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Kick Racism Out of Schools Soccer and Society

A review of literature and practice

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INTRODUCTION

This report is based on research conducted as part of the education project Kick racism out of Schools Sports and society. The project brought together practitioners from the areas of formal education and sports to develop the role of sport for educating children on anti racism and interculturalism. The project sought to make a positive contribution to the fight against racism and xenophobia in Europe today. It has supported the development of anti racism activity among teachers, education practitioners and policy makers in the formal education system and in non formal education, particularly sports clubs. The project was based around a collaborative network of sports clubs, education organisations and social researchers and opened up exchange and sharing of experiences and practice between partners as a principle that is an important output of the project itself. This report represents the findings from research undertaken to inform the content of the teacher training activities and to develop broader findings on the challenge of anti racism in Europe based on the experiences the project.

Research included a thematic literature review of anti racism research, policy and practice in Europe and beyond with a particular emphasis on the challenge in education and sport. The research also included interviews and meetings with researchers, practitioners and policy makers throughout the course of the project in order to help develop findings and identify principles of good practice. These meetings were also supplemented by visits to education projects in the countries of project participants to see experiences of education and sports practitioners in multicultural societies and efforts to break down racial differences and encourage equality. The findings also draw on the experiences of the project partners and findings from an anti racism teacher training course held in London with 30 teachers from around Europe.

The research reports highlights the complex challenge of 'racism' that is found in its roots as a socially constructed term that describes the formation of racial groups based on evolving categories of colour and cultural background. Throughout history racial groups have been imbued with social, economic and political meaning and used to produce social hierarchies, differences and superiority. With the growth of multicultural societies, people are increasingly aware of the moral duty to not discriminate between different racial groups and addressing the deep histories of nationalism, colonialism, imperialism, slavery and anti-Semitism in Europe. Despite progress ingrained social and economic inequalities continue to undermine social mobility and reinforce old prejudices. Racial prejudices have also evolved over time with new forms of racism linked to culture, cohesion, national identity and the politics of migration coming to the fore.

There are a range of proactive legislative efforts to outlaw discrimination and promote human rights alongside initiatives aiming to promote tolerance, integration and interculturalism. However in many instances advances have been brought about by the activism of minority groups and social integration at the grass roots encouraged through demographic trends and the shared cultures that erode prejudices and differences. There continues to be resistance to addressing racism that frequently linked to a denial the privileges that are received by being a member of a white dominant racial group. This resistance has been found in many quarters including at the personal level through to incorrect or limited interpretations of European equality and human rights laws in national courts.

As socially rooted activities, no sport or education is immune from racism. Sport has played a role in promoting racial difference and stereotypes and has often contributed to the formation of polarised national and local group identities and has often provided the platform or social space for groups with racist political agendas to gather support. Education too has been instrumental in shaping societies and understandings of race, ranging from the histories that are taught, the norms against which children are evaluated through to the capacity of teachers and schools to educate different cultural groups and how funding is allocated in education systems.

However both sport and education, by virtue of their reach and persuasive power are also seen as central to any effort to combat the history, the institutions and the effects of racism. Education is central to anti racism efforts, both in terms of educating people about racism and promoting racial equality through education. Likewise there is also growing realisation of the need to eradicate racism from sport. As part of the drive to combat racism and exclusion in Europe there is a growing volume of practical examples of the role of sport in address racism in sport and education. The report looks at the main themes of anti racism in education and sport including anti racism education and the role of sport and social policy.

Anti racism education is a whole educational approach to anti racism that goes beyond educating students about racism but includes reform of education curriculum, testing and teacher training. The aim of anti racism education is to produce education systems that meet the needs of all its students regardless of racial background. Intercultural and multicultural education was also frequently highlighted in practice as a sub set of anti racist education intercultural and multicultural education that helps to improve understanding of differences between cultures amongst students and teachers. Increasingly human rights education is also being developed in order to encourage understanding of universal human rights and principles amongst European societies.

The sports participation and social outcomes section looks at racism in sport and the efforts that have been developed in order to drive racism out of sports and stadia. It then looks in more detail at the role that sports clubs play in promoting positive social outcomes. It looks at the power of developing participation and the networks and social capital that can be developed in sports clubs. Features of sports clubs, including shared enjoyment of a sport or support for a club, high levels of volunteers and the 'mediating' capacity of sports coaches are all important features of sports clubs as community institutions. However as the experience of the anti racism efforts in football show it requires practical reform of clubs to encourage participation from different communities and not reinforce exclusionary racial group identities.

Among its findings, the study found that a child centred approach that views diversity as an asset for education and learning for individual pupils and the whole class is an essential part of effective educational integration. However without support and reform of education practices and policies racial inequality can continue to be reproduced in education systems. In addition it found that partnerships between sports clubs and education institutions can be useful in developing new approaches to curricula content drawing on familiar experiences linked to sport. IN addition links between clubs and schools can be used in order to develop positive social outcomes including facilitating integration and encouraging participation in sports. An emphasis on participation in sports and the development of clubs that include people from a

variety of backgrounds is the platform from which sustainable sports based social initiatives can be built.

ANTI RACISM

History and concepts of racism

“Temperament, sexuality, athletic ability, aesthetic preferences and so on are presumed to be fixed and discernable from the palpable mark of race.” Omi and Wynant quoted in Hylton 2008.

The United Nations has defined racial discrimination as “any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.” The UN definition sets out a basic standard around which international agreement on racial discrimination, however in practice the experiences of racism make it a highly emotive, complex and personally challenging subject.

Race is a socially constructed category of human beings that is linked to characteristics such as skin colour, values, language, social practices and genealogy. (Gilroy, 2008, Hall, Bowser) Racism is a discriminatory process of ascribing generalised characteristics to groups on the basis of race. It is an invisible organising component of social and political institutions that gives power to one group and works to marginalise others (introduction to racism). Those who resist or confound preconceived notions can be excluded by force or cast as outsiders to be viewed with suspicion. Racial stereotypes can be revised but also replaced with new profiles influenced by those who hold power and influence through media, politics, science and culture, as well as the resistance of those who are subjected to them. Racism is found in overt attitudes and abuse expressed by the few, the casual views or unwitting assumptions held by the many and ultimately produces and reinforces the very real practical inequalities experienced by all.

Race plays a prominent role through the history of Europe and the United States. Race has been used as justification and foundation for nation states with characteristics, myths and heritage. (Gilroy, 2008) The European imperial projects of the 18th and 19th century frequently called upon ideas of the superiority of western European culture and the white man’s burden of civilising colonised people as justification for appropriation, exploitation and oppression. (Lentin, 2008) Demographic governance and immigration policies of many western European states have been heavily influenced by the desire to prevent or at least limit the development of multi racial societies. (Hampshire, 2005). Authors such as Saggar have highlighted the continued presence of racial politics in local public administration in the UK and the negative impacts that this has had on design and delivery of services (Saggar, 1988) Other researchers have highlighted the role that science and academia have played in perpetuating concepts of race through empirically flawed analysis. (Steinberg et al, 2005)

In relation to employment, a report into equality by commissioned by the UK government and produced by the National Equality Panel titled “An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK” identified “deep seated inequality between different

ethnic groups” including in relation to employment (CASE, 2010). The report found that disadvantages in education background left many from ethnic minority groups subsequently disadvantaged in the workplace and over represented in unemployment or poor employment statistics. When employed, nearly all other groups have hourly pay less than White British men, although several groups (including Black Caribbean women) have higher pay than White British women. When controlling for differences in age, occupation and qualifications in this way, Indian Hindu and Sikh men, and Black Caribbean Christian men were found to have similar hourly wages to White British Christian men. However Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim men and Black African Christian men have a ‘pay penalty’, earning 13-21 per cent less than White British Christian men. Although Chinese men are one of the highest paid groups, they are paid 11 per cent less than would be expected allowing for their qualifications. Women from nearly all ethno-religious backgrounds have pay between a quarter and a third less than a White British Christian man with the same qualifications, age and occupation.

Increasing attention is being paid to how formal institutions maintain or promote racial inequality. The McPherson report in the England looked into the mishandling of an investigation into the murder in 1993 of the black teenager Stephen Laurence by the London Metropolitan Police. The investigation found multiple examples of incompetence in the police investigation, including failure to give first aid at the crime scene, failing to follow up witnesses and leads and failure to arrest suspects. The report highlighted the role ‘institutional racism’ played in the force’s failure to investigate the crime properly and defined it as follows:

*‘The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people’.*¹

The experiences highlighted by the McPherson report have also been borne out in a recent study conducted by the Open Society Institute (2007) on policing practices in a number of European countries, in particular stop and search.² This report highlighted how policing in many European countries is heavily influenced by negative assumptions of criminality based on peoples skin colour or perceptions of migration status. The findings of McPherson and the OSI (2009) also pointed to the role that stop and search have in alienating groups based on the colour of their skin and undermine the effectiveness and legitimacy of policing.

The seminal work by the Authors Omi and Wynant (1994) and other critical race theorists have gone into more detail about how racial politics, sociology and discrimination are structured throughout the institutions of society. Omi and Wynant looked at how race is the main driving force of politics and society in the United States. These approaches built on analysis of legal systems in the US and inequalities that were linked to and underpinned by racial politics and history in the US. As part of these critical analyses of racism in society there is growing attention on understanding how unspoken assumptions and privileges linked to whiteness exist in society and the inequalities these produce. (Ladson Billings, 1999)

¹ McPherson

² OSI

Paul Gilroy (2008) and Stuart Hall (1980) have worked to critically reappraise historical and contemporary culture, the role of race and the maintenance of 'white' norms and subordinate 'minority' cultures. Similarly Edward Said in his work looked at how euro centric perspectives and prejudice have worked to justify Western imperialism in the Middle East and the subjugation of people and culture. In particular these authors have highlighted how ideas of race and difference evolve and are flexible, with new boundaries and groups are not just binary categories. The sociological dimension of race, groups and their relations continues to play an important part in the study of racism and how individuals and groups define themselves and the Other. Although there are conceptual complications in the use of race, for Gilroy, Hall and others sociological analyses are important tools for understanding how power and dominance are structured into societies.

As highlighted by Gilroy, Hall and others perspectives on race, its categories its boundaries and effects evolve through time and shifting political and cultural contexts particularly in an era of globalisation and cosmopolitanism. Recently this has led to a focus on 'new' racisms of Islamophobia and anti asylum. The growing prominence of Islam as the focus for a new wave of anti minority or migrant sentiment has been particularly notable since 9/11. Likewise 'asylum seekers' are increasingly a prominent category of people in many of the affluent societies of Western Europe. Research by Choules has explored how possessing citizenship of a safe, stable and materially comfortable country can provide similar unearned assets as Whiteness, maleness and other characteristics of dominant groups (Choules, 2006). Nevertheless how new 'new racism' actually is, as opposed to new versions of traditional racial themes is also open to question.

Racism as a system of discrimination does not stand alone and there are a range of complex experiences of discrimination to be found throughout society. (Oesterreich, 2007) Examples such as Bell Hooks' 1994 work 'Outlaw Culture' (2006) in the US alongside Hall and others has highlighted how racial representation is linked to other forms of discrimination in society, in particular economic class and gender. The growing field of 'intersectionality' looks at how dominance and inequality are structured into society and are employed by groups as well as being active agents in maintaining discrimination and inequality. The experiences of women, homosexuals, religious, physical abilities, minorities are also all variables in how people experience lives and are tagged, stereotyped discriminated and marginalised. To view these experiences in isolation masks the reality of the experiences of individuals and groups and where these experiences fit within society.

For example, research conducted by Mutlu and Yuksel (2010) looking at the role of skin tone on employment prospects found that there were ongoing inequalities in employment prospects, including around wages and leadership positions linked to race. Research has shown that assumptions made by recruiters, related to skin tone carry a variety of assumptions about childhood and family education background and personal investment. Their research controlled for a variety of socio economic variables as well as looking at differences between black and white groups as well as skin tone within black groups. They found that the influence of skin tone had decreased for African American women with their white counter parts over a 15 year period. However there was no corresponding change for African-American men during this time with a persistent gap in employment prospects linked to skin tone. These findings not only highlight the evolving role of race in employment but also link to

issues of ongoing disadvantage experienced by women more generally in labour markets around the world.

The experiences of intersectionalism, as well as understanding of new racism are providing greater knowledge and understanding of how identities operate. As highlighted by Hylton, the work of Beck and Hall presents a view of cosmopolitan modern societies in an era of globalisation, with fluid family, geographical and class ties with associated potential and threats. Whilst the reaction against perceived threats in a more uncertain risk society highlighted by Beck (1992) and Giddens (1999) can produce reactionary exclusive identity movements, the opportunities for developing flexible responsive understandings of self identity and the potential role that this can play in promoting post racial identities and societies represents a significant potential pathway for anti racism. However in practice such ideas are slippery and still weighed down by history and ideology of racism.

The interrelated dimensions of racism (Adapted from Gaine, 2000):

The Personal – the views and attitudes, language, generalisations adopted by individual people that frame the world views and the social interactions of people based on assumptions and stereotypes of racial difference.

Cultural – the wider views and attitudes that are held in the institutions of society, from norms of language, historical representation, political authority and value ascribed to artistic and cultural traditions.

Institutional – the practices of formal institutions such as the police, schools and municipal governments that can be informed by racial assumptions that serve to entrench inequality and discrimination in outcomes and experiences.

Structural – the historical legacy and contemporary trends of economic, educational and employment inequality that reflect and perpetuate inequality and reinforce old and new stereotypes of difference and racial hierarchies.

History and practice of anti racism

Timeline:

1. Slavery Abolition Act 1833
2. Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution abolishes slavery 1865
3. Indian independence 1947
4. United Nations Universal declaration of Human Rights 1948, including article 2 that everyone is entitled to rights and freedom without distinction of any kind, such as race.
5. European Convention on Human Rights 1950
6. Arrival of the ship Empire Windrush bringing migrants to the UK from the Caribbean signalling the start of migration to the UK from the Empire and Commonwealth to fill post war labour shortages - 1948
7. US civil rights movement, Brown v board of education 1954, Civil rights act of 1964
8. Signing of German bi lateral guest worker agreement in turkey 1961
9. Algerian independence 1962
10. UN International Convention on Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination – 1965 – requires all treaty signatories to condemn all forms of racial discrimination in all its forms
11. UK Race relations act 1965 - forbids discrimination on the "grounds of colour, race, or ethnic or national origins" in public places and covers both British residents and overseas visitors. Establishment of race relations board.
12. Race Relations Act 1976 – made direct and indirect discrimination in employment and services an offence and gives those affected by discrimination redress through employment tribunals and the courts.
13. 1979 Southall Riots – asian communities resist national front attempts to intimidate local community in north west London. Includes high profile killing of white anti racism campaigner Blair Peach, with no charges brought to date.
14. 1981 Brixton Riots in London in reaction to aggressive use of stop and search by police during Operation Swamp after unrest by Black and White youths angry at failure of police to assist a stabbed youth. Publication of Scarman report into the riots finds disproportionate and indiscriminate use of stop and search powers by police against black people. Riots in Black areas happened throughout the country in Toxteth (Liverpool), Handsworth (Birmingham) and Chapel Town (Leeds).
15. Marche des Beurs France, anti racism civil rights movement 1983
16. Mandela Released 1991
17. Million Man March Washington 1995
18. ANC victory 1994
19. Establishment of European Union Monitoring Centre in 1997 – designed to provide the Community and its Member States with objective, reliable and comparable data at European level on racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism in order to help them when they took measures or formulated courses of action within their respective spheres of competence.
20. European Year Against Racism, 1997
21. McPherson Report (1999) states that institutional racism of London Metropolitan Police was the cause of failed investigation into murder of

- Stephen Laurence. Finds that recommendations of 1981 Scarman report had not been implemented.
22. Introduction of Jus Soli Citizenship in Germany 2000, extended automatically to those born to foreign parents and open retrospectively to those born in Germany from 1990
 23. Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) – placing a positive duty on public authorities and bodies to ensure that their policies and practices do not indirectly racially discriminate
 24. European Racial Equality Directive Passed 2000 (**Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000**)
 25. 2008 Founding of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights – taking over the role of the EUMC the FRA extends its mandate to monitor a broader range of human rights as set out in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union
 26. 2008 European year of intercultural dialogue

Racism is about the very real discrimination that is experienced by people throughout the world yet race and racism remains a highly contentious topic, with disagreement on what actually constitutes racism and what should be done about it. Whilst anti racism is about eliminating racial prejudice and discrimination, differences remain about how these objectives should be achieved and what success looks like in society. In practice anti racism is a broad church of activities that work toward breaking down racial stereotypes, ending racial discrimination and promoting racial equality in society. These activities include the collective action of the early black and white anti slavery campaigners, the US civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s and the subsequent black power movements that followed. These movements also include a variety of protests, often violent in urban towns and cities in Europe, notably the UK and France where local racial minority communities had to fight for their human and civil rights to employment to be recognised in the face of intimidation by far right political groups.

The histories of these movements are frequently charted against incidents of notable injustices and have paved the way for the acceptance and normalisation of minority cultures into diverse mainstream society. The high profile anti racism movements have been underpinned by the wide ranging collective efforts of individual activists and groups in all walks of life who have worked to challenge stereo types and raise awareness. These activities may have been explicitly motivated by anti racism objectives such as in the case of anti racism activists and campaigners or teachers who have sought to change perspectives and practices in the schools systems in which they teach. Anti racism goals may also have been achieved by implicit actions and resistance to discrimination, such as the contribution of early black professional footballers who often needed significant personal determination and bravery in the face of overt hostility from fans and clubs.

In practice the victories and advances of anti racism have been won by campaigners and activists at great economic, emotional and physical cost, including injury and death. In addition to activism and the efforts of variety of groups and activists in many walks of life, anti racism can also mean more structured programmes and interventions designed to address racism that have been designed and implemented in cooperation between civil society and authorities. (Gilborne, 2000 & 2005). In its more structured form anti racism largely adopts three broad instruments:

- Establishing the principle of racial equality through legal and regulatory frameworks, including for example international conventions and treaties, regional and domestic legislation, supported by proactive measures to enforce principles of equality.
- Educational efforts to improve understanding of racism and its effects, break down perceived differences and improve relations between different groups, including advocacy, awareness raising and education. This includes promoting critical understanding around how racial inequality has developed and the role of social institutions in maintaining white cultural dominance.
- Positive action to promote equality and social justice through reform of social, economic and public institutions based on an understanding of racial inequality, such as self help schemes, direct action, or government affirmative action schemes.

However whilst there has been significant progress in race relations, there is also a long way to go with ongoing inequalities based on race, discrimination and stereotyping all evident in contemporary societies. Resistance to anti racism efforts have been seen throughout the history of racism and anti racism struggle. As some of the more obvious laws and racist practices have been addressed a political backlash against discrimination legislation and ‘political correctness’ has also been this seen. This backlash has worked to erode understanding of racism and support for anti racism activities in many of society. Likewise, new targets based around cultural or religious differences are developed without explicit reference to colour and denial of the presence of racist perspectives and practices. Other examples include incorrect or limited interpretations of European equality and human rights laws in national courts. (FRA, 2009a)

A crucial challenge for many anti racists is to articulate what the aims are. This ranges from effective design of individual projects to the anti racism project as an overall movement. These criticisms have also been deployed as tactics of obstruction and resistance anti racism efforts. However in light of the deep complexity of racism these challenges can also be valid. It is about understanding what the targets of reform are and what needs to happen in order to strip racial bias out of attitudes, practices, assumptions and outcomes. These objectives may range from challenging your own personal beliefs and internalising the implications of this and reforming your own practice. It may require the appraisal of national attitudes toward values, citizenship and political debate across many western European societies.

However it is essential that anti racism attitudes are applied across society and that as many people are encouraged to become critical anti racist activists. – in practice set targets that are relevant to situation – be it aims for specific reform programme within an with clearly articulated aims. However anti racism is also a broad based political outlook that poses significant questions regarding citizenship, identity and belonging that does not always lend itself to clearly identifiable goals. However with this regards, acknowledgement of the role of race and society and commitment to ongoing efforts to assess is a crucial aim. Anti racism aims to encourage awareness of racism so that steps can be made to eliminate prejudice and ultimately work toward the

development of cosmopolitan societies that are not divided around inequalities of race.

Critical anti racism – to be an anti racist

“Being an anti racist begins with understanding the institutional nature of racial matters and accepting that all actors in a racialised society are affected materially (receive benefits or disadvantages) and ideologically by the racial structure. This stand implies taking responsibility for your unwilling participation in these practices and beginning a new life committed to the goal of achieving racial equality.” (Bonilla-Silva in Rebollo-Gil and Moras, 2006)

Critical anti racism is based on the understanding that race is a socially constructed institution, that plays an active role in society, its history, practices and outcomes that provides particular social status to white groups (however these may be defined). To address these issues critical anti racism requires that individual and organisations work to identify and reform the ideological and social foundations of race and racism throughout all the relevant spheres of society. A key feature of anti racism is the commitment to reform in order to achieve social justice through racial equality.

As part of the need for anti racism to be underpinned by critical analysis and a desire for reform the researcher set out a model of anti racism that presented four general quadrants of anti racism based around the degree of motivation for social justice and the critical view of race in society.

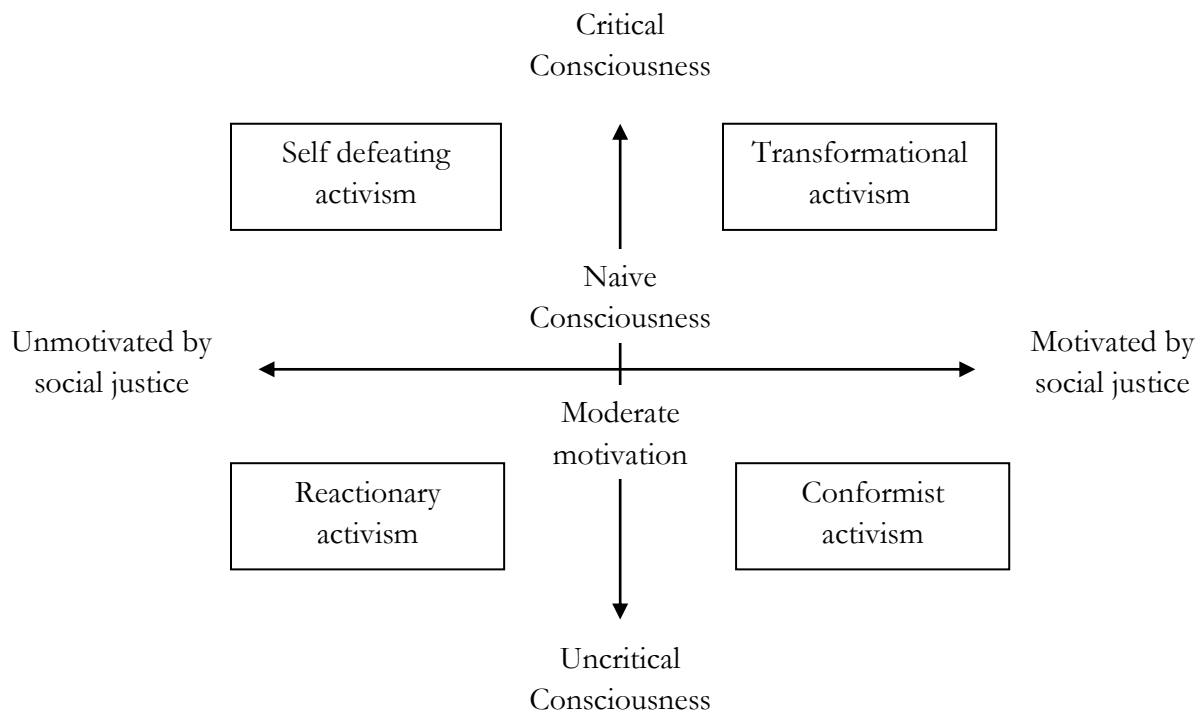
- *Reactionary activism*: this quadrant entails limited understanding of racism but is based upon a uncritical belief that it is wrong. Neither is the anti racist stance motivated by social justice concerns with little motivation for necessary reform. Rather this position tends towards the policing of behaviours with little discussion or dialogue about why or objectives of improving racial equality in society.
- *Self defeating activism*: this quadrant includes a critical understanding of how racism operates in society; however the absence of motivation for racial justice leads to an absence of action and reform. Whilst this activist may be critically enlightened the position is ultimately conformist and fatalistic or simply uncaring with no progress toward reform.
- *Conformist activism*: this quadrant is motivated by concerns for social justice and equality. However typically the lack of willingness to assess the extent to which race affects society, including privilege experienced by dominant white groups, undermines the scope for genuine social reform. For many critics this is the dominant story of much anti racism activity in Western Europe.
- *Transformational activism*: this quadrant is the location of progressive and effective anti racism. It requires a critically engaged view of race in society that is responsive to contemporary and local social trends that are responsive to trends and changes. It also requires a motivation toward achieving social justice by reforming social institutions in order to achieve racial equality based on this analysis. This quadrant is in constant dialogue with society, practice and reform in order to achieve racial justice. It encourages open discussion about race and does not seek to close off debate.

