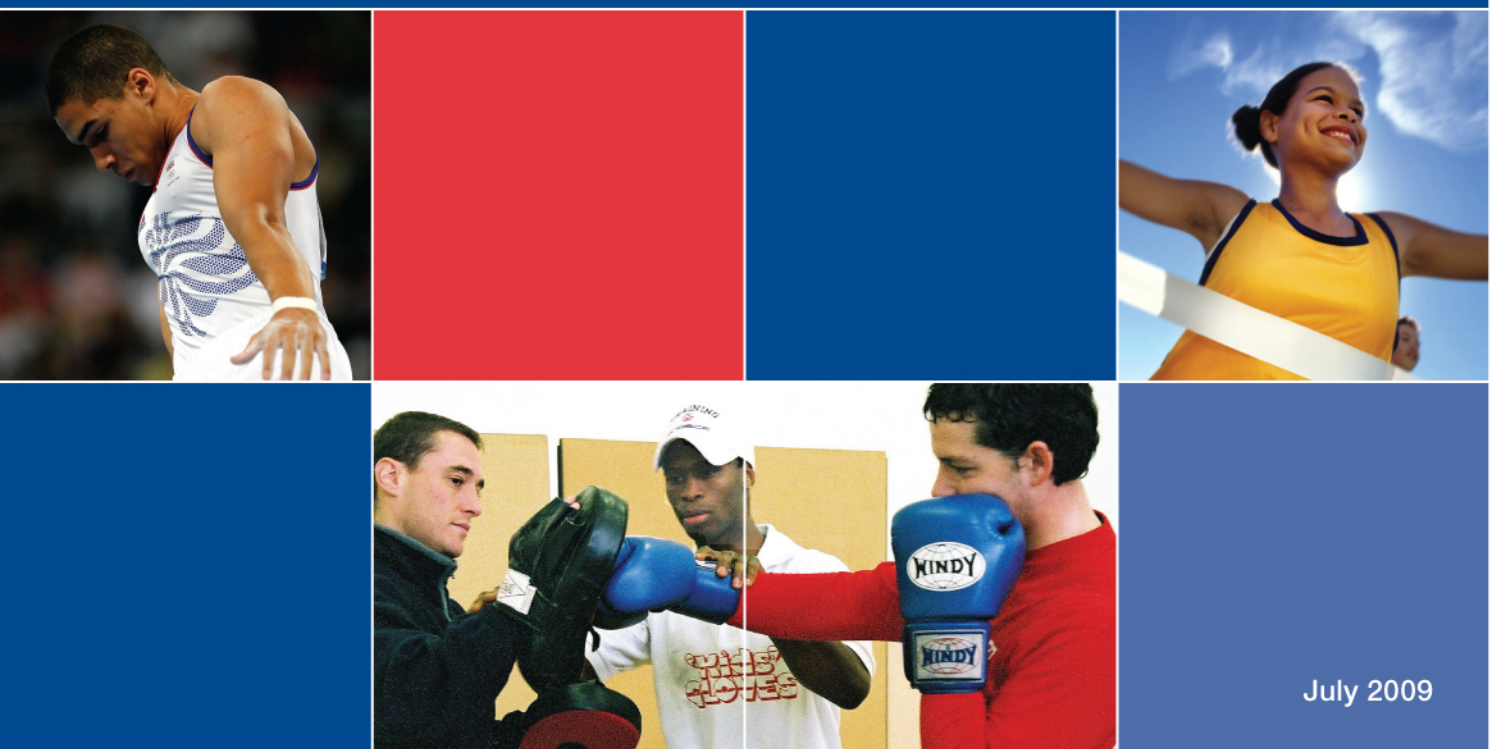


A Systematic Review of the Literature on Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in Sport and Physical Recreation



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Systematic Review of the Literature on Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in sport and physical recreation

**Conducted for Sporting Equals
and the Sports Councils by the
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1. Background and Context

Purpose and Scope

This review, conducted for Sporting Equals and the sports councils by the Carnegie Research Institute, examines participation in sport and physical recreation by black and minority ethnic (BME) communities as segments of the population identified in the government's equality legislation (as reflected in the remit of the Equality and Human Rights Commission). It is a review of a decade's research literature. In conducting the review this report is not just concerned with what is, but how opportunities might be extended and improved. The challenge, then, is to establish what works for whom in what circumstances and how programmes work. The goal is to inform policy and practice.

The home country sports councils have a remit to increase participation in sport generally, and UK Sport has a remit to lead sport in the UK to world-class success. The sports councils have a particular concern with those groups that might be missing out on what sport has to offer, as evidenced by initiatives such as the development of the Sports Equity Index (Sport England 2001), the promotion of the Equality Standard¹, and the establishment of Sporting Equals in 1998 by Sport England and the Commission for Racial Equality. The concern with increasing participation is twofold: to maximise the recruitment of talent; and to allow all sectors of society to enjoy the presumed benefits of sport.

One of the continual challenges of this review is accommodating the different understandings of what is meant by BME communities in the various research studies and policies reviewed. While it is important to recognise that everyone has ethnicity, our interest here is with the communities that constitute ethnic minorities in the UK population. Although the census data show many people from 'white' minorities in the population, the majority of the research studies considered here focuses on 'black' and 'Asian' groups.

What is considered appropriate and useful language/terminology shifts with time and from one environment to another. The categories used in research and data-gathering sometimes reflect those debates. As identified at various stages of this report, 'race'², ethnicity, religion, nationality, culture and heritage are often confused and/or combined. In line with the original brief issued by Sporting Equals, 'black and minority ethnic communities' is used as the collective term. Where national statistics allow, separate ethnic groups are identified and, similarly, wherever possible, research findings are disaggregated to address separate ethnic groupings, though these are not always comparable from one study to another.

Naturally, the report is constrained by the material at our disposal. While the limitations of a term like 'Asian' are recognised, this term is frequently used in the literature (normally as a label for people whose families originated in the Indian sub-continent). Thus, for example, people who class themselves as Chinese in the Active People Survey are not included in the aggregated 'Asian' category but rather in the category 'Chinese

¹ This is referred to as the Equity Standard in Scotland where it is now set within the Single Equity Scheme, a three year strategy and action plan that focuses on gender, disability and race.

² As has become common practice in the social science and policy literature, inverted commas are used to acknowledge that 'race' is a contested term that is now generally considered to have no biological credibility and, as such, is a social construction.

and other'. In an effort to represent minorities more appropriately, the names devised may make for clumsy reading. Just because someone (or their parents) originally came from another country need not prevent them from seeing themselves as British; hence the use in the Active People Survey of categories like 'Asian or Asian British – Indian' and 'Black or Black British – African'. While in tables of data the original labels are retained, in the text they may be abbreviated (to Indian or Black (African) respectively).

To encapsulate sport and physical recreation, the starting point is those activities recognised by the five UK sports councils for purpose of investment or services (see Appendix 2). This list does include the popular physical recreations of walking, cycling, darts, dancing and snooker/billiards/pool. It does not include those activities where an animal does all the work (greyhound racing), pub games (unless the pub hosts a bowling alley or snooker table) or board or card games.

While baseline definitions can be established at the outset, in reporting other research, the definitions used by the original authors have to be used. Where these differ markedly, that difference is identified.

Changing Times?

Policy Context

In line with international statements on human rights, and in response to concerns about changes in society triggered by immigration, race relations legislation was introduced early in Britain (1965). However, until 1997 there was no equivalent in Northern Ireland though it pre-dated the rest of the UK in having separate legislation outlawing discrimination on grounds of religious belief and/or political opinion from 1989. While sectarianism has continued to attract considerable interest in this jurisdiction, Northern Ireland now has a raft of legislation outlawing discrimination on nine grounds of difference (and pre-dated the rest of the UK in including Travellers). The Northern Ireland Act 1998 also established the Equality Commission for Northern Ireland eight years before the equivalent legislation in the rest of the UK that set up the Equality and Human Rights Commission to draw together the various equality strands of public policy. Following the Northern Ireland lead hate crime, based on race/ethnic origin, disability, religious belief and sexual orientation is now outlawed throughout the UK.

Legislative Background

1948	Universal Declaration of Human Rights produced by the United Nations (which drew on the UN charter of 1945)
1950	European Convention on Human Rights
1965	Race Relations Act
1976	Race Relations Act
1997	Race Relations (Northern Ireland) Order
1998	Human Rights Act (UK)
1998	Northern Ireland Act (Section 75 & Schedule 9)
2000	Race Relations (Amendment) Act [applies to England and Wales]
2002	The Race Relations Act 1976 (Statutory Duties) (Scotland) Order 2002
2003	Race Relations (Amendment) Regulation (NI)
2004	Criminal Justice (NI) Order
2006	Equality Act

The legislation now on the statute books, and the related policy on racial equality, and equality more widely, is largely the work of the first years of the Labour Government headed by Tony Blair. Coming to power in 1997, the Government was faced with a number of reports (published and pending) on racial discrimination and racial tension, such as the Macpherson Report (1999) into institutional racism in the Metropolitan Police and the wide-ranging Parekh Report (2000) produced by the Runnymede Trust. In turn, the Government commissioned or supported a number of new reports. In its policy aim of promoting social inclusion, the new Government developed a number of cross-department Policy Action Teams (PATs), one of which (PAT 10) published a key report for England that suggested sport and the arts could be used to promote social inclusion. After unrest in towns in the north of England, the Government commissioned Ted Cantele to report on the tensions and find ways to promote community cohesion; the resulting Cantele report (2001) is clear that sport does play a role in promoting community cohesion.

Running concurrently with policies promoting social inclusion, the first Labour Government of Tony Blair also committed itself to a number of key legislative changes: accepting and endorsing European commitments to human rights through the Human Rights Act 1998, and amending the Race Relations Act in 2000. Further legislation to promote equality in general and regulations on many types of inequality soon followed.

The Government saw the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 as a commitment to rebuilding trust and tackling racism. The Act extended the definition of instances where discrimination might be deemed to have occurred and was designed to be applicable to all public authorities, thereby including local authorities, sports councils and hundreds of other national organisations in receipt of direct grant funding. For local authorities in particular, there was an expectation that all services must be reviewed to ensure they promote good race relations and do not directly or indirectly discriminate. Local authorities were also obliged to undertake other duties to tackle discrimination, which extended to private sector companies delivering local authority services. Under the Act, local authorities would be liable for all work contracted out to other organisations, meaning clubs and voluntary organisations that deliver publicly funded sports and leisure activities could be considered as private bodies delivering a public function and, therefore, were bound by the terms of the Act.

The General Duty of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, following the Northern Ireland Act 1998 (Section 75), required that listed public authorities such as the sports councils, in carrying out their functions should have due regard to the need to:

- a) eliminate unlawful racial discrimination;
- b) promote equality of opportunity; and
- c) promote good race relations between people of different racial groups.

For the sports councils this meant that racial equality needed to be integrated into everything they did; the sports councils needed to get better at consultation and working with communities; they needed to look at ways in which sport can bring communities together; and they needed to become better equipped to meet the demands of different communities. As well as the General Duty, there was a Specific Duty for all public authorities to produce a Race Equality Scheme that would set out how they were going to meet their obligations under the duties. This would take the form of an assessment of all functions and policies for relevance to the General Duty, and subsequent reviews.

This legislative context provided a combination of incentives and sanctions through which the sports councils could begin to encourage governing bodies and other delivery agencies to promote race equality and other forms of equality. This context explains the

policy decision in 2002 by Sport England to set achievement of (at least) the Preliminary Level of the Race Equality Standard as a requirement of governing bodies looking to receive funding the following year (Spracklen 2003). It also accounts for the positive incentives built into more recent initiatives, such as the Equality Standard for Sport.

Race Relations and People's Attitudes

Partly because of this long history of legislative intervention and partly because of claiming tolerance as a national attribute³, the popular view seems to be that there have been marked improvements in race relations over time and that the UK is 'ahead of the game' in relation to other countries in its efforts to improve race relations. For example, on the 10th anniversary (19/1/09) of the Macpherson Report into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, Trevor Phillips (chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission) declared Britain to be the least racist country in Europe.

This may or may not be the case, but survey evidence certainly gives pause for thought. For example, according to the Eurobarometer report (European Commission 2008) people in the UK are more likely than the average across European Union (EU) countries to see discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin as 'widespread' or 'fairly widespread' (69%). The report carries the warning that such figures 'should be interpreted in context of the particular ethnic profiles of the given countries and the extent to which issues such as ethnicity, immigration and multi-culturalism feature in public discourse' (p34). While only a small percentage (4%) had themselves experienced discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin in the past twelve months, this was still double the EU average. Moreover, 16% had witnessed such discrimination in the past twelve months (EU average, 14%) and those with friends from different ethnic origins were more sensitive to discrimination on this basis.

Old photographs showing signs in boarding-house windows that announce 'No Blacks'⁴ or 'no coloured men' (Gilroy 2007), encourage us to believe that racism is less virulent in the UK today than it once was. Indeed, it would be disappointing if that were not so following a raft of legislation and initiatives to promote racial equality. However, quite apart from various high-profile incidents, there is survey evidence to counsel against any optimism that equality has been achieved and that discrimination is a thing of the past.

For example, the 2003 British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS) recorded a large increase in anti-immigrant sentiment since 1995, which seemed to go against increasing liberalism found in the survey over the preceding twenty years (McLaren and Johnson 2004). Big majorities wanted the number of immigrants reduced and wanted stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants. In the most recent survey (2006), 30% of the respondents described themselves as very or a little bit prejudiced against people of other races [sic]. This figure is not as high as the 39% in 1987, but an increase from the low of 25% in 2001 (Cregan and Robinson 2008). Moreover, 36% thought that equal opportunities in the workplace had gone too far (more than twice as many as thought it had not gone far enough). [In response to a more general question about equal opportunities for black and Asian people, proportionately fewer people in Scotland – around one in five – felt that attempts had gone too far (Bromley et al. 2007).] The 2003 BSAS also recorded 18% who perceived prejudice in the workplace against employees of Asian origin (13% against black employees).

³ e.g. Gordon Brown in a speech to the Fabian Society, 14/1/06

⁴ 'No Blacks, No Irish, No Dogs' was adopted as the title of the biography of Lord Taylor of Warwick, while John Lydon has 'No Irish, No Blacks, No Dogs' as the title of his (auto)biography.

Further evidence to question the popular belief that race relations have improved since the 'bad old days' of the 1950s, 1960s and even 1970s comes from the Citizenship Survey 2007 (Communities and Local Government, 2008). At the very least, the path of improvement has not been uninterrupted. For example, the proportion of people in England and Wales who believe racial prejudice is worsening has reached its highest level since the question was first posed in government surveys in 1983. Over half (56%) of all respondents felt there was more racial prejudice in Britain than five years before, an increase from 2005 (48%), 2003 (47%) and 2001 (43%). Perhaps surprisingly, people from BME communities (32%) were less likely than white people (58%) to feel that racial prejudice in Britain had grown when compared with five years previously, which the report suggests is perhaps a by-product of media campaigns that fuel resentment towards refugees and asylum seekers. There was considerable variation between minority ethnic groups, with Pakistani people the most likely to think racial prejudice had worsened (48% – still well below the figure for white respondents) and black African people (22%) the least likely. The report draws attention to other important variations. White people living in ethnically more diverse wards were less likely to feel that racial prejudice had worsened, as were young people (aged 16-24). In Scotland, though, Bromley *et al.* (2007) found no similar geographical variation.

The pattern of responses in the Citizenship Survey regarding racial harassment was very different. Only 9% (or as many as 9%)⁵ saw racial or religious harassment as a problem in their local area (6% saying it was a fairly big problem). As the report discusses, because of sensitivities in reporting such matters, the further 30% who said racial or religious harassment is not a big problem might be interpreted as seeing 'a bit of a problem'. In contrast to the responses on racial prejudice, young people were more likely to see racial or religious harassment as a problem, as were people from minority ethnic groups. Meanwhile, amongst minority ethnic groups, mixed race and Bangladeshi people were most likely to perceive a problem.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of categorising (labelling) people ethnically within surveys and monitoring, and with tagging incidents, behaviours and perceptions as being racist in nature, such recording is necessary to establish racialised patterns with a view to informing policy and practice. They have also served to challenge the idea that some parts of the nation are somehow free of racist attitudes and behaviour. For example, the media recently drew attention to a report from the Northern Constabulary on racism in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. The report recorded an increase in racist incidents between 2005 and 2008, with the English and Poles identified as the main targets (BBC, 2008). This also highlights how, with increased migration, new 'communities' may challenge the idea of 'ethnic minority' and the minority ethnic experience.

In Northern Ireland the small, though growing, number of people from BME communities and an understandable concern with issues attaching to sectarianism historically has perhaps caused the challenge of race relations to be underestimated. However, survey evidence demonstrates that there are issues to be addressed in Northern Ireland as elsewhere. For example, according to the Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (NILTS) 2007⁶, only 6% think there is 'hardly any prejudice against minority ethnic communities in Northern Ireland nowadays' and more recent research has confirmed disturbing levels of prejudice and discrimination against minority ethnic groups, including Irish Travellers. In the 2008 NILTS in response to the question 'I would be willing to accept Irish Travellers living in a house as a resident in my local area', 56% of respondents replied 'No'.

⁵ The point here is that not only are such data constructed by social researchers but they are also interpreted.

⁶ <http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/findingData/niltTitles.asp>

The Scottish Social Attitudes Survey shows that people are more likely to express discriminatory attitudes towards black and Asian people (or other minorities) as a group than towards them as individuals. While relatively few people in the survey suggest problems with individuals, ethnic minorities are more likely to be reported as a threat to:

- economic security – more people felt the presence of people from Eastern Europe makes it more difficult for others to find a job than was the case for people from black and ethnic minorities; and
- cultural integrity – concerns about ‘cultural threat’ were particularly important in shaping attitudes towards Muslims.

These repeat surveys show how attitudes can change relatively quickly (which Bromley et al. 2007 suggest may be directly related to media reporting); in 2006, ethnic minorities were more likely to be seen as a threat to jobs than in 2002 and more likely to be seen as a threat to Scotland’s identity than in 2003.

Of course, different groups in society react to ethnicity in different ways and react differently to different ethnic groups. For example in Scotland, while those with lower educational qualifications were more likely to express discriminatory views, those with higher qualifications and middle-class jobs were more likely to be opposed to positive action to advance the employment prospects of people from BME communities. While those from the youngest age group (18-24) were less likely to voice discriminatory views with regard to personal relationships, they were most likely to see the presence of ethnic minorities in Scotland as a threat to jobs. Meanwhile, while one in ten would be unhappy were a relative to form a relationship with someone who was black, Asian, Jewish or from a Chinese background. More than three times that number said the same in respect of an asylum seeker or a Gypsy/Traveller (Bromley et al., 2007).

The Review and This Report

Priest *et al.* (2008) recently conducted the *Cochrane Review* of interventions implemented through sporting organisations for increasing participation in sport. Despite covering all groups in the population rather than being restricted to BME communities, the international review of material in English still managed to find ‘no rigorous studies’ (for the purpose of Cochrane reviews these are deemed to be control trials) evaluating the effects of interventions. The authors refer to *Driving Up Participation* (Sport England, 2004) in noting an abundance of qualitative information on barriers to participation and exhort organisations to review this to design interventions that might promote participation by being better connected with peoples’ motivations, lifestyle preferences and the realities of daily life.

It is necessary to throw the net wider than randomised control trials to benefit from the findings of recent research while still being assured of the quality of the research from which policy implications are drawn. In addition to major public data sources (e.g. population statistics, attitude surveys and participation surveys), included in the associated bibliography is (primarily) UK research from the past ten years that passed our quality threshold. This was judged on the basis of:

- including empirical data or parallel theory that relates to BME groups and sport, physical activity or active recreation – hence articles representing only the author’s opinion were excluded;
- being methodologically sound; and
- having drawn conclusions justified on the basis of the evidence presented.

While this review draws on research from throughout the UK, this does not mean that all parts will have the same volume of available material. For example, Connolly's (2002) review found 'a dearth' of research on race and ethnicity in Northern Ireland, and despite increasing interest in this topic there have been few studies specifically in sport and recreation (cf. www.research.ofmdfmi.gov.uk).

For a more detailed explanation of the procedures used, please refer to Appendix 1.

