# Fighting Racism in Football: England as a Case Study

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree in Language and Culture**

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**Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to my beautiful mother whose without her endless love and constant encouragement I would never have been able to complete my graduate studies. I love you and I appreciate everything that you have done for me.

This dissertation is also dedicated to my sister Affef, who was there for me throughout all the process of completing this work and gave me a lot of support.

Finally, I would love to dedicate this work to my father soul's, I wish you were here.

**Sabrina BENCHEGHIB**

**Dedication**

My first source of power is my family. This work is wholeheartedly dedicated to my mother who did not stop praying days and nights for me, to my sweet and loving father who tends to be my inspiration and gave me the strength when I thought of giving up, and to my beloved sister and brothers, particularly my dearest little brother Raouf. I also dedicate this work to my best friend Manel who has always shared words of advice and encouragement. I would like also to express my appreciation to my supervisor Professor Abdelhak ELAGGOUNE for his guidance, help and constant support.

**Ilhem BOUDERBALA**

**Abstract**

The present dissertation focuses on the issue of racism in football which impaired the game for decades. It first provides the major reasons behind discrimination and racism, and underlines the suffering of victims in different roles in the world of football. It, then, considers the roots of racism in football and the anti-racist responses at the European level. Next, the work examines racism in England's professional football. It deals with some racial incidents within stadiums, and highlights the role of English authorities and non-governmental campaigns to limit the issue among football fans, players, clubs and professional bodies. The central theme of this study concerns the emergence of local, national and international anti-racism campaigns and initiatives designed to combat racism in football, and their effects on eradicating racism in English football. The dissertation concludes with the assessment of the efficacy of anti-racist organisations, and confirms that, while considerable improvement has been achieved in confronting some forms of racism in football, there are still many levels of racism and discrimination within the game that are frequently very difficult to detect on the surface.

# ملخــص

تتناول هذه المذكرة إشكالية العنصرية في رياضة كرة القدم التي أضرت باللعبة لعقود. فهي توفر أولاً الأسباب الرئيسة وراء التمييز والعنصرية وتبرز معاناة الضحايا في أدوار مختلفة في عالم كرة القدم. و تبحث الدراسة في جذور العنصرية في لعبة كرة القدم والردود المناهضة لها على المستوى الأوروبي. بعد ذلك يتطرق هذا العمل للعنصرية في كرة القدم المحترفة في إنجلترا وذلك بإبراز بعض الحوادث العنصرية داخل ألملاعب ويسلط الضوء على دور السلطات الإنجليزية والحملات غير الحكومية للحد من هذه الظاهرة بين مشجعي كرة القدم واللاعبين والأندية والهيئات المهنية. يتعلق المحور الرئيس لهذه المذكرة بظهور حملات ومبادرات محلية ووطنية ودولية لمكافحة العنصرية في كرة القدم وآثارها على القضاء على العنصرية في كرة القدم الانكليزية. تختتم هذه الدراسة بتقييم فعالية المنظمات المناهضة للعنصرية وتؤكد أنه على الرغم من تحقيق تحسن كبير في مواجهة بعض أشكال العنصرية في كرة ألقدم، لا تزال هناك مستويات اخرى من العنصرية والتمييز داخل اللعبة يصعب رصدها.

# List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| **AGARI** | Advisory Group against Racism and Intimidation |
| **BME** | Black Minorities and Ethnic |
| **BVB** | Borussia Dortmund |
| **CAS** | Court of Arbitration for Sports |
| **CRE** | Commission for Racial Equality |
| **DVD** | Digital Versalic Disc |
| **EUMC** | European Union Monitoring Centre |
| **FA** | Football Association |
| **FAI** | Football Association of Ireland |
| **FAR** | Foxes Against Racism |
| **FARE** | Football Against Racism in Europe |
| **FIFA** | Fédération Internationale de Football Association |
| **FSA** | Football Supporters ' Affiliation |
| **FURD** | Football Unites, Racism Divides |
| **IFC** | Independent Football Commission |
| **KIO** | Kick It Out |
| **LFUARAF** | Leeds Fans United against Racism and Fascism |
| **PFA** | Professional Footballers' Affiliation |
| **PFA** | Professional Footballers' Association |
| **PL** | Premier league |
| **UEFA** | Union of European Football Associations |
| **UK** | United Kingdom |

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# Introduction

Football is the most popular game in the world with the largest public sphere. It is also a social, cultural and political phenomenon. It is a powerful tool for promoting social cohesion and important values such as fair play, mutual respect and tolerance. Yet, sometimes it can be a ground where racism and violence can thrive. The football playing field has witnessed several racial practices all over the world. The increase in the number of racial incidents in the beautiful game made the fighting of racism the main concern of football associations.

The present research work is concerned with the issue of racism in football. It will investigate the roots of racism in football by analyzing the impetus behind racial practices in the field, with a special attention to England, to examine the efforts that have been made to fight it either by governmental or non-governmental organisations.

The dissertation concludes with the assessment of the work done by anti-racist organisations. There are numerous English campaigns involved in the battle against racism like Kick It Out, the organisation with the task of running the Let's Kick Racism Out of Football campaign, and the Advisory Group against Racism and Intimidation (AGARI), a body with the aim of broadening the limitations of the Kick It Out campaign to include anti-social behaviour, swearing and abuse of a non-racial nature. The study evaluates the extent to which the initiatives of anti-racist organizations changed the situation, and discusses the different obstacles they have faced.

Racism exists in all aspects of life, even in the football game which is supposed to be a source of joyful entertainment for everyone regardless of their background. Since all the efforts have failed to overcome it, the complex phenomenon of racism within football deserves attention. The racial incidents that happened on 7 September 2019, on the margin of the international match of England vs. Bulgaria, prove that racism is an ongoing problem that needs to be absolutely curbed.

Football noticed a dramatic increase in racial incidents which became painfully visible in this professional game. This ongoing issue needs to be analyzed and resolved. The study considers the origins and the development of this dangerous phenomenon, by means of analyzing the prevalent racial incidents against minorities, taking into consideration victims suffering of racial practices and their effects on their psychology and social life.

Victims have experienced racism with several incidents in many occasions, which pushed authorities at the highest level to interfere trying to put an end to this predicament. The main aim of the research is to analyze the efforts made by English football associations in the subject matter, and evaluate their actions and initiatives to ameliorate the circumstances for victims of racist acts. It is worth mentioning that anti-racist organisations have always faced difficulties that prevented them from rooting out racism completely.

The present work is an attempt to answer a range of questions that help in the understanding of the issue of racism in football: What is racism? Does racism exist in football? What are the reasons behind the emergence of racism in football? What is the effect of racism on players, coaches and supporters? How has the European Union reacted against racism? What about racism in England's football? What are the obstacles that anti-racism organisations face? Does racism in football still persist? By examining these questions and during the process of researching, other significant question related to the topic will be answered as well.

Racism in football is such an interesting topic that many researchers and writers extensively examined it. To situate the research within the existing knowledge, it is necessary to examine other scholars' works. Some of them focused on the origins of this phenomenon, other reported real incidents and stories from the victim's perspectives, other talked about different anti-racist associations including organisations and initiatives to fight racial practices in this game. Most of the scholars did not explore questions related to the success or failure of

those anti-racist responses, yet few of them argued that the role of anti-racist organisations were limited and racial discrimination still exists in the football game, and this is what the dissertation seeks to explore.

Football is such an attractive popular game, yet it has a dark side. Ellis Cashmore and Jamie Cleland in their book *Football's Dark Side: Corruption, Homophobia, Violence and Racism in the Beautiful Game* explore the hidden part of the football game. One of the chapters is dedicated to the investigation of the source of violence in football or hooliganism as it is known in Britain, through different theoretical perspectives that will be explained in chapter one. The Marxist point of view believes that violence in football is caused by the exclusion of the working class from the football world. The Ethological theory analyses human beings as animals, and relate racism to the human nature, whereas the Leicester School sees that violence in football is a form of resistance of the marginalized class.

Another book entitled *Pitch Black* by Imy Onuora reveals that black footballers have faced numerous racial and political challenges since a long time ago. The author reports real stories from victims who are called people with no brains. In this book the writer also highlights the real issues that need to be addressed in the game.

In the article titled "New Labour, Racism and 'New' Football in England", Steven Brasbury and John Williams report the racial practices of fans in stadiums during the international match of Spain vs. England. Those incidents obliged both sides to collaborate and create a new labour policy on football. It is documented that the labour's football task constituted a new direction for sport and government policies in Britain, but it is argued that although the tasks of investigations about racism are limited and narrow they actually have some positive effects.

In another article under the title of "Fans, Racism and British Football in the Twenty-first Century: The Existence of 'Colour-blind' Ideology", Ellis Cashmore and Jamie Cleland

discuss the extent of racism in British football. This article reports the responses of associations of football fans which argue that although the existence of anti-racist organisations and the education given to fans with a greater range of social settings to eliminate racist behaviours; still numerous players continue to be the subject of racial abuse from both media sites and fans.

In their book *Racism and anti-racism in football*, John Garland and Michael Rowe explore the key issues of racism, anti-racism and identity in British football, relating the history of black players in the game, analyzing the racism they have experienced, and evaluating the efficacy of anti-racist campaigns. They assess the success of the policing of racism. The authors highlight the nationalism and xenophobia evident in much of the media's coverage of major tournaments of the way that English, Scottish and Welsh identities are constructed within British football.

Racism in football is a widespread phenomenon that goes beyond fans and players to reach coaches. Simon Gardiner and Louisa Riches address this problem in their article "Racism and Homophobia in English Football: The Equality Act, Positive Action and the Limits of Law". They claim that there are racial practices against Black Minorities and Ethnic (BME) backgrounds when it comes to job opportunities as coaches in Britain. Furthermore, they highlight that this underrepresentation of the black minority is taken into consideration by the Football Associations, and a number of initiatives to fight it took place such as mentoring programmers for BME.

The increase of racial practices against minorities pushed Albrecht Sonntag and David Ranc to highlight the importance of fighting racism in their report *Colour? What Colour? Report on the Fight against Discrimination and Racism in Football.* They state that there are two main participants in the battle against this phenomenon: institutional and non-institutional actors. Institutional actors are governmental organisations within the world of football itself

like the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). Non-institutional actors are non-governmental campaigns such as Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE). In addition, they claim that a variety of actors launched a variety of initiatives to promote diversity and purify football from any form of discrimination such as: punishment, prevention and exclusion.

Many other researches were conducted about the subject matter. An online survey was carried out by Jamie Cleland from November 2011 to February 2012 about fans' views about racism in the United Kingdom. He analyzed more than 500 posts regarding this matter. The author in his article "Racism, Football Fans, and Online Message Boards: How Social Media has Added a New Dimension to Racist Discourse in English Football" reveals that the social media has added a new form of racism and helped racist people to express themselves freely and at any time. He suggested that the best way to suppress this phenomenon is through the cooperation between anti-racism organisations like Kick it Out and fans.

Elizaveta Zhuk in her article "The Role of European Union in the Fight against Racism in Football: A Brief Overview" discusses the issue of racism in the world of football in Europe. She states that this phenomenon became problematic during the period of 1960- 1970. The European playing field has seen many racial incidents, which incited the European Union to interfere to root out racism. The European parliament has made sincere efforts concerning this issue to raise awareness and encourage diversity in football like "White Paper on Sports".

In the article "Policing Racism at Football Matches: An Assessment of Recent Developments in Police Strategies", Jon Garland and Michael Rowe discuss the complex phenomenon of racism within football which deserves attention. The writers argue that it would be better to inform policing strategies to tackle the problem. The article reveals that the role of private police in countering racism and its functions have increased in Britain because

racial practices have enlarged in recent years. Many clubs have employed private policies to control supporters inside stadiums, and standing against illegal racist chanting and abuses.

Since this research work examines the issue of racism in football, the descriptive and analytical approaches are deemed essential to afford a clear understanding and interpretation of the data gathered. It will also use the qualitative method to go deeper into issues of interest providing rich explanation of the topic and explore nuances related to the problem at hand. Data is collected from a wide range of studies done by variety of researchers who are interested in the issue under study. The research results are, therefore, descriptive.

The present study uses numerous reading materials related to the subject under study. Primary sources include legislation, statements, testimonies of players, victims of racism, and official papers of high authorities and football associations to fight racism in football. This work study is also distinguished by the use of a significant number of secondary sources, including books, journal articles, and scholarly online publications.

This dissertation is structured into an introduction then a main body, which includes three chapters, and a conclusion. The first chapter is entitled "Racism in Football: An Overview". It introduces the definition and existence of the concepts of race and racism, moving specifically to the emergence of the phenomenon in the football game and what it includes from different racial incidents.

**"Racism in European Football"** is the title of the second chapter which tackles the anti-racist responses to fight racism in Football at the European level. The main idea that underlies this chapter is the assessment of racial practices that pushed high European authorities to react through the passage of multiple acts and initiatives ensuring the role of technology and private police strategies to prevent and fight against racism.

Entitled "Racism in English Football**",** the third and last chapter takes the United Kingdom as a case study. Starting with the beginning and main reasons behind racial events

in United Kingdom football. This chapter deals with the incidents from the victims'

perspective, fans as well as administrators. It also examines the English acts and Legislations

to stand against racism in the beautiful game mentioning the obstacles faced and the results

achieved in Britain as a whole.

**Chapter One**

**Racism in Football: An Overview**

Discrimination and racism have existed in football since it became a global popular game during the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Discrimination was expressed, mainly in countries where ethnic diversity was a daily and visible. A number of scholars however agree that the 1970s is the period when racism in professional football became a crowd phenomenon especially in Europe. From that time on, Football became afflicted with racism and discrimination, violence and hooliganism, phenomena that had their sources and origins outside the football stadium, but for which football became the most excellent venue on which racists found their most remarkable manifestation.

Racism has existed since the existence of human beings reaching all sides of life including education, job opportunities and even in sports; more precisely in football. The present chapter is devoted to discuss the phenomenon of racism in football. It explains the major reasons behind the violence, discrimination, racism and intolerance in football and highlights the suffering of victims in different roles in the world of football. It also sheds light on the importance of the issue that many ignore or even deny its existence.

**1. 1. Key Terms**

Racism in football is such a complex issue, and racist mistreatment and intimidation are still considered to be significant problems in the world of football. Indeed, modern football is still affected by incidents and patterns of racial violence, racial insults and racial intolerance on the pitch and in arenas, as well as outside them. These football racial incidents have caused great anxiety and still generate extensive political and public concern in a variety of European and non-European countries. Since the main objective of this chapter is to provide a clear understanding to the emergence of discrimination, racial practices and violence in European

football in general and United Kingdom soccer in particular, it is imperative to explain and clarify the main terms related to this subject.

**1.1.1. Racism**

In recent years, many scholars and research centres have well documented the hotly debated issue of racism. For instance, the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Right Commission, a statutory authority in the Australian state of Victoria, considers racism as the belief that some individuals are inferior because of their race, ethnicity and nationality. This belief can be transformed into racial practices such as: "stereotyping, name calling, negative commentary in the media, and speeches at public assemblies, racist graffiti, property damage or abuse on the internet". Besides, the commission mentions that racism can be transformed to numerous forms intentionally or non-intentionally in all facets of life including job opportunities, education and even in sports (1).

