, 60 per cent thought this to be the case. In contrast,

ethnic minorities on Europe

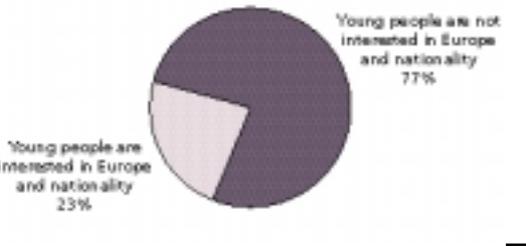
As European,



British people as Europeans



Perceived youth interest on European issues and identity



however, 61 per cent said they never or rarely identified themselves as European.

The survey suggests that young people are more likely to think of Britain as part of Europe geographically, rather than socially, culturally or economically. This finding was further reinforced by young peoples' images of Europe. White young men and women emphasise this perspective more than any other group and tended to list countries and discuss Europe as a continent.

Young women also tended to mention more social and cultural features, such as different cultures, languages, peoples and food more than young men. South Asian men also focused on geographical images, however they also focused on political/economic and cultural images. Black males

focused on the institutional and political side of things and were more likely to mention political structures and institutions than any other group.

Pros and cons of the EU

Freedom of movement across borders or open borders in Europe was the thing that young people most frequently said is a positive aspect of Europe. They also pointed to free trade between countries as another positive feature of the UK being part of the EU. Sport, in particular football, was mentioned as a positive feature of Europe by respondents from the white and black ethnic groups.

While some young people favoured aspects of Europe such as the possibility of a European Federation and some European legislation, several young people said that they felt British sovereignty is being undermined. One of the young people actually phrased his/her response by discussing sovereignty directly. Others however just talked about "Britain not being so great any more" and that "we should not have to follow European law". The Single Currency was also mentioned as a negative thing.

European issues of concern

Although the majority of respondents said that they were happy being able to travel freely around Europe, a handful of white young people and one young person from the 'other' category objected to "letting people into Europe if they're not white". This young person was open about what he/she objected to and specified colour, but others just said that they "object to people from Europe getting jobs here" by which they meant work in the UK. One respondent actually said that he/she "hates foreigners".

While the young people above were hostile at the very least and openly racist at most, other young people stated in a frank way that they "dislike the racism" and "prejudice" in Europe. One of the white young people said that the prejudice against Muslim women that was recently highlighted in the media is bad. Others said different cultures and languages are a positive thing about Europe. One respondent said that "links between schools in different countries is good" because it helps to eliminate "prejudice". These respondents welcomed the cultural and racial diversity that Europe offers. Other respondents even pointed to the different food in Europe being a good cultural experience.

Youth interest in Europe

More than three-quarters (77 per cent) of all the young people surveyed said that they do not think that people their age are interested in Europe and nationality issues. South Asian youth (72 per cent) were slightly less likely to say that young people are not interested in Europe and nationality compared to white youth (78.5 per cent) and black youth (78.9 per cent).

Given this clear lack of interest in European matters, it is not surprising that a large proportion (34.5 per cent) of those participating in the survey said that they are not aware of the effect of legislation and decisions made at European level on their lives, and almost one-third felt that they did not have enough information to enable them to comment or simply didn't know. Most young people said that they did not receive enough information about how decisions made at European level affect Britain from school, government or the media.

Young People in the UK: Attitudes and Opinions on Europe, Europeans and the European Union, the Runnymede Trust in Partnership with the Commission for Racial Equality, March 1998.

A total of 505 young people, aged between 14 and 25 years old, were questioned in street interviews in 10 cities, including Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Glasgow and London. The sample consisted of 71 black young people, 100 South Asian, 23 from other ethnic backgrounds and 311 white people. The interviews were conducted between 29 December 1997 and 14 January 1998.

Poem by John Agard

*As Citizen of the English tongue
I say remember the ship in citizenship
For language in the baggage we bring
A weight of words to ground and give us wing
As millennial waters beckon wide
And love's anchor waiting to be cast
Will the ghost of race become the albatross we
shoot at our cost?
I'm here to navigate not flagellate with a whip
of the past
But again I say remember the ship in citizen-
ship for
Is not each member of the human race on two
legs, charting life's tidal rise and fall?
As the ship of the sun unloads its light
And the ship of night its cargo of stars
Again I say remember the ship in citizenship
and diversity shall sound its trumpet at the
bigot's door
And citizenship shall be a pall to kinship
That knows no boundary of skin
And the heart offer its wide harbours for
Europe's new voyage to begin.*

This is a poem read out by John Agard at the Runnymede Conference on Citizenship and Identity in March

Football needs new fans if it is to get

Different football clubs are appealing to different sections of ethnic minority communities, writes **John Williams**.

What are the two hottest topics on the political/research agenda around professional football at the moment in the UK? No prizes for guessing that, as top clubs strike it cash rich, "business" is one of them: a whole new generation of companies and conferences seem to have sprouted up recently offering advice or instruction on, variously: how to make profits out of football clubs; the "new" media, economics and football; football and global markets; or, in the wake of recent British club conversions to plcs, on football and The City.

You will not find much mention here of the new global division of labour generated by football's European boom which led Save the Children recently to discover children from Sialkot, Pakistan, stitching footballs on miserly "wages" for sale to English football consumers.

The second topic may come as more of a surprise — it certainly has quite a different audience. Research and policy conferences have ballooned recently on the subject of football and racism. The European Year Against Racism initiative has funded a number of these, while also supporting grass roots football campaigns. Local authorities have been involved too.