The remainder of this report is structured around the key themes identified in response to the initial brief provided by Sporting Equals and the sports councils. The next chapter (2) provides the context for assessing participation by reviewing the idea of difference, the demographic profile of the UK and its constituent parts (including variations through time) and the sports policies that are shaping participation and racial equality. This is followed by a consideration of participation (3) that is concerned not just with the numbers who do or do not participate, but with the nature of the experience and people's attitudes to sport. In this the review is concerned not just with people's ethnicity, but with a recognition that each individual is a bundle of characteristics that interact to shape them in different ways in different circumstances (what some writers refer to as 'intersectionality'). To help to inform policy, the nature of barriers that may deter participation and the support that may facilitate it is reviewed (4). The following chapter (5) is concerned with the delivery of sporting opportunities, or who is providing what for whom in what circumstances. In considering the impact of different initiatives, the review considers what might constitute good practice (6), though this is not with a view to offering a formal 'guide to good practice'. As such, the review refers not to advice offered by informants in the field but to evidence from evaluation studies and the implications that might reasonably be drawn from the findings of other studies exceeding our quality threshold. The final two chapters represent our conclusions (7) and implications for policy and research (8). These are intended to inform debate and invite feedback on any obvious gaps to be filled.

This review recognises the concern of many involved with Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities that specifically 'race' issues may be overlooked within the new generic approach of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission and other public bodies. At the same time, it is also important to be conscious of the complexities of racialised identities and the need to incorporate in this study how social factors such as class, gender, disability, location and politics impact upon the way we experience and work with social groups. Therefore there is an attempt throughout to acknowledge the significance of 'intersectionalities'.

2. Policies, Demographics and Difference

Ethnicity and Difference

While discriminatory attitudes towards different groups have many characteristics in common, the creation of an integrated Equality and Human Rights Commission should not be at the expense of an appreciation of what is different about attitudes towards different groups (Bromley et al. 2007).

In that statement, Bromley *et al.* were referring to the UK Government's move to a generic equality agenda encompassing gender, sexual orientation, age, ethnicity, religion and disability. A similar plea for the recognition of difference is commonly made in the literature about the various ethnic groups, with exhortations to examine variations in experiences and behaviours specific to each ethnic group, rather than combining all under one banner. But even when specific ethnicities are accommodated in their own right, several studies have expressed concern that initiatives are founded on a lack of understanding of BME group differences and adopt a universalist approach to BME communities (e.g. Coalter et al. 2000). In the world of sport such universalism is also reflected in stereotypes of black athleticism (e.g. Hayes and Sugden 1999) and disparaging of Asian physical prowess.

Most official population statistics are based on the definitions used in the Census or some variant derived from them. Although these definitions often change from one census to another they represent ethnicity as a combination of colour and familial origin. People then self-select the category they feel most comfortable with. This presents the potential for confusion. For example, an individual from Northern Ireland, living in Leeds might classify themselves as either 'White British' or 'White Irish'.

The variation in the ethnic categories used for data collection reflects historical and contemporary forces as a compromise seeking to satisfy different interests (Finney and Simpson 2009). For white residents at the 2001 census, England and Wales (Wales did not get a choice) had 'British', 'Irish' and 'Other'; Scotland had 'Scottish', 'Other British', 'Irish', and 'Other'; while Northern Ireland had a single 'white' category, plus an 'Irish Traveller' category (because so few selected this, they are typically amalgamated with the general white category anyway). Similarly, groups of mixed ethnicity are not sub-divided in Scotland and Northern Ireland as they are in England and Wales. Nonetheless, the fact that composite labels are used implies a recognition of the differences that might underlie the categories used in major surveys. In the first chapter, reference was made to the use in public surveys of categories like 'Asian or Asian British – Indian' and 'Asian, Asian Scottish or Asian British – Indian'. These try to accommodate people with varied and complex heritage, allegiances and citizenship. Having recognised such difference, however, large scale surveys are perhaps not the best way of exploring how they work through into participation in sport in an era when hybridity is increasingly recognised. This is not just a question of categories, but of levels of analysis reflected in the extent to which these categories are amalgamated or sub-divided. Different patterns emerge at different levels. Many surveys take their lead from the system used in the Census (as reflected in the next chapter).

Levels of Ethnic Categorisation, 2001 Census

White	White	British (Scottish, Other British)
		Irish
		Other White
Non-white	Mixed	White and Black Caribbean
		White and Black African
		White and Asian
		Other Mixed
	Asian or Asian British/Scottish	Indian
		Pakistani
		Bangladeshi
		Other Asian
	Black or Black British/Scottish	Black Caribbean
		Black African
		Black Other
	Chinese or other ethnic group	Chinese
		Other

In addressing difference, the interaction between demographics and the policy environment has fuelled debate about the nature of citizenship, especially in the light of riots in northern towns (with a sidelong glance to Paris) and fears of terrorism. Trevor Phillips has led the Commission for Racial Equality and now the Equality and Human Rights Commission from a path of multiculturalism to one of integration. The tension here is between allowing / encouraging minority ethnic communities to protect and celebrate their cultural difference and instead expecting those communities to fit in with the cultural practices of the 'host' society in the interests of social cohesion. In studying representations of the boxer, Amir Khan, Burdsey (2007b) argues that the media take this further, reflecting an assimilationist framework of 'race' relations and the suggestion that there is a desired, normative national identity to which BME communities should conform. This runs counter to a policy discourse of social integration, cohesion and renewal. The tensions inherent in this debate raise questions about whether it is appropriate to provide discrete or open-access provision and services. Moreover, as Long and Hylton (2002) argue, it is important to recognise that what is discussed in this chapter and the report as a whole is set within a hierarchy of privilege founded on the dominance of whiteness. There is an obvious tension here between the pressures towards assimilation and the continual construction of those from BME communities as 'the other'.

Changing Demographics

There are two obvious starting points to note:

- a) there is considerable variation in ethnic composition between the four home nations (and between the English regions), and even greater variation at local level; and
- b) those classified as being from minority ethnic groups represent a growing, though still small proportion of the UK population.

To make the initial point we use data from the 2001 Census. Given that they derive from a census, those data are based on the fewest assumptions, though it is likely that they still under-represent the number of people from minority ethnic groups, particularly recent migrants. The review then moves on to more recent estimates and projections, but these are either less comprehensive in geographical coverage or less detailed in the ethnic categories used.

Table 2.1: Whiteness in the 2001 Census

	Per cent who are 'White'	Per cent White 'British'
UK	92.1	
England	90.9	87.0
Wales	97.9	96.0
Scotland	97.9	95.5 ¹
Northern Ireland	99.1 ²	

¹ *Of whom 92.3% consider themselves White Scottish*

² *Includes 1710 White Irish Travellers*

In 2001, 9.1% of the population in England were from non-white minority ethnic groups and a further 3.9% from white minorities. In marked contrast, in Northern Ireland only 0.9% were from minority ethnic groups. Even the more rural regions of England have higher proportions of non-white groups than Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. In Scotland the 'other white' group (people who do not consider themselves, Scottish, British or Irish) was the largest minority ethnic grouping (followed by Pakistani), and the same applied in Wales (followed by those of mixed ethnicity). In Northern Ireland the largest minority ethnic group was Chinese with 4145 people identifying themselves as Chinese in a population of 1.7 million. The very lack of numbers has its own implications for delivering services (see, for example, CAAN 2008).

The highest concentrations of all minority ethnic groups is found in London, with the exception of those who identified themselves as of Pakistani origin, who represented 2.9% of the population in Yorkshire and the Humber and in the West Midlands. There is an issue of scale here. Zooming in on some local authorities shows much higher concentrations of minority ethnic groups. For example, in 2001 25.7% of the Leicester population was Indian (cf. 2% nationally). Of the conceptually difficult categories of 'mixed' origin, the largest proportions are in London, though Nottingham has 2% of people who chose the 'Mixed White and Black Caribbean' category. The London boroughs of Newham and Brent both recorded a minority of 'white' residents. Zooming in again to individual wards shows some with even higher proportions of people from minority ethnic communities. In Scotland, Glasgow holds a comparable position to London's in England in terms of its relatively high proportion of people from non-white minority ethnic groups. On the basis of the 2001 census and subsequent projections, the

Sports Council for Wales particularly identifies Cardiff, Swansea and Newport as areas where there are larger numbers of BME communities (Jones 2007).

The 'white' group has an older age profile than other ethnic groups, which are proportionately more strongly represented in the younger age bands that are more likely (other things being equal) to participate in sport and physical recreation.

Since the 2001 Census there has been considerable immigration from the new accession countries of the European Union. Table 2.2 draws on the updated figures produced by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) with all 16 of the ethnic categories for England and its regions. This shows the 'other white' group concentrated in London, the South East and East. London is also particularly significant in terms of black and Indian groups. The latter are otherwise most significantly represented in the Midlands.

Given the span of only 4 years from 2001 to 2005, the fall in the 'white British' category is marked (from 87% to 84.7%).

Other parts of the UK have similarly experienced a considerable influx of EU migrant workers since 2001 though numbers are difficult to record reliably and may be beginning to fall because of the recession.

Population Projections

Rees and Parsons (2006) note that the number of people from BME communities in the UK nearly doubled between 1981 and 2001 (a 96% increase). Using five (composite) ethnic groups, Rees and Parsons then projected regional populations to 2020 (Table 2.3 and Figure 2.1). From 2001 to 2020 their projections suggest a 5% increase in the white UK population and an overall increase in the UK population of 10%. That larger overall increase has been projected on the basis that the numbers in other ethnic groupings are expected to increase faster. Most notably, it is suggested that the 'Chinese and Other' group will double. Not surprisingly, the key features of the geographic variations already noted roll forward. Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland remain 'whiter' than any of the English regions; London is the major centre for non-white groups; the next most significant concentration of non-white groups is in the West Midlands, where, it is projected, over 10% of the population will be Asian/Asian-British.

Table 2.2: Population Estimates, England, 2005

Area	White: British	White: Irish	White: Other White	Mixed: White and Black Caribbean	Mixed: White and Black African	Mixed: White and Asian	Mixed: Other Mixed	Asian or Asian British: Indian	Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi	Asian or Asian British: Other Asian	Black or Black British: Black Caribbean	Black or Black British: Black African	Black or Black British: Other Black	Chinese	Other Ethnic Group
<i>percentage of population in each region</i>																
England	84.7	1.2	3.2	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.4	2.4	1.6	0.6	0.6	1.2	1.3	0.2	0.7	0.6
North East	94.6	0.4	1.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.3
North West	90.3	1.1	1.5	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	1.3	2.0	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.6	0.3
Yorkshire and Humber	89.3	0.6	1.7	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.2	1.3	3.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.4
East Midlands	89.2	0.8	1.9	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.3	3.2	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.1	0.6	0.3
West Midlands	84.1	1.3	1.6	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.3	3.6	3.2	0.7	0.5	1.6	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.5
East of England	88.4	1.1	3.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.4	1.3	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.2	0.6	0.5
London	58.2	2.6	8.8	1.0	0.5	0.9	0.9	6.4	2.2	2.2	2.0	4.4	5.5	0.8	1.4	1.9
South East	88.5	1.0	3.5	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	1.5	0.9	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.1	0.6	0.6
South West	93.1	0.7	2.3	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.4

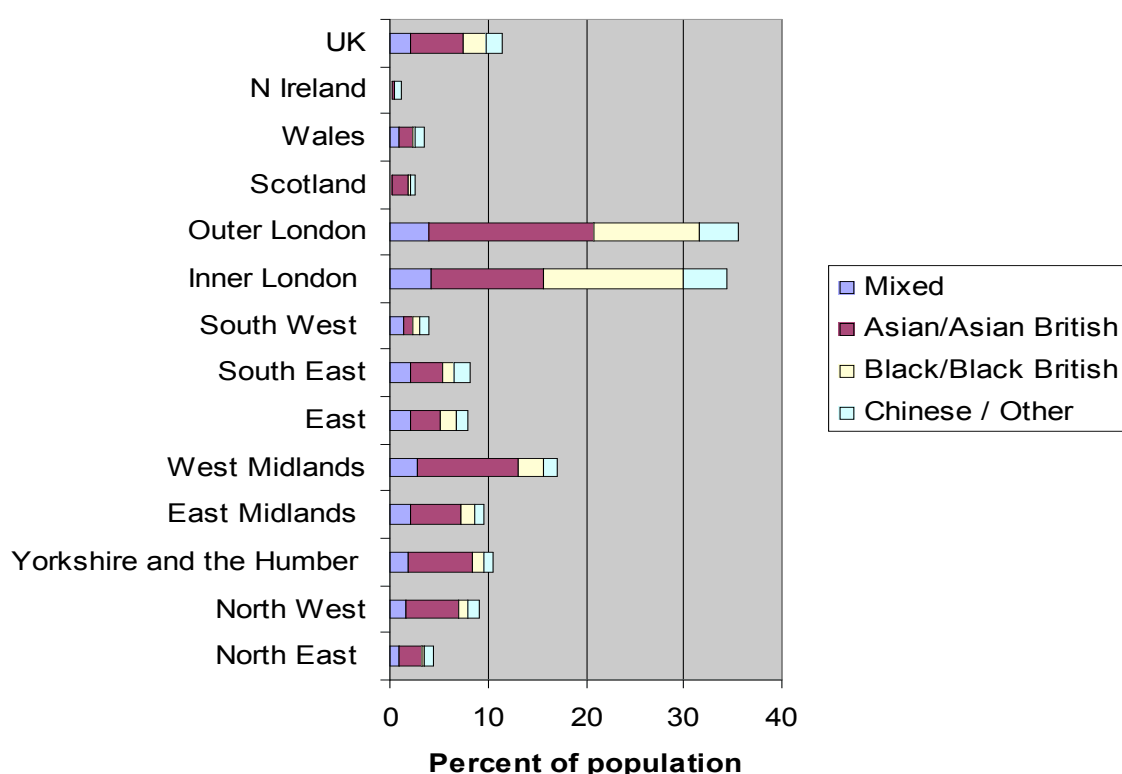
Source: Office for National Statistics

Table 2.3 : Projected Ethnic Composition of the UK Population in 2020

Area	White	Mixed	Asian / Asian - British	Black / Black - British	Chinese / Other
<i>Percentage of regional / national population</i>					
North East	95.50	0.97	2.22	0.30	1.00
North West	90.91	1.71	5.23	0.96	1.19
Yorkshire & Humber	89.39	1.89	6.64	1.00	1.09
East Midlands	90.35	2.03	5.21	1.39	1.03
West Midlands	83.02	2.90	10.16	2.63	1.30
East	91.92	2.09	3.17	1.58	1.22
South East	91.86	2.01	3.37	1.14	1.61
South West	96.17	1.43	1.00	0.60	0.83
Inner London	65.69	4.29	11.47	14.20	4.35
Outer London	64.48	4.08	16.81	10.63	4.01
Scotland	97.41	0.32	1.48	0.36	0.43
Wales	96.48	1.05	1.21	0.38	0.89
N Ireland	98.76	0.34	0.12	0.11	0.67
UK	88.61	2.03	5.40	2.47	1.49

Table compiled from data presented in Rees and Parsons, 2006.

Figure 2.1: Projections to 2020 of ethnic groups in the population



Compiled from data from Rees and Parsons, 2006

Religion

Across the UK the most common religion after Christianity is Muslim (especially so in England, 3.1%), and there are now more Sikhs than Jews (Table 2.4), though there is some variation between the different home countries. Almost a quarter of the UK population have no religion or did not answer the question. An indication of how this has changed is given by comparisons in Scotland, where the percentage not answering or saying 'no religion' is 33% compared with 26% giving comparable answers for their religion of upbringing. Interestingly, people in Scotland were far more likely to say that they had no religion than in the UK as a whole.

Arguably in both Northern Ireland and Scotland, with relatively few from BME groups, the more marked distinction is a sectarian one between Catholic and Protestant. In Northern Ireland the numbers of Protestants (45.6%) and Catholics (40.3%) are similar, but in Scotland the ratio is approximately 3:1. Again, the way this maps out in local areas varies enormously. In Northern Ireland this has been influential in directing resources (financial and human) in efforts to develop sport in different geographical communities, often distinguished by faith.

Table 2.4 Religious Affiliation (UK)

Religion	Number	Percentage of UK population
Christian	42079417	71.6
Buddhist	151816	0.3
Hindu	558810	1.0
Jewish	266740	0.5
Muslim	1591126	2.7
Sikh	336149	0.6
Other	178837	0.3
No Religion / not stated	13626299	23.2

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2001 Census

Policies for Racial Equality in Sport

Thirty-three items in the literature review discussed or examined sport policy. Of these, nineteen were ranked of sufficient quality and relevance to be included in this critical analysis of content. The fourteen items determined to be of insufficient quality (against the criteria established in chapter 1) or relevance included a number of older or overseas academic studies, which may still be useful in any future comparative or longitudinal studies. It is interesting to observe here that one of the items excluded was the Sport England Volunteer Policy (Sport England 2005b) an important policy for the organisation and for English sport, but which does not mention BME groups or equality.

As discussed in the previous chapter, equality (or equity) policy development in the sports councils has been in the context of wider societal, legal and governmental drives to establish individual and collective rights and freedoms. In sports policy, the Human Rights Act (1998) and the body of other equality legislation and guidance has directly influenced the work of the various government offices and agencies charged with the responsibilities of funding, supporting and enabling sport. This legislative context provided a combination of incentives and controls through which the sports councils could begin to encourage governing bodies and other delivery agencies to promote race equality and other forms of equality. It is this context that explains the policy decision by Sport England in 2002 to set achievement of (at least) the Preliminary Level of the Race Equality Standard as a requirement of governing bodies looking to receive funding the following year (Spracklen 2003). It also accounts for the positive incentives built into more recent initiatives such as the Equality Standard for Sport.

The sports councils now all have relevant policies and strategies, to a greater or lesser degree. It is instructive to examine the material publicly available on sports councils' websites. UK Sport's policy is very comprehensive, covering legal and moral commitments to tackling inequality and promoting equality and diversity. Sport England and **sportscotland** also have robust equality (equity in Scotland) policies, with an emphasis on promoting participation as well as ensuring equality and outlawing

discrimination. The other councils do have policies in place, but these are not prominent on their respective websites.

Drivers

What drives policy? Policy and strategy documents rarely specify the research or information that has driven their formulation so we tried to map some of the links. It is recognised in the literature that individual sports, local authorities and other providers have attempted to create policies as part of their work to tackle racism and/or promote equality, e.g. the anti-racism campaigns in football (Burdsey 2007a, Garland and Rowe 2001) and the Clean Bowl Racism campaign of the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) (Malcolm 2000). However, the findings of the literature suggest that the impact of these policies are often limited to a focus on violent and abusive behaviour from hooligans (Barlow et al. 2007, Garland and Rowe 2001). On the work of the ECB, Malcolm (2000) argues that there was a failure to look at existing literature, which resulted in the ECB's racial equality policies only encompassing limited forms of racism (for example, abuse by players).

The Commission for Racial Equality's *Achieving Racial Equality: A Standard for Sport* (CRE 2000) was produced by 'Sporting Equals, in partnership with its joint funding bodies, Sport England and the Commission for Racial Equality, and in consultation with over 150 governing bodies and sports organisations'. However, like the subsequent strategies and standards, there is no evidence that it was informed by research apart from references to documents like *Minority Ethnic Issues in Social Exclusion and Neighbourhood Renewal*, the PAT 10 report (see below), and *A Sporting Future for All*. Organisations submitting for the Standard, however, have had to compile evidence that they are meeting the various criteria.

In 2004, the sports councils shifted the emphasis of their equity strategy to *The Equality Standard: A Framework for Sport*⁷, a document jointly produced between the sports councils (including UK Sport), and supported by the Central Council of Physical Recreation (CCPR), Women's Sport Foundation (WSF), English Federation of Disability Sport (EFDS) and Sporting Equals. It claims to draw on lessons from *Achieving Racial Equality: A Standard for Sport*, published by Sporting Equals in 2000. UK Sport also has a specific Equality Strategy. The indirect evidence that is available in these policies and strategies, suggests that there is a mixture of paternalism, leadership commitment and public-sector duty driving their formulation. The combination of commitment and public duty, in particular, appears to be crucial in the construction of such performance-driven policy frameworks.

Horne (1995) is an example of an older piece of research that nonetheless provides an important insight into the drivers of policy, focusing specifically on policy-making at a local authority level in Scotland. Using a systematic survey, Horne researched the extent to which Scottish local authorities had implemented equality policies. He found 71% of local authorities had a formal equal opportunities policy but these were deemed to be mostly gestural or reactive policy statements. The reasons most often given suggested that this limited response was because 'race' had not yet been a problem. At the time only five (13%) had a specific racial equality policy for sport and leisure. Swinney and Horne (2005) then followed up this work ten years later to see what progress had been made in Scotland. They concluded that significant advances in the formalisation of equal opportunity policy had been made, but the provision for leisure needs of the BME population remained limited. Over half of the authorities reported that no research had been carried out to discover the leisure and sporting needs of the BME population.

⁷ The Equity Standard in Scotland

Examples of specific provision were generally limited to the provision of female-only swimming lessons. Horne argued that the relatively small size and invisibility of the BME population in some authorities caused the needs of BME groups to be seen as problematic ('them' as the problem).