In his report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, Macpherson describes racism in the following words: "Racism' in general terms consists of conduct or words or practices which advantage or disadvantage people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. In its more subtle form, it is as damaging as in its overt form" (qtd. in Long et al. 2).

In sports in general, as Back et al. note "Racist abuse in grounds occurs in an intermittent fashion, racist epithets and slogans are invoked in specific contexts and serve particular functions such that a series of fixtures may pass without any racist activity, whilst a fixture with a heightened atmosphere or the appropriate circumstances can produce an explosion of racist activity ("Racism in Football: Patterns of Continuity and Change" 84).

**1.1.2. Race and Ethnicity**

Van Sterkenburg et al. claim that the terms race and ethnicity are common in everyday language and they are usually used interchangeably. Yet, they are different and scholars who discussed this point concluded that race is a biologically matter that deals with physical and

observable characteristics such as skin colour, the shape of eyes and the hair colour and those elements are inherited. Ethnicity, however, is about the cultural aspects and they are socially constructed like the language, food, and dress code (197).

Long et al. claim that racism rises mainly from the belief that human beings can be separated into different races, and that some races are superior to others based on their biological characteristics. Recently, however, the cultural differences like religion and nationality have taken place and are also influencing and shaping the racialization process (2).

### 1.1.3. Hooliganism

In this context, the notion of 'football hooliganism' needs to be explained and defined accurately. Scholars have studied the relationship between sports and violence and could not agree on a precise definition of 'football hooliganism'. Dunning says that "It lacks legal definition, precise demarcation of membership and is used to cover a variety of actions which take place in more or less directly football-related contexts" (142).

For example, the *Report on Football Hooliganism in the Member States of the European Union* published in 2002 by the Council of the European Union puts together a range of crimes under the categorisation "football hooliganism", including violence against persons, damage to property, alcohol and drug offences, breach of the peace, theft and ticket sell.

Likewise, Milojević et al., in their research about youth and hooliganism, define the concept of hooliganism as follows:

> The term is generally accepted and describes the destructive behaviour of individuals and groups of people who do not abide by social norms and laws, and who vandalize their environment. Free time, promotion of sports events, political ideologies and street crime led to further development of hooliganism. Such misbehaviour is ascribed today to fan groups in different types of sports; most often team ones such as football, basketball, handball, rugby and hockey (14).

Present-day scholars, such as Frosdick and Marsh, are disposed to admit the problems in defining football hooliganism nevertheless they refrain from suggesting a working definition of the subject in their own surveys (27-29). The categorization 'football hooliganism' is therefore a concept of the media and politicians rather than a social scientific construct. It is frequently employed in a 'cover-all' sense, in which different types of insignificant and more serious 'violence' are grouped together under the umbrella term 'football hooliganism' to refer to football fans who cause 'damage' to society (Spaaij 11).

## 1.2. The Emergence of Racism in Football

Racism has existed in football since the emergence of the game itself, but it has become a noticeable phenomenon when football gained much attention and became the most popular game. Merkel and Tokarski observe that "the sources and nature of racism at football in Europe is complex and varied, ranging from the rise of new nationalisms in the post-Soviet era, the hostility to migrants and asylum seekers and the longer established links between racism and the 'political' identities of supporter groups in parts of Western Europe" (19). Besides, most of the researchers declare that racism in football started in 1970, especially in countries that are characterized by different ethnic groups, like Latin American societies and the colonial empires (Sonntag and Ranc 21).

The world of football reflects what is going on in the society. It epitomises the reality of society and, hence, every single event can influence or can be seen in football stadiums. The 1970s was a remarkable period because the world at that time faced serious issues such as the lack of job opportunities, the oil crisis, and the exclusion of the working class from the football world which led to the rise of violence in football as a form of rejection of the working class, and later on violence shifted to racism (Sonntag and Ranc 21).

**1. 3. The Rise of Violence in Football**

Men started to play different games since the medieval age. Those games were featured by extreme violence due the absence of any rules and regulations, which led to serious injuries and sometimes deaths. Nowadays, things have changed violence or as it is known in football as "hooliganism", still takes place.

**1.3.1. Theories of Violence in Football**

Scholars agree on the fact that the level and the kind of football-related violence are caused by different historical, social, economic, political and cultural factors. Social class, in particular, has been a significant factor in different European countries. There are numerous theories that attempted to diagnose the issue of violence and racism in football and the main causes of the disorder in this sport. Among these theoretical approaches to football violence, there is the Marxist analysis, then the Ethnological Account; and the Leicester School Figurational Approach. These three different theoretical perspectives reveal deep divisions within social science circles concerning explanations of football violence.

**1.3.1.1. The Marxist Point of View**

When it first emerged, football was dedicated to higher classes and the working classes were completely excluded from the scene. It was a normal game, free from major unpleasant incidents, until it gained much attention because of commercials. The British sociologist Ian Taylor suggests that the cause behind the violence in football is purely economic. He opines that when the working class joined football they used violence as a way to express their rejection to their exclusion not only from the world of football but also from other amenities in their daily life. He adds that since football is a mirror of society each event that takes place outside the pitch is transformed into the stadiums. To him, violence in football is just another form of resistance of the working class (qtd. in Carnibella et al 33).

Ian Taylor, who was the first to sociologically analyse the issue of violence in football from a Marxist point of view, argues that the swift change of the game from an ordinary game into a dollars factory one has created a gap between different classes. He proposes the "democratisation" of the professional clubs to solve the inherent problems although he questions the possibility of its realization in real life. On this issue, Ian Taylor declares:

> Calls for the 'democratisation' of football clubs ... have not met with an active response from professional football clubs as a whole, despite token schemes for participation of youngsters in club training and related activities. Professional football is part of the local economy and, perhaps more importantly, local civic power: and is no easier a target for real democratisation than the political economy and structure of power at the level of the state itself (qtd. in Carnibella et al 34).

**1.3.1.2. The Ethnological Account**

Peter March and other scholars at the university of Oxford conducted a research concerning the issue of violence in football. The research took place in Oxford University where an ethnological method was used. The ethnological method is defined as the analysis of human nature in relation to human behaviour. They related the violence in football to the nature of the human being itself (qtd. in Cashmore and Cleland 48).

 In this particular respect, a Portsmouth fan aged 24 commented on the importance of engaging in fighting during a football match and he related it to human nature. He admitted that: "Violence is an essential part of the match-day experience. We go toe-to-toe with firms all over the country whenever we play. We've got each other's back, we drink together and we crack skulls together. We like to drink, watch the game and fight. It's human nature" (qtd. in Cashmore and Cleland 55).

**1.3.1.3. The Leicester School Figurational Approach**

Another view is held by scholars belonging to the Leicester School. They suggest that there is a development in the human nature shifting from the barbarian savage nature to a more civilized one. They relate their theory to the Marxist view, and claim that the class, educational level and social position play an important role in this issue. They also endorse that generally people with low income and little minimal educational level seem to perform those aggressive behaviours. Éric Dunning, an Emeritus Professor of sociology at the University of Leicester, adds that there are other factors that motivate fans to engage in hooliganism. They include boredom, adventurism and curiosity (Milojević et al 19).

Taylor et al. conducted a research about the existence of violence in football. Most of the participants, to be more specific 89 percent of them, stated that violence in football decreased. One of the male participants aged 54 declared: "The gentrification of football since the early 1990s has gone a long way towards nearly ridding the game of the violence. I experienced in the dark ages of the 1970s and 1980s". Another participant in the research added: "Violence is so muted in comparison to the past. As someone who attended lots of games in the 1970s, games are like a Disney cartoon now, with the experience of watching football vastly different – mostly caused by the gentrification of the game and its increasingly middle class fan base" (qtd. in Cashmore and Cleland 50).

**1.4. Forms of Racism in Football**

The question of racism in football first became the theme of public and academic apprehension in the 1970s and 1980s as a reaction to explicit forms of racist chanting from fans against the rising number of black players in this collective sport. Though the degree of racism among football supporters is difficult to quantify, racism among football fans has been for a long time a serious problem. Football fans have often been held responsible for violent incidents and racist actions, either at local, national or at international matches.

There are numerous ways in which racism is manifest in football fans' culture. The links between football, the activities of hooligan groups and the appeal of racist practises have been well analysed, chiefly with regard to support for national teams where right wing ideas have mixed with previously rooted ideas about race, nation, and cultural superiority (Back et al., *The Changing Face of Football: Racism...112*).

Nowadays, racism in football is a widespread phenomenon. As it is commonly known, it takes numerous forms. It comes in the form of letters, chanting from the crowds, banana throwing, monkey chanting, songs, and not just one or two but thousands singing racial abuse, and humiliating racial chants. On this issue, Cyrille Regis, ex-West Bromwich Albion and England striker, testified: "I remember one time I got picked to play for England for the first time, and I got a letter saying that if I actually stepped onto Wembley Park I would get a bullet through the knees, and there was a bullet in the letter as well, wrapped up in cotton wool" (qtd. in Garland and Rowe 1).

According to Sonntag and Ranc there are three main forms of racism which are impulsive racism, instrumental racism, and institutional racism. Distinguishing between the different three mentioned types is crucial to the understanding of the issue of racism itself (24).

### 1.4.1. Impulsive Racism

This type of racism is mainly based on feeling such as hate and anger. Those feelings exist outside football stadiums and they are transformed into football. These racist attitudes and beliefs can be seen throughout a couple of unconscious and spontaneous verbal and non-verbal actions. Media in this form can be a tool to express those negative feeling (Sonntag and Ranc 25).

### 1.4.2. Instrumental Racism

Unlike impulsive racism, instrumental racism is a direct and a conscious process. It is free from any ideological or emotional boundaries. The instrumental form of racism is not a

random process, but rather it targets and attacks a specific group or a specific person. The participants in this form of racism usually use irony as a mechanism to express their racial discrimination (Sonntag and Ranc 26).

### 1.4.3. Institutional Racism

According to the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) , Institutional racism is seen as "organisational structures, policies, processes and practices which result in ethnic minorities being treated unfairly and less equally, often without intention or knowledge" (qtd. in Long et al. 2). Sir Herman Ouseley, who is a Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, discussed institutional racism in an interview with King as follows:

> In terms of institutional racism, nobody tells you they are discriminating against you, the culture of the organisation makes you know where your place is. As a black person you have got to know that part of British culture means that you are trying to co-exist with a group of norms that you are grappling with. The people within that world will manipulate processes to suit themselves; they appoint people in their own image. White people are still at the top, white people still have the power. (qtd. in King 95)

In this respect, Richie Moran, a black player who suffered from different forms of racism, acknowledges that:

> I am a black ex-professional footballer who actually quit playing the game because of the direct, indirect, overt and covert institutionalised racism that exists within the sport. Although my experience of racism is by no means isolated, as a number of current and ex-players will testify, that I felt I had to stop playing the game that I had loved since I was young because of this racism is a terrible indictment of the football industry. (Moran 190)

According to him, racism can take two main forms either an open and aggressive form of racism or a careless use of racist insults and bad language.

The first form of racism is straight and hostile and Moran shares his experience with this form of racism in these lines:

I remember playing at Trowbridge for Gosport Borough in a cup game (we were then in the Beazer Homes League) when a home supporter shouted: 'Why don't you go back to Jamaica, you black bastard?' As we were 4-0 up at the time, I replied with a beatific smile (which disguised the fact that I wanted to punch his lights out) that I was actually Nigerian by origin and so therefore if I was to 'go back to Jamaica' I would be going several thousand miles out of my way. (Moran 192)

The second form is indirect and less aggressive than the first one. Moran defines it as a "Casual use of racist invective in the dressing room or on the training ground is dismissed as 'banter', and 'jokes' about the size of your manhood and how it is directly related to the colour of your skin are almost relentless" (Moran 193).

## 1.5. Reasons of Racism in Football

In England, as in many other European countries, many non-white football players have suffered racial abuse and demeaning insults. Although evident racism within the game has perhaps reduced, other forms of racism still exist against black and ethnic minority players. At this point, one may ask about the reasons that motivate these racist and xenophobic attitudes and behaviours inside and outside football playing grounds.

## 1.5.1. Immigration

In the 1950s period, the United Kingdom has seen a huge wave of immigration which created a diversity of ethnicities and races in the UK society. United Kingdom football was not excluded. It witnessed a noticeable increase in the number of black players like Viv Anderson, Garth Crooks, Cyrille Regis, Mark Walters, and John Barnes who succeeded to start a professional career in soccer in the 1970s. This marked the beginning of blatant racism in football (Cleland 2).

Cashmore and Cleland claim that the immigration of black players was not only to the United Kingdom but rather to all parts of the world. The period of the 1980s, in particular, saw a noticeable increase in the number of professional black players in different football leagues in Europe. This increase in the number of black and ethnic minority players, due to successive waves of immigrants to Britain, made of racism in football a clear phenomenon (84). Garland and Rowe doubt the shared believe that black players joined British football only in the 1970s and 1980s. They claim that the event of the first black player who ever played in the United Kingdom goes back to the Victorian era (11).

**1.5.2. Colour Blind Racism**

People in the world of professional football, as Apfelbaum, Sommers, and Norton noted, are often faced with difficult questions about how to deal with matters related to race and racism ("Seeing Race and Seeming Racist? Evaluating Strategic ..." 923). Racial colour blindness is defined as the belief that racial group membership should not be taken into consideration, or even noticed as a policy for handling diversity and intergroup relations. Despite research revealing the involuntary observation of race, the colour-blind approach to race has become increasingly prevalent in a variety of important domains, including the world of football (Apfelbaum et al., "Racial Colour-blindness: Emergence..." 205).

The rationale underlying the belief that colour blindness can stop prejudice and discrimination is simple: If people or institutions do not even note race, then they cannot act in a racially partial manner. Despite the attractiveness of this colour-blind approach to race relations, data from academic research has called its supposed advantages into question. For instance, in the football domain, despite the common presence of the colour-blind approach, there is mixed evidence as to its success in achieving planned objectives (Apfelbaum et al., "Racial Colour-blindness: Emergence..." 206).

The following comment made by Phil Lee who is a member of South-east Region Sports Council highlights a very important notion in sport, which is racial colour-blindness. Lee contends that there are still organisations in sport that do not like being challenged; it is like a relationship or a marriage. It comes down to what people look like, behave like, that influences the decision. When you get into management structures of sport and coaching structures of sport it is about the existing structures selecting an individual who does not look like them and the person who does not look like them making a decision whether they want to be involved. The more you challenge the individual the more they move back into their standard values and seeing themselves and the interaction with others so you never get through the person's barriers. And if you challenge their perceptions of themselves you challenge their consciousness, it is destabilizing and can be extremely disturbing (qtd. in King 108).