As set out by Gaine (2000), in order to achieve racial justice, anti racism works to change attitudes and practice across four broad and interlinked strands, the personal, the cultural, the institutional and the structural:

- The personal level includes individual knowledge and understanding that may be informed by racial views and attitudes. This may include addressing xenophobic attitudes or assumptions held by individuals about 'race' or foreigners. This may also include actions that may be informed by and contribute to racial inequality such as the use of racist language.
- The cultural includes broader assumptions found in public discourse such as in politics or the media and assumed 'common sense' about social agendas or issues. Examples of this may include challenging assumptions that spatial segregation is a problem and that it is caused by minority communities when evidence exists that this segregation is heavily primarily driven by relative demographic change, including patterns of out migration by white groups. (Simpson, 2004).
- The institutional level looks as addressing institutional practices that may be informed by racial logics or have racial bias in their implementation. Notable examples of these types of practices include disproportionate stop and searching of minorities by police based on assumptions around criminality (OSI). Research in the arts and cultural sector has highlighted that many minority artists are frequently perceived as a 'risk' by traditional arts institutions and arts cultures and as a result miss out on funding, commissions or leadership posts. (Hammonds and Bhandal, 2010)
- The structural level describes the economic and employment differences that serve to reinforce inequality and difference. This is frequently the most controversial aspect of anti racism as it requires assessment of the negative impacts of racism in the personal, cultural and institutional levels on opportunities and outcomes and taking steps to positively redress these. This frequently includes identifying areas of inequality and trying to reshape education and employment outcomes across racial groups through affirmative action.

Critical anti racism moves beyond other anti racism initiatives such as multiculturalism or liberal anti racism by starting with a need to undertake personal reflection on ones own racial position and the attitudes, status, benefits and outcomes that are linked to this. This personal reflection is also a foundation on which reform of practices, attitudes and outcomes at other relevant spheres of action can be undertaken by generating broader support amongst peers. The role of critical approaches to race is a prominent feature of the growing body of critical race theory and other sociologists who are working to re-evaluate assumed convention and commonsense through research and argument and the telling of alternative perspectives on society with reference to the role that race plays. This ongoing process of enlightenment and discovery is a crucial aspect of anti racism work today that seeks to expose the biases and inequalities in order for them to be challenged by anti racist activists and organisations.

A model of anti racisms: Adapted from Hylton, 2008



George (2004. "Towards a critical anti racism: redefining and rethinking the term anti racism":

- Race is a socially constructed institution that has multiple manifestations, including personal, institutional and cultural.
- White racial groups enjoy power and privileges by virtue of membership of a dominant racial group and denied members of non white groups
- White activists must reflect upon their own racial status, work against this status toward racial justice and organise other whites to do the same.
- That other race related efforts such as diversity and multiculturalism are distinguishable from critical anti racism.

Principles of success

However the history of anti racism has shown that translating these actions into change is a challenging task that has to deal with complex social and political institutions and many authors question the dominant story of progressive positive change toward racial equality. A Joseph Rowntree (2005) report into lessons for success for anti racism initiatives found that there were a number of key themes to be learnt from anti racism interventions in the UK and around Europe. Building on the findings of the Rowntree report and findings from other authors looking at anti racism, the crucial lessons for successful anti racism interventions can be seen through the experiences of anti racism activity to date.

The experience of anti racism highlights that the legal principle of race equality, as well as proactive anti racism legislation does not end racism and discrimination. Work place conditions for black people remain poorer than their white counterparts and racial harassment is frequently unreported. In light of this anti racism efforts have grown to focus on supporting legislation through education and awareness work with individuals and particularly at the institutional level in order to drive genuine change. Likewise anti racism initiatives also need to develop proactive support to improve reporting of discrimination and access to justice and equal rights.

Anti racism needs to address the cause of racism as it manifests itself in contemporary society and to avoid overly relying on static categories of race that are in practice continually evolving. The terms of racial debate and discrimination can move to new grounds. One such example of the shifting landscape of in public discourse has been the move in the UK from public concerns about 'Asian' youths and communities during the summer riots of 2001 to concern about 'Muslim' youth and communities post the events of 9/11 of the same year. As a result anti racism has to address contemporary racial dynamics, such as anti immigration or nationalist political trends around Europe or specific local race issues, in order to make difference to people's lives.

In line with the need for anti racism to be connected to racism in contemporary society neither does racism stand alone from other forms of discrimination that shape the experiences of individuals and communities. These differences not only require engagement from anti racism in order to achieve genuine social change but are also of relevance in light of the division and deflection that can be caused through not recognising the experiences of individuals in society. In addition failure to understand and respond to the social positions found throughout society can undermine the effectiveness of anti racism by diverting resources but can also serve to alienate potential allies and supporters.

Quantitative representation of racial minorities is an essential aspect of anti racism in order to redress fundamental inequalities that are a legacy of discriminatory practices. In many public organisations quantitative targets have been used as a transparent tool for driving change in employment profile. However there is also concern that quantitative approaches to race equality also have the effect of fixing and reinforcing race as a static binary concept that does not recognise new and emerging racial trends. In addition such schemes and many other race equality initiatives have had the effect of framing black people as the sole vehicle of change. Whilst not without merit,

this approach can turn racial minorities into the 'instrument' of change with associated problems of reinforcing binary racial groups whilst alienating and stigmatisation black minorities in the eyes of the mainstream.

In practice what anti racism efforts at all levels are looking to achieve is reform of attitudes practices and outcomes, of which representation is an important aspect. Whilst this includes numbers of black people employed it equally means addressing the attitudes and practices of majority groups in society and institutions. This may mean reforming individual understandings of the privileges that may be associated with being part of a majority dominant group, the culture of an institution in relation to racial minorities or it may include implementing new practices amongst professional groups. This has led to greater interest in addressing ideas of white majority attitudes and privilege, rather than fixing racism as addressing black disadvantage.

However many kinds of resistance, ranging from personal to institutional can be seen. Common patterns include delaying tactic, selective approaches to anti racism, sidelining of activists into less important roles. There is also a tendency that anti racism can overly focus on the cultural or the 'sociological' aspects of racism. Often caricatured as the 'saris, samosas and steel drums' approach to culture in the past over emphasis on culture has diverted attention away from the crucial question of power and inequality. In this approach it is not just knowledge of culture that is the issue but the positions of power that different groups hold to frame the terms of the debate and shape social outcomes through social and formal institutions.

With this in mind anti racism strategies also need to focus on the attitudes and activities of those people in positions of power. Much public debate around racism focuses on the stereotypical working class racist with unrefined racial expression and polarised local self interest in relation to neighbourhoods and employment. However of equal importance are the attitudes and sentiments of those people in positions of power, politicians, judges and the media who have the power to shape attitudes and outcomes throughout society. In particular these groups are often in a position to withdraw geographically and socially from much of multi racial society due to their privileges socio economic positions. As a result there is concern that a desire to assess racial issues and how they relate to their lives and professional practice is undermined by a less obvious need to do so and as a result are less likely to drive necessary reform.

It also points to the important role that politicians play in driving concerns about race that are often linked and framed by subjective cultural concerns rather than being driven by objective issues such as declining employment.(Messina, 2007) The history of racial politics and anti racism highlights the fundamental role of activists, both in relation to the abuse of racial politics for power and interest, and the actions of many individuals who have sought to stand up to dominant racial stories and practices in society. Whilst formal organisations are frequently underfunded one of the great strengths is the collective action of individuals and groups in all walks of life. Anti racism is an activity that is not confined to discrete spheres but one that runs from the personal to the societal. This includes cultural institutions, education systems and sporting organisations that play fundamental roles in educating and integrating society.

ANTI RACISM IN EUROPE

Racism in Europe is a complex history and a full exploration is beyond the scope of this paper. As highlighted in previous sections nationalism, slavery, imperialism, orientalism, anti-Semitism and Nazism have all played significant roles in the formation of European countries and the European Union. Nevertheless a strong human rights framework, democratic practices and the introduction of the European Race Equality directive in 2000 has worked to push 'old' style overt racism to the margins of acceptable political and cultural life. In addition the cumulative effects of post war migration and demographic has also meant that there are now significant minority populations with established citizenship present in the many of the larger European states bringing greater understanding and acceptance of diversity and difference in European societies.

However in practice the picture set out in the 2009 annual report on racism and xenophobia produced by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights presents a rather more mixed picture. Although race equality directives have been transposed into law in most states there are continuing concerns about interpretation and implementation in national contexts. (FRA 2009) There continues to be a majority of countries who do not collect statistics on racist violence and of the 12 that do, 11 experienced a general upswing from 2000 to 2007. (FRA, 2009) Studies by the FRA as well as the OECD continue to highlight poor employment opportunities, including wages and leadership opportunities, for ethnic minority groups across Europe, with racial or 'ethnic' discrimination found to be the likely cause. (FRA 2009) This is emphasised by ongoing examples of illegal racist employment practices such as 'native tongue' language requirements found throughout many member states.³

A special euro barometer study reported that Discrimination on ethnic grounds is considered the most widespread form of discrimination in Europe. (Eurobarometer 263, 2009) The report also found that on a scale of 1 – 10, with ten representing totally comfortable, only an average score of 6.2 was given when people were surveyed how comfortable they would be having someone from a minority ethnic group in the highest political offices. This is further reflected in the ongoing lack of representation of ethnic groups in positions of power in European states, including in countries where there are longer histories of migration. There are ongoing inequalities in the representation of Black communities in influential sections of society, including politics, the law and the media. Examples such as the forced deportation of Roma from France during 2010 in contravention of EU labour laws and human rights conventions further highlights the overt racial prejudices still exercised by European states.

³ Illegal under Race Equality Directive as set out in EU Court of Justice ruling on the Feryn Case C-54/07 in 2008. This case built on a previous case in Belgium of an employment advertisement looking for white applicants as customers would prefer this. Whilst the national labour court of Belgium ruled that this statement did not breach discrimination legislation as no individual had suffered, this was over turned by the ECJ because it was likely to strongly dissuade applicants and amounted to a presumption of discrimination. The judgement clarified the concept of direct discrimination under Article 2 of the Racial Equality Directive and set an international precedent in anti discrimination law.

Race, migration and integration

The contemporary political focus on migration and integration is part of a longer history in European countries of implementation of race based immigration policies during the 20th century. Much of these migration policies, starting in the UK with the 1905 Aliens act, have excluded or restricted the volume of black migrants as part of demographic management strategies designed to limit the formation of multi racial states. (Hampshire, 2005) Migration rules were also supplemented in many instances by citizenship rules that also sought to place greater restrictions and limitations on those who were considered to be from non national or European ethnic lineage, excluding certain migrants from citizenship rights on the basis of non European heritage and race.

A variety of far right and opportunist right wing organisations have gained recent electoral success on the basis of fears around migration and the growth of minority groups in Europe. This has driven debates around migration and integration to the centre of the European political and electoral landscape, with a variety of left and liberal parties also moving to respond to the challenge. Examples of recent electoral success of anti immigrant parties include the nationalist PPK in Denmark, and the Geert Wilders Freedom party in the Netherlands. Whilst the patterns and politics of migration around Europe have different histories there are some common themes in these debates, including:

- Concern the negative impacts of migration on employment and welfare systems, including both practical quantitative strain due to size of migration as well as the undermining of 'welfare solidarity' due to growing diversity.
- Concern about socially conservative or 'alien' practices of migrant communities that challenge European or national cultures and values and calls for a reassertion of native national culture in defence against this growing influence.
- Increasingly significant minority ethnic citizen populations, particularly 2nd and 3rd generation and mixed race groups with a growing political and cultural self confidence who are actively contributing to these debates as citizens.

Evidence around the practical impacts of migration on employment and welfare systems is complex and highly contested. However due to the general trend of migrants being of a working age and being recruited into low wages sectors the practical impact on welfare and employment opportunities and overall economic contribution is generally neutral or positive. (Reed and Latorre 2009; House of Lords, 2008) In practice the rise of anti immigrant political parties is not linked to the economic impact of new migrants but to cultural impacts of demographic change driven by the growth of third and second generation migrant populations. (Messina, 2007, p77)

However the debate around these issues continues to be framed by the rhetoric of negative impacts of new migration. Responses have varied from extreme proposals for repatriation, limits to non EU migration as well as a variety of debates and initiatives to promote social and cultural integration. Much of the policy debate around migration has come to focus on issues of such as 'cohesion' and integration in almost all

European countries and at the European level. The various debates around Europe have frequently been framed with reference to debates around the merits of the different models adopted by member states, often focusing on two broad models:

- Multiculturalism, emphasising the accommodation of different cultures within a strong non discrimination legal framework and loose national political identity. The most notable examples include Britain and until recently Holland.
- Assimilation, a process whereby minority groups are absorbed into the dominant culture and practices of society and a gradual loss of indigenous cultural distinctiveness. Notable examples include France and Germany.

In practice these are general models whose evolution or defence are high up the political agenda in most European states. In Germany changes to citizenship laws in 2000 has seen many primarily Turkish residents take up German citizenship. In France formal laicism is also being reinterpreted through local level accommodation of multiple ethnic and cultural differences. However there are also counter trends of nativism these include a selective reassertion of Laicism targeted at Muslim women through a proposed ban on the Islamic veil in public places in France. In Germany there are frequent protests against the building of mosques in Germany. In Britain there are moves to asserting shared British identity and values as part of a strategy for promoting 'cohesion' with Black communities who are increasingly seen as problematic. In addition nativist attitudes can also be seen in debates on the admittance of Turkey that focus on the incompatibility of its Muslim culture with a Christian Europe despite the state being formally secular to a degree not matched by many European states.

Of particular note in contemporary European debates around migration is the prominent position that Islam. Radical Islamism and socially conservative Islamic practices in particular are serving as a lightning rod for broader anti immigration sentiment. The examples of the rise of Wilders in Holland and the PKK in Denmark are directly linked to Islam. In the UK following the events of 9/11 and 2005 debates around integration has moved to focus on Muslim communities as opposed to ethnic identities. This experience was also replicated across a number of Muslim groups even when taking into account the wide differences between Muslim ethnic minority communities and their religious practices. (Change Institute, 2009) In addition many second generation Muslim youth have increasingly found themselves under pressure to justify their own Muslim cultural and religious identity in relation to international relations and the actions extremists. (Change Institute, 2008b) In the case of Denmark anti discrimination policies are also coming under attack by the ruling PKK party linked to anti immigrant and Muslim sentiment.

Whilst there are few comparative statistics available, there is significant evidence that points to growing hostility toward Muslim communities that is justified on the basis of their religion. This is further reinforced by growing number of politicians with hostile positions towards Islam and its incompatibility with European culture entering into the mainstream of politics, such as in the case of Geert Wilders in Holland. Whilst such politicians often represent extreme ends of political spectrum their success has often shifted the terms of debate. These themes are also reflected in an ongoing political trend throughout Europe that is looking to promote a form Islam that is considered acceptable and compatible with European values and culture. These efforts have

included efforts to support particular religious groups and leaders, notably those from Sufi Islamic traditions, and undertaking education efforts targeted at Muslim youth, all with variable success. (Change Institute, 2008a)

Whilst faith has come to the fore in public debates and political and legislative responses, in practice discrimination based on religion continues to be heavily linked to race and migration status. (FRA, 2009b) For example of those respondents to identified themselves as Muslim when surveyed, 10% who had been discriminated against in the last year cited discrimination as being based on their religion or belief. On the other hand 43% of discrimination was based on a combination of their Ethnic or migrant origin and their religion or belief compared to 32% on the basis of their ethnic or migrant origin.(FRA, 2009a page 5) This growing interrelatedness is set within a broader contributes to a picture whereby religion and race are increasingly being conflated in political and racial discourse, with religion becoming a proxy for racial groups.

Religion, and Islam in particular, is contributing to the return of historical questions about cultural compatibility to the centre of the contemporary political debate without recourse to overt racial language. Within this debate however the influence of significant second generation population is increasingly making an active and confident contribution. This includes in terms of asserting 'hybrid' ethnic and cultural identities. (Change Institute, 2008b, Hammonds and Bhandal, forthcoming) This new found cultural diversity is frequently referred to by many politicians and sections of the media when discussing issues of migration and integration. However there is also ongoing evidence of many minority groups being under pressure to conform to a vague notion of acceptable European cultural standards and values (Change Institute, 2008b). In practice the terms of contemporary political debate around race and culture remain loaded by the ongoing dominance of 'white' nativist perspectives on migration and integration in much of the media, judiciary and political classes.

Anti racism practice in Europe

All European member states have been signatories to the universal declaration of human rights and the European Convention on Human Rights that have as central principle that everyone is entitled to rights and freedom without distinction of any kind, including race. Many European states such as the UK and France have as a result had also long history of implementing progressive equalities legislation and activities designed to prohibit and end racial discrimination. In practice much of the race equality agenda has been driven by a range of civil society groups at the national level who have campaigned for equal rights.

Examples such as the 1983 Marche du Beurs in France, the Southall riots in the UK have all pushed race equality agendas to the fore. In some instances electoral strategies have also enabled groups to mobilise and gain influence at local government levels and at national level and have forced the introduction of non discrimination legislation and proactive initiatives to end racism. International events such as the ending of apartheid in South Africa in 1990 and associated protests and boycotts, have also played significant roles in driving public awareness and opinion in relation to race equality agendas internationally and domestically in Europe.

Many of these actions have had real success in fostering qualitative change in European societies. Examples such as changes in the citizenship laws in Germany is

indicative of a shift in many European countries who are developing more cosmopolitan ideas of nationality that are no longer based on race or ethnicity. Yet these movements are expressions of the inequality being experienced at the hands of society economy and the state. With limited resources and power these groups can seek to educate through awareness and advocacy as well as developing support and survival strategies for those affected by racism. However there continues to be need for more progress toward racial equality throughout society and its institutions.

In order to address these ongoing challenges public authorities hold a responsibility under international, European and domestic law duty bound by the ethics and principles of liberal democracy, and possess the resource and power to make concerted efforts to address racial discrimination and ensure an equal society for all citizens. Likewise private organisations are both duty bound but also incetivised to take proactive steps toward being inclusive organisations. In this context the EU and its member states have undertaken some anti racist initiative focusing on three main strands:

- Introduction of anti discrimination legislation that is developed out of its competency around labour law but is increasingly forming a body of social law. (Bell, 2002) This has had a significant and positive impact on the legal rights of minority communities throughout Europe.
- The development of social cohesion strategies education and awareness strategies focused on emphasising the positive value of diversity in society and the workplace and promoting the development of 'intercultural' societies.
- Capacity development and promoting good practice in employment as part skills and employment agendas.

However in the current political and economic climate there are significant concerns about the actual impacts of these programmes. Implementation of legislation has been variable while existing inequalities continue to limit equality of access to justice. The political climate is also overshadowing the implementation of genuinely intercultural models in favour of approaches that adopt more assertive assimilationist approaches to cultural policy. Likewise the emphasis on non discrimination for all Black minority communities has slipped down the agenda in recent years in line with the growing suspicion of migration and the presence of Muslim communities around Europe.

Race equality directive

The most notable European action in recent history has been the introduction of a European race equality directive in 2000. Article 13, introduced in the Amsterdam Treaty (entered into force in 1999) gives the Community specific powers to take action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation. This lay the ground for the Race Equality Directive that implemented the principle of equal treatment between people irrespective of racial or ethnic origin. At the same time the Employment Equality Directive also that implemented the principle of equal treatment in employment and training irrespective of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation in employment, training and membership and involvement in organisations of workers and employers.

The race equality directive included definitions of direct and indirect discrimination and made racial harassment and victimisation in employment unlawful. The legislation shifts the burden of proof, requiring employers to disprove allegations where there is evidence of discrimination. In addition the directive also required member states to designate or create a body that would provide practical and independent support to victims.

The directive was passed unanimously during a more positive political climate for the non discrimination agenda. However in the political climate since 2000 many member states have been placing less priority on non discrimination issues.⁴ As noted previously there are continuing concerns about the interpretation and implementation in national contexts and ongoing racist employment practices despite the legislation. (FRA 2009b) In addition, whilst the legislation allows affirmative action to be taken to promote race equality it does not place a proactive duty on public organisations to take action to promote race equality. This type of positive clause was included into UK race relations legislation as part of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, following the McPherson report.

A study by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) also found that there were other challenges in translating the directives into practical action on the ground including (FRA, 2010a):

- Lack of awareness about the directive that assumed it was for migrant workers only, while in reality it covers everyone in the European Union,
- Discrimination against the Roma often not seen as racial discrimination,
- That whilst it was encouraging trade unions and employers to work together race equality initiatives has been more difficult to sell than gender equality.

There are concerns that in some states, particularly the newer members of the post communist states that “while formal legislative compliance with the RED has been broadly attained, transposed anti-discrimination legislation and national policy implementation initiatives may not adequately take into account societal attitudes and norms.” (Wolfson, 2010) This concern was borne out by the FRA report that found a difference in awareness of the directive between EU15 and EU12 states.

Human Rights and anti racism

Human rights legal frameworks have been in place since the Universal Declaration and the European Convention of Human Rights. All of these frameworks have included specific reference to the universality of human rights and the principle of non discrimination, including in relation to race. Human Rights based approaches represent a universal legal and ethical framework for achieving equality across different types of discrimination. The adoption of a human rights based approaches that brings different discrimination strands together has also been linked to increasing awareness of the intersectional nature of discrimination that recognises that individual strands of discrimination do not exist in isolation.

⁴ <http://www.eortrial.co.uk/default.aspx?id=1030333>

Human rights principles – the following principles underpin how human rights regimes should be interpreted and applied:

Universality and Inalienability: Human rights are *universal* and *inalienable*. All people *everywhere* in the world are entitled to them. The universality of human rights is encompassed in the words of Article 1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”

Indivisibility: Human rights are *indivisible*. Whether they relate to civil, cultural, economic, political or social issues, human rights are inherent to the dignity of every human person. Consequently, all human rights have equal status, and cannot be positioned in a hierarchical order. Denial of one right invariably impedes enjoyment of other rights. Thus, the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living cannot be compromised at the expense of other rights, such as the right to health or the right to education.

Interdependence and Interrelatedness: Human rights are *interdependent* and *interrelated*. Each one contributes to the realization of a person’s human dignity through the satisfaction of his or her developmental, physical, psychological and spiritual needs. The fulfilment of one right often depends, wholly or in part, upon the fulfilment of others. For instance, fulfilment of the right to health may depend, in certain circumstances, on fulfilment of the right to development, to education or to information.

Equality and Non-discrimination: All individuals are equal as human beings and by virtue of the inherent dignity of each human person. No one, therefore, should suffer discrimination on the basis of race, colour, ethnicity, gender, age, language, sexual orientation, religion, political or other opinion, national, social or geographical origin, disability, property, birth or other status as established by human rights standards.

Participation and Inclusion: All people have the right to participate in and access information relating to the decision-making processes that affect their lives and well-being. Rights-based approaches require a high degree of participation by communities, civil society, minorities, women, young people, indigenous peoples and other identified groups.

Accountability and Rule of Law: States and other duty-bearers are answerable for the observance of human rights. In this regard, they have to comply with the legal norms and standards enshrined in international human rights instruments. Where they fail to do so, aggrieved rights-holders are entitled to institute proceedings for appropriate redress before a competent court or other adjudicator in accordance with the rules and procedures provided by law. Individuals, the media, civil society and the international community play important roles in holding governments accountable for their obligation to uphold human rights.

