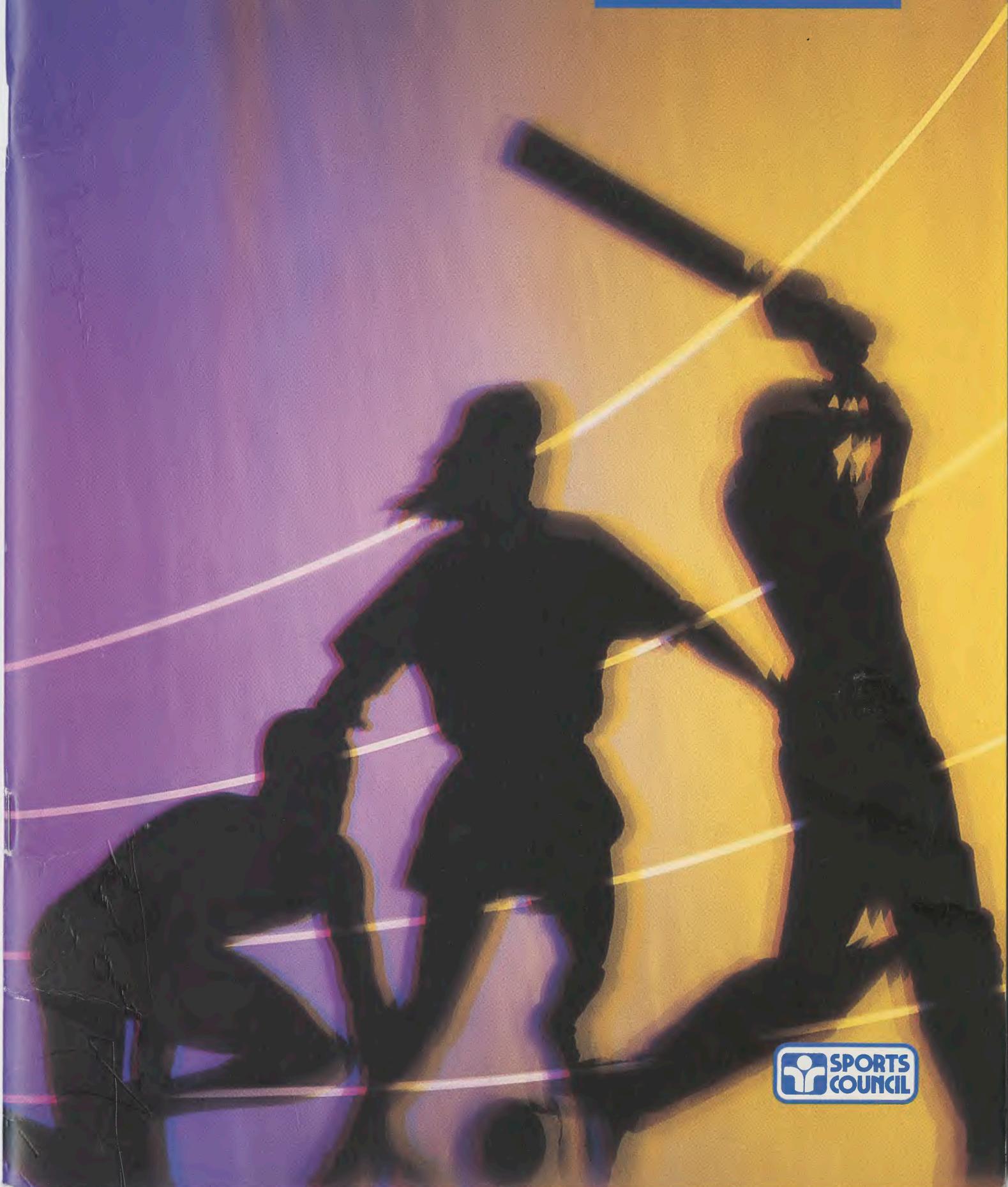


BLACK AND ETHNIC

MINORITIES AND SPORT

Policy and objectives



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Foreword

Sport in the United Kingdom needs a vision to guide its future development - a vision which, if it is to be realised, must be shared by the multitude of organisations involved in sports administration.

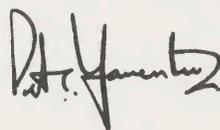
For twenty-one years, the GB Sports Council has attempted to construct a strategic framework in which sport can prosper. In 1982, 1988 and 1993 (*Sport in the nineties - new horizons*) strategic statements have been published taking stock of where we are and where we would like to be. These have been complemented by similar reviews in Scotland, currently *Sport 2000* and in Wales *Changing times - changing needs*. The ten English Regional Councils for Sport and Recreation which are serviced by the Sports Council have been producing periodic strategies since 1976. Local authority recreation strategies are increasingly common and governing bodies produce four-year development plans for their sports. Thus, the broad scope of national strategy is supported by the finer mesh of regional, local and sports-specific plans. The Council's strategy is underpinned by a wide range of tactical documents covering specialist areas such as recreation management, countryside and water recreation, facility design and doping control. These must reflect consistent policies based on people's needs and aspirations. Their essential philosophy is the pursuit of genuine sport for all.

To advance genuine sport for all, we need policies based upon the specific circumstances and needs of different individuals. Black and ethnic minority communities, young people, the elderly, women, men, those with disabilities, the exceptionally talented, all need policies and programmes that are geared to their specific needs and circumstances.

This policy points to the way in which black and ethnic minority people can be enabled to become more involved in sport at all levels and in all roles. This will only be achieved if different organisations and individuals - in sport, education, in local authorities and voluntary organisations - work together to ensure that the needs and aspirations of Britain's black and ethnic minority communities are genuinely served and met.

The Sports Council celebrates the achievements and contributions of our talented black and ethnic minority

sports performers, coaches, development officers, managers and administrators. Much work needs to be done to ensure that the discrimination and disadvantage which many still face is eliminated from sport.

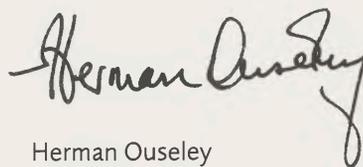


Sir Peter Yarranton
Chairman
The Sports Council

In 1993 the Commission for Racial Equality in conjunction with the Professional Footballers' Association began to challenge racism in football through the campaign 'Let's Kick Racism out of Football' with the support of the Football Association, the Football League and the Carling Premiership. A similar campaign involving the Scottish Football Association and the Scottish Professional Footballers' Association was launched in Scotland in January 1994.

Football, as the national game, is a very important component of sport in Britain. However, there are many other sports which also afford opportunities to participate and receive enjoyment. Full access to any sport is restricted for black and ethnic minority people if racial disadvantage and discrimination are not acknowledged and challenged.

The Commission for Racial Equality therefore welcomes the opportunity to support the Sports Council's policy on black and ethnic minorities and sport. The Commission urges all those involved in providing sport to take full account of this policy and to help work towards racial equality in sport.



Herman Ouseley
Chairman
Commission for Racial Equality



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1 Introduction

The need for a strategic approach to the planning and development of sport is now well established. It is important to start with a vision which can be shared by all involved. The overall strategy proposed by the Sports Council can be summed up by the phrase 'Better Quality Sport for All'. The message is based on two key principles: sports development and sports equity.

Sports development is about ensuring that the pathways and structures are in place to enable people to learn basic skills, participate in sports of their choice, develop their competence and performance, and reach levels of excellence.

