Racism, football and cultural difference: the experience of Scottish Asians

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Abstract

The existence and influence of racism in Scottish society has largely been ignored, while claims that there is 'no racism here' have persisted. The social field of football has distinct properties but is not exempt from the processes and structures of wider social life. Racism has often been misrepresented as only existing in extreme forms. However, the subtle and complex expressions of contemporary racism are more prevalent, but receive far less recognition and criticism.

This thesis is specifically concerned with the experiences of Scottish Asian ethnic minorities whose presence in elite football has been negligible. The racism which confronts this group is not independent of the racism faced by Irish-Scots and black people in Scotland. A further prejudice which interacts with these is anti-Englishness. Thus, not only does racism take various forms, but it has various targets.

Analysing racism requires a sophisticated approach sensitive to the many forms which racism takes, and the different locations in which it is expressed. Furthermore, it requires awareness of the myths which have historically accompanied racist prejudice. The first section of this thesis addresses two specific myths: that South Asians do not play football; and that Scottish football is free of racism. The type of racism which emerged in both South Asian and Scottish football is detailed and analysed. The second section critically evaluates contemporary issues of Scottish Asian inclusion in football, and considers closely the types of subtle and implicit variants of racism which are evident in Scottish society. The third and final section offers a cultural description of

Scottish Asian football culture, describing localised processes of resistance, while critically challenging essentialistic accounts of ethnicity.

Football, in short, is a place where power is negotiated in Scottish society. Racism is prevalent in various guises, yet it is rarely acknowledged, and its more implicit guises require subtle and sustained analytical criticism.

Chapter 1: Racism, Scottish football and Scottish Asians: an overview

1.1 Introduction

'One of the great delusions of Scottish society is the widespread belief that Scotland is a tolerant and welcoming society and racism is a problem confined to England's green and unpleasant land' (Cosgrove 1991:128). In this sentence, Cosgrove neatly captures the form and content of debates around racism in Scottish society. The belief that racism is absent from Scottish society is indeed 'widespread'. Nevertheless, there is sufficient available evidence regarding the experiences of racialised minorities in Scotland to demonstrate the existence and persistence of racism (Finn 1987, 1991a,b, 1994a,b, 1999a,b; Walsh 1987; Armstrong 1989; Miles 1989; Bell 1991; Maan 1992; CRE 1998).

In fact, statistical analysis from the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) calculated the 1996/97 Racially Motivated Incident (RMI) rate for each police force area, by dividing the number of incidents reported by the ethnic minority population for each area. The highest English figure was 23 (Northumbria), while the highest Scottish was Central (60.9), followed by Lothian and Borders (24.58) and Tayside (22.8). In fact, all 8 Scottish forces would appear in the top half of a British table. Furthermore, in 1995/96 the CRE found that Scotland accounted for 6.4% of the British total of reported incidents but only 2.1% of the total ethnic minority population (CRE 1999).[1]

Cosgrove's choice of the term 'delusion' is revealing. One meaning of 'delusion' might be 'mistake', suggesting an unintended misconception, a blunder, lapse or oversight. A second definition might imply something far more consciously deceptive: a trick, a mirage or a fallacy. A mistake might be forgivable, the consequence of lack of information or awareness. However, the

portrayal of Scotland as tolerant, welcoming and free from racism, does not correspond with reality. Minority voices are suppressed in claims that Scottish society is free of racism, a quite intentional strategy to maintain the 'great delusion'. For this is a delusion which suits the powerful groups in Scotland which make up the majority. Inequalities of 'race' sustain minorities' position as marginal and comparatively powerless. It is not in the interests of the majority to address racism. Instead, majority interests are served by supporting this 'great delusion', by maintaining the status quo, by continuing the system from which they are the benefactors. The CRE recently argued that there is too much complacency in Scotland (*Observer*, 21 March 1999), which was a useful summary since 'complacency' means smugness, contentment, comfort, apathy and indifference.[2]

A second criticism of the myth of a racism-free Scotland is the definition of racism upon which this myth is based. Horne (1995, 1996) has suggested that Scottish society has lacked successful right-wing political parties, and that the 'race riots' which have occasionally occurred during the past three decades have been in England. There appears to have been few obvious and explicit expressions of racism in Scotland.[3] Especially absent have been organised racist factions, mass expression of racism, and political divides based on 'race'. However, the characterisation of racism as only associated with fascism or violence is problematic; racism exists in more subtle guises (van Dijk 1984, 1991, 1992, 1993; Finn 1987, 1990, 1991a,b, 1994a,b; Gaine 1987, 1995; Gilroy 1987, 1990, 1992; Back, Crabbe & Solomos 1998; Carrington 1998a; Dimeo & Finn 1998, 1999). Minority groups, including Scottish Asians[4], face stereotyping, low-level harassment and implicit forms of

exclusion from the Scottish 'nation', none of which register within a definition of racism as only violent or fascistic. Scientific forms of racism which portray non-whites as inferior are also assumed absent from Scottish society. The consistent denial of biological inferiority adds to the impression that 'race relations' problems have been eradicated.

Brown has distinguished between the 'old-fashioned' prejudice of 'plainly pejorative stereotypes' and 'openly bigoted' expression, and 'modern' prejudice in which antipathy is 'symbolically or indirectly' expressed (1995:209-217). That is, the former is associated with explicit, extreme, fascistic, violent, or scientific forms of racism. The latter relates to the more banal, routine, and subtle prejudices which are far more common though not as easily recognisable. However, Brown maintained that the two forms of racism are not mutually independent, they are 'usually substantially correlated with each other' (1995:219); they can co-exist.[5] An important difference, however, is that while openly expressed, 'old-fashioned', prejudice invokes criticism, 'modern' forms of prejudice remain and receive much less condemnation.

Often, in fact, the subtlety of such forms can encourage a failure to recognise their racist content. Prejudice is best understood as 'a hardy, complicated phenomenon, socially adaptable' (Finn 1999a: in press), but it is often approached in overly facile ways which neglect its subtle nuances. It is often claimed that implicit or subtle prejudices are unimportant when compared with overt, bigoted prejudice (Finn 1999a). Consequently, 'modern' expressions of racism can pass unrecognised, uncriticised and unchallenged.

A third criticism comes from the history of prejudice directed at the Irish-Scots, a group whose presence has provoked 'race riots', the establishment

of racist organisations, the racialisation of politics (Handley 1947; Miles 1993), and the expression of overt racism (Dimeo & Finn 1999; Finn 1999a,b). Yet, these issues are forgotten thanks to the simplistic assumption that racism only involves blacks being oppressed by whites (Finn 1987; Dimeo & Finn 1998). Indeed, anti-Irish racism is usually termed 'sectarianism', a label which removes any suggestion of 'races' and racism, instead defining the problems in terms of religious sects: Protestant and Catholic. The history of racialised constructions of the Irish, and the fact that the Irish-Scots community can largely be traced to the mass migrations of Irish after the potato famine of the mid-nineteenth century, lead to the definition of the Irish-Scots as a racialised minority. As part of the process through which anti-Irish racism is denied, the two 'sects' are represented as holding equal amounts of power (Finn 1990). However, the Irish-Scots remain numerically the minority, their Catholic religion the subject of much prejudice in Scotland since the Reformation, and subtle prejudiced stereotypes about Irishness have continued to accompany the Irish-Scots to the present day (Dimeo & Finn 1999; Finn 1999a,b).

Anti-Irish racist prejudice has changed form since the Second World War, shifting away from openly racist, bigoted expressions towards more subtle or 'modern' expressions. The apparent decline in 'old-fashioned' prejudice has led some to argue that there is a lack of 'evidence of meaningful ethnic division' (Moorhouse 1994:191) in contemporary Scotland. However, it is more appropriate to argue that anti-Irish prejudice remains, not in the more explicit 'old-fashioned' forms but in 'modern' forms. Therefore, myths of 'no racism here' continue despite the persistence of racist prejudice.

Finally, the projection of an image of England as riven by racism is a product of Scottish anti-Englishness; Scotland is presumed superior because it does not have the same racism problems as England (Dimeo & Finn 1999). Thus, the 'great delusion' itself contains elements of anti-English prejudice.

Discussions of racism cannot afford to ignore these issues: 'Racist discourses in Scotland are interdependent, informed by different forms of racism, and the myth that Scotland has no racism, but has "sectarianism" instead' (Dimeo & Finn 1998:125). This chapter shall examine these interdependent discourses in more detail.

1.2 Racism

1.2.1 Explicit forms of racism: scientific and fascistic

'Racism' is a term reserved for the description of particular forms of social expression. When individuals or groups discriminate against individuals or groups simply because they are understood to be 'racially' different then we can employ 'racism' as an appropriate label. Racism can take many forms: physical, verbal, institutional, cultural or ideological. Yet some forms of racism, as Brown (1995) noted, are more easily recognisable than others, specifically those which involve the scientific inferiority of non-white 'races' and those which include violent, extreme, fascistic or genocidal features.

The scientific classification of humanity into 'races' developed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reaching its apotheosis with late Victorian social Darwinism (Goldberg 1993; Malik 1996). Physical and social scientists employed 'race' models, and consensus emerged over the basic principle that mankind could be split up into 'races'. The nature of 'race difference', however, was a source of some conflict. Polygenism maintained that mankind could essentially be divided in species, which were absolute and unchanging. By contrast, monogenism claimed that mankind was a singular race, and that (sub-species) racial differences were the result of environmental factors and were dynamic (Stocking 1968:45). Goldberg summarised the debate thus:

> In the monogenic view of race, the genesis of all human beings was considered to lie in the line of descent from Adam to Eve, and racial distinction was ascribable to environmental difference. Yet no account

was forthcoming for the mechanisms by which races were environmentally determined. Polygenism resolved this difficulty by supposing racial difference to inhere originally in population groupings: contemporary difference in type was a matter simply of inheritance.

(1993:65)

In the late nineteenth century a complex, almost contradictory, position had developed, whereby monogenists: 'could maintain their belief in a single human origin, could theoretically subscribe to human perfectibility by environmental adaption, and yet could also champion the permanent inferiority of the backward races, in line with polygenist views' (Fox 1985:151). Thus, monogenism and polygenism intertwined to sustain ideologies of white supremacy.

Malik has claimed that the relationship between the 'modern discourse of race' and attitudes towards non-Western others has been misunderstood. He argued that there 'exists an almost axiomatic belief among historians, anthropologists and sociologists that the concept of race arose out of colonialism and the European conquest of the rest of the world' (1996:81).

Instead, it was the internal differences within European societies which had become racialised. The notion of 'race' had been applied internally to explain class and regional differences, and also employed to delineate between the 'nation races' of Europe. Such ideas of races were later systematically applied to non-Europeans populations.[6] European elites had developed complex racial models to explain, justify and reproduce their political

supremacy at home that were then adapted for abroad. These processes led to the situation Jacobs succinctly described as follows:

> Scientific and legal theories of social evolution gave British expansion across the world a 'natural' logic. The world, in evolutionary terms, was inhabited by 'advanced' and 'backward' peoples . . . social evolutionary logic did more than just categorise the world's people in hierarchical ways, it also legitimated the exercise of power through these differences.
>
> (1996:17)

Although scientific, social evolutionary thought was a prominent feature of academic discourses on 'races', popular theories would have drawn upon xenophobic suspicion, mythologised tales of foreign characteristics, and populist recycling of scientific theories. It would be dangerous to assume that scientific racism was the only, or even the most dominant, form of racism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Banton 1987; Hannaford 1996).

In an analysis of the sporting tours of Britain made by Australian Aborigines and New Zealand Maoris in 1868 and 1888, Ryan claimed that the prejudices these sportsmen faced were 'some way removed from the prejudices of "scientific" racism and the antipathy which marked many aspects of British racial policy' (1997:79). Yet, Ryan identified numerous forms of stereotyping, patronising attitudes, discourses on blackness and miscegenation, and portrayals of the touring parties as savage and non-civilised. Ryan claimed that such British responses were 'more in the nature of cultural insensitivity based

on ignorance than any deliberate racist expression' (1997:74). The logic behind this claim is that racist expression only takes the form of explicitly scientific racism. Yet, the instances of racism to which Ryan referred *were* typical of popular racism in the nineteenth century.

Similar thinking about the nature of racism is evident elsewhere. There is a common failure to highlight other, more subtle variants of racism. After the Second World War, academic thinking on 'race' underwent a transformation. The idea of separate and distinct 'races' largely became unfashionable in scientific and social scientific disciplines. Sciences which measured 'race differences' have largely disappeared and their theories generally rejected (Malik 1996).

Kohn summarised the shift in scientific thinking, noting that the recent contribution of science towards the 'race' debate:

> has been the message that, in scientific terms, race is of minimal importance, if not a delusion altogether. The construction and development of this message has been one of science's most significant contributions to society in the half-century that has elapsed since the end of the Second World War, though the fact has not been generally appreciated. Over the last twenty years, the line has hardened: the concept of race has largely vanished from textbooks, except to be labelled obsolete. A century ago, equivalent books would have spoken of little else.
>
> (1996:1)

However, some recent developments in the social sciences, in particular the publication of the 'Bell curve' theory (Herrnstein & Murray 1994), suggest that the disappearance of 'race' has been somewhat overstated. The 'Bell curve' demonstrated by means of IQ tests that 'whites' were of superior intelligence to 'blacks'. The correlation of 'race' and intelligence shocked liberal academia, which had become accustomed to the scientific rejection of 'race' as a valid ontological category. Kincheloe & Steinberg (1996), for instance, claimed that the 'Bell curve' relied upon a set of dubious procedures. They disputed claims that the IQ test would be an appropriate measure of intelligence, because environmental and cultural factors were ignored in the measurement of intelligence.[7] They also argued that racism and deprivation played a role in the apparent underdevelopment of black groups; that this underdevelopment was considered (in IQ testing) to be a result of 'natural' inabilities rather than the consequence of racist exclusion and oppression. Their critique also suggested that such correlations of 'race' and IQ simply encouraged racial conflict by promoting notions of black inferiority.

In Scotland, Brand (1996) published research with similar conclusions to those of Herrnstein & Murray (1994). In parallel with the 'Bell curve', Brand's theories drew criticism, his book was 'met with a combination of outrage and weariness. Scientists, whose exploration of genetics and neurology have debunked such notions long since, are exasperated. Race relations bodies are stunned. His publishers are appalled' (*Scotsman*, 16 April 1996). These recent exhumations of 'race' theorising illustrate the continued, if marginal, presence of 'race' theories within academia. The immediate critical response to both Herrnstein & Murray and Brand shows that the general rejection of 'race'

as an appropriate classifying device is still a powerful trait of academic thought. Nevertheless, traces of scientific racism can still be found in discourses around 'race' in contemporary British academic thought (see Solomos & Back 1996). Indeed, elements of scientific racism have been identified within British football in discourses around British Afro-Caribbean and British Asian players, co-existing with other forms of racism (Cashmore 1982; Back *et al* 1998; Bains with Patel 1996; Dimeo & Finn 1998).

Throughout the twentieth century, a number of events have suggested that, in spite of the general rejection and dismantling of 'race' within academia, racist practice had not ceased (Carter 1997). Brown (1995) argued that since the Second World War civil rights and anti-racist movements, as well as in the increased representation of previously excluded groups, meant that open expressions of prejudice are now frowned upon. The complexity and evolution of subtle prejudice requires understanding, and should not be considered unimportant next to explicit racism. Nevertheless, 'old-fashioned' prejudices have persisted.

The types of systematic discrimination and genocide which accompanied Nazi beliefs about Jews, Australian attitudes towards Aborigines, white South African opinions about African blacks, and the 'ethnic cleansings' of Bosnia, Rwanda and Kosovo, all contained elements of 'race' conflict. The war in the former Yugoslavia which raged throughout the mid-1990s disrupted the view 'widely held that ethno-nationalist and racialised genocide was, in Europe, an aberration which the defeat of Nazism had irrevocably eradicated' (Rattansi & Westwood 1994:2). Such explicit forms of racism continued to be manifest in a range of social settings. In Europe, both France and Germany had

identifiable right-wing political activists throughout the 1990s, with prejudice against black minorities highly visible, and political organisations of the extreme right growing increasingly powerful (Rattansi & Westwood 1994). Neither has racism been absent in the U.S.A., a country with 'racist traditions and contemporary manifestations of racial prejudice and discrimination' (Dovidio & Gaertner 1986:1). Recent salient examples are the acquittal of four Los Angeles police officers accused of beating the black man Rodney King which sparked several days of rioting, and the murder of James Byrd who was tied to a truck by a group of white Americans and dragged to his death in 1998 (Rattansi & Westwood 1994; *Guardian*, 23 February 1999).

The election of a British National Party candidate to local government in Tower Hamlets in 1993 highlighted the continued existence of racism in Britain. In April 1993 the black teenager Stephen Lawrence was murdered in London, one of 26 racially motivated murders listed by the *Guardian* (24 February 1994) as occurring between 1991 and February 1999. One of these was Imran Khan, a Scottish Asian who died after being stabbed in a street-fight in Glasgow between Scottish Asians and 'white' Scots in January 1998. The *Guardian* acknowledged the struggle civil rights and equality groups faced to have some of these murders classified as racist. The murder of Stephen Lawrence was not initially considered to be racially-motivated (*Guardian*, 21-24 February 1999). The death of Imran Khan has been blamed on poor medical services rather than on the circumstances behind his stabbing. Another Scottish case, and one not mentioned by the *Guardian*, was that of Darsham Singh Chhokar. He was murdered in Wishaw in November 1998, and despite the fact that no alternative motive has been established, racism was ruled out by the

police (*Observer*, 21 March 1999). These are some examples of evident racism, a comprehensive survey of twentieth century racism would require far more time and space than is available here. However, these examples demonstrate that violent expressions of racism have not disappeared, and that complacent attitudes to such events remain a prominent feature of British society.

The continuity of scientific forms of racism, and extremely violent, at times genocidal, racism clearly demonstrates the impact of racism throughout the twentieth century. While the hierarchies of 'races' informed by scientific racism have been denied by physical and social scientists, and have been less conspicuous in public discourse, their effect can still be felt throughout the world. However, many of the more common variants of racism are banal and routine, referring to stereotyped, inferior 'cultural' traits associated with racialised others, involving low-level racial harassment and a general dismissal of minority issues. Indeed, the Macpherson Report of February 1999 into the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the flawed investigation by the Metropolitan Police, demanded that we identify racism even if it is 'discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping' (*Guardian*, 25 February 1999). Or as Hugo Young wrote:

> Because we seldom have race riots, and would universally abominate any resort to the redneck tumbrils, it is easy for a white man to overlook the racial prejudice – the soft, silent, secretive, unexpressed but nonetheless decisive prejudice – that permeates the daily life of our society.
>
> (*Guardian*, 23 February 1999)

Even though scientific and violent forms of racism are not the only form of racism, and this study is largely concerned with more subtle forms of racism, it is important to note the powerful impact various forms of racism have had within contemporary British society.

1.2.2 Implicit, subtle or cultural forms of racism

There are a number of variants of racism. One variant has been explicit, violent, fascistic racism buttressed by beliefs in pseudo-scientific racial hierarchies. However, Gilroy (1992) has argued that theories of racism which focus entirely upon this variant of racism are flawed.[8] According to such theories, racism is epiphenomenal, a small blemish on an otherwise non-racist society, a 'coat of paint'. Instead, Gilroy argued that racism lies within the heart of British society, and that examination of more banal or subtle variants of racism reveals a larger system of prejudice and discrimination. Emphasising the more extraordinary variants of racism to the exclusion of the more routine makes racism seem marginal. It is viewed as only located within a small number of anti-social deviants. Consequently, the submerged mass of banal racist expression is not identified or considered to be in need of critical attention.

One function of the 'coat of paint' theory is that it ignores routine prejudices displayed in unspectacular circumstances. Through stereotypes, for example, racism can be manifest without necessarily being understood as problematic; their subtle prejudices are hidden under veneers of alleged objectivity and apparent lack of malice. Stereotypes, much like other forms of tacit racism, may appear politically neutral, but they unquestionably contain 'an inherent power dimension linked to questions of control' (Long, Carrington & Spracklen 1997:253). It is through such stereotyping that 'we' are demarcated from 'them', and 'they' are problematised. That is, 'racial stereotyping is a means of handling the common-sense racism of civil society in a day-to-day context' (Ginsburg 1992:160).

Other subtle forms of exclusion use notions of cultural difference and national unity to problematise minorities:

> We increasingly face a racism which avoids being recognized as such because it is able to link 'race' with nationhood, patriotism and nationalism, a racism which has taken a necessary distance from crude ideas of biological inferiority and superiority and now seeks to present an imaginary definition of the nation as a *unified* cultural community. It constructs and defends an image of national culture – homogeneous in its whiteness yet precarious and perpetually vulnerable to attack from enemies within and without.
>
> (Gilroy 1992:53)

Gilroy and other scholars (for example, CCCS 1978) criticised conservative notions of Britain which problematised the existence in Britain of ethnic minority groups.[9] These groups were perceived as the 'enemy within', harbingers of social dislocation and the destruction of British unity. Such problematisation of minorities was conceptualised as the new, cultural racism, as it appeared to dispense with biological claims of 'race'. It was based upon narrow, prejudiced, and ill-informed views of minority culture. It desired a return to imperialist and Victorian British values, and sought to prevent a multicultural, pluralist society in which groups with different skin-colours, religions, histories and philosophies might co-exist. The link between 'race' and nationhood became powerful, an almost invisible form of exclusion and marginalisation. Nation and the history of the nation were constructed such that

an essentialist view of Britain was produced, one which could be traced to a period before the immigration of 'non-Britons', yet without explicit reference to 'race' (Carrington 1998a).

The new, cultural racism had evolved away from the use of pseudo-scientific and explicit forms of racist discourse. Indeed, van Dijk has claimed that racism has been displaced by 'ethnicism', 'through an ideological substitution of the relevance of "race" by that of the rich set of socio-cultural factors' (1991:28). Ethnic minorities were held to be 'culturally different', as an external threat to British culture, and as inferior. This 'ethnicism', which might also be described as a subtle variant of racism, disguised the operations of racism. As the old manifestations of racism appeared to be receding from view in British society, so the continual presence of anti-racism was made problematic:

> One of the implications of this transformation of racism into ethnicism is the development of an ideology that recognizes socio-cultural differences between different ethnic groups, but denies differences of power, and hence the dominance of western culture. That is, such an ideology suggests a 'pluralism' of cultures and therefore of ethnic relations, in which all ethnic groups (including the white one) have equal power. As a consequence of this 'multi-cultural' approach to ethnic relations, anti-racist perspectives, which focus on ethnic dominance and power, tend to be discredited as too 'radical', or even as a form of 'inverted' racism.
>
> (van Dijk 1991:28-9)[10]

The claims made by white supremacists that an inferior 'race' had migrated and settled in Britain appeared to diminish. Accusations made against minorities no longer emphasised their 'racial' inferiority:

> Instead of self-confident assertions whose utterance actually enacts the superiority that is claimed, and which make it possible to identify with 'the master race', as being and having everything that the subject races lack, we have discourses which resort to all manner of rhetorical devices to construct a narrative of special pleading marked by highly ambiguous and ironic self-reference and a litany of real or imagined grievance.
>
> (Cohen 1992:93)

Racism in contemporary British society has become very complex. The reduction in scientific claims over 'race' differences, and the supposed absence of 'race conflict', have fostered the image of a harmonious society. But racism has become more subtle. The confusions of 'ethnicism', the more subtle and banal variants of racism, and the pernicious strategies of nationalism, have allowed racism to continue while simultaneously being denied.

Central to racism, however, has been the notion of 'difference'. That is, certain ideas of difference are integral to the construction of divisive boundaries, and the promotion of distance and conflict between groups. Social meanings around difference can vary in important ways. Ethnic minorities can have their cultural differences acknowledged and respected without prejudicial

intent. Indeed, celebrating cultural variety is an important feature of any multicultural society (Finn 1987).

Alternatively, difference can be constructed in negative ways. Most obviously, ideas of difference can problematise minorities. Less obviously, ideas of a fixed, historical essence can create 'impervious boundaries' (Brah 1996:91) between groups imagined to be stable, homogeneous and oppositional. Therefore, it is not perhaps difference *per se* which becomes a problem of racist prejudice, but the social meanings attached to specific articulations of difference. Brah argues that common identities based on shared experience, or the historical specificity of group difference, are legitimate expressions of difference. She maintains that essentialism's notion of an 'ultimate essence that transcends historical and cultural boundaries' (1996:92) is problematic. Expressions of difference, therefore, are complex and varied, and require critical attention.

1.2.3 Responses to racism which lead to its continuity

A racist incident is often followed by a series of responses: from victim, perpetrator, witnesses, medics, police, the legal system, educators, academics, the media, administrative institutions, and so on. It was the response of the Metropolitan Police force that was scrutinised in the Macpherson Report into the Stephen Lawrence murder (Macpherson 1999). Macpherson concluded that the force had been institutionally racist as it had failed to make the appropriate and reasonable inquiries in the course of investigating the murder. A racist incident had been followed by police failure born of racism: neglect caused by racist attitudes, behaviour and stereotyping. Therefore, the understanding of racism has to be broad enough to include the responses of relevant groups. In the Lawrence case the connection between the incident and the police is clear: a crime was committed and the perpetrators should have been brought to justice. Thus, it is important that we consider carefully the response of specific groups to see if a racist incident is defined as such and criticised as such, to see if racism is challenged or simply reproduced. While the initial act of racism remains important the range of responses from various groups are significant not only for punitive action, but for the system of racism's reproduction within social beliefs and ideologies. How racism is defined and described, whether it is accepted or criticised, if and how it is challenged, and the process of change are fundamental to the continuity or otherwise of racism.

Strategies of response to racism often include silence, denial or confusion (van Dijk 1984, 1991). Silences after the event pretend that nothing extraordinary has occurred, the racism is forgotten, consigned to obscurity by virtue of its failure to register in public discourses. Processes of denial operate

for similar reasons, but instead they deny that any racism was intended or evident. Confusion strategies make the relationships around the event seem more complex, and often the victim may be held partially responsibility for the attack. Many examples of banal or subtle racism are denied because they do not fit with the 'coat of paint' or 'traditional' model of racism. Alternatively, when racism is so obvious as to be impossible to ignore, the alleged uniqueness of the example of racism in question becomes emphasised, that it is the rare exception rather than the rule. Such a response was evident when the English black player, Mark Walters, played for Rangers in 1988 and met with substantial racist abuse (chapter 4; Dimeo & Finn 1999).

Van Dijk has outlined some of the styles of response which he has called 'semantic strategies', and which allow racism to continue without challenge or resistance:

> Although the [semantic strategies] . . . may occur in all kinds of interviews or conversations, some of them seem to be more specific for prejudiced talk and for the specific strategies they help to realize. Thus, we find moves of *dissimulation* (implicitness, indirectness, vagueness, presupposition, avoidance), *defence* (excuse, justification, explanation, displacement), *accusation* (accusation, blaming, comparison, norm explication, and in general all negative predications), and those of *positive self-presentation* (admission, concession, agreement, acceptance, self-assessment, norm respect, empathy). Depending on the choices or combinations of such moves or move classes, different *styles* of talk about minorities may be discerned. Thus, less prejudiced people

rather seem to opt for the 'positive' moves and avoid accusation moves when speaking about minorities.

(1984:127-8)

These strategies are central to an analysis of contemporary racism. By employing a framework within which responses can be assessed it becomes possible to qualitatively measure and judge prejudice. Van Dijk has offered a set of criteria through which discussions around racism might be examined. The 'old' racisms of science and genocide have been replaced by 'new' racisms of subtle accusation, anti- anti-racism, and stereotyping. Therefore, social science requires sophisticated forms of analysis, such that these latter variants of racism can be exposed, challenged and undermined.

Dominelli has also highlighted the importance of various 'strategies which white people use to deny, ignore and minimise the presence of racism in their own institutions, culture and personal behaviour':

Denial strategies are based on the idea that there is no such thing as cultural and institutional racism, only personal prejudice in its crude manifestations. *Colour-blind strategies* focus on the notion that all people are the same – members of one race with similar problems, needs and objectives. *Patronizing approaches* operate on the basis of a false acceptance of equality between black and white people and their lifestyles. But, when the final evaluation between them is made, white people and their lifestyles always come out superior. *Dumping strategies* rely on placing the responsibility for eliminating racism on

> black people's shoulders. *Omission strategies* rest on the view that racism is not an important part of social interaction, and can be safely ignored in most situations. *Decontextualization strategies* acknowledge the presence of racism in general terms, but fail to do so in specific instances involving daily routines and interactions. *Avoidance strategies* are predicated on accepting that racism exists, but denying the particular responsibility of the individual to do something about it.
>
> (1992:167)

Throughout the analyses of racism in Scottish football in later chapters, the types of strategies noted by both van Dijk and Dominelli offer a method through which we might examine the processes of racism's existence, reproduction and consistent denial. By searching for these far more implicit forms of racism, instead of the archetypal fascist expressions, it may be possible to examine in detail the routine operations of racist culture in Scottish society.

1.2.4 Racism and football in Britain

Racism within Scottish society has consistently been ignored and denied, and football has proved no exception to this pattern (Finn 1991a,b, 1994a,b; Horne 1995, 1996; Dimeo & Finn 1998, 1999). However, in English football the recognition that racism is a problem has been more generally accepted. Though, as Garland & Rowe (1999:45-6) note, there is still some tendency to deny the existence of racism in English football, or to suggest that anti-racist programmes would prove counter productive.

There has been a long history of black players being involved in English football and being subjected to varying forms of abuse.[11] Explicit forms of racism have been clearly evident within English grounds (Holland 1992, 1997; Fleming & Tomlinson 1996; Garland & Rowe 1996). The style of this abuse has reflected discredited, but still existing, ideas about black 'races' as being lower on the evolutionary hierarchy than white 'races'. Black skin has historically been associated with primitivism, and consequently black football players have bananas thrown at them, and chants mimicking monkeys made in their direction. The semiology of these articulations is transparent: these individuals are supposedly like monkeys or apes, a view which corresponds with ideas of their lack of evolutionary development. In England such styles of racism have characterised the experiences of many black football players, such as John Barnes, who played for Watford, Liverpool and, much later, Newcastle United (Hill 1989).[12] His presence at Liverpool alongside several other black players, prompted the club's nickname of 'Niggerpool' (Back *et al.* 1998). Numerous other players have received abuse in English football, including England internationalists such as Paul Ince and Ian Wright.

Since black players emerged in professional English football responses to incidents of racism have changed. When Brendan Batson, Lawrie Cunningham and Cyrille Regis played together for West Bromwich Albion they received racist abuse. At this time, however, there was little anti-racist reaction. In fact, their manager, Ron Atkinson, nicknamed them the 'Three Degrees', which only made their skin-colour a source for ridicule. More potently, Atkinson 'joked' about his stars as the three 'sambos' (Giulianotti 1999a:163).

Indeed, Carver, Garland & Rowe claimed:

> In the 1970s when black footballers . . . first appeared in the English game in any significant number the degree of racist abuse that they endured was often regarded as no more significant than the abuse that all players, of whatever ethnic background, receive from opposition fans.
>
> (1995:2)

Since these first appearances of black players racist incidents have been common. However it was not until 1993 that the Commission for Racial Equality launched their 'Let's Kick Racism out of Football' campaign, and some clubs created their own anti-racist programmes (McArdle & Lewis 1997). These moves have been praised as a creditable challenge to the complacency of previous decades, even if racism has not disappeared (Carver *et al.* 1995). Racist chanting was made illegal under the 1991 Football Offences Act, a symbol of the increased awareness and problematisation of

racism in football stadia. Even so, 'football grounds free of racism are still some way off' (Fleming & Tomlinson 1996:88). Moreover, some clubs remain reluctant to endorse anti-racist campaigns (Giulianotti 1999a).

The success of anti-racist lobbying led the British Government to include the issue of racism in their wide-ranging review of the English professional game under the Football Task Force. It is worth noting that the reason why Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland were excluded from the Task Force's review has never been explained. However, in its recommendations of March 1998, the legislative criminalisation of racism was taken a step further. Suggestions included contractual obligations for players, coaches and managers to prohibit them from racism. Also recommended was a series of punishments for amateur clubs who were found guilty of racism (*Guardian*, 31 March 1998). Professional clubs were to be held responsible for their supporters and in October 1998 the English FA were themselves fined after England fans were found guilty of racially abusing the Swedish internationalist and Celtic player Henrik Larsson.

Carver *et al.* highlighted the transformations in English football, but warn that recent improvements have not removed racism from football. Indeed, the changes present fresh challenges for anti-racism:

> There is a widespread belief that the amount of racism has decreased in British[13] football in recent years. There is a concern that this belief may mask the fact that a less public form of racism is still widespread at football matches. Whilst National Front paper-sellers are no longer a common sight and 'monkey chanting' is now rare it is less certain that

> racist comments or threats have also disappeared. The lack of supporters from minority ethnic backgrounds suggests that there is still at least a perception that football is a white domain.
>
> (1995:35)

These processes reflect broader ideas that since 'traditional' forms of racism appear to have diminished in frequency and intensity, racism is no longer a problem. Carver *et al.* identify that such logic is flawed, though they fail to detail other forms of racism.

In a parallel to Gilroy's 'coat of paint' theory, analysts of racism in English football have persisted in focusing solely upon extreme expressions of racist prejudice and discrimination. However, Back *et al.* have argued that the vision of the 'racist-hooligan' folk devil is common:

> In the context of the politics of racism, the 'hooligan' becomes the exemplary archetype of the racist. We suggest that this relationship produces a form of discourse which can be characterised as the racist-hooligan couplet. There is an allure to this approach because it enables a difficult question like how to understand the forms of popular racism expressed in football to be reduced to a simple archetype. It becomes a useful shorthand way of: (a) understanding what racism in football is and (b) locating the problem outside of the institutions of football and into the shady interstices of quasi-criminal subcultures.
>
> (1998:72-3)

The consequence of the prevalence of the 'racist-hooligan couplet' is that the complex, contradictory nature of racism is ignored. Banal manifestations of racism are ignored because they do not fit the 'hooligan' image of racist practice. As Garland & Rowe argue such a 'misconceptualization of racism leads to a low-key yet perhaps more ingrained and individualistic to go relatively unchecked' (1999:49). Such portrayals of racism reflect popular misunderstandings of racism in British society.

However, few studies have described in detail the types of subtle racism which accompany the presence of minorities within football. Some research, which shall be discussed later, has investigated the reasons behind English Asian absence from the professional football arena and found subtle stereotyping to play a significant role (Fleming 1991, 1992, 1995; Bains with Patel 1996; Bose 1996; Bains & Johal 1998; Johal 1999). Meanwhile, Carrington (1998a) explored the construction of an homogeneous, white English national identity during the 1996 European Championships. Alongside other cultural vehicles for the expression of national identity, such as the popular musical fashion Britpop, and the masculine 'New Laddism', a recovery of historical versions of nation and gender signalled a glorification of the past. In the mid-1960s when England won the World Cup, British rock music revolutionised popular music, and men were sure of their power and identity. This was a period before the migration of Afro-Caribbeans and South Asians to Britain was considered a problem. Thus the cultural influence of these groups was suppressed in a vision of 'true' 'Englishness/Britishness':

> nationalism is now often central to racist ideologies and discourses. These 'dreamlike constructions' of earlier 'golden ages' . . . are increasingly used as a way to manage contemporary political, economic and social problems by recourse to an invented past of imperial greatness when 'Britain' was supposedly at ease with herself. More importantly, we can see here the way in which certain expressions can come to have racial connotations within particular semantic fields, even as their protagonists deny there is a 'racial element' to their pronouncements.
>
> (1998a:103)

Thus, recent contributions to the relationship of racism and football in English society have begun to develop more sophisticated notions of the nature of contemporary racism. Giulianotti has argued that 'racism, prejudice and social intolerance may be expressed in particularly insidious ways that are difficult to establish beyond reasonable doubt' (1999a:163). Establishing the presence of these 'insidious' forms depends upon identifying and describing the more subtle and banal racisms beyond the remit of the 'racist-hooligan', 'bigot', 'coat of paint' or 'old-fashioned' prejudices.

In Scotland, some studies of anti-Irish racism have detailed the variety of racist expression. We shall return to these, and how they relate to Scottish Asian football, after a consideration of the history of the Scottish Asian communities and the types of racism which they have confronted.

1.3 Scottish Asians

1.3.1 Colonialism and migration

British society altered dramatically with the increased arrival of Afro-Caribbean and South Asian immigrants during the 1950s and 1960s. South Asia had been liberated from the yoke of British imperialism in 1947, an event which ended over three centuries of colonial rule. British trading links with India had been established in the sixteenth century. In order to encourage regulated and controlled trade with India, the East India Company had been constituted in 1600. The Company was granted the power to raise an army to protect itself and its British trade interests through military methods (Heathcote 1995:21). By the early nineteenth century the Company was employing its army to extend British rule in the region. Victories in the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-1816 and the Anglo-Sikh wars (1845-56 and 1848-49) significantly asserted British military dominance in the northern regions of the subcontinent (Fox 1985; Caplan 1995a).[14] Through political negotiations the British colonial government won other territories from local princes (or Maharajahs). By the mid-nineteenth century the British had secured almost complete military control of the subcontinent, only a handful of small states held on to their their autonomy.

However, the colonial rulers sustained their power through other means than just military. Education, bureaucratic organisations, cultural and sporting practices, were the methods for transferring imperial ideologies to subaltern Indian groups. Indeed, Stoddart (1988) has argued that the British Empire was sustained with surprisingly few military resources or sustained armed conflicts. Stoddart suggests that the British employed other forms of power to weld

together coloniser and colonised, specifically ideological forms of power of which the English language was one example. Importantly, sport was another medium for transferring ideologies which sustained imperial power (Mangan 1986; Stoddart 1988) and created a 'cultural bond' between the British and their colonial subjects (Mangan 1992). Within the ruling colonial elite, the public school 'games ethic' encouraged loyalty, obedience, self-reliance, initiative, and manliness, creating 'the confidence to lead and the compulsion to follow' (Mangan 1986:18). Power was wielded through explicit political and military dominance, yet executed through cultural practice and change. Meanwhile, the 'imperial project most clearly, but not exclusively, depended upon racialised notions of Self and Other' (Jacobs 1996:2).

In 1857, however, British rule was threatened by a Mutiny[15] within the ranks of the Native Army, a subsidiary of the British Army.[16] Anti-colonial Indian nationalism did not disappear once the British had quelled the Mutiny. Rather, it continued until Gandhi's successful and non-violent campaigning had secured Independence. Negotiations between Indian groups and the British government resulted in the agreement to partition British India into a number of independent nations: Pakistan (which was split into West and East), India, and Sri Lanka. Goa remained a Portuguese colony until 1961 when it was incorporated into the Indian nation. Bangladesh was formed in 1971, after East Pakistan demanded autonomy from West, and successfully fought a war of independence.

South Asians held British Commonwealth citizenship, which meant freedom to migrate to Britain. Partition had meant upheaval for many South Asians. Pakistan was created as a Muslim nation, so Hindus living in Pakistan

left, while Muslims in India made the reverse journey. Millions were killed as these different groups met and clashed on the way to their new homes: 'trainloads of Sikh refugees moving east were slaughtered by Muslims in Pakistan and Muslims heading west were butchered by Sikhs and Hindus in India. The stream became a flood, the flood of holocaust of pain, looting, rape, and murder' (Wolpert 1997:348). Of an estimated ten million who changed lands, approximately one million failed to reach their promised land alive (Wolpert 1997).

Political and social conditions remained uncertain while the fledgling states reorganised themselves. Meanwhile, the British government had called for Commonwealth subjects to resolve the post-war labour shortage. As Hedetoft noted:

> Where the Indian and Pakistani Governments' decision to stay within the (New) Commonwealth constituted the condition, and the demand for cheap labour in England the lure, the reasons for migration to Britain are to be found in the hopeless predicament which many Indians and Pakistanis found themselves in as a consequence of the partition of India . . . and in the persistent poverty of the common people (and the country as a whole) after the 'withdrawal' of the British.
>
> (1985:235)

1.3.2 Arrival in Britain

Upon arrival in Britain the Commonwealth immigrants faced racism of various forms. Through violence, verbal abuse, negative stereotyping, prejudice and institutional discrimination in areas such as housing, employment and education, the new arrivals were beset by the disadvantages of racism, a situation which has continued, and continues, in Scotland as much as elsewhere until the present-day (Armstrong 1989; Bell 1991; CCCS 1982; CRE 1998; Finn 1987; Maan 1992; Malik 1996; Miles 1993; Walsh 1987).

Prior to the increased arrival of migrant labour in the post-war era, there had been various, if infrequent, travellers to British shores from South Asia (Visram 1986; Maan 1992). Mostly these were 'people with a significant knowledge of the English language and/or Britain: seamen, ex-Indian army personnel, university graduates, teachers, doctors and other professionals; and travel was controlled at source by the Indian and Pakistani government' (Hiro 1992:114). After the Second World War, and the partition of the sub-continent, migration was encouraged and much more accessible. The typical post-war migrant was of a different nature to their predecessor, more likely to be 'an agriculturist, generally unfamiliar with the language and culture of Britain' (Hiro 1992:114-5).

The first generation of post-war South Asian immigrants created local networks of financial and moral support, and organisations for the continuity of religious practices. The pioneers of migration were men, who came without their families to build contacts, buy a house, secure a job and find a good area in which to settle, before inviting their wives and children to join them. Such men often lived together, maintaining relationships from their home village or

town, and assisted each other financially (Edward 1993:126). At this stage, the 'economic consideration was the sole motive for migration' (Hiro 1993:112). Due to the under supply of labour low-skilled employment could be rejected by British men. Consequently, it was largely low-skilled work which became available for South Asians. In Glasgow, for instance:

> many of the immigrants earned their first money and laid the foundations of the savings which would later be put into homes and small businesses by working for Glasgow Corporation Transport. The transport system was then desperately short of staff. The wages were quite good for the time but the shifts worked made the job unpopular at a time when there was no shortage of other work in the city, and so the Transport Department was pleased to welcome the extra labour provided by the immigrants.
>
> (Edward 1993:126)

When the British government began to restrict immigration, through the 1962 Immigration Act, the rush to 'beat the ban' resulted in an influx of wives, children, family members and friends. The local networks developed by the pioneers blossomed into communities, and the centre of these communities remained the places of residence, employment and religious devotion.

The profile of these communities changed over time. Employment patterns shifted as those who had found low-skilled employment saw their opportunities limited by discrimination and the effects of economic recession. They began to move into self-employment, increasing levels of self-

determination. As Maan noted, during the 1950s almost 'every Asian's priorities were the same and firmly set in a proper order, i.e. to work hard, to save fast, to buy a house, to call the family over and to purchase a shop' (1992:165).

One field of employment was retailing, suitable because of the low start-up costs, the lack of specific qualifications required, and the increased independence from prejudiced institutions. Some retailers served the demand among the British Asian communities for South Asian foodstuffs and ingredients (Hiro 1992). Others directed their retailing efforts towards the wider community, emphasising low cost and long opening hours, in a bid to counter the hostility and apprehension they faced from the majority communities. However, late opening increased the risk of attack from criminals, and low prices caused resentment from other local shop owners (Maan 1992:166). Another field for self-employment was restaurants, satisfying the growing British demand for hot curries. Once again, Scottish Asians faced ridicule and violence from customers, exacerbated by the place of the curry as the traditional end to an evening of alcoholic indulgence.

While these changes were occurring, it became increasingly obvious that South Asians were settling in Britain, that thoughts of return had taken second place to developing their lives in Britain. In the late 1970s, Anwar concluded that previous ideas of return had been forsaken among Pakistani immigrants: 'Many wish to go back but in reality economic circumstances are such that the majority are unlikely ever to return. There is also a possibility that the cultural and familial bonds with Pakistan may weaken with the second generation' (1979:222). The arrival of wives and children meant further

demand for educational facilities teaching South Asian languages and provision for religious tuition and practice, thus the communities expanded and centralised around specific centres of religious and pedagogical practice. According to Maan the numbers of Scottish Asians had risen from 600 in 1950, to 4000 in 1960, 16,000 in 1970, 32,000 in 1980 and finally to 45,000 in 1992 (1992:160-180).[17] However, racism remained a highly influential aspect of the Scottish experience. Maan argued that there has been:

> substantial racial discrimination and racial prejudice in Scotland. After 1950, when the numbers of the Indo-Pakistani community started to increase rapidly and those immigrants began to buy houses outwith their 'colonies', they encountered considerable antagonism from the sellers, neighbours and estate agents. In the 1960s, when the Asians began to take over corner shops and stores, they met with indifference and lack of patronage from the Scottish public. People of Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin have mainly been able to find jobs rejected by the Scots, and promotions so far, even in those sectors, have been rare. Isolated ethnic families in some housing schemes are being subjected to racial harassment. In many a school and street all over Scotland, racial taunts and torture are making miserable the lives of many youngsters. Lack of equal opportunities in employment and services is quite common even in the 1990s. Institutional racism and individual prejudice are still barring the way of many capable and brilliant black and brown young people.
>
> (1992:202-3)

1.3.3 Questions of belonging, stereotypes and football

In a recent commentary on the absence of professional football players from the Scottish Asian communities, Bairner argued that members of these communities 'do not belong to a football culture' (1994:21). By comparison, he claimed that Irish and Italian 'immigrant groups' do belong to a football culture. One problem with Bairner's classifications is that each of these groups belongs to Scotland as much as to anywhere else. First generation South Asian migrants have been resident in Scotland for over forty years[18], their children 'do not think of themselves as immigrants', they have not seen 'any other society or any other country' (Maan 1992:206). Therefore, it is problematic to suggest that they are not Scottish.

The positioning of Scottish Asians as not 'belonging' to Scotland has a number of other critical consequences. Scottish Asians are presumed to belong to a different culture, one foreign and alien; thus, difference outweighs similarity and they remain outsiders (Dimeo & Finn 1998:137). Another problem is that several Scottish Asians have emerged as professional football players. Moreover, the sport has been played and watched by Scottish Asians for several decades. Football is evidently part of Scottish Asian culture.[19]

Bairner also asserts and assumes that football is not played on the Indian subcontinent. This question shall be addressed in the following chapter. However, some research (Mason 1990) had suggested that football had been popular in parts of South Asia for over a century. Clearly, Bairner's arguments were based on speculation and supposition rather than empirical knowledge.[20] He uncritically accepted populist belief about Scottish Asians, the foundation of which would appear to be prejudice and misinformation rather than fact.

There has been no previous academic research on racism, stereotyping and football in the lives of Scottish Asians. However, the situation is different with respect to English Asians. Fleming's (1991, 1992, 1995) ethnographic analysis of English Asian youth revealed that stereotypes played a crucial role in their sporting development. Most notably, British Asians are understood to be physically weak (see also Long *et al.* 1997), to belong to a traditionalist, fundamentalist culture, to have both a preference for more serious careers such as business and education (see also Rattansi & Westwood 1994), and to prefer other sports such as cricket, hockey and squash. For Fleming these 'false universalisms' were influential in the approach of majority groups towards British Asian involvement in sport. Fleming also recognised that racism was fundamental to the English Asian experience of sport, and that it took various forms:

> The common denominator across all categories is pervasive personal racism. It includes a range of phenomenon from verbal abuse, through offensive graffiti, to physical violence; and is the most prominent single factor is shaping attitudes to sport and physical activity. This finding confirms the centrality of racism as a crucial component in understanding the leisure relations of Asians throughout Britain.
>
> (1991:51)

Through a survey of English Asian football players, and of English professional football clubs, Bains with Patel (1996) concluded that responsibility for the exclusion of English Asians from football lies with both

English football and with the 'Asian community'. Although, as they recognise, their sample of 200 Asian players was 'relatively small', they had 'identified a number of cases where Asian footballers offered evidence that overt discrimination had taken place against them, and that this had adversely affected their prospects with a professional football club' (1996:57). They also concluded that within football clubs there was institutional racism, the result of ignorance of the English Asian population combined with a lack of regard and understanding for them. Specifically, individuals within clubs believed that English Asians were not interested in football and that they did not have the physique for successful participation (1996:57). Bains and Patel demonstrated through their survey that English Asians were at least, if not more, enthusiastic about football than 'whites'. They also challenged another common opinion among majority groups: that English Asians preferred to play in 'all-Asian' teams, i.e. that they did not want to play with other ethnic groups. However, the authors – though usefully presenting an empirical challenge to prejudiced beliefs – failed to identify that such explanations for the lack of English Asian presence in football blame the excluded group themselves rather than systems of racist discrimination; these explanations rely upon subtle forms of racism and implicitly reproduce racialised inequalities.

Bains and Patel attempted to refute some of the reasons proposed by majority for the lack of English Asian involvement in football. However, one of the most significant reasons often proposed – that 'Asian' parents do not encourage their children to play football – is confirmed by their study, and it is the one point of responsibility which they attach to the 'Asian community'. They found that the 'biggest obstacle to footballing progress we have identified

within the Asian community in Britain[21] is parents' apparent reluctance adequately to support their child's efforts to pursue a career in professional football' (1996:58). This reluctance, they argued, is a 'common source of concern and frustration for many of our respondents' (1996:24). Yet, they recognised that 'we have no direct empirical evidence at this stage to ascertain whether there are any differences between Asian, black and white families on this issue' (1996:24). This absence of comparative data did not prevent them being 'reasonably confident' in their conclusion that 'Asian' families are indeed less supportive than other families. To support this conclusion they referred to anecdotal evidence from football club development officers and coaches, yet elsewhere in their study the development officers and coaches were criticised for their lack of understanding regarding English Asians' diets (often presumed to be vegetarian and therefore lacking iron and protein) and their assumption of physical inferiority (1996:42). It is unclear why the same individuals should be taken as experts on English Asian families.

Yet the situation regarding parental influence more complex. Some of the English Asian respondents had agreed that their parents did not help them to play football. Although the researchers did not adequately prove any difference between English Asian families and others they attempted to explain this difference:

> The majority of the respondents' parents had arrived in Britain, largely uneducated about British society and culture as well as being mostly non-English speaking. Having worked largely in the unskilled, dirty and menial occupations there was a determination in Asian parents that

their children would do better. In the wisdom of Asian parents, the pursuit of academic excellence represented the best and only hope up the ladder of social and economic success. Besides which, professional football was perceived to be the domain of the indigenous community, hence the strong fear of racism expressed by parents . . . The game in England also had an image associating it with violence and disorder in stadia.

(Bains with Patel 1996:25)

In many respects, the concerns of parents outlined above reflect popular traditional concern among ambitious parents in Britain, regardless of ethnicity.[22] The 'wisdom of Asian parents' is really the wisdom of parents of any social group who would influence their children towards a career which offered material rewards and low risk of failure. The major difference for non-white groups is the experience of racism. Therefore, if English Asians are suspicious of football it has less to do with 'Asian' factors and more to do with majority prejudice and discrimination.

From Bains and Patel's study it is clear that a number of themes are central to discussions of English Asian football. Racism in its numerous forms influences the success of English Asian football. Direct forms of discrimination, such as abuse and violence, can discourage individuals from participating with majority groups. However, there are other less obvious operations of racism. For instance, stereotyped beliefs may deter clubs from signing British Asian players; especially if they believed that members of this minority group are not interested in football, that they are physically inferior,

and that their parents will discourage them from pursuing a career in football. The survey revealed much about the level and nature of prejudice in English football.

However, it is important that the more subtle forms of racism which prevail in discourses around English Asian football are recognised. 'They' are not interested in football, when 'they' do play they only play with other 'Asians', 'their' diet is not sufficient, 'they' are physically inferior, and 'their' parents don't want them to play. Each of these ideas blames the minority for 'their' own exclusion, majority groups justify racism and exclusion by arguing that minorities have chosen not to be involved (Johal in press). Thus, a subtle appreciation of the various forms racism takes, as well as the strategies of response which deny racism's existence, are required for a substantial understanding and critique of racism in British football.

1.3.4 Questions of social identity

Second and third generation Scottish Asians have dual identities, they are Scottish and South Asian. While many may never have visited South Asia, religious and other cultural practices have been passed on to them by their parents and grandparents. These groups, who are the particular focus of this study of football and racism, have a complex set of identifications. They face specific stereotypes based upon the perception among majority Britons that there is a natural inclination for South Asians to work in shops and curry restaurants, or to go into education, based upon a belief that parents push their children towards the family business or a profession (Fleming 1992, 1995; Dimeo & Finn 1998). In fact Scottish Asians are more diverse in their occupations. Their sense of difference centres around family origin, religious practice, the efforts of parents to maintain specific traditions, and the constant reminder of their otherness from majority Scots. Yet they were born and raised in Scotland.

It is impossible to describe their identities as simply a synthesis of two apparently distinct cultures.[23] Firstly, such a description suffers from a flawed conception of unified, homogeneous cultures – British/South Asian – when there are as many differences within these apparent cultures as between them. The internal British differences between the sub-nations adds a further dimension to the complexity as being Scottish can mean being both Scottish and British. Secondly, in an increasingly globalized world it is difficult to separate cultural forms and cross-cultural influences. Through media, the Internet, travel, and historical cross-boundary relationships, the lines between cultures have become blurred. Thirdly, Scottish Asians participate in British

life and institutions; there is a sharing of experience which points as much to similarity as to difference.

Sport offers a space in which social identities can be expressed, transformed and reproduced, where tradition is an important bond (Giulianotti & Armstrong 1997). But social identities operate on a number of levels: national, gender, regional, ethnic, local. The relationship of Scottish Asians and football is not simply that of an 'ethnic' group which faces racism. They should not be viewed only in terms of their ethnic minority status, and only be discussed with reference to racism. Scottish Asians, in common with other groups, express specific and different aspects of their social identities through football and present themselves in specific ways. The complexities of their *multidimensional* identities (Finn 1991b), their particular relationship with Scotland (at national and local level), the secular sporting traditions which they hold as precious and valuable, will be expressed through their own self-organisation, their regular play, and their support at club and country level for football teams. Examining the place of football for Scottish Asians, their relationship with various aspects of the sport, allows a description of social identity expression and management. The culture of Scottish Asian football might express the difficult balance between being Scottish and Asian; of living in a Scottish habitus, while maintaining traditions from South Asia and being constantly reminded of their otherness.

1.4 Scottish Asians and Irish-Scots

1.4.1 Two minority groupings

Despite frequent assertions of Scotland's reputation for tolerance, especially when compared to England, historical evidence suggests otherwise. Scottish groups and individuals were complicit in the development and maintenance of the British Empire. Imperialism was very profitable for Scottish commerce (Cain 1986); Scots played their role in British military successes and ideological hegemony (Mangan 1999a). Preserving the image of Scotland as friendly, welcoming and lacking hostile racial prejudices depends upon suppressing the memory of the worst excesses of Empire and the part played in these by Scots. A fine example of this pattern of revisionism comes from a 1767 painting of a local merchant family exhibited in Glasgow's People's Palace. The painting had originally included a black slave behind the family, but the slave had later been painted over. Edward (1993) interpreted this removal of the slave as symptomatic of the later anti-slavery movement and the eventual recognition that slavery was insulting to black people. However, Ogasawara is correct to criticise Edward's understanding of the painting: 'By removing a slave from the portrait, [the] modern history of Glasgow has . . . ignored the social and historical presence of slavery itself' (1996:10).

Historically, and until very recently, Scottish national identity had been bound up in the British Union in no simple style: 'The historical amalgam of nations that is Britain yielded a State populated by citizens with complex allegiances, and complicated, sometimes misunderstood nationalities' (Dimeo & Finn 1999:in press). Scotland, although now devolved and possibly heading towards independence, has traditionally had close alliances with England,

British Unionism, and the Conservative party (Finn & Giulianotti 1998). Implicit in Unionism was the question over the governance of Ireland, making the role of Protestantism in defining Britishness central (Colley 1992).

On the football pitch, the 'Home' or British Championships played out the complexities of being British, and reflected British prejudices. Nations submerged within the British state competed to win the British national championship. British self-importance and xenophobia was projected throughout the world through the continued assertion of the significance of the Home Championships. Indeed, when the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) was formed the British nations declined the invitation to join. The early World Cups held during the 1930s found British nations absent since they rejected the importance of these tournaments. Even by 1950 Scotland refused to compete in the World Cup because they had finished second to England in the Home Championships, success in the latter taking precedence over the former (Giulianotti 1999a). Prioritising the Home Championships reflected 'an inward-looking, taken-for-granted, and shared belief in the superiority of British values, in sporting fields as in others' (Dimeo & Finn 1999:in press). Such attitudes reflected a generalised British xenophobia (Tomlinson 1986), in which Scotland and the other British sub-nations collaborated. Even when involvement with FIFA increased, and two Englishmen – Arthur Dewry and Sir Stanley Rous – directed the organisation from 1956 until the mid-1970s, they did so through Eurocentric, quasi-imperialistic and quasi-colonial attitudes (Sugden & Tomlinson 1997, 1998).

It should be no surprise to find prejudice in Scottish football if Scots have colluded in British xenophobia. However, the 'great delusion' of Scottish

tolerance has succeeded despite the history of British prejudice. This success was partially achieved through anti-English prejudice, by asserting that it was the English who were prejudiced and held full responsibility for imperialism and its attendant xenophobia, and the recent creation of Scottish versus English oppositions. Yet, in the history of the Union, British self-identity was constructed around white, imperialistic, Protestant, 'British tradition', with Scottishness and Englishness combining to form Britishness (Dimeo & Finn 1999). Groups which did not 'fit in' with these self-constructions, notably racialised minorities, found themselves marginalised and discriminated against. In Scotland two of the largest of such communities have been the Irish-Scots and the Scottish Asians.

1.4.2 The Irish-Scots, football and majority prejudice

The misidentification of anti-Irish racism as 'sectarianism' has been used in a number of ways to disguise the complex operations of Scottish racism (Finn 1991a,b, 1994, 1999a,b; Dimeo & Finn 1998, 1999). Anti-Irish racism has long been misunderstood, a result of the implication that majority and minority are on equal terms in the conflict and thus 'racism' is not the appropriate term for the observed behaviour (Finn 1990). Indeed, Murray argued that: 'however much we may dislike it, anti-Catholicism is part of Scotland's history and can be understood in these terms. Racism is totally odious and foreign to all that Scotland stands for' (1988:175). In this view, 'sectarianism' is not racism, it is an essential part of Scottishness, and other forms of racism are 'foreign'. So, despite recognising the existence of racism in various guises, Murray reiterates the belief that Scotland is free of racism. Indeed, the confusion around 'sectarianism' has also struck Moorhouse (1994), who has claimed that there is little evidence of its existence in contemporary Scotland. Nonetheless, Moorhouse then urged greater clarity over the use of the term, a notion upon which others agree (Finn 1991a,b, 1999a,b; Giulianotti 1999a). There have also been attempts so suggest that 'sectarianism' is 'comparatively harmless' and might be used to 'drive out' anti-black racism (*Scotsman*, 18 January 1988). Nevertheless, anti-Irish racism has a powerful history in Scottish society, and although overt discrimination is less evident 'prejudicial beliefs and accounts influence discourses around certain ethnically marked and disputed areas of Scottish life' (Dimeo & Finn 1999:in press), namely football and education (Finn 1999a,b; 2000).

In addition, the location of 'sectarianism' in the west of Scotland denies its existence in other parts of Scotland. Such a location is based upon the flawed idea that since there are few Irish-Scots outside the western regions there can be little or no anti-Irish racism in other areas (Dimeo & Finn 1999). Moreover, English variants of anti-Irish racism have also been denied on the basis that 'sectarianism' is a only a Scottish problem.

Anti-Irish racism and anti-Catholic prejudices had confronted Irish immigrants who fled the potato famine during the mid-nineteenth century (Handley 1947). While some Irish had migrated to the United States of America and Canada, resources were scarce and many made the shortest possible journeys to Liverpool and Glasgow, though they had intended to eventually continue their journey. Once resident in these British cities they continued to struggle against poverty, and were offered little assistance by majority groups. Many sports clubs were formed during the 1880s and 1890s by Irish-Scots, the objective of which was to offer sports to the community members, to allow them to participate in Scottish life through sporting competition, and to express an identity which was both Irish and Scottish (Finn 1991a). The two most successful Irish-Scots football clubs have been Celtic FC and Hibernian FC. Although Hibernian briefly operated a 'sectarian' signing policy, only in the sense that they would only sign Catholic players because it was a church team and players had to be church members, neither club maintained any exclusionary policy. Indeed, Celtic had been formed in 1888 specifically for charitable purposes to aid the poor of Glasgow's East End. They erected no barriers with respect to which type of person might benefit

from the club's charity, or who might watch the team, or who might represent the club on the pitch.

In a subtle variant of racism, however, Celtic and Hibernian have been accused of introducing 'sectarianism' – ethnicity, politics and religion – into football. This version of events has survived, even being reproduced by academic researchers such as Murray (1984, 1988), despite the fact that anti-Irishness predated the establishment of these clubs. Even within football, Rangers had been established in 1872 with a powerful Protestant, anti-Irish character (Finn 1991a,b, 1999a). Moreover, it has been Rangers which has operated a 'sectarian' signing-policy in their refusal to sign an Irish-Scots player, a policy which extended to their board during the 1960s when David Hope failed to become chairman because his deceased wife had been a Catholic (Finn 1994b).[24] Rangers policy remained until 1989 when Maurice Johnston was signed from the French club Nantes (Dimeo 1998). The capture of Johnston was a coup for many reasons, he was a former Celtic player and had already signed for Celtic. The move was hailed as representative of Rangers modernisation under the chairmanship of David Murray. Indeed, rather optimistically, Moorhouse described Johnston's signing as 'the apparent ending of discrimination' (1994:186). However, Johnston soon complied with Rangers' anti-Irish culture by participating in renditions of anti-Irish battle-songs. Nor was he a practising Catholic. Since his departure the club have signed numerous Catholics, but all have been foreign players,[25] except Neil McCann who signed from Hearts in the autumn of 1998.

The salience of expressions of anti-Irish racism has decreased since the inter-war years. During that period the 'race' dimension was far more obvious,

especially among Scottish Presbyterians some of whom even drew inspiration from Nazi treatment of the Jewish minority (Brown 1991; Findlay 1991). Even though the years since have seen 'remarkable advances' it 'is foolish to believe that this extensive process of racialisation has left no contemporary legacy' (Dimeo & Finn 1999:in press). Instead, anti-Irish racism has been characterised by the styles of approach common to other forms of racism: denial, silence, confusion. Investigating racism in football demands sustained awareness of the numerous variants of racism, and the types of strategic manoeuvres which accompany racism and serve to conceal its existence. It has only been through the application of this methodological approach to anti-Irish racism that recent progress has been made in understanding the complexities and extent of anti-Irishness (Finn 1991a,b, 1994a,b,c, 1999a,b; Dimeo & Finn 1999). Investigating anti-Asian racism will require a similar rigour and sensitivity towards the subtleties of racism (Dimeo & Finn 1998).

1.5 Methodological review and chapter outline

Neuman (1997) proposed that social science research methods could be formulated into three distinct ideal types: positivism, interpretive social science (ISS) and critical social science (CSS). The first of these, positivism, seeks the natural, objective laws of society, discoverable through logic, apolitical observations, and large-scale surveys. Common sense, from a positivist viewpoint, is inferior to scientific rationality. By contrast, ISS focuses upon the meanings people create for themselves. Definitions depend upon subjective accounts, common sense is powerful and central to social interaction, while value systems are not judged right or wrong but meaningful for groups and individuals. CSS is, for Neuman, a third alternative, which bridges the gap between positivism's lack of humanity and ISS's amorality, relativism, subjectivism and rejection of broader, macro-sociological issues:

> Positivism assumes that there are incontestable neutral facts on which all rational people agree. Its dualist doctrine says that social facts are like objects. They exist separate from values or theories. The interpretive approach sees the social world as made up of created meaning, with people creating and negotiating meanings. It rejects positivism's dualism, but it substitutes an emphasis on the subject. Evidence is whatever resides in the subjective understandings of those involved. The critical approach tries to bridge the object-subject gap. It says that the facts of material conditions exist independent of subjective perceptions, but that facts are not theory neutral. Instead, facts require

> an interpretation from within a framework of values, theory, and meaning.
>
> (Neuman 1997:78)

Since racism involves interpreting ideas, opinions, practices and expressions, and includes micro and macro sociological fields, CSS is considered the most appropriate methodological paradigm.