On the bandwagon

Even major commercial sponsors have jumped on the bandwagon with Nike, kings of the ironic black "street" marketing pitch, launching a series of ads on the issue involving black British and foreign players. A lauded new educational video, involving both black and white players in Britain, asks that we "Give Racism the Red Card", while the English football authorities have united in their support — including cash support — for a national Kick it Out campaign aimed at ridding local and professional football of racism.

With football supporters' own local campaigns continuing with their imaginative work on the ground, we are also promised soon a book and a film about Arthur Wharton, Britain's first black professional footballer. This follows the recent elevation of Paul Ince to the office of England captain, the first black man to lead the national team.

The issue of racism on the field has been in the public eye again recently because of the accusations of racism levelled by Aston Villa's Stan Collymore against Liverpool's Steve Harkness. Both the FA and the Professional Football Association have attempted to mediate in this case.

Why this sudden surge of interest? Well, the relative decline of hooliganism at football has opened up a space for a more concentrated focus on racism, as distinct from other kinds of misbehaviour at games. Instead of the image of the racist as a violent "other" there is more interest now in the "banal" racism which is routinely expressed in football crowds, and also in the institutionalised and casual racism within professional clubs themselves.

This latter form has restricted opportunities for black players to become managers and coaches and continues to restrict opportunities for young Asian players to make the breakthrough as professionals.

Leagues of their own

Research by Jas Bains shows that stereotypes about Asians held by professionals within the sport are the reason for their views that Asians Can't Play Football — the ironic title of Bains' recent report on Asian players. Some local Asian players are also caught between setting up their own leagues and clubs as a defence against racism while being accused by professional club scouts and administrators of an unhelpful separatism which makes it difficult properly to assess Asian talent.

At one or two professional clubs Asian coaches are now beginning to attract Asian youngsters into local Centres of Excellence. Two young British Asian players currently on the books at Derby County and at Greenock Morton in Scotland — and perhaps on the brink of really "making it" — may yet provide the role models for clubs and Asian youngsters of the kind which is probably needed to help open up the sport for the next generation of British players (and fans) from Asian backgrounds.

However, the new global economics of the sport mean that players are now also recruited for British clubs from around the



Sporting progress . . . Arthur Wharton (left), Paul Ince (right) has captained England

world. Ironically, at a time when top English clubs are becoming much more cosmopolitan in their outlook — dressing rooms in the FA Premier League now boast Italians, French, Scandinavians, Costa Ricans, Bermudans, South Americans, Australians and many more — this may serve to restrict opportunities for British players, perhaps particularly those from local ethnic minority backgrounds.

The new global dynamics of player trade also mean that domestic leagues in Africa and Asia will struggle to develop as their top young players are increasingly creamed off by Europe, where 80 per cent of the sport's world income is based.

Keen interest

Other reasons for the recent focus on racism at football in England include the powerful recent role played by the CRE in highlighting the problem, and the keen interest in the issue of the new Minister for Sport, Tony Banks. His own Football Task Force has, unsurprisingly, taken racism as its first subject for investigation and has taken a special interest in why so few people from minority backgrounds are attracted to the sport as spectators.

Our own research* shows that few top clubs attract ethnic minority supporters — only 1.1% of FA Premier League crowds fit this description — and that few clubs, in any real sense, reflect in their crowds the local communities that surround them.

The future? The collective, overt fan

to the roots of racism



was Britain's first black professional player.

racism, common at football in the 1970s and 1980s, has not completely disappeared but reactions to it these days at least show rather more awareness and sensitivity among fans and administrators. Cynics may link this to the need to maintain the new 'glossy' image of top football, but this is some sort of progress nevertheless. The start of the breakthrough for Asian players may possibly be within sight but so is other, external, player competition.

At top English clubs the poorer end of the ethnic minority spectator market — often those who live closest to stadia — seems likely to be increasingly confined, by price and lack of access to tickets, to TV football viewing only. More affluent, mainly Indian, football support is probably slowly growing, attracted partly by the more 'civilised' climate inside grounds and by seats; but do smaller clubs do enough to halt the drain of their potentially "active" local Asian fan base to "passive" support of 'national' clubs? And what would an established Asian player do for local support for clubs in Blackburn, Leicester, Bolton or London? At the moment we can only guess.

John Williams is senior lecturer at the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, University of Leicester, University Road, Leicester LE1 7RH.

* The national FA Premier League Fan Survey for 1997 covered 28,122 fans drawn from all Premier League clubs in 1996/97. Club-by-club comparisons are for season ticket holders only.

KICK RACISM OUT: a 10-point action plan for football clubs

1. Make and display a statement saying that the club will not tolerate racism, and will take specific action against supporters who engage in racist abuse, chanting or intimidation.
2. Make public announcements condemning racist chanting at matches, and warning that the club will not hesitate to take action.
3. Make it a condition for season ticket holders that they do not take part in racist abuse, chanting or any other offensive behaviour.
4. Take action to prevent the sale or distribution of racist literature in and around grounds.
5. Take disciplinary action against players who racially abuse players, officials and supporters before, during and after matches.
6. Contact.
7. Make sure that stewards and the police understand the club's policy and have a common strategy for handling abusive supporters. If it is dangerous to take action against offenders during the match, they should be identified and barred from further games.
8. Remove all racist graffiti from grounds as a matter of urgency.
9. Adopt an equal opportunities policy.
10. Work with others to develop proactive programmes and projects to raise awareness of the campaign and institute action to eliminate racist abuse.