Many European states now have National Human Rights Institutes (NHRI) that monitor and protect human rights nationally and regionally. The presence of Institutes is important in order to provide legal support, expertise and capacity to individuals, civil society and authorities around human rights and non discrimination issues. Experience has shown that in the absence of such external campaigning, lobbying and monitoring voices public authorities are unlikely to take effective action. Whilst some Institutes have limited ‘ombudsmen’ roles others have broader remits, including the Danish

Institute for Human Rights which undertakes a range of research, advocacy and training and development activity. It provides reporting and analysis on human rights in Denmark and monitors trends and legal developments. The Danish Institute also has a specific focus on discrimination on the grounds of race or ethnic origin. Other NHRIs also combine these roles with statutory powers linked to other domestic legislation or European Directives.

With the growing range of non discrimination legislation and international and domestic human rights regimes there is a trend in some states to move toward human rights based single equalities models. These models attempt to combine the various discrimination strands that also intersect in practice underneath a human rights framework. This approach can be seen in the establishment of the Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union that has taken the place of the European Union Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in 2008.

The EUMC was originally established by the Council of Ministers in Vienna 1997 as part of a coordinated action to develop policy combating racism and xenophobia that included the 1997 European Year against Racism. The agencies original tasks were to study the extent of racism and xenophobia, to analyse the causes of such behaviour, and to disseminate examples of good practice in combating it. This has now been expanded to cover a wider range of fundamental rights issues in Europe, including new areas, such as human rights education and training of professional groups in order to ensure equality of human rights in a range of public services. (Fundamental Rights Agency, 2010b)

A similar process has taken place in the UK, where the non discrimination commissions, including, the Commission for Racial Equality, the Equal Opportunities Commission (dealing with gender equality) and the Disability Rights Commission have been combined in the Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). The EHRC also incorporates new powers in relation to age, sexual orientation and religion or belief. As a national human rights institution, it also seeks to promote and protect human rights in Great Britain including monitoring the implementation of the Human Rights Act. However the consultation exercise leading up the establishment of the Commission and since its foundation key concerns have been raised about its work including:

- The breadth of agenda and the potential for the organisation to become bureaucratised and focused on legal ‘churning’ when dealing with large volumes of non discrimination cases, limiting the ability to approach dynamic social issues critically and proactively.
- A lack of focus on specific discrimination strands with insufficient understanding or expertise to bring the different experiences and needs of groups together under a single equalities framework.
- A concern that different discrimination issues may not get fair representation within a bureaucratic institution with the potential to be dominated by different agendas or avoid challenging themes.

In June 1999, the Cologne European Council concluded that the fundamental rights applicable at European Union (EU) level should be consolidated in a charter to give them greater visibility. The heads of state/government aspired to include in the

charter the general principles set out in the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights and those derived from the constitutional traditions common to EU countries. In addition, the charter was to include the fundamental rights that apply to EU citizens as well as the economic and social rights contained in the Council of Europe Social Charter and the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers. It would also reflect the principles derived from the case law of the Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights. In December 2009, with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the charter was given binding legal effect equal to the Treaties.

An important component of human rights is that of human rights education to provide groups, particularly marginalised groups, greater knowledge of the standards and principles of human rights and the avenues for achieving justice. This is particularly the case in light of the limited or flawed knowledge of human rights that are found throughout many countries in Europe. There is also growing attention on the importance of targeting professional groups as part of human rights education initiatives in order to ensure that the standards of human rights are translated into practice. A notable target for human rights education are teachers because of the role that they play in educating populations on human rights and enabling them to be realised and integrated into everyday practice.

This includes the development of human rights based approaches to service design and delivery, such as in the case of education or health care. An important component of human rights based approaches is an awareness and understanding of how discrimination may impact on human rights for different groups and how it may undermine human rights standards in service delivery. The framework provides a useful guide to the types of activities that are required in order to achieve human rights standards and integrate human rights principles throughout the work of organisations.

Table 3: Template for evaluating whole organisational practice against human rights principles (FRA, 2010b)

HR principle	Organisation action	Education / training intervention
Universality and indivisibility	<p>Developing principles and approach to service delivery in line with human rights principles</p> <p>Identification of relevant human rights issues</p> <p>Auditing policy and practice for human rights compliance</p>	<p>Undertake skills audit of organisation and develop education and training strategy to ensure officials responsible for policy development are informed about Human Rights principles.</p> <p>Specific education and support to in house legal experts and/ or identification of external support and guidance in order to effectively identify human rights issues and necessary compliance steps.</p> <p>Specific education, training and development support to senior executives and management to develop HR approach and secure buy in from organisational leadership.</p>

<p>Accountability</p>	<p>Implementing effective complaints and regulatory mechanisms</p> <p>Ensuring codes of conduct and professional standards are compliant with human rights standards</p>	<p>Targeted education, training and development support to regulatory bodies, inspectorates and ombudsmen</p> <p>Targeted education training support to develop Human Rights performance management structures.</p> <p>Promote awareness and knowledge of relevant human rights standards to all staff, service users and suppliers:</p> <p>Introduce human rights standards as a core component of the organisation-wide induction/ core training process or professional qualification and codes of practice</p> <p>Ensure awareness of complaint and redress mechanisms among service users</p>
<p>Empowerment</p>	<p>Ensuring all stakeholders understand positive principles of human rights</p> <p>Ensuring adequate mechanism for ongoing review of practice and rights issues</p>	<p>HR based approach and principles built into the organisation's vision, aims and principles as a core purpose of organisation</p> <p>Based on skills audit, targeted education and training for staff charged with providing HR awareness and development support to middle management and front line staff.</p> <p>HR awareness specifically built into:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Mainstream training and education through qualification, training or induction curriculum ○ the organisation's key learning and skills frameworks as a mandatory competency <p>User groups provided with information around human rights principles and standards. Human rights promotion/ communications and materials made available and distributed to service users and potential users.</p> <p>Internal exchange around practice and experiences</p>

Participation	Ensuring transparent and participatory decision making processes that incorporate all relevant stakeholders, including user groups	<p>Staff and service user involvement in the development and delivery of human rights training programmes.</p> <p>Targeted development support for improving participation in decision making and service delivery based on Human Rights principles for client groups, user groups, staff groups, unions and professional associations</p>
Non discrimination	Ensuring that all practice and policy is audited and assessed for non discrimination principles	<p>Strong equalities and diversity component in any education and training programme</p> <p>HR education, training and development in relation to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ the needs of marginalised groups ○ development and evaluation of new practices <p>Provide staff and service users with clear guidance/ checklists on where treatment can be discriminatory</p>

The adoption of human rights approaches should in practice reduce incidences of human rights violations acted on by the courts. Proactive approaches should also enable organisations to ensure that they are not violating their human rights duties as part of their own organisational planning, without having to take expensive reactive responses to violations that may be of limited effectiveness. In addition to the compliance orientated requirements of human rights, there are also a number of positive emancipatory features that have been associated with good human rights practice, including (FRA, 2010b):

- Effectiveness: The principles of openness and transparency associated with good human rights planning are believed to influence decision making in a manner that improves transparency, accountability and effectiveness. They do this by improving an organisation's responsiveness in line with core principles and around actual service needs, as opposed to the preconceptions of duty holders. This approach also helps to support the ongoing assessment and evaluation of service delivery and good governance.
- Shared principles: The use of the universal values of human rights can be a useful tool for orientation of the values and ethos of an organisation. It can mediate between different groups and power structures in a way that is universally shared across all stakeholders and communities. The agreement of universal shared values across stakeholders can assist organisational performance assessments by underpinning evaluation of change management processes or community leadership against shared values and outcomes.

- Inclusive culture: There is a positive impact of constructing a rights respecting culture that values individuals and allows space for individuals as rights holders to work within an organisation that is respectful of their rights, and which constructs itself around positive inclusive principles. A reduction in absenteeism and complaints are often identified as an important indicator for evaluation of this impact in the context of organisations and services.

However human rights are also frequently coming under attack criticised for defending the interests of vulnerable minority groups, which is one of their central aims. This strand of politics is part of ongoing negotiation of human rights standards and how they should be applied can frequently be linked to nationalist political rhetoric, claiming human rights as 'European' and attacking non Europeans for presenting a threat to them. (FRA, 2010c) However indivisibility and non discrimination are central principles of human rights. Human rights based approaches must integrate race equality considerations as an explicit component of the approach to ensure that the universal and indivisible principle of equality and non discrimination is being achieved. This not only includes ensuring that principles of human rights apply to all relevant groups, but also that proactive steps are being taken to ensure that this is the case based on the needs of individuals and groups.

Diversity and interculturalism

A prominent feature of European anti racism activity is campaigns and initiatives designed to raise awareness and promote good relations. These campaigns have focused on awareness of non discrimination directives as well as promoting positive diversity messages. Examples of this activity include the year of non discrimination in 2004, European year of equal opportunities for all. Much of this activity has worked to further awareness of discriminatory practices, educating people on their rights and access to justice, as well as disseminating good practice for ending discrimination.

In addition to these years a prominent feature of this work has been the development of cultural strategies that focus on promoting the positive value of contemporary European diversity. The 'For Diversity Against Discrimination' campaign has been an important part of the Unions work in this area. Diversity as a concept has been used as a method to advance inclusion agendas as a positive feature with less need to turn to equalities legislation. Diversity strategies include promoting understanding of difference, how differences can be accommodated and how difference can be beneficial and enriching. Work by the European Commission in this area has included the development and promotion of a business case for diversity, encouraging improved recruitment and HR policies from ethnic minorities and into private businesses including large multi nationals and SMEs.⁵ Other examples of work include the development of a toolkit by the Fundamental Rights Agency for representation of diversity in factual television programmes and associated training activity.⁶

Following on from the emphasis on diversity has been the 2008 year of Intercultural Dialogue.⁷ This year was formed out of recognition of the important role that

⁵ For further information on the business case for diversity including studies, guidance and handbooks see: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=780>

⁶ For further information on the diversity tool kit see: http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/media/materials_trainings/diversity_toolkit_en.htm

⁷ For further information on the 2008 Year of Intercultural Dialogue and related activities see: <http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu/>

intercultural dialogue needs to play in fostering an inclusive and democratic European identity and citizenship in a context of ongoing migration and demographic change. The year featured a small number of flagship projects on a European level, as well as EU support for a national project in each Member State, and a Partner programme aimed at mobilising civil society. It also encouraged other European funding streams to support developmental projects. Examples of this work include the Intercultool project that looked at the process of intercultural interaction and the competencies European and international citizens needed in order to navigate this process effectively in culturally diverse work places and societies.⁸ Other examples include the Intercultural Cities programme of the council of Europe that has worked to develop good practice governance and policies for diverse communities.⁹

Diversity and intercultural agendas are prominent around Europe and in many cases an umbrella under which many anti racism agendas now exist. They both seek to raise awareness and promote positive understandings of difference. Interculturalism in particular is an attempt to promote dialogue and exchange between different cultures and describes the creation of a new civic culture around universal and cosmopolitan principles such as human rights. It has particular links to artistic and cultural practice such as theatre where there is interest in the method of exchange between different artistic disciplines and heritages as part of developing new production and forms. (Bharucha, 2008)

Interculturalism is also an attempt to move beyond the perceived failings of more multicultural strategies that sought to value different cultures equally by placing more emphasis on dialogue and the creation of a shared cosmopolitan culture. However there are also caveats and criticisms around the use of diversity and interculturalism initiatives as part of or in place of anti racism strategies, in particular there is concern that poorly handled intercultural strategies can in effect undermine anti racism efforts that do not sufficiently address issues of equality by fixing themselves in the liberal conformist sector of anti racism interventions. Important considerations when implementing intercultural strategies include:

- A confusion with universalist approaches that conflate interculturalism with uniformity and don't sufficiently value the cultural difference that are the bed rock of dialogue.
- As with multicultural strategies before them, an over emphasis on superficial dimensions of culture that don't address the historical or contemporary inequality. This has been characterised as 'Steel drums, Saris and Samosas' approach to culture.
- Without genuine efforts to promote equality and critically evaluate society intercultural strategies can become largely assimilationist by perpetuating dominant values or cultures as opposed to encouraging dialogue around genuinely universal values.
- There are also concerns that intercultural approaches can serve to undermine the legitimacy of identity based movements or groups and exclude them from

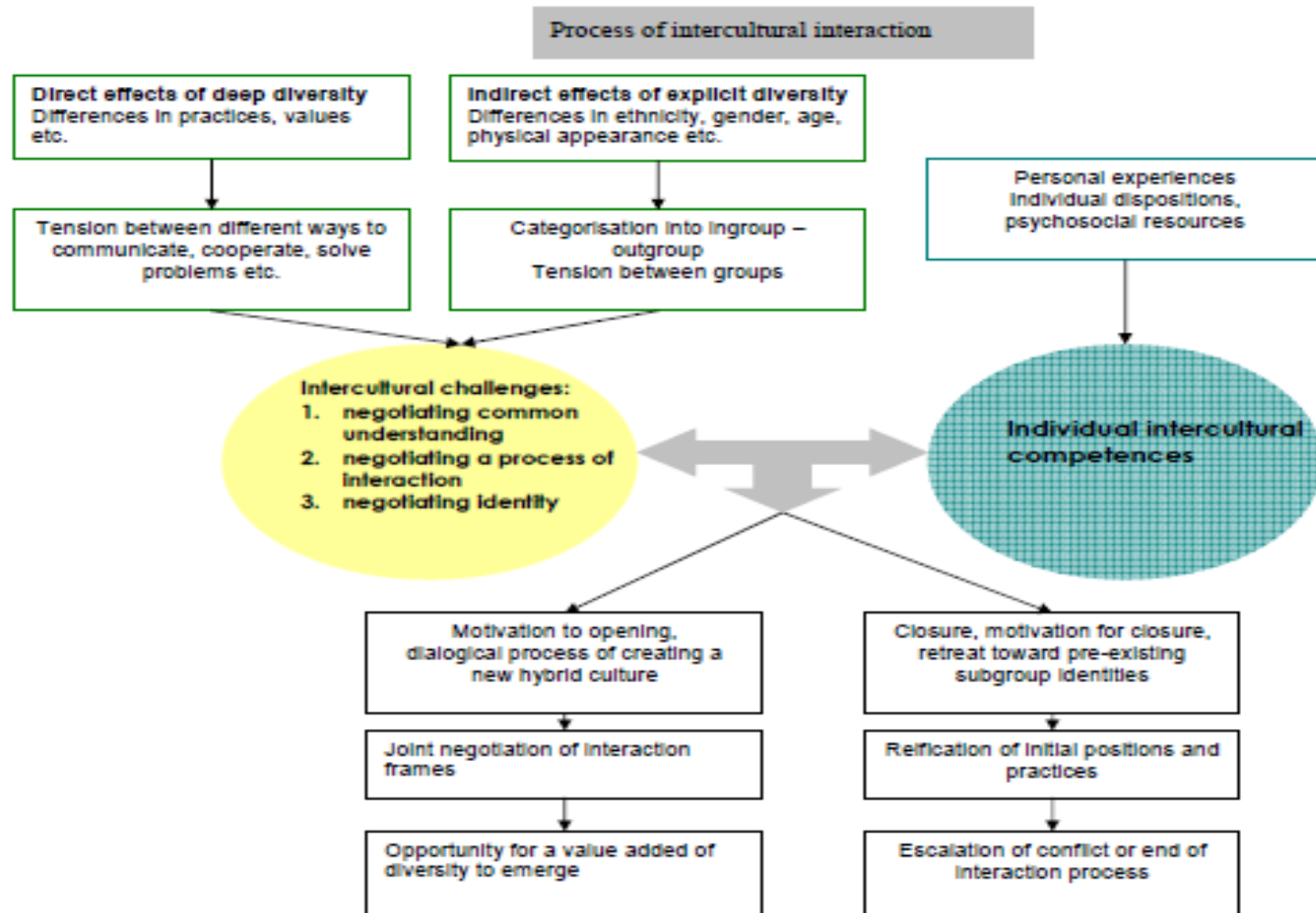
⁸ For further information about Intercultool see www.intercultool.eu

⁹ For further information about the intercultural cities programme see: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/cities/default_en.asp

engaging in activities aimed at interculturalism but in practice prioritising those that present only superficial aspects of interculturalism.

In practice, racism and prejudice are direct hindrances to the development of intercultural societies. Racism promotes division, suspicion and uncertainty undermining any form of genuine dialogue between difference. Racist societies are the antithesis of inclusive civic cultures that all can feel part of. As a result, in light of an emphasis on cohesion around national values with little critical reappraisal of what these values are, very few European societies can legitimately claim to be working toward intercultural strategies.

Despite these challenges genuinely intercultural strategies are a positive approach to developing an inclusive citizenship and work in this direction is also an important component of any anti racism strategy. It sets out an alternative vision of an inclusive culture that moves beyond old exclusive and race based national identities and civic cultures. In particular the growing political and cultural confidence of the second and third generation youth of migrants to Europe are already forcing increasing exploration of intercultural life, as witnessed through art and literature. (Hammonds and Bhandal, forthcoming; Khan, 2008) However the journey is not a certain one and a focus on discrimination and inequality are central components in genuine intercultural strategies. (Bharucha, 2008)



Progress programme¹⁰

The EU's employment and social solidarity programme, PROGRESS works towards advancing equally opportunities as set out in the Social Agenda. It also contributes to the achievement of the EU 'Lisbon' Growth and Jobs Strategy. Working alongside the European Social Fund (ESF), PROGRESS will run until 2013 and replaces the four programmes that ended in 2006 covering actions against discrimination, equality between men and women, employment measures and the fight against social exclusion.

PROGRESS works on supporting the delivery of EU social policy that needs combined European effort, including guaranteeing equal opportunities for all and implementing EU laws uniformly. Activities that programme has funded include:

- analysis and advice on relevant issues in employment and social affairs including Europe-wide studies such as research on health and safety at work and collecting statistics on the number of workplace accidents and diseases. Compiling European Labour Force Surveys and disseminating the results
- review and checking of how far Member States have implemented EU legislation and policies, e.g. Funding European observatories such as the European Employment Observatory (EEO) to track employment policies and labour market trends
- engagement with stakeholders and society at large to make sure that their concerns and expectations are voiced and heard including through the creation of networks of national experts, such as legal experts, exchanging and discussing issues raised by EU employment law and its application
- promotion of policy transfer, learning and support on EU objectives and priorities at EU and Member State level, including activities such as training of legal and policy practitioners and funding of EU networks of NGOs

As part of the progress programme the European Union works with and funds civil society and social partners in order to work toward non discrimination objectives. This has included the funding of European anti racism organisations such as the European Network Against Racism. ENAR is an EU-wide network of more than 600 organisations working to combat racism in all the EU member states and acts as the voice of the anti-racist movement in Europe. As a network organisation ENAR works at the European level by undertaking advocacy work to advance anti racism agenda, it undertakes important research into the current situation in European member states by producing shadow reports to the FRA's national reports. It also undertakes specific research on particular policy and social areas, such as education. In addition it also acts as a forum of exchange between members on EU policy developments, national advocacy strategies and as a forum for exchange of ideas, experience, best practice and practical support at the national level.

¹⁰ PROGRESS is open to the 27 EU Member States, EU candidate and EFTA/EEA countries. It targets Member States, local and regional authorities, public employment services and national statistics offices. Specialised bodies, universities and research institutes, as well as the social partners and non-governmental organisations can participate. The Commission selects the projects to fund either through calls for tender or through calls for proposals. It provides a maximum of 80% co-financing with some exceptions.

European and International anti racism policies in education

In addition to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, education is also subject to a variety of international and European agreements that set out the principle of non discrimination in education.¹¹ This includes the 1960 UN convention against discrimination in education that was adopted by the UNESCO in 1960. Allied to the universal declaration of Human Rights as well as the European Convention on human rights the 1960 convention on education was the first UN binding document that acknowledged the role of education in promoting equality, set out a detailed definition of discrimination and prescribed that states should adopt the immediate measures in favour of education.

At the European level education is regarded as a vital tool in the fight against racism and discrimination. A number of policy and legal measures have been adopted over the past decade in support of this, such as the 1995 Resolution of the Council and of Representatives of member states' governments meeting within the Council on 'The response of educational systems to the problems of racism and xenophobia', which highlighted the necessity for educational systems to encourage equality of opportunity and promote respect for all by helping improve awareness and knowledge of European cultural diversity. Other directives from the Council of Europe and the OSCE also place duties on European member states to promote race equality in European education systems.

The 2000 Race Equality Directive also stated that '*specific action in the field of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin should go beyond access to employed and self-employed activities and cover areas such as education*'. The requirements of the directive are also reinforced at the European level through the 2005 framework strategy on Non discrimination and equal opportunities for all that places a continued focus on mainstreaming non discrimination in all relevant policies, including education.

Whilst the European Union does not have direct competency in relation to education it does play a role in coordinating education and training objectives as part of it Lisbon agenda that aims to make the union "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world capable of sustaining economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion." This includes a number of specific guidelines for training and education in Europe that focus on expanding and improving investment in human capital and lifelong learning (Guideline No23) The integrated guidelines also clearly state that equal opportunities and combating discrimination are essential for progress in relation to broader education and skills objectives.¹²

In order to achieve the Lisbon agenda the Community has developed a strategic framework of cooperation in the field of education and training through the Education and Training 2010 and now 2020. The framework seeks to improve equality, effectiveness and accessibility of training and education systems in order to meet the objectives of the Lisbon Agenda. The framework recognises the role that education and training plays in the social dimension of Europe by transmitting values of solidarity

¹¹ For a detailed overview of international and European education anti initiatives refer to ENAR 2008, combating racism and xenophobia in schools.

¹² Communication from the commission integrated guidelines for growth and jobs (2005 – 2008) COM(2005) 141.29

equal opportunities and social participation. The 2010 framework also sought to support 'development of society in particular by fostering democracy, reducing disparities and inequalities amongst individuals and groups and promoting cultural diversity'¹³To achieve this objective 2.3 was included as part of 13 specific objectives and focused on 'supporting active citizenship, equal opportunities and social cohesion'

Continuing to underpin the current process of updating the delivery of Education and Training towards a 2020 framework are a series of key competencies. The Education and training programme provides a framework of key competencies for lifelong learning that equip learners for modern knowledge economy and give more flexibility in the labour market as set out in the Lisbon agenda. They set out a combination of knowledge skills that are particularly necessary for personal fulfilment and development, social inclusion, active citizenship and employment. Anti racism, or related Human Rights Education initiatives - a fundamental right in UN and European human rights treaties, are not explicitly mentioned as part of the key competencies framework. However reference to intercultural competence and civic competences are both included within the framework that opens scope for the development of values based and skills based education that can be used toward anti racism objectives.

However in practice race equality does not play a high profile in the current implementation of the programme. Specific race equality objectives are only present within the Comenius programme of the Lifelong Learning Programme that is designed to deliver the Education and Training Objectives. Many of the social inclusion objectives set out by the Lisbon agenda have not been met.¹⁴ The Lisbon agenda and the 2020 strategy are now increasingly being dominated by competitiveness concerns in light of the current economic environment. This is likely to further undermine priority afforded to the values based civic and social competencies.

Likewise the quality indicators set out as part of Education and Training do not specifically note race equality as an issue, placing minority and migrant groups in general groups of disadvantage with little exploration of the specific needs or issues facing these groups. (Hopkins and Bhandal, 2008) These concerns are also repeated by Warren (2007) who warns that much of European education policy is being driven by new migration agendas, further diverting attention from the needs and challenges facing the growing cohort of Black children born and bred in European states.

There is also evidence that in many member states citizenship education is being heavily influenced by nationalistic political trends that are prominent throughout Europe. Others such as Gilborne (2007) are also concerned that the use of citizenship education can divert attention from the actual challenges of developing education and training systems that meet the needs of racial groups equally. In part the education and training skills framework highlights the ongoing need for additional training of teachers in order to achieve the objectives of the programme.¹⁵

¹³ Report from the education council to the European council, the concrete future objectives of education and training systems 5680/01 EDUC 18, 2001 p4

¹⁴ ENAR page 12 **Council conclusions of 11 May 2010 on the social dimension of education and training** (2010/C 135/02)

¹⁵ **2010 joint progress report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the 'Education and Training 2010 work programme**

This finding is of particular note for values based education initiatives such as anti racism, citizenship and human rights education. Work by the FRA in relation to HRE found that there are ongoing concerns regarding the capacity and training opportunities for teachers in relation to these initiatives within a hostile political climate that is also prioritising perceived core employability skills.