There is a number methodological implications relevant to the CSS approach. There is not one specific method which is employed, rather the method used is that deemed most appropriate for the questions asked and the type of evidence relevant to research aims. Or, as Elias suggested: 'Sociologists, I believe, have to discover for themselves which methods of research are best suited to the making of discoveries in their particular field of enquiries' (1986:22). Describing and analysing the range of racist prejudices, how they affect group and individual identifications, as well as inter-group relationships, requires a qualitative approach:

> Qualitative researchers are intrigued with the complexity of social interactions as expressed in daily life and with the meanings participants themselves attribute to these interactions. This interest takes qualitative researchers into natural settings rather than laboratories and fosters pragmatism in using multiple methods for exploring the topic of interest. Thus, qualitative research is pragmatic, interpretive, and grounded in the lived experiences of people.
>
> (Marshall & Rossman 1999:2)

There is a range of research methods associated with qualitative research. Choosing a specific method depends largely upon the research questions being asked (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight 1996:73). Considering the issues already outlined in this chapter, it seems appropriate to offer the 'well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts' (Miles & Huberman 1994:1) that qualitative research can provide. Different techniques within the qualitative genre offer specific types of evidence. A study of racism requires an understanding of 'the complex ways in which people come to understand culture and identity as unfinished social processes, connecting both wider structures of power to the lived experience of individual and collective actors' (Carrington 1998b:276), and methodological choices should reflect these objectives.

The specific methods used in this thesis are historical analysis, media analysis, interviewing and ethnography. Thus, an integrative research strategy is followed, allowing analysis of the variety of locations and expressions of racism.

The first three chapters are devoted to historical study. The following chapter shall consider the history of football in South Asia. There is a tradition of football which counters the myth that 'Asians don't play football'. Football's development under colonialism resulted in a specific set of sporting relationships. The sports of the colonialists were used to impress upon the colonised British ethnocentric beliefs in their own superiority and the racial, cultural and moral inferiority of others. The success of sport as an instrument for the transmission of these values was not always guaranteed. Colonised

groups often saw sports as an opportunity to beat the British at their own game, and to an extent this was anti-colonial resistance. This chapter will examine the relationship of football, 'race' and colonial power in different South Asian contexts. Colonialism fostered racist beliefs that persist today. Football became a contested place in which domination was challenged. This relationship of football, power and identity has continued in Britain throughout the twentieth century though, as this thesis shows, with specific important variations.

Chapter 3 returns to Scotland to detail the history of non-white players who have taken the field in Scottish football. Analysis of the response to their presence would indicate the extent and form of racism within Scottish football since the late nineteenth century. There have been several players of African and Asian origin in the century between the 1880s and the 1980s. They contributed to the development of football, but their biographies are often forgotten – the 'absence of memory' to which Vasili (1998) refers. They faced different forms of racism, from patronising exoticism to degrading abuse to the omission of themselves and the racism they faced. The evolving nature of racism, and changing public response, can be mapped through analysis of their experiences.

The assumption behind the importance of historical analysis is that a more complete sociological understanding will follow:

> Historical sociology is not, then, a matter of imposing grand schemes of evolutionary development on the relationship of the past to the present. Nor is it merely a matter of recognising the historical background to the present. It is the attempt to understand the relationship of personal

> activity and experience on the one hand and social organisation on the other as something that is continuously constructed in time. It makes the continuous process of construction the focal concern of social analysis.
>
> (Abrams 1982:16)

Similarly, Sugden argued for historical analysis on the basis that 'cultures are produced and reproduced by people acting within institutionally framed settings which themselves have been constructed through the meaningful action of previous generations' (1996:9). Thus, an understanding of the past and its legacies it necessary for an understanding of the present.

Chapter 4 continues the investigation into black players' experiences. Under specific scrutiny is the reaction to the explicit and appalling racist abuse of Mark Walters in 1988, the continuity of racism since Walters, and the development of anti-racist initiatives. Walters' presence prompted a barrage of racist abuse, perhaps the worst ever witnessed in a British stadium. Analysis of this moment and the subsequent reaction will illustrate the nature of racism during this period. It also reveals the strategies of denial which protect the myth of 'no racism here', despite the extraordinary evidence to the contrary. Not only were the responses caught up in anti-Irishness and anti-Englishness, but the set the tone for the 1990s. Anti-racism campaigns failed to garner the support of such relevant bodies as the Scottish Football Association, and other black players had their claims of racism largely ignored.

Chapter 5 begins an examination of contemporary prejudices and racist ideologies within majority Scottish groups. In August 1995 a proposed

investment by Scottish Asians in the Glasgow club Partick Thistle was announced. This event was the first highly public attempt from Scottish Asians to become involved in football, and this chapter shall focus upon the media response to the proposal. The responses offer an opportunity to assess the types of prejudiced beliefs prevalent in Scotland about Scottish Asians and their relationship with football.

Chapter 6 continues the exploration of the proposal through interviews with those individuals who were involved. These interviews offer another version of events, a version behind and beyond the prejudiced presentations of the media. Yet, they also allow investigation of the motivations, beliefs and prejudices of those who encouraged the proposal and those who sought its demise.

Chapter 7 scrutinises the anti-racist football campaign 'Fair Play for Asians' run by the Sunday broadsheet, the *Scotland on Sunday*, during 1996-97. The Edinburgh-based broadsheet newspaper was specifically concerned with the underdevelopment of Scottish Asian football players and proposed racism as one reason for this situation. However, the style in which racism is presented and understood is important. As Gilroy and Brown have noted, some versions of racism fail to address the more common and arguably more important variants of racism. Moreover, analysis of the presentation of ideas around identity and culture will provide some indication of how Scottish Asians are received by majority groups in Scotland.

The final chapter takes an ethnographic approach to Scottish Asian football, exploring the everyday cultural practice of football and the related expression of Scottish Asian social identities at national, regional and local

level. It is an attempt to move beyond the simple representations of Scottish Asian culture, and explore the role of football in the specific production of Scottish Asian male identities in Glasgow. Ethnography allows a greater depth to explorations of culture, meaning, self-expression and self-identity:

> Immigrants turned sojourners create their own symbolic spaces which empower collective action. Local practices, local self-representations and discourses, local contestations, both empower and delineate identity . . . anthropologists hang around with ordinary people, record ordinary discourses and unspectacular rituals and celebrations. It is these which constitute the everyday, taken-for grantedness of culture, community and identity.
>
> (Werbner 1996a:74-5)

Thus, it offers opportunities to understand Scottish Asian football culture through involved participant-observation.

The different qualitative methods shall be employed to answer specific questions, and further discussion of their use shall be made where appropriate.[26] The project is critically anti-racist yet seeks to harness the methodological technologies of cultural anthropology, sociology and social history. It is assumed that sport represents something other than a rule-bound game scenario. Sport expresses fundamental social values, it articulates social relations including racism and ethnicism. But sport is a playful arena, where the emphasis on enjoyment and competition are illusions which often mask fundamental contestations of social power. As Geertz (1972) argued sports are

a kind of "deep play" through which the innermost values of a culture may be expressed.

The main thrust of this study is towards understanding racism in Scottish football, especially its effect upon Scottish Asians. It is assumed that a better understanding will be gained from a rounded, multi-methodological approach that is historical and sociological. The thesis aims to investigate the changing nature of racism, the interaction of football and racism, and the implications for ethnic identities and relations in Scotland.

1.6 Conclusion

This introductory chapter has overviewed a number of themes central to the thesis. The historical dimension is a contribution towards understanding the evolving nature of racism, and the changing social contexts of racism's expression. The shift from scientific racism and imperial assumptions of superiority, to post WWII civil rights movements, is central to the history of racism. Racial equality campaigns have emerged since the 1960s, promoted by minority groups and liberal campaigners. The spirit of these campaigns has been enshrined in law, and critical responses to racism are more frequent. This climate has encouraged a shift in racist expression, often to cover up racist intent and to deny the persistence of racism.

This evolution is marked, but different forms of racism can co-exist. While scientific racism was more prevalent in the nineteenth century, less explicit forms of racism were also common at that time. Equally, in the post-war period, incidents of scientific racism, fascism, and racist violence remain. It is the level of critical response to these forms of racism that has increased over the twentieth century. Meanwhile, some awareness of the variety of racisms has also increased, though accounts that locate racism as only historical, or only in extreme form, misunderstand their subject. The relationship of these developments with football shall be traced. Colonial sporting relations in India shall be examined, considering in detail the often diverse and ambivalent nature of colonial power.

Analysis of racism towards players of black and Asian origin between the 1880s and 1980s shall outline the persistence and change in prejudice. By the post-war period racism had moved into its more 'modern' phase, even

though 'old-fashioned' bigotry also remained. By the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s, anti-racist criticism emerged to confront racism though the denial of racism continued, and strategies for avoiding the issue remained common.

Within this historical framework evidence shall be presented of the existence, persistence, variety and form of football racism. Although there are different target groups for racism, the focus of this thesis is upon Scottish Asians. The legacy of British colonialism, the process of migration, the exclusion from football, and the contemporary efforts to participate in football, are the main elements of Scottish Asian football history.

Study of contemporary Scottish Asian football begins with the 1995 rumoured bid to take-over Partick Thistle: the racism within the media, and the responses from individuals involved. Consideration of anti-racism and cultural identities will then focus upon the SoS's campaign. Finally, the relationship of football and Scottish Asian social identities will be addressed through descriptive, ethnographic evidence.

It is suggested that contemporary relations are informed by the past: by the legacy of imperial history, the longevity of negative attitudes and the heritage of inferiority. It is also suggested that racism develops and mutates to suit social circumstances. Therefore, historical analysis assists understanding of racism, its nature, and its relationship with football.

The thesis shall address this relationship, focusing upon Scottish Asians, but attending to related themes: the interaction of different prejudices, variety and change in racism, anti-racism, and questions of ethnic identity in Scotland. It studies the development of exclusion, denial and resistance, in the making of Scottish sporting identities.

NOTES

[1]Of course, these figures can be criticised as they represented reported incidents and not the actual level of incidents. However, there is nothing to suggest that Scottish reporting should be higher than in England. Indeed, the expectation of the CRE is that only 1 in 13 incidents are reported throughout Britain (Mick Conboy, interview with P. Dimeo, 11 May 1999).

[2]In one recent discussion of racism the Lord Advocate, Lord Hardie acknowledged the problems of the myth of 'no racism here' in Scotland (*Scotsman*, 20 July 1999). In response, the Scottish Parliament's deputy equality minister, Jack Baillie, said: '"The problem is that for far too long we have been complacent in Scotland, seeing racism as an English problem"' (*Scotsman*, 21 July 1999).

[3] As shall be demonstrated in this chapter, such a view is misleading.

[4]This thesis shall use the term 'Scottish Asians' to describe that group with South Asian ancestry or background, but who are also Scottish by residence and/or birth. The term suggests a duality of social identification, and follows from the popular use of 'British Asian'. The hyphenated term 'Irish-Scots' follows the preferences of Finn (1991a,b, 1994a,b, 1999a,b).

[5]Cole (1996) argues that in different instances 'biological' racism (similar to Brown's 'old-fashioned' racism) may be more important than 'cultural' racism. In other instances the opposite may be the case. While, in yet other instances they may be equally significant. Or it may be impossible to decide which predominates. Thus, the relationship of the two forms of racism is complex, they should not be viewed as mutually independent. Indeed, their interdependence becomes important if cultural forms of racism are deemed relatively unimportant when compared to 'biological' or 'old-fashioned' forms of racism.

[6]The application of 'race' theories to external non-Western societies had the effect of emphasising internal similarities in opposition to foreign 'others'. As such, 'race' theories suggested that non-Western 'races' were below internal Western 'races' in the hierarchy of racial division.

[7]As early as 1950 Montagu claimed that: 'It is now generally recognised that intelligence tests

do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education' (1972:9).

[8]Another to make this argument is James (1993) who suggests that sociologists have tended to define racism as marginal, backward or irrational. As such the focus has been upon the extreme expressions of racism and there is an assumption that all racism can be associated with deviancy. Instead, he argues that racism is far more central to modern societies.

[9]Even liberal analysts, who pursued strategies of tolerance, feared the potential conflicts of immigration: 'a tolerant society will not lead inevitably to integration. Integration must be worked for and it is an urgent task for unless we can achieve it we will have split 20th-century Britain into two nations, more permanently and disastrously than she has been divided in any previous generation. This must not happen but it will take more than the mere discouragement of discrimination to stop it' (Gummer & Gummer 1966:135). The notion of integration implicitly suggests that immigrants have to change to fit in to the 'host' society, that even if the 'host' society were accommodating the clash of cultures would divide Britain.

[10]One manifestation of these processes in Scotland has been the discussion of 'sectarianism', in which anti-Irish racism is masked by claims that different ethnic groups have equal amounts of power.

[11]However, the nature and character of racism and responses to it have not followed a continuous and similar pattern over time (see Vasili 1998; for Scottish examples, chapters 3 & 4).

[12]Barnes became head coach of Celtic in June 1999.

[13]There are no references in this work to any other country but England.

[14]The Punjab was annexed into British India after the Anglo-Sikh Wars. However, Nepal was not colonised after its defeat.

[15]Although the term 'Mutiny' will be used here, it should be noted that South Asians understand the event to be their first war of Independence and often Indian scholars used the term 'Great Revolt' (Sinha 1995).

[16]The Mutiny and its effects upon the development of football in India shall be discussed in greater detail in chapter 2.

[17]Maan included in these figures other 'Asians' such as Chinese, Malaysian and Vietnamese. The significant majority, though, are of South Asian origin.

[18]The Scottish Asian community may have developed rapidly during the 1950s, but South Asians have been resident in Scotland since before the First World War (Maan 1992).

[19]The extent of involvement requires further research. However, my research revealed individuals who have played and watched football since the 1950s.

[20]Bairner does realise that racism within Scottish stadia may have directly deterred Scottish Asians from becoming involved in the sport. However, this claim is also speculative and does not detract from the problems inherent in suggesting that they do not belong to a football culture.

[21]It is unclear why they use the term 'Britain' here as none of the research is conducted in Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland. Similarly, they refer to Paul Wilson, the former Celtic player (see chapter 3) as an Anglo-Indian, even though he was a Scots-Indian.

[22]The question of parental influence cannot be concluded here. However, it remains possible that class factors play an important role, though there are likely to be class differences among British Asians which prevent any general statements. Also, there may be internal 'intra-Asian' diversity. Perhaps the increased financial rewards offered to players, the safer environment of stadia, the anti-racist campaigns, and the developing awareness that clubs should encourage their young players to become educated, may combine to allay the fears of British Asian parents. Even though no research has yet determined precisely what these fears are, and how common they may be, if they exist at all.

[23]After researching the issues around second generation minority youth, Singh Ghuman concluded that: 'My overall impression is that the young people in the study were making determined efforts to achieve a working synthesis of two cultures' (1994:148). The conception of two distinct cultures is nonetheless one to which members of minority groups, as well as majority, might subscribe. As such it is important to consider who is speaking and what their motives may be. Nevertheless, notions of 'two cultures' remain problematic.

[24]In his autobiography, Sir Alex Ferguson, manager of Manchester United and formerly a player with Rangers, claimed that his wife's Catholicism invoked expressions of anti-Catholic

prejudice from individuals within the club (Ferguson 1999). These were directed at Ferguson during his playing days.

[25]To give an example of the continued prejudice and variants of prejudice, however, the case of Basil Boli the French defender, who signed in 1994 as the second Catholic to play for Rangers, is worthy of consideration. A Rangers fan said: 'He's black and he's a Catholic: he's not got much going for him, has he?' (interview with P. Dimeo, August 1995).

[26]Each method relates specifically to the questions asked. So, for instance, the review of the history of black players in Scottish football obviously requires an historical approach. The methods used each have their benefits and their limitations. Historical analysis depends upon the availability of texts, how they are interpreted, and how they are selected and presented. By contrast, ethnographic research depends upon entry to the group under investigation, the choices made by the researcher as to what is important and relevant, and the interpretations made. Interviews depend upon the choice of questions asked, and the selection choices of the interviewees. Therefore, it is important to note the role of researcher subjectivities, as well as the inadequacies of the available information (Shipman 1988; Alasuutari 1998). Throughout this thesis the subjective research choices relate to finding evidence of racism, presenting that evidence, and analysing it in detail. The limits of the available evidence can only be balanced by a rigorous approach to data collection, and by pursuing different types of evidence from different social locations.

Chapter 2: The development of football in India: colonialism, the games ethic and resistance

2.1 Introduction

The popular assumption, as illustrated by Bairner's (1994) statement, that South Asia is not a 'football culture', detracts from the argument that racism is both the cause of British Asian under-representation in contemporary football and lies at the heart of British Asians' sporting experiences (Fleming 1991:51). It is often argued that British Asians have a 'natural' predisposition towards the same sports which are popular in South Asia: cricket, squash, hockey, badminton (Bains with Patel 1996).[1] Lack of success in international football, especially the World Cup, appears to confirm the sport's absence in South Asia. The oft-quoted maxim 'Asians can't play football', ironically subverted by Bains with Patel (1996)[2], seems to apply as equally to South Asians as to British Asians. The lack of British Asian professional football players is imagined to correspond with the lack of football in South Asia. Meanwhile the prominence of cricket among English Asians is understood as directly related to that sport's popularity in South Asia (Bains & Johal 1998). Evidence of English Asian success in cricket, with players such as Nassar Hussain representing and captaining England at Test level, appears to confirm popular thinking on British Asian sport.[3]

Yet, the situation is more complex than superficial observations suggest. Stereotypes and beliefs of British Asians' natural preferences influence sports providers and coaches, who direct British Asians towards other sports before encouraging them to play football (Fleming 1995). The pre-existing prejudices of sports educators become self-fulfilling prophecies: by

encouraging British Asian cricket at the expense of football success is more likely in cricket. The image of the British Asian as good at cricket and bad at football is confirmed. However, football is very popular among both English Asians (Bains with Patel 1996; Bains & Johal 1998; Johal 1999) and Scottish Asians (chapters 7 & 8). Moreover, some historical research (De Mello 1959; Mason 1990) suggested that South Asia has a long tradition of football which can be traced to the mid-nineteenth century. Such a tradition, and any continuity of popular football, would undermine the myths surrounding contemporary sport and British Asians. Myths which are largely based upon hypothesis and speculation rather than informed analysis. Analysis of the imperial past offers a chance to assess racism's development and evolution, as well as the relationship of sport and power in colonial India.

Before examining the available evidence, it is worthwhile making a methodological note. An interpretation of the development of South Asian football is necessarily dependent upon a limited set of historical sources. The historian should approach sources with caution, being sensitive to the position and concerns of the author. In this case, many of the primary texts were penned by British colonialists, though every effort has been made to review Indian sources. There are secondary sources such as De Mello (1959), Mookerjee (1989), Nandy (1990) and Mason (1990), but the evidence presented in such texts cannot be taken for granted, especially since much of it is left unsourced.

Thus, there are three points worthy of consideration. The first is that evidence and knowledge is incomplete, that we are necessarily bound by the fragments of the past that have been left by previous generations. The second is

that such fragments are the products of their writers' imaginations, they are interpretations based upon power and motive:

> Writing is re-presentation, a simulation of what has been lost to it. History comes to us not as raw, bleeding facts but in textual production, in narratives woven by desire (for truth) and a will (for power) . . . What are transcribed and translated are traces, residues, shadows and echoes. Here there is no obvious clarity to be narrated but rather a continual sorting through the debris of time . . . We are left discussing the event of the gesture, the sign, the signature, simulation, language.
>
> (Chambers 1994:128-9)

The third point to make is that 'subaltern' knowledge is in shorter supply at this time than colonial knowledge. While this imbalance reflects the notion that history belongs to the victor, it remains important for the style in which this history should be written. It would be foolish to accept the easy assumptions underlying British accounts of sport in colonial India. As Mangan has argued, the historian of sport and imperialism 'should confront . . . the nature of interpretation, assimilation and adaption and the extent of resistance by the proselytised' (1992:8).

2.2 The games ethic, social control, and 'race'

Football's history in South Asia is rich in detail and sociological significance, and cannot be discusses fully in this thesis. For the purposes of this study emphasis shall be placed upon football's formative years in colonial India. The diffusion of British sports throughout the Empire during the late nineteenth century involved a very specific ethos. Inspired by the use of games for control and stability in English public schools, the 'games ethic' linked games with imperial pride, the 'bonding' of coloniser and colonised, and the promotion of Anglophilia amongst indigenous populations. British sports were seen to teach the lessons of 'playing the game', of discipline, loyalty, courage and fairplay. Thus the British believed in the 'desirability of games, especially team games . . . for the development of ethical behaviour and the formation of sound social attitudes' (Mangan 1986:43).

The assumptions of an ethnocentric belief in the superiority of Christianity, British civilisation, and the British 'race' were implied in the efforts of imperial sportsmen to improve the morality and culture of colonised people. Loyalty, discipline, courage and sacrifice, consciously developed on the games field, incorporated individuals into the service of the Empire, the values of Christianity, British civilisation, and Anglophilia.

There are many examples of individuals who have committed themselves to the games ethic, proselytised with passion and undying self-righteousness.[4] The career of one man, Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe serves as an excellent illustration of the nature of the games ethic and imperialism, as well as describing one facet of football's development. It features especially relevant themes: football, imperialist pedagogy, indigenous response. The events

occurred in the late nineteenth century, and aptly illustrate sporting relations in colonial India at this time. Tyndale-Biscoe was progressive in many ways, and certainly a committed sporting proselytiser. However, his methods at times reflected a certain arrogance, and his prejudice was of a far more complex nature than the scientific racism most often associated with nineteenth century Europe.

His experience highlights some of the complexities involved in this powerful, transformative phenomenon, the games ethic. It was during his time at Bradfield public school and Cambridge University that he learnt that the lessons of the playing field were central to a healthy, moral, civilised, manly and Christian life. Mangan's (1986:168-192) account of his work in Kashmir outlines the inherent complexities of his approach.

He was 'an imperial standard bearer of Victorian moral righteousness'. Although he was something of an extremist, he was a man of his time: the 'embodiment of Western ethnocentricity and a symbol of forceful cultural hegemony', but at the same time he had 'tenacity, courage and compassion'. He believed in the higher purpose of Christianity, and was driven by self-belief and confidence.

His compassion was the catalyst for developing a fire-service, life-saving corps and concern for animals, despite the lack of enthusiasm among the high-caste Hindu boys who were his charges. His success was the implanting of British sports that continue in Kashmir to the present day.

Yet, the contradictory, almost paradoxical nature of his style is clear. He lacked consideration for Indians and their religion. Resistance and discontent from his pupils was ignored: hostility from Indians was 'simply a

spur', and 'local custom merely an irritant'. His 'Western moral imperialism' drove him to have the Hindus' traditional jewellery and clothing removed in a process of self-assuming 'functional Westernization'. Even more critically, his insistence that the schoolboys play with a leather cricket ball or football, despite their belief that leather is unholy, is an example of arrogant ethnocentrism based on a powerful sense of superiority. One boy, after kicking the football, was considering defiled and his family refused to accept him back into their home. On such occasions the worst aspects of ethnocentricity appeared: inconsideration, prejudice and domination.

Tyndale-Biscoe's imposition of British sports confronted resistance, and caused significant problems to the boys, but he carried on regardless; he was a 'self-righteous autocratic muscular missionary'. His introduction of football to the Kashmiri boys is considered by Mangan to be: 'a vignette of imperial self-confidence, incorporating ethnocentricity, arrogance and determination in the face of indigenous religious customs and social habits'. Nevertheless, Mangan also points to the 'full complexity' of the man, that he also demonstrated 'courage, compassion, idealism and tenacity'.

From the example of Tyndale-Biscoe an idea emerges of the nature of sports in imperial India which shall inform this chapter. For sporting proselytisers sports 'were a significant instrument of moral training' (Mangan 1986:191). In colleges, the Army, among former public schools boys in the government or in the Indian Civil Service, the lessons of the games ethic lived on in the subcontinent. Yet, the introduction of British sports was often a complex process, and should be considered with a sense of balance. The important role British sportsmen played in India, and their self-belief in a

higher moral purpose are self-evident. However, the presumptions of superiority, in terms of their 'race' and civilisation, at times entailed prejudice, abuse of power and social division. There was heterogeneity to the philosophy and practice of these sportsmen, and heterogeneity to indigenous response, as the contrasting studies of this chapter will demonstrate.

The politics of colonialism are integral to the history of Indian football. Prejudice appeared in many forms, including stereotyping, inferiority and patronising assumptions. However, ideas of 'race' had a lasting impact upon the nature of Indian society and the development of Indian football.

One feature of the late nineteenth century was the use of 'race' models by European elites to describe foreign groups which they encountered on their trading and conquering travels. India was no exception, and ideas of 'race' played a significant role in the description and division of colonial subjects by the British. The reshaping of Indian society after the 1857 Mutiny was deeply influenced by the practical application of 'race' ideologies. Meanwhile, the development of modern sports, including football, was progressing with astounding pace, and the process of introducing the world to these new, British sports was facilitated by Europeans travelling in numerous guises: imperial bureaucrat, trader, missionary or educator (Mangan 1986, 1988, 1992; Stoddart 1988; Mason 1990).

Much of the available evidence of football in India from the turn of the twentieth century is largely concerned with that area where teams and competitions first developed and which has focused most of the footballing interest throughout the century: Bengal.[5] This region also led India's nationalist movement from the end of the nineteenth century through to the first quarter of

the twentieth. During this period British groups vilified Bengalis for their lack of manliness – a source of bitterness for the resurgent nationalists (Rosselli 1980). However, if Bengalis were described in racialised terms as effeminate, other groups – particularly the northern groups of Nepal and the Punjab – were praised for their fighting spirit, or 'martiality'. It is precisely this distinction which proved central to the structure of football's development, with those groups deemed 'martial' recruited into the British Army and introduced to football in that military environment. Although the evidence relating to Army football is less abundant than that relating to Bengali football, there is evidence of Native soldiers playing football.[6] Thus, the development of football occurred within different contexts: in civilian Bengal where men were accused of effeminacy and nationalism was a potent force, and in the Army where the soldiers were praised for their masculinity and fought on the side of the British.

2.3 The Mutiny or Great Revolt

In 1857 indigenous soldiers, specifically Bengali soldiers, from the Native Regiments of the British Army revolted against their British superiors. The revolt soon spread among civilians, British imperial rule in India was almost brought to an end, and it was only through forceful military intervention that British rule survived (Fox 1985; Wolpert 1997). Indeed, some Indian historians have reflected upon the Mutiny as the first protests against colonialism, the first step towards independence and refer to the event as the Great Revolt (Sinha 1995).

Numerous factors have been proposed to explain the causes of the Mutiny. For example, the restriction on military action, due to the halt of expansionism in the mid-nineteenth century, reduced the adventuring opportunities of the soldiers (Fox 1985). Military action also brought financial bonuses, both legitimate in the form of reward from the Army, and illegitimate in the form of looting. While the soldiers felt the negative effects of peace, economic pressures on the rural system led to forced sales and revenue defaults among an increasingly dissatisfied landowning class (Fox 1985:19). Another decision which provoked anger was the Marquis of Dalhousie's appropriation of the state of Oudh (Mangan 1986:122), where latent anti-British resentment manifested itself in the wake of the Mutiny. Indeed, the issue of British seizure of power throughout a number of states was to further incite the revolt.

Mollo has offered the following summary of the Mutiny:

> The Mutiny, originally a military revolt assumed a wider character, as many Indian princes sought to regain their former power. However,

> other princes supported the army, as did, for the most part, the sepoys of Bombay and Madras, the Sikhs of the Punjab, the Gurkhas and Garwhalis of the north, and the Rajputs of the west. The Mutiny was therefore largely confined to the Bengal Army and the northern plains, particularly the recently annexed province of Oudh where there was much residual loyalty to Bahadur Shah, the last symbol of Moghul power in Delhi.
>
> (1981:88)

The impact of the Mutiny was magnified, and the revolt spread, by the simultaneous rural rebellions, the result of peasant resentment at excessive taxations and loss of land control (Stokes 1970, 1986).

Religious conflict was yet another contributing factor. British Army officers believed that Bengali Hindus had become ill-disciplined, spoilt and that their religious convictions were an obstacle to their soldering (Dangerfield 1933:16; MacMunn 1933:173; Farwell 1990:179; Wolpert 1997). For instance, Hindus refused to serve overseas if it meant sailing as crossing salt water was considered sacrilegious. Early in the nineteenth century British officers had decided to refuse special dispensations on account of religious belief. This move led to suspicion among Hindus that the British were conspiring to convert them to Christianity by forcing them to pollute their bodies through overseas travel. The concern of the British Army and government was transferring troops to Burma (Wolpert 1997).

While a number of reasons set the context for discontent, there was one incident which ignited the soldiers' anger and proved the catalyst for rebellion.

Indeed, Wolpert described this incident as the 'last straw' for discontent Hindus and an act of 'incredible stupidity' on the part of the British (1997:233).[7] It focused Hindu anger and suspicion while allowing other disputes to surface, thus the wider social context of colonial relations remains central to an understanding of the Mutiny (Fox 1985; Wolpert 1997).

New Enfield rifles had been purchased which included lubricated cartridges. To open the cartridges they had to be held in the soldiers' mouth, and the composition of the lubricating grease – made of animal fat and lard – became of fundamental importance to the soldiers. It was rumoured that beef, sacred to Hindus – or pork, unclean to Muslims – was involved in the production of this grease. Later rumours had it that the shiny paper on the cartridges was manufactured from forbidden animals, and that the British were grinding up cow and pig bones to mix with flour (Heathcote 1995:90-91). Wolpert noted that: 'Muslims and Hindus alike were convinced that the cartridges were proof of an insidious missionary plat to defile them and force their conversion to Christianity, and the phobia swept through Bengal' (1997:233). However, the conflict over grease, bits of paper and flour, provided a localised focus for a series of larger concerns; an ostensible reason for Mutiny set in the context of colonial abuses of power.

The consequences of the Mutiny were wide ranging. In 1858 the House of Commons voted to abolish the East India Company, even though the Company's supporters argued that the Company was not at fault for the Mutiny. News of the Mutiny and stories of violent atrocities committed by both sides had a dramatic impact in Britain. The British government had to be seen to take action to restore stability and to reassert British power in India, so

control over India was passed to the British government (Fox 1985). Furthermore, the number of the rebellious Bengali regiments was reduced dramatically (Heathcote 1995:103-120). No longer were Indian soldiers to be depended upon so heavily.[8]

Just as influential was the developing view among British officers that the Bengalis and the southern 'races' of India were less suited to military action than the 'martial races' of the north.[9] The martial 'races' were conceived of as 'a thing apart and because the mass of the people have neither martial aptitude nor physical courage . . . the courage that we should talk of colloquially as "guts"' (MacMunn 1933:2). As Wolpert noted:

> The British soon [after the Mutiny] developed their suprious theories about "martial races" and "nonmartial races", based for the most part upon their experience with "loyal" and disloyal" troops during the mutiny. Not only were there "martial races", but also – and here Hinduism supported British prejudice – "martial castes", least of which was the Bengali or Maharashtrian brahman, whose rebel leaders had fought so bitterly [in the Mutiny].
>
> (1997:241-2)

This view coincided with the availability for enlistment into the Army of Sikhs from the Punjab region in the north-west, and Gurkhas from Nepal in the north-east.[10] Dependence upon an indigenous Indian Army remained, but the quest had begun to find the most suitable races from which to draw recruits. These races were required to be 'martial', to be loyal to the British and to be willing to

take up arms against the resurgent British-educated Indian urban classes which were 'the first to profit handsomely under the Raj and therefore the first to be Westernised; but they were also the first to become nationalist and the first to be despised yet feared by the British' (Fox 1985:20).

During the late nineteenth century, under the guidance of Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army between 1885 and 1893, the codification of martial race theory was put into practice. The number of Punjabi infantry battalions increased from 28 in 1862 to 31 in 1885 and to 57 in 1914. The number of Gurkha battalions also rose dramatically, from 5 in 1862 to 20 in 1914. By contrast, the battalions of the Bombay and Madras armies decreased from 30 and 40 respectively in 1862 to 18 and 11 by 1914 (Farwell 1990:186).[11] The Bengal Army replaced 8 regiments of native light cavalry with 4 of European soldiers. Of the regular cavalry regiments 17 of 36 regiments made up of Bengal soldiers were disbanded, while the 12 of non-Bengali (mostly Sikhs, Hyderabadis, Punjabis and Nagpuris) were retained. And of the 45 Infantry regiments made up of Bengalis 8 were disbanded (Mollo 1981:72).[12]

'Race' thinking had become intrinsically related to the politics of colonial government. 'Race' also went hand-in-hand with gender, 'the fighting instinct was seen as the appropriate expression of manliness' (Chowdury-Sengupta 1995:288).

Thus, alongside the projection of European ideas of 'race' were Europeans ideas of masculinity. The developing view was that Bengalis were 'effeminate' and the northern races were 'martial'.[13]

2.4 Racism and exclusion in Bengal

By the mid-nineteenth century there had emerged a distrust of the educated urban elites who had secured prominent positions in the professions and in the institutions of colonial bureaucracy such as the Indian Civil Service. The 'colonial administration was faced with the daunting task of accommodating a growing number of Western-educated Indians within the existing colonial administrative and political structures' (Sinha 1995:4). Bengal, and its capital Calcutta, were no exception to British concern regarding middle-class Indian bureaucrats and professionals. Middle-class Bengalis had been educated in British run Anglo-Indian colleges modelled on British public schools. Their education had been designed to produce Oriental Englishmen (Mangan 1986), to train them for colonial service, to inculcate the ethics of British civilisation and develop Anglophilia. While these objectives of cloning for colonial control had to some extent been achieved, another consequence emerged with developing Indian nationalism. An English education had empowered them to serve anti-colonial, Indian nationalist, objectives (Trust and Fear Not 1885)[14]; it produced 'both elite collaborators and nationalist resisters' (MacKenzie 1995:3).

At the same time, the British government's distrust of Bengalis strengthened after the Mutiny, and coincided with the military's policy of selecting northern races for recruitment. Non-martiality was used to limit the powers of the resurgent Bengali middle classes (Sinha 1995), most directly through the application of martial theory to the Bengali population as a whole. As such, it was the confluence of several complex socio-historical processes in the latter half of the nineteenth century which resulted in the 'colonially-

constructed image of the weak Bengali' (Chowdury-Sengupta 1995:282), an image which drew on racial theory, responses to the Mutiny, Army recruitment policy, and a desire to suppress the burgeoning nationalism of Bengal.

The construction of Bengalis as effeminate drew upon various strands of 'race' thinking. Racial theory of a polygenist nature maintained that Bengalis were of non-Aryan descent (Rosselli 1980:124). Supporting this theory was also a more monogenist notion that the Aryan ancestry of Bengalis had been corrupted by a number of degenerative pollutants. The lack of dietary sustenance available from rice; the hot, humid climate; the consequences of premature maternity; and the moral weaknesses of child marriage and polygamy (Rosselli 1980; Chowdury-Sengupta 1995; Sinha 1995).

In 1830 Macauley made the case for Bengali effeminacy using the terms of environmental determinism and selective history:

> The physical organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapour bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climes to admiration, not unmingled with contempt . . . Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood,

chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges.

(Montague 1903:80-1)[15]

The notion of the effeminacy of Bengalis had been expressed by British scholars since the end of the eighteenth century (Sinha 1995). Prior to the Mutiny, the East India Company's three presidency armies – Madras, Bombay and Bengal – had recruited men from their respective regions. Even within this context, though, emerging signs of southern non-martiality can be found. Mason (1974)[16] found that fair, tall soldiers were preferred to the shorter, smaller and darker southern races; and British dissatisfaction with the interruptions caused by Hindu belief was growing even before 1857. After the Peel Commission's review of military policy in 1859 the three armies remained, but were increasingly manned by soldiers of the northern, martial 'races'.

Bengalis felt humiliated by their designation as non-martial, and the reinforcement of their categorisation as effeminate and weak (Rosselli 1980). A self-awareness developed among Bengalis of their own apparent physical weakness. Negative racialised attitudes from the British, and the subsequent use of games to promote moral, ethical and racial improvement no doubt encouraged this sense of inferiority.

However, a myth of social and moral downfall offered the chance to project a glorious and mythological past which might be recovered through a reinvention of indigenous culture. Bengali intellectuals insisted that their 'race' had descended from the Aryans (Chowdhury-Sengupta 1995). One

consequential response was to resist the construction of effeminacy directly through the promotion of physical culture, to recover an Aryan 'racial' heritage of physicality and strength.

Rosselli (1980) has identified two distinct, though not mutually exclusive, tendencies within Bengali nationalism. The more radical position was fervently anti-British and encouraged the pursuit of indigenous forms of physical culture. Inspired by Swedish and German examples of national revival through physical culture, Bengali nationalists promoted traditional sports, invoked mythical tales of heroism from Bengal's past, and organised physical activities through circuses, festivals and gymnasiums. This strand of nationalism assumed that sports such as football were imperialist impositions that facilitated the eventual destruction of Bengali identity.[17] Nevertheless, the essential relationship of 'racial purity', national identity and sport reflected elements of the British public school games ethic.

In contrast to this radical nationalism which eschewed all British sports was a practice of enlisting the assistance of British groups and to play against British teams; to demonstrate that in any walk of life Bengalis were not as ineffectual as some British might think. One local newspaper made the case:

> But the honour of the Indians is, after all, in their own keeping. If they resent, as they have done in the present instance, the abuse of Bengalis, the very moment they come to know of it, the present practice of abusing Bengalis constantly will be put a stop to. Of course, some good has been done by this abuse. Nettled by this abuse, the Bengalis have proved the falsity one after another of the charges which are commonly

> preferred against them. The Bengali Magistrates are now showing the same ability as English Magistrates and the Bengali employees of Government are acquitting themselves with equal ability and honesty in every department. And even the *Englishman*[18] has to admit that Bengalis are proving themselves equals of Europeans in gymnastic exercises.
>
> (*Sahachar*, 4 May 1892)[19]

Several years previously an anonymous British essayist had observed the types of strategies used by Bengalis to prove their 'racial' value:

> Many educated Natives, in Bengal specially, have, for years past, felt the reproach which attaches to their want of courage and corporeal activity, and have earnestly set themselves to remedy these defects: hence on all sides we find efforts to follow the example of Europeans among native students. Football and cricket are becoming popular, and gymnasia introduced.
>
> (Trust and Fear Not 1885:18)

In part, many Bengalis were resisting against their construction as effeminate through British sports, including football.[20] They sought to measure up to British values, whether they be in legal service, government, or sport. They sought to triumph over the British at their own game, thus proving the worth of the Bengali 'race'. However, the underlying theme of both the above quotations is the Bengali acceptance of British values. Their desire to 'prove themselves

equal', or even to beat, Europeans, was mixed with mimicry as they followed the 'example' set by Europeans. This contradictory situation points to the successes of the 'games ethic': Anglophilia remained, the values of Empire remained, and the relationship of sport and morality remained, even if incorporation did not always seem complete. It was the twin philosophies of inferiority and improvement that were accepted by Bengalis: prejudice encountered resistance, a desire for equality, and a desire for racial improvement.

There is a complexity to Bengali involvement in British sports, which goes beyond the dichotomy implied by Holt (1989:216-7) in which nationalists played indigenous games, while British games were played by those trying 'to win the respect of the Raj'. Both the British and the Indians were diverse groups, following a range of strategies and ideals. Moreover, competition on the football pitch contained a range of cultural elements. Some of the ideals of the games ethic remained, even if over time some Bengalis employed them in their expression of political discontent.

2.5 Football in Bengal

Different claims have been made for the date of the first football match. Nandy (1990) argued that the teams were the Calcutta Club of Civilians and the Gentlemen of Barrackpore, and the date was April 1858. De Mello (1959) agreed with the teams, but contended that the year was 1854. Quite apart from these quibbles, it is doubtful that this match used association football rules, given that the codification of soccer rules under the English Football Association was not achieved until 1863.[21] A later game, in 1868, between the Etonians and the Rest which finished 3-0 was more likely to have used association football rules.[22] Eton was one of the English public schools that had preferred association rules to rugby (Walvin 1994). The presence of old Etonians would have helped introduce football to Bengal, as would have the presence of soldiers, teachers, bureaucrats, missionaries, tradesmen and traders. The games ethic survived and lay at the heart of football's diffusion to India, public school boys graduated into imperial government, Army commissions, missionary posts, and industry. Old Etonians, Anglo-Indian colleges, and Army officers, are an explicit link to the English public school system. Other public school graduates were influential in Indian football, in the development of civilian clubs through such institutions as the Indian Civil Service (ICS).

The emergence of civilian clubs began in the 1870s. The Calcutta Football Club was established to play rugby in 1872, but found little support for rugby-playing, a sign perhaps of the Etonian influence. By 1894 the club had forsaken rugby in favour of football, and had devoted its silver to fashion the Calcutta Cup for the annual Scotland-England rugby fixture. In 1878 the Dalhousie Club was established by members of the ICS and mercantile groups

associated with the Trades Association of India.[23] From these organisational beginnings emerged the Trades Cup in 1889, open to European and indigenous teams, and the Indian Football Association in 1893. The I.F.A. Shield tournament took precedence over the Trades Cup for the European teams, and entry for Indian teams was restricted. Other civilian clubs were established, such as the Naval Volunteers (which became Calcutta Rangers), Howrah United and the Armenian Club. It is clear from the nomenclature of these clubs that they were designed to represent specific European identities.[24] However, the most successful British club was named Calcutta FC. It remained a symbol of British colonialism until the 1930s, the club which presented the greatest sustained challenge to Indian dominance of the football competitions in Bengal. They were one of the greatest British teams, the most consistent from the 1880s through to the 1930s, having won the League seven times between 1899 and 1923 (Mookerjee 1989). Their success brought rivalry: matches including the Calcutta FC and the best of the Indian clubs would symbolise the colonial/anti-colonial struggle and attract thousands of passionate spectators.[25]

The link between Anglophilia, education and football is clear in the history of some Bengali clubs. One influential graduate of the Anglo-Indian educational system was Nagendraprasad Sarbadhikari who helped establish the Wellington Club in 1884 and the Shovabazar Club in 1885. He is also – at least in popular mythology – credited with being the first Bengali to kick a football, possibly sometime in the mid-1870s. This encounter, according to Nandy, directly influenced football's growth in Bengal[26]:

> One morning in 1879, ten-year-old Nagendraprasad Sarbadhikari of Hare School was accompanying his mother on her morning trip to bathe in the Ganga. As their carriage crossed the Maidan, they saw some English soldiers kicking a round object about. The curious boy got down to watch. The ball landed near his feet. He picked it up: it was surprisingly light. A soldier called out, "Kick it to me." Nagendraprasad complied.
>
> (Nandy 1990:316)

From this encounter Nagendraprasad, along with some friends, purchased a football (though their first ball was a rugby ball) and were helped by Professor G.A. Stack of Presidency College and his colleague, J.H. Gilliland, to learn the rules and techniques of football (Nandy 1990). The colleges soon produced teams beginning with Presidency College in 1884, followed by Sibpur Engineering College, Bishops College, Medical College, St. Xavier's College and La Martiniere. Graduates from these colleges were also instrumental in forming Bengali teams such as Mohun Bagan (1889) and Mohammedan Sporting (1891).

Stack and Gilliland's interventions exemplify the use of games in pedagogical circumstances, a phenomenon developed further in the colleges. While many individuals agreed with, and reproduced, the construction of Bengali effeminacy, they set about helping Bengalis to overcome this negative portrayal. This process precisely reflects the public school games ethic which viewed sport as a vehicle for the physical, racial and moral improvement of colonised peoples. Repeating these very claims in the late 1800s, the

Lieutenant-Governor Sir C. Elliot proposed measures to assist in the improvement of the Bengali 'race' through physical culture:

> For some years past the physical training of schoolboys had been encouraged by the formation of clubs for athletics, by drill and gymnastic exercises, in Collegiate competitions and annual sports. In 1891-92 it was particularly noticed on every hand that there was a great increase of the zeal with which the national English games, especially football, were played. On tour Sir C. Elliot constantly watched the performances of the boys with great interest . . . He looked forward to great improvement in the physique of Bengalis in the course of one or two generations from this source . . . Sir C. Elliot expressed a hope that some generous and public-spirited individuals would come forward and provide means for the physical improvement of their race: and with the aid of Government and private subscriptions Marcus Square in the centre of the town was cleared and made available for recreation.
>
> (Buckland 1976:117-8)

British encouragement of Bengali sport, such as the example of Sir Elliot, illustrates the centrality of the games ethic philosophy. The stereotype of effeminacy was challenged through the promotion of sports, despite the use of the stereotype to quell Bengali's nationalist aspirations. Sport was considered a vehicle for social control, as had occurred in the nineteenth century by public school masters trying to control their pupils (Mangan 1998b), or by Victorian rational recreationists (Holt 1989), or by the games ethic enthusiasts of other

imperial settings (Mangan 1986, 1988, 1992). However, some local Indian groups enjoyed learning a British sport, eventually beating the British at their own game; it became an important way of expressing their equality - precisely the 'improvements' of the games ethic ideal. Proving equality, however, brought with it a sense of self-reliance, abhorrence of British prejudice, and eventual demands for political autonomy.

The changing relations between Bengalis and their British rulers were illustrated when a local team, Mohun Bagan, recorded a famous victory over the East Yorkshire Regiment and became the first Indian team to win the Indian Football Association Shield. The success of Mohun Bagan came at a time of increasing dissatisfaction with colonial rule, especially with the British decision in 1905 to partition Bengal, a move reversed in 1911. The final had brought a crowd estimated at between 60,000 and 100,000[27], and the victory had united Bengalis of different religions against their colonial rulers (Nandy 1990:318). The *Basumati*[28] argued that Mohun Bagan had 'held up before the Bengali an ideal of striving in concert. The Bengali must ever remain indebted to those who have, in the dark days of disunion, found the secret of union' (5 August 1911; Mason 1990:93). The 2-1 victory had not been the first occasion upon which an Indian team had beaten a British team. Nor did the victory, as Mason (1990) noted, lead directly to an immediate end to British rule. The British could claim that the East Yorkshire Regiment were hardly the greatest British football team, and thus that Indian teams were not as good as the best British club teams, thus preserving their sense of superiority (Holman 1925-47). The Bengalis revelled in their victory though the exact nature of this victory requires elucidation.

British educated Bengalis had an ambivalent relationship with the British. They were educated in British school and college systems, learning English language as well as British sports such as football and cricket. They remained politically subservient to the British, even though they owed their education to the British. Their expressions of allegiance mixed Anglophilia with nationalism, as they employed their British education and sportsmanship in pursuit of self-improvement and political autonomy.

Mason's interpretation of the match's implications suggested a specific notion of hegemonic colonial power relations:

> It clearly injected some confidence into some of the native peoples of Calcutta and convinced them that they were as good as their masters. But it also seems to have reinforced admiration for those masters. Perhaps this is the essence of hegemony.
>
> (1990:94)

It is thus suggested that instead of colonial power being challenged, the consequence of 'reinforced admiration' actually reproduced hegemonic power. Yet, Mason does not explain how this apparent contradiction is to be explained.

The evidence from local newspapers suggests that some Bengalis saw the victory as both sweet and empowering. During the month prior to the final one local newspaper had restated the sense of inferiority and dependency felt by British-educated Bengalis:

> we English-educated Babus are like dolls dancing on the palms of Englishmen. The education which makes Babus of us, and gives us our food whether we are in service or in some profession, is established by the English. Our . . . political efforts and aspirations are all kinds of gifts of the English people . . . English education and the superficial imitation of English habits and manners have made us perfectly worthless, a miserable mixture of Anglicism and *swadeshism.*
>
> (*Nayak*, 14 June 1911)[29]

In the wake of Mohun Bagan's success, the *Nayak*'s tone had altered dramatically:

> Indians can hold their own against Englishmen in every walk of art and science, in every learned profession, and in the higher grades of the public service . . . It only remained for Indians to beat Englishmen in that peculiarly English sport, the football. It thrills every Indian with joy to learn of the victory of the Mohunbagan[30] team over English soldiers in the Challenge Shield competition. It thrills every Indian with joy and pride to know that rice-eating, malaria-ridden, barefooted[31] Bengalis have got the better of beef-eating, Herculean, booted John Bull in the peculiarly English sport. Never before was there witnessed such universal demonstration of joy, men and women alike sharing it and demonstrating it by showering of flowers, embraces, shouts, whoops, screams and even dances.
>
> (30 July 1911)

Opposition to racist prejudice, which had produced the stereotype of the effeminacy, played a significant role in the celebrations after Mohun Bagan's victory. The victory celebrations were associated with an anti-colonial spirit, which sought to disrupt British racism and rule:

> Barefoot Bengali *babus* had battled with their British 'bosses' on equal terms, and had got the better of them. A subject race, humiliated by hauteur, ridiculed by so-called racial superiors and derided by a discriminating ruling class, had, at last, delivered a fitting reply. In a moment, Mohun Bagan Athletic Club was transformed from a Calcutta football team into a symbol of nationalist aspirations. The Bengalis had found their voice on a football field, and the voice echoed and re-echoed all over India.
>
> (Mookerjee 1989:151)

Yet, these events should not be interpreted simply as a nationalist success. Respect for British institutions and physical culture remained, and the relationship of games and power remained. A broader view of events is required for a more informed analysis.

The British response demonstrated their continued position of power, but this indicated a deeper concern about the affair. Indeed, the aftermath of the 2-1 win was to have a more significant impact upon Indian society.

The British elite were anxious enough about the popular uprising which surrounded football success that they had vernacular newspapers translated for

the purposes of monitoring the political comments of the local press.[32] And Guha, an Indian historian and sociologist, has argued that Mohun Bagan's victory had a much more profound influence upon Indian history:

> Oddly enough, it was in the same year, 1911, that the British shifted the capital of the *raj* from Calcutta to Delhi. Recent memorialists of Mohun Bagan's victory have, alas, failed to notice this coincidence. *If* it is a coincidence, for it is highly likely that one was the cause of the other and that to pre-empt further humiliation the British adroitly and deliberately moved the seat of power from Bengal, away from its skilful footballers and its bomb wielding nationalists. The link between sporting prowess and militant anti-imperialism was thus undermined, to be finally rent asunder by Gandhi and the Bombay capitalists.
>
> (*Calcutta Telegraph*, 20 June 1998)

Guha maintained that the reason football is not the national game of India is that the successful nationalist project of Gandhi was associated with the middle-classes, capitalism and compromise with the British. The Bengalis, who began the nationalist movement, were working-class, socialist and anti-imperialistic terrorists (Samata 1995). The British decision to shift the capital to Delhi undermined Bengali nationalism. Consequently, in the 1940s the British negotiated a peaceful withdrawal with the middle-classes of Bombay and Delhi whose power then promoted cricket, more popular in the west and among the middle-classes, as the national sport. Therefore, Mason's account of the reinforcement of admiration does not seem entirely convincing. British

hegemony was being challenged, by nationalist terrorists and by talented football players capable of uniting disparate Indian groups against British colonial rule. Mohun Bagan's victory symbolised a resurgent nationalism that was severely undermined by shifting the capital to Dehli. This first step towards emancipation was followed by Indian efforts to take control of their football, as a prelude to taking control of their nation. The British, far from being comforted by 'reinforced admiration' felt it necessary to respond to the perceived threat in a number of different ways.

In Bengal another strategy of discrimination continued to preserve British sporting power: the prohibition of full and open access to football competitions. Though opposition to this exclusion grew, a reflection of increasing self-confidence among Bengalis, and a demonstration of the place of football in resistance. The exclusion of Indian teams from some competitions was a product of social division and exclusion officially sanctioned by the British (De Mello 1959). In 1893 when the I.F.A. Shield tournament began only one Indian team was allowed entry. Mohun Bagan were not allowed entry to the I.F.A. Shield until 1909, after they had won the Trades Cup three times. The Calcutta Football League of two divisions was formed in 1898, and was viewed as a European league. In 1914 the first Indian team to play in the League was Mohun Bagan, who were allowed entry to the second division. Between 1914 and 1925 only two Indian teams were permitted to play in the first division (Mookerjee 1989:153). In 1925 Mohun Bagan and Aryans[33] occupied the allocated places in the top division when East Bengal qualified for promotion. They pursued their claim for promotion even though the exclusionary rules prohibited such a move. Their eventual success proved the

catalyst for the rescindment of what was popularly referred to by Indians as the 'colour bar' (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 23 April 1925) or the 'black law' (Mookerjee 1989).[34]

It was not until 1930 that equal representation between Indians and Europeans on the Council of the IFA was obtained, after threats of secession by Indian clubs and the creation of a reconciliation commission (Mason 1990:94-5). There is an apparent contradiction between British invitations to some Bengali teams, their encouragement of Bengali football, and willingness to play against Bengali teams, but their reluctance to offer local teams full access to the league and cup tournaments. Clearly football was a mechanism of social control, in which Indians might learn Anglophilia and pursue self-improvement but essentially remember their place as colonial subordinates.

Yet, the Bengalis soon seized upon this British import, to some a form of cultural imperialism, as a means of political resistance. The British recognised the political implications of football, the sport was unarguably a site for the negotiation of power, a cultural space in which the political contests of colonialism were played out. One strategy from the British was simply to exclude Bengalis from the major competitions.

Once Indians had taken full control over the government of the sport, football's popularity remained. In Bengali especially it has traditionally been the most popular sport. After British de-colonisation, Calcutta had three teams which dominated Indian football until recently, Mohammedan Sporting Club, Mohun Bagan and East Bengal. The extent of the sport's popularity can be witnessed by the sizeable crowds which have always attached themselves to these three clubs. Available evidence indicates that over 100,000 would attend

these clubs' matches.[35] The rivalry between the clubs has been intense, especially since the clubs represent different ethnic communities in Bengal: Mohammedan Sporting the Muslim community; Mohun Bagan, the indigenous West Bengali Hindus; and East Bengal, the Hindus who migrated when East Bengal became East Pakistan in 1947.

Such has been the fans' commitment to the ethnic identifications of these clubs that violence has accompanied the meetings of these Calcutta clubs. Indeed, the worst incident was in August 1980 when 16 people died after fighting and stampeding during a match between Mohun Bagan and East Bengal (*Statesman*, 17 August 1980). Further research is required into the extent and nature of football support in India, and the social organisation of the sport in both colonial and post-colonial periods. However, recent moves towards professionalisation and the creation of a national league in 1995 indicate the growing stature of the sport, as does the recent interest shown by Premiership club Aston Villa in the East Bengal forward Bhaichung Bhutia. He went on to have trials with Fulham and West Bromwich Albion, before signing a three-year contract with Bury in August 1999. Contrary to popular belief and prejudiced mythology, football has been popular in India for over a century and is now a thriving sport.

Football's development in Bengal owed a great deal to the use of 'race' theories by the British to ideologically subjugate their colonial subjects, though history reveals a number of complexities in the process of this colonial domination. Elsewhere in the subcontinent 'race' was being applied in a different way. Certain 'races' were considered masculine and 'martial', and

these groups were recruited into the British Army, where they also encountered football.

2.6 The martial 'races'

The racialisation of Indian groups drew upon both monogenism and polygenism. It was widely believed that the ancient race of the Aryans had conquered the subcontinent from the north before the first Western historical records were written.[36] The Aryans were highly regarded by the British, who thought of the Aryans as their ancestral cousins (Hunter 1897). The martial races of the north had, in the British view, also descended from the Aryans (MacMunn 1933:7-9). By contrast, the enervated southern races had degenerated the Aryan influence in the south (MacMunn 1933:2; Omissi 1994:33). These contradictory ideas are evidence of the selective use of polygenist and monogenist theories to establish British superiority yet allow some groups to become accomplices of the colonial regime.

Recent critical historians, such as Said (1985) have argued that historically the 'West' viewed the 'East' in specific ways known as 'orientalism': specifically in essentialistic, general and often negative[37] ways in conjunction with their subordination to colonial rule. Orientalism includes various strands such as the processes of gathering information about a region, of differentiating places and people, of measuring and classifying to assist military control, and in these senses martial race theory was orientalist.

However, Said also discussed orientalism as the process of defining the orient in opposition to the occident. MacKenzie (1995) has argued that, among other flaws, Said's work over-emphasises 'binary' oppositions, and has a tendency to portray imperialist texts as monolithic, homogeneous and self-confident. The fact that the martial 'races' considered to have similar traits of masculinity as the British, and have similar racial lineage directly descending

from the Aryans, exemplifies MacKenzie's arguments. Said (1985) identified the attribution of feminine traits to orientals, such as irrationality, physical weakness and lack of emotional control, as part of orientalism. The martial 'races' were constructed differently, thus proving the heterogeneity of colonial representations.

The allies of the British, such as the Gurkhas and Punjabis (who included Sikhs, Jats and Muslims), who were recruited into the Army, were attributed the positive traits associated with British ideas of masculinity. Meanwhile, those who challenged the authority of the Raj, the southern races and the Bengalis, were accorded negative feminine traits.

British representations of the Gurkhas, for example, maintained that their qualities were to be 'found precisely in those endearing and romantic characteristics which, in spite of being "Orientals", they share with their British officers: they are *warrior gentlemen*'. At the same time, the Gurkha is contrasted with his Indian alter, 'who represents . . . otherness in the most negative sense of violating the values and sensibilities of the West' (Caplan 1995b:3-4).

One powerful form of representing the martial races was the recruitment handbooks of the Army. The British Army required knowledge of the preferred strategies for recruitment; where to find the best recruits, the relevant local customs and other such appropriate information. Army officers were sent to the northern regions to gather the required knowledge for the subsequent recruitment campaigns. The handbooks claimed to reduce the complexity of heterogeneity to manageable and relevant pieces of military information. They assumed a collective martial inheritance which was the

result of biological and environmental factors. The recruitment handbooks were one of a number of forms of representing the martial Gurkha. They were important because the beliefs about Gurkhas, a distillation of contemporary British views, would have influenced the view other British Army officers took of the Gurkhas.

The handbook on the Gurkhas was written in 1915 by Lieutenant-Colonel Eden Vansittart who had served with Gurkha soldiers. Vansittart's objective was to significantly direct patterns of recruitment. The handbooks showed recruiting officers where the best recruits were to be found, what to look for and what to expect. However, the handbooks were implicitly impregnated with British notions of 'race' which thus directed the practices of recruitment. Among the martial races were Gurkhas[38], Sikhs, Muslims of the Punjab, Pathans, Dogras, Rajputs and Jats (Mason 1974:347).

Vansittart established the hereditary nature of Gurkha martiality: 'The Gurkha, from the warlike qualities of his forefathers, and the traditions handed down to him of the military prowess as conquerors of Nepal, is imbued with, and cherishes, the true military spirit' (1915:60). Vansittart's claims for the Gurkhas are of a general and stereotypical nature, with martiality being strengthened by its alleged historical continuity and implied racial purity.

The masculinity of the Gurkha was revealed: his 'physique, compact and sturdy build, powerful muscular development, keen sight, acute hearing, and hereditary education as a sportsman, eminently capacitate him for the duties of a light infantry soldier' (1915:60). Their loyalty was confirmed alongside their masculinity, both of which distinguish them from the southern races: 'compared with other orientals, Gurkhas are bold, enduring, faithful,

frank, very independent and self-reliant' (1915:60). Their difference from southern races and similarity with Europeans was further emphasised. They were held to 'despise the native of India, and look up to and fraternise with Europeans, whom they admire for their superior knowledge, strength and courage, and whom they imitate in dress and habits' (1915:60).

Gurkhas were thoroughly respected by Vansittart for their physical attributes, they are presented in a form similar to idealised British notions of masculinity.[39] However, their capacity to lead men, to become officers, was assumed to be non-existent.[40] They were still subordinate to British leadership.[41] Thus, the Gurkhas were idealised as suitable recruits: they had a martial tradition, their masculinity was praised, their loyalty was assured, and their antipathy towards the potentially rebellious southern races guaranteed. Nevertheless, and despite being positioned as better than 'orientals' or the other enervated Indian 'races', they remained under British command. The construction of martiality was intimately related to power: the British required good soldiers who could be contrasted with the inferior (rebellious) Bengalis. Yet the British had to hold on to command, so the soldiers were not to be considered as potential officers; a strong, disciplined and loyal Army was created.

Another group who were martialised were the Sikhs. In the recruitment handbook on the Sikhs, Captain A.H. Bingley wrote:

> The Sikh is essentially a fighting and his fine qualities are best shown in the army, which is admittedly his natural profession, "Hardy, brave, and of intelligence; too slow to understand when he is beaten, obedient

to discipline, attached to his officers, and careless of the caste prohibitions which render so many Hindu races difficult to control and feed in the field, he is unsurpassed as a soldier in the East"[42]. There are many warlike races in India whose military qualities are of a high order, but of these the Sikh indisputably takes the leading place as a thoroughly useful and reliable soldier.

(1899:93)

The diffusion of the ideology of Sikh martiality is evident from another British writer's view. Sir J.J.H. Gordon wrote that the Sikhs were a 'fine martial race' (1904:vi). Gordon's image of the Sikhs mirrored Vansittart's portrayal of the Gurkhas. They had a tradition of martiality: 'steadfast fidelity, dogged tenacity, and dauntless courage – the undying heritage of the Sikhs . . . Loyalty is in their blood' (1904:3). Distinctiveness from the rest of India and Asia was underlined in the claim that they 'have preserved characteristics foreign to Orientals' (1904:1). The source of their martiality is similar to the Gurkhas', being due to 'climate, occupation and the northern strain of their character' (1904:225). Finally, the accolade was bestowed upon them that they were such good fighting men, and so masculine that they resembled the British: 'Like Britons, the fighting spirit is built into them' (1904:226). As with the Gurkhas it was the specific blend of broad racialisation ideology and local colonial policy which effected the recruitment of Sikhs into the British Army. As one Army officer wrote: 'The country of the chief war-like races was scoured far and wide for recruits, and many parts of the Punjab were over-recruited, so that few were left to till the ancestral fields' (Perry 1921:104-5). Included in the recruitment

from the Punjab were other indigenous groups, especially Jats and Muslims, both of whom were constructed in terms similar to the Sikhs and Gurkhas (MacMunn 1933).

Martial ideology was the result of racialist ideologies generally, the practical use of scientific racism for recruitment after the Mutiny, and the distinctions made between trustworthy martial 'races' and rebellious, cowardly non-martial 'races'.

2.7 Football in the Native regiments of the British Army

Within the Army football served to combat boredom, to maintain fitness and discipline, and to keep morale high when the conditions of living were poor. We can detect here the philosophy of the games ethic (Mangan 1986); that sport might be used to foster discipline, team work, courage and an *esprit de corps*. The proselytising spirit of colonial elites was directed at working-class British soldiers as well as at colonised subjects. Presenting the Durand Cup, played in Simla, to the King's Own Scottish Borderers in October 1892, Lord Roberts said that 'the same qualities, discipline and combination, were equally necessary in good soldiers and football players' (*Englishman*, 5 October 1892).

Indigenous soldiers in the Native Regiments of the British Army were also taught a range of sports including football as part of their military experience. These soldiers were predominantly members of the martial 'races' who, though they mixed with British soldiers, were separated into Native regiments.