For further information, please contact: Let's Kick Racism Out of Football Campaign, Business Design Centre, 52 Upper Street, London N1 0QH. Tel: 0171 288 6012.

Football Task Force report

The Football Task Force published its report 'Eliminating Racism from Football' in March. The report lists practical measures designed to tackle racism and looks at ways of promoting a greater level of involvement amongst black and Asian communities in all aspects of the game from park football to the Premiership.

The report provides the basis for a strong strategy on tackling racism which builds on existing initiatives and looks at new ways in which Government, the football authorities, the clubs and the local authorities can help make football more representative of the country as whole.

The main recommendations are:

- The FA should issue new guidelines to referees to make sure that any racist abuse from players on the field means an immediate red card.
- Local authorities should exclude local clubs with a record of involvement in racist incidents from council-owned facilities.
- Professional clubs should adopt a comprehensive written equal opportunities policy to cover

recruitment and treatment of non-playing staff.

- The Professional Footballers Association should recommend an anti-racism pledge in players' and managers' contracts with breaches incurring severe sanctions.

The chairman of the Football Task Force, David Mellor, said: "The report is the first fully comprehensive attempt to tackle racism in all sections of the game, with the emphasis on raising consciousness of the problem in the upper echelons of the game. I believe we really will over the next few years kick it out."

He continued: "The resurgence of racist incidents or alleged racist comments also makes this report a timely one. Our main concern is to propose practical measures to stamp out racism wherever it may occur, not just on the pitch or on the terraces but the boardrooms and bootrooms as well."

Eliminating Racism from Football, Football Task Force, Walkden House, 10 Melton Street, London NW1 2EB, £10.00.

Why the law on chanting race

Liza Kliman argues that individuals chanting racial abuse at a football match can get away with it. Here she details the flaws in the 1991 Football Offences Act.

As the footage obtained by Lewisham police's undercover team begins, Superintendent Michael Humphrey, the man responsible for this undercover operation, becomes visibly angry. The camera focuses on Kevin, a forty-year-old Caucasian sitting at the back of The Den, Millwall's newly refurbished football stadium. Surrounded by fellow supporters, Kevin is captured vociferously chanting and shouting racial obscenities at the players on the field for over fifteen minutes.

In a stream of deeply disturbing abuse, "You black bastard" is this man's mildest chant. Despite Kevin's graphic phraseology and venomous delivery, nobody in the crowd surrounding him moves to vacant seats elsewhere in the stadium. Despite his racial taunts and frightening behaviour, Kevin is within the confines of the law and cannot be arrested. It was not until several matches later when a fellow supporter joined Kevin in his racist chants that an arrest could finally be made.

Under the 1991 Football Offences Act it is an offence at a football match to take part in "chanting of an indecent or racialist nature". The act specifies that chanting means the "repeated utterance of any words or sounds in concert with one or more others". The law in effect allows individuals

like Kevin the freedom to continue racist taunts and abusive slurs as long as they are acting alone. While ministers drafting the bill initially felt that sections of the Public Order Act could sufficiently deal with offensive individuals, it can, as Superintendent Humphrey admits, be fraught with difficulty.

"Under the Public Order Act, you've got to show that there was some intent to cause alarm, harassment or distress to some other person, but in a large crowd, the people that they are directing their remarks at are usually on the field of play. You could never prove to a court that the person who these remarks were aimed at would hear them."

Inspired by the recommendations of the Taylor report following the Hillsborough disaster, the 1991 Football Offences Act appeared on the statute books with little debate. Outlining Clause 3 on its final reading, home office ministers argued that it would be a mistake to criminalise single racist remarks that might not be widely audible in the ground as they felt it would set the threshold for criminal behaviour too low.

Nasty motives

Conservative MP and former Minister Peter Lloyd admits: "We wanted to deal with the groups of people who upset the match and upset the other people there by shouting in unison . . . the real problem was not the individual shouting something that nobody supported them over. It was the groups of people amusing themselves with very nasty motives."

One of the earliest indications of how problematic this loophole was to become was highlighted in late 1991 when Peter Neil, a former police constable, witnessed



Football family . . . but if more black supporters individuals as well as groups must be eradicated

his case collapse before magistrates. On routine duty inside a lower league club, Neil arrested a man with prior convictions for racist assaults who was actively chanting racial abuse and encouraging his fellow supporters to join him in a combination of obscene phrases and monkey chants. However, when the case appeared before magistrates, it was instantly dismissed.

Neil recalls: "The court didn't accept that whilst others were chanting around him that he was acting 'in concert' with them because I couldn't prove that they were chanting exactly the same as he was. The defence said we hadn't proved that he was singing exactly the same words as others, therefore we couldn't prove he was singing 'in concert' with others. The case was dismissed before his defence was ever put forward."

While many police officials are keen to see an urgent change in the law, Peter Normington of the supporters rights association Libero believes the act conflates a variety of issues, and strengthening legislation would ultimately lead to the gentrification of football.

"If you look at the wording of the act, it says the use of foul and abusive language, obscene chanting or racial abuse towards any person are strictly forbidden, that's the catch all phraseology under which anything can be construed as racist or offensive. If you look at the premier league at the

Kick It Out

Kick It Out is an independent organisation which has taken over the running of the "Lets Kick Racism Out of Football" campaign from the stewardship of the Commission for Racial Equality. It is a partnership of football's key organisations where both the governing authorities and supporters themselves work together to eradicate racism.

