



House of Commons  
Culture, Media and Sport  
Committee

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# Racism in Football

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## Second Report of Session 2012–13

### *Volume I*

*Volume I: Report, together with formal minutes, oral and written evidence*

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## The Culture, Media and Sport Committee

The Culture, Media and Sport Committee is appointed by the House of Commons to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport and its associated public bodies.

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Louise Mensch (*Conservative, Corby*)

### Powers

The committee is one of the departmental select committees, the powers of which are set out in House of Commons Standing Orders, principally in SO No 152. These are available on the internet via [www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk).

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The Reports of the Committee, the formal minutes relating to that report, oral evidence taken and some of the written evidence are available in a printed volume.

Additional written evidence is published on the internet only.

### Committee staff

The current staff of the Committee are Elizabeth Flood (Clerk), Sarah Heath (Second Clerk), Victoria Butt (Senior Committee Assistant), Keely Bishop/Alison Pratt (Committee Assistants) and Jessica Bridges-Palmer (Media Officer).

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## Summary

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Racism in football has become significantly less common in the UK due, in part, to changes in wider society but also because of awareness campaigns and codes of conduct put in place by the sport's governing bodies and the Professional Footballers Association. The Football Association, Premier League and Football League have, for example, developed codes of conduct for staff, players and fans as well as funding and promoting anti-racism campaigns by organisations such as Kick it Out and Show Racism the Red Card.

Recent incidents of racist abuse in the UK, both on and off the pitch, have highlighted the fact that racism is a continuing problem. Some of the evidence we have heard, as well as recent media coverage, have demonstrated that social media has become both a tool for the spread of racist and abusive content and a potential means of combating the ignorance and prejudice that lie behind such behaviour. We believe that the football authorities should be using this developing forum for communication and debate, to spread positive messages about equality and diversity and also to speak out against instances of racist abuse when they occur.

The atmosphere experienced by those attending football matches has changed hugely since the 1970s and 80s when racial and other forms of abuse were common. Match attendance has become much more of a family-friendly activity and clubs continue to introduce measures to try to improve the standards of behaviour at matches. However, there remain significant problems ranging from homophobic abuse to what is often described as “laddish behaviour” on the terraces. Transparent and consistent methods for reporting criminal behaviour including racism are still lacking, in particular at grass roots level. There is also a clear need to encourage more candidates from ethnic minorities to train as coaches and referees to ensure that clubs and boards can select from a more diverse pool of recruits from within the football pyramid.

While the general level of progress in combating racism and racist abuse is positive and should be applauded, there is much more that can and should be done.



# 1 The problem

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1. In the 1980s racially motivated abuse was, as stated by the equality and inclusion campaign group ‘Kick it Out’, “commonplace in and around football”.<sup>1</sup> Kick it Out now reports that “incidents of racism are rare”.<sup>2</sup> However, racist behaviour has not been banished from the game and there are still reports of incidents occurring within and outside of matches. Racism in football has dominated the headlines of newspapers after a series of high profile events, on-pitch incidents and reported comments in England, Holland, Bulgaria, Turkey and most recently in Ukraine and Poland during the European Championship 2012. In England, the FA’s investigation into the accusations that Luis Suarez racially abused Patrice Evra, and the subsequent decision to impose an eight game ban and a £40,000 fine on the player, as well as the removal of the England captaincy from John Terry prior to his trial for allegedly using racially abusive language—of which he was acquitted—demonstrate that the issue is taken seriously. A decision has yet to be made on whether John Terry will be charged under the Football Association’s rules on the use of racially abusive language, for which there is a lower burden of proof than in a criminal court.

2. Because of the continuing concerns, we decided to hold a short inquiry into racism in football. While taking into account these recent events, we have also based our inquiry on the positive progress that has been achieved in recent years, by voluntary organisations, charities and football authorities, as well as the significant challenges that still need to be overcome. We received 14 written submissions and took oral evidence from Paul Elliott MBE, a former player for Celtic and Chelsea, Gordon Taylor, Chief Executive of the Professional Footballers Association, David Bernstein, Chairman and Sue Law, Head of Equality and Child Protection from The Football Association (FA), Raj Chandarana of the Football Supporters Association and Lord Ouseley, Chair of Kick it Out. We would like to thank all those who gave evidence to us.

## Progress

3. There is much to say that is positive. The FA told us that in 1993 England was the first country to make a concerted effort to rid football of the:

mindless overt racism that saw our black players being regularly subjected to aggressive racist abuse from both fans and to a lesser extent, their fellow players on the pitch. Since then, the work that has been done across football, to rid the game of these forms of racism, has seen significant cultural change in the game as a whole and specifically in our stadia.<sup>3</sup>

4. We heard from Paul Elliott, former player for Celtic and Chelsea, that his generation of players (competing in the late 1980s and 1990s) had to “put up with it” when they were

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1 Ev 33, para 1

2 Ev 34, para 2

3 Ev 26, para 1.2

subject to racial abuse.<sup>4</sup> Gordon Taylor, of the Professional Footballers Association, contrasted this with the attitude of today's players saying that:

Today's generation of black players are far less prepared to do that or accept it as banter and that is what we are facing now, because it is a different generation.<sup>5</sup>

5. The Premier and Football Leagues both cited Home Office statistics that “show the number of arrests at football matches have been falling year on year and is currently at the lowest level [3,089] since records began in 1984-1985”.<sup>6</sup> The number of arrests made at football matches as the result of racial or indecent chanting had “remained low” according to the Football League. During the 2010/11 season there were 16 arrests at Football League matches and 23 at Premier League matches on or near the grounds.<sup>7</sup> According to the Premier League, 20% of its matches witnessed one or more arrests.<sup>8</sup> The FA told us that in total 43 arrests were made as a result of racist or indecent chanting during the 2010/11 season compared to 31 arrests in the 2009/10 season.<sup>9</sup>

6. Indeed, John Mann MP, Chairman of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Anti-Semitism, acknowledged in his report on ‘Tackling Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Football’, 2010:

Football has moved well beyond most other institutions in recognising the importance of tackling racism and as the country's most recognisable export, it has developed an intolerance to racism that exceeds the standards of most other national football associations.<sup>10</sup>

7. In some institutional aspects, football in general is ahead of other sports in its attempts to tackle racism. In 2008, the FA established a national Race Equality Advisory Group (REAG) to advise the FA board. It remains the only national sports governing body to have appointed a REAG. The current Chairman, Lord Ouseley, represents the REAG on the FA Council. In addition, there are now 10 County Football Associations which have local Race and/or Equality Advisory Groups (R/EAGs). As far as is known, football is the only sport to introduce local advisory groups with a focus on equality, and specifically race equality.

8. Other factors have had an impact on the incidence of racist abuse and assaults. The significant increase in the number of footballers from black, Asian and other minority backgrounds which resulted from the ‘Bosman ruling’<sup>11</sup> in the 1990s was one important

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4 Q 3

5 Q 9

6 Ev w7, para 4.4 and Ev w26, para 7. The figures cited by the Leagues were obtained from the Home Office's UK Football Policing Unit.

7 Ev w7, para 4.4 and Ev w26, para 7

8 Ev w26, para 7

9 Ev 27, para 2.2.3

10 Ev w6, para 3.5

11 Ev w1, para 3.1



factor.<sup>12</sup> In addition, the introduction of all-seater stadia changed the atmosphere within grounds and allowed perpetrators to be more easily identified.

### *Continuing challenges*

9. While the general perception was that racism was less widespread than it used to be, Show Racism the Red Card, the prominent anti-racist charity, asserted that the problem persisted: “Many football clubs have done great work over the years ... to help educate against racism ... However, this work is quickly undermined by a lack of action or dismissive words when an incident occurs”.<sup>13</sup> According to their research, many of those working in and around football had immediately dismissed accusations of racism, issuing defences such as “I know him and he’s not racist”, classifying exchanges as “banter” or arguing that “What happens on the pitch stays on the pitch”.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, we were told that the FA could not “enforce change at club-level, which leads to cycles of abdication and responsibility”.<sup>15</sup>

10. The three main areas where racist behaviour has been visible have been on the streets, in the grounds and online. Football-related incidents can have a much broader impact than just within football grounds. The public disorder in some towns in the north of the country which occurred over the summer of 2001 was initially triggered by a group of football supporters and far right extremists attacking an area of Oldham. The reasons behind the attack were not football-related. However, the incident demonstrates the interplay between football and tensions in the wider community. Brendon Batson MBE, former professional player and administrator at the Professional Footballers’ Association (PFA), told us that he recalled, in the mid-70s, “being called the N-word, week in, week out”.<sup>16</sup> While it is apparent that the situation on the pitch has moved on considerably from that time, there are still individual instances of on-the-pitch racial abuse.

11. The internet and social media have become both a means by which racist abuse can be spread and a source of positive information and support for victims. They also represent a new means by which incidents can be reported. ‘True Vision’—which is a website operated by the Association of Chief Police Officers—is an example of the way the internet can be used as a positive tool for tackling racism by providing information to victims and allowing people to report race crimes online. By January 2012, over 1,300 reports of crime had been made through True Vision (about 300 of which related to online offences).<sup>17</sup>

**12. There need to be clear and consistent methods for reporting criminal behaviour including racist abuse linked to football. We recommend that the FA promote existing methods for doing so, including by providing clear links through its website to the**

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12 The ‘Bosman ruling’ resulted from a case in the European Court of Justice in 1995 after which restrictions on foreign players within national leagues were banned.

13 Ev w2, para 3.2

14 Ev w2, para 3.6

15 Ev w10

16 Ev 26

17 Ev w13, para 3.1

Association of Chief Police Officers' True Vision website, directing users to report racist or other abusive behaviour linked to football.

13. **The Football Association ought to grasp the opportunity afforded by social media to speak out against incidents of abuse and discrimination within football. We recommend that it use platforms such as Twitter and Football Online chat-rooms to condemn racist, sexist, homophobic or other abuse swiftly and decisively when they occur.**

### *The dangers of complacency*

14. Some of our witnesses cautioned against complacency over issues of racism.<sup>18</sup> Though largely positive about the steps which had been taken thus far, The All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Anti-semitism (APPGAA) pointed to evidence received by us as a part of our inquiry into football governance in 2011, which, it argued, suggested that some authorities ran the risk of complacency.<sup>19</sup> It gave as an example of this a quote from the evidence presented by The League Managers Association which stated that:

Racial abuse has now thankfully been all but eradicated from our stadia, thanks to Kick it Out campaign and the FA's Ethics and Sports Equity Strategy.<sup>20</sup>

15. **Football is not the source of racism, but it has all too easily provided a platform for extremist groups to promote their racist views and behaviour. It is essential, therefore, that authorities—at all levels of the game—take responsibility for proactively tackling all forms of discrimination including racism. While all football authorities, supporters' and players' groups must take positive action against racist behaviour, it is vital that the Football Association takes the lead and sets a strong example for others to follow.**

16. **Great strides have been made towards making football a powerful source of positive information and leadership against discrimination. However, the FA should avoid complacency. There are still reforms which are needed and systems to be put in place, which are covered in the remainder of this report, and achieving these quickly will require the strong leadership of football's governing body.**

### *The wider problem*

17. The problem of discrimination in football—and, indeed, in sport more widely—goes beyond racism. Football has traditionally been a male activity both in terms of players and spectators. The Premier League's most recent attendance survey showed that 23% of the League's match-attending fans and 37% of non-match-attending fans were female.<sup>21</sup> Despite the gender imbalance, there has been significant change in the audience for football. This has altered the atmosphere during matches as well as increasing the demand for further improvements. Gordon Taylor spoke about the "civilisation of the game" which

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18 Ev w12, para 1.8

19 Ev w12 and FG Ev 38, para 1.2

20 House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee, *Football Governance*, Seventh Report of Session 2010-12, Vol I, HC 792-1, Ev 38, para 1.2

21 Ev w25, para 6

was resulting from more women and families attending matches. He described the “current challenge” for the clubs as being to ensure that the sort of “banter that involves racism, homophobia or other different elements—of course against females as well—that it just is not part of the game’s vocabulary”.<sup>22</sup>

### **Homophobia**

18. Evidence is now emerging that homophobia may now be a bigger problem in football than other forms of discrimination. Recent research found that 25% of fans think that football is homophobic while 10% think that football is racist.<sup>23</sup> About 14% of recent match attendees also reported hearing homophobic abuse.<sup>24</sup> Stonewall recognised that “progress has been made by Government and football authorities in recognising homophobia as an issue, but too little practical action has been taken to address it”.<sup>25</sup> It called for a high-profile campaign specifically focused on challenging homophobic attitudes and behaviour directed at fans, players and managers. As well as raising the profile of the issue, the football authorities and individual clubs should be required actively to address homophobic incidents as well as to offer support to players, staff and managers.<sup>26</sup>

**19. The FA should work with relevant organisations and charities to develop and then promote a high-profile campaign to highlight the damaging effect of homophobic language and behaviour in and around football at every level. The campaign should identify sources of support for affected individuals as well as setting out a clear reporting structure for homophobic incidents.**

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22 Q 10

23 Ev w8, para 1.10

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.*

## 2 Changing the culture

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### Legislation and enforcement

20. The conduct of players and managers on the pitch and any comments they may make in the media, including social media, fall under the jurisdiction of the FA.<sup>27</sup> Individual football clubs have responsibility for enforcing Ground Regulations—which are deemed to have been accepted by supporters upon entry to a stadium.

21. There is already legislation in the UK concerning racist or indecent behaviour at football matches. The Football Offences Act 1991 made racist or indecent chanting an offence at a designated football match. In addition, football’s governing bodies have also introduced regulations to try to deal with the problem. The FA’s Ground Regulations set out the behaviour that is unacceptable in football stadia and the consequences of discriminatory behaviour, both in terms of ejection from the ground (by giving club stewards the power to remove offenders) and possible banning orders under the 1991 Act. The Football League’s Ground Regulations state that “abuse of a racist, homophobic or discriminatory nature will result in arrest and/or ejection from the ground”.<sup>28</sup> Stewards also receive some training to listen for, and to recognise racist, homophobic or discriminatory abuse by spectators; report any such misconduct to the local control room; and to follow club policy and/or instructions from the control room. Moreover, within football’s general disciplinary framework, the FA has the power unilaterally to investigate and impose sanctions on any participant—player, official or other employee—using a tribunal of its own choosing and implementing its own sanctions, where there is proven on-field or off-field misconduct. The APPGAA said, however, that the FA had “no system for a periodic, strategic review of [its monitoring and enforcement] systems with procedures being monitored ‘on an ongoing basis’”, which it argued was inadequate.<sup>29</sup>

22. The Football League Customer Charter seeks to ensure that spectators, players, officials and others involved in football should be protected from discrimination. The Football League told us that it has committed itself to preparing a seminar programme that helped club stewards and their supervisors to deal with any incidents at matches.

23. Witnesses told us that it was extremely important for sufficient evidence of wrongdoing to be made available to the Crown Prosecution Service by the football authorities in order to ensure that convictions were possible. At a working group supported by the Football Association, Matt Ancell of the Metropolitan Police recommended that consideration should be given by the Football Association to supplying microphones and high resolution cameras to some stewards to enable them to record specific incidents and allowing the “Crown Prosecution Service sufficient evidence to obtain a conviction and a Banning Order”. It was also suggested that high resolution CCTV should be introduced in stadia for the same purpose.<sup>30</sup>

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27 Ev w6, para 3.5

28 Ev w6, para 4.2

29 Ev w12, para 1.8

30 Ev w11, para 1.4

24. In order for clubs to monitor and respond to racial and other forms of abuse their ground staff and stewards need to be able recognise, record and react appropriately to such incidents. It should, therefore, be a priority for the FA to develop procedures for stewards to follow and regular training opportunities to ensure that all relevant staff at club grounds are capable of reacting swiftly and consistently to all such incidents of abuse.

25. It is important that information about the frequency and type of incident is recorded so that both the police and football authorities can focus their activities and tailor their responses to specific areas or types of abuse. We recommend that all reported incidents of racist or other abuse should be collated by a central body such as the UK Policing Football Unit, which was set up by the Home Office and the Association of Chief Police Officers in 2005 to offer expertise and coordinate football policing matters. This body should work closely with the Football Association which should introduce a system of periodic, strategic reviews of its monitoring and enforcement systems to ensure that they remain effective at detecting and identifying offenders in a way that leads to a high level of successful prosecutions from incidents of criminal activity, and to potential exclusions from club grounds.

### **Grassroots football**

26. Recent high-profile cases indicate a willingness by the FA to follow up accusations of abuse and impose punishments, when appropriate, despite the negative reactions of some fans. It is important that the willingness of the FA to monitor, record and react appropriately to instances of abuse is maintained over time. Some of the evidence indicates that clubs, in particular, may find it difficult consistently to discipline their players, since they are often extremely popular with fans as well as being valuable assets to the club.<sup>31</sup>

27. The FA, clubs, the leagues, the police and the Crown Prosecution Service currently work together where there is evidence of discriminatory behaviour. However, this impression of concerted action dissipates at grassroots level. Mr Ancell, as part of a review of the reporting and managing of allegations of racism in the grassroots game, concluded that County Football Associations had almost sole responsibility for governance activities and sanctions, though this was subject to guidance from the FA. He observed that “it was often left to overworked volunteers to investigate complaints made by clubs in what is a complex disciplinary procedure”.<sup>32</sup> Mr Ancell said that the FA should “take a more central role when dealing with such issues and consider devising a new procedure specifically for dealing with complaints about discrimination made by grassroots football teams”.<sup>33</sup>

28. Experience of working with the FA led the APPGAA to conclude that, while the FA had sound rules and regulations, it was over-bureaucratic, slow and lacking in the ability to think and act radically. It was also concerned that the FA acted as “police, judge and executioner in dealing with discrimination”. It stated that simplification of the system

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31 Ev w2, para 3.2, Ev w9, para 10-11, Ev w16, para 1.2, and Ev 34, para 2

32 Ev w11, para 1.4

33 *Ibid.*

whereby incidents were reported and enforcement hearings took place was needed and commented that:

There is a continuing gap in information, referees have no incentive to report incidents or turn up to hearings and rarely discover the outcome of hearings.<sup>34</sup>

29. The All-Party Group argued that a potential barrier to action on individual incidents occurring at club level is that the FA has no powers with which to enforce changes in practice.<sup>35</sup>

**30. The efforts being made at league and club level to ensure successful prosecutions in cases of racial abuse are extremely welcome; however, it is important that similar efforts are applied to the grassroots game. The Football Association—as the body responsible for the conduct of players—should take the lead in developing and introducing a simplified and consistent procedure for reporting and dealing with allegations of discriminatory behaviour at grassroots level.**

### **Scottish football legislation**

31. Recently new legislation to tackle abusive behaviour has been introduced in Scotland. The Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act came into force on 1 March 2012. The legislation was introduced in response to calls from Scotland's police and prosecutors for additional powers to combat sectarian songs and abuse at and around football matches and threats posted on the internet or through the mail.

32. The Act created two new distinct offences, punishable through a range of penalties up to a maximum five-year prison sentence and an unlimited fine. The first offence targets any hateful, threatening or otherwise offensive behaviour expressed at and around football matches which is likely to cause public disorder. The second offence relates to the communication of threats of serious harm or which are intended to incite religious hatred, whether sent by post or posted on the internet.

**33. We acknowledge that the situation in Scotland is different to that in England and we commend the efforts being made there to tackle abusive behaviour. The Government should look at the legislation which has already been enacted in Scotland and, if necessary, incorporate lessons learned into any future legislation for England and Wales.**

### **Education**

34. Show Racism the Red Card, an anti-racism education charity, expressed concern at a tendency for those involved in football to make excuses for individuals involved in racist incidents on the football field. The charity cited the use of phrases such as:

"He meant nothing by it. It was just said in the heat of the moment".<sup>36</sup>

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34 Ev w12, para 1.8

35 *Ibid.*

As Show Racism the Red Card suggests, the thinking behind these statements must be that (a) only people are racist and not actions, (b) footballers should be able to say what they like on a football pitch regardless of the law which applies everywhere, (c) racist abuse which, by definition, attacks something which is intrinsic to an individual, will have no harmful consequences for them and (d) being under pressure or angry gives one individual the right to abuse another. All of the above statements are wrong. There is clearly still much to be done to educate both the public and those involved in football about what behaviour is and is not acceptable and how to behave when they witness an abusive incident.

35. The FA periodically delivers conferences on Hate Crime in Football to raise awareness and educate participants at all levels. It also works with local organisations such as Football Unites and Racism Divides (FURD)—a Sheffield-based project, which was created to tackle a local problem and has grown to be recognised as an exemplar of good practice—and Kick it Out. The FA also works with Show Racism the Red Card to produce anti-racism educational resources. The FA has developed an equality education programme based around equality, race equality and disability equality.<sup>37</sup>

36. The Football League and Premier League both have provided training programmes and set up umbrella organisations such as the Football League Trust created by the Football League—which includes a commitment to promoting diversity as a key part of its three-tier accreditation programme.<sup>38</sup> The Premier League has previously enabled training on equality and diversity at its clubs, though it gave us no details about this other than to provide information on the training of stewards.<sup>39</sup> The Football League has also recently accepted an offer, from the sports management company Weiss Chevalier, for the provision of equality training for all playing and coaching staff in all 72 League clubs.<sup>40</sup> The Football League—through its educational partner League Football Education (LFE)—is delivering equality training to apprentices at clubs, six clubs to date, with another 15 signed up for future training.<sup>41</sup> Former player Paul Elliott told us that the majority of football clubs carry out “outstanding work [...] using football as a catalyst to deliver key social messages, [...] Clubs like Charlton Athletic and Millwall have done some fantastic work”.<sup>42</sup>

37. There is, however, a need to monitor the impact of awareness and education initiatives—especially given the large number of groups and organisations involved in delivering them—to mitigate the risk of duplication which could waste available resources. The FA acknowledged that its principal initiative, Kick it Out, needed to work more strategically, on fewer objectives, and to implement ways of measuring the impact of its various activities.<sup>43</sup>

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36 Ev w2, para 3.6

37 Ev 27, para 2.3.3

38 Ev w5, para 2.2

39 Ev w26, para 11

40 Ev w5, para 2.5

41 Ev w6, para 3.5

42 Q 10

43 Ev 26, para 2.1.1

38. **We recommend that the Football Association commission an external body to conduct a review of the educational programmes about discrimination currently available and make recommendations based on their effectiveness.**

### The international picture

39. Recent events in Europe, not least during the 2012 European Championship hosted by Poland and Ukraine, have brought into sharp contrast the current experiences of players competing in the UK with those playing in some other areas of Europe. Disturbing reports of racist behaviour and the growth of far-right ‘white power’ movements—tied to football hooliganism—in many European countries have been emerging for some time and significant efforts have been made by organisations such as ‘Never Again’, the ‘Hope Not Hate Campaign’, the ‘Holocaust Educational Trust’ and others to highlight the issue and offer assistance to those countries’ football authorities.

40. While some of the fears about racist abuse and chanting were realised during the 2012 Championship, the fact that so many incidents were reported and action was taken against offending individuals and national football authorities representing groups of fans involved in abusive behaviour is, to an extent, encouraging. The Associated Press reported that:

In the first proven case of racist abuse at Euro 2012, UEFA fined the Croatia football association 80,000 [euros (£64,561)] for a range of charges including insults directed at [Mario] Balotelli.<sup>44</sup>

41. Official observers reported of that particular match that the Italian striker Mario Balotelli was “subjected to monkey chants by between 300 and 500 Croatia fans”. Accusations were also made that bananas were thrown onto the pitch during the game.<sup>45</sup> Other incidents during the Championship which included racist chanting involved Spanish, Russian, and Ukrainian supporters.