Sports equity is about fairness in sport, equality of access, recognising inequalities and taking steps to address them. It is about changing the culture and structure of sport to ensure that it becomes equally accessible to everyone in society, whatever their ethnic origin, age, gender or level of ability.

The broad strategy needs to be supported by policies which focus on specific parts of the vision. This publication concentrates on policies for black and ethnic minority people and sport which will guide the development and implementation of action plans. The process is demonstrated below:

This publication is organised in three main parts:

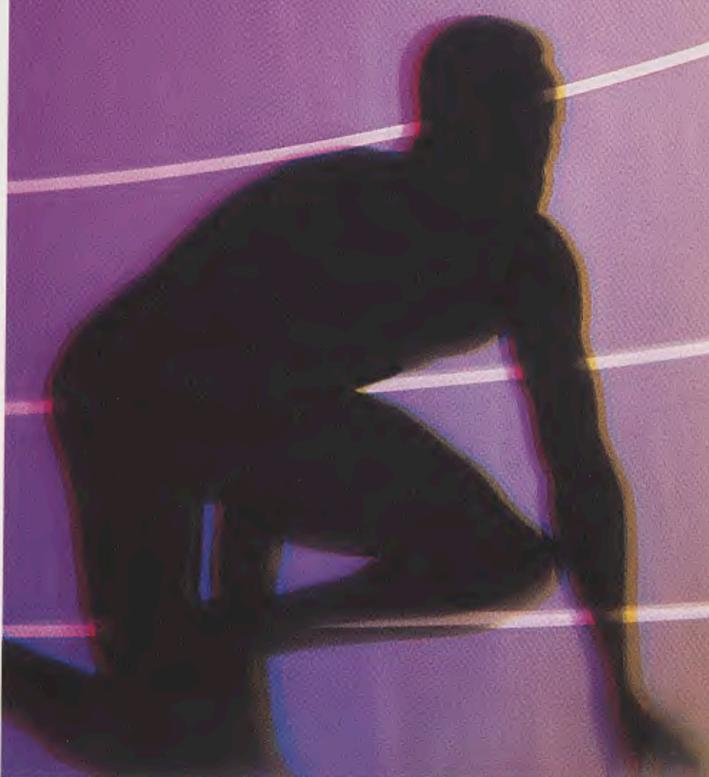
- a statement of the nationally agreed policy, its aim and objectives;
- an agenda for positive action for the development of racial equality programmes; and
- an Appendix which gives the background to the development of the policy and a summary of the evidence and information on which it is based.



2 Working towards racial

equality – a policy for black

and ethnic minorities



BACKGROUND

The ideal of 'Sport for All' is enshrined in the Sports Council's Royal Charter and it is a principle which has been widely accepted and adopted by the Council's partners.

It has long been recognised that sport does not treat black and ethnic minority people equitably. Over the past decade various initiatives have been undertaken to increase their participation, but little has been done to challenge the underlying causes of this inequity.

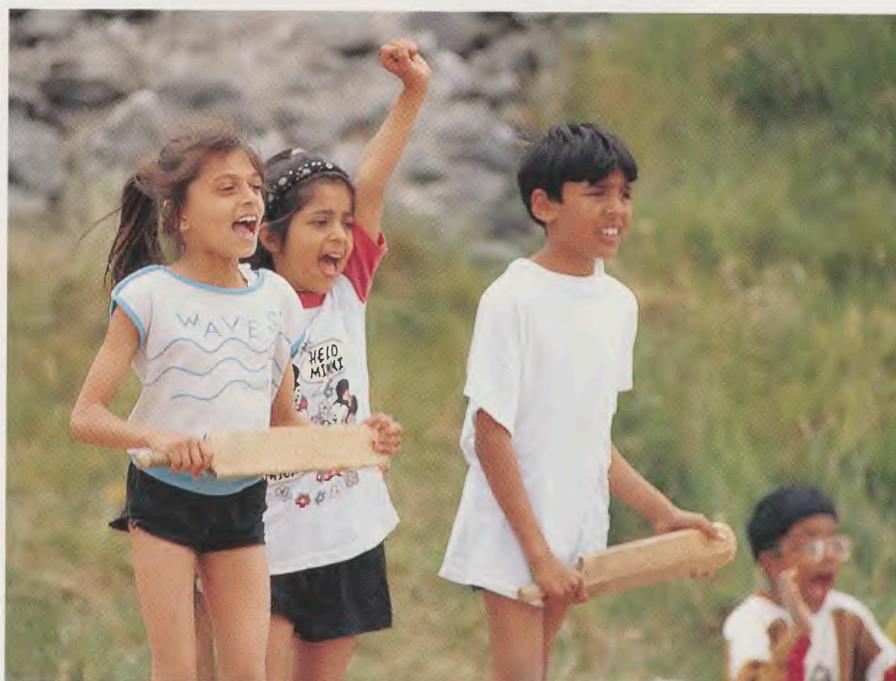
A clear and precise policy has not been established before. In July 1992 the Sports Council adopted a racial equality in sport policy, recognising that inequality is caused by racial disadvantage and discrimination and accepting the need for positive action to be taken to increase the involvement of black and ethnic minorities in sport at all levels and in all roles.

The Sports Council recognises that in order to achieve the policy aim and objectives the Council and its partners need to understand and accept the effects of racism in sport. Consequently the Council urges that all those involved in the provision of sport should develop or re-evaluate their own racial equality strategies. This document states the Sports Council policy and strategy and provides a framework for others to contribute to the achievement of racial equality in sport.

RACIAL EQUALITY POLICY STATEMENT

The Sports Council:

- recognises that ours is a multi-racial society and that black and ethnic minority communities have specific sports needs and aspirations;
- acknowledges that racial disadvantage and discrimination are still present in sport and are key factors which influence the nature and the extent of involvement in sport by black and ethnic minority communities and individuals;
- acknowledges that eliminating racial discrimination and disadvantage from sport is an on-going task and is committed to working towards the elimination of racism from sport, both as a Council and with its various partners;
- will take positive action to meet the sporting needs and aspirations of black and ethnic minorities and will also encourage its partners in pursuit of these objectives.



THE AIM

To work towards the elimination of racial disadvantage and discrimination in order to achieve better quality sport for black and ethnic minority people.

POLICY OBJECTIVES

Six objectives have been identified:

Objective 1: To raise awareness of racial inequality, and its impact on access to sport, among the members and/or staff of all relevant organisations and create an ethos, backed up by policies and management structures, within which racism is unacceptable.