Football among Punjabi soldiers was the subject of an article written by a British officer for the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* in September 1909.[43] It noted: 'as far as the native Army in this country (Burma) is concerned great interest in taken in football'. This interest had resulted in two annual competitions, the Burma Battalion Tournament and the Native Army and Police Tournament. Practice games were regularly played which were 'not serious efforts, but merely means of improving the physique, general activity, and resourcefulness of the boys'. Should any soldier demonstrate aptitude for the sport in these practice games they were 'put under an instructor, who instructs them in the rudiments of the game'. Football was a regular activity

which entailed a disciplined approach to physical culture: 'From March onwards, practice becomes serious, and the prospective first and second teams turn out daily for individual teaching in passing, shooting, heading, charging, &c., as well as for one or two actual games per week'. And this practice was not reserved for talented players: 'there is always some sort of game going on every afternoon, and everybody gets an opportunity of playing'.[44]

The article ended with an emphasis upon the importance for both officers and soldiers of the exercise: 'The great thing about our football is that it gets the men and ourselves out, and gives us good exercise and something to take an interest in, and if we are not *very* good – what does that matter?'

Importantly, especially given that the author was an officer, was the 'race' content of the article. In a precedent of late twentieth century British ideas that South Asians were 'naturally' suited to hockey rather than football[45] he argued:

> the Sepoy[46], as a rule, has not the build necessary for a first-class player. The Sepoys' game *par excellence* is hockey, where litheness, great speed, and a certain eye, are necessary; but barring great force, the Sepoy, as a rule, has not. The result of this is that a double company team of a good hockey-playing native regiment is often as good as, or better than, the regimental team of a British regiment, but, on the contrary, the regimental football team of a native regiment is seldom better than the second team of a British regiment. *Chacun à son jeu.*

Hockey was a sport of less social value and status to British soldiers. It was played by women as well as men, and therefore imputed fewer of the cherished values of masculinity. Indeed, by the end of the nineteenth century hockey was becoming popular among women and girls in Britain. Initially female involvement in hockey had met with resistance from men (Birley 1995:93-115). However, both the nature of the sport and its participants soon changed: 'Hockey was not a game of physical contact and once it had shed the cruder conventions it was to prove surprisingly suited to women' (Birley 1993:310).

The apparently natural indisposition of the Native soldiers towards football was described: 'The recruit, when he first emerges from his jungle or village, has rather less control over his legs than a new-born camel'. Not only it is suggested that indigenous subjects have no control over their bodies, a trait imagined to be both infantile and feminine, but the image of them having to 'emerge' from a 'jungle' or 'village' is revealing. It was a common theme among colonialists to construct colonial society as tribal, pre-modern and in need of the improving influence of European culture.

The soldiers were written about in racial terms, with the different martial races being identified with slightly different features:

> Practically all the men from the various Panjab [Punjabi] regiments in Burma who play in these tournaments are of two classes – Sikhs and Panjabi Musulmans [Muslims] – and of these two the numbers are about equal, with perhaps a slight preponderance of Musulmans, who are more of a football build than the long and snaky Sikh . . . The Gurkhas approach more nearly to the proper type of footballers, and are

powerful, sturdy, not too big, and strong on their feet, but they are decidedly slow at running, which defect neutralises their other great advantages.

The image portrayed is of 'racial differences' between South Asian groups, as well as between European and South Asian. Even though the martial 'races' were considered superior to the effeminate Bengalis, the racial descriptions remained negative. Indeed, the writer had applied more subtle, but equally powerful forms of racist prejudice to these groups. These representations, written for a 'home' readership, constitute a report of South Asian otherness, a description of exoticised difference for an audience hoping for strange tales of foreign lands. Football is used as a lens to compare and contrast: British with South Asian, Sikh with Muslim and Gurkha. Universal dimensions and values are assumed which allow comparison: football is never reflexively understood as a British game of which these South Asians have had no previous experience or knowledge. Thus, the article is infused with ethnocentrism and racism.[47]

The onset of the First World War found many Indian soldiers fighting in France (Omissi 1999). Two letters written in 1916 by Indian soldiers, one a Sikh the other a Muslim Rajput, speak of inter-regimental football matches. They describe medals being presented to victorious teams, and the existence of a least two league divisions (Omissi 1999). The evidence is sparse, but it appears that football had an important role to play for Indian regiments in France, in training for military combat.

Perry offers further evidence that football was taught to recruits from the Punjab. In 1918 he was sent to the Punjab to help recruit men for the Army. He described the evening's activities after a day of recruiting. Sports followed basic military exercises as part of the recruits' training. Football was one of a number of sports to which the recruit was introduced:

> After a wash and a meal the recruit was furnished with a uniform . . . Then began for him a month's preliminary drill of a very simple nature. He was taught how to wear his uniform, to salute his officers, to make simple military movements, and many other matters. The sports' side of the training was not forgotten. In the evening games were organised. The most popular feature was wrestling . . . Long jump, high jump, races, all had their turn. I tried to introduce football. It amused the players highly, but no great skill at the game resulted.
>
> (Perry 1921:108-9)

Perry's account continued:

> The players would not keep their places, but preferred getting in a jumbled mass, in which they pushed and kicked one another indiscriminately. This "scrum"-like mass never approached the goalposts, but generally wandered on the confines of the field, where abounded a plentiful growth of prickly cacti. I sometimes took part in such a game, and was often laid low by the tactics of the Subadar-Major[48], who frequently brought my headlong rush up short by the

simple expedient of hooking my ankles with his curved-handled walking-stick. The game generally ended with the ball being punctured by a thorn.

(1921:108-9)

Perry's narrative might be interpreted as suggesting a 'natural' inclination among the Punjabis for uncontrolled aggression and cheating which reflected the status of these soldiers as martial: they were disorganised and ill-disciplined but strong, physical and cunning. Football may then have been a means for improvement through self-discipline, organisation and 'fair play'.

Further evidence that football was played among regiments stationed in the Punjab can be found in diaries left by C.H McVean, an officer of the 3/11th (Rattray's) Sikhs. The diaries relate to the period 1933 to 1937, and make infrequent passing references to football. McVean wrote of C Company becoming 'champions' (2 January 1933), implying the existence of a cup or league tournament. Indeed, the period of New Year appeared to be a regular occasion for football matches, suggesting that the sport was associated with the ritual celebrations of this period.

Army teams also appear to have played football against civilian Punjabis, thus disseminating the sport among local groups. McVean wrote that 'we played the locals at football and lost' (15 January 1933) and 'We got beaten by Lower Drosh 3-1 in the football league' (17-25 May 1933). One particular entry indicated the lessons of football: 'I . . . played football with C Coy against the hospital. They won 2-0 playing as a team' (16 May 1933). It is possible that a league system which included local teams existed, perhaps in a fashion

similar to that in Calcutta. Indeed, the touring English side, the Islington Corinthians, played five matches in 1937 against teams 'on the North-West Frontier' (Alaway 1948:112), suggesting that football was popular among Punjabis around the same time as McVean served in that area.

It is worth briefly noting that this area became a source for football players and clubs, and that football remained popular (Virdi 1982; Singh 1984). By the mid-1960s Sir Stanley Rous had described the Punjabi player Jarnail Singh as one of the world's greatest players (Bains with Patel 1996). The local club, JCT Mills, has become one of the elite clubs of Indian football winning the inaugural National League in 1997. And finally, a tour by an English Sikh team in the late 1990s found high levels of school, college and amateur football in the Punjab (Bains & Johal 1998).

It would also appear that Gurkhas have developed an enthusiasm for football since the nineteenth century. Vansittart described their leisure activities in the Gurkha recruitment handbook:

> Gurkhas delight in all manly sports – shooting, fishing etc and are mostly keen sportsmen and possess great skill with gun and rod. They amuse themselves in their leisure hours, either this way or in the field, or in putting the shot, playing quoits or foot-ball, and they are always eager to join in any game with Europeans.
>
> (1915:58)

Similarly, a private soldier from the Royal Scots regiment was recorded as remembering this recreation:

> In the evening we used to go along to have a chat with the Gurkha boys . . . We would invariably find them playing football and they would immediately split up and demand that we should join them. From then on it was everyone for himself, with about forty Gurkhas on each side, each having two or three British ranks playing with them and with the ball being passed to the British ranks by every Gurkha on their side.
>
> (Allen 1985:107)[49]

Clearly, the Gurkhas involved themselves in football matches alongside British soldiers. From the above evidence there appears little animosity between the two groups, and certainly none of the burning desire to triumph over the British which was prevalent in Calcutta in 1911. The game Allen describes seems to avoid the division of men into social categories as occurred in Bengal.[50] The extent of continuity of Gurkha football is uncertain, even if the Gurkhas remain attached to the British Army (Chappell 1993). However, Nepal now has a national team and a league system, though the history and origins of these remain unclear.

The football of the martial 'races' was different from the football of the Bengalis due to the circumstances under which is was introduced. In the aftermath of the Mutiny, the application of martiality and non-martiality, the recruitment of northern 'races', the efforts to suppress Bengali nationalism, all combined to set different contexts for football. Nevertheless, football throughout South Asia contained elements of the colonial relationship: British prejudice, racism, patronising attitudes and patronage. Sport was part of the

colonial culture, and offered opportunities for both collaboration and resistance. The contrasting cases of Bengali effeminacy and the martial 'races' demonstrate the heterogeneity of both colonial proselytism and indigenous response. Yet, the central themes of racism, resistance and football have continued throughout the twentieth century.

2.7 Conclusion

Football's popularity in South Asia has been evident since the turn of the century, and has continued throughout the century (Miatra 1975). Bengal has traditionally focused much of the sport's organisation and passion. Other regions such as Goa, Kerala, Punjab, Delhi, Bombay and Bangalore have produced teams and the national league structure established in 1995 is still in existence. It is clear that the myth that South Asians do not play football is precisely that, a myth. Cricket does have a broader support, however its association with the middle and upper classes has ensured adequate financial support not always available to football.

More importantly, however, the evidence presented in this chapter contributes towards a greater understanding of racism, sport and Empire, and football's place in British-South Asian relations. When football was introduced in Bengal the colonial perception of Bengalis was largely negative: they were seen as troublesome, disloyal and rebellious. The stereotype of effeminacy emerged to ridicule and subordinate them, while sports played a pedagogical role in developing the 'bonding' and Anglophilia so necessary for colonial power. The role of the games ethic was clear: claims of degeneracy were followed by the imposition of improvement strategies. British rule was justified, as was colonial prejudice.

Yet, Mohun Bagan challenged the claims of Bengali inferiority in 1911, and football focused popular nationalism. The relations of sport and colonialism evolved, as did expressions of racial prejudice. The quite extreme tactics of the late nineteenth century – Tyndale-Biscoe's ethnocentric arrogance, the total exclusion of Bengali clubs from leagues – evolved into

greater equality alongside some fairly subtle defensive measures from the British. And despite a significant role played by scientific racism, other forms of prejudice were clearly evident in the colonial context.

For the 'martial races', football reflected their racial construction as superior to the Bengalis but still inferior to the British. Politically, they were collaborative and their football was socially cohesive. However, it was clear from the commentaries presented in this chapter that prejudice and patronising assumptions still dominated British attitudes. The contrast with the Bengali experience demonstrated the variety of types of racism.

These studies outlined the relationship of racism and football in colonial India. It was a complex relationship, which evolved over time, and included a variety of expression and form. The entrenched sense of superiority, and correlated inferiority of Indians, was clear, and was often expressed through football. These experiences conditioned British attitudes towards Indians, and set the tone for the rest of the century. Negative attitudes and belief in inferiority would inform racism in Britain, representing a powerful value system that lay at the heart of British history.

NOTES

[1]The range of sports considered popular in South Asia is largely limited to this sample. However, numerous other sports are popular and their practitioners have gained international success. The perception of sport in South Asia among the British public is limited by available knowledge, and South Asian sport receives little coverage in the British media.

[2]Bains and Patel's attempt at irony failed after some individuals, including many within professional football, assumed their report simply confirmed that indeed 'Asians' don't play football. Such responses demonstrate the strength of popular misconception about British Asian football (Bains & Johal 1998).

[3]However, there has been a delay in British Asian involvement in cricket, with racism evident within this sport in England (Carrington 1998a; Searle 1996).

[4]Mangan (1986) discusses a range of such individuals in different imperial settings, thus providing a detailed analysis of the breadth and depth of the games ethic's influence.

[5]Bengal is often referred to as the 'Mecca' of football.

[6]The Regiments which consisted primarily of Indian soldiers were known as the Native Regiments, though they were integrated into the British Army and had British officers.

[7]Although some Muslims were also held responsible for the Mutiny, Muslim elites set about denying this accusation and heralding their loyalty to the Raj (Stokes 1986). Thus, the Bengali Hindus became the focus for blame and retribution.

[8]There was a general policy not to depend upon potentially mutinous indigenous soldiers (Mollo 1981). However, a more specific policy emerged which differentiated the supposedly disloyal non-martial races from the more apparently obsequious martial races.

[9]By the late nineteenth century recruiting from Bengali groups had ceased, and those Bengalis who remained in the Bengal Army after the Mutiny were mustered out. The regiments of the Bengal Army were filled from the martial races (Farwell 1990:179).

[10]It was a common practice in the British military forces to recruit from the ranks of conquered enemies.

[11]As was the case with the Bengal Army the Madras and Bombay Armies remained in their geographical location but had their personnel replaced by members of the martial races.

[12]Omissi (1999) detailed the recruitment by province for World War I. Of a total of 1,097,642, the most were from the Punjab (446,976), with Bengalis numbering 59,052.

[13]Carrington outlined the relationship of colonialism and masculinity by pointing to attempts to reconstruct black masculinity as feminised and emasculated (1998a:280; see also Fanon 1986 and Vergés 1996). However, 'martial races' are constructed as 'naturally' 'masculine' thus demonstrating a diversity within the relationship of gender and colonialism. Implicit within these discussions of masculinity are patriarchial assumptions of the value of masculinity, as well as an assumed and idealised version of masculinity.

[14]Sinha suggested that the essay was written by Henry Harrison, Chairman of the Corporation of Calcutta, using the pseudonym 'Trust and Fear Not' (1995:82).

[15]Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings was published in the *Edinburgh Review* in October 1841. Montague collected and edited this and other essays which had appeared in the *Review*.

[16]Mason (1974) is Philip Mason, military historian, not Tony Mason, sports historian who wrote, among other things, on Bengali football (1990).

[17]There are other examples of where indigenous sports have been premoted to the exclusion of British sports, as part of a nationalist strategy, for instance in Ireland with the Gaelic Athletic Association (Cronin 1996, 1999; Bradley 1998).

[18]A Calcutta based newspaper, written in English for the resident British colonialists.

[19]The *Sahachar* was a Bengali weekly newspaper (Report on Native Papers, India Office Library L/R/5/18).

[20]There was a strain of Hindu nationalism which encouraged football as a means of promoting the physical, emotional, moral and spiritual strength of Bengalis (Vivekananda 1991; Sen 1993).

[21]It remains an interesting point of conjecture as to the rules used for this first game.

[22]Much of the information on early football in Bengal has been gleaned from De Mello, Mason and Nandy, which are the only available texts on this subject. Unfortunately, neither author provides details of their documentary sources, indicating the need for further research. Mason

(1990) summarised De Mello's account of the development of clubs, leagues and cup tournaments.

[23]While the evidence suggests that it was British and other European bureaucrats and businessmen which were involved in this club, local Bengalis employed in the same occupational fields, or who met Europeans socially, may have been inspired by the Europeans' initiative.

[24]Bengali clubs were associated with a range of class, regional, religious and racial identifications. This chapter shall focus upon the 'race' and colonial related issues of Bengali football. However, Mookerjee (1989) notes that, for instance, the Calcutta FC was filled with 'the *burra sahibs* of the city's commercial establishments'. Menawhile, the Dalhousie Club included 'Britishers manning the jute mills around Calcutta – the *jutewallahs*' (1989:146). So, it seems that British class divisions were being reproduced in the sporting life of Bengal.

[25]The information was provided by A. Ghosh, senior sports writer, *The Hindu* (interview with P. Dimeo, November 1998).

[26]Evidence of ths story's validity is lacking, though it has been reproduced by both Mookerjee (1989) and Nandy (1990), and cited by sports writers in Calcutta (interviews, November 1998).

[27]It should be noted that Calcutta had a population of around 1,200,000. A crowd of the size suggested means that the proportion of the total population who attended this match was of a similar ratio to a popular match in a British city around this time.

[28]The *Basumati* was a weekly Bengali language newspaper (India Office Library L/R/5/38).

[29]The *Nayak's* was a daily Bengali language newspaper (India Office Library L/R/5/38).

[30]The spelling of team names varies between writers. I have used those favoured by De Mello (1959), and in the case of Mohun Bagan that favoured by the club itself.

[31]The Bengalis did not wear boots during this period, while the British did, and so boots became symbolic of British culture.

[32]Hence the reason that translated accounts are available in the British Library.

[33]The significance of the name 'Aryans' is not known.

[34]Although the origins of the term 'black law' are unknown, it may be suggested that Indians felt the British were operating a racist exclusionary system, which discriminated simply on account of skin-colour.

[35]From interviews with Calcuttan sports writers conducted by P. Dimeo in November 1998. While Mohammedan Sporting's fortunes have declined, East Bengal and Mohun Bagan still continue an intense rivalry which regularly results in crowds of 125,000.

[36]The first records began in the fourth century BC (Sinha 1995).

[37]Though negative and positive portrayals can co-exist (Spurr 1993).

[38]The Gurkhas were Nepalese, and since Nepal remained autonomous from British India Gurkhas should be differentiated from Indians. However, they were recruited into the British Army and were including in the constructs of martiality.

[39]The description of the Gurkhas as having an 'hereditary education as a sportsman' illustrates the central role of sport in the construction of masculinity and 'race'.

[40]It was in 1833 that the recruitment of Gurkhas was first suggested. From the beginning it was assumed that Gurkhas did not have leadership abilities, and it would only be under the tutelage of British officers that a Gurkha regiment might be successful (Caplan 1995b:264).

[41]It is indicative of the idea that numerous ideas can co-exist in complex forms that Gurkhas were portrayed as almost equal to the British in some qualities, yet treated with a patronising paternalism based on specific forms of inferiority, in this case their lack of leadership qualities and knowledge.

[42]Bingley quoted Ranjit Singh, who was Maharajah of the Punjab until his death in 1839. Ranjit Singh was not hostile to the British presence in the subcontinent, and it was not until after his death that Sikhs resisted against the British through warfare. The reference to Hindus is important; as we shall see the Hindu religion was believed to be a detriment to good soldiering.

[43]The author of this article was named only as J.W.A. and only implicitly identified as an officer of the British Army (see below).

[44]This occurred during the football season which began in March and ended with the Burma Battalion Tournament in August. Then began the hockey season.

[45]In post-war Britain South Asian minority groups were commonly understood as cricket and hockey players but not football players. As previously noted, the lack of international success of South Asians in football, especially as compared to their successes in cricket and hockey, may have added to the understandings of British Asian sport. However, the promotion of such misrepresentations was intertwined with racism, and a desire to exclude British Asians from football (Fleming 1995; Bains with Patel 1996).

[46]Sepoy was the term given to Indian infantrymen in the British Army (Omissi 1999).

[47]This example further illustrates the existence of subtle, complex forms of racism during the early twentieth century.

[48]The Subadar-Major would have been a senior Indian officer of an infantry regiment (Omissi 1999).

[49]The date of these events is not clear. Allen's interviews with former soldiers were first published in 1975, and his subject matter was the Raj. We can say that the match occurred before 1947, but little other evidence for a date is available.

[50]However, the comment that the Gurkhas passed the ball to the British players implies a recognition by the Gurkhas of the British players' superior ability.

Chapter 3: A history of black and 'Asian' players

3.1 Introduction

From the discussion of racism, and its variant forms, in chapter 1, it is clear that the range and extent of racism in British society has not always been recognised. Strategies for discussing and interpreting racist events, such as denial, silence and confusion, allow racism to continue (van Dijk 1984, 1991, 1992, 1993; Back *et al.* 1998 Dimeo & Finn 1998). Yet, Scottish society contains specific localised features such as the myth of no racism, anti-Irish racism and anti-Englishness (Dimeo & Finn 1998, 1999).

This chapter shall review the history of black players' involvement in the Scottish football league, the details of which have never been seriously investigated and analysed. Until the studies of Arthur Wharton and Walter Daniel Tull (Jenkins 1990; Green 1998; Vasili 1998), the early history of black players in English football had similarly been disregarded. As Giulianotti notes: 'Successful [black] players tended to be air-brushed from football's official histories' (1999:163). Whether this 'absence from memory' is the consequence of racism is a matter of some dispute, and cannot be answered here (see Vasili 1998 & Mangan 1998a).

Black football players are unique because of the racism they face, and it for this reason that their experiences should be re-examined and re-assessed. Many of the players discussed in this chapter were not especially successful, nor played many first-team matches. Their legacy is that of racism, they have left for the historian evidence of prejudices and inequalities which have persisted, if mutated, through time. Clearly, the type of evidence available is limited, with media texts providing most of the historical information. Historical media texts must be treated with the same methodological caution as contemporary texts (see chapter 5). That is to say that they are replete with the

ideological values of readerships and writers and do not offer a 'window' on to the objective world. Analysis of such evidence requires a sensitivity towards the methodological concerns of historical documents (see chapter 2) and the information presentation issues relating to media texts. Most notably in respect of the latter is the notion of a 'consensus' between the text and its reader (Fowler 1991), which suggests that historical media texts allow the historian an insight into the prejudices and ideologies of a specific historical period.[1] They communicate a mixture of fact and opinion, through which the history of black players might be uncovered. Another source of information is populist histories of Scottish football, and part of the inquiry is the question of the way in which they have recorded the history of these non-white players.

The issue of representation raises concerns for questions of how difference should be discussed. When a player is defined in racialised terms[2], or his ethnicity is employed in negative or prejudiced ways, then such processes require criticism. If a player's ethnicity is ignored, and racism is evident in his experience of football, then an opportunity has been missed to engage with issues of identity and to oppose racism.

The history of racism in Scottish football is the central concern of this chapter.[3] The popular theories proposed for the under-representation of Scottish Asians in football rarely consider the extent and depth of racism, a consequence of the continued myth of 'no racism here'. Evidence of racism in Scottish society and football would challenge such an assumption and point to racism as the central reason for Scottish Asian under-representation. It would also suggest that the myth of no racism is indubitably untenable.

3.2 Arthur Wharton

It is probable that the first non-white football player to take the field in Scotland was Wharton, who made his debut for Preston North End at Hampden against Queen's Park on 30 October 1886. Watched by a crowd of 15-20,000, the match was keenly contested, involving the best clubs of Scotland and England. Such was the intensity that up to 4,000 Queen's Park fans invaded the pitch during the game to attack an opposition player who they believed had injured one of their favourites. Preston North End eventually ran out 3-0 victors.

Wharton's presence was not problematised; neither the *Evening Dispatch* (1 November 1886) or the *Scottish Athletic Journal* (2 November 1886) mentioned that he was black. The *Scottish Umpire* did mention his colour, referring to Wharton in scientifically racist terms:

> The Prestonians early took the field, looking trig and neat in their white shorts and dark blue knickers. Attention was chiefly directed towards Wharton, who had been chosen as goalkeeper, Rose being as yet ineligible for that position. Wharton is a wiry smart-looking specimen of the half-caste, but on Saturday he did not show particular aptitude for his post.
>
> (2 November 1886)

Ryan (1997) has argued that while Victorian attitudes to black others were characterised by scientific racism, examples of scientific racism were absent in the sporting experience of black people in Britain. Yet, in his analysis of the sporting tours to Britain of New Zealand Maoris and Australian Aborigines during the late nineteenth century, he failed to criticise non-scientific forms of

racism such as the use of terms like 'savage' and the patronising attitudes of British commentators in their assumptions of British superiority.

However, a form of scientific racism if a more subtle form than Ryan was prepared to concede as being racism, did emerge in the wake of Wharton's match at Hampden. In the *Umpire*'s account Wharton was represented as almost an exotic attraction, though he may simply have drawn attention due to the absence of the other goalkeeper, Rose. However, the description of him as a 'wiry smart-looking specimen of the half-caste' resonates with the language of scientific racism. Despite Ryan's claims, such a description draws on implicit assumptions of his racial inferiority. Wharton is examined for his racial breeding, and found to be of mixed 'race'. Popular Victorian views on miscegenation and the weakening of blood lines would have positioned Wharton as inferior to whites in Britain, as would the implication that he was partially 'black' in racialist sense. Thus, although no explicitly prejudiced attitudes are evident, the latent assumptions were that Wharton's 'half-caste' status placed him below white Europeans in the hierarchy of 'races'.

Wharton's career was to be further characterised by racialisation, racism and a lack of acknowledgement of his achievements (Vasili 1998). He played later games in Scotland, when Preston North End beat Rangers 8-1, and Queen's Park 2-0, in January 1887.[4]

3.3 John 'Darkie' Walker

Walker was the first non-white football player to play for a Scottish club, taking the field for the second division team, Leith Athletic, and the first division side, Heart of Midlothian, in 1898. This was a time when football's global development was in its embryonic stage and Scotland's teams were among the sport's elite.

Although little is known of Walker's origin, the status of Leith as a major sea port brought seamen from around the world to its shores, and he may have been one such sojourner. Even so, his name suggests some form of British family connection, but without any evidence conjecture upon his origin and background can only be based on supposition.

By the time Walker signed for Leith Athletic in March 1898 from Leith Primrose, a junior team[5], the sobriquet 'darkie' had already been attached to him. The *Leith Observer*, which was the most important newspaper covering the town of Leith, observed that Leith Athletic had signed the 'Primrose's darkey' (12 March 1898). Such constant references to his colour suggest that he was viewed as much as a racialised 'other' than as a football player (Dimeo & Finn 1999). Although Ryan's (1997) formulation of racism would find little to criticise in the constant 'darkie' references – indeed, he did not criticise the use of terms such as 'nigger' – the labelling of Walker in such a way reflects far more subtle forms of racism. Walker was identified primarily by his 'racial' difference, his blackness, his otherness, and once defined as different exoticisation accompanied his presence. Indeed, on one occasion Walker was referred to as a 'nigger' (*Scottish Sport*, 20 December 1898).

His debut came on 12 March, a 3-2 victory away to Hibernian. Previewing this match, the *Daily Record* commented: 'The Athletic treat us to the unique spectacle of a coloured player appearing in their team in the person

of John Walker, a Leith Primrose player who originally hailed from Darkest Africa or thereabouts' (11 March, 1898). Such previews exoticised the presence of Walker, defining him by his strangeness, and encouraging the Scottish public to treat him as an object of curiosity. He was considered a 'unique spectacle', a description which did not explicitly problematise his appearance but made is clear that he was different, that is black, and thus was a 'treat'. The suggestion that he hailed from 'Darkest Africa or thereabouts' drew upon imperialist discourses of Africa which portrayed it as a mysterious, uncivilised continent, a place as yet untouched by science and geography, unmapped and unknown. Thus, the inferiorisation of Walker was indirect and subtle.

The *Scottish Referee* maintained that as 'a coloured player . . . the first "darkie" to become a Scottish League player' his appearance 'is certain to cause no little interest' (11 March, 1898). While the *Scottish Sport* claimed that:

> Visitors to Easter Road tomorrow will see something novel in the form of a real live "darkey" playing for Leith Athletic. The lad's name is John Walker and he hails from the Leith Primrose . . . It will be the first time in the history of Scottish League football that a coloured player has appeared on the field.
>
> (11 March 1898)

The construction of Walker as exoticised curiosity is clear, he was 'something novel'. While the description of him as a 'real live "darkey"' is suggestive of a freak or a wild animal brought to Scotland solely to attract a crowd. Similarly, the *Evening Dispatch* wrote: 'In serving up a real live coloured player, as black as black could be, the Leith Executive did produce a novelty' (14 March 1898).

On 19th March, Leith Athletic lost in the East of Scotland Shield final against Hearts. Although it is unclear if Walker actually played[6], the *Daily Record* suggested that Athletic might 'include their African "prince"' (18 March, 1898). The origin given to Walker by the *Daily Record*, that he was from Africa, was not repeated in other sources from the period.[7]

Still defined by his skin-colour, Walker's debut was received with slight praise: 'Walker, the darkey, created an excellent impression, but although he worked hard, he is not so successful a companion to Fotheringham as Laidlaw' (*Leith Observer*, 19 March 1898).

This slow beginning to Walker's senior career continued against Linthouse, when he 'was not a success' (*Leith Observer*, 2 April 1898). Later that same month he made much more an impression in a 3-1 defeat by St. Bernard's, engaging in a conflict with the opposition goalkeeper:

> The Zebras [Leith Athletic] continued to the end their worthy efforts to reduce the Saints' lead, and on one occasion an amusing incident turned out with results bearing a serious aspect. "Black John" had a watchful eye on the goalie, and at a critical moment, when the ball was soaring inwards, he pounced upon and floored his man, and likewise went sprawling forward. The ball was sent out of danger, however, and, on rising, Wilkie thought to repay his opponent for his unceremonious charge by bringing his "shoemaker" into contact with John's "tailor". The "darkie" was not to be trifled with, and replied so forcibly that the game had to be stopped until Wilkie recovered his wind.
>
> (*Leith Observer*, 23 April 1898)

This story reveals the consistent reference to Walker's 'race', as symbolised by his skin-colour. It also offers an insight into his character: fearless and confrontational, unwilling to accept physical intimidation, powerful enough to wind the goalkeeper. By May 1898 his performances had improved, but the insistence of the local newspaper on identifying him by his skin-colour continued. In the report of the 3-1 defeat by Hearts, the *Leith Observer* commented: 'The dusky one was the pick of the home forwards, his runs and centres being all that could be desired' (7 May 1898). As Walker's career with Leith Athletic progressed the racialised labels attached to him remained. In August 1898 he was described as 'darkey John' (*Leith Observer*, 20 August 1898). Almost comically, the signing in August 1898 of a W. Walker from Liverpool resulted in a specific style of differentiation: 'J. Walker (darkey)' as against 'W. Walker (late of Liverpool)' (*Leith Observer*, 3 September 1898). Both Walkers took the field in a 5-1 defeat by Hearts on 27th August.

John Walker's previous season had been described as 'splendid' by the *Leith Observer's* football writer, and it would appear that the writer had in mind Walker's inclusion in the national team: 'When J. Walker scored the first for Leith, after the Hearts had registered their fifth, a cornet-player in the vicinity of the press box struck up "Scotland yet!" Encouraging, wasn't it?' (3 September 1898). As noted, the evidence of Walker's origin is lacking, but the suggestion that he represent Scotland (if that is indeed the correct interpretation) is intriguing. Walker may have been born in Scotland, or had one Scottish parent – the use of the term 'dusky' might suggest that he was 'half-caste' or of 'mixed race'. However, the Scottish football authorities were disinclined to choose Irish-Scots for the national team at this time, even if they had been born in Scotland (Finn 1991a,b). The selection of a non-white player in the 1890s would certainly have presented a challenge to the narrow

definitions of Scottishness evident during the period and which have persisted throughout the twentieth century.

By October 1898 Walker's status had blossomed even further, and he was praised for his speed and skill in this report of their win over Airdrie, though again with the omnipresent racialisation:

> the Athletic were not on their best form. Forward, Bell was the weak spot. Despite his long rest, he does not seem to have recovered from the injury which was the means of putting him on the shelf. His play was slow to a degree, and did not at all suit the speedy darkey, a lot of whose work went for nought on his partner's motion. As for the "black jewel", his consistent and brilliant play won for him fresh laurels and new friends. It also brought him one enemy – if I may use the word – namely, R. Macfarlane, the Airdrie right back. So often did he outwit the latter, that the back eventually lost his head and his temper and deliberately struck Walker.
>
> (*Leith Observer*, 8 October 1898)

Such was Walker's fame, on account of his football ability and his blackness, that the writer did not have to include his name when referring to Walker. Instead, the racial nicknames were sufficient to describe the player. No doubt, though, Walker's position as the only non-white player meant that any reference to 'darkey' would be understood by the Scottish public. The consistent references to his blackness as a defining feature reveal the normality of racialisation, and the prevalence of ideas of 'racial difference'.

Walker signed for Hearts in October 1898 after two weeks of speculation over the proposed transfer. The press maintained that the inclusion

of Walker would strengthen the Hearts team. The *Scottish Referee* claimed that '"Darkey" Walker' was 'a really good player' (28 October 1898). While the *Scottish Sport* referred to him as the 'accomplished "darkey"' (28 October 1898). The same newspaper treated his debut for Hearts with the same manner of exoticism which accompanied his debut for Leith Athletic: 'His appearance will, of course, lend additional attraction to the Easter Road game' and 'the appearance of the coloured lad in the popular maroon jersey will be looked forward to with quite a peculiar interest'. Similarly, the *Evening Dispatch* noted that Walker's 'appearance will give a certain zest to the match which it would not otherwise have possessed' (28 October 1898).

Walker's ability to sustain a career in the top division was questioned as he signed for Hearts:

> From personal acquaintance one can only judge the dark-skinned youth to be full average value, fairly fast, nimble, and pretty accurate. Those who profess to know his play better variously describe him, some saying his is game to a degree, and others that he is a palpable shirk, especially away from home.[8] All that need be said now is that he came through Saturday's trial well.
>
> (*Evening News*, 31 October 1898)

The suggestion that he was a 'palpable shirk' is curious considering other evidence to the contrary: his confrontation with St. Bernard's goalkeeper, and the fact he progressed through the often violent lower leagues. And indeed the *News*' writer did not claim to have first-hand knowledge of his cowardice. Although it is a speculative suggestion, it may have been that popular stereotypes of black physicality, which inferred weakness and enervation,

allowed this writer to accept uncritically the notion of Walker's cowardice in preference to the evidence otherwise.

His career at Hearts was not a complete success, and although he played in all the club's fixtures throughout November and into December his quality was being questioned: 'The Hearts are beginning to wonder whether their novelty man, J. Walker, is going to turn out what they expected' (*Daily Record,* 16 December 1898). Walker's spell in the first team ended with the 3-2 defeat at Parkhead by Celtic on 19 December. Previewing this match, the *Glasgow Observer* indulged in further exoticised racial description: 'Walker, The Dandy Coloured Coon, is a rather neat player, but scarcely robust enough for a Hearts' eleven. He will be an extra attraction at Parkhead, for it is not every day a sable warrior is seen' (17 December 1898). This description, from Glasgow's Irish-Scottish Catholic newspaper, offered a negative portrayal of Walker in racialised terms. 'The Dandy Coloured Coon' was a music hall character, thus Walker was somehow to be associated with humorous light entertainment, not considered in serious terms as a sportsman. Again the notion of his physical weakness was raised, and it was clear that some considered him physically inferior to the cream of Scottish players. Such is the complexity of racism, however, that this description sat alongside a positive description of him as a 'neat player' and the exoticisation of his presence as 'an additional attraction'.

Walker went on to play two more league games for Hearts in 1899, and played in the reserves. In April 1899, according to Allison, a later local football historian, he signed for Lincoln City (*Hearts Review* 1988:10). Allison's article is one of few examples of historical attention paid to Walker. Cosgrove (1991:131) referred to 'John "Darky" Walker' as 'a product of Leith's trading links with Africa'[9] and as 'the first black player to score in the Scottish

league', but little other information is offered by Cosgrove. Allison offered a detailed account of Walker's career in the Hearts fanzine the *Hearts Review* in 1988, in the wake of the racist abuse of Mark Walters by Hearts' fans (see chapter 4). Allison claimed that the signing of Walker 'must be looked on as a feather in Heart of Midlothian's cap and a historic pointer to their non-sectarian policy which is still very much in evidence today' (1988:10). Yet, Allison did not criticise the constant references to Walker as 'darkey' or even the description of a 'sable warrior'.[10] Neither did he explain why Hearts ought to be praised for signing a black player, or how Walker's signing proves the club's 'non-sectarianism'.[11] Yet, the article was 'dedicated to Mark Walters'. In the face of anti-racist criticism against Hearts' fans for their treatment of Walters, Allison attempted to dredge history to counter the criticism. Indeed, he maintained that 'Hearts fans today can be justly proud of their ancestors treatment of John Walker, a stranger in a strange land' (1988:10). Allison's use of history is problematic not because he has misused documents or distorted evidence. Rather, he failed to address the subtle and naturalised racialisation which accompanied Walker's career in Scottish football. He also failed to uncover the implicit racism, both anti-black and anti-Irish, which apparently made Hearts' signing of Walker an indication of their 'non-sectarianism' and something of which the fans can be proud. In an equitable society, the signing of a black player would not merit applause or even mention.

3.4 Mohammed Latif

Latif was an Egyptian student at Jordanhill College, Glasgow. In October 1934 he signed for Rangers, he had five international caps and was 'recommended by James McCrae, formerly of Clyde, who holds an appointment in Egypt' (*Govan Press*, 5 October 1934).

By the 1930s Rangers had a long established policy of not signing Catholic players (Finn 1991a,b). It is revealing that the club's effort to maintain their Protestant 'tradition' was not threatened by the presence of a Muslim; it was particularly Irish or Irish-Scots Catholics which were viewed with suspicion (Finn 2000). In the 1934-35 season Latif made regular appearances in the Scottish Alliance reserve league, playing 16 times and scoring 7 goals. The following season he was rewarded with a place in the starting line-up for Rangers visit to Easter Road to play Hibernian. Rangers had made a good start and were lying top of the league. They were expected to triumph over a Hibs team struggling at the opposite end of the league table. The match was played on 14th September 1935 and ended 1-1. Previewing the game, the *Scotsman* – in an article entitled 'Egyptian in Rangers' Team for Easter Road' – announced Latif's inclusion:

> For their engagement with Hibernian at Easter Road tomorrow Rangers will introduce Latif, the Egyptian student, who has been assisting their Alliance team since coming to Scotland. This will be his first appearance in the League eleven. An injury to McAuley on Wednesday evening in the Glasgow Cup tie with Queen's Park is responsible for the new man getting his chance, Venters also being on the injured list.
>
> (13 September 1935)

Latif was defined by his nationality, his status as foreigner is clearly stated. The *Glasgow Herald* made the point more succinctly: 'When Rangers turn out at Easter Road to oppose Hibernian tomorrow they will have Latif, an Egyptian, at inside right' (13 September 1935). The *Evening Dispatch* noted that 'Rangers are not expected to be beaten', while Latif was 'the Egyptian . . . an amateur who has played more or less regularly for some time in the A eleven. He is a physical culture student at Jordanhill college'. The identification of Latif as Egyptian is unproblematic in the sense that he was Egyptian, it was a fact. In these identifications prior to the Easter Road encounter, Latif's nationality was not problematised. However, there was no expansion upon his biography.[12] The *Glasgow Herald* intriguingly noted: 'The appearance of Latif, the Egyptian amateur, at inside right for the Ibrox team adds interest to the game' (14 September 1935).

While other newspapers danced around the question of racial difference, hinting at it through nationality and veiled terms such as 'adds interest', the *Daily Record and Mail* was more explicit, labelling Latif 'the dusky one' (13 September 1935) and noting the following day that: 'Rangers introduce the dark skinned Mohamed Latif' (14 September 1935). Such subtle, though explicit, racialisations were less frequently attached to Latif as had been the case with Walker. However, this may be explained partly by the brevity of Latif's league career. It may also indicate a certain confusion over how to represent Latif. Being Egyptian the label 'black' was probably less appropriate, and so other, more implicit, terms of difference were employed. Also, his position as student at the reputed Jordanhill College, and as a Rangers player, meant that arguments of inferiority would have been less tenable. Class and status may have intervened to counter much of the racist prejudice.

Reviews of the match discussed Latif's contribution. The *Scotsman* noted: 'Latif, the Egyptian amateur in the . . . inside left position, was hardly profitable' (16 September 1935). The *Glasgow Herald* agreed that Latif's performance was mediocre: 'Their attack was weakened by the inclusion of Latif, who was too impetuous, and McPhail was in listless mood' (16 September 1935). While the *Glasgow Herald* deflected some of the responsibility for the draw from Latif, the description of his style as 'impetuous' reflects classic orientalist discourse in which the Orient is represented as chaotic, irrational and over-emotional (Said 1985). However, it may be that Latif was genuinely rash in his decision-making, perhaps unsurprising given that this was his first appearance in the senior team. The *Govan Press* also described Latif as 'too impetuous' (20 September 1935), which suggests a consensus among sports writers. That said, it does not answer the question over the inspiration for this assessment – fact or orientalism – especially as the report in the *Press* read: 'Their attack was weakened by the inclusion of Latif, who was too impetuous', a word for word facsimile of the *Glasgow Herald*'s report. The *Govan Press* was a weekly local newspaper, no doubt taking a retrospective view inspired by the national press.[13]

The *Evening News* agreed with the view that Latif's involvement had not benefited Rangers, while adding their own descriptions of difference:

> The Rangers were the first to get going, and Latif, their Egyptian player, was one of the first to come into prominence . . . A Rangers' breakaway was engineered by Latif, but his pass to Gillick was so wide of his man that the outside winger was moved to make a gesture of impatience. The Egyptian was the busiest man on the field, though his interpositions were not always to the best advantage of his side. One of

his little indiscretions got the Hibernians out of a tight place, and their left wing led off a short series of Hibernian attacks, in which Dawson distinguished himself by his smartness. Then in the most unexpected way the Rangers scored. Latif opened the attack, the ball went over to Gillick, who crossed to SMITH, the centre forward pushed the ball through with his foot . . . The newcomer to Rangers' ranks, Latif, was colourful, but he did not fit into the Ibrox scheme of things.

(14 September 1935)

Although the writer for the *Evening News* had a generally negative attitude towards Latif, the latter's involvement in significant Rangers attacks suggested that he was playing an important role in the team. The description of Latif as prominent, as engineering a breakaway, as the busiest Rangers player, as making 'interpositions' and as assisting in the goal, challenged the view of Latif's performance as simply being 'impetuous'. There appears little generosity towards a foreigner, amateur and student who has achieved something impressive: playing for Rangers. Latif is offered little grace on his debut, no doubt an occasion of nerves as well as excitement. And there was a theme of exoticism in the representations of Latif: his appearance added 'interest'; he was 'colourful'.

More generous coverage of Latif's first and only appearance in senior league football came from the *Evening Dispatch*: 'The Rangers appeared to be carrying too many "generals" and if Latif, the Egyptian amateur, achieved little or nothing, his pluck, dash, and hard work might have been an example to some of his colleagues' (16 September 1935). Also, the *Evening Times* noted: 'there were possibilities in Latif which time may ripen' (16 September 1935).

The description of Latif as 'impetuous' was, it seems, a matter of interpretation. According to the *Dispatch,* Latif tried hard, showed some courage, speed and effort, but was let down by his less impressive, if more illustrious, team-mates. The *Dispatch* challenged the 'fact' of his impetuousness, thus suggesting the influence of an orientalist style prejudice among the other writers whose criticism of a young player making his league debut seems harsh.

3.5 Abdul Salim

In 1936 Abdul Salim appeared twice for Celtic's reserve team. Little is known about Salim and even his name is shadowed by uncertainty, with one writer referring to his 'right name' as Mohammed Hashean (Breck 1937:12), and a newspaper naming him as Salim Bachchi Khan (*Daily Record and Mail*, 27 August 1936). Salim's presence in Scottish football was highly publicised even though his contribution to Celtic was limited to several reserve matches. Controversy surrounded Salim's practice of wearing bandages on his feet to play, instead of boots. It was common practice to play barefooted in India (Mason 1990). However, by the 1930s some of the top Indian teams had begun playing in boots (De Mello 1959; Mookerjee 1989). The available evidence suggests that Salim played football in India, or at least that there was a player called Bacchi Khan (as opposed to the newspaper's spelling 'Bachchi Khan') playing for Mohammedan Sporting Club in 1936 (Mookerjee 1988). Indeed, it was claimed that he played for that same club (*Daily Record and Mail*, 27 August 1936).

On the 28th August 1936, Salim appeared for Celtic reserves against Galston. The *Evening Times* drew its readers' attention to Salim, with the following text placed beside photographs of Salim's face and his bandaged feet:

> Latest Football Attraction.
>
> Foot ball is the name for it. Pictures taken at Celtic Park to-day show what Galston's left defence will have to contend with in their Alliance game with Celtic on Friday night. Salim will be Celtic's outside right. Notice that some one had the job of cutting the feet from a perfectly good pair of stockings?
>
> (26 August 1936)

Salim and his bandaged feet offered an exotic attraction for the newspapers' audience. One commentary under the exoticised headline 'Can he Swallow A Sword?', noted in exclamatory fashion: 'the man plays in his bare feet – AND THERE'S SOMETHING STARTLING ABOUT THAT' (*Daily Record and Mail*, 27 August 1936).

Moreover, when Alan Breck, a sports writer released a book on Scottish football in 1937, Salim was given a full page, close to the front of the book, demonstrating the curiosity which surrounded his career at Celtic (Breck 1937). But his experiences were not simply exoticised and his body was not simply displayed for the amusement of onlookers. Salim's approach to football was also problematised, as this letter to the *Evening Times* demonstrated:

> Dear Sir –
>
> I was surprised to learn from my "Evening Times" that Celtic propose to field a barefooted Indian player in the Alliance match against Galston. No doubt he will prove an attraction. Galston will be glad of the extra sixpences he will add to the gate, but is it strictly official? For instance, what will the referee do when he discovers that Salim has no regulation studs on his boots? Will he send him back to the pavilion, as the Laws of the Game say he must do? And will he inspect Salim's nails to ensure that they are not liable to cause injury to an opponent? Barefooted players may be a novelty, but rules are rules and they should be adhered to. If exceptions are to be made there is no reason why Rangers should not field a "native" of Mossend complete with hobnailed boots, a Lancastrian in clogs, or a Dutchman on wooden sabots. Apart from that is it not something of an insult to the Galston

team? Certainly it will affect their play, for no Scot would care to tackle a man who has no boots.

(27 August 1936)

The controversy surrounding Salim's footwear was perhaps understandable, given the exceptional nature of his footwear. However, rather than being praised for his bravery Salim was criticised for expecting favours from Scottish defences (Dimeo & Finn 1999).

Salim played twice for Celtic's reserve team. The second occasion was a 6-2 victory over Hamilton, in which Salim scored 'a brilliant penalty goal' (*Glasgow Observer*, 19 September 1936). However, it was his debut in a 7-1 triumph over Galston which prompted much discourse on this exotic character, an attractive spectacle for the public: 'the game is going to draw a bigger crowd, much bigger, because Celtic will play at outside right a dark-skinned young man' (*Daily Record and Mail*, 27 August 1936). After the match, the *Glasgow Observer* described him thus:

> Abdul Salim, Celtic's Indian international trialist, tickled the crowd at Celtic Park on Friday with his magnificent ball manipulation. In his bare feet he was a conspicuous figure but this was further emphasised by his dark skin against the green and white of the Celtic strip. His play was top class. Accuracy in passing was his strong point. Every ball he touched went exactly to the place he wanted it to. Not one inch was it out. His crosses into goal were simply shrieking to be nodded into the net.

(5 September 1936)

Salim's 'dark skin' made him conspicuous, racialised difference was promoted as one of the defining features of Salim's football, alongside his bare feet.

In a later review for a football 'annual' the descriptions of Salim were favourable, if containing traces of exoticisation: Salim was 'a novel touch' who 'fairly hypnotised the opposing defenders' and 'greatly tickled the crowd' during the match against Galston. Indeed, Breck claimed that all seven goals were the 'outcome of his moves' (Breck 1937:12).

The suggestion that he was an 'Indian internationalist' is intriguing, yet in the coverage of Salim's career it was his bandages which received more attention than his previous achievement. However, the *Daily Record and Mail* (27 August 1936) claimed that 'our coloured visitor' had played for the 'Mahomedan Sporting Club, Calcutta' and that he was on holiday in Scotland visiting his brother who worked as 'a storekeeper at Elderslie docks'.[14] According to the newspaper, his brother had written to the Celtic manager, Willie Maley, requesting that Salim be given an opportunity to play for the club. Maley agreed to give him a game in the reserve league. Salim's talents demonstrated that Indian football was of a high standard, and he won frequent praise for his adroit play. However, the possibility that he was a member of the Mohammedan Sporting Club provides a fascinating link between South Asian and Scottish football. He may even have played against the Islington Corinthians in 1937 (Alaway 1948). Indeed, the *Daily Record and Mail* (27 August 1936) claimed that he 'played for his club against British Army teams'. Perhaps his father watched Mohun Bagan defeat the East Yorkshire Regiment in 1911.

There is no doubt that Salim was an attraction. When he took the field against Galston that local newspaper reported the attendance at 'nearly 7000 – that many a First League club would be glad to have. The big attraction was the

appearance of Salem [sic], an Indian, who was at outside right for Celtic and played with bare feet . . . most of the crowd of 7000 who attended did so mainly to see him in action' (*Kilmarnock Standard and Ayrshire Weekly News*, 5 September 1936). Indeed, the newspaper reported that the following week a large crowd were at Rugby Park, Kilmarnock for the visit for Celtic's reserves in the hope of seeing Salim (12 September). They were disappointed, though these reports demonstrate the widespread fascination which Salim engendered.

Such was Salim's fame that in 1949 the *West African Review* described his career with the 'fabulous Scottish club' Celtic. The source of the journal's information is unclear, but it claimed ownership of Salim suggesting that he was 'a seaman, hailing . . . from West Africa' (1949:287). It further added that during his spell of residence in Glasgow Salim was a 'prime favourite with the local faithful', that he 'had all the attributes of a star' but 'the underfoot conditions were seldom suited to this style of play' (1949:287). Salim was also remembered in 1951 by a Scottish writer in a discussion of Gilbert Heron (see chapter 3.7): 'There can be little doubt that in Heron Celtic have found a personality player as effective as the dusky Salim who used to thrill the Parkhead crowd with powerful bootless kicking from the touchline' (*Glasgow Observer and Scottish Catholic Herald*, 10 August 1951). Thus, the theme of non-white players being an exotic attraction has a continuity, which in this instance has been directly acknowledged by the Scottish press, though this chapter has established that it dates further back to Walker's debut for Leith Athletic in 1898.

Salim's career at Celtic has warranted only a few references in Celtic histories or in Scottish football histories.[15] His position as the first South Asian to play football in Scotland has been largely ignored, and the orientalist exoticism which accompanied his time in Scotland has passed without

criticism. By 1998 Celtic, who had begun an anti-racist campaign supporting Scottish Asian football, used Salim's career to demonstrate that South Asians have a history of involvement with the club. Salim's story was presented in Celtic's museum in 1998, while at the annual dinner of the Scottish Asian Sports Association in March 1998 a representative from Celtic made a direct comparison between Salim and the contemporary Scottish Asian communities. Certainly, Salim's brief sojourn in Scottish football is an apt reminder of Scotland and South Asia's historical football connections which find their contemporary parallel in the experience of Scottish Asian communities.

3.6 Mustafa Mansour

Mansour was, like Latif, an Egyptian student enrolled at Jordanhill College. Before arriving in Glasgow Mansour had represented his country at football, notably in the 1936 Berlin Olympics (interview with Small, 1982).[16] Mansour's football career in Scotland began in April 1937 when he made his debut for the amateur side, Queen's Park, who were struggling to remain in the first division. The club owned and played at Hampden Park, the stadium used for international matches. They had played an influential role in the early organisation of football in Scotland, achieving a number of successes around the turn of the century before the Old Firm had come to dominate Scottish football (Robertston 1992). One significant reason for Queen's Park demise was their refusal to alter their amateur status, preferring to maintain the spirit of Corinthianism and Olympianism. To this day the club play at Hampden and are amateurs.[17]

Mansour's introduction came on 3rd April 1937 against Heart of Midlothian at Tynecastle, where the Glasgow club were defeated 3-1. Announcing his impending debut the Glasgow Herald wrote: 'Queen's Park will have M. Mansour, an Egyptian student, in goal' (3 April 1937). Reporting on the match the same newspaper noted:

> Queen's Park had most defending to do, and offered stout, if undistinguished, resistance. Mansour, their Egyptian goalkeeper, who was making his first appearance in the League team, fully justified his selection by bringing off several splendid saves in addition to giving general satisfaction.
>
> (*Glasgow Herald*, 5 April 1937)

The *Daily Record and Mail* took a far more exoticising approach. The day prior to Mansour's debut found the newspaper fascinated by his introduction: 'Queen's Park make four changes in their team for Tynecastle. The most interesting is the introduction of Mansour, the Egyptian goalkeeper, who makes his League debut' (2 April 1937). On the following day the meaning of 'interesting' was expanded upon:

> Queen's Park introduce their Egyptian goalkeeper, Mansour, in place of the suspended White, and this should help the gate. The football man has nothing if he has not the curiosity to be attracted by the unusual. Will be interesting to see how he performs.
>
> (3 April 1937)

Mansour was constructed as 'unusual', an exotic spectacle for the entertainment of crowds only familiar with 'white' players, an expression of subtle prejudice.

Thirty years later, Mansour was still treated with exoticism. Crampsey, in his centenary history of Queen's Park wrote that the spectators were 'regaled with the sight of the flamboyant Egyptian, Mustapha Mansour . . . and for all his exuberance, his method was basically sound' (1967:180). It is difficult to ascertain whether Mansour's play was exuberant and flamboyant or if retrospective mythologising informed Crampsey's account. Even if the historian did conclude upon Mansour's style after reading reports of his play from 1937-39 these too may have been tainted by the language of orientalist exoticism. However, reports from the *Glasgow Herald* during Mansour's career suggest he had competence and, like any other goalkeeper, he made occasional mistakes and performed occasional heroics. For example, in a 2-1 defeat by Aberdeen he 'saved splendidly, and on occasion he prevented goals at personal

risk' (*Glasgow Herald*, 20 March 1939). The following month he had a bad game in a 2-1 defeat by Airdrie: 'he fumbled a simple lob into goal' (*Glasgow Herald*, 10 April 1939). It was difficult to discern any trait of exuberance or flamboyance from these reports.

Queen's Park were fighting against relegation in 1938-39 and eventually lost the battle in May 1939. Mansour was dropped after the loss to Airdrie and replaced by G. Hamilton who was still attending High School when he made his debut (*Glasgow Herald*, 11 April 1939).

Mansour is perhaps best remembered for his part in a famous controversy during a 3-2 defeat by Rangers on 26 November 1938. He recounted the incident to Roy Small (1982):

> MM: One of these matches we had was the 'was it a goal?' match, if you remember that.
>
> RS: Yes I remember it well. I think the player was – was the player Souter?
>
> MM: No, it was Venters who shot, it was McPhail shot from the inside left. A straight shot which I thought was going to the post and I was coming near. My estimate was if it hits the post from inside, it was to hit the post from inside I would dive for it and get it. If not I'll wait for the rebound and cover the goal. This is what happened, it rebounded to Venters, Venters shot in and I saved the goal. The referee saw the ball with a swerve, can't remember his name now, anyway he thought I was not moving for the ball and thought that the ball went in. So he turned his back and gave a whistle before it crossed the line and it had hit the post. And this is . . .
>
> RS: That was a very famous incident.

MM: Very famous incident.

RS: People still speak about it today and that must be what 40 years later?

MM: That was 1938, or maybe early '39. '38/'39 that was the last season I played for Queen's Park.

RS: But such was the spirit of Queen's Park that nobody protested.

MM: No, nobody protested. I remember, the players, the Rangers protested to the referee but ours never protested. The linesman stood in his place to give his decision to the referee, if he were asked, and he was never asked. And we went out, we were beaten by that goal that day and we went out as if nothing had happened.

RS: As if you had won the match.

MM: The same attitude. We did our part and that was all.

Mansour's recollection of the events of November 1938 are understandably vague, given the passage of time. However, with the aid of some leading and prompting by Small his version was a particular re-invention of the past, one which mythologised the amateurism of Queen's Park. According to a sports writer of the day who was reporting on the match: 'Rangers won at Hampden today by a goal that thousands will swear was not a goal. I myself was of the opinion that Venters's shot struck the post and bounded out' (*Evening Times*, 26 November 1938). Such was the controversy that the *Evening Times* produced a diagram to demonstrate that the ball had his the post and not the stanchion (28 November 1938). While the diagram supported Mansour's 1982 recollection that the ball rebounded from the post, at no point is it suggested by the *Evening Times* that the goalkeeper then saved a follow-up shot. Perhaps more significant, however, were the reports in 1938 of the reaction of the Queen's

Park players and supporters: 'Queen's clustered round the official. They followed him to mid-field, but despite all the combined protests the referee stuck to his decision and the goal stood' and at 'the conclusion of the game the referee was subjected to an adverse demonstration by a section of the crowd' (*Evening Times*, 26 November 1938). And two days later the same writer expressed his disbelief at the behaviour of the players: 'when I inquired afterwards I was told not a single Queen's Park player had his name taken for protesting. Where does the wee black book come in now?' (*Evening Times*, 28 November 1938). It would appear that Mansour and Small's version of history has specific flaws based upon a romanticised interpretation of Queen's Park's amateurism.

Mansour's place in Scottish football history has been guaranteed by his role in the 'goal that never was'. Yet, his achievements have never been fully recognised. Like Latif, Mansour was an amateur, a student, and a foreigner, and still he managed to regularly take the field for a first division team. He was, at times, represented in exoticised language. It is open to question as to whether he experienced racism, though certainly in the 1982 interview with Small he had nothing but praise for the Scottish welcome he received. Once again, though, the memory of these pre-war days may well be distorted by romanticism. Moreover, while he may not have suffered direct violent prejudice or scientific racism, the types of racialised exoticisation which characterised some of the descriptions of his presence, are problematic.

3.7 Gilbert Heron

In the summer of 1951 Celtic toured the U.S.A. During the tour they spotted the talents of Heron, a citizen of the U.S.A. who was born in Jamaica, and invited him to Glasgow for a trial. The first reports of Heron's appearance in Scotland come in the previews of Celtic's trial match in which the club 'intend to play a new centre forward, a Jamaican named Heron' (*Evening Dispatch*, 3 August 1951). The trial match was held on 4th August and Heron was duly signed. One newspaper in particular, the *Evening Times*, was fascinated by Heron's arrival:

> Tomorrow they will see what Giles Herron [sic] can do. Giles is a coloured 23-year-old Jamaican who has flown in from Detroit in U.S.A. Celts heard about his speedy ways during the American tour, and an invitation to play at Parkhead was accepted.
>
> (3 August 1951)

The definition of Heron as 'coloured' signalled his 'racial' difference from the rest of the players in the Scottish league. Two days after the trial the same newspaper discoursed upon the arrival of this 'coloured' player, and set about problematising Heron's position even before he had kicked a ball for the club:

> Giles Heron, the Jamaican from Detroit, is now a signed player for Celtic. His form in the trial game suggested the Celts have secured a personality man. I cannot recall a coloured man in Scottish league football, but I have seen them playing abroad against Scottish teams in America, and very good they were. To the ends of the earth our clubs will go, for the goal-getters especially. We have a Canadian – from the

> Far West – with Dundee, a South African with Rangers, and now Celts have Heron. It's a world game all right, and it's good to see Scottish clubs so enterprising. All the same, it's a commentary on the dearth of home talent.
>
> (6 August 1951)

This passage reveals a particularly subtle form of racism. Without explicitly suggesting that black or 'coloured' or foreign players are not welcome, the writer argued that it would be preferable to fill the ranks of the Scottish clubs with Scottish players. The presence of black and foreign players is not presented as something to be celebrated, but framed in critical language which highlighted problems. It is worth noting the complacent and easy use of universal generalisms when referring to 'coloureds', as if they were an homogeneous group.[18]

Heron had to wait for his first senior game, while his reserve debut was against Leith Athletic on 15th August 1951. Reserve games received little coverage in the national newspapers, but the *Glasgow Herald* did remark: 'Heron, Celtic's Jamaican leader, scored twice' (16 August 1951). Injuries to other players, sustained during the senior team's league match of 15th August, meant that Celtic were scouring the reserves for replacements for the League Cup match at home to Morton, and Heron was duly selected. Previewing the match the *Glasgow Herald* articulated the anticipation surrounding Heron's debut:

> The decision of Celtic to introduce Heron, the Jamaican footballer from Detroit, to their forward line against Morton today will no doubt add considerably to the attendance at Parkhead and had circumstances been

> different might have had some slight effect on the other Division A League Cup match scheduled for Glasgow. Such is the attraction of the Partick Thistle v Motherwell match at Firhill Park, however, that the possible drift of neutral followers of football to see the novelty of a coloured player leading the Celtic attack may prevent embarrassment for those whose duty it is to control the crowd at Firhill.
>
> (18 August 1951)

Heron's full debut was celebrated for the 'novelty of a coloured' player; his blackness was his defining feature, he was made an exotic curiosity. If the writer had correctly judged popular opinion then Heron's promised appearance was the subject of some excitement among the Scottish public. He was the strange foreigner which the public were invited to observe in his exotic glory. He did not fail to capture the imagination:

> Celtic supporters protested loudly from the terraces after six minutes, when "dark horse" Heron from America put the ball into the net – and referee Weir stopped the goal. He had signalled a foul, for the centre had impeded Thom before scoring . . . Heron's speed was definitely a thorn in the flesh of Thom and his colleagues, and only a daring clearance by Cowan prevented the centre from counting. This boy HERON from America has certainly got it! Five minutes before half-time he fastened on to a through pass by Tully and without hesitation smacked an unsaveable shot past Scotland's keeper to put Celtic two up.
>
> (*Evening Dispatch*, 18 August 1951)

Heron almost scored two more goals in his debut match. It is clear from the *Dispatch* 's report that Heron's blackness was a symbol of his difference. And from this first performance his speed his another defining feature. However, he received more praise from the *Evening News*, which reported that an otherwise featureless match was punctuated by 'bright spells' from Heron 'who was making a promising debut' (18 August 1951). And the *Scotsman* wrote of 'the impressive debut of Heron, the Jamaican centre of Celtic' (20 August 1951). Meanwhile, the *Evening Times* simply described Heron as 'the dusky fellow' (18 August 1951).

Reviewing the match two days later the same newspaper noted Celtic's forward line as: 'Tully, Collins, McPhail and now Heron the "Black Flash"' and went on to describe the place of Heron in Scottish football culture, in the exoticised terminology of providing (in at least one sense) 'colour':

> The Celtic supporters go from one talking point to another with nae bother at a'! Giles Heron may yet be the "piece de resistance" of the whole rickmatik! A fellow who can rattle in and flash the ball into the net as he did against Morton is the dream come true of all supporters and managers . . . The appeal of late has been for something colourful, something new, in Scottish football! And now Celtic, plus Giles Heron, from Jamaica via Detroit, have provided it.
>
> (20 August 1951)

Heron was rewarded with a place in the team to play away at Third Lanark in the League Cup the following Saturday. Unfortunately for Heron he could not maintain his form:

> Little was seen of Heron, who had difficulty in working up speed on the slippery turf and too often ran into offside traps. Towards the close, however, he showed his ability with a fast run up the left wing and a low cross, but the opportunity was lost because he had outpaced the other Celtic forwards.
>
> (*Glasgow Herald*, 27 August 1951)

Once again Heron's speed is the defining feature of his play; he had a 'fast run' and 'outpaced' the other forwards, suggesting that he was actually too fast. Such was the importance of his pace that, according to the *Herald*'s report, he was impotent without it. The *Evening Dispatch* further advanced the classification of Heron by his skin-colour and his speed, alongside his exoticisation:

> John McPhail did not make his appearance for Celtic, and "the brown flash" from Jamaica, Gilbert Heron, continued at centre . . . The crowd were obviously looking for fireworks from the speedy Jamaican, but in practically every raid the ball was pushed too far ahead that Petrie was able to collect at his leisure.
>
> (25 August 1951)

Heron had played for the reserves against Hibernians between the Morton and Third Lanark matches. The columnist of the *Dispatch* had followed Heron's week, and concluded that he didn't have the qualities to match the attention he had been given:

> Jamaica-born Gilbert Heron, the Celtic centre, has had an unfair deal. Because of the wide publicity accorded his appearance in Scottish League football, the public have come to expect him to produce the spectacular in his play. In two weeks he has but faintly obliged. I saw Heron in action for the first time against Hibs' boy McKenzie in mid-week. Frankly, Heron had an unhappy time. He's not accustomed to hard tackling. He can shoot; only when he is clear of the defence. He has speed; only when off the ball. He has height; but he is not particularly good with his head. Before Gilbert Heron is anything like ready for the hurly-burly of Scottish or English football he needs a toughening-up course. To date, Heron has only been a box-office draw. The Scottish footballing crowds should take it easy until the boy has adjusted himself to our ways both on and off the field. After that we may pass judgement.
>
> (25 August 1951)

This description of Heron's playing style is a negative portrayal of the black Afro-Caribbean other: physically weak, swift but unskilful, yet an exotic attraction for football crowds. The *Scotsman*'s suggestion (29 August 1951) that he could not cope with the wet weather fits the pattern of 'softness'. These accounts of Heron's experiences and abilities pre-date the racist discourses about black players which emerged in Britain in the 1960s, and bear striking similarities (Cashmore 1982), but echo earlier prejudiced views on black physicality as emerged in discussions of Walker. Black players were constructed as lacking the physical strength, love of 'mixing it', and ability to cope with rain and cold weather, that the British players demonstrated.[19] The only path to success for Heron was to become more like 'us', to 'adjust himself

to our ways'. Importantly this would also extend to his off-field behaviour, thus there is an implicit assumption of superiority.