42. Discrimination monitors working for FARE (Football Against Racism in Europe) were used by UEFA through its ‘Respect Diversity—Football Unites’ programme. It was through the use of such monitors that a record of events was able to be made and reports could be passed to UEFA so that it could take swift action. This highlights the need for there to be staff available within grounds to observe, and also to record, incidents.

43. While neither the British police nor football authorities have the resources to directly tackle incidents of racist abuse and hate crimes which take place at European tournaments, more can be done to highlight the issues and spread good practice for dealing with them. Internationally, within Europe, the FA presently supports the work of FARE which operates alongside UEFA, national associations and campaigning organisations. However, more can be done. We were informed that—prior to the 2012 European Championship—a proposal to set up a group within the FA specifically to offer “on the ground” support at such tournaments was received well by the FA but was not acted upon.<sup>46</sup> **We were encouraged to hear that significant preparations had been made prior to the Euro 2012**

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44 [www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/euro2012/article-2164941/Euro-2012-Spain-Russia-charged-racist-chants-fans.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/euro2012/article-2164941/Euro-2012-Spain-Russia-charged-racist-chants-fans.html)

45 <http://uk.eurosport.yahoo.com/news/croatia-charged-again-over-racism161124227.html>

46 Ev w12, para 1.10



**Championship, and we recommend that the Football Association should continue to put in place forward planning strategies for such tournaments in the future where appropriate, and make more use of the expertise available through existing anti-racism organisations.**

**44. The FA should demand stronger leadership from UEFA and FIFA on tackling racism. In the meantime, the FA should actively promote its own initiatives in tackling racism and abuse within FIFA.**

## Representation off the pitch

45. The most recent academic study of the levels of representation of black and ethnic minority groups in key roles within football showed that the 92 clubs in the Football League employ 2,800-3,000 players, of whom 20-25% come from a black or minority ethnic background.<sup>47</sup> However, there is currently only one black manager in the Premier League (Chris Hughton at Norwich City, while Terry Connor served as interim manager at Wolverhampton Wanderers football club until May of this year) and two in the Football League (Chris Powell at Charlton Athletic and Keith Curle at Notts County). While it would be unrealistic to expect an exact correlation to minority ethnic representation amongst players, as the Football League commented, “having more BAME [black and minority ethnic] managers would play an important role in opening doors for others”.<sup>48</sup>

46. Show Racism the Red Card told us that “the majority of board members of football clubs are white men and the recruitment processes are not transparent, with new managers sometimes being appointed within days of a previous manager’s departure”.<sup>49</sup> The Football League said that it is currently in discussions with clubs about their recruitment processes for managers.<sup>50</sup>

47. Sporting Equals, an independent UK-wide charity that promotes ethnic diversity and race equality in sport and physical activity, suggested that the reasons behind the level of involvement of ethnic minorities in all parts of football are complex. It viewed the existence of a significant minority ethnic community football sector operating outside of the mainstream as symptomatic of the problem, attributing it to a “perceived lack of support from affiliated leagues, racism and discrimination from the sporting community and dearth of visible role models involved in decision-making in football”.<sup>51</sup> The Football League acknowledged that “attracting significant numbers of BAME [black and minority ethnic] supporters remains a major challenge for Football League clubs, even those based in diverse areas of inner cities”.<sup>52</sup>

48. The FA has set up an initiative called COACH supported by all the football authorities to recruit black, Asian and minority ethnic coaches. COACH provides a bursary for

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47 Research carried out by Professor Ellis Cashmore and Dr Jamie Cleland, Staffordshire University, March 2011. See *The Guardian*, ‘Why aren’t there more black managers?’, 28 March 2011.

48 Ev w6, para 3.3

49 Ev w2, para 3.4

50 *Ibid.*

51 Ev w17, para 3.2

52 Ev w7, para 4.6

candidates from ethnic minorities, in order to assist them with gaining higher level (level 3 and above) coaching qualifications.<sup>53</sup> Examples of individuals from black or ethnic minority backgrounds given to us by the FA, such as Taff Islam (a young coach in Arsenal's Academy) and Jarnail Singh (a referee in the Football League), are currently still the exceptions among the mostly white coaches and referees.<sup>54</sup>

49. Greg Clarke, Chairman of the Football League, has said that “there is an unacceptable disparity between the number of black players and black managers. The problem is that people will say if they're good enough, they will get there, but you have to create the opportunity”.<sup>55</sup> Mr Clarke went on to compare the situation with that experienced on boards of directors of FTSE 100 companies where women were almost absent. He argued that it was pressure being put on these companies that led to more opportunities for women on these boards.<sup>56</sup> The Football Association, after instigating an open recruitment process, appointed the first woman to sit on the FA Board—Independent Non-Executive Director, Heather Rabbatts.<sup>57</sup>

50. David Bernstein, Chairman of the FA, told us that there was clearly an opportunity for getting black or minority ethnic members on the FA Council. He argued that increased representation was “something that need[ed] to emanate from below, because by the very nature of the council, the people serving on the council are coming from counties and organisations that sort of build up to the apex of a pyramid, and we need more black and other minority people across the board”.<sup>58</sup> He emphasised the need for “role models” to break the “vicious circle—creating a virtuous circle out of the need for more people at the grass roots. If we get that happening, then we will get more over a period of time and you will get more on the FA Council and hopefully on the FA board as well in the course of time”.<sup>59</sup>

51. The ‘Rooney Rule’ has been suggested as a possible solution by the Players Football Association. Under this rule (named after the American football coach Dan Rooney), there would have to be at least one suitably qualified ethnic minority candidate on the shortlist for any head coach or senior management vacancy in football. Since the introduction of this rule in the USA in 2003, the number of ethnic minority coaches in the League has risen from two to eight, and of ethnic minority general managers from one to five.<sup>60</sup>

**52. We believe that all appointments should be based on merit alone, irrespective of the candidates' race. We believe that the best and most equitable way to introduce greater diversity among football managers and on boards is to encourage transparency and consistency of recruitment processes across all clubs and football authorities. The FA Board should work with County FAs and clubs to develop best practice for transparent**

53 Ev w6, para 3.4

54 Ev 30, para 4.3.1

55 Ev w8, para 6.6

56 *Ibid.*

57 Ev 30, para 4.1.3

58 Q 81

59 *Ibid.*

60 Ev w3, para 4.1

**recruitment processes and ensure their consistent application. We commend the efforts of the Football Association to encourage more ethnic minority candidates to train as coaches and referees. This should ensure that, in time, it will be possible to select from a more diverse pool of recruits from within the football pyramid. The opening of the national football centre at St George's Park provides a great opportunity to move this forward.**

## Conclusions and recommendations

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1. There need to be clear and consistent methods for reporting criminal behaviour including racist abuse linked to football. We recommend that the FA promote existing methods for doing so, including by providing clear links through its website to the Association of Chief Police Officers' True Vision website, directing users to report racist or other abusive behaviour linked to football. (Paragraph 12)
2. The Football Association ought to grasp the opportunity afforded by social media to speak out against incidents of abuse and discrimination within football. We recommend that it use platforms such as Twitter and Football Online chat-rooms to condemn racist, sexist, homophobic or other abuse swiftly and decisively when they occur. (Paragraph 13)
3. Football is not the source of racism, but it has all too easily provided a platform for extremist groups to promote their racist views and behaviour. It is essential, therefore, that authorities—at all levels of the game—take responsibility for proactively tackling all forms of discrimination including racism. While all football authorities, supporters' and players' groups must take positive action against racist behaviour, it is vital that the Football Association takes the lead and sets a strong example for others to follow. (Paragraph 15)
4. Great strides have been made towards making football a powerful source of positive information and leadership against discrimination. However, the FA should avoid complacency. There are still reforms which are needed and systems to be put in place, which are covered in the remainder of this report, and achieving these quickly will require the strong leadership of football's governing body. (Paragraph 16)
5. The FA should work with relevant organisations and charities to develop and then promote a high-profile campaign to highlight the damaging effect of homophobic language and behaviour in and around football at every level. The campaign should identify sources of support for affected individuals as well as setting out a clear reporting structure for homophobic incidents. (Paragraph 19)
6. In order for clubs to monitor and respond to racial and other forms of abuse their ground staff and stewards need to be able recognise, record and react appropriately to such incidents. It should, therefore, be a priority for the FA to develop procedures for stewards to follow and regular training opportunities to ensure that all relevant staff at club grounds are capable of reacting swiftly and consistently to all such incidents of abuse. (Paragraph 24)
7. It is important that information about the frequency and type of incident is recorded so that both the police and football authorities can focus their activities and tailor their responses to specific areas or types of abuse. We recommend that all reported incidents of racist or other abuse should be collated by a central body such as the UK Policing Football Unit, which was set up by the Home Office and the Association of Chief Police Officers in 2005 to offer expertise and coordinate football policing matters. This body should work closely with the Football Association which should

introduce a system of periodic, strategic reviews of its monitoring and enforcement systems to ensure that they remain effective at detecting and identifying offenders in a way that leads to a high level of successful prosecutions from incidents of criminal activity, and to potential exclusions from club grounds. (Paragraph 25)

8. The efforts being made at league and club level to ensure successful prosecutions in cases of racial abuse are extremely welcome; however, it is important that similar efforts are applied to the grassroots game. The Football Association—as the body responsible for the conduct of players—should take the lead in developing and introducing a simplified and consistent procedure for reporting and dealing with allegations of discriminatory behaviour at grassroots level. (Paragraph 30)
9. We acknowledge that the situation in Scotland is different to that in England and we commend the efforts being made there to tackle abusive behaviour. The Government should look at the legislation which has already been enacted in Scotland and, if necessary, incorporate lessons learned into any future legislation for England and Wales. (Paragraph 33)
10. We recommend that the Football Association commission an external body to conduct a review of the educational programmes about discrimination currently available and make recommendations based on their effectiveness. (Paragraph 38)
11. We were encouraged to hear that significant preparations had been made prior to the Euro 2012 Championship, and we recommend that the Football Association should continue to put in place forward planning strategies for such tournaments in the future where appropriate, and make more use of the expertise available through existing anti-racism organisations. (Paragraph 43)
12. The FA should demand stronger leadership from UEFA and FIFA on tackling racism. In the meantime, the FA should actively promote its own initiatives in tackling racism and abuse within FIFA. (Paragraph 44)
13. We believe that all appointments should be based on merit alone irrespective of the candidates' race. We believe that the best and most equitable way to introduce greater diversity among football managers and on boards is to encourage transparency and consistency of recruitment processes across all clubs and football authorities. The FA Board should work with County FAs and clubs to develop best practice for transparent recruitment processes and ensure their consistent application. We commend the efforts of the Football Association to encourage more ethnic minority candidates to train as coaches and referees. This should ensure that, in time, it will be possible to select from a more diverse pool of recruits from within the football pyramid. The opening of the national football centre at St George's Park provides a great opportunity to move this forward. (Paragraph 52)

# Formal Minutes

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**Tuesday 11 September 2012**

Members present:

Mr John Whittingdale, in the Chair

Dr Thérèse Coffey  
Philip Davies  
Paul Farrelly

Steve Rotherham  
Mr Gerry Sutcliffe

Draft Report (*Racism in Football*), proposed by the Chair, brought up and read.

*Ordered*, That the draft Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraphs 1 to 51 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 52 read, as follows:

**We believe that the best and most equitable way to introduce greater diversity among football managers and on boards is to encourage transparency and consistency of recruitment processes across all clubs and football authorities. The FA Board should work with County FAs and clubs to develop best practice for transparent recruitment processes and ensure their consistent application. We commend the efforts of the Football Association to encourage more ethnic minority candidates to train as coaches and referees. This should ensure that, in time, it will be possible to select from a more diverse pool of recruits from within the football pyramid. The opening of the national football centre at St George's Park provides a good opportunity to move this forward.**

Amendment proposed, in line 1, to insert at the beginning of the paragraph "We believe that all appointments should be based on merit alone, irrespective of the candidates' race."—(*Philip Davies*)

Question put, That the Amendment be made.

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 2

Noes, 2

Dr Thérèse Coffey  
Philip Davies

Steve Rotherham  
Mr Gerry Sutcliffe

The numbers being equal, the Chair declared himself with the Ayes.

Amendment agreed to.

Paragraph, as amended, agreed to.

Summary agreed to.

*Resolved*, That the Report, as amended, be the Second Report of the Committee to the House.

*Ordered*, That the Chair make the Report to the House.

*Ordered*, That embargoed copies of the Report be made available, in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order No. 134.

[Adjourned till Tuesday 18 September at 10.15 am

## Witnesses

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### Tuesday 15 May 2012

	<i>Page</i>
<b>Paul Elliott MBE</b> , formerly of Celtic and Chelsea, and <b>Gordon Taylor OBE</b> , Professional Footballers' Association	Ev 1
<b>David Bernstein</b> , Chairman, Football Association, <b>Sue Law</b> , Head of Equality, Football Association, <b>Lord Ouseley</b> , Kick It Out, and <b>Raj Chandarana</b> , Football Supporters' Federation	Ev 12

## List of printed written evidence

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1	Football Supporters' Federation	Ev 24
2	The Football Association (The FA)	Ev 25: 38
3	Kick It Out	Ev 33

## List of additional written evidence

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(published in Volume II on the Committee's website [www.parliament.uk/cmscom](http://www.parliament.uk/cmscom))

1	Show Racism the Red Card	Ev w1
2	The Football League	Ev w4: 29
3	Stonewall	Ev w8
4	All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) Against Antisemitism	Ev w10
5	Chukwuma Uju	Ev w14
6	Sporting Equals	Ev w15
7	Stephen Rhodes	Ev w19
8	Roy Abraham	Ev w20
9	Department for Culture, Media and Sport	Ev w21
10	George R M Warner	Ev w23
11	Premier League	Ev w25



# List of Reports from the Committee during the current Parliament

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The reference number of the Government's response to each Report is printed in brackets after the HC printing number.

## Session 2012-13

First Report	The Gambling Act 2005: A bet worth taking?	HC 421
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# Oral evidence

## Taken before the Culture, Media and Sport Committee

on Tuesday 15 May 2012

Members present:

Mr John Whittingdale (Chair)

Dr Thérèse Coffey  
Damian Collins  
Philip Davies  
Louise Mensch

Steve Rotheram  
Mr Adrian Sanders  
Mr Gerry Sutcliffe

### Examination of Witnesses

*Witnesses:* **Paul Elliott MBE**, formerly of Celtic and Chelsea, and **Gordon Taylor OBE**, Professional Footballers' Association, gave evidence.

**Chair:** Good morning. This is a one-off session the Committee decided to hold to look at the extent of racism in football on the back of a number of worrying incidents that have occurred, both among players and spectators. Therefore we thought it important to determine the scale of the problem and whether enough is being done to tackle it. I would like to welcome, for our first panel, Paul Elliott, who has been before the Committee before, formerly of Celtic and Chelsea, and I think you also work closely with Show Racism the Red Card. I would also like to welcome Gordon Taylor—a name very familiar to the Committee but I am pleased we will be talking about football this morning—the Chief Executive of the PFA. Can I invite Adrian Sanders to begin.

**Q1 Mr Sanders:** Good morning. Can I ask you a very simple question and it is to both of you. I know it is some years ago for you, Gordon, but can you remember back in your playing days any experience of racism on the pitch and in the grounds? Paul, obviously more recently, can you recall your experience of racism on the pitch and in the grounds?

**Gordon Taylor:** From my own point of view, I suppose, going back a long way and starting in the professional game at 16 with Bolton Wanderers, it was quite rare to have any black players, let alone Asian players. I can recall people like Bill Perry, the Blackpool player who featured in the 1950s. It is only now that we even go back and see the tributes being paid to the early black players, the likes of Walter Tull and Arthur Wharton, where we are recognising them now. But it was more towards the end of my career in the 1970s that you then became more aware of some of the abuse with regard to players like Clive Best at West Ham and then Albert Johanneson at Leeds United.

So it was then, having retired from playing football in 1980 and joining the PFA full time, I became much more aware of the issues as more black players were coming into the game. That is why I was very pleased when Brendon Batson—who has been well featured in programmes about racism and black players, because he was quite prominent when he and the late Laurie Cunningham and Cyrille Regis were known as the Three Degrees, at West Bromwich Albion—was

coming to the end of his career and wanted to go into coaching and management, and I asked him to come and help me at the PFA. So that is when I got a good insight into it. Then later on, of course, people like Garth Crooks were very much involved, and coming up to the present day with Paul and Bobby Barnes.

I have tried to get into the feelings of the black players. The 1980s was a decade that was very bad for health and safety and hooliganism, as we know. There were bad tragedies with the likes of Heysel and Hillsborough and Bradford and Birmingham and there was a very vitriolic element among supporters. It led to our being excluded from Europe. I was asking those close to me, whom I have referred to, whether in fact we should make a real strong stand and, if there was this abuse, whether we should get the black players to come off the field and they said no, they wanted to be treated as footballers. This was something that they felt had to be dealt with by the clubs. They did not feel confident enough.

After the Bosman ruling in the 1990s and the advent of the Premier League, our game became much more cosmopolitan. There was a much bigger influence of players from abroad, and that included many black players, and I felt an increasing level of confidence that they should stand up and be counted. That was at the time when we were approached by Lord Herman Ouseley and the Commission for Racial Equality and asked to combine with them, linked in with Government, to make a real stand against this. My black members felt confident enough and said, yes, this was something they felt we should do and, as a result, we formed the Kick It Out campaign. That led to the European Parliament getting on board with the Years Against Racism. We put it on the agenda of UEFA and FIFA, and I felt it had moved on a great deal, to the extent that we had quite a number of other splinter groups.

Show Racism the Red Card is a body that we fund. We have put millions into funding, and that goes into schools and local authorities and aims at children, the next generation, and uses players, black and white, to encourage them. That is why I felt we had made such progress. Young players, when we had gone into clubs—because it is on the agenda or curriculum for our apprentices—could not relate to some of the

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incidents that we had had in the past. That is why this season has been a particularly disturbing season—that it should have arisen again at a senior level, which has been quite embarrassing and made us think that we have to address it again in perhaps a new manner.

**Q2 Mr Sanders:** Can I just come back to the question? Going back to your playing days, you would have been a contemporary of the West Bromwich Albion players, I presume, towards the end. You must have played against West Brom, did you, or at least other teams that may have had black players? Were you conscious at that time of other players making comments against such players, or indeed chanting or comment from the ground? Can you remember any incidences of that in your playing career?

**Gordon Taylor:** No. In all honesty, the abuse you used to get was if you were losing or not playing well. At Bolton we didn't have that good a time, but then again we didn't do too bad. No, it was more in a good-natured manner. I felt for some reason the 1980s became a decade where the game could have gone down the drain. You know that the Prime Minister was thinking about needing identification to even get into a ground. Then, football blamed Government; Government blamed football.

But I always felt the answer was a combined approach and it led to that because I was astonished to find, dealing with the police, that different areas of police throughout the country would not release information to other police bodies with regard to known football hooliganism. So we set up, through the chief police officers, a national intelligence unit. Then we had closed circuit television. Then in football we developed a community programme so the players were going into local communities and sort of preaching the gospel of good behaviour and against racism, because one of the key platforms of that community programme in football, which is quite unique in the world, was to work against racism. As a result I just feel that suddenly, with all seated stadiums, the whole issue of bad behaviour was being addressed and racism was contained within that.

**Mr Sanders:** Racism and hooliganism are not necessarily the same thing.

**Gordon Taylor:** No, but it did get grouped into the same bad behaviour, for example. That was a segment, in the same way as if you are dealing with equality. As you know, we have dealt with homophobia and other issues.

**Q3 Mr Sanders:** Yes. Paul, can I ask what your experience was as a player and whether in fact the situation has improved since your career started?

**Paul Elliott:** My career started, as I think Gordon touched on, when he was coming to the end of his and, thereafter, it was the first generation of black players, Cyrille Regis, Brendon Batson, myself, Garth Crooks, Bobby Barnes, who were trying to forge our way in the professional game at that juncture. I think you probably have to look at the state of society, and football in many respects probably contained the ugliness of society in that minority element where you had these extremists who were obviously trying to launch their own recruitment drives, and possibly

using football clubs as a catalyst or platform to do just that; and black players, myself and others, became the scourge of that.

I think that that was probably a very difficult challenge for us because fundamentally there was no real tangible, measurable legislation in place and myself, Garth and others just had to put up with it, focus on our game and do the best we could according to our ability. That kind of vitriolic abuse was utterly unacceptable, but understanding where I come from—second generation; parents came from the West Indies, made a real positive contribution to this country—I soon realised that I had to work twice as hard and have a thick layer of skin to enable me to deal with that. Fundamentally all I wanted, which is what all my colleagues wanted, was that fundamental human right to work in a racist-free environment, like you do in the office or like you do anywhere else, but regrettably that wasn't the case. So we just had to get our heads down and work hard, but some of the abuse, I have to say, was horrific, certainly from the monkey chanting and the booing, and in my career thereafter I went to Scotland and Italy where I came across other forms of discrimination. While Scotland is a wonderful, beautiful place and I made lots of friends, and the same with Italy, I think the reality was the sectarianism sort of crossed over with the racism as well, but they have 100 years of history there that is ongoing and very difficult to change.

However, I think it was about the catalyst, the turning point to that, and Gordon correctly stated about the Commission for Racial Equality and the Government with the PFA. I think what I call that collective, collaborative approach then—and following thereafter to the present day—was always going to be a multi-stakeholder, collective affair that was obviously going to challenge the issues. So I think that at that juncture it was extremely difficult, but we just had to get on with it. We had to bear the brunt of it and, thereafter, one just hoped that things incrementally got better and became more progressive, which it did.

**Q4 Mr Sanders:** Paul, can I ask, was it just racism from the crowd or did you experience racism from other players you were playing against, or even did you ever experience it within the clubs you played for?

**Paul Elliott:** Certainly, from a personal perspective there was one or two incidents with other players, one or two from my own team but also from other teams as well, that used to use that as a catalyst to try and put you off your game. I wouldn't say necessarily they were bigoted or they were racist. However, they tend to use that to, for want of a better word, psychologically destabilise you—make you not as strong, not as dominant as you are. One or two parties that made those comments to me were quick to come up at the end of the game and shake your hand and say, "Well, it's all just part of the game", when we know it is not part of the game. It is utterly unacceptable. That was how I could contextualise that.

**Q5 Chair:** Just out of interest, when they came up to you at the end of the game to shake your hand and

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say, “Well, it’s all part of the game”, did you shake their hand?

**Paul Elliott:** No, I refused to do that. What they did not understand, obviously, was the personalised effect, how it feels, the humiliation, when you have supporters booing and monkey chanting, imitating you as a monkey and the references back to, obviously, the connotations of slavery. They were totally ignorant of that and they would not understand it because the bottom line is they are not walking in my shoes. I am a black man and a very proud black man. So I think that was the direct correlation and obviously the lack of education, the ignorance that was clearly visible.

But that was then. Having been in this space as an ex-player but thereafter as a campaigner for in excess of 20 years, I think that I have been very privileged, in a way, to work alongside the key stakeholders, to be engaged with them and to see the measure of progress that has been made. We have spoken about, for want of a better word, the ugly side but I think there has been a huge upside as well and that, for me, is very, very important. When you have these serious, sensitive issues people sometimes tend to focus on the problem but what I tend to do is to look at the solutions.