Swinney and Horne (2005) corroborated the review of research by Coalter *et al.* (2000) in identifying a systematic lack of monitoring and evaluation of the outcomes of sport, and specifically initiatives aimed at BME communities. They concluded that policy needs to be made from the grassroots upwards, with the involvement of BME individuals and groups at all stages of the consultation process.

Northern Ireland presents itself as a unique socio-political environment where, for a variety of reasons, 'inclusivity and fairness' are seen as key drivers in the public policy arena. Despite these priorities some commentators would still argue that it is difficult to envisage a truly effective inclusive sports policy in the absence of a genuinely inclusive political process. Bairner (2004) asks how sports administrators can be convinced to accept responsibility for promoting social inclusion when sectarianism is institutionalised. That study serves to emphasise how the political situation has a major influence on the delivery of sport. While such debates continue to be prominent in the context of Northern Ireland such concerns are not restricted to this region.

Inclusion

On the basis of the evidence available, the link between research and policy appears to be stronger in relation to sport's contribution to social inclusion. For example, via the Department for Communities and Local Government, the *Citizenship Survey 2008* and its predecessors represent some of the research that informs the strategy of the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society*. It surveys 15,000 people, but has a potentially confusing use of terminology, for example, offering 'race' and 'colour' as alternative answers to the same question about the reason for being treated unfairly at work (both given by almost half the respondents – more than for other reasons).

In a secondary analysis of research across all (then) twenty five EU member states, Amara *et al.* (2004) identified the range of approaches to the use of sport to promote intercultural understanding in those states. The research made use of a selection of qualitative case studies in France, Germany, Poland and the UK to examine the challenges in utilising sport for multiculturalism. The report categorises the dominant position in the UK, Finland and Belgium as having relatively heterogeneous populations with evidence of multicultural or intercultural policy approaches. Specifically, they praised the UK approach for placing emphasis on adapting sports organisations to meet the requirements of BME communities, rather than vice versa. However, by being selective with their case studies, it could be argued that the report gives an idealised impression of the position in Britain, a position that other research indicates has not been adopted universally.

A number of the research studies in this systematic review suggest the impact of policies on inclusion is not as straightforward or positive as Amara *et al.* (2004) imply. Bradbury *et al.* (2006) gathered information across Leicestershire in an attempt to map and inform policies to promote inclusion and participation in football among BME communities. Despite the high-level commitment of the FA, the local County FA, and other partners, some of the respondents at clubs dominated by BME communities felt the local governing body had done little to address issues of racism. Similar disjunctures between equality policies and inclusion at the grassroots is noted in the work of Lowrey and Kay (2005), and McGuire *et al.* (2001).

For some of the policy documents on social inclusion there has been a more direct link with research. For example, the social inclusion report from Policy Action Team 10 (DCMS 1999) drew heavily on a review of literature produced for the government by Collins *et al.* (1999). For the revised Scottish Sport Strategy, led by **sportscotland** (Sport 21 2003-2007), research was commissioned into sport and minority ethnic communities (Scott Porter Research 2002). With qualitative research based on interviews with forty people from minority ethnic groups and five professionals, this offers a sounder basis for the research to policy link than most: as the research was specially commissioned to inform the development of policy in Scotland, it has proven to be a crucial contribution to the establishment of **sportscotland's** strategy.

This latter example built on an earlier piece of research commissioned by **sportscotland** (Scott Porter Research 2001) to inform its targets in *Sport and Ethnic Minority Communities: Aiming at Social Inclusion* (**sportscotland** 2001). Even then the classification of respondents into 'security seekers', 'harmony seekers' and 'independence seekers' may not be very robust in a policy context but importantly recognises cross-cutting segments. It is the first category that is least likely to participate in sport and then only in segregated sport. Many respondents suggested that their own cultural beliefs (and those of their family/community, particularly that past 'a certain age' sporting participation is no longer appropriate) exclude them from sport, but also felt excluded by what they perceive as the 'white nature' of sport, underpinned with a sense that BME groups are not welcome. There was a concern that the specific needs of their ethnicity may not be accommodated, or that they may experience racism when participating in sport with people from other ethnic backgrounds. Given the lack of research on participation in sport by BME groups in Scotland and the wide variety of targets **sportscotland** established, they felt obliged to draw on the much larger study by Sport England and the Office for National Statistics (Rowe and Champion 2000) with its sample of over 3,000 people from BME backgrounds (we pursue a similar strategy in Chapter 3). However, that affords little insight into the differences north of the border.

From Policy Formulation to Implementation

The Scott Porter research (2002) aimed to provide strategic direction for **sportscotland** on the most appropriate structure for delivering sport for BME communities. In that study they undertook a further sixteen qualitative interviews with representatives from a range of key organisations including the Commission for Racial Equality, Sport England, governing bodies and local authorities. The report discusses four structural models to deliver sport for BME groups and recommends that a single body is most effective as it allows a more focused approach with a single integrated voice that ensures unified representation. It concludes by arguing:

In determining the most effective structure for delivering against the stated Sport 21 objectives, key considerations are as follows: the benefits of divorcing policy and strategy development from service delivery; the value of starting from an overtly 'neutral' base; the importance of immediate authority and credibility at a national level; the essentially campaigning nature of the role.

The suggestion of divorcing policy from delivery was not to devalue delivery, but to suggest a need for a body separate from direct vested interest on the ground to be operating at a policy level in order to secure a reorientation of thinking by challenging perceptions and campaigning for change.

The implementation of the Racial Equality Standard, and its replacement by the Equality Standard for Sport, is assessed in a number of the academic studies included in this

review (Long et al. 2003, Spracklen 2003, Spracklen et al. 2006). The report by Long *et al.* (2003) was commissioned by Sporting Equals to evaluate the equity policies of national governing bodies and sport organisations funded by Sport England. The research combined a comprehensive postal survey with interviews with a purposive sample of policy makers and other key individuals in the organisations and governing bodies. While 87% of organisations had equity policies, relatively few had a commitment to delivery: a requirement for staff to attend racial equality training was still unusual, there were typically no paid staff from BME backgrounds, and very few had specific budgets for racial equality work. The majority of respondents recognised a lack of awareness of different cultures in their organisations, but similar numbers felt there was merely a lack of interest in sport on the part of BME communities. While there was a unanimous belief that sport has a clear role in tackling racism, no radical approaches to ensuring equality were suggested and there had been little impact at local level.

Spracklen (2003) considered three examples from governing bodies of sport that had worked with Sporting Equals on the Preliminary Level of the Racial Equality Standard and how policies are being turned into actions. The Standard was the first attempt to establish a framework of objectives that sports had to show they were meeting by providing evidence of their actions. Recognising that the pace of progress by governing bodies in adopting the scheme was slow, Sport England required all governing bodies to meet the preliminary standard in order to safeguard their funding from Sport England. Spracklen (2003) illustrates the difficulties in getting governing bodies to take a holistic approach to equality. Changing policies is not enough unless attitudes and cultures are changed too. This difficulty, it is claimed, is symptomatic of the wider problem of the communities of the sports; those shared feelings of meaning and belonging (for example, the sense of a South Wales identity associated with rugby union, or the village greens of George Orwell's English cricket) that are created by deep immersion in any leisure activity.

Spracklen *et al.* (2006) returned to the work in Long *et al.* (2003) to compare its findings using follow-up interviews with some of the same individuals previously interviewed, as well as key policy makers at national sports organisations. The intention was to explore the impact of 'organisational commitment to diversity through the period of the establishment of the Racial Equality Standard and its replacement in November 2004 by an Equality Standard' (Spracklen et al. 2006). They found that there is 'a disjuncture between policy (commitment) and practice (action)' (ibid, p298). Disconcertingly, nearly all respondents reported little or no action or development of equity policies in the twelve months preceding this follow-up. Although there was acknowledgement of the white culture of sport by the people interviewed, this was not seen by them as a problem. Some respondents expressed concern that without practical, supportive structures in place, the Racial Equality Standard is a box-ticking exercise. Criticism was made of the Racial Equality Standard and Equality Standard for being 'designed to measure achievement against management-focused objectives at their initial level with a focus on equality of outcome at their higher levels' (ibid. p300). Consequently, the managers and policy makers embedded objectives into policies and plans (to ensure they didn't lose funding) but not into practices. Spracklen *et al.* (2006) argue that little attempt has been made to monitor diversity formally beyond the production of equity policies.

Summary

The non-white population of the UK is still a small minority, not greatly increased by other white minority ethnic groups, but the steady increase in minority ethnic groups is set to continue over the period 2001-2020. There is enormous variation in ethnic make-up across different parts of the country: Scotland, Wales and particularly Northern Ireland are much 'whiter' than any English region.

Sports policy has evolved in the context of general equality legislation and a steadily growing BME population.

Several sports bodies have contributed to the policy arena with initiatives both to challenge discrimination and inequality and to promote participation and inclusion.

Sports policies are sometimes based on limited representations of racism and so are inhibited in the way they address racial equality. Public duty is now driving the construction of performance-driven policy frameworks, most notably now in the shape of the Equality Standard.

Research has identified some issues with getting equity policies implemented through all parts of sport at all levels.

3. Experience and Attitudes

Common sense, and popular stereotypes can result in apparent contradictions; for example, 'black people are naturally gifted at sport,' yet 'minority ethnic groups are under-represented in terms of their participation in sport'. Large scale surveys and in-depth qualitative research both allow a more complex picture to emerge.

Patterns of Participation

Information on participation in sport comes from a combination of large scale public surveys, other quantitative studies at a more local level, and qualitative research. It is not unusual for these to use different measures of sport and different indicators of participation. This complicates comparative assessments and longitudinal analyses. Here, we try to offer some common or recurring findings mixed with individual insights from the body of research.

Through the period of this review, various surveys have offered insights to levels of participation by different ethnic groups (all using self-report methods). At an aggregate level, almost all confirm lower levels of participation by BME groups (e.g. Rowe et al. 2004, Rowe and Champion 2000)⁸. For example, the Sports Equity Index (Sport England 2005a) calculated that the participation of adults from BME communities in casual (at least once a month) and regular (at least once a week) sport (excluding walking) was 21 percentage points below the national average. Among the most frequent participants (those participating at least three times a week), the gap was narrower but still pronounced at 14 percentage points. However, where other survey data allow more detailed analysis, some areas of higher participation can be detected, as can some segments with particularly low levels of involvement.

The Sports Council for Wales asserts that, according to its participation statistics, walking is the most popular physical activity in the country (SCW 2008). However, the Welsh Assembly Government (2005) observed that levels of participation in walking amongst ethnic minorities are low, especially in terms of utilising coastal and countryside walking trails. In Northern Ireland, a recent report dealing with reasons why various communities do not use the countryside for recreation (CAAN 2008) highlighted the fact that there was a strong walking culture within Eastern Europe, including the Lithuanian and Polish communities, and that many migrant workers and their families had brought this propensity to Northern Ireland. However the report also pointed to significant constraints, including lack of public transport, paucity of information and guides, and language barriers.

The link between sport and health has been frequently asserted in sports policy statements and some measure of participation is included in the major health surveys conducted in all the home countries. However, the health sector is more interested in physical activity than sport *per se*⁹. The Welsh Health Survey (most recent data 2007), Northern Ireland Survey of Health and Wellbeing (most recent data 2005/6) and Scottish Health Survey (most recent available data 2003) all contained questions on physical

⁸ Data from Sports Council Wales indicate that in Wales a higher proportion of non-White respondents, take part /volunteer / are a club member in sport and physical recreation than those who are White. However the small number of respondents from BME communities mean that the data are not considered sufficiently robust to report.

⁹ This may be misleading from our point of view as such measures may include activity in the course of the respondent's work.

activity and ethnic classification, but no analyses of this relationship have been published using these data. However, as in 1999, the 2004 Health Survey for England had a boosted sample among BME communities (black Caribbean, black African, Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, Chinese and Irish) to support an analysis of their health (Stamatakis 2006).

In total, 37% of men and 25% of women met the physical activity target of participation in moderate to vigorous activity for thirty minutes three times a week. To take account of the differences in the age profile of different BME groups, age-standardised risk ratios were calculated. Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese) men and women had lower age-standardised risk ratios of meeting the physical activity recommendations than the general population, which was also the case in 1999. Bangladeshi men (0.58) and women (0.32) both had particularly low age-standardised risk ratios (general population = 1). Clearly, there is a gender dimension but a cultural one too.

Table 3.1: Participation in Sports and Exercise, by minority ethnic group and sex

<i>Aged 16 and over</i>								<i>2004</i>	
Participation in moderate or vigorous activity in the four weeks prior to interview		Minority ethnic group						General Population	
Men		Black Caribbean	Black African	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Irish	
Observed %									
Any ^a		46	43	32	31	26	49	39	41
At least once a week ^b		39	35	26	25	22	39	33	33
Standardised risk ratios									
Any ^a		1.10	0.83	0.73	0.63	0.46	0.99	1.02	1
At least once a week ^b		1.16	0.83	0.73	0.61	0.49	1.09	1.09	1
Women									
Observed %									
Any ^a		36	28	27	16	12	34	38	34
At least once a week ^b		27	20	21	13	11	27	29	25
Standardised risk ratios									
Any ^a		0.96	0.64	0.67	0.35	0.24	0.85	1.05	1
At least once a week ^b		0.98	0.61	0.70	0.38	0.29	0.91	1.13	1

^a Participation for at least 30 minutes in moderate or vigorous intensity activity in the four weeks prior to interview

^b Participation for at least 30 minutes a week on average in moderate or vigorous intensity, i.e. at least four sessions in the four weeks prior to interview

Adapted from Stamatakis (2006): Health Survey England 2004

Within the measure of physical activity, the survey recorded participation in sports and exercise during the past four weeks (Table 3.1). This found that 41% of men and 34% of women had participated in sports and exercise in the four weeks prior to interview. All ethnic groups showed a decline in participation in sports and exercise with increasing

age. While Chinese men appear to have higher levels of participation in sport (in the past four weeks) than the general population, this disappears once the figures are standardised for age. Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and black African men and women had lower age-standardised risk ratios of participation in sports and exercise than men and women in the general population. Again, the risk ratios were lowest for Bangladeshi men and women. Using these age-standardised measures revealed the highest levels of participation amongst the men by black Caribbeans and amongst the women by the Irish.

Other studies at regional and local level confirm lower levels of physical activity among BME communities (Harrison et al. 2006), with a consequent concern for health implications.

Until recently the best source of data on participation in sport was the 1999 survey of sport participation and ethnicity (England only) commissioned by Sport England (Rowe and Champion 2000). The measure used (at least one occasion in the previous four weeks, excluding walking) showed 40% of people from BME communities participated, compared with the national average of 46%. Allowing more detailed analysis than previous surveys, a more nuanced picture began to emerge. For example:

- by different ethnic groups – Pakistani (31%) and Bangladeshi (30%) people had particularly low levels of participation; while 'Black other' were above the national average
- by sex of respondent – the gap between males and females was greater among BME communities than the population as a whole (like the data from Health Survey England, this suggested especially low participation rates among Bangladeshi women – 19%)
- by individual sports – in contrast to low overall participation rates, participation in football was relatively high amongst all BME male groups, and black males (31%) and Pakistani men (16%) were above the national average (10%), which invites the question of why Pakistani men are not appearing in the professional game (see the section on barriers below).

The General Household Survey (GHS) last had questions on participation in sport in 2002/3. However, even relatively large national data sets such as this contain only small numbers of people from the various ethnic groups participating in the various individual (even grouped) sports and so cannot provide reliable estimates. It was largely this concern that prompted Sport England's survey of sports participation and ethnicity in 1999/2000 (conducted by The Office for National Statistics). More recently, the GHS has been superseded as a source of data on sports participation in England by the DCMS Taking Part Survey (approximately 29,000 people a year in England) and, more importantly, Sport England's Active People Survey, a telephone survey of 363,724 adults (aged 16+), with at least 1,000 interviews in every local authority in England (354). In Scotland, the best data come from the boosted sample in the Scottish Omnibus for 2003/4. Elsewhere, Sport Northern Ireland is in the process of undertaking a large-scale adult Sport and Physical Activity Survey (SAPAS) in order to report rates of participation, including those of black and minority ethnic groups. Because of the larger population of people from BME groups in England and the much larger sample size on offer, most of our attention here is directed to the Active People Survey.

Despite policies and pronouncements, the Sports Equity Index (Sport England, 2005) showed a growing disparity in participation in both casual sport (at least once a month) and regular sport (at least once a week) between adults (16+) in BME and white groups between 1996 and 2002, and the same applied to young people over the period 1999-2002.

The concern to increase participation by priority groups led to the negotiation of *Public Service Agreement target 3* (PSA3) for DCMS to increase the take-up of cultural and sporting opportunities by those aged 16 and above from each of a set of priority groups, one of which was people from BME communities. This was to involve:

- increasing the number participating in at least one active sport in the past four weeks by 3 percentage points; and
- increasing the number engaging in at least 30 minutes of moderate intensity level sport on at least three days in the past week by 3 percentage points.

The evidence for this was to come from the Taking Part Survey, comparing 2007/8 with 2005/6. Whereas the Audit Commission found that the three targets for increasing attendance by those from BME backgrounds at historic environment sites, museums and galleries, and arts events were all met, the sports targets were not (DCMS 2008). The first actually decreased and although the second showed an increase, it was not statistically significant.

Rowe *et al.* (2004: 10) had previously concluded, on examining data from the General Household Survey, that 'there is no evidence to suggest that sport has widened its participation base to include more people from ... different ethnic minorities'. Using a rather different measure, the evidence above from the Audit Commission (DCMS 2008) suggests the story remains much the same.

The Active People Survey¹⁰

Data are now becoming available from the 2007/8 survey (Active People Survey 2), though the data presented here are derived from the 2005/6 survey (Active People Survey 1), which is made publicly available via the Sport England website. In terms of sample size, the Active People Survey is like nothing that has gone before in terms of recording sports participation; with a sample of c. 1,000 in each local authority in England, it had a total sample of 363,724 in 2005/6. The data gathered by the survey address five key performance indicators (KPI) for respondents (plus a further measure of satisfaction with provision and other measures of participation). KPI 1 represents 30 minutes of moderate intensity participation (in sport or recreational physical activity including recreational walking and cycling) on at least three days a week – 3x30. Two other indicators represent more occasional participation: at least one 30-minute session of moderate physical activity in the past week; participation in at least one sport (excluding recreational walking or cycling) in the past four weeks. Ethnicity is also recorded at different levels of disaggregation, principally: (2) white / non-white; (5) white / mixed / Asian / black Chinese and other; (16) Census categories.

On all three measures of participation, white respondents indicated significantly higher levels of participation than non-white respondents, though the difference was less marked for the less frequent measure of having participated in sport in the past four weeks. However, that grouping masks considerable variation. Examining the five ethnic groupings reveals that for all three measures, the group of mixed ethnicities has significantly higher levels of participation than all four other groups. The group of 'Chinese and other' ethnicities also shows high levels of participation (particularly for participation in the past four weeks).

¹⁰ Sport England's 'Active People Diagnostic', an online reporting and analysis tool permits detailed analysis of data from the first Active People Survey (2005/6). The data here is from Tier 3, which allows users to generate profile analysis and cross-tabulations. Active People Survey 2 (2007/8) data will be available on the site in June 2009. Active People Diagnostic is freely available, with registration for the site via: www.webreport.se/apd/login.aspx

A more detailed examination of the sixteen categories shows that all four mixed ethnic groupings had significantly higher levels of participation than 'White British' respondents on all three indicators, but so too did the group 'White other'. Despite common stereotypes, black groups did not have high levels of participation. On the other hand, the particularly low levels of participation by 'Pakistani,' 'Bangladeshi' and 'Asian other' groups did confirm stereotypical expectations with very low levels of participation: KPI 1 showed participation rates of 15.6%, 13.2% and 15.7%, respectively, compared to the national average of 21.0%. Although based on a much smaller sample, the DCMS Taking Part Survey also showed the mixed ethnicity group to be most likely to participate in moderate intensity sport.

Given the other indicators, it is equally unsurprising that groups of mixed ethnicity had higher levels of participation than white groups in **competitive sport** (KPI 5 – taken part in last twelve months). It was noted above that women were less likely than men to take part in regular sport (KPI 1). That distinction is even more marked for competitive sport; compare the 22.1% of white males who had taken part with the 8.8% white females who had done so. British Indian females (5.7%), British Pakistani females (4%), British Bangladeshi females (4.4%), black British Caribbean females (7.8%) and black British African females (6.5%) had even lower levels of participation.

Gender

Being part of a minority ethnic group exaggerates the well-known gender disparity in participation rates (Table 3.2); for example, 'White all' (men more active by 4.9 percentage points), 'Mixed all' (by 11.8%), 'Asian all' (by 9%), 'black all' (by 8.6%), 'Chinese all' (by 8.2%). White males are more active than non-white males by 0.9 percentage points, but white females are more active than non-white females by 4.8 percentage points. Asian British Pakistani women (9.7% meet KPI 1), Asian British Bangladeshi women (7.3%) and Asian British other women (9.5%) show particularly low levels of participation. A substantial part of the difference between white and non-white levels of participation, then, can be attributed to the much lower participation rates among women from BME communities.