This framework defines eight key competences and describes the essential knowledge, skills and attitudes related to each of these. These key competences are:

1. **communication in the mother tongue** which is the ability to express and interpret concepts, thoughts, feelings, facts and opinions in both oral and written form (listening, speaking, reading and writing), and to interact linguistically in an appropriate and creative way in a full range of societal and cultural contexts;
2. **communication in foreign languages** which involves, in addition to the main skill dimensions of communication in the mother tongue, mediation and intercultural understanding. The level of proficiency depends on several factors and the capacity for listening, speaking, reading and writing;
3. **mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology.** Mathematical competence is the ability to develop and apply mathematical thinking in order to solve a range of problems in everyday situations, with the emphasis being placed on process, activity and knowledge. Basic competences in science and technology refer to the mastery, use and application of knowledge and methodologies which explain the natural world. These involve an understanding of the changes caused by human activity and the responsibility of each individual as a citizen;
4. **digital competence** involves the confident and critical use of information society technology (IST) and thus basic skills in information and communication technology (ICT);
5. **learning to learn** is related to learning, the ability to pursue and organise one's own learning, either individually or in groups, in accordance with one's own needs, and awareness of methods and opportunities;
6. **social and civic competences.** Social competence refers to personal, interpersonal and intercultural competence and all forms of behaviour that equip individuals to participate in an effective and constructive way in social and working life. It is linked to personal and social well-being. An understanding of codes of conduct and customs in the different environments in which individuals operate is essential. Civic competence, and particularly knowledge of social and political concepts and structures (democracy, justice, equality, citizenship and civil rights) equips individuals to engage in active and democratic participation;
7. **sense of initiative and entrepreneurship** is the ability to turn ideas into action. It involves creativity, innovation and risk-taking, as well as the ability to plan and manage projects in order to achieve objectives. The individual is aware of the context of their work and is able to seize opportunities which arise. It is

the foundation for acquiring more specific skills and knowledge needed by those establishing or contributing to social or commercial activity. This should include awareness of ethical values and promote good governance;

8. **cultural awareness and expression** which involves appreciation of the importance of the creative expression of ideas, experiences and emotions in a range of media (music, performing arts, literature, and the visual arts).

EDUCATION AND ANTI RACISM

Universal declaration of Human Rights, Article 26:

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Education has long been an important institution of racism, with intellect a key feature of the European racial superiority proposed by 19th and 20th century eugenicists and imperialists (Lentin, 2008). The ending of racial segregation in schools by the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on *Brown v. the Board of Education* was one of the most significant events on the way to the 1964 civil rights act in the United States. In contemporary European politics parties such as the Front National in France have specifically focused on promoting a picture of an erosion of native French culture in schools by the growing presence of migrant and black pupils. (Ref) Similar concerns around the segregation of schools in the UK has often masked patterns of white flight out of areas with growing minority populations and the desire to move into the catchment areas of 'good' schools in predominantly white middle class areas.

Whilst education continues to be a focus for far right groups in the US and Europe, the failure of European education systems to meet the needs of black children is also well documented. The 2003 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) performance study on the educational outcomes of migrant children in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) confirmed the ongoing inequality in education that many children from migrant backgrounds experienced in European schools systems:

*'Despite strong learning dispositions, immigrant children often perform at significantly lower levels than their native peers in key school subjects such as mathematics, reading and science, as well as in general problem-solving skills.'*¹⁶

¹⁶ PISA, Where immigrant children succeed – a comparative review of performance and engagement in PISA 2003, Paris: OECD, 2006, p. 5. The report notes that the differences are most pronounced in

This was reinforced by a European Union monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia report in 2004. This report found that there were ongoing disadvantages being experienced by black and migrant groups in European education systems that had detrimental impacts on life chances and social mobility. The report also noted that the picture is not always uniform across all minority groups. For example in the UK a more complex picture around attainment can often be found, with differences between minority ethnic groups. For example in the UK Black Caribbean Boys, Pakistani and White working class boys are consistently found in recent years to be underperforming in comparison to their peers with Indian heritage. However it would also be incorrect to assume that good performance by some minority groups precludes experiences of racism at school whilst attaining this success. (Gilborne, 2000). For example, researchers have pointed to different economic, family education histories, geographical location, and anti Muslim sentiment as causal factors in differences between for education attainment amongst communities with South Asian heritage in the UK. (Abbas, 2002)

A variety of factors, such as class and economic back ground, migration status and family educational histories are significant in influencing educational outcomes for Black and white students. As a result there can be difficulty in isolating the impact of racism from broader social issues, many of which will also be underpinned by racial discrimination. Despite these complexities racial discrimination does have very real negative impacts on education outcomes for Black children and subsequent employment and life chances. (EUMC 2004) These inequalities are underpinned by racism that is found throughout education systems, ranging from overt and direct discrimination against Black students, teacher attitudes, evaluation systems, attainment policies, the contents and politics of curricula and the institutional practices and knowledge of schools. (Gilborne 2000 & 2005, Ladson-Billings 1995, Troyna 1994)

Developing an accurate picture of racism in education systems around Europe is complicated by lack of reporting of statistics by authorities on the volume of Incidents of direct discrimination against black pupils in European schools. (EUMC, 2004) Nevertheless, the 2004 EUMC study into racial discrimination in education does document extensive evidence of direct discrimination experienced by Black students, including racial abuse, xenophobia and far right extremism from fellow pupils and teachers. The report also documents widespread evidence of the exclusion of pupils for issues such as the wearing of religious or cultural dress, such as because of head scarves for Muslim girls, and wholesale exclusion Roma groups from schools in a number of European countries. These findings are also reflected in UK statistics that indicates Black children are disproportionately excluded from the school system. (Gilborne, 2000)

The report Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK (2010) highlighted complex patterns of educational motivation and attainment. Although minority educational groups such as Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi and white working class boys underachieved in education, those from minority ethnic groups with GCSE results around or below the national median are much more likely to go on to higher education than White British pupils with similar results (Box 11.3 in Chapter 11).

Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland and that one in four immigrant children do not demonstrate basic math skills.

However, Black and Pakistani/Bangladeshi students are less likely to go to more prestigious universities or to get higher class degrees. A larger proportion of those of working age from several minority ethnic groups, including those with Chinese, Indian and Black African backgrounds, have higher education qualifications than the White British population.

Many European curricula also serve to forward a white Europe centric view of history that edit out non European contributions to science, politics and culture. (Said) Paul Gilroy is highly critical of teaching of slavery and imperialism in Britain and the continuing lack of critical appraisal of these periods of history in school curricula. (Gilroy, 2008) Overly euro centric or selective curricula have been criticised by some teachers and groups for alienating Black and migrant pupils from national cultures. (Gilborne, 2000) Neither is the opening up of curricula politically neutral, with heavy resistance by those who seek to reject a perceived politicisation of education curricula and defend the status quo. (Hannan 1987) Associated efforts to address these tensions through the teaching of democratic citizenship education have often been implemented as part of broader migrant integration policies and frequently been captured by nationalist political motivations. (FRA, 2010b)

Inherent bias contained in evaluation and teaching methodologies which are dominated by 'white' experiences of education and achievement have also been accused of placing black students at an automatic racial disadvantage. (Ref) For example, research in the United States has highlighted inherent biases in standardised evaluation metrics, such as IQ testing, that are developed on the basis of evidence drawn from white homogeneous groups. In Europe the EUMC report found a range of evidence that Black children were being incorrectly evaluated in European schools systems. Research in the UK also frequently shows that Black children in the UK are negatively ranked in terms of potential and ability and disproportionately placed in the lowest sets in subjects such as maths preventing them from even achieving the basic standard 'C' grade in the school leaving exam, GCSE. (Gilborne, 2000)

The EUMC report found evidence that black and migrant children are over represented in and wrongly assigned to schools that cater for pupils with a disability or severe learning/cognitive difficulties. These findings have also been reinforced out by in-depth studies in the US and UK that have found similar patterns to the extent that such patterns can indicate an equation of being a Black with being disabled in an educational context. (Beratan, 2008)

The EUMC also found that pedagogies that were also found in many European countries that could contribute to further marginalising and undermine Black children's experiences in European schools. The report also found evidence that disproportionate numbers of children from Black backgrounds were frequently directed into vocational subjects and away from academic subjects. Experiences in the United States and Europe have further highlighted how black children have often been pushed towards sport rather than more academic pursuits. (Ref) Other examples of these include the placing of migrant or children with migrant backgrounds into special classes that can have the effect of promoting a separate pedagogy for 'foreigners' fostering division between students from different colour backgrounds. Similarly, the placement of children into lower than age-appropriate grades based on assessments in the host language rather than the child's mother tongue was also found to occur, with similar patterns also found in the United States (EUMC, 2004; Juárez, 2008).

These issues can be further compounded through residential segregation and concentration of black groups in disadvantaged areas and corresponding over-representation of minorities in some schools and school districts. Recent concerns about the need to provide additional language support for children whose home language is not the school language are indicative of negative perceptions of concentrations of minority groups in particular schools. Reporting and analysis is often from a deficit perspective that sees these children as a drain on resources, with little consideration for the ultimate benefits of having dual language skills at a young age if properly handled. (Ref¹⁷) Research in the UK also found that teachers frequently criticised the South Asian students for not mixing with their white peers, not going on school trips, and not participating in extra-curricular activities. The emphasis of this was found to place the responsibility of students to integrate into the dominant culture or be pushed to the margins as a problem. (Crozier & Davies, 2008)^a

Many of the problems regarding curricula and evaluation are also underpinned by institutional inequalities in the administration of schools systems. Poor relationships between schools and black or migrant parents can undermine pupil outcomes. As with many sections of society, the inequalities in education and employment have limited the number of black people training to be teachers whilst levels of progression in the system can also be undermined by racial discrimination. The lack of black teachers and unwitting racial bias amongst white teachers, administrators and policy makers can contribute to the perpetuation of institutionally racist practices within education.

There are also trends around Muslim community and faith identity dynamics that are also creating desire for the establishment of Muslim schools to meet the needs of communities. (Meer, 2009) The social organisation of Muslim youth in schools represents nascent forms of Islamic subcultures and utilises, to varying extents, the politics of resistance to counteract their marginality and subordination as a religious minority in a secular public school system. This article challenges classical resistance theories in education which are predicated on the notion that anti-school behaviours are entrenched within class-based motives. (Zine, 2000) Supplementary schooling system where parents felt that children not get enough to do with own culture

PATTERNS AND CAUSAL FACTORS OF INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION IN THE EU 15 (EUMC, 2004)

Factors relating to minority pupils, their parents and their cultural group

- Language and cultural differences, time of settlement, time or age of school entry, participation in pre-school programmes, socio-economic and social class status and parental education and aspirations.

Factors of institutional discrimination

- Segregation in schools through classes with only minority pupils.
- Over-representation of migrants and ethnic minority pupils in schools that cater for pupils with a disability or severe learning/cognitive difficulties, and wrongful assignment to such special education.

¹⁷ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/health/3739690.stm>
<http://www.naldic.org.uk/ITTSEAL2/teaching/Opportunitiesforbilingualism.cfm>

- Placement in lower than age-appropriate grades, based on assessments in the host language rather than the child's mother tongue.
- Exclusion of individual pupils for cultural reasons or disproportionately high rates of exclusion of some ethnic groups of pupils e.g. Roma across Europe, and African-Caribbean boys in the UK.
- Discrepancies between public and private school admittance; this limits access to equal chances in education and future opportunities.
- Overall enrolment in schools with lower academic demands and overrepresentation in vocationally oriented tracks in school and higher education.
- Lack of, or low quality of, compensatory or support programmes.

Factors related to teachers or peers

- Low teacher expectations have a detrimental impact on some ethnic minority pupils' motivation, and harmful results in assigning pupils wrongly to special education programmes or academic/vocational streams, and lower than age appropriate grade levels, as well as in assessments of general academic performance.
- Harassment, discrimination and prejudice from peers, including some extreme right-wing xenophobic incidences. Particular problems are faced by Roma, Muslims and Black children, but asylum seekers and refugees can also be subject to a high level of racial harassment and bullying.

Other factors

- Residential segregation and concentration in disadvantaged areas, which leads to a corresponding over-representation of minorities in some schools and school districts.
- Racial discrimination in employment in wider society places a 'job ceiling' resulting in fewer available employment opportunities, which may lead to lower expectations and lack of motivation to succeed in education.
- The lack of laws on monitoring or penalties regarding racism and discrimination in the education system results in pupils not being protected from acts of discrimination. As a consequence they can be subject to willful grading, expulsion and assigned to failure without redress.

Education non discrimination agreements

UN convention against discrimination in education – adopted by UNESCO in 1960

ICRED - 1965, including explicit call for action in education to combat prejudice, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship and spread knowledge of the convention

UN convention on rights of the child – 1990 – specific in stressing obligations with regards to the rights of the child to access education free from discrimination of any kind (article 28) The convention also outlines steps that states should take with a view to achieving these rights progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity

Dakar Framework for Action – to ensure sustainable and peaceful development

Anti Racism Education

Although there are a growing number of legislative and regulatory frameworks around race equality in education, in practice implementation of anti racism strategies in schools are less obvious and more controversial. In addition, anti racism is also frequently rolled into or captured by other values based agendas, notably citizenship or intercultural education which have not been immune to nationalist political influences.

Nevertheless there is growing body of knowledge and experience around anti racism strategies in education that have primarily been informed by experiences in the United States and the UK during the 1970s and 80s and subsequently by practice by teachers, schools and researchers. The importance of education to the anti racism project is largely self evident but not always fully understood. Along the lines of the modern models of education, education plays three broad roles in anti racism efforts:

- Knowledge: Education provides individuals, including students, teachers, schools and the schools community with knowledge and understanding of racism, how it works in modern society, its impacts and its ramifications.
- Skills: It provides individuals and institutions to develop the skills to understand and address racism through personal perspectives, teaching practices and capacity to reform organisational practice.
- Values: education and school systems are also the most fundamental and effective tool that individuals and societies have to shape the values of contemporary and future society for equality of opportunity and outcomes for all of its citizens regardless of race.

As with broader anti racism initiatives there is also debate around what constitutes anti racism education (ARE). The most notable point of contention in this regard is the relationship with multi cultural education. Multicultural education is based around addressing the needs of minority Black students as defined by the existing education system. It understands that there are differences in students and that additional support may be required to address the challenges experienced by Black students in broader society. It also holds as a positive the diversity of multicultural society and proposes that learning about different cultures will benefit all students. The recognition of cultural difference of students from different backgrounds entering the schools system is an important step in designing education strategies that meet the needs of black and minority students.

However there are a number of significant critiques that have been levelled at multicultural education. (Gaine, 2000; Troyna, 1987; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Gilborne, 2000) Firstly the understanding and teaching of culture, as with many other culturally based initiatives, can be static and fail to incorporate understanding of different and evolving values in multicultural societies, focusing on more superficial aspects of culture instead. Secondly the professional understanding of how the educational system might best respond to the perceived needs and interests of black students and their parents was dominated by white professional perspectives from within the existing education system. Finally the lack of critical analysis of how race affects the outcomes of students within the existing education system limited scope for reform of practice and improvement of outcomes.

Where ARE differs from multicultural education is that ARE is based on an understanding that racism is structural and institutional rather than just personal and attitudinal. ARE seeks to understand in greater detail the discriminatory effects of race on the schools system and student outcomes. (Troyna, 1987) In order to address these outcomes anti racism education moves beyond the management of diversity often found in multicultural education and toward a reform of education systems. It has a particular emphasis on training of teachers and the reform of school policy and practice as the main drivers of change. Where multicultural education seeks to manage the impacts of diversity through promoting acceptance and tolerance of diversity, anti racism seeks to go on and reform education in order to positively address inequalities that exist in education and society.

The following sections set out some of the areas that are relevant to anti racism education strategies for students of all types, particularly for teachers. Based on the models of education and model of teacher training set out above it sets out some of the key areas of relevance for developing anti racism education in class rooms and schools. Any genuine anti racism effort has to be linked to the needs of local students and the patterns of racial inequality in schools systems. This further emphasises the need to develop capacity of teachers and schools to undertake ARE work themselves:

- Knowledge and content – including developing knowledge and understanding of race and the principles that underpin effective pedagogical approaches for a challenging subject.
- Skills– including the affective change and competences required to be a critical anti racist, and the pedagogical tools that are required for effective ARE teaching.
- Action – practical steps taken to reform school policy and practices and improve outcomes.

The following is not a comprehensive analysis nor is it a manual for ARE however the findings and content is based on review of research and practical literature, interviews with practitioners and observation of anti racism training undertaken with teachers in London in September 2010 as part of this project. It is intended as a guide to the field and food for thought for interested parties. As with all education initiatives it is important that efforts are relevant to local and contemporary contexts and as a result require committed aware and empowered teachers and education managers to undertake ARE action.

Teachers, managers and policy makers

Teachers are the central component of ARE strategies. Through their role as educators teachers hold a privileged position in educating students on complex issues such as racism. Gaine (2000) highlights that without teacher knowledge and understanding of racism real change is unlikely to happen. Without addressing their own racial perspectives and practices teachers can unwittingly transmit racially biased perspectives in the class room and through their educational practices critically undermining anti racism efforts (Rivière, 2008; Webb, 2001) Teachers may wish to simply transmit knowledge, develop key skills or transform society, however all three components perspectives on education can still have a significant and unwitting impact on the perspectives of teachers and the outcomes of students. (Webb, 2001)

In the US Gloria Ladson Billings (1999) has highlighted the challenge facing many trainee teachers in the US education system who enter the profession with pre conceived notions of what the schools system. She caricatured this narrative as ‘public schools way back that told the story of a mythical golden age of education with a schools system populated by white students. The challenge according to Ladson Billings was how teachers should react and respond to having their pre conceived notions of how the education system should be. Two routes were available to a teacher, to retreat and lament the demise of a mythical racial ideal or to actively work to reform teaching practice, schools and education in order to achieve the best outcomes for all their students regardless of race.

Importantly however, greater attention is now being placed on promoting understanding of racism throughout local education community as well as at a national level. Building on the influence of teachers in the class room and their role in shaping school ethos, local education authorities and managers play an important role in providing additional support to developing and maintaining good practice in the face of competing educational priorities. Education managers hold the keys for resources for developmental support for teachers as well as setting curricula priorities and supporting activities as well as evaluating school and teacher effectiveness. As a result whilst not working in class rooms with children, managers and policy makers have a significant role in facilitating and supporting anti racism practice in schools.

Central tenets of multicultural education:

- We live in multicultural society
- The curriculum should reflect that substantive fact
- Learning about cultures will benefit all students
- Cultural relativism is a desirable and tenable position

Central tenets of anti racism education:

- Racial inequality is structured into education
- Need reform of system to change, including policy
- Teachers are an important target for training
- That there is resistance to a political project in students, schools etc
- That ARE requires cognitive and affective change at student and system level

(Gaine, 2000)

Teaching about racism

As racism is a highly complex subject there are a series of complex issues that need to be included into any anti racism curricula. This includes assessing what racism is and its history. A key piece of content is the history of racism, including its links to empire, biological science and post war migration politics and the effects that this has had on

contemporary society. It also needs to address the practical impacts and inequalities that are found in contemporary societies, ranging from education and employment statistics through to analysis of contemporary media and politics in relation to minorities. This also includes the history of anti racism and the various protest movements and struggles, including violent struggles and oppression that is central to the experience of anti racism. As highlighted in the principles of pedagogy and through literature an understanding of identity and racial identity are essential. This includes how identity is formed and understood and how in group and out groups are formed. The 'othering' of people by generalising characteristics, personal reactions, attitudes and concerns based on narrow racial cues. In particular discussion or analysis of what it is to be white or black in European countries is an important issue for exploration. This analysis may include the sort of pressures that may be placed on minority groups and the impacts that this has on self identity. It also needs to address how identities cause groups to identify more closely but also how this identification is not static and fixed but is also fluid and may be driven by racism and discrimination. An contemporary example of this is the role that negative public debate about Muslims is contributing to the strengthening of a shared Muslim identity in European countries (Beliefs, ideologies and narratives). However anti racism education also needs to go beyond diversity and identity and understand how assumptions and generalisations about groups, the other, that inform action are discriminatory. (Araújo, 2006; Barry Troyna). The role that identity can play in conflict and how groups can use dominant positions in society to assert particular views and work to marginalise minority groups. In addition it also needs to highlight how institutional and professional practices can take certain actions due to assumptions made about individuals based on the colour of their skin and other cultural cues. Prominent examples of this include stop and search practices in police forces or working with parents from minority backgrounds in schools. Crucial to this content is encouraging students to relate these examples to their own attitudes or practices.

		Interaction	
		Non racist	
Theme	Non racist	Use of racist name calling by children who hold racially egalitarian beliefs	Non use of racist name calling by children who hold racially egalitarian beliefs
			Non racist
	Racist	Use of racist name calling which expresses racist attitudes	Non use of racist name calling by children who have racist attitudes
			Racist

A model for locating racist name calling amongst children, Troyna, 1987

The features of racial inequality, how advantage and disadvantage is normalised into society, how it is hidden and then maintained through cultural social institutions and

outcomes is also crucial to teaching about anti racism. In the literature this is increasingly being addressed through understanding the nature of white advantage rather than black disadvantage. Whilst understanding of what it is to be black and white in European countries is frequently discussed, often in negative terms, exploration of what it is to be white can often be far more challenging (Ref). The idea of whiteness is frequently 'invisible' in literature, media and politics, whereas minorities and Blacks are frequently clearly labelled and identified.¹⁸ As a result the silent boundaries of whiteness (Ringrose, 2007; Gilborne, 2000; Troyna, 1987; Gill-Moras, 2006) need to be analysed so white students can understand racial identity and how it is formed and works and learn the hidden advantage and discrimination that exist within society. This includes examples of the benefits of being white such as being seen as a 'safe' familiar option in a job interview or being able to pass through airports unnoticed by immigration and security staff.

Racial identity	Racial discrimination	Race and society	Combating racism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How identity is formed • Whiteness and the 'Other' • Conflict and identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representation, power and control • Methods of discrimination • Impacts of inequality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History of racism and anti racism • Contemporary and local issues e.g. Islam and migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights education • Anti racism strategies; • Activism • Institutional reform

Intercultural competence

Intercultural competence is recognized as an important element of the "social and civic competences" identified as one of the eight key competences for education and training as agreed under the Lisbon agenda. The competencies for lifelong learning as recommended by the European parliament and adopted as part of the Lisbon agenda identified these key competencies as:

*"essential in a knowledge society and guarantee more flexibility in the labour force, allowing it to adapt more quickly to constant changes in an increasingly interconnected world. They are also a major factor in innovation, productivity and competitiveness, and they contribute to the motivation and satisfaction of workers and the quality of work."*¹⁹

Intercultural competence describes the personal attributes and skills that people employ when they find themselves in situations of cultural diversity. Cultural diversity describes those practical differences that can be found between different cultures, such as communication styles or social hierarchies. It also refers to diversity of social

¹⁸ Frequently code in politician and media speak – such as phrase 'hard working families' which is used to conjure up images of white working class.

¹⁹ Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council, of 18 December 2006, on key competences for lifelong learning [Official Journal L 394 of 30.12.2006]

identities and the manner in which individuals relate to each other based on characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, age, faith, sexuality, disability and class background. In addition intercultural competence also has important ramifications for developing relationships between diverse professional roles and is an important skill in any working environment.