The organisation is unique within Europe as England is the only country where all the major players in the football industry

have come together to tackle the issue of racism. Its members include the Professional Footballers Association, Football Association, FA Premier League, Football Supporters Association, National Federation of Football Supporter's Clubs and the Association of Premier League and Football League.

For further information, please contact: Let's Kick Racism Out of Football Campaign, Business Design Centre, 52 Upper Street, London N1 0QH. Tel: 0171 288 6012.

abuse is flawed



are to be attracted to the game, racist chanting by

THE GUARDIAN

moment, they are talking about launching an advertising campaign to cut down on swearing in football grounds. These attempts to sanitise the game are diluting it of its passion and stripping it of its meaning."

With the professionalisation of stewarding and the increased use of close circuit television, Carlton Brick of Libero believes that there is already an over-regulation of the game.

Criminalised

"Football fans are being criminalised for what they do best . . . supporting their team. The smokescreen of the family being drawn back into football is really being used as a way to highlight the issue of proper codes of conduct . . . the development of the game categorises behaviour and the biggest loser is the football fan. Football is one of the few areas of life where you can let off a bit of steam at the end of the week, but even that now is being regulated, sanitised, and going to football today is not so much about watching the game but it's very much about watching your behaviour."

The Kick It Out organisation has been accredited with making significant in-roads in getting its anti racist message across accessibly. While racism has declined in many premier league clubs, the organisation is still keen to stress that spectator abuse is still widespread in many of the lower league

grounds. The organisation is working in close conjunction with the government's newly created football task force and the home office in activating a change in the law. Campaign co-ordinator Piara Power emphatically believes that anti racist legislation would not deprive supporters of their natural exuberance.

"I don't think anyone in football wants football supporters to be passion free. That said, we simply do not accept that those individuals and groups that engage in racist chanting and abuse are merely expressing their passions in a way that's acceptable to the majority of football fans.

Unenforceable

This loophole makes the whole act unenforceable, but we are keen that the act is not expanded so far as to enable clubs and stewards to eject people for participating in what could be termed 'reasonable levels' of passionate support. Those are all part and parcel of the game, but there is a very clear distinction between passion that's historically exhibited and unacceptable levels of racism."

Black players currently account for a quarter of registered British professionals and have been affiliated with the game for over a century. Early high profile celebrity players like Arthur Wharton and Walter Hold made their appearance at grounds more than twenty years before supporters were targeted by the British Union of Fascists and the right wings omnipresence at football began. Sociologist John Garland of Leicester University's Scarman Centre discovered in a widespread survey that despite the Football Offences Act, 1 in 2 of the respondents had heard racist chanting at home games, 1 in 3 had seen racist graffiti at some home games and that 1 in 4 had heard racist remarks from spectators at home games.

Says Garland: "Our research has shown that the impact the 1991 Football Offences Act has had on reducing the levels of racism in football is negligible. There have been much more important initiatives like local, fan based initiatives and fanzines."

However, despite the high profile initiatives of football clubs around the country, endemic racism is difficult to challenge when the problem has proved itself to be endemic within the hierarchy of many premier football clubs. Despite their silence surrounding the racism Ruud Gullit used to experience, executives at Chelsea Football

Club continue to employ the overtly offensive Bernard Manning as a compere/comedian at many of their private functions. On pitch racism continues to be a problem and Football Officials were conspicuous by their absence early last season when no action was taken after Arsenal's Ian Wright was verbally attacked by a rival goalkeeper.

With no efficient way of punishing lone offenders, official statistics merely confirm how ineffectual the 1991 Football Offences Act has been in obtaining convictions. Home Office figures have revealed an average of 32 successful prosecutions each year. Whilst police, football officials, fans and players are confident that there has been a marked decline in overt racism, Superintendent Michael Humphrey nonetheless stresses how unrepresentative these figures are:

"I don't think we could ever use that as an accurate measure of what's really going on because the law as it stands doesn't enable us to make arrests for this kind of behaviour easily, and the arrests that could have been made, haven't been made. A change in the law might show a completely different picture because you'll actually see arrests going up. That won't necessarily mean that there's more racist abuse, it just means the police are doing something about it."

Liza Kliman is a freelance journalist.

Ethnic minority fans (%)

Arsenal	4.1
Manchester Utd	2.1
Leicester	2.0
Tottenham	1.9
Wimbledon	1.7
Coventry City	1.6
Liverpool	1.4
Chelsea	1.1
Aston Villa	1.1
West Ham	1.1
Leeds United	1.1
Blackburn Rovers	0.9
Southampton	0.7
Nottm Forest	0.7
Everton	0.7
Derby County	0.6
Middlesbrough	0.5
Sheffield Weds	0.4
Glasgow Rangers	0.3
Newcastle Utd	0.2
Sunderland	0.1

Source: 1997 Premier League Fan Survey

Ethnic minorities needed on board

Ethnic minority communities are still under-represented on the boards of voluntary organisations, writes **Winifred Tumim**.

Good practice and equal opportunities in the recruitment of black and ethnic minority trustees is a difficult issue to tackle. Under-representation on the boards of voluntary organisations unquestionably still exists, but what steps have been taken to redress this issue, to turn what is seen as a persistent problem into a thing of the past?