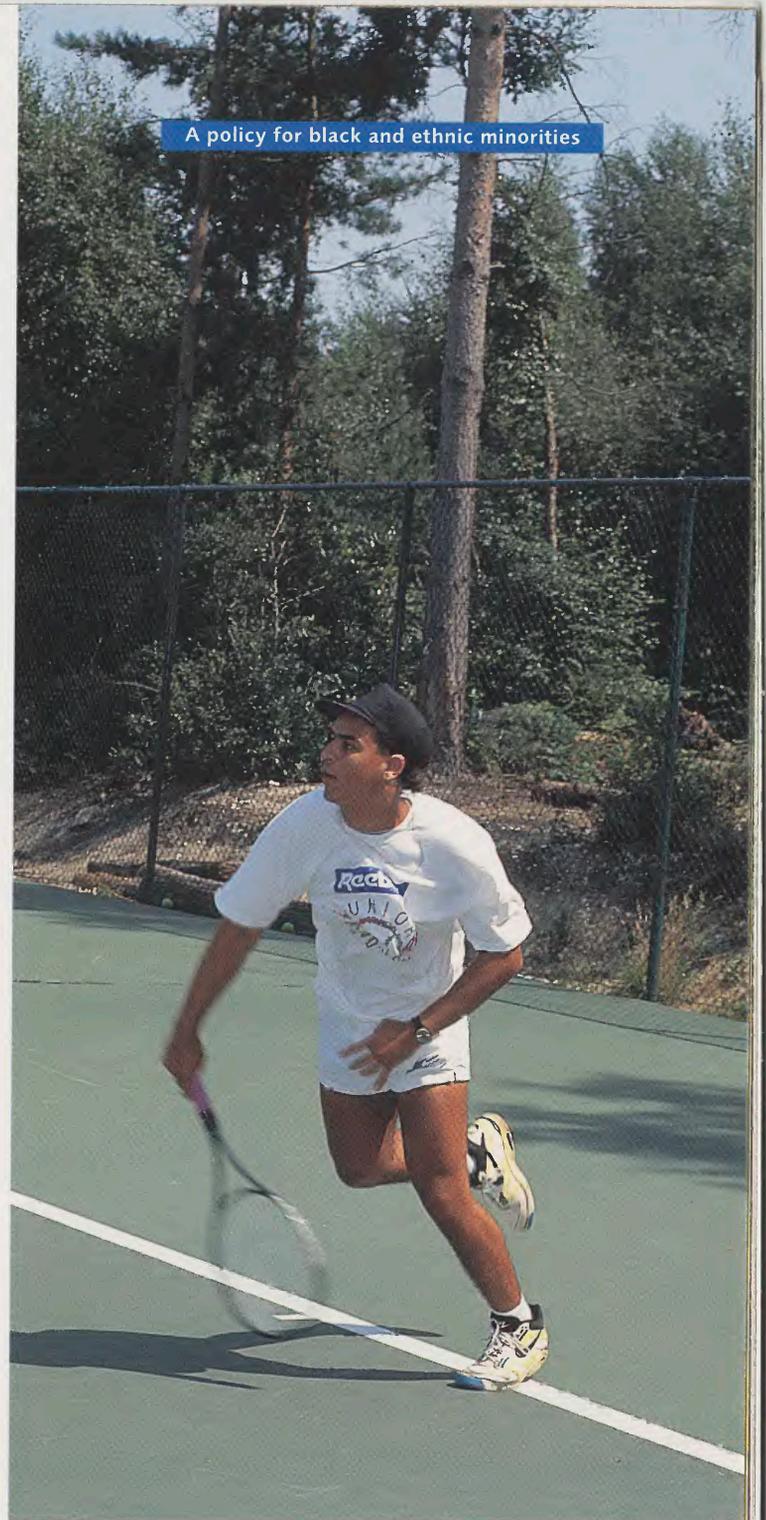
Objective 2: To increase the number of black and ethnic minority representatives and decision makers on committees in organisations.

Objective 3: To increase the number of black and ethnic minority personnel in organisations and to encourage them to reach senior positions. This could include facility managers, sports development officers, sports leaders, administrators/executives, coaches, officials, physical and sports educators, sports scientists and those working in the field of sports medicine and the sports media.

Objective 4: To ensure equality of opportunity for black and ethnic minority young people to acquire basic movement skills and to develop positive attitudes towards an active lifestyle.

Objective 5: To increase opportunities and reduce constraints to enable further black and ethnic minority participation in sport and active recreation.

Objective 6: To increase opportunities and reduce constraints to enable black and ethnic minority individuals to improve their levels of performance and reach publicly recognised levels of excellence.



The sports development continuum

Foundation

Learning basic movement skills, knowledge and understanding. Developing positive attitudes to physical activity. Becoming movement literate.



Participation

Exercising one's leisure option. Choosing to take part in sport for a variety of reasons: health, fitness, friends and fun.



Performance

Once talent has been identified, striving to improve standards through coaching, competition and training.



Excellence

Reaching national and publicly recognised standards of performance.



3 An agenda for positive action



An agenda for positive action

All agencies and agents in sport have a responsibility and can play a part in working towards the elimination of racial discrimination and disadvantage from sport. The translation of policies into practice is crucial and a collective effort is required. Action, not words, is the key and these actions will often be best introduced through partnership arrangements which acknowledge that the unique contribution of individual agencies can be enhanced through joint working to common objectives.

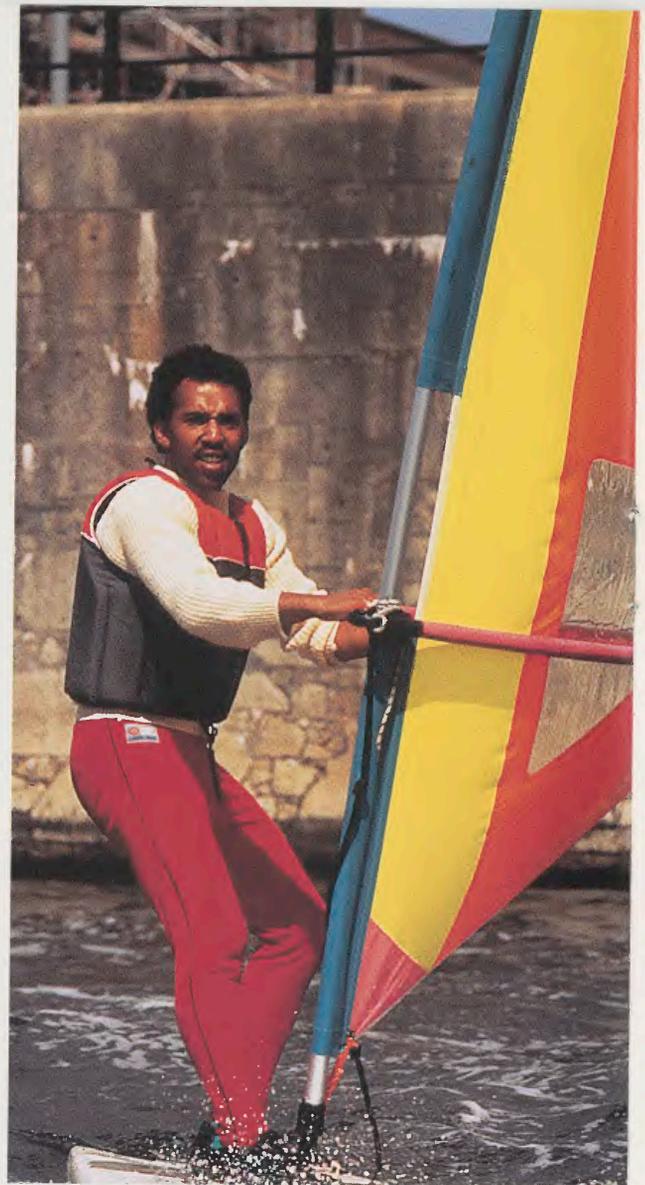
THE SPORTS COUNCIL – PRIORITIES AND PROPOSED ACTIONS

The three priorities that emerge from the policy for the Sports Council are to:

- accept its responsibility as an Equal Opportunities Employer;
- deliver its services in a manner which meets the specific needs and aspirations of black and ethnic minority communities;
- exercise its influence with its partners to work towards the elimination of racism, to overcome disadvantage and to promote good race relations in sport.