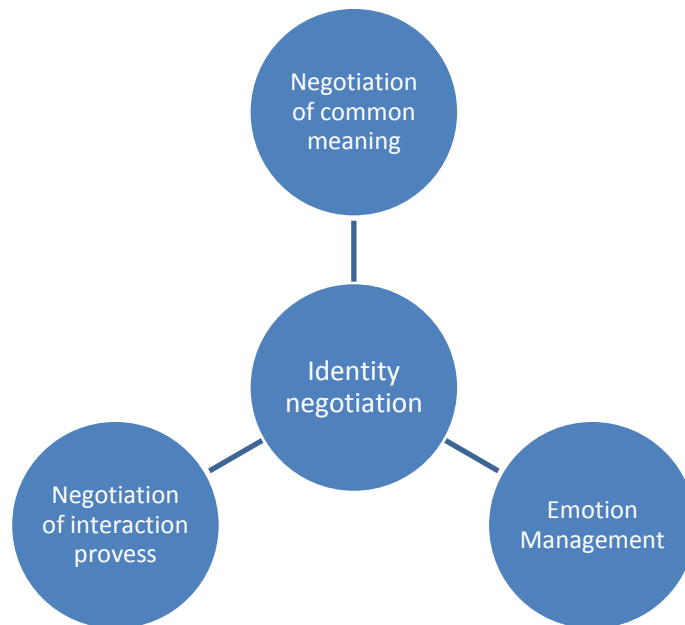
However whilst discussions of culture can often divert from core issues of racism intercultural competence and anti racism share an understanding of the need to develop cognitive and affective skills in order to work effectively in racially diverse societies. Whilst the use of the term culture can be a meaningless vessel it does include important and relevant issues of values, identity, difference and social status. Racism is a fundamental challenge to intercultural relations, however the skills identified in intercultural competence highlight important skills that are required in order to navigate racial difference. A model of intercultural competence developed in a part of the intercultool project set out a model of intercultural interaction and identified four key attributes in effective intercultural relations:

- Negotiation of the interaction process (behavioural level): the capacity to adjust to others and negotiate a common communication procedure in a situation where there are differences in participants' communication styles, cooperation practices and politeness codes.
- Negotiation of common meaning (cognitive level): the capacity to negotiate common meanings and shared knowledge between participants, which implies the capacity to be open in a situation where the usual frame of references are missing, and the capacity to resist the need for closure.
- Emotion Management (affective level): the capacity to cope with/ handle the consequences of negative emotions arising from misunderstandings, conflicts and uncertainty inherent in intercultural encounters. This implies the capacity to avoid action on the impulse of emotion and not the capacity to suppress the expression of emotion.
- Negotiation of identity the capacity of the self to change between different positions of the self and satisfactorily maintain different identity principles such as self esteem, optimal distinction, meaning, continuity, relatedness.

The behavioural, affective and cognitive levels are all processes of dialogue between two parties are influenced by personality traits but are also heavily influenced by prior knowledge of a situation or environment. The model of intercultural competence places identity at the centre of a dialogue model as it is ones identity that mediates the other three interaction processes. The idea of a threat to identity, i.e. losing control of aspects of one's own self identity and having particular aspects prioritised or pushed on you is a prominent feature of intercultural interactions with some researchers suggesting that this threat it is present in all intercultural interactions.

The Intercultool research cited work by Ting-Tooney (2005) that highlighted how intercultural encounters "imply a boundary crossing journey between identity security and insecurity and between exclusion and inclusion. (Várhegyi and Nann 2010) Identity negotiation is a central feature of the boundary crossing, with changes in external perceptions through "a transactional process whereby individuals in an intercultural situation attempt to assert, define, modify, challenge and/ or support

their own and others desired self images” (ting tooney quoted in Várhegyi and Nann 2010). Research has also highlighted that black children in the US and euorpe are under greater pressure in this identity transaction as an ethnic minority. (Phinney, 1992)



Applying the model to anti racism education

When translating this model to anti racism, inequality and power also play a prominent role in mediating the axes of negotiation. Inequalities of power, such as being a racial minority play a significant role in shaping outcomes toward that of the dominant racial group or individual. This is most notable in relation to the issue of identity negotiation and relates to ideas of labelling and the invisibility of whiteness that affords members of dominant groups the ability of self defining their identity with little or no reference to their racial group. Anti racism learning is frequently related to the need to be able to understand the self in relation to the other through affective and cognitive dimensions. (Leibowitz et all 2010, Ladson Billings 1999).

To be able to navigate around multi racial environments from an anti racist standpoint it is important that individuals and groups understand how racial identity affects influences the power relations in negotiation of communication and meaning as well as peoples emotional responses to you. It is about the advantages that you may accrue or the negative reactions that an individual may experience on the basis of a racial identity and the threats that one may feel when your identity is confined to a narrow racial one. It is also about understanding how perceptions of your racial identity and the associated power can also change in different cultural settings. The ability to maintain awareness of and manage perceived negative threats to your ability to define your identity.

When considering communication in the context of anti racism this requires the ability to reflect on the use of language and communication styles for racial bias and discrimination. The issue of language is an important area to address as it is frequently an area of concern for students. However to address language in relation to anti racism is not just about what is right and wrong but understanding how it works, its

impact, meanings and how a user may have internalised it. (Gill & Moras, 2006). This includes how language may be used to frame thought and action by convey assumptions and meaning about groups and individuals. Awareness and understanding of how this operates in interactions where racial differences are present are an essential skill for anti racism and intercultural competence. Understanding racism and anti racism also requires the ability to reconsider the norms and assumptions of society and consider alternative perspectives based on race. A key feature of anti racism education is the airing of alternative histories and stories that challenge the dominant narratives of society and assumptions of equality and meritocracy. Resistance to anti racism is often linked to rejection or marginalisation of those views and perspectives that threaten personal but also social and cultural identities of meritocracy. Ladson Billings identifies these alternative stories as an essential piece of content for anti racism education and an important component in challenging the perspectives of students and material in which analyses of racism can be developed. Alternate stories may be through statistics, research, history or personal accounts and present a challenge to 'received' wisdom that maintains inequality and discrimination in society. Alternative stories need to unveil the mask of ignorance and provide content for a path to enlightenment. Finally, as frequently highlighted racism is a highly charged and emotional subject. The experience of having identity fixed by others, the challenge of negotiating shared meaning and communication can all lead to feelings of threat. The management of emotions, based on knowledge and understanding of the other three variables is essential to avoid identity threat and closure of desire for negotiation. This can produce resistance, in terms of frustration and damaging of confidence or withdrawal and disengagement situations affected by racial difference. Understanding the impacts that race may have in mediating perceptions of you and your ability to engage with others is essential to managing emotions effectively and avoiding damaging withdrawal. In particular conflict resolution skills and competencies are also highly important to managing emotional reactions to racial situations as does empowering ones self to work to challenge discrimination.

Competency	Anti racism attributes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emotion Management (affective level) 	Understanding and managing negative reactions on the basis of racial identity, including the ability to resolve conflict.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Negotiation of the interaction process (behavioural level) 	Being able to assess and adapt ones own communication style to remove racial bias. to understand how the racism affects relationships and communication and the power of language in shaping race and anti racism.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Negotiation of common meaning (cognitive level) 	Ability to develop and maintain a critical understanding of how racism affects society and how society may seem different from different racial perspectives.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiation of identity 	<p>Understanding your racial self identity, how you perceive others and others perceive you on the basis of your racial identity, and the advantages and disadvantages that may come from this.</p>
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Human Rights Education

HRE is an international movement to promote awareness about the rights accorded by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, related human rights conventions, and the procedures that exist for the redress of violations of these rights. Since its inception, the United Nations and its specialised agencies have formally recognised the right of citizens to be informed about the rights and freedoms contained in the documents ratified by their countries, including the right to human rights education itself.²⁰ The preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "every individual and every organ of society... shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms". Policy documents developed by United Nations agencies since then have sought to promote human rights education as a human right for all sectors of society as well as part of the process of "lifelong learning" for individuals.²¹

In practice Human Rights Education is the process by which human rights are taken out of the court room and into everyday lives in order that people are able to effectively exercise their rights. However, given the breadth of the scope of human rights there are a wide range of approaches to what HRE should mean. Felisa Tibbitts (2002) distinguishes between three models of HRE and suggests based on their learner goals and their strategic roles in fostering the human rights movement:

- The "accountability model" (Knowledge), which is concerned with training professionals and HR activists in monitoring, lobbying, and the application of legal norms and practices. This HRE model is practical and applied;
- The "values and awareness model" (Values) focuses on transmitting knowledge about human rights and to foster its integration into public values. Awareness campaigns and most school curricula fall within this category;
- The "transformational model" (Skills) facilitates the evolution of individuals (in particular those that have had their human rights violated) into activists. This HRE pedagogy involves self-reflection and healing and is creatively carried out in an environment that provides many enriching supports and opportunities to choose personal or social change.

There is an increasing volume of work looking at the principles of good practice in human rights education. As with anti racism education, good human rights education methodology is based on the classic triangle of modern education - Knowledge, Values

²⁰ UNESCO 2005

²¹ United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (1997) The human rights referred to cover a broad range, including those contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as related treaties and covenants such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, among others.

and Skills. As with anti racism education effective human rights education moves beyond simple awareness of responsibilities to enable students to critically interrogate their own attitudes and practices in their personal lives, as well their relationship with duty bearing organisations as empowered rights holders and citizens.

Research in the field of HRE has identified a number of principles of good practice in relation to the content and approaches to the teaching of HRE. A model developed by Osler and Starkey sets out a rights based approach to the content and practices necessary for the effective teaching of rights that includes details of human rights regimes and relevant national laws, knowledge of principles as well as strong anti discrimination component.

Table 2; Human Rights Based Approach to Education (Grimheden, in FRA 2010b)

	Planning / Registration	Curriculum / Syllabus	Examination / Thesis	Learning Process	Post Grad
Universality and inalienability	Goals / 'Learning Outcomes' aimed at capturing I-III	Strong / clear on fundamentals of IHRL	CP, ESC, & collective rights	Topics addressing such issues	n/a
Indivisibility					n/a
Inter-dependence and Inter-relatedness			Cross-cutting themes		n/a
Equality and Non-discrimination	Objective criteria	admission	Emphasis on a diverse range of non-discrimination issues		Career opportunities
Participation and Inclusion	Senior students participate	Involving senior students in redrafting and fine tuning	Peer scrutiny	Interactivity; Flexible methods	Alumni
Accountability and Rule of Law (including transparency)	Transparent application procedure	Clear on how courses relate to each other and to overall purpose of program; teachers and administrators accountable towards this	Supervisor peer scrutiny; clear criteria; complaints mechanisms	Goal oriented ('Learning Outcomes'); facilitator peer scrutiny (auscultation)	Career opportunities

A framework model of required content for human rights education (Osler and Starkey, 1999):

- Information about substantive human rights and legal sources, including
- accountability and rule of law;
- Universality and inalienability of human rights;
- Interdependence and interrelatedness of rights;
- Indivisibility of rights;
- Ways and means of promoting human rights;
- Equal opportunities dimension emphasising equality and non-discrimination including the specific needs of groups:
 - Women
 - Ethnic minorities
 - LGBT
 - Disability
 - Minority faiths
 - Age.
- Mechanisms for rights holders to claim rights;
- Opportunities to explore and reflect upon various identities and cultural attributes;
- Key skills for social and economic inclusion;
- Development of independent reasoning and critical awareness of rights – including critical discourses around rights;
- Cooperative practice and group or team work;
- Experiential learning;
- Participation and inclusion in decision making, including community and NGO participation in the management and design of the project;
- Development of effective communication skills including those required for transnational and intercultural communication;
- Negotiation and participation skills.

Mainstreaming of human rights education in existing curricula and training programmes is also acknowledged as an important issue for human rights education practice. Mainstreaming human rights education throughout education and training also provides a practical and critical link between human rights and broader education and lifelong learning skills, including anti racism education. It also avoids parcelling human rights away as a separate aspect of educational development or professional practice without a link to contemporary or historical issues or practices.

Teaching about racism - principles of pedagogy

Anti racism education is a politically motivated exercise that believes equality of access to education is the most important tool for shaping a racially just society. (Wagner, 2005; Gaine, 2000; Troyna, 1987; Ladson Billings, 1999; Gilborne, 2000) The purpose of anti racism however is not shaming or guilt by silencing white students with stories of black oppression. Rather it is to enable students to become activists for change and to challenge them to find a space for themselves to break down the barriers of the racial status quo in their personal, professional and social lives. As emphasised by Wagner it is through a positive approach that students “may define a role for themselves that is empowering rather than wallowing in ineffectual guilt” (Wagner, 2005)

Resistance to anti racism can be encountered in the class room through the challenge that anti racism education can present to a student’s identity and world view. Resistance can come in the form of frustration at personal experiences of discrimination from other dimensions, such as gender and economic class, and a desire for these to be recognised. (Ringross, 2007) It may also be expressed by downplaying, deflecting or denial by narrowly defining racism (Raby, 2004; Lund, 2006) ARE can also represent a challenge to traditional attitudes toward education that emphasise ‘objective’ and ‘apolitical’ knowledge transfer (Wagner, 2005). ARE may even be viewed with suspicion as form of control and monitoring of white groups attitudes and identity. (Anoop Nayak, 1999) Resistance to ARE can also be found student deflection strategies that seek to focus on ways to avoid being labelled a ‘racist’, rather than addressing the more fundamental dimensions of race. (Gill & Moras, 2006)

It is important that anti racism education positively engages with resistance in a manner that enables individuals to reflect on racism in society. (Ladson Billings, 1999) Although a political project anti racism education should not be a doctrinal but rather should provide students with the cognitive and affective tools to understand and engage with issues of race in society. (Gaine, 2000) It should engage with contemporary issues and encourage reflection rather than setting out fixed dualistic positions of black and white. This approach recognise that racism is a complex social phenomena that is encountered from many different perspectives and individuals need to be encouraged to engage with how racial institutions are maintained at the personal, cultural institutional and structural levels and the role that one can play in challenging this.

An essential component of critical engagement with racism is self reflection on the privileges and disadvantages that a student receives from membership of a particular racial group, the role one may play in maintaining inequality and what one wishes to do about it. (Ladson Billings, 1999) It is also particularly important for teachers to acknowledge that they approach a subject from a particular racial stand point and that this should be acknowledged openly and actively used within a classroom in a positive

way. It can also impact on how different members of the class receive the input of a teacher, including looking for support or 'allegiance' depending on the racial groups present within the class. For example Housee's research (2008) shows how Black lecturers are sometimes judged for their 'loyalties and sensibilities' with the black community, while white lecturers are questioned for their understanding and sympathies with 'race'/racism issues. Maryann Dickar (2008) also identified pressures on teachers who can find themselves in the 'cross fire' and their ability to deliver anti racism messages effectively without evasion questioned from both black and white standpoints.

Racism is an uncomfortable subject, no more so than for those who are discriminated and systematically disadvantaged by it. As highlighted by Jacobs (2006) "there is an inherent difficulty of teaching subjects in which discrimination and violence feature large; wider political conflicts and 'identity politics' are played out within the micro-settings of seminars; and the emotions mobilised in the process of teaching." Discomfort and challenge in anti racism education are not only likely but an essential aspect of promoting reflection on the self and society. Anti racism education needs to challenge people to think about their own racial identity and to challenge themselves to understand how they themselves accrue advantage and are ultimately complicit in maintaining racial inequality. Frustration, disempowerment, sadness and guilt are all reactions that are common and essential to encouraging genuine and long lasting racial self reflection. This discomfort should be handled carefully but ultimately understood as a central component of understanding racism (de Freitas & McAuley 2008).

Anti racism education and teaching about anti racism requires reform of way teaching as much as content of teaching. (Gaine, 2000; Ladson Billings, 1999) Teachers need to recognise their own racial identity and recognise that they do not hold a monopoly of expertise. Likewise students will all carry personal perspectives, some valuable and some challenging which are important in order to encourage reflection within a class. The class room should be a safe space were all participants feel comfortable and able to learn and open up. In light of this a democratic approach to a class room is an essential principle in order to effectively manage resistance and conflict and to provide a safe space to foster critical self reflection. It also need to recognise that anti racism education is still influenced by racial norms with different feelings and responses from different students based on their colour and experience of race and that equality is a central feature of outcome and process. Most importantly of all, the principles of equality and democracy are the overall aim and have to form the foundation of the learning experience.

Teaching about racism – some principles of pedagogy

- Critically engaged – anti racism education should enable students to critically reflect on race and racism in their own contemporary societies.
- Self reflective – anti racism education should encourage students to reflect on their own racial identity and assumptions and the advantages and disadvantages that they receive from this.
- Discomfort – anti racism education should challenge students to assess how they have internalised racial logics and the role that they play in maintaining institutions of race.
- Equality – anti racism education is a political project focused on promoting racial equality and justice and the teaching of anti racism should reflect these principles.
- Empowering – ARE is about empowering people to change themselves and the world around them based on a knowledge of how racism affects society.

Pedagogical tools and techniques

Throughout the literature on teaching about anti racism the key feature of the pedagogical techniques is that they promote engaged learning as part of a group. Group work and facilitated class room exercises are all highly prominent throughout the literature. There are many exercises that do not set out a 'doctrine' of what racism is but develop a map of what racism and a racist society looks like. This map can be developed through the contribution of all the members of the class via small group work and then as a whole class mediated by the teacher. Student led approaches to developing a framework of what racism is can produce highly detailed and complex pictures of the various institutions of practices formed by racism. In addition such approaches allow a group to develop a picture of racism that they themselves own and are able to explore, as opposed to a static pre determined framework.

Where the challenge then lies is in encouraging individual student members to reflect on how they may hold these beliefs personally. Methods of encouraging self reflection frequently focus on promoting understanding of identity through boundaries activities through role play or encouraging students to emphasise with other racial view points and experiences within exercises. The idea of immersion is also used frequently whereby individuals or groups are taken out of their racial and cultural 'comfort' zone and into a minority racial situation. Encouraging students to share or reflect on instances where they may have found themselves as part of a racial minority and any negative or positive experiences, for example when travelling outside of Europe, or through more structured scenarios constructed through role play are also used. Other examples, in longer term lessons may include journaling allowing a body of experience to be built up by individuals and the class for reflection. (Milner, 2003)

Stories are an essential aspect of anti racism, with historical stories and testimony is important as is the testimony of those living in contemporary society and affected by

prominent racial issues. (Bell, 2003) The use of class based testimony is also important in order to continue to encourage ownership of the issue in a way that connects issues of racism with real lives. (Ladson Billings, 1999) Here the importance of allowing black minority members of the class the space and confidence to speak with their testimony a respected part of the programme without exposing them to potential negative reactions. (Devine et al 2008) This is a challenge in many classes where minorities may be reluctant to speak out difficult experiences in a white setting and careful steps should be made to ensure all are comfortable and encouraged to contribute experiences if possible.

Other examples also include presentations such as the 'Doll Test' that was recently conducted in Denmark by the Institute for Human Rights.²² This test is based on a US experiment developed by US scientists Kenneth Bancroft Clark and Mamie Phipps Clark designed a test to study the psychological effects of segregation on black children and their self image. The test observes the individual choices made by a group of black and white children between one black and one white doll that are that are otherwise identical. Commonly reported feelings among students who observe this test includes frustration, sadness, impotence and concern. The video also frequently generates extensive debate about why the children make their choices, ranging from the methodology of the experiment but also the pressures and contradictions that Black minority children are subjected to in racial society, including in the test itself.

The management of resistance and conflict is an important technique to avoid closure and ensuring that lessons are heard and internalised by students (Jacobs, 2006; Nagda et al, 2003). In particular conflict can lead to closure of student positions, with entrenchment of views and a failure to engage with alternative perspectives (Wagner, 2005). This may involve teachers playing a mediating role between testimony and the reactions and perspectives of students in order to help facilitate understanding and questioning. Conflict resolution exercises are also an important piece of content that provides greater knowledge of how values may differ, how people may react to conflict, how conflict escalates up a conflict ladder and how people can be aware of these processes and take steps to address conflict effectively. Knowledge and understanding of conflict is a key component of learning for management of emotions and racially diverse situations and anti racism action.

Knowledge and understanding of conflict resolution is an important component in ensuring that a class room is free from conflict that should also be supported through other practical steps. This may include setting out shared rules for the class room, such as respect as well as privacy in order to promote a learning environment that all participants can feel comfortable in. This is an important step in ensuring that all feel comfortable contributing, be it in whole class settings or in small groups. Frequently the role of humour is noted by practitioners and researchers as a useful component in, based on observations humour serves two of useful functions including relaxation – placing the class at ease and creating a comfortable shared space through collective enjoyment and surrealism – exposing contradictions in society and attitudes, including when mediating tension and conflict.

However, particularly in the case of mediation, humour should also be handled with care. It can distract from important issues and experiences likewise it can also distract

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or provide an escape route away from addressing uncomfortable scenarios or feelings. In conflict situations it may be interpreted as belittling opinions or perspectives. In addition, humour, especially in intercultural situations can be notoriously difficult. In particular a lack of shared cultural reference points or language barriers can lead to people feeling uncomfortable or excluded outside of the shared enjoyment of humour. In addition, humour can also be used by dominant groups as a subtle vehicle for powerful groups to claim ownership of the representation minority groups.

Finally, where possible as with all good teaching principles, education and learning should not stop at the class room door. The aims and objectives of ARE is to enable people to develop a continual understanding the racial environment around them. However many of the lessons of anti racism education may not be internalised during the session but discovered and explored in the days, weeks or months after an effective class. Some suggest that long term learning is required to promote and support the development of critical capacities for anti-racism practice. (Sonn, 2008) Where this is not possible, collective support groups allow students the opportunity to keep on sharing reflections and thoughts with others in the class as well as the teacher. This advice and guidance and feeling of support also serves to support individuals with ongoing confidence to take their learning forward and put it into action.

Principle	Example of tool
Challenging identity and assumptions	Immersion in different racial contexts Boundary activities encouraging understanding and experience of different view points Promoting discomfort
Encouraging reflection critical	Contemporary and historical stories Migrant stories History of protest
Empowering and promoting participation	Encourage the sharing of experiences and ideas Facilitate all members to participate, particularly those who are otherwise marginal Human rights based approach to education
Managing resistance, conflict	Conflict resolution Mediation

	Humour Clear boundaries and rules of the class room
Self reflection	Self appraisal Mutual support group

Implementing Anti Racism Education – reform of practice

The previous sections have focused on educating students about racism, the knowledge and skills that are involved in establishing an anti racist standpoint and developing and commitment to action in the personal and professional sphere. This section now looks at some of the practical steps that schools and education authorities need to consider when developing effective ARE strategies and practices. The development of anti racism strategies should work toward ensuring that education authorities and schools are working to end race discrimination and providing an education that equips all of their students with the knowledge and skills needed to live in racially diverse societies without racial prejudice. It also means proactively working to ensure that all students and staff are able to reach their potential regardless of their ethnicity, culture, mother tongue or citizenship status.

As with other anti racism initiatives anti racism education has frequently encountered significant resistance. This has been seen in the UK where local anti racism education strategies were developed during the 1980s and 1990s and subsequently dismantled by central government reforms. (Troyna, 1992) More recently in the UK recommendations relating to the reform of education in order to address race equality concerns set out in the McPherson report have also failed to be implemented by the government who have emphasised values based citizenship teaching instead. (Gilborne, 2007) A similar scenario has also been found in many European states and the European commission where principles of equality have not translated into practical action and change in education (ENAR). Reluctance is particularly common in white areas where “The fewer the targets of educational reform the more abstract it becomes” (Gaine 2000) and the agenda is consequently felt to be less relevant or a lower priority in comparison to other areas of the curricula by school staff, leadership or community.

In order to an anti racist approach to education there are two main steps, the development of an anti racism policy and the implementation of this policy through school activities. The following guidance is adapted from guidance produced by the Commission for Race Equality (now Equality and Human Rights Commission) in the UK. This guidance is based on the statutory general duty to promote race equality and specific duty given to schools to prepare and maintain a written statement of the institution’s race equality policy. However no two schools are alike so whilst there are themes and steps of good practice detailed design and implementation has to be linked to the needs and context of the school, its staff and pupils.

For example in many schools in parts of Europe a key issue is how best to work with students of new migrant families particularly when children do not speak the national

language. However some studies have shown that with a relatively small amount of additional language support young children can pick up the national language quickly and that the learning of two languages at a young age gives a child life long cognitive benefits (Ref). Other experience has also shown that it is important that when evaluating a child at early stages that they are not assessed on the basis of limited language but their all round aptitude. The growing diversity in class rooms and schools is often seen as a challenge or threat, both in terms of handing the learning experience with children as well as involving parents. Increasingly experience highlights that viewing the diversity of a class room in positive terms, for example when learning about geography or history, gives valuable new perspectives that would otherwise not be available to a teacher. This may include highlighting examples of Black individuals or groups who have played important roles in shaping historical events that are otherwise underplayed in traditional European text books and narratives of history. It also enables teachers to ensure that lessons connect with the lives and experiences of their students. Other experience also shows that when engaging with new migrant parents for example, family learning approaches can be effective ways to introduce parents, guardians and carers to the school system and also support involvement in pupil learning at an early stage.