By looking at how the voluntary sector itself has changed and evolved over the last 30 years we can chart the impact of these developments on the changing attitudes to under-representation. Take the language we use. In the 1970s, terms such as “Council of Management” and “Management Committee” were widely employed, while the expression “trustee” was viewed as elitist, and rarely used outside more prestigious organisations. As for the term “governance”, this was almost unheard of in voluntary sector parlance!

More democratic and egalitarian voluntary bodies were, however, beginning to recognise the need for more diversity on boards; indeed, some of the more committed organisations went as far as seeking representatives from black and other under-represented groups. But these moves were a token step with little clear rationale behind the developments, other than to restore the status quo.

New vocabulary

In the 1980s, the climate changed, not only in the voluntary sector but also in the public and private sectors. A new vocabulary emerged in larger voluntary organisations. Terms such as “mission”, “vision”, “targeting”, “stakeholders”, and “performance indicators” were being incorporated into everyday speech; the language of professional management had been adopted. In large organisations, however, there was a serious danger that those legally responsible for the organisation — its management committee members (alias trustees) — were being marginalised. The so-called “representative” board or committee was never truly representative, nor was it designed to deliver effective governance.

This concern led NCVO and the Charity Commission to set up an On Trust Working Party (1990), which I chaired. This Working

Party set out to establish how trustee boards might be made more effective. In the course of our work we commissioned research into trustee profiles, research that revealed a stark and embarrassing truth — that the majority of committee members were white, predominantly middle-aged males, from professional backgrounds.

At all levels there was severe under-representation of black and ethnic minorities. The On Trust report was later to recommend that subject to any legal bar, ‘everyone concerned with working for the benefit of the public or the community should be encouraged to serve as a charity trustee’.

Later that year, NCVO created the post of Training and Equal Opportunities Development Officer within the recently formed Trustee Services Unit. Tackling wider representation of black and ethnic minorities became a priority for the Unit. The question, though, was how to do it. During the 1970s, the argument for including black people on boards had been based on notions of equality and fairness.

But, with the emerging emphasis on effective governance, the argument had shifted. Different perspectives are just as important as technical skills, such as business, law and accountancy. By recruiting black and ethnic minority people, boards would be able to tap a rich pool of talented individuals reflecting, in turn, Britain’s diverse society.

Since 1994, NCVO has developed recommended recruitment practices designed to encourage applications from under-represented groups, using the mainstream and ethnic press to publicise initiatives to assist people from diverse backgrounds to become trustees.

Phenomenal response

The response to this initiative was phenomenal, provoking NCVO to consult with individuals from minority ethnic communities to find the best way forward. NCVO also worked with those voluntary sector boards which had expressed an interest in recruiting black people. Two national conferences were arranged to discuss good practice on boards and examples written up in the Black on Board report.

Advertising trustee vacancies in the ethnic press was another move, leading to a surge in applications to boards from members of the ethnic community.

Minority ethnic trustees, though, should not be expected to speak on racial issues to the exclusion of everything else, as one African trustee experienced’ whenever the issue of race came up, everyone looked at me. I have a

management background, which could have been tapped into, yet it was never utilised on this board. After 15 months, I had no option but to leave’. Having said this, the move remains a positive one with established founders, like the City Parochial Foundation and TSB, also now seeking specifically to recruit black and ethnic minority trustees.

NCVO wouldn’t have been able to continue with this work without support from other key players, especially the Commission for Racial Equality. Thanks to their contribution, *Forging Ahead* was published in 1995 to critical acclaim.

Forging Ahead recommends that organisations rethink their methods of recruiting trustees using an equal opportunities framework. It sets clear criteria for selection while giving practical advice on targeting black would-be trustees.

Programme developed

The needs of black and ethnic minority women were next on the agenda, with NCVO (in association with the CRE, EOC, Runnymede Trust, NAWO, Sia and the Fawcett Society) developing a programme entitled Governance in Focus to address the problems and needs of these women.

Women from ethnic minority communities are often in low paid jobs so it became important to persuade boards looking for trustees from these communities help to make a good case to their employers so that trustees are given time off work if meetings are held in the day, and to consider child care support if they have children. Positive measures such as these will attract more women from these communities.

From mainstream organisations such as Mind, Age Concern and the BBC, to smaller, local organisations, the issues of under-representation and social exclusion are now firmly on the agenda. At a recent NCVO conference on the same theme, the issue was so imbedded in the board’s consciousness that no one even stopped to question the importance of diversity — a true indication of success.

There is certainly no room for complacency and much remains to be done. NCVO is committed to diverse representation, not only for its own sake but also because of the invaluable skills and insight which black ethnic minority individuals bring to the sector. The modest steps I have described here are already bearing fruit. As the Chinese say: ‘A journey of a thousand miles begins with one step’.

Winifred Tumim OBE is Chair of NCVO.

1,000 ways to combat racism

Review

Homebeats: Struggles For Racial Justice (the first British CD ROM on racism and black presence in Britain).

“There is no such thing as anti-racism per se,” says A Sivanandan, director of the Institute of Race Relations, but “only a thousand ways of combating racism, in different ways and in different times (boom and recession) and in differing areas (employment, housing, schools) and different places (inner-city, suburbia, rural areas) . . . Anti-racist education is . . . a matter of producing an inclusive history which tells everyone — black and white — the truth about Britain and its relationships to the Third World and its peoples. It is about making historical connections and charting geographical journeys, both at once.”