**Q6 Chair:** You say there has been a huge amount of progress, and all of us thought that was the case as well, which is why it came as something of a shock that we have had several quite serious incidents. Do you think that is a one-off or do you think the problem is much greater than we had hoped it was?

**Paul Elliott:** There are clearly issues. I welcome this inquiry. I think it is very important that we are here collectively deliberating it in a public forum. This is absolutely important because you realise the issue of racism is not just contained to the field of play itself. There are other forms of discrimination, whether it be institutional, by virtue of your sexuality, or by virtue of your disability. We are talking about black coaches, black managers. There are whole raft of areas that obviously need serious debate.

**Gordon Taylor:** May I just come in, please? On the point that Paul has referred to with sectarianism as well, you made the point about distinguishing between racism and hooliganism, but part of the hooliganism was perpetrated by organisations such as the National Front, who used football clubs as their vehicle and, to that extent, that was—

**Paul Elliott:** That is the point I was making before. Those parties were the catalyst to that. It was their presence in stadiums, their using stadiums to launch their own recruitment drives, that was the catalyst to penetrating negativity at stadiums, and obviously thereafter you have a bit of a domino effect. That was clearly visible during my time, not just in the UK but also in Scotland and also in Italy as well.

**Q7 Louise Mensch:** Can I just ask Paul specifically, when a player would come up to you on the pitch and people have been chanting, using monkey chants, and the player uses a racist word—he uses the “N” word, maybe—did you ever feel tempted to punch them? I am serious. Were you tempted to violence?

**Paul Elliott:** If I am being honest with you, I actually did that once as a 16-year-old boy, and it was the worst mistake I ever made. Obviously, being 16 I was probably a boy playing in men’s football, because I was actually playing in the first team at the time at Charlton, my very first club. It was something I regretted because, first and foremost, I saw it as a sign of weakness. Although most people had empathy with me, with my frustrations and so on, I realised that I had let my team down from a professional perspective, because that was the turning point of the game when I was sent off. So I can understand it from a professional context.

However, from a personalised context, sometimes one has to make a stand and I clearly was not as mature as I am now, as a man and having grown in the game and grown in life. Gordon made reference to a point about black players. When we had discussions, many of them talked about walking off the pitch. Personally it is something I would never advocate because I think that is a sign of weakness and, moreover, the authorities are there. You have a referee there who has a mandate. There is a duty of care from the referee. He has that mandate to do just that, and that is a problem for the authorities and the custodians of the game.

**Q8 Louise Mensch:** But, as a human being, the anger must have risen up in you and it must have taken an effort of will to control yourself at moments like that.

**Paul Elliott:** Yes, of course. At 16, I think it is a very young age to be playing in the first team and, yes, I attacked the issues with real vigour. If you look at various incidents with players over the years, it is that build-up of frustration because, as I pointed out before, all you wanted was equality of opportunity on the field of play. You should not have to be dealing with those other issues as well.

**Q9 Louise Mensch:** In terms of how it affected you personally, can we talk a little bit about how racism, and indeed other forms of discrimination, which I will come on to in a second, get excused as “banter”? I do not know whether this applies to players, but certainly to football supporters who think, “You are all lads. You are all men. It is a man’s game”. Often “laddishness” is also cited as well as “banter”. You know, “You should be up for a bit of stick and it is all part and parcel”. How much do you think that culture of banter is used as an excuse against racism by people who, as you said, have never walked in your shoes and do not know what it is like?

**Paul Elliott:** Of course it has been used, and I think it is about clarity as to what is acceptable and what is unacceptable and the boundaries within that, because the reality is no one is above the law. I think then, because there was no real what I would call enforcement procedures, we looked at the attitudes of the parties within the structures of the game. It is clearly not consistent with where we are now, and I just sense that the game has moved on, the game has progressed and, yes—

**Gordon Taylor:** I think from that point of view, Louise, in fairness to Paul, he has explained his generation were almost told, to a certain extent—apart

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from when he did react—to put up with it and get on with it. Today's generation of black players are far less prepared to do that or accept it as banter and that is what we are facing now, because it is a different generation.

**Paul Elliott:** Yes, and nor should they put up with it.

**Q10 Louise Mensch:** Of course not, but while players are making a stand and saying, "I will not put up with this, it is not banter", Gordon, can I ask you how much do you think that within the game, whether at club level or referee level, there is a certain attempt made to excuse racism and other forms of discrimination by the fact that those people say it is a man's game? There are 90% more men in the stands than women, and there is this sort of culture of masculinity that has a warped view and says, "This is banter. You should have a thick skin. You should put up with a bit of it".

**Gordon Taylor:** I talked about the game facing its nadir, and the response to stadiums and the civilisation of the game with a lot more females coming to the game, a lot more families coming to the game, and then it became incumbent upon the game to make sure that it was a safe and pleasant environment. From that point of view, I think that is the current challenge: to make sure that it is not that sort of banter that involves racism, homophobia or other different elements—of course against females as well—that it just is not part of the game's vocabulary. To some extent, you will be aware on this Committee that we have entertainment that changes in time but everybody is aware, if you are watching a so-called comedy show, what would be acceptable and not acceptable now. You switch back a few decades and you will see stuff that was on there and you think, "How did they get away with that?" To that extent, that is the educational process.

While we have educated our youngsters coming into the game—even younger than that—through Show Racism the Red Card, I have been very impressed by the knowledge of racism of youngsters at schools. We underestimate our children at times. What I do find is there is still a need to address the issues you are talking about with our senior players, particularly those who have come into the country, and also with our management and coaching staff and, above all, boards of directors.

**Paul Elliott:** To support Gordon's statement, I think Show Racism the Red Card has been instrumental. So has the Kick It Out movement. Both are excellent resources and using players as role models, particularly for the younger generation, is very important and I think we have seen the whole social integration. If we look at the majority of our football clubs all over the country we can see the outstanding work they are doing using football as a catalyst to deliver key social messages, whether it is health, fitness, inclusion or "in this space" anti-racism. Clubs like Charlton Athletic and Millwall have done some fantastic work.

I sense that if you look at the composition of stadiums and you look at that vein of diversity inside stadiums, whether it be the disabled—you have only to look at certain incidents. Last season when there were comments about Sian Massey, you looked at the

outrage. For me, that is a measurable aspect of how far the game has come. When we spoke about the boundaries of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable, for me that is a true reflection of the way society has evolved and football has evolved. Women's and girls' football is the fastest growing sport in the country. The FA have over 6,600 affiliated teams. I think we have moved on in a positive space. However, there are still some big challenges and I think that is what we can't lose sight of.

**Q11 Louise Mensch:** Would you agree that one of those challenges, when we talk about moving on in the culture shift—and I fully appreciate what Gordon is saying. I think Paul is of the same age as people who would have grown up seeing *It Ain't Half Hot, Mum* on BBC1 and that must have been a terrible thing, looking back on it. How on earth did that ever get shown? It never would today. But do you think, as we move on and new technologies come in, one of the fronts on which football has to fight is social media, which is becoming so much more important? You will both be aware, I am sure, of the recent naming of the teenage rape victim of Ched Evans of Sheffield United on Twitter. She was named by literally many hundreds of—I hesitate to call them football fans, but often using the tag "lad" and "banter".

So the word "banter" had literally become, online, a vehicle for abuse, whether it is racist abuse, sexist abuse, homophobic abuse or whatever. This appears to me to open up a new front, if you like, in the war on racism. There needs to be a bit more of both the footballing authorities—in terms of monitoring what so-called fans are putting out online—and the players speaking up and saying, "This is unacceptable", as they show the leadership you just referred to. This young lady was traduced in the most appalling way on threads entitled "banter", and of course it is a criminal offence to name a victim of rape. So we do see this "banter" being used as an excuse for all forms of discrimination and widely prevalent online. What are your views on fighting racism and other forms of discrimination online?

**Gordon Taylor:** We have the FA here as well and David Bernstein. I think it is fair to say that people were not always appreciative, when it came to the decision with regard to the Luis Suárez case, that where it is accepted, confirmed or the decision is made that there has been racist abuse, then the penalty is double the norm. The FA have acted with regard to Twitter and social media and Facebook. This is going to be a continuing problem for us, to educate our members, because this is the social media world that we are dealing with. In the same way, I think it has been encouraging that, when you have had certain black commentators and analysts on the game being abused, police have taken action on it as well.

**Q12 Louise Mensch:** There was certainly outrage on the social media when Sepp Blatter said that it was part of the game and should be accepted. That was widely condemned, so it is not all a force for evil. You can certainly get that fight against racism coming through on social media.

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**Paul Elliott:** Again, that is a measure of the progress that has been made, when you have had the President of FIFA making those comments and he was condemned and obviously thereafter he issued a public apology. But in response to your previous point, we all know the negative effects of the social media, but within the game we are understanding that and there has been strong leadership—I think sanctions—in that space. It has to be a combination of education but also strong messages and zero tolerance, with sanctions in that space because, as in the illustration that you have correctly given, it is utterly unacceptable.

When I talk about this whole ballgame approach, when I talk about this collective collaborative effect with all the various stakeholders—this area of racism, discrimination, prejudice, inequality—I think there has been a strong collective responsibility and leadership. It started with the FA, with the Premier League thereafter, and I think particularly the Suárez case was clear. An independent commission has found that comprehensive beyond reasonable doubt. In my opinion, that is a real test and a measure of how far we have come compared to the illustration I gave as a player, and exactly where we are now in this 21st century. But we should also be mindful of the other challenges, and I hope, working with all the stakeholders, we are going to show the same vigour, which is very important, and the assertiveness in challenging those as well.

**Q13 Philip Davies:** Paul, I was just intrigued, in your answer to Louise you said that we need to make it clear what is acceptable and what is unacceptable. I think we can all see what things are clearly unacceptable. I wondered, because I think this is where it can be quite difficult, where you or where we or where the football authorities should draw the line between what is acceptable in terms of banter from the stands and what is unacceptable, because there are clear cases of things. I wondered where you felt that line should be drawn.

**Paul Elliott:** Well, I think it is quite clear. When we are talking about somebody's race, colour, creed, religion, disability, sexuality, they are all utterly unacceptable. They are all forms of discrimination. I think that that is where it is unacceptable and I generally feel in that space we have been very progressive. I think it would be reasonable to say as well that society has evolved. We are all trying to cope with the times. Football is trying to cope with those times. I genuinely feel that the progress, the collective—as I said to you, I think this is one area that the whole football family are engaged on. Everybody is engaged collectively, and I think that is being reflected, but I sense that it is about the sustainability of that. The sustainability of the investment, the sustainability of the education, the sustainability of the consistent applications of sanctions when proven is the way for me to keep up to speed with the 21st-century challenges in this space.

**Q14 Philip Davies:** What I am driving at is, I just wondered, in order to tackle racism in football and other forms of discrimination, whether or not the

football authorities should or could—whether it might even be practical—have more of a zero tolerance to abuse generally in football. Unfortunately we do not have the Referees Association here, but I suspect that one group of people who probably feel they get the most abuse in football are the referees; people questioning their parentage, questioning their eyesight, questioning whether they are corrupt and have backed one of the teams on the football coupons or whatever it might be. I just wondered whether or not there was a feeling that just too much abuse generally was allowed within football and whether or not there should be more of a zero tolerance approach to any kind of abuse.

**Gordon Taylor:** It is a very good point. I feel that if you are an actor—and at times footballers are called actors, or actresses if it is the female game—you would not go to perform on stage and expect to be verbally abused but, as Louise has said, it has become part of the nature of the game. When it is done in the best possible way—I can think of one example with the Champions League Final when Liverpool were playing against Milan and they were 3:0 down at half time. The crowd just began to sing—not bad songs, the sort of songs that were inspiring.

From that point of view, everybody in this room will know, I hope, what should be acceptable. When we go to these classes of youngsters, under-11s, under-12s, they talk about racism and how they understand it. They say if you refer to the colour of a person's skin, if you refer to their nationality, if you refer to any physical feature—and they go through the whole range. It is everything on its different merits, on its own case, but the more civilised we get the more we should know what is acceptable and not acceptable.

That is why, no doubt, if you had members of the comedy profession here they would say how much harder it is for them now, bearing in mind what used to be acceptable and how comedians like Bernard Manning would virtually have a whole litany of what would be unacceptable these days, and how things have changed. I would like to think that football can play its part in that because it is so visual. But we do accept, because we are in the public domain, that all the good things that we and the players' foundations do don't get the press, of course, and that the bad things do.

One of the worries I have is that football is called on by Government in lots of initiatives for education and against crime and against obesity, but when we have had this elephant in the room with the John Terry-Anton Ferdinand case, to some extent football has not been able to deal with it, albeit it may be a different level of guilt or innocence because it is more a civil case with the FA than a criminal case. Once it became a criminal case and the FA was told, "Hold your horses until we do this", I have not been comfortable with that because it has been festering over the game. It has infected so many issues and I just wish that football could have got on with that, like the cricket people got on with the issue of the spot betting, albeit there was a criminal case against those players.

I would have felt, if football is being seen to do its job of effectively administering discipline properly—if it is needed by an independent commission—that

all sports should be allowed to do that. I do not like this, “The police are dealing with it so will you hold back?” Well, we have held back but it has been put back now beyond the European Championships. When Paul talks about education and also sanctions—it has made our job more difficult in doing that.

**Q15 Steve Rotheram:** Paul, it has been a great honour to have met you on a number of occasions at Kick It Out and Show Racism the Red Card. I think we have another one next Thursday at Stamford Bridge so I am looking forward to seeing you on that occasion. You spoke about far right groups such as the NF and using football as a vehicle or hijacking it for nefarious activities, and you talk about what happened in the 1980s with singing the songs, but it was not just members of the NF. Back then there were whole sections of football crowds who joined in with those songs that had at least racist undertones within them. It might be worth pointing out that thankfully that can’t happen now, firstly, because I think that other people would self-police within a crowd and stop it, but also it is a criminal offence under the Football Offences Act 1991. So it might just be worth putting that on the record.

We know that the FA has equality policies for the Premier League and that filters down throughout the rest of the divisions, but to what extent is racism ignored where there is little or no media coverage—I am talking about the semi-pro or the amateur football game, both of which I played in—and to what extent should resources be allocated to ensure that racism is not allowed to fester outside of just the Premier League?

**Paul Elliott:** Firstly, in your previous point, I am wholly accepting of that because obviously that was a first-phase entry point with the BNP. But thereafter they influenced other parties because that is a natural thing—“It is okay for that person to do it”—so they collectively participate, not realising, with their ignorance and lack of awareness, the ramifications. So, on that point I am in agreement with you wholeheartedly.

When I spoke about the 21st-century challenges, I think that is one of the big challenges, particularly at the grass-roots level, because there are issues. I think the whole reporting process is quite intrinsic to that, and the Respect campaign and the National Game Strategy are very important. I think the whole spectator behaviour issue is very important in that space as well, where the pitches are cordoned off, and in particular I think the Respect campaign has grown. It certainly has got considerably better. I think that reporting line is very important, not just at the elite level, so players understand if there are issues you have the support of your club and there is full transparency in the whole reporting process, and obviously that is going to be followed up and maintained and sustained with a view to an eventual outcome. But I think that is an area that you have identified correctly that is very challenging, and certainly from the Kick It Out perspective it is an area that is very important, where they were working very closely with the stakeholders—namely the FA in that

particular area as custodians of the game—to try to resolve those matters.

**Gordon Taylor:** On that point, it is a matter of logging all the reported incidents and how they are dealt with. We are trying to do, even at the professional level, an audit season by season, working with the FA, of all such reported incidents and to try to make sure as well that they have been dealt with satisfactorily. I think it is quite crucial, in answering your question, that we monitor and audit all such complaints and how they are dealt with.

**Paul Elliott:** The whole follow-through of that, from inception, from the reporting, to the actual outcome is very important—that data. I think as a consequence of that any sanction is applied appropriately with that and, as Gordon says, that is logged because that is important information for monitoring and evaluation. That is one of the big challenges, but again I would like to feel that we are collectively trying to work with those challenges to ensure not only at the elite end—but that it ripples down to all the grassroots areas. But there has been progress, and the most important thing is the sustainability of that and the ongoing investment because, as you rightly say, you didn’t have what you have in the stadiums in terms of the stewarding. If you look at stadiums now, the composition of stadiums, the stewarding, the policing, is far better than it has ever been, and with the quality of the individual supporter now, I think people are realising, “This is unacceptable. We are not prepared to put up with that”. There was a recent case I was told—I think it was Chelsea—where Drogba in particular was getting vociferous, vitriolic abuse, and the actual Chelsea supporters grabbed the individual and passed that individual to the stewards and thereafter went to the police. So I think that is a template and a measure of how far we have come. However, what we cannot afford to do—and I always say this when I discuss this—is to be complacent.

**Gordon Taylor:** There was a point about, even if we could stop it in the 1980s within the stadium, what was the point because it was just going to burst outside the stadium? And there was a point of argument that it might be better getting all the bad behaviour inside stadiums rather than wrecking towns and cities. To some extent that was quite a negative view because we did face it full on and address it, both inside stadiums and in city centres, and it is fair to say I think we had a great deal of success.

But I am also mindful that football works with other bodies, such as the police and the fire service, and a seminar I went to just the other week on progress was about hate crime, and the fact is that it does seem to be increasing. Whether it is part of the worries in the world with the economic crisis—I know you could say, “Oh here we go again”, but it is a fact because if people are facing unemployment and facing difficult futures then more extreme views come into being. The National Front hopes to thrive in such situations. We get a blame culture. We have to be very mindful in football and sport, with all our initiatives, that this coming period is going to be a really testing time for a lot of the things that we are bringing in.

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**Q16 Dr Coffey:** Just to finish the politics, I am sure you will be delighted that the BNP collapsed in the elections, so perhaps people have moved on from the 1970s and 1980s. It is a shame the Referees Association could not muster anyone because I was going to ask, how confident are you that the arrangements for reporting racism are robust? The follow-up to that would be, why do some players seem to be reticent about reporting racist abuse?

**Gordon Taylor:** The big worry for us after the Patrice Evra incident was because—Louise mentioned social media as well, and I have also been subject to that when you come out with an opinion these days. So you dare not have a contrary opinion to anybody else in this world, which is a bit odd for a democracy and civilised society, so-called, because you can get a torrent of abuse. Knowing the abuse I got for speaking up against racism, and Patrice Evra similarly—and then following that of course there was the Tom Adeyemi incident when he was on loan from Norwich to Oldham and played in the Cup, and I was concerned that there would be some action taken but it did not lead to any particular conviction. Do you know what I mean? It is that sort of thing. The lad reported it to the referee. The referee straightaway reported it to the police at the side and action was taken.

These days I see no reason why culprits can't be identified, because we have closed circuit television. So if a player is going to complain, I feel a real responsibility that that complaint is followed through and followed through successfully. I felt the same over the youngster who made a complaint when he was in tears and it fizzled out. I was disappointed that maybe the levels with regard to a criminal action may be too high, but certainly now—as has been referred to—racial abuse is a crime, and nothing happened with that. If there is going to be such a backlash, it could set back the process of complaining, which is the only way we can monitor how this is going on.

You are quite right: the last thing I want this season, after this season's incidents, is for black players to not feel comfortable with the process, that if they do make a complaint it won't be addressed properly.

**Q17 Dr Coffey:** I am not sure from your answer if you are saying then they are not robust, or the police just simply don't take it seriously.

**Gordon Taylor:** I think the police are having to take it more seriously now. I think clubs are having to take it more seriously now. But I also feel—as you will feel as well—there is an element of belief among my younger black players that it is still, “I could make a complaint but—”. There is a worry that the Terry-Ferdinand incident hasn't been dealt with yet; there has been a worry about what happened with the Liverpool reaction. I have a young generation of black footballers who are saying, “Gordon, we shouldn't have to stand for this any more”, and I am feeling a little bit frustrated that we can't be more effective in that process.

**Q18 Dr Coffey:** Have you ever had any indication from the Crown Prosecution Service about why they feel it is not appropriate to charge people?

**Gordon Taylor:** I dealt with the local MP Nigel Evans and Jack Straw with regard to the incident in Liverpool. They kept me informed and then there was an arrest on the Sunday, but all I read was the same as perhaps you have read in the papers: that it wasn't followed through. Presumably the evidence was not sufficient to make any particular conviction, although I believe the club—I hope—have made an identification, because the club can ban such people from the ground in future, so that is something that football could do. They can make their own judgment, even if the police don't feel there is enough evidence for a criminal conviction.

**Q19 Dr Coffey:** I think it was Twitter in that incident, wasn't it, that led quickly to the identification of the person in the crowd?

**Gordon Taylor:** I believe so. But in a way I would need the Home Office or your colleagues who link in with the Home Office to find out exactly what happened and why there wasn't a successful conviction in that case, because it was a concern to us.

**Q20 Dr Coffey:** Can I ask Mr Elliott, does he think players are reticent to report abuse?

**Paul Elliott:** The most important thing when there are complaints is the consistency and the continuity. I am agreeing with Gordon on the basis that we have a young generation of players where there have been concerns, and what we have tried to do is to address those concerns. I would like to feel that the independent commission on the Suárez case was a very strong message on the seriousness with which racism is taken. I think a lot of positive lessons have come out of that. It would be inappropriate for me to comment any further on the John Terry thing because there is a process and we have to adhere to that. One just hopes—as I have used the phrase before—no one is above the law. If the appropriate test has been applied and it has been decided, then at that juncture hopefully the sanctions imposed will be the right sanctions.

But I would like to feel now that the measures and the lessons from Suárez will hopefully give more confidence to those to come forward and have the confidence that the custodians of the game are going to see through this process from start to finish. I think that is the most important thing. I am sure they are very mindful of that and I am sure that will continue to happen. So it is not perfect but I think again, compared to what it was, what it is—

**Gordon Taylor:** If I may, Paul, as well, compared to how it is in other countries.

**Paul Elliott:** Exactly.

**Gordon Taylor:** We have a big worry with the European Championship because the response of other European countries when the President of FIFA made his comments was, “Well, so what?” You just feel that, while we are far from perfect, there are a lot of countries out there whose record against racism does not really stand up for inspection against ours.

**Paul Elliott:** Also, you have a true indicator of the progress, I think. If you look back to I think it was 2006 when England played against Spain, and you have only to look at the horrific abuse that our black



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players received. One or two of them were actually in tears. The point I am establishing here is if you looked at the whole country and the way the whole country was galvanised, saying, “This is utterly unacceptable”, for me that was a very true indicator of where we were and where we are in the fight against racism. I think, yes, it is reasonable and I think it is fair to say, when you compare the UK against other countries—you only have to look at areas of Eastern Europe—there are some massive, colossal challenges there.

I can attempt to articulate that and give what I call comparable evidence, but what we can’t allow that to do is to supersede our own challenges and forge complacency on the back of that, because other countries are not investing the way we are, whether it is education at grassroots, Show Racism the Red Card, Kick It Out, the whole game approach, the collective movement against that. What we still have to do, as far as I am concerned, is obviously embrace the 21st-century challenges, and I think that is more visibility on boards, councils, committees and administration. If you look at the game, 25% of the players in the game are black and yet we only have four black managers: Keith Curle, Chris Powell, Chris Hughton, and O’Connor at Wolves. The FA has appointed the first woman on the FA board, Heather Rabbatts, who is a formidable individual. So that is good progress, and obviously—

**Dr Coffey:** Forgive me, Mr Elliott, other people are going to come on to those topics later.

**Paul Elliott:** All right. Okay.

**Q21 Dr Coffey:** Can I try and stick to a couple of things here. In dealing with incidents, it was telling that the FA did impose that significant penalty against Luis Suárez, and it was a member of the public that mentioned the other case, which I appreciate you don’t want to comment upon. If I look more at other parts of the game—I don’t have information, I just happened to find the figures for Norfolk—I think in the 2010–11 season, three out of 600 disciplinary sessions were about racism. But I would put it to you that it seems to be more spectators where the problem is. How do you think we can deal better with reporting spectators? I don’t just mean in the big clubs but in our amateur game as well. Is that a fair assessment—that the bigger problem lies there?