By the following week, Heron's form was deserting him and his place in the Celtic team was insecure. He played in the League Cup away to Morton, but was ineffective (*Evening Dispatch*, 1 September 1951). He made only one more first-team appearance, on 1 December 1951.

Heron's place in the history of Scottish football has had little acknowledgement. McDermott succinctly summarised his experiences: 'Giles Heron, a Jamaican, played several times for the first team back in the early 1950s' (1985:80). It is understandable that such limited coverage is made of Heron's career, given the small number of appearances he made. However, he was one of the first black players in Scottish football, causing much discussion when he played. Handley discussed Celtic's tour to USA where they discovered Heron, and continued:

> He had speed, height and shot, and shortly after he joined the Parkhead club as a forward those optimistic supporters who feel that every addition to the playing staff must be the solution to some problem or other were hailing him with enthusiasm, and had christened him the "Black Flash", but he lacked ball control, and resource when challenged.
>
> (1960:166)

Once again, we find that Heron blackness, speed, lack of skill and inability to cope with the physical side of football, are his defining features. MacBride, O'Connor & Sheridan (1994) described his route to Parkhead, the impact he made on his debut, his subsequent games and departure, and a range of other

details about his life. According to McBride *et al.*, Heron was a professional photographer in Detroit, and while in Scotland also played league cricket. He has published poetry, represented Jamaica at football, and he is the father of jazz musician Gil-Scott Heron. McBride *et al.*, while offering a positive account of his life, did not mention that he was black, or suggest that he may have experienced racism. As such, the absence of 'racial' identification coincides with an absence of anti-racist critique.

Cosgrove (1991:129-130) summarised Heron's career with Celtic. Like Allison's (1988) use of Walker, Cosgrove referred explicitly to Mark Walters: 'The Celtic fans who berated Walters had a conveniently short memory. Less than 30 years before, the club had enlightened post-war Scottish football by signing a black American striker'. In common with Allison's retrospective on Walker, Cosgrove failed to offer a critical analysis of why the introduction of a black player should 'enlighten' society. Cosgrove claimed that Heron became known as the 'Black Arrow' soon after his debut, and related an unsourced anecdote that Heron 'still enjoys ridiculing his black friends with the word "darkie" which he relishes saying in a pantomime Scots accent'. Thus, the styles of racism facing Heron appeared variable and, for him, memorable.

The media's descriptions of Heron were diverse and complex. There was a mixture of welcoming celebration of his presence and dismissal of his abilities. Criticisms of his playing style resonating with classic stereotypes of black footballers, though these may have reflected his weaknesses in ball control, reading offside traps, and so on. It is also possible that observations of such weaknesses were exaggerated by prejudiced stereotypes of black physicality. The racialised motifs which accompanied Heron were very common, and suggest the centrality of 'race' in social relations. These deserve

criticism and retrospective reviews should criticise the subtlety and frequency of the racism Heron encountered.

3.8 Paul Wilson

Wilson, an Scots-Indian whose mother was Indian (Lunney 1992:147), signed for Celtic in December 1967. His arrival at Parkhead came only months after Celtic had triumphed in the 1967 European Cup. Under Jock Stein they would win nine championships in a row (1966-74). Celtic were, without doubt, one of the greatest club teams in the world, with one of the most successful managers in the history of British football. Stein had spotted Wilson's potential, not just to score goals in the Scottish league, but to carry on a tradition of excellence at Parkhead. He was 'farmed out' to Maryhill Juniors for a season, and it was not until 1970 that his breakthrough arrived.

Stein introduced Wilson gradually to the first team. His debut, on the 16th September 1970 was in the first round of the European Cup, at home against Finnish side Kokkola, which Celtic strolled 9-0. Wilson was given his first taste of elite football, coming on with Vic Davidson for the second half, scored two goals and hit the post. His contribution received praise:

> To make things interesting, manager Jock Stein brought on two bright youngsters after the interval. Paul Wilson made his debut and on too came Vic Davidson . . . Wilson scored two grand goals, and his cute footwork gave warning that Celtic have another touchline terror in the Johnstone tradition.
>
> (*Daily Record*, 17 September 1970)

While Kokkola made for undemanding opposition, Wilson's impact on the proceedings was dramatic. After scoring twice, and impressing with his skills, the comparison to Celtic legend Jimmy Johnstone represented the highest form of admiration. The following day Stein said: 'I am particularly pleased with our

youngsters, who are fitting in well' (*Daily Record,* 18 September 1970). And the *Scotsman* described Wilson as 'a tremendous prospect' who 'scored a glorious seventh for Celtic with a jet-propelled volley after beating three men' (17 September 1970).

A man of his word, Stein selected Wilson as a substitute for the following week's League Cup tie against Dundee. With Celtic 3-1 ahead, Stein gave Wilson another opportunity to prove his worth, and he failed to disappoint: 'Young Wilson showed again he is a player of tremendous promise. He scored a great goal and his slick artistry impressed the fans' (*Daily Record,* 24 September 1970). After two substitute appearances, the young forward had three goals to his name, and public recognition of his talent. However, at no point had any newspaper made any mention of his ethnicity, or of the racism which he potentially faced.

After making such an outstanding start to his Celtic career, Wilson faced tough competition for a place in the Celtic squad. Between 1970 and 1974 his appearances were infrequent. He made no other appearances in the 1970-71 season. In domestic competitions over the next three seasons he made the following appearances: 1971-72 – 3 full games and 2 as substitute, with 1 goal; 1972-73 – 4 full games and 4 as substitute, with 1 goal; 1973-74 – 15 full appearances and 13 as substitute, with 7 goals (Lunney 1992).[20]

Wilson began to find his form, a regular squad place, and had his greatest successes, from the period of early 1974 to late 1976. His first match in 1974, after a two month absence, was in a 6-1 Scottish Cup victory over Stirling Albion on 17 February, in which he scored. Perhaps in frustration at Wilson's unfulfilled potential, or in order to boost the player's confidence, Stein said:

We all know the tremendous talent this lad possesses but I wonder if Paul himself realises just how valuable he could be to the club. His ability is unquestioned, and surely with Sunday's fine game behind him we will now see the best of Paul.

(*Celtic View*, 20 February 1974)

Stein selected Wilson for the European Cup quarter-final first leg away to Basle of Switzerland. Celtic lost 3-2, but Wilson scored a goal which Stein described as 'a cracker' (*Celtic View*, 6 March 1974). The *Daily Record* reported that after twenty minutes 'Paul Wilson, a brilliant player, opened the scoring with a hard shot hit on the volley' (28 February 1974). Wilson missed out on the successful second leg, but came on as substitute in the first leg of the European Cup semi-final against Athletic Madrid, a 0-0 home draw. Celtic, without Wilson, went on to lose 2-0 in the away leg.

At this time Celtic's assistant manager, Sean Fallon, said that this '"could be his break-through season"' (*Celtic View*, 13 March 1974), recognising that Wilson's potential was only just being fulfilled after six years at Celtic. Wilson himself reflected that at times he had not given his full commitment to each match, but having taken up a more central position on the field found himself more consistently involved:

"I think it was a lack of concentration that let me down. At the time I was usually on the wing, and when I wasn't directly involved in the action my attention was too easily distracted. Now I'm playing a lot through the middle. You don't have a chance to stand and watch there. You're running about, always involved in the play."

(*Celtic View*, 13 March 1974)

Wilson's career was beginning to gather momentum. At Parkhead, against Liverpool in Billy McNeill's testimonial on 3 August he scored Celtic's goal in a 1-1 draw. It was a Liverpool side of some stature, managed by Bill Shankly and including such names as Clemence, Keegan, Heighway and Toshack. Shankly had said before the match that it '"will be for the British championship"' thus dispelling any notion that its status as a friendly would result in a relaxed, uncompetitive game (*Glasgow Herald*, 12 August 1974).

On 3rd August Wilson scored in victory over Rangers in the Dryborough Cup final, the match ended 2-2 after extra time with Celtic winning 4-2 after penalties (*Glasgow Herald*, 5 August 1974). He also netted Celtic's equaliser in the 1-1 European Cup first leg at home to Olympiakos on 18 September, and scored twice in a 5-3 triumph over Ayr United. Fulsome praise was forthcoming, and his importance at Parkhead increasingly recognised:

> Paul Wilson is strong and powerful in the dribble and he must take the weight off Johnstone and Co . . . five men bear special responsibility. They are Kenny Dalglish, Jimmy Johnstone, Dixie Deans, Paul Wilson and Bobby Lennox . . . Paul Wilson grabbed yet another two extremely valuable goals against Ayr on Saturday. The Celtic speedster has been hitting the net recently with superb efforts – and at vital times, too. Remember his headed goal in the Dryborough Cup final victory over Rangers at Hampden? Remember his wonderful goal against Liverpool in the prestige benefit match for Billy McNeill? Remember his late equaliser against Olympiakos in the European Cup at Parkhead? These

> goals – and many others – have made Paul one of the most feared strikers in Scotland!
>
> (*Celtic View*, 2 October 1974)

Wilson appeared to be taking his place in the pantheon, alongside those who were to become the greats of Celtic history: Dalglish, McNeill, Johnstone, Deans, Lennox, McGrain. He had been one of the 'Quality Street Kids' of the early 1970s, which included Macari, Hay, Davidson and Connelly alongside Wilson and Dalglish. He had developed more slowly than the most successful 'Kids', though others such as Davidson also took time to mature. By late 1974 his position alongside these other heroes of the Celtic faithful was being recognised. Indeed by May 1975, after Davidson had been released on a free transfer, Wilson's name was listed alongside Macari, Hay, Connelly, and McGrain, as part of 'that magnificent reserve side' of the late 1960s (*Glasgow Herald*, 2 May 1975).

One of his most memorable performances came in the New Year's Old Firm derby of 1975, despite the fact that Celtic lost and not all observers were lauding the Parkhead club's performance. Rangers overcame Celtic 3-0 at Ibrox, with the press offering Celtic, and Wilson in particular little praise: 'a tremendous match which was a credit to every player in the field . . . Dalglish, who had a tremendous match missed again in 60 minutes after Hood and Wilson had set it up' (*Sunday Mail*, 5 January 1975). However, from this retrospective review of the season, Wilson's contribution seems far more impressive:

> Rangers fans will happily remember the result, Celtic fans won't easily forget the first half hour when their team could have been four goals in

> front. Paul Wilson went daft. He completely annihilated the Rangers defence. He showed brilliant ball control, tremendous pace, precision passes and power shooting. But he had atrocious luck in finishing and his colleagues scorned the chances he laid on. Then the game turned when Rangers broke away and scored. That was it finished. Along with Willie Woodburn, George Young and brother Billy, I sat the match out in the Directors box. Before half time . . . George Young, watching Wilson for the first time said: "That boy is one of the finest I have ever seen in a Celtic jersey".
>
> (*Celtic View*, Summer Magazine 1975)

Sharing this view of Wilson was the *Sunday Mail*'s chief sports columnist, Allan Herron, who referred to Dalglish and Wilson as 'two of the most exciting players in British football. Just to see them play is worth the gate money. They could win any match on their own' (*Sunday Mail*, 19 January 1975). Celtic had lost at home to Motherwell 3-2 on 11 January, but Wilson had again played well. The Scottish national team were preparing to meet Spain in Valencia on 5th February, a European Championships qualifying round tie. Herron believed that Wilson's talent should be exploited by Scotland manager Willie Ormond: 'I hope our manager paces up our attack by giving Paul Wilson of Celtic his first cap' (*Sunday Mail*, 2 February 1975). Wilson was selected by Ormond, as part of a squad of seventeen, a squad of great players many of whom had played in the 1974 World Cup: Buchan, Bremner, Burns, Clarke, Cooke, Dalglish, Forsyth, Harvey, Hutchinson, Jardine, McQueen, Jordan, Lorimer, McGrain, Parlane and Jackson.

Willie Ormond explained his decision to include Wilson: 'He's been in tremendous form all season . . . I've seen the boy several times this season and

he gets better with every game. Paul is used to the big time – so if he plays there should be no problems of nerves' (*Celtic View*, 5 February 1975). And his club manager, Stein supported Ormond's decision: 'Paul has been at Celtic Park for a fair time now and the international recognition which he is now sharing with his team-mates Kenny Dalglish and Danny McGrain proves that application and perseverance can bring their own rewards' (*Celtic View*, 5 February 1975). In the event, Wilson was a substitute only brought on with 12 minutes of the match remaining. Overshadowing this historical moment, Wilson's first cap and the first player of South Asian origin to play for Scotland, was a controversial refereeing decision which gave Spain their victory. Newspapers such as the *Daily Record*, *Glasgow Herald* and the *Scotsman* gave few, if any, details of Wilson's appearance. On the following Sunday, Wilson's supporter, Allan Herron, reflected that: 'Paul Wilson could have been sent out earlier. He didn't get a chance to show his form when he was eventually allowed to play for the final 12 minutes' (*Sunday Mail*, 9 February 1975).

Wilson had scored in Celtic's League Cup final victory over Hibernian in October 1974; adding to his Cup final tally after scoring in the Dryborough Cup final. On the 3rd May 1975 Celtic played Airdrie in the Scottish Cup final. In the build-up to the final, his importance had been outlined: 'Kenny Dalglish and Paul Wilson could be the key men, Strong runners, with superb ball control and hungry for success' (*Sunday Mail*, 27 April 1975). Wilson scored Celtic's first two goals in a 3-1 victory, his performance rated as equal to those of Latchford, McGrain, McNeill, Hood and Dalglish' (*Sunday Mail*, 4 May 1975). The *Celtic View*'s reporter noted: 'In a very good Celtic side my men of the match were Kenny Dalglish, Paul Wilson, Peter Latchford and Billy McNeill' (7 May 1975). More than scoring the important goals, Wilson had overcome

personal grief to play in the final. His mother had died during the week before the match, with the funeral taking place the day before. Stein noted that he had 'played really well', and pertinently pointed out that it 'was a really brave performance' (*Sunday Mail*, 4 May 1975). Indeed, the *Glasgow Herald* (5 May 1975) described the match as a 'sad triumph' for Wilson.[21]

Although Celtic lost the league to Rangers, they had won the Dryborough Cup, the League Cup and the Scottish Cup, with Wilson scoring in every final. He had winners medals to show for his efforts, as well as taking the mantle of hero in each final. To add to these achievements was his international cap. Yet more was to come. On the 10th May 1975 he scored twice in the 2-2 Glasgow Cup Final draw with Rangers, taking his total goals for the season to 22. He was the club's leading scorer for the season, the brace in the Glasgow Cup meant he had scored one more than closest rival, Kenny Dalglish. Stein, in his review of the season, reflected on Wilson's contribution:

> I should also make a special mention of Paul Wilson who scored in each of our four cup finals. Paul is one of the Dalglish, McGrain, Macari and Hay "school" but he has taken that bit longer then the others to make his mark. Last season though he developed well and he's still getting stronger physically I expect him to be an even more profitable player in the future.
>
> (*Celtic View*, Summer Magazine 1975)

It is perhaps a sign of Wilson's inherent ability that Stein believed there was untapped resources, even after such a bright season. He had been capped, scored in four finals, won three cup winners medals, was rated alongside such luminaries as Dalglish, Macari, Johnstone and McGrain, and was the club's top

scorer. Regardless of all this, Stein was of the opinion that he was even better. In an interview with the *Scottish Sunday Express* the manager said:

> Paul has been slow in developing. Although he was coming through in a group that established itself quickly . . . like Hay, Macari, Dalglish, Connelly and McGrain . . . he was running a bit behind the field and he had to be pushed a bit more. Not because that ability was not there. He is the shy type, a little bit backward in coming forward, in a way. He had to be convinced that he could be good, and he had to be developed a bit physically. But he is coming through now, and he will be better yet. Those Final goals will help him on his way.
>
> (12 May 1975)

The *Scottish Sunday Express* article which included Stein's comments ended: 'Wilson has had a tough road to follow, the target for jeering calls from the opposition. Forget them Paul. You have the ability to make them eat their words'. Implicitly and opaquely, the writer seems to be referring to racism; directly relating the racism of the opposition (though whether it be the fans or players is not clear) to Wilson's underdevelopment. However, there remained a failure to name these 'jeering calls' as racism, to identify the specific forms of prejudice which has resulted in Wilson having to follow a 'tough road'. Yet, racism was an influential factor. For instance, Rangers fans would constantly bay "Wilson's a Paki" during Old Firm matches (Dimeo & Finn 1999). The fact that it was not raised in any significant way during Wilson's career represents a failure to identify and oppose racism. Even when the abuse he received was mentioned, it was not named as racism and no concerted criticism arose. Resisting against the racism was the responsibility of Wilson alone, and the

suggested method was through his football skills. By ignoring the issue the Scottish media were complicit in its reproduction.

Wilson continued his rich vein of form into August 1975, when Celtic played a friendly against the English championships, Derby County on 2nd August 1975. One report described his influence: 'Paul Wilson was a constant pain in the neck to the hard-pushed English defence whose sweeper Colin Todd had to show his world class . . . There was one great moment of Wilson footwork in the eighth minute when he beat three defenders before having his shot saved by Moseley' (*Sunday Mail*, 3 August 1975). However, the season of 1975-76 was not as successful for Wilson, making a total of 28 full domestic appearances, 8 substitute appearances, and scored 8 goals. In 1976-77 he made 32 full appearances, 7 substitutes appearances, and scored 8 goals again. His career was beginning to slow down. In 1977-78 he made 21 full appearances, 7 substitute appearances, and scored 3 goals. By the 1978-79 season he only made 1 substitute appearance in the league, and 2 appearances (1 as substitute) in the League Cup. As Lunney noted: 'After that whirlwind 1974-75 season . . . Wilson's performances became somewhat inconsistent' (1992:147-48).

By this stage many of Wilson's contemporaries, such as Macari and Dalglish, as well as manager Stein, had departed from Parkhead. He signed for Motherwell for £50,000 in September 1978, to much optimism from manager Roger Hynd (*Daily Record*, 21 September 1978). Hynd's vision was not fulfilled and Motherwell sold Wilson to Partick Thistle for £20,000 in August 1980. At Firhill, Wilson failed to make an impact and was released in April 1980 (*Glasgow Herald*, 30 April 1980). He joined the junior team Blantyre Celtic in August 1980, and was capped for Junior Scotland against Eire on 4th October 1980 (Lunney 1992). His retirement came in January 1982, and he took a coaching position with Drumchapel Amateurs in 1984.

Wilson's place in the history of Scottish football – as the first Scottish Asian to play professional football, as the most successful non-white Scottish player in Scottish football history, as the first non-white to be capped, and as the victim of racial abuse – has been largely forgotten. Campbell & Woods (1996) in their detailed history of Celtic only mention Wilson with respect to his contribution to two games: the Old Firm derby of January 1975 and the Scottish Cup Final victory over Airdrie later that season. His ethnicity is not mentioned and neither is racism. In Cosgrove's (1991) account of black players Walters, Elliott, Heron and Vic Kasule (who played for Albion Rovers, Meadowbank Thistle and Hamilton in the early 1990s) and the racism which accompanied the black presence in Scottish football, Wilson received no mention whatsoever.

Yet, there is substantial evidence to suggest that Wilson confronted regular racist abuse. Crampsey did acknowledge the prejudice which Wilson faced during his career with Celtic, praising his manager Jock Stein for being 'at his best when encouraging Paul Wilson to withstand the racist abuse to which he was subjected' (1986:185). Lunney reflected that Wilson 'had to endure racial abuse from opposition fans, especially during the 1975 Glasgow Cup Final, when his reply was to net a brace of goals in a 2-2 draw' (1992:147). As noted, he regularly received racist abuse from Rangers fans (Dimeo & Finn 1999). Such abuse was seldom mentioned in the newspapers of the day. When it was it was simply alluded to, in a style similar to the coverage in the *Scottish Sunday Express*. Racism was not acknowledged, or challenged, the silence and avoidance strategies evident. These strategies ignore the discrimination meted out to non-white players, and fail to confront the prejudices which support racist practice.

Recognition of Wilson's achievement in becoming the first Scottish Asian to be capped for Scotland has never been forthcoming. Three years after Wilson's appearance for Scotland, Viv Anderson made his debut for England, a move heralded as a significant step forward for black representation in English football. A consequence of the lack of recognition of the racism he faced has been that his potential for offering a counter-example to prejudiced myths about British Asians and football has been missed (see Bains with Patel 1996 and Johal 1999). In Scotland a recent radio programme (*Ghettoblasting*, BBC Radio Scotland, 11 October 1998) bemoaned the paucity of role models for young Scottish Asian footballers, yet no mention was made of Wilson (Dimeo & Finn 1999). Also, the *Scotland on Sunday*'s sustained discussion on Scottish Asian football, which began in November 1996 (see chapter 7), failed to make one mention of Wilson's achievements. Such marginalisation, both during and after Wilson's career, has meant that this chapter in the history of racism in Scottish football has been forgotten.

3.9 Rashid Sarwar

Rashid Sarwar played professional football for Kilmarnock between 1985 and 1987, and league football prior to this with Queen's Park. He spent the subsequent years playing in the Scottish junior league.[22] Sarwar was born in Paisley to a Pakistani father and (white) Scottish mother, his only language is English, and he is a Muslim.[23]

Fleming (1992, 1995) has identified the relationship between sports educators and English Asians as being characterised by various forms of prejudice and stereotyped misunderstandings which deter young English Asians from pursuing a career in football. Another obstacle which is perceived to face British Asians is access to the institutions of football. Success is understood to depend upon personal contacts who might secure trials or coaching and given that so few British Asians have been successful in football the 'network' of contacts is assumed to be non-existent. As such, young British Asians determined to pursue a career in football are considered to be making incursions into a wholly British field wherein they shall have no assistance from other British Asians. As with players such as Paul Wilson who progressed through the school ranks, Sarwar was dependent upon 'white' Scottish contacts. It was one of his school teachers who believed he was a capable football player and introduced him to Queen's Park, who subsequently offered him a trial.

Sarwar's promotion to senior league football caused his family and peers to react with disbelief: 'the reaction of people was "Hey, wait a minute. You mean he actually knows what he's doing. My God! How did that happen? Let's try and work this one out"'. Such a response may simply have resulted from his apparently relaxed attitude towards football: 'I was only kicking a ball about for a bit of fun'. However, such response may have reflected subtle stereotyped ideas about Scottish Asians. As Sarwar recalled: 'most people

thought I would leave school, go into daddy's business and that would be the end of it'. His father owned a shop and in the classic stereotype model of British Asian culture it was presumed that the son would follow the father into the family business.

Even Sarwar's acceptance by his team-mates was coloured with subtle benevolence: 'I think I was accepted as a good player and they said "Regardless of the colour of his skin we'll have him in our team"'. Even though he was accepted his skin-colour was perceived in a negative fashion, it was considered a handicap and his colleagues, at least in Sarwar's account, made claims of their own charity towards an individual burdened by his brown skin. He believed that the fact he was half-Scottish encouraged other players to accept him more easily. He noted that Rajiv Pathak[24], both of whose parents were South Asian, had more difficulties with intolerance than did Sarwar. Furthermore, Sarwar remembered a profile of himself which appeared in Kilmarnock's match-day programme which described him as being 'more Western' than most of the other players. The intention of this description was no doubt to welcome him, and to reassure him that the club were not prejudiced in any way. The more subtle ideology contained, however, was an effort to deny Sarwar his 'Asian' difference, to congratulate him on his apparent assimilation into Western culture and his shedding of 'Asian' traits. Thus, as Johal (1999) notes, it seems easier for British Asian players to be accepted if their cultural expressions are 'Western'.[25]

When he signed for Kilmarnock in May 1985 there was some interest from the media. His signing was hailed as 'a little bit of Scottish soccer history' due to the fact that he would be 'the first Pakistani to play here at senior level' (*Daily Record,* 10 May 1985). This claim is problematic because the actual nationality of Sarwar is forgotten, he is Scottish. The portrayal of Sarwar as

Pakistani over-emphasised his 'ethnic difference'. While this aroused public interest and acknowledged the achievement it promoted the idea of this Scottish Asian as being non-Scottish, alien and external to 'mainstream' Scottish society. In this coverage at least, the identification of Sarwar's ethnicity did not allow for dual social identities.

Other newspapers did recognise Sarwar's dual ethnic identification. For instance, he was described as a 'Scots-born Pakistani' (*Evening Times*, 11 May 1985), though his family origin still dominated. He was 'Scots-born' rather than Scottish. Elsewhere he was described as the 'son of a Pakistani shopkeeper' (*Glasgow Herald*, 11 May 1985), which identified the father's nationality, and thus by implication the son's ethnicity. Although some writers celebrated the introduction of a 'Pakistani' into Scottish league football, there remained some variation over the identification of Sarwar's ethnicity.

The congratulatory tone of one writer blended with an acknowledgement of racism: 'We need have no fears about young Mr Sarwar's ability to cope with whatever methods some of his opponents might stoop to in their efforts to put him off his work' (*Glasgow Herald*, 10 May 1985). Racism, once more, was not directly confronted or named, even though it had been implicitly identified. The more complex way of dealing with the strangeness of 'racially different' players was evident from this report of his debut, though it is possible that spectators were interested in him only as a new signing: 'The appearance of Killie's new signing, 20-year-old Rashid Sarwar, no doubt put a few hundred on to the gate' (*Kilmarnock Standard*, 17 May 1985).

Sarwar's longest spell in the first team came between early October 1985 and late January 1986. His peak, according to reports, came in November 1985 when Kilmarnock reached the top of the First Division for the first time since late 1981. He was described as 'impressive' and his manager, Eddie

Morrison said that he 'was particularly pleased with the contribution of Rashid Sarwar' (*Kilmarnock Standard*, 29 November 1985). The issue of racism was not raised during this period.[26] Sarwar's 'Asianness' was expressed by observers and team-mates in different ways, sometimes through exotic curiosity and at other moments through a patronising benevolence. Racism was not raised in any sustained fashion, and when it was identified it was only referred to implicitly and briefly. Unlike Wilson, Sarwar's ethnicity was recognised. However, that recognition failed to induce a consideration of the frequency and variety of racism which Sarwar confronted.[27]

3.10 Conclusion

Attitudes towards black and 'Asian' players clearly invoked ideas of racial inferiority. They drew in places upon scientific racism, the ethnocentricity of imperial beliefs, and powerful, accepted processes of racialising others. They demonstrated the legacy and the longevity of negative, racist beliefs. Yet, they changed over time, adapted for different players; they were often insinuating and suggestive rather than direct and bigoted. They showed the variety of racist expression, and the adaptability of racism to suit social circumstances. Explicit and implicit forms of racism co-existed, as did negative statements alongside positive opinion.

At the turn of the century the tone used was heavy with racist inflexion. Wharton was referred to as a 'half-caste', while Walker faced continued and incessant labelling as 'darky'. The latter's play also prompted insulting terms such as 'nigger', portrayals of physical inferiority and of cowardice. More implicitly, his very presence encouraged expressions of the exotic strangeness of black individuals. This was a fascination with racialised difference that was extended to other players, most notably Salim and Mansour. These beliefs were mixed with other implied inferiorities and weaknesses: Latif was labelled 'impetuous', it was claimed that Salim expected favours from defenders. Thus, between the 1880s and the 1930s, racism varied in type and according to circumstances. The more obviously black players were described as such, as curiously was Salim, while the only attempt to assign a colour to either of the Egyptians was the reference to Latif as 'dusky'. Walker and Salim both had their bravery and strength questioned, while Latif was seen as over-emotional and unreliable. Meanwhile, the exotic nature of their otherness was commonly expressed, most explicitly in the question asked of Salim: 'Can he swallow a sword?' Thus, the first half of the century offered many examples of

racism within football, and showed some of the varied and complex forms this racism took.

After the Second World War criticism of fascism and racism mounted in the aftermath of the Holocaust. Nevertheless, the response to Heron was frequent racist stereotyping, accusations of physical weakness, suggestions of inferiority and the related superiority of the British 'race'. There was widespread fascination with this 'coloured' player, and racialised naming was common. As with the pre-war players, both the presence of compliments and the variety of racist expression make the picture of racism more complex. Much of the media coverage blended positive commentaries with racialisation, exoticisation, prejudiced stereotyping, and negative views of foreigners.

The period between 1951 and 1970 ushered in an important change in media attitudes and coverage, it is arguably here that the shift from 'old-fashioned' to 'modern' is most obvious. Until the 1950s in Scotland, and into the 1960s in England, black players were still being discussed in explicit racialised, prejudiced, stereotyped and negative ways. By the 1970s, however, the media were less clear on how to deal with both 'black' players and the racism that they persistently encountered.

There was obviously less inclination to discuss Wilson's 'race' or ethnicity. His dual Scots-Indian identity was never mentioned. This omission, combined with the omission of a critique of the racism he received, means that he is not recognised as a player who consistently suffered from racism. In part, this may be explained by a belief that raising the issue would somehow worsen the problem. Underpinning this process of ignoring the issue though lay an unwillingness to recognise, identify and criticism racism in Scottish society.

Sarwar, on the other hand, was identified as 'Pakistani' but this did not result in a sensitivity towards the prejudice he received on account of his Scots-

Pakistani identity. There was however a definite development in the media's approach: Sarwar's ethnicity was not simply ignored. The almost celebratory comments around his signing for Kilmarnock imply that the exclusion of Scottish Asians from football was both a problem and a result of racism. Nevertheless, the issue of racism was almost entirely neglected in coverage of both Wilson and Sarwar's careers, even though they suffered racist abuse.

The history of racism within Scottish football, much like the history of Scottish racism generally, is much more substantial than popular theories acknowledge. Media and populist historical accounts of Scottish football have rarely admitted racism towards non-white players. The myth that Scotland and Scottish football has no problem with racism is both accepted and reproduced. The evidence presented here proves this widespread myth to be invalid and inaccurate.

NOTES

[1]Every effort has been made to comprehensively review the texts which discussed each player. However, not every possible text has been accessed. In the case of early examples of black players in Scotland many of the relevant newspapers are not held in Scottish libraries, or have been lost or damaged. In later cases, such as Paul Wilson, the length of his career means that the amount of coverage is vast and impossible to completely review. Thus, although this chapter does present a sufficient portrayal of the history of racism in Scottish football, there have been necessary selection processes which lead from the impossibility of complete, comprehensive coverage.

[2]Often terminology which invokes racialised identifications can appear neutral and therefore acceptable. However, it should be recognised as a subtle form of racism and evidence of the racialised patterning of social life.

[3]The emphasis is upon racism and historical precedents of contemporary forms of racism. Thus, this chapter does not claim to cover every example of non-white football players in the history of Scottish football. Certain elements of this history have been excluded for reasons of space. In particular, a comprehensive review would also include coverage of the following: black players of visiting English and European teams; the Brazilian players who trained with Celtic in the 1960s, the careers of Vic Kasule, Rajiv Pathak, and the numerous black players who took to Scottish football fields after the Bosman Ruling of 1995 which encouraged the signing of foreign players.

[4]Available newspapers for the period of these matches were checked. No further mention of Wharton's colour was made in them, though not all newspapers were accessible.

[5]Junior in this sense does not mean youth, but refers to the leagues which were organised locally and whose status was below the senior national leagues.

[6]The newspapers of the day did not always provide all the information to establish whether or not specific players took part in a match. Often, if a player's name was not mentioned in the report then his presence on this field of play cannot be known with any certainty. Walker was

not mentioned in the reports.

[7]Of course, it would be foolish to argue that Walker was not African, the evidence of his origin is simply absent. A comprehensive review of newspapers was undertaken in the course of researching this chapter and no substantial evidence was found for his origin. It would be too speculative to suggest that writers simply assumed he was African simply because he was black.

[8]The notion of physical weakness of black players accompanied the introduction of English black players in the post-war period. Similar ideas were used to explain why so few British Asians had achieved the status of professional football by the 1990s. The questioning of Walker's courage was strange considering that other writers had noted his combative instincts.

[9]Unfortunately, Cosgrove did not cite the source of this information.

[10]Allison related the use of this phrase, but without any critical reflection on its use.

[11]See chapter 5 for a discussion of the use of 'non' in 'non-sectarian': in Scotland groups take pride in a position of stasis, of inactivity, in an otherwise prejudiced society (Dimeo & Finn 1998). The example cited here, however, offers another indication of the confusion surrounding the term 'sectarianism'. It is usually employed to refer to Protestant-Catholic divisions. Here it is used to refer to anti-black racism, even though 'sectarianism' is popularly thought of as distinct from any form of racism, whether anti-black or anti-Irish (Dimeo & Finn 1999).

[12]Latif's football career before joining Rangers had included international appearances which were only mentioned by the *Govan Press.*

[13]It is also possible that the same writer was responsible for the coverage in both the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Govan Press.*

[14]The presence of his brother in Glasgow indicates that South Asians had been in Scotland since at least the inter-war period (see Visram 1986).

[15]Though, it should be noted, his career was brief and only included appearances for the reserve team.

[16]Mansour returned to Glasgow in 1982 and was interviewed by the historian of Jordanhill College, Roy Small. Much of the biographical information on Mansour has been gleaned from

Small's recorded interview. Interestingly, Small related (conversation with P. Dimeo, May 1996) that Mansour was often called 'Taffy' instead of Mustafa by people in Glasgow during the 1930s. A similar process occurred with Latif, who according to Small was commonly known as 'Hammy'. As we have seen Abdul Salim may also have had his name simplified from Salim Bachchi-Khan.

[17]Queen's Park play in the Third Division, their matches are played on a pitch adjacent to Hampden known as Lesser Hampden.

[18]Allport (1979) argued that the ascription of homogeneity was one of the classic signs of prejudice.

[19]Walker was also considered to lack physical toughness. While it is possible that Walker and Heron both failed to meet the standards of physical strength required, the similarities are striking. Notions of the weakness of 'others' was present in colonial India, in post-war Britain and in the 1990s discourse on British Asians. The underlying commonality is a reiteration of the superiority of whites, as measured through notions of physicality and masculinity. Another example as had already been discussed was the relationship of Bengalis with British colonial groups and the former's construction as effeminate.

[20]Wilson also had a fairly impressive career in European competition. 1972-73: 1 app; 73-74: 4 apps, 1 goal; 74-5: 2 app, 1 goal; 75-76: 5 app, 1 goal; 76-77: 2 app; 77-78: 4 app, 1 goal (Lunney 1992).

[21]The death of Wilson's mother offered the press an opportunity to mention her nationality and Wilson's identity as Indian-Scot. However, this opportunity was refused.

[22]Junior football does not refer to age classifications. Instead, it refers to the semi-professional league system.

[23]Due to the availability of Sarwar for an interview the methodological approach of this section is slightly different to previous sections of this chapter. Relying upon newspaper accounts for the other players meant closely analysing these discourses for evidence of racism, and evidence of discursive strategies around racism and black players. Sarwar's interview allows the analysis of his own version of events. This information was taken from a recorded interview with Sarwar conducted on 14 May 1998.

[24]Pathak briefly played for Partick Thistle in the 1980s, however no other information is available on his career. Once again there has been the omission from history of the involvement of non-white players.

[25]There was a joke about Sarwar that when he signed the Kilmarnock manager asked him to spell out his birthplace. Expecting a South Asian name, the manager was surprised when Sarwar intoned 'P-A-I-S-L-E-Y' (Ross 1994). This fairly complex joke appreciates Sarwar's Scottishness, to an extent, but rests on the assumption that since he had dark skin and a South Asian name he must have been born in South Asia.

[26]From a review of national and local newspaper coverage of the 1984-85 season no mention of racism was made. Indeed, Sarwar himself said that the issues of racism and his ethnicity were not publicly discussed in any substantial anti-racist way during his career (conversation with P. Dimeo August 1998), though the passing reference in the *Glasgow Herald* (10 May 1985) did briefly mention racism.

[27]Sarwar admitted being verbally abused in a variety of ways while playing football (interview with P. Dimeo, 14 May 1998).

Chapter 4: The emergence of racism as an issue in Scottish football

4.1 Introduction

It was when Mark Walters, a black English player, signed for Rangers from Aston Villa in December 1987, that football racism became both a media issue, and a focus for anti-racist campaigners. For the first time racism against a non-white professional player could not be, and was not, ignored, as had been the pattern established since the days of Arthur Wharton and John Walker. This pattern had continued despite the racism faced by players such as Paul Wilson and Rashid Sarwar, and visiting players such as Ruud Gullit. However, it would be the appalling treatment of Mark Walters which forced Scottish football to recognise and challenge racism. As Bains & Johal aptly point out: 'Walters' experience did . . . help to open up the debate on racism in [Scottish] football' (1998:157).

Only days after Walters' signing, during his debut against Celtic, bananas were thrown on to the pitch and monkey chants were heard. When similar, though more explicit, events occurred at Tynecastle, home of Heart of Midlothian, there was public criticism of this racism. In numerous newspaper columns and letters pages the condemnation of racism was clearly and emphatically stated. Yet, as shall be discussed in this chapter, these condemnations were of a limited nature, specifically drawing upon the 'racist-hooligan' couplet and the history of 'sectarianism', to ensure that racism was not seriously analysed and dissected.

Since Walters many others black players have played in Scotland, especially since the Bosman ruling encouraged the signing of foreign players by British teams. As the racism Walters experienced was more explicit than that which accompanied later players, it may superficially appear that Walters 'paved the way' for later players by bearing the worst excesses and raising

awareness of the issue. Yet, many who followed Walters were to suffer prejudice and discrimination on account of their skin-colour. The bananas may have stopped, but that does not mean that racism did. Nevertheless, the response from Scottish football institutions has been at best muted, at worst complicit.

4.2 The experiences of Mark Walters

4.2.1 Celtic Park debut

Walters' skin colour was raised as a significant factor in the days preceding his arrival in Scotland. For instance, it was reported that 'the move will see Rangers sign their first coloured player' (*Scotsman*, 31 December 1987). The Rangers manager Graeme Souness was quick to play down the significance of Walters blackness: '"It doesn't matter to me what colour he is and it does not concern my employers either"' (*Scotsman*, 31 December 1987).

The social meanings attached to racialised difference in this context are important for a number of reasons. Rangers fans had a history of prejudice towards Irish-Scots (Finn 1991a,b, 1994a,b), visiting black players (*Glasgow Herald*, 18 January 1988), and more regularly towards such domestic players as Paul Wilson (Dimeo & Finn 1999). Walters signing, therefore, had a greater significance. However, other Scottish fans had similarly exhibited racist behaviour in recent history. Therefore, raising Walter's colour as an issue may have reflected fears of racist abuse, and a prescient awareness that the 'no racism here' myth was about to be severely tested. Yet, alongside descriptions of his colour was, paradoxically, a denial of the importance of his colour, as if to pre-empt racist abuse. The dilemmas and contradictions reflect confusion over how difference should be represented. Walter's blackness should be an issue if either he faces racism, or as a celebration of multiculturalism. At the same time, making his colour an issue should avoid any negative associations which may then encourage racism. Consequently, the message was 'he's black but it doesn't matter'.[1]

Walters' debut was against Celtic on 2 January 1988 at Celtic Park. Racism was evident during the match, some racist chanting was heard and a few bananas were thrown. Though the extent of racism was not to match that

which followed at Tynecastle it was still apparent (Dimeo & Finn 1999). Yet, the response from Scotland's media was to avoid explicitly acknowledging this racism:

> Celtic, then were good value for the two points. Rangers, as they admitted themselves, didn't play well enough to deserve any reward from the match. Yet in the manner they lost, Rangers also won. The sporting handshakes, the acceptance of defeat with good grace and the courage to field the first black player in Premier Division football all left this correspondent with the impression that both members of the Old Firm finished the match with heads held higher than before.
>
> (*Scotsman*, 4 January 1988)

There was no real attempt to criticise the racism in the *Scotsman*'s coverage.[2] However, the suggestion that Rangers required 'courage' to field a black player acknowledges the history of racism in Scottish football. Perhaps it was the more specific history of Rangers which accentuated this 'courage' required. Indeed, it had been noted that the manager, Graeme Souness, had 'agonised' over the signing (*Scottish Daily Express*, 4 January 1988), and that Rangers fans had been 'discomfited' by the news (*Guardian*, 18 January 1988). Yet, the language used was suggestive rather than seriously analytical of the extent and nature of racism within Scottish football and society. The classification of the abuse as racist was avoided, as was any attempt to condemn or criticise this racism. The semantics of terms such as 'courage', 'agonised' and 'discomfited' imply the existence and centrality of racism. Yet, they remained insinuations rather than explicit anti-racist criticisms, this was a subtle language which inferred rather than confronted, implied rather than condemned.

Three examples have been identified which demonstrate the complex and contradictory nature of racism in the wake of Walters' arrival: the initial announcement of his colour; the abuse and bananas at Celtic Park; and the linguistic twists and turns of terms like 'courage'. Each of these examples clearly shows that racism, of various styles, was an issue for Scottish football.

The complexity of prejudice was further illustrated in a curious cartoon which appeared in the *Daily Record* (6 January 1988) and which referred to Aberdeen's recent signing of Charlie Nicholas for an identical transfer fee to that which Rangers paid for Walters (£500,000). An Aberdeen fan was shown in the cartoon to be speaking to a fellow supporter and saying: '"It's a lot of money to pay – for a white guy"'. The essence of the 'joke' is that the black athlete is to be valued higher than the 'white' athlete, presumably on the assumption that a natural athleticism is common among blacks. To 'get' the joke the reader must be aware of, and to an extent accept, the stereotypes of black physicality. And by employing a humour strategy the rendition of this stereotype appeared harmless and fun. As such, the complex range and subtleties of racist prejudice were revealed.

Another form of response from the Scottish press had been to 'dampen' the discussion of racism, locating it with a minority of anti-social individuals who were viewed as either stupid or infantile. That is, using the framework of the 'racist-hooligan' couplet:

> Police praised fans for their behaviour at the Old Firm match at Parkhead yesterday. Fears of scenes of abuse when Mark Walters – the Premier League's first black player – made his debut for Rangers proved unfounded. Only a few, stupid fans greeted him with chants and fruit throwing. But the £500,000 signing coolly lobbed a piece of fruit

> back over the touchline . . . Rangers' signing of Mark Walters marked a football milestone and a challenge to Scotland. Our reputation for racial fairness and decency was right on the line at Parkhead yesterday. In England black players endure barrages of abuse and taunts from racist thugs masquerading as supporters. Only a handful of childish fans let their side down yesterday by hurling fruit on the pitch. Let's hope all fans of Scottish football live up to their boast. That they're better behaved than their counterparts down south.
>
> (*Sunday Mail*, 3 January 1988)

This commentary contained a number of subtle ideological codes. The myth of no racism was reiterated, yet at the same time the writer recognised the instability of this myth. Walters' signing was a 'milestone', and a 'challenge', Scotland's reputation was 'right on the line'. So, this reputation had been forged in an environment where few 'challenges' to it existed, that is to say few black people. However, there were non-white people living in Scotland whose experiences were ignored, as the evidence of the racism they faced suggested the 'reputation for fairness and decency' had already been challenged and undermined. Yet again, though, the issue of racism is dealt with inadequately, in complex ways using a range of semantic gymnastics which failed to analyse, conceptualise and criticise the problem.

The location of the racism with a 'few, stupid fans' follows the 'racist/hooligan' model by asserting that racism exists only among a minority, who supposedly lack the intelligence to understand the folly of their actions. Thus, the majority of Scots are supposedly anti-racist. Meanwhile, in a bout of anti-Englishness, it is 'down south' where 'barrages of abuse' occur. In Scotland it was a 'handful of childish fans' who had indulged, not necessarily in *racism*

but in 'hurling fruit', while England have the far more menacing and serious presence of 'racist thugs'. There was no suggestion that English football had far more black players than Scottish football and therefore the problem was more visible. Or that Scotland's record of racially abusing the Premier League's first black player on his debut was an unworthy one hundred per cent strike rate. Or that almost every black player to play in Scotland had encountered some form of racist prejudice. Indeed, if racist abuse was measured in comparative, rather than absolute, terms (as the CRE (1999) did with its RMI calculations, see chapter 1) then Scotland's record may be considerably worse than England's.

However, there was one newspaper which recognised both the extent of racism and the inadequacies of the media's response:

> Here in Glasgow we're being asked to celebrate the day Celtic and Rangers kept their heads. It's a bit like being told to pin a medal on the chest of a polite mugger. How, really, do you rejoice that just a few bananas were thrown? . . . How do you quantify the reality of hate, applaud the fact that the ape calls were sporadic only in the sense that they came whenever Walters touched the ball? . . . [Walters] has taken on a city that could teach the Ku Klux Klan lessons in dismissing all that is not familiar.
>
> (*Scottish Daily Express*, 4 January 1988)

Yet, despite these creditable words, the layers of prejudice in Scottish football were revealed later in the same article. The discussion of anti-black racism referred also to 'sectarianism', which was not acknowledged as racism. Instead, Celtic were criticised for encouraging 'sectarianism' by flying the Irish flag. The implication that any association with Ireland is by definition 'sectarian' and

that the minority group are responsible, simply reproduces anti-Irish prejudice. Thus, the complex interplay of different forms of prejudice remained, even if the analysis of the Walters case was insightful.

4.2.2 The Tynecastle match: media response strategies

During the days prior to Rangers visit to Tynecastle, Walters imminent appearance was the cause of some anticipation: 'Hearts will encounter the coloured Mark Walters for the first time and his speed may be a threat, though Hearts are always endowed in every department' (*Evening News*, 15 January 1988). The *Evening News* identified Walters by his skin-colour even though it was not relevant. In the match reports he was 'the coloured Walters' (16 January 1988) or 'the coloured winger' (18 January 1988).

During the match Walters was consistently harangued and racially abused by the Hearts supporters, the worst incident coming when play took him into the corner of the field nearest to Hearts core fans. When taking a corner-kick in front of these fans he was showered by bananas and other objects (Dimeo & Finn 1999). Although during his career in Scotland Walters preferred to defuse the issue of racism, he later reflected upon his experiences at Tynecastle, which formed one of the worst, if not *the* worst, examples of racist abuse in any British football ground:

> "I went to take a corner against Heart of Midlothian; we were playing Hearts and that was the worst of all, of all the teams we played up there. And, words, even the abuse; I think I can handle the abuse. It was the objects being thrown, like. I was ducking them like that [mimics ducking and dodging with his head]. And I went to take a corner and I doffed it right into the ground. 'Cause – it was the least thing on my mind – taking that corner, you know; it was just getting out of that corner safe."
>
> (BBC TV, 1998, 'All Black: Kicking Out')

A similar description came from a Hearts supporter:

> The flashpoint arrived late in the second half when Walter took a corner in from the infamous 'shed' where most supporters congregate. You could not see the ball for the incessant shower of coins, bananas and spit that rained down on the player.
>
> (Bain 1991:6)

The club chairman Wallace Mercer made an announcement on the public address system requesting an end to the racist abuse. Such was the extent of racist abuse that the *Glasgow Herald* even described it as 'a blatant case of racism' (18 January 1988). There was no option for the Scottish media but to admit the existence of racism; it had taken perhaps the most explicit incident in British football. The involvement of physical missiles, bananas, made the racism more visible and thus the accusation of racism could not be ignored. Curiously, some commentators took more issue with the bananas as dangerous missiles than with the racist ideology of which they were such a potent symbol:

> It has been to our shame in recent years that whenever coloured players appeared in opposition at Scottish grounds, they were subjected to verbal racial abuse . . . But the throwing of any object on to a football field is potentially dangerous, and every effort must be made to see that the latest practice is stamped out.
>
> (*Glasgow Herald*, 18 January 1988)[3]

The bananas embodied the racism and offered something tangible to criticise. It was as if the bananas meant that racism could not be ignored as it had been for

decades. The fruit-throwing was a visible, tangible, symbol – prejudice made flesh – which could not be ignored quite as easily as verbal expressions of racism. The focus on the bananas serves a similar function as the 'racist-hooligan', it became a target for action while other forms of more banal racism were ignored. For instance, one newspaper argued of the bananas: 'the novelty will wear off and the matter will resolve itself' (*Guardian*, 18 January 1988). And the SFA President, David Wills was quoted as saying: '"Hopefully, the banana-throwing will cease"' (*Daily Record*, 19 January 1988).

There was also a juridical aspect which also added to the criticism of racism. During the days following the match it was speculated that the referee's report would state that Hearts' defender Hugh Burns had been booked for racially abusing Walters. It was confirmed later, however, that the booking was for 'adopting a threatening or aggressive attitude' (*Glasgow Herald*, 20 January 1988). Wallace Mercer's anti-racist stance was going to extend to punishing Burns with a fine, until Walters publicly stated that he had heard nothing racist from Burns during the match (*Glasgow Herald*, 19 January 1988).[4]

The Scottish press could not deny the overwhelming evidence presented to them, that the Tynecastle match involved examples of racism. The very same newspaper which had praised Celtic supporters two weeks previously could not muster the same for Hearts fans:

> I never thought I'd live to see the day I would admit to being ashamed to be a Scot . . . but it happened at Tynecastle yesterday. It happened because a young and brilliantly talented player called Mark Walters was showered with bananas as he took a corner kick. His only offence? He happens to be black. We've got our own problems in this little country of ours. Blatant, fascist racism has never been one of them . . . I trust

> the REAL football fan at every club makes sure the lunatics are well and truly sorted out!
>
> (*Sunday Mail*, 17 January 1988)

The subtle assumptions of the above passage are revealing. The writer does not expand on 'our own problems' but presumably it is a reference to anti-Irish racism. Yet, not only was the explicit definition of this racism avoided but it was contrasted with 'blatant, fascist racism', leaving 'our own problems' as being something other than racism. Again, anti-Irish racism was not identified as such, and it was portrayed as somehow less serious than 'blatant, fascist racism' (for a similar argument see Murray 1988), even though anti-Irishness has taken explicit and fascist forms (Finn 1999a).

Racism was viewed as residing among 'lunatics' not among the 'real' fans. The argument that the mass of fans are not racist, and that racism only rests with individuals who are in some way insane, presents an explanation of racism as the irrational aberration of a lunatic fringe. Instead, racism in its multitude of forms can be found in a range of social settings, and it is often based on fairly sophisticated common-sense ideologies. By referring to the lack of fascism in Scotland, the myth that Scotland is free of racism could be reasserted, even though racism can take many more forms than fascism.

Another form of response was to contextualise the racism, to deflect the force of any anti-racist critique by referring to a number of extenuating factors. These factors were not always presented to justify or explain the racism, for it could hardly be denied or excused, but rather to shift the focus of accusation. One such strategy, employed by a Hearts fanzine, was to suggest that while the racism at Parkhead had been ignored, the events of Tynecastle were exaggerated:

> In this day and age it's unforgivable to single out and taunt someone simply because they are of a different colour, or religion for that matter. If only these so-called fans had thought about their actions beforehand, they would have realised how infantile their behaviour was and how much of an embarrassment it would cause the fine traditions of the club they profess to support. While not in any way attempting to lessen the unsavoury nature of what happened, the after-match publicity attributed to the "events"[5] was blown out of all proportion by the media. This was all the more strange given that similar incidents during the Old Firm clash at Parkhead a few weeks earlier had been played down deliberately or ignored altogether. How fickle the press in Scotland can be – or was it just another case of West Coast bias?
>
> (*Hearts Supporter*, March 1988)

Once again the 'racist-hooligan' couplet was used, in this case by Hearts' fans to save the club as a whole from criticism. The fans who engaged in the banana-throwing were 'infantile'; racism was erroneously defined as a symptom of immaturity. Furthermore, the 'so-called fans' were disowned by the club, they only 'profess' to support Hearts and they only caused 'embarrassment'. And once the stain of accusation had been removed from the club and its fans, the fanzine claimed that it was actually Hearts who were the victims of prejudice, albeit of a different nature.

Another avoidance strategy was to raise the issue of 'sectarianism', not as something to be critiqued, but as a trait of Rangers fans which undermined their right to criticise the racist abuse Walters received. One letter writer argued: 'what gives Rangers the right to protest about bigotry and ignorance'

(McAteer in *Glasgow Herald,* 20 January 1988). In this complex positioning 'sectarianism' was being criticised, but as a diversion from a different type of racism. The result is that neither form of racism received sustained critical attention.

Brian Wilson, Labour MP and parliamentary adviser to the Scottish Professional Footballers' Association, combined both the 'racist-hooligan' and the strategic use of 'sectarianism' in his analysis: 'Almost exclusively, the banana brigade are daft boys and social inadequates who, having been confronted with something unfamiliar, have reacted in a crass, copy-cat fashion' (*Scotsman,* 20 January 1988). Wilson believed that too much criticism of these racist incidents would be counter-productive, so that even when racism was recognised it was suggested that anti-racism be de-amplified:

> One danger is that the few hard-core racists who operate in Scotland will seek to exploit the situation. I think we make that more, rather than less, likely if we over-react and write off everyone who throws a banana or chants something offensive as racist.
>
> (*Scotsman,* 20 January 1988)

Wilson's efforts to forgive those who threw bananas or joined in with the racist chanting was unprofitable for antiracism. He undermined one of the rare occasions of media discussion of racism by arguing that identifying racism is an over-reaction and the best course would be to overlook such behavioural abnormalities. Accusations should only be made towards 'hard-core' racists, and not those who simply took enjoyment from racism at football matches. Thus, a spurious distinction was drawn between racists with serious intent and

those for whom it was simply an enjoyable pastime. But this was an unhelpful distinction which essentially overlooks banal and non-violent racism.

Wilson saw these examples of racism as an opportunity to challenge social beliefs and to convert supporters from their position of accepting racism to one of tolerance, and he included within these 'forms of discrimination' the phenomenon of anti-Irish racism, though he did not go so far as to name this 'discrimination'. What he did achieve, however, was to implicitly acknowledge a history of racist sentiment and argue that fans 'have been forced to think about racial attitudes for the first time' and that 'the obvious irony of Rangers' own position in these matters is, itself, bound to cause many old prejudices to be reassessed' (*Scotsman*, 20 January 1988).[6] The hope was that anti-Irish racism could be overcome by fans' reflections on the anti-black racism at Tynecastle. This slightly naive, and certainly idealistic, hope was built upon an analysis of anti-black racism which failed to sufficiently address the ideological issues at stake, and an analysis of anti-Irish racism which failed even to name the phenomenon other than to implicitly suggest it in the term 'old prejudices'. Indeed, Wilson's superficial treatment of anti-black racism was compounded by the implication that it was not an 'old prejudice', inferring instead that it was new, that it had only arrived with Mark Walters.

The experiences which accompanied Walters' arrival did meet with something of an anti-racist reaction, notably because commentators could easily translate the events in accordance with their 'racist/hooligan' folk devil imagery. But the true subtlety and complexity of racism in Scotland was revealed in the contextualisation of this anti-racist reaction within several themes. The location of racism with a small minority who blemish an otherwise non-racist society has already been noted, as have some of the uses of 'sectarianism' to avoid discussion of any variety of racism. But the

comparison made with England was fraught with anti-English sentiment. A leader writer in the *Scotsman* wrote the following:

> We can no longer be complacent about Scottish virtue when looking at instances of white racial prejudice against non-white Britons. England has a more noticeable racial mixture of white, brown and black people than Scotland does, and it is not therefore entirely surprising – though it is deplorable – that racialist taunts by white football supporters have in recent years become increasingly evident at games in cities where large non-white populations have produced some very talented black players.
>
> (18 January 1988)

This is a rather confused summary of the English experience. The writer appears to suggest that racism is a natural consequence of diversity, and that racism is only to be found in cities which large non-white populations. Both of these ideas are fallacious and misrepresent the nature of racism by blaming the presence of blacks for the presence of racism. The consequence of these ideas is that Scotland has 'virtue' only because of a lack of large ethnic minority populations. The reality of the extent of racism in Scotland disproves the writer's ideas about the lack of racism in Scotland.

Later in the same article, however, it becomes clear that the writer only takes seriously anti-black racism, which he/she claims is a 'foreign' i.e. English 'form of misbehaviour': 'we can perhaps hope that one of Scotland's own much older and traditional forms of racism – a comparatively harmless type, for the most part – will help to drive out the new and much worse variety before it takes root in Scottish football'. To argue that anti-Irish racism is 'comparatively harmless' was to turn a blind eye to the inequities of majority anti-Irish

prejudice. Moreover, 'sectarianism' was not simply used to divert attention, but proposed as a wedge with which anti-black racism can be driven from Scotland.[7]

There was also a complex set of distinctions drawn between Scotland's prejudices and the 'foreign' prejudices of anti-black racism. Although both anti-Irish and anti-English prejudices were recognised, they were contrasted with 'the utterly inexcusable new prejudice'. As if, therefore, the older prejudices were excusable, and that those older prejudices were somehow natural to Scotland. The anti-black racists were considered 'stupid and nasty', not simply because of their racism, but because 'they are quite unnecessarily importing a foreign form of misbehaviour'. The confusions and flaws were increased by the suggestion that anti-black racism did not exist prior to Walter's arrival. To suggest that anti-black racism had yet to 'take root in Scottish football' ignored the racism meted out to players from Wharton to Sarwar. Throughout the article, therefore, racism was misunderstood, misrepresented, and inadequately criticised.

However, the avoidance strategies of the media found their nadir in the *Scotsman*, who interviewed Walters just over a week after the Hearts match:

> The object of the exercise [the interview] was not to ask Mark Walters about racial prejudice. If the colour of his skin makes no difference, as people have been falling over themselves to state, why should it form the basis for a discussion with him? To perpetuate that debate is to make more of something than it is worth.
>
> (25 January 1988)

People may have been 'falling over themselves' to deny the importance of Walters' colour. But surely it was more important to address those racists who have been falling over themselves – hurling abuse and bananas in the process – to state that his skin colour *did* make a difference.

4.2.3 The response from Scottish Asians, fans and Walters himself

The racism to which Walters was subjected no doubt affected Scottish Asians who observed the events, and were probably dismayed for their own prospects after the events of 1988. One Scottish Asian, Dilawar Singh, was present at Ibrox in his capacity as the police officer responsible for the police control room while the racist practice towards Walters was most evident. Singh would become Secretary of the Scottish Asian Sports Association, and his recollections of the Walters episode highlights his frustration and anger at the extent of racism, and his own empathy with the player:

> "Initially, Walters suffered a hell of a lot of abuse. His early matches at Ibrox just left a trail of bananas on the pitch. Because Walters played on the wings he was in the worst position; he was left so exposed to those shouting abuse at him. Sitting in the control room I used to feel helpless, and as a fellow ethnic minority I also felt ashamed and embarrassed. I just don't know how he stuck at it. I didn't know the lad personally, but I used to wonder how he was coping with it – he must have a strong character. In fact, a hell of a strong character, to put up with what he had to. I used to go home after the game with those scenes pictured in my mind and just get very depressed about it all. I know that because we're policemen we are supposed to be professional in dealing with these matters, but how could you not be emotionally affected, particularly if you could personally relate to what was going on out there. The whole thing was plain sick. The guy will always have a lot of respect in my heart. When we closed the cameras in on those shouting abuse at Walters you could tell from the expressions on their faces how much they hated him. Now these guys hate the Catholics, but I tell you

> they hated Walters as much. The problem we had was that with thousands of fans chanting abuse we were limited in what action we could take".
>
> (Bains & Johal 1998:156)

From this first-hand account a number of concerns arise which the media had ignored. Firstly, that the treatment of Walters would affect Scotland's minority groups, especially non-white minorities such as Scottish Asians. Professional football and Scottish stadia would be imagined as places filled with racist prejudice, as places where non-whites were neither safe or welcome. Scottish Asians could empathise with Walters as another member of a minority group subjected to racist prejudice in Scotland. Just as in the late 1990s the Bhoys Against Bigotry initiative would bring together Scottish Asians and Irish-Scots (see chapter 7).

Secondly, the dilemma for policing was one of control. Curiously, early legislation on racism and football stated that punishment could only be implemented if two or more people were engaged in racist chanting. Yet if thousands of people were behaving in such a manner it would be impossible to stop the chanting or to make arrests.

Walters response both to the racism from opposing fans was revealing. One strategy had been to play down the extent to which the racism he faced from any group of fans was important. Immediately after his debut, and in response to the racism from Hearts fans, he argued that: "'Being the first black player in the Scottish League doesn't worry me. I have always found the Scots to be fair'" (*Daily Record*, 4 January 1988). Indeed, the same newspaper continued with this theme:

> I like the attitude of Mark Walters, Rangers' new £500,000 forward from Aston Villa. Taunts – and even banana-throwing – don't worry him. And he said yesterday: "This kind of thing will only make me play harder. I will take something positive out of it. I've been abused before and if throwing bananas makes certain fans happy, that's up to them. It will certainly keep the fruit shops busy. I can play better than I did on Saturday. And I will. It's a question of settling in." I sincerely hope the banana-throwing is not repeated. Most Celtic fans were appalled by it.
>
> (*Daily Record*, 5 January 1988)

Walters' response to racism was presented in the media as a simple denial of racism's influence. It was suggested that racism was no problem: the fans were happy as they were free to express their racist ideologies; Walters played better thanks to racism, and didn't mind anyway; and local greengrocers increased their weekly turnover. The whole episode was treated with light-heartedness, and the concluding claim was that the racism was harmless. There was no reflection that Walters' attempts to downplay the seriousness of the racism might be his own personal coping strategy.[8] That he may have felt submersed by the tide of racism and the lack of support he was receiving, and therefore did not wish to invite more trouble by complaining. Or that Walters may have been trying to undermine racism by arguing that it was ineffective and inconsequential. Or even that he may have been 'saving face'. Instead of criticising racism these comments achieved the opposite, they allowed it to appear harmless and trivial.