Research in the US has highlighted a trend also seen in the UK that whilst migrant students are obvious targets for support it is minority students born in white societies that can frequently experience the bigger challenges in education and it is important that schools remain alert to the evolving profile and needs of their students (Rodreguez, 2002). This requires ongoing monitoring and assessment for any patterns of achievement, exclusion and recruitment, practices evaluated address these patterns. The practices, rationale and motivations of practices should be reviewed and reflected upon regularly to ensure racial equality in education outcomes. It is also about assessing what other local organisations and community groups may be relevant to the work of the school and the needs of families and pupils and developing necessary links and partnerships. This includes developing the social capital of the school throughout the local community, examples of potential partnerships to develop include:

- Sports clubs
- Cultural centres
- Religious organisations
- Community groups
- Youth groups
- Other support and advice services

ARE reforms include diversifying the profile staff who are recruited and promoted to leadership positions and how they are supported and retained within a healthy anti racist school environment. It includes equipping staff and schools with the necessary skills and knowledge to understand how racism affects education and what steps they can to take to addresses it. Many of the principles outlined above are good educational practice more generally; however it is important that attention is focused on racial aspects of school activities to ensure that all pupils and staff are supported to reach their potential.

Framework for developing a race equality policy:²³

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Background 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information relating to the background of the policy such as the population of the area, ethnic background of pupils and staff and a brief account of race relations and incidents in school or area.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aims and values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A statement relating to the aim to eliminate unlawful discrimination and to promote equal opportunities and good race relations in all areas of school life.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership and management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Set out commitment and responsibilities of governors, head teacher, staff, pupils and visitors to tack race discrimination, promote equality and enable all pupils and staff to reach their potential.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning and developing school policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How questions relating to implications for race equality will be built into the process for developing policy • How race equality targets will be built into strategic aims and objectives • How the effects of the race equality policy will be assessed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic monitoring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How you plan to collect ethnic data to monitor pupil attainment, progress as well as exclusions sanctions and rewards to set targets and inform planning and decision making
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assessing and reviewing policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How and when you will monitor, assess and review your policies and strategies that are relevant to race equality and • How race equality will be built into review and evaluation framework
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Putting race equality into practice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training and development needs and provision • Publishing and promoting the policy so all interested parties understand their rights and duties, who gets a copy, where it

²³ School Race Equality Policy: Commission for Racial Equality

http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/uploaded_files/PSD/52_framework_schools.pdf

	is available, if the policy will be made in special formats or translations.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Breeches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make it clear what action you will take if pupils, staff or others do not follow the policy • Date when the policy was approved and signed.

Framework for building race equality into all areas of school life:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attainment, progress and assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic monitoring to identify any trends, ensuring equally high expectations of all students and recognising and valuing different types of attainment.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies on behaviour discipline and exclusion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring procedures and implementation of rewards and sanctions are fair for all students regardless of colour, including monitoring of exclusions to identify patterns.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies on admission and attendance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring of profile of admissions and how this compares with the schools catchment area.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies on the curriculum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taking steps to ensure that the curriculum promotes race equality and recognises and values diversity throughout subjects. • Monitoring and ensuring the curriculum help all pupils to reach their potential. • Providing pupils to explore questions of identity race equality and racism and opportunities for pupils to experience other cultures. • Ensuring extra curricula activities and events cater for the interests and abilities of all pupils, and take account of parents' guardian' concerns about religion and culture.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal development and pastoral care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making sure pastoral support takes account of religious and ethnic differences and the needs of particular groups, e.g. refugees, asylum seekers, Roma. • Encouraging all pupils to consider the full range of options post 16, including monitoring of work experience to ensure that there is no stereotyping • Providing support for victims of racism and racial

	harassment through the school or with help from outside agencies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teaching and learning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do staff create a learning environment that pupils can contribute equally and feel valued. Taking account of different learning needs, including cultural backgrounds and language needs. Ensuring different cultural traditions are valued, made meaningful to pupils and helping pupils to make connections to their own lives How do teachers challenge stereotypes and give pupils the understanding they need to recognise prejudice and reject racial discrimination.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Working with parents, guardians and with communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Taking proactive steps to encourage parents and guardians get involved in the school, including translation of information where necessary and making sure premises are fully accessible and can be used by the whole community.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Policies on racial harassment, bullying and school values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Publicly promoting good personal and community relations, recording and investigating racial incidents, providing staff with training to deal with racist incidents, ensuring everyone including parents know the procedures for dealing with racist incidents and harassment, working with local authorities to tackle racism in the school and local area.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Policies on staff recruitment and professional development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Advertising posts, including for non teaching staff, to the widest pool of applicants, including monitoring applications for employment, training, promotion and staff in post. Making sure recruitment and selection is based on good equal opportunities practice with relevant training and development for staff involved to avoid intentional and unintentional discrimination.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Policies on procurement and outsourcing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Including race equality in contractual arrangements.

SPORT AND ANTI RACISM

Racism in sport

"...he [Desailly] is what is known in some schools as a lazy thick nigger" Ron Atkinson, English former football manager and television pundit, 21 April 2004

"The Spanish Football Federation was fined 100,000 Swiss francs (\$87,340) by FIFA on Tuesday for the racist chanting of its fans at the friendly against England in Madrid last month." Tuesday, December 21, 2004

<http://edition.cnn.com/2004/SPORT/football/12/21/spain.fifa/index.html>

Sport continues to be one of the most high profile arenas where overt racist abuse, exclusion and stereotyping occur today. In practice the racism and abuse that is found in sports and football reflect that of broader society, however sports and sporting arenas do provide a particular backdrop for the development, airing, exercising and refinement of racial stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination.

The well documented experience of the early black and current professional footballers provides insight into the racist abuse and intimidation experienced by Black people in Western Europe. Racist abuse in sport is still found right across sporting events and activities in Europe ranging from marginalisation of minority communities from grass roots sports clubs through to racist taunts directed at F1 World Champion driver Lewis Hamilton in Spain in 2008. The ongoing racist abuse found in many stadiums, also highlights the ongoing contradictions of racist abuse found in much of society, whereby home team Black players are supported and opposition Black players attacked through racial epithets (Kassimeris, 2009).

As with education, sport has frequently played a prominent role in promoting national identities and embodying different 'national' or racial characteristics. The Trinidadian historian CLR James has explored how sports such as cricket were inherently linked to the power, politics and culture of the British Empire. (Hartmann, 2003) Paul Gilroy also frequently refers to the football chant 'two world wars and one world cup' as an example of the relationship between sport and post colonial British and English identity. Carrington and McDonald when looking at the relationship between race, sport and British society go so far as to argue that "no account of the changing nature of national and racial identities in Britain today can do so without acknowledging the central importance of sport" (Carrington and McDonald, 2001)

Sporting events have been used by politicians and groups to promote political agendas and politics. The run up to the Yugoslav civil war was marked by violent clashes between the 'Ultra' supporters of Croatian Dinamo Zagreb and the Serbian Red Star Belgrade. Far right groups have frequently used gatherings in stadiums as opportunities to promote racist political agendas, as often seen in Italian football grounds such as the Stadio Olimpico in Rome where Lazio's fans paid homage to the Serbian war criminal Arkan as well as Mussolini in 2000.

There are many examples of players and athletes abusing and discriminating against black competitors and team mates. There are the prominent examples of racist abuse between players, such as the case of Sinisa Mihialovich, also of Lazio, being forced to publicly apologise in a stadium for calling Patrick Viera a 'nigger' during a match in 2000. (Ref) However there are also less obvious pressures experienced by Black

minority players and athletes that have restricted progress within white dominated sports. Many black players in England in the 70s and 80s had to overcome a variety of negative stereo types about their fighting spirit or team ethic. (Back et al 2001). The report also found that many Black footballers continue to be under pressure to fit in and not rock the boat and as a result have frequently had to endure racially based 'dressing room banter' without being in a position to challenge it. A footnote to the Ron Atkinson quote is that whilst manager of West Bromwich Albion, Atkinson worked with a prominent group of successful Black professional footballers Cyril Regis, Laurie Cunningham and Brendon Batson, who Atkinson signed from his previous club in 1978, referring to them as the 'Three Degrees' after the popular US female singing group.

The causal racial prejudice of Ron Atkinson gives a brief example of the historical and contemporary attitudes of himself and others in football and society toward black players. It also points to the relationship between intelligence, physicality and race, linked to slavery and ideologies of European intellectual superiority that have become intertwined with sport during the 20th century. Hylton (2009) found that the achievements of black sports people were frequently linked to their physical characteristics in comparison to their white counter parts who relied on technique or work ethic for their success. One of the examples that Hylton draws on is that of the Williams sisters in tennis, who are often discussed by the media in terms of sheer power and less emphasis on the level of skill required to hit a tennis ball with such power and accuracy.²⁴

Hylton also highlights the media reporting of the Black versus White question over the previous 20 years of 100 meters sprinting and its continued framing by empirically flawed reliance on binary racial categories of black and white. This was further highlighted in 2010 by the headlines generated by the white French sprinter who was reported as being the first to run the 100 meters in under 10 seconds.²⁵ Some analyses have attempted to look into more yet more detail at the genetic factors that differentiate the success of athletes, usually focusing on Black runners from the rift valley of east Africa or the success of sprinters with West African heritage.

The history and sociology of different sports such as socio economic context, heritage and the legacy of individual athletes play a significant role in promoting success and furthering investment and excellence in sporting disciplines. Certain sports have also come to play roles in community and individual development in the face of economic marginalisation and prejudice. Boxing in the United States is one example of this process where the sport has been dominated by new migrant communities on the 'bottom rung' during its history, across Jewish, Irish, Black and Hispanic sports men. Hylton also highlights in his research the pressure and responsibility that is placed on many Black athletes by the media to represent virtuous models of integration or risk being ostracised as a non native 'outsider'.

Research by Jas Bains titled 'Asians Cant Play football' in 1995 highlighted how stereo types held by coaches and scouts about Asian players have limited opportunities with football clubs. These stereo types included beliefs that Asian communities were primarily interested in cricket and not committed to football, were not physically strong enough or had the wrong diet to succeed. These assumptions served to mask

²⁴ Notably in relation to tennis, these criticisms were also experienced by Martina Navratilova who as the first openly gay female tennis player was met with accusations of being too masculine.

²⁵ 2 white runners previously go under 10 (independent)

high levels of interest and participation in football at grass roots levels. These stereotypes are now being challenged, with growing numbers of Asians attending football matches and some players coming through into the professional ranks. However the follow up report to the original study 'Asians Can Play Football' estimated that by 2004 Asian players still only made up 0.8% of Academies at Premier League clubs. (Asians in football Forum 2005)

Stereotyping has been encouragement of Black youth into certain sports and the reinforcement of racial identities through sport. Various factors such as access to facilities, presence of role models play an important role alongside the advice and influence of coaches. However researchers have also found that sport plays an important role in self-defining race and gender groups, with including TV/modeling, expectations, parental influence and effort all significant indicators. Other researchers from Leeds Metropolitan University spoke to spectators at several league basketball games. They found that while 82.3% of spectators thought basketball was a 'natural' sport for African-Caribbeans compared to only 65.1 for Asians.²⁶ Similar assumptions around race and athletic ability have also contributed to diverting Black students away from more academic pursuits through assumptions by teachers and coaches about their academic and sporting ability. (Christopher Michael, 1999)

These experiences can also be seen in the United States where 'Stacking' of players from black backgrounds in certain positions in American football and baseball, based on assumptions about speed and intelligence has long been observed. (Carrinton and McDonald, 2001) Similar patterns of discrimination around race are also found in coaching and team management positions. Research in Major League Baseball in the US has identified a striking disparity between the number of Black 1st base coaches who made up 67% of the league, compared to only 23% of 3rd base coaches, a position with more prestige and often seen as a stepping stone to management positions.²⁷ In the UK, the number of Black football managers lags far behind representation amongst players with 1 Black manager out of the 92 professional mens clubs at the start of the 2010 season with Hope Powell, manager of England Women's the most prominent black manager in the country.

Experiences of abuse, marginalisation and restrictions on participation in clubs and administration has been cited as contributing factors in encouraging minority communities to form sports clubs that can serve the needs of the minority communities. Johal (2001) sets out in detail the motivations and pattern of the establishment of sport and football clubs by the South Asian community in the UK, in part in response to their exclusion from within existing sport and football clubs and a desire to set up community sports organisations. This exclusion continues throughout the administration of many sports clubs, with many football clubs, from grass roots to the professional game almost exclusively run by white men, with very little representation of minorities. (Long, 2008) This situation was confirmed by research conducted on behalf of the Commission for Racial Equality in the UK that found:

"striking disparity between the relatively high number of black footballers and the under-representation of ethnic minorities in boardrooms and governance arrangements of football clubs and national football organisations."
(Commission for Racial Equality, 2004)

²⁶ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/uk/2002/race/participation_in_sport.stm

²⁷ http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/12/sports/baseball/12baseball.html?_r=1

Anti racism and football

“The role of sport in promoting social integration, in particular of young people, is widely recognised. Sport... is a recognised social phenomenon. Sport offers a common language and a platform for social democracy. [Sport] creates conditions for political democracy and is instrumental to the development of democratic citizenship. Sport enhances the understanding and appreciation of cultural differences and it contributes to the fight against prejudices. Finally, sport plays its part to limit social exclusion of immigrant and minority groups” (European Commission, 2004)

Racism in sport is reflective of other parts of society, however the particular role that sport can play in developing stereotypes, polarised identities and legitimating discrimination and abuse means it is an important target for anti racism activity. This section will focus on those initiatives directly focused on tackling racism in sport. The following section will then look at the role that sport plays in addressing racism via social policy activities. This section looks at sport more generally but focuses on the initiatives and practices of football which as the largest and most global sport has also seen some of the highest profile incidents of racism and anti racism activity.

The importance of tackling racism in sport is slowly coming to the attention of authorities, with the European white paper on sport adopted in July 2007 specifically noting the need to address racism in sport. Likewise at the UN level there is frequent focus on sport for anti racism agendas. In addition sport governing bodies have also moved to implement specific race equality principles within sports. FIFA the world football governing body has recently introduced regulations designed to combat racism in football stadiums. UEFA also reinforced disciplinary regulations against racism in December 2000.

In practice the anti racism agenda within sports such as football have been driven by activist civil society organisations who, as part of the broader anti racism movement have sought to challenge racism within sport so that all racial groups can participate in sport freely. This work, led by charities and organisations such as Kick it Out, Show Racism the Red Card and the FARE network of anti racism organisations have worked to address three main strands:

- Regulation - ensuring the rules and regulations of sports contain specific reference to anti racism principles, including strengthening of ground regulations to include racist language as an offence.
- Education – public awareness and education activities within stadia and sporting events, as well as broader outreach activity.
- Participation – encouraging participation in sport amongst marginalised groups.
- Institutional reform – reforming the internal practices of sports clubs, from grass roots to the elite.

There are wide difference in levels of activity and attitudes towards racism in sports grounds around Europe. The leading edge of anti racism activity in football in particular has been found in the UK. The impetus for activity in England has been underpinned by growing racial diversity within the English population since the 1960s

and the rights afforded minority ethnic communities through long term well developed anti discrimination legislation. The emergence of a number of talented black footballers in the 1970s and 1980s brought new racial diversity to professional football teams in England that had previously been primarily comprised of players from across the British Isles.

However many of these players experienced racism from within the game and the diversity of the teams was not reflected in the stands or in grass roots organisational structures of the game. Anti racism activities had targeted football grounds during the 1970s and 80s and high profile national front presence at football grounds during the 1980s caused government concern during a period marked by high levels of hooliganism. However it was not until 1993 that the Kick Racism Out of Football Campaign was established in cooperation between the Commission for Racial Equality and the Professional Footballers Association and football trust. The initial campaign aimed at raising awareness amongst clubs by setting out a ten point action plan to combat racism in their stadiums.

Kick It Out Campaign - Ten Point Plan for Action by clubs:

- To issue a statement saying the club will not tolerate racism, spelling out the action it will take against those engaged in racist chanting and individual racist abuse. The statement should be printed in all match programmes and displayed permanently and prominently around the ground.
- Make public address announcements condemning racist chanting and individual racist abuse at matches.
- Make it a condition for season ticket holders that they do not take part in racist abuse.
- Take action to prevent the sale of racist literature inside and outside the ground.
- Take disciplinary action against players who engage in racial abuse.
- Contact other clubs to make sure they understand the club's policy on racism.
- Encourage a common strategy between stewards and police for dealing with racist abuse.
- Remove all graffiti from the ground as a matter of urgency.
- Adopt an equal opportunities policy in relation to employment and service provision.
- Work with all other groups and agencies, such as the Professional Footballers association, supporters, schools, voluntary organisations, youth clubs, sponsors, local authorities, local businesses and police, to develop pro-active programmes and make progress to raise awareness of campaigning to eliminate racial abuse and discrimination.

The initial campaign brought increased publicity to the issue of racism and acted as a catalyst for encouraging local groups, club and local authorities to initiate programmes to combat racism. These proactive steps were also taken in the context of shifts in the running of the game during the early 1990s and improvements in stadiums and crowd monitoring following the disasters at Bradford in 1985 and Hillsborough in 1989 where 56 and 96 people died respectively. Concerted efforts were also made to address football hooliganism in the English game that led to the banning of English clubs from European competition between 1985 and 1990 following the 1985 Hysel stadium disaster that left 39 people dead. This effort also coincided with the formation of the Premier League and an influx of money for broadcast rights from the then new subscription channel Sky Television. Sky made unprecedented levels of coverage of the new premier league as a central component of its market development strategy during the 1990s.

These developments saw the introduction of renovated all seated stadium and the 'gentrification' of many top level crowds through higher ticket prices. There has been a growing emphasis on improving attendance to the game amongst women, families and in the case of certain clubs, ethnic minority fans, who were otherwise deterred by poor facilities, hooliganism and racism. This shift in demographics came in parallel to the ongoing high profile public awareness campaign Kick Racism out of Football campaign based around the 10 point plan. The combined result has been an observed decline in aggressive chanting and behaviour, including racist abuse, and the decline of hooliganism in top flight stadiums.

Kick it Out – www.kickitout.org

In 1997 Kick it Out was established as a formal body and is funded by the game's governing bodies, including founding body the Professional Footballers Association (PFA), the Premier League, the Football Foundation and The Football Association. Kick it Out undertakes a two pronged approach work throughout the football, educational and community sectors, from national to local levels.

- They raise awareness through national campaigning and representation throughout the football industry
- They promote activities and actions with different groups in football with the aim of eradicating racism in football

The main strand of Kick its Out's activity is the Kick It Out Campaign, that includes highly visible branding at English league clubs and the 'One Game, One Community' Weeks of Action. The weeks see the game's biggest names stand alongside communities across the UK under the banner of 'One Game, One Community'. Grassroots clubs, schools, community groups and fans join the professional game in coming together in symbolic activities promoting inclusion. The campaign has grown to tackle all types of intimidation and discrimination of various types, but continues to focus on the various types and shades of racist abuse to be found in football grounds.

Kick it Out also undertake community development activities in local areas in collaboration with the Football foundation. They provide advice and guidance to groups and organisations in order to improve access and participation in the game. They particularly work with groups and organisations from minority ethnic

backgrounds as well as a range of other groups including grassroots football clubs; estate based projects; refugee groups; traveller communities; schools; prisons; girls and women's groups; and youth clubs.

Another key component of Kick it Out's work is the Equality standard for football. The standard was established in 2004 and built on the initial Race Equality Standard in order to ensure that individuals are not discriminated against on the grounds of any of Race, Religion, Age, Gender, Disability and Sexual Orientation. The Standard helps football clubs to recognise existing partnerships, activities and projects they deliver to under-represented groups and individuals, and helps to identify new target markets and fans for the future.

By following the template of the Standard, clubs are able to identify areas for development both in their local communities but also internally at the club in terms of their current practices and policies. It sets out a number of key standards, both as clubs but also as businesses that must adhere to legal policies as an employer. The Standard helps to further develop or enhance those policies and sets out four tiers, preliminary, intermediate or advanced and clubs are that assessed on the basis of evidence for each of the key tasks listed in the Equality Standard, including:

- Audit forms/monitoring information
- Publicity materials; including match day programmes and club magazines/newsletters
- Correspondence with under-represented community groups and individuals
- Minutes of meetings/consultations
- Correspondence with management
- Photographs of signs/perimeter boards/public signing of standard or equality action plan
- Communications – web pages, letters from schools/organisations, media announcements

Kick it out have also been influential in highlighting under reported aspects of racism in the game. This has been most notable in relation to the under representation of Asians within football, including in established professional and football league pyramid clubs. This includes the seminal report 'Asians cant play football' that was published in the mid 1990s. This highlighted racist stereotypes and discrimination that was limiting the opportunities for Asian footballers to join and advance in clubs and has also limited the development of attendances of the Asian football fan base at many football grounds around England. In addition Kick it Out has also highlighted incidents and experiences of racism at the grass roots of the game.

Education - Show Racism the Red Card and Kick it Out

The focus on education has also developed further through the work of organisations such as Show Racism the Red Card. Show Racism the Red Card was founded in 1996 with the aim of using professional footballers as anti racist role models and educators with school children at football clubs and in schools. Popular resources include first

team squad photos of participating clubs holding up the kick it out symbol that are distributed to participating schools. The work of Show Racism the Red Card has continued to develop in the UK and has gone on to set up branches in a number of other countries, including Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Ireland.

Show Racism the Red Card and Kick it Out continue to work with teachers schools and local education authorities to develop resources and provide training to draw on the appeal of football to help educate young people about the effects of racism on both society and individuals. Both organisations now work to link their education work with education curricula key stages followed by schools in England and the UK, including citizenship classes that are felt to open space in the curricula for their work.

Show Racism the Red Card

Show Racism the Red Card is an anti-racist educational charity that was set up in 1996. The charity aims to combat racism through enabling role models, who are predominately but not exclusively footballers, to present an anti-racist message to young people and others. This is primarily achieved through:

- Producing educational resources (films, education packs, magazines and posters)
- Developing activities to encourage people, including young people, to challenge racism
- In parts of the UK, challenging racism in the game of football and other sports.

The organisation has built up a pool of professional footballers as patrons and one of the highlights of its work remains the interaction of the players with young people at our events at Football Clubs.

Work with Schools:

a) Workshops: Show Racism the Red Card's Community Education teams are available to deliver workshops free of charge to schools and youth groups in North East England. They combine football training delivered by professional coaches, ex-Sunderland captain Gary Bennett and ex-Newcastle player John Anderson with high quality anti-racist education.

The teams work with young people from year 5 upwards and have various workshops tackling general issues surrounding racism or focussing more specifically on areas such as racism towards asylum seekers and refugees, travellers and Islamophobia.

b) Competition: Each year, Show Racism the Red Card organises a competition throughout England, with an estimated 70,000 pupils of different ages and abilities producing anti-racist themed artwork, creative writing, films and music. Prizes include included match tickets and autographed football items such as shirts or footballs, as well as a framed certificate.

Teaching Resources:

Show Racism the Red Card also produce a range of educational resources for teachers. Examples include the DVD & Education Pack is an educational film and teaching pack with top Premier league and international footballers. It also includes a brand new documentary, *Racism in the Beautiful Game*, which has been produced in conjunction with the international players' union, FIFPro, and examines the changing face of racism in football.

Islamophobia is a new film tackling this growth area in racism, featuring the views of many top players and also young people discussing their experiences of and views on Islamophobia. *A Safe Place* is an updated version of its film addressing issues and attitudes around Asylum Seekers and Refugees.

Publications:

Show Racism The Red Card has produced a number of publications (<http://www.srtrc.org/about/publications?page=1>)

Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE)

The UK based charities such as Kick it Out, Show Racism the Red as well as Football Unites and Racism Divides and other organisations undertaking similar work around Europe came together during the 1990s to form Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE). FARE now brings together over 300 groups in 37 countries including supporters clubs, anti racism organisations, migrant associations, players unions and clubs to counter racism. Many of these organisations undertake specific events or activities focused on challenging racist behaviour and promoting participation of minorities in football and within organisations. In 1999 the FARE action plan was developed following a meeting with players unions and football associations hosted by the European Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia. FARE calls upon football governing bodies and clubs to:

- Recognise the problem of racism in football
- Adopt, publish and enact anti racist policy
- Make full use of football to bring people together from different communities and cultures
- Establish a partnership with all organisations committed to kicking racism out of football, in particular with supporters groups, migrants and ethnic minorities.