**Paul Elliott:** I think it is an issue. Obviously I am guided by the way you are proportionalising it, and obviously you have that information to hand

**Dr Coffey:** Well, I don’t know, that is my—

**Paul Elliott:** I don’t have that exact information. I can talk from a generic perspective and recognise and concur with your view that that is a very important area, and it is an area that far more resources have to be thrown at because obviously they don’t have the CCTV, they don’t have the policing, they don’t have the stewarding, they don’t have those facilities. So I think it is important that in that area there has to be a confidence. We have to give those parties confidence that if spectators are abusive towards them there is going to be a proper procedural reporting line, and the continuity and the consistency of that is going to be followed through by the Football Association and give confidence to those people that have to report it. If

you don’t report it then obviously you are defeating the object. So I think it is very important that that is done and that is attacked with the same vigour, and that process is adhered to and we get the eventual right outcome on the back of that.

**Q22 Dr Coffey:** Can I ask Mr Taylor, has the PFA ever expelled anyone from your membership due to conviction of racism, and would you do so in the future?

**Gordon Taylor:** We haven’t expelled anybody. The philosophy or the ethos of the PFA is that we are a family of players. I have had quite a number of our members who have been convicted for various offences, and then we see it as our job not only to admire the virtues of those who have done particularly well on the football field but also to look after those who have gone off the straight and narrow. As a result I have made quite a number of prison visits to our members who have been convicted for various offences, and the first thing we talk about is trying to get them back on the straight road and work on rehabilitation. So that is our philosophy and I don’t think it is such a bad one really.

**Q23 Dr Coffey:** Has any member of the PFA ever been convicted of racial abuse, to your knowledge? I can understand people have been drink-driving—

**Gordon Taylor:** Just to try and explain fully as well, we are a trade union of professional players, and it is agreed with the Football Association that we agree the sanctions with the Football Association, with the Premier League and with the Football League, and we often have former members of the PFA sitting in judgment but we are not the governing body and we are not the disciplinary body. There are other sports—such as perhaps tennis, probably golf—where they have a much more disciplinary role. So from their point of view, if a golfer had cheated they would have the choice to throw him out of the Professional Golfers’ Association as well.

The philosophy of the PFA is, we have 3,000 current young men, 50,000 former players, and they are not all going to be saints; we are going to have quite a few sinners. We are all human beings, and if they do go off the straight and narrow then we consider it a big test to get them back on to it. With regard to various of our players who have had problems—be it mentally or be it with drugs, alcohol or the various addictions these days that young men get faced with—I would like to think that we have in play a process of rehabilitation that, although not 100% successful, aims to get at least two out of three back on the straight and narrow.

**Q24 Dr Coffey:** I would put it to you it would be a powerful message to your young black players who are reticent about reporting racism if the PFA were to say, “We will not represent people who have been convicted of racial abuse”.

**Gordon Taylor:** Yes. I can understand that point and that is an issue that may well be raised now, because what we are looking to do is, rather than just talk about behaviour in general, to put it into the standard player’s contract, for the club or for the player, that if

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he is found guilty of racist abuse, that is considered gross misconduct and the contract should be terminated. To try and elaborate on that, in the same way, we are trying to encourage some of our black players to become coaches and managers in the future. We are trying to get an equality interview policy that we are working with ACAS on now, rather than have particular positive discrimination—to really focus on the need to be more equitable. I hope that makes it clear what we are trying to do.

**Dr Coffey:** Thank you.

**Chair:** I am conscious that we have a second panel and I still have a number of members to ask questions of this one, so if we can speed up a little bit.

**Q25 Damian Collins:** Just briefly on the role of clubs in dealing with these issues. Do you think, Paul Elliott, that there is a danger that clubs often treat allegations of racist behaviour like any other disciplinary matter? The instinct of the club is to rally around the player and protect them, as they would do in front of another FA disciplinary hearing. Do you think clubs have to be careful with how they deal with these incidents?

**Paul Elliott:** They have to be mindful, because the situation is their supporters reflect all parts of their local community. Certainly in Liverpool's case I think that created a fracture, if I am being very honest with you, if you look at the local community, and I still think there are issues there. So those are lessons that have to be learned. Tribalism is an interesting thing in football and what I try to do is sort of rationalise it. While I can understand the employee/employer relationship—I can understand when it is their player and the whole sort of tribalism—you would like to feel come judgment day, like in the Suárez issue, that when there is a clear, consistent, comprehensive judgment by an independent commission, that that was it, that was the end of it, and that had to be acknowledged and accepted. I think that is a good test for other third parties.

If we are to believe the quotes coming out of Liverpool, they actually said that if this case was to happen again they would deal with it a little bit differently. So I think that is a measure of how far we have come and how far the FA has got it right and the strong, clear, decisive messages there. That is my view on that.

**Gordon Taylor:** I think the point you make is a fair one, and it is something to some extent the managers seem—particularly the more insecure they are, the more they put a strong circle that is sometimes part of a motivational process to have a “them and us” attitude, that “The whole world out there is against us and we must be strong”. If you are not careful, that can motivate your players to go over the top, over and above, to be excessive, to win at all costs. In the same way, sometimes it is not easy, because as I mentioned we are all human beings. It is natural to want to put a ring round the caravans if they are being attacked, but on the other hand when one of your members has a problem then you have to deal with it. It is the same if I have a problem within the PFA I can't ignore it and say, “Never mind”; it has to be addressed. But the managers do feel that, “If we are not careful, we are

going to alienate supporters. Unless we do that, I am going to alienate my team. It is going to be harder to get that player if he has been disciplined”.

Dealing with the likes of Carlos Tevez at Manchester City, that was a really delicate situation. We had a strong manager with regard to discipline, a player who felt he had been aggrieved, and the next minute both parties are cutting off their nose to spite their face, when it was almost that situation in reverse. In the end he is back at the club and they are better for it. When one of your members feels he is innocent, it is a difficult one, bearing in mind that the FA has to try and replicate what would happen in a court of law. So once a decision was made, I just felt if they weren't going to appeal and go through that process—it did cause a big problem. Travelling down today, a Liverpool supporter was sat opposite me saying he felt a bit embarrassed; the quiet side of the Liverpool supporters felt embarrassed because they felt they had lost out to the more voluble minority in that particular incident.

**Q26 Damian Collins:** Could I ask briefly, do you think there should be some sanction against Carlos Tevez for his holding up of the “RIP Fergie” banner at yesterday's trophy presentation at Manchester?

**Gordon Taylor:** It is like we mentioned before with the social media. The FA's disciplinary unit is probably going to have to get bigger and bigger, with more and more monitoring, because never a day goes by now whereby you have situations in football, you have the television, you have the radio—

**Q27 Damian Collins:** Mr Taylor, sorry to cut in on you. You have been very generous in your answers, but I know there are colleagues who want to come in. But on this point do you think that this is something the FA should look at, and it shouldn't be enough just for Manchester City to have apologised for his behaviour but there should be some consideration of some sort of sanction against him for that action?

**Gordon Taylor:** I think it is good that Manchester City have apologised.

**Q28 Damian Collins:** But beyond that?

**Gordon Taylor:** I felt it was disrespectful, and I think you can ask the Chairman of the FA that. They are the governing body.

**Damian Collins:** I have given him a warm up so, yes, he has 10 minutes to think about it now.

**Gordon Taylor:** It is not my job. It is up to the FA to indict their members, seriously. If I start having an opinion every time one of our members is—“Should he be done or shouldn't he? Gordon, do you think he should have been done?” I will do it but I am going to be—if you say, “Gordon, the PFA, will you take that role of sanctioning?” then I will do it; otherwise, I think it is an unfair question. If I am not that body, then no matter what I say—if I say, “No, it shouldn't”, that could count against us.

**Q29 Damian Collins:** If the Football Association said they were going to look at it would you support them doing that?

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**Gordon Taylor:** I think it is the duty of the FA to look at all things to protect the image of the game.

**Q30 Damian Collins:** But you would not criticise?

**Gordon Taylor:** What I will say, at a time for Manchester City fans to be celebrating, it was unfortunate that there should be that. They should just be pleased that they have won it and don't need to reflect on United, who have had a good record and will be feeling bad enough the way they lost it.

**Q31 Damian Collins:** But you would not speak out against the FA if they did that? You wouldn't say that was inappropriate?

**Gordon Taylor:** I would say the FA are entitled to look at that and make a decision on that.

**Q32 Damian Collins:** Thank you. Just one other final thing I wanted to cover. We have covered quite a bit of ground so far. At the roundtable on racism in football that was held at 10 Downing street earlier in the year, one of the issues that came up was homophobia. I appreciate that is slightly different to what we are talking about, but I want to raise it here. Do you think this is an issue within the game? Do you believe that there are no homosexual footballers playing in professional football in England at the moment?

**Paul Elliott:** I think it is an issue. I think the most important thing is that you create a forum so that those who wish to come out and say they are gay are going to be protected within the game, and they have the confidence in the authorities, in their football clubs, that if there is going to be any form of homophobic abuse as a consequence of that, sanctions will be applied. I think that is the most important thing. You want the peace of mind of knowing you can go out there and perform, and if you wish to come out and openly demonstrate your sexuality, then you are safe to do that and there is confidence within the football club—and moreover within the game—that you can do that and not have an issue.

**Q33 Damian Collins:** Do you believe there are players fearful of coming forward for the lack of that protection?

**Paul Elliott:** Yes, I wouldn't be surprised if that was the case. In truth, one can empathise with that as well. I was speaking at a particular forum in the European Parliament and there were two or three agents there that made it abundantly clear that their players were gay, and they actually advised them not to because it would affect their status, their commercial status, which I think is very disappointing. We have made tremendous progress here and we have to create the forum—just like players when they are being abused about the colour of their skin—where they can come out and say, “Hey, I've been abused, I'm reporting it. This is the reporting channel. This is what I expect from the custodians of the game. I'm going to be supported verbally, privately, and there is going to be strong and clear, decisive messaging and, where guilty, appropriate sanctions duly applied”. I think that is what is needed.

**Q34 Damian Collins:** I will just ask Gordon, is there a role for the PFA here?

**Gordon Taylor:** Yes, we have tried. We have had various campaigns and worked with the Football Association as well. Ironically, we did produce a video as well within the gay movement. That was split, because it was really quite extreme about what happens, and one part of them said, “We don't want that. It is almost like reiterating the abuse they are getting”. So it is difficult to get right. To some extent, it is much easier to address racism because it is much more plain to see—when you can clearly see we have black players, Asian players and foreign players. It is no use me saying, “Well, we will try and make it as comfortable as possible for any gay player to come out”, and, as has happened in rugby, cricket and other sports, it has never quite caused the problems that the individuals who may be gay would feel it would cause them. They have had situations, of course, in the services, haven't they? You have had situations in Parliament where sometimes MPs have felt quite threatened if they come out and say they are gay, and then you feel, “Are they going to be open to blackmail?”; it has just got to be so much better to be up-front with it.

It is an issue we want to deal with. I did deal with the likes of Justin Fashanu when he had a manager—no disrespect to Brian Clough—who was certainly old school, and I had no end of discussions with Brian on how he should deal with Justin better than the way he did. It is a bit like when Louise talked about that old banter. With the mental illness issue as well, footballers aren't allowed to feel bad or even complain that they can't cope. It is a “pull yourself together” job. It is the same with gay players, they must also be aware of that dressing room and the crowd and what may happen. In a way, when we get a player who comes out—Justin came out later of course—that will be another big challenge like we have had this year. But you can only test yourself by such challenges, and for us trying to do all we can to protect that individual, or those individuals, we shall do our best. It is not that we are not prepared for it, but I don't think those individuals have the confidence to come out in football.

**Paul Elliott:** Equally, on the back of that, the objective is to try and create that environment within the football club where players will just say, “Well, listen, I'm not bothered if you're gay. The same way I'm not bothered about your ethnicity or the colour of your skin. If you're gay and you're goal scoring—you're scoring 25 goals a season—that is all that matters”.

**Gordon Taylor:** Our campaign was “So What?”

**Paul Elliott:** Yes, exactly. That is a clear, consistent, coherent message that I think we have collectively within the game tried to put out there.

**Chair:** We still have a couple more questions that we could move to relatively quickly. Steve?

**Steve Rotheram:** Gerry can include the bit I was going to do in his question. He is that good.

**Chair:** Co-operation. Gerry Sutcliffe.

**Q35 Mr Sutcliffe:** Thanks. Can I put on the record, as a former Sports Minister I recognise the progress

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that football has made. Today's inquiry is about racism in football but we could be talking about other sports as well. I think the fact is that football, as the national sport, has the role models, or indeed perhaps a lack of role models. That is what I want to come on to, Gordon, in terms of what you are trying to do in the PFA in relation to so few BME coaches and key players in the game. Perhaps you could talk us through the Rooney rule. I thought it was the Wayne Rooney rule but it is not, it is the Dan Rooney rule.

**Gordon Taylor:** I know to some extent that gives the wrong impression, and we have had the lawyer over from America, Cyrus Mehri, who also worked with other lawyers over there. It would be at the same time as we got our black coaches forum and that would have been in about 2003.

Just quickly if I can—which is never easy for me, as you know—if you are going to interview for a job as an administrator, a chief executive, as well as your coaches, they have to include a black coach. In the beginning it was, “This is voluntary”, and then one club abused that voluntary code and said, “Oh, by the way, we've made our choice but we'll ring up”, because they provided a list of suitable black candidates and that was a conjunction of the players' union and the managers and coaches association, and they said, “but we will talk to them”. So they fined the club, and after they made that fine from then on the process was adhered to and they found that they had some in their ranks that they didn't know of. They put their heads above the radar, and they found they had some really quality black coaches, to the extent that a few years later the Super Bowl was contested by two teams that both had black coaches.

So, we felt we should take a leaf from that book and do what we can, particularly as our past chairman was Chris Powell, who I thought was an ideal candidate to go into coaching. I had to work really hard to convince him because he said, “Gordon, look at the record. Look how difficult it is”. I am so pleased he has done well because we need that role model like Chris Powell, Chris Hughton. Others who have tried—your Keith Alexanders who have failed, or not failed. No, that is wrong. He didn't fail. He did brilliantly because he kept going and was a real inspiration at lower levels and deserved better opportunities. We just feel that we hope we can get the Football League at least to try and introduce such a selection policy and then move on to the Premier League. We feel again, in monitoring it, the figures aren't good and we are not making progress and we need to because, as Paul said, 20% of our membership want to stay in the game. You stay in the game, you are a coach or a manager. We have a new bursary system for young black players in inner-city areas to go to their club and get qualified, like a lot of our community programmes, but it needs to be visually seen.

**Q36 Mr Sutcliffe:** What are the barriers then? Why is it you are having to do this and why aren't the clubs and directors—why aren't we making the progress that we should have made without having to bring in this sort of thing?

**Gordon Taylor:** All we can do is try and make sure that we have this list of players who have the UEFA A Licence, the Pro Licence—that they have all the qualifications. Why are we having to do it? I suppose in the same way that we have had to work against racism until the youngsters who were joining realised it didn't relate to what we were talking about, and maybe we will get there. It has happened in other sports and I have to believe it will happen in football. It is not happening at the moment, but I just hope the likes of Chris Powell—we have David with us today from the FA, and I have said for the FA's job as well whenever they can.

Paul has mentioned Hope Powell being used. It is about using black coaches and using them in a way that is very visible, and nothing can be more visible than the national team, and to see the presence there in some form or another just to encourage black players to take up the coaching.

**Paul Elliott:** Yes. One of the disappointments for me in that space has been that we have lost a generation of potentially outstanding black players who subsequently did not get those opportunities to go into management. Certainly I have had discussions with my own generation and, first and foremost, the most important things that we say is that they need to be qualified. But a lot of them get disfranchised because they are thinking, “Well, what is the point of getting qualified because we're not going to get jobs?” They are first and foremost thinking about the access to the opportunities, which I think is very important. Another reasonable comment that has been made concerns an open and transparent recruitment process for black and white players. So I think these issues are very important. That would enable qualified coaches to give them the chance that they need.

So when I spoke about the challenges, they are big challenges but I see optimism in two ways in particular. One is the good work that the PFA are doing, in particular Paul Davis in terms of the capacity build underneath, which is very important, and Brendon Batson and his bursary scheme, in conjunction with the stakeholders who have invested in that, to award young coaches bursaries. But at the end of it they are going to want jobs and I think the transparency of the process is very important to try and get those opportunities.

**Q37 Mr Sutcliffe:** Just finally on that, are the League Managers Association on board with what you are trying to do?

**Gordon Taylor:** Yes, I believe they are. It will be essential to have them on board, keep them on board and for them to be very positive about it, because it would need us to work with the League Managers Association to have that list of appropriate candidates. With St George's Park being set up, we have an office there and we are going to use that office to try and monitor such movements, Gerry.

**Chair:** I think we do need to move on to the next session.

**Philip Davies:** May I just quickly. I just want to test—  
**Chair:** You have 30 seconds.

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**Q38 Philip Davies:** Okay. I want to rain on this spirit of consensus, because what I genuinely don't understand is that somebody who is committed to stamping out racism—that we should not be interested in the colour of anybody's skin; that should be irrelevant; we should be colour blind in all of these things—thinks that it is right that people should be put on a shortlist simply because of the colour of their skin. Does that not defeat the object of trying to stamp out racism? By doing that do you not think that you can build up a resentment, actually making people more racist by saying, "Well, they've only got there because of the colour of their skin"? Is that kind of approach not counterproductive?

**Paul Elliott:** But you are addressing underrepresentation as well, aren't you? I think what is important here is if you have consistency—

**Gordon Taylor:** I think it is the same as what you did with females, really, with your own House of Commons, isn't it, with regard to the selection of candidates?

**Paul Elliott:** But my point is that if you have a clear, open and transparent process then there is no need for that.

**Q39 Philip Davies:** On underrepresentation, though, the figures from Kicking it Out are that between 20% to 30% of players in the game are black. The ethnic minority population in the UK is about 8%. So would you argue, therefore, that there is a huge underrepresentation of white people playing football and that there should be measures taken to get more white people playing professional football? That is the logic of your position—

**Paul Elliott:** No, it is not. What I am saying is 25% of the players in the game are black but there are only four black managers. Now, that is gross underrepresentation, so the steps and measures we are trying to get is to try to address that. Unless you have clear access to opportunities in an open and

transparent recruitment process, then that does not happen. You must make it relative to those who are participating, not to the population.

**Chair:** Your 30 seconds is up.

**Q40 Philip Davies:** Just one last question, which is, can you give us any examples of people who have applied to be coaches or managers who have been turned down because of racism?

**Gordon Taylor:** That is the whole point.

**Paul Elliott:** Can I say to you, the point is, how can you make that statement on the basis that the majority of them don't even get interviewed? That is the point. They don't even get interviews. That is what I am saying. They do not get to the interview table. There isn't a process because nine out of 10 jobs are actually gone before the manager even gets sacked.

**Q41 Philip Davies:** So the chairman is happy to recruit black players but not black managers and coaches?

**Gordon Taylor:** Again, you say "happy". You say, "Will a club say they have not picked him because he is black?" Of course they won't say that because that would be a criminal act to say that.

**Paul Elliott:** That is against the law, isn't it? They are not going to say that, are they?

**Gordon Taylor:** It is against the law. All we are saying is how important it is. It is only like a school doing your exam results and seeing how good at school you are, hopefully, compared to where you were and where you are. It is the same with our black players who become coaches: "Which of you have ended up in good-quality coaching jobs and which of you haven't?" At the moment there is an imbalance.

**Paul Elliott:** What we are trying to say here is called, in my parlance, equality of opportunity, so I, you or anybody else—

**Gordon Taylor:** It is not the selecting, it is only the interviewing.

**Chair:** Can I thank both of you very much.

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### Examination of Witnesses

*Witnesses:* **David Bernstein**, Chairman, Football Association, **Sue Law**, Head of Equality, Football Association, **Lord Ouseley**, Kick It Out, and **Raj Chandarana**, Football Supporters' Federation, gave evidence.

**Q42 Chair:** If I could welcome our second panel this morning: David Bernstein, Chairman of the FA, and Sue Law from the FA, Lord Ouseley from Kick Out Racism, and Raj Chandarana of the Football Supporters' Federation. Damian Collins is going to start.

**Damian Collins:** I will ask David Bernstein, do you think you should take action against Carlos Tevez for his action yesterday in holding up the "RIP Fergie" banner at the trophy presentation?

**David Bernstein:** Can I say, as Chairman of the FA it is very difficult for me to answer that. I am extremely careful not to put pressure on our independent people who look after the regulatory side of the game. It can be very tempting sometimes to want to do that, but I don't. I stay well clear. I would rather not give you a personal view. Let me say, it looked to me rather silly

more than anything else, an impetuous silly thing to do. Clearly, it wasn't very sensible, but I would rather not say more than that because it will be looked at properly by the people who make those decisions, and from whom I try and stay well clear.

**Q43 Damian Collins:** So that panel will be looking at this?

**David Bernstein:** I am sure they will look at it, yes. It is a high-profile incident and I am sure they will look at it, yes.

**Q44 Damian Collins:** The reason I think it is relevant to this panel—not because it is topical—is that if, say, that had happened after Wolves were relegated and that banner had said "RIP Terry Connor", would that have been grounds for the FA to

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consider whether it was not just inappropriate but even potentially racially inflammatory?

**David Bernstein:** It could be. Personally, this incident seems to me to be rather more silly than anything else. Again, I don't want to say too much. It is something that our people will look at. I would rather not be put in the position where I am giving a view and putting pressure on them.

**Q45 Damian Collins:** There is a question of, not just are these things silly but is it appropriate behaviour? Does it suggest that footballers can behave in public in a way in which—in a very high-profile way—in other areas of society people wouldn't tolerate or, if you did it in your work environment, action would be taken against you?

**David Bernstein:** I think it was a very excitable moment, emotions were running very high. As I understand it—and I stand to be corrected—I think a fan passed this thing to Tevez who just sort of put it in the air. So I don't think it is, personally, the most serious thing I have ever come across, but again I don't know all the facts and I would rather leave it to the people who will look at it very carefully and professionally.

**Q46 Damian Collins:** I appreciate it has been a very happy weekend for you.

**David Bernstein:** It was a very happy week.

**Damian Collins:** I don't want to rain on Manchester City's parade.

**David Bernstein:** Thank you.

**Damian Collins:** I wanted to ask briefly about John Terry. I applaud, as I think many people did, the action the FA took in deciding to remove the England captaincy from John Terry. Do you think with hindsight that decision should have been taken when he was initially charged with the offence, rather than waiting until it was clear that he would not go to court until after the European Championships?

**David Bernstein:** No, we did not think that was necessary. We felt there was no point in making a premature decision and that, on the basis we believed the trial was going to take place before the Euros, the thing would be settled one way or the other, and there was little point in just making a point and doing something prematurely. I think we got it spot on.

**Q47 Damian Collins:** For you it was only when it became clear that he potentially would go to the European Championships with this lot hanging over him that you felt you had to act?