However, Dilawar Singh's recollections actually suggest that Rangers fans, as well as other fans, had been abusing Walters[9], the fans who 'hate the Catholics' had transferred their vitriol onto a black player. Walters' relationship

with Rangers fans was complex and contradictory. They had racially abused him, and had their own history of prejudice towards racialised minorities. The racism he received from his own fans could not be dismissed as 'part of the game' or as a diversionary tactic, they were racially abusing one of their own players. Perhaps as a result Walters responded by endearing himself to Rangers fans through specific strategies, for example on one occasion singing the Sash, thus attempting to win allies by joining them in an expression of anti-Irish prejudice.[10] The Sash refers to the historical battles in Ireland and revels in the victories for the Protestant, British forces: it is associated with anti-Republicanism, Union, Loyalism, and Orangeism, as well as a tradition of Scottish anti-Irish racism. Consequently, Walters was ennobled with the title 'The Jaffa Cake' as he was 'black on the outside and orange on the inside' (Cosgrove 1991). He was accepted as 'one of us' by the Rangers fans, by virtue of his expression of contempt for 'them' (Irish-Scots) despite being initially rejected as one of 'them' (black). The hierarchy of racialised othering is clear, but Walters own manipulation of 'sectarianism' forms a surprising response: the collusion with one form of racism to combat the different variant of racism which he himself faced. Perhaps it is testament to the overpowering nature of racism in Scotland that such a strategy was either deemed necessary by Walters – that to be accepted one had to participate in prejudiced activities – or that the prejudices of 'sectarianism' had been so subtly masked that he did not understand his associations with Orangeism to be problematic.

However, the hierarchy of racialisation, in which Rangers fans view being black as more acceptable than being Catholic Irish-Scots, was expressed in their song prior to the match at Celtic Park on 2 January 1988. They sang: "I'd rather be a darkie than a Tim", a Tim being an Catholic Irish-Scot. Back *et al.* (1998) have noted that English have employed a similar song. For instance,

the chant 'I'd rather be a Paki than a Scouser' builds upon a common understanding of the negative implications of South Asian ethnicity. Thus, to be below a 'Paki' in the social hierarchy is clearly an insult. Rangers fans employed a hierarchy to abuse Catholic Irish-Scots, while Celtic fans would respond with "I'd rather be a darkie than a Billy", a Billy being a Scottish Protestant. Both sets of supporters recognised the negative implications of being black, and of being inferior to blacks (Dimeo & Finn 1999).

The use by Celtic supporters of racist epitaphs demonstrates that even though the Irish-Scots have suffered racism they can still indulge in other forms of racist practice. Nevertheless, many Celtic fans criticised this anti-black racism and drew telling parallels between this racism and the history of 'sectarianism'. For instance, a letter-writer to the *Celtic View* wrote that the racism against Walters: 'was doubly sad because the roots of Celtic Football Club lie in the defence of an oppressed minority' (13 January 1988). Celtic's tradition of tolerance, as a result of their own social history, was the reason one black fan offered for choosing to follow Celtic. A choice he had begun to question after the Old Firm match of January 1988:

> I am a black Celtic supporter who never misses a game. I began supporting the team when I was eight years old and since the age of thirteen had followed Celtic everywhere, more recently with the Grangemouth CSC No1. My complete acceptance into the ranks of the Celtic support as a black child went hand in hand with what I believe to be the finest team in the world. Unfortunately, the spectacle I witnessed while standing at the Celtic End during the last Rangers game has left me sadly disillusioned with a support which I believed to be different from any other team support in Scotland. Despite media coverage to the

> contrary, the debut of Mark Walters, the first black player ever to play Premier League football, allowed a barrage of racial hatred to pour forth from the support of a team whose own roots lie in the solving of persecution towards a minority group. Given this fact, I was both devastated and saddened by disgusting comments about black players, monkey chants and racist songs, and attempts at degradation by the symbolic throwing of bananas in a ritual copied from the more fascist elements of English so-called football supporters. Mark Walters wasn't the only black person in the stadium under attack, since I myself was also the subject of racial abuse from my own supporters.
>
> (*Not the View*, no.5, Mar/Apr 1988)

Clearly, some Celtic fans had racially abused Walters. However, other Celtic fans had written to both *Not the View* and the *Celtic View* to condemn the behaviour of the racist fans, and some wrote to *Not The View* to urge this black fan not to leave their support simply because of a brief and unwanted piece of racism. Generally, Celtic fans had been anxious to protect the 'club's fine and precious tradition of tolerance to all' which has ensured a 'vast support coming from a wide spectrum of religious beliefs and political opinion' (*Celtic View*, 13 January 1988). Moreover, *Not the View* highlighted the prejudiced history of Rangers' fans and management, as well as pointedly noting the media's failure to address the racist abuse 'meted out to Celtic's Paul Wilson in the seventies, Gil Heron in the fifties and currently Vic Kasule of Meadowbank' (no.4, Jan/Feb 1988). While Celtic fans had engaged in some racism, a common response in the aftermath of the Old Firm match one was of critical anti-racism. Many fans believed Celtic to hold a unique position as actively anti-discriminatory in the otherwise prejudiced space that is Scottish football.

Nevertheless, racism at Celtic Park against Walters continued. Later that same season, during an Old Firm derby, a blow-up effigy of a monkey was passed around the 'Jungle' (where the Celtic fans stood) with fans directly comparing it to Walters.[11]

From Rangers the response to racism was just as varied though, on balance, less condemnatory of racism. The Ibrox Operations Executive Alistair Hood withdrew the season ticket from a Rangers fan who was racially abusing Walters during a home match against Morton (*Rangers News*, 20 January 1988). While the behaviour of the Hearts fans was criticised in the *Rangers News*, it was proudly stated that Lothian and Borders Police had praised the behaviour of Rangers fans (20 January 1988). Rangers fans were, it seems, worthy of high praise because they did not indulge in racist abuse of one of their own players. However, the following week, a fan wrote to express his disgust at Hood's anti-racist initiative:

> Mr Craig paid £110 for a season ticket and should be able, in the heat of the moment, to criticise players, just like everybody else does at Ibrox . . . I feel that in this incident it was the exaggerated behaviour of the fellow supporters [who pointed out Mr Craig to stewards] which caused the banning of Mr Craig. If everyone couldn't freely criticise players during a game, Ibrox would lose its renowned atmosphere.
>
> (*Rangers News*, 27 January 1988)

Although the unhappy fan went on to argue that: 'I am not saying he was right in what he said – far from it', the implication is that Ibrox should remain a place where racist expression could and, indeed should, be heard; it is supposedly a fans' right and simply adds to the match atmosphere. Indeed,

when a Rangers fan complained about the racism at Ibrox he felt it necessary to pre-empt his probable critics. He wrote to *Follow, Follow* to argue that sectarianism and racism 'are both blights on our game that deserve equal condemnation' foresaw the probable response to his anti-racism, he concluded: 'Yours (amidst probable East Enc. reactions of "f**k off to Firhill you liberal bastard etc. etc.")' (no.15, November 1988).[12]

When a Rangers fanzine did acknowledge the racism Walters received from his own fans, it was located within 'a handful of nazis' and not 'the vast majority of supporters [who] sat, or stood, embarrassed, silent and angry – helpless to counter the rubbish' (*Follow, Follow*, no.1, Jan/Feb 1988). Indeed, the fanzine added that: 'It's good to see that Mark's presence has encouraged many more members of Glasgow's ethnic communities to come along and support the team'. Such a review of the situation could hardly stand in starker contrast to the view of Dilawar Singh from the police control room. Moreover, it glossed over the popularity of anti-black and anti-Irish racism at Ibrox, though there was an admission that: 'if another team had signed a black player then no doubt a minority would have disgraced us by their behaviour' (*Follow, Follow*, no.1, Jan/Feb 1988).

However, the fanzine did claim that the racism against Walters continued throughout his career even if Rangers fans eventually adopted a less racist stance towards their player, and the media's gaze had drifted away from it. It seems that Walters had received racist abuse from large sections of the support at Celtic, Hearts, Hibs and Dundee United (*Follow, Follow*, no.12, March 1990).

It is clear that Walters experienced profound and disturbing levels of racism. For the first time in Scottish football history the issue of racism was discussed in public by the media. Yet, the discussions were limited by

strategies of avoidance and denial, including the use of the 'racist-hooligan' couplet to protect Scotland's tarnished image and the use of 'sectarianism' to divert attention from racism. Subtle and implicit prejudices emerged, not least anti-Englishness, alongside a latent acknowledgement rarely given the light of day that Scottish football had a history of racism problems.

Since Walters first few weeks at Ibrox raised the profile of anti-racism in Scottish football, a number of black players have played in Scotland.[13] An overview of some of their experiences shall review the extent of racism's persistence, and the continued failure of Scottish football to support anti-racism projects.

4.3 The persistence of racism

4.3.1 Paul Elliott

Paul Elliott signed for Celtic in the summer of 1989, and reflected on his experiences thus: 'The racial abuse I've suffered in Scotland is far worse than anything I had to put up with in England or Italy' (MacDonald 1994:117).[14] Elliott also spoke of being 'absolutely terrorised' by the racist insults directed at him by Heart of Midlothian supporters at Celtic Park (*The Absolute Game*, May 1992). Elliott had played for Charlton Athletic in a friendly against Celtic six years prior to his eventual signing for the Glasgow club. He recalled 'strong memories' of racism, and noted: 'I wondered if the racism had calmed down. As it happened the situation hadn't improved much' (Elliott 1991:6). Indeed, he went on the argue that while initially the racism was denied, his eventual strategy (unlike Walters) of publicly highlighting racism was helpful:

> The tabloids began by saying I only got criticism because I was a Celtic player in a city where Protestants outnumbered Catholics by about five to one. I don't know whether that was an indirect way of trying to sweep the matter under the mat, but I knew it wasn't the case. I thought that view was ignorant. They weren't seeing the reality. But in the end they proved quite helpful. There was a level of racism to be seen and heard by all those concerned so, once I'd settled in and made a name for myself, I spoke up against the situation in the *Daily Record.* I think that opened people's eyes and as far as I'm concerned from then on the press were extremely co-operative.
>
> (Elliott 1991:6)

Newspaper coverage of Elliott's problems with racism was not as intense as the coverage given to Walters' experiences of January 1988. The player's own reflections above indicate that the racism he faced was ignored and excused (again through reference to 'sectarianism') until he became confident and outspoken. The media may have complacently left Elliott to suffer racism if he had not made strong public statements. Thus, the responsibility was left with the player, only his eventual resistance broke the media's silence.

John Colquhoun, a Hearts player who played against Elliott, detailed some of racist behaviour which accompanied Elliott's presence:

> About a year later [after the banana-throwing at Tynecastle of January 1988] we played Celtic at Parkhead and the Hearts supporters were obviously there. After the Mark Walters incident, Wallace Mercer had done a lot of good work, a lot of leafleting, PA [sic] work. He worked with the police, worked with the Supporters Federation to try to get the message over that racism and sectarianism had no place in his football club. I think he must be commended for that. But obviously the message did not get through. We went though to Parkhead and Paul Elliott was given a terrible time. I can't remember what happened but the ball went out for a corner. He went up and the monkey grunts were deafening and I tried to subdue them. I don't know if it worked but I got a lot of response in the mail, a lot unfavourable, but also a lot favourable.
>
> (Stirling District Council 1992:24-5)

Colquhoun's efforts to persuade the Hearts fan to cease their racist chanting and ape-imitations were admirable. However, the response he received by mail is

revealing of the prevalent resistance to anti-racism. Although the Celtic fanzine, *Not The View*, surprisingly made no mention of racism and Elliott[15], the Rangers fanzine, *Follow, Follow* did criticise the indulgence of some Rangers fans in racist abuse of Elliott:

> At the Cup game at [Celtic Park] a handful of persons in the centre of the Rangers support chose to let the team, the club and themselves down by making ape-noises at a black Celtic player, Paul Elliott. Thankfully the numbers concerned were very small . . . They should note that Elliott was made Man of the Match – ape noises didn't have much effect on him did they? How on earth did Mark Walters and our many black bears feel? . . . "The Tims do it to Mark"[16] is the most pathetic excuse I've ever heard.
>
> (no.12, March 1990)

The fanzine took a creditable stance against racism. However, their review of events once again offers the excuse that only a few fans were involved. Perhaps surprisingly it seems this racism was being directed at Elliott while Walters was also on the pitch and while black Rangers fans were in the crowd. That some Rangers fans justified their actions by arguing that Celtic fans abuse Walters strikes an incredibly contradictory position. In their view, if their black player was being racially abused then it was acceptable to abuse Celtic's black player, even when Walters was present. Racism is understood in this logic only to affect the one individual at whom it is directed, and not other black people who are present. Rather than being viewed as part of a larger system of ideological and practical discrimination against minorities, it is placed in the limited context of the abuse of one player at a football match.[17]

4.3.2 Some examples of continuity: Cadette, Zahani-Oni, Harper and Barnett

Richard Cadette joined Falkirk in 1991 and played for several seasons. He later reflected upon the racist abuse he received as an '18th century attitude' (MacDonald 1994:118).

In 1998 he recalled his experiences with Dunfermline fans, who have a great rivalry with Falkirk, and during Cadette's time at Falkirk two Dunfermline fans were charged with racism after abusing him:

> There were times when I was subjected to abuse when I played for Falkirk – much of it from Dunfermline fans because of the rivalry which exists between the clubs. That rivalry was made even worse by a black man scoring against their team. The Dunfermline fans hated the fact that I got quite a few against them and they'd shout things like 'nigger' and 'black b******' at me.
>
> (*Sun*, 19 March 1998)

Cadette experienced racism at other stadia and added his voice to the anti-racism campaign of the Commission for Racial Equality when it was launched in 1994 (see below for more details of the CRE's campaign). But while anti-racist initiatives were slowly beginning to gather momentum, St. Mirren's chairman, Allan Marshall stated in 1994 his conviction that this was much ado about nothing: "'It's the way Cadette plays that attracts attention. Brian Rice took a fair bit of stick because he has reddish hair"' (MacDonald 1994:118). Such efforts to classify racism alongside other forms of ridicule attempt to reduce the significance of racism, to make it appear equivalent to abuse relating to hair-colour, weight and so on. The charge of racism is thus

dissolved in the mire of relativity.[18] Nevertheless, Cadette 'suffered on and off-field racism' (*Scotland on Sunday*, 22 March 1998).

In November 1997 Stirling Albion's Landry Zahani-Oni, of the Ivory Coast, reported receiving racist abuse while playing in a match against Partick Thistle. He stated that: '"I cannot accept the personal abuse I received"' (*Daily Record*, 17 November 1997). His agent noted the '"ape noises"' which were directed at him throughout the match, and his manager Kevin Drinkell saw the continuity from Walters and Cadette, both of whom were previously his team-mates: '"I used to room with Mark Walters at Rangers and knew what he had to put up with. Racism reared its ugly head when Richard Cadette played for Falkirk – and it's happened again with Zahani-Oni"' (*Daily Record*, 17 November 1997). Some commentators on Scottish football claim that Partick Thistle has a reputation for 'non-racism' (see chapters 5 & 6; Dimeo & Finn 1998), yet the evidence from November 1997 suggests otherwise.

While the abuse meted out to Zahani-Oni was reported by the newspapers, it was not until the player himself, supported by his manager Kevin Drinkell, raised the issue that the press saw fit to discuss racism. In the match report of the *Scotland on Sunday* (16 November 1997) there was no mention of racist abuse. The *Herald*'s report described how, after an off-the ball incident involving Zahani and two Thistle players who were subsequently sent off, the Stirling Albion player was 'roundly booed by the Thistle support' (17 November 1997). Indeed, it was this 'booing' of Zahani which led to him gesturing at the Thistle fans, three of whom complained to the police, forcing Zahani and Drinkell to claim the mitigating circumstances of racism. The perpetrators of the racist acts portrayed themselves as victims simply because their victim resisted.[19] Drinkell commented that the Partick Thistle incident was only one example of sustained abuse directed at Zahani:

"My intention at the moment is to try and protect Landry. He is very down and very confused at what has been going on. It appals me the abuse he is taking, not just from supporters but from some players as well. Saturday [the Thistle incident] wasn't the first time it had happened either. He has had to put up with this since joining us in October. I thought these days of coloured players in Scotland being abused were behind us."

(*Scotsman*, 18 November 1997)

The systematic abuse of Zahani went unrecognised until Drinkell approached the Scottish Professional Footballers' Association with a formal complaint. Even then, after acknowledging Drinkell's claim that Zahani was 'racially abused on and off the pitch' the *Herald* went on to de-amplify the situation, quoting SPFA secretary Tony Higgins: '"Racism is something we abhor but it is still a problem in Scotland, although not on the scale it was in the late 80s and early 90s"' (18 November 1997).

Hibernian's Kevin Harper has received racist abuse from fans and opposition players (*Scotland on Sunday*, 26 October 1996). Harper, who is Scottish and grew up in Glasgow, is a U-21 internationalist. One particular example of racism emerged during a televised match with Hearts, when an opposition player clearly made racist gestures towards him. This incident, though clearly evident was unacknowledged by the match commentator and post-match analysts. Much later it was described in the print media (*Scotland on Sunday*, 22 March 1998).[20]

Harper later reflected upon his experiences, and recalled that his efforts to complain about racism fell on deaf hears: '"You've got to be able to speak to

people in confidence, but I never really felt I could broach the subject with too many other players. You know nothing will happen. Scotland likes to think 'our country is so clean' but really we are scared to deal with racism"' (*Scotland on Sunday*, 22 March 1998). Indeed, Victor Kasule[21] who was a friend of Harper's, claimed that Harper found life difficult at Hibs before he left for Derby County in the autumn of 1998. Kasule maintained that right-wing groups were harassing him, and that the Scottish football authorities had chosen to keep their 'head in the sand' over the issue. Thus, despite facing consistent levels of racism and desiring to raise the issue, Harper was allowed to leave his own country without his problems being addressed.

Another recent example of racism came in March 1998 when Dave Barnett complained that he had received racist abuse from his team-mates at Dunfermline. Although this case was given attention in the newspapers and Barnett allowed to make his accusations, the club denied any suggestion of racism and the charge was left unproven. This was a fine example of the use of avoidance and denial strategies to complicate the matter. Barnett's team-mates claimed he was an unpopular person and Barnett's former manager Barry Fry suggested that he '"simply used this as an excuse to get a transfer"' (*Sun*, 19 March 1998). Racism was presented as one of a number of issues, and indeed justified by his personality, and articulated only by the desire for a transfer.

Columnist Gary Keown wrote: 'Off-hand comments – or those made in the heat of the battle – can often be blown out of proportion and used to label innocent people as racists' (*Sun*, 20 March 1998). Keown's analysis served to deny the seriousness of the racism, Barnett's claim were, in Keown's view, exaggerated. However, this analysis did still recognise that the racism did actually occur, while simultaneously excusing it, undermining the anti-racism critique through the claim of exaggeration, and reversing blame in the

implication that Barnett may have wronged 'innocent' parties. Once again, even when racism is apparently being highlighted, strategies of avoidance, denial and/or reversal mean that the issue was not seriously discussed or confronted.

The case for denying racism was made by the general secretary of the club Paul D'Mello. His was the voice of authority on these matters for he was 'also from an ethnic background' (*Herald*, 19 March 1998) or of 'Indian descent' (*Scotsman*, 19 March 1998), thus the use of his statement by the press lent credence to the repudiation of Barnett's claims: '"I have had seven happy years at this club. It is a family and community club. Everyone is welcome here, no matter their colour, creed or background. We totally refute this allegation of racism"' (*Scotsman*, 19 March 1998).

Further denials came from other quarters. A former (white) team-mate of Barnett's informed the *Scotland on Sunday* that the claims of racism were '"utter rubbish"' (22 March 1998). And the same newspaper claimed, without any substantiation, that the 'consensus among black players is that abuse, though still present, is becoming rarer in Scotland, on and off the field' (22 March 1998). And the *Herald*, who seem to have confused the prosecution and defence in their headline 'Dunfermline upset by Barnett's allegations', brought in an authoritative voice to relativise the issue, the deputy chief executive of the English Professional Footballers' Association Brendan Batson: '"I have spoken to plenty of coloured players who have played in Scotland and, as far as I am aware, the problem is no worse up there than in England"' (19 March 1998). It is interesting that the Scottish media appear more concerned that Scotland's reputation vis-à-vis England was preserved, than with any desire to criticise and undermine racism.

The strategic responses to Barnett's claims were varied but served to undermine the idea that racism was present and influential. Thus, the claims of

players such as Cadette, Zahani-Oni, Harper and Barnett have been ignored and racism has been allowed to continue.

4.4 Reactions to racism from campaigners and the football authorities

4.4.1 'Tackling back'

The arrival of Mark Walters raised the issue of racism in Scottish football. The controversy may have passed if Walters' departure had left Scottish football once again all-white. However, Paul Elliott's career at Celtic ensured that racism remained an issue, and the subsequent arrival of several other black players kept the issue alive. Racism persisted, even if the tone of the debate had softened since the banana-throwing activities of early 1988. The first organised anti-racist initiative emerged in 1991 when supporters in Edinburgh formed the Supporters Campaign Against Racism in Football (SCARF). The activities of SCARF largely revolved around promoting anti-racism through fanzines and supporters organisations.[22]

In June 1992 Stirling District Council organised a one-day conference, held at Stirling University called 'Tackling back: combating racism in Scottish football'. The conference was the first of its kind to bring together the disparate groups working in Scottish football and race relations to address racism in football. At the conference David Hewitt, a founder member of SCARF, related his view of the problem (Stirling District Council, 1992: 13-15). He identified the 'disgraceful scenes' accompanying Walters and Elliott during their careers in Scotland, while also indicating his concern that right-wing groups such as the Klu Klux Khan, National Front and the British National Party were 'were becoming more active at football grounds'. Hewitt also addressed the 'sectarianism' question, arguing that it was 'nothing less than anti-Irish racism', though it is 'implicitly accepted as part of Scottish football . . . lauded . . . as an asset to the game'. His concern was that if 'racism increases in the same way then there is a danger that that will become integral to football too'. However, as with challenges to 'sectarianism', SCARF's approaches to

football clubs to encourage them to resist racism were met with indifference: 'It is part of the syndrome . . . that the way to tackle this problem is to keep it under wraps and "Don't make this bigger than it is"'. SCARF were also confronted by the claim that their organisation was 'political', which offered clubs an excuse not to support their campaign. In short, SCARF's efforts faced the barriers of denial, silence and lack of concern which serve to facilitate the reproduction of racism.

Another speaker was Stuart Cosgrove, who clearly and concisely summarised the types of ideas which were prevalent in Scotland and which deterred any sustained critique of racism:

> We are too welcoming as people. We welcome people. Look at the Tartan Army in Sweden – they even kissed the police. How could this community be a racist community? We are not like the English. They've been corrupted by Thatcherism and self centred greed which Scots would not tolerate. That's why we do not have hooligans like they do – another myth which is perpetuated frequently in the press. We have a tourist economy and so our whole socio-cultural infra-culture is based upon accepting outsiders How can we be racist? I once met a German family in Rothesay.
>
> (Stirling District Council 1992:2)

These myths, as Cosgrove pointed out, are 'very fraudulent and very hollow'. However, they resonated powerfully throughout Scottish society and encouraged a romantic view of Scottish society. Throughout the century racism in football has been rarely discussed. It was only discussed in any depth when Walters arrived, and even then the discussion was reluctant and continued to

assert the location of racism within a small minority of 'mindless thugs'. The myth of Scotland was never disrupted by the reality of racism.

The romantic mythologising of Scotland operated as a self-identification which protected Scotland against charges of intolerance and prejudice. When the organiser of the Stirling conference, Dawn Corbett, set about her project of raising the issue of racism, she discovered the strategies for the practical accomplishment of Scotland's self-image and avoidance of racism issues:

> The first myth was that racism in football didn't actually happen in Scottish football. Last season Hearts played Falkirk in a televised match. The racial abuse which was directed at a black footballer from Falkirk [Richard Cadette] was quite audible on the television. It also must have been audible to the home club because in the press the next day there was a small article which said that Hearts had made an announcement at half time asking fans to desist from racist and sectarian chanting. And yet when I called Falkirk to encourage them to attend the conference as one of the few clubs left in Scotland with a black player, they told me quite clearly that there was no problem.
>
> (Stirling District Council 1992:4-5)

Corbett's experiences with Falkirk were indicative of a culture in which racism is denied regardless of the evidence to the contrary; it is ignored at all costs. On occasion, however, the existence of racism has been recognised. The strategies available and employed for denial the importance of racism after its existence has been established were recognised by Corbett:

The second myth that I have come across is that racism in football does not actually mean anything. It does happen but it is no different from the abuse that other players get because they are bald, fat or ugly. In fact they are entirely different things. People who are bald, fat or ugly, do not face discrimination in employment, they do not experience harassment on housing estates. Racism in football is part of the wider problem of racism in society and if it goes unchallenged as it often does, then it sounds out a signal that racism is O.K. and that racial abuse and harassment of black people is an acceptable form of behaviour when that is clearly not the case. The third myth which I encountered was that the real problem in Scottish football is sectarianism. As if the presence of one form of bigotry meant that we should do nothing about other forms of bigotry and prejudice.

(Stirling District Council 1992:4-5)

4.4.2 'Let's Kick Racism out of Football'

In response to the consistent levels of abuse directed at black players, the racial harassment experienced by Scottish Asian shopkeepers near stadia on match days, and as part of a British-wide campaign the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) based in Edinburgh launched the 'Let's Kick Racism out of Football' campaign in January 1994. The campaign was the first concerted effort to promote anti-racism in Scottish football. Najimee Parveen was the CRE's officer in Edinburgh who had responsibility for the campaign. She outlined the fundamental objective of the campaign as the attempt 'to place an agenda of race to football authorities'.[23] With the support of the Football Trust, the Scottish Professional Players' Association (SPFA) and the Association of Chief Police Officers, the CRE constructed an action plan which was circulated to all the football league clubs in Scotland. The recommendations revolved around the prohibition of racist expressions, chanting, missile throwing and graffiti at the clubs' stadia (Horne 1995, 1996). For Parveen the purpose of these recommendations was to encourage clubs to take responsibility: 'It was to get the clubs to also recognise the fact that racism was an issue . . . and that they can take action'.

The manner in which the Scottish football clubs reacted to these recommendations clearly indicates the extent to which they were committed to countering racism. Several months after disseminating the recommendations the CRE undertook a survey of the club's actions, and Parveen summarised their findings: 'in terms of what actions clubs had taken we got quite a disappointing response'. Racism for the clubs was not something which had to be confronted and challenged, though a small number did pursue localised anti-racist campaigns, notably Celtic who initiated their Bhoys Against Bigotry campaign. But it was not only the clubs who failed to give wholehearted

support to the campaign. Aside from the SPFA, no other body involved in the administration and organisation of football threw their weight behind the CRE's initiative. Parveen recalled: 'we received a less than enthusiastic response from the other footballing bodies'.

By September 1995 the Scottish Football Association (SFA) had resolved that anti-racism measures were unnecessary because there was no problem with racism in Scottish football, and in accordance with popular ideas of what 'sectarianism' is failed to see how the CRE's campaign sought to challenge anti-Irish racism (*The Glaswegian*, 14 September 1995). Around the same period Rangers' vice-chairman Donald Findlay QC pronounced that he didn't believe that Scottish football had a problem with racism or sectarianism (*The Glaswegian*, 28 September 1995). Parveen expressed her disillusionment regarding the contrasting responses to the CRE's campaign; in England the football authorities and clubs 'took ownership' of the campaign (see Garland & Rowe 1999), but this had not happened in Scotland where the authorities and clubs distanced themselves from the campaign.

In 1996 when a London-based theatre group (Arc Theatre) presented a play about racism in football, called 'Kicking Out' to an audience in Meadowbank Stadium, Edinburgh, the SFA's representative was invited to give his reaction once the play had finished.[24] With the actors still in position after receiving warm applause, he told them and the audience that while it was an enjoyable play its relevance in Scotland was slight as Scottish football, unlike English, did not have a racism problem. Instead, he added, we have 'sectarianism'.

Mick Conboy, Policy Officer with the CRE in Edinburgh pointed out that the SFA's spokesman's response 'nicely summed up in a nutshell the response of the SFA to our campaign'. Conboy added that the SFA's response

has been 'far and away short of what everyone expected from them'. As concerns the distinction between racism in England and Scotland, Conboy noted that this was common throughout Scottish society and led to a position of apathy[25]:

> People say it's not a problem here, it's a problem down south, and if you raise it as a problem it becomes one. It's part of the nationalist split between England and Scotland. Scottish people like to see themselves as different. The English are portrayed as having crapped on everyone, but Scots are fair, decent people. I've come across this in areas such as employment, where people then claim that they don't need equal opportunities policies.

In 1998 the SFA did raise the issue of racism in their official newsletter. In the newsletter the authority noted that the CRE had a 'campaign against racism' and that it was supported by 'the football authorities, the police and the Scottish Professional Footballers' Association' (1998:7). There was no indication that the SFA themselves supported the campaign, and it remains unclear to which football authorities they referred. Certainly, Conboy claimed that: 'from our point of view the football authorities [except the SPFA] have not given their support to the campaign'. Clubs were praised in the newsletter for advertising the campaign in their match day programmes and preventing racist literature being distributed around their stadia.[26]

However, the SFA's security adviser, Willie McDougall urged supporters to take responsibility by reporting racist incidents to clubs. This shifts the burden away from clubs (who have taken little action) and from the SFA (who did not support the campaign) and on to individual supporters. It is

assumed, therefore, that the fans would recognise and take action against racist expression and practice. Finally, McDougall's own statement in the newsletter is revelatory:

> "There are multi-racial players in the ranks of the Scottish leagues and the SFA is of the opinion that racism is not a major problem in Scottish football at the moment. However, the Association will not be complacent and will continue to monitor closely our national game. It is continuously striving, though its liaisons with clubs, the police and other bodies, to create an environment at football which is safe, orderly, and free from unsociable behaviour".
>
> (SFA 1998:7)

Clearly, McDougall associates racism with danger, disorder, and anti-social behaviour, in short with 'hooliganism'. Similarly, the article describes racism as one of 'society's ills', that it is 'wrong' and 'against the law', fitting neatly with the 'coat of paint' idea (Gilroy 1990); racism is portrayed as something out with an otherwise healthy society, as equated with a criminality, deviance and violence. Such a view prevents recognition of the widespread existence of racism, it maintains the façade of Scottish positive self-presentation by blaming a marginal minority. That said, McDougall also clearly stated his view about the absence of racism in football.[27]

McDougall's assertion that racism is not a problem was not supported by either the CRE or by black players' experiences. Furthermore, McDougall's claim that the SFA will 'not be complacent' does little to indicate if any active anti-racist projects have been initiated. The sense of inertia is heightened by the claim that they 'monitor' the racism situation, suggesting that they watch

carefully for incidents, to which they may respond, but without taking preventative action. Moreover, the SFA continued to be optimistic about the extent of racism. As the article stated: 'football is showing the way and there are multi-racial teams, playing to multi-racial crowds'. Conboy did not agree, noting that the SFA's claim was 'painting a rosier picture than is the case . . . it's a touch on the optimistic side, to say the least'. The SFA have refused to confront racism as a consistent feature of Scottish football. The effect has been to ensure that racism has continued, its existence has been denied, explained away or avoided, meanwhile anti-racist efforts have met with apathy and indifference. Bains & Johal joined the critics of the SFA: 'It remains quite incredible and sickeningly culpable that certain football "authorities" can maintain such myopic reticence towards strategic procedures that will help to reduce, or prevent, the kind of abhorrent abuse and shameful ignorance that was suffered by unsung heroes such as Mark Walters' (1998:157).

When the British Government through the Football Task Force, headed by former Conservative MP David Mellor, reviewed the existence of racism in the English leagues they recommended in March 1998 a range of punitive measures to address the problem. To this the SFA responded: 'Racism is not considered to be a major problem in Scottish football but it is one we keep a close eye on' (*Herald*, 30 March 1998). Furthermore Alex Smith, chairman of the Managers and Coaches Association in Scotland and assistant manager of Raith Rovers repeated the myth of no racism: 'We don't have the problem with racism and don't want it' (*Herald*, 30 March 1998). Smith's statement appears to infer that the introduction of punitive measures will only introduce racism into a context where it is not a problem. A similar charge has been levelled at the SPFA, who continue their anti-racist projects despite meeting with resistance. Their secretary Tony Higgins said:

> "We have come in for criticism from some quarters for exacerbating a problem that isn't there by addressing the issue of racism in Scottish football. But there are more racist attacks in Scottish cities than anywhere else in Britain. It is naive to suggest that it isn't a problem."
>
> (*Scotsman*, 19 March 1998)

Obviously the denial of the very existence of racism as an issue regardless of the evidence to the contrary, simply encourages the reproduction of racism. As Parveen acknowledged: 'people can bury their heads in the sand and not acknowledge that things are happening like racist chants, they think it's not an issue for them'.[28] Thus, some groups refused to see that racism was an issue or a problem: 'I think that's quite a common approach in Scotland, not just to do with racism in football, but to do with race issues generally'.

The CRE's campaign was designed to bring the concerns of anti-racism to the public, using football as a high profile and popular field, as a vehicle for improving awareness of racism in broader social spaces. Parveen located the campaign within a larger anti-racist strategy, and considered football to be of significant influence in the quest for anti-racism:

> It obviously has implications for education, for example, because young people will be going to football matches and coming back with stories of what went on . . . You get racism in football grounds because of racism in society. So, it will reflect what is taking place in society as a whole. Maybe you can measure the extent to which there is racism in society through observing what goes on in football matches. And the extent to which it is made acceptable or appears or feels acceptable and

> that people don't feel that they can challenge it, or don't feel they should challenge it. I think the campaign's done a lot to actually make it unacceptable and I think people will challenge it a bit more, hopefully. If that's all the campaign's done then that's been quite good . . . If people challenge racism around football grounds they'll be challenging it elsewhere . . . hopefully that will be reflected in the community.

Unfortunately for the cause of anti-racism, one of the most significant ways in which the campaign has reflected society as a whole, and contributed to social change, is in the refusal of powerful parties to support its aims and objectives. The silences and denials which have been so frustrating to campaigners are simply indicative of broader social phenomena. Racism is complex, takes various forms, but is clearly evident. Parveen stated that: 'there have been increases in racial harassment . . . there is a real issue of people being discriminated and harassed in Scotland'. The denial of racism in football reflects the denial of racism in society generally.

4.5 Conclusion

The evolving nature of racism took an almost contradictory turn in 1989, when explicit 'old-fashioned' racism welcomed Mark Walters to Scotland. For the first time in Scotland, bananas were thrown on to the pitch as an expression of racism, accompanied by sustained racist abuse. It seemed as if the controversies of 'race' and immigration, and the racist treatment of black players in England, somehow proved a backdrop to these events. That said, it is unclear really as to why this re-emergence of 'old-fashioned' bigotry, should manifest itself at this time. It certainly proved that Scotland was far from being the tolerant, racism-free society that many had claimed.

At the same time, however, this racism met with critical resistance from the Scottish public and the media. This in itself marked a shift from the previous generation of apathetic responses. Whether due to the undeniable nature of this racism, or a genuine recognition of intolerance, the Scottish media confronted the issue for the first time.

Their condemnation, though, was mixed with a range of diversionary strategies. Many of these strategies reflected responses to racism in other settings (van Dijk 1984, 1991, 1992; Back *et al* 1998), though many retained a specifically Scottish character (Dimeo & Finn, in press). These strategies demonstrated the subtle measures through which racism is denied or excused without ever being seriously confronted. Such strategies included: over-emphasising the 'fascist' nature of this racism; claiming this racism to be exceptional, a 'one-off' fad; locating it with hooligans, the insane, the delinquent, the 'moronic', or the 'copy-cat'; recycling anti-English and anti-Irish prejudices; avoiding the more banal, routine and common racism which plays a significant part in Scottish society.

It was interesting that Walters was quoted only to deny racism. His longer term response pointed to a conscious attempt to ingratiate himself with the Rangers fans who had questioned his signing, even if this meant repeating anti-Irish prejudices.

However, the failures in these anti-racist reactions left a legacy for the nineties: an inability to clearly see and criticise racism. Players such as Paul Elliot, Richard Cadette and Dave Barnett, were on the receiving end of racism while the football authorities refused to support anti-racist campaigns. This institutional culpability reflected common beliefs during this period about the nature of Scottish society and the nature of racism. Criticism of intolerance referred only to 'old-fashioned' and clear expressions of racism, to the 'big bigot' or 'racist-hooligan'. Anti-racism was in fact superficial and inadequate: support for campaigns was not forthcoming, support for players racially abused was not forthcoming, admissions of the existence of racism were rare, and anti-Irish racism continued in the various dubious comparisons of racism and 'sectarianism'. Thus, even though the late twentieth century contained different forms of racism than the first half of the century, the recycling of prejudices and prejudiced responses to suit changing social conditions meant that the legacy of racism continued.

NOTES

[1]Peterson argued that classification by 'race' is appropriate if it 'should help achieve racial progress' but if 'carried to an extreme will only retard that progress by intensifying hostility among racial groups' (1995:16). For Peterson, the balance is a matter of judgement. It is clear that these early discussions of Walters' colour were trying to find an appropriate balance. While these comments were not themselves problematic, they reveal something important. The reveal a fear that the player's colour is going to become an issue, in a negative and racist sense.

[2]Indeed, there were few critical analyses of racism in the wake of the Celtic match. Even when the racism was acknowledged, it was constructed almost as unimportant through the suggestion that Walters was not worried about it and that most Celtic fans were 'appalled' (*Daily Record*, 5 January 1988).

[3]Such recognition of a history of racism in Scottish football was rare. The references made were to European and English players who had played in internationals or European tournaments in Scotland. However, these comments demonstrate that the media did know that racism was a feature of Scottish football and therefore chose not to criticise its manifestations. The coded language in which Rangers required 'courage' to field Walters reflects this knowledge. However, even this recognition of racism was qualified by the claim that: 'Scotland has every reason to be proud of its football fans, while other countries have had their problems' (*Glasgow Herald*, 18 January 1988).

[4]It is feasible to suggest that Burns' racist comments were drowned out by the fans' racist chanting, though no certain evidence exists which prove that Burns did racially abuse Walters.

[5]The use of double quotation marks here implies a scepticism about the truth of the racism, as if the abuse of Walters may never have happened at all.

[6]Despite Wilson's efforts there remains some confusion over his logic. He argues that Rangers fans, having had one of their black players racially abused, would reconsider their own anti-Irish racism, even though the latter is rarely consider to be racism at all. He also assumes that Rangers fans will identify with Walters, sympathise with his suffering, realise that they may be

causing similar suffering to others, then they alter their behaviour accordingly. Although a creditable suggestion, it remains a naive one.

[7]This argument is the opposite of Wilson's, as instead of anti-black racism helping to solve 'sectarianism' as Wilson suggested, 'sectarianism' is recommended as a solution for anti-black racism. Yet another examples of the confusion and misunderstanding imbedded in discourses on racism in Scottish football.

[8]Fleming & Tomlinson (1996) discuss some of the possible coping strategies available to players receiving racist abuse. Not all of these strategies involve directly and angrily confronting the racism.

[9]Dilawar Singh confirmed this account in an interview with P. Dimeo (February 1999).

[10]Almost a decade later Paul Gascoigne tried to win over the Rangers fans by mimicking flute-playing in celebration of a goal scored. Flutes are associated with Orange Walks and the expression of a Protestant Unionism. Gascoigne enacted this scene three times.

[11]This information was supplied by Kevin Connolly who was present during this match (interview with P. Dimeo, April 1999).

[12]The East Enclosure was the last remaining area of terracing at Ibrox. Reputedly the area where the more intolerant fans stood, or to use the coded language it had 'atmosphere'. Firhill is home of Partick Thistle, a club which traditionally has been viewed as non-racist and non-sectarian, though Scotland's paucity of non-racist fans is reflected in the poor attendances at Firhill. For a more sustained discussion of Thistle's position see chapter 5.

[13]Racism against Walters did not disappear, it simply became less of a media issue. Moreover, simply because the bananas stopped does not mean racism stopped. The variety of racist expression is manifold (Back *et al.* 1998:84; Giulianotti 1999:163). As noted, however, the bananas and the intensity of the abuse were such an obvious, visible manifestation that racism could no longer be ignored.

[14]Elliott signed from the Italian club Pisa, and after leaving Celtic moved to Chelsea where an injury ended his career. Speaking at The Equality Goal conference at Celtic Park on 20 January 1999 Elliott recalled some harrowing memories from his English career. Bananas were thrown at him, monkey chants were common, players from his own team as well as opposing teams

racially abused him. For Elliott to claim that Scottish football was worse than in England or Italy speaks volumes for a largely unacknowledged level of racist prejudice in Scotland, and presents a challenge to Scotland's belief that England has the greater problem with racism.

[15]A review of this fanzine between 1990 and 1992 found no articles on the racism problems Elliott suffered. Yet, it is clear that Elliott frequently suffered racism.

[16]In other words, Celtic fans racially abuse Mark Walters. It is clear that some Rangers fans were excusing their own racism by pointing to the racism of some Celtic fans.

[17]At the Celtic Park conference Elliott recalled his Charlton Athletic days when his team-mates would racially abuse black players in the opposing team. When Elliott pointed out he was also black, and therefore also insulted, his team-mates could not understand his problem, and responded by saying that did not mean him. It is also worth noting that during his career with Celtic Elliott was frequently cautioned by the referee. It was thought by some Celtic fans that he was reacting to the racist abuse to which he was subjected (Dimeo & Finn 1999).

[18]Through interviews with a group of Falkirk fans (November 1995) I found that they endorsed the same line of argument over Cadette's experiences. Thus, even his own club's fans did not problematise the racism which he met in Scotland.

[19]Similarly, in December 1998 the Arsenal player, Patrick Viera was sent off and later fined by the FA after exchanges with fans. These exchanges involved him being racially abused and resisting this abuse. The clear implication is that players should suffer racism or face censure.

[20]The highlights of this match were shown on BBC Scotland's *Sportscene*. It was clear from his facial expressions that the Hearts' player was making ape noises. Neither the match commentator or the studio analysts mentioned the obvious racism which took place.

[21]Interview with P. Dimeo, 31 January 1999.

[22]Fanzines played a significant role in raising issues of racism. For instance, *Hibs Monthly*, and the *Proclaimer* both supported SCARF's campaign. Meanwhile *The Absolute Game* maintained a resolute stance against anti-black and anti-Irish prejudices.

[23]Comments from Parveen are from a recorded interview which took place on 13 April 1998.

[24]The account of the play and the response from the SFA comes from my own observations as an invited member of the audience at Meadowbank.

[25]Conboy's comments are taken from a recorded interview which took place on 15 April 1998.

[26]Parveen and Conboy surveyed the clubs after the campaign to discover what action had been taken. The most common strategy had been to advertise the campaign in match day programmes and to put up the posters circulated by the CRE. Clubs also liaised with the police to prevent racist literature being distributed outside the grounds.

[27]Research undertaken in 1995 during six matches found evidence of racism (Dimeo 1995). In three matches fans abused black players through verbal abuse and ape imitation actions. In another match an Irish player was racially abused. During a European Champions League match involving Rangers, anti-Catholicism was common, and anti-Muslim slurs made against the Turkish referee. There was clear evidence of racism in Scottish football grounds. As recently as 31 July I heard Motherwell fans racially abusing Hibernian's midfielder Russell Latapy.

[28]Interview with P. Dimeo (13 April 1998).

Chapter 5: The case of the Partick Thistle take-over (I): media accounts[1]

5.1 Introduction

The history of racism in Scottish football would suggest that any attempt by a racialised minority group to involve themselves in the sport might be met with ideological prejudice and racist discrimination. Racist prejudice had followed the involvement of both Irish-Scots and blacks within the sport.

However, before August 1995 successful attempts by Scottish Asians to play football had been limited to a handful of professionals, and some amateur leisure-based participation. Even the prominence of such players as Paul Wilson and Rashid Sarwar had not provoked a sustained public discussion of the place of Scottish Asians in football. A lack of public discourse on the subject made it difficult to assess how Scottish Asian football was received by majority groups. The evidence of racism in football against Irish-Scots and blacks, the continued myth that Scotland does not have a problem with racism, and the varying types of racism faced generally by Scottish Asians, all combined to suggest that Scottish Asians' entry into football might not be straightforward. In fact, Wilson and Sarwar both faced racism, as did many amateur and schools players (see chapters 7 and 8). A lack of media interest in this racism meant that in popular thought racism was not considered a prohibitive obstacle to Scottish Asian involvement.

Previous chapters have examined the existence of racism in football, the style in which it is portrayed, and the strategic responses of denial and avoidance. Often accompanying racism had been the use of 'sectarianism', a form of racism itself, to deflect from sustained critique of anti-black racism. In this chapter an example of potential Scottish Asian involvement in football

shall be analysed, to assess the impact of ideas of 'Asianness' and specifically anti-Asian prejudices. Thus, this chapter shall explore the ways in which notions of 'Asianness' interact with racist prejudice, strategic responses to racism, and discourses of 'sectarianism'.

The media coverage of the August 1995 proposed investment by Scottish Asian businessmen in Partick Thistle shall be examined in this chapter. The media's discourse represented the first occasion on which sustained public discussion took place regarding Scottish Asians and their place in football. Discussion of the media's response will focus upon the public presentation of the event. Media organisations control the production of public knowledge, but with an awareness of their readership's existing knowledge and prejudices:

> journalists . . . have to be selective and the main criterion for this is newsworthiness. This process of selection controls, amongst other things, which sources are used, how much weight and credibility they are given and how the information is presented. Journalists draw upon a framework of values through which the world is interpreted. But they do not work in isolation. In order to gain attention, stories are presented within the context of the existing values of audiences. So out of the millions of events which happen every day, news items emerge which build on what is already known and which explain the world in a familiar and recognisable way.
>
> Hart (1991:90)

The media's 'ideological voices and codes' (Kellner 1995:335) form part of a process through which racist prejudice is reproduced. By fitting with the pre-existing prejudices of reader, author and media institutions, and presenting events in such a way that prejudice and racialised hegemony are not challenged, media discourses can sustain the dominant ideology. It might be assumed that the media's efforts to fit with 'what is already known' reveals something of the public's *a priori* prejudices. But the media's power lies with its ability to either confirm or to challenge such prejudices; to sanction or subvert hegemonic ideologies (Kellner 1995). The reader is not without power to critique a media representation, but the construction of the 'public idiom' and the 'formation of consensus' depend upon a 'discursive interaction between the newspaper text and the reader' (Fowler 1991:46-7). To this interaction readers bring their pre-existing values. It remains in the media's interests to maintain the existing social order; its own commercial interests advocate 'approval of a stable, familiar ideology' (Fowler 1991:49). Therefore, it is important to appraise the linguistic methods through which the audience was encouraged to judge this investment proposal; the style in which the media 'force us to perceive things via their unspoken prejudices' (Sorlin 1994:148).

It is not possible to be certain about the relationship between the media's version of events and a more objective truth free of the ideological distortions and processes of selection and presentation. However, Tolson (1996:xv) has argued that questions of the so-called 'real world' can 'basically miss the point about the more important functions of media texts, which is their construction of a mass-mediated culture'. That is, the media 'offer us patterns to observe our universe' (Sorlin 1994:16). Therefore, one set of questions revolve

around this mediated culture; the communication and reproduction of racist prejudice through the media, and these shall be examined here. The following chapter looks at a different set of questions and uses interview data solicited from the main participants to provide another version of events.

5.2 Announcing the bid: *Reporting Scotland*

On Wednesday 23 August 1995 the proposal was publicly announced on BBC Scotland's news programme, *Reporting Scotland.* The BBC revealed that the Hillhead Labour MP George Galloway was 'negotiating on behalf' of a 'group of Asian businessmen' in a bid to 'buy' Premier division football club Partick Thistle. Galloway was quoted announcing the plans at the annual dinner of the Scottish Asian Sports Association, which had been held the previous evening in Glasgow:

> I've been in discussion with a number of Glasgow's Asians, who have been successful in business, about the idea of trying to take a stake in Partick Thistle Football Club. There are willing buyers and, I believe, there may also be a willing seller.

In the BBC's description Thistle would be the first 'club in Scotland to come under Asian control'. To emphasise the distinction of this potential take-over the report noted:

> A meeting of the Scottish Asian Sports Association in a Glasgow restaurant last night was the moment at which a business consortium chose to make public its bold bid to buy Partick Thistle and become the first Asian owners of a Scottish football club.

The ethnicity of the consortium made the story more newsworthy, it was described as an 'historic announcement'. The use of such particularly subtle

semantic codes by the BBC stressed specific themes which were considered important. 'Historic' suggested that the proposal was fascinating as it brought Scottish Asians into football for the first time. A more ambiguous coded term was the word 'bold'. Bold can mean courageous, and thus suggest the BBC's awareness that racism might accompany the involvement of Scottish Asians in football. Bold might also mean insolent, inferring that Scottish Asians are impertinent in their efforts to invest in Thistle.

The dilemmas involved in discussing Scottish Asians are clear from the different definitions of difference. The juxtaposition of 'Asian' and Scotland/Scottish expressed a sense of 'Asian' difference, their nature as exterior to and excluded from Scottish society. Thus, if the bid was successful Partick Thistle would be the first Scottish club to come under 'Asian control', as if 'Asians' were not Scottish. Yet, Galloway used 'Glasgow's Asians' a term which portrays 'Asians' as belonging to Glasgow, as included and interior. Indeed, the BBC referred 'Glasgow's Asian community'. The use by Scottish Asians of the title Scottish Asian Sports Association implies their own sense of belonging. However, young Scottish Asian men who were interviewed about the bid spoke simply of 'Asians'. These contradictions, especially in the different uses by Scottish Asians themselves, indicate a lack of consensus over the most appropriate terms for discussing ethnic identity. Nevertheless, the language used suggested that 'Asians' should be considered distinct from 'Scottish'.

Apart from Galloway's position as negotiator, the BBC were unclear as to the nature of the consortium. There were 'thought to be between three and six members', including Maqbul Rasul owner of Global Video rental chain and

Charan Gill, described as 'a Glasgow restaurateur' though his business interests were in fact more diverse. Gill was interviewed under the caption of 'Consortium Member' and indicated his interest in Partick Thistle, pointing out that his business had once sponsored the club's shirts.

Thistle's chairman, Jim Oliver, held an almost contradictory position in which the club was not for sale, yet would be sold if a sufficient offer was made. He had stated: '"Partick Thistle is not for sale . . . but like anything else, everything has its price"'. Gill's comment on the issue of price was that it 'is something we'll have to discuss'. The BBC speculated that the club may be valued at £1.5m, and that the consortium 'are promising a fresh injection of capital to buy new players'. Indeed, Galloway made it clear that Thistle's board had reached the limit of its investment, suggesting that more finance was necessary if Thistle were to become more successful. The BBC, however, had added a significant element to Galloway's announcement: he had stated that the group would 'take a stake' in, not 'take control' of, the club. Thus, although the state of negotiations was uncertain, certain assumptions had been made and liberties taken with the truth.

As the question of ethnicity was important the BBC assessed the response to the proposal among Scottish Asians: 'The take-over bid has already been discussed in Glasgow's Asian community and has received its approval'.[2] The editor of the *Scottish Asian Voice*, Imran Muneer, and three Scottish Asian men were interviewed to elaborate upon these discussions 'in Glasgow's Asian community'. Muneer indicated that a number of parties had shown interest in the bid: 'People are already asking questions about when its going to happen, who's involved, what will it entail, and how they can get involved. I think the

next question is: what exactly are we going to see come out of it'. The three young Scottish Asian men voiced their opinion that the bid was beneficial:

> *Young Scottish Asian man* [pictured in street]: I think it's pretty good, 'cos there's no' really much Asians in the sport so like it will encourage youngsters and a' that to go into it as well.
> *Second young Scottish Asian man* [pictured in street]: It's a good thing, I think it's a good thing.
> *Third young Scottish Asian man* [pictured in street]: It's pretty good for like the Asian community to get something going in Glasgow, as there's quite a few Asians around. It will be quite interesting if the proposal goes through.

The assumption behind the statement that the bid had received the approval of 'Glasgow's Asian community', and behind the questions put to the young men (Is the bid a good thing and why?), seems to be that Scottish Asians might not approve of the venture. It was necessary for the BBC to demonstrate that Scottish Asians were receptive to an increased representation in football. As Scottish Asians are often thought of as lacking an interest in football, the BBC appear to have directly responded to this popular idea.

The young men recognised the extent of Scottish Asian under-representation in football. As did the BBC: 'the consortium hope a successful bid would both help increase support for the club on the terraces and help develop Asian players on the field'. And journalist David Belcher who wrote a play called *Partick Thistle Football Crazy* was asked: 'Do you think this will

attract more Asians to watch and also to play football?' The BBC avoided the topic of racism as a possible explanation for this under-representation. Yet, the interviews with Scottish Asians proved that an enthusiasm for football was evident among this group. Thus, the reasons for under-representation were not expounded. Nor was this under-representation criticised. However, the explanation for a lack of Scottish Asian presence in football may lie with prejudiced views on Scottish Asians. Views which the BBC itself felt the need to address and contradict, even though they remained unspoken.[3]

Issues of ethnicity and racism were raised again in the interview with Belcher, this time through subtle and coded language. Belcher noted Scottish Asians were under-represented in both playing and watching football and spoke of 'quarters who haven't been involved in football before'. Although he never stated that racism was the cause of their under-representation he did extol the appropriateness of Thistle's 'non-racist' and 'non-sectarian' traditions. Thistle have never promoted anti-racism in any active way, that their inactivity receives such high praise speaks volumes on the nature and extent of racism in Scottish football. Indeed, the prefix 'non-' suggests a position of stasis rather one of actively 'anti-'. Nevertheless, their fans claim a distance from the 'sectarianism' of Rangers and Celtic and their 'non-racism' appears to be an extension of this 'non-sectarian' claim. The connections Belcher made between Scottish Asians, a 'non-racist' club, and the fact he found it necessary to state that 'in football all that really matters is the colour of someone's money', imply racism to be an issue in Scottish football. Yet, defining and addressing racism was avoided throughout the BBC's coverage. Even when the interviewer, Jackie Bird, expressed doubts that Scottish Asians would receive an

enthusiastic welcome from all the 'non-racist' club's fans – she asked Belcher: 'So you feel that your enthusiasm will be shared by most fans?' – the question of racism remained a mere insinuation.

5.3 Reasons behind the bid

After the BBC had formally announced the proposal to the Scottish public, the newspapers took up the story. Their coverage began the day after *Reporting Scotland* ran the story, two days after the SASA dinner. One early theme was the rationale for the bid.

It was stated that George Galloway was 'acting as a spokesman for' a 'group of wealthy Asian businessmen' who 'want to buy out chairman Jim Oliver' (*Sun*, 24 August 1995). Charan Gill was quoted as saying that the purchase would 'give something back to the community and promote racial harmony in the city' (*Daily Express*, 25 August 1995). Importantly, no coverage elaborated upon Gill's reference to the promotion of 'racial harmony'. The under-representation of Scottish Asians in football had been clearly alluded to by the BBC, and racism in football had been on ongoing concern for anti-racist groups since 1988. Moreover, the racism suffered by Scottish Asians through harassment, violence, verbal abuse and stereotyping had been recognised by social researchers and anti-racist campaigners (Walsh 1987; Armstrong 1989; Bell 1991; Maan 1992; CRE 1998, 1999). Even so, Gill's reference to the need for 'racial harmony', and how the proposal might meet this need, was ignored.

The club, it was reported, was 'not disliked by anybody' and was 'non-sectarian', which was 'important' (*Herald*, 25 August 1995). Galloway agreed: 'Partick Thistle is a beacon for good community relations and anti-racist feelings' (*Scotsman*, 24 August 1995). Again, these subtle allusions to the nature of racism and 'sectarianism' in Scottish society were not fully discussed

in the media, even though Galloway when quoted brought together some of these themes:

> There are thousands of Pakistani and Indian families in the Maryhill area and the businessmen wanted to become involved with Thistle because it has always been seen as a non-racist and non-bigoted football club. The Asian business community would support the club financially and the money generated from that would be used to strengthen the team. The current board have done well in improving the stadium, but they cannot find any more money to strengthen the team.
>
> (*Daily Record*, 25 August 1995)

The relationship between Thistle's 'traditions', Scottish Asians, 'sectarianism' and anti-racism was not interrogated. However, Galloway's ideas on the potential benefits for the club were given further consideration.

Thistle's fans supported the chance of increased financial investment, and agreed with Galloway that the club's board of directors had recently committed insufficient funds to the team. The general secretary of the supporters' federation, Morag McHaffie was quoted:

> The fans would be delighted to see new money coming in. The people who are in control have kept their word by building a new stand, but they can't invest in the team. We hope Mr Oliver would listen to the consortium and give their offer careful consideration.
>
> (*Daily Record*, 25 August 1995)

McHaffie's views reflected a popular theme among the Thistle fans. They believed that Oliver had reached the limit of his ability to invest in the club, and they were frustrated at the lack of capital available for players. However, some fans continued to support Oliver (*Daily Record*, 30 & 31 August 1995). It was also reported that £1 million would be made available by the consortium for the purchase of players (*Independent*, 28 August 1995). Several newspapers indicated that the consortium's bid might not satisfy the demands of the board, who valued the club at £2.4m.

The newspapers also quoted Galloway's continuing arguments in favour: 'we can provide a shot in the arm, Asian capital, Asian entrepreneurship, and Asian interest in sport, including through the gates' (*Herald*, 26 August 1995). Galloway's strategy was to combine the wealth and business success of some Scottish Asians with the potential base of Scottish Asian football fans, and the need for increased investment in Partick Thistle.

The *Herald* added to the reasons behind the bid:

> Football is increasingly popular among Asian youngsters in Scotland. Coincidentally the first Asian football league, albeit only five-a-side, is due to kick off in Edinburgh tonight. Mr Anton Chaudhry, an Edinburgh businessman and one of the organisers of the league, said a buy out of Partick Thistle would be popular amongst the Asian community. "Just like Scots' kids, football is number one for Asian youngsters. For my generation, parents wanted you to be a doctor or a lawyer. If you told your parents you wanted to be a footballer they

> would have said: 'Are you crazy?'. Today's youngsters have been brought up here and don't have the same ties to the culture their parents were brought up in". Rangers, for instance, have an 18-year-old Asian, Jas Juttle, on their books. The Glasgow youngster plays in the reserves. Across the city, Celtic are also recognising the potential in the community. Club spokesman Peter McLean said Celtic were involved in discussions with Glasgow City Council and hoped to set up coaching classes for Asian youngsters.
>
> (25 August 1995)

Even when Scottish Asian enthusiasm for football was addressed the reasons for the under-development were presented as lying with parental discouragement, rather than with racism.[4] As with the BBC the *Herald* felt it necessary to emphasise that the Thistle proposal would be 'popular amongst the Asian community'. That at least one other club, Celtic, promotes Scottish Asian football, undermines Thistle's claim that their 'non-racism' is exceptional. In fact, Celtic have done more to promote Scottish Asian football than have Partick Thistle. Their assistance of Scottish Asians was significant because both Irish-Scots and Scottish Asians are minority groups in Scottish society. When the Irish-Scots organised their sports around Celtic Football & Athletic Club in 1888 they were accused, and have been since, of introducing 'sectarianism' into football. In fact this accusation was simply a more subtle variant of anti-Irish racism which Irish-Scots had faced since the mid-nineteenth century (Finn 1991a,b, 1994a,b, 1999a,b; Dimeo & Finn 1999). However, such parallels between marginalised communities were not drawn in

any positive anti-racist manner. As we shall see later, comparisons with 'sectarianism' were far more sinister.

The early coverage of the proposal outlined a number of key themes. The Scottish Asian community were viewed as wealthy and characterised by their reputed commercial skills. They had 'empowered' Galloway to negotiate an investment in Partick Thistle, a club who were under-funded and 'non-racist'. The Thistle supporters supposedly encouraged the bid, hoping that it would boost the fortunes of the club. The bid might also encourage Scottish Asians, who were under-represented in football, to support Thistle and play football at professional level. However, the board's valuation differed from the consortium's. Besides, it was yet to be seen if other groups in Scottish society would appreciate Scottish Asians making 'bold' incursions into football terraces, pitches and boardrooms. Despite many references to Thistle's 'non-racism' and to the under-representation of Scottish Asians, the issue of racism itself had not been identified as a significant factor in the experiences of racialised minorities in Scotland.

5.4 Racism and strategic responses

5.4.1 Racist jokes: the use of anti-Asian stereotypes

Sadly, one response to the proposal was dismissive ridicule. Supposed humour was used to demonstrate and exaggerate difference: a cartoon showed two Thistle players, one saying: 'Does this mean we'll huv tae play wur hame games in India?' (*Evening Times*, 25 August 1995). The portrayal of Scottish Asians in this way forgets the diversity of the Scottish Asian communities, that the ancestry of different groups can be traced to Pakistan, Bangladesh or Sri Lanka, as well as to India. It also forgets that they are Scottish as well as 'Asian', that they have dual ethnic identifications. Instead, they are positioned only as 'Asian', geographically as well as figuratively outside of Scottish society.

On Friday 25th August the *Daily Record* ran a full page by their sports editor Bill Leckie entitled: 'For it's a nan old team to play for..'.[5] Leckie's commentary was designed to be humorous, but was in fact thinly-disguised stereotyping and prejudice. Indeed the article began with the subheadline: 'It had to happen. Rangers make a mint out of David Murray . . . so Partick Thistle try it with RUBY Murray'.[6] Quickly followed by the idea that: 'the new strip has to be yellow and red stripes with big curry stains'. Clearly, Leckie's view of Scottish Asians is limited to the association with curries.

Leckie, somewhat contradictorily, argued in favour of the proposal:

> The syndicate are banking on gates going through the roof by turning Thistle into Scotland's *first multi-racial club* - and all power to them for that. It's amazing the size of the ethnic population we have[7], yet football

crowds are still almost exclusively white. More Asian kids watching means more Asian kids playing and the prospect of more Asian professionals. Crowd-wise, if Thistle brought even a fraction of the Asian community through the turnstiles their average attendance would rocket overnight.

(emphasis added)

Leckie recognised that Scottish Asians were under-represented in football, and that the sport was monoculturally 'white'. Although he offered no reason for this situation, the above passage suggests that he considered the inclusion of Scottish Asians in positive terms. Yet, the remainder of his article was devoted to racist stereotyping. The co-existence of positive and negative opinions is again evident, and such co-existence can conceal the expression of prejudice.

Humour was used in such ways as inventing new songs ('Singh When You're Winning, Come and Have a Goa If You Think You're Hard Enough') and new players ('Pakora Bonner, Hindustan Collymore, Chickpea Charnley').[8] Other word-plays used curry food to spin jokes around the proposal: 'Look at Dundee United – the Indians could step in there and rename the stadium Tannadoori'.[9] Even the Chinese were included in the jesting, 'Better still, sell out to the Chinese, who'd call it Tannafriedrice'. The main photograph which accompanied this article pictured manager Murdo MacLeod with two Indian waiters, surrounded by curry dishes. This image was translated into a narrative which suggested Firhill could be turned into an Indian restaurant if the bid was successful: 'But they'd do even better if they just switched the kick-off for all their home games to closing time. Well, I don't know about you – but I can't

resist an Indian at half 11 at night'. Such is the complex nature of racism, and the mechanisms used to mask its operation, that Leckie made a series of ridiculing jokes, based on racist stereotypes, but still maintained that the bid was a good idea.