Table 3.2: Achievement of KPI 1 (3x30) by aggregated ethnic group and gender

	Gender	White		Non-white		Total
		Male	Female	Male	Female	
KPI 1		<i>percentage of group</i>				
No		76.2	81.1	77.1	85.9	79.0
Yes		23.8	18.9	22.9	14.1	21.0

Source: Active People Survey 1 (2005/6)

Disability

It is unsurprising to see that for all ethnic groups, those who have a disability are less likely to participate than those who do not. However, in terms of comparing the participation rates for both, the white group has the lowest participation rate.

Table 3.3: Achievement of KPI 1 (3x30) by ethnic group and limiting longstanding illness/disability/infirmity

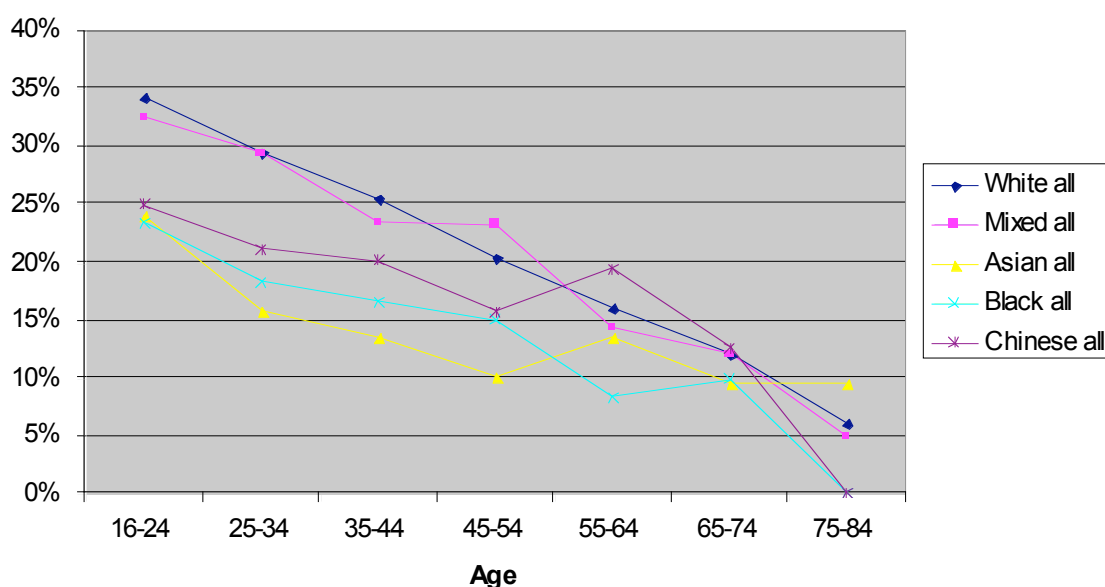
Ethnic group	Limiting longstanding illness/disability/infirmity	
	Yes	No
	<i>percentage of respondents</i>	
White all	8.7	23.7
Mixed all	14.5	28.0
Asian all	7.3	17.6
Black all	9.0	18.4
Chinese and Other	10.5	21.4

Source: Active People Survey 1 (2005/6)

Age

sportscotland (2007) argue that because British Asian communities have a younger population, if all else were equal, they should show higher levels of sports participation (as noted in Section 2, minority ethnic groups typically have a younger age profile than the various white British groups). Indeed, the differential age profiles are part of the reason why mixed ethnic groups showed the high levels of participation noted above. However, when examining participation levels (KPI 1) for each age group, the white group is more active at every age than the non-white group. In fact, there is a greater percentage point disparity between white and non-white groups at younger ages. When divided into five ethnic groups (Fig 3.1), there are instances of higher participation by one or other of the minority ethnic groups. [In Scotland, **sportscotland** (2007) identified that BME groups had lower levels of ‘any sport’ participation for all age groups apart from those aged 16-24].

Figure 3.1 Participation in 3x30 minutes of sport and active recreation by age and ethnicity



NB Some of the older groups have only small numbers of respondents

Source: Active People Survey 1 (2005/6)

Income and Class

The survey has a number of variables relating to socio-economic status. Table 3.4 shows the effect that household income has on participation (KPI 1) for ethnicity using the bi-variate white/non-white distinction. For the lowest income band, non-white respondents were significantly more likely to participate. However, for all other (household) income groups, white respondents were significantly more likely to have participated.

Table 3.4: Participation in 3x30 minutes of sport and physical recreation by Income and ethnicity					
Income	Up to £15,599	£15,600 - £25,999	£26,000 - £36,399	£36,400 - £45,799	£45,800 or more
Ethnic group	<i>percentage of each group</i>				
White	12.8	19.5	24.9	29.1	34.8
Non White	14.5	17.7	20.0	25.5	29.2
<i>Source: Active People Survey 1 (2005/6)</i>					

On the basis of the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification, greater participation (KPI 1) was recorded by white respondents compared with non-white respondents across the classes. However, that masks the equally consistently higher participation levels by people of 'mixed' ethnicity.

Other Involvement in Sport

Club Membership

Although much sports participation is informal, according to the Active People Survey more people are members of clubs than participate in sport for 3x30 minutes a week. White respondents (25.5%) are markedly more likely to be club members than non-white respondents, and again it is British Pakistani (15.5%) and British Bangladeshi (13.8%) members who record the lowest levels, although the Chinese group (27.3%) had particularly high levels of membership. A large difference is revealed between black British Caribbean (23.5%) and black British African (17%) levels of membership. Apart from the Chinese groups, minority ethnic groups show a greater disparity between male and female groups, with the mixed groups taken together showing the largest difference (36.3% and 23.4%, respectively). More localised studies like those of Long et al. (2000) and Bradbury et al. (2006) suggest that this membership is not evenly spread but is concentrated in relatively few clubs.

Elite Sport

At the elite level, UK Sport estimates that 10.3% of its funded athletes are from BME groups, which compares favourably with the 7.9% of the 2001 UK population from such communities. Analysis of the GB Team that represented Great Britain at the 2008 Beijing Olympic and Paralympic Games, estimates that 7% of the athletes in the GB Olympic squad and 3.6% of athletes in the GB Paralympic squad were from BME groups.

Coaching

Once again, British Asian groups are significantly below the rest in terms of receiving coaching in the last twelve months. However, the Chinese (19.9%), black British Caribbean (19.1%), black British other (18.7%) and mixed groups all reported higher levels than the white British group (18%). Overall, this is one indicator characterised by higher proportions of women, who were more likely to have received tuition than men. Levels for white males (17%) and non-white males (16.5%) are similar, although levels for British Pakistani (11.2%) and British Bangladeshi (9.2%) women fall significantly below white women (19%). Mixed ethnicity groups again showed higher proportions of people involved. UK Sport estimates that 16% of the coaches that were part of the GB Olympic Team for the Beijing Olympic 2008 Games are from BME groups.

Specific Sports

Data from the Active People Survey disaggregated to individual sports show some interesting variations from the general pattern. BME groups, both male and female, are more likely to have participated in football. The two most under-represented male groups for sports participation – British Pakistani and British Bangladeshi – are two of the most likely to take part in football, recording figures of 18% and 20.1%, respectively, compared to 10.3% for white British. A less surprising area of higher participation is cricket. Asian groups were much more likely to have played cricket, with 7.6% of Asian males and 0.6% of Asian females having played compared to 1.5% of white males and 0.2% of white females. Gym, weight training and basketball are other activities that appear to be popular with BME groups. Conversely, golf is predictably almost exclusively a sport played by the white groups.

There is marked under-representation of British Pakistani females (5%), British Bangladeshi females (5.9%) and 'black all' females (6%) in swimming, compared to white females (15.8%). But this, too, tells only part of the story. Both Indian and Pakistani groups as a whole have a lower participation rate than white British people; Indian people as a whole are more likely to participate in swimming than Pakistani people; however, within the Indian community women are more likely to swim than men (indeed, participation levels among Indian women are close to the national average). Meanwhile, in the Pakistani community the opposite is true¹¹.

Youth Sport

The Sports Equity Index (Sport England 2005a) drew on the 2002 Young People and Sport Survey to demonstrate that, like their adult counterparts, young people (aged 6 to 16) from BME communities had below average levels of participation for taking part in both casual (at least once a month) and regular (at least once a week) sport (excluding walking). Of particular concern is evidence from Broderson *et al.* (2007) and Woodfield *et al.* (2002) that these discrepancies are already well established by age 11.

Spectating and Administration

Perhaps unsurprisingly, most of the research attention is paid to active participation in sport. However, the whiteness of sport extends to, and is quite probably greater in, both watching live events and running sport, either as paid employees of national governing bodies and other sports organisations or in other parts of the sporting infrastructure, such

¹¹ This was pointed out to us by the Sport Industry Research Centre, Sheffield – Shibli, personal communication.

as running local leagues. Although ethnic monitoring is now becoming more commonplace, particularly with regard to the various racial equality standards and other performance indicators, these data are rarely collated across the sector. Work by Long *et al.* (2003) indicates that only 40% of national governing bodies are able to identify any employees from BME communities. Meanwhile, the Premier League Supporters Survey has been showing an increasing proportion of fans coming from non-white groups; by the 2007/8 season, it was estimated this had reached 6% (Sportswise 2008), yet this is still well below the 11% of the 2005 English population (Table 2.4 above) and the even higher proportions in the urban areas where many major clubs are located. From club to club, the variation is considerable, reaching a high of 11% non-white supporters at Arsenal.

Interpretation and Divergence

While such data from large scale participation surveys reveal patterns of reported behaviour, we have to be wary of attaching value judgements to the differentials they reveal. The data from the Active People Survey are limited to England, although the available Scottish data tend to confirm the general propositions. The data allow any number of different investigations; what we have tried to show here is that the apparent marked contrast between white and non-white UK residents becomes less clear cut when sub-groups are examined.

The data from the Adult Sports Participation Survey in Wales (2004/5) stand in marked contrast, albeit based on a small number (197) of people from non-white ethnic groups. The BME population showed higher levels of participation in the measures of any activity, outdoor games, indoor games and sports club membership. The position was reversed for outdoor pursuits.

Experiences of Sport and Attitudes to Participation

The research included in this section of the report begins to shift the focus away from stereotypes about BME communities to a more sensitive appreciation of their experiences and attitudes towards sport and physical activity. The intention is to examine what evidence exists of how people from BME communities orientate themselves to sport.

More Sport?

The 1999 survey of sport participation and ethnicity (Rowe and Champion 2000) looked beyond current participation and identified a large proportion of people who wanted to take up a sport that they were not currently participating in. This, the authors suggested, represented 'frustrated demand', with swimming being the prime example. The continuing low levels of participation among BME communities generally suggest that the 'frustrated' or latent demand identified in the 1999 survey has not subsequently been realised; either it was a product of the survey technique (people feeling obliged to say something in response to the question) or appropriate opportunities have not been provided.

Satisfaction with Sports Provision

The Active People Survey indicates that white groups are more satisfied with local sports provision than all other groups. Meanwhile, the mixed groups – those otherwise most

likely to be participating in sport – were least satisfied with provision. However, amongst those who had participated in sport over the past four weeks, the black respondents were most dissatisfied with provision. The reasons for this dissatisfaction were not the subject of further exploration in the study.

Racisms

The experiences of black and Asian people in sport are mediated by racism. In total, thirty-two studies identified that racism, in its various forms, has had a negative impact on the involvement and experiences of BME groups. Interestingly, several of these research papers indicate that racism is experienced at both elite and grassroots levels of sport (and not just in men's sport). Studies have shown variations in how common the experience of racism is. While all the footballers from BME communities in the studies by Burley and Fleming (1997), Long *et al.* (2000) and Jones (2002) had experienced racism, only 17% of the more general sports participants in the study in Birmingham (Department of Leisure and Culture - Birmingham City Council 2003) had experienced overt racism, though twice that number felt they had experienced more difficulties in accessing leisure facilities than white people¹².

Responses to racism identified in the reports varied. Many of the sportspeople included in these studies embodied the attitude that they cannot let racism 'get to them' and they chose to ignore it (Long 2000). Some sportspeople, despite the prevalence of racism, aimed to celebrate BME culture and blackness (Carrington 1998), as well as to challenge racism proactively on and off the field of play (Bradbury *et al.* 2006, Burdsey 2007a, King 2004b, Long *et al.* 2000, Ratna 2008, Woodward 2004). Researchers in both England and Wales also identified sportspeople afraid to speak out against racism in case their careers should be threatened (Burdsey 2007b, King 2004a, Long *et al.* 2000, Ratna 2007) and/or in case doing so had a negative impact on their ability to attract sponsorship (Moran 2000).

Experiences of sport are adversely affected not just by aggressive racism but also by the stereotypical attitudes of providers regarding what is appropriate for BME communities (e.g. Lawton *et al.* 2006). In her study about the football experiences of British Asian girls and women, Ratna (2007) found that many football administrators, managers and development officers of the women's game failed to take seriously their own responsibilities in challenging forms of exclusion and discrimination. They, like their counterparts in many other sporting bodies, subscribed to a belief in the meritocratic nature of their sport and blamed BME groups for their lack of participation (Hylton *et al.* 2005, Long 2000).

The review returns to the subject of racism in Chapter 4 as part of a consideration of the barriers to involvement in sport.

Experiencing Sport and Recreation

In light of racism in sport, it is unsurprising that many BME groups favour physical activity and health programmes (Snape and Binks 2008). From the eleven studies reviewed that covered physical activity and health, it is apparent that much of the research is concerned with the experiences of South Asian women in England rather than women from other ethnic groupings and that there is no detailed quality research about the experiences of South Asian women and/or black women in Scotland, Northern Ireland or

¹² This difference within the Birmingham data illustrates the significance of the way the issue is framed during the research.

Wales. Interestingly, some of the research has a particular focus on the experiences of Muslim Asian girls and young women (Carroll *et al.* 2002, Lawton *et al.* 2006, Lowrey and Kay 2005, Snape and Binks 2008). However, in these studies, it is not argued that Muslim women are less likely to participate in physical activity than other groups of Asian women. The experiences of Asian women – Hindu, Sikh and Muslim – may be similar as well as different.

Five of the studies noted that the low levels of physical activity of Asian women were generally a concern because of the relationship with the ill-health of this BME group. The work of Wray (2002) suggests that this link with health is more important as a motivator than body image, as the majority of Muslim women in Wray's research were not interested in matching their bodies to a Western feminine ideal. Studies of attitudes typically rehearse the same perceived advantages of participation, though these are not always given priority. The work of Lawton *et al.* (2006) serves as a salutary reminder of the difference between hearing the message and acting on it. Many health professionals are promoting physical activity and a healthier lifestyle to South Asian women through various community-intervention programmes across the country. However, both Lawton *et al.* (2006) and Wray (2002) found that many Pakistani and Indian women were unable to participate in many of these programmes. Both sets of women felt that if providers had adopted a form of leisure provision that took into account their particular religious and cultural beliefs, they would have found it easier to get involved in the schemes.

The study by Vector Research in Birmingham concluded that the view of the Asian community as passively inactive or waiting for some different form of provision is incorrect. While this did apply to some in the Asian community in Birmingham, the study found a much wider gulf between active and inactive adults (and the participation data above suggests this is highly gendered) compared with more of a continuum of behaviour and/or experience amongst the white population (Department of Leisure and Culture - Birmingham City Council 2003, p58). Since much of the non-usage is through choice and/or based on very different cultural values from the majority of the population, the study argues there may be no urgent need to bridge this gap. Attempting to assess the stages of activity from those who do not even consider it to those who are regularly involved, the study estimated that in relation to 'sport and leisure' 69% were confirmed non-users of the provision, 9% were potential users and 20% were occasional or regular users (there were also a small number who were 'passive users' in the sense of accompanying children or friends to events).

Elsewhere, some of the Asian women in the study by Carroll *et al.* (2002) had positive experiences of physical activity because they had been able to get involved in the design and implementation of such programmes. In their projects with Asian women in England, Snape (2005) and Snape and Binks (2008) found that young girls and women were more likely to enjoy participating in sport if an 'insider' of their BME group who was known to the local Asian community was facilitating sessions. As a result of such community projects, many of the Asian women had developed a positive attitude towards health and physical exercise as well as improved self-esteem and confidence.

The attitudes of non-participants are rarely explored to ascertain reasons for their non-participation. The study in Birmingham is one of the few to have attempted this, although it related to leisure facilities generally rather than sport *per se*. The key issue seemed to relate to (not) feeling comfortable. The pre-requisites were considered to be an absence of racism from users and sensitive staff; beyond this, non-participants wanted to see their own culture and peer group in evidence as well as specific sessions for women only; they did not want to stand out in terms of dress or language.

Gender and Intersectionality

Increasingly, writers in the social sciences are referring to 'intersectionality', that is, the recognition that individuals are not defined by a single characteristic but are complex bundles with the various components interacting differently in different circumstances/environments. The important thing to appreciate here is that it is not simply a case of 'and black too'. Ethnicity is complexly interwoven with gender, class and other personal dimensions. The implication is that multiple cross-tabulations of data may offer useful insights but provide only a partial analysis of a shifting composite relationship. We have already drawn attention to how the younger age profiles of ethnic minority groups might affect involvement. The young age profile of the mixed ethnic groups partly explains why they have relatively high levels of participation. Age adjustments, however, tend to emphasise the limited participation by BME communities. Other work (e.g. Broderson et al. 2007, Woodfield et al. 2002) suggests that at least part of the reason for the gap in participation rates may be attributable to the 'lower' socio-economic status of BME communities. Data from the Active People Survey suggest there is little difference in participation for those in AB economic occupations.

In the sense that much of the research on sport is about the experiences of white, middle-class men, it could be said to be a representation of a very particular intersection. Research that does focus upon 'race' and ethnicity is pre-dominantly about black men and/or Asian men, rather than their female counterparts. The gender gap is wider for BME women, yet only 20% of the research addresses their position. An important theme explored by five of the studies included in this review focused on the intersections of gender, 'race'/ ethnicity and other social divisions (Ismond 2003, Ratna 2007, Ratna 2008, Scraton et al. 2005, Zaman 2002). Although a few authors are now addressing intersectionality, arguably their analyses are preliminary rather than substantiated with rich empirical evidence.

Ratna (2007, 2008) begins to provide such rich oral testimonies in her study about British Asian female footballers. Ratna further examines the inter-connections between racism and sexism as well as Islamophobia through the experience of Asian female footballers. This work, and that of Scraton *et al.* (2005), adopt a black feminist lens to explore intersectionalities in order to pay particular attention to the needs, wishes and experiences of ethnic minority girls and young women. It is believed that centralising the voices of black and South Asian women will help sports providers understand how they can change their policies and practices to meet the diverse needs of this group in a more effective and meaningful way. With the exception of Amara *et al.* (2005), who make reference to black and Asian women's experiences of sport in Scotland and Wales, most of the research about intersectionality is based in England.

When women are considered more directly in specific PE and sport research, much of the focus is on the experiences of Muslim participants, who are typically constructed in policy terms as 'a problem' and in need of cajoling into participation in sport. This itself is problematic as, unsurprisingly, not all Asian female students perceive their sporting needs and wishes in the same way. Further, assumptions about Muslim girls and sport cannot be generalised to the experiences of all Asian women. Yet, Muslim women continue to be the central focus, as they are seen by both PE teachers and other students to be more likely to experience cultural and religious constraints than any other BME group (Ratna 2008). While this might reflect cultural pressures in the community, Benn (1996, 2005) contends that women are not forbidden by Islam to engage in sport. Indeed, her research found that young students often manage to use interpretations of the Koran that foster and justify their participation. Recently, Wray (2002) and Zaman (2002) explored the particular intersections of gender with 'race' as well as religion in

order to demonstrate how, contrary to popular stereotypes, Muslim women enjoy participating in sport and physical activity as long as it does not disrupt their cultural and religious identity. Further, research evidence indicates that racism is not only restricted to aggressive male sport but is also characteristic of women's sport (Ismond 2003, Ratna 2007, Scraton 2001).

Summary

The large scale public surveys offer important insights into patterns of participation. Understandable changes in questions and categories over the years, in response to shifting policy agendas, complicate attempts to address change, though key messages remain clear. Ticking a box in multiple choice answers can only ever give a limited understanding of, for example, reasons for (non-) participation, which is where some of the smaller scale qualitative studies can help towards a more nuanced appreciation.