The actions which the Sports Council itself proposes to take are to:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Develop fully and implement a corporate equal opportunity policy to ensure that direct and indirect forms of discrimination are eliminated from employment practices and other personnel matters. | 4 Include racial equality objectives in development projects with partners, to increase access to sport at all levels and, specifically, to increase the number of black and ethnic minority coaches, leaders, sports development workers, managers and officials. |
| 2 Train all staff in respect of the detail and implications of the policy on racial equality. | 5 Ensure that appropriate advice and financial assistance are made accessible to community-led clubs and organisations in which black and ethnic minorities play sport. |
| 3 Establish formal mechanisms to consult black and ethnic minorities, through committees and advisory groups, and informally through 'sporting' networks in the field. | 6 Monitor, evaluate and publicise the results of initiatives to achieve racial equality undertaken directly or in partnership with others. |
| | 7 Disseminate information and advice on racial equality work to assist the process and practice of service delivery. |
| | 8 Encourage sports organisations to undertake a process through which racial equality policies are developed then positive measures taken. |



DEVELOPING POLICIES AND ACTION PLANS

All agencies developing policies and action plans should take account of the six main objectives identified for sport (page 7). The Sports Council recognises that several variables preclude it from declaring which specific actions are the most important for any organisation to undertake. The variables include the type and nature of the organisation, the resources available, the specific ethnic group being addressed, and the degree of understanding and commitment to racial equality which already exists.

All organisations, whether they have had a long involvement in racial equality work or whether this is a new field, can and should review or develop racial equality action plans. For some organisations their emphasis will be on increasing participation. For others it will be to train more coaches, or to ensure better representation on committees. All need to start by accepting that racial inequality does exist and that they need to consult widely to determine their own starting point to address this inequality. The process through which racial equality action plans are developed is:

- consultation and research to identify specific black and ethnic minority needs and aspirations on a geographical basis and in the context of particular sports;
- comprehensive monitoring of the existing involvement of black and ethnic minorities on a geographical basis and in particular sports (to be carried on and used as a measure of the usefulness of the positive measures developed);
- the formulation of policy and principles to guide organisational developments;
- the development of organisational awareness of racial disadvantage, the influence of cultural factors and the impact of racism;
- the planning of positive measures and the allocation or re-direction of resources towards both implementation and monitoring.

The Sports Council believes that if this process is followed in ascertaining what actions are most relevant for each organisation, the opportunity to create a better sport experience for black and ethnic minority people is

enhanced. Action plans which are developed in consultation both with black and ethnic minority communities and those responsible for delivering the plan will be more likely to produce positive results.

Why develop policies and action plans?

The Sports Council believes that the development of racial equality policies and action plans is justified on a number of grounds:

- There is a fundamental ethical imperative that all individuals should be treated equally and have equal access to sporting opportunities. This moral obligation is, in certain cases, given the force of law through the 1976 Race Relations Act.
- In terms of social welfare it is imperative to take action to improve the health of individuals and the cohesion and vitality of communities. Sport and recreation policies have key parts to play in both contexts.
- It is clearly important that the management of recreation in the public sector is underpinned by open access and equity and that valid commercial objectives are informed by an understanding of the potential market of black and ethnic minority sports participants.
- In seeking to develop sport in an equitable manner, public, voluntary and private sectors have a crucial interest in identifying, recruiting and nurturing talent among black and ethnic minorities. Not only will the quality of sports performance be enhanced but also the social, administrative and commercial infrastructure of sport can be expected to benefit.

What can be done?

The Council believes that specific measures which organisations may take in implementing their action plans will fall into two main types of initiative:

- **Anti-racism initiatives** within an organisation, seeking, where necessary, to alter attitudes, patterns of representation on decision-making bodies, employment profiles, and resource allocation. The objective should be to develop, from the inside, an organisational culture which understands the essential characteristics of a multi-racial society and is accessible to black and ethnic minorities. Examples would include racial equality

training programmes, anti-racism codes of conduct, increased representation of black and ethnic minority people on committees, and recruitment strategies based on positive action.

● **Community development initiatives** which recognise that existing sports structures do not currently respond to all black and ethnic minority needs and which acknowledge the impact of racism and of racial and cultural differences. Black and ethnic minority-led clubs and organisations may need support to develop their own initiatives. Other sports organisations may need to act as enablers rather than direct providers but partnership and consultation are fundamental principles which must underpin any development programmes. Examples would be black and ethnic minority-specific coaching programmes, grant-aid to sports clubs, and specific sessional activity in sports centres or on an outreach basis.

These measures are complementary and need to be developed to aid the process of working towards racial equality in sport. In order to meet some objectives one method may be more appropriate than the other. No organisation which works towards racial equality can ignore either method. All actions taken will need to be constantly monitored. Positive outcomes and negative experiences should inform the on-going task of policy development and action planning.

The adoption of a racial equality programme is in recognition of the fact that the sporting needs of black and ethnic minority groups have not been met because of past discrimination and disadvantage. Positive measures are not, therefore, about discriminating against white people, but are aimed at achieving equality of access to sports facilities and services for all groups, irrespective of colour, race or nationality.

CONCLUSION

Much remains to be done in pursuit of better sport for all black and ethnic minorities.

The challenges of sports equity and sports development are often unmet despite the notable successes of many black sportsmen and sportswomen.

It is for all those agencies in the public, private and voluntary sectors who can play their part, both individually and together, to recognise and accept their responsibilities in promoting true equality of opportunity. The Sports Council urges sports organisations to consider how access to opportunities is denied to black and ethnic minorities (described in the Appendix) and to begin to take positive measures to overcome these obstacles.

In this policy statement the Sports Council seeks to play its part in opposing racism and achieving better quality sport for black and ethnic minority people.



Appendix – Background to

policy development



Background

The Sports Council's policy 'Black and Ethnic Minorities and Sport' is the result of the Council's decision in March 1989 to:

'consider further, publish and implement a clear policy for its work with ethnic minorities.'

In July 1992 the Council accepted the policy statement recognising that inequality of opportunity in sport is a reality for many black and ethnic minorities and that it had a duty to work towards the elimination of racial disadvantage and discrimination within its sphere of influence, to oppose racism and promote good race relations within sport.

The Sports Council recognises that, at the individual level, sport has been a vehicle both for social advancement and for personal fulfilment for many from black and ethnic minority communities and has often helped promote better race relations. The Council, however, has also identified that for many black and ethnic minority individuals, access to sport is still disproportionately restricted.

The Sports Council has come to this view as the result of its own policy review and consultation process. In March 1989 the Sports Council accepted a paper *Sport in a multi-cultural society* which drew attention to the fact that much of the intervention work with black and ethnic minority communities with which it had been associated was based on an insufficient understanding of their needs and aspirations, and that neither the Sports Council nor its partners had consulted widely enough.

As a consequence a working group was established to review all the available evidence and to consult more widely. Evidence was available from a number of reports produced by the Sports Council, and Regional Councils for Sport and Recreation and other publications and research documents. These are referred to later in the Appendix. From this work an initial report was drawn up and a process of consultation undertaken. This included the holding of a seminar in 1991 and a series of meetings with individuals, including recreation managers, sports development officers, race relations workers and researchers in the field.

The review process confirmed that whilst the Sports Council and others had made a substantial contribution to outreach and intervention work, through projects like Action Sport which had some impact upon participation at a local level, it had not addressed how racial discrimination in sport affects the overall involvement of black and ethnic minority people in all contexts and roles.