The theme that the club would benefit from the introduction of subcontinent cuisine was widely employed. Another progenitor of this genre was Tom Cowan in the *Evening Times* (26 August 1995) on the day following Leckie's article, perhaps inspired by the *Record*'s initial effort. Cowan began by describing an evening in an Indian restaurant, a description replete with ridiculing comments about South Asia. For example, the waiter 'greeted us with the words: "Perm, beehive, crew cut". "Sorry," I replied: "I don't speak 'Airdo . . ."'.[10] He ate 'a fiery hot beef Madras, the sort of curry that makes you understand why Gandhi wore those nappies'. A final example is the following:

> I asked [the waitress] if Indian women really do walk barefoot on beds of nails. "Of course not," she replied. "So how come every restaurant insists on playing the soundtrack?" [Cowan replied].[11]

The purpose of this commentary on Cowan's dining experiences was eventually clarified. The restaurant in which he was eating might, he speculated, belong to Charan Gill who 'could soon be the gaffer at Partick Thistle' and who, thanks to his ownership of a chain of Indian restaurants, was 'surely also indirectly responsible for the hole in the ozone layer above the city'.[12] Cowan, like Leckie, went on to imagine Firhill effectively converted in an Indian restaurant: 'The supporters are going daft, getting wired into curried pies, bridie Madras,

even tandoori-style Wagon Wheels'. He also listed a team of players whose names had been reinvented ('Maradooner', 'Roberto Bhaji', and 'Pitta Schmeichal' among others).[13] The article was devoted to curries, as the main contribution Scottish Asians could make in football. Indeed its headline read: 'Spice One Charan: Jags look so tasty to carry-out curry king'.[14]

Leckie and Cowan represent the most explicitly prejudiced descriptions of the take-over proposal. Disguised as humour their narratives were a mosaic of stereotypes, insults, and patronising commentary. However, there were examples elsewhere in which the 'curry' theme persisted, even if used in a less insulting manner. For instance, headlines included 'Curry chief wants Jags' (*Daily Record*, 24 August 1995), 'Currying Favours' (*Evening Times*, 1 September 1995), and 'Tikka Hike Galloway' (*Sunday Mail*, 3 September 1995).

These attempts at humour employed patronising, prejudiced stereotyping, and ridiculed the Scottish Asian communities through racist notions of 'Asianness'. These examples highlight the emergence of specific anti-Asian prejudices as soon as Scottish Asian involvement in football was introduced in the public sphere. However, these forms of racism were not of the easily identifiable 'racist-hooligan' style, or the throwing of bananas, or the use of ape-imitations. Instead, there were far more subtle and banal. They referred to issues of culture, employing stereotype and humour which disguised the operation of prejudice; making this racism appear like 'a bit of fun'. Nevertheless, they represent a pernicious and insidious form of racist prejudice, which seems harmless but which is actually insulting and degrading.

5.4.2 The response from Jim Oliver

In the wake of these reports, Jim Oliver used the club's Jagsline service to respond to the media speculation. His views were reported in the newspapers of Monday 28th August, though not always in complete detail. However, the *Daily Record* offered the most comprehensive account:

> Partick Thistle has been HIJACKED by Galloway. His actions are designed to win the votes of the Asian community. It is cynical self interest on his part hidden by a smokescreen of pretence. If anyone thinks we're going to give away a company, which we have built up over six years, at a personal loss to satisfy the wishes of some Indian with a curry shop then they better get real. I will not be meeting with Mr Galloway again. Someone should tell the Galloways of this world that not everyone views a group of 50 Asian businessmen as non-sectarian. The only person to benefit from this is Mr Galloway, who is getting publicity. It has done Partick Thistle a disservice and a great deal of harm. If there is a group of Asian businessmen and they can demonstrate to me they have funds to do a better job then we will be the first to applaud them. The board won't stand in the way of any move which will benefit the club. They should come and speak to me in a proper business forum - not through the Press.
>
> (28 August 1995)

This response from Jim Oliver was a complex reaction to the proposal. He criticised George Galloway primarily, claiming that he had manipulated both

the club and the Scottish Asian community. The term 'hijacked' suggests that the club had suffered as a result of the speculation, as did the terms 'disservice' and 'a great deal of harm', though Oliver gave no evidence to support this claim. His suggestion that Galloway was only interested in securing votes and gaining publicity was another unsupported notion. Indeed, the rationale for Oliver's passionate criticism of Galloway remains unclear.

Oliver's prejudiced dismissal of Gill as 'some Indian with a curry shop' is patronising and must be considered racist. Scottish Asians were presented in negative terms: as unknowing puppets in Galloway's game; and as 'sectarian', meaning presumably that Scottish Asians would be unwelcome in Partick Thistle's 'non-sectarian' ethos. Though it is unclear why Oliver thought the consortium had 50 members. His discussion of the price suggested that while he would not accept making a personal loss, if the consortium had appropriate funds he may consider selling his shares.

He then requested that they meet with him, instead of just making media proclamations. But certain obstacles to a meeting had been erected: he had used a racist stereotype in his description of Gill, he had ruled out the use of Galloway as assistant or mediator, and had described Scottish Asians problematically as 'sectarian'.

When it was suggested during an interview with Oliver that his comments about Gill were racist he replied:

> As I understand it he is an Indian, and he owns a curry shop. If he is not an Indian with a curry shop then I'll apologise . . . I don't care whether

they are Asians, Eskimos or one-eyed black lesbian saxophone players, if they have the money we will talk to them.

(*Herald*, 29 August 1995)

Here Oliver justified his comments by referring to their material objectivity, that Gill is an Indian and owns a 'curry shop' is a fact and therefore the manner in which this 'fact' is stated is not relevant. He saw no reason to apologise for racism but would apologise if his facts were wrong. The subsequent bizarre comparison to two groups rarely found in Scotland was supposed to be humorous and to suggest that Oliver did not care to which ethnic group the businessmen belonged. However, as the *Herald* noted 'to some people he is simply digging a bigger hole' (29 August 1995).

On the same day Oliver implied that Asian's expected special treatment: 'We are a non-Sectarian club, but being Asian doesn't entitle you to a rebate when purchasing a club' (*The Times*, 29 August 1995). Minorities have been accused by majority groups in Britain of expecting favouritism; the prejudiced claim is that minorities do not suffer from racism, have as much opportunity as any other group, and that anti-racism offers them an unfair advantage. Oliver's allegation that the consortium would seek a 'rebate' may have reflected such common views. However, shall be discussed, the media failed to deal adequately with the subtle prejudices inherent in Oliver's comments.

5.4.3 Accusations of racism made against Oliver

Newspaper journalists and editors took no personal responsibility for any accusation of racism. The claims made by various groups that Oliver's comments had been offensive were not validated by any leader writer or columnist. Instead, the accusations made against the chairman were framed within the context of other issues.

The Partick Thistle fans' anger with Oliver was detailed. In an article headlined – 'The Bhoona Jim Goes the Better' – the *Daily Record* (29 August 1995) outlined the fans' concerns. call for Oliver's resignation because of his prejudice. Yet the newspaper contradictorily employed stereotyped references to curries to introduce the fans' apparent anti-racist critique. The *Sun* (29 August 1995) quoted fans' representative Kenny McCue arguing that: '"There is no way these comments are representative of the fans' views"'. However, the matter was more complex as much of the fans' anti-racism seemed to reflect concern for their club's image. For example, one representative was quoted as claiming Oliver's position was the 'antithesis of everything Partick Thistle stand for' (*Scotsman*, 29 August 1995). The criticism of racism was not always made out of concern for Scottish Asians, instead concern for the deleterious effect upon Thistle's public image seemed just as important.

Gordon Peden, a fanzine editor, stated: 'We live in a multi-cultural society and we would support a multi-cultural football team' (*Daily Record*, 29 August 1995). Peden indirectly acknowledged the present monoculturalism of Thistle, a situation which challenges Thistle's right to claim 'non-racism'. Therefore, there remains confusion as to what Thistle do 'stand for', their public self-presentation of 'non-racism' does not appear to challenge the exclusion of

racialised minorities in any way. Nevertheless, the fans employed this 'non-racism' in their attacks on Oliver, with whose chairmanship they were becoming increasingly dissatisfied. Thus, the fans anger appears motivated by a defence of their 'non-racist' image rather than by active anti-racism.

The use of Thistle fans to criticise Oliver contextualised the accusation of racism within the relationship between fan groups and Oliver. That is, instead of Oliver's comments being isolated as racism, they were simply another contribution to the on-going battle between the chairman and the fans. In fact, the fans' commentary appeared less of a criticism of racism and more of a criticism of Oliver's chairmanship.

Galloway's criticisms of Oliver were presented in more explicit terms, but his claims – and his criticisms of the media – were disempowered by being contextualised within the frame of his supposedly personal dispute with Jim Oliver.[15] So his 'racist' accusation was merely represented as part of the 'verbal battle between the Labour politician and the chairman' (*Daily Record*, 29 August 1995). As was the case with the Thistle fans there was apparently more to be considered than the mere fact of racist prejudice.

The report noted:

> Galloway blamed Oliver and the Press for his decision to pull out of the deal. He said: "Mr Oliver's description of a group of businessmen employing many hundreds of people is a disgraceful slur . . . I also have to say the Scottish press has not covered itself in glory. Their coverage has offended, hurt and bewildered many people".
>
> (*Daily Record*, 29 August 1995)

There was no sense of self-reflection on the part of the *Daily Record*, whose coverage offered some of the worst examples of negative stereotyping. There was no interrogation whatsoever of Galloway's criticism of the press. The power of Galloway's criticisms was further reduced by their location. Earlier in the same article Gill denied being offended by Oliver. Instead he blamed Galloway:

> Gill hinted he was unhappy with the manner in which Hillhead MP George Galloway had handled the negotiations with Oliver . . . Responding to Oliver's scathing attack, Gill said: "I just feel that a man in Jim Oliver's position should have chosen his words more carefully. I'm not hurt in any way."

Gill's comments hinted at a complexity in Galloway's own position. While Galloway portrayed himself as having been 'empowered' by a consortium to negotiate with Oliver, Gill criticised his management of the affair. As Gill was supposedly a consortium member, the relationship of Gill and Galloway was important but never examined by the media. Gill's claim that he was not 'hurt' by Oliver's remarks casts doubt on Galloway's accusation of racism; the individual who was the target of abuse did not accuse his abuser. Moreover, Gill turned the tables and accused Galloway of wrongdoing. All of which amounted to a distraction from the issue of racism. However, a closer reading of Gill's comment that Oliver 'should have chosen his words more carefully' actually suggests he was offended. The media preferred to emphasise the

controversy surrounding insults and altercations rather than issues of racist prejudice.

Another Scottish Asian voice was heard to counter the charge of racism. Lawyer Dilip Deb attacked Gill and used the mythology of both Partick Thistle and equal opportunities to attack the bid itself:

> This has been a total public relations disaster for Mr Gill. He should have bid for the club as the head of a consortium of millionaire entrepreneurs, not as an Asian whose main interest, as stated in the press, was to develop the talent of Asian footballers. There are ample opportunities already for any footballer of any colour or creed to shine within the present framework of Partick Thistle, which is a non-racist and non-sectarian club.
>
> (*Daily Record*, 29 August 1995)

Deb's intervention reduces the credibility of any accusation of racism, by averting attention to other issues. In Deb's view the emphasis upon the 'Asianness' of the bid was a mistake. Also he considered a pro-active policy of promoting Scottish Asian football players unnecessary because equal opportunities existed in Thistle, and presumably in football generally as Scottish Asians could not rely only on Thistle for opportunities.[16] Deb reinforced the majority ideology that Scotland was free of racism and that minorities did not require any special assistance.

That a Scottish Asian expressed these views adds to media self-assurance that racism is not a problem, therefore sustained anti-racism is not necessary.

5.4.4 Refuting the accusations of racism

The allegations made against Oliver by fans and by Galloway were not supported directly by any media writer. Instead, the media had preferred to avoid, or to contextualise, the issue of racism, and take the opportunity through Deb to assert that equal opportunities existed in Scottish football. Such strategic responses offered quite subtle ways of reproducing majority ideology. However, far more obvious rejections of the accusation of racism were to occur when the media did at last take responsibility for discussing racism.

Ken Smith argued that Oliver simply lacked a sense of diplomacy:

> When they were handing out tact, Jim Oliver was clearly at the end of the queue and not paying attention . . . like many ambitious people, Jim Oliver speaks his mind, seeing no need to ponder over the nuances of every word. Almost all chairmen of companies are the same; the difference being that most of them keep an army of public relations personnel to ensure their thoughts are kept safely away from the public.
>
> (*Herald*, 29 August 1995)

So, Oliver was not to be criticised: he was merely an ambitious businessman whose only fault was honesty. Yet, if 'all chairmen . . . are the same', then all chairmen would be equally guilty of racism. This does not absolve Oliver; instead it portrays a group (chairmen) who would regularly express honest and deeply-felt racism if only their restrictive (and dishonest) public relations staff would allow them the liberty of free speech. Indeed the accusation of racism

made against Oliver was, in Smith's eyes, simply a ruse rustled up by those responsible for the furore to facilitate their withdrawal:

> What exasperates Oliver more than anything is that George Galloway has given press conferences and interviews about the possible bid, yet no money, no offer, nothing concrete has been produced. Now the alleged racist remarks of the chairman may become the smokescreen which allows some of those involved to slip away, having caused unrest at the club, without ever putting forward a tangible offer.

Another to excuse Oliver on the grounds of his lack of subtlety was Catriona Harvey, who wrote:

> I do not believe for one minute Jim Oliver meant his remarks to be racist, but the fundamental problem throughout has been that Oliver was in a similar position in the tact and diplomacy queue as Jimmy Hill is in the beauty and personality one . . . near the rear.
>
> (*Evening Times*, 31 August 1995)

To Smith's notion that Oliver simply lacked tact, Harvey added an attack on the English football analyst Jimmy Hill. Scottish football fans have accused Hill of bias towards the English national team and unreasonable criticism of the Scottish team. Harvey's attack on Hill, therefore, might be interpreted as including subtle anti-Englishness.

Alan Davidson (*Evening Times*, 29 August 1995) saw fit to praise Oliver for his wit, commending him for his intelligent riposte: 'As dismissive lines go, the Partick Thistle chairman's withering description of the take-over bid for his club gets close to the class of Dorothy Parker'. As for the suggestion of racism, Davidson is at pains to retain the good reputation of Scottish football: 'Oliver's current resistance to a take-over should not be seen as racist despite the fact there are obvious overtones' (*Evening Times*, 29 August 1995). Davidson's argument is almost contradictory, he recognises racism yet encourages his readers to avert their attention from such an accusation. On that same day, the *Scotsman*'s report simply concluded: 'Mr Oliver denies he was being racist and insists that his description of one of the investors as being Indian and owning a curry shop was accurate'. The style of this statement is detached and neutral, an effort to simply report the facts. But the *Scotsman*'s reluctance to contest Oliver's claim merely endorses it, presenting Oliver as a man who insists upon the objective facts, rather than a man who has belittled a Scottish Asian businessman.

5.4.5 Ignoring racism: the example of the *Scottish Daily Express*

One strategy was simply to ignore altogether the issues of racism, as illustrated through a comprehensive review of the *Scottish Daily Express'* coverage. The first day of the coverage, 24 August, found the *Express* offering little by way of discussion, simply brief details of Galloway's announcement, certainly nothing on the possible anti-racist benefits should it succeed. The following day the newspaper interviewed Thistle's vice-chairman, Brown McMaster, who aggressively attacked the bid casting critical aspersions over the abilities of Scottish Asians to manage a football club:

> "Put up or shut up . . . It's a funny way to do business. If I wanted to buy someone's house I wouldn't call a public meeting I'd go and knock on their door. I expected contact, but they haven't approached us and we certainly won't be approaching them. It takes substantial sums to take over a football club and I wonder if these people know that".

Brown's comments involved similar contradictions to Oliver's on the processes of negotiation. While being very critical of the consortium, and the public nature of the speculation, Brown invited the businessmen to contact the club directly. Even though Brown implicitly encouraged negotiations he, like Oliver, albeit with more subtlety, insulted the consortium by suggesting they were naive in their expectations. Brown's questioning of Scottish Asians' knowledge of football appears to draw upon popular myths that they are not interested in football and therefore know little about its commercial aspects. However, such aspersions may have been designed to raise the bid price. Like

Oliver, Brown argued that should the group offer 'substantial sums' or as Oliver put it: 'demonstrate to me they have the funds', then the proposed investment might succeed.

Towards the end of the same article Gill was interviewed, noting that the bid would: '"give something back to the community and promote racial harmony in the city"'. There was no elaboration upon the nuances of Gill's statement, upon whether there was a lack of racial harmony, or whether this proposal was an appropriate anti-racist initiative. However, two days later, on 27 August the *Scottish Sunday Express* did return to the theme of racial harmony: 'Mr Gill may have a point because it's a well known fact that the best way to avoid an argument in Glasgow, especially one fuelled by Old Firm rivalry, is to declare yourself a Thistle fan'. The precise connection being projected between 'racial harmony' as related to Scottish Asians and the 'Old Firm rivalry' is unclear. The writer seems to be arguing that if people support Thistle instead of Rangers or Celtic then they will avoid 'sectarianism', therefore 'racial harmony' will be improved. This interpretation of Gill's words removes the possibilities that the bid might counter anti-Asian racism, and replaces the 'racial harmony' issue with 'sectarianism'. Thus, there was a subtle reinforcement of the view that Scotland does not have racism it has 'sectarianism', a view which uses 'sectarianism' to avoid discussing either anti-Asian, anti-black or anti-Irish racism.

Oliver's clubcall response to the bid, made on Saturday 26 August, was briefly reported in the *Scottish Sunday Express* of 27 August. The coverage was distorted in specific ways which avoided issues of racism. The chairman had 'attacked talk of a take-over bid by a group of Asian businessmen', and had

suggested his club was being '"hijacked" for publicity'. The full citation of Oliver's quote in the *Express* read: '"The club is not for sale. Only if someone with substantial money could come in to not only buy the club but have enough to carry out future development should we consider it"'. No mention was made by the newspaper of Oliver's attack on Gill, or of his suggestion that a group of Scottish Asian businessmen were 'sectarian'. These controversial topics had been removed, as such the *Express* could avoid having to confront issues of racism.

Nor was this oversight amended the following day (28 August). Oliver was quoted in the *Express* as saying: '"If anyone thinks we're going to sell this club at a huge personal loss they'd better get real"'. The same sentence as reported in the *Daily Record* read: 'If anyone thinks we're going to give away a company, which we have built up over six years, at a personal loss to satisfy the wishes of some Indian with a curry shop then they better get real' (28 August). Once again the 'sectarian' reference was ignored. Worse still the slight against Gill was simply removed. This sin of omission consciously suppressed any 'race' controversy, the choice made was to suppress rather than face the issue.

The tone of the article had emphasised Oliver's anxieties, and marginalised the concerns of Scottish Asians as well as the issue of racism. The headline read: 'Thistle rap for MP as buy-out storm hots up: Galloway is accused of using the Partick take-over bid as a vote-winner'. Neither Galloway or Gill were quoted. Sympathy lay with the club's board of directors:

> They are unhappy that an atmosphere of uncertainty has been created at Firhill at the start of the new season. Already, a car sponsorship deal has had to be put on ice and six corporate sponsors pulled out of pre-booked hospitality packages before the Hibs game.

The *Express* appeared to accept Oliver's critique of Galloway's motivations, and claimed that an 'atmosphere of uncertainty' had caused the club problems. Yet, the extent of these problems was unclear. The car sponsorship deal had only been postponed, the effect of the withdrawal of corporate bookings was unknown, nor was any evidence produced that it was the 'uncertainty' that prompted these withdrawals.[17] These issues took priority over the under-representation of Scottish Asians in football, the benefits of the bid for anti-racism, or analysis of Oliver's insulting description of Gill. The *Express*, therefore, only presented the claims of Oliver and Brown and silenced those of Galloway, Gill and the rest of the consortium. Issues of racism and minority representation were ignored.

Although the *Express*' coverage of Galloway's withdrawal and the bid's demise (29 August 1995) did refer to the MP's accusation of racism against Oliver, the criticism of Galloway continued to take precedence over all other issues. The first paragraph read: 'The two men who failed to mastermind a take-over of Partick Thistle were condemned last night as the deal bit the dust'. The criticisms apparently came from 'the Asian businessmen they represented'. Gill was the only businessman quoted, and he was referred to as 'the most prominent men in the take-over'. He said: '"Maybe we've all been used"', though no further elaboration of Gill's argument occurred. Instead, Oliver was

allowed another opportunity to state his case: '"They've milked the situation for all it's worth – I don't think there was ever any money there in the first place"'. The discussion of Galloway's accusation against Oliver followed these criticisms, and were accompanied by the *Express*' own critical comments, such as highlighting that Galloway 'failed to attract one member of the business consortium to attend [the press conference]'. Issues of racism were again relegated to secondary status behind the defence of Oliver and the criticism of Galloway.

The following weekend the proposal received a brief mention in Ken Robertson's diary column. Even in retrospect the bid proposal was treated with humorous contempt: 'My final word is a denial. There is no truth in the rumour that the eskimo and one-eyed, black, lesbian saxophone player spotted near Firhill last week were trying to buy Partick Thistle' (3 September 1995).

The *Express* exemplified the media's preference for defending Oliver and allowing racism to pass without criticism, a consequence of which was that the dominant ideology was not challenged or subverted. In more subtle ways the media sustained the dominant ideology by contextualising the accusations of racism and undermining their strength. But in more obvious ways the media expressed prejudice and racism through 'humorous' articles about curries, the ridiculing of Scottish Asian communities, and the constant references to curries throughout the coverage. Ideas of 'Asianness' had intertwined with racism, and with the strategic responses which supported racism. The theme of 'sectarianism' had been raised by Oliver when he described the consortium as 'sectarian'. It was a theme which the media did not ignore.

5.5 Problematising Scottish Asian involvement: comparisons with 'sectarianism'

One of the intentions of the bid was to remedy the current absence of any Scottish Asian involvement at a high level in Scottish football. It was intended to assist and represent Scottish Asian participation in sport and to support anti-racist strategies. Investment in Thistle would, it was hoped, develop the club and attract more Scottish Asian fans at a time when the board had reached the limit of its financial commitment. However, these objectives of the bid were given minimal coverage in the media. Instead, emphasis was placed upon stereotypes, denying racism, and detailing the conflicts between fans, Oliver, Galloway, and Gill. Apart from some of the early coverage the under-representation of Scottish Asians in football was rarely mentioned, and any reference was brief and passing. The need for anti-racist initiatives, suggested by Galloway and Gill, which hinted at a problem with racism in football, was largely ignored.

There are parallels with the early Irish-Scots community, who were excluded from majority Scottish football and organised their sports around Irish-Scots clubs. In a subtle variant of racism, one which ignores the inequalities of racial discrimination, the founders of Celtic, as already noted, were accused by majority groups of introducing 'sectarianism' into Scottish football (Finn 1991a,b, 1994a,b, 1999a,b; Dimeo & Finn 1998, 1999). When Galloway had raised the possibility, and at this stage it was really only a possibility, that Scottish Asians might become involved with Thistle, the media drew comparisons with 'sectarianism'.

For instance, Alan Davidson wrote:

> in this case he [Galloway] has shown a lack of judgement because whatever Partick Thistle may be there are intrinsically, definitively, and eccentrically Scottish. They don't enjoy a lot of success but they are a welcome and valued buffer to the prejudices that attach themselves to football and life in the West of Scotland.
>
> (*Evening Times*, 29 August 1995)

Davidson's portrayal of Scottish Asian ethnicity positions the group as non-Scottish, and as such he argued they should not be involved in Thistle. This logic explicitly argues for exclusion, it is discrimination based on a flawed and prejudiced notion of Scottish Asian otherness. However, Davidson's suggestion that because Thistle are a 'welcome and valued buffer to the prejudices . . . [of] the West of Scotland' implies that Scottish Asian involvement would subvert Thistle's position as non-prejudiced. The presence of this non-Scottish group would, in Davidson's view, bring more conflict into football just as the presence of Irish-Scots supposedly brought 'sectarianism'. Thistle's Scottishness is, it would seem, directly linked to their lack of prejudice, whereas non-Scots bring prejudice. Thus, behind Davidson's prejudice seems to lie a belief in the lack of racism in Scotland, and with a suspicion of 'outside' influences.

And in a similar stylisation Hugh Keevins noted: 'After 107 years of religious intolerance between the supporters of Celtic and Rangers, Glasgow has suddenly discovered another theatre of holy war, this time involving the Asian community' (*Scotsman*, 29 August 1995). Keevins is more explicit in his

terminology than was Davidson. While Davidson assumed that Scottish Asian involvement would introduce prejudices similar to 'sectarianism', Keevins employed the emotive term 'holy war', a term consciously reminiscent of prejudicial stereotypes that British Asian groups (particularly Muslims) are characterised by a violent fundamentalism (Modood 1997:133). Similarly, McNee suggested that 'the Glasgow Hillhead voters pass a polling day *fatwa* on the meddlesome MP' (*Sunday Mail*, 3 September 1995). These were the subtly coded semantics of racist prejudice, the effect of which were the continued problematisation and exclusion of Scottish Asians.

The true extent of racism is only revealed when we focus upon the discourses considered legitimate: that Oliver can and should be defended, that Galloway should accept blame for the bid's collapse, and that Scottish Asian participation will lead to a 'holy war'. These discursive structures are driven by historical notions of Scottish tolerance, by the ideas of 'Asians' as outsiders, and by powerful and historical racist beliefs that the sacred field of football will be tarnished by 'outside', unScottish influences. The comparison made between Scottish Asians and Irish-Scots is not of two minority communities who suffer from racism, but of two groups who introduce unwanted, alien cultures which can only breed intolerance. Thus the majority Scottish community is not responsible for any prejudice or conflict, while racist exclusion goes unchallenged.

5.6 Complex negotiations of difference

5.6.1 Ian Archer

The question of cultural difference played an important role in the problematisation of Scottish Asians. Yet, there were some who recognised the existence of racism, or who encouraged Scottish Asian involvement in football. The difficulties they faced, and their eventual conclusions, are instructive of the complexities of racism.

Ian Archer gave evidence of his struggle to define and categorise Scottish Asians. Although they are 'from the Asian community in Glasgow', their interest in Thistle '... just goes to show they must be as daft in Delhi as we are around this place' (*Herald*, 28 August 1995). This effort to place Scottish Asians both here and there, the recognition that they are both Scottish and South Asian, reflects the dilemmas of minority status, of positioning internal minorities, of articulating duality. Yet, Archer cannot find a solution, he struggled on within the dichotomous positions, unable to assert duality of identification, or to include Scottish Asians satisfactorily within Scotland. They were distinct and different, a foreign other, but remained a local presence.

Archer also indulged in a series of stereotypes, arguably positive, maybe 'strategic essentialisms' which simply heterogeneity to promote bonds of commonality for political mobilisation (Brah 1996: 127): 'Any schoolteacher will tell you that his or heart rises in front of ranks of Asian kids in class. They will be quiet, polite, and keen to learn, unlike some sections of our own proletariat'. So not only are 'Asians' docile and obedient, but they are not 'our own'. Archer positioned Scottish Asians within a Scottish education system, and congratulated them for their enthusiasm to learn. However, not only are

they seen as outside Scottish society, but they can be described universally in stereotyped fashion.[18]

But, paradoxically, to 'prove' the assimilation and demonstrate the positive character of Scottish Asians, Archer told two similar stories, both instructive of what he feels Scottish Asians are and how they can become accepted in and acceptable to Scottish society:

> A few years ago, Pakistan came to play cricket against Scotland at Titwood. It rained. The cosseted players stayed in the pavilion and would not sign autographs. Through the crowd came an Asian gentleman to deliver his opinion of such arrogance. "Yous," he said, "are nothing but a bunch of nig-nogs." Except there was added the adjective which always brings perfect symmetry to Glasgow invective.
>
> (*Herald*, 28 August 1995)

By accepting the racism of Scottish society, by swearing, and by abusing 'real' Asians, the 'Asian gentleman' endeared himself as sufficiently Scottish to Archer. Indeed, the writer praised this gentleman for his grasp of Glaswegian prejudice. The gentleman is paraded as a fine example of Scottish Asian integration. His second example is similar:

> Then there was Rocky, a waiter in my favourite Indian restaurant. He said one night that he would be away for a while because of some family reunion in Delhi and this did not impress him, because he would miss his five-a-sides and his beloved Rangers. "The place sounds like a

> hell hole," he said, adding the adjective which brings a perfect symmetry to Glasgow invective. Three weeks later he was back, entranced. "Magic place. Never seen so many five-a-side pitches. It's all wrong, but they've got better facilities than Glasgow, the home of football."
>
> (*Herald*, 28 August 1995)

Archer's rationale for accepting Rocky is due to his expression of Scottishness in his love for football, for Rangers, and his swearing. Rocky's acceptability is enhanced by his indulgence in Scottish forms of prejudice: he thinks of India as a 'hell hole'. Finally, he gains respect when he defines India by its football facilities, and sees Glasgow as the home of football.

Archer implied contempt for the subcontinent, and curiously when Rocky gives credit to India for its football facilities we never learn why '"it's all wrong"'. Archer implicitly argues for a traditional model of integration, in which minority groups come to accept the xenophobic and racist majority view-point. He gave two examples of how Scottish Asians can change such that the Scottish majority will come to accept them.

Archer continued his article in a confused fashion. He described opposition to racism in the form of the Race Relations Board as oppressive, thus maintaining that recognition of inequality is wrong. On behalf of Thistle supporters and other 'detesters of bigotry' he takes the radical step of making a racist joke, thus contradicting the idea of Thistle fans as 'non-racist' and suggesting that 'detesters of bigotry' are actually racist:

> The world seems full of people like the Race Relations Board, stress councillors [sic], anti-smoking campaigners, and even those who think there isn't enough meat in a Big Mac, who are determined that we should not speak our minds. On behalf of that bunch of non-conformists, happy bohemians, detesters of bigotry, the simple plain barmy, and the very proper ones from the Bearsden and Milngavie outstation who make up Firhill's faithful, I will cheerfully break the taboo. "Away the Jags, the Harry Wraggs, the Paki Thistle."
>
> (*Herald*, 28 August 1995)

Archer's discussions of Scottish Asians are contradictory and complex. He stated that the bid 'would add a new dimension to Scottish football'. He was actively promoting the bid. However, he implied that for Scottish Asians to be accepted, and for their involvement to be encouraged, they need to conform to a range of complex prejudices.

His commentary suggested that Scottish society is ingrained with racism. And his own promotion of Scottish Asian football is limited, or framed, by this very racism.

Finally, Archer's views must be understood as unhelpful. They encourage Scottish Asians to accept Scottish prejudices, and encourage majority Scots only to accept Scottish Asians if they behave like the 'Asian gentleman' and like Rocky. Thus, Archer's discourse is perniciously constitutive of a social reality that accepts banal racism.

5.6.2 John Penman

John Penman wrote, as Archer did, as journalist and Thistle fan. He almost criticised Oliver for racism. However, his attempt to address issues of inclusion and separation was problematic and complex. He criticised racism, and focused his criticism of the bid towards Galloway. However, the possible participation of Scottish Asians in football was presented in negative terms with 'sectarianism' as its historical antecedent:

> I was proud to be a Jags fan because Thistle were above all that [sectarianism], even though our fans are no angels. But no-one felt excluded from Firhill because of race or religion and, in Glasgow, that's important. Galloway hijacked that good name by his actions. I don't want them to become a club which is a focal point for anyone other than true football fans. As for Thistle chairman Jim Oliver, his remarks left a sour taste. They were crass, ill-advised and, in my opinion, racially insensitive. Oliver's words are the currency of racism and other supporters should not stoop so low . . . Thistle fans appreciate quality, dignity and football. I am not claiming Thistle are unique, but in Glasgow, where the vast majority of the football is riven with hate, it is worth holding on to their traditions lest the bigotry takes over completely. The sadness is that, after the events of the past week, our grip may have begun to weaken.
>
> (*Scotsman*, 1 September 1995)

Penman illustrated the contradictions and inconsistencies in Thistle's 'non-racist' position. Even though the chairman is criticised for using 'racially insensitive' terminology, Penman still feared the 'outside' influences of a minority.[19] Scottish Asian involvement would bring a situation similar to 'sectarianism', one of division and bigotry. So the reputed tolerance and openness of Thistle is to be preserved by discouraging Scottish Asian participation, responsibility for conflict is understood to lie with the minority itself. There was no acknowledgement that racism structures the sporting experiences of minorities in Scotland. That it is because of majority prejudice that Scottish Asians, like Irish-Scots need to organise collectively. That the bigoted response lies with the majority. And that the idea that the minority brought division and bigotry into football is itself a prejudiced argument. Here, the ideological dilemmas underlying and restricting the notion of tolerance (Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton & Radley 1988) are made crystal clear. However, the result in the case of both Archer and Penman is a positioning which, once the complexities and subtleties have been negotiated, is the reproduction of the dominant prejudices of Scottish society.

5.6.3 George Galloway

Galloway's own difficulties arose from his desire to promote the 'Asian community'. His comments articulate a need to prove to the majority population that, contrary to their prejudiced beliefs, Scottish Asians do have a positive contribution to make to Scottish football and society. To do this he relied upon stereotypical descriptions: 'The driving entrepreneurship of Scotland's Asian business community is legendary. With control at Firhill, the 6,000 Asian businesses in West Central Scotland (employing more than 100,000) could begin to fill the empty corporate space in the Firhill basin' (*Scotland on Sunday*, 3 September 1995). But in dealing with the issue of parallels with 'sectarianism', Galloway met the challenge head on. He did not, like Penman, assume that Celtic are to be criticised for their 'sectarianism'. Instead, he accepted a direct comparison with the Irish-Scots, but suggested a new 'sect' as a third way forward:

> In the 1950s a Partick Thistle chairman remarked at an annual meeting that the only way Thistle could compete in Glasgow against Celtic and Rangers would be if a third religion were invented. Glasgow's Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Jains ARE that third religion.
>
> (*Scotland on Sunday*, 3 September 1995)

On the issue of national identity, Galloway struggled for consistency. He strove to place and to classify the hybrid Scottish Asian population. Responding to Alan Davidson's complaint that the bid was ill-judged because whatever Thistle are 'intrinsically ... Scottish' Galloway retorted: 'Well, excuse me. Most of the

Asians I know were born here, speak with a Scottish accent, and are walking around under the impression they are Scottish' (*Scottish Asian Voice*, 3 September 1995). And reacting to the many stereotypical jokes in circulation at the time Galloway tried to adapt the implied 'corner shop' analogy to advantage. The joke resonated with his own claims over the 'legendary' entrepreneurship of the Scottish Asians:

> About the only good joke cracked during a week of clichés was the one on Radio Scotland which said that, after the take-over, Firhill would now be open from 7.00 in the morning to 11.00 at night. Quite so. And earning money . . to spend on players.
>
> (*Scottish Asian Voice*, 3 September 1995)

Galloway's comments are replete with examples of both ideological and strategic dilemmas (Billig *et al.* 1988). The bid's major promoter vacillated over the significance of cultural difference: if it exists, how is it to be interpreted or represented? Identity labels are also dilemmatic: Asian signifies difference for a group that is also to be seen as Scottish, but for whom Scottish appears to be insufficiently descriptive.

And, although advocating the inclusion of the 'Asian community' in football, Galloway maps for them positions of distinction, difference and exclusion by using entrepreneurship, religions or long, hard work as defining features. Galloway promoted stereotypes as long as they serve the cause, for some an acceptable use of 'strategic essentialisms', but one which risked

endorsing one of the most prominent features of racialised discourse (Brah 1996:127).

5.7 Galloway's role

In an article eight months after the Thistle affair, which profiled Galloway, the subject of the Thistle proposal was raised:

> Together with a group of 50 Asian businessmen, Galloway launched a bid for the club last summer, aiming to use it as a high-profile way of improving race relations. The bid was briskly rebuffed by the club, but was also doomed by the existing divisions between Indian and Pakistani groups and the curry-house racism of the Scottish media. "It was a really great idea," he says now. "Honestly, it was one of my best ideas. And if it had come off, Partick wouldn't be bottom of the league as they are, and broke as they are . . . Partick could have been the white heather in the future's lapel, so far as race relationships were concerned". He talks a Utopian game, all sing-songing comradeship and warm red collectivity.
>
> (*Scotsman*, 27 April 1996)

This passage was part of a larger interview with Galloway, and the source of the writer's information is not known. Some information may have come from Galloway, but background research through the *Scotsman*'s archival database of media coverage may have produced some of the details. Certainly, the fact that 50 Scottish Asians were involved was only mentioned by Oliver. However, the reference to Indian-Pakistan divisions did not come from any media coverage during the period of the proposal. As the next chapter reveals, though, a number of individuals who were involved claimed that such divisions

did play a role in the bid's demise. One such individual was Ron McKay, who was employed by the *Scotsman*'s Sunday sister paper, the *Scotland on Sunday*. Perhaps the author consulted McKay before writing the article. However, the third explanation that the bid failed due to the media's racism was often cited by Galloway in August 1995, so he would seem to be the source of that idea.

The reflection upon Galloway's vision for Thistle framed the bid within the MP's socialist politics. Yet, Galloway's reputation had preceded him when he announced the proposal at the SASA dinner, and it was a reputation for more than socialism. His anti-imperialist politics had led him into conflict with the British government[20] and public. As noted in the article: 'He gets talked about, all right, though the tone isn't always reverent or the gossip fond'. He 'marched with Gerry Adams', leader of Sinn Fein; involved himself in a hunger-strike in dispute against the poll tax; 'loved the PLO'; and in 1991 appeared 'in a blaze of ignominy on national television, not to bury Saddam Hussein, but to praise him'. He saw himself as a '"professional revolutionary", the rebel with many causes':

> The passionate agitation has long ago been displaced into foreign affairs and polyglot causes; hobnobbing with Castro, boasting with the Bhuttos, provoking for al-Masari. Which, naturally, brings with it its own whiff of intemperate controversy. Colleagues lament the endless, fitful cycle of his political life: cause, campaign, and respectable rise, then scandal, headlines, downfall and defeat, only to loom out again in another place, agitating, campaigning and rising. The eternal moth, burned time and time again, blundering straight back into the flame.

These issues were not directly referred to during the August 1995 period of speculation over the Thistle proposal. Yet, Galloway's reputation was that of a maverick who involved himself with controversial causes, some of which included his alliances with Saudi Arabian, Pakistani or Iraqi leaders. His causes, such as criticism of the poll tax were militantly socialist and contrary to British government policy. The position he has taken on the 1991 Gulf War and the subsequent trade sanctions against Iraq defied both government policy and the majority of British public opinion. His relationship with Saudi activists such as al-Masari and his support for the PLO have led to accusations of anti-Semitism. His relationship with Fidel Castro was problematised as he has been popularly viewed as a repressive Communist. And the Pakistani Bhutto family, of whom Benizar was Prime Minister, has been accused of corruption (indeed, a BBC investigation in February 1998 attempted to link Galloway with corruption among elite Pakistanis).

The role of such issues in the Thistle affair is not clear, yet it is unavoidable. Little mention of Galloway's history was made in the media coverage, but the few allusions which were made were revealing. Gerry McNee wrote: 'The tiresome George Galloway becomes a bigger pain with each passing year' (*Sunday Mail*, 3 September 1995). One newspaper in particular outlined some of the concerns which other sections of the media left unspoken:

> now that the 'curry shop' bid has collapsed, why doesn't George approach his old mucker Saddam Hussein and see if he's interested in

> the Harry Wraggs? I mean, apart from all the adoring fan mail from George, Saddam's not too popular these days. A hostile take-over of Firhill would give him something to do once he gets booted out. This could be the biggest shake-up in Scottish football since the Ibrox revolution. No more 'shoot to miss' policy at Firhill. The Jags will have the most impressive defence in Europe – Scud missiles and trenches full of alligators. Saddam may even get the chance to finish his Supergun – there are plenty of big tubes in the Premier League. Mind you, it won't be good news for Fergus McCann [chairman of Celtic FC]. Thousands of Celtic fans will tear up their season tickets, put on Jags scarves and join Saddam's *Republican* guards.
>
> (*Evening Times*, 2 September 1995)

Despite being masked by humour the rhetoric of the above passage suggests that Galloway's reputation had influenced the media's response. The comparison made between Iraqi soldiers, the Republican guards, and Celtic fans, again draws upon 'sectarianism' issues. Republicanism in the 'sectarian' context refers to Irish politics and the pursuit of a united Irish republic. Celtic are thus viewed as supporting an anti-British cause; a cause associated with terrorism. Thus, prejudiced opinions of the Irish-Scots were included in a commentary which accused Galloway of unpatriotic activities. The MP's history of challenges to majority British interests may have combined with anti-Asian prejudices to affect the style of media response.

However, the bid also gave rise to anti-Irish racism, regardless of the fact that Irish-Scots were not directly involved.

5.8 Conclusions

The mid-1990s was something of a paradoxical era for Scottish Asian football. No significantly successful players had emerged, but anti-racism campaigns and minority sports organisations were promoting football while identifying the problems of racism. There were clearly high levels of interest in football, and there was an emerging debate about why no British Asians had played for an elite, professional club. Although the fact that racism as a primary reason for this exclusion was not confirmed until Bains with Patel's study (1996) it was clear even from the more 'liberal' articles presented in this chapter that a certain recognition of racism was present in 1995.

George Galloway attempted to 'marry' the latent interest in football among Scottish Asians with a club whose reputation suggested that racism would not be a deterrent to minority ownership and support. The support he managed to gather demonstrates the awareness of anti-racism issues in Scotland. In contrast to previous decades in which racism was accepted and ignored, this event found both support for anti-racism, recognition of racism, and criticism of the fairly banal racism of Oliver and the Scottish press. Yet this latter point indicates the continuing impact of racism, the continuing prejudice towards Scottish Asians, and the continuing failure to challenge racism. The sometimes complex interplay between anti-Asian prejudice and anti-Irish prejudice also demonstrated the recycling and persistence of anti-Irish racism. The precise refashioning of prejudice to meet changing social circumstances is obvious: as soon as Scottish Asians enter the field of play they are accused of a similar misdemeanour as Irish-Scots were a century before. Fears of Muslim fundamentalism were raised to give a contemporary edge to

Scottish racism. The comparisons made between the perils of Catholicism and the perils of Islam brought together various historical strands of racism into a neat statement of prejudice.

Once again the Scottish media did little to enlighten the public as to the nature and problems of racism. The blatant ridiculing and stereotyping created startlingly explicit expressions of prejudice. The rallying around Jim Oliver was an obvious defence of prejudice. However, the silences were as critical as the enunciations. Scottish Asian claims were overlooked, the *Scottish Daily Express* proved a fine example of omission, and Galloway's anti-racism was overshadowed by criticisms of his style.

The dilemmas of anti-racism proved a subtext to the vacillations of such liberal commentators as Galloway, Archer and Penman. These three demonstrated a preference for anti-racism and for the inclusion of Scottish Asians, but could not help express themselves in ways unhelpful to their cause. They reflected the troubles of minority representation, the difficulties of promoting minority causes in a society prepared to protect its constructed reputation as a racism free paradise.

Clearly, both Scottish football and the media had problems with racism, though more 'modern' than in previous decades. The admission that Partick Thistle was an oasis of tolerance in an otherwise racist society – a notion then demolished by Oliver's comments – highlights the extent and durability of a prejudice often denied.

NOTES

[1]This chapter draws upon Dimeo & Finn (1998).

[2]Once again, minorities are spoken of as a homogeneous whole who, in this case, are unified in their approval.

[3]Thus, similar forms of vagueness and implicitness are evident as featured in some of the discourses around Walters (chapter 4).

[4]The use of a Scottish Asian to validate these claims such a complexity which should be noted. Scottish Asians can also claim that parents have some responsibility for the under development of Scottish Asian football. However, diversity of response should be accept and duly noted. Also, parental influence may be a factor, though the question remains as to whether it is more important with Scottish Asians than any other group. Finally, the use of the parental influence argument by majority observers often detracts from the recognition of racism. This latter point is perhaps the most important.

[5]This plays on the common song 'For it's a grand old team to play for', often associated with Celtic and Hibernian fans.

[6]David Murray bought a majority shareholding in Rangers in 1988. His investment and directorship have made Rangers one of the wealthiest clubs in world football. Ruby Murray is rhyming slang for 'curry'.

[7]There is an exaggeration here, which possibly is meant to reinforce the notion of Scotland's welcoming attitude towards 'outsiders'.

[8]These names borrow from the names of professional football players. In these examples the players were Pat Bonner, formerly of Celtic, Stan Collymore of Liverpool and now Aston Villa, and Chic Charnley, whose career has included numerous clubs, not least Partick Thistle.

[9]Dundee United's stadium is called Tannadice.

[10]This alludes to the South Asian language, Urdu.

[11]Having ridiculed a South Asian language, South Asian dress (Gandhi's *dhoti*), Cowan targeted South Asian music.

[12]The reference to the hole in the ozone layer plays on the common idea that curries cause flatulence.

[13]These names are corruptions of Maradona, Roberto Baggio, and Peter Schmeichal.

[14]The headline was another allusion to a popular football song, this time 'Nice one Cyril' which is usually reworded to suit whichever fan group is using it. It is used to praise individual players.

[15]The Galloway-Oliver dispute seemed to begin from Oliver's accusation that the MP was simply seeking votes and his actions had damaged the club and misled the businessmen. Therefore, Oliver's opinions on Scottish Asians might also been seen as associated with his *contretemps* with Galloway. But the emphasis some newspapers placed on the relationship between these two men did detract from many of the anti-Asian prejudice issues which surfaced particularly in Oliver's statements.

[16]By contrast Galloway believed that Scottish Asians required specific encouragement: 'Talented young [Scottish Asian] players will want to join the clubs which will discriminate in favour of them in their youth development policies, supported by public funds dedicated to assisting community relations in Britain' (*Scotland on Sunday*, 3 September 1995).

[17]Rumoured take-overs of football clubs in Scotland are not uncommon, and often such rumours can persist for months or even years. Thus, the claim of 'uncertainty' at Partick Thistle seems a little tenuous.

[18]There is an assumed homogeneity, and it is assumed that Scottish Asians are middle-class.

[19]Penman avoided arguing this directly, preferring instead to emphasise Galloway's role. Yet, Galloway was representing the Scottish Asian group. Penman did note his aversion to Thistle becoming a 'focal point' for Scottish Asians, and suggesting that such a move would undermine the alleged absence of bigotry and hate at Thistle.

[20]Mostly, it was the Conservative Government of Thatcher and Major with which Galloway conflicted. However, his relationship with the Labour government of Blair has also had similar problems.

Chapter 6: The case of the Partick Thistle take-over (II): interviews with those involved

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the media discourses around the proposed investment in Partick Thistle. These had been characterised by speculation and racist prejudice rather than objective truth. However, the existence of at least one serious consortium interested in promoting the involvement of Scottish Asians in football via investment in Partick Thistle remained a possibility. Was it the case, as Galloway had argued, that racism from Jim Oliver and from the media had discouraged this consortium from pursuing their objective? If Galloway's position was correct then a well-organised attempt to involve Scottish Asians in football had been met with explicit racism and general dismissal from majority groups. However, if Oliver's claims that the proposal was a 'spoof' were closer to the truth then any claims that racist prejudice was the reason for the failure would be undermined.[1]

Establishing the truth of the affair would prove arduous as a number of investors had remained anonymous. Equally, the bid had been caught up in an intricate web of extraneous factors: Thistle's 'non-sectarianism', the inexplicably intense response from Oliver, and the media's racism. Thus, the proposal had to be understood as a complex event, involving a range of as yet unexplained social psychological processes. To understand the event interviews were held with each of the protagonists, which sought to discover each individual's precise role in the affair. Governing the approach to the interviews was firstly an awareness that the parties had been involved in a controversy and thus would defend their position. Secondly, knowledge

gleaned from the media was limited and had left many unanswered questions. A flexible, semi-structured interview, with the interviewer guiding the themes of the discussion, would offer the greatest potential for uncovering the secrets of the affair. However, it became clear in the course of doing this research that no single individual had comprehensive information on the process of events.

Issues around the presentation of self (Goffman 1959) were important because interviews offer individuals an opportunity to give their own version of events. Thus, they are necessarily subjective. Yet, the self-presentations may be understood as part of wider social processes. Antaki has noted that to 'self-present was perpetually to monitor the fit between one's social identity and that demanded by the situation' (1994:46). It was precisely understanding the 'situation', that is the wider social features of this affair, which was also part of the research objective. The style of self-presentation, the content of accounts, the strategies of emphasis, denial, accusation and silence might, it was assumed, allow the piecing together of an 'objective' interpretation of what happened. Furthermore, the self-presentations would allow a critical assessment of the ideas and prejudices which influenced both the proposal itself, and the protagonists' reflections upon the affair. In this sense, the interview texts could offer a window on to the material history of the events, but they might also offer an insight into popular prejudices and racist ideologies. They are a series of subjective narratives which depend upon individual's access to information, their understanding of issues around Scottish Asian experiences, and their personal prejudices.

This chapter shall firstly present individual's accounts, critically analysing them as self-presentations. Then, an effort will be made to use the

interview data to propose a more objective interpretation; a description of those facts which we can draw from the collecting and cross-referencing of testimonies. Through these processes a more complete understanding of this affair should emerge. Methodologically, this discourse analysis approach draws from the research strategy suggested by Potter & Wetherall:

> Analysis is made up principally of two closely related phases. First, there is the search for pattern in the data. This pattern will be in the form of both variability: *differences* in either the content or forms of accounts, and consistency: the identification of features *shared* by accounts. Second, there is the concern with function and consequence. The basic theoretical thrust of discourse analysis is the argument that people's talk fulfils many functions and has varying effects.
>
> (1987:186)

Consequently, the analysis of these interviews involves two distinct concerns. The first is for similarity or difference between the accounts, the second is an examination of these accounts for their latent ideological function – specifically, racial prejudice.

Finally, Parker has outlined the following conventions for transcribing interview material. These are as follows, and they shall be applied as appropriate:

> 1. when there are doubts about the accuracy of material, put it in round brackets (like this); 2. when material has been omitted from the

transcript, signal it by putting a pair of empty square brackets, thus [];

3. when you need to clarify something, put the explanation in square brackets, like so [to help the reader].

(1992:124-5)

Although there are more detailed conventions associated with conversational analysis, it is assumed that for the purposes of this project it is enough to concentrate upon the words used rather than pore over every intonation.

The individuals who were interviewed were those whose names were connected in some way to the proposal. Central figures were the MP George Galloway, journalist Ron McKay, both of whom appeared to be mediating on behalf of the consortium; Charan Gill and Maq Rasul who were named as members of the consortium; Chick Young who was working for BBC Scotland's sports department; Jim Oliver, the Partick Thistle chairman. Others were more peripheral to the affair, but their testimony would potentially assist the understanding of the proposal: Imran Muneer was editor of the *Scottish Asian Voice* and attended a press conference with Galloway and McKay; Gordon Peden, who was editor of a Partick Thistle fanzine; Brown McMaster, who was deputy chairman and later became chairman of Partick Thistle, and Allan Cowan, a supporters' representative who became a board member of Partick Thistle.

6.2 George Galloway[2]

The Labour MP had been much-maligned by the media in the wake of the affair. Indeed, more emphasis had been placed on his 'personal dispute' with Oliver than upon the potential benefits both for Scottish football and for Scottish Asians if the bid were to succeed. Galloway had been subjected to much ridicule, and the reason for his role as negotiator had not been explained, so he was eager to outline why he had become involved:

> I believe that I have some of the skills required to market and generate support and enthusiasm for a football team. Partick Thistle are a team that any politically progressive person has a soft spot for. Indeed, quite a considerable proportion of the Partick Thistle regular crowd are identifiable left wing activists. But the real story is the two facts, one the existence of a significant and quite wealthy Pakistani community in Glasgow to which I am extremely close for all sorts of historical and political reasons[3] and the existence of a premier division club that does not have two halfpennies to rub together and that could badly do with the kind of capital injection that the Pakistani community could have brought to it.

Galloway explained the reasons why he was involved, reasons which were never revealed in the media discourses. Aside from his personal skills he emphasised the political preferences of Partick Thistle fans. There would appear to be some complex political ideas behind Galloway's notion that Thistle were an appropriate choice for Scottish Asians. He argued that 'a

considerable proportion' of individuals who actually attended Thistle games might be 'identifiable left wing activists'. Those who have a 'soft spot' for the club, rather than are committed supporters, are 'politically progressive'. Supporting Thistle seemed to identify groups as more actively 'left wing' rather than passively 'progressive', though inactive supporters were still 'progressive'. It is in this political environment, according to Galloway, that Scottish Asians would be welcomed.

The idea for the proposal, according to Galloway, emerged from discussions with Scots-Pakistanis, apparently from both Glasgow and other parts of Scotland. Thus the suggestion, made by Oliver among others, that Galloway was the sole agent in this affair, that he was seeking his own publicity, was refuted:

> it was a joint effort [] I am very close to a number of very wealthy Pakistanis in Scotland, not all of them from Glasgow, who are interested in football, are interested in making their mark in Scottish civil society, are interested in deepening their roots in Scottish life. Partick Thistle's condition came up in the course of discussion and thus the idea was born.

The question of the profile of the consortium was left unanswered by the media coverage. Charan Gill had been paraded as a consortium member but later expressed anger at Galloway's management of the proposal. Maq Rasul was never quoted, had never attended a press conference, and had made no public

statement of his intentions. According to Galloway the consortium largely remained anonymous for a good reason:

> Maq Rasul was widely reported as being the major potential shareholder. As a matter of fact he was not, but he would have been one of the shareholders. The Pakistani community individuals involved including Maq Rasul never wanted their names to become public and asked Ron McKay and myself to be, as it were, a front for them, precisely because they feared what turned out to be the case.

Thus there was a well-organised consortium on whose behalf McKay and himself were acting. Their assistance was sought because of what the consortium 'feared', that is, an element of ridicule and racism. The role played by the 'white' intermediaries was therefore to ascertain if the consortium's expectation of racism was reasonable. While it must be acknowledged that Galloway was portraying his own role in the best possible light, the evidence of racism throughout Scottish society makes such a fear of racism plausible. Yet, Galloway spoke of his consortium being specifically Scots-Pakistani, a distinction which had not been made by the media. The full significance of this distinction became obvious when Galloway discussed the public role played by Charan Gill:

> Well, Charan Gill is not from the Pakistani community, he is from the Indian community and he was very much a late arrival on the scene and frankly a self-selecting one. He was not in our original group at all []

> The reason Charan Gill became involved was because, conscious of the need, or the wish, that the thing not be a purely Pakistani endeavour, purely Muslim affair[4], I made the effort to take the idea into the Indian community in Glasgow, who contain within their ranks quite a number of people who are very interested in football. Indeed, Charan Gill was not only very interested in football, [but also] was very interested in Partick Thistle. He used to be a sponsor. It is ironic that he was the one who was most casually and gratuitously insulted by Jim Oliver because actually he had a longer association with Partick Thistle than Jim Oliver. So it was my attempt to build into the Indian community, if you like, that brought in a self-electing way Charan Gill into the frame. Before I knew it he was appearing on television programmes all over the country . . . but never mind.

The final 'but never mind' indicated a level of frustration from Galloway. Gill was guilty, in Galloway's view, of putting himself forward as a consortium member. Implicit in the labels 'self-selecting' and 'self-electing' is the suggestion that Gill was not even asked to join the consortium. Gill acted without the permission of Galloway, including his appearance on television, while the other consortium members were apparently trying to maintain their anonymity. Yet, Gill embodied most of the significant themes of the affair: the early publicity, the prejudiced reaction from Oliver, the curry-related 'humour' of the media. And also, it would seem, a significant disruption to the plans of the Scots-Pakistani consortium. However, Galloway was not willing to accept

full responsibility either for Gill's appearance or the publicity which followed his announcement at the SASA dinner:

> Well, I do not know, some say that the Indian – the Sports Association Dinner that I addressed – some say that some of the Indian organisers of that dinner had leaked it to somebody in the BBC. Certainly BBC Scotland were the first media to get whiff of the story and indeed they called me on the afternoon of the evening that the dinner took place and then went out on Reporting Scotland the next night. It was a great pity the way it leaked out and I think that it did a lot of damage to the project. It got the project off to really a not very good start and it went down hill quickly after that. So I think it was very unfortunate. Whoever did leak the story did the cause no service. I do not say that because I think that they leaked it deliberately to do that but that was the end of it.

Galloway was at pains to distance himself from the decision to alert the media to the proposal idea. However, once the BBC did contact him he does not appear to have denied the suggestion, or altered his strategy. Even though he knew the television cameras were present he continued with his plan to announce the bid. However Galloway did, in hindsight, realise that the early media attention substantially influenced the outcome of the bid, as did his efforts to include Scots-Indian businessmen. Perhaps even he could not foresee the fascination and prejudice which was to characterise the media's response.

The reasons for the bid's failure were given by Galloway as:

> a combination of Mr Oliver's atrocious attitudes and some sections of the Scottish media's lurch into stereotyping and casual racism which frankly disgusted the Pakistani individuals who were prepared at that stage to put money up.

Galloway placed much of the responsibility for the bid's failure with Oliver, who he described as 'a fairly low grade spiv' and 'an exceedingly poor businessman'. The proposal failed because the Scots-Pakistani businessmen were offended by the media's coverage and Oliver's response. While Galloway could offer no reason for the media's prejudices he believed that Oliver was 'trying to talk up the price of his exit'. Instead of achieving a price-rise, however, the chairman's tactics had 'turned the stomach of the potential benefactors'. In other words, regardless of Oliver's reasons, be they related to anger, frustration, or price negotiation, the businessmen were personally offended by his prejudice.

Although Galloway's account contains traces of his own self-positioning as an innocent facilitator whose efforts were undermined by Oliver, the media, and to an extent Gill, his accusations of racism stand out as both exceptional and valid. On the evidence of Scotland's history of mistreatment of minority groups it is conceivable that the Scottish Pakistanis might have suspected such a prejudiced reaction to their plans. As Galloway noted, the proposal was a good idea which had the potential to overturn the lack of Scottish Asian presence in football and to promote the cause of anti-racism. Yet, it was racist responses which ridiculed the bid and dismissed its

importance to the Scottish Asian communities as of marginal concern. The opportunity to challenge stereotyped myths about Scottish Asians was lost, as was the chance for increased representation of Scottish Asians in sport and society.

6.3 Ron McKay[5]

Largely absent from the media's coverage of the bid, McKay nevertheless claimed to have been one of the main forces behind the idea.[6] Indeed, he offered a historical account in which he and Galloway had developed the idea themselves, almost independent of, and certainly prior to, the inclusion of any Scottish Asian group:

> I suppose it started a few years ago, really. I have known George Galloway for many years – 20 odd years. Over the years, we were both interested in football obviously, and over the years we kind of idly talked about taking over a football club. Now, I mean, it was the kind of thing that daft boys do.

McKay's historical tracing of the idea suggests that he and Galloway had discussed, probably in vague terms, the potential idea of investing in a football club. Their romantic notion had never been pursued with any serious intent, until the connection with Scottish Asian businessmen and Partick Thistle was made. McKay outlined this process:

> George is well connected to Asian business, if you like, and Asian politicians. I mean his political chart record is fairly well known, and he was quite confident that he could put together Asian money to buy into or take-over a football club.

It would appear that Galloway and McKay had the initial idea and later attempted to persuade Scottish Asians to become involved. However, it does not necessarily follow that the Scottish Asians were only included to finance Galloway and McKay's long-held dream. Galloway's emphasis upon the political nature of Thistle, and his efforts to promote anti-racism, suggest that the inclusion of Scottish Asians was an important element of the proposal. McKay undertook much of the preparatory work:

> What I did really was to conduct a kind of academic exercise by looking at company records of Scottish football clubs who might be in difficulty. There were several conditions. There had to be Asian communities who would support the club. It had to be in reasonable population centres so people would come [] it really had to be in the central belt and it had to be a club that was financially in difficulties, and which there were Asian communities nearby who might come and support it [] We wanted a club that could be financially viable, that was probably in difficulties and that Asians would support and when I looked at the likely clubs, I mean I did searches on all Scottish senior clubs, and when I looked at the books of Thistle it was clear that they were in deep shit. The guy who owns it, Jim Oliver, has several building companies and basically all of Firhill and all of Partick Thistle is mortgaged to the bank to help pay for this and service [the interest charges] – at the time he owed £5m and was paying, I cannot remember the interest charges, but Thistle seemed to be the likely club, even the potential to have a good support, Asian communities nearby, crowd

non-racist[7], non-aligned background, so that seemed to be the club we should go for.

If Galloway and McKay did have the initial idea, then the process of finding a suitable club and constructing a consortium was a fairly dynamic process. That is, there appears to be a confluence of a number of situations: the first may have been Galloway and McKay's idea, but from there a club had to be found which was in need of capital and to which Scottish Asians could identify. It is unclear if the involvement of Scottish Asians was motivated by that fact of their under-representation, or if they happened to be the wealthiest 'contacts' of either Galloway or McKay. Nevertheless, the reasons for choosing Thistle appear to rest with their status as 'non-racist, non-aligned', the proximity to potential supporters, and the financial problems of its directors.

McKay's position appears to be that of researcher, while Galloway was the public face of the bid. Indeed, it was McKay who contacted Oliver:

> I phoned up Jim Oliver [] and vaguely told him there was a consortium of Asian business people who might be interested in buying Partick Thistle or getting involved with Partick Thistle. And he said "you mean getting involved, you mean taking over", and I said well yes, probably they would like to take the club over. If not in the short term certainly structure it in such a way that that would happen. So right from the outset Oliver knew that taking over the club was on the table.[8]

McKay's telephone call to Oliver was to arrange a meeting, between the chairman, McKay, Galloway and David Low. McKay emphasised the existence of the consortium, and that Oliver was fully aware of the intentions to make a take-over bid for the club. McKay also communicated to Oliver the role Galloway was to play, and requested the presence of Low:

> I said that George was representing these Asian business interests and we went along and had a meeting with them at his golf club at Killermont. Crucial element – I involved David Low who was the kinda architect of the Celtic take-over, because I have known David for several years and he seemed to be the best guy to have on our side, so David played strictly by the book. He phoned up Jim Oliver and said, look these people want me to represent them do you have any problem with that? Oliver said no, so the three of us went to meet Jim Oliver at Killermont Golf Club.

From this account Galloway, McKay and Low were heading the process of negotiation. It had been made clear to Jim Oliver that they were acting on behalf of Scottish Asian businessmen, and a meeting was arranged. McKay's self-presentation is interesting. He was intricately involved, but he expresses his role as the organiser, the one who arranged meetings and did company searches. He was aware that controversy and conflict emerged around Galloway, Oliver and the consortium. Yet, he distanced himself from these. Galloway is the person with the Scottish Asian 'contacts', Low was introduced

but Oliver's agreement was sought and, crucially, gained. McKay took no responsibility for anything except facilitating the negotiations.

He was also aware that the media played a significant role:

> I cannot remember what day of the week it was, anyway it at that stage the story was beginning to leak out. BBC and STV [Scottish Television] were sniffing around. We had the meeting with Oliver at lunchtime. Sorry it was in the morning at Killermont Golf Club. I had arranged to meet a friend of mine who works in the BBC, who works on a current affairs programme. We left the meeting with Oliver. He said that in principle he was prepared to sell out. That he and his minority partners had put quite a lot of money into the club. That he wanted his minority partners to be protected and we said, look it would be in our interests to have some continuity, for people to remain on the board. He put what we thought was an unreal value on the club. I think he was talking about £2.5m at the time. Actually, practically, football clubs are worth fuck all, so we said well, you know, that is not the value we put on it but let us go away and we will come back with a rather more detailed outline of what we are prepared to go to.

McKay's account clearly indicates that Galloway, Low and himself had a different valuation of the club than that proposed by Jim Oliver. However, at this stage discussions were proceeding and in an early phase. McKay offered a coherent account of events, though he did not mention meeting with any Scottish Asian businessman. It is unclear if McKay met these businessmen

though he did argue that there 'were three main players on the Pakistani side', and refused to name them since they preferred to remain anonymous. The history behind their interest was, according to McKay that they 'thought here we are, we are very successful, we are by and large unrecognised in the wider Scottish community', from there 'it was put to them by George that a way to do that easily was to get in to football'. So, McKay's testimony corresponds with Galloway's that there was a serious consortium of Glaswegian Pakistanis ready to invest. It was significant, though, that this group had chosen football through which to advance recognition of their achievements. The fact that this lack of recognition motivated the proposal was never discussed in the media. The choice of football reveals that Scottish Asians are interested in football, and perceive it as a secular, symbolic resource through which they can demonstrate their success and presence. It is a place where minority and majority might have met to share the emotional experiences of football, were it not for majority prejudice and racist discrimination.