So what, in the context of such a vast project, should educational materials for anti-racist education look like? How can they capture a sense of historical and geographical complexity? How shall they show not only the grand narratives of resistance, struggle and law-making but also the lives, stories and resilience of ordinary people, on ordinary streets, in ordinary places? How can they help learners to make and see connections for themselves — connections across history, across continents, across specific local situations and people?

The Institute of Race Relations has come up with an answer, a brilliant CD-ROM combining music, graphics, video, text and animation to give a sense of unity within diversity in the world-wide, centuries-long struggle against racial injustice. Entitled Homebeats; struggles for racial justice, the disk is organised under five introductory headings: Images, Places, People, Memories, Visions. The Places material is then divided into Africa, Britain, the Caribbean, South Asia and the United

States, and the material on Britain is organised under the headings of Birmingham, Bradford, Brixton, Glasgow, Liverpool, Notting Hill and Southall. There is much invaluable material here about the period 1950-1980. The People material gives biographies of some 40 major historical figures, including Marcus Garvey, Amilcar Cabral, Gandhi, Harriet Tubman and Jagmohan Joshi.

The Memories material is organised in



a timeline since 1500. It starts with Europeans in the Americas and The Myth of Discovery, and ends up with Victory Against Apartheid in South Africa, Imperialism Today — world trade and world poverty, and Racism Today — is Britain a Fairer Place? In each instance there is both a short digest and a longer essay. There are also copious cross-references across centuries and continents, helpful reminders of essential facts and concepts, and continually possible detours to pictures, and to sound and video extracts. The sound-track — musical, natural, vox pops — is consistently engaging, informative and stimulating.

As a pleasant but relevant distraction from the main material, learners may turn at any point to a reasonably light-hearted quiz. The multiple-choice answers are frequently jokey, but are likely to please, entertain and intrigue, rather than merely to bewilder or irritate, teenage learners.

Every secondary school ought to acquire this CD ROM, and make it available to students. Also this resource will be invaluable in informal situations, for example youth clubs and centres of various kinds, and in public libraries. Most teachers, however, will probably wish to complement the material in the accompanying booklet with questions and topics more closely related to current courses of study, and to their students' immediate interests and concerns, both personal and academic. Also, many teachers will probably need to create a conventional text-based summary of the disk's contents.

Users of Homebeats are encouraged to contact each other through the Internet, and to contact the Institute of Race Relations itself in the same way. In this way, the Institute hopes and expects, there will be an increasing stock of documentation about local and personal anti-racist struggles throughout the world, and about the stories and biographies of 'ordinary' individuals and small communities.

The Institute has a distinctive political outlook on race issues, and some distinctive concepts and terms. All material about race relations, of course, is biased. So is all teaching. This is unavoidably the case, always and everywhere.

Teachers will probably wish, however, to promote focused consideration of the Institute's own political outlook in this context, and of the ways in which it differs from other outlooks. In doing so they will be grateful that the Institute has created such a rich, exciting, accessible, involving resource, of inexhaustible value for many years to come.

By Robin Richardson, co-editor of the Insted educational consultancy and a former director of the Runnymede Trust.

Homebeats: Struggles For Racial Justice, is available from the Institute of Race Relations, 2-6 Leeke Street, London WC1X 9HS, tel: 0171 833 2010. Price £25 or £35 with study pack.

News round-up

How representative is the judiciary?

For the first time ever a public advertisement for appointments of High Court judge was placed in the Times in February for vacancies which arise after 1 October 1998. This follows an announcement by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, in October last year in which he said he would be changing the system of appointments to the High Court Bench as part of the wider package of initiatives to improve and modernise the judicial selection process.

The advert said "the Lord Chancellor will recommend those who appear to him to be the best qualified regardless of ethnic origin, gender, marital status, sexual orientation, political affiliation, religion or (subject to the physical requirements of the office) disability." To be eligible for consideration, applicants must have served as a circuit judge for at least two years or be a barrister with ten years experience. Most solicitors cannot apply.

The chairmen of the Bar's race relations and sex discrimination committees have written to the Attorney General, John Morris, casting doubts on the fairness of procedures to select barristers on the panel to appear for the Government in the civil courts. Lincoln Crawford, race relations committee chairman, said that he believed there were only two ethnic minority barristers among the 116 panellists.

Vacancies for the panel are not adver-



Judges . . . need more colour

tised, and barristers are selected by taking soundings among the Treasury solicitors and other government lawyers, judges, QCs and Bar circuit leaders. There is no data collection mechanism for appointments by sex or race (*Guardian 21.2.98*).

Memorial stone defaced

A memorial stone for murdered black teenager Stephen Lawrence was daubed with white paint in March. The plaque at the bus stop in Eltham, south east London, where the 18-year old was stabbed to death waiting for a bus in April 1993, had been

chipped with a heavy object in an attempt to erase Stephen's name. A public inquiry into Stephen's death was also opened in March amid accusations that the chair, Sir William Macpherson, a retired High Court judge, was insensitive to race issues. The accusations were made in an article in the Observer. The judge dismissed the allegations "with contempt" and Mr Straw issued a statement saying he had complete confidence in his ability to handle the inquiry. Senior government sources said there was no question of the chairman being dismissed, it was reported (*Independent 9.3.98, Guardian 24.3.98*).