The main conclusions of the review of existing research and project work were:

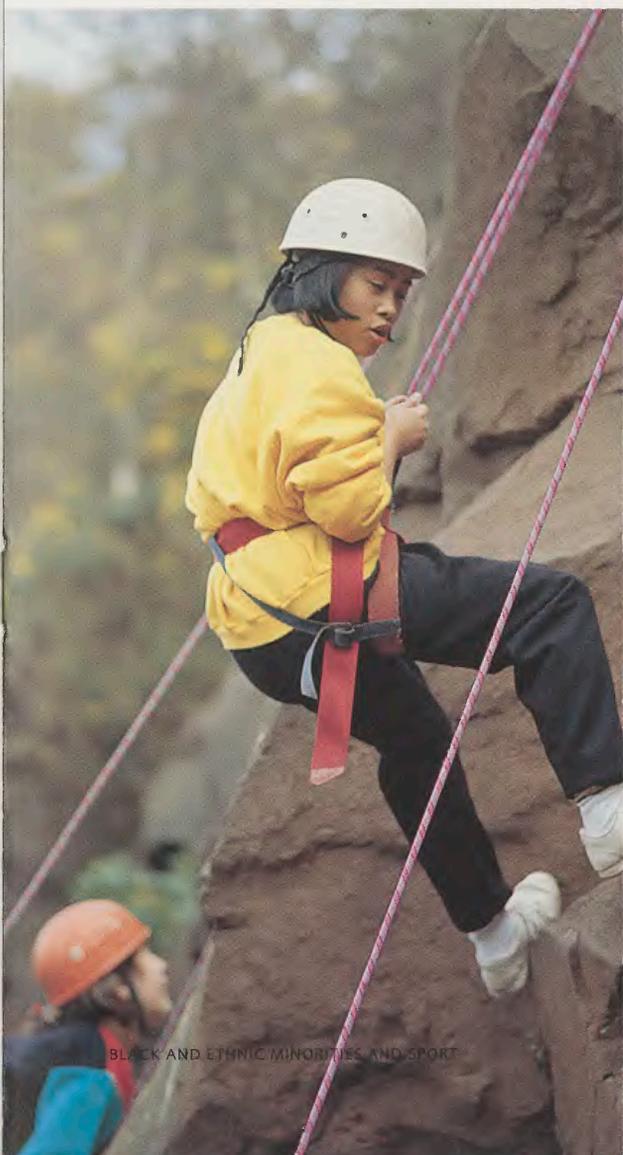
- Personal and institutional racism is still prevalent in sport and manifested both directly and indirectly.
- Black and ethnic minorities are under-represented in all areas of decision-making including sports management, coaching, administration and other sports-related employment.
- The sporting needs and aspirations of black and ethnic minorities are not fully understood.
- Too few resources are being targeted specifically to address racial inequalities by all providers and enablers.
- There is insufficient consultation by all agencies with black and ethnic minorities and a failure to plan with, as well as for, different communities.
- Information for planning the delivery of sport and recreation services is generally inadequate.
- It is necessary to ensure that development work is correctly focused and that its positive outcomes are sustainable.

Working towards racial equality in sport is a long-term process. It needs to begin with a wider understanding and acceptance of the existence of racial inequality and a public commitment to oppose racism in sport. Access to full involvement as player, coach, manager or administrator needs to be further opened up to black and ethnic minorities so that they can receive the full benefits of sport and contribute to its development.

It has become clear that in spite of the articulation of some policies at regional level and the development of information packages based on local programmes of service delivery and action-research work, the majority of decision makers have little understanding of the sporting needs and aspirations of black and ethnic minorities. They are not fully aware of how disadvantage and discrimination restrict access to sport, nor how they can

plan as providers and enablers to open up access to sport to black and ethnic minorities.

In order to extend the sporting franchise – that is, to enable involvement in sport at all levels and in all roles – racial equality policies must be developed and sufficient resources must be set aside within carefully planned and monitored programmes to enable a process of sustainable development to take place. Planning needs to occur at every level in consultation with black and ethnic minorities and to recognise that a multi-racial society requires pluralistic provision and, in the longer term, more representative structures.



BLACK AND ETHNIC MINORITIES AND SPORT

Access to sport

Access to 'Sport for All' is not a reality for many black and ethnic minority people. It is restricted by various social, economic and cultural factors. It has long been recognised that socio-economic status has had an effect on black and ethnic minority involvement in sport. There has also been some awareness amongst leisure providers that cultural lifestyles have some bearing on participation. In recent years the London Strategic Policy Unit (1988), the London Council for Sport and Recreation (1989), the Local Government Training Board (1990) and the West Midlands Council for Sport and Recreation (1990) have all published policy papers which highlight the factors which restrict access to sport for black and ethnic minority people, and which have brought to the attention of sports policy makers and providers the effects of racism on sports participation.

Research shows that there are several factors which impact differentially on black and ethnic minority access to sport which providers need to understand. These factors will vary in their effect on individuals and groups. They are not mutually exclusive and in the local context, and in specific sports, their relationship and effect need to be understood before an equitable recreation service can be planned and provided.

Socio-economic factors

Many social research studies indicate that racial inequality is prevalent in British society. Black and ethnic minorities remain disadvantaged in education, employment, housing and in the legal system. There is evidence that much of this inequality has arisen from personal and institutional racism. It remains the case that access to the full benefits of society for the majority of black and ethnic minority people remains restricted, in spite of race relations legislation and the good intentions of a number of individuals, public and voluntary bodies.

Black and ethnic minorities, faced with discrimination in the labour market, are twice as likely to be unemployed compared to their white counterparts (1991 Employment Department Labour Force Survey). Further, there is some evidence that white and Chinese people are up to four times more likely to gain well-paid jobs in business and the professions than people from other ethnic minorities with the same qualifications.

The *General household surveys* show a constant factor impacting on participation in sport to be socio-economic status. The *Sport and active recreation provision in inner cities report* (1989) rightly suggests that many people have other more pressing needs to address, but for many who wish to take part in sport, access is denied because of inappropriate and/or expensive provision. Leisure cards and/or other forms of public subsidy are clearly very important to people with very little disposable income. Socio-economic status is clearly a major influence on participation in sport and it also has a negative effect on access to high-level performance when cost of access to specialist facilities is high.

Socio-economic disadvantage is also likely to have a detrimental effect on recruitment to voluntary and professional roles in sports coaching and administration. Access to coach education is increasingly costly, as the process becomes more sophisticated and refined. Some public and voluntary providers have seen black and ethnic minorities as key elements in their coach education strategies and have applied appropriate subsidies.

Cultural lifestyles

There are some factors within black and ethnic minority cultures which restrict access to sport at an individual level. For example, Asian definitions of work and leisure (Sports Council 1991) mean that there is a tendency to relegate the importance of sport behind work, education, religious duties and family life. The need for modesty among Asian women (*Asian women and sport, 1988*) means that many will only play sport in an all-women environment. It is dangerous, however, to over-generalise as this can lead to stereotyping. Top level hockey players clearly give a tremendous amount of time and dedication to their sport and not all Asian women participate only in all-women environments. Black and ethnic minority group lifestyles are very fluid in British society and are influenced by a whole range of factors, not least socio-economic disadvantage, racism and stereotyping. There are elements of continuity and change within cultural boundaries and the needs and aspirations of local communities and individuals must be understood in any given context. The fact that football has become one of



the most popular sports for all ethnic group young males illustrates this point well. They participate most in the national sport of Great Britain, the country of their birth and upbringing.