McKay maintained, however, that it was not just majority prejudice which disrupted these plans. Galloway's attempt to involve Indians also affected the proposal's success:

> Before we had the Jim Oliver meeting, the day beforehand, the night before, I think it was probably the Tuesday [the evening the SASA dinner]. The people who were interested in putting money into the club were all Pakistani and George thought it was desirable to have Indian business interests in it, which was the crucial mistake in retrospect but we will come to that. There was the annual general meeting of the

Scottish Asian Sports Association [] It was called in a curry restaurant down the back of the Central Station [in Glasgow city centre], so we went along to that meeting, myself, George and David Low. George was due to speak and he wanted to involve some the Asian business people that were there, because I think SASA is almost entirely Indian, there was hardly any Pakistanis involved. So he wanted to involve some of the Indian business elements into this consortium. In retrospect he went a bit far, you know, he said things specifically about Thistle he probably should not have done in public.

McKay placed responsibility for this announcement with Galloway, suggesting that the latter's desire to include Scots-Indians combined with his impetuousness, had led to the mistake of outlining the proposal in public. The SASA dinner was on the Tuesday, the evening before McKay, Low and Galloway had met Oliver. At this dinner Reporting Scotland recorded Galloway saying that he had 'willing buyers' and possibly a 'willing seller', but this was a 'seller' with whom he had not yet spoken. It was not until the following morning that they met with Oliver, and the BBC ran the story on their Wednesday lunchtime news. The timing of these events turned out to be very significant:

We went to the meeting with Oliver. By the time we got to the BBC [after meeting Oliver] the whole thing was unravelling and George was being faced with questioning about who was involved in this, was this a take-over bid? And Jim Oliver – in retrospect – felt he had been

> stitched up. I actually went from that doorstep meeting interview George had, to meet my pal around the corner in an Italian restaurant in Great Western Road[9] and Jim Oliver was there with his girlfriend, excuse me, with his daughter. I must get this right, with his daughter. I said, look Jim, just in passing, actually this thing is beginning to unravel, blah, blah, blah. George will call you in the afternoon. Now then it all got nasty I guess.

McKay's portrayal of Oliver was more sympathetic than Galloway's. In McKay's view Oliver had an understandable sense of betrayal. Also, McKay did not portray Galloway as entirely blameless, he made too much information public. However, McKay failed to shed any critical light on his own role. After all, he had been involved at every stage. Yet he detached himself from Galloway's actions, leaving himself blameless, as if he had not been consulted. He played only a facilitating role:

> In a sense we [himself and Galloway] were only the enablers. I did the initial research on football clubs. I made the initial contacts. I brought into David Low. I went to the meeting and George had access to the Pakistani business sources.

This portrayal of events suggests that there was a Scots-Pakistani consortium who just required Galloway and McKay to open negotiations. In McKay's view that is what they did, and so cannot be held responsible for the eventual failure. The reasons for the failure, in McKay's view, were the early publicity the

proposal received and Oliver's understandable frustration. However, he emphasised a feature to which Galloway had merely hinted – Gill's promotion by the media as a member of the consortium, and the subsequent response from the Scots-Pakistanis:

> However, what's his name, the guy who owns the curry restaurants, Charan Gill. From this meeting, SASA, the previous night where as I say, George had probably said more than he should have, there were constructive meetings going on. Charan Gill and other people were around and all of a sudden next day Charan Gill had identified himself as the leading person in this consortium, which was news to us that he was even involved. So what I did not realise then and what we ought to have known better is that Indian and Pakistani businessmen are just oil and water. It is impossible to get a consortium of the two. And I think Indian businessmen are more pushy or more used to the limelight than the Pakistanis were. As soon as it got into the public arena, as soon as Jim Oliver was kind of whinging, complaining, our Pakistani chaps just kinda tried to melt away and write off the deal.

Thus, McKay considered the reasons for the bid's failure to lie with the timing of the announcement and Oliver's angry remarks which upset the Scots-Pakistanis. But equally as significant was their reaction to Gill's public pronouncements. According to McKay there was a 'hatred, definitely hatred between the two communities. If it is down to pure politics or not I do not know' but 'there was no way that the Indians and Pakistanis would be involved

in the same group'. It was the 'unwillingness of the Pakistanis to deal with Oliver and to deal with the Indians in the consortium just made it look like it would fall apart'.

This characterisation of the relationship between Scots-Pakistanis and Scots-Indians may reflect discussions which emerged during the consortium's meetings. Perhaps the Scots-Pakistani were angry with Gill. However, McKay's reasoning that the two communities hate each other is a problematic and spurious generalisation, which employs the homogeneity and universalist ideas associated with prejudice.

6.4 Chick Young[10]

Chick Young was one of BBC television's most prominent sports reporters in Scotland. The role of the BBC was crucial, as already noted they were present at SASA's dinner, they broke the story while negotiations were at an early stage, and they put Gill forward as a consortium member. Each of these actions were fundamental to the proposal's denouement. The early publicity either genuinely angered Oliver, or encouraged him to respond aggressively in the knowledge that Galloway and colleagues were busy forming alliances with fans and the media and citing low price offers. The elevation of Gill angered Galloway and, according to both Galloway and McKay, the Scots-Pakistani consortium. Thus, Young's account of these events would prove important:

> The first we heard of it – it was actually George Galloway who was talking about it in conduction with Asian businessmen – [was] through the people in Reporting Scotland. They got to hear of it, but they did not have the full story.

Young did not offer any definitive answer to the question of who informed the BBC. He did, though, suggest that it was Galloway who had, in some way, let the BBC know that he was involved in a proposal to invest in Thistle.[11] Young was then in pursuit of the 'full story' which, as it happens, he did not find:

> Just by thinking to myself who were the Asian businessmen with a few bob and who might be interested in Partick Thistle – Charan Gill is an old friend of mine, and I kind of dug him up a wee bit. He said 'oh no,

> no, it's not quite that, but it might be possibly me'. But I had seen some pictures of the guys and film where George Galloway had this meeting in this Indian restaurant and I saw Charan in the picture and got him to admit he was partly involved. In the first instance he would only tell me he would keep me informed, but he did not want to be brought forward and to use his name and to do interviews, but eventually I persuaded him to do that as well [] once you get a bit of the story usually through your contacts, people will tell you things or maybe tell you things off the record. And then there will be other things on the record and eventually I had to say to Charan, you have to come up front like this, because I am going to say it is you and put you in front of (a) a radio mike, or (b) a TV camera.

Young acknowledged Gill's initial denial of involvement, and that Gill wished to avoid publicity. Young's idea that Gill was involved, and his persuading Gill to give a television interview, became significant elements of the proposal story. Young used his power as a media presenter to convince Gill to make a public statement. According to Young's version it was the presenter's threat to 'out' Gill, regardless of Gill's lack of commitment that forced Gill to concede to Young's wishes. In his account Young never reflected upon his own actions as contributing to the proposal's failure. Oliver's comments which were, for Galloway, influential in discouraging the Scots-Pakistanis were not recognised by Young as offensive:

> I think a lot of people took offence with his one-eyed, black, lesbian, a saxophonist with a curry shop or something [] and Charan Gill never took offence to that. You could see what [Oliver] was getting at [] Jim Oliver is not a racist, and I can understand why if you have no sense of humour you could interpret that as a racist comment, but [] Charan Gill certainly thought it was funny.

Young's representation of this allowed him to deflect criticism away from Oliver and on to Galloway. It is based partly upon a belief that racism in football is not a problem. He responded to the suggestion that there was a problem with 'racial bigotry' by saying: 'I do not accept that for one second'. Furthermore 'you have got to be thick skinned in football', thus the victims of racist abuse should simply accept their fate.

This failure to recognise the potential effects of prejudice allowed Young to take a non-critical stance towards Oliver. Young's used two strategic strategies to counter the charge of racism. The first was that anti-racists are simply people who can't take a joke, who take everything too seriously and should lighten up. The second was an interpretation of Gill's response to Oliver. Apart from the fact that Gill criticised Oliver in the newspaper for his choice of words, it is unlikely that someone referred to in such a dismissive way as 'some Indian with a curry shop' will accept such an insult with humoured indifference.

But Galloway, according to Young 'used it for his own devices', he was simply 'trying to make political gain' from the proposal. Young failed to isolate the racist expression from the labyrinth of personalities, motivations, and

individual relationships. Thus, not only is racism 'wished away' using strategies of avoidance and denial, but local factors unique to the affair are drafted in to diminish the power of the racism accusation.

6.5 Charan Gill[12]

Although Gill was not involved with the consortium developed by Galloway and McKay along with Glaswegian Pakistanis, he was heralded as one of the main consortium members. He was the only businessman who made a public statement, and he was the target for Oliver's abusive comments. According to McKay and Galloway's accounts Gill had angered the Scots-Pakistani businessmen. He clearly had a central role in the affair, and the process of his 'outing' was fundamental to the ensuing debacle:

> I suppose [I became involved] much the same as anybody else or any other member of the consortium. They were really dragged into it, maybe unwillingly. I think a lot of them did not even know they were part of a consortium. Everybody thought a consortium existed but nobody had ever met each other, you see. So, my involvement was I was asked if I would be interested if Partick Thistle is for sale. To be involved in the consortium. To look at the deal and I said I would and that was my involvement. After that the press took over.

It is clear that Gill never met any other businessmen before he was interviewed on television, though he did meet with a Scots-Indian consortium later to discuss a bid for Thistle.[13] He argued that he only agreed to consider the investment. Yet, of course, he became the most public figure:

> Maybe I am the most photogenic, I do not know. I think maybe the press and everybody else assumed maybe I was the leader or one of the

main people in the consortium. It was the only time ever that I said I was or that I led anybody to believe it. And I think when the media gets involved it does not matter what you say, it is what suits them and what sells newspapers. When it suits them to say that somebody is in control of that consortium then that is what they will say. It was not something that I said, or anything I said that made me come to the forefront. It just happened that way. Maybe it is because I know Chick [Young]. He and I have been friends for a long time and I think when the news first broke it was at a dinner that was when George Galloway announced that there was a consortium of businessmen interested in taking over Partick Thistle.

Gill was aware of the media's influence on events, their misrepresentation of his place in the consortium. He appears to blame the system of news production for this, rather than his own collaboration with Young. Indeed the role of Young in persuading him to speak publicly, and his own concession to Young's advances are minimised in Gill's account of broader media processes beyond his control:

> when it was on the news it was Chick who phoned me first, he said "why did you not tell me this was happening?" I said, well I did not know it was happening. So, and really from there I think he phoned me, then other people phoned me, and then it just sort of gathered momentum.

Gill did have some contact with Galloway, however. On the evening of the SASA dinner, Gill said that Galloway 'approached me and asked me if I would be interested in looking at a business proposition'. Upon this brief contact Gill made public statements about his involvement with the consortium. Yet, Gill distanced himself from assuming any responsibility for the bid's collapse. His doubt over the existence of a consortium is clear, and this has emerged because he was never introduced to the other members: 'I asked George Galloway right, if I could meet with the rest of the consortium and I was sort of, well, I never met them so I think he was having meetings with individuals, but he never brought them together'. This led Gill to suspect Galloway's strategy:

> Thinking back I wonder if there was a consortium at that time interested in taking over Partick Thistle. I think when people thought there was a consortium and then you approach individuals to be part of that consortium you actually get a consortium. It was very well done.

Gill's doubts over the consortium emerged because he never had the opportunity to meet the businessmen who Galloway and McKay claim were already involved in negotiations. According to Galloway and McKay the distance between Gill and the rest of the consortium was a result of the latter's anger at Gill's media appearances, perhaps also they imagined Oliver assumed he was dealing with Gill rather than with them.

Gill emphasised the lack of organisation, thanks to Galloway's presumed mismanagement, as the reason the negotiations were halted so abruptly. The other reasons which have been suggested by Galloway and

McKay – Oliver's racism, the press' racism, and Indian-Pakistani conflict – were not accepted by Gill. As regards the first of these, Gill said:

> Well, I met Jim Oliver on many occasions since that, I had never met him before that, and I would like to believe that we are actually quite good pals. And he comes across as a really nice guy and I think he is. He is probably a lot nicer than some of the people who instigated the whole thing. And I think, if you want to know about his comments, his comments were made . . . I think the press made him out to be a lot worse than he is. I did not hold anything personal. And I still don't. We have days out, occasions when we get together for dinner. There is never a problem, there's not a problem. But I know what it is like to be caught up in this sort of media circus. You get quoted and misquoted and put under pressure and quotes are taken out of context and I do not personally believe what I read in the newspapers. You take people at face value, as individuals. You have to be with them to know what they are like and I found Jim a hell of a nice guy.

This alliance which has since been forged between Gill and Oliver is important to Gill's self-presentation. It is likely that he would not wish to criticise somebody with whom has since developed a business relationship. His reference to the 'media circus' is intriguing, not least because he himself influenced the media's coverage. Although Gill did not make an explicit criticism of Oliver, there is an awareness that while the press may have distorted Oliver's words the comments were problematic; Gill went on to say

'OK, it is a racist comment'. But then he qualified this with 'but I do not know what context it was said, or how it was printed'. A consequence of his own apparent lack of concern for Oliver's remarks allowed him to further criticise Galloway:

> I think if somebody makes a comment like that it would make you more determined to get rid of them. I mean you would not say I am not dealing with the guy because he said I am a darkie. You would say well let's sort this guy out. And so the reasons that George Galloway gave for stepping down, to me they don't add up.

Of the racism in the media, Gill tried to deny that it had affected him:

> I mean, I know that the press affects people. People read and believe. People read the *Sunday Sport* and believe. So there are people out there who believe everything that is written down. But that is not the case and I do not believe that. Nothing was written down as far as I am concerned that I felt that annoyed me so much and I felt this is really the () I felt I was above most of it. I think if it gets to the stage when people start writing things about family – it gets to that – then (really personal objectives) but that was just part of the whole thing and people were assuming things that is fine, but it did not have any affect on me. It did not affect me personally.

Gill's attempted to deflect attention from the media's prejudices, though his denial that he felt insulted by Oliver is not complete. There was clearly a level of prejudice which 'annoyed' Gill. Perhaps it was not extreme enough to warrant his anger, and perhaps it did not involve his family, but it was a presence. His thinking on Oliver was complex. The chairman's words were 'racist' but Gill was prepared to shift responsibility on to the media. To prove his lack of anger he indicated that were he insulted by Oliver he would have sought revenge. Also, he argued he was 'above most' of the media's racism. Yet, these comments simply suggest that the racism was of a more banal nature, it was routine, rather than non-existent.

It is worth noting that when first approach Gill declined the opportunity to discuss the affair. At that time, he reflected upon events as an 'unhappy' time. As such, his denial that racism affected him seems a touch disingenuous. Gill presents a complex response to racism, which undoubtedly contains strategies of 'face saving' or de-amplification to prove his own resilience. However, at other times he hinted at feeling insulted.

Finally, on the issue of Indian versus Pakistani conflict and its alleged detrimental effect upon the proposal:

> How can that be when nobody ever knew who the consortium was? I mean, that could only be the case if there was a consortium. That could only be if there was people round the table and they were sitting there and OK some were Pakistanis, some were Indians, but nobody had met anybody.

This is not an outright denial of theory that the Pakistani businessmen were insulted by Gill's public claims to be involved in the consortium. Also, Gill does not deny that if the two groups had met there may have been conflict. Gill had never met the Scots-Pakistanis who McKay and Galloway claim were part of a consortium. Consequently, he was not fully informed of their attitudes and actions. Lacking this knowledge, he cannot claim to know how they responded to his appearance, but he has concluded that Galloway 'invented' the consortium.

Gill's communications with Oliver and Young will have influenced his interpretation of the affair. The subsequent friendship between Gill and Oliver would have coloured the retrospective interpretation. While Gill's friendship with Young may have deterred him from criticising Young's role. Nevertheless, Gill revealed that Young played a significant part in shaping the outcome of the bid, and suggested that the media's racism and Oliver's comments had been offensive. Finally, nothing Gill said challenged Galloway and McKay's version of events: that there had been a Scots-Pakistani consortium, that the bid had failed because of Gill's appearance, Oliver's response and the media's prejudice.

6.6 Maq Rasul[14]

The only member of the Scots-Pakistani consortium who was named was Maq Rasul, owner of the video rental chain Global Video. His recollections would potentially provide verification of Galloway's claim that a serious consortium was already in place only disrupted by the events described above. Rasul gave the following description of his involvement:

> I was approached by George Galloway just one Sunday afternoon for 2 minutes and he asked me if I would be interested along with other Asian businessmen to buy Partick Thistle with a view to get a grant from the Government[15] and obviously providing an opportunity for more Asian people to play football – to encourage them to come into football. I said to him that I would look at the proposal and obviously he said to me if I would be interested, and I said, yes, I would be interested provided I meet all the other businessmen and discuss it with them.

This was the closest Rasul came to entering any discussions about the proposed investment. It would appear that Galloway was responsible for contacting Rasul, though it is unclear if this contact was made on behalf of a pre-existing consortium. Galloway's proposed purchase price of £1.5m, supplemented by a grant of some description, would have minimised the investment commitment. From the brief conversation with Galloway, Rasul expected further discussions to occur. But instead, he discovered his name had been given to the media in connection with the proposal:

> I had no idea what the next step was. I was shocked to hear the news on TV that Global Video was involved and making a take-over bid for Partick Thistle.

The events which led to this public announcement are unknown to Rasul. He suspected that Galloway was responsible: 'He must have mentioned [my name], otherwise I am not quite sure how they [the media] found out about Global Video's involvement in this'. He claimed to 'have no knowledge at all' of other individuals who might have been in the consortium. His own commitment to the proposal was limited, as he believed it would have been a poor business decision anyway:

> it was never discussed with us that it would be made public in the first place, and I think it would have been killed off right at the first or second proper meeting if all the parties involved in it had got together and discussed the project [] I do not think it was a feasible project. I think it was never going to be a profitable project. On that basis I do not think any businessman would invest money in it. Partick Thistle has been losing money for years and was a big risk and we were just not prepared to get involved in something like that.

Rasul's account casts a critical shadow over Galloway and McKay's claims that there was a serious Scots-Pakistani consortium. That is not to say that there definitely was no such group. There may have been any number of secret or

potential investors, but evidence of such individuals is lacking; or as Gill suggested, Galloway possibly contacted each businessman in his 'consortium' individually. Galloway and McKay had also claimed that the Scots-Pakistanis were insulted by Oliver and so withdrew. Rasul had the following to say on the subject of Oliver's comments:

> Like everything else, the media hyped it very much and I feel very sympathetic to the chairman of Partick Thistle, that he actually had no contact from any side at all, but the press seemed to be talking about a take-over. And when there was no official approach to him everything seemed to be going to the newspapers and the TV as well and I think it was blown out of proportion [] To a certain extent I think [Oliver] was justified but I would not have chosen the words he chose to criticise. I mean obviously his expression of a curry boy, or something like that, is not the best way to express things, to say the least. As a matter of fact you could say it was a racist remark. But he chose his words, but I thought he would have been more careful choosing his words [] I do not think they were directed at me. But obviously, I cannot be sure about that.

Rasul recognised the racist nature of Oliver's language, but contextualised in within a framework of media processes and of the frustration Oliver might have felt given the early publicity. He reiterated the belief expressed by some journalists that Oliver might simply have been more diplomatic. And when Rasul did categorise the comments as racist, their apparent influence was

decreased by Rasul's belief that their target was probably not Rasul himself. From these comments, it appeared unlikely that the reason for Rasul's withdrawal was directly related to Oliver's prejudiced comments. However, it was clear that the whole issue of racism has been entangled in a web of personal confrontations and contextualised within a proposal which had significant organisational flaws. Rasul also denied being affected by the racism in the media. In reply to the question of whether he felt the press coverage was racist, he said:

> No. There is a lot of people who are interested in Partick Thistle and the press just took in on to report on that and they were getting a lot of people reading that. You know, reading the articles in the press, and the press just write what people will read.[16] They love to write about anything.

Furthermore, Rasul denied the theory that Indian-Pakistani conflict was the cause of the demise. Gill's name was mentioned to him by Galloway and: 'I was quite happy with that, and obviously when he [Galloway] mentioned quite a lots of Asians getting together and Charan Gill was one of them then I have no objection to that'. Gill's public announcement of his interest in the proposal, was not apparently an issue: 'We were not interested right from the start and that did not make any difference at all'.

Rasul presented his role as one of a non-committed potential investor whose name was given to the media without his permission. He believed he would be one of a number of businessmen to invest, but did not meet any

others. Furthermore, he considered the investment to lack financial potential. While Rasul criticised Galloway and Oliver, he distanced himself from the Galloway/McKay consortium, Oliver's comments, and Gill's intervention, by arguing that the project was not feasible. He distanced himself from a failed business venture, possibly trying to avoid being associated with it because of its failure. He, like Gill, had agreed to consider the proposal and to engage in further discussions. Unlike Gill he did not submit to the pressures of media presenters to make a public statement. However, Rasul claimed not to be involved with a larger Scots-Pakistani group who had already discussed the project. The lack of communication with other businessmen casts doubts over Galloway and McKay's claims of a well-organised consortium. Though it remains possible that other Scots-Pakistanis had held discussions with Galloway and McKay, and that for whatever reason their names has been withheld while Rasul's was given to the media.

Rasul's views on the racism might not support Galloway's claim that the consortium collapsed as a result of racism, but clearly Rasul felt Oliver's comments were racist. His subsequent sympathy for Oliver, and his unwillingness to accuse the media of racism, should not detract from recognising the racism of Oliver's remarks and the more subtle prejudices revealed in the media's response. Indeed, it may be important for a prominent member of a minority group to present themselves, as Gill also did, as almost immune to racism.

6.7 Jim Oliver[17]

The Thistle chairman was criticised by Galloway and by the club's supporters for his prejudiced remarks. Throughout the period of media coverage, however, he maintained that the club and its board were the victims of the speculation and of Galloway's actions. Oliver recalled receiving a telephone call from McKay asking if he would meet with Galloway, McKay and Low who were represented Scottish Asian businessmen: 'my attitude was basically if anyone wants to come into Partick Thistle and they've got money to drive it on to bigger and better things, by all means let's talk'.[18] Thus, he claimed that from the very beginning he was willing to discuss investment proposals with any party.

Oliver stressed the importance of confidentiality, and claimed to have communicated his concerns to McKay:

> being very conscious of a lot of things that go on in football, and how even the briefest details are always leaked to the press, I said it's important I don't want him flying any kites, or any hares let loose, let's meet and meet in confidence.

This account of Oliver's emphasis on confidentiality, the fact that he made his concerns known to McKay, and the fact he was prepared to speak with any party, add to Oliver's own defence regarding his subsequent public comments about the bid. Oliver recalled giving his approval of the inclusion of David Low, but he does refer to Low as having been 'heavily involved in the Celtic fiasco'. Low was adviser to Fergus McCann in 1994, and Oliver obviously took

a negative view of his contribution to the eventual take-over of Celtic.[19] The issue of Scottish Asian involvement was raised by Galloway, McKay and Low, and Oliver claimed to have had no problem with the inclusion of Scottish Asians within Thistle:

> they suggested it would be a good idea if the Asian community got involved. And I entirely agreed, that there's an Asian community of about 30,000 and they don't support any particular team. There's no notable Asian players, so there's obviously a market there, or there's a lack of something. They haven't been involved and they should be involved and if the Asian community, collectively, or if a large part of it, gave their support to Partick Thistle, surely it was a good idea.

Of course, Oliver's claim to whole-heartedly support Scottish Asian involvement is probably designed to weaken the charge of racism made against him. However, despite recognising Scottish Asian under-representation in football he failed to suggest that racism was responsible. His anger was, in his account, not the result of a prejudiced aversion to Scottish Asians. Instead, it was only about an hour after this meeting that he became angry over the publicity:

> That meeting was at 11 o'clock, it lasted about three-quarters of an hour [] We [himself and his daughter] were sitting having a glass of wine and chatting [in Trattoria Trevi, an Italian restaurant in Great Western Road]. Some time later three guys came in, I didn't know two of them,

> but one of whom was Ron McKay. Now this would be about 1 o'clock, quarter past one, and he came and said to me something which absolutely astonished me because we'd had a very confidential meeting. He said to me "just to let you know Jim that the papers have got a hold of the story". I said "Excuse me, say that again. How can the papers have got a hold of the story? I only left you three-quarters of an hour ago, so who's talking to the papers?"

It is this almost immediate, in Oliver's view, communication of the proposal to the media which Oliver maintains was the source of his frustration. He was not aware that it was the BBC had actually been present at the SASA dinner the prior evening to hear Galloway announce the bid.[20] Oliver assumed that Galloway, McKay or Low had simply left their meeting in the morning and immediately informed the media. According to Oliver the only decision taken at the meeting was that he would listen to their offer, but no actual offer was made, and no indication given of who was in the consortium. However, it was another intervention from the media that changed the course of events:

> I then went away to a weekend's golf, and I got a phone call from some press guy when I was away down playing golf, that all the stories were coming out at the time – yes, they were going to take-over Partick Thistle, but no money was coming to me. But the money had to go to the side and I don't think I was going to get any money back – all this kind of thing.[21]

It is unclear who telephoned Oliver, as he could not remember himself, or how the take-over details had been related to him. It is clear that Oliver sought to protect his own interests, though it seems that the 'press guy' led Oliver to believe that the offer was designed to minimise Oliver's financial gain. This was when the involvement of Low became significant, with Oliver assuming his role was Machiavellian: 'This is exactly the way they drove a wedge between the directors at Celtic and the fans'. Oliver's grievance was that Galloway had portrayed the board as incapable, and had promised the fans a brighter future. Thus, by developing the fans disillusionment and by expounding upon the potential anti-racist benefits, Galloway was creating a situation in which the club might be purchased for less than its true value.

Oliver did concede that he responded without due consideration:

> So, I reacted, probably over-reacted, to that and I said look – in a telephone interview while I was down in Birmingham – I said something like "I have a business here, I've invested a great deal of money. Just because some Indian with a curry shop wants to take-over the club, that doesn't mean anything. He's got to buy my shares, and demonstrate he can run the club". But that was taken as a very racist remark and it wasn't intended to be, I was just trying to defuse the situation.

It is unclear how such a remark might 'defuse the situation'. Oliver claimed that the intention was not racist, however it is difficult to imagine such a remark helping the process of negotiation. He was obviously more concerned by the

fact that little money would be coming to him, and the fact that the public and the club's supporters were anticipating a Scottish Asian take-over, than he was concerned to negotiate with Galloway, McKay, Low and the Scottish Asian businessmen.

From later conversations with Charan Gill, Oliver has pieced together a particular version of events:

> Charan Gill is a very nice guy, a very successful guy who runs many restaurants. And he told me quite categorically he didn't know George Galloway. He only met George Galloway for the first time on the Friday.[22] To this day he's not sure who the other members were, he never met any other members of this so-called consortium. And he doesn't know who they were supposed to be. Some names were mentioned, but he knows they were definitely not involved. The guy who runs Global Video, or something, but that was just another high profile name in the Asian community put together to give this whole spoof a bit of credibility. So, in fact, there never was a consortium.

Gill and Oliver have, from a position of inferior knowledge, maintained that Galloway and McKay were 'fronting' a non-existent consortium. In Oliver's opinion Galloway was only seeking to win votes or general kudos from Scottish Asians.[23] He argued that Galloway had 'got out of it what he wanted' which was 'a high profile thing, he was [seen to be] for the Asian community'. Oliver saw himself as the scapegoat, as the victim: 'if it didn't go well it was because of racist types like me'. And thus, for Oliver, his prejudiced remarks

were not prejudiced at all, they were simply an attempt to demonstrate that he was not concerned over the ethnicity of the businessmen:

> And the other thing I was crucified for was I made a flippant remark. But it was in order to demonstrate that, I think the question put to me was, and was verbatim, who would we talk to, this party or that party about coming in to help Partick Thistle out. And I was trying to imply to them we would talk to anybody, it didn't matter who they were. If they could come and they could invest in Partick Thistle and they could take it on to a higher level, we'd talk to anybody. And I said, in that now famous phrase, one-eyed black lesbian saxophone players. But that was intended to suggest that we'd talk to the entire spectrum, there are no exclusions, we don't care where they come from, we don't care what colour they are, or what they are, what religion they are, we'll talk to anybody if they can help Partick Thistle out. And Galloway then says well what's this man got against saxophone players, what has he got against lesbians or one-eyed people – this is outrageous. I mean, it's all, frankly it was bullshit.

Oliver was convinced that his message was clear, and that instead of being racist it was actually anti-racist. He defended his own position, portraying himself as the victim of Galloway's quest for political power. He did not attempt to alter his line of argumentation, he tried instead to offer a different interpretation of the meaning of his words. So he constructed himself as being initially supportive of Scottish Asian involvement, as being friendly with Gill,

and positioning Galloway in the role of cynical manipulator. In this construction his apparently prejudiced remarks instead are to be seen as the expression of his frustration that the bid was made public, that the fans supported Galloway, and that little money would be coming to Oliver himself. Gill's information regarding the nature of the consortium merely contributed to Oliver's self-assurance over his interpretation. Furthermore, Gill's perception of Scottish Asian football drove the final nail home:

> I had a long discussion in depth with Charan Gill, and Charan Gill said "look the Asian culture, the Asian psyche, is not about their sons leaving school at sixteen to go and become professional footballers. It's about going to university and getting educated and becoming doctors or lawyers or whatever" [] So there's always a huge cultural gap to bridge there [] They thought it was a good idea for the Asian community, because it's the kind of club that was – their fulsome praise of Partick Thistle was that it's non-sectarian. Obviously the Asian community couldn't go to Celtic, and clearly couldn't go to Ibrox, right. So the place, the natural home for the Asian community was Partick Thistle. Well that's fine if the Asian community are looking for a team to support. But the Asian community were not remotely interested in supporting football. And still, to this day, they remain not all that interested in supporting football.

It is unclear why Oliver believed Scottish Asians could not support Rangers or Celtic. The stereotyped view of Scottish Asians as concerned with education

and business only, given credibility for Oliver because it's source was Gill, allowed Oliver to believe that the potential for a Scottish Asian consortium did not exist. Not only, again from Gill, does he conclude there was no consortium, but that the 'culture' mitigates against any such consortium ever emerging.[24] Thus, Oliver's anti-Galloway theory is proven, in his mind, to be correct. The real culprit is not Oliver, the person whose prejudiced remarks coloured the affair, and possibly halted the proposal, but Galloway. Once this model of the affair is established Oliver can resolve himself of any guilt.

6.8 Gordon Peden[25]

Peden was editor of the Thistle fanzine *What a Sensation!* He appeared alongside Galloway during the press conference at which Galloway announced his withdrawal. He believed, though the source of this belief is not known that the proposal 'was a merging of groups from both the Pakistani and the Indian communities with a view to raising the profile of ethnic minority groups generally'. Indeed, the 'elders in the Mosque are very interested in it'. The Mosque referred to was the 'Central Mosque in Glasgow'. For Peden, the main influence behind the proposal was a group of Scottish Asians and Galloway's intervention 'was more accident than by design [] it has never been absolutely clear whether he was invited, or just sort of appeared'. Peden supported Galloway and McKay's claim that 'the real power behind the bid did not emerge', and claimed to know the identity of this powerful individual but was not prepared to divulge this information. In a similar interpretation to Galloway and McKay, Peden argued that this 'major player' did not 'wish to be associated with anything of a confrontational racist nature'. The unnamed individual withdrew because of Oliver's comments.

For Peden, Oliver's comments were 'racist' though Peden qualifies this with: 'I am not necessarily convinced that he is an active racist'. Peden's interpretation separates the expression from other aspects of Oliver's behaviour. Peden also recognised that the media showed elements of 'some sort of intrinsic racist behaviour'. However, there was also in his view an anti-Galloway culture which detracted attention from the purpose of the proposal: 'He [Galloway] is the bête noire (sic) of so many areas in the media that it became concentrated on George Galloway instead of being concentrated on the real people behind

the bid'. Peden's interpretation of the media's fascination with Galloway offered another explanation as to why the media found the proposal so controversial. However, Galloway's reputation should not be considered the only reason for the topicalisation of the bid.

6.9 Brown McMaster and Allan Cowan[26]

McMaster was Oliver's deputy chairman at the time of the proposal, and was promoted to chairman in December 1997. Cowan had been a fans' representative and became a board member when McMaster became chairman. McMaster claimed to have little knowledge of the affair, and emphasised repeatedly the fact that there 'was no approach made to the club'. There was no business approach made through the official channels of lawyers and accountants. Cowan recognised the prejudice of the media coverage but distanced the club from the media coverage:

> The thing about the discussions you're talking about, there was a lot in the press about them, and a lot of it was, frankly, insulting and jokey, and treated any suggestion that there might have been – and I'm not sure exactly what suggestion there was – but treated it in an unnecessarily sarcastic and humorous way, practically poking fun at the Indian community. I can remember articles in the *Sunday Mail* in particular.[27] So a lot of the coverage was of that nature, not serious. You know, that's what people will have read, that was tabloid newspapers trying to get an angle on a story – Pakora Thistle and nonsense like that. And obviously Partick Thistle can't be held responsible for that kind of press coverage.

The possibility that Oliver's remarks were prejudiced is dismissed by McMaster: 'Let's not get too excited about it. I know Charan Gill is an Indian and I think he does have a curry shop'. Like Oliver, McMaster argues that since

the comments are factually correct they cannot be racist. McMaster defended Oliver, and Cowan defended the club. Both stated that as there was no official approach the club cannot be held responsible for dismissing the proposal.

Cowan maintained that Scottish Asians would be welcome at Thistle. Though he did admit that the club had never actively encouraged local Scottish Asians to become involved in the club. Furthermore, Thistle's reputation for what Cowan called 'non-conformism' had resulted from a position of stasis: 'Because we're not Celtic and we're not Rangers'. Although Cowan recognised that Scottish society has a problem with racism he contradictorily believed that 'if there are Asian players, or anyone from any other ethnic group out there, who's a good player then they will be given their chance to play here'. This repetition of the argument of equal opportunity allowed McMaster to offer a series of stereotypes about Scottish Asians which in effect blamed the minority group itself for the lack of Scottish Asian players. After all, the problem could not lie with the equitable majority:

> I think that there's a lot a people who don't want their children to leave school at sixteen and give up all their chance for a career and I think that's maybe particularly true of the Asian community. There's maybe a greater requirement or desire to be educated and go on to further education [] And they seem to be very good at cricket and hockey. I mean those seem to be their main games, it seems to be the two games they've brought with them – hockey and cricket are games which they excel at. You don't get very many of them playing rugby, you don't get

> very many of the playing football [] I think your average young Asian who is good at sport possibly is playing hockey and cricket.

McMaster's belief in such stereotypes would have encouraged him to be sceptical about the proposal for Scottish Asians to invest in the club. Equally, his own self-preservation is enhanced by reference to both the equality of Scottish football and the preference of Scottish Asians themselves for business, education, hockey and cricket.

6.10 Imran Muneer[28]

Muneer was assisting Galloway and McKay, both of whom he claimed to have met about two weeks before the SASA dinner, with the proposal. He did not mention any other parties being involved prior to the SASA dinner, and it was not until the SASA dinner that others expressed interest. In the aftermath of Galloway's announcement, Muneer recognised that the situation became 'ugly' and claimed that the 'investors who wanted to keep in the quiet were being brought forward and they were not happy about that'. Muneer claimed that there was 'no secret investor' but that there was 'a range of other people'. He did, though, specifically name Gill and Rasul as the 'major bidders'. Muneer's understanding contradicts the claims of Galloway, McKay and Peden that there was a more powerful consortium member whose name still remains a secret.

Regarding the SASA dinner and who was aware of Galloway's intentions, Muneer offered vital information: 'We had spoken to Prem Singh beforehand. He knew of the idea, I mean we had been lobbying the idea through key people [] There were people who knew about it'. Prem Singh was a committee member of SASA and had organised the speakers for that evening.[29] Yet, Yayiah Shaik, who was also a committee member at that time argued that every committee member later denied knowledge of Galloway's intentions.[30] It does seem credible, though, that other individuals associated with SASA had expressed interest in the proposal. The involvement of Mohammed Sarwar[31] somewhere, maybe as the secret investor of Galloway, McKay and Peden, was a possibility considering that he is very close to both Galloway and Rasul. Yet, when discussion with a number of his business partners, with all the individuals involved in the affair, and 'off the record' with Sarwar himself,

indicated that Sarwar had no involvement. The only hint that he was came when Kash Taank was asked informally if Sarwar had participated, and Taank replied: 'I cannot tell you. I've been sworn to secrecy'. One informant close to the Glasgow Pakistani community told me that Sarwar had told Galloway to give Rasul's name to the media, promising to clear it with Rasul later. However, the informant later withdrew this story. Thus, it appears that some information has eluded this research, perhaps detailing other investors, perhaps offering more detailed explanations for Oliver's response, the withdrawal of the consortium members, and the position of McKay and Galloway. As discussed earlier, the accounts given reflect a range of subjective concerns and motivations. Unfortunately, it is impossible to be certain about the validity of that which has been revealed and the extent of that which has been concealed.

Muneer also commented upon the racism which had emerged throughout the affair. He argued that: 'the newspapers turned around, there was a lot of comments made, which were tongue in cheek at that time, but eventually it frightened the investors'. Furthermore, he added that: 'Mr Rasul and Mr Gill eventually pulled out not because of the price but because of all the hassle that came from the media'. These descriptions perhaps offer an insight into the response of Rasul and Gill beyond their self-presentation strategies. Indeed, Muneer stated that Gill was 'quite embarrassed and insulted . . . it was comments like that that put [the investors] off the whole idea'. The diversity of response from Scottish Asians is evident, but Muneer's position as Galloway's aide perhaps allowed him a greater insight into the events of the bid. He was in communication with Galloway and, through his position in the *Scottish Asian Voice*, prominent Scottish Asians. He was more prepared to

criticise Oliver, who he said: 'did apologise in his own way by saying that it could be a one-eyed black lesbian saxophone player, he does not care. But I do not know whether that is any better'.

In stark contrast to Rasul and Gill, Muneer was prepared to outline and criticise racism. He perhaps indicated to a greater extent the impact of that racism. Meanwhile, unlike Gill and Oliver, he was aware that many Scottish Asians are intent on involving themselves in football:

> It might have had a temporary sort of downer on some people, or put a stop to people's interest, but I think in general Asian-wide anybody who was interested in football will remain interested in football. This showed that it can be possible to do things. However, racism does exist and it is not that easy, but I do believe that eventually it will get to the point where Asian people will be more involved in mainstream [football] but it has to be a two way thing, it has to be from both ends . . . I think they have been used to that kind of thing. It just proved to them again and again that once again here we go. Try to make an effort, try to do something, every time we try to do something we get hit back. It is something they have always known, been though, and it is the Asian experience. You have seen it before, it was just another example of it. If anyone say that racism doesn't exist [they are wrong], and I'm not talking about name-calling, I'm talking about calculated, subtle, and vicious puns that were used about Asian people and stuff like that. It just typifies the state of mind that still exists even in the so-called civilised part of Scotland.

Thus, Muneer's account suggests that Gill and Rasul were influenced by racism. Importantly, Muneer noted the broader impact of the prejudiced response to the bid. He was aware of the depressing effect it had upon Scottish Asians, and he was aware that Scottish Asians face racism in their efforts to play football. Finally, and crucially, he realised that racism in Scotland is denied, it is subtle but vicious, and it is *the* 'Asian experience'.

6.11 An Interpretation

There is much about the proposal, and the events around it, which remain unknown.[32] As the analysis of individual's accounts demonstrates, there is confusion, and there is also concern for self-presentation. It is in Galloway and McKay's interests to argue that they were representing a consortium, and not simply promoting an idea. Oliver and Gill have their own reasons for arguing that there was no consortium. Other, more peripheral figures, did not always help in the pursuit of clarity.

The forms of prejudice evident are complex and multi-layered, and intersect on occasion with ideas of the equality of Scottish society. There was also a range of denial strategies. Gill and Rasul's denial that racism was influential in their decisions to withdraw makes it difficult to sustain the argument that it was racist prejudice which undermined the proposal. The complexity is further enhanced through Gill's subsequent alliance with Oliver. Indeed, Gill and Rasul's respective responses indicate a heterogeneity among Scottish Asians. They illustrate the range of reactions to prejudice and the problems faced by anti-racist campaigners as they seek to prove and dissolve racism. If Gill befriends his ridiculer, and Rasul de-emphasises the effect of racism, then the allegation of racism seems insubstantial. Galloway and McKay's efforts to blame racism for the consortium's demise depends upon the reactions of their secret investor; but we do not know what his reaction was.

However, racism was to be found in more complex and subtle forms. The claims of Young and McMaster that Scottish football is free of racism allow them to disregard the barriers of racism which confront Scottish Asians. Oliver's claim that Scottish Asians are not interested in football allows him to

interpret the affair as Galloway's cynical exploitation of both Partick Thistle and Scottish Asians. It is Galloway who is abusing the minority community, in Oliver's view, not himself.

From cross-referencing sources, and trying to eliminate the distortions of self-defence, it is possible to offer a speculative description of the events. Galloway and McKay were committed to the idea. Some Scottish Asians, though it is not known who exactly, probably discussed in positive terms the idea with Galloway and McKay in the weeks preceding the SASA dinner. Galloway had close contacts with Scots-Pakistanis, including Mohammed Sarwar. Partick Thistle appeared to be a good choice because it was located close to Scottish Asian communities, it had a reputation for 'non-racism' so the fans (it was hoped) would support the bid, and it was in financial difficulties. Galloway and McKay met with Muneer, they planned to lobby the idea and to establish support for their plan. By this stage they believed that the Scots-Pakistanis with whom they had discussed the idea would lend their financial support. One of the Scots-Pakistanis was Maq Rasul, who had agreed to consider the proposal, and had probably not thought to make sure his agreement should remain confidential. On the Friday before the SASA dinner McKay telephoned Oliver to arrange the meeting which was held in the golf club on the Wednesday. Galloway had been invited to speak at the SASA dinner, though it is not clear on which subject, or who had invited him. It remains uncertain as to who informed the BBC that Galloway was to make an announcement relating to a potential Scottish Asian investment in Thistle.[33] When the BBC called him, Galloway said that Rasul among others had agreed to be involved.

Galloway possibly sought publicity to encourage others to join his consortium. Since he was to meet Oliver the following day he perhaps imagined that he could tell Oliver who was in the consortium, how much money they had, and what price they could offer. On the evening of the SASA dinner there was, according to Muneer, excitement over the proposal, so there did appear to be enthusiasm among those present. A number of individuals, like Gill, would have mentioned their interest should the negotiations proceed. One important feature was the price, which Galloway had probably suggested to the Scottish Asian businessmen as being around £1.5m. Galloway's formulation of the events were unfortunate: make the proposal public[34], try to agree a price with Oliver, raise the money from those who expressed an interest. Neither Galloway nor McKay could have foreseen the fascination which the media had about the proposal. Nor could they have foreseen Oliver's response.

However, it was the intervention of Young and Gill, who collaborated to present Gill as a consortium member, which altered the course of events. This was a fascinating phenomenon. Research into the sociological role of the media has usually emphasised the media's role in presenting a distorted perception of social reality (Kellner 1995). Thus, the media does not reflect events in an objective sense, but selects and presents the facts within the context of a particular interpretative framework. In a different sense, the media is understood as producing social reality by presenting a particular version of events. Thus, the media produce knowledge and so the understanding of an event, that which makes the event real, is located with the media. Alternatively,

media knowledges are productive as reality because they influence social change and social thinking.

Fairclough has suggested a framework within which the relationship between discourses and practice can be understood:

> I see discourse as a complex of three elements: social practice, discoursal practice (text production, distribution and consumption), and text, and the analysis of a specific discourse call for the analysis in each of these three dimensions and their interrelations. The hypothesis is that significant connections exist between features of texts, ways in which texts are put together and interpreted, and the nature of social practice.
>
> (1995: 74)

However, in the Thistle affair the media actually plays a productive role in shaping reality. This is not only due to the prejudice as discussed in the previous chapter, Young's prompting of Gill actually determined the outcome of the proposal. The media directly, and materially, produced social reality. Similarly, when a journalist called Oliver in Birmingham it was a media intervention which prompted change.

It is these media interventions, and the fact of their influence, that we can determine with certainty. Gill's promotion possibly angered Galloway and the other potential investors. Then there was the description of Gill as a restaurateur, the 'humorous' newspaper articles referring to curries, and Oliver's public dismissal Gill. Another consequence of the early publicity was Oliver's anger and his questions over the existence of a consortium. Oliver's criticisms

of Galloway and the MP's reactions then dominated the negotiations. This public dispute made it clear that Galloway had to withdraw. Once he had withdrawn no other action was taken because the potential investors had been waiting for Galloway to organise the fund-raising and the eventual purchase. Also, Oliver's prejudice probably prevented any Scottish Asian from volunteering to negotiate with the Thistle chairman. Moreover, although Gill and Rasul deny it, there remains the possibility that Galloway was correct, that the bid collapsed due to racism both from Oliver and from the media.

Racist prejudice was evident throughout this affair. However, it took subtle and complex forms, such as the media's 'tongue-in-cheek' humour, and Oliver's insult to Gill which was followed by an apology just as problematic. Yet, interviewing participants served to further the complexities since each offered different reasons for the bid's demise. The response from Scottish Asians was diverse and often quite subtle in itself. Gill and Rasul hinted at the impact of racism, but refused to acknowledge its centrality in the affair. Yet, Muneer's comments suggest that both businessmen were influenced by racism, and that the affair had a wider affect on the Scottish Asian community.

6.12 Conclusion

The affair demonstrated the prevalence and complexity of racism in Scottish society and its manifestation in Scottish football. Racism, though, is not a simple phenomenon. It operates on a range of levels and identifying these through interviews was not a straight-forward process.

Self-presentation plays a significant role in the understanding of racism, with people seeking to avoid any accusation of intolerance which may be made against them. Equally, people devise strategies of denial which allow them to subsequently make prejudiced comments. The semantic gymnastics of Oliver prove this point, as does the repetition of negative stereotypes by McKay and Brown to justify exclusion.

However, in this case those who were promoting Scottish Asian football, and recognised racism as a problem, were not blameless in their actions. Galloway's strategy was not without its flaws, and an explanation for the demise of the bid must consider this as well as the racism of Oliver and the press.

This proposal involved a complex web of relationships, which included the media. Muneer's communication with the BBC before the SASA dinner, Young's promotion of Gill, the telephone call to Oliver, and the general racism of the coverage, all contributed to the proposal's outcome. Knowledge production was integral to this affair, and the media played a crucial role. Yet, were it not for the pre-existent prejudices in Scottish society the entire issue of early publicity and media interventions would be superfluous. There was a fascination about Scottish Asian involvement in football, and the presence of Galloway merely increased the story's topicality. It was this topicality which

made the early publicity so important. In turn the early publicity prompted prejudiced comments from the media and from Oliver. Thus, the story had an exoticised element not dissimilar to the response to early black and 'Asian' players. However it was not a neutral exoticism, it was accompanied and related to racist prejudice, it was ridiculing and insulting.

The entire take-over episode demonstrated the complexities, contradictions and subtleties around 'modern' racism which make any simple conclusion impossible. Evidence of racism was abundant, both in media accounts and the interviews of this chapter, yet we remain uncertain as to whether or not it was racism which derailed the proposal. Perhaps that question is extraneous, and it is enough to note racism's existence and its exclusionary effects which, of course, need not be direct and causal to be relevant.

The problems faced in this research with respect to clarifying intentions and responses are indicative of the anti-racism problems of the mid-1990s. There were misunderstandings of racism, denials of injurious intent, and examples of Scottish Asians themselves avoiding the issue. When racism is considered in such a detailed manner, and the range of racisms analysed, there inevitably emerges the need for good description and close scrutiny of the finer points. The set of interviews presented in this chapter certainly required careful analysis. 'Modern' racism is not as obvious and clear-cut as 'old-fashioned' bigotry: the attempts to cover up and deny demand sustained exposition. Nevertheless, the benefit is some form of eventual clarity in an otherwise confused and bewildering situation. These result of the interviews were a revelation of prejudice and stereotyping obfuscated by claims and counter-claims in which motives and influences were not easy to decipher. Despite the

complexities, the theme of racism stands out, once again highlighting the continuity of racist prejudice in Scotland.

NOTES

[1]The reason for the bid's collapse should not detract from the racism which was present in the media coverage.

[2]Interview took place on 9 February 1996.

[3]Galloway's relationship with Glaswegian Pakistanis was outlined as an important aspect of the proposal. His career has often been beset by controversy, and his political alliances with groups in Libya and Iraq have often been scandalised by the media. Most notable have been his opposition to the Gulf conflicts of 1991 and 1998, and his meetings with Colonel Gadaffi and Saddam Hussein.

[4]The desire for a broader consortium appears based on a desire for unity among Scottish Asians. The reason Galloway chose the SASA dinner to make his announcement was that SASA is regarded in Glasgow as a Scots-Indian organisation, though in reality it has no such exclusionary agenda. There is a common perception that SASA is largely an Indian organisation. Galloway's acceptance of this view inspired him to use their dinner as the platform to invite Scots-Indians to join the consortium. The actual evidence that SASA is largely Indian is lacking. From interviews with a number of people involved in SASA I found that Scots-Pakistanis have been included in SASA events. The first groups to belong to SASA may have been mainly Scots-Indians but by the late 1990s it was a larger organisation and more inclusive. Certainly, the SASA committee stress its pluralistic philosophy (see chapter 8).

[5]Interview took place on 11 March 1996.

[6]In his *Scotland on Sunday* column (27 August 1995) McKay wrote: 'The plan had been concocted earlier between me and my pal . . . George Galloway'. Even so, he was not interviewed by the media, nor was he positioned as prominently as Galloway.

[7]Once again it is astounding that Thistle's 'non-racism' needs to be highlighted. The assumption clearly is that their non-racism is exceptional, and that most Scottish clubs are in some form racist or 'sectarian'.

[8]Oliver acknowledged that McKay had called him, though he didn't appear greatly impressed:

"'He was the guy who before the end of last season predicted we would be relegation favourites for this season. I'd never met him, and saw no reason to take his calls. But he insisted it was an investment proposition. He said someone wanted to invest in Partick Thistle'" (*Herald*, 29 August 1995).

[9]Partick Thistle's ground, Firhill, the BBC offices and Great Western Road are in close proximity.

[10]Interview took place on 13 February 1996.

[11]Kash Taank suggested (interview with P. Dimeo, 13 July 1998) that it was one of Galloway's aides who had informed the BBC of Galloway's intention to announce the proposal. Taank would not commit to this view, as it had been almost three years since the evening in question.

[12]Interview took place on 16 June 1997.

[13]From interviews with Gill and Subash Joshi, who was an accountant in Glasgow, it is clear the Scots-Indian group decided after one meeting that the investment was not a good idea. Joshi has since mentioned publicly (at a conference at Celtic Park on 22 January 1999) that Gill had enough money, but failed to expand on the reasons why no further approaches to Oliver were made. Other sources within SASA have suggested that Gill has considered investing in a football club since this Thistle affair, but has found no suitable opportunity.

[14]Interview took place on 14 May 1996.

[15]This element was never mentioned by Galloway or McKay. It is unclear if they sought Football Trust finance or imagined that as the initiative would promote minority interest in football some grants usually awarded to anti-racist projects might be available.

[16]Rasul's implicit suggestion is that the press offer racism and prejudice because that is what people want to read. In other words, the pre-existing values of the readers are racist towards minority ethnic groups.

[17]Interview took place on 16 April 1998.

[18]It is not clear why Oliver insisted that the investors be able to improve the club's position. Once the present board had their financial demands met their concern with the future board's conduct would be academic.

[19]Furthermore, Oliver had publicly stated that the group will find 'that the current Partick

Thistle board is not the past Celtic board' (*Sun*, 28 August 1995). The Celtic board prior to McCann's arrival had been renowned for their lack of investment in the club and thus had been susceptible to take-over. Oliver consistently claimed that his board had invested heavily in Thistle and had significantly improved their position. Yet, if Oliver did have concerns over Low they do not appear to have been raised before this meeting. However, Low was instrumental in McCann's success, and that may explain Oliver's negative comments.

[20]Which, of course, was even more insulting.

[21]The media suggested before the weekend was that analysts valued the club at £1.5m, but Thistle's board, according to the media's speculation, hoped to receive £2.5m.

[22]Gill had a lunchtime meeting with Galloway and McKay.

[23]Galloway's constituency contains only a small number of Scottish Asian voters.

[24]However, this self-validation is of a retrospective nature, and does not fully explain his negative comments towards Gill, or his negative reaction to Galloway and the proposal.

[25]Interview took place on 18 December 1995.

[26]Interview took place on 2 April 1998.

[27]Cowan was probably thinking of Bill Leckie's piece in the *Sunday Mail's* sister paper the *Daily Record.*

[28]Interview took place on 9 March 1996.

[29]Unfortunately, Prem Singh had left Scotland soon after this affair so could not be contacted for his version of events.

[30]Interview took place on 3 April 1996.

[31]Sarwar was a local government councillor in August 1995. He was later elected to the post of Labour MP for Govan but stood trial and was acquitted in early 1999 of election fraud relating to his successful campaign for the Govan seat.

[32]There were other reasons offered for the bid's failure by individuals who wished to remain anonymous. A prominent financial analyst argued that Galloway's insistence on early publicity was responsible. Meanwhile, a Scottish Asian councillor argued that it was too risky financially, that the consortium realised that and realised their own lack of football

management experience. However, he also noted that Scottish Asians were enthusiastic about football, and that both Oliver and the media had expressed racist views.

[33]Kash Taank's later suggestion that it was one of Galloway's aides implies that it was Muneer.

[34]It is not clear why Galloway rushed into this announcement. Certainly, McKay seemed surprised at Galloway's actions. Perhaps nobody imagined the intensity of the media's interest. However, it may also have been that the annual dinner of SASA was seen as an unmissable opportunity.

Chapter 7: *Scotland on Sunday*'s 'Fair Play for Asians' campaign

7.1 Introduction

Bains with Patel (1996) had demonstrated that the disparity between enthusiasm for football among English Asians and the extent of their participation. When this was published there was no similar research exploring the experiences of Scottish Asian. Horne (1995, 1996) had suggested that further research was required, but none had yet emerged. However in November 1996, inspired by Bains with Patel[1], the Scotland on Sunday (SoS) undertook a similar research project to that of Bains with Patel. As this was a media project it was less substantial than that of Bains with Patel. While the English study questioned football club secretaries, youth team coaches, physical education teachers, football club youth development officers and football club community development officers – as well as the players – the SoS chose to survey only the league club secretaries and players. Where Bains with Patel acknowledged that their sample of 200 English Asian players was relatively small, the SoS merely sampled 61.[2] Finally, the SoS's survey was distinguishable from Bains with Patel's research because of local Scottish factors, specifically, the history of 'sectarianism', and the myth that Scottish football is free of racism.

This chapter shall approach the SoS's campaigns using a textual analysis method. It is possible to distinguish between two modes of analysis – empirical and rhetorical – for each of the two surveys, of Scottish Asians players and league club secretaries. Firstly, the surveys will be examined for their ability to sustain the conclusions which the newspaper drew from them. This empirical analysis shall be limited to the sufficiency of the survey data, analysing the quantitative research methods used and the style of their execution. Secondly, an analysis shall be made of the underlying concepts

relating to racism; and the position of Scottish Asians in Scottish society. As such this section shall involve analysis of the rhetoric, the types of qualitative statements made about Scottish Asians and football, which offer the opportunity to explore how racism and minority groups were represented in a newspaper campaign whose objective is anti-racism and whose audience consists of largely middle- and upper- class Scots. Thus, the purpose of this inquiry is to detail and review the manner in which racism and Scottish Asians are understood in Scottish society. Importantly, it is necessary to highlight and challenge the flaws in anti-racist and liberal discourses, just as much as it is necessary to do the same for explicitly prejudiced discourses. The banal and easy assumptions of liberal models should be undermined if they misunderstand, misrepresent or fail to seriously confront the issues of racism facing Scottish society.

7.2 Summary of the campaign

November 24 1996 was the day of the campaign's launch. At the top of the back page (then the main page for SoS's sports coverage) the headline read 'Football racism sidelines Scotland's ethnic minorities'. The first paragraph read:

> Abused, underestimated and ignored, Scottish Asians feel football is turning its back on them, according to an SoS study. The first of its kind in Scotland, it found 80% of 61 players aged 12-30 questioned felt being Asian made it less likely they would progress in the game. Two in three reported suffering discrimination in the sport and 10% were the victims of violence. Several concerns were confirmed in a survey of 18 of Scotland's 40 League club secretaries which found an old-fashioned level of ignorance about Asian footballers.

Inside the newspaper one entire page of the sports section was devoted to the campaign. The findings of the survey were expanded upon, followed by a series of recommendations ('Eight steps to give Asian footballers a sporting chance in Scotland'). There was a discussion of the influence and nature of racism ('A question of race and favour'). There was an article on the lack of assistance given to anti-racism by the Scottish football authorities ('Let's face up to the fact football has a fundamental problem'). Finally on the first day was an article on the career of Rashid Sarwar ('Kilmarnock's happy loser suggests why so few stars rise in the east').

By the second day of the campaign (1 December 1996) the number of features per issue was reduced to one; the much-vaunted campaign had stuttered after such a bold start. The announcement was made of a multicultural

five-a-side tournament to be held in Edinburgh ('Sixes to kick-start campaign'). The 'campaign' was designed to be launched with the survey and some discussion on 24 November. Subsequent articles were intermittent and irregular. On the following Sunday (8 December 1996) an article described the sponsorship of Stenhousemuir FC by a local Scottish Asian businessman, and also reported on the Indian branch of the Stenhousemuir supporters club ('Through the Ochils there's a passage to India').[3] On the fourth Sunday (15 December 1996) there was a discussion of the proposed Asian Soccer Academy ('Academy to provide the solutions'), a proposal which the newspaper had cited as one of eight steps towards equality.

The campaign took a break over Christmas and New Year, returning on 2 February 1997 with an article on Celtic's Bhoys Against Bigotry project ('Key role for youngsters in Celtic's integration dream'). However, it was another two weeks before an outline of the efforts of Lesmahagow businessman, Mumtaz Hussain, to organise Scottish Asian youth football appeared ('Love conquers the barriers'). Then two months passed until a report on the Edinburgh five-a-side tournament ('Edinburgh puts Asian football on the map', 13 April 1997), and a report on Glasgow City Council's 'multi-cultural' five-a-side tournament[4] ('Magnificent seven prepare as famous fives return to Kelvin Hall', 4 May 1997).

7.3 The surveys

The Scotland on Sunday's surveys were of two groups: young Scottish Asian football players, and league club secretaries. Their answers were summarised in the text[5] and the SoS has kindly made the full transcripts available for analysis. Surveys are one of a number of social research methods employed in the quest for greater understanding of social phenomena. Surveys can be criticised as crude, broad overviews of complex issues, which reduce and simply the complexities of reality and social identity (Alexander 1996). The SoS used the method in conjunction with qualitative discussion of the campaign's themes. The empirical analysis shall concentrate upon the survey as a foundation for the claims made by the SoS, and this analysis shall be followed by a critical review of the rhetorical, qualitative discourses.

The size of the survey sample is the foundation of its claims to a general knowledge about a group of people. Surveys attempt to offer a 'snapshot' of a particular issue, and the larger the sample the greater degree of authority claimed by the survey. Generally, a larger sample proportionate to the entire population will proved a higher degree of confidence and greater accuracy. However, when a small population is being surveyed a larger proportionate sample is preferable (Neuman 1997:221-2). The size of the Scottish Asians sample was 61, while the survey of club secretaries had a size of 18 out of a possible 40. Regardless of the questions over sample size the intention of the SoS was to draw general conclusions about the two groups, and to lend an air of (social) scientific legitimacy to their project. The implicit assumption was that the existence of racism as a factor in the football experience of Scottish Asians had to be statistically proven before it would be accepted by their readership. However, this aim may have resulted in an oversimplification of racism issues.

7.4 The survey of Scottish Asian football players

7.4.1 Empirical analysis

The survey of Scottish Asian football players offered an opportunity to prove the existence of racism as an obstacle to this group's success in football. Most convincing in this were the conclusions that 'Two in three reported suffering discrimination in the sport' (24 November 1996), that '10% were victims of violence' (24 November 1996), and finally that 'Just over 46% of those discriminated against experienced verbal abuse playing at boys, school or amateur level – in several instances from team-mates' (24 November 1996). While these results indicated a level of racist activity, the sample size was again too small to come to general conclusions.[6] Two out of three is 40 individuals, 10% is 6, and 46% of 40 ('those discriminated against') is 21. Thus, the claim that Scottish Asians are 'abused, underestimated and ignored', or that they are 'forced to the margins by discrimination' (24 November 1996), depended upon a small sample and an even smaller number of individuals who claim to have experienced racism. Furthermore, it is unclear how 'racism' was being defined, or if respondents felt it to be central to their experiences or simply one of a number of different concerns.

One other objective which the SoS pursued was to overcome the 'widely-held prejudice that Asians either don't play football or participate only in their own groups' (24 November 1996), ideas which could be described as banal or cultural racism. Empirical refutation of these ideas would not doubt prove valuable, and help undermine some of the prejudiced myths around Scottish Asians and football. However, the latent assumptions and social functions of such myths should also be challenged. The foundation of these myths is problematic; the suggestion that general statements can be made about what Scottish Asians do, about whom they do it with, that what they do is some

how wrong, and that through their own volition they have not found much success in professional football. In a sense, therefore, by simply empirically refuting these ideas, the more fundamental problems remained.

Results were presented showing that '49% played at least twice a week' (24 November 1996), and '70% of those who took part in our survey played at least once a week' (24 November 1996). However, how these should be interpreted is not clear. Obviously, in a survey of football players a large percentage will admit to playing football regularly.[7] Nor was the meaning of 'playing football' clarified by the SoS; there are a range of possible levels of participation from informal 'kick-abouts' to 11-a-side leagues. And, finally, the comparative statistics for the majority were not made available, so it is unclear if 49% and 70% are relatively high or low.

The question of sample size is again pertinent: 49% of 61 is 29, which seems like a small number to base a conclusion upon. SoS also state that: '44% [played] in "mixed" or "mainly white" sides' (24 November 1996). This means that 56% play in all-Asian teams. Such a fact could be construed as evidence of racism, given that the existence of racism may push Scottish Asians into safer environments. However, that 44% can play without fear of 'whites' demonstrates that barriers to active participation are not omnipresent. The survey was contradictory in the sense that on one level Scottish Asians were presented as being excluded from football by racism, yet on a second level they regularly play with 'white' majority Scots. One possible answer to this contradiction is that Scottish Asians play with 'white' friends, who they know and trust. The dilemmas which pervade these statistics are complex. Playing in 'all-Asian' teams may be the understandable result of racism. However, the SoS attempted to show 'mixed' football in a positive light as a counter to the prejudiced idea that Scottish Asians only play in their own groups. Perhaps the

solution lies with the nature of the initial prejudiced belief, and recognition that the important question is not whether Scottish Asians play by themselves, but why? The prejudiced view may be that they don't want to mix, which further explains why so few have developed into professional players. The more sympathetic view would be that racism is central to the choice of companions.