- At a macro level, the surveys introduced above confirm lower levels of participation among BME communities when taken together and compared with white groups.
- More detailed analysis reveals some higher sport participation levels (e.g. among 'mixed' groups) and some higher levels of participation by minority ethnic groups in individual sports (e.g. by men **and** women in football and by Indian women in swimming).
- Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups are most commonly the least likely to participate, with Bangladeshi and Pakistani women always considerably below white and other BME groups.
- Gender disparity is greater among BME communities.
- Studies suggest differing amounts of racism in the various levels and types of sport, but all researching the subject have demonstrated its presence and deleterious consequences.
- Intersectionality is still largely unexplored in relation to the sporting lives of BME communities.

4. Barriers and Support

Material Resources

Benn (2005), Benn and Dagkas (2006), Carroll *et al.* (2002) and the systematic review of literature by Amara *et al.* (2005) identified how material disparities can lead to differences in participation and how social and economic disadvantages need to be explicitly considered by policy makers and practitioners if levels of participation are to increase (Keech and Harrison (2003) examined the consequences for 'who plays and who stays'). The related low levels of private transport within BME communities is particularly significant in constraining countryside recreation (see, for example, CAAN 2008). In Northern Ireland, Connolly (2002), who reviewed research on empirical studies on 'race' and ethnicity, is clear that recurring issues with BME communities in sport include the incidence of high long-term unemployment, poor living conditions and poor health, especially amongst travellers.

Socio-economic status has been demonstrated to be a major factor in the inclusion in, and exclusion from, regular and higher levels of sport participation (Rowe and Bibby 2007, Rowe and Champion 2000, Sport England 2001, Sport England 2004). Rowe's work has been instrumental in highlighting those who fall below and participate above the norm. However, there is little research that goes beyond this type of baseline data to critically inform policy about the way these problems are manifest in 'everyday' sport and how these constraints can be tackled. Also exploring disparities, Harrison *et al.* (2006) identified the inter-linkage of variables, including ethnicity, that are associated with low levels of physical activity with a consequent damage to healthy lifestyles. Carroll *et al.* (2002) demonstrated how facilities are potentially an important factor in stimulating participation by South Asian women. The influence of the quality and appropriateness of facilities and services on accessibility was illustrated by Lawton *et al.* (2006) (health care), and Benn (2005) and Benn and Dagkas (2006) (PE), where gender and, in some cases, religious considerations needed to be taken into account.

Those who might participate by becoming a coach are, of course, also subject to, and compound through their absence, those constraints. The lack of diversity in the sport workforce is likely to lead to a qualitative void in understanding the needs of populations outside the dominant group. A study for Sports Coach UK to collect baseline data on coaches in South East England (Lambourne and Higginson 2006) found that the low representation of black coaches is problematic in attempting to tackle these issues (North 2006). These concerns were earlier raised in a study for Sports Coach UK by MORI (2004), which found little data on the material differences between BME coaches and other coaches, although those from BME groups were more likely to *want* to be a sports coach but less likely to actually achieve that goal. Sports Coach UK has been wary of drawing too many conclusions from these data because of the small BME sample.

Although BME groups were not mentioned in the Scottish Executive report on volunteering, the report found that lower socio-economic groups, the unemployed and those with lower formal educational qualifications were less likely to be represented as volunteers. To overcome some of these issues, Sports Coach UK intends to follow up one of the report's recommendations by working with BME coaches to try to uncover the barriers they face.

An individual's income is not the only financial barrier to participation; funding is also an issue for the sustainability of projects that offer the opportunities to participate. However, data on how funding is distributed by ethnicity is unavailable for any systematic analysis,

largely because funding is not specific to any one ethnic group. Snape's (2005) evaluation of a project to promote exercise and physical activity amongst Asian women re-emphasised how short-term funding can be problematic for community development.

Some studies have recognised that more than provision is necessary. If information does not reach Black and minority ethnic communities, the provision might just as well not be there (CAAN, 2008). Sometimes it is just information, sometimes it needs to be translated into appropriate language or communicated by a cultural intermediary.

The Barrier of Racism

Racial and ethnic barriers have been the focus of a small but coherent body of research that has considered the dynamics of ethnic differences and identities, nation and relations in and through sport – Bairner (2004), Barlow *et al.* (2007), Burdsey (2004a), Carroll *et al.* (2002), Garland and Rowe (1999), Hylton (2009), Ismond (2003), Long *et al.* (1997), Scraton *et al.* (2005), Spracklen (2007), Welch (2001), Woodward (2004). As indicated in Chapter 3, it is generally agreed that the experiences of black and Asian people in sport are mediated by racism.

The majority of the reports we identified highlighted the nature and extent of racist experiences in England. Two reports were about the extent of racism in Wales (Burley and Fleming 1997, Moran 2000), one explored BME groups' experiences of racism in Scotland (Scott-Porter Research 2001), and one included in this review examined the impacts of racism on the experiences of BME communities in Northern Ireland, though not in relation to sport (Connolly 2002). The UK surveys that Garland and Rowe (1999) conducted of football fanzine editors and stadium managers pointed to important messages that sport is an arena of racialised conflict. The now slightly dated study by Burley and Fleming (1997) is worth including due to the paucity of literature in Wales. It is instructive because it reinforces the issues raised previously. The authors examined Welsh semi-professional and professional football and found racism was consistently reported by all the footballers in the study. The study illustrated how particular regions, namely those with a relatively low BME population, were worse than others and highlighted the valleys region as being the worst for racist abuse. In Scotland, Scott-Porter Research (2001) concluded that it is fear of racial discrimination – real or perceived – that is the core issue keeping BME groups away from sport. Even in basketball, which has traditionally been viewed as a culturally diverse pastime, Welch (2001) reports that half of the black people surveyed felt that not all players were treated the same due to their skin colour, while most other spectators generally believed that they were.

Exploring everyday experiences of 'race' and racism in sport, Ismond (2003) used life history interviews with eleven BME professional/ex-professional and four BME top amateur athletes across a range of sports and concluded that the pervasiveness of racialised experiences and the impact of racism can be evidenced powerfully where athletes from different walks of life 'tell the same stories' when recalling their experiences. Similarly, Moran (2000) documented the direct racism he experienced in the professional game and charts his life history. By using a counter-storytelling method, Ismond and Moran both challenge more comfortable narratives of sport and provide rich empirical data to inform debates on contemporary racism. These personal stories are valuable because they offer an insider view rarely seen in research on sport and physical recreation.

One of the first studies of racism in cricket (Long et al. 1997) identified 13% of respondents at local league level who felt that abuse based on skin colour was (sometimes) acceptable. At the same time, most respondents said that racism was either non-existent (19%) or that only a very small amount existed (75%), even though most of the black players reported experiencing it. A few years later, these findings were echoed in football (Long et al. 2000), where 12% thought that abuse based on skin colour was (sometimes) acceptable and all of the black players reported experiencing racism; indeed, it was still viewed as ‘part and parcel of the game’.

Testimonies of racism provide evidence of the pervasiveness of this exclusionary process. Racist processes can be recognised and their impact documented, as in the research in Birmingham that acknowledged the disparity of sports provision between black and white locals (Department of Leisure and Culture - Birmingham City Council 2003). Combining a household survey with in-depth interviews, this substantive study incorporated the views of 4,286 residents of BME communities. The face-to-face interviews focused on the views of Muslim women, African-Caribbean men and young people on the factors that influence the activity of other (less active) family members. In addition, the study conducted a detailed exploration of the barriers to usage identified in the quantitative survey (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Categorisation and examples of barriers

Category	Examples of comments
Overt racism (17%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Abuse – called names (at swimming pool)</i> ○ <i>People from other religious groups came to cause trouble so we Hindus never get to enjoy our events</i> ○ <i>There’s always tension from teenagers in the park...they think they own the parks</i> ○ <i>I go out covered and you get nasty comments (park)</i> ○ <i>English children (at Youth Centres) are racist</i>
Service-delivery barriers (28%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>I need to dress in a certain way so I don’t go there (Muslim female)</i> ○ <i>Many Muslim women would prefer not to have music to exercise to</i> ○ <i>Harder to find women-only facilities</i> ○ <i>Hard to communicate when they are only English speaking</i> ○ <i>You feel out of place – people look at you</i>
Political (15%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Don’t support African-Caribbean events</i> ○ <i>More provision in white areas</i>
Cultural (13%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Children are restricted in what they do more than white kids</i> ○ <i>It’s frowned on if you go to the park without the family</i>
General issues not specific to Leisure & Culture (26%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Frightened of attacks/muggings</i> ○ <i>Poor condition of place</i>
<i>Source: (Department of Leisure and Culture - Birmingham City Council 2003, p52)</i>	

Further views on barriers were presented (p53):

Overt racism

“My son used to play badminton there – but he stopped because of all the racial abuse” (African-Caribbean female - Weoley Castle)

Service-delivery barriers

"They have women-only sessions but they are at the wrong times" (Pakistani Female – Perry Barr)

Cultural

"Our women can't use the pool – so the younger kids don't go" (Pakistani Female - Washwood Heath)

Broader issues

"You don't feel comfortable walking around there"
(Sikh Female – Handsworth)

Similarly, Malcolm (2000) reports on the English Cricket Board's multi-ethnic Racism Study Group (RSG), which published *Going Forward Together: A Report on Racial Equality*. The study was based on a 'broad consultative process' informed by a questionnaire administered to 1,037 men and women from a range of age groups and ethnic backgrounds. The RSG found that the majority believed that racism existed in English cricket (58% of the whole sample, 71% for non-white respondents). In addition, 15% had personally experienced racism in cricket and 12% felt that racism was 'ingrained in cricket from the top down' (England and Wales Cricket Board 1999, p32).

Paradoxically racism can go unnoticed even by black players, as noted by (Spracklen 2007) in his small scale study of rugby league in London and the south of England. Similarly, its power may not be fully understood, as demonstrated in Woodward's (2004) ethnographic analysis of boxing. This research showed how the uncritical use of racial epithets does not so much 'prepare boxers for the outside world' as perpetuate and reinforce racial categories of the worst order in what is generally accepted as a racist society (Hylton 2009).

In relation to football, Scraton et al. (2005) demonstrate that racism is not purely a male phenomenon. Racism in the women's game was described as hidden and insidious, where the intersections of ethnicity and gender met in a dynamic set of processes that for some leads to both sexism and racism. Meanwhile, Carrington's (1998) ethnography of a black cricket club in the north of England showed the club was used by black men as a space for resistance against white racism. However, in creating a black masculinity, the marginalisation of black women was maintained. In other words, even within emancipatory spaces, policy-makers and practitioners must be aware of the contradictions, tensions and complexities of racism, anti-racism and intersectionality. This is elaborated further in research conducted by Williams and Bedward (2001), which concludes that basic sexist assumptions and the underestimation of the significance of diversity issues by school teachers regarding PE affect all girls, although some are clearly more affected than others.

Ethics and Equality

These complex concerns are further exacerbated by contemporary politics, community issues, demographic changes and global movements. Northern Ireland continues to present itself as an interesting environment within which these issues must be addressed by sports policy makers and where political sensitivities are never too far removed from decision making processing. While it has been argued that the equality legislation has played a role in removing historical inequalities (Osborne 2006), others disagree. For example, Bairner (2004) argues that institutionalised sectarianism continues to thwart attempts to remove inequalities and, like their racist counterparts, sectarian philosophies

contradict the ethics of inclusive sport. Bairner argues that it is hard to see how there can be an inclusive sports policy in the absence of a genuinely inclusive political process. The difficulties of sports administrators being convinced to accept responsibility for promoting social inclusion when sectarianism is institutionalised demonstrates the complexities of situated and relational processes in promoting equality for BME communities. Bairner demonstrates how politics, both personal and Party, have a major influence on the delivery of sport.

Barlow *et al.* (2007) researched the community sport pilot (CSP) in Northern Ireland by conducting secondary analysis of data measuring physical activity, plus twenty-eight interviews with stakeholders and case studies. The CSP had success in getting Catholic and Protestant groups together through cross-community projects, although there were a number of challenges that had to be overcome. For example, single identity work (with Protestants and Catholics separately) had to be done initially to build up trust before cross-community work and events could be carried out, and these had to be kept low key. Another of the main challenges faced was the lack of neutral venues (one of the material resources noted above). The preoccupation with sectarianism highlights Bairner's (2004) fear that the schemes were unable to address other dimensions of equity (the position of BME groups included) and if there is a genuine commitment to equity, it is not possible to pick and choose. The implication of the report is that BME communities are not a priority in a national programme with limited funding. Nonetheless, the isolated successes and limitations of the CSP with cross-community/religion projects can be taken to inform future policy.

Denial and Invisibility of Racism

Several research papers indicate that racism is experienced at both elite and grassroots levels of sport: Ismond (2003); Jones (2001); King (2004b); Long *et al.* (2000); Long *et al.* (1997); McGuire *et al.* (2001); Moran, (2001); Ratna (2008). Yet, self-evidently, people from BME communities are still participating in sport. As discussed above, the most common strategy on the part of those who experience racism is to ignore it. Research has revealed a process of denial of the existence or prevalence of racism by many participants, practitioners and policy makers in sport. It has been concluded that attempts are regularly made to 'explain away' this insidious phenomenon (e.g. Long *et al.* 2000).

Most of the studies have been conducted in football, with some further work in other traditional male sports such as rugby and cricket. Beyond this, however, the same depth of knowledge does not exist. 'Anyone for Cricket?' investigated the reasons why BME cricket clubs tend not to affiliate to the Essex Cricket Association (ECA). It found that white clubs were excluding BME clubs through subtle, racialised processes (Centre for Sport Development Research 1997). As a result, most respondents from BME communities who were playing in the league denied racism was a serious issue, despite almost all being able to recall experiences or incidents with a racial dimension. Again, although the respondents denied that racism was a serious issue, there was a widespread belief that mainstream leagues were hiding behind league regulations and cultural stereotypes of BME players to prevent BME clubs from being admitted to the league.

Where racialised conflict is ignored, authorities are generally in denial that action needs to be taken (Garland and Rowe 1999). For example, Bradbury (2001) found that 76% of professional football clubs felt it was unnecessary to do more work specifically with black and Asian fans and clubs. Bradbury (2001a, b) also considered views from local football clubs in Leicestershire and Rutland on a range of issues around player and spectator behaviour, with specific reference to issues of racism and found some club secretaries

were willing to accept racism within the game. Long and Hylton (2002) demonstrated how these processes should be viewed as the construction of white spaces, thereby explaining how racism(s) and exclusion can go unacknowledged. This is re-emphasised by King (2004b) and Burdsey (2004b), who both outline the adjustments that black players have to make in overtly white spaces. In King's (2004a) ethnographic study of football coaching organisations, he argued that for white players/coaches, ethnicity is not an issue and white ex-players often get a head start over black ex-professionals – through networking and mutual 'comfort zones' shared by white men in leading positions, and potentially by stereotypes about the ability of black coaches. Black respondents were highly critical of white people failing to see, and flag up, institutional racism. King argues that recent anti-racism campaigns are fuelled by 'white man moral guilt' and do not address the fundamental cause of inequality – invisible and unconscious whiteness, something that is harder to challenge than naked racist aggression.

Burdsey's (2004b) study found it was imperative for Asian players to assimilate to a perceived white identity if they wished to succeed. However, he argues, this predicament has still not been recognised by football authorities. Because racism and ethnicity are often not personal issues for those who do not recognise their prevalence, whiteness and the invisibility of racism need to be more fully appreciated in sporting institutions.

Resisting Racism

Resistance to the prevalence of racism has been evidenced through the celebration of BME cultures (e.g. Carrington 1998) or more proactive challenges. Carrington's (1998) illustration of how sport can be used as a tool of resistance to racism is a theme that has re-emerged in subsequent work: Bradbury *et al.* (2006), Burdsey (2006), Burdsey (2004a), Burdsey (2004b), Ratna (2007a), Woodward (2004). In light of the racism in grassroots football and role of football clubs as symbols of ethnic identity, many Asian players play in all-Asian clubs or leagues (Burdsey 2004a). Burdsey argues that this restricts opportunities for talent identification and recruitment because scouts consider these leagues to be of an inferior standard to mainstream leagues. Whereas the normal call from the research is for deliverers to come from BME communities and provide role models, Burdsey's British Asian respondents were opposed to the idea of using British Asian coaches to facilitate the development of players as they believed it maintained segregation. Throughout work in this area, there are likely to be contradictions. These need to be carefully considered rather than used to dismiss the need to take action.

Woodward (2004) found that many interviewees from BME communities turned to boxing to help fight racism and bullying; sport was used, literally, to fight racism through boxing gyms. Although less well documented, resisting racism through sport also finds expression in women's football. Ratna's (2007a) research on an Asian women's football team outlines how members opposed and responded to racism and sexism in their communities, taking to tackling racism by trying to win matches, as in Carrington's (1998) study of cricket. The women called for equality in terms of ethnicity as well as gender and were passionate about confronting sexism within their religious communities. This is a rare study as Asian women using football as a vehicle to challenge the system and fight racism in sport has not previously registered in research in sport and physical recreation.

Cultural Constraints

The study by the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (DCAL) in Northern Ireland (2004a), which aimed to gain information on levels of interest and involvement in soccer,

continues the theme of sectarianism in sport. In a study of 1,101 households in fifty-five wards across all twenty-six District Councils, 62% were just not interested, 3% were regularly involved and 35% were deemed armchair fans. In relation to the Irish Football League, 43% felt discouraged by sectarianism and this was followed by 19% who did not go to the national team games because of a dislike of bigotry/sectarianism. As many as 16% felt that they would be encouraged to attend football if sectarianism was reduced at matches. This was further reinforced by DCAL's (2004:b) larger study of 1,719 telephone respondents who had attended soccer games in Northern Ireland; a study that found that 71% felt it important to reduce the amount of sectarianism at soccer games to encourage more people to attend, and 57% felt it important to reduce the amount of racism to encourage more people to attend.

While sectarianism is acknowledged as an underlying problem affecting equality in Northern Ireland, Connolly's (2002) research attests to high levels of racism and harassment, and to a lack of awareness of cultural issues. Cultural understanding and awareness has been the focus of a series of studies in which cultural awareness has been evidenced as the difference between success or failure in providing facilities or services to diverse groups in sport and recreation (Benn 2005, Burdsey 2004a, Burdsey 2004b, Burdsey 2007a, Carroll et al. 2002, Dagkas 2007, Dagkas and Benn 2006, Long et al. 2000, McGuire et al. 2001, Zaman 2002).

Football has been a major focus for research on cultural issues in sport. Work such as that by McGuire *et al.* (2001) on professional clubs confirmed the prevalence of stereotypes about Asian players and the barriers they face; the views at the clubs were very different from the views found among British Asian males (something also evidenced in the research of Burdsey (2007) and (Bradbury 2001). In the largest study of its kind outside the professional game (Long et al 2000) looked exclusively at grassroots football in West Yorkshire, utilising a range of questionnaires, interviews and case studies. In that study 94% of club secretaries were white, and cultural and religious stereotypes were evident among a significant minority. The work of Jones (2002) can be located between the work by Long *et al.* (2000) and those studies focused on the professional game since Jones' in-depth interviews with fifteen black semi-professional footballers playing for London clubs revealed the continued existence of stereotypes, particularly that of black physicality – e.g. 'black players were quick but did not like the cold' (p58).

Stereotypes are often absorbed through media stories, in particular, reifying black/white binaries, nationhood and intersectional differences of 'race', class, gender, and disability (Hylton 2009, McCarthy et al. 2003). The work by McCarthy *et al.* (2003) involved a quantitative analysis of descriptors used by commentators throughout 100 hours of professional football coverage, followed by six three-person focus groups of university football players. It aimed to ascertain the influence of television coverage on specific audiences. Black players were more likely to be described positively in terms of physical descriptors and white players more likely to be described positively in terms of psychological descriptors. The racialised portrayals were not seen as consistently deliberate but were still seen as unacceptable. Hylton (2009) completed a further comparative study of the two best-selling sports magazines in Europe and North America (Observer Sport Monthly and Sports Illustrated) in 2006 and identified processes of a) racialisation and mediated racial identities, b) white centrism, c) a myth of difference and mimetic accuracy, and d) a myth of assimilation and enlightened racism. Both studies consider television footage and sports newspaper analyses to conclude that BME groups and white people are not being treated equally in the sports arena or in their personal dealings away from sport.