Black Marine loses fight

A black marine who fled the Royal Marines after claiming he suffered a campaign of racist bullying was denied the opportunity to sue the Ministry of Defence. The High Court said that Mark Parchment, 29, had left it too late to launch his action against the MoD. Mr Parchment went absent without leave in May 1989 and spent years effectively on the run in France, Belgium and America before being arrested in 1994.

He was returned to the army and later discharged. Mr Parchment claimed that he left the army because of racial harassment. He said that in one incident he was ordered to carry a 4ft spear on parade and was subjected to racist initiation ceremonies. Mr Parchment is planning to take his case to the Court of Appeal (*Daily Telegraph 24.2.98*).

New book

Recent world events have demonstrated the fragility of ethnic relations. Today, the majority of states are not single nations; rather they are ethnically heterogeneous in character and possess profound religious, linguistic and cultural divisions. *Ethnicity, Law and Human Rights: the English Experience* by Sebastian Poulter is the first in-depth analysis of the interaction between the cultural traditions of Britain's ethnic minorities and English law.

It explores the policies and principles which should govern the response of English law to ethnic diversity and tests them by reference to six detailed case studies exploring specific issues of cultural concern to a particular minority community.

The following are among the questions examined in the book: should Jews be allowed to retain the special legal provision made for their method of religious slaughtering of animals and poultry for food? Has

Ethnic minorities in the judiciary, February 1998

	Total	Ethnic minorities
Lords of Appeal in Ordinary	12	0
Heads of Division	5	0
Lords Justices of Appeal	35	0
High Court Judges	97	0
Circuit Judges	547	5
Recorders	862	13
Assistant Recorders	354	10
Assistant Recorders in Training	61	3
District judges	337	4
Deputy district judges	697	11
Masters of the Supreme Court	30	0
Stipendiary magistrates	91	2
Acting stipendiary magistrates	83	3
Chairmen of Industrial Tribunals*	272	8
Chairmen of Social Security Appeals Tribunals*	535	13

*Full-time and part-time

News round-up

recent legislation restricted the nomadic lifestyle of gypsies to an unwarrantable degree? Are British Muslims justified in seeking to have their family arrangements regulated by Islamic law rather than English law?

Why did a legal dispute about worship at a Hindu temple in Hertfordshire take 20 years to be resolved? What special legal exemptions have been made by Parliament for turbaned Sikhs? Is it lawful for an employer to refuse work to a Rastafarian just because he is wearing dreadlocks?

The broad theme of the work is that the law has an important role to play in the regulation of ethnic relations and that, in order to implement the modern policy of cultural pluralism successfully, legal rules may need to be specifically tailored to meet the needs of minorities. Formal equality may sometimes be an inadequate response. The law may be 'colour-blind', but it should certainly not disregard significant religious and cultural differences.

All this is well recognised in international human rights law, to which copious reference is made throughout the book. The study is published at an opportune time, for the European Convention on Human Rights will be incorporated into English domestic law later this year.

One important consequence of taking such a step is that the right to freedom of religion will be set down clearly in writing for the first time as a cardinal principle of English law, albeit subject to those restrictions upon religious practice and observance which are necessary to protect certain public interests. Of course, the common law is capable of evolving in the light of social and cultural developments, but the incorporation of the Convention may give added impetus to this process.

Ethnicity, Law and Human Rights is published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, ISBN 0-9-825773-2.

Enoch Powell dies

Enoch Powell, who is said to have given "respectability to white racist views" died on 8 March aged 85 years old. His death came almost 30 years to the day after his first major speech, warning of racial strife on the streets of Britain. A second speech 'rivers of blood' sparked a national controversy about race relations and immigration. In it he quoted the views of someone in his constituency, Wolverhampton South-West, who said: "In this country in 15 or 20 years time, the black man will have the whip hand over the white man.



Dead . . . Enoch Powell

The Bishop of Croydon, the Right Rev Dr Wilfred Wood said that Powell was a "political opportunist" and had given respectability to racism with his attacks on the black community. He said: "I speak from within the black community and they know the fear that generates among very vulnerable people as result of Powell's ranting. The truth is that attempts to create a disciplined multi-ethnic society have been undermined by his attacks on the black community."

Claude Moraes, director of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants said that Mr Powell had been proved wrong. "Many of the groups that he targeted such as West Indians and Ugandan Asians were people who had served this country through a war and whose second and third generations are contributing massively to the British economy and cultural life. He could have provided leadership to the higher ground of politics. Instead he appealed to the lowest common denominator."

Sir Edward Heath, who sacked him from the shadow cabinet for the "rivers of blood" speech in April 1968 refused to comment. Michael Foot, another political contemporary, also declined to say anything.

Others paid tribute to Powell. The former Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher said: "There has never been anybody else so compelling as Enoch Powell. He was magnetic. Listening to his speeches was an unforgettable privilege. He was one of those rare people who made a difference and whose moral compass led us in the right direction."

The Prime Minister Tony Blair said: "However controversial his views, he was one of the great figures of twentieth century British politics, gifted with a brilliant mind. However much we disagreed with his views, there was no doubting the strength of his convictions, or their sincerity, or his tenacity in pursuing them, regardless of his own political self-interest."

Labour's former Chancellor, Lord Healey said he had a very powerful intellect but his judgement was mistaken. "He was essentially a romantic . . . He was not a racist in any sense at all. But he was an extreme nationalist." Labour MPs Frank Field and Tony Benn also paid tribute.