Union of European Football Associations (UEFA)

FARE now works with UEFA and FIFA to promote the 'Unite Against Racism' campaign and operates in 37 different countries. Key activities include:

- Development of a 10 point anti racism action plan that clubs can take that was supported by UEFA in 2002

- Unite Against Racism Conference (London, 2003) and the subsequent publication produced by FARE 'Unite Against Racism in football: UEFA Guide to good practice' (UEFA, 2003). The report provides examples of good practice and recommendations for action for:
 - National associations,
 - supporters groups
 - Players and clubs
 - Ethnic minorities and migrants
 - Gaining media buy in
 - Development of anti racism action plans by national associations as well as action plans for clubs
 - Policing and stewarding and action at matches
 - A 10 point plan of action for clubs
- Tackling Racism in Club Football: A Guide for Clubs (UEFA, 2006) that set out the results of the second Unite Against Racism conference held at the Camp Nou, Barcelona in 2006. The report covered actions for clubs to tackle racism and discrimination of all types. The report built on the 2003 report as well as setting out advice for clubs to engage with
 - Ethnic minority communities and fans, including increasing opportunities for ethnic minorities
 - The report also included recommendations for the development of activities in schools that directed clubs to access materials produced by NGOs.

The use of high profile public awareness and education programmes has also been adopted by UEFA and FIFA in their major competitions. This has involved public announcements by captains in advance of matches, such as before the quarter finals of the 2010 world cup in South Africa. As with the Premier League, UEFA and FIFA events attract very large global audiences and as such represent an important opportunity to convey anti racism messages, via high profile sportsmen, to their audience.

The challenges

Concern remains about the actual extent to which the principle of racial equality set out by governing bodies such as UEFA and FIFA are being enforced. A number of high profile incidents of racism in major stadiums have frequently been derided as being overly lenient. This includes such high profile examples such as the 100,000 Swiss francs that the relatively wealthy Spanish FA's was fined for racist 'monkey' chanting directed at England football players during a friendly at the Santiago Bernabeu, Madrid, in 2004. The contrast is also notable when UEFA have exercised their ability to force clubs to play at neutral venues for incidents of fan violence, something that has not yet been seen for incidents of racist abuse. Others have also been noted that

whilst campaigns such as Kick it Out and subsequent UEFA are important components of challenging racism, the extent to which they have impacted on attitudes in football or broader society is hard to test (Kassimeris, 2009).

Research conducted by Spraken, Hylton and Long (2006) have noted the importance of high-profile antiracism campaigns such as Kick It Out established by people in British sport and government agency-led intervention. In addition they identified the important role that sport policy makers and managers play in accepting and accommodating anti racism and equality and diversity practices. The work of initiatives such as sporting equals in the UK has attempted to promote participation in sports at all levels in the UK, including in sports administration and governance. However an evaluation of sporting equals programme in the UK has highlighted that the impacts of their own race quality standards has been variable. Issues cited as areas of challenge include (Spraklen et al, 2006);

- Resistance to inclusion and participation agendas from 'elite' competition culture of sports organising bodies such as sports England.
- Challenge of promoting good practice throughout smaller grass roots and voluntary sector sports organisations.

There are concern that anti racism is not yet embedded into the attitudes and ethos of clubs. For elite football clubs much of the inclusion agenda is now being framed in commercial terms of widening fan bases. (Kassimeris, 2009) The relatively lower importance of racial justice agendas has limited the motivation to undertake genuine reform of the administration and governance of many clubs and of football itself in European countries. This experience has also been seen in relation to other elite sports where a focus on performance has worked to marginalize action toward opening up sports institutions to the minority black people who frequently account for a large proportion of elite athletes.

With regards to grass roots organisations and clubs, social exclusion and racial segregation is an ongoing problem. (Long, Hylton, Bains) Clubs frequently do not follow basic standards of good practice around organisational HR management intended to improve working practices and organisational change areas that were not being addressed included, equality policy, Formal monitoring of recruitment, promotion and training, For example, recruitment in 35% of professional clubs in the UK continues to be closed to outsiders, in particular to ethnic minorities, by reliance on word of mouth or old boys networks (Bradbury, 2001).

For all clubs the need to reach out and diversify membership and participation in clubs is still frequently highlighted in research as being a significant challenge for racial equality in sport. The Bradbury research found a distinct lack of effective dialogue with local ethnic minority populations or relevant local agencies. Research by Long continues to highlight that this situation is virtually the same, if not worse in grass roots sports clubs. The limits of institutional reform in the fabric of sports participation and administration is a fundamental challenge to the potential role that sport may play in promoting social integration through participation.

Sport and social objectives

"I can give plenty of examples of social integration projects, but then there are plenty of examples when they just go home afterwards... I suppose sport can be really good just as sport can be really bad." (Quoted in Auld 2008)

In recent years the understood benefits of sport have increasingly been translated into dramatic public policy statements about the power of sport. Sport is apparently the answer to a wide variety of social ills and challenges, ranging right across the spectrum of agendas, including social agendas as well as economic regeneration through development of areas linked to sports venues. The potential role of sport is increasingly seen in a variety of national European Commission policy statements and objectives. Some of many social benefits that have been cited in relation to sport include:

- Public health – promoting physical well being.
- Social inclusion – the power of sport to divert young people away from crime and anti social behavior and into mainstream society.
- Employment – using sport to help individuals develop skills to use for employment.
- Integration – the power of sport to develop and integrate communities.
- Conflict resolution – to bring conflicting groups together.
- Citizenship and the environment – to promote active positive citizenship with the environment.

In March 2006 the European Parliament adopted a written declaration condemning all forms of racism linked to football. This was followed an exchange of views between the Commission and European sports organisations and institutions on the social function of sport in 2006. The importance of sport to promoting social inclusion and integration has been highlighted in a range of European forums, including the All Different, All Equal an international conference and the European Youth and Sport Forum 2007 – with the declaration 'Welcome diversity - Let's move Europe'. The importance of sport in intercultural understanding was again emphasised during the 2008 European year of Intercultural Dialogue that highlighted sport as one of the tools to promote intercultural dialogue. Studies have also highlighted the growing potential role that sport plays in social and identity development of young people and its growing use as part of integration strategies.²⁸

Fred Coalter (2007), in his book 'A wider social role for sport', alongside other researchers such as Long (2008) and Garvie (2008) have highlighted that many of the claims made on behalf of sport do not always present an accurate picture of sports role. The challenge that is identified by almost all researchers is a lack of evidence that isolates the impact that sport actually has in relation to social issues. The concern for many researchers are that the benefits that are cited in relation to sport are not necessarily particular to sport but are associated with the effort of developing and

²⁸ Study on sport as a tool for the social integration of young people European Commission 2000

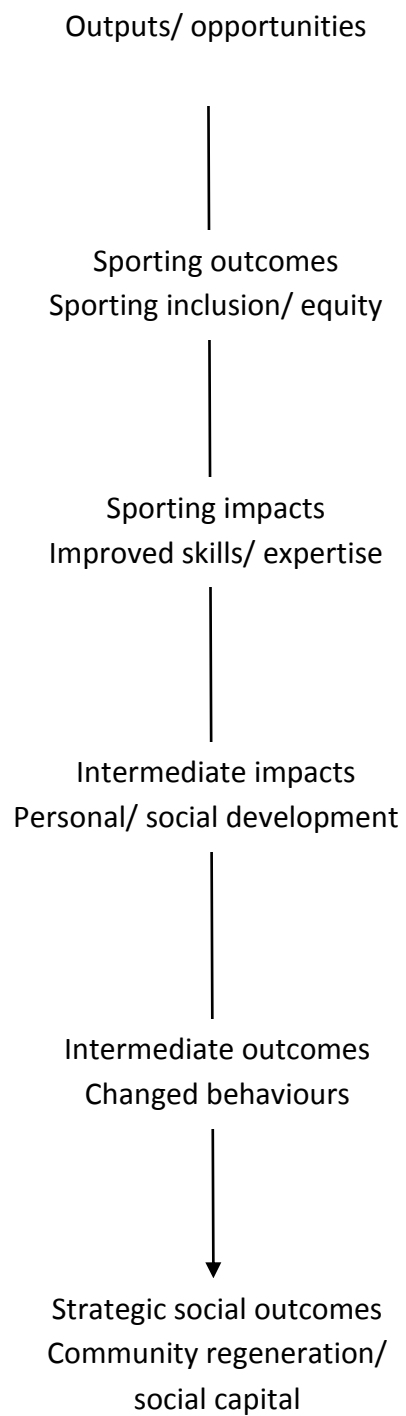
funding a social policy intervention with the selected group. This is of particular relevance when trying to identify what works and why, and also to maintain long term support for sports based programmes beyond time limited interventions. There are a number of caveats associated with sports based interventions that are frequently highlighted, including:

- The potential for exclusion that is presented by sport based activities that may limit the number or variety of people who participate and the benefits that they may experience.
- The limited impact of sport outside of the intervention itself once participants return to normal lives. (Auld, 2008)
- Sport can divert authorities from addressing root causes of social problems. (Long, 2008)

Nevertheless, throughout the literature there remains a belief that if used effectively sport can act as a powerful catalyst for social objectives. Many of the concerns, such as attracting predisposed volunteers or participants, rather than excluded groups are not unique to sport. In addition ongoing challenges for sport in relation to social policy objectives are a readiness on behalf of politicians and leaders to proclaim an important role for sport but in the absence of integrating sport based activities into broader social policy agendas, with associated planning and structured implementation (Coalter, 2007) This is further compounded the ongoing challenge in developing clear linear evidence of the impacts of sport. In practice, participation in sport is able to generate a variety of benefits from the initial benefits of participating in activity, with a variety of impacts that are increasingly more diffuse and harder to attribute directly to the participation in sport.

(Coalter, 2007)

The individual and social impacts of sport a logic model (Coalter, 2007)



Sport and education

Among the many noted impacts of sport has been a growing interest in its role in education and attainment. This includes the education through sport movement that has been growing over the past decade. Whilst physical education has long been a feature of school curricula the rationale for these has frequently varied from school to school, with emphasis ranging from providing students with the opportunity to participate and learn new sports through to giving students with the opportunity to undertake physical exercise important for physical development and good health. Many schools have also placed sporting attainment and excellence as key features of their values and ethos. As part of the development of a formal role for sport in schools, greater attention has been played to the role that sport plays in education and personal development.

Research by Roland Naul has highlighted the different approaches to physical education in schools that have developed across Europe and has set out four main typologies:²⁹

- Physical health education - focused on promoting good physical health
- Movement education – focused on developing movement abilities and skills.
- Sport education – focused on development of sport skills such as motivation, tactics and strategy.
- Physical education – less specific approach to sporting, personal and social development benefits.

Research by Bailey (2006) highlighted evidence that the impacts of physical education and sport can be understood in terms of children's development in 5 domains:

- Physical – the direct physical development and health benefits of exercise
- Lifestyle – the encouragement of healthy lifestyles that include physical activity and awareness of physical self
- Affective – the psychological well being experienced by many from regularly participating in physical activity.
- Social – encouraging social interaction and learning about positive values of teamwork and fair play.
- Cognitive – promoting cognitive attainment through general physical health – a healthy body and healthy mind.

²⁹ Conceptual diversity and future directions of physical education in the global context http://www.wgi.de/media/Pdf/Checkedfinal_version_Japan-VortragOkade_CBgekuerzt_644768.pdf

Recently the 2004 European Year of Education Through Sport was held to make institutions and sports organisations aware of the need for cooperation in order to develop education through sport, and its European dimension. The year was based around and understanding of the positive educational benefits that sport may have around generic skills and values education, as well as the potential benefits of links between education systems and sports clubs of all types in order to address social issues such as inclusion.

The objectives of the European Year of Education through Sport 2004:

- to make institutions and sports organisations aware of the need for cooperation in order to develop education through sport and its European dimension;
- to take advantage of the values conveyed through sport to develop knowledge and basic skills allowing young people to improve their physical and social abilities, mainly through the school curriculum (teamwork, solidarity, tolerance and fair play in a multicultural framework);
- to promote awareness of the positive contribution that voluntary activities make to non-formal education for young people;
- to encourage the exchange of good practice concerning the role sport can play in education systems to promote the social inclusion of disadvantaged groups;
- to consider the problems relating to the education of young sportsmen and sportswomen involved in competitive sports.

More recently sport is also being used as a pedagogical tool to aid learning. Rather than focusing on the practice of physical activity itself, sport is being understood in terms of the role that it can play in encouraging engagement learning, this includes:

- The experiential nature of physical activities that can be useful when teaching
- The usefulness of sports as high status tools – e.g. the use of branding associated with local sports clubs or the use of sports stadia or even coaches and players
- The familiarity of many sporting stars and clubs as examples when learning about a wide variety of subjects, such as geography, maths or science.
- The motivating factor of sports participation tied to learning outcomes.

This approach has been used in the playing for success scheme by the DFES scheme in the UK. Playing For Success (PFS) is a Department for Education & Skills (DfES) educational attainment initiative which established a series of study support centres in sporting locations and venues. It began in 1997 in partnership with the FA Premier and Football Leagues and their clubs, and local education authorities, and was set up as a 10-week study support programme targeted at underachieving pupils in key stages two and three (ages 12 and 13). Scheme was designed to use the motivational benefits of holding literacy and numeracy support in high profile local football clubs and other

sports venues, and linking it to sporting activities both as part of the educational resource and through sporting activities after classroom based activities. Originally intended to run at Premier League and First Division football clubs the initiative is now also established in a variety of professional football, rugby league, rugby union, cricket and gymnastics clubs. The centres open out of school hours and mainly cater for 10 to 14 year olds who are at risk of underachieving, using the stimulus of sport to motivate them.

However, research by Bailey as well as Coalter, further highlights a lack of robust evidence for sports role in education. For many of the benefits that are identified in relation to sport there are frequently multiple caveats about the uniformity of impact and the potential negative impacts of sport. These ranged from potentially diverting students from academic attainment, particularly for challenging groups who are diverted toward physical education at the expense of their broader academic education. (Ref, basketball) Other negative impacts include potentially on the development of self esteem, team building or identity development through poor performance or negative experiences in sport.

Sport and community development

“Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together.” World Bank.

“To build bridging social capital requires that we transcend our social and political and professional identities to connect with people unlike ourselves. This is why team sports provide good venues for social-capital creation” Putnam 2000

The role of sport in promoting community cohesion and integration has already been noted by the European Commission and member states through a variety of statements including the Lisbon and Amsterdam treaties. Further research undertaken on behalf of the European Commission highlighted the role of education and sport and multiculturalism strategies from across Europe.³⁰ This study highlighted how approaches to sports policy and multiculturalism varied from across the member states of Europe along the lines of differing models of integration as highlighted previously. Sport was being used in relation to macro initiatives such as international understanding between groups from different member states, such as through ‘world cups’ and youth exchanges, and micro initiatives that focused on social integration in local areas.

Micro level examples can be broken down into three broad headings;

- The use of sport to promote social integration in ethnically diverse communities, including both ‘cohesion’ or ‘diversity’ models
- The use of sport for the integration of newly established migrants within the community, specifically refugees and asylum seekers

³⁰ Studies on education: sport and multiculturalism DG Education and Culture 2004

- The use of sport for the integration of national minorities, including Roma populations

Whilst scientific research is not conclusive regarding the social benefits of sport, many of the positive impacts that are associated with sport have been observed through an array of examples of good practice. There are many examples where sport has had significant impacts on participants that appear to have particular characteristics related to sport. Coalter set out a model that sets out the logical model of social impacts of sport. Following from this he sets out two conceptual approaches to the role that sport plays in order to address broader social objectives:

- Plus sport = sport as an instrument to produce other benefits – place greater emphasis on using sport for externalities, using sport as fly paper to attract and motivate for other ends.
- Sport plus = sport has added benefits – develop sports in a way that focuses on developing sport and participation in a way that works toward achieving the social benefits that can occur from sport. More emphasis on participation and sustainability.

The plus sport model sets out with social objectives and develops initiatives to meet these. However such approaches frequently fall into the trap of not engaging with those alienated by sports or having only limited impacts on participants once they leave the confines of the initiative. In addition their long terms sustainability, beyond the ending of the project and the departure of coaches and others is also more questionable. The sport plus model sets out to develop participation, including the clubs and institutions that support sport participation, as the first step and a platform to achieving broader social aims and objectives. Crucially this developmental approach to sports participation includes an important role for participation in sports clubs as community institutions. This then enables a club to be in a position to develop activities and initiatives through sport for social aims and objectives in a more sustainable and effective way.

Community development and participation is a frequent theme of many of the sports based anti racism charities that reflects the belief that participation in sport should be open for all. In particular, the role of sports clubs as community institutions has long been recognised by those who participate in them and the local communities who identify with them. (Garvie, 2009) Work by US social scientist, Robert Putnam, has popularized the idea of 'Social Capital in public policy circles. His book *Bowling Alone* charted the decline of civic engagement in the United States, focusing on the decline of the bowling leagues that used to be found in the US and the rise of individual bowlers, 'bowling alone'. He contrasted this with previous research in Northern Italy where he argued that the higher density of voluntary associations and political participation explained the regions improved governance, social and economic outcomes relative to southern Italy. Putnam identified declining levels of tolerance and trust, informal social relations and civic participation and voting in the US that he believed to be indicators of a declining civic engagement.

In his work Putnam focused on the idea of social capital, the social networks and links that are developed by individuals, organizations and communities that enable and are mobilized to achieve collective or individual goals. At its most basic level mapping social capital is about identifying the existence of networks that a person or

organisations holds. However whilst Putnam brought a quantitative approach to mapping the development of networks, he himself defined social capital as the “features of social organization, such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”. This qualitative approach to social capital built on work of sociologist who had emphasized the qualitative nature of social capital, the way that it is based around and works to develop shared social values and objectives.

In light of the positive value placed on social capital the World Bank developed a number of indicators that identify and measure development of social capital. These indicators not only highlight the networked nature of social capital but also the shared values and engagement that are required to develop it, and the resources that are required to mobilise it. The measurement includes levels of social diversity as a key indicator of developing social capital, important to ensure that there are good stores of human capital, providing a range of personal and professional backgrounds with a variety of skills, knowledge and perspectives.

World Bank indicators of social capital:

- The density, variety and quality of **social networks** within a community and the links that these networks make.
- The levels of **collective action** and endeavour found within communities, improving the ability of communities to address a range of issues effectively and equally.
- The levels of **trust and solidarity** within networks and groups that develops consensus, solidarity and shared values within diverse communities.
- The extent of **information sharing and communication** across networks in all directions that improves knowledge and decision making within groups
- The levels of **social diversity** contained within groups, organisations and networks, beyond the personal and familial ties of members.

Research into social capital has also set out three different types of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking capital. In Putnam’s original assessment of bonding and bridging capital it is notable that he explicitly notes that “Bonding and bridging capital are not ‘either-or’ categories into which social networks can be neatly divided, but ‘more or less’ dimensions along which we can compare different forms of social capital”:

- **Bonding** social capital – describes closer connections between people and is characterised by strong bonds. e.g. among family members or close friends; it is good for "getting by" and belonging in life. For example bonding capital is more important to health in childhood and old age.
- **Bridging** social capital – describes more distant connections between people and is characterised by weaker, but more cross-cutting ties e.g. with business

associates, acquaintances, friends of friends; it is good for "getting ahead" in life, e.g. job opportunities.

- *Linking* social capital - has mainly been developed as part of World Bank sustainable development strategies in developing societies. (Woolcock, 2001) Linking social capital describes connections with people in positions of power and is characterised by relations between those within a hierarchy where there are differing levels of power; it is good for accessing support from formal institutions. It is important in development policy context where those working in agencies and institutions play a major role in trying to engage local communities to facilitate access to information and resources. It is different from bonding and bridging in that it is concerned with relations between people who are not on an equal footing.

Sport, social capital and anti racism

Putnam's popular book, 'bowling alone' took as its central theme the decline of bowling leagues in the united states as an example of declining civic participation, highlighting the role of sports clubs in developing social capital. Research around the relationship between sport and development of social capital highlights a number of important themes about why sports clubs are important locations of social capital, including:

- Shared values and ethos – sports clubs and teams frequently encourage shared identities, values and objectives that facilitate bonding amongst participants from a variety of social backgrounds. Many sports clubs, with voluntary management structures can also generate high levels of engagement in decision making amongst members further promoting high levels of trust and solidarity within a group. Research and experience frequently highlights the important role that sports clubs can play in developing personal and group identities. (Auld, 2008)
- Volunteers – sports clubs attract a high volume of volunteers, as coaches or in the management of a club or linked associations such as supporters clubs. In addition to coaching volunteers often take on several roles such as organising and supervising events, executive committee or board, fundraising, admin and other miscellaneous activities that develop new links and contacts.

Volunteers also bring a variety of social and professional backgrounds as well as skills, knowledge and networks that further help to develop club capacity, bridging and linking capital. (Doherty and Misener, 2008) Research has also found that sports volunteering can promote a positive attitudinal and behavioural impact amongst young people and encouraged a greater tendency towards active citizenship and civic participation through the medium of voluntary sport engagement. (Bradbury & Kay, 2008)

- Sport as a bridge – the universal 'language' of sport, in the form of rules, values and competition, can facilitate bridging and linking capital. Research has highlighted the role that coaches in particular can play as cultural mediators bridging between two groups but also facilitating links between authorities, such as the police, with youth and communities that might otherwise be limited. (Crabbe, 2008)

- Stadium and sporting infrastructure – clubs frequently have physical locations that serve as physical bases or infrastructure for the development of social networks, engagement with diversity of social backgrounds. In addition the administration of facilities and stadia also frequently brings sports clubs into contact with a variety of authorities, contributing to the development of linking capital. (Rosentraub and Ijla, 2008)

Primary groups who have a direct relationships with the sports clubs and those who can be influenced by the action of an organisation, including but not limited to (Rosentraub and Ijla, 2008):

- Management, staff and volunteers
- Participants and parents
- Facility providers and other suppliers
- Other sports clubs
- Community groups and schools
- Local, regional national government
- Local and national sport governing bodies
- Businesses and sponsors

Attention has increasingly turned to how understanding of networks and social capital contributes to a variety of social policy objectives. However social capital can also be negative, by becoming exclusionary and exercising capital to perpetuate advantage. In particular the failure to develop social networks with high levels of social diversity are indicative of social divisions and segregation, undermining shared values and trust in communities and the capacity to organise collective for collective goods. This is a feature of football around Europe, and can be seen at its extreme in far right football demonstrations and violence. One recent example of this is the development of the far right street protest group, the English Defence League, which has been developed through football hooligan groups and networks in England. However social capital can also be used by elite groups to gather resources and to exclude others from important institutions and organisations through unseen prejudice and exclusion. (Hylton, Long)

Examples of social policy agendas linked to sport and social capital (Doherty and Misener, 2008)

- Sustainable development – shared ownership and better economic performance.
- Employment - the ability to access networks that may provide prospects for employment.

- Community safety - neighbourhood watch.
- Environmental sustainability – through social solidarity and management of shared resource
- Health - evidence of direct causal relationships between social context and medical wellbeing.
- Democracy - civic associations and engagement.

The growth in diversity in European societies has been accused by some political commentators of undermining social solidarity, or bonding capital, and undermining the scope for collective social action (Goodhart, 2004). In addition minority ethnic and minority religious associations are also often seen to promote 'self segregation'. Development of bonding capital and the associated pooling of resources within a group is also a component for the development of bridging and linking capital. Putnam himself shifts from identifying ethnic associations as examples of locations of bonding capital in one paragraph and then highlighting Black Churches in the US as examples of the development of bridging capital across class and professional lines to the next (as Obama does in his 2008 Philadelphia speech on race). Research highlighted the need to develop skills and resources, including through the inclusion of diverse professional backgrounds and skills into organisations or communities, in order to develop effective linking capital. (Change Institute, 2009)

In practice the relationship between social capital and race equality and diversity is one of integrating development objectives and practices to anti racist objectives. Indicators of strong social capital include diversity of social and professional backgrounds as well as other backgrounds such as race and ethnicity. Genuine social capital only exists when all in the community are included as equals participants and enabling the development of shared values and collective action. Sports institutions are essential locations for the development of social capital through the engagement and socialisation of a diversity of people around the ethos of clubs open to all the community. However sports clubs can also be sites of exclusion and division based around particular ethnic identities, or can be passive in their relationship with local communities and not work to actively promote participation in their club. The key to developing effective social capital through vibrant sports clubs is to actively promote participation across the whole local community, including not only in sporting activities themselves but all aspects of the club itself.