Teacher stereotypes may emphasise black physicality rather than intelligence (Hayes and Sugden 1999), but Burdsey (2004b) identified that young British Asians do not often have the same traditional routes into sport [football] through parents, family members and friends as white players. PE teachers, therefore, have a potentially significant role in making good such deficiencies in sporting capital. Studies by Carroll *et al.* (2002), Benn (2005), Dagkas (2007) and Dagkas and Benn (2006) all conclude that teachers' cultural knowledge of Muslim students or religious diversity were major barriers to be overcome in training teachers so that they could be more supportive in recruiting and retaining BME students. This point is further developed by (Zaman 2002), whose research into the reasons for the lack of Asian trainee teachers highlighted the extent of the lack of cultural consideration of British Asian Muslim women within twenty eight of the thirty four higher education institutions surveyed (thirty four equals half of Higher Education Institutions providing Initial Teacher Training). Very few Muslim females were reported to have gone through teacher training (only five institutions recalled taking in a Muslim woman) and HE institutions acknowledge that they are finding it hard to attract British Asian women. Although role model debates are contentious because they can camouflage the weaknesses of a system where success is achieved despite the institutional constraints (Bains 2005), in this case role models are not being developed in the first place; a point that is further supported by the study of (Flintoff *et al.* 2008) into the experience of BME students on PE courses.

Supporting Participation

Useful messages emerging from studies in 'race', ethnicity and PE include reference to facilities, services, knowledge bases and empowerment. A favourable aggregation of these ideas is likely to lead to supportive sporting interventions or infrastructures. Benn (2005), Benn and Dagkas, (2006), Bradbury *et al.* (2006), Scott Porter Research (2002), and Hylton (2003, 2009) carry a plethora of proposed solutions to the problems they have faced during their research. The research by (Bradbury *et al.* 2006) found that most of the BME players were concentrated at a few clubs, where many of the interviewees from the majority-BME clubs saw the core objective of their clubs as being to encourage greater integration of young people from different ethnic backgrounds. Policymakers and practitioners should recognise that such concentration reflects the safety and attractiveness of the distinct racial and religious identity of BME clubs. In the current climate, such clubs in Asian communities may be viewed with suspicion as sites of potential radicalisation. Alternatively, they may represent the starting point to strengthen ethnic identities – sites for ethnic integration or sites of resistance to racism.

There are some recurring themes emerging from the research about factors necessary to support participation in sport. Benn (2005) insists that the lack of same-sex changing facilities in primary schools is a deterrent to the involvement of Asian girls at school. The need for active dialogue on the needs of the community was also highlighted. Benn and Dagkas (2006) put the ideas emerging from research into practice in a case study of a university where all students were offered the chance to participate in separate-sex PE training as part of their initial teacher training. Virtually all students supported the programme, and the follow-up interviews showed that an open dialogue should underpin PE training to ensure freedom of choice for students from Muslim backgrounds (as well as from other ethnicities). Kay (2006) argues that sport is acceptable for Muslim women as long as the conditions conform to Islamic principles. Similar points were made by Carroll *et al.* (2002) regarding overcoming the perceived barriers to using community provision (access to facilities, cost, cultural codes of conduct and language) by involving South Asian women in the formation of their own opportunities. The associated pilot scheme, which included the employment of bilingual staff, was seen as successful by

providers and the women who participated because it had incorporated the views of South Asian women. In follow-up interviews, all the women spoke of a positive behavioural change since being given access to physical activity sessions

The study of countryside recreation in Northern Ireland (CAAN, 2008) not only highlighted the importance of having agreed organisational policies and strategic plans to promote access, but also indicated the importance of staff being given appropriate training so that they can appreciate the needs of under-represented groups (not just those from BME communities). Carroll *et al.* (2002) noted that in some cases good quality staff need to have the added advantage of being female, being from a particular ethnic background and, in some cases, being bilingual (see also Connolly 2002; Lowry and Kay 2005). Hylton (2003) emphasised the potential for success of developing the capacity of local coaches with particular backgrounds to work with local people, and Crabbe (2005) concurs when he identifies 'providing access to culturally appropriate resources' as one of the twelve key factors to successful interventions. Lowrey and Kay (2005) used the term 'insider' to depict the leaders or coaches likely to be 'known' or 'acceptable' for these interventions or to particular communities.

In Cardiff's Leisure and Parks Department (Cardiff Council 2007), an initial assessment of barriers for BME women led to a comprehensive programme of activities. Initial research identified barriers in the shape of: lack of awareness of activities; timing of sessions; cultural issues; transport; privacy issues; language issues; unavailability of a crèche; lack of role models in local communities; lack of awareness of cultural differences; the range of activities; and coaches, mentors and teachers. They employed a female outreach worker whose aim was to increase and promote physical activity for people from BME communities, particularly among women and girls. For the service area, this was a new and innovative way of working and used new techniques to engage with local communities – techniques that were not previously possible due to a lack of resources in terms of staff and experience. When reviewed, the factors that successfully supported engagement were counted as being: the training provided for swimming and gym instructors and lifeguard training for women who were then employed on the project; culturally sensitive uniforms; transport being made available; facilities modified for privacy and cultural sensitivity; and the use of instructors from the local community to overcome language barriers. The successful outcomes were seen in the shape of more members of BME communities now accessing sport and physical recreation, and a number of women securing employment within the leisure industry. The project has also helped to empower different community groups to take control of their own initiatives and achieve their own goals, an example of which was the development of two predominantly BME football teams who are now looking to enter their local divisions.

Community involvement was also central to the success of the Black and Ethnic Minority Sports Forum in Yorkshire (BEMSport) (Hylton 2003, Hylton 2008). BEMSport established a support network for funding, knowledge distribution and facilitation. The accumulation of social capital through longevity in sport networks led to an increase in organisational experience and 'insider' knowledge of the way sport is managed in Yorkshire. Similarly, inclusion and empowerment are ideas relating to **sportscotland's** (2005) drive to making women more active through adopting many of the key elements of supportive infrastructures outlined above. The work further enhances the understanding of the many complex intersectional issues of gender, disability and class by working to put principles into practice. In a small scale study, also in Scotland, Scott Porter Research (2002) identified a number of these themes across a range of examples, which together may be the starting point for future discussions across the UK on sport and physical activity for BME communities.

Summary

Being a member of a BME community is associated with higher incidences of disadvantage stemming from long-term unemployment, low income, poor living conditions and poor health, which act as material constraints on participation. However, the research is not particularly helpful in identifying how sports organisations can best address such constraints.

Research in the field demonstrated the importance of building capacity so that those from BME communities are better able to contribute to the provision of sporting opportunities.

The short-term nature of many projects is identified as a challenge to developing sustained participation.

Media portrayals and racial stereotypes held by people in the sporting world construct a barrier to fulfilling participation.

Despite years of initiatives, research consistently demonstrates the damaging impact racism in sport has on participation by people from BME communities, even though many choose to ignore it. Those in sports organisations need to have a more sophisticated understanding of racism in order to promote racial equality.

Research has drawn attention to a measure of denial of racism that contributes to racism being overlooked. Assessing the construction of sport, some researchers argue that it might be more profitable to address the everyday whiteness of sporting cultures and organisations.

Opportunities for women-only participation are identified as desirable, but the advantages of separate leagues for ethnic groups are questioned because they may frustrate the development of talent and progression. Clubs dominated by people from BME communities are often seen as being separate, even when they integrate a range of ethnicities.

5. Delivery

Twelve items in the literature review, which are of the highest quality and relevance, critically examine and discuss delivery. However, it should be recognised that a much larger number of items are of some relevance and application to this section of the systematic review. Some of these are mentioned in the following analysis.

The Sports Labour Force

Sport Structures (2005) conducted a study for Sporting Equals of workforce and volunteer profiles within 67 sports organisations. The data represent a sports workforce of approximately 60,000 people, with the largest BME representation in volunteer management within national sports organizations (much higher than both NGBs and County Sports Partnerships). From the total workforce 6.8% were from BME communities: 7.0% of the professionals, 3.6% of the volunteer management and 5.1% of the coaching workforce. From the total BME workforce 33.7% were from a black origin whilst only 13.4% were from an Asian origin. The highest represented BME community within the workforce was Black or Black British – Caribbean. Of the fourteen ethnic minority groupings considered, only four had representation at senior management level and only two of these categories were ‘non-white’.

Many academic research studies demonstrate the importance of BME coaches to the success of projects targeting BME participation; indeed, it is seen as essential to that success (see Carroll *et al.* 2002; Lowrey and Kay 2005; Hylton 2003; Snape 2005; Barlow *et al.* 2007). However, research commissioned by Sports Coach UK (Lambourne and Higginson 2006) shows that coaches from BME communities remain under represented within the coaching industry – 3% of coaches were from a mixed background, 2% were Asian and 2% were black, compared to 93% of coaches who were white. The report recommends that Sports Coach UK conduct further research with coaches from BME communities to discover and address the barriers they face. North (2006) utilised data collected using a self-report ‘coach profile form’ on the internet between December 2005 and March 2006 (576 community sports coaches (CSCs) from an estimated 1,314 ‘posts’ completed the form). He found that 8% of CSCs were from BME groups, although Asian groups represented less than 1% of CSCs and BME coaches were less likely to have a formal coaching qualification. White coaches were also more likely to be full-time coaches.

Volunteering among BME groups is under-researched; indeed the Wales and Northern Ireland sports councils do not seem to mention volunteering and BME groups in the same sentence. Similarly in Scotland, **sportscotland** briefly mentions BME communities on the section of their website for volunteering – *‘that volunteering helps build relationships of trust between ethnic groups’* – while the Scottish Executive’s Volunteering Strategy (2004) makes no mention of BME groups except to observe that 5% of people on the Scottish Millennium Volunteers programme were from ethnic minorities. The most substantial piece of research on volunteering in sport by Taylor *et al.* (2003) for Sport England makes no mention of BME groups. The report found that 15% of the population volunteer in sport – significantly higher than the number suggested by the more recent Active People Survey. The Sport England volunteering strategy (2005) also makes no reference to BME groups.

The Active People Survey provides data on levels of volunteering, asking people whether they had volunteered to support sport. White respondents were notably more likely to volunteer in sport for at least one hour a week than non-white respondents (4.8% to 3.6%). There is a relatively even split across age groups. Mixed groups and black British other (7.2%) were above the average but the British Pakistani group reported particularly low levels of volunteering (2%). British Asian groups reported the lowest levels of volunteering, but when asked whether they had undertaken some voluntary work in the past twelve months, 8.7% of British Bangladeshi males said they had, just below the 9.4% of white males. In light of the research findings that the use of Asian volunteers in sport and physical recreation is crucial in securing the engagement of Asian women in particular (e.g. Snape 2005), these lower levels of volunteering are of particular concern. Black British Caribbean males (9.3%) and black British other males (9.2%) were also close to white males, although females from the same groups were significantly below white females.

Research into grassroots sport illustrates how the people organising sport are predominantly white. For example, Long *et al.* (2000) examined grassroots football in West Yorkshire, with questionnaires returned by 253 club secretaries, 94% of whom were white. Similarly, Bradbury (2001b) examined views from local football clubs in Leicestershire and Rutland on a range of issues and 95% of the self-completed questionnaires returned by 152 club secretaries were from white secretaries. Long *et al.* (2000) found there was nobody from a BME group on the West Riding County FA committee and only 2.4% of referees came from BME communities.

In their research on local football clubs in Leicestershire, Bradbury *et al.* (2006) found that 84% of clubs had no BME workers and 93.9% of club workers were white; from a sample of 521, 3% of coaches were black British and 5.8% were British Asian. Although these figures may seem low, this is not the case when compared with the East Midlands population (2005) of 2% coming from black groups and 5.6% coming from Asian and Chinese groups (though in Leicestershire, a higher proportion are from Asian communities). Perhaps more telling is that BME coaches only coached at clubs with BME players, with thirty-six of these coaching at one of the five majority-BME clubs (which accounted for 68% of BME coaches).

Despite the predominance of football research in this section, issues of unbalanced, (under)representation in coaching and volunteering are not confined to football (Long *et al.*, 1997).

Provision for Whom?

Targeted intervention was seen by most of the studies to be an essential delivery mechanism to BME groups, especially those individuals in BME communities who were hard to reach, through poverty, gender, class, age, culture and health. For example, Kay (2006) examines family influences on young Muslim women and their attitudes to sport and physical activity, arguing that contrary to the stereotype of disapproval, parents were keen to support their daughters' participation in sport as long as the conditions of delivery conformed to Islam.

The study by Carroll *et al.* (2002) discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 is an interesting national study of health authority districts. It aimed to discover what exercise on prescription (EoP) schemes exist and what provision is made for South Asian Muslim women and was followed by the delivery and evaluation of a pilot intervention programme. That provision was inextricably linked to wider discussions around effective and equitable

delivery of sport and physical activity. The authors found that in many EoP schemes, special provision is not made for South Asian women; special provision was only available at seven leisure centres. The delivery of the programmes themselves was perceived to be associated with barriers to exercise for these women, including access to facilities, cost, cultural codes of conduct and language. Some respondents highlighted direct and indirect racism and religious discrimination as major barriers to exercise, particularly in the way they perceived others to be judging them.

Delivery of *something* may often be better than nothing, but learning from past practice can improve that something, as Carroll and colleagues tried to do with their intervention. They conclude by arguing that consideration must be given to the needs of South Asian women in the use of local community facilities and employment of bilingual staff. The pilot scheme they subsequently ran was seen as successful by the providers and women who participated in it because it involved South Asian women in deciding what the project should be like and incorporated their views into the programme. Lawton *et al.* (2006) explored the perceptions of British Pakistani and Indian patients and their experiences of a programme to increase physical activity as part of their diabetes care. Practical considerations such as lack of time were interwoven with insensitivity to the participants' cultural requirements in the delivery of physical activity, and these reinforced perceptions of their own health problems that were already causing concern.

Apart from the expected health dividend, one of the main reasons for delivering sporting opportunities to 'disadvantaged groups', which is often taken to include those from BME communities, is to promote community development. In analysing the impact of the Positive Futures projects, Crabbe (2005) identifies a number of issues around delivery that relate to sport and racial equality. He argues that community development works best where there is genuine commitment and understanding among deliverers of the specific needs of a targeted community. He concludes by noting the positive impact made on such community development by the delivery of work by people who had once been end-users of that same work. The involvement and ownership by BME communities in the delivery of sport is also seen as essential to sustainable success (and change) in the work of Spracklen *et al.* (2006) in England and Wales, Scott Porter Research (2002) in Scotland, and Bairner (2004) in Northern Ireland.

Provision for all in school PE has been skewed in favour of the majority. Some studies have pointed to the limitations of particular approaches to school facilities and services and to pedagogies that require updating and, in some cases, changing. Education is an example of a public policy arena often deemed to be equal and colour blind. However, there is evidence that it is inequitable and cannot afford to be policy neutral (Dagkas, 2007; Hayes and Sugden, 1999).

Summary

BME communities are under-represented in official positions within sports organisations. The balance is more even among coaches, but the Asian groups are still under-represented.

Those lower levels of involvement extend to volunteering in sport, again particularly on the part of Asian groups.

The research evidence calls for targeted provision that is sensitive to the needs of BME communities, not just to secure increased participation in sport but also to promote community development.

Research also warns against the damaging consequences of inappropriate stereotypes; stereotypes do not have to be negative to restrict opportunity.

6. Good Practice and Impact

Sports Development and Coaching;

Sport and physical recreation in the UK have traditionally been developed through strategies designed to increase participation and excellence. This view of sports development has been supplemented since the 1980s with an increased focus on social objectives that include social inclusion/exclusion, community cohesion/development, health and anti-crime. In addition, an evidence base for these interventions has been sought by successive governments for the claims being made on behalf of public organisations, such as government departments, the sports councils, local government and other public-funded organisations.

Four of the twelve Sport Action Zones (SAZs) were selected for intensive research that compared activity levels in the SAZs between 2001/2 and 2005/6 (Sport England 2006). This involved two waves of around 1,000 interviews in each zone, the first conducted in the early days of the initiative across the winter months of 2001/2, and the second across the same months in 2005/6. Of the four SAZ areas only two showed increased participation, and of those only Liverpool had a BME population large enough to warrant consideration in a systematic review of this kind. Participation by 'non-white' respondents in at least one sport (including walking) in the previous twelve months increased over the five years from 73% to 80% (participation four times in the previous four weeks increased from 56% to 59%)¹³. Three group interviews with people closely involved with the SAZ emphasized the need to build trust between the initiative and the community and to recognize that recreation is more attractive than 'sport' when trying to encourage participation. Activities were successful when they were selected by local people and empowered communities with access to local funding are likely to be more successful and self-sustaining. Partners outside sport were important in encouraging non-participants; people generally proved to be the key – not buildings.

Sport England reports on individual Positive Futures projects (2002b) and individual Active Communities projects (2002a) that were interventions aimed at increasing sporting opportunities for priority target groups within the population. BME communities, women and girls, people with a disability and people on low incomes were the focus of the Active Communities projects because of their relatively low levels of participation in sport; Positive Futures projects had a focus on youth offending, drug use, and physical activity for 10-16 year olds. The aim of both reports was to carry out a 'short and sharp' review of the sporting and broader social impacts to provide evidence of what had been achieved, to identify good practice and to inform and help shape future investment decisions in these and related programmes.

The Active Communities project had a much clearer focus on BME communities as twelve out of fourteen projects explicitly outlined this aspect of their work. This arose from the five aims of: social justice and social inclusion; increasing participation amongst specific communities; developing community sports leaders; developing community sports programmes and facilities; and contributing to wider social objectives. Six of the twenty-four projects in the Positive Futures report focused on BME groups (although one of those made this claim when most of the participants were white but had contact with black basketball coaches). The methodology for both studies was the same, combining face-to-face interviews with telephone interviews. The evaluations included the project

¹³ It should be noted that these increases were still lower than those recorded by the 'white' population.

leaders of each scheme and aimed to include three other stakeholders. The methodology involved self assessment with each respondent being asked to rate their success against the national aims of their programme.

A fundamental problem with these studies was reported as being the lack of baseline information against which the progress of projects could be assessed, leading the authors to suggest the need for more robust, independent evidence to support claims of increased participation among BME communities. Projects have been using alternative methods, like those in Cardiff: the BME Leisure Project in Cardiff; The Cardiff EMC (Ethnic Minority Challenge) Physical Activity Challenge; and the Women in Action project.

The first of these, run by Cardiff County Council's Culture, Leisure and Parks Department has received recognition as winner of Proud 2007 – Outstanding Contribution to the Community – amongst other awards. The methodology used by University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC) for evaluating this project is unclear. However, baseline data were sought in the shape of female community groups identifying barriers to participation, particularly for BME communities. These barriers included a lack of role models in local communities and lack of awareness of cultural differences, and the need for a wider range of activities and coaches, mentors and teachers from BME communities.

The Cardiff EMC project is a partnership between the Sports Council Wales and the Local Partnership Group (LPG) in Cardiff designed to develop physical activity opportunities for BME communities (Sports Council Wales 2008). Although the methodology is again not specified a combination of interviewing, focus groups, observations, documentary analysis, surveys, monitoring forms, diaries and secondary sources were used across the regeneration challenge evaluations. The LPG was used as an established network to generate local enthusiasm for funding to organise around physical activity in the area. Of the 26 funding applications received, only one had previously received SCW funding, suggesting some success in engaging new community groups; of the ten projects funded in Cardiff, five continued after funding. The increase in community knowledge of funding and feelings of empowerment to organise around enthusiasms have been documented benefits of this approach. It also encourages locally driven sustainability and bespoke flexibility that no longer relies on outside interventions.

The Women in Action (WiA) swimming project in Cardiff (Women in Action 2005) has a clearer and more robust methodology. This was designed as an experimental action research project, a common approach in community development but less often seen in sport. The programme for women and children from BME communities started with a swimming focus, but moved on to include aerobics, walking for health, trips, social events, arts workshops, peer counselling and other training. The two community researchers took care to form relationships with the participants of the pilot swimming sessions and to understand their personal and cultural circumstances. While participating in the activities themselves the researchers recognised the importance of the social side of these projects designed to improve health. Management committees were formed from among the growing membership, and committee members did a considerable amount of voluntary work, thus ensuring self-efficacy and sustainability. The need for training in capacity building was identified, and as a result members also received training in Assertiveness, Building Confidence and Relating to Others, and also in Project Planning, and Planning and Organising.

The evaluation of WiA involved a day of feedback from the majority of the women who had been involved with the project. Its women-only swimming initiative was reported to be successful in offering the chance to get out of the house, to socialise and to

participate in a healthy activity in an appropriate cultural setting. However the evaluation also shows that the swimming sessions, and all the other activities that have cascaded from this core activity, would not have worked without a number of important ingredients being present. Amongst these are points that have been raised elsewhere in this study in relation to:

- the availability of an appropriately equipped swimming pool for women-only sessions;
- empathetic and effective professional support from the pool's staff;
- the availability of female lifeguards;
- pre-arranged subsidised transport providing pick-ups in the community;
- a reliable crèche in which mothers can have confidence;
- encouragement and skilled capacity-building support from community development workers utilising action research methods;
- sufficient time to build the initiative at a pace and along lines determined by the participants;
- modest, but reliable, finances.