Chief heads of different sports including football choose what is similar and ordinary to them. They only welcome people from the same culture, racial and even colour in the different organisations of sports, and they reject anything they consider different. He used the metaphor of marriage and relationship to highlight the seriousness of the issue. As a result of this rejection, black people and other minorities end up suffering from different forms of racism and discrimination (King 109).

**1.5.3. Part of the Game**

Long et al. propose that most of the black players are aware of discrimination in the institution of football, and they believe that racism in football is a part of the culture of the game itself. One of the African-Caribbean players explains it as follows:

> In the early days racism in the league was bad. If you're good you'll definitely get it
> If you aren't you won't get it… Heard it from players and supporters…nigger, wog, go
> back to your own country, been spat at… It's been physical as well as verbal '12 studs

showing' at times, smacked in the ear… Was taken off after the 12 studs were Part of

the Game? 32 showing because of fear of harm. Players said 'well played'! yeh but

look what you wo doin'……Ahh it's all part of the game. (qtd. in Long et al 31)

## 1.6. A Framework for the Analysis of Racism in Football

Racism is articulated through multifaceted forms in contemporary football cultures. In

order to provide a better understanding of how of racism, racial discrimination and

xenophobia occur in football, it is vital to examine how these phenomena manifest themselves

and how they are experienced by victims.

In their article, "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet: Race, Social Theory and Football

Culture", Back et al. suggest four different arenas where racialization occurs in football.

These arenas are: the culture industry, the institutional domain, the occupational domain and

the vernacular domain. To these scholars, each arena exposes a different form of racialization

(435).

### 1.6.1. Culture Industry Arena

Media plays an important role in the discussions about race and ethnicity and raises racial

discourses in all their forms whether it is printed or electronic media. It controls how the

images of the different bodies in the field of football are captured, especially from different

backgrounds, origin and ethnicities. For example, some players or coaches are

overrepresented while some others from minor ethnicities suffer from misrepresentation in

media. Culture industry is concerned with those set of problems besides the economic side

like sponsorship and advertisement, since some players or coaches enjoy some privileges that

others do not (Back et al., "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet..." 435).

The emergence of highly interactive social media platforms enabled football supporters to

communicate with each other. On this topic, Rome and Garland confirm that social media

applications such as Twitter and Facebook facilitated the work for racist people in general and

football fans in particular and provided them with platforms to express their hate and racist attitudes against minorities easily and freely (3).

Cashmore and Cleland claim that the old forms of racism are replaced by new forms based on the use of social media, as one of the fans describes it: "The new variable in the mix is the influence and rise of social media thoughts that were still very much there are now being expressed due to the proliferation of devices and a lack of thought. Racists using social media were still racists before getting their paws on an iPhone or any other device". According to the findings of the online survey of Cashmore and Cleland, 89 % of the participants agree that social media added new forms of racism and gave the new generation new ways to express their racist thoughts that old generations did not enjoy ("The Existence of Blind Colour Ideology" 464).

### 1.6.2. The Institutional Domain

The institutional domain arena is about the exclusion of black people and other minorities from leadership in all sports and in particular in football. Football administrations are still largely dominated by whites even when there are a counted number of black workers in football associations. Their opinion is not heard and they are totally excluded from decision making decisions (Back et al. "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet..." 436).

### 1.6.3. The Occupational Domain

The Occupational Domain is closely related to the institutional domain. This arena sheds light on the forms of racism that different football bodies face in their clubs, especially players who play in professional clubs and their exclusion from making decisions and from some privileges. It is based on stereotypes and rumours about some minorities like black players that transform into explicit and implicit abuse and racism from white coaches and players to their black colleagues or the players of the opposite team (Back et al. "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet..." 436).

**1.6.3.1. Examples of Stereotypes**

There are numerous fixed stereotypes about black players' attitudes and qualifications such as 'black players cannot play in the cold', 'while skilful they lack the grit and determination of their white counterparts', and that 'black players have attitude problems, are lazy and with insufficient application to the game' (Back et al. "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet..." 434). These fixed prejudices about black players influence and shape their experience in football and cause discrimination and racist acts and discourses. In this logic, David Boyce declared:

> I think there was a perception that we couldn't think, we couldn't read the game, but surely we have turned that around, with players like Paul Rose and Darren Smith. They can now see it's not just about speed, skill and strength. When I first started playing the cliché was that they were not disciplined, and all they wanted to do was run and go out dancing and to go to a night-club and anytime they told you anything they put it down to having a 'chip on your shoulder'. (King 18)

Joseph Maguire, Emeritus Professor of Sociology of Sport, of the University of Loughborough in the UK, reveals that black players usually take the position of attacking and rarely that of defending and goalkeeping (qtd. in Müller et al 4). As long as black players' participation in football increases, they manage to correct some misleading views about them but they steal face some other forms of racism (Sterkenburg et al 204). Stereotypes are not only about minorities' players but black coaches and management also suffer from doubts in their capacities to lead a multicultural team.

Coaches and management are usually accused of being incapable of taking responsibility of a club. In this respect, Luther Blisset, a previous professional footballer and manager who played for the England national team in the 1980s, testified in an interview as follows:

People have got this conception of what black people, black players are like and say: 'No, won't be any good in management.' Nobody knows who's gonna be good at anything for sure until they're given the opportunity . . . they give jobs to lots and lots of white players that come, and a lot of them are crap, useless – never get anything, never achieve anything or whatever, you know, and nothing's ever said: 'Oh no', you know – it's just like: 'Oh, he wasn't good enough', and that's it. Nobody says: 'Oh, he's [white], isn't he?'. (Back et al. "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet..." 438)

Back et al. claim that the existence of some prejudgments about black coaches does not mean the total absence or annihilation of black coaches from the football sphere. Ruud Gullit who is a coloured coach has always been captured in the media as a big star that leads his team to win the FA final cup ("Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet..."439).

**1.6.3.2. Racism against Players**

Usually when talking about racism in football, people refer to practices and behaviours committed by fans or towards fans, but in real life the issue is bigger and reaches players and even coaches. Müller et al. conducted research on the forms of racism practiced towards players. Their study is based on 20 interviews with players from different clubs and they found many interesting points.

Among these remarkable points, one can mention the following: White players tend to tolerate and accept different ethnicities in their own club and totally reject it in the opposite club. They direct racist comments to their enemies but not to their mates in the same club which makes the issue of racism in football such a contradictory one (Müller et al. 5). The quote bellow perfectly expresses this point. It is a testimony by the ex-black player Richie Moran:

We had to play with another team, who had a Surinamese striker, and then my team mates just go like um… well, 'break that nigger' …., I'm going to stand on his head ,

you know , that kind of stuff … but also have that colour, so basically it's also about me. Because he makes that remark about him means that he really thinks that way about me and he makes those remarks about me when I'm not around. But not to my face he hardly ever says it. (Moran 191)

Most of racist comments or practices are done by the opposite ethnicity. For example, from a white player to a black one, but it is not always the case. Sometimes players from the same ethnicity abuse each other. Many black players insult their black mates by comparing their playing to a white player. The following quote is an evidence from a black player who suffered from racial comments from other black players: "Another thing I've encountered a lot, is that when we played a team with many people of dark skin, they insulted me for being white , and being a bounty, those kind of remarks, so it works both ways, I don't mean to say that it is only them, I was insulted by everybody, so actually there is no difference between white black, they all do it" (Müller et al 6).

Richie Moran shares a different experience of racism in football, not from players or fans but rather from coaches which compelled him to give up the game:

The final straw for me as a professional footballer occurred during pre-season training at Torquay United. I had already heard terms such as 'nigger' and 'spade' being frequently used at the training ground, and when the assistant the future football manager suggested a 'coons versus whites' five-a-side game I took offence. I confronted him by asking whether he knew my name, and suggested that if he wanted to speak to me I much preferred to be addressed as Richie than by any of the aforementioned terms. I suggested that I would react very badly if he continued in this vein. I never did sign for Torquay, and it was around this time that I decided that I did not want to play professionally any more. (Moran 192-193)

### 1.6.4. Vernacular Culture

Vernacular culture is about the relationship between fans' culture and different racist discourses and behaviours committed by fans. Language also plays an important role since it determines the ideas and the beliefs fans have about race and ethnicity and they act accordingly to those beliefs (Back et al. "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet..." 440).

Fans and racism in football is on the top of the issues in the subject matter. Most works done in the fields are concerned with the racism produced from fans. Garland and Rowe claim that fans tend to accept and support black players in their team and totally reject the phenomena in the opposite team (5). This contradictory vision is well expressed by Richie Morgan who is an ex professional player who witnessed the kind of action. He said: "One of the most memorable of those occasions of racism was when, after remonstrating with fans who were abusing black striker John Fashanu on his Wimbledon debut, I was informed by these people that: it's ok mate, you're one of our niggers" (Moran 191).

When football specialists and other experts and people at large talk about racism in football in relation to fans, they always capture fans as the ones who commit the racist acts. This is not always the case, however, because black fans suffer from racism in football stadiums. This point was discussed by King who described the fear of black families to send their children to watch football matches because of the racial atmosphere in football stadiums. Frank is a black fan who could not go to soccer matches because of racism. He declared that "My parents didn't want me to go into soccer because they felt that black players weren't treated right at that time. My mother had to do the mothering and the fathering, and she might have to pick up the pieces, there wasn't a father around" (qtd. in King 16).

The racist acts produced by different categories of fans are not always intended. Most of the producers of those actions are not aware of the process taking place and they do not know what racism is. As a white man of West Ham fan claimed:

There is a huge ignorance among the general population about what is and what is not

racist, and great denial and resistance to see racism in their attitudes, in their use of

language or stereotypes, or in the discussions of the value of different ethnicities, as if

one ethnicity was somehow inevitably better than another, or the belief that people can

'choose' their ethnicity. (Cleland and Cashmore, "Football Fans' Views of Racism in

British Football" 36)

## 1.7. Islamophobia

The Runnymede Trust, the UK's leading independent race equality think tank, defines

Islamophobic discourse as: "an outlook or world-view involving an unfounded dread and

dislike of Muslims which results in practices of exclusion and discrimination" (qtd. in

Cleland, "How Social Media Has Added a New Dimension to..." 7). Muslims as any other

minorities have suffered from racial discrimination since ever, yet the 9/11 influenced and

transformed the racist acts into a higher level. Stereotypes and prejudices were conducted and

formed about Muslims all over the world (7).

Cleland conducted an online survey that focused on the fans' views about the issue of

racism in football. He analyzed 2500 responses. The research started in November 2011 to

February 2012, and a part of the survey was dedicated to analyze the issue of Islamophobia in

football as an attempt to understand whether the issue is about colour and biological details or

it is purely religious ("How Social Media Has Added a New Dimension to..." 8).

When the participants were asked about their feelings towards Muslims and the reason

they have a negative image about them, one of the responses was:

As for my "I just don't like all Muslims' statement you think I said, this was years ago

. . . I don't like the   Muslim religion, though as an atheist myself I am not struck on

any religion, but the Muslim brand I find totally dislikeable. On a personal level I do

not dislike every Muslim, but as I acknowledged all those years ago Muslims are not

people I can have much time for due to their religion. (qtd. in Cleland, "How Social

Media Has Added a New Dimension to..." 9)

Cleland argues that the main reason of the hate and the rejection of the Muslims in

football, which may result in racial discrimination and abuse for fans and players, has nothing

to do with Race and biological elements such as the skin colour. Racism against Muslims is

mainly because of the Islamic religion and the nature of the religion itself ("How Social

Media Has Added a New Dimension to..." 9).

## 1.8. Gender

The whiteness of the game of football is not only in men football but also in women's

football, and the case of the Dutch national team is an obvious evidence. The team is

dominated by white players with a small representation of other ethnicities and minorities.

One of the Dutch women explained this phenomenon as follow: "Because yes, Turkish

women participate less in sport. They, if I may say so, are prohibited from doing this by their

husbands and family. The same goes for Moroccan women. And as for Surinamese women, I

don't know, maybe they're just lazy. And Antillean might just be [lazy] as well". So the main

reason of the absence of black players and other ethnicities is the set of stereotypes about

them, like the comment above clearly accuse Surinamese of being lazy (van Sterkenburg et al.

202).

According to a questionnaire prepared by Scraton et al., 97 percent of female players in

United Kingdom are white, while African and African Caribbean females represent only 1.3

percent, and for Asian females the percentage is 1.3 percent and 0.5 percent is from mixed

race. The result shows clearly that women football is dominated by whites (77). Another

survey conducted by Jayne Caudwell concerning women football shows similar results.

Whites represent 95.7 percent of the major players, 2.5 percent from African, African

Caribbean or black, and 0.5 percent for Asians. Most of the time, each club has a coach, a

manager and an administration. Most of the people who hold these positions are whites. In addition, gender is included as well since 69 % of managers and 61 % of coaches are males while 67 % of secretaries are females (330-44).

The research results of Scraton et al. can be connected to Glenn's view that society is responsible for the distribution of power and determination of gender expectation in society and in football as well. Since males are supposed to be the decisionmakers, most of the managers and coaches in female football are males while most of female players are white (78). This separation of power and roles influence the journey of black and Asian players.

As the previous paragraphs talk about the dominance of males in coaching when it comes to players in female football, but those are not the only forms of racism that women suffer from. Female fans also suffer during attending matches in the stadium due to the dominance of males in stadiums. Collete, a black female fan, who used to attend football matches, expressed the experience as follows:

I had a friend at secondary school and she was really into football, but it wasn't — it didn't seem as fashionable then as it is now . . . we both supported Aston Villa [in Birmingham] so we used to go and watch the games. But that was a bit traumatic . . . at that time two girls on their own didn't seem quite right. So it was hard work sometimes, we used to get unwarranted attention from the boys — men sometimes . . . it was a bit fascist really, and there weren't many Black — there were Black players at the Villa . . . Yeah, we used to get — it wasn't overt 'cos we were young you know. We must have been about 13 or 14 . . . It just became uncomfortable really, we just stopped going. Yeah, well just unbelievable. Yeah, there would be people next to you or around you chanting you know, fascist things, chucking bananas, crap like that. (qtd. in Scraton et al 80)

Collette cannot separate her gender and skin colour from her experience. She felt the male and whiteness dominance as a result she stopped going to football matches.

Scraton et al. interrogated a number of female players in order to investigate the existence of racism in female football. Most of the participants said that the existence of racism in women's football is not that spread as it is in male football and Alex's answer perfectly describes this idea:

> I'm not saying racism doesn't exist in women's football but I have to be honest I've not seen too many incidents of it . . . I can only think of one actually. It wasn't the players, it was the opposition's supporters shouting out 'nigga', 'cos you know how I play football I don't take any prisoners. If I want the ball I'll go and get it . . . every time I tackled her she was on the floor — but they were clean challenges and they started shouting 'nigga' from the sideline. (qtd. in Scraton et al. 82)

## 1.9. Right of Reply

When talking about racism in football, the focus is frequently on the views of blacks. It is fair enough to discuss some white views about this issue since they have a completely different vision. A white chairman, Mark Brent, was asked in an interview about the concept of whiteness and if being white helped him to reach the position he has in football. He answered in this way:

> Without any culture or race, the outsider has to work harder. I was born in China and I was the only white man I had to work harder, and blacks have been here for fifty years and coming into the next century I would love to see better race relations and black people don't have to become white to be accepted. I mainly got into my position because of money and working hard to get this club off the ground. (qtd. in King 109)

In his comment Brent claims that being different should be a motivation for success rather than an obstacle. He added that he did not succeed because he is white but because he worked hard and that what should black people do as well (King 110).