Powell left the Conservative Party in 1974, claiming that Heath had betrayed the country by taking Britain into Europe. He effectively endorsed Labour at the February 1974 general election. He joined the Ulster Unionists and returned to Parliament as MP for South Down which he represented until his defeat in 1987 (*Daily Mail, Times, Daily Mirror 9.2.98*).

Refugee writing

The Bend In The Road is a collection of fiction, poetry and memories by writers in exile mainly in Britain and originating from Somalia, Angola, Zaire, Iran, Iraq, Kurdistan and the former Yugoslavia. Most of the writers have led distinguished lives in their own countries but should more widely recognised here. They are generally well known in their communities, both in UK and in exile in other countries.

They include writers and poets such as Esmail Khoi from Iran, Maxamed Ibraahim 'Hadraawi' from Somalia, Haifa Zangana and Abdul Karim Kassid from Iraq, Miroslav Jancic from Bosnia, Sousa Jamba from Angola and many more.

Refugees bring with them a new culture, language and perspective and the writer in exile can be a link between cultures, nations and people. The book provides the opportunity to gain an insight not only into the pain of the refugee experience manifested in alienation, marginalisation and loss of identity but also into the complexity and diversity of the experiences, concerns and issues of writers from different regions.

The Bend in the Road: refugee writing edited by Jennifer Langer, £8.99 or £7.50 special offer (post-free) from Five Leaves Publications, PO Box 81, Nottingham NG5 4EB. A Teaching Pack to accompany the book is also available at £2.00 each. For information ring 0115 960 3355.

Labour responds to data request

The Government pledged that they would require education authorities to collect data on ethnicity and gender on key stages and exclusion in response to an amendment proposed by the 1990 Trust and Bandung Parliamentary Institute. The amendment, which was later withdrawn, was tabled by the Liberal Democrats spokesman Don Foster during debate on the School Standards and Framework Bill at the standing committee.

The amendment required governing bodies, education forums and local authorities to keep and publish records by ethnicity and gender of exclusions and standards at the end of key stages. Where the data showed evidence of differences in attainment or exclusions, education bodies would be required to draw up action plans to address any inequalities.

Sad truth

Introducing the amendment, Mr Foster said it was concerned with monitoring student outcomes. "We know that at present not all children are underachieving, only some of them are. The sad truth is that a growing body of evidence shows that there are differentials in achievement according to ethnicity and gender."

He drew attention to the differential rates of exclusion among ethnic minority groups. Of all permanent exclusions in 1995-96, 17.4 per cent were of ethnic minority pupils, although they constitute only 11 per cent of the total population. Afro-Caribbean pupils are between three and six times more likely to be excluded than white pupils of the same sex.

The Under-Secretary of State for Education and Employment, Estelle Morris said that she had great sympathy for the reasons behind the amendment. "He was absolutely right to say that unless we know whether a group of youngsters is under-performing, it is difficult to take the next step — to raise their level of achievement to that which they have a right to expect. The Hon. Gentleman is right also to say that no provision exists to collect information relating to pupil performance."

Ms Morris said that the government would



Don Foster . . . tabled amendment

collect information on pupils' characteristics through a Government amendment 486 to schedule 28, which was proposed in the proceedings. This information, she said, will be put together with pupil performance at key stages.

Unacceptable

She went on to say that having collected that information, "we intend to make sure that schools and all those concerned to raise standards take the action necessary to ensure an end to the underachievement of whole groups of people. Such underachievement is not acceptable in an education system that is designed to raise the standard of every child. We mean to raise the standards of every child, and having ascertained groups where there is under-achievement we shall now be able to move forward."

Mr Foster said he was delighted with her response. "The crucial part of her response . . . was the commitment she made on behalf of the Government that if, having collected that information, real problems were highlighted in relation to exclusion or standards by ethnicity or gender, she would require the relevant organisations to take action to resolve the problems."

Earlier the committee considered two amendments proposed by the Commission for Racial Equality and tabled by Don Foster. The

amendments concerned raising standards by requiring LEA education development plans and education action zones to address any "undue variation by sex or race". Estelle Morris said that while she did not accept the amendments she accepted the principle entirely. She said that the Government would deal with the matter in the regulations and guidance notes that are issued to local authorities (*Hansard Report School Standards and Framework Bill 29.1.98 and 3.3.98*).

Seventh Day first

The Seventh Day Adventists became the first minor Christian denomination to win state funding for a school when the Government said it was satisfied with standards at John Loughborough secondary in Haringey, north London. Steven Byers, the education standards minister, told the school it would get a full public grant from September and be allowed to increase its intake from 139 to 250 pupils. It will be given temporary grant maintained status, but will probably become an aided school later this year with the same rights as Anglican, Methodist and Catholic schools.

The school was set up 18 years ago in response to dissatisfaction among black Christian parents and teachers with mainstream education (*Guardian 10.3.98*).

Announcement

It is with very great regret that we have heard of the death of Sebastian Poulter, reader in law at the University of Southampton and draft writer of the chapter on law in the Runnymede's Islamophobia report. Dr Poulter was a good friend of Runnymede for many years. His book, *Asian Traditions and English Law* was published by Runnymede and Trentham Books in 1990. More recently he was a member of the Runnymede's Commission on Islamophobia and British Muslims. All members of the Commission were grateful for his wisdom, knowledge and expertise in law. There is a note about his most recent book, *Ethnicity, Law and Human Rights*, on page 11.

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