**David Bernstein:** Absolutely. Yes.

**Q48 Damian Collins:** Was there unanimity among your board in making that decision?

**David Bernstein:** Yes.

**Q49 Damian Collins:** As far as you are concerned, he is available for selection should the management—

**David Bernstein:** Definitely. Absolutely; it is up to the manager now, yes.

**Q50 Damian Collins:** I asked the previous panel whether they felt there was an issue with clubs

treating issues of racial abuse almost like any other disciplinary matter. In the Suárez case in particular, which Gordon Taylor and Paul Elliott emphasised in their answers, the club just rallied around the player without possibly pausing for reflection and considering the evidence. Do you think clubs should be doing more to be more sensitive in the way they handle these issues and the way they deal with players within the club as well?

**David Bernstein:** Without referring to any particular incidents, in general I agree absolutely with what Gordon Taylor said earlier, that clubs do tend to act like large families. They do tend to rally round and support each other. They do tend to draw the wagons around. This sort of, "They all hate us" type of thing, "and that makes us stronger" is something that is prevalent among many if not most clubs. So I think that is the actual situation. Should clubs be more introspective? Yes, I think they should attempt to be, most certainly. But having chaired a club and knowing what it is like, it is quite difficult. There is a strong temptation to do everything one can to get a winning situation, a winning team, and that includes supporting your colleagues almost right or wrong. So it is a cultural thing, but I agree with you, I think it does need looking at.

**Q51 Damian Collins:** Clubs over the last decade or so have done things to stamp out other cultural practices that they were unhappy with, particularly, say, the use of alcohol by players in full training. Do you think there should be more pressure on clubs to control what goes on within their own family, if you like?

**David Bernstein:** Yes, I do.

**Q52 Damian Collins:** Do you think there should ultimately be a sanction, a penalty that you could impose on a club if you felt that they had allowed a culture to develop that was unhealthy or they had failed to take an incident seriously?

**David Bernstein:** That is very difficult. You mean the FA, as opposed to the leagues?

**Damian Collins:** Yes.

**David Bernstein:** That question could be aimed at the leagues and not just the FA.

**Damian Collins:** Yes.

**David Bernstein:** I think that is very dangerous territory. I am not sure that I would go along with that. I think an area that is interesting is the contractual situation between players and their clubs and at what stage a player is in breach of contract. We have one incident that is arising at the moment, and it will be interesting to see what the club does. Again, not talking about specifics, but players are well protected by their contracts, and possibly sometimes over-protected, in my view. Of course, if a club feels that by breaking a contract it could be involved in millions of pounds of settlement, it is a big disincentive. But the whole question of the nature of the contract and when a breach has arisen is a very interesting one that I hope will be tested some time in the future.

**Q53 Damian Collins:** I have no further questions for David Bernstein, but could I ask Lord Ouseley if he

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would like to comment on the role of clubs in handling these issues as they arise?

**Lord Ouseley:** The complication is really that the clubs have very expensive assets in players and they are reluctant to take disciplinary action from the outset. An allegation is made that a player has conducted himself in a way that is unacceptable, and the clubs do not apply proper procedures, as in other employment situations. They rely on the Football Association as a regulatory body to deal with the discipline. They don't impose, as normal employers, their rights and responsibility to say to those players, "You have breached a code of conduct in this club". That is really where the problem is, because if clubs had a proper employer/employee relationship—as in all other employment situations—they would take action the moment a complaint has been made that a player has misbehaved in a certain way. They would determine whether that person was in breach, as in an act of misconduct or gross misconduct, and take action. They may be suspended straight away by the club themselves, but it is this conflict of the duality of your own responsibility as an employer—but also there is a regulatory body that can take action against you. I think we have to have a situation where clubs recognise their responsibility, both in protecting their players from abuse or other forms of misconduct, but also taking action against those players when they are in breach of contracts.

**Q54 Damian Collins:** Because you have raised it, who do you think that regulatory authority should be?

**Lord Ouseley:** The regulatory authority is the Football Association and that is the case, but I think as an employer you have responsibilities. Players should know what is required of them and, if they breach that, what the consequences are, and football clubs are employers. The relationship breaks down with footballers as expensive commodities. Other employees—an administrator, a secretary or some other form of employee—are subject to those proper processes, but as a footballer that is where it becomes difficult for a club and that is why they tend to back away and not take the action that they should take.

**David Bernstein:** If we are talking about the top end of the Premier League—and, clearly, part of the reason we are here today is because of incidents at the top end of the Premier League—and a club has paid tens of millions for a player and a player is on £5 million a year salary over four years, the implications of financial penalties between the player and the club are absolutely enormous: I mean tens and tens of millions of pounds. So I come back to what I said before: I think the whole contractual employment issue between clubs and players is a very interesting one, very important in this context.

**Q55 Steve Rotheram:** Can I ask this question in two parts and allow the panel to answer the first part first. How effectively do panel members believe that education and diversity training is provided by the clubs and the FA? If you do believe that it is effective, how do you measure the effectiveness?

**David Bernstein:** Can I ask Sue to deal with that one?

**Sue Law:** Thank you. The training that has been put in place so far has obviously been, either through the equality standards that Kick It Out—Herman can talk about it a bit more—is implementing within the clubs, and that is on a voluntary basis by the clubs. That is looking at policies and practice; it is looking at education; it is looking at representation and increasing diversity across the whole programme. Embedded within that is an implicit need for education, and alongside the PFA—particularly in the leagues—there has been training delivered to scholars, and the PFA and the leagues, with the LMA, are looking at training programmes for senior players and also for others within the club.

The FA is working as well, particularly with the Football League, on wider education programmes across the clubs, and the Premier League is looking to next season on the wider education as well. Within that, I can confidently say the issues that have arisen, the matters we are talking about around social media and codes of conduct around social media, around the way that players understand or do not understand—but to address that issue: who has the powers to do what? There has been real confusion, and I think it has been fair to say that has been shown through the incidents this year, about which authorities have the powers to do what and what responsibilities, as Herman says, the club has, what the FA can do and will, the responsibilities of the PFA in representing players, and how difficult that is for them when it is two of their members. So we are looking at all of those issues and clarifying them for players and managers and across the club alike.

There is a programme that has been implemented. As you know, we have been working with No. 10 as well, and in our response from football to No. 10 education will be a key thing that we roll out through the next few seasons.

But we are not building on nothing. We have worked with the referees around their responsibilities for implementing the laws of the game, and particularly law 12, on field. We have also worked with coaches and the coach educators through the FA, to make sure coach educators recognise their responsibility as new coaches come through our systems. If people breach our rules and regulations as coach educators, or as referees, we also sanction in that respect as well.

**Lord Ouseley:** Could I say that I think the equality and diversity training is varied across the whole spectrum of football. At one level there is the educational aspect of making people much more aware of diversity issues, and making people more comfortable about being able to relate to people from different backgrounds, and that is fairly straightforward. Because there has been no quality assurance of training, it is very difficult to say how effective it has been. But the conditions for effective training require those who have the greatest influence and the power and the leadership in an organisation to express themselves as being committed to that within the context of a club's policies and, if it is a club organising the training for its staff, including players, why it is important that they should have that understanding.

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The understanding would relate to the codes of conduct for a club as well as issues that the club would expect their staff to be aware of, so discharging that responsibility. It is also showing the benefit of the training, because most people will sit through training and say, "Well, I've got to do this because I've been told to come here and do it and I've done it and I can tick that box and that's it, but I'm not interested and it doesn't mean anything to me". So you have to show, firstly, it is a responsibility to make you aware, and once we have made you aware you can't use that as an excuse to say, "I don't know", which we often hear as an excuse, "We don't know. We didn't know that. We didn't know that calling someone a something isn't actually acceptable". Then, secondly, it is demonstrating the benefits to the club, the benefits to the individuals and the benefits to the industry you are in, football. So unless you have those characteristics, clearly it won't have the effectiveness that it should, but in overall terms it is very hard to say it is effective. The effectiveness comes from the consequences you otherwise will have without that training.

**Raj Chandarana:** If I could just add to what Herman has said. I think going on from the relevance of training and leadership at the top, if you are training a bunch of young players about diversity and then you look at your football club and you look at the leadership of your football club, it is a bunch of white, middle-aged men sitting around a boardroom. If you look at the directors' box and all the people who are associated with the club, and they are all white people, and then you look at what you are being taught, what you are being taught about the community, about the rights and wrongs, what is acceptable forms of behaviour and what is not, you would probably question the sincerity of the training. As Herman says, it is a tick-box exercise. You are going and doing a bit of this. There are no outcomes resulting from that, and there is really no training at the leadership level. What sort of training do managers get? What do they want? What do they need? What about directors? What about chief executives of football clubs? The whole ethos of a club is determined by the leadership, the leadership given by the chief executive and senior management team, by the chairman and the owners, and by the management and the coaching staff. That is where you get leadership, and that is where you get proper understanding of how training is actually relevant, how important it is and what relevance it has to their daily lives. If you are in a room talking about the do's and don'ts of acceptable behaviour, and what racism is about and diverse communities, and then you look around you and it is not happening at the leadership level then, yes, it is something that doesn't necessarily sink in.

**Q56 Steve Rotheram:** Thanks for that. You did mention the equality procedures, but how do you ensure that it is embedded in the culture of football clubs? As it is voluntary and not prescriptive, there will be some people who opt out of that and don't do that. There is also the confusion of responsibilities, which I would like to pick up on again, which is important. But the Football Supporters' Federation implies that much of the diversity training is limited

to academy footballers, in the evidence that they have presented to us. So I would like to know how widespread the training is, and how can we ensure that players—and all players, including those from overseas—understand that it is not acceptable to use certain language in the British game?

**Sue Law:** It is fair to say, and I think Gordon touched on it in his presentation, that obviously that is one of the things that surfaced through the season. There is a need to look at those induction programmes for players coming into this country, understanding the legislation, understanding the regulations, and for the club then to demonstrate leadership around their codes of conduct and expected standards of behaviour as well.

What I was alluding to earlier is, through the programme of training that we are putting together across the professional game, and for the grass-roots game, going forwards, those issues will be covered and I believe they will be mandatory. There will be programmes put together by the leagues with the PFA. The PFA is working on those programmes at the moment. The LMA have come forward with looking at embedding within their programmes training for their members as well because that is an area that does not currently exist. Within that, we would like to ensure the messages are very clear around the roles and responsibilities at the different levels, and the processes. So, for playing members they are very clear what will happen if they are called as a witness—if there is an allegation made, what will actually happen—because those are the things that we have learned through this process that we need to make very clear.

For instance, Kick It Out received hundreds of calls from people expecting them to be the regulatory body, to be able to put in place the sanctions, and there are football authorities that actually fund Kick It Out. That is something that we need to address with Kick It Out and make it very clear what Kick It Out's role is in enabling those complaints, but actually it is the football authorities through the clubs and leagues, the Football Association particularly, that have to take those sanctions forwards.

One of the key things we are doing for next season—as result of, actually prior to, the incidents happening—is, we brought together our advisory groups, that is the FA advisory groups on race, disability, homophobia, transphobia and so on, and we brought that group together because they are an informed group. Herman was with us that day and colleagues presented the regulations and exact procedures that are followed, and they were perceived as very robust by people in the room from Stonewall, from the Community Security Trust, from Kick It Out and so on. So we know that the procedures are robust, and if you look at thefa.com, you will see, sadly, through Twitter that we are almost charging every day at the moment in terms of taking action—that our sanctions are being doubled and trebled where there are aggravating factors. But what we need to do and what is clear is we need to go out across football, in the grass roots and the professional game, and make sure people know what those reporting procedures are. We are producing a film at the moment with key



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people, presenting, in lay people's terms, "What are those procedures? How can I report? What do I expect will happen?" and so on, so that everybody is—

**Q57 Steve Rotheram:** But with respect, it is not just about the procedures, because I did say that you have the procedures and I think the procedures, as they are, are very good. It is about quality-assuring the effectiveness of the procedures. What is that next step?

**Sue Law:** Absolutely. I would like to think that at the moment those things are being evidenced on a weekly basis with the FA and the charges and the commission outcomes that are happening. What we can do—and I think again, Gordon alluded to it, and I think Herman did as well—our measures have to be around the number of complaints, the efficiency of those complaints being dealt with at club level. You will see in the No. 10 interim response that we have talked about that from a professional game perspective and a grass-roots perspective: that we need to look at the statistics and analyse the statistics that are coming through and make sure that the reporting is effective so that then we can measure that year on year or season on season and make sure that we have some forms of measures. At the moment, we don't have those in any effective way to be able to look at that. That has to be a way of quality-assuring, talking to fans groups and making sure that we have those dialogues. We are equality partners, in that there is that dialogue about us as a game, as a sport, moving forward with all sectors: managers, players, the Football Association, the leagues, the fans groups, the equality organisations, working together collaboratively, as Paul kept saying, to make sure that we are taking strides forwards.

**Q58 Steve Rotheram:** The reason behind the question is that it is exactly not what was suggested before—just a tick-box exercise. It can't be allowed to be that. Clubs will give you the evidence that they have gone through the process. Unless you quality-assure that people have understood and taken on board and that is embedded within the football clubs, this is a vicious circle and these sort of things will raise their ugly heads again.

**Sue Law:** Yes, we recognise that.

**Q59 Mr Sutcliffe:** We have concentrated this morning on the professional game and the high level, but there are suggestions that the problems go deeper into the semi-professional game and the grass roots that you have just been talking about, Sue. It is clear you have the policies, but who is responsible for getting right down into the county FAs or whoever to make sure these things are working?

**Sue Law:** That responsibility sits with the FA, and particularly the National Game Board. There are a number of things that we have been doing through the National Game Strategy. We have been looking both at anti-discrimination measures and also inclusion measures. The Equality Standards, not particularly the ones that Kick It Out work on within the professional game, although built on the same model, are a requirement by Sport England for the funding that we

receive through the Whole Sport Plan for football, as you all know. That is a key area for us, building on and ensuring that the policies are in place in county FAs. The National Game Board have decreed that by 2015 all of the county FAs will have achieved the foundation level of the standard.

Now, what we have done in addition to that is look at those county FAs that are based in the most diverse communities and said, "With these 10 county FAs, we should be achieving the preliminary level". We had also had within those county FAs, for the last two or three seasons, local race or equality advisory groups that have been engaging with the AME representatives from the community involved in football to look at how we can move forward and get greater representation. One of the challenges, I think, is that there is a lack of confidence that county FAs will deal with these issues when you look at who is meeting and hearing the disciplinary hearings. So we are attacking that in a couple of ways. Again, the National Game Board has said that those 10 counties will implement the recommendations of an independent review that we had done, which will mean that those race equality and equality advisory groups will co-opt members on to councils at county level and on to relevant committees, including disciplinary commissions and hearings. The regulations for the FA have enabled counties to co-opt members on to those commissions.

Separate to that, because we, obviously, as the FA, have oversight of what the county FA does, we can rehear cases where there are concerns about how they have been handled. In addition, counties are voluntarily coming forward at the moment where they want advice and guidance on their case handling. We have run training for disciplinary chairmen and women who hear those commissions. There is an annual conference with those chairs and equality, and particularly race equality, is on that agenda every year, and we have another agenda in July where we will be raising those issues.

Underlying that, we have to go back to the piece on confidence in reporting and education across the grass-roots game, which as you know is an immense task—but going back to the film I talked about earlier, making sure that we make that available to everybody across the piece so that they understand what the reporting processes are. I know they are robust, but we need to make sure people know how to use them and what they would expect when a case is brought, because unfortunately bad news travels fast and people can lose confidence in those processes. The processes are getting more effective. John Mann did a review for us and highlighted some areas. We have implemented some of those recommendations and it is an ongoing piece of work for us in terms of education and raising awareness.

**Q60 Mr Sutcliffe:** I acknowledge that, Sue, and I think great work is being done. But David, in terms of the structure of the FA and the county structure and all that, are you meeting resistance or are you getting this message across? How do you see it from your perspective as Chair?

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**David Bernstein:** I think at the very top of the FA, as you know, we have brought in independent directors now. We have independent directors on the FA board, one being a woman, and we have two independent directors on the Wembley Stadium board and we do have a female chief executive at St George's Park as well, so the profile within the top end of the FA is changing.

I think generally at the Professional Game Board level and National Game Board level there is a great deal of acceptance for the need for this, and people are extremely receptive. There may be a certain amount of resistance further down, but that is being dealt with in the way that Sue has described. I am confident that right across the executive of the FA and the FA board, NGB and PGB, that people are very onside with this now.

**Q61 Mr Sutcliffe:** Moving on to the fans, in evidence that you have given us you talk about some football clubs having been able to attract a more diverse fan base and you have good evidence of that. Can you give us examples of where you think that has happened?

**Raj Chandarana:** Speaking personally for my own football club, Crystal Palace, it has a pretty white crowd at the moment, and one of the things that the new owners decided two years ago when they came on board was that one of the reasons why the club has had two administrations, apart from poor management by owners, is the fact that the club isn't representative. It is not getting people into the club from the local community. The local community around Selhurst Park is representative. It has about 50% to 60%, in the wards around there, BME communities, particularly Asian and African-Caribbean communities, and so what it has tried to do is go out to local churches and mosques and do some outreach work there with players. Particularly when a player gets injured, one of their key tasks during their recovery is to spend a lot of time in the community and engage with schools, colleges, mosques, churches, youth groups, those sorts of things. The other thing that the club has done is to invite people into the stadium to watch a game and get different community groups to do that, to experience what it is like to be a part of the whole environment of the football club.

It has also worked with organisations like the Zesh Rehman Foundation to give the message to communities around the area in Croydon that they do really care about the community. It also sends players to community events, fairs, those sorts of things, so that they once again become part of the community. We have seen that in other communities as well up and down the country, particularly in the Championship. I think there are some really good examples. In areas like the Championship, where you don't sell out week in, week out, if you happen to have a group of people who are passionate about football but are not coming through your stadium, then there is a clear business case to get people in, and that is what good clubs are doing. It is showing that you care about your local community, that you are investing in it as an employer and as a provider of entertainment.

**Q62 Dr Coffey:** About dealing with incidents, how confident do you think stewards should be feeling in reporting racist chanting on terraces? Can I ask Raj about that first, because often supporters are the stewards?

**Raj Chandarana:** Yes. I don't think that stewards on the whole are confident about what their role is. We have had some very good examples, not around racism but more recently around homophobia, and how stewards do or don't understand how to tackle homophobic chanting and homophobic abuse. One club in particular in the Championship, Brighton and Hove Albion, their fans and players are subjected to horrendous amounts of chanting around homophobia and the stewards do not know how to react.

A classic example of the knowledge and the training for stewards is that when I talked to the senior steward at my club about homophobia and racism and how stewards act, he did not even know that Kick It Out campaigns on homophobic issues as well as racism issues. We were talking about how they were going to do some new signs saying, "We are not going to tolerate racism in the ground", which is great. I said, "Well, have you thought about adding homophobia as well, because that is another issue that Kick It Out are advising you to get the message out on?", and he didn't even realise that it was relevant. So I think training is a very important area not just for head stewards, but permeating down, because most stewards are basically fans that wear a tabard, get a little bit of basic training and then are expected to deal with all sorts of situations. While they might have general issues around crowd control, getting people to sit down when they are standing and those sorts of things, on the whole—unless you happen to be a Leeds steward, but that is another story altogether—I don't think they get properly trained. I do not think that enough investment is put into training stewards, in the same way that in years gone by security personnel at venues were just given a uniform and went and got on with things. Now, you have the CIA training and you have proper accreditation of—

**Dr Coffey:** What does CIA mean?

**Raj Chandarana:** Sorry, SIA, which is the security industry training.

**Q63 Damian Collins:** Just some clarification, did you say "league" or "Leeds" steward earlier on?

**Raj Chandarana:** Leeds.

**Q64 Damian Collins:** Leeds. That is a different story altogether, you said?

**Raj Chandarana:** Yes, stewarding in Leeds is well known to be appalling. There have been horrendous numbers of complaints by fans, visiting supporters and home supporters of the appalling way in which stewarding takes place in Leeds. There are complaints against the police and the local authority about that on a regular basis, but I don't think that is relevant necessarily to—

**Q65 Dr Coffey:** To do with racism or generally?

**Raj Chandarana:** Generally, which is why I do not think it is relevant for today, but I am quite happy to give evidence on another day on that. But no, the

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bottom line is that stewards are not trained. They do not know how to handle it. I do not generally believe that if somebody went—

**Q66 Dr Coffey:** So what would you do about it? Is it the club? Is it the police?

**Raj Chandarana:** The club is the employer. The club is responsible for its ground and for ensuring that it is a safe environment for players and fans and their employees, and so I think that the responsibility of training stewards rests with the club.

**Q67 Dr Coffey:** So Mr Bernstein, after our football governance report we recommended licensing. Is there anything you would like to suggest about how this could be part of licensing?

**David Bernstein:** There is a new training module out for stewards, which is being taken around the country. May I say, I do not altogether agree with the comments made? I think some stewarding in some grounds is very good. Granted, I do not sit in the terraces as much as I used to but in the last few years, at the London grounds I have been to quite a bit, I have taken great interest in the subject and noticed that when some very abusive people were around—and some terrible abuse takes place—nevertheless, they seemed to quieten down considerably after a match or two. I can only think that they had been dealt with. In fact, I am sure they had been dealt with by stewards. Some of the stewarding I have seen has been quite good. I think it must vary greatly from ground to ground. I am not the world's expert on that.

**Lord Ouseley:** Could I add on that?

**Dr Coffey:** Sure.

**Lord Ouseley:** There is variation. Let us take the application of the Equality Standard. Although it is primarily applicable to Premier League clubs because it is sponsored by the Premier League, every professional club can apply to be accredited through the process of compliance, and there are considerable variations. Crystal Palace is one of the clubs that you were quoting from—your own club—that are not part of the standard. They have not addressed these issues. So if you have a club that is not taking the issue seriously, it is failing in its obligations to steward properly and provide the level of understanding about the responsibilities of each steward, and how, even where they are under-manned—and under-womaned, if that is the right word—they can call upon others for support in any part of the ground where there may be a situation.

Just along the road from Crystal Palace, you have the completely different situation of Millwall, who are anxious to raise their standards all the time, and they come from a background where they had probably one of the worst reputations of behaviour at clubs. They have moved considerably and I can tell you, if you go to Millwall, they could tell you at any time where there is trouble bubbling up and where they are going to remove people from the ground at certain times, when it won't cause any notice. By half time, many people who have been misbehaving have been removed by stewards and other security people and they get banning orders from the club, even if there are not going to be prosecutions. So it does vary from

club to club and those who recognise that this is an important aspect of improving the quality of the experience of going to football do take stewarding seriously and do apply comprehensive training, so that if you went to some club and said, "Do you know what the range of responsibilities are?", they would be able to say, "Yes". It is very unfortunate that that experience at Crystal Palace isn't the correct one.

**David Bernstein:** You did ask the question about licensing. Just touching on that, the contents of the licences is still to be determined and there is a lot of work going into that now, but I do agree with you that this area we are talking about should be taken account of within club licensing.

**Q68 Dr Coffey:** Do you know how many disciplinary processes relating to racism were processed through FA procedures at county level and differing levels in the last year? If you do not, could you write to us with it?

**Sue Law:** We could look into it. I can honestly say at the moment we don't have as accurate statistics as we would like, and I think I alluded to that earlier in saying "going forwards". The reason for that is that we think the way that some counties have dealt with different aspects of discrimination is that they might have been put under "misconduct" or slightly different charges, so it quite difficult for us to get a picture. We are doing a piece of education in all the counties to see if we can make sure that that is consistent, so that we can rely on those, but we could look at that.