White administrators have no problem with receiving and accepting black players and coaches and the declaration of chief executive of the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA) confirms it:

> We are much more comfortable when we've got a fair percentage of black players. They have been quite insular, not to say arrogant and aloof, who say we should be stronger. For the Football Association, you would struggle to see a black face, particularly in council, in administration and in coaching. It is hard enough when you're black, but the likes of Viv Anderson have become coaches/managers, but you can count them on one hand. It is a situation we are duty bound to change (King 112).

Most of the comments above confirm that being white does not help but rather hard work is the key to success.

Racism in football is indeed a complex problem that football associations and soccer lovers face. This abhorred phenomenon comes in different forms and shapes, and the racial incidents towards different minorities are in increase day after day. Fighting it becomes the first goal of multiple organisations all over the world. The next two chapters will discuss the process of fighting racism both in Europe and the United Kingdom.

**Chapter Two**

**Racism in European Football**

Racism is not a new phenomenon in European football grounds. It is an old challenge that took stadiums as good platforms to show racist behaviours and attitudes. Many decades ago players from different ethnicities suffered from verbal aggressions and chants, monkey noises and racial slogans inside stadiums. These various offending racial incidents across Europe attracted the attention of the media, fans and governmental authorities alike.

Consequently, several governmental campaigns were launched in different European countries over the previous decades to abolish the disturbing phenomenon of racism in football with different levels of success. The fight against racism was also supported by football fans' organisations whose movements continue to increase to stop the issue. Fans campaigns and initiatives helped change football over the past twenty years from perhaps the most public expression of widespread racism to a situation where many of the more positive aspects of multicultural Europe are now present in the stands as well as on the playing field.

Indeed, different initiatives were taken, anti-racist organisations were founded, and strict measures were adopted to fight racism in football. Many professional football clubs, famous players and national associations, such as the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) and the Federation International de Football Association (FIFA), in addition to the Football Against Racism network (FARE), that was founded in 1999, have spoken out against racism and set up different actions against such phenomenon.

Racism existed in the European society since a long time ago. It is based on a hierarchy of "races". History made a difference to shape Europe's collective awareness. The European mentality developed on the staunch belief that whites were predominant and blacks rate second. It is a matter on which European researchers agreed within all the 19th century and a substantial part of the 20th century (Gasparini and Talleu 6).

On this issue, Gasparini and Talleu noted:

> We live in a society where people believe that some qualities are intrinsically linked to skin colour. In every European country, for instance, if you ask whether blacks are physically stronger, the reply is usually that they are. The implication of physical strength, however, is intellectual weakness. Such prejudice is even stronger in certain countries where there has been no mixing of races, such as those of Eastern Europe.
>
> (7)

Gasparini and Talleu say that people in the European society consider that some traits are fundamentally associated with skin colour. In every European country, for instance, if you ask whether blacks are bodily stronger, the response is frequently they are. The insinuation of physical potency, however, is intellectual limitation. Such discrimination is even stronger in certain countries where there has been no mixing of races, such as those of Eastern Europe (8-9).

Most of European sports have long been impaired by racial segregation, and the entertainment of the football game is not an exception case. With foreigners arriving from previous colonies, European Union member states and third-world nations; the integration in these two social orders has been acknowledged as extremely important over the mainland (Kassimeris 7).

In spite of the great wealth that European soccer clubs create and the devotion that clubs command, as well as the increase within the number of black players in first class European associations over the past two decades, racism still torments within the European soccer realm. It is profoundly established in European history that dates back to the times of colonialism and the appalling campaign to legitimize the supremacy of "White culture" over primitive, non-white civilizations (Wynn 314).

In a convincing statement, Dutch member of the European Parliament Rafaela says:

Football is Europe's most popular sport. Many football lovers play the game themselves purely for recreation or competitiveness. A select group of talented players is able to play professionally. These pros draw hundreds of thousands of fans to stadiums on a weekly basis. Millions more watch their favourite teams on television or through web streaming. Football has been called the beautiful game for good reason. There is beauty in the joy of winning and in the pain of loss. The racism, however, should not be part of it. It taints the beautiful game. (qtd. in Banks)

## 3.1. Cases of Racial Abuse in Football

Over the previous decades, European football has witnessed a progression of serious incidences of discrimination, violence and overt racial offenses. In many different European football pitches, football fans mocked and insulted opposition players with racist chanting during their home games. These racist chants were not only directed towards the opposed players of different skin colour but even to members of their home club (Wachter).

In February 2005, Samuel Eto'o was exposed to racial verbal abuse from a few Zaragoza spectators during a match against Barcelona. The supporters of the Zaragoza Spanish club started making monkey chants at whatever point Eto'o had possession of the ball. Eto'o decided to quit the pitch at the middle of the match, but his colleagues and the Barcelona club officials calmed him down and prevented him from leaving the playing ground. His dark skin partner Ronaldinho who has already suffered from comparative abuses but less heightening, said he was fed-up with the sounds which in case Eto'o had left out the pitch, he would have done the same. The incidents were not mentioned in the match report and these behaviours were considered to be normal (Wynn 313).

In addition to abuse chants, there have been numerous cases of bananas thrown at players of African descent during football matches in national associations and territorial competitions. These examples of racial practices also apply to Muslim players and prevent

them from being treated well during matches. Supporters directed Islamophobic chants against many international Muslim footballers. They have been badly treated, verbally attacked and faced harsh insulting references of being terrorists (Wachter).

On this particular issue, Ramberg acknowledges that,

Islamophobia" is not a new phenomenon but we know that today many Muslim communities in Europe are experiencing an increasingly hostile environment towards them characterized by suspicion, deep-rooted prejudice, ignorance, and, in some cases, physical and verbal harassment. Whether it takes the shape of daily forms of racism and discrimination or more violent forms, Islamophobia is a violation of human rights and a threat to social cohesion. (6)

Islamic international team members were also exposed to racial abuses and described as terrorists in one of the most important international competitions. A German newspaper published a cartoon of four players in the Iranian team before the 2006 World Cup in Germany, showing them as suicide bombers and carrying explosive belts. The embassy asked the newspaper in question to make an official apology. The strange thing is that the response of the editor of the German newspaper was strange, as he said that he regretted the Iranian reaction to the drawing, and did not see the need to apologize (Harding et al.).

## 3.2. Anti-racist Fan Movements

The commonness of racism and segregation in football is contradictory with the values that the game is assumed and anticipated to speak to and transmit. A large number of influential actors in many different professional football associations have recognized racism and separation as a major issue of modern football and have chosen to act against it (Sonntag and Ranc 49).

According to Mark Doidge, fighting racism in the beautiful game requires a great stand from all sections of the football game from the fans, players, clubs, security powers, national

affiliations, universal leagues, media and lawmakers. The clubs have a significant role to play in supporting fans battling racism. They act as a means of connection between the leagues and the fans. They had to be completely committed to killing racism and xenophobia from the stadium. Policemen also play an important role in challenging racism with fans (3).

Supporters play a great role in the advancement of fighting racism in football. There have been numerous anti-racist fan campaigns in recent years throughout Europe. Those campaigns include fan clubs with no political background or biased plans and they created a successful path towards the anti-racist project (Garland and Rowe 73).

The history of creating anti-racist fan movements goes back to the 1970s when 'Football Fans Against the Nazis' actions in Germany were set up at clubs over the country. They were determined to confront the presence of far-right radical associations at football grounds, which had a huge built up presence at the time. They set up themselves at twenty stadia around Germany. Those groups at first were not trusted from the supporters who considered them as political groups. They struggled to continue their project consuming huge efforts but eventually they gave up from the environment and other local organisations appeared to fight racism in football (Garland and Rowe 74).

One of the well-known non-governmental organisations that stand against racism in football is Progetto Ultra. It is an Italian association that works with ultras from all over Italy and runs a pan-European documentation centre on the issue of racism and discrimination in sports. The main aim of the central centre of Progetto Ultra is to combat the developing racism that has been creeping within Italian stadiums, and open the dialogue between fans and associations which work with fans and authorities (Doidge 19).

The Progetto Ultra association attempted to extend its actions to advance anti-racism. The activities include simple behaviours of fans, such as flags and the way they use chants to support their clubs. Numerous shirts and big paper banners including anti-racist slogans and

declarations which addressed the unity and non-racial behaviours have been raised during football matches (Doidge 44).

The first role of the football fans in cooperation between them and other associations is educating young supporters about racism inside the stadium. "Giving children a broad understanding of inclusion helps them to learn how to respect different groups and cultures. This will help youngsters to make rounded choices later in life, rather than simply following the crowd. Prevention is better than the cure." (Doidge 25).

Mark Doidge assumes that there are more than thirty fan projects in Germany. They work with cooperation with police authorities and financially supported by the clubs. One of the significant anti-racist fan projects in Europe was set up in Bremen in 1981 after hooliganism appeared in stadiums which ended up with the death of fans. In 1992, this project became a fundamental component of the Sport Security National Concept and supported by the local associations, and football institutions. The Sport Security National Concept is constituted of independent projects financed mainly by public authorities. It aims at supporting fans to avoid anti-social conduct. It also has the objective to address violence and racism through empowering the fans and educating them (29).

This fan project also considers targeting young people and teenagers. Its main aim is to help entrust and improve responsibility of the young football fans. On this objective, Tina, a Borussia Dortmund (BVB) fan project, asserts:

> We have also got a program with the younger kids and with the young fans from
> Borussia Dortmund which is my special part that I am doing. We are driving to the
> away games with them. Without nicotine, and without alcohol, and without drugs and
> so the parents say – 'Ok we can let you go'. And so that is a very preventive and
> important point for us, because then we can change them or we can intervene, in a very
> young age. (qtd. in Doidge 30)

Mark Doidge explains that the project carries three component modules. One teaches members almost civil strength – how they can avoid savagery and struggle in their day by day lives. The other unit deals with interculture learning. It is about teaching fans on distinctive groups within the world. The third element s expressly related to racism and the far-right and talks about the character of the members in relation to using stereotypes and analyzing the impact of these behaviours (31).

Doidge goes on saying that,

Everything is in the stadium so it is a different place to meet and to learn. We want to catch the fascination of Borussia Dortmund and yes put it together within the content that they think about. And afterwards they are going through the stadium and look at everything, and they can see everything from the stadium…And the kids won't forget it and they put it [Borussia Dortmund and anti-racism or civil courage] together as one. (31)

Mark Doidge demonstrates that Fan project includes a number of clear and direct points to create a successful model for the supporters of the beautiful game and to raise awareness about racist behaviours:

1- Fan project is the source of power for the football fans.

2- Anti-racism fan project rejects and does not tolerate any racist abuse inside stadiums.

3- Fan project forbids the relation to any political groups.

4- Any racial practice should be coached in order to be aware of the bad behaviour.

5- Fan project must include an educational program.

6- Anti-racism and hooliganism should have separate educational programs.

7- Fan project must be encouraged to help participants in organisations succeed and deal with different backgrounds of people who support football (42).

In Spain, anti-racist fan movements, carried out by the left wing football fan groups, existed since 1990. Spanish fan clubs cooperated with non-governmental organisations such as SOS racism, through carrying out specific days for anti-racism in addition to using banners and slogans entitled "All against racism" "Love Depor, hate racism" (Kennedy and Kennedy 76).

Garland and Rowe agree that challenging racism in football by different fan organisations is a successful point that should be acknowledged. Although those organisations have faced many difficulties, they are still considered as an effective instrument in fighting this phenomenon and became one of the football force tasks (81).

## 3.3. Technological Interventions in Fighting Racism

Again, Garland and Rowe argue that technological improvements have played a significant role in the success of standing against racism in European football. This innovative improvement has given an important help in policing the issue during football matches. Using cameras inside stadiums and during football matches is an effective solution to limit racial incidents in the game of football. Since 1980, it has been reported that the amount of racial practices have decreased, may be due to the use of cameras or perhaps because there is another reason that played a more important role to reduce the issue (84). Fans have become more aware about their behaviour in stadiums because they knew that they are constantly subjected to cameras surveillance and it is easy for the police to pinpoint the individuals more easily during the match or even after the end of the match. "One officer interviewed went so far as to suggest that, of the fans of the club he polices: they are now very wary of cameras. Point a camera at our lot and they don't like it. And that's true about a lot of the 'top lads' from other teams, because a lot of them have been convicted by the use of CCTV" (99).

Photo phone technology also helps to collect information about individuals who commit racist behaviours during a football match against minorities such as using violence. This

improved strategy's pictures and videos can be transmitted from cameras to other phones and computers. Nevertheless, the strategy of using cameras remains limited in the fight against the phenomenon because it cannot detect verbal abuses. The absence of the audio in the camera means the absence of accusation, especially if there is an occasional mass chanting (Garland and Rowe 100).

Sometimes, there were professional witnesses who have been placed beside the suspects in order to record any verbal abuse committed by them. In those cases, the supporters were usually punished by taking from them their tickets or their club membership card. This solution is not enough because it detects the individuals at the end of the match but does not do something to prevent the racial abuse from happening in the "first instance". Besides, this secret strategy can be applied only on a small scale and not on the whole terraces (Garland and Rowe 101)

One of the effective ways to prevent racist practices in football stadiums through the quick gathering of information about spectators is the technique of using private telephone "hotlines". An important number of clubs in the United Kingdom have used such hotlines. The results reached in the study conducted by McArdle and Lewis, in 1997, showed that only a small number of clubs across Europe used this technique. Nonetheless, they argue that this technique is effective when it comes to giving warning to those who have committed racial behaviours in order not to repeat them on football grounds, which would automatically reduce such practices. The issue, however, remains in whether the information gathered are reliable or not (Garland and Rowe 100).

Technological interventions created a successful path towards fighting racism in football game. Despite the significant role played by these developed technologies, they still contain limitations in preventing and annihilating all racial behaviours within the game such as the

first technological intervention, which is the camera. It does not contain the audio technique, which makes it unable to listen and arrest persons who use racial chants and insults.

The use of witnesses beside the fans can replace the lack of the audio technique by but this requires a huge number of resources. Garland and Rowe argue that the debate about the role of the technological intervention is still going on, since the key role of the technological intervention against racism cannot be ignored, though it is still limited and less obvious. Whatever the potential of technological means to prevent or detect racism, the degree to which they are effective clearly depends upon the willingness or otherwise of the personnel who are responsible for utilizing the cameras or other devices (102).

**2.4. Media against Racism in European Football**

Gasparini and Talleu indicate that media consider racism as an important phenomenon that needs to be observed and deserves mention as it raises serious concerns. Media in the field of sport made racist practices and incidents more visible and directed on them the spotlight to show to the whole the world the real issue through covering all what is happening in football grounds on a daily basis and in all over the European continent (29).