Racism

One widely held assumption has been that racism has little impact on sport. The sporting achievements of Britain's black and ethnic minorities are quoted to support this belief. However, this argument, on the basis of a few specific cases, denies that racism contributes to the under-achievement, restricted participation and under-representation of the majority of black and ethnic minority people in sport. It further disguises the fact that those who have achieved success have often done so in spite of the existence of racism in sport. For example, Afro-Caribbeans now represent about 20% of all professional footballers, despite the racial abuse from spectators and fellow professionals, which was all too frequently expressed as their numbers increased and their contribution to the game became acknowledged at the highest level. The football clubs and authorities are only now beginning to oppose racism on a collective and organised basis. Widespread racism in society has led many Afro-Caribbean young people to attempt to use sport as a means of social mobility when other avenues have seemed to be closed, but they still have had to cope with racism in sport itself.

The Sports Council recognises that racism is present in sport and can appear in many forms. We define racism to be all actions (or inactions), policies and practices of individuals or organisations, whether deliberate or not, which create or sustain racial inequality. There are many forms of racism and different expressions of racism can be directed at specific ethnic groups. In sport there are individuals and organisations who deliberately discriminate against black and ethnic minority people. There are others who unintentionally discriminate, mainly because they fail to acknowledge how racial inequality, cultural variance and their own organisational behaviour restrict equal opportunities. Because many people in sport have understood racism to consist only of overt and deliberate forms of discrimination, more subtle and unintentional racism is often not even detected.

Racism can be categorised into two main forms:

- **Personal racism:** Racism promulgated by individuals in its many forms restricts access to sport. The *British crime survey* statistics show that

there were 130,000 racially motivated incidents in 1992. In the last two years there have been 14 racist murders. Whilst it is not known if, or how many, serious incidents have occurred in a sporting context, there is much anecdotal evidence of personal racism in many sports and in a range of facilities. In some localities simply getting to a sports facility may be considered dangerous. It is the case that many black and ethnic minority people do not feel that it is safe to attend football matches. Racism, however, is not always overt. It may take the form of simply making black and ethnic minorities feel that they are unwelcome or denying them access to membership of a club or to a position of management or coaching, on some pretext other than their ethnic origin. The Channel Four programme, *Great Britain United* broadcast in 1991 gave many examples of racism experienced by black footballers and supporters. Scott Fleming's chapter in *Sport, ethnicity and racism* (1991) details racism in school and youth sport. He concludes: "The common denominator (affecting Asian young males) is pervasive personal racism. It includes a whole range of phenomena from verbal abuse, through offensive graffiti, to physical violence, and it is the most prominent single factor shaping attitudes to sport and recreation".

- **Institutional racism:** The 'culture' of sports organisations in Britain is dominated by white males. There is no strong history of equal opportunities being given significant prominence in Britain's sporting life. While many assume that sporting opportunities are open to all, the very ethos or atmosphere of an organisation, team or group may act as a barrier to access. Hargreaves (*Sport, power and culture*, 1986) suggests, persuasively, that the image of a sport, activity or facility can act as a disincentive to black and ethnic minority people. Further, there is often little understanding of the needs of black and ethnic minority communities. Opportunities are not planned in accordance with need, or sufficiently resourced to succeed. Organisations continue to recruit people from similar backgrounds so that black and ethnic minority people do not feel included in decision-making processes. The very structure of organisations may continue to exclude black and ethnic minority people.

Racism has its historical origin in the crude expression of ideologies of racial superiority, that is, white people are superior to black, Asian or other racial groups. Whilst much of this form of racist ideology has disappeared it still finds expression by replacing racial groups with ethnic groups which are defined by cultural factors, for example, Muslims or Sikhs. Ethnic groups are classified as culturally inferior. 'Us and them' conflicts may be created and we exclude 'them' because they are different and/or inferior to 'us', or because they do not do things our way. Those who work towards racial equality accept that all groups are equal and that access to opportunities should be made available in such a way that the needs of individuals are respected.

One of the clearest examples of racism in sport is that of racial stereotyping with respect to athletic abilities. For example, the idea that Afro-Caribbeans cannot be high level performers in swimming because they are natural 'sinkers', or that Asians cannot play professional football because they are too small, or that Afro-Caribbeans are 'natural' sprinters and not likely to be good middle or long distance runners. Whilst it is understandable how these ideas grow and seem to be supported by the common sense evidence of observation, there is no biological evidence to support these beliefs (*Journal of sports history*, 1989). Performance is achieved in those sports which are accessible, in terms of facilities and quality coaching, and stereotyping itself restricts access to certain sports and disciplines.

Sport needs to recognise that racism is a regular, not isolated, life experience for many black and ethnic minority people. It finds expression in many forms – stereotyping, abuse, physical violence, exclusion from decision-making and lack of resources. Whilst many individuals feel that they are sometimes discriminated against, disadvantaged groups, in this case black and ethnic minority people, experience regular and systematic discrimination. These experiences inevitably affect their attitudes, behaviour and willingness to 'join in' sporting opportunities, ostensibly provided on an equal basis but which are, in fact, often inappropriate or inaccessible.

Many institutions, from government departments to voluntary organisations, are attempting to work towards the elimination of racial inequality by examining their own policies and practices and by ensuring that their own staff and members are required not to practise racism. Sports organisations have not generally followed this course of

action. In a presentation to a conference of the then Greater London and South East Council for Sport and Recreation in 1983, 'Special Needs, Special Measures', Herman Ouseley, now Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, focused on institutional racism in sport. It was clear to him that both the planning and delivery of recreation services were in the hands of those whose decisions and practices sometimes, unintentionally, ran counter to the interests of black and ethnic minority communities, who were rarely consulted about their needs. As a means of redressing this balance he, along with the Sports Council, Brixton College and the Greater London Council, established a training programme for local black youth to enable them to take up jobs in the new Brixton Sports Centre. His fundamental point remained – there had not been any previous consultation with the local community on their requirements for sports provision.

It must be recognised that there are some committed individuals, groups and organisations who have understood racism in sport and who work towards the elimination of racial inequality. In general, however, the unrepresentative nature of decision-making in sport, the inadequate and inequitable provision of resources, and the misunderstanding of the needs and aspirations of black and ethnic minorities have been fundamental barriers to their full involvement in sport.

The responsibility for working towards the elimination of racism in sport lies with the decision makers in every sporting organisation. All need to identify how socio-economic factors, lifestyle issues and racism affect involvement in sport. Policies which enable organisations to work towards racial equality and which contain achievable and sustainable action programmes will follow from this understanding.





Black and ethnic minority

participation – the evidence

It is unfortunate that the literature dealing with black and ethnic minority participation in the UK context is limited in both scope and detail. A number of studies are available from the USA but these are of doubtful relevance to Britain and are, for the most part, not included in this review.