The Audit Commission's report on learning from audit inspection and research in relation to sport and recreation observed that:

Even some of the best performing sport and recreation services have conducted relatively little specific or in-depth consultation with non-users and with groups that are traditionally under-represented in sport, such as people with disabilities, people from minority ethnic communities and those on a low income. They have limited data available to assist in addressing the reasons for the under-representation of these groups in the service-user profile. (Audit Commission 2002: 18)

The message for good practice is clear. The Audit Commission recommended some examples of good practice based on analysis of eight Best Value inspection reports on the basis of the study team visiting or contacting a number of authorities, holding discussions with a range of stakeholders, conducting workshops with Audit Commission inspectors, and analysing national data. As in Cardiff, they felt that good practice should involve an increase in leaders and coaches in BME communities, who would be able to organise courses or train leaders themselves. This capacity building as a way to develop sustainable volunteer bases in communities was a popular narrative that emerged from projects.

The more strategic approach adopted by some of the Active Communities projects wanting to challenge racism directly proved difficult for some of the sports providers they had to work with. The explicit focus on 'race' and ethnicity was seen more as a threat than an opportunity. As observed in the summary report:

Providing sports opportunities where none have been provided before can be viewed by the mainstream sports industry as 'additional'; but changing the structure of sport may sometimes be perceived as more of a threat. (Sport England 2002b)

For all the work they completed and the trust they gained in the sector, each of these projects had recurring difficulties with funding their programmes. In the Summary Report for Active Communities (Sport England 2002a), the deep structural imbalances in the provision of sport and sporting opportunities were recognised. A long-term commitment to these approaches, and one willing to accept an element of risk taking, was argued to be the way forward 'in terms of increasing participation, increasing and developing employment, improving the quality of services and in developing the capacity of the

sector'. Sport England promoted these Active Communities projects as the 'research and development department for the whole sports and leisure sector'. However, the sport sector's inability to commit to long-term support for some of these projects is likely to compromise their success.

Bains' case studies of good practice challenge the lack of long-term commitment to addressing structural inequalities in sport (in this case football) as outlined in the Active Communities report (Bains 2005). Bains' disappointment about progress made since his initial study (*Asians Can't Play Football*, Bains and Patel 1996) sets a context for the case studies of good practice that outline how (male) British Asians have been successfully included in football in the community and sports projects around the UK. The caveat for this study, as for several other high-profile studies mentioned, is that the findings should be accepted or otherwise, based on the lack of baseline statistics, transparent and comparable methodologies (hence the reason for it not being assigned to category 1 in our bibliography). The case studies do, however, present the experiences and 'voices' of the prime movers of each project. This report is included here not for its formal rigour but more for the esteem with which it is regarded in the race equality in sport network. This is not to say that there are no clearly identifiable independent indicators of success. Indeed, some, like Luton United Football Club, have received national awards.

Common elements of good practice identified by Bains included: challenges to racism and alienation; respect; capacity building; and support networks. Most of the initiatives involve coaching young people and providing exit routes to amateur, semi-professional and professional clubs and leagues (Albion, Luton, West Ham, Leicester, Manchester and Coventry). Some of the interventions have involved establishing and consolidating new clubs (Sheffield) and others have been identified as key stakeholders in provision for Asian communities (Scotland). In Manchester, there was further evidence of good practice in the way the County FA has been monitoring for ethnicity to gather baseline data about who is participating in football in the county.

The evaluation of the Sportsweb project (Hylton 2003) identified it as a community sport and recreation initiative that could claim some measure of good practice in an area of Bradford (Manningham and Gillington), where 48% are Pakistani. The study involved focus groups with community coaches and the steering group, as well as interviews with ex-members of the steering group, interviews with Sportsweb community coaches, and interviews with Sportsweb partners. Rather than being purely reactive to community demands, the project managed to be proactive. The ability to use coaches from the area and known to the participants was considered a major success. Initially, all of the coaches were white and from outside the area. Sportsweb responded to this by setting up a coach-training programme, which has supported 150 people who gained awards. Amongst the steering group, there was a strong feeling that the project has been value for money, and the 45,000 attendances at sessions over four years are impressive.

Administration

Historically, the administration of sport in the UK has been overwhelmingly male and white. In more recent years, research and practitioner observations have drawn attention to gender and ethnicity as key factors in determining who advances (Bradbury 2001b), English Sports Council (1997), Hylton (2003b), Hylton (2009), Hylton *et al.* (2005), Long and Hylton (2002), Long *et al.* (2000b).

Stark messages emerge from studies such as those by Bradbury (2001b) and Long *et al.*

(2000) in football and (Long et al. 1997), Carrington (1998) and Williams (2001) in cricket. These studies suggest there is a clustering of ethnic groups in particular clubs in terms of both sports participation and administration. Bradbury's study, for example, found that 96% of the BME players were concentrated in five of 152 clubs. This has been recognised as having implications for who gets a foothold and, therefore, who progresses into football coaching and management.

The pervading culture of whiteness in sport and the benefits of white privilege have been the focus of more recent academic studies Long and Hylton (2002), Watson and Scraton (2001), Williams (2001). These studies have attempted to:

- recognise the culture of whiteness in sport and physical recreation
- acknowledge white ethnicities and identities
- force a refocusing of race relations in sport away from the black 'other' to the dominant and powerful culture of whiteness
- implicate those administering sport in the racial processes so that they become aware of their place in challenging or reinforcing disadvantage

Although the literature is limited, there are numerous studies in this systematic review that identify a requirement to increase the number of coaches from particular communities or with a cultural background conducive to working with particular BME groups - Bains (2005), Hylton (2003a), MORI (2004), North (2006). In North's case, the desire by BME coaches, in particular those from an Asian background, to get involved was not enough; they were hindered by their inability to establish a foothold in the system.

The barriers to participation outlined in previous chapters must logically have a long-term impact on how people get involved in sport and for how long. It would be useful for the industry to understand how the interplay of factors such as access, experience, attitudes and racism, in addition to intersections of age, gender and other cultural considerations, impact upon recruitment and retention in sports administration.

Tackling Racism

Organisations like Kick It Out, Show Racism the Red Card and Football Unites Racism Divides and the various football authorities will be delighted at the conclusion of the Independent Football Commission (2008) that 'racism is now part and parcel of almost every football agenda' and that 'racism is much less prevalent on the pitch and in the stands'. However, they may be less enthusiastic about the observation that the anti-racist campaigns have run their course. This seems to be based on a simplistic understanding of racism. The campaigning organisations might reasonably have thought that their main achievement was in helping to overcome complacency in some clubs and organising bodies; the IFC may now be encouraging the return of that complacency.

It has been argued that anti-racism is a common term with little consensus on what it entails: What is to be challenged? By whom? When? For how long? (Hylton 2009: 106). Certainly in sport, there are still inconsistencies in conceptualising, planning for and implementing racial equality. It could be further argued that generic equity plans may exacerbate elements of the colour-blindness that has been reported in sport policy over the years.

The examination of anti-racism in British football by Garland and Rowe (2001) came to similar conclusions to those of Swinney and Horne (2005) in their analysis of local

authorities in Scotland. These studies found providers of sport paying 'lip service' (Garland and Rowe) or being 'gestural or reactive' (Swinney and Horne) in their approach to racial equality. Garland and Rowe identified clubs like Charlton Athletic and Northampton as being actively engaged with meaningful interventions where others have presented tokenistic attempts at tackling racism. The Racial Equality Standard for professional (predominantly Premiership) football clubs has been an attempt to ensure that good practice is more commonly established, but outcomes are dependent on very different levels of motivation.

Birdseye (2007) argues that although the need for change is publicly recognised, it is not reflected in the construction or implementation of policy. Anti-racism, he argues, must possess an appreciation of the specific issues that British Asians face and so they must be included in discussions with clubs/anti-racist organisations, otherwise policy is out of touch with the needs of British Asians and potentially recycles common stereotypes. It is King's (2004a, 2004b) argument that recent anti-racism campaigns fail to address the fundamental causes of inequality – the norm of whiteness (see the section on cultural constraints for more information on King's research).

Trevor Phillips at the Equality and Human Rights Commission argues that we could be 'sleepwalking towards segregation'. Consideration of this might be a starting point for tackling the racism experienced in sport. Carrington (1998), Ratna (2007a) and Bains (2005), amongst others, report on the necessary defence of cultural separation for community consolidation. Hylton (2009) argues that sport can be used as a form of resistance or an anti-racist vehicle for individuals and communities affected by systemic racism in their daily lives. Often sport acts as an arena in which groups can re-state their identities and positions of power that are being negated by racism in other aspects of their lives. The measured impact of these community actions is debatable beyond a feeling of enhanced self and community worth. Apart from the intuitive feelings of worth borne out of necessity, there are rarely any harder measures of success (or demand for them). These anti-racist interventions are often ambiguous and vague but united by a challenge to offenders in sport.

Promoting Racial Equality

Long *et al.* (2003) recognised the limitations of a system that could encourage a 'tick-box' approach but also identified the major advantages of charters and standards providing a critical friend in the shape of Sporting Equals staff and of giving sympathetic individuals inside National Governing Bodies and other sports organisations a rationale for promoting racial equality up the agenda. For all its virtuousness, the main reason that some of the national sports organisations took the exercise seriously was Sport England's insistence that it be a condition of future funding.

In 1997, the English Sports Council produced a rare good practice guide for local authorities, *Working Towards Racial Equality in Sport* (English Sports Council 1997). The report was prefaced by the Council's Chairman Sir Rodney Walker, who announced that the publication demonstrates how 'good practice in action can meet the challenge to provide better services for Black, Asian and other ethnic minorities'. In association with the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and in the European Year Against Racism, this was a highly symbolic publication but one that has not been reproduced/updated since.

Seven local authorities were identified as having different orientations to racial equality in sport:

- policy development (Leicester)
- race relations advisers (Birmingham)
- employment practice (Watford)
- customer care and consultation (Southwark)
- Compulsory Competitive Tendering (Newham)
- sports development and strategic planning (Oldham)
- community recreation and community leadership (Kirklees)

Leicester's work based on the CRE Racial Equality Means Quality standards clearly pre-dates the Sporting Equals Standard that uses the same methodology. It is perhaps here where an example of promoting good practice led to other significant contributions to racial equality nationally. Further, Hylton's work with BEMSport in 1999 led to a document entitled the *Level Playing Field* that drew on the same methodology as Leicester's, with the result of producing a similar document (Hylton 2003). A continued central database of such activities in the UK might have led to an acceleration of good practice in this regard.

Watford's experience outlined the benefits of a strategy for positive action in employment that 'includes a number of actions designed to achieve the objective of a workforce profile which mirrors that of the community' (English Sports Council 1997:35). They consider structural and personal-level strategies and also focus on smashing the 'glass ceiling' prevalent in many sports organisations. As a promotional tool, it offers useful practical tips for policy makers and practitioners.

Football Unites Racism Divides (FURD), in partnership with Millennium Volunteers, runs the Sheffield United Football Club (SUFC) football academy on Sundays with young people predominantly from BME communities. The project is almost fifteen years old and was established after racist chanting on the terraces worried Sheffield United fans. As well as having strong local links, the project has widened its scope by being a member of Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE). The project is notable for the diversity of its volunteers, with around 60% coming from BME communities. This partly reflects the ethnic diversity of the local community in which it is based, from where it draws its volunteers, but importantly, is made possible by creating a comfortable environment in which everyone is welcome. This is crucial to the key goal of the organisation: that of creating ethnic and religious integration and understanding not only amongst the participants but also the volunteers. Sport England has identified the project as an example of good practice.

The systematic analysis by Amara *et al.* (2005) stands as one of the few studies available for information on the ways in which sport has been used for the purpose of promoting social inclusion among asylum seekers and refugees. The review included case studies of the East Midlands, Glasgow and Cardiff to ascertain provision available and evaluated practice through interviews, field observations and analysis of documents over a year and a half. Although there is some variation in the robustness of the case studies, there are clear examples of how sport projects can be used to promote equal opportunities and to work towards the elimination of discrimination. Most had a clear emphasis on promoting social inclusion, social integration and community cohesion. In the Midlands, the Madeley Youth and Community Centre in Derby worked with Kurdish youths through football to ease the tensions caused by the conspicuous position of these new arrivals in the older British Asian minority community. This was achieved through socialising encouraged through sport and a dialogue was also established with the local police.

The way in which sport made a link with the Kurdish diaspora in the UK is a principle that applies with many of the asylum seeker and refugee groups in the case studies. In Derby, ex-Yugoslavian nationals found it much easier to play football together than in their home country. This participation in peace and reconciliation was less difficult than otherwise because of the shared identity of being refugees in Britain; ethnic differences of religion and nationalism were set aside. The idea of playing and socialising with more-established local communities in a safe and relaxed environment in order to foster social integration and community cohesion is a recurring theme in that set of case studies (e.g. with Algerians in Nottingham and Kosovans in Loughborough). Competitive sport was seen as a quick way into what asylum seekers perceive as mainstream British (or Welsh in the case of the Swansea and Cardiff projects) culture and allowed the new arrivals to be seen as trying to integrate and follow rules.

None of the activities provided by the case-study organisations were solely for asylum seekers and refugees, so the integration, community cohesion and social inclusion message could remain clear with the promotion of racial equality and harmony as an important focus.

Summary

BME groups are under-represented in sports administration. Some groups are worse off than others.

Clear examples are now available of how sport has the capacity to change radically the way it consults with and provides facilities and services for BME communities.

Examples of good practice are available but often lack rigorous empirical evidence. There is a need for this knowledge to be disseminated so that expertise can be developed amongst practitioners.

Anti-racism is still an arena of variable practices and levels of commitment. There is a need for more guidance and support in sport and physical recreation.

There is currently a lack of evidence around what works in anti-racism.

7. Conclusions

The Nature of the Literature

The span of this review coincides with the time elapsing since the Macpherson Inquiry into the police handling of the murder of Stephen Lawrence. A bibliographic database containing 337 entries (largely) from the UK in a ten year period is indication of a research/policy axis that, although still small by comparison with any number of areas of public policy, is beginning to assert its importance. However, to achieve this number of entries the review has had to include items in which either ethnicity or sport (or both) are subsidiary to the main focus of the investigation. More systematic monitoring and evaluation of participation by BME communities in sport would assist policy-making, and this is still an under-worked area for academic researchers too.

This is not a field populated by the randomised control trials that satisfy the inclusion criteria of more conventional systematic reviews in the Cochrane mould. In conducting this systematic review we may have erred on the side of inclusion when judging whether contributions passed our quality threshold. However they all include either useful data or a carefully considered assessment of the participation of Black and minority ethnic communities in sport.

In trying to establish the policy significance of the research findings the review has only rarely considered the theoretical base of the work. Apart from the major public surveys the majority of research studies might loosely be considered to come from a critical studies perspective, concerned to ask questions of the existing order with a view to securing improvement

Critical Race Theory stresses the importance of acknowledging multiple perspectives, yet in this body of research some key voices seem to be under-represented. That issues of racial equality and the views of those from minority ethnic communities are becoming more firmly established on the research agenda should be celebrated. However, in considering attitudes to participation, rather than being restricted to the views of participants we also need to consider those of non-participants, something that is rarely attempted. Without that we cannot divine whether non-engagement is freely chosen or the result of exclusion. Equally, the attitudes towards Black and minority ethnic communities in sport that are held by policymakers and providers rarely enter the analysis.

Cultural studies and wider research around ethnicity have shown a developing interest in the diaspora of migrating populations and the hybridity of people who meld different cultures together in creating themselves. To date these have been rather less evident in the analysis of sports participation by black and minority ethnic communities.

On the basis of the evidence in this review, the role of research has been underplayed in policy formulation. For some policy matters that reflects a lack of suitable research; in other areas it may be born of a lack of knowledge of what is available. We hope that this review and the accompanying bibliographic database will help to redress that. Beyond policies specifically addressing ethnicity, policy statements and annual reports tend to be colour blind, overlooking the needs of Black and minority ethnic communities. Equality is still an 'add-on' rather than being embedded in everything sports councils and national governing bodies do. Where policies are in place there is a need to ensure a sustainable transition from those policies to practice and delivery. Generally there is a lack of understanding (academic and otherwise) about the impact of initiatives on delivery.

Racial equity is more prominent on the agenda in Scotland than is racial equality in either Wales or Northern Ireland. Because of the shortage of research evidence relating to sports participation by BME communities specific to individual locations in the UK, policymakers need to consider when they can use research from other parts of the country to inform their decisions.

Change and Variation

Clearly there are changes afoot, but some may feel the old adage 'the more it changes the more it stays the same' applies to some aspects of sport and recreation participation by Black and minority ethnic communities. It takes a long time to move on in terms of research, policy and practice.

Clearly we are witnessing a shift in the balance of population in the UK with the white population projected to fall by 3.6 percentage points in the first two decades of the millennium. However, that will still leave 88.6% of the population as white by 2020.

- There is large variation from one part of the country to another; from London where 35% will be non-white to Northern Ireland where only just over 1% will be. These big variations are also evident between the towns and cities of a single region and between wards of a single town.
- White minorities tend to be overlooked in policy and research, and these have grown in number as a consequence of recent accessions to the EU.
- The position of 'mixed' ethnic groups, the groups most likely to participate in sport, also tends to be overlooked.
- The point has been made in Chapter 3 that, given the typically younger age profiles of minority ethnic communities, participation levels are even lower than might be expected. It would be unfortunate if making such observations were to distract attention from the needs of older age groups as the Black and minority ethnic groups also become more 'grey'.

Particularly when assessing representation it is important to establish appropriate comparator reference points. Given that we are talking about minority ethnic groups it is not surprising if there are not many from a particular minority background on any particular committee, course or programme. However, a complete absence, as is often observed, is cause for concern. It appears that involvement of people from Black and minority ethnic groups in new sports initiatives is now closer to their representation in the population, but it needs to be ahead of this to make up the substantial gap of the past.

Difference

The point about the level of analysis made in relation to geographical divisions also applies to ethnic groupings, and indeed, groupings of sport and physical recreation. Closer examination of the data allow an appreciation of the differences between minority ethnic groups in their participation. Different indicators tell slightly different stories but the overall pattern is clear, with relatively high levels of participation by mixed groups and low levels among Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups, particularly the women in those communities. The constant cry from the researchers is for policymakers to recognise such differences and not treat minority ethnic groups as a homogeneous category. In particular the research stresses the importance of listening more closely to particular cultural and religious needs, such as those of some South Asian women, while

recognising that these needs are not representative of all South Asian women. Calls have been made for BME communities to be involved in all stages of consultation.

Larger sample sizes in surveys also allow a more detailed analysis of sport. For example, the relative popularity of football across many minority groups is informative, albeit partly a product of their younger age profiles (though that applies no matter what the sport). Higher participation levels at grassroots do then suggest questions about lack of progression to professional sport.

Non-Participation

There are various popular explanations for perceived low levels of participation: structural, political, economic, social, cultural, personal. The more fine-grained analysis of participation data suggests that the search for 'the' explanation is misplaced. The experience of different people (or the same people for different sports) may be:

- Rejected by racism
- Excluded by more subtle processes that leave them feeling distanced
- Denied opportunity by material constraints like income and accessibility
- Never received the right encouragement
- Inhibited by cultural constraints in circumstances where the value of sport is not appreciated (by the individuals, their parents or a wider community) or is overshadowed by economic imperatives
- A lack of interest
 - a) just not interested and never will be
 - b) not interested in the dominant formulation of sport and hence what is currently on offer

Of course these may interact, as, for example, when BME groups are excluded by their own cultural beliefs from what they perceive as the white nature of sport which leaves them with a sense that that they are not welcome. While good at highlighting these different mechanisms, the literature is not helpful in determining their relative significance.

However, it is clear from a reading of the literature that the lack of sporting capital, and sometimes social capital, clearly adversely affects introduction to sport and progress in subsequent sporting careers. Knowledge of the way the sport operates and contacts with key people is needed as well as an ability to play if participation is to be more than casual recreation.

Exclusion and Racisms

Many of the studies in our review have examined racism in sport and several have insisted that it is a key factor in deterring participation (e.g. Scott Porter Research 2001). There are some exceptions to this (e.g. McGuire and Collins 1998), but the balance is telling. On the basis of this body of literature, it is hard to escape the conclusion, however uncomfortable it might be, that racism is present in sport. There is a growing realisation that the processes of discrimination under systems with racism are more sophisticated and nuanced than at first thought, made even more complicated by intersections with sexism and sectarianism. It is clearly important to move on from a view that racism can be eradicated by dealing with a minority of violent and abusive fans

Positive action whether in terms of addressing racism or taking special steps to promote participation, like providing women-only sessions, signals commitment, which on its own is likely to have a beneficial impact on levels of participation.

Appropriate Provision?