Margot Dunne, a *BBC* journalist, said that prominent media coverage of these issues is significant. He pointed out that,

> It's the only way you can get rid of the problem. There has been a fantastic improvement in Britain over the last ten years, because we haven't stopped talking about racism, watching out for it and drawing attention to incidents. Every time something happened it received front page coverage. These items must always make the headlines so that the public feel more concerned. (qtd. in Gasparini and Talleu 29)

One of the most popular journalists who carried the issue and reported many racial incidents is Jerome Le Fauconnier of the French newspaper *L'Equipe*. This member of the football newspaper team spoke against racism in European football during eight years. In one

of the daily newspaper he wrote an article talking about his interesting experience in football

traces and in which he declared:

> Some years ago I infiltrated the circles of the far-right and other extremist fans in Nice
>
> for six months. I was astonished that many people claimed there was no racism or
>
> extremism in France. I wrote a series of articles, which were published over two days
>
> and which caused uproar. I know that at my newspaper they no longer want to hear
>
> about the subject because they can't handle it. A balance must be struck, that is the
>
> problem. Our work also consists in showing the complexities of the struggle against
>
> racism, of making it comprehensible for the public at large. At the same time, the easy
>
> option is solely to report the events and to use caricature. (qtd. in Gasparini and Talleu)

Internet, today, has a wide range of use from over than 300 million users around the

world and in different fields. This technological instrument is a significant tool in covering,

distributing, gathering, and conveying all about football sport. As it was mentioned before,

the football sport has been under pressure of racist practices since decades. Various

organisations and groups are working on the idea of spreading their racist attitudes within the

beautiful game, using different pages and sites on internet. At the same time, Internet proved

to be an important and effective tool in fighting those who use racial abuse in the European

football game. Groups and organisations that support racism in stadiums using this practical

tool are more visible because using sites on internet is not a secret project (Balestri 4).

Balestri emphasizes that in 1995, researchers of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, a human

right organisation, noted that there was only one site for racial hatred. In 1997, however, the

number has increased to 600 sites and with the development of the online means of

communication they have become more than 2500 sites (4).

In 2000, the European Union Monitoring Centre (EUMC) decided to organize a project

with the cooperation of international experts to fight football racism on internet. This project

tended to scan the content of different sites and homepages, which use internet as a means to spread racial attitudes. The monitoring centre captured some slogans used in racial sites. For example, on the homepage of the German site named "Commando Ultra Leoben" one can read the following: "we define ourselves as patriots, and would like to tell all those who protest against our slogans addressing foreigners and black players that such slogans are nowadays heard in all football stadiums. Another site detected by the centre is the Austrian site called "Rapid Club Wels". The members of this site use ironic and humorous caricature and slogans about Africans (Balestri 8).

The 2000 European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) report mentioned that monitoring the use of racism on internet needed to follow some legislative and social steps. The first path suggests the building of cooperation between European nations creating an international group of experts in order to control and analyze groups of racism and xenophobia on internet, and to pass unified bounding laws against those people and prevent them from using and expanding racial ideas. The second path contains educating actions directed towards giving support to ant-racist football fans who are active on internet and work on increasing and developing their number and encouraging cooperation between them. The aim is to create beneficial projects to act against football racism on internet. The other step is to encourage mass media to give a great rebound to the events and organisations, which fight racist practices. In addition to that, any punishment for the racist active on internet should be followed by other social actions to educate and prevent from repeating the same racist behaviour and change racist ideas and mentality and raise awareness of people (Balestri 10).

## 2.5. Anti-racist Initiatives in European Football

For several decades now, many European football associations and fans have put forward a variety of anti-racist initiatives to combat overt racism and far-right extremism in football,

which are pervading features of contemporary European football. To eliminate or at least counter racism and discrimination in European football, serious actions were required from all influential actors in the world of football, from the fans, players, clubs, security forces, national associations, international federations, media and politicians. Thus, anti-racism campaigns in different European nations, like FARE, Kick It Out, Stand Up Speak UP and Never Again were created and produced written documents to help educate, train and guide different groups about the degree and various ways racism reveals itself.

The Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE), also called the Fare network, is an international non-governmental umbrella organisation that brought together individuals and associations, concerned about the increasing tide of racism and far-right groups, to combat inequality in football. It was created as a result of a seminar 'Networking Against Racism in European Football' held in February 1999 in Vienna, Austria. The meeting gathered together football fans' groups, football players' unions and representatives of anti-racist projects in Europe.

FARE believes in an all-encompassing sport free of discrimination, and aims at making racism and all forms of discrimination in the football game less visible. It also calls for taking all responsibility in order to fight the issue through effective anti-racist policies and initiatives. The FARE network, whose headquarters is in London, United Kingdom, has received support from the European governing body, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the European Commission for its objectives (Manzeineter and Spitaler 75).

The FARE Network organisation has been growing continuously. It has recently gained the reputation as one of the European organisations that stands to fight against racism at the local and national levels of football. A great number of organisations and groups are usually

involved in the activities organised by the FARE Network, such as the annual FARE Action Week against racism, which is present in 40 countries (Manzeineter and Spitaler 76).

 Kassimeris points out that German fans as well as amateur and professional clubs have joined the FARE Network. A good example is FC Schalke and FC Ft. Pauli fans. The latter have become active members of the FARE Network and have organized many anti-racist events with other active clubs, like Borussia Dortmund and Borussia Monchengladbach and Eintracht Frankfurt (41).

Stand Up Speak UP, is a French campaign launched by one of the famous French footballers, namely Thierry Henry who was backed by the Nike campaign. It includes also other famous international players like the Brazilian Ronaldinho and the Dutch Ruud Van Nistelrooy. This campaign's work revolves around spreading anti-racist attitudes within people at large through creating television advertisement featuring Thierry Henry and other players (Dubois 222).

The organisation showed a great interest in fighting the phenomenon through reporting all the racist incidents committed in football stadiums to make the problem more visible for people. Dubois affirms that the organisation sold more than five millions of bands which represented the slogan of the campaign in order to expand its popularity and to gain more support. Thereafter, other international players wore the bands of the anti-racist campaign. In return, this step brought great donations from fans across Europe (222).

Italian players showed in many occasions their rejection of racism in the football game. In December 1992, a large number of Italian players signed for a project under the slogan of 'No Al Razissmo', which means no to racism. The first principle of this project is the rejection of racist behaviours against black players inside the stadiums by threatening to walk off the pitch whenever their friends were exposed to racial abuse (Carnibella et al. 102).

Never Again is an independent non-governmental organisation created in 1997 in Poland. Its main objective is to stand against racism in the football game. The organisation works on organizing tournaments in stadiums to raise the awareness about racism and to spread anti-racist attitudes (Kassimeris 48).

Netherlands uses the slogan of 'Als racisme wint, verliest de sport' which literally means if racism wins, sport loses. This slogan is used in many tournaments, and is also displayed in bus stops and train stations to attract people's attention towards this phenomenon which has plagued European football. In addition, Dutch players went on strike against racism to show that they do not accept this scourge (Carnibella et al. 102).

The Football Association of Ireland (FAI) launched an intercultural project in 2007, which included the idea of changing intercultural attitudes in Ireland in order to give an equal opportunity to new coaches, members and players in the field of football. The aim is to create cohesion and cultural diversity between members of the Irish society. Besides fighting racism and discrimination in football the FAI association promoted the participation of minorities and multicultural ethnicities in different events (Football Association of Ireland 6).

The FAI rulebook clearly sets out the association's position with regard to racism and discrimination:

> 1) Any Participant, who offends, disparages, discriminates against or denigrates someone, or a group of persons, in a derogatory manner on account of 'race', skin colour, language, religion, ethnic and/or national origin(s) or sexual orientation, or perpetrates any other racist/discriminatory and/or contemptuous act, shall be subject to disciplinary sanctions. The relevant disciplinary body shall consider and have the power to impose a suspension, fine and/or other sanction as deemed appropriate. In the case of individuals, the minimum suspension shall be for a period of five (5) matches.

2) If a spectator, or spectators, engage in racist or discriminatory behavior, including but not limited to chanting or displaying racist or discriminatory slogans at a match, the relevant disciplinary body shall sanction the Affiliated Member with the spectator(s) support. If the spectator(s) cannot be identified as a supporter, or supporters, of one or other club/affiliate the host club/affiliate may be sanctioned.

3) Spectators engaging in racist or discriminatory behavior may be subject to a disciplinary sanction.

4) Sexual or racially based harassment or other discriminatory behavior, whether physical or verbal, shall result in disciplinary action. (qtd. in Football Association of Ireland 7)

A great step in European football's fight against racism and discrimination is the governing framework in formulating rules and regulating the game. Watson asserts that football supervisory bodies are structured in a top-down pyramid with each level imposing rules and duties to control different aspects of sport. He adds that the FIFA and the EUFA associations are capable of ensuring supporters, teams, coaches and authorities and protect them by refusing guilty practices (1064).

In July 2001, the FIFA organisation held a conference against racism in the game with the attendance of 201 football association. The conference demonstrated that racism, xenophobia and all forms of violence are not just a European matter but also a concern to all the football associations all over the world which need a firm and common reactions to stand against this disturbing phenomenon (Kassimeris 42).

FIFA organisation recognises its responsibility to lead the way in abolishing all forms of discrimination in the football game since it has the authority to regulate the sport worldwide. In this respect, Watson comments:

It created the FIFA task force to stop racism in football in February 2013, headed by
Jeffrey Webb, Vice President of FIFA and President of Confederation of North,
Central America and Caribbean Association Football. It was created with experts from
around the world to provide input and help develop concrete solutions to fight
discrimination in football and strengthens FIFA's approach. FIFA organisation
imposed many anti- racism punishments on football clubs and fans. (1065)

**2.6. The Role of the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA)**

The preponderance of racism as a disturbing phenomenon in the beautiful game and the
increasing number of racial incidents attracted the attention of the European Union. The
Union of European Football Associations has identified its role in fighting racism and
discrimination. It has strengthened its commitment to making football an inclusive game.
UEFA, which represents the administrative body of football associations in Europe, consists
of 55 national association members. It was founded on 15 June 1954 in Basel, Switzerland,
after consultation between the Italian, French, and Belgian associations. The union is putting
its full support to eliminate racism from European football through obliging strict rules and
imposing regulations in addition to inflicting punishments in response to those who violate
the rules (De Vlieger).

UEFA association focused on the punishment of racist activities on football and gave
importance to the strict sanctions and laws against the defendants. Among its disciplinary
powers, it imposed penalties on "anyone who insults the human dignity of a person or group
of people on the basis of ethnicity, race, or colour". UEFA vice-president Per Ravl Omdal
said: "We are prepared to implement the necessary sanctions from fines and closure of
stadiums and even to not allow teams to participate at all" (qtd. in Kassimeris 44).

Financial penalties of about 100 000 Euros are imposed by the EUFA against teams' fans
who commit such behaviours against any other ethnic minorities. In addition, the UEFA

instances, in certain cases of fans' offenses, can prevent football teams from playing games in stadiums with the presence of their fans but in closed doors. Penalties can go as far as discounting points or disqualification from national or international competitions (Wynn 323).

Another significant path against racism started in February 1999 in Vienna, when the European commission "Football Against Racism" was set up. It included more than forty organisations and anti-racist projects, fan clubs, and different ethnic minority groups to stand against the phenomenon. The European project backed the idea of diversity and allowed the participation of different ethnic groups in all levels of sports without any differentiation. It did not focus only on anti-racist activities but also on fighting all forms of discrimination in football grounds (Wachter).

In the same logic, an important meeting was organized in 2001 by the FIFA and included the EUFA association, the Football Against Racism network, and other anti-racist organisations. During the meeting, the EUFA introduced strict measures to stop racism in football grounds and decided to start an active cooperation with the Football Against Racism network (Kassimeris 41).

In 2001, UEFA began a partnership with the Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) network through financial support of its work. UEFA gave total support to the Fare network to combat the issue. The anti-racist activities of this cooperation were present during UEFA Champions League and UEFA Europa League matches. The matches included anti-racist slogans, by means of big screens showing the sentence "No to racism" before each game. In addition, children who accompanied the players of each team wore Unite Against Racism T-shirts (Rachel).

Former UEFA President, Michel Platini, spoke of his backing for the FARE Action Weeks in these words:

> I am proud to be part of the Football People campaign which highlights UEFA's commitment to tackling discrimination in football in partnership with the FARE network. For over ten years, we have worked side by side with the FARE network on what is a central pillar in European football and we will continue to strive towards a respect for diversity in the game. (qtd. in Rachel)

Alexander Wynn maintains that the authority of the EUFA is to realize the objectives and impose the penalties on individuals who offend the human dignity by committing racial practices. In this logic, the EUFA's Court of Arbitration for Sports (CAS) was established in 1984. It was intended to be an entirely independent body of all other sports' organisations and with the aim to help facilitate the settlement of sport-related disputes through arbitration or mediation. Its main role is to apply procedural rules tailored to the specific needs of the sporting world. CAS also plays a significant role in deciding the outcome and penalties of racial practices committed by the accused (328).

Article 61 of the UEFA Statutes stipulates that the CAS, in its capacity as an ordinary court of arbitration, has exclusive jurisdiction to exclude any ordinary court or any other court of arbitration when dealing with certain types of disputes. The latter include differences between UEFA and associations, leagues, clubs, players or officials; disputes of a European dimension between associations, leagues, clubs, and players or officials (Wynn 325).

In 2005, the European parliament published a written statement on Tackling Racism in Football. It contained the confirmation of the legal right of football players to work in an environment free of racial practices. In this document, the European parliament admired the efforts from polices, initiatives and anti-racist activities that were taken by the EUFA association to fight the issue and agreed on imposing strict laws and punishments on clubs and their fans who commit any racist behaviours in the game (Wynn 330).

Members of the European parliament asserted the danger related to the spread of racism and discrimination within the European society. They issued the following note:

It is a sad reflection in our world that racism continues to blight the beautiful game. Football is not the cause of racism, but it is in our stadiums and on our pitches that some of the most visible and violent abuse takes place. We should see as an opportunity. The most popularity of football presents us with the means to rich millions of people, and we must hope to promote tolerance and understanding. By wining hearts and minds on the terraces and the pitch, we make a crucial a breakthrough in the bigger battle to free society of racism. (qtd. in Kassimeris 43)

On the same topic, the European parliament added:

In the world of football, a similar picture exists. Each member of the family, the associations, leagues, clubs, players, referees and supporters has its role to play. That is what our declaration calls for a joint effort from everyone to that cares about football. We take great encouragement from the work of UEFA, FARE and other organisations that are committing to fight racism in football. They have understood that football has a special responsibility and again opportunity to tackle the problem. (qtd. in Kassimeris 44)

They also called for the cooperation between individuals and prominent actors in the realm of football to stand against the issue: "But now it is not the time to relax. We can and we must do more. The European parliament should call on all those with a stake to join the fight against racism and to do what they can in their community" (qtd. in Kassimeris 44).