A fundamental difficulty of definition has long been recognised and was articulated by the *Leisure provision and people's needs* study (1981) and by subsequent reports such as that by the London Council for Sport and Recreation (LCSR 1989). The term black and ethnic minorities is a general one, including within it a number of specific groups. The differences between, and even within, these groups are so significant as to make general conclusions suspect. There is little commonality between the life experience of a black young man and an older Asian woman. Even their experience of the racism which is undoubtedly endemic in British society will be different. A very recent Gallup survey reported in the *Independent* newspaper (26 October 1993) emphasises, yet again, the danger of underestimating racism in Britain. Of the representative sample surveyed, 27% would prefer not to live next to those of West Indian origin and 30% rejected the idea of having neighbours of Pakistani origin. One quarter of those surveyed said West Indians and Pakistanis provoked hostility by their behaviour. There is no room for complacency.

Participation patterns and trends

Large scale normative studies from which patterns and trends in black and ethnic minority participation can be identified are almost completely absent. Even analysis of the *General household surveys* (GHS) requires great care in view of the small sample sizes for black and ethnic minority communities. Compounded with these problems of sampling are the difficulties of disaggregating the sporting activities covered by the GHS, where sub-samples are small and many of the sports themselves are, for the most part, engaged in by less than 10% of the population as a whole.

Only very general statements, at the aggregate level, can therefore be made on the basis of the GHS. Analysis of the 1992 data by the Sports Council reveals that, if a criterion of one occasion in the last four weeks is adopted, 65% of white people had participated compared with 59% of those of Afro-Caribbean origin, 50% of those of Indian origin and 37% of those originating from Pakistan. Despite the reservations already noted it appears that rates of participation among some black and ethnic minority groups are indeed significantly lower than for comparable white groups.

Analysis of the GHS as a whole reveals that a constant factor associated with sport is socio-economic status. It is unclear, however, how this factor is related to ethnicity, beyond the simple observation that, since the majority of black and ethnic minorities are stratified in lower socio-economic groups, their rates of participation may be expected to be lower. This does not explain the variability of rates of participation between those of Afro-Caribbean and Pakistani origin nor the higher levels of usage observed in some local facilities as opposed to others when the demographic profiles of the catchments are similar.

Another factor typically associated with reduced rates of participation in the GHS data is gender. The evidence is, however, equivocal in view of the significant differences between indoor and outdoor participation among women. A disaggregation of participation rates for individual activities, with gender held constant, reveals that in a complex of indoor activities related to 'fitness' women are now taking part more regularly and in greater numbers than men. Evidence from other studies such as that by the Sports Council West Midlands Region (1988) and Manchester University (1992) would suggest, however, that black and ethnic minority women, especially Muslims, form a disproportionately small group within these committed and active sportswomen.

Much work remains to be done, within specific black and ethnic minorities, to enable participation patterns and trends to be identified. A complex process of disaggregation is required in terms of both sports and ethnic sub-groups and this demands samples of sufficient size. These have not hitherto been available at national level.

At more local level we now have access to some statistics from smaller studies, such as that conducted by Manchester University (1992), the Sports Council *Active*

lifestyles report (1989), the Scunthorpe Demonstration Project reports (1990, 1991), the *Action sport evaluation* (1986), the Griffiths and Veal study (1985) and GLC (1986) report *A sporting chance*.

Despite limited sample sizes the Manchester and *Active lifestyles* reports have begun to provide evidence of participation patterns and attitudes among black and ethnic minority youth. Fleming (in *Sport, racism and ethnicity* and in an unpublished PhD thesis 1993) has made a particular study of young people of school age and has provided especially valuable insights into both attitudes and behaviour among those of Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin. The IFER/DART (1981) study remains a valuable resource in its analysis of young Afro-Caribbean male leisure culture. Such studies provide a context within which those normative data which are available can be interpreted but more work is urgently required.

Griffiths and Veal (1985) quoted, among other studies, by the LCSR (1989) report, were among the first to explore black and ethnic minority participation in a number of key local authority sports centres in London. Their findings are of particular interest in being the first to be drawn from site-specific comparisons. The Manchester (1992) study has confirmed the continuing importance of public sector provision in black and ethnic minority participation. Over 50% of all such participation was in local authority facilities and much of the remainder was in publicly provided parks and open spaces on an informal basis.

Griffiths and Veal clearly show the complexity of black and ethnic minority participation patterns. Their data on sports centres in inner city areas, where the catchments contain high proportions of black and ethnic minorities, reveal wide differences which are not easily explicable (except in terms of management and marketing). New River Sports Centre in Haringey had 44% of users who were black whereas Lewisham Sports Centre showed only 23% black usage. *A sporting chance* (GLC 1986) revealed that in the survey period 51% of users of the Brixton Recreation Centre were Afro-Caribbean or Asian while 48% were white. A further study of specific facilities in Lewisham reported in a Lewisham Council report (1985) and quoted in LCSR (1989), showed that the usage of two weight-training facilities in the borough was running at 60% by black and ethnic minorities.

The Griffiths and Veal data are of significance in the case of swimming, where racist stereotyping would predict a low level of involvement. This pernicious myth is amply

contradicted by usage figures which show that in one 'wet and dry' centre, swimming was chosen as an activity by 56% of black customers, in another by 45% and in a third by 49%. No 'dry side' activity, of which there was a restricted range, managed to attract more than 15% of black users in any centre.

It is a matter of regret that the collection of data on black and ethnic minority usage of public sector facilities by managers themselves is not more rigorous. The Sports Council's CCT Survey (1993) reveals that whilst 36% of all local authorities in England had specified black and ethnic minorities as a 'target group' for special attention in contracts for facility management, only 18% actually had data on usage which would permit any judgement of success in attaining these targets.

There is little substantive research available which deals with ethnicity and racism as they affect access to the foundation skills on which future sports participation is based. Further research is required in this area especially within the context of the national PE curriculum. Hargreaves (1986) reports ethnic stereotyping among school teachers and Cashmore (1982) has also pointed towards this as a key factor in the origin of black sports participation. Such stereotyping will sometimes have determined the extent and nature of sports to which children were given access, before the advent of the national curriculum, and the expectation of success of both teacher and pupils. It is clear, however, that the inner city neighbourhoods where many black and ethnic minority communities are concentrated are often seriously deficient both in specialist sports facilities, programmed in accessible ways, and in space for informal play. It can be argued that future sports participation is based on these foundation play experiences and that to be deprived of such experience is to be seriously handicapped in the pursuit of movement literacy. Equally, the Scunthorpe studies (1990, 1991) reveal cultural differences in the value placed upon physical activity within leisure and these parental influences on the developing child cannot be ignored.

Top level sport

Although detailed statistics are not available there is anecdotal evidence that top level sport in the UK reflects a somewhat different pattern of involvement from that at recreational level. Afro-Caribbean male representation is higher than for Asian males and for Afro-Caribbean and Asian females both in the range of activities and in