**Q69 Dr Coffey:** Going further, are you aware of how many people have been banned from grounds as a result of racial actions?

**Sue Law:** What we do have is obviously the Home Office statistics for season 2010–11: 43 arrests. What we do know is Kick It Out dealt with 83 or so complaints during 2011, and what we know obviously is what we dealt with at the FA in terms of through our own disciplinary systems. Between ourselves and the professional game, looking at both county FAs and clubs in the leagues, that is an area we know we want to tighten up on going forwards, making sure that we can be more confident and robust around the existing statistics.

**Dr Coffey:** I wonder, Mr Chairman, if we could write to the Premier League and Football League to find out how many people have been banned. I think that would inform our inquiry.

**Chair:** I am sure we could.

**Q70 Dr Coffey:** The FA can use a range of sanctions in a case of discriminatory behaviour. How effective do you think you have been at that, Ms Law?

**Sue Law:** Obviously, a high-profile incident that we have been able to deal with at this stage speaks for itself. A lot of the incidents that are coming to our attention at the moment are around the social media side of things. I think I said earlier that if you look on thefa.com, you will see that there are charges being brought on a weekly basis in relation to misconduct, with aggravating factors in reference to racial origin, sexual orientation, sexism and gender. So there is a range of issues being brought to our attention, and

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those matters are being dealt with very robustly and consistently by the commissions that are dealing with them.

**Q71 Dr Coffey:** So again, if you go more though into county level, would you be seeing somebody being “done” for one thing and then you are not seeing a repeat behaviour? That is what I am trying to get at, because I would expect—

**Sue Law:** I would not be able to answer that accurately today.

**Q72 Dr Coffey:** Okay. In terms of your international relationships, we have already been discussing a little bit earlier about Ukraine, the Euro Championships and concerns. I am trying to remember the team now in Spain where there was a closed stadium as a consequence of it. Was it Atlético Madrid or Bilbao? I have forgotten now. What kind of a role is the FA playing internationally in trying to kick racism out of football?

**David Bernstein:** Well, as far as the forthcoming Poland and Ukraine Championships are concerned, I had a meeting with Michel Platini a few weeks ago and I raised the subject with him. UEFA are taking the whole potential position there very seriously. They have given referees increased powers to deal with issues that arise during the course of matches. I think for the first time referees will have enhanced powers to deal with situations should they arise, and hopefully they will not. For our part, we are working on all sorts of contingency plans, both for possible issues within or outside the stadia. There are all sorts of things that could happen in Poland and Ukraine. We sincerely hope they don't, but we are preparing very carefully for any eventualities.

**Q73 Dr Coffey:** Some other people might delve into that aspect. My final question may seem a bit trivial. One of the chants often used at referees happens to refer to the colour of their shirt, but it ends up becoming, “You black bastard”. Has the FA ever considered changing the colour of referees' kit away from black to try and remove that excuse for a chant?

**David Bernstein:** That is not something that is on my personal radar. Sue, you have been there longer than I have—

**Q74 Dr Coffey:** The Premier League doesn't use black kit for its referees in other competitions, so how about the FA making a start so you can't justify the chant?

**Sue Law:** We will take that away and talk to our referees.

**David Bernstein:** Thank you for the suggestion.

**Q75 Louise Mensch:** Just to start off, in the interest of fairness, since my colleague, Damian Collins, has said quite a bit about Carlos Tevez and the “RIP Fergie” incident, I do think it is perhaps worth noting that social media is reporting that apparently Mr Ferguson said that City would never beat Man U in his lifetime and that the placard was a jokey reference to that. So I think, just in the interests of fairness,

since it has been raised in Parliament—it makes sense to me, anyway, but I am not the authority.

That said, I want to start with Ms Law. We need to keep these as brief as possible. You have talked a lot about the compliance measures that are put forward. I think we are all agreed that those are all necessary, valuable and worth while, but what we want to see is a culture shift, and in particular in terms of social media and the abuse that goes on there, we need to see leadership, do we not, from players and supporters' clubs? I was very disappointed during the Ched Evans scandal on social media, when the victim of rape was being named, not to see footballers who use Twitter coming forward saying, “This is unacceptable”. I do not know if prominent members of the supporters' club came forward and said, “This is unacceptable and these people do not speak for football supporters. They do not speak for Sheffield United supporters, they do not represent the Blades. They do not represent anything of what we are about”. As well as being reactive in the FA in terms of, as you have said, looking at complaints based on homophobic abuse, sexist abuse and racist abuse, do you not also need to be proactive and persuade your players, leaders and managers to get out on social media, give a lead, give a comment and say, “This isn't acceptable”? That is the way that you change the culture. Ultimately, people use footballers as role models and is it not a fact that they need to be more vocal online in countering this stuff?

**Sue Law:** It is a fair point in terms of the opportunity that those role models have to make positive comments and to address those cultural issues. I think we are starting in the first instance, because for many players the social media are still very new forums for them, hence perhaps some of them falling into pitfalls and saying things that they wouldn't necessarily say in other forums. So in the first instance, the professional game working with the LMA, the FA are putting in place a code of conduct around the use of social media. I think we have to start there and make sure that, as much as possible, there is an education and a framework around the way that players, managers and everybody uses that.

The second point you make about them taking that on into another level I think is very valid, but we have to get that basis right first and then, through the education, see—and we do see it. There are players who do step up at times and tweet very positively about things, but I think the whole area that you are referring to is one that needs further addressing.

**Q76 Louise Mensch:** The footballing world was shamed by its silence when that young lady was being traduced, and it really was a case of supporters, managers, leaders and footballers being totally silent. The complaints that were made to the police—and I printed off some of those tweets and sent them to North Wales police myself—were made by women's groups, by groups who speak out against rape. They were the ones doing the leadership. I suppose as a follow-up question, as part of your diversity training, when you are talking about what is not acceptable on social media—and clearly, another player from Sheffield United posted and deleted something

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attacking the victim, and that is a disciplinary matter—should not your training include elements saying, “Just as we expect you to take a leadership role within your communities and be role models within your communities, we expect you to speak up on these issues and speak out on these issues”? Unless footballers take a lead, supporters and others will not believe it, will not buy it, as Mr Chandarana has said. They are not going to buy it.

**Lord Ouseley:** Can I just say before Sue finishes answering, there is a real big issue here about the culture of the dressing room that no one can penetrate, where the manager and the coaches and the players own that culture, and that is where you have to penetrate to bring this about. I can’t speak for Sheffield United, I know nothing about the club as such, but that is where the leadership should come once again in terms of what the club should be saying. They should be giving a lead. What happens in that dressing room and how players behave and whether they respond and speak out against a colleague or speak up in favour is very much a part of that culture, and it is so impenetrable, because it is behind closed doors, and I think that is really where if we are going to make progress here—you are right, players need to be encouraged to speak out, but they need to be able to challenge that culture and break it. I can tell you, I know from the black players who talk to us at Kick It Out, there are certain things you do not do, you do not criticise, you do not challenge, because you are going to be out of the door, unless you are obviously a highly expensive player that they will not treat that way.

**Q77 Louise Mensch:** We also have to be human. I would not necessarily expect players to come forward and criticise a colleague. That is very difficult to do on a human level. What I would expect is players from that club, but also from other clubs in general, to get up and say, “It is not acceptable to name a rape victim. It is a criminal offence. Don’t do it. We are better than this”. A few tweets from a few footballers, and indeed the FA, would have gone a long way, I think, to stopping that most recent and most appalling situation. Women have felt completely devalued. The chants against David Beckham, for example, about Victoria Beckham, again, are totally unacceptable, and it takes—I want to say a big man, but it takes a certain amount of leadership, proactive leadership, to make a cultural shift and get up and say, “We don’t support this. They don’t speak for us”.

**Raj Chandarana:** If I can come in there, Louise, I think you are absolutely right. All too often the tendency is for football clubs and the footballing world—when someone says something in a tweet that is inappropriate, the reaction of management is, “Ban Twitter, ban social media” when in fact the solution should be use social media in a far more positive way, because so many young, impressionable fans follow their favourite football clubs and individual players and take a lead from what they tweet. I think that what should happen in clubs and what the FA should lead on is a proper standard of what you should be doing in terms of tweeting, but the leaders in football, the England captain and top players, should take a lead in

giving out social messages. A lot of retired players do a lot of good work in tweeting when something is wrong in the game. When someone does something stupid, they do tweet and people follow them. I think that players ought to be given some support and training so that they can realise how positive tweeting can be in terms of sharing influence and getting messages out to people.

**Q78 Louise Mensch:** Absolutely. I believe that a part of the diversity training should be, “Please take a lead in combating these things when you speak. Please be a role model. Please stand up against racism, homophobia. Please encourage gay players to come out, and tell them that they are respected and valued”. It is a problem across sport, but particularly in football, but I also must say I do believe there is a role for supporters’ associations to lead on that too. It was, after all, “self-defined supporters”—and I don’t think that they are, truly—of Sheffield United who were leading this charge, and it would have been very helpful for other supporters to come out and say, “You guys don’t speak for us. You guys don’t represent the club”. That would have been, I think, helpful and useful.

Moving on, we were speaking about stewards and the role they play in reporting racial and other forms of abuse. Do you believe that technology is being fully utilised? If we can move on from social media for a second, you could supply people with hand-held cameras to make ready identification; microphones could be fitted to stewards—all these things in order to be able to pin down people who racially abuse. In the last panel, there wasn’t time for me to come up for a follow-up question but I was interested in the responses given to my colleague, Dr Coffey, about the Crown Prosecution Service choosing not to prosecute in a situation where ostensibly, somebody had been very clearly identified as perpetrating racial abuse. There is, I think, a question about the CPS and whether or not it is fully committed to having uniform standards of prosecution in terms of racial abuse. One way to get around an excuse—and I believe it is an excuse—that there isn’t sufficient evidence might be to fit stewards with cameras and microphones as standard so that they can record racial abuse while it is happening; then there really would not be any question about evidence. What do you think about that as a way forward for tackling this problem?

**Sue Law:** I think all the points that you make have been consolidated into a good practice guide by the FA and its stakeholders called *Crowd Management Measures*. There are also things that John Mann brought to our attention through the *Anti-semitism and Islamophobia Report*. The guidance is there and has been disseminated to the clubs, particularly the use of hand-held and head-held cams, because we need to capture not only the lips moving but the actual sound as well, if we can, achieving the best evidence for both the club and then the police and the Crown Prosecution Service. So we have consolidated that.

We are aware that going forwards this season, what we need to do through the professional game and its partners is make sure that we share the best practice—going back to I think partly what Herman said

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earlier—and the benefits of doing this, making sure that we do implement. There has been a call to name and shame people who have banning orders. John’s report called for that, but you will notice from what Herman said earlier that the stewards, because of managing the safety of the crowd per se, do pick people off very quietly on the whole. They do not wade in and pull out people going, “You are racist. You are out”. They will pick them off as they go out at half time or as they are going to the toilet. They will do that very quietly and they will be removed. So people don’t generally see the actions that are taking place in football, and we do not tend to publicise it, but there is a lot of action taking place.

So I think, coming back to your point, we need to move forwards and share the best practice across the clubs. Some of that is coming through the Kick It Out Equality Standards, and some of that the professional game is pulling together itself and then promoting across clubs, along with the benefits of dealing swiftly with these issues, because once it has gone past the game, the incident, it is very difficult to get the evidence. It becomes a written exercise of a complaint via the text messaging service or a letter or a phone call, and you really do need to capture that evidence at the time.

**Q79 Louise Mensch:** That is right. So if you had this additional technology available to capture evidence, there are two benefits. First of all, successful prosecutions and consistent prosecutions for racial and other abuse—I should just say, as we haven’t mentioned it yet, it is important to talk about Islamophobia and anti-Semitism in football as well as sectarian abuse; Tottenham Hotspur, for example, often suffer anti-Semitic abuse. As well as providing successful prosecutions, the knowledge across football and among supporters that stewards are now equipped with devices to capture racial and other abuse is surely going to be a deterrent. You have to look at the deterrent side of things. If people know that they are likely to be recorded or filmed and that that will be handed by clubs to the CPS, that is going to make them far less likely to choose to offend, is it not?

**David Bernstein:** I support everything you said. I think most or all of it has been taken account of already. I think from my experience at Wembley Stadium, I am very conscious of how careful one has to be in dealing with large crowds and sometimes a subtle approach is needed in terms of stewarding with games that have crowds of 20,000 or 30,000 people in one stand.

**Louise Mensch:** Absolutely.

**David Bernstein:** But you have this issue with standing in football grounds. If 10 people are standing, you can deal with it. If 10,000 people are standing, it is a very different problem.

**Q80 Louise Mensch:** Yes, but if people know that they are being filmed without you having to wade into a crowd and risk a riot, you already have a deterrent effect.

**David Bernstein:** No, absolutely.

**Louise Mensch:** If they do commit the offence, you have a prosecutable offence, so I would urge you to

look at introducing that throughout the game at all levels. It might be the simplest and easiest way of cutting through some of the abuse that goes on.

**David Bernstein:** Absolutely.

**Q81 Chair:** I just had a couple of questions. Firstly, David, you will be aware this Committee has spent a lot of time on football governance and we are still in discussion with you about some reforms.

**David Bernstein:** Yes.

**Chair:** We have talked a bit about why there aren’t more black managers and coaches, as opposed to players, but looking right up the structure of the game, this Committee also looked at the FA Council, which we felt was badly in need of reform, and I think you recognised that.

**David Bernstein:** Yes.

**Chair:** Do you see an opportunity there perhaps to have more black representatives on the FA Council?

**David Bernstein:** I think there is clearly an opportunity. There are so few, but it is something that needs to emanate from below, because by the very nature of the council, the people serving on the council are coming from counties and organisations that sort of build up to the apex of a pyramid, and we need more black and other minority people across the board. In my year or more with the FA, I have taken a great interest in all of this area, but particularly in some of the Muslim and Asian issues, because obviously we all are totally aware of the social tensions and so on and the good that football can do in those communities.

In my various tours around the country, I am doing everything I can to encourage counties and youth clubs—whatever—to try and embrace their Asian communities. You find if you go to Saturday morning football, where there are hundreds of young people playing football, in an area where there is a huge Muslim community, you get one or two Asian people playing. There is a huge need to embrace. We recently had the Muslim Women’s Sports Award at Wembley Stadium, which I attended, and that was very inspiring to see again the role model. A lot of these things keep coming back to role models and breaking a vicious circle—creating a virtuous circle out of the need for more people at the grass roots. If we get that happening, then we will get more over a period of time and you will get more on the FA Council and hopefully on the FA board as well in the course of time. But I think the key thing is getting much wider numbers of people coming in and gravitating through the bottom of that pyramid.

**Q82 Chair:** You will have heard the robust discussion that took place in the last session about the Rooney rule and whether or not that might be applicable in this country. Does the FA have a view on that?

**David Bernstein:** Yes, I do have a view on that. We had a meeting with the NFL on this very subject, which Gordon Taylor was at. I am not sure you were there, Herman, but Gordon Taylor was there. The advice that came through is that the Rooney rule is extremely sensible and makes a great deal of sense, but you have to have a wide enough population of

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qualified coaches to choose from, to pick from, and we do not have that in this country at the moment. So the advice from the NFL was, “Get your black and other minority coaches qualified to create the population that you can choose from, and then the Rooney rule could well be effected”. But I would certainly be in favour of it, given those conditions.

**Q83 Dr Coffey:** Can I quickly ask then, you already have a bursary scheme to encourage BME people, so effectively subsidising that cost.

**David Bernstein:** Yes, we do.

**Q84 Dr Coffey:** St George’s Park is opening later this year. How successful has that bursary scheme been and what are your ambitions, say in five years’ time?

**David Bernstein:** I think the bursary has only just been introduced. It is really too early to judge its success at this stage.

**Q85 Dr Coffey:** Okay. So what is your ambition in five years’ time and how will you use St George’s Park to drive that?

**David Bernstein:** Well, clearly I can’t give you any numbers, but our ambition is to move this whole issue forward. The bursary is a very commendable project, but it is limited in its numbers and the financial contributions being made are quite small, unfortunately. I would like to see more being put into this by all elements of football. So it is quite a modest—

**Lord Ouseley:** If I could say something about the coaching aspect. I think it is crucial for the future of how we see the game growing, with greater involvement at the higher levels. It links to your first question, as well, about how we encourage more people to come through at the bottom end of football and to become volunteers, because essentially the council members are the ones who stay at night writing the minutes of the meeting, conducting local disciplinary procedures. People don’t really want that. They don’t want to be out there organising and running things, so that will take longer. But the Football Association and indeed the clubs have to recognise that if they do not open up opportunities, then those black footballers who become ex-footballers and have aspirations to stay in the game will not stay in the game.

That has not changed considerably, so you will never build that mass that is quite important to see progression, and that is largely because a lot of black players—and they still express these views today—still don’t feel that it is worth getting a qualification because they are not going to get anywhere. What we are trying to do, certainly through Kick It Out but I know across the game, is to encourage people to become qualified, even if it is at the lower levels rather than the aspiration to get to the top. Yes, everyone would like to be the England manager or managing the champions of England, Manchester City, or whoever, but the reality is there are limited numbers. So it is how we open up those opportunities, but the processes are not there. Managerial and coaching decisions are made without a process. A

manager chooses his team. There are no open advertisements. The manager of England on his first day made a decision to appoint someone. There is no process, and people say, “Well, what is the point, because that is how it is done?” How do we open up opportunities, make opportunities accessible? It isn’t just about saying, “Well, we will add a black person on to a shortlist”. If it is going to make no difference, what is the point? It is about getting people to be aspirational, and at the moment there isn’t hope. Hope will only come if people believe, “I will have an opportunity. I may not succeed this time, but the FA and the other areas where coaching appointments are made are making them accessible”. At the moment, they are not accessible, and that is why enough people are not coming forward and saying, “We want to be coaches”, because at the end of the day they just don’t think they are going to get where they want to get to.

**Q86 Chair:** That leads me on to my final question, which I think probably is most appropriate for you. You are heading up the most important, leading campaigning organisation. We have heard from everybody that there is a commitment there to do what we can to stamp out racism, but is there any specific change that you think needs to happen that has not happened, or that is being resisted, that would really make a difference?

**Lord Ouseley:** I think the point I made just now is a very significant one. You really have to give hope because what comes back to us—

**Chair:** But how? What specific measure will give hope?

**Lord Ouseley:** It is the fundamental point that Raj made about leadership. The leadership that David Bernstein is giving in the FA is encouraging people to believe that the FA is moving in a direction that will make people feel the FA is a body worthy of going to. You are going to the FA to complain because you believe the FA will do something about it. Equally, the same situation applies at clubs—where a club is taking a lead and giving that leadership. In the way that Louise said, where are the exemplars, those who are prepared to speak out regarding people who are doing things that are not appropriate? Where we are making progress is where that leadership exists, and that leadership has to come from the boardroom and from the senior management, as Raj said quite eloquently early on, because if that gives a lead, people believe that is what is going to happen because they know that is where the power is. That happens in every institution, not just in football but in every institution across all sectors of life.

If people believe passionately that that is what the people who run this organisation want, and the benefits are for us as individuals and indeed for the business that we are in—in this business, football—then we are committed to it and we can see the progress coming through. That is more than anything what we have to do. A lot of our campaigning work is in the grass roots; it is working with the next generation, as Paul said earlier, and making sure that the next generation comes through as better players, as better people who are playing or watching or supporting the game. But if those who give leadership,

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who are making decisions all the time and have the power, are not taking these issues seriously—it works its way and trickles down throughout the whole club, the whole organisation and the whole game.

That, fundamentally, is what we need.

**David Bernstein:** I support that absolutely.

**Chair:** In that case, I thank all four of you very much.

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# Written evidence

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## Written evidence submitted by Football Supporters' Federation

### 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 This evidence is being submitted by the Football Supporters' Federation (FSF), which represents over 180,000 fans supporting professional and national football teams in England and Wales.

### 2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The FSF believes that significant progress has been made to eradicate racism from football both in terms of discrimination against players and supporters.
- All footballers should undergo diversity training along similar lines to academy footballers.
- There should be appropriate training for players from overseas to include all aspects of equalities and cultural diversity as part of their induction programme.
- Footballing authorities and clubs should set out proposals to ensure that their organisations' reflect their local communities in terms of employment and supporter attendance at matches.
- The FA should ensure that its processes in dealing with allegations of discrimination are clear, open and transparent, so that there is no misunderstanding on the part of individual players, clubs or supporters as to how allegations are dealt with. Organisations such as Kick It Out, Show Racism the Red Card and The Football Supporters' Federation should be given appropriate resources to fully contribute to the eradication of racism in football.

### 3. BACKGROUND

3.1 The FSF welcomes the opportunity to submit written evidence in relation to racism in football.

3.2 We believe that much has been undertaken by the footballing authorities, working with organisations such as Kick It Out and Show Racism the Red Card over the past few decades to eradicate racism within football, both in terms of abuse targeted at players and supporters.

3.3 The FSF regrets that a few recent, high profile incidents have once again raised the issue of racism in football. We believe that such incidents do not reflect the majority of people's experience of football in the 21st century being enjoyable and, on the whole, free from racist incidents.

3.4 However, the FSF firmly believes that the recent incidents of racism in professional football highlight the dangers of not dealing speedily with racist incidents on and off the pitch.

3.5 The FSF believes that professional footballers are role models, and their behaviour permeates down to players in the amateur game and supporters—particularly younger supporters.

3.6 The recent high profile player incidents may have contributed, in the short term at least, to incidents of racism or alleged racism involving supporters.

3.7 The FSF is keen to highlight the positive work that has been undertaken to challenge discrimination in football. In particular:

- 3.7.1 the work undertaken by Kick It Out, working closely with the Football Association, Premier League, Football League and professional football clubs, including the "Weeks of Action" and the "Equality Standards";
- 3.7.2 the work undertaken by Show Racism the Red Card in providing resources for schools;
- 3.7.3 the work undertaken by football clubs in ensuring that their academy footballers undergo diversity training; and
- 3.7.4 the good work undertaken by some football clubs to attract a more diverse fanbase to their grounds.

3.8 The FSF is itself fully committed to eradicating discrimination in all forms, and works closely with organisations such as Kick It Out and Show Racism the Red Card.

3.9 However, the FSF recognises that there are still significant challenges in completely eradicating racism in football. In particular:

- 3.9.1 reports of Islamophobic discrimination/chanting at football matches;
- 3.9.2 reports of discrimination/chanting against traveller communities at football matches;
- 3.9.3 many football clubs' fanbase do not reflect their local community;

- 3.9.4 there is an under-representation of BME coaches and managers;
- 3.9.5 there are too few BME people in senior back-office and board level positions in football clubs; and
- 3.9.6 there are too few BME people in management and representative positions within football's governing bodies—particularly the FA at County and National level.

#### 4. RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Following on from recent events, the FSF would like to highlight some positive steps we feel should be made moving forward:

- 4.1.1 all footballers should undergo diversity training along similar lines to academy footballers;
- 4.1.2 there should be appropriate training for players from overseas to include all aspects of equalities and cultural diversity as part of their induction programme;
- 4.1.3 footballing authorities and clubs should set out proposals to move towards their organisations more closely reflecting their local communities in terms of employment and supporter attendance at matches;
- 4.1.4 the FA should ensure that its processes in dealing with allegations of discrimination are clear, open and transparent, so that there is no misunderstanding on the part of individual players, clubs or supporters as to how allegations are dealt with. This should apply to both senior club football and the national team, and include protocols on the circumstances in which players will be suspended from the captaincy or eligibility for selection for the national team;
- 4.1.5 Government and the footballing authorities should recognise that, whilst much has been achieved, there is still a long way to go in eradicating racism and other forms of discrimination from football;
- 4.1.6 Government and the footballing authorities should recognise the importance of the work undertaken by Kick It Out and Show Racism the Red Card in contributing towards the eradication of racism in football, and should have due regard to funding these and other organisations;
- 4.1.7 Government and the footballing authorities should recognise the important contribution the FSF can make in eradicating racism in football, and should have due regard to funding the FSF to undertake anti-racism work with supporter groups.