With the increasing understanding of the phenomenon by the media, fans and football governing bodies, awareness of the problems associated with racism and the exclusion of ethnic minorities have increased tremendously across the European continent. As a result, the idea of campaigning against racism in football has taken firm root in many European

countries. Most of those countries have carried out a wide range of anti-racist activities for the purpose of eliminating the problem from the beautiful game.

Because the issue of racism in football is still a major problem that threatens to destroy the game, the fight against racism remains a necessity. It requires continuous efforts of the various participants involved in the world of football. In addition, the constant evaluation of the efficacy of the diverse initiatives and measures is much needed. It goes without saying that the situation in English football is of particular concern because the Premier League, which is one of the sports' richest and most watched competitions in the world, is not free from racial incidents, discrimination and violence. This will be the subject of the following chapter.

**Chapter Three**

**Racism in English Football**

Within the era of 1970s and 1980s and with the increased number of black players in English football, the issue of racism became widespread and its expression in football has considerably increased. Racism and racial incidents gained much concern, and turned out to be the main subject of public and academic debates. Racism came from fans against footballers from different cultures and ethnicities. It included racist chants, interchange and coded messages, banana throwing songs and monkey chanting. A number of conferences and seminars were organised, and articles that tackled the issue were published in the press.

Football racism has long been categorised an English predicament, not only by journalists or the general public but also by researchers. The latter argued that overt expressions of football racism in other European countries look as if to reproduce what has gone on in England over the previous three decades. This widespread belief of football racism as a solely English dilemma is no longer valid. It has been substituted by a conviction that, while in England football-related racism is weakening, racism in other European countries is becoming more disturbing and less successfully curbed.

A number of authors treated the phenomenon and its different forms inside and out of stadiums. The question of racism and violence in football was also debated and highlighted on television and in radio to assess its levels and effects. Bradbury argues that many research works on football racism conducted recently show that around one third of fans at all professional clubs in England witnessed racism aimed at players ("It's Not as Simple as Black and White..." 2).

Many studies and surveys were conducted in relation to the issue of racism in England. For instance, Brian Holland, a Legal Officer with the Commission for Racial Equality in Bradford, conducted a research about the issue of racism in English football in the period

between 1989 and 1994. He spent 40 hours attending live matches and observing fans' behaviours of three main clubs: Leeds, Newcastle and Bolton during two seasons 1989/90 and 1992/93. He revealed that the incidents can be divided into two categories non-racial incidents including mocking and non-racial abuse such as vulgar language and racial incidents involving racial singing, monkey chanting and racial mistreatment (537).

Table 1 below summaries the incidents that occurred during the Newcastle United football matches when the club had no black players in their team. Table 2, however, demonstrates racial incidents when having a black player in their team. The data indicate that the presence of black players in the team shifted the racial abuse from the whites of home and opposite team players towards black players of the two clubs. The percentage of racial abuse towards blacks increased from 47 percent to 7 percent.

Table 1: Newcastle United Matches: Summary of Incidents - 1989/90

| | Frequency | of | Incident | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Home | Players | Opposition | Players | | |
| Type of Incident | White | Black | White | Black | No | % |
| Booing/Non-racial/Jerring | 1 | _ | 32 | 3 | 36 | 23 |
| Non Racial Abuse/Swearing | 20 | _ | 32 | 8 | 60 | 38 |
| Racial Abuse/Swearing | 0 | _ | 0 | 35 | 35 | 22 |
| Racial Monkey Chanting | 0 | _ | 0 | 21 | 21 | 14 |
| Racial Singing | 0 | _ | 0 | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| No | 21 | _ | 64 | 73 | 158 | |
| Percent | 13 | 0 | 41 | 46 | | 100 |

Source: Holland, Brian. "Kicking Racism out of Football': An Assessment of Racial Harassment in and around Football Grounds". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* vol. 24, no. 4, (1995): 567-586. Routledge, doi: 10.1080/1369183X.1995.9976513.

Table 2: Newcastle United Matches: Summary of Incidents -1992/93

| | Frequency | Of | Incident | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Home | Players | Opposition | Players | | |
| Type of Incident | White | Black | White | Black | No | % |
| Booing/Non-racial/Jerring | 1 | 1 | 14 | 14 | 27 | 29 |
| Non Racial Abuse /Swearing | 3 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 35 | 37 |
| Racial Abuse/Swearing | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 24 |
| Racial Monkey Chanting | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 10 |
| Racial Singing | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| No | 4 | 12 | 24 | 24 | 94 | |
| Percent | 4 | 13 | 26 | 57 | | |

Source: Holland, Brian. "Kicking Racism out of Football': An Assessment of Racial Harassment in and Around Football Grounds". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* vol. 24, no. 4, (1995): 567-586. Routledge, doi: 10.1080/1369183X.1995.9976513.

Jeffrey Chu et al. investigated the issue of racism in the English premier league during the season 2011/12. They collected data from two hundred and ninety players and seventeen teams. Their findings confirmed the existence of some forms of racial practices against blacks and non-whites concerning the total number of appearances during the season, the number of fouls, the number of cards awarded by English referees, and the number of cards awarded by non-English referees. The study revealed that non-European players and black players in the English premier league received more yellow/red cards and got more fouls than their white colleagues (2936).

It is worth mentioning that not only black people face racism in United Kingdom but also Asians, who are the largest minority there, face discrimination and segregation in the English

professional football. Dealing with this problem, Daniel Kilvington, a Senior Lecturer and Course Director in Media, Culture and Communication at Leeds Beckett University, England, conducted an important survey and reached conclusive results.

He interviewed two English Football Association (FA) members, five football academies, five centres of excellences, two overseas professional British Asian players, nine semi-professional British Asian players, three amateur British Asian players, two professional clubs, nine British Asian founded grassroots level organisations, and three anti-racist organisations. He pointed out the main obstacles that led to this exclusion such as: overt racism, symbolic racism, inferential racism and institutional racism (589). Long et al. also discussed the main stereotype made about Asians. Usually they refer to them as selfless and smart but sometimes they relate them to smallness and weak physical characteristics (28).

## 3.1. Fighting Racism in England

England presents an outstanding example of obvious efforts within the battle against discrimination and segregation in football, which serves as a case for building further efforts to combat the issue in the English society as a whole. The English legislation in reference to football fans is especially abundant. A wide extend of these acts help initiate or conduct a civil case or legal action against fans guilty of racist and religious violations.

Initially, the denied conduct and the punishments were of a common nature. Nevertheless, the peculiarities of racist abuse have obviously decreased in English football because of a series of very strong anti-racism campaigns within the sport over the years. Yet, racism in football still remains a problem for the English society.

In this logic, a number of anti-racist organisations have emerged, including Show Racism the Red Card in the north-east of England, which utilizes a variety of media to dissipate players' and managers'' views on racism, and Football Unites, Racism Divides. Many other anti-racist organisations such as the Commission for Racial Correspondence (CRE), the

Football Supporters ' Affiliation (FSA), and the Proficient Footballers ' Affiliation (PFA) are clearly hostile to racist practices and basically offer to fans needed assistance.

The Show Racism the Red Card anti-racist project and many other organisations such as Kick it Out reveal racism as a problem where professional players are subject to a flood of abuse every match they play in English football matches. This obstacle has pushed many of the minority players to be at the face of racial abuse against minorities in English football. In the 1980s, while Shaka Hislop noted that it was an experience for him where he was perceived as "just another black person" led him being active in the Show Racism the Red Card campaign and being a fighter in the battle against racism in English football (Sonntag and Ranc 37).

There are different good practices used by England in the battle against racism with the collaboration between the FA and the Premier league (PL). This cooperation led to the emergence of a leading institution with the total authority to impose the values of conduct on all other football institutions. Its aim is to take the responsibility on the fight against racism in English football and to push activists to make more efforts against different forms of discrimination.

Other practices initiated by English clubs, in which they use symbolic gestures, include indirect messages to the fans. For example, the club may show the commitment to a black player through nominating him to be the captain of the club. This gesture shows the efforts of the club to establish and spread the anti-racist values and encourage the idea of diversity and equality within club fans and players (Sonntag and Ranc 70). These gestures and practices have the power to change racist attitudes towards minorities among supporters.

### 3.1.1. Acts and Initiatives

The definition of racism is provided in the Public Order Act of 1986. The latter stipulates, in relation to racist transgressions, that the police have the total right to arrest a suspected

offender without a warrant and after trial in court, the punishment could be a maximum of seven years' detainment. The English legal framework also offers an arrangement of provisions related specifically to football in order to address the issue of racist chanting inside football grounds. For instance, the Offences Act of 1991 formulates that the incident or any racist singing is considered a "pertinent offence". This collection of legal acts is affirmed within the Football Offenses and Disorder Act of 1999, and the Football Disorder Act of 2000 (Sonntag and Ranc 38).

### 3.1.2. Show Racism the Red Card

Show Racism the Red Card is an antiracist organisation established in January 1996 following to the increase of racism within the English football and the whole society. It was established in the North East of England, but has offices in Glasgow and Newcastle and has sister organisations in Ireland, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Sweden (Kassimeris 138). Professional footballers have played a major role in this organisation during the battle against racism.

The aim of the campaign is to combat racism through anti-racist education. Professional footballers have shown the way in terms of making a stand in the fight against racism. The Show Racism the Red Card initiative claims that anti-racist education is a key and that the game of football is the best medium to do this .The campaign has been very successful since it involved a large number of role model footballers and managers who succeeded in showing and spreading the antiracist education and behaviour within football fans. Every season they work with over 60 football clubs as well as some rugby, cricket and basketball teams to produce resources and organize anti-racism events, using anti-racism educational DVDs in addition to posters and magazines. Show Racism the Red Card campaign organized different educational programs, workplace training, competitions and community anti-racism festivals to help educate against racism (Kassimeris 139).

**3.1.2.1. Show Racism the Red Card Activities**

One of the techniques used by the Show Racism the Red Card campaign is the optical media which is the Digital Versatile Disc (DVD). More than 3500 DVDs were distributed to the schools including anti-racist education presented by famous international footballers under the aim of standing against racism in the beautiful game. The campaign achieved a huge popularity and has proven to be a real addition to the combat of racism. In addition more than 300,000 posters and magazines were distributed in England containing anti-racist education and interviews with top footballers. Collaborating with previous professional famous footballers has added a great impact to the anti-racist work (kassimeris 141).

**3.1.3. The Kick it Out Campaign**

Since the game has a great popularity in England, anti-racist campaigns focused mainly on football. Many initiatives have been developed to combat racism and coordinate activities on both national and local levels. The first national anti-racism in sport campaign was the Let's Kick Racism Out of Football campaign. It was launched in 1993 by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and the the Professional Footballers Association (PFA) as a result of worries regarding the ongoing prevalence of racial mistreatment aimed at black players and the relative absence of reaction from professional clubs and the sports main bodies in this respect (Williams and Taylor 99).

The CRE and PFA started the Let's Kick racism Out of Football campaign with the outlined aim to combat racism chanting and practices like tossing bananas at players during football matches. They pledged "to encourage clubs and supporters' bunches to dispatch their organizing efforts against racism. The campaign expressed that if football is to be played and enjoyed equally by everyone, whatever the colour of their skin and wherever they come from it is up to us all, each and every one of us, to refuse to tolerate racist attitudes and to demand nothing less than the highest standards in every area of the game" (qtd. in Zirin 95).

Besides, the Let's Kick Racism Out (KIO) campaign called different English football clubs to show their objection to racism inside stadiums presenting the KIO advertising posters. There were actions at play under the cooperation between the organisation and English clubs contains the points below:

1- The first statement imposes on the clubs to prevent any tolerance against racist practices and to take a strict punishment on the accused. This statement should be printed clearly on all match days.

2- Prevent any sale or distribution of anti-racist poster or slogans on the terraces.

3- Create public declaration to the supporters includes the prohibition of any anti-racist practice during football matches and alarm them that the club will not permit them.

4- Make a condition before selling matches tickets for supporters to not use racial chanting and discrimination inside the pitch.

5- Using strict and regulations on footballers who use racial abuse against their friends during matches.

6- Make sure that the police are ready and aware about the necessary polices that should be used inside stadiums against racist people.

7- Remove all racist posters printed on football grounds. (qtd.in Garland and Rowe 55)

Initially known as 'Let's Kick Racism Out Of Football', the campaign changed to 'Kick It Out Of Football' (KIO) in 1997 as it gained national prominence. Starting from 1997, Kick it Out has broadened its campaign to address grassroots football, conduct outreach work with minority ethnic communities, create instructive materials for schools, and facilitate the organisation of the yearly national hostile to racism week (Malcolm 13).

In addition, there are numerous English clubs who showed their objection against racism through developing anti-racist programs including educational tools to spread anti-racist behaviours. A successful example was the South London Initiative which created a long term strategy to fight racism against minorities, working with school children through antiracist educational days, as long as many other clubs who preferred to develop their relationship which local authorities to rich the maximum results during the combat against racism such as, Leyton Orient, Exeter City and Leeds City who sold their stadiums to the local authority to gain the local authority support in order to fight racism on football grounds (Garland and Rowe 63).

### 3.1.4. Assessment of the Kick it Out Campaign

Scholars are also divided as to the accomplishment of the Kick It Out campaign. For example, Gardiner and Welch view that in its commitment to anti-racism, the work that Kick It Out campaign has done in reducing overt racism must be amply acknowledged. They claim that:

> The Kick It Out campaign has been a crucial component in promulgating education and attitude changing initiatives…Whilst racist sentiments can still be overheard in conversations between football supporters, there is an inhibition against voicing racist attitudes more audibly because of the adverse impact this would have on players in the supporters' teams. (227)

Other scholars observed that Kick It Out has only been partly successful in dealing with its goals to challenge racial inequality. In this regard, Randhawa is rather disapproving of Kick It Out by reporting how it "has failed to create positive, sustained change and has simply been satisfied with the insignificant success of finite exposure" since its creation in 1993 (245).

Clarke Carlisle, a chairman of the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA), assumes that the world of football is suffering from issues considering the anti-racist campaign Kick It Out. He commented:

> KIO have been at the forefront of change over the past 30 years, and in that time we have seen dramatic changes in the battle against racism. They are one of a few bodies who are actually doing something positive about the issue. I would suggest that if there is a point to be made, then make it to those who can truly effect change, such as FIFA, UEFA and the FA here in England, not a small charitable initiative that works with a budget of under £500,000 and has approximately ten staff. (44)

Then he added:

> A couple of the lads at York said that they wouldn't be wearing their t-shirts so, in a completely neutral manner, I asked them why. They said that they were sick of incidents being swept under the carpet, that the authorities don't take the issue seriously and that the punishments handed out to John Terry for his comments to Anton Ferdinand and to Luis Suarez for what he said to Patrice Evra were laughable. (45)

Similarly, many English football players argued that anti-racist organisations are not strong enough to face the issue of racism in football. The English footballer Jason Roberts was one of the protesters who refused to wear the Kick It Out T-shirt. He argued that the path of creating a T-shirts for the organisation is useless since racism still exist and has never left the English playing pitches (Nauright and Wiggins 182).