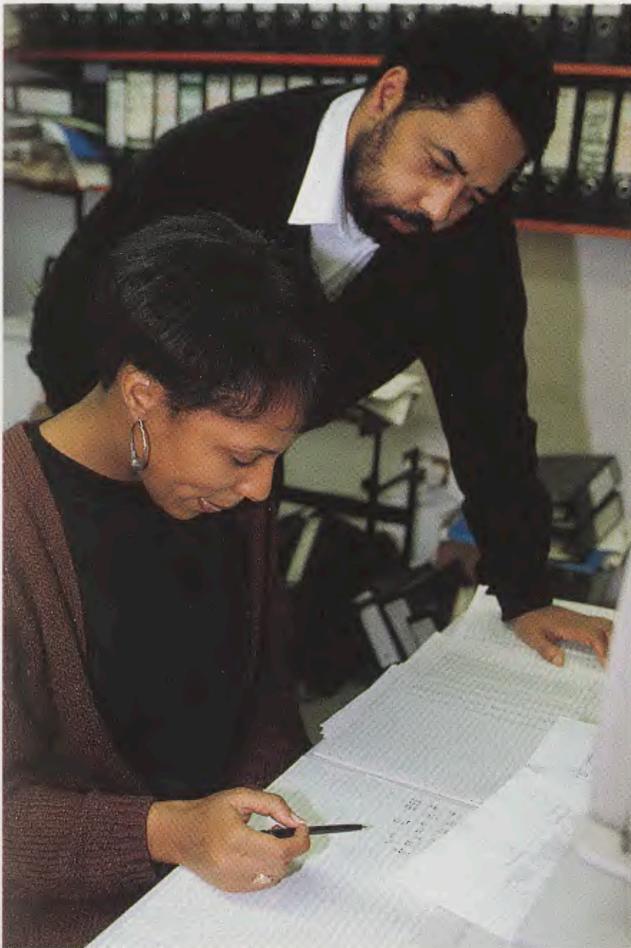
absolute numbers. Soccer, in which approximately 20% of all professional players are now Afro-Caribbean, is one clear example as is the British athletics team. Boxing, basketball, karate, cricket, rugby union and league, judo and table tennis have Afro-Caribbean male stars, some of whom have high media profiles. Netball and athletics have black female stars. Only hockey and cricket feature many top level Asian male players and this is often in clubs which are drawn predominantly from one ethnic group. There is an almost total lack of top level Asian sportswomen in British sport.

The bridge between participation and top level performance in sport is most often through the organised club and competitive structure. The main distinction between ethnic groups and genders appears in terms of joining these club structures. Some of the most widely played recreational activities, particularly badminton and swimming for all ethnic groups and football for Asian males, do not appear in high level competitive terms. Other sports are primarily available through private club structures. The participation base of these sports is very limited in society as a whole but development work targeted at black and ethnic minorities has rarely been undertaken. Even where the attempt has been made, as in tennis, in the Brixton-based Muhammed Ali project in the late 1970s (LCSR 1989), the long-term viability of the initiative is in question. Seeking to facilitate access to structures which are inappropriate, unsympathetic or simply too costly, is a questionable strategy more likely to result in frustration and rejection. Structural change is required before facilitation projects such as this can expect to succeed.

Representation

Although there has been little systematic research there is some evidence of progress being made within the representation of black and ethnic minorities among the leaders of British sport. Policy makers and senior officials have emerged, with Clive Lloyd CBE, a Trustee of the Foundation for Sport and the Arts, Geoff Thompson, a member of the Sports Council, Garth Crooks, Chairman of the Institute of Professional Sport, Brendan Batson, Deputy Chief Executive of the Professional Footballers' Association and Judy Simpson, President of the Women's Sports Foundation.

Some headway is also being made amongst senior recreation managers, sports coaches, development workers, officials and leaders. Tessa Sanderson,



Wilbert Greaves, Kriss Akabusi, Densign White, Kevin Cadle, Viv Anderson, Verona Elder, Alex Williams and Gordon Greenidge are all contributors to the development and administration of British sport.

Very few governing bodies, however, record the ethnic origin of their coaches and officials, making it impossible to identify either numbers or positions held in overall terms. While it is clear from the evidence quoted that more are entering the ranks of top coaches, the BOA handbook revealed that at the Seoul Olympics there were only two black officials despite the very large number of black athletes in a limited range of sports. More research is urgently required into black and ethnic involvement in the coaching, administration and top level management of British sport.

Clearly data on participation and representation are seriously deficient and must be treated as no more than indicative but they do point to the importance of structural factors and organisational ethos interacting with factors of personal choice and aspiration.

Process and practice in sports development

Whilst statistical information on rates and patterns of participation and representation is still very inadequate, there are a number of studies which deal with the process and practice of sports development in the context of black and ethnic minorities.

The National Demonstration Project series, sponsored by the Sports Council with a variety of partners, is analysed by McDonald and Tungatt (1991) in a report drawing out the major lessons and in specific documentation (1990, 1991) on the Scunthorpe project which was concerned with black and ethnic minorities. They report few differences in participation patterns between young black people, brought up in Toxteth, and their white counterparts in the HART project and similar patterns of participation and sporting aspiration among Asian pupils brought up in Coventry to those shared by their white fellows in the Active Lifestyle project. Difficulties were experienced, however, in Coventry in offering opportunities to the young Muslim women and both participation and knowledge of opportunity were significantly lower for this sub-group. The initial findings from Scunthorpe emphasised these cultural differences with respect to the Asian community and, indeed, the low level of awareness of racial and cultural issues amongst all leisure providers in the town.

The insights gained from monitoring the National Demonstration Project series can now be added to the pioneering work of IFER/DART (1981), the *Action sport evaluation* (Rigg, 1986) and a number of other studies reported in the LCSR report (1989) and the West Midlands study (1990). The LCSR study contains an extensive review of literature including studies conducted by individual London boroughs and strategic bodies such as the Greater London Council and London Strategic Policy Unit.

The later studies confirm the position adopted by Dower and his colleagues (IFER/DART, 1981). They were unequivocal in advocating the concepts of intervention, outreach and enabling as the key mechanisms for developing sport with black and ethnic minority communities. Not only could such an approach provide opportunities, in a sensitive and responsive way, which are actually accessible to low participant groups, it could also provide a means by which the communities can articulate their needs to policy makers and providers.

Critical to the success of these initiatives, however, are adequate resources and a fundamental organisational commitment to equality of opportunity. Sports development on this model is 'person-based' rather than 'facility-preoccupied', a planned rather than an ad hoc service and concerned with creating accessible pathways and sustainable structures.

The findings of the IFER/DART study are as relevant in 1994 as they were in 1981 and many studies conducted in the interim have confirmed their findings. The concepts of the enabling public authority, intervention and outreach, plurality of provision, access to education and training, more representative structures and enhanced two-way communication remain fundamental. It is a matter of regret that the most recent studies of local authority recreation management (Sports Council, 1993) and sports development (Collins, 1992) suggest that these concepts have not become embedded in the organisational culture of public providers to the degree necessary if equality of opportunity for black and ethnic minorities is to be achieved.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion from this selective overview of research on black and ethnic minority participation and representation is that whilst some general patterns and trends are evident much more detailed work is needed to establish a more precise picture of black and ethnic minority activity both locally and nationally, and in specific sports.



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The Sports Council was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1972 and its main objectives are to increase participation in sport and physical recreation, to increase the quantity and quality of sports facilities, to raise standards of performance and to provide information for and about sport.

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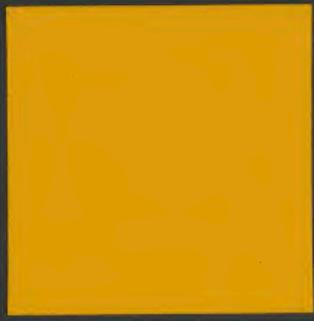
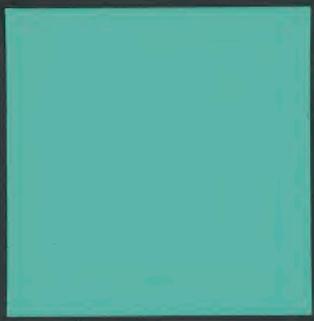
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