#### 5. CONCLUSION

5.1 The FSF welcomes the opportunity to contribute to the Select Committee's work on racism in football, and looks forward to attending to give oral evidence in March 2012.

February 2012

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### Written evidence submitted by The Football Association (The FA)

#### INTRODUCTION

Central to The Football Association's (The FA) Strategic Plan for 2011–15 is to deliver “football for everyone”. We are determined to provide an inclusive football experience for anyone who wishes to play or support English football. An experience that is reflective of our diverse communities, safe for all and free from abuse and discrimination.

As the game's National Governing Body (NGB) we are responsible for, and accountable to, the “whole game”, from grassroots community football, through the professional game, to the 23 England teams that we administer and support. To impact such a broad range of participants (there are approximately seven million people regularly involved in football including over 400,000 volunteers) requires a range of programmes, services and interventions.

Our approach to all our equality work focuses on two key aspects: *inclusion and anti-discrimination*.

As such this submission seeks to provide the Committee with the following information:

- (1) The historical, societal and international context of racism in English football.
- (2) Pro-active interventions undertaken by the football authorities, including education.
- (3) Monitoring equality, diversity and inclusion.
- (4) Leadership opportunities and challenges.
- (5) Moving forward.
- (6) Appendices.

We would be happy to expand on any of these issues should we be called to give oral evidence to the Committee; and have in addition provided a range of appendices to this submission which the Committee may

find useful in their considerations. Should you have any questions, or require any further information please do not hesitate to contact me.

## 1. THE CONTEXT OF RACISM IN ENGLISH FOOTBALL

1.1 It is evident from recent events that both aggressive and subtle racism persists across British society. It can be of little surprise therefore, that racism also still manifests in football. But whilst it would be subjective to attempt to discern whether football reflects or impacts a wider societal trend, there is no doubt that incidents, particularly at the professional and elite end of the game, are both high-profile and opinion forming. As a consequence the ability of the football authorities, in partnership with other public and statutory bodies, to prevent, wherever possible and address issues of racial discrimination when they arise remains paramount.

1.2 In 1993, England was the first country to make a concerted effort to rid football of the mindless overt racism that saw our black players being regularly subjected to aggressive racist abuse from both fans and to a much lesser extent, their fellow players on the pitch. Since then, the work that has been done across football, to rid the game of these forms of racism has seen significant cultural change in the game as a whole and specifically in our stadia.

1.3 The low number of incidents of racist abuse (on and off the pitch) or discrimination within the professional game is unrecognisable from 20 years ago. Both the Premier League and Football League are global competitions in their playing base and their market appeal. They are full of fiercely competitive players and clubs competing for significant financial prizes. Despite the many complexities they successfully integrate people from across numerous cultures and backgrounds and successfully develop a shared understanding of what is and what isn't acceptable in the English game and our wider society.

1.4 The experience of English football fans, and indeed The FA from its international match experience is that this pattern of progress is not uniform across international football. The FA works closely with UEFA on inclusion and anti-discrimination initiatives via the Respect programme and via our representation of women and ethnic minorities on UEFA committees. We also support international programmes such as the anti-discrimination campaign led by the New Israel Fund, in Israel, which we helped to establish and to develop, working with FA ambassadors such as John Barnes and Brendon Batson. Based on the Kick It Out model, it is an increasingly visible part of Israeli football.

1.5 The FA believes that Sport and football plays an important role in creating an inclusive society. In 2012, much has been achieved in this regard but there are of course many challenges still to be faced. Our resources are now focused on inclusion and anti-discrimination in relation not only to race, ethnic origin, colour or nationality, but also to religion or belief, gender, sexual orientation, disability, age and social inclusion. Our equality policy,<sup>1</sup> rules and regulations are based on the principles of the Equality Act, 2010, and we would be happy to provide the Committee further details of our work in these areas as well.

*Brendon Batson MBE*, former professional player and administrator at the PFA and current football consultant, recalls that in the mid-70's, "*Being called the N-word, week in, week out, always meant yet another fight.*"

*John Mann MP*, Chairman All Party Parliamentary Group on Anti-Semitism, acknowledged in his report on Tackling Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Football, 2010 "*Football has moved well beyond most other institutions in recognising the importance of tackling racism and as the country's most recognisable export, it has developed an intolerance to racism that exceeds the standards of most other national football associations.*"

## 2. INTERVENTIONS BY THE FOOTBALL AUTHORITIES

### 2.1 *Anti-Discrimination: Anti-Racism Campaigns* (see Appendix 4)

2.1.1 The football authorities have taken a collaborative approach to campaigning against racism in football, in particular through the establishment of the brand name of the campaign—*Let's Kick Racism Out of Football*, in 1993, with Kick It Out as a body, being established in 1997. The FA has played a part as a Trustee and funding partner since that time, alongside the Premier League and the Professional Footballers Association. The FA's funding for Kick It Out is The FA's largest distribution to a campaigning body in football. Going forwards the Trustees are guiding Kick It Out, who are pulled in many directions, to work more strategically, on fewer objectives and to implement ways of measuring impact.

2.1.2 The FA also endorses the work of *Show Racism the Red Card*, (SRtRC) providing access to England team images, supporting local events and messaging about racism. SRtRC is an anti-racism charity established in 1996, which focuses on educational materials, fronted by high profile people, including professional footballers; as well as *Football Unites and Racism Divides* (FURD), a Sheffield based project, which was created to tackle a local problem and has grown to be recognised for its work more widely.

2.1.3 In Europe, we support the work of *Football Against Racism in Europe* (FARE), who operate alongside UEFA, national associations and campaigning organisations.

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<sup>1</sup> The FA's Equality Policy is available at Appendix 1

2.1.4 These campaigns have been instrumental in providing the football authorities and Clubs with a focused and sustained message about anti-racism and have begun to broaden out to address other areas of discrimination.

## 2.2 Anti-Discrimination: Behaviour Management Framework

Measures The FA has taken to effect cultural change in football have included the following:

2.2.1 Implementing the *Ground Regulations*, which set out the behaviour that is unacceptable in football stadia and the consequences of discriminatory behaviour, both in terms of ejection from the ground and possible banning orders under the Football Offences Act, 1991 (see Appendix 2).

2.2.2 The Ground Regulations give a club's stewards the power to remove offenders from the stadium. Stewards should be trained and briefed to listen out for, and to recognise, racist, homophobic or discriminatory abuse by spectators; report any such misconduct to the control room and follow club policy and/or instructions from the control room. The *Stewards training* embraces racism within an equality and diversity module.

2.2.3 The FA also works closely with the Clubs, the Leagues, the Police and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), in order to ensure that where there is evidence of discriminatory behaviour, action is taken and where proven the appropriate sanctions are imposed. 43 arrests<sup>2</sup> were made in 2010–11 season in relation to racist and indecent chanting, as compared to 31 arrests in the previous season. The total attendance figures for this period across the Premier and Football Leagues was approximately 23 million.

2.2.4 Within football's own *disciplinary framework*, The FA has sanctions to deal with any Participant<sup>3</sup> where there is proven on-field or off-field misconduct, including doping control, financial regulation, media comments, discrimination, betting and safeguarding children. The FA has direct jurisdiction from the Premier League down to Step 4 of the National League System (eg Ryman Division One) and have oversight and can prosecute cases managed by the County FAs below Step 4 and or other sanctioned competitions.

2.2.5 The FA specific rules<sup>4</sup> which deal with individual participants in relation to: the use of threatening, abusive, indecent or insulting words or behaviour; reference to any one or more of a person's ethnic origin, colour, race, nationality, faith, gender, sexual orientation or disability, which are known as "aggravating factors"; and or acts of discrimination. The FA can and does impose sanctions where a rule breach is proved on the balance of probability. These breaches may be committed on-field eg player on player or off-field via social media channels, media comments etc.

2.2.6 In relation to abusive, racist and discriminatory chanting by fans, when reviewing these incidents and considering the most appropriate action, *The FA takes in to consideration a Club's general approach to addressing such chanting* and their approach to dealing with the specific incident. Independent Regulatory Commissions have the discretion to impose a sanction which reflects the aggravating or mitigating factors present in each case. Sanctions can be doubled and trebled for repeat offences. There is a right of appeal in all cases

2.2.7 The FA has also established a stakeholder group to review Crowd Management. This group, which is representative of the football stakeholders, including fans groups, produced the "*Crowd Management Measures—Good Practice Guide*", in 2010. It provides Clubs with clear guidance on Stewarding, the use of technology, including text messaging for reporting concerns (such as the service promoted by Wembley Stadium), head and hand-held cameras and CCTV Cameras to gather evidence, education and communication with supporters, steps to take if an incident is reported and additional measures that can be implemented.

## 2.3 Inclusion: Raising Awareness and Education

2.3.1 The FA has developed an equality education programme of three workshops: *Equality, Race Equality and Disability Equality*. The workshops can be adapted to fit the professional game context and the Football League is working with The FA on this. All Referees have had training on the Laws of the Game and in particular Law 12, which includes recognizing "offensive, insulting and abusive language and behaviour". All coach educators have received equality in tutoring training.

2.3.2 In 2004 The FA worked with the football authorities to develop a *competency framework*, to identify the competencies that would be needed at different levels and in different roles in football. Each authority used the framework to develop training provision as relevant to them eg FA staff, Premier League Clubs, PFA players etc.

2.3.3 The FA delivered tailored *equality and diversity training for its staff* at all levels and is planning refresher training. The Premier League has previously enabled training on equality and diversity in its Clubs and is currently planning refresher training. The Football League Clubs are responsible for providing the

<sup>2</sup> Home Office Statistics on Football-Related Arrests and Banning Orders season 2010–11

<sup>3</sup> A "Participant" means an Affiliated Association, Authorised Agent, Competition, Club, Club Official, Licensed Agent, Player, Official, Match Official, Management Committee Member, Member or Employee if an affiliated Club and all such persons who are from time to time participating in any activity sanctioned either directly or indirectly by The Association.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 3 for the relevant FA Rules

relevant equality and diversity training for their staff, and the Football League is working with The FA and Kick It Out, to enable its Clubs to deliver a Professional Game Equalities workshop.

2.3.4 *The PFA, in conjunction with the Premier League and Kick It Out, has delivered Diversity training to scholars for the past few years. The training has also been delivered in approximately 12 Football League Clubs, with further training scheduled. The training focuses on guiding scholars/apprentices as to what is acceptable and unacceptable language and behaviour in football; what the possible consequences are for those who use this language and behaviour and how to respond if they experience it. An evaluation of the training for Football League apprentices in 2011, indicated that they found the training relevant and helpful, with a significant improvement in the Apprentices' understanding of the issues, when comparing their self-evaluation, before and after the event. The PFA is currently planning training for senior players for next season.*

2.3.5 *In 2009, Kick It Out in conjunction with the Premier League developed the Equality Framework Standard for all professional Clubs. This framework guides the development and delivery of policies and practices that enable a Club to demonstrate good inclusive business practice across all aspects of the business eg recruitment, fans, stadia safety, commercial ventures etc.*

The Standard includes the five aspects and evidence is required against each aspect:

- Your club is committed to achieving equality and diversity across all areas of operation.
- Your employment policies reflect your commitment as an equal opportunities employer.
- Abuse and harassment associated with discrimination are eradicated from your stadium.
- Your football reflects your community.
- You publicly promote the activities of the club in working towards equality.

This evidence is then scrutinised by an independent accreditation panel, consisting of diversity experts, before the awarding of the appropriate level of the standard that is preliminary, intermediary or advanced.

2.3.6 *The Stewards training "On the Ball" produced by The FA, Premier League and Football League, with input from Kick It Out and the Level Playing Field has an equality and diversity module, and is reviewed regularly.*

2.3.7 *The FA works in partnership with the CPS and the football authorities and equality partners such as Kick It Out, in periodically delivering conferences on Hate Crime in Football to raise awareness and educate participants at all levels. A joint conference is being scheduled for later in 2012.*

2.3.8 *Our Regulatory Commissions have all received equality training and completed an online assessment of their knowledge. No commissioner can sit on a discrimination hearing, without having met the competency standards required.*

### 3. MONITORING EQUALITY, DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION IN FOOTBALL

3.1 Building in to our systems the ability to report on equality and diversity monitoring data is an ongoing priority. *Our data for the Tesco Skills Programme and The FA Licensed Coaches Scheme is very robust, as the monitoring has been embedded from the start of these programmes. We are also able to provide accurate data for our FA Coaching Qualifications. However, systems for providing accurate data on our referees, players and FA Group staff are still evolving, and individuals of course have the option to tick "prefer not to say" to any or all of the monitoring fields.*

#### 3.2 Tesco Skills Programme

The Tesco Skills Programme, funded by Tesco and Sport England currently has 106 coaches and has reached over three million children with the following diverse make up. This programme is due to expand with 50 more coaches in 2012.

##### Children

- 16.4% participants from black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds.
- 12.2% children in Skills Centres from black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds.
- 42% girls—15.9% from black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds.
- 7.1% girls in Skills Centres.
- 2.2% children disabled.

##### Coaches

- 12 black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds = 11.3%.
- 23 female = 21.7%.

### 3.3 FA Coaching Qualifications

The following statistics are for participants taking The FA's coaching Qualifications in 2010:

- Level 1: 8.5% of 27,380 coaches were from black, Asian and minority ethnic groups.
- Level 2: 9.2% of 6,373 coaches were from black, Asian and minority ethnic groups.
- Level 3:<sup>5</sup> 4.2% of 1,369 coaches were from black, Asian and minority ethnic groups.

### 3.4 FA Licensed Coaches Scheme

The new Licensing scheme membership currently stands at 5,310 coaches. Of these 7.5% identify with being from a black, Asian or ethnic minority and 4.6% identify with one of the following faiths: Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, Jewish or other faith background.

### 3.5 FA Registered Referees

The following statistics are available for our 26,658 registered referees as of 13 February 2012:

- 3.2% non-white referees.
- 77.9% white referees.
- 0.87% withheld this information.
- 18.02% had data not recorded in relation to ethnicity.

The percentage of non-white referees has increased slightly since October 2010. An FA Diversity Action Group is working on targets and programmes to increase the diversity of our referees.

3.6 *Englandfans membership* currently comprises of 26,000 people; 3% of the membership identifies as from a black, Asian or ethnic minority.

### 3.7 FA Group Staff

The FA Group is implementing a HR and Payroll system in 2012, which will include diversity monitoring information on staff. The FA undertook a voluntary equality and diversity monitoring survey of its staff in 2010. 53.65% of the overall staff responded to the survey. Of these, 6% identified with being from black, Asian and minority ethnic groups.

FA roles are generally advertised via the new careers website and other media. The FA's Equality partners have been informed about The FA's careers website.

3.8 "*Player Pass*" is The FA's *Player Registration Scheme*, with equality monitoring embedded. However, the national roll-out of this on-line system is reliant on voluntary uptake by leagues and Clubs over the coming seasons. It is our ambition that this includes every affiliated player and if this can be achieved then it would enable The FA to evaluate accurate equality monitoring data and set appropriate targets to address any areas of concern.

## 4. INCLUSION: DEMONSTRATING LEADERSHIP

### 4.1 *Increasing Diversity in The FA's Decision Making Processes*

4.1.1 In 2008, The FA established a *national Race Equality Advisory Group (REAG)* to The FA Board. The REAG, which acts as a critical friend, has a number of prominent members from the Black African and Caribbean, Asian, Muslim, Sikh and Jewish communities represented on it. The FA is one of the only National Governing Bodies of Sport to appoint a REAG. The current Chairman is Lord Herman Ouseley, who represents the REAG on The FA's Council.

4.1.2 In addition, there are now 10 County FAs with local Race and or Equality Advisory Groups (R/EAGs). A recent independent review of these advisory groups, established that football is the *only sport to implement local advisory groups with a focus on equality/race equality*.

The report recognised that to date County R/EAGs have:

- Represented traditionally under-represented groups in football.
- Advised on the coordination of Race Equality Football Development Initiatives and Events.
- Supported "Kick it Out" campaigns and weeks of action.
- Addressed workforce equality and diversity training.
- Supported the development of black, Asian and Minority ethnic (BAME) referees.
- Supported the development of BAME coaches at levels 1 and 2.
- Provided some BAME representation on some CFA Disciplinary commissions.

<sup>5</sup> See 4.2 re COACH for our football-wide proactive work to address the lack of black, Asian and minority ethnic coaches qualified at Level 3 and above

- Fed back to the Board and Executive of the CFA.
- Reviewed CFA County Plans.
- Improved the engagement of BAME grass roots football.

The report also recognised that R/EAGs have more potential to impact on diversifying the workforce.

4.1.3 Following an open recruitment process, The FA appointed Heather Rabbatts and Roger Devlin as *Independent Non-Executive Directors* to The FA Board, in December last year. Heather who was born in Jamaica, is the first woman to sit on The FA Board.

#### 4.2 *Increasing Diversity at the higher levels of the coaching workforce*

4.2.1 In 2011, following the recognition that there is a shortage of coaches from black, Asian and minority ethnic communities, with level 3 qualifications and above, *The FA is leading a football-wide initiative called COACH*. Backed by all of the Football Authorities, initially this saw the launch of a film which was released on social media, to encourage more coaches from black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds. The film was tracked for the first month and received over 70,000 hits.

4.2.2 *The next stage of COACH has seen the opening of the application process for a bursary programme*, supported by all the football authorities, to capacity build black, Asian and minority ethnic coaches aspiring to achieve higher (Level 3 and above) qualifications, so that they can more readily challenge for jobs in football. In recognition of the under-representation of ethnic minority coaches at the highest level of the game, The FA has also made spaces available specifically for ethnic minorities who attain the pre-requisites, on its Pro License course.

4.2.3 The FA's position on *the Rooney Rule* is that we are always open to fresh ideas that can make a genuine difference. Approaches from other territories, in this case the USA, can provide useful case studies but the focus should be on *producing an English football specific solution* that reflects the existing coaching qualification requirements as coordinated by UEFA and the unique structure of the game and within the legislative framework in England. A meeting was held with NFL, FA and PFA to better understand the Rooney Rule and approach.

There are significant differences within the coaching/management profession and pathways between NFL and English Football. For instance little or no formal qualifications are needed to get an NFL coaching position, making the transition from player to sideline quicker and there appear to be no legal impediments to positive action. In England there are a series of qualification levels that must be obtained to be eligible particularly at the top end of the game. The Equality Act, 2010 imposes certain limits on the steps that may be taken in employment and related situations. *COACH (see 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) provides opportunities to capacity build black, Asian and minority ethnic coaches with the relevant qualifications and experience to challenge for roles in football.*

#### 4.3 *Asians in Football*

4.3.1 Whilst Asian footballers and coaches haven't broken through in great numbers, the routes to progress are there. Taff Islam is a young coach working within Arsenal's academy while Jarnail Singh has refereed in the Football League. It's this kind of visibility that offers encouragement across all areas of the game for the future. On the pitch, both Michael Chopra and Zesh Rehman have played in the Premier League.

4.3.2 Building on the Football for All conferences and various projects, *we work alongside our Asian and Muslim colleagues* via the Asians in Football Forum, the Asian and Muslim Women and Girls Group, our Faith in Football Group, the National Asians in Football Forum and the Black and Asian Coaches Association.

4.3.3 The aim of all of this work is to *capacity build participation at grassroots*; utilising flexible formats of football, for example the Mars Just Play programme, to engage with non-traditional football communities; signpost player pathways to development centres and academies, to support talented players; increase the engagement with professional clubs and Asian Community Clubs eg QPR in partnership with Sporting Equals, The FA and local leagues and communities.

#### 4.4 *Faith in Football*

4.4.1 Following the establishment of a working group chaired by John Mann, MP on *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia*, a report was published in 2010 with a number of recommendations. The FA responded to the report with a progress update in 2011, and continues to be open to the scrutiny of the REAG on these matters.

4.4.2 *The "Y Word" film* produced by the Baddiel brothers in partnership with Kick it Out, has been shown at professional matches, including Chelsea v Spurs. The FA played the 90 second campaign film at the England v Switzerland match and included a page in the programme dedicated to the campaign.

4.4.3 In 2011, The FA *launched an education project*, supported by The FA Chairman, with the Three Faiths Forum, hosting 60 children and their teachers from a Jewish, Muslim and Catholic school in the Learning Zone at Wembley. The aim of the project is to *break down barriers, promote social cohesion, address any forms of*

*faith-based prejudice and discrimination* and promote participation in communities how have not previously engaged in football.

#### 4.5 Celebrating Diversity

4.5.1 Since 2008, The FA has endorsed the *Black List Awards*, celebrating the achievements of the Black African and Caribbean communities in football. In 2012, The FA supported the inaugural *Asian Football Awards* and will support the inaugural *Asian and Muslim Women's Sport Foundations Awards*.

4.5.2 The FA strives for the Player Escorts at every England game to be diverse and representative.

#### 4.6 Reporting Discrimination

4.6.1 In 2011, The FA held a *Reporting Discrimination Seminar*, inviting members of all its inclusion and anti-discrimination advisory groups, to receive a presentation on the disciplinary framework. The FA's procedures were cited "as robust as any Trades Union or University procedures". A lay-person's guide to reporting discrimination will be published for season 2012–13. Accompanying this submission is an invitation to the Committee to participate in a version of The FA's Reporting Discrimination Seminar.

4.6.2 The FA has protocols in place for those working with its England squads to report alleged discrimination to the relevant authority eg UEFA or FIFA, if our players experience racism or discrimination when competing in their competitions.

### 5. MOVING FORWARD

5.1 One of the three key goals in The FA's Strategic Framework is "*Football for Everyone*". We remain committed to delivering on this goal. We will continue to work *collaboratively across the football family*; we recognise we are stronger and can be more effective when we work in this way.

5.2 As the challenges in achieving equality, diversity and inclusion are dynamic and ever-evolving, The FA's commitment to equality, diversity and inclusion has to adapt and change. *The FA will continue to lead and deliver a wider focus on equality* eg the launch of our action plan for the inclusion of Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Trans (LGB&T) in football; continuing our work in tackling stigma and raising awareness of mental health; developing further accessibility to FA websites and social media for those with disabilities; implementing a robust equality and diversity monitoring programme.

5.3 We continue to be committed to widening the diversity of those involved in running the game. *To this end COACH will see the first tranche of coaches gaining placement experience in professional football*, being mentored and seeking to achieve the higher level FA coaching qualifications in 2012.

5.4 We will work with the football family and our equality and statutory partners to *educate and set standards* about what is acceptable and what is not acceptable in the game. The 2012–13 season will see a joint football and CPS Conference on Hate Crime in football.

5.5 The current season has demonstrated that as the game's governing body it is important that we remain ever-vigilant in our approach to combating all forms of discrimination in our game. We remain grateful for the continued support of all our partners both in football and in the wider public domain in helping us do so.

## APPENDIX 1

### THE FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION EQUALITY POLICY

The FA is responsible for setting standards and values to apply throughout football at every level. Football belongs to, and should be enjoyed by, anyone who wants to participate in it. The aim of this policy is to ensure that everyone is treated fairly and with respect and that The FA is equally accessible to them all.