### 3.1.5. Foxes against Racism (FAR)

The Foxes against Racism is a small collective of anti-racist supporters established in the 1990s by Leicester city football fans as a reaction against racist incidents committed against black players. Its main objective is to monitor racism and challenge racist attitudes on the

terraces and within community members. In an interview with Jeff Davidson, FAR fans, members in the initiative said that:

> We've got to challenge this [racism]. I don't want to hear it. Me and a few mates got together and thought what can we do about this. Just to challenge racism, maybe give a few other people the confidence to challenge racism. We knew many people felt the same way, even if they didn't stand up and say it. You know, Leicester being the place it is, the different groups that live here, to try and make it so that if they wanted to come along to Filbert Street they wouldn't be discriminated. (qtd. in Bradbury, *Racism and Anti-racist Strategies* 224)

This small group of anti-racist fan activists started their work on streets with football fans through the distribution of leaflets and stickers containing anti-racist slogans to raise awareness about the issue. In addition, they followed educational initiatives targeting young people from different ethnic background. The FAR campaign has worked closely with the Leicester City Football club to stand up against racism in football. There were public statements which contain anti-racist rules on the pitch and during Leicester city club matches in addition to the organisation of anti-racist day training for the stewards on how to deal with racial abuse and discrimination during football matches (Bradbury, *Racism and Anti-racist Strategies...* 228).

There was a noticeable development after the cooperation. In an interview, a Leicester City fan club Sunil Budheo said:

> I've been games and sat in the Double-Decker stand and the Kop end and the abuse that came out was shocking. Racist abuse directed at players, directed at fans. There were some black fans with the Arsenal fans and they were getting racial abuse. I changed my seat because I don't want to listen to that. It has changed for the better. The club has made some real efforts to change it. But there are pockets where there are

real issues and they haven't changed those. There are corners (of the ground) they can't

change. But the general environment has changed. (qtd. in Bradbury, *Racism and Anti-*

*racist Strategies...* 238)

The observable change and the efforts made by the field work of this small campaign

were limited. The reason was because it did not receive essential funding to expand its

activities since 1998. They have been funded only with a small figure of £4,000 from

Leicester city council and Leicester City FC as a part of the agreement (Bradbury, *Racism and*

*Anti-racist Strategies...*  239).

According to Charles Raynor, a FAR member and director of operations in Leicester

City:

> The club works on a very tight budget. We have a tight cash flow. We are one of the
>
> clubs that works on an 80% wage ratio to turnover. The money that we make goes
>
> straight into player's salaries and the other administrative salaries as well. Every penny
>
> of the Sky TV money is taken up with players' salaries. There is the perception that the
>
> Premier League clubs are cash rich. They are at one end, but it's soon swallowed up at
>
> the other end. One thing a club can offer is facilities and services. We do have
>
> tremendous conference and banqueting facilities here. We have expertise in marketing,
>
> sales and community initiatives as well. Whilst it is difficult to contribute cash. (qtd. in
>
> Bradbury, *Racism and Anti-racist Strategies...*  233)

### 3.1.6. Leeds Fans United against Racism and Fascism (LFUARAF)

Leeds Fans United against Racism and Fascism is an anti-racism campaign by a group of

supporters at Leeds United. Established in 1987, it was one of the first campaigns created to

exclusively to fight racism. Their initial work started in 1986 when they published a leaflet

which led them to be accused by the police of being a source of spreading political violence.

The fans' campaign published a Report about this under the title of "Terror on Our Terraces"

which contained many antiracist tips and strategies to be used by the club to battle racism. This antiracist fans' group has inspired a number of other English fan groups like "Foxes Against Racism" at Leicester City (Garland and Rowe 74).

In 1993, the campaign succeeded in producing its own anti-racism statement: "If you are discriminating against someone, or abusing them because of their race or colour, you bang shame upon yourself. Fortunately soccer is showing the way. There are multiracial teams playing to multiracial crowds" (qtd in. Garland and Rowe 76). Although there were plenty of limitations and mistakes involved, Leeds Fans United Against Racism and Fascism (LFUARAF) was one of the ground-breaking, locally-based initiatives that helped transform English football (Garland and Rowe 77).

### 3.1.7. Football Unites, Racism Divides

Football Unites, Racism Divides (FURD) is a youth and social inclusion project charity. It was set up in 1995, by a group of Sheffield United fans concerned by the racist incidents taking place in and around the stadium. It worked locally, nationally and internationally on increasing the participation of ethnic minorities. The organisation carried out an educational project with children schools to stand against racism in English football (Kassimeris 49).

The campaign used a strategy of delivering programmes to pupils in schools, colleges and even to citizens. The programmes contained anti-racist educational instructions and recommendation, in addition to cultural books, DVDs, posters and magazines with the purpose of spreading Football Unites, Racism Divides' messages and to combat racism and increase understanding between different communities (Kassimeries 196).

Kick it Out members conducted a survey where they asked football spectators what they know about organisations that fight racism in football. The results revealed that Kick it Out was the most known organisation and Show Racism the Red Card came in the second place. The other organisations turned to be less known as the table below demonstrates.
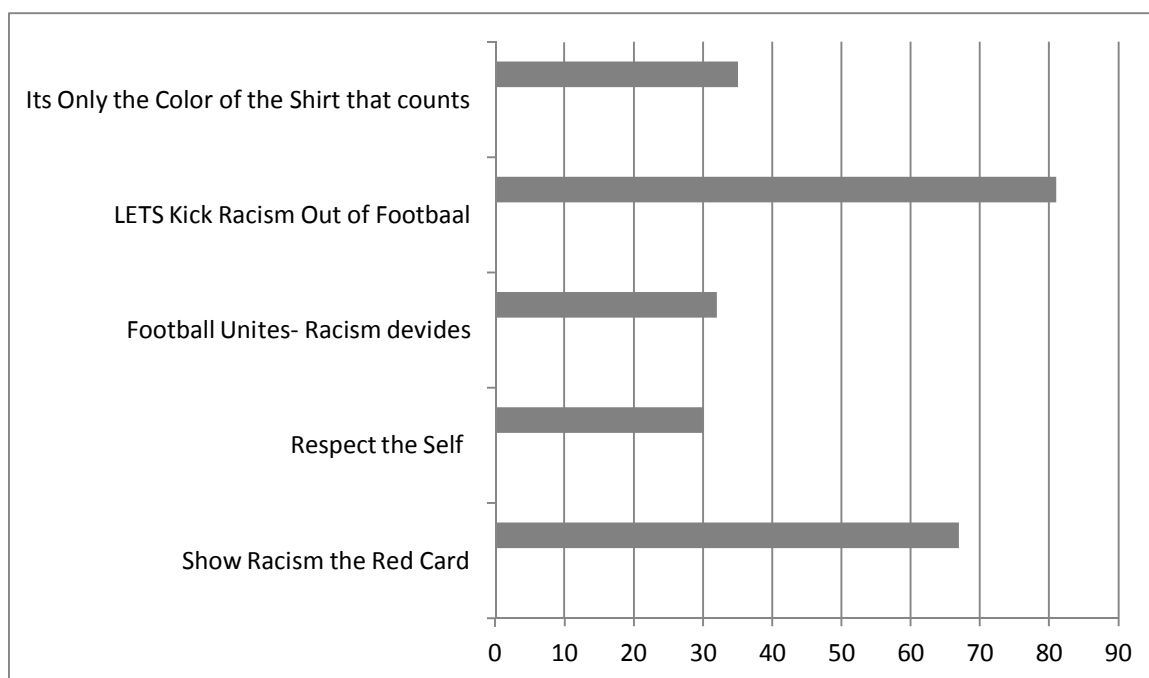
**Fig.1:** Awareness of Campaigns from : Long, Jonathan. et al. *Part of the Game? An Examination of Racism in Grassroots Football.* Report Prepared for Kick It Out by the Centre for Leisure and Sport Research. CLSR, 2000. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/29018993.pdf. Accessed 26 Feb. 2020)

These different anti-racism projects relied on direct action. Their campaigns against racism in football resulted in the successful introduction of a trans-national legislative or policy framework, which led to the decrease of racism in soccer. In this respect, the Independent Football Commission (IFC) was pleased with the evident improvement in fighting racism in the English football that in its 2008 final report it mentioned the huge progress made in a short period of time. The Commission remarked that: "Indeed, the IFC feels that football can be looked upon as a shining example of how diversity and equal opportunities can be integrated into an area that is both a workplace and a source of entertainment for hundreds of thousands of people (46).

**3.2. The Current Situation of Racism in Football**

In England, racist chanting at matches still occurs, but at nowhere near the intensity it reached in the past decades, when black players were repeatedly addressed with monkey-

sounds and bananas. The recent decline in racist behaviour at football grounds may be attributed in part to campaigns conceived to combat racism, such as the Kick it Out campaign.

The problem is certainly being taken seriously in England where a number of initiatives have been launched. In other countries in Europe, there are some incidents which prove that the problem of racism in football is still prevailing. In many cases, however, Nazi symbols and slogans are still used with the sole purpose to upset and irritate, without any fundamental political fervour.

### 3.2.1. The Case of Racist Abuse in the Match between Bulgaria and England

The most recent racial incident against black players of England's national football team took place in the European Championship 2020 qualifier match in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, on 14 October 2019. The match stopped t two different times because of racial abuse including monkey noises and Nazi salutes from Bulgarian fans towards some of England's black players (McNulty). English players and coaches condemned the racist incident, and the victory and qualification was their answer to the situation.

### 3.2.1.1. England's Reaction

The English team condemned the Bulgarian fans' actions and decided to keep playing. In a BBC Radio 5 Live interview England manager Gareth Southgate commented: "We had to prepare for this eventuality. The most important thing was the players and staff knew what we were going to do and were in agreement. Nobody should have to experience what our players did. We followed the protocol. We gave two messages - one that our football did the talking and two, we stopped the game twice". England defender Tyrone Mings, who was the man of the match, said to BBC Radio 5 Live:

> It was a great night for me personally. It was a really proud moment in my career. I
>
> hope everyone enjoys this moment and it isn't overshadowed. I am proud of how we
>
> dealt with it and took the appropriate steps. I could hear it as clear as day. It doesn't

affect me too much. I feel more sorry for those people who feel they have to have

those opinions" and he added: "I am very proud of everyone for the decisions we

made. It's important not to generalise the whole country. It was a minority, not a

representation of the country. (qtd. in McNulty)

The Sports Minister, Nigel Adams, wrote a letter to the UEFA President, Aleksander

Ceferin, to note that racism in football is far away from vanishing, and the racist event

between England and Bulgaria affirms that UEFA should double they efforts to completely

get rid of this issue in the beautiful game. He wrote down that "The terrible events last night

demonstrate clearly that much more needs to be done to stamp racism out of the game, once

and for all". Furthermore, he challenged the UEFA to interfere immediately and take serious

decisions: "I urge UEFA to take urgent action to ensure that all football authorities and fans

are clear that the consequences of failing to tackle this issue will be severe. The England team

has my full support and I welcome tough action from UEFA in response" he concluded

(Adams Letter).

Harry Kane the Capitan of the English national team criticized the UEFA ant-racism

protocol in these words: "Whether the UEFA protocol is strong enough, I am not sure. The

protocol at the moment allows there to be an announcement and two or three steps before the

players are taken off the pitch", he said. Furthermore, he rejected the existence of racism in

any form and recommended severe punishments, then he complimented the excellent

management of his team to the situation: "It is unacceptable to be racist once, so I feel there

can be stronger punishments and protocols but from our point of view as a team, we stuck

together, showed unity and did what we had to and that is the most important thing" (qtd. in

Mann-Bryans).

UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson declared his total rejection of racism inside football

and outside football saying: "The racism we saw and heard last night was vile and has no

place in football or anywhere else". He, then, proposed that UEFA should enlarge their strategies of fighting racism in football concluding that this issue should be solved: "UEFA need to face up to facts…This stain on football is not being adequately dealt with. Racism and discrimination must be driven out of football once and for all" (qtd. in Mann-Bryans).

### 3.2.1.2. The Bulgarian Response

After this incident, Prime Minister Boyko Borisov of Bulgaria compelled the president of Bulgaria's football federation to resign. Nevertheless, for Borisov and many other Bulgarians, the anger expressed by the fans was not a great revelation: Hate language and racist behaviours increased in Central Europe with the rise of nationalist parties in recent years (Santora and Schaverien).

Borislav Mikhailov, the president of Bulgaria's football association has resigned after the racial incident between Bulgaria and England. Yet, the Bulgarian union of football website did not include racism and race in the reasons of his resignation, but instead, they said: "His decision is a consequence of the tensions caused in recent days; an environment, which is damaging to Bulgarian football and to the Bulgarian football association" (Church and Mendonca).

### 3.2.1.3. The Reaction of Football Associations

After the Bulgarian fans' monkey chants, the Nazi salutes and the verbal abuse towards black players of England's national football team, indignation extended from the pitch to football officials and supporters around the world. For football's major associations, including UEFA and FIFA, which manage European and world football, the event called attention to the difficulties of combating the racist abuse of players of colour in an era of rising extreme right organisations around the world.

**3.2.1.3.1. UEFA's Reply**

After the misconduct of Bulgaria's fans in the match of the Euro qualifications against England, UEFA found the Bulgarian football federation guilty of racial practices. Santora and Schaverien wrote that the UEFA fined the Bulgarian federation 75,000 Euros, and punished the Bulgarian national football team to play one game behind closed doors because of these racist incidents.

UEFA insisted on their determination to get rid of racism in football. They revealed their unhappiness with the state of football in relation to racism in a statement made by UEFA president, Aleksander Ceferin, who considered the behaviour as detrimental and one that is stimulated by rising nationalism. He asserted that "UEFA is committed to doing everything it can to eliminate this disease from football. We cannot afford to be content with this; we must always strive to strengthen our resolve. Soccer teams and organizations needed support from governments to wage war on the racists and to marginalise their abhorrent views to the fringes of society" (Santora and Schaverien).

He also demanded from the whole family of football to work together to fight this unacceptable problem including coaches, players and associations:
"More broadly, the football family -- everyone from administrators to players, coaches and fans -- needs to work with governments and NGOs to wage war on the racists and to marginalize their abhorrent views to the fringes of society" he added. Finally he supports the collaboration between government and UEFA to fight racism "Football associations themselves cannot solve this problem. Governments too need to do more in this area. Only by working together in the name of decency and honour will we make progress". (Church and Mendonca)

The decisions made by the UEFA were harshly criticized by many international organisations and different football associations. FARE esteemed that UEFA quickly

responded to the issue but the punishment was insufficient. The FARE organisation spokesman commented:

> We welcome the speed of this decision but we are disappointed that Bulgaria will not be expelled from the Euro 2020 qualifying competition given their previous record and obvious inability to deal with the problems they face," he added: "We think that the evidence and circumstances of this match would have justified European football being given a stronger signal on the need to tackle racism. (qtd. in "Bulgaria Ordered...")