Kicking racism out of schools sports and society - a tale of two clubs

The following section provides a brief case study of two very different clubs, Arsenal FC of England and SK Vard in Norway, who are working toward anti racism objectives across their activities. Based on observation of activity and background research both clubs provide good examples of the types of activities that sports clubs can engage in to promote race equality in their local communities and beyond. Neither example is perfect however they do represent positive examples that illustrate how clubs can make a positive impact in their local communities and combat racism.

Arsenal Football Club

Arsenal Football Club is an English Premier League club located in the London Borough of Islington, in a city of 8 million people and a borough population of 175,797. It was founded in 1886 and won the first of their 13 English league titles in 1931. Arsenal consistently finish in the top four of the English premier league and the latter stages of the European Cup with a multinational team assembled by their long standing French manager Arsene Wenger. Arsenal recently moved out of the historic Highbury Stadium with a 38,000 capacity, into a purpose built 60,000 all seated Stadium nearby. The club employs 416 staff, including 66 playing staff, as well as on average an additional 861 temporary staff on match days.

The stadium move has increased Arsenal's financial capacity through a growth in revenue from ticket sales, corporate hospitality and non match day income as well as from property sales through the redevelopment of the old stadium. Arsenal recorded pre-tax profits of £56 million for the year ending May 31, 2010 with turnover of £379.9m and is now cited as a model of financial success the commercially driven Premier League watched in over 200 countries around the world. Following the successful move to the new stadium the chairman has begun to expand the commercial activities of the club in order to maximise its financial potential and competitiveness in the premier league.

An integral part of Arsenal FC is Arsenal in the Community team that was set up in 1985 to formalise some of the ad hoc community outreach work that had been developed by members of the club. This move was developed as part of a national Sports Council's Action Sport programme that was set up to encourage participation in recreational and competitive sport in urban areas following the inner city riots of 1981, with 'Football in the Community' programmes set up at most professional clubs. Originally based around facilities at the old stadium arsenal's football in the community programme focused on soccer schools, indoor bowls, fitness training and a sports college for the department's trainees.

More recently Arsenal in the community have further developed their activities to include work on local estates addressing social exclusion through the Kickz programme, as well as developing links with local schools through the flag ship Double Club education initiative that sees arsenal teachers deliver lessons in schools with arsenal materials, tied to the national curriculum. These activities are now expanding further in line with the global audience of the English Premier League and the club's fan base, through soccer schools and training schemes for community coaches around the world. Arsenal in the community employs four qualified teachers alongside a number of community coaches as part of a team of ten strong staff.

SK Vard

Sportsklubben Vard Haugesund is a Norwegian football club located in Haugesund on the west coast of Norway that has a population of about 33,000. Founded in 1916. It currently plays in the Norwegian Second Division, and last played in the Norwegian First Division in 2004 and reached the Norwegian Football Cup finals in 1962 and 1975. Whilst the club used to attract attendances of 3000 in its heyday attendances are now closer to 300, with the first team frequently feeding to FK Haugesund of the Norwegian first division. The club is managed by a voluntary management structure, supported by 4 paid employees including 2 coaches.

The club has approximately 1200 members, 55 teams playing football and 220 voluntary workers such as leaders, coaches, support committees and a board and is built around the Norwegian ethos of Dagund - a voluntary community ethos that views the club as an institution for all of the family to be active in. A clubhouse was built in 1978 that was built with donated materials and 11000 hours of volunteer work for a price of approximately 1 million Norwegian Krona that serves as a facility for a variety of social events, meetings and conferences. In 2001 the clubs centre piece, the Vard Hall was built. An 2500 m2 indoor Astroturf facility that cost 13 million Norwegian kroner (£1.3 million) that was supported by 10,000 hours of volunteer work and is used by all of the Vard teams.

One of the central activities of the SK Vard is the Vard Modelen, an integration project that is designed to encourage new migrant families, children and parents to join and play an active part in the club. The project was set up in 1995 in response to arrival of refugees as well as economic migrants into the area and a realisation by members of the important role that the club and football could play in facilitating integration into the area by providing access to new social networks and friendships. The programme now employs one full time manager who undertakes outreach work and coordinates activities in the club. The Director of the model also sits on the Vard management board.

Anti Racism Reform

A crucial feature of both clubs is that they have placed anti racism at the centre of the work that they do. Both clubs have placed anti racism and multiculturalism at the heart of the ethos and approach. In the case of Vard, participation for everyone is at the centre of what they do, with an explicit reference to migrant and minority communities, and that people from all backgrounds can participate activity in the club. In the case of Arsenal this is seen in the influence of Arsene Wenger's development of a multinational squad in the face of media criticism and an insistence that it is ability not nationalist or colour that counts. This message has permeated throughout the club, its fan base and messages in its community activities.

Arsenal have achieved the Kick it Out Intermediate race equality Standard through developing clear action plans for promoting racial equality within the club, training of all their internal staff and proactive anti racism outreach work in the community. Strong anti racism messages in the stadium and action against those who break stadium rules contributed to the development of a stadium that includes 11% of supporters who consider themselves non white British, the highest in the English leagues (though still short of the 25% non white British in the local borough in the 2001 national census). Whilst a variety of contributing factors, including local population demographics, the move to the new stadium as well as the legacy of Black players such as David Rowcastle and Ian Wright have all contributed to a steady increase over the years, this profile is not automatically replicated at other clubs who may have similar profiles.

In addition to their work in the club, the Arsenal in the Community team have placed anti racism and diversity activity at the heart of what they do. The club actively participates in Kick it Out weeks of action as well as show racism the red card events. It undertakes activity to coincide with black history month as well. It has also reform practice in its education practice, with a concerted effort to approach racial diversity in the class room as a positive feature and a learning aid for all children that can bring

lessons to life and engage the variety of backgrounds that their students represent. This is also reflected in the ethos of much of the clubs activity, such as Arsenal for everyone.

As a much smaller club Vard do not have a formal race equality action plan in place beyond the Vard Model itself. However the inclusive ethos of the club is driven by committed board members. This includes the chair of the Vard model who also sits on the Vard management board. In addition, the club provide training and support for leaders and coaches who are able to undertake informal education with other members of the club, including participating native Norwegian children along anti racism principles and encourage active participation in facilitating integration into the club. Once such example given is the work that coaches and parents put in to encourage girls who have played in football teams for a number of years to support new team mates who have not had coaching and skill level when joining the club.

The club have proactively recruited and provided training to new migrants to become referees and coaches so that they can participate in the club and local football leagues. The club host many action days, such as colourful football designed to promote participation and fun for people of all backgrounds in non competitive non conflict settings. In addition they have also worked to spread the approach to other Norwegian football clubs and through contacts within the Norwegian FA in order to encourage other clubs to take up the approach and make it a part of their ethos and ethic.

Education

Both clubs have placed education as a central feature of their work, including undertaking formal and information education activities and developing links with local education authorities and schools. A central feature of the Vard Model is the outreach work undertaken by the manager with local schools. The model manager holds meetings with parents and children of new migrants to introduce the club and highlight the activities they the club undertakes. It is hoped that through this introduction that not only will the club introduce new children to the club, reassure parents about a club that they may not be familiar with but also actively encourage parents to come along and participate with their children in the activities on offer at the club.

In the case of arsenal, a variety of links have been made through the double club activities that sees scheme develop in depth links with local through the establishment of Arsenal class rooms and use of arsenal teachers at the school. In addition Arsenal also have an education facility at the stadium that was set up with the move to the new stadium. Much of their education work touches on issues and agendas of relevance to anti racism and diversity education, including religious education, arsenal through the ages, geography and maths. This is delivered in class rooms that are notable for their diversity, frequently with nearly 50% of children coming from non white backgrounds. Vard also provide training and development opportunities for coaching and refereeing for participants and have been proactive in offering these opportunities to new migrants in the area often through developing links with local migrant community organisations and support centres.

The activities of both clubs also provide for significant informal learning activities. Both clubs undertake coaching activity that also includes pastoral and education guidance.

In the case of Vard this includes the employment of one part time coach who also works as a teacher. However the scope for informal education is also most notable in the high level of engagement of parents in the support of sporting activities at SK Vard, providing opportunities for learning not only for children but also for the participating parents themselves. Adults and children are able to meet and engage with a wider cross section of the community than they might otherwise in their own personal and professional lives around strong collective and inclusive values.

Arsenal in the Community Double Club

The Double Club is an educational attainment initiative focused on improving educational achievement in local schools that was established in 1998. The original programme offered pupils a combined education and football-coaching package outside of school hours. In Autumn 2003, with the support of ministers and the DfES, it was agreed to pilot a daytime programme for targeted groups of Year 7 and 8 pupils (ages 11 and 12) in two local inner city schools. Double Club uses the theme of football in literacy and numeracy programmes, combined with football coaching, to improve standards of achievement, increase motivation and raise self-esteem. The Double Club provides pupils with a “double experience”, a classroom lesson followed by a sports session. In the main this double lesson is delivered in a local primary or secondary school either curriculum time (increasingly so) or as an extra-curricular club. An Arsenal “track suited” member of staff is employed on a full time basis in each school to implement a Double Club and specialist football coaching programme during school time and run a range of study support activities beyond the school day. Funding has been provided by the DfES since 2004 (Innovation Unit, Playing for Success, London Challenge and PE and Sport in schools). Four qualified teachers were appointed and took up their posts in January 2004. Results from pre and post testing of reading and maths ages showed improvements in literacy and numeracy of participating pupils over the twelve-week programmes. In order to create the excitement and special environment of the sports club, the Double Club tries to create “PFS style” classroom in the schools. Club excitement is also generated by

- Club branded and linked resources and stationary
- Teacher in club branded kit (often a school teacher delivering the classroom part)
- Community coach from the club delivering the sports session
- Club incentives (match tickets, programmes, player appearances, etc)

The Arsenal Double Club has branched out into other subject areas following the initial success of Literacy, Numeracy and ICT. This has often been as a result of requests from local schools to produce Arsenal resources to help engage their students. The most popular modules are French, German and Spanish, but there has also been lots of interest in Geography and Science. The Arsenal Double Club began their German Double Club in 2006 in the build up to the 2006 World Cup in Germany. The Arsenal goalkeeper at the time, Jens Lehmann, was featured in the module that was put together with the Goethe Institute and the UK-German Connection. T

The model was then replicated in French and Spanish using Gael Clichy and Cesc

Fabragas respectively. These secondary school language modules were all launched by Arsene Wenger at an event in 2007 that was attended by Lid King, the DCSF's National Director for Languages.

A key feature of the Arsenal approach within the double club is using the racial and cultural diversity found in Islington class rooms and the club as a positive learning feature. Exercises such as Arsenal through the ages that tells the story of migration and social change in the local area through arsenal squad photos, whilst teachers use the knowledge and experiences of their pupils alongside current players to develop knowledge of foreign countries, cultural diversity and experiences of migration.

Developing participation

Both clubs place an emphasis on developing and widening participation, however they increasingly approach these in different ways. Both clubs in their community activities, arsenal in the community and Vard as a community club both emphasise the intrinsic value in providing opportunities for youth and adults to participate in sporting activities, including football but also other sports as well. This was seen the rationale for the initial work undertaken by Arsenal prior to the formal establishment of their community programme in the 80s and can be seen in values of Arsenal for Every One today. In the case of Vard, active participation is at the centre of the clubs ethos and is totally reliant on the active participation of children and parents as volunteers for the ongoing viability and vibrancy of the club. The club is run by a voluntary management structure and the volume of membership and participation in sports teams far outweighs numbers of spectators for their first team games.

In the case of Arsenal FC, the participation ethos of the Arsenal in the Community and Arsenal for Everyone is one part of the broader activities of Arsenal Holdings PLC. This includes an increasingly commercial business model, linked to the move to the stadium and now being developed further as part of an expansion of the corporate structure of the club. The strengthening of commercial revenues at and beyond the stadium are viewed as the necessary next steps for Arsenal FC to compete at the top end of competition. This is also includes maintaining and expanding the fan base and commercial opportunities associated with this as an important area of revenue development (Annual report, 2010).

The shift to a highly commercial business model with a corporate structure can present a challenge to the participatory values of a sports club by developing a transactional relationship with fans and the local community. Arsenal undertakes extensive community outreach and charitable work, but how this will be distinguishable from the corporate social responsibility activities of a wide range of other businesses is also important. This is of particular relevance for Arsenal given the large proportion of the stadium given over to corporate hospitality as well as the high cost of ticket prices for the ordinary fan. The maintenance of a participatory ethos of a club remains important for producing the wider social benefits that are frequently specifically associated with sport through the important social role that clubs can play that is not replicated by businesses. Likewise the arsenal in the community model is based around a small team who undertake grass roots outreach and activities.

Developing participation, meeting the clubs responsibilities as a social and community institution can work in tandem with developing and maintaining a clubs fan base. This

is recognised in many of the statements by the current Chief Executive and Commercial Officer. The attachment to the team, the desire for it to win and popularity of players will always be a point of connection for fans and an important resource when undertaking social outreach and charitable work. However, maintaining active communication, cooperation and participation with the local community and supporters will continue to be important to maintain participation in a club as a social institution. Likewise, the efforts of those working throughout the organisation to maintain a focus on arsenal as a football club, rather than a standard business, will be essential.

The Vard model

The Vard model was set up in 1995 in response to refugee arrivals into the local areas. The inspiration for the project is linked by the founders to the story of Chau a Vietnamese boy who had recently arrived into the area and was injured playing for a vard team and had to stay in hospital for a number of days. Chau was visited by his team mates from Vard which provided the inspiration for Eddie Sternhoff the Chairman of SK Vard and the local sports editor and former Norwegian FA member, to set up a project group to look at the role that SK Vard could play in supporting new migrants into the area.

This development came at the same time as broader public policy awareness of the need to be proactive in developing new links and contacts for new refugees in the Norwegian society in which they were now a part. The project group evaluated the role that Vard should play in supporting the integration of children with background as immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers and arrived at the following goal:

“SK Vard will offer the entire family an opportunity to be included, being our new fellow citizens, into an active club environment with all the rights and duties this entails”

The ethos of “Sports for everyone” drives the club’s initiatives to ensure that migrants can participate in its’ activities. The Vard Model combines sports with other activities and arenas in the local community to be a catalyst for creating a safe, pleasant and diverse local society. The Vard Model has also helped improve understanding of Norwegian culture and language as well as developing friendships and social networks within the local community. Likewise members of FC Vard have also improved their knowledge of other cultures as part of a two way integration process that working to the break down prejudices and xenophobia. Achievements and targets include:

- Positive leisure time
- Improved Norwegian language skills
- Development of social skills
- Learning about Norwegian and migrant culture
- Supporting adult migrants to become leaders and role models in the local community

FC Vard is involved with local schools, community organisations and individuals who are important in the lives of young people. In particular FC Vard aims to provide a program for the entire family in the club environment and frequently meets new parents at the school to reassure and encourage participation in the club. It has also provided worked with local groups to offer training to new migrants as referees and coaches in order to work within the club and the local area.

Activities include:

- Accompanying children to training
- School and family visits
- Information and training for coaches, team leaders, schools, refugee reception centres, local authorities and other partners

- Cross cultural social activities

However, the project has received the attention and well wishes of local and national political leaders it is still searching for secure funding in order to continue its work.

Developing social capital – bonding, bridging and linking.

The measurement of social capital is an in-depth exercise beyond the scope of this study. However based on observations of both clubs it is possible to highlight some common themes in the development of social capital and its utilisation. Research has highlighted the important role that sports clubs can play in individual and group identity formations and loyalty that can produce bonding capital (Auld). Both clubs have highly loyal identification with club, in terms of staff, volunteers and supporters that can facilitate bonding around a shared identity. In the case of Vard in particular the voluntary and participatory structure has also facilitated the development of a shared group identity around positive participatory club values. Whilst similar values are present at Arsenal, the communication and socialisation is primarily delivered through public education in the stadium and other channels of communication, alongside the messaging carried by members of Arsenal in the community team when undertaking outreach educational, social inclusion and coaching activities.

Both clubs do attract large numbers of volunteers, Vard throughout the activities of the club and Arsenal through their coach development schemes who volunteer on Arsenal activities. Where they differ somewhat is in the level of collective decision making and communication within the organisational structure, where Vard is a voluntary and elected management structure, the Arsenal's decision making is based around a corporate structure. Whilst efforts are made by Arsenal to maintain good two way communication within the club structure and between club and fans, this is of a qualitatively different nature to that of the Vard voluntary structure. This structure is also linked to the large size of the club and also underpins the profitability of the club that goes on to enable both a successful team as well as helping to supporting the capacity to undertake community outreach.

What is notable for both clubs is that they have invested resources in order to develop links and bridges with other organisations. In the case of Arsenal, their financial success enables investment in a community team who in turn are able to develop links with local schools, communities and police. It should also be noted that funding for specific Arsenal in the community projects are drawn from a variety of funding sources independent of the club. The move to the stadium and planning requirements set down by the local authority contributed to the development of education facilities at the ground and an ongoing relationship with the Islington LEA. They have long experience of working with authorities such as the police and national government departments and are able to translate their work on the ground into policy objectives

and vice versa through the competency and expertise that they have built up over 25 years of community work.

Vard on a smaller scale have also invested significant club resources into developing links with local schools, education authorities and community groups. The main investment is through the employment of a fulltime manager for the Vard Model manager to manage relationships and meet potential participating families. In addition

Vard are able to draw on the value contained in the social networks of their volunteers. For example, the personal relationship between Eddie Sternhoff the former chairman and founder of the model and the local Education Authority Manager John Rullestad, has been influential in developing links between the clubs and local schools, as well as providing training and education opportunities for the club itself.

Volunteers alongside the arsenal in the community staff have played an important role in linking local youth and community groups with authorities such as the police. This includes working through formal projects such as Kickz as well as other Arsenal initiatives such as working with local housing associations and the local authority to develop new football facilities on local estates. Working with these authorities arsenal have contributed funds and time in kind to help develop the facilities, as well as providing the coaches who are able to work with kids on the facilities and provide a link between them and police. These links, sometimes on troubled local housing estates, have been influential in improving relations and have also seen participants become volunteers, providing opportunities for local youth to develop skills and improving the capacity of local communities and police to engage meaningfully toward shared goals.

Both clubs are also proactive in developing links with other clubs and organisations, including between each other. Initially participating on one project the relationship has developed into a regular one with arsenal coaches visiting Vard and opportunities for both sets of children to visit the very different areas of London and Haugesund. Providing opportunities for local school children with opportunities for new experiences, including meeting new groups of children from other clubs, towns, communities and countries is an important component of both clubs.

Both clubs have actively developed links with relevant local charities and community organisations in order to ensure that the club continues to be proactive in responding to new needs and opportunities in the area. A good examples of this is the relationship that Vard has developed with local migrant support groups that have facilitated new migrants to access training and participation opportunities at the club. Arsenal also works with local religious and community groups to put on events, recruit new volunteers and identify relevant issues and needs to target their activities and resources on based on the information and knowledge that they receive from their networks and contacts.

Arsenal in the Community and SK Vard have developed a club identity that moves beyond support for a football team but that also includes positive values of participation and inclusion. These values of participation and diversity within their clubs have played an important role in encouraging and facilitating the development of new relationships with communities and groups. It is these shared values that have also been influential in developing the links between these two very different clubs, beyond the basic medium of football. It is also through the commitment and passion of their volunteers and staff that these values are realised and implemented on a daily basis. In this regard both clubs need to ensure that the values that they profess to hold are being implemented throughout all of their activities and that their capacities and resources are being used proactively and positively for the benefit of its supporters, members and community.



Developing evidence and linking to policy

A key challenge facing both Arsenal and Vard is developing evidence of their activities. In the case of their internal work it is important that both clubs develop monitoring of ethnic profile of participants. This is possibly most important in the case of Vard, who need to have information on the numbers and profile of volunteers and participants in relation to the ethnic profile. In the case of Arsenal whilst they undertake staff monitoring, this needs to be monitored in relation to the restructuring of the club and the profile of the new corporate structure as well as entrants into their volunteer schemes.

During the development of their work Arsenal in the community have realised the importance of documenting the work that they do. This includes the nature of their activities and the numbers of participants. Increasingly Arsenal in the Community are also developing evaluation of their activities, including of their Double Club. This creates a historical record of their work as well as providing evidence to policy makers at a local and national level of the actual breadth of reach and impact that a football club can have. This enables the activities of Arsenal to move beyond rhetoric to contributing to strategic policy objectives.

The Arsenal in the community team have made a concerted effort to link their initiatives to existing social policy agendas, including crime and anti social behaviour reduction that they have linked to the participation of youth in their schemes, through to improving educational attainment through initiatives such as the double club. These links have been further reinforced by the evidence that they are generating through documentation as well as understanding of public policy objectives developed through links with policy makers and managers at the national and local level.

The key challenge for Vard is improving the documentation of their activity. This includes developing formal race equality policies for the club and setting up monitoring of the profile of members and participants in the clubs schemes. In addition it may also be worthwhile investing in a formal evaluation of the Vard Model, the impact that it has had on individual participants, the broader community and identify how this links to existing policy objectives including and beyond integration agendas.

In particular it is important for the club to document and highlight the informal education and voluntary contributions that are developed by the project and the contribution that these activities have for the local community. Also of importance, through internal monitoring, development and evaluation are the identification of those aspects of the club that can improve to promote inclusion and integration, where resources would be of benefit to develop and improve the activities further at Vard and to identify the transferable principles and actions that Vard have taken that could be implemented at other clubs.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS

For many of the participants and schools who were met during the project the challenge of racism is fundamentally linked to integration of multicultural societies from relatively recent migration. Child centred approaches to teaching that focus on

teaching the children that are in a class, school or education system are fundamental to successfully engaging and supporting children from a variety of backgrounds. A key concern for many educationalists has been a tendency to perceive minority children as problematic for being different from the expected and desired norms of class rooms and schools.

Key issues that were noted included the variety of language development needs, engagement with parents, curricula and ensuring fair evaluation practices. However this type of diversity is also increasingly being seen as a positive for the learning and teaching experience, with a variety of languages, national and cultural backgrounds that can help teachers develop lessons that are engaging and relate to students in their class room. Simple steps such as improving awareness and understanding of racism are important in order to enable people to avoid unwittingly maintaining inequalities. Likewise improved knowledge of diversity and difference and techniques can improve confidence when dealing with class room diversity.

Whilst different countries and cities have different histories of migration, the power of individual teachers to make a difference within their own classrooms was a key feature of the training course and work. However teachers also need to be supported in their efforts to promote integration in the class room with commitment through curricula and practical resources to support initiatives and their own professional development. Without leadership and support through training and advice, teachers can feel isolated when addressing the complex challenges of integration, leading to alienation and resentment of the pressure that they are placed under.

School leadership also need to recognise the important role that schools play in educating local communities by working with parents of all backgrounds and developing links partnerships with local community organisations such as sports clubs. Leadership also needs to be reflected by education mangers and authorities at local and national levels by ensuring that schools are adequately supported to deliver change. This includes implementation of race equality policies, encouraging the recruitment of teachers from minority backgrounds and a commitment of resources to support positive initiatives. Fundamentally anti racism in education requires education systems to evaluate and take steps to ensure that all children receive a quality education and learning experience.

Throughout the project the role that clubs can play in supporting education and integration was evident through their role in encouraging participation in sporting activities and in the club itself. Sports clubs are community institutions with extensive networks through their participants and volunteers that are drawn together around a

shared enjoyment of sports such as football. The presence of a variety of professional and social backgrounds in clubs means that they can not only bring people of different social backgrounds together as well as a variety of skills. These different backgrounds can help groups and communities develop bridging links to other community groups and links with schools and other local authorities, as well as to other community groups to work together to encourage social outcomes for local communities.

However it is also the case that clubs are not immune to excluding and polarising communities and identities. It is important that clubs recognise the positive role that they can play in encouraging participation from across the local community and the positive benefits that this can produce for clubs in terms of new membership, a dynamic club culture and a positive experience for its members. This is achieved through reaching out to new sections of the local community by developing partnerships with other community groups, services and organisations such as schools and developing an ethos of inclusion and participation.

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