The FA's commitment is to confront and eliminate discrimination whether by reason of gender, sexual orientation, marital status, race, nationality, ethnic origin, colour, religion or belief, ability or disability and to encourage equal opportunities.

This policy is fully supported by the Board of The FA and the Director of Football Governance and Regulation is responsible for the implementation of this policy.

The FA, in all its activities, will not discriminate, or in any way treat anyone less favourably, on grounds of gender, sexual orientation, marital status, race, nationality, ethnic origin, colour, religion or belief, ability or disability. The FA will ensure that it treats people fairly and with respect and that it will provide access and opportunities for all members of the community to take part in, and enjoy, its activities.

The FA will not tolerate harassment, bullying, abuse or victimisation of an individual, which for the purposes of this policy and the actions and sanction applicable is regarded as discrimination. This includes sexual or racially based harassment or other discriminatory behaviour, whether physical or verbal. The FA will work to ensure that such behaviour is met with appropriate action in whatever context it occurs.



The FA is committed to the development of a programme of ongoing training and awareness-raising events and activities in order to promote the eradication of discrimination within football.

The FA is committed to a policy of equal treatment of all Participants and for all Participants, to abide and adhere to this policy, and to the requirements of the Equality Act, 2010 and other relevant legislation and guidance (as amended from time to time).

The FA commits itself to the immediate investigation of any claim, when it is brought to their attention, of discrimination on the above grounds and where such is found to be the case, The FA will require that the practice stop and impose sanctions as appropriate.

*The Football Regulatory Authority,*

*FA Handbook Season 2011–12*

## APPENDIX 2

### EXTRACT FROM FOOTBALL'S GROUND REGULATIONS

It is a criminal offence for any person to engage or take part in chanting of an indecent or racist nature at a football match. The Football (Offences) Act 1991 defines "racist nature" as: "Anything that is threatening or abusive or insulting to a person by reason of colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins". The Ground Regulations give a club's stewards the power to remove offenders from the stadium.

Notice: Entry to the Ground is expressly subject to acceptance by the visitor of these Ground Regulations and the rules and regulations of FIFA, UEFA, The Football Association, The Premier League and The Football League in respect of the relevant competition. The Ground Regulations incorporate the Club's Customer Charter (if any). Entry to the Ground shall constitute acceptance of the Ground Regulations.

"The use of threatening behaviour, foul or abusive language is strictly forbidden and will result in arrest and/or ejection from the Ground. The Club may impose a ban for one or more Matches.

- Racial, homophobic or discriminatory abuse, chanting or harassment is strictly forbidden and will result in arrest and/or ejection from the Ground. The Club may impose a ban for one or more Matches.
- The following acts are offences under the Football (Offences) Act 1991, as amended:
  - The throwing of any object within the Ground without lawful authority or excuse.
  - The chanting of anything of an indecent or racist nature.
  - The entry onto the playing area or any adjacent area to which spectators are not generally admitted without lawful authority or excuse.

Conviction may result in a Banning Order being made."

### EXTRACT FROM THE FOOTBALL OFFENCES ACT, 1991

"Indecent or racist chanting:

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

## APPENDIX 3

### RELEVANT FA RULES

#### E. CONDUCT

##### *General Behaviour*

E3 (1) A Participant shall at all times act in the best interests of the game and shall not act in any manner which is improper or brings the game into disrepute or use any one, or a combination of, violent conduct, serious foul play, threatening, abusive, indecent or insulting words or behaviour.

E3 (2) In the event of any breach of Rule E 3(1) including a reference to any one or more of a person's ethnic origin, colour, race, nationality, faith, gender, sexual orientation or disability (an "aggravating factor"), a Regulatory Commission shall consider the imposition of an increased sanction, taking into account the following entry points:

For a first offence, a sanction that is double that which the Regulatory Commission would have applied had the aggravating factor not been present.

For a second offence, a sanction that is treble that which the Regulatory Commission would have applied had the aggravating factor not been present.

Any further such offence(s) shall give rise to consideration of a permanent suspension.

These entry points are intended to guide the Regulatory Commission and are not mandatory.

The Regulatory Commission shall have the discretion to impose a sanction greater or less than the entry point, according to the aggravating or mitigating factors present in each case.

#### APPENDIX 4

##### CAMPAIGNING ORGANISATIONS

###### KICK IT OUT IS FOOTBALL'S EQUALITY AND INCLUSION CAMPAIGN

Kick It Out works throughout the football, educational and community sectors to challenge discrimination, encourage inclusive practices, and work for positive change. The campaign is supported and funded by the game's governing bodies, including founding body the Professional Footballers Association (PFA), the Premier League and The Football Association.

###### SHOW RACISM THE RED CARD (SRtRC)

Show Racism the Red Card is an anti-racism charity, which was established in January 1996. The aim of our organisation is to produce anti-racist educational resources, which harness the high profile of professional footballers to combat racism.

###### FOOTBALL UNITES RACISM DIVIDES (FURD)

FURD believes that football, as the world's most popular game, can help to bring together people from different backgrounds to play, watch and enjoy the game, and to break down barriers created by ignorance or prejudice. The project was started in 1995 by a group of Sheffield United fans who were concerned about a number of incidents of racist abuse both in and around the stadium, which is situated in a community where about 44% of the local youth population is black or Asian.

*February 2012*

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#### Written evidence submitted by Kick It Out

##### 1. INTRODUCTION

Kick It Out welcomes this opportunity to submit evidence and observations to the Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) Select Committee on racism in football.

- Kick It Out is football's equality and inclusion campaign.
- Its origins can be traced back to the 1980s, when racial abuse was commonplace in and around football.
- This generated negative experiences for those from a Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) background, attending and playing football matches and also extensive exclusion from coaching, managing, refereeing and administration.
- Even though institutional racism and personal prejudice still exist in all sectors of society, demonstrable advances have been made over the past 18 years by the contributions of all the stakeholders to address racism in most aspects of football.
- Kick It Out works in joint partnership with the majority of football organisations to enable and support the development and promotion of equality and inclusion initiatives. Its trustees include representatives of the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA), The Football Association (The FA) and the Premier League, as well as a number of independent Trustees with experience in diversity and football. The campaign also works closely with the Football League, League Football Education (LFE), The Football League Trust, The League Managers Association (LMA), Supporters Direct, Football Supporters' Federation (FSF), Football Safety Officers Association (FSOA), Level Playing Field, the Gay Footballers Supporters' Network (GFSN), Football Unites, Racism Divides (FURD), the Metropolitan Police Service, and The Football Foundation, whom are all reflected in the membership of the Kick It Out Advisory Group.

## 2. HOW RACISM AFFECTS FOOTBALL AND HOW THE GAME HAS CHANGED

Football is played at many levels. There are 92 clubs playing in the Premier League and Football League combined, professional and semi-professional clubs in the lower leagues and seven million people playing grassroots and amateur football. At the top level of the game players from all backgrounds and ethnicities play together, supported by staff from diverse communities. Fans of the top clubs in England are more diverse than ever before. This does not mean that racism has been eliminated; there are still issues that the game needs to address in terms of a more diverse group of coaches, a better understanding of the issues around race, and clubs having more work to do in creating a diverse workforce and a welcoming environment for all.

Incidents of racism are rare. Kick It Out has received 82 complaints relating to incidents of discrimination at Premier League and Football League clubs this season. Most clubs have policies in place to deal with issues when they arise but we believe more needs to be done in order to ensure that all incidents are fully investigated and that actions are taken against offenders. Some clubs may be nervous about dealing with incidents of racism but Kick It Out is there to encourage and help them to tackle such behaviour.

There are still a number of issues at grassroots level, although this is more difficult to accurately monitor due to the number of people playing and the nature of grassroots and community football. Anecdotally incidents of discrimination were in the past more explicit, more frequent with a perception that they were less adequately dealt with, often resulting in football being an unwelcoming place for diverse communities. This resulted in the emergence of “Asian only” and intra-community competitions and leagues. These leagues are now non-exclusive and are a significant part of the grassroots football landscape, illustrating how the situation has improved and how diverse communities have become more integrated across the game. However, there are still significant issues, for example the under-representation of Asians, both male and female, in all areas of the game.

Many professional football clubs still demonstrate a lack of corporate understanding about racial prejudice, hate-related abuse, bigotry, discrimination and exclusion and about their roles and responsibilities to tackle and eliminate these matters.

A summary of four main impact points are:

- (I) Not enough vocal leadership on the issues and a lack of clear policies and practices to influence positive attitudes and behaviours, amongst some professional football clubs.
- (II) Periodic ongoing racist/discriminatory behaviour by fans, players, officials at games, driven by deep-seated ignorance, bigotry and prejudice.
- (III) Lack of diversity within the administration and management at some levels of the game.
- (IV) Lack of role models for those excluded from the game, whether they are players, managers, coaches or referees.

## 3. HOW DOES FOOTBALL RESPOND TO THESE ISSUES?

On balance, there are more positive than negatives compared to the situation over past decades but there is still much more to be done. Kick It Out is an enabling, facilitating and campaigning organisation working with the football authorities, professional clubs, players, fans and communities, to tackle racism and all forms of discrimination. It is a small charitable organisation with limited staff and assets but has been pivotal in persuading and supporting stakeholders to take their anti-racist responsibilities seriously. If all clubs, fans, players and teams did so there would probably be no need for the Kick It Out campaign to be in existence.

Over the past 15 years, the different football authorities have come together, developing a leadership role in encouraging clubs to take their responsibilities seriously with regard to diversity and equality. Raising awareness has been key in seeking to deal with issues associated with racial abuse and intolerance. Initially the campaign used badges, t-shirts, banners, magazines to communicate its message before developing a strategy of disseminating information and getting fans and players to understand the nature of racism and its impact upon communities, whilst developing structures, policies, practices, processes and actions with clubs to tackle all forms of unacceptable behaviour.

Although progress has been made with the implementation of equality policies and practices, there remains work to be done to ensure that all within the game take responsibility and make concerted efforts to tackle discrimination and other forms of unacceptable behaviour.

Many effective processes are in place for everyone to access and utilise. An example of this can be seen in a recent incident concerning a player who was allegedly racially abused by a fan. The game was stopped, the stewards intervened and an individual was ejected from the stadium. The players from both sides offered comfort and support to the allegedly abused player and the fans were sympathetic.

## 4. COMPLAINTS HANDLING

During the 1990s and into the 2000s, Kick It Out received dozens of complaints each weekend, about race hate related activities at both grassroots and professional football. Over recent years the established processes

of complaints-handling mean that any received by Kick It Out are referred directly to The FA and the clubs, who investigate and deal with them accordingly.

The FA is the authoritative body for anti-discrimination complaints in football, whether raised centrally, via Kick It Out or through the County Football Associations (CFAs). All clubs should have policies and practices on how they deal with incidents of discrimination, supported by fully-trained stewards, confident in dealing with issues as and when they arise. This is further supported through key partnerships with local police services. Good practices can be seen where fans have a clear idea of what is acceptable and unacceptable and the subsequent consequences.

Kick It Out works with The FA, professional clubs and other leading organisations to ensure a zero-tolerance approach is taken to any form of discriminatory language within football stadia. To help provide fans with the opportunity to make complaints of any incident they have witnessed, the campaign continues to operate a reporting hotline service and an online reporting facility on its website. Most clubs print notices in their match day programmes and racist behaviour and language is contrary to Club Ground Regulations and can thereby result in restricted entry to the stadium.

This procedure and joined-up approach can appear confusing and time-consuming, often with limited feedback given to the complainant. Although Kick It Out offers support to complainants, the arrangement could benefit from clearer information detailing the exact processes involved, proposed time scales and with possible outcomes shared with the public, so that there can be better awareness of the system at work. The FA held a constructive seminar on reporting discrimination in November 2011 and will be publishing new guidance on its processes for the 2012–13 season.

## 5. THE PROFESSIONAL GAME

### 5.1 *The Equality Standard*

An accepted template for assessing the equality and diversity performance of all professional clubs is now in place, in the form of the Equality Standard for Professional Clubs. This was developed by Kick It Out and the Premier League. It provides a framework for clubs to adopt policies and good practice across all areas of the business, including commercial ventures, recruitment, fans, services and stadia safety, thus ensuring that the game is accessible for everyone.

The Standard is a model that all 92 clubs (and appropriate for use in other leagues) can use to assess and demonstrate positive and forward-looking organisational approaches and activities.

The Standard includes five outcomes across three levels of award; Preliminary, Intermediary and Advanced and demonstrable evidence is required to assess performance. These are:

- Club is committed to achieving equality and diversity across all areas of its operation.
- Employment policies reflect commitment as an equal opportunities employer.
- Abuse and harassment associated with discrimination are eradicated from stadia.
- Club reflects local community and diversity in all activities.
- Publicly promoting the activities of the club in working towards equality.

The evidence is then scrutinised by an independent accreditation panel, consisting of experts and practitioners in the field of diversity and equality, before the awarding of the appropriate level of the Standard.

The most critical success factor in this has been the leadership from within the club, corporate understanding, ownership and commitment to tackle inequality and exclusion. An example of such success is reflected in the excellent approach and work undertaken by Arsenal FC, recently becoming the first, professional club to achieve the Advanced level of the Standard.

The key success in this has been the leadership shown by the clubs CEO, Board and senior management and how this has filtered through other areas of the business. Arsenal FC pursued a holistic approach to the achievement of the standard by having a champion in every section of the club, for example, Human Resources, Customer Services, the Community Trust and the Fans' Forums. This has enabled each area of the business to incorporate diversity and inclusion into core business, thereby allowing the achievement of the award to become a natural business key performance indicator. They see and believe in the total benefits for the club, the business, the fans and their local communities.

This is also demonstrated in the work of other professional clubs such as Watford FC, Aston Villa FC and Millwall FC, where equality is considered good business and central to the ethos of the club. Where this fails, however, is within clubs which feel that this work in some way is the preserve of the "community section" and, as such, can often be marginalised and left in the hands of the committed but isolated individuals. The outcome is tokenism and denial.

### 5.2 *Player engagement*

Through the ongoing support of the PFA, one of the founders of Kick It Out and, with a total commitment to take this work forward, the engagement and involvement of players forms a fundamental part of the

campaign's success. Players do this through a number of ways, from attending community events and education days to visiting prisons, schools, youth projects and carrying out media interviews. In the lead up to the annual One Game, One Community weeks of action campaign, each club is asked to nominate a first-team player as an ambassador on behalf of their club and teammates.

Committed professional footballers are actively engaged in promoting equality and fair treatment, generating significant interest from fans, young people, school children and the media.

Such individuals are local, national and international role models. There is significant and serious responsibility associated to this. Their ability to influence not only young people but also the behaviour of fans is substantial and therefore their behaviour both on and off the pitch can have ramifications. The PFA is supportive of this and is committed to a cultural awareness programme for senior players in the near future.

The PFA is also working on a comprehensive diversity programme for all scholars ie players at youth level, from the age of eight years and upwards. At present all scholars from the age of 14–18 years-old receive diversity training, which has been cited as “outstanding” by Ofsted.

The demand on players is always high. They should be encouraged to take responsibility for their own actions and this should be integrated into the culture of the game and demonstrably expressed by senior players and authorities within the game. However, it is important to note that “player on player” incidents are few and far between.

### 5.3 *Conduct for managers*

Football managers and coaches hold a high level of power and influence within the professional clubs and their behaviour and comments can have significant impact on that of both players and fans. Their influence on the standard of acceptable behaviour and the general tone of how their players present themselves is a fundamental issue. The LMA, Premier League, Football League and The FA support this work.

The LMA has encouraged and supported all managers to publicise this work. However, this needs to be strengthened even further if the influence upon player and fan behaviour is to be maximised.

Of additional concern is the role of coaches and how they deal with talent development. This is of particular concern among Asian footballers and whether they receive best and fair treatment and development opportunities.

## 6. ONE GAME, ONE COMMUNITY WEEKS OF ACTION

Every year, during Black History Month in October, Kick It Out promotes the One Game, One Community weeks of action campaign. Supported by all 92 professional clubs, as well as CFAs and community organisations, and with over 1,000 events taking place, it remains one of the largest and most prominent community engagement initiatives in football. This year saw the campaign witnessed by over 1,300,000 fans at league games and generated substantial media coverage, including promotion by Ford Motor Company and Sky TV.

## 7. GRASSROOTS AND COMMUNITY FOOTBALL

A core priority for Kick It Out is to develop opportunities for minority groups and individuals to participate and progress in all areas and at all levels of the game. The campaign delivers this in partnership with both The FA and CFAs. This can clearly be demonstrated through work around widening diversity within CFAs by the Race Equality Advisory Groups and through Kick It Out's membership of a number of key FA advisory groups such as Race Equality, Disability Equality and the Tackling Homophobia working group. This year, two clear objectives for the campaign, in partnership with The FA, are to increase Asian participation within the game and to work with faith communities.

An excellent example of what can be done in the non-league football is the work undertaken in the Wessex League, led by its chair Bob Purkiss, who has transformed the way equality, diversity and fair treatment is administered.

Through the promotion of The FA's “COACH” initiative and bursary scheme and in partnership with the Black and Asian Coaches Association (BACA), the organisation continues to actively promote the development and inclusion of coaches from an ethnic minority background into the game. The goal is to create a pool of talent to enable inclusion and diversity in these important areas, where adverse disproportionality remains. An example of this can be seen with the presence of only two professional black managers from a total of 92.

## 8. EDUCATION

Kick It Out has produced high-quality education resources that provide practical classroom activities and contribute to greater awareness in this area of prejudice, discrimination and exclusion. In partnership with the Premier League and the PFA, the organisation has also developed a bespoke training package for scholars at professional clubs, looking at diversity and inclusion.

The work of Show Racism the Red Card can be highly commended for its impact with players within schools, classrooms and with clubs. This is mirrored in the exceptional work undertaken by club community staff, teachers, youth leaders, part-time coaches and care project leaders.

## 9. FANS

The campaign has historically worked with fans' organisations such as the FSF and Supporters Direct with these partnerships becoming closer in recent months. It is clearer now that fans going to football matches know the consequences of engaging in racial abuse and other forms of unacceptable behaviour. Kick It Out supports the diversification and inclusiveness of fans and improving their enjoyment and experience within the game.

In a recent survey completed in conjunction with the FSF, fans were asked a series of questions that included if they considered that:

- Discrimination is still a serious and widespread issue in football—70.8% agreed.
- Kick It Out has made a difference to tackling discrimination and improving equality in football—79% agreed.
- Kick It Out was a respected organisation within football—85.9% agreed.
- Awareness of the Kick it Out brand and have seen it at a game or other event—95.8% agreed.

## 10. INTERNATIONAL WORK

As a UK partner of the Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) network, Kick It Out works with around 40 other organisations across the continent which represents fan groups, players, migrant and ethnic minorities. Through FARE it also links into UEFA and FIFA, who have recognised the campaign as a leader in this field. It has recently developed future work with FIFA to promote the message of One Game, One Community, One World.

At present, there is a major concern among players and fans over the upcoming European Championships in Poland and Ukraine, concerning possible high-levels of racist and antisemitic abuse, which may be directed at players and fans. Clear direction and support needs to be given to players, teams and fans about the protocol to pursue in the event of these extreme and unacceptable situations arising.

## 11. ROLE OF THE MEDIA

The media has provided helpful coverage of positive initiatives in football to tackle racism and other forms of unacceptable behaviour. Certain media outlets have provided a platform for Kick It Out to give comment and opinion, and to explain its role in the process of reporting and raising awareness of discrimination in football.

A proportion of recent coverage around high-profile incidents has had negative connotations, and which may have inflamed the situation. A degree of responsibility is always necessary to ensure balanced and non-inflammatory reporting, in order to give better and fairer reflections of the good things being undertaken, alongside the small number of high-profile negative incidents.

Social networking platforms are becoming an increasingly popular and effective method of communicating. Whilst it has numerous advantages, a small minority of the population see it as an opportunity to discriminate against fellow users. Professional footballers, ex-professional footballers and pundits are regularly abused, with a number of incidents in recent months leading to police investigations, criminal charges and players deleting their accounts after being sent a constant flow of abuse.

## CONCLUSION

The last six months have clearly demonstrated that racism has not gone away from football in spite of all the efforts by stakeholders. That is more a reflection of attitudes and social culture in our society, rather than a uniqueness of football.

The football experience for fans, players and coaches from an ethnic minority background in the game today is vastly different from when Kick It Out was established and this has been the result of close partnership working between all of the football bodies, albeit with much more successful outcomes still to be achieved.

Partnership, leadership and responsibility have proved to be the successful building stones of this work and clubs leading the way in pursuing policies and processes in equality have reaped the benefits. Others are still in the dark ages.

Racism in football cannot be sensibly discussed without it being contextualised within society. How do we develop prejudices and biased opinions? How do we become hateful of others? Why do we discriminate, exclude, demonise, stereotype and scapegoat others because of race, gender sexual orientation, disability, age etc. It should be noted that racist attacks accounted for nearly four fifths of the hate crimes that reached the courts in 2011–12. Hate crime prosecutions continue to increase annually and the police and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) are to be commended in this regard. Most instances of hate-related abuse goes unreported.

Football encourages and empowers fans to report unacceptable abusive behaviour and takes action increasingly when complaints are made.

Recent high-profile incidents should not be allowed to infer that racism is rampant in football. Institutional discrimination persists across all sectors of society. Football can be seen to be making a contribution to tackling racism, through corporate leadership and responsibility, and its commitment to respect, dignity, fair play and equality, which are all demonstrable through policies, processes, practices and actions. However, any failure is collective and achieving success requires greater collective action for all to share the benefits of a sport and a society free from discrimination, prejudice, bigotry, exclusion and hate-related behaviour.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

- To urge faster and more thorough progress for all professional clubs towards the Equality Standard.
- To urge a greater level of engagement from the Football League, supporting clubs to achieve the Equality Standard.
- To increase research into coaching and the recruitment of individuals from diverse backgrounds into the game.
- To examine the resources available for supporting education projects which raise awareness of these issues.
- To encourage greater engagement from fans organisations on how they might work in partnership with the football authorities in addressing discrimination.
- To support actions taken against individuals who use social media in an unacceptable discriminatory manner.

*February 2012*

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#### **Supplementary written evidence submitted by the Football Association (The FA)**

Further to Dr Coffey's question during the evidence session on racism in football on 15 May 2012, please find below our response.

Over the past month, we have undertaken a cross-referencing process with all 51 County FA's, for incidents of misconduct which referenced an aggravating factor and/or discrimination, during the 2011–12 season.

The County FA's are responsible for football from Senior to Junior County League level (eg Steps 5–7 in the National League System), as well as all other youth and adult affiliated football outside of the National League system.

As anticipated, there was a slight variation in the cross-referencing, which is due in the main to the manner in which the County FA's are charging. This is currently being addressed in ongoing training and education of the County FA's commencing.

In total in 2011–12 season, there were 149 incidents which referenced an aggravating factor and/or discrimination, of which 138 related in some way to race, ethnic origin, colour, nationality, religion or belief. 68% of these race/faith related cases were found proven, following investigation and a hearing.

There are approximately 120,000 affiliated football teams, and whilst we recognise that there may well be some under-reporting of incidents in football, these figures need to be seen in this context.

As shared within the evidence session, The FA remains committed to ensuring that there are clear mechanisms for people in football to report their concern about incidents of discrimination and where incidents are reported, they are dealt with effectively.

I trust that this addresses Dr Coffey's question, however if we can be of any further assistance, please let me know.

*31 August 2012*

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