There is a debate around the wisdom of making special provision or implementing special measures that may serve to separate rather than integrate. The research is better at identifying a need to get beyond a white-determined pattern of provision than at identifying what form that should take. One of the few points that recurs is the assertion of the need for separate provision to encourage the participation of Muslim women. Moreover, single sex PE and sporting opportunities may increase involvement for many more than the Muslim women intended as the immediate beneficiaries.

Some Black and minority ethnic groups set up their own separate leagues and competitions, whether as a retreat from racism or a demonstration of community solidarity. Research evidence does not indicate whether this is more effective in terms of encouraging participation and development. [In many parts of the UK there are not enough people from BME communities to warrant separate provision anyway]

Apart from references to the very white nature of cricket leagues in rural areas in our own work (Long et al. 1997) and that of the Centre for Sport Development Research (1997) the position of minority ethnic communities beyond the urban areas rarely features in the body of research literature. Most of the research goes where most of the people are.

The need for appropriate training recurs, particularly with a view to helping policymakers and managers to appreciate the position of other ethnic groups. The research also points to a need to recognise the (potential) role of people from Black and minority ethnic communities not just playing but in delivery too, whether as paid staff or volunteers. Empowering members of the local community to help plan, organise and deliver programmes has been identified as important in encouraging participation through a process of identification. At an organisational level, while NGBs, the structures of counties and leagues and their disciplinary panels are white, feelings of us and them will discourage involvement.

The Sporting Equals Agenda

By way of summary to this chapter we offer an assessment of the capacity of the existing literature to address some of the policy concerns identified by Sporting Equals and the sports councils (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Addressing the Sporting Equals Policy Agenda	
<i>Areas of interest raised by Sporting Equals and the sports councils</i>	<i>Assessment of contribution from available research (1998-2008)</i>
Experiences & perceptions relating to ethnicity and sport of participants, non-participants, their significant	Major participation surveys provide little information. Most information comes from small scale, often qualitative, studies. Even they are less concerned with non-participants and

others,	significant others – some insights offered on the role of teachers/coaches.
Consequences of perceptions of providers & policymakers	Some small scale studies address this but only in part. Consequences not necessarily established other than the way stereotyping limits opportunity.
Difference in issues between England, Scotland, Wales and NI	Basic participation data available in each home country, but varied methodologies – only the boosted sample in Scotland really offers comparison with more robust data for England. Research of other key issues across all four territories is lacking. No research projects designed as comparator studies.
The impact of population density on sporting experience/opportunities	Almost by definition data from NI & Wales reflect lower densities, but these are the very places where information is scarce. Local authorities in Active People survey could be assigned an urban/rural code to analyse variation in participation.
Differences in areas with small BME populations	Much as previous assessment.
Impact of racist attitudes	Suite of studies demonstrating deleterious consequences, though they have used many different research approaches.
Integration or separate provision	Some evidence that separate provision may frustrate progression, but the more common conclusion is supportive of single group provision (particularly for Muslim women). The more general principle has emerged in PE, resisting racism in football and health settings. Conversely, integration has also been the goal of some work with asylum seekers and refugees, anti- sectarian sport and recreation, and individual community sport and recreation projects.
Multiple disadvantage	Beginnings of analysis associated with participation using data from large scale surveys, but full power of multivariate statistics not yet exploited. If addressed tends to be seen as additive/multiplicative and there is little yet on the more complex concept of intersectionality.
Providing for ethnic minority women	Agenda dominated by a focus on Muslim women with more attention given to the issue of separate provision and suitable facilitators rather than to content.
Issues at grassroots compared with elite level	Limited research on elite athletes.
Player pathways and talent identification	The Birmingham study followed the Scott Porter attempts in Scotland to track the stages from pre-contemplation to confirmation of participation. Otherwise not addressed other than obliquely, and then normally in fragmented terms of routes into

	sport, the absence of professional BME players and managers/officials/administrators.
Are some sports more accessible to BME people?	The large scale of the Active People Survey allows better analysis of differential participation rates, but provides no information as to the reasons for differences in participation rates.
Issues for volunteering and employment in sport	In sport this literature is narrow and limited and at this time inferences must be drawn from wider work on volunteering. Lack of information on how to address low levels of involvement in volunteering by BME communities; some policy driven attempts to remedy under-representation in employment (e.g. the Standard).
Accessibility/availability of facilities	Some issues raised in relation to material resources, awareness, privacy and the cultural sensitivity of practitioners. Little research available in relation to class and Black and ethnic minorities.
Different cultural orientations toward sport	This is uncharted territory for sport research beyond the baseline data generated by the Sports Equity Index and the Active People Survey.
Effective consultation with BME people	A small number of examples are available in relation to good practice in local government, PE, and disparate community sport projects.
Effects of positive action	Lack of substantive research. A small number of examples are available in relation to good practice at local level, but no systematic comparative data.
Effectiveness of approaches to encourage BME people	A number of studies outline the positive outcomes of their approach. There is good practice being operated but a lack of rigour in collecting evidence. The rigour of evidence for some of the studies is illusory but for many the use of narrative/anecdote can be persuasive. There are fewer studies with traditional methodologies or robust monitoring and evaluation.

8. Recommendations

Where appropriate we have tried to identify who should assume lead responsibility in pursuing the recommendations arising from the review.

Recommendations for Policy

In light of the relative shortage of research in some parts of the UK, policymakers need to evaluate carefully what they can take from the research conducted elsewhere in the UK and consider how best to apply that to their own particular demographic, social, cultural and political settings. [\[sports councils and local authorities\]](#)

The lack of awareness of the diverse cultural and religious needs of Black and minority ethnic communities should be addressed and a higher profile afforded to them in policy documents (and annual reports). Strong leadership in this area is likely to establish good practice in strategies and implementation. [\[sports councils and DCMS\]](#)

At the same time sport administrators need to make sure that mainstream equality policies are integrated into sport. [\[DCMS and local government\]](#)

The Sports Councils should help to sustain Sporting Equals in working with National Governing Bodies and other sport organisations/providers to promote racial equality and ensure a wider understanding of racism is fit for purpose. [\[sports councils and UK Sport\]](#)

In relation to less established groups, as identified by Amara *et al.* (2005), funding for sport should be prudent but not overly-bureaucratic. Some flexibility should be factored into funding mechanisms so that the cost of monitoring grants does not become more costly than the grant itself. Applicants should not lose out to overly rigid policy criteria. [\[sports councils and DCMS\]](#)

A stipulation of funding should be the incorporation of an evidence-based report on good practice in relation to Black and minority ethnic populations (and other equity areas). This will lead to a clearer understanding of how organizations are working towards social objectives, and where they are being successful this information should be disseminated. [\[sports councils and local government\]](#)

While the auditing of employment of staff from Black and minority ethnic groups remains fragmented it can only be of use to individual organisations. To have more general value it needs to be collated. [\[DCMS and local government associations\]](#)

The Active Communities (2002:10) evaluation argued that it was ‘a courageous programme which attempts to address deep-seated structural imbalances in sport – and in society generally’. Given the complexity of the issues faced, sports councils willing to take risks and innovate around sport and physical recreation are likely to make gains if they are willing to fail occasionally in trying. Policy should reflect a willingness to extend this mandate to funding and practice for Black and minority ethnic groups. [\[sports councils and local government\]](#)

Recommendations for Practice

In the context of generic equality work, arrange training for policymakers and practitioners on intersectional issues and the complexities of Black and minority ethnic issues. More generally, training is needed to offer those working in sport an understanding of the need of other ethnic communities, and to encourage an appreciation of their own responsibilities to challenge forms of exclusion and discrimination. [\[Sporting Equals and local government associations\]](#)

Consideration needs to be given to how the sporting capital of those from Black and minority ethnic communities might be increased to facilitate progression from casual participation into sports organisations. [\[Sporting Equals and local government associations\]](#)

Dialogue should be promoted with Black and minority ethnic communities and efforts made to empower members of the local community to help plan, organise and deliver sport and physical recreation programmes. [\[local authorities\]](#)

It is important to ensure that racial equality objectives now embedded in policies are converted into practice where diversity should be monitored. [\[sports councils, national sports organisations and local government\]](#)

One of the best ways of increasing participation among Black and minority ethnic communities would be to shift the emphasis to a more indirect approach by training sports facilitators from those same communities because research repeatedly shows the advantage of having schemes run by 'insiders'. [\[Sporting Equals and local government associations\]](#)

Good practice ideas and successes should be regularly disseminated internally and externally. [\[sports councils and local government\]](#)

Recommendations for Research

Research on 'race', racism and other intersecting forms of oppression requires a long term commitment and might best be achieved through the following:

Developing and maintaining an evidence-based good practice database that covers policy, practice and research. [\[sports councils\]](#)

Greater research to explore the experiences of BME girls and young women. [\[sports councils and HEIs\]](#)

Conducting or commissioning a repeat of the Sports Equity Index using Active People Survey data. This might usefully be supplemented by other research techniques that would offer explanations for the significant differences revealed by the quantitative data and lead to a consideration of the social implications of the data. [\[Sport England\]](#)

There is scope for considerable further analysis of the Active People Survey data set using multivariate statistics to examine how socio-demographic factors act in concert to determine participation. However, this is not the same as understanding the ways complex combinations are realised in different circumstances/environments, which needs more qualitative insights. The two approaches need to run in tandem. [\[Sport England and HEIs / Research Institutes\]](#)

The development of a 'toolkit' to facilitate research on issues of 'race', racism, racialisation, ethnicity and other intersecting oppressions. Careful consideration needs to be given to the research techniques used. For example, people responding to a standardised questionnaire may well not report how racist behaviour deters or devalues participation and to gain a better understanding of this requires a more sympathetic probing. [\[sports councils and HEIs\]](#)

'Race', ethnicity, heritage, and nationality should not be blurred into one ethnic portrait of 'the other' without consideration of the specific structural, historical, and geographical power relations that play such an integral role in their formation. The creation as well as the interpretation of large scale data sets needs to be informed by an understanding of how 'race' is constructed in our society. Being able to map measures of participation in sport is not enough on its own. [\[sports councils with Sporting Equals\]](#)

Non-traditional research techniques should be shared and promoted with practitioners, particularly with a view to developing action research in conjunction with local communities. [\[Sporting Equals and local government associations\]](#)

It is vital to ascertain the impact of a host society's culture of sport and physical recreation on the sporting and leisure needs and practices of refugees and asylum seekers. How does sport contribute to the socialisation of refugees in host societies? More research is required on sport's claims to be a tool for conflict resolution within communities of refugees and asylum seekers in the host society [\[Sporting Equals and sports councils\]](#)

The sports councils should pool their resources to support research for those areas largely overlooked – e.g. the needs of black elders and non-British white minorities; appropriate provision in rural areas; the positive drivers that lead to relatively high levels of participation by 'mixed' groups. [\[sports councils\]](#)

The sports councils should consider making a joint approach to government departments like DCMS, DH, DCLG or the research funding organizations to pursue part of this programme. [\[sports councils\]](#)

Appendix 1: Methods of Investigation

This review is drawing together existing data and policy statements, research literature and examples of good practice.

Existing Data

Two main forms of existing data sets were of particular interest to us:

- a) Demographic data – the main sources are based on the 2001 Census. Notwithstanding question marks over how well official statistics represent minority ethnic groups, the Census is now rather dated. The UK Statistics Authority has produced figures that roll forward the 2001 data to 2005 on the basis of known migration patterns and differential birth/death rates. Elsewhere efforts have been made to calculate projections of future patterns: we have used those from the geography department at the University of Leeds. Use of Census data and the various derivatives is complicated by slightly different classifications of ethnicity being used in Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- b) Large scale surveys that record participation in various sports by different ethnic groups. The variations between the various home countries are even more marked here. In the past the best estimates for England, Wales and Scotland were provided by the General Household Survey, which periodically asked questions about participation in sport. As participation in most sports is the preserve of a small minority even a sample of some 20,000 people (20,149 people for 2002/3) was capable of sustaining only limited analysis by different ethnic groups. In Scotland best estimates of participation are based on the boosted sample of the Scottish Omnibus Survey in 2003/4 (**sportscotland**, 2007). In Wales we have yet to be given access to the survey of Adult Sports Participation and Club Membership. We have been unable to identify an appropriate survey for Northern Ireland as ethnicity is not addressed in the Continuous Household Survey.

At the outset we suggested that our challenge would not be to provide definitive statistics, but to identify common messages from the various sources at our disposal.

Documentary Analysis

In addition to searching for academic material (see below), a thorough search was conducted of material from the various sports councils. As part of this we searched the strategy and policy documents, as well as the past three years of annual reports, from the five individual sports councils. We were looking for references to BME groups, religion, equality or equity. We also searched the websites of the National Governing Bodies (NGBs) for the 21 most popular sports in England (as defined by data in Sport England's Active People Survey) to find specific references to BME groups. During this search we also looked at the equity strategy of each of those NGBs to find out what specific actions they were planning to undertake to address racial inequality.

Having identified the policy material our concern was to analyse the various statements for their content, significance and impact, internally and externally. Initiatives such as the Equality Standard have ensured sports organisations are committed to the production of policies and plans, but it is not yet clear that the link between such corporate commitments is reflected in the development of sustained actions and cultural change.

Literature Search

For the literature review the following electronic databases were searched for articles published from 1998 to the present: *Academic Search Premier* and *Academic Search Complete* (EBSCO), *Sport Discus*, *Leisure Tourism Database*, *Sociological Abstracts*, *Physical Education Index*, and *IngentaConnect*. The following key words were used in the searches. *Zetoc*, *Web of Knowledge* and *Social Science Citation Index* proved less useful as they only allow searches by title.

Ethnic		
race		
racism		
Asian		
Black		
BME		
BEM		Sport
Refugee		OR
Asylum	AND	Leisure
Religion		
Religious		OR
Sectarianism		Recreation
Catholic		
Protestant		
Muslim		
Sikh		
Buddhist		
Hindu		
Wales		
Ireland		
Scotland		

The *Index to Theses* database covering theses accepted for higher degrees at UK universities was also used. As that database can only search abstracts it was searched using the broad keywords of – sport, leisure, recreation. Each identified title/abstract was read to see if it made reference to BME groups.

Prominent academics and researchers with a track record of publishing material in this area were contacted by members of the team and asked to provide information on any 'grey' or unpublished literature. The University profile web pages of each author who appeared in the Endnote bibliography (see below) was located to see if they had any other publications that had not previously been identified: these may have been conference papers or book sections which had not been picked up in the electronic searches.

Contacts at the sports councils, the various local authority associations (Local Government Association, Wales LGA, Convention of Scottish Local Authorities, Northern Ireland LGA) and the Central Council of Physical Recreation were asked to identify any grey literature that may have escaped the electronic searches. The Local Government Association and DCMS websites were also searched for specific information on BME groups and sport.

A crucial part of the literature review was to follow up references found in the research identified through the electronic databases or prominent researchers. One piece of research may contain reference to four or five other articles which may each in turn lead

to more material. The research process therefore involved following avenues and strands of research and consistently noting references that needed to be found. Despite our best efforts some material may have been missed. However, we are confident that the main themes and arguments in this report reflect the research that has been conducted.

The material used for the report is research conducted in the UK in the past 10 years (1998-2008), though a few pre-1998 studies have been included because they are regarded as seminal research and consistently referred to in more recent work.

Bibliographic Construction

Fundamental to the report was the appraisal and evaluation of the quality of the articles found. In total 336 items are included in the bibliography and 101 satisfied the quality criteria for inclusion in the assessment, and these have been annotated in the bibliography. The first element of the evaluation was to determine the empirical research content of the article. Articles were only considered if they included empirical data (or parallel theory) that related to BME groups and sport or physical recreation: consequently, articles which offered only the authors' opinion were not included. The second part of the evaluation was appraising the scientific quality of the research. In this part of the evaluation we were looking to identify shortcomings large enough to affect how the results might be interpreted. A study may have been methodologically sound but have poor interpretation, or a study may have been methodologically flawed yet offer valid insight grounded in the data. In every case, we had to reach a decision on our confidence that the methods and conclusions were sound enough to inform policy.

In some cases one piece of research was the focus of two or more articles under different guises; for example a piece of research may appear in an academic journal and then subsequently form the basis of a book chapter. To avoid repetition, in these cases the article which had most depth was included in the annotated bibliography and referred to in the report (the remainder appear in the extended bibliography).

In order to manage the information a coding system was set up in Endnote to sort the data. Label 1 was given to research that met our inclusion criteria and was annotated in the bibliography. Label 2 was given to reports, strategy and policy documents, good practice guides, and other government material on which some sections of this review need to draw. Label 3 was given to articles which may be of interest to Sporting Equals but did not meet the inclusion criteria of the review: articles which did not contain empirical data; research based on questionable samples or confused methods or where the findings seem not to derive from the data; articles based on empirical research which appears in another article already included (unless they offer their own distinctive theoretical insight); articles that do not focus on sport or physical recreation (these are mainly concerned with other aspects of local service delivery). There are also some articles labelled 3 which are research from other European countries which may be of interest.

The bibliography has been established using Endnote (versions X1 and X2). This can be exported to Excel if required. All entries in category 1 have been annotated to record: aim, methods, findings, evaluation/assessment. Appendix 3 provides an example page from the Endnote bibliographic entry.

Appendix 2: Activities Recognised By The Sports Councils

Sport England, together with the other three home country sports councils and UK Sport, operates a joint process of formal recognition of sporting activities and National Governing Bodies of Sport. The sporting activities below are those recognised by the Sports Councils.

Aikido	Hang/Paragliding	Skiing
American Football	Highland Games	Skipping
Angling	Hockey	Snowboarding
Archery	Hovering	Softball
Arm Wrestling	Hurling	Sombo
Athletics	Ice Hockey	Squash
Australian Rules' Football	Ice Skating	Stoolball
Badminton	Judo	Sub Aqua
Ballooning	Ju-Jitsu	Surfing
Baseball	Kabbadi	Surf Life Saving
Basketball	Karate	Swimming
Baton Twirling	Kendo	Table Tennis
Biathlon	Korfball	Taekwondo
Billiards And Snooker	Lacrosse	Tang Soo Do
Bobsleigh	Life Saving	Tenpin Bowling
Boccia	Luge	Tennis
Bowls	Modern Pentathlon	Triathlon
Boxing	Motor Cycling	Tug Of War
Camogie	Motor Sports	Ultimate Frisbee
Canoeing	Mountaineering	Volleyball
Caving	Movement And Dance	Water Skiing
Chinese Martial Arts	Netball	Weightlifting
Cricket	Orienteering	Wrestling
Croquet	Parachuting	Yoga
Curling	Petanque	
Cycling	Polo	
Darts	Pool	
Dodge Ball	Quoits	
Dragon Boat Racing	Rackets	
Equestrian	Rambling	
Exercise and Fitness	Real Tennis And Raquets	
Fencing	Roller Sports	
Fives	Rounders	
Flying	Rowing	
Floorball	Rugby League	
Gaelic Football	Rugby Union	
Football	Sailing	
Gliding	Sand And Land Yachting	
Golf	Shinty	
Gymnastics	Shooting	
Handball	Skateboarding	

Appendix 3: Sample Record from Bibliographic Database

Department of Leisure and Culture. Birmingham City Council, 2003 #1526 Page 1

Reference Type

Report

Record Number

1526

Author

Department of Leisure and Culture. Birmingham City Council,

Year

2003

Title

City Living Leisure Panel: Survey 8 - Segmentation of Black and Minority Ethnic Groups

Series Editor

Series Title

City

Birmingham

Institution

Department of Leisure and Culture, Birmingham City Council

Document Number

Pages

Date

Type

Short Title

Alternate Title

Report Number

Electronic Resource Number

Contents

Accession Number

Call Number

Label

1 2

Keywords

Attitudes, racism, leisure centres

Abstract

Notes

Aim: Examination within ethnic minority groups of key behavioural and attitudinal indicators in relation to leisure and culture services.

Methods: Structured quantitative interviews with a sample of 1000 households from BME backgrounds, representing 4268 individuals. 16 qualitative interviews.

Relevant Findings: In all BME groups there is at least double the level of non-usage of council leisure and cultural services than the population as a whole - with a rapid growth in non-usage with increasing age. Leisure centres were visited significantly less amongst BME groups than the city mean with the Bangladeshi population reporting extremely low participation. There was a much greater preference for private sector gyms amongst the users from minority ethnic groups – with the Muslim (Bangladeshi and Pakistani) communities recording the highest relative levels of private sector use. One-third of respondents claimed to have experienced more barriers to leisure service use than white residents because of their ethnicity with 17% reporting experience of overt racism.

Contains information on BME attitudes and participation with other council services like libraries, galleries, parks.

Evaluation: A large scale localised study which illustrates the low usage of council services by BME groups. It concludes by recommending more sophisticated intervention that recognises the complexities of the BME population is required.

Research Notes

URL

Link to PDF

Author Address

Image

Caption

Access Date

Last Modified Date

Translated Author

Translated Title

Name of Database

Database Provider

Language

References

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