Similarly, Kick it Out managers argued that the UEFA reaction to the event raises questions about their ability to face racism in football. They disputed:

> We are disheartened but not surprised to learn of UEFA's response to the racist abuse directed at England players. In our view, they have missed an opportunity to send an uncompromising message on racism and discrimination. The current sanctions, however 'tough' UEFA think they may be, are clearly not working and leave victims with little faith in their ability to prevent abusive behaviour. (qtd. in "Bulgaria Ordered...")

They went so far as to demand clarifications for the decisions made by the UEFA: "We feel UEFA's entire disciplinary process in response to racial discrimination should be overhauled, and urge them to explain the decision-making process behind their sanctions for incidents of discrimination" (qtd. in "Bulgaria Ordered...").

### 3.2.1.3.2. FIFA's Response

FIFA has always insisted on all member associations, leagues, clubs and punitive instances to assume a zero-tolerance policy to events related to racism in football, and to use severe sanctions for such type of behaviour. On 13 April 2019, about six months before the Sofia racial incidents; FIFA President, Gianni Infantino, declared:

We will continue to be at the forefront of the fight against racism and we guarantee to all our member associations that they have our full support in taking up this challenge. We will not hesitate to do everything in our power to eradicate racism, and any other form of discrimination, from football, at any level and anywhere in the world. ("Statement by the FIFA President on Racism ...")

Recurring racist incidents impelled FIFA's President Gianni Infantino to call for action to force out racism once and for all. In a speech on 24 September 2019, at his federation's annual, The Best awards, Infantino endorsed:

I want to say this here in Italy, in my country. Yesterday, again, we have witnessed in the Italian championship an example of racism. This is not acceptable any more. We have to say this. We have to say no to racism, in whatever form. No to racism in football, no to racism in society. But we don't have just to say it. We have to fight against it. We have to kick racism out once and for all in Italy and in the rest of the world. Out of football and out of society. (Farrell)

Following the racial events which happened in Bulgaria during the UEFA Euro 2020 qualifier match that opposed Bulgaria to England, FIFA once again revealed its readiness to expand sanctions that a confederations or member associations inflict as a reaction to racist incidents. FIFA President, Gianni Infantino, also expressed his sadness about the current situation of football, saying:

So many times we say there is no place for racism in football, but nonetheless we still face challenges to tackle this problem in our sport, as we do in society. We will need the support of public authorities to help us identify and punish the culprits but we probably also need to think more broadly on what we can do to fix this. When we proposed the three-step procedure in 2009 when I was at UEFA, and then made the regulations even tougher a few years later, we could not have imagined that so shortly

> thereafter we would again be having to think of how to combat this obnoxious disease
>
> that seems to be getting even worse in some parts of the world. ("Statement Following
>
> Racist Incidents in Bulgaria")

FIFA reiterated its firm stand to carry on the fight against racism and its willingness to fully support member associations engage in this challenge. The aim is to eradicate racism and any other form of discrimination from football in the whole world.

## 3.3. Does Racism still Exist in Football?

Racism remains one of the most widespread anti-social behaviours connected with football. From continued abuse directed at black players to many fans calling for their clubs to only sign white European players, racism remains a persistent problem in European football. In England, racist chanting at matches still happens, but not at the levels it reached in the 1970s and 1980s, when black players were often addressed with monkey-noises and bananas.

The latest decline in racial abuse in the English football is in part attributed to the various campaigns intended to combat racism and segregation, such as the Let's Kick Racism Out of Football campaign. The achievement of these initiatives is difficult to calculate, but England has certainly seen a recent decrease in racist behaviour at football grounds.

Elsewhere in Europe there are some obvious signs that the problem is more persistent. The trouble is actually under scrutiny across Europe, and a number of important initiatives have been initiated to get rid of racism in football. While the actual campaigns in different countries have achieved some success, there are also calls for a more organized, pan-European approach to combat racism. For racism to be eradicated from the game, it requires action from all sectors of football. This includes the fans themselves, governing bodies, media, politicians and players.

Racism in football still exists and the mentioned recent incidents prove that. The 2019 Home Office data revealed that racism, less in England and more in continental Europe, is

increasing in a frightening way. The chart below indicates the growth of the problem of

racism in England from 2013 to 2019. The reported incidents to the police are obviously

increasing, especially during the year of 2019 which reached the top incidents ever reported in

the past (Waitzman 2).
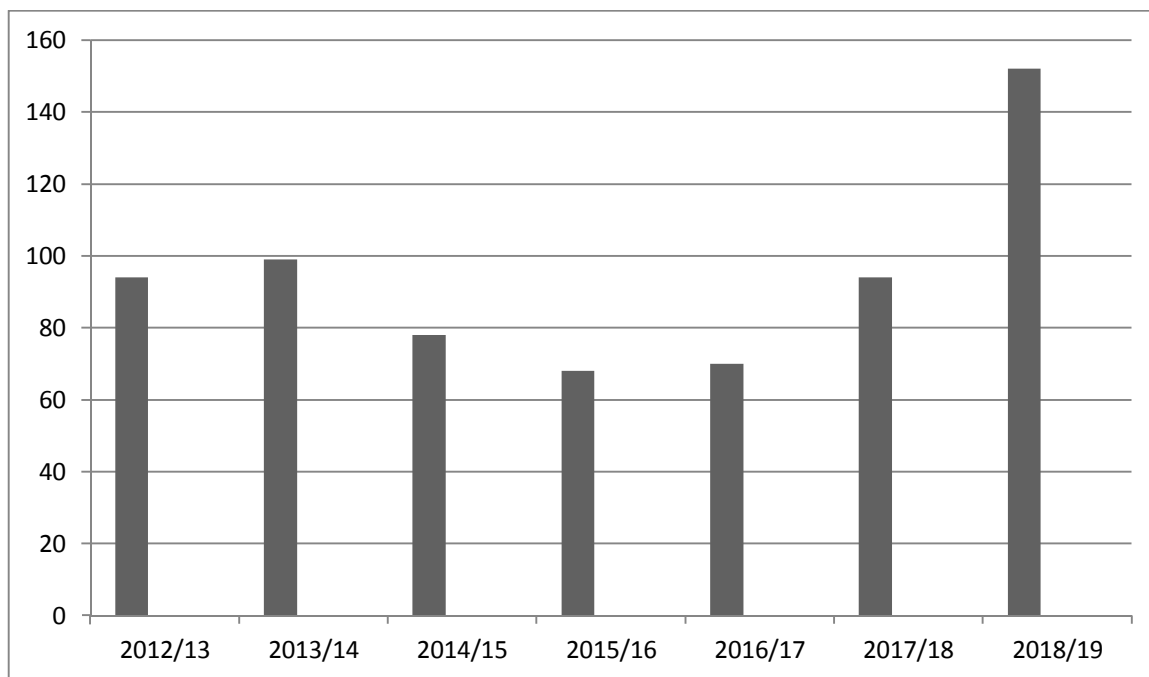


**Fig. 2** Number of Police Reported Football-Related Racist Incidents, 2012/13–2018/19 from:

Waitzman, Eren. "Racism in Football: Tackling Abusive Behaviour". UK Parliament. House

of Lords Library. Library Briefing, 14 January 2020.

https://lordslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/lln-2020-0012/. Accessed 12 Aug. 2020.

Again, as chart 2 indicates, the kick it Out last statistics about the discriminatory racial

incidents in football during the 2018/19 season showed that most of the abusive accidents

documented are based on race which represents 65 percent of all cases. Faith based

discrimination incidents, as Islamophobia, also increased from 36 cases to 63 cases, that is

to say an increase of 75 percent compared to the previous year. Racial incidents on the

social media ostensibly rose from 520 cases to 581 incidents which mean an increase of

12 percent ("Discrimination Reports in Football Rise by a Third").

The above figures show that racism is still a serious problem that necessitates a real effort on the part of many levels of society and its institutions. Accordingly, authorities need to engage in projects that show the impact of racism and abuse to fans, coaches, and managers.
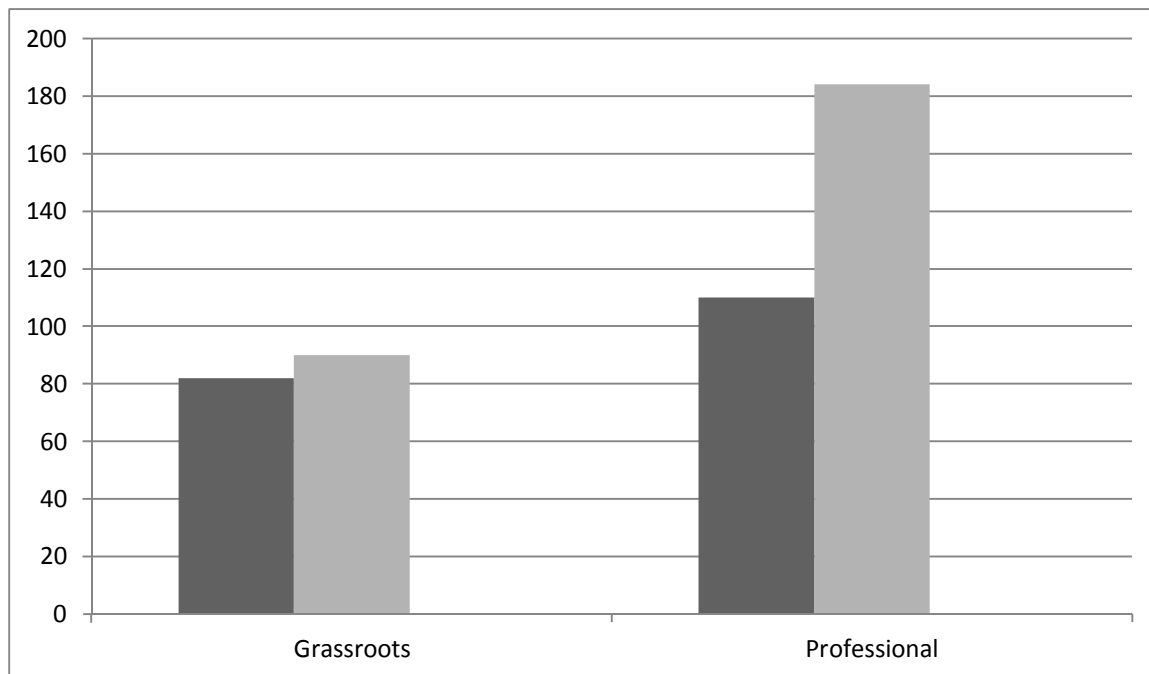


**Fig.3** Racist Discrimination in Grassroots and Professional Football Reported to Kick It Out, 2017/18–2018/19  From: Long, Jonathon. et al. *Part of the Game? An Examination of Racism in Grassroots Football.*  Report Prepared for Kick It Out by the Centre for Leisure and Sport Research.  CLSR, 2000. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/29018993.pdf. Accessed 26 Feb. 2020.

England, like the rest of the world, devoted many efforts to fight racism in its football arenas and football playing grounds. In this respect, many organisations and associations mushroomed to combat this phenomenon, like Kick It Out and Show Racism the Red Card. They tried hard, using many techniques to get rid of this issue, yet their efforts did not totally eradicate the problem. The latest racial incidents that happened in the match that opposed Bulgaria to England demonstrated that racism in football is still prevalent and the fight against it is not over.

In spite of the efforts made and resources provided over the precedent decades, football racism is still viewed by government officials, media and football actors as an alarming social problem. Questions such as how to comprehend or clarify racist behaviours continue to haunt scholars. At the same time, the general public, in particular lovers of the football game continue to require immediate answers and solutions.

## Conclusion

Racism in general has a long and complex history, based on and influenced by different historical, social and cultural factors like religion, politics, identity and territory, that continues to exist in many-sided ways in different European countries. This phenomenon has been embedded in the practice of football since a long time ago. Football associations are singled out to be the only major sport in the world to be continually afflicted by racism of some form, whether instigated by supporters, players and even managers.

As mentioned previously, social class has been a significant factor in England. Started in England, football went through periods of unrest and disorder in the late 1970s and 1980s as a new generation of black players appeared in professional football clubs to be met with racist abuse from fans. Indeed, the migration of black players into different leagues across the world resulted in an increase in the number of black players competing in professional football since the 1980s.

England in particular and Europe in general have a history of marginalising and racially abusing players of diverse backgrounds in football playgrounds. For example, there have been only a few black players selected to play for European national teams. There has been also a lack of black and minority ethnic representation at the level of organisational leadership in football. Nowadays, however, though there is a reluctant acceptance of racism on the pitch, and the overt expression of racist attitudes by white people in football is no longer seen as socially acceptable, racism still exists in football in the wider European society.

Football authorities have remained passive towards race and racism. For example, UEFA, and the players' trade union in England, the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA), have faced criticism for the way they deal with black players' racist abuse. Given widespread criticism towards its anti-racism policy, UEFA and FIFA implemented sanctions for countries

and teams that cannot contain the behaviour of their staff, players, fans or coaches. However, racism remains problematic, particularly in mainland Europe.

Accordingly, the present dissertation explored the complex issue of racism in the game of football to explain the sources, development and reasons for the existence and persistence of racism in football. It also highlighted the different anti-racism initiatives from government, players, clubs and fans, and football organisations such as the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) and the Federation International de Football Association (FIFA).

It emphasised how the lack of action by football authorities or clubs against racism, pushed many activists including football fans, to set up different anti-racism campaigns and also confirmed the need for anti-racism to be backed by the whole society. They reasoned that society as a whole would benefit from sustained policies on anti-racism. Their initiatives were more than written documents or a display of anti-racist posters around and in stadiums. These anti-racism projects were put forward to challenge different forms of racism in and through football. They came as an important step to indicate that racism is no longer acceptable.

As a result, it is increasingly the standard for major football English associations to have equality policies. English anti-racism organisations continually struggled for survival and were able to expand their views. Kick It Out, for instance, made some progress in persuading professional football clubs to take racial equality more seriously. Consequently, they felt empowered to assume the government's broad equality agenda and worked with clubs to encourage equality on the basis of gender, sexuality, disability, religion and age.

As shown in the body of the dissertation, empirical evidence from England suggests that racism has never left English football. The regular coverage given to examples of racism from across Europe highlights how football remains an environment where perceptions and expressions towards race continue to be displayed. In this way, football continues to be viewed as a symbol of social division and exclusion.

Particularly in light of the strong principles of equality professed by the European Union, it is believed that racism in football should be embattled through European legislation, which should impose on member countries a series of binding commitments monitored through national legislative bodies. For the rest of the world, a successful European policy of anti-racism in sport should form the basis of international agreements at the level of the United Nations, backed by International Sport Associations such as FIFA and the IOC.

It is through football's governing bodies, players and fans own responsibility to football that they can develop a concern to encourage change in the interest of social justice. The prospect of successful change becomes more possible if those prepared to be part of the anti-racism project realise that they have to operate in collaboration to spreading an awareness of a wider movement for social change.

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