Further complexities can be found in other survey results. The fact that '80% . . . felt being Asian made it less likely they would progress in the game' (24 November 1996) does not have an obvious meaning. What is it about being 'Asian' that makes progress less likely? Is it entirely related to how clubs and sports educators respond to the fact of their Asianness? Or is there something about 'Asian' culture which is influential? That this last question was a concern is revealed by the following survey result: 'though suspicion towards football as a career is undeniable among some elders, the younger generation – 63% – would overwhelmingly consider it' (24 November 1996). It is not obvious if 63% is a little or a lot, how this compares with other groups. Like Bains with Patel (1996) the conclusion reached regarding parental influence was not based on any comparison or benchmark.

The 'suspicion towards football as a career . . . among some elders' is a curious comment. Quite why there was suspicion is not explained, but there was an implicit assumption that Scottish Asians belong to such a close knit community that it has 'elders' and that they are influential. Indeed, the alleged prominence of 'elders' presents the Scottish Asian community as a different culture, an almost primitive, tribal culture; a pre-modern culture in which 'elders' are venerated for their sagacity. The comparative contrast was never made, the role of older members of Scottish culture was never mentioned as an influential factor in the production of talented players. Similarly the SoS noted that 'prohibitive factors do exist within Asian communities, as 24% of our

survey acknowledged. A common response was that parents would still push children towards business or education' (24 November 1996). The extent to which 'white' Scottish parents attempt to influence their offspring in the direction of business or education was not detailed, and the comparison not mentioned. What was also missed is the validity of this choice. Professional football is a very difficult environment in which to find success, thus education and business are much more reasonable pursuits as they offer more opportunities. However, ethnicity was proposed as the sole explanatory factor, whereas other sociological factors such as class, mobility, processes of migration, and the structure of employment markets, are at least as important. The issue of parental influence represents another complex dilemma which the SoS raised without resolving.

'Asian' ethnicity was presumed to dominate such decisions. 'Asian' parents were not considered to behave as parents *per se*, but specifically as 'Asian' parents. Indeed the question posed actually reproduces a stereotype of British Asian youths as being 'between two cultures', an idea which draws attention from racist practices and on to notions of 'cultural conflict' (CCCS 1982:123). A common prejudiced view has been that first generation migrants force restrictive South Asian practices upon second and third generations, such as religion and arranged marriages. 'Elders' represent the restrictions of South Asian 'culture', and thus conflict emerges for second and third generations between their preference of 'western' freedoms and repressive South Asian practices. Of course, this view suffers from dichotomising South Asian/British cultures. But, South Asian 'culture' was criticised and the concerns of the first generation viewed with suspicion. Lack of success in football can, it is believed, be partly explained by factors internal to 'Asian' culture, specifically the repressive influence of 'elders'. Consequently, racism is not considered

central to the development and experience of Scottish Asian footballers. The focus upon 'prohibitive factors . . . within Asian communities' actually served to shift the responsibility from racism and on to community 'elders'. The stereotype was confirmed, even though the necessity for the question was not obvious, and the quantitative evidence for comparative assessment was lacking.

In summary, the survey did highlight the issue of racism, though limited by small sample sizes and the explicit reduction of complexity into manageable, concise slices of information. The effect was to introduce some confusion, and it was not always clear how the data presented should be interpreted. Equally problematic was the strategic decision to counter the prejudice of the majority by remaining within the discursive framework set by prejudiced accounts, instead of challenging their premises. Moreover certain unresolved complexities of the nature of ethnicity emerged, and notions of the determining effects of 'Asian' culture were reproduced.

7.4.2 Rhetorical responses from 'Asian' players

The responses from the players which were not published indicated a level of complexity lacking in the newspaper's analysis. Indeed, the selection and presentation of responses effectively suppresses the dilemmas and complexities inherent in this evidence. The players were asked: 'Why are there so few Asian professionals?' Racism and racial discrimination were popular replies, however, a number of the individuals chose to point to other issues. These were not presented in the printed texts.

Two respondents felt Scottish Asians simply lacked the ability: 'because there [sic] all shit!'; 'because they are not good'. There is an ambiguity about claims that Scottish Asians lack talent. In one sense it is true, in that few Scottish Asians have surfaced as good enough to play professional football. It is possible that there have been players talented enough but scouts and clubs have not considered employing them. Alternatively, if throughout the age groups Scottish Asian footballers confront barriers, then by the time they mature to youth level football, they have not had the opportunity to develop fully. One respondent was prepared to recognise the struggles involved in pursuing a career in football: 'everyone wants to become footballers! competition'. Football is not an egalitarian arena, by definition, individuals are judged on ability, discriminating against all but the most talented. Of course, Scottish Asians face double discrimination: that based upon football talent, and that based on 'race'.

Some of the respondents highlighted concerns which echo majority prejudice: 'If going into some form of professional sport Asians would prefer to go into cricket, rather than football'; 'Asians themselves, I feel, are not committed'; 'at a young age white children are encouraged to play, but in the Asian culture football is not considered very much, therefore the children are

not encouraged to play at a higher level'; 'football is not part of Asian culture'; 'because of our family commitments and traditions many Asians tend not to think about going professional'; 'I feel many societies are wary of Asians, as the Asians themselves have given Asians a bad name'. These comments were difficult to manage in the context of an anti-racist campaign which has the limited objectives of proving racism and Scottish Asians' desire for success at football. Although these responses do not necessarily disprove racism, they do add a level of complexity and of heterogeneity which cannot be included in the SoS's texts as they do not fit with the overall themes. This is what Clifford has referred to as a 'tearing off' an act of 'censorship *and* meaning-creation, a suppression of incoherence and contradiction' (1986:160-1). The responses are difficult to manage within the conceptual framework used by the SoS. Individual differences, struggles with ideas of 'Asianness', responses which detract from the overall simple message of the campaign: these were suppressed in the effort to present a manageable, coherent discourse. It should be noted that such responses highlight the complexity and diversity of response from Scottish Asians, even though the brief summaries of such response offered by the SoS suggest universality and homogeneity.

The responses present a dilemma for anti-racism. If, for example, it is true that Scottish Asians prefer cricket, are not committed to football, do not receive encouragement from their parents, do not see football as part of their culture, give priority to family and tradition, and cause social conflict, then the reasons for a lack of Scottish Asian presence in football do not lie with racism. However, there are a number of strategies available to minorities who face racism which might explain the responses given. Firstly, there may be an effort to explain away the perceived failure of Scottish Asians in football, with claims that it was choice rather than majority pressure which was responsible.

Consequently, Scottish Asians 'save face' by arguing that failure was only the result of a conscious decision not to succeed.[8] Secondly, the suggestion that parents could offer more assistance might also act as a form of encouragement, an effort to influence the development of players without relying upon majority groups. Overall, though, these complex strategies were the exception and most respondents pointed to racism as the central explanatory factor.

7.5 The survey of football club secretaries

The SoS surveyed 18 club secretaries[9], this is a small sample of the powerful individuals within Scottish football. However, the study was limited in two ways: firstly, the quantity was small; secondly, racism exists in numerous places and in a variety of forms, only interviewing the secretaries limits the scope of analysis.

The league club secretaries were accused of 'unabandoned prejudice' and their responses proposed as evidence of racism in Scottish football, even if it is described as being 'built more on ignorance rather than malice' (24 November 1996). None of them apparently 'was aware that Asians statistically play the same amount of football as whites' (24 November 1996).[10] Their prejudices included ideas 'that Asians did not have the physique for the game; found it "too cold" and "have to turn towards Mecca every two hours"' (24 November 1996). On top of these prejudices was a lack of concern for the barriers to Scottish Asian football: 'only 17% of League club secretaries feel football restricts Asians' opportunities' (24 November 1996). Thus, the secretaries were presented as representative of the type of racism identified by the survey of Scottish Asian players, and as representative of the lack of concern felt by Scottish football for Scottish Asians.

7.5.1 Empirical analysis of the survey of club secretaries

An examination of the answers of the secretaries, however, throws up a range of complexities. The survey findings did highlight racism, even if the samples were a little small, and the meanings not always obvious. However, the evidence the SoS ignored does point to a range of complex, deeply embedded racist ideologies which were not discussed in the texts.

The first question asked was: which group ('whites, blacks, Asians or Chinese')[11] played the most football?: '100% of club secretaries thought whites played the most' (24 November 1996). This consensus was presented as evidence of the secretaries' ignorance about the extent of enthusiasm among Scottish Asians for the sport. However, in terms of quantity it is obvious that 'whites' will play the most, given their numerical prevalence. It is only in terms of proportionality that the question makes sense, if the secretaries understood this is unclear. Aside from this concern, this question has another fault as it does not specify just what it means to play football. Does a 5 minute kick around in the back garden count? Does it have to be an organised game? How long does it have to last? In short, the answer is indeterminable. The lack of clarity in the question means that the replies given cannot be confidently accepted, but can be taken as an indication of their beliefs.

On other issues there was difference of opinion: '44% [feel] that Asians don't become professionals because they lack interest, talent or physique'. Again, this statement is not as straightforward and conclusive as it may appear. In terms of sample size and percentages the fact that 8 (44% of 18) individuals have offered these reasons cannot be taken as unequivocal evidence of widespread discrimination. The use of this evidence by the SoS was designed to demonstrate that those in power in Scottish football fail to realise that Scottish Asians are enthusiastic football players and fans. As such, the

argument goes, they are less likely to develop their talents, send scouts to watch them, and consequently attaining professional status is more difficult for this group. However, the term 'institutional racism' was never used by the SoS, the focus was on a small number of 'culprits' in key powerful positions. As such the extent of racism *throughout* the culture of Scottish football was not acknowledged. Racism was instead presented as residing with a small number of individuals.

When the SoS summarised the club secretaries' responses as follows: 'Some 17% felt Asians lacked the opportunities in the game to make it as professionals' (24 November 1996), it is unclear if this is good or bad. 17% or 3 were of the opinion that opportunities are not fully available for Asians, and were possibly prepared to criticise the organisations of Scottish football for this institutional racism. However, it is unclear whether the problem was perceived to lie with football organisations or with Scottish Asians themselves.

Yet, more secretaries were of the opinion that Scottish Asians chose not to play football: '33% felt they "lacked interest"'. While the placing of responsibility with Scottish Asians themselves by 33% or 6 individuals is evidence of an implicit prejudice and lack of awareness of Scottish Asian issues, there remains a problem of small sample size. So while the secretaries do show some forms of prejudice, the use of their answers in the text has an element of ambiguity. The replies made by the secretaries suggest a more complex situation than the SoS suggested in their brief coverage of the replies and their emphasis upon the explicitly negative answers.

Overall, the surveys indicate evidence of racism. They were somewhat limited by confused meanings and small sample sizes. However, their effect as part of an anti-racist campaign was to raise the issue of racism and that should be viewed as progressive. They were supported by evidence of a rhetorical

nature, and analysis of that evidence should reveal more of the assumptions about racism which informed the campaign.

7.5.2 Analysis of the rhetorical accounts from the club secretaries

If the responses themselves are examined, rather than the statistical summaries given in the texts, it is clear that another level of racism is exposed, a level unattended to by the SoS. This is the level of 'semantic strategies' (van Dijk 1984:115). The myth that Scottish society is free of racism is employed strategically by the secretaries to divert attention from inequalities of opportunity and towards ideas that subtly reproduce these inequalities. Claims of equality function to present an image of tolerance, they are exercises in 'social impression management' (van Dijk 1993:259), as well as exercises in denial. Responsibility was considered to lie, not with powerful structures and institutions, but with the very groups who are marginal. The actual answers given by the secretaries to the newspaper, not all of which made it into the text, show evidence of something other than 'unabandoned prejudice'.[12] Instead of discovering a uniform mode of thinking there are in fact dilemmas, individuals struggling with good intentions, yet reasserting the myth of equal opportunities and diverting blame from Scottish football and on to Scottish Asians. The club secretaries were asked 'Why is there so few Asian players?[13]

7.5.3 The myth of equality

Three secretaries referred to the equitous nature of Scottish society. The first began his argument by suggestion Scottish Asians are not interested and that if they were they would have every opportunity to succeed: 'Do they want to play? Race is not an issue, certainly not a bias against them. More would make it if "they had the desire to play football"'. So, for this individual responsibility lies with Scottish Asian groups, and the belief in equality of opportunity means that possible racist barriers are not recognised. Scottish Asians were understood to lack enthusiasm, a claim which suppresses the recognition of racism as central to their experiences. A second secretary reflected on his club's policy: 'If a player shines it doesn't matter what colour his skin [is], the only thing [we're] interested in is his skill'. And a third respondent (a manager) noted that: 'If you're good enough you'll make it.' But this deference to a perceived equality can detract from issues of racism even when evidence of racism was presented. Some of the replies attempted to present evidence both of a positive attitude towards Scottish Asian football, as well as ideas which leave the responsibility with inherent features of Scottish Asian culture.[14] For instance, one secretary pointed out that his club gave a trial to an 'Asian' 6 years previously. This practice contrasted with his argument that Asians find it 'too cold' to play football all year round. So, the prejudice inherent in the idea that Scottish Asians cannot deal with cold weather sits alongside the fact that his club gave a trial to one 'Asian'. There was a curious contradiction here, that the club gave a trial to a player which its secretary believed was unable to play during the winter months. These replies demonstrate that prejudiced beliefs can co-exist with strategies of positive impression management. Thus, prejudice is complex, and individuals can hold contradictory beliefs, and offer contradictory opinions.

7.5.4 The shift towards cultural racism

A number of secretaries were aware of typical prejudiced remarks and made every effort to deny their validity. One offered this dilemmatic statement: 'Lack of talent and lack of physique are racist remarks. Lack of interest from their parents. Opportunities but perhaps lose interest'. These comments are a denial of physical or biological forms of racism, while asserting prejudices which can be thought of as cultural racism.

Another made an effort at understanding and an awareness of physical racist stereotypes: 'Look at waif-like Scottish players, so can't lack physique. They excel at other sports so can't be talent. Family perhaps not football people so unlikely they'll get into football'. Once again, the respondent dismissed prejudices which referred to physicality, though he did not actually deny that Scottish Asians were 'waif-like'. However, the reference to parents repeats forms of prejudice which relate to 'culture' rather than physicality. The same respondent did not feel Scottish Asians had to pursue self-determination: 'Doesn't feel Asian soccer academy in Scotland way forward. Would like to see young Asians coming to [club's] football academy. Would be made most welcome'. There was no explanation as to his rejection of the Scottish Asian soccer academy. It is possible that he felt the existing system was not discriminatory. Certainly, there was no suggestion that he had actively encouraged Scottish Asians to join his club's academy.

A third secretary not only recognised the existence of prejudice but realised the discriminatory nature of football. Scottish Asians were understood to 'Lack opportunity', however, the iniquitous character of football in Scotland was not solely to blame: 'but [they] don't promote themselves to Scottish football'. The responsibility was to be shared with the minority group to force

their way into football, despite facing the barriers of prejudice and discrimination.

A fourth secretary has had personal contact with these groups, and made every effort to relate his experiences: '2 fold. Social – parents get them to study rather than be competitive in sport. Don't lack the opportunities because of what I've said. [The secretary] is a pharmacist, comes into contact with a lot of Asians. Culture prohibits them from taking part in active sport, parents are breed of people who want their sons to be professionals. Also religion. Had experience of Muslim cricketers . . . They take religion very seriously "every 2 hours look towards Mecca"'. Clearly, the secretary tried to find explanations within a supposed Scottish Asian culture for lack of football success. Opportunities were believed to be available, but Scottish Asians themselves apparently did not wish to exploit them. He seemed unaware that his sample of Scottish Asians may be skewed towards the professional classes, and failed to address class as an explanatory factor. The racialisation process is clear in the term 'breed', and 'Asian' 'culture' was viewed in negative terms as something which 'prohibits'. The incompatibility of his arguments with the success of Muslim nations in a range of sports was not realised.[15] Finally, the generalisations about Scottish Asians suggested that they were all Muslims and all middle-class. Not only do these imply a universalism, but they are inaccurate.

Three other secretaries pointed to an interest in cricket, and a lack of encouragement from parents and families. These place responsibility with factors internal to 'Asian culture', primarily with preference of sporting practice and with parental influence.

Issues of physique were only addressed in a negative sense by one secretary who noted that Asians were: 'Not physically built for football. Lack

opportunities because they lack physique'. This view not only places blame with the victim, but draws upon ideas of inherent, static and shared physical traits. This has parallels with other racist ideas in sport. Notions of black athleticism have replaced earlier presumptions of black weakness. As Tony Higgins, secretary of the Scottish Players' Football Association was quoted in the texts as saying: 'Some of the remarks about Asians' suitability are based on a myth perpetrated many years ago when black players came on the scene. They have obviously disproved them dramatically, but the same prejudice now seems to have been transferred to Asians' (24 November 1996).

This physical-based prejudice seems to be among the worst examples of racism on the part of the secretaries. The other explicit forms of prejudice were clearly highlighted in the newspaper text, for example that they 'have to turn towards Mecca every two hours' (24 November 1996). These were clearly prejudiced misunderstandings of Scottish Asian experience, as they focus upon perceived disadvantages inherent in 'Asian' culture. The focus in the texts was upon those statements which were explicitly prejudiced, which emphasise notions of physical weakness and the deleterious effects of South Asian culture. The presentation of these statements as the evidence of racism neglected the more subtle and complex forms of racism.

Individual accounts contain elements of prejudice not discussed fully by the SoS. Although the newspaper argued that: 'Our survey shows that the time-honoured argument that Scottish football is free of the discrimination witnessed in England is simply untrue' (24 November 1996) it did not discuss the role of this myth in the perpetuation of racist prejudices. The continuity of this myth offers individuals the opportunity to shift responsibility to the minority group itself. Solomos has argued that 'the denial of racism as an important determinant of social relations goes hand in hand with a lack of clear

public policy commitment to the need to tackle racial inequality' (1993:238). Yet, in the texts the SoS solely focused upon the obviously prejudiced remarks, thus suppressing the dilemmas, complexities and racisms inherent in the responses. In terms of recognising more subtle and banal forms of racism this strategy failed, and is indicative of a tendency to only see racism when it is in its most obvious and deviant forms (Back *et al*, 1998; Finn 1999a).

7.5.5 Anti-racism among the secretaries

The broad conclusions on the secretaries' 'prejudice', as presented in the text, also suppressed the voices of those who might be considered genuinely concerned and aware.

For example, one manager replied on behalf of the club. He has had experience of football throughout Britain, and was obviously aware of some of the broader issues: 'In Bradford community deliberately trying to promote Asians in local football teams, why that isn't the case here he doesn't know. SFA actively promoting soccer not only for ethnic minorities but for girls too. Football for all. Give them the opportunity is the SFA directive'. The secretary of Stenhousemuir, who were featured in a later article, simply pointed to a number of positive projects involving Scottish Asians and his club.[16] And, although Celtic did not reply directly to the questionnaire, they were also featured in a later article which dealt with their Bhoys Against Bigotry anti-racist campaign. Indeed, the two most powerful clubs in Scotland, Celtic and Rangers, had not replied to the questionnaire.[17] Yet, these clubs elsewhere in the texts were praised for their commitment to anti-racism, they 'thankfully seem the most open-minded' (24 November 1996).[18]

The examples cited above of genuine anti-racism on the part of clubs and their administrators were forgotten when the secretaries surveyed were accused of 'unabandoned prejudice'. It is possible to distinguish four kinds of response: explicit prejudice relating to physicality or South Asian culture; banal prejudices focusing upon issues of 'culture'; reiteration of the myth of equality; and statements of anti-racism. It was the first of these which was emphasised in the texts. As a result, there was no critique of the function of myths of equality in the reproduction of systems of discrimination. Nor were the more subtle and banal expressions of prejudice highlighted and discussed.

Finally, the expression by a few secretaries of anti-racism, and the projects of Celtic and Stenhousemuir, meant that the generalisation of 'unabandoned prejudice' was not entirely the case. There was a diversity among the secretaries, and often there were complex and contradictory statements. Analysis of some of the secretaries' responses demonstrates that simple images of prejudice can be misleading, and can forget the complexities, subtleties and layers of prejudice.

7.6 Defining difference

The SoS have tried to comprehend the nature of difference, and their use of the term 'Scottish Asian' indicated their efforts to include a sense of duality, of belonging to Scotland, yet also having vital differences from the rest of Scottish society. Brah (1996) demonstrated that a 'strategic essentialist' identity can emerge for reasons of resistance against racism. For instance a trans-British Asian identity, which can prove politically useful. While internal heterogeneities and commonalities with other British groups remain, this 'strategic essentialism' brings people together on the basis on one shared facet of their social identities. Collectivising against racism can involve suppressing internal differences to unify against external pressures.

One effect of 'strategic essentialisms', however, is to define groups solely by their 'ethnic difference', to present, in almost binary opposition, the 'Asian' minority against the 'mainstream' majority. The dilemma faced by the SoS was how to describe Scottish Asians in a manner which recognised the problems of racism they faced, recognised the possible influence of South Asian 'culture', but maintained a sense of their Scottishness. Over-emphasising difference, i.e. the determining effects of ethnicity, the notion of Scottish Asians as outside 'mainstream' Scotland, does not add anything to resistance against racism. Rather, it problematically constructs an idealised separation between Scottish and Scottish Asian.

A sense of exteriority was fostered by, and represented in, the campaign's title, logo and headlines. The title 'Fair Play for Asians' offers nothing of the 'duality' or heterogeneity that recent ventures of 'community identity' labels have striven towards.[19] While throughout the text 'Scottish Asian' was used , the most common term and that used in the title, was 'Asian'. As such, the Scottishness of Scottish Asians was diminished. It seemed to be

forgotten that most Scottish Asians 'have not seen any other society or any other country' (Maan 1992:206).[20] Consistently featured below the title, in a montage which accompanied every article, was the logo: a black and white panelled football, of which one panel had been distorted into the shape of the Indian subcontinent. These images bear similarities to Bairner's implied portrayal that Scottish Asians do not belong to Scotland (1994:21). Finally, some of the terms used in the article headlines assist the construction of Scottish Asian as being 'outside', 'alien', definitively 'non-Scottish'; they were located in time and space in the subcontinent. An article on the former player Rashid Sarwar was entitled 'Kilmarnock's happy loser suggests why so few stars rise in the east' (24 November 1996).[21] There seemed to be an implicit idea that Scottish Asians are from 'the east'. This was problematic because many, if not most, young Scottish Asians were born in Scotland, and so to argue that they 'rise in the east' necessarily positions them erroneously as foreign.

A further example of headline writing and exteriority comes from an article on Harry Dhillon who 'hails from the Punjab' (8 December 1996) but who now resides and works in central Scotland and who has sponsored Stenhousemuir FC. The headline was 'Through the Ochils there's a passage to India' (8 December 1996). The article also discussed Dhillon's Indian friend who was described as a 'mystic'. Commenting on the pair the club's commercial manager was quoted as saying: 'Are they oddballs? I don't know' (8 December 1996). Dhillon and his friend were effectively portrayed as different, alien, exotic, strange, perhaps even mad. Not only was this a prejudiced, orientalist view of the Indian subcontinent (Said 1985), but it failed to recognise the affinity of Scottish Asians with Scotland. However, the differentiation did not stop there. Dhillon's fast food restaurant was contracted to provide the catering

at Stenhousemuir's home matches. The journalist's joke: 'Who ate all the chicken tikka masala?' emphasised Dhillon's Indian cuisine, even though his restaurant serves a range of foods. This emphasis sits uneasily alongside a reference to the fact that his 14-year-old son trains with Stenhousemuir FC. While the latter might be seen as a form of inclusion within Scottish society, the continued positioning of Dhillon as exterior by the SoS is a form of exclusion. This positioning contradicted the purpose of the article and the campaign.

The theme of oppositional difference was continued in a set of statements, or discursive theme, which position the racialised 'Asian' as outside, and in contrast with 'white Scottish'. There are, it was suggested, 'racial and social divides' (24 November 1996), so that the inclusion of players 'from any race or background' (1 December 1996) was deemed a positive progression. One of the main headlines read: 'A question of race and favour' (24 November 1996). Ideas of Scottish Asians as a separate and distinct racial group were implicitly endorsed. Such examples invoked the terminology of 'race', introducing it in subtle and apparently innocuous ways. The campaign did not challenge the racialisation of Scottish Asians, a process central to their construction as immutably different and alien.

It was claimed that Glasgow's urban spaces were racially divided, such that there are 'Asian areas' (15 December 1996). In this mode urban city space was deployed as another tool in the process of dichotomous differentiation. The statement 'Asian children in Glasgow' (2 February 1996) suggests a distinction between 'Asian' and 'Glasgow', even though most of these children will have been born and grown up in Glasgow. The dominant ideology in Scottish society positions minorities as belonging to a different ethnic group with a separate culture and community. This ideology fosters prejudiced notions of

inferiority, associated with the group membership. The SoS failed to challenge these ideas. It failed to highlight the flaws in the dominant ideology. Instead of persisting with the use of 'Scottish Asian' as a means for recognising duality, the SoS used 'Asian' which encourages the idea of exteriority. Also promoted was the idea of two groups, with rigid boundaries. Therefore, there was no acknowledgement of the blurring of boundaries, the sharing of space and resources, the construction of other social networks through the shared categories of age, class, leisure, gender or work (Anthias 1998).

There were further examples of the constructed distinction between 'Asian' and 'white' groups. By comparison to the 'ethnic' 'Asians' the so-classified 'non-ethnic population' (15 December 1996), are 'white' so that 'all [secretaries] thought Asians played less football than whites' (24 November 1996), and there are 'mixed Asian/white teams' (15 December 1996). Football was characterised as 'mainstream', that is 'white'. Thus, one concern was 'access to mainstream football' (24 November 1996), the proposed Asian Soccer Academy will be considered a success 'when enough Asians are being picked up by mainstream football' (15 December 1996), and Prem Singh, of the Scottish Asian Sports Association, considered an objective to be 'finding a way to represent ethnic minority people in the mainstream of Scottish football' (15 December 1996).

This model of Asian/white, minority/mainstream, informed a related theme – integration, proposed often as the aim of the campaign. There was a perceived need to 'strengthen integration', and it was stated by Kash Taank, Ethnic Minority Sports Development Officer for Glasgow City Council that 'integration is the only way forward' (15 December 1996) and another campaigner Mohammed Riaz, of Edinburgh's minority youth group Club X, noted 'integration is the most important thing' (1 December 1996).[22] Generally,

'the whole aim is integration' (15 December 1996). A comment on young 'Asians' from the SoS is that 'the future of integration is in their hands' (2 February 1996). And, finally, in an attempt to counter possible criticism a description of the proposed Asian Soccer Academy stated that: 'Although the institute will be open only to them, the whole aim is integration' (15 December 1996).

Although the passage towards integration was never outlined here, from where to where, integration into what exactly, the assumption clearly was that such a model is an appropriate goal. Brah has argued that in discourses on integration racism is 'constructed . . . mainly as a human failing, with its structured forms in institutions, state practices, politics and culture frequently ignored' (1996:229). Certainly, the SoS constructed racism as a human failing, the consequence of an irrational prejudice or lack of education. A criticism Finn makes is integration's similarities with notions of assimilation (1987:41). The responsibility to change lies with minorities, though how change is supposed to occur, and towards what eventual goal, are never fully explicated in integration models. However, the assumption seems to be that the objective is the integration of Scottish Asians into the 'mainstream'. This implies a stable, unified, homogeneous and 'invisible' centre (Julien & Mercer 1996:456), and a majority which shares universal cultural values (Skutnabb-Kangas 1990:87). A lack of integration suggests that minorities does not accept these universal values, have chosen to remain peripheral, and thus majority power is justified. Integration would involve Scottish Asians rejecting their South Asian heritage to 'fit in' with mainstream culture. As such, it continues to problematise South Asian culture, and would suppress the celebration of cultural differences central to multiculturalism. Moreover, the sense in which Scottish Asians have dual identities, Scottish and Asian, is lost.

The use in this campaign of integrationist ideas seems to imply equal representation in professional football allied with satisfactory levels of 'mixed' football at every level. Yet, these goals in themselves will never solve the problems of racism, they would merely offer Scottish Asians the right the enter a field of conflict and racism. It is not enough to tackle the salient expressions of racism, for example the idea that Scottish Asians are not capable of football, or the lack of proportional representation, while the fundamental embedded ideas and social processes which underlie these expressions go unchallenged.

The situation, however, is made more complex when the complicity of Scottish Asian voices in the construction of binary oppositions, and ideas of integration, is recognised. Taank, Singh and Riaz have all contributed to the discourse presented by the SoS, even if responsibility for editing and selection lay with the newspaper. It may be that Scottish Asians have developed a form of 'strategic essentialism' for matters of racism and public discourse. Social identities were simplified, such that there is less concern with the heterogeneities and more concern with 'racial' equality. Moreover, when presenting themselves to the majority, Scottish Asians may employ the terminology commonly used by the majority. And so, while Scottish Asians know the intricacies of their own identities, they also know that the majority view them simply as 'Asians' or 'Pakis'. The ideological dilemmas faced by minority groups are evident. Their choices for self-presentation in public discourses are limited by the majority's perceptions and by the necessary fight against racism. These limitations foster simplicity, while their identities are actually more complex, and constantly in process of change (see chapter 8). A regrettable feature of these processes is that Scottish Asians were not viewed as individuals with fascinating life-stories, but simply as members of the 'Asian' minority.

7.7 Celtic, Bhoys Against Bigotry and Scottish Asians

The comparison with the Irish-Scots was made through a discussion of the history and politics of Celtic FC. One specific article dealt with this issue, and was entitled: 'Key role for youngsters in Celtic's integration dream' (2 February 1997). From this it is clear that some form of parallel between Scottish Asians and Irish-Scots groups was assumed. Also their mutual objective is supposed to be 'integration'. Celtic had initiated a scheme called Bhoys Against Bigotry (BAB), designed to combat all forms of discrimination. The SoS note that English Asians are not attending matches to a proportional level, they only make up 0.7% of English Premiership attendances. Curiously, the English clubs who have 'cottoned on' to this under-representation were accused of seeking financial gain: 'Business-wise it is becoming a matter of urgency for some clubs to reach out' (2 February 1997). By contrast, and with implicit suggestions of moral superiority, Celtic's motives were considered to be purer: 'a sense of social conscience inspired the brightest initiative taking place in Scotland, rather than economic need' (2 February 1997). While Celtic's project was framed within a Scotland-England differentiation in which Scotland emerged with praise and England did not, the BAB programme is anti-racist.[23] The club's social mission has been a prominent aspect of its identity since the club's establishment in 1888.

The scheme, according to SoS seeks to 'foster ethnic integration', and Celtic's then chairman Fergus McCann made the comparison between the Scottish Asians and the Scots-Irish:

> The founding principle of Celtic was to help integrate an immigrant [Irish] population into Scottish society using football as the means. This was a minority which was able to integrate but which was at the same

> time very successful in maintaining its own cultural identity and I find that so relevant to the Asian community today.
>
> (*Scotland on Sunday*, 2 February 1996)

Yet this comment is not without difficulty, and reflects the dilemmas over majority-minority relations. The establishment of Celtic encouraged the full participation in Scottish society of people of Irish origin, as well as the maintenance of Irish/Catholic forms of identification (Finn 1991a,b, 1994a,b, 1999a,b). Given the problematic nature of the concept of integration, quite in what sense the Irish-Scots have achieved this is unclear, especially since anti-Irish racism persists. And yet, they were assumed not only to have managed to integrate but also to have maintained their own 'cultural identity'. Similar struggles face the Scottish Asian communities and ultimately, the responsibility for the complex negotiations and struggles lies with the racism of the majority.

Just two weeks before this article was published in the SoS, Mohammed Sarwar, then Labour's prospective Parliamentary candidate for Govan[24], wrote an article on racism in Scotland for the *Big Issue* (16-22 January 1997). In this article he drew comparisons between a range of minority groups, such as the Irish, the Italians, Jews and his final group were 'black and Asian people'. In his discussion he portrayed football as an important repository of racism, which creditably acknowledged the relationship of racism and football. He also mistakenly refers to anti-Irish racism as 'sectarianism', which he described as having 'its roots firmly embedded in ... early anti-Irish racism' rather than being a continuation of this form of racism:

> I do not mean to suggest for a minute that Scotland is a country full of racists – quite the opposite. I know from my own experience of living

here for more than 20 years that the vast majority of Scots fully deserve their reputation as friendly and welcoming people. Initiatives such as Kick Racism out of Football and Celtic FC's Bhoys Against Bigotry have particularly encouraged me – football has traditionally been an area of Scottish life where sectarianism and racism has been at its most rife, but both the clubs and the fans are making huge efforts to change that.

(*Big Issue*, 16-22 January 1997)

Sarwar's presentation of the value of football's anti-racist campaigns demonstrated the extent to which Scottish Asians feel the sport is an important feature of their lives. His views reflect a specific minority position, in which racism is not presented as an insurmountable obstacle. Instead, areas are identified towards which anti-racist policy can be focused, in this case football. Like the Irish-Scots of the late nineteenth century, football – the field so cherished in Scottish culture – is viewed as a place where Scottish Asians can publicly express their anti-racism and desire to participate fully in Scottish society. However, given the history of Celtic and the Irish-Scots community, as well as the problems of the Partick Thistle bid, Scottish Asians are likely to confront racist prejudice in their desire to participate.

7.8 Comparisons with England

Part of the myth that Scotland is free of racism is that England is not, as the SoS recognised: 'Our survey shows that the time-honoured argument that Scottish football is free of the discrimination witnessed in England is simply untrue' (24 November 1996). In the construction of Scottish identities England is a common antithesis. England is claimed to be populated by intolerant, prejudiced, racists, unlike Scotland which is reputed to be welcoming and egalitarian (Finn & Giulianotti 1998; Dimeo & Finn 1999).

The campaign struggled with the dilemma regarding the most suitable strategy for change. A comparison was made with the history of English Asian football, which was characterised by a lack of clarity over the 'Asian' issues, combined with a subtle anti-Englishness. When English Asian football was compared by the SoS to Scottish football contradictions appeared. An English Asian, now resident in Scotland, was quoted as saying: 'Down south it is true there are more Asians among the population but in terms of integration Scotland is far behind [England]' (24 November 1996). This might indicate his belief than Scotland has more racism than England does, that Scottish Asians confront larger barriers to participation, that there is less integration in Scotland. However the same English Asian: 'believes that, unlike England, where he has seen first hand the development of apartheid Asian leagues in response to discrimination, Scotland is still at a point where it can integrate or separate' (1 December 1996). These statements are evidence of dilemmatic thinking. England was supposed to be more advanced 'in terms of integration', yet has 'apartheid Asian leagues'. Moreover, 'apartheid' has a range of negative overtones, reminiscent as it is of the social divisions of pre-democracy South Africa. Consequently, English Asians were presumed to suffer from enough

discrimination for them to forsake 'mixed' football.[25] The view being implicitly espoused was that England is a more racist country than Scotland.

The decision of English Asian to play football with other English Asians, or with 'whites' of their choice (a process which is actually mirrored in Scotland), was judged to be wrong.[26] Whether racism is the cause or not, the right of any British Asian group to play together should be recognised. Indeed, if separation is the consequence of racism then it should be understood as such rather than simply criticised. The underlying design of the SoS campaign appears to be the prevention of such separation in Scotland. Indeed, it was argued that: 'Only active steps by footballing authorities can strengthen this integration and avoid the English scenario' (24 November 1996).[27] However, the demands placed on Scottish football organisations run contradictory to the simplistic demand for integration. The following steps were outlined: 'Clubs to hold special Asian coaching clinics'; 'Senior and junior scouts to watch Asian tournaments, teams and initiatives'; 'Amateur clubs to hold targeted trials'; 'SFA and clubs to support Asian Soccer Academy' (24 November 1996). So, on one hand all-Asian football was discouraged, but on the other hand it was presented as the way forward. Clearly, these are dilemmas which the SoS have not overcome. They reflect wider dilemmas confronting anti-racism, specifically the question of how to promote minority activity while at the same time avoiding further distinction and division. The operations of prejudice and discrimination ensure that no simple solutions to such dilemmas are found. If racism is ignored its effects are felt by minority groups, but some forms of help offered to minorities are criticised for their promotion of 'race' differences. Scottish Asians face racism in 'mixed' football, yet if they choose to avoid this they face criticism.

While the difference between Scotland and England in terms of racism and integration was grappled with, the place of British Asians was outlined: 'A Manchester study showed that of all ethnic groups, young Bangladeshis played most, whites and Pakistanis around the same and Indians slightly less' and there was no reason Scottish cities 'should be significantly different' (24 November 1996). Thus, it was assumed that 'ethnic minorities' throughout Britain are essentially the same, yet in other comparisons England and Scotland have clear differences. Thus 'ethnicity' was considered a more influential and determining factor than local or national identities: the perceived 'origin' of subjects was more important than their daily contemporary experience. Ethnicity was viewed as *the* structural determinant. Unlike the so-called 'non-ethnic' population 'ethnicised' subjects were viewed primarily as governed by their ethnic difference.

7.9 Ideas About Racism

The construction and definition of racism in the campaign was an important feature. It would reflect liberal views on the nature of racism in Scotland, as well as influence beliefs about Scottish Asians and football.

It was the secretaries who were accused of racism. In particular, the more extreme views on physical weaknesses or religion prohibitions were presented. These detracted from the variety of prejudice expressed, and the adherence to the myth of 'no problem here'. However, there were other problematic ideas relating to the secretaries' racism.

In a contradictory sense racism was considered a problem in contemporary Scottish society, but it was positioned as something primarily historical. Kash Taank was quoted as saying: 'The reaction of some clubs comes from an age I hoped we'd progressed from' (24 November 1996). This view was buttressed by the SoS, who commented that 'the blazered secretaries of League clubs view Asians with unabandoned prejudice more associated with the country's music hall past' (24 November 1996). So the views of the club secretaries were considered an anachronism. Also, racism was located with an older generation, the 'establishment', who are stuffy, blazered men distant from the reality of everyday popular culture. Another to locate racism in the past was the SFA security officer Willie MacDougall who argues that 'Racism does not seem so much of a problem as it once was' (24 November 1996).[28] Indeed, the SoS wrote of 'an old-fashioned level of ignorance' (24 November 1996). These claims of anachronism also suggested that the secretaries did not represent contemporary popular opinion. Thus, the claim that racism was a powerful influence in today's society was undermined.

It was common to focus upon the obviously negative manifestation of racism, and to avoid some of the less obvious and foundational structures of

racist thinking. The SoS fell into this trap, emphasising incidents of aggression and violence. For instance, one British Asian who moved to Scotland from England 'is shocked by what he has found':

> I have looked for young players and found few of those keen are playing organised football. They say they have been harassed and lost heart. In one instance a group of boys were chased from the Meadows to cries of "get off you black bastards".
>
> (24 November 1996)

A similar example is that of Haseeb Ashgar, who was playing with an amateur team, until he made a mistake and one of his team-mates called him a 'black bastard' (24 November 1996). Another player 'was abused in his school team' and several 'reported organised targeting for rough tackling and abuse by opponents' (24 November 1996). Such incidents were described as 'severe' and 'sinister', implying that these are the most important forms of racism. They are clear, evidential forms of racism, against which there is no argument. As such, they fall into the racist-hooligan mode, in which violent and explicit racism can be criticised but portrayed as abnormal, and marginal. Yet, it is the banal and subtle variants of racism, which Scottish Asians are more likely to face on a more regular basis, and which were mostly ignored by the SoS.

The only example of such racism was the description of one player as: 'fed up with being told to "go home" and called "Paki Bonner"[29] when he tried to play with whites' (24 November 1996). Although this one case was cited, the emphasis remained with the more explicit variants.

Overall the texts sought to simplify a complex problem, mostly searching for extreme manifestations of racism. Racism was directly related to

exclusion, violence and ridicule, and explicit racisms were highlighted over more banal and everyday discriminations. Denials of racism, accusations against minority groups, racialised differentiations, and institutional exclusions were not recognised as fundamental to inequality. Nor were stereotypes or cultural deterministic views undermined.

Right-wing activity and racist chanting at games were highlighted as they also fitted the racist-hooligan pattern:

> Meanwhile, the CRE say racist activity is back on the increase, with the British National Party targeting grounds before the General Election. Abusive chants have resurfaced at top matches – against Patrick Kluivert when Ajax played Rangers, and Sweden's Martin Dahlin against Scotland.
>
> (24 November 1996)

Another characterisation of racism in these texts was its relationship with a lack of education. In this sense, it was viewed as the result of ignorance, lack of awareness and can be 'cured' through education. So, Prem Singh of the Scottish Asian Sport Association responded to the survey of the club secretaries by saying that: 'The ill-informed and narrow-minded clubs will suffer for their stupidity in the long term' (24 November 1996). And the SoS argued that: 'discrimination seems to be built more on ignorance than malice' (24 November 1996), which, apart from misunderstanding the continuance of racism, ran contradictory to their own findings of malicious violence.

Finally, there was the establishment of another target: football scouts. According to one Scottish Asian: 'if a scout walks past a pitch and sees a group of Asians playing he'll pass by to the next one' (24 November 1996). This

representation promoted the idea that racism rests with a small number of key individuals within Scottish football. If only they knew better the problem, it was implicitly argued, could be resolved. The use of Scottish Asian voices to support the SoS's understanding of what racism is, and where it is to be found, adds to the complexity of racism's reproduction. Scottish Asians were complicit in formulating racism as a marginal phenomenon, the result of a lack of education and located with a minority of individuals. While Scottish Asians may agree with these formulations, the use of their voices by the SoS was designed to lend authority to what is essentially a majority discourse: written by and for the majority. Some minority responses to racism will be designed to further anti-racist change and promote the idea that racism can be overcome through education.[30] Just as the racist-hooligan presents a target for criminalising and punishing racists. However, these views also suit the majority, who do not wish to imagine their own culpability. The deployment of minority voices favoured the majority construction of racism.

These understandings of racism amount to its conceptualisation as 'an external virus' rather than something 'endemic to the British social formation' (Hall 1978:24). They pay less attention to the more subtle forms of racism, which are more insidious thanks to their invisibility (Hall 1981:37), than to the more overt forms. Nor was there analysis of the remarking of dichotomous boundaries, of the anxious reinscription of instable boundaries. Vertovec has argued that groups define themselves and others in a process which 'entails a collective self-consciousness, as members of groups grow aware of how others see them, and as they come to realise and articulate how they wish to see themselves in new or changing contexts' (1996:87). However, if the power to define, describe, survey and speak (or edit speech) lies with powers beyond the group, then self-consciousness of presenting oneself to the majority public will

emerge. Scottish Asians can resist or collaborate with the possibilities offered to them, but remain largely constrained by the limited understandings of majority groups. The comments made to the SoS by Scottish Asians may have been influenced by their sense of the audience. The anti-racist comments of the minority are more likely to be accepted by the majority if they fit the majority's preconceived limited models of racism. Paradoxically, the anti-racism of the SoS reproduced a range of racialised ideas and identifications. Moreover, the options were still constructed by external forces, the space for Scottish Asian self-definition was just as limited. Power has not changed hands, the tales spun around difference have gone unchallenged, the structures which create and regulate racialised bodies remained intact.

7.10 Rashid Sarwar

The SoS failed to address some of the most important events in the history of Scottish Asian football. Abdul Salim and Paul Wilson's careers with Celtic (see chapter 3); the experiences of Rajiv Pathak; and the proposed investment in Partick Thistle (see chapters 5 & 6). It is unclear why the latter of these was rejected as a suitable topic, especially since it had only happened a year before the SoS began their campaign.[31] Wilson's career might have been detailed to demonstrate that a Scottish Asian player had been successful. This strategy would have potentially overcome the lack of role models for young Scottish Asians, encouraging them through example (Dimeo & Finn 1999).[32] The history of Scottish Asian involvement in football was almost ignored once again.

One player whose career was reviewed was Rashid Sarwar ('Kilmarnock's happy loser suggests why so few stars rise in the east', 24 November 1996). In a different article in the same issue it had been claimed that the 'problem is circular: a high profile Asian star is needed to make attitudes change, yet there is a vastly diminished chance of one appearing until attitudes do'. Against this, a review of Sarwar's career might have positioned him as a 'high profile star', as someone who achieved professional status, even if he did not play for a Premier Division team. Instead, Sarwar was presented as an unsuccessful player:

> Rashid Sarwar last played for Kilmarnock in 1987 yet he is still Scotland's highest profile Asian footballer. High profile in the sense that when confronted with his name the footballing luminaries I speak to knot their brows, stare blankly into the middle distance before muttering something about him playing in the spectacularly poor

> Kilmarnock side of the mid-80s. Mo Johnston this ain't. But Sarwar challenged the perceptions of the Scottish footballing public almost as boldly. The ripples, however have all but since ebbed away.

The comparison invoked with Johnston was another similarity drawn between Scottish Asians and Irish-Scots. Johnston was one of the first Catholics to play for Rangers, signing for them in 1989. The 'perceptions' which Johnston challenged related to the willingness of Rangers to sign Catholic players. By contrast, the challenge posed by Sarwar was that Scottish Asians were interested in, and capable of, playing professional football. The common strand relating Sarwar and Johnston is the racist prejudice of the majority towards Scottish Asians and Irish-Scots/Catholics. The 'ripples' have 'ebbed away' which was the reason for SoS's campaign, but Sarwar's career fitted the objectives of the campaign, so to belittle his achievements cannot contribute anything positive to the campaign.

In the SoS article Sarwar was quoted as saying the following on his own career:

> "I've always adopted the philosophy that if I ever stopped enjoying football I would stop playing. That's the reason I left Kilmarnock and stopped playing for two years . . . Although I initially really enjoyed it I found at Kilmarnock it got too serious, became far too do or die. I think that part of the reason why I didn't go on and do anything in the game is that I didn't have the hunger, or desire, or will to win at all costs. I'm a happy loser, which makes me a bad team player . . . The Asian lifestyle revolves around families, and contributions to the family. It is not an

individualistic culture in that you go out and achieve something for yourself".

These explanations did not fit into the SoS's model of Scottish Asian football: that the only barrier to Scottish Asian participation lies with racism. Sarwar was prepared to confront the complexity of his own choices and personality. Instead, of presenting his achievements as creditable, however, the SoS chose to criticise his career and his comments. Firstly, due to his lack of 'hunger' there was a 'compulsion to wonder why Kilmarnock weren't then his perfect team'. Secondly, he was considered to be 'perhaps a surprising ally' of those football club secretaries whose remarks 'some may find distasteful'. Thus, Sarwar was effectively accused of collaborating with the prejudiced. Thirdly, there was the expressed hope that the Scottish Asian boys now pursuing a football career will consign Sarwar to history:

> No disrespect to Sarwar but it would be pleasing to think that at least some of these players could dull the resonance with which his name rings, and that the football luminaries of the future were genuinely befuddled by the mention of it.

This demand to forget Sarwar not only missed the chance to demonstrate that a Scottish Asian player has made the ranks of professional, but it insulted the achievements of Sarwar. These themes run contrary to the objectives of the campaign, only because Sarwar's account did not slot neatly into the newspaper's model of Scottish Asian football. It is interesting to note the reaction of Sarwar himself to this review of his career.[33] He felt that, although he had not been misquoted, the article misrepresented the thrust of his

comments. The preconceived ideas of the journalist had, for Sarwar, governed the outcome: 'I think he came with the view that I was going to tell him about all these obstacles I overcame, how I overcame them and how I managed to fight my way despite all the odds'. However, Sarwar's account did not fit with these expectations, instead a more complex story was presented:

> There's two ends of the spectrum. One is the success story and the role model: here's someone, look you can do it, this guy did it. And that's quite interesting. But the middle of the road story isn't interesting. So if you then go to the other end of the spectrum. About this guy, I mean, Asian football really is bad, you know. Then all of a sudden it becomes a wee bit more interesting. But people don't want to read about a teenager who grew up in Glasgow with Scottish kids. And so what he made the Kilmarnock first team, how many dozens or hundreds or thousands of others have. But no interest in that. I think the reporter fell foul of sensationalism, in that he tried to get a story rather than just represent the facts.

Sarwar's suggestion that his own story was not sensational enough is intriguing. The fact that he did not claim to have battled steadfastly against prejudice and discrimination, and that he only played in the First Division, seem to have weighed against him. The Kilmarnock team of 1985 were not especially bad, they did lead the division in December and contend for promotion even if they were ultimately unsuccessful. Although Sarwar himself was self-effacing about his achievements, attaining professional status with a highly placed First Division club represents more success than all but a

minority achieve. The SoS could have presented his achievements more positively.

The issue of the extent of racist barriers faced by Sarwar is also interesting. He would feel that, having made professional, the problems he confronted were not prohibitive. Furthermore, he would not wish to scare young Scottish Asians with stories of personal abuse and strife. He continued:

> What [anti-racist football campaigns] were trying to do was demonstrate that there may be barriers out there but they can be overcome. And I think the reporter had an opportunity to reinforce that with a true story. OK, the barriers aren't quite as high or insurmountable as perhaps he perceived in his own mind. But at the end of the day there were still barriers there, there was a story which was consistent with what was being achieved [by anti-racism] at the time and there is a person who can actually speak first hand about it. And I felt he could have taken that opportunity, put it into context . . . but instead he just went totally the wrong way and at the end of the day instead of actually saying 'hey, we can do it' my reading of the article was 'hey, don't waste your time, this guy tried it, he's the best you can offer, and he can't even do it so don't you even bother'. And that's totally and utterly contrary to what was trying to be achieved at the time.

7.11 Conclusion

The SoS campaign was not without its failings regarding its coverage and conceptualisation of racism issues. Firstly, the surveys of young Scottish Asians and the club secretaries suffer from being too small to draw broad quantitative conclusions. Moreover, some of the questions were ambiguous resulting in uncertainty over how to interpret the replies.

Secondly, the complexities and issues which emerged in the respondents' replies to the questions asked were submerged by the newspaper's desire to make specific and straightforward claims. In the replies a range of important issues emerged, such as the relationship between the myth of a racism-free Scotland and the shifting of blame to Scottish Asians, which were ignored by SoS.[34] As a result some of the more complex operations of racism were not recognised or understood.

Thirdly, although SoS used the term 'Scottish Asian' in places, much of their discourse presumes the existence of two binary opposed groups: 'Asian' and 'white'. Distinctions appeared hard and fast, boundaries clear and well-defined, the objective problematically stated as 'integration'. This objective assumed a dominant culture into which other cultures need to be integrated before they can be accepted. Thus, the SoS implicitly reproduced ideologies of the stability and centrality of an imagined majority Scottish culture. Models of integration place the responsibility for change with the minority group. The possible benefits of diversity and the positive contribution of South Asian 'culture' were denied. Notions of 'ethnic' separation and distinction were reproduced, while ideas of multiculturalism, cross-culturalism, and duality of identities were rejected.

Fourthly, the discussions of the nature of racism are more likely to cause its continuity than its dissolution. Racism was viewed as an anachronism,

as located in the past, even though the surveys indicated some level of its contemporary existence. It was associated with a lack of education and awareness, as well as with violence and open conflict. As such it is epiphenomenal and ephemeral, an aberration, a deviance, which can easily be cured through education and information. This is what Gilroy has called the 'coat of paint theory of racism', which sees racism as 'always located on the surface', where it is viewed as 'an embarrassing excrescence on the otherwise unblemished features of British democracy' (1990:195). Consequently, flawed ideas about racism, even if the purpose was anti-racism, can 'collude in accepting that problems of "race" and racism are somehow peripheral to the substance of political life' (1990:195).

The peripheral status of racism is a misrepresentation, processes of racism and racialisation are central to the ideologies of British culture (Gilroy 1987, 1990). Processes of racialised conflict are common in world football, Scottish football is no exception. Football cannot be extricated from the rest of Scottish society, wherein racialised difference is fundamental to self- and other- identifications. If anything, the reproduction of 'Asian' versus 'white' categories were only likely to reinforce racialised differences and the feelings of distance between the imagined groups. This dichotomy 'entrenches rather than displaces the rigidity of the self/other binarism' (Suleri 1992:11). It is possible for antiracist discourses, such as this one, to 'silently incorporate racialised language' (Goldberg 1993:42), while not being expressly racist.

However, the campaign did recognise the relationship of racism and Scottish Asian football. It raised many issues which the media had previously ignored. It stood in stark contrast to the prejudices which emerged during the Partick Thistle affair. While the campaign had it flaws, its intention was anti-racist. The demands for integration, the criticism of explicit racism, the survey

evidence, the criticism of 'apartheid' leagues, and the condemnation of racism as old-fashioned and ignorant, were designed for progressive anti-racism. Unfortunately, any progress occurred at the expense of a more sophisticated understanding of racism.

A final point should be made about the place of this campaign in the history of racism in Scotland. It signalled something of a revolution, it was the first time a newspaper had promoted anti-racism in a conscious and sustained manner. It was also the first time any genuine consideration of Scottish Asian football issue had been undertaken in a newspaper. Consequently, the campaign reflected growing awareness of anti-racism issues, increasing recognition of the plight of Scottish Asian football, and the demands of the Scottish Asian communities. Resistance to racism, and representation of minorities, have developed, and the comparison with the treatment of Wilson and Sarwar illustrates this development. Though SoS's reflection upon these players' careers did not differ markedly from previous accounts. A well-developed understanding of Scottish Asian football eluded the SoS: for example, in their focus on 'old-fashioned' forms of racism, and failure to view Scottish Asians as having dual identities.

As a footnote to this campaign, it appears that its aim were somewhat lost on some of its readers, despite surveying Scottish Asians and proving racism to be a discriminatory influence. Indicative of the power of racism is the fact that, even faced with evidence to the contrary, some still persist in both denying racism and blaming the victims for their own exclusion:

> *Scotland on Sunday* claimed that Asians were forced out onto the margins of Scottish football by 'abuse, discrimination and ignorance', and no doubt there is much truth in this: there are some communities,

> however, that prefer to keep to themselves. The absence of Asians from football is not necessarily an indication of prejudice against them.
>
> (Murray 1998:207)

The final chapter of this thesis addresses some of the themes raised by SoS and by Murray's later reflection. Scottish Asians do involve themselves with other groups, they are both Scottish and Asian, and other aspects – age, locality, class, gender – are as important in the making of their social identities.

NOTES

[1]The *Scotland on Sunday*'s surveys bore similarities to Bains with Patel's research, notably in the design of the questionnaire and the themes selected for discussion. The texts referred to a 'rash of studies in England', which could only have referred to Bains with Patel (1996), Fleming (1991,1992,1995) and/or Verma & Darby (1995). One of the journalists responsible for the campaign, Jonathan Northcroft, explained (in an interview with P. Dimeo, November 1996) that while the idea for the campaign had emerged in the spring of 1996. It was after seeing Bains with Patel's findings form the basis of a widespread recognition in England of the issues around British Asian football that the SoS decided to start their campaign. Also, November is a relatively quiet month in Scottish football, with the league underway and no important cup matches being played.

[2]The assumption throughout this chapter is that the campaign was a positive contribution to anti-racism, in the sense that it confronted issues which are usually ignored. However, it is important to analyse the manner in which proof of racism, and ideas of the nature of racism, were presented.

[3]Stenhousemuir is located in central Scotland, south of the range of hills called the Ochils.

[4]The tournaments held in Edinburgh and Glasgow were open to all groups, but advertised as being 'multicultural'. I participated in the Edinburgh tournament and found that every team was either 'mixed' or 'all-Asian'. According to Kash Taank, Ethnic Minority Sports Development Officer for Glasgow City Council (interview with P. Dimeo, April 1996) 'white' people assume that the terms 'multi-cultural' and 'ethnic diversity' signify that events are exclusively intended for minorities.

[5]The 'text' refers to the actual words which appeared in the newspaper for consumption of the readers. Distinct from this are the answers which both the club secretaries and the Scottish Asians gave to the newspaper. The 'text' is based upon these answers, but this chapter explores how the 'text' is constructed from the answers given. Selection, presentation and highlighting of some issues to the neglect of others, are the key processes involved.

[6]The campaign did make several powerful points about the existence of racism and its influence upon Scottish Asians. Examining the nature of this evidence is not equivalent to undermining the idea that racism is an important issue.

[7]These issues touches upon another critique of surveys, namely that they predefine their subject and go on to 'prove' that subject's existence through quantification and objectification. In the SoS's survey respondents were chosen because they played football. It is clear, therefore, that the results shall reflect the choice of respondents. A random sample of all Scottish Asians may well have showed a lower participation rate.

[8]These responses compare with other examples from previous chapters, such as those offered by Maq Rasul and Charan Gill. Minorities may wish to present themselves as being in control of their lives, and not susceptible to the external pressures of racism. Also, they may not wish to give racists the 'satisfaction', thus denying the impact of racism becomes a form of resistance.

[9]The secretaries of clubs are largely concerned with administrative matters. The most powerful executives in a club are the chairman (who is often the owner) and the manager. Playing matters are usually left to the manager, with the chairman taking responsibility for the club's commercial activities. It is not clear why secretaries were chosen for the survey, nor did those clubs who did not reply offer any explanation. Finally, it is worth noting that two questionnaires were answered by the respective club's manager.

[10]The SoS never proved that Scottish Asians played as much football as 'whites'. The newspaper did refer to 'a Manchester study' which had found that Bangladeshis play more football than any other group (Verma & Derby 1995).

[11]Scottish Chinese groups were ignored in this campaign. This is indicative of the lack of critical attention paid to their involvement in football. That their marginalisation has never been identified signals the extent and depth of this marginalisation.

[12]The recording of the replies in this chapter are a faithful reproduction of the journalist's notes. Single quotations marks signal the journalist's commentary, while double quotations are speech marks and are the occasions when the journalist has recorded a quote.

[13]The answers have been anonymised with respect to the fact that the responses were made to

the SoS, for use in the campaign. Moreover, the identity of the secretaries was not revealed in the texts.

[14]It is only the 'Asian' element to Scottish Asian culture which is discussed as possibly explanatory.

[15]British Asian and South Asian success in other sports, such as cricket and hockey, has not always had a beneficial impact on ideas about British Asian football. It is clear that several myths are false: Muslims can play sport for long periods of time, South Asian culture does not prohibit sport, diet and physique do not prevent high levels of athleticism. However, in the context of football such myths remain intact.

[16]The article about Stenhousemuir focused on Harry Dhillon a local businessman who had sponsored the club. Also, the club had an Indian Supporters' Club thanks to Dhillon's involvement. It was a curious aspect of the campaign, and one which the SoS failed to explain, that such examples of positive and apparently racism-free involvement co-exists with the evidence of racism's prevalence.

[17]J. Northcroft (interview with P. Dimeo, November 1996) explained that the newspaper preferred to deal with Celtic in more depth, analysing their Bhoys Against Bigotry campaign, rather than merely cover the questions in the survey questionnaire. Rangers declined the opportunity the answer the questionnaire, but no explanation for this is available.

[18]The argument that the Old Firm are 'open-minded' contrasts with more common views that they are the repositories of 'sectarian' rivalry. Although it is never made explicit, Rangers appear to draw praise because they signed Scottish Asian Jaswinder Juttla at youth and reserve level. Juttla was with Rangers while the SoS's campaign proceeded, but his voice was not added in any way to the campaign. He moved to Morton in early 1998. Celtic win praise for their Bhoys Against Bigotry campaign, discussed in a later article (2 February 1997).

[19]For instance the recognition of the diversity of religion, origin, nationality and regional habitus. Categories such as Bradford-Muslim, Edinburgh-Sikh and so on are increasingly being employed in other contexts.

[20]The term 'Asian' might reasonably be applied to a migrant from the Asian continent. However, the fact that most of the members of the Scottish Asian communities have spent

most, if not all, of their lives in Scotland represents a demand for some realisation of their belongingness to Scotland, as well as their historical relationship with other lands.

[21]The use of the term 'happy loser' to describe Sarwar portrayed him as lacking the determination to succeed. His achievement of becoming a professional player despite racism, and the potential to present him as a role model, were forgotten. See below for more detailed analysis of the SoS's discussion of Sarwar's career. The reference to Sarwar's coming from the 'east' is not a pun on his Scottish birthplace. He was born in Paisley and has spent all his life in the West of Scotland.

[22]That Scottish Asians also advocate an integrationist policy does present an additional complexity. It is likely that minority groups seek practical models for anti-racist change. However, their endorsement does not validate a simplistic and problematic model.

[23]Celtic's origins as a charitable organisation have allowed an interpretation of history in which they are viewed as having egalitarian objectives as well as sporting and commercial. The BAB campaign has offered the chance of young Scottish Asians to attend matches and take part in coaching sessions. Its high public profile has meant that Celtic have made their support for Scottish Asian football clear. The SoS is right to praise the club, and it is the case that the demand for tickets at Parkhead is so high that there is no financial need to attract any other groups. However, the case against English clubs, that they only act out of economic self-interest, is not proven. This accusation appears to be based less upon evidence and more upon anti-English prejudice. Indeed, some English clubs have pursued anti-racist projects, such as Bradford City, West Ham and Charlton Athletic (see Garland & Rowe 1999). The motives for such schemes, including Celtic's, cannot be concluded upon here. The benefits for any club may be increased attendance, a source a talent, improved public image, and sales of commercial products.

[24]Sarwar was elected MP for Govan in the General Election of May 1997. He was suspended for electoral irregularities, and faced charges on this account in the High Court, however he was cleared of the charges in March 1999 and reinstated as MP.

[25]There are a number of points worth noting with respect to 'all-Asian' teams or leagues. Firstly, other groups based on region, class, school, neighbourhood, etc. play together and

exclude others with being publicly criticised. Secondly, 'Asian' teams may result from networks of association rather than conscious distinction. Thirdly, if separation is the result of racism then that should be recognised and acknowledged. Fourthly, it is an abuse of power to demand that a group cannot play with whomever they please. It seems in the case of football teams and leagues British Asians face problems whatever they choose: they face racism in 'mixed' play, and criticism if they separate. Indeed, this problem reflects some integration arguments in other contexts. British Asians face racism, as a consequence they seek safe environments, they are then accused of not wanting to integrate, and thus it is their own fault if they are marginalised. Such logic is common with respect to politics and economics, and with respect to football (Johal 1999).

[26]Although the SoS criticised 'all-Asian' leagues, there was no suggestion that these leagues were to blame for British Asian under-representation in football. Surprisingly, in their analysis of football racism and anti-racism Garland & Rowe did argue that 'One reason why this level of high [British Asian] involvement does not translate into professional circles may be related to the nature of the leagues and teams in which Asians play. For various reasons it seems that Asians are often playing football in a different environment from that which the scouts of professional clubs turn to in their search for fresh talent' (1996:104). The authors do not seem aware of the variety of racism which results both in the creation of 'all-Asian' leagues and football scouts tendency to avoid looking for talented players in these leagues.

[27]The simple and complacent assumptions relating to football were transferred to cricket during the 1999 Cricket World Cup. It was claimed that in England there was 'de facto apartheid in cricket . . . with whites and Asians playing in separate leagues with no contact' while 'There is little doubt that cricket in Scotland is multi-racial and no doubt that it is healthier for that' (*Scotland on Sunday*, 23 May 1999). Yet, a number of English Asian cricketers such as Nasser Hussain and Mark Ramprakash have had enough 'contact' to play at the highest level of English cricket. Also, no evidence was given for Scotland's apparent 'multi-racial' cricket: instead glib and self-serving assumptions were made. However, the main point is that separate leagues was seen as problematic. Instead of identifying and criticising racism, there seems more concern with the problems inherent in certain styles of resistance.

[28]Such is the contradictory stance of the SFA and their inability to view their own position as one of inaction that MacDougall wishes to minimise the problem by arguing that it was worse in the past, thus excusing the SFA's lack of anti-racist practice. Yet, in the past the SFA did little or nothing to challenge either anti-black, anti-Asian or anti-Irish racism. Also, the SFA's position has usually been a denial of racism, both in the past and the present.

[29]This refers to Packy Bonner, formerly goalkeeper for Celtic.

[30]That said, it is likely that many of these Scottish Asians had other views on racism which were not presented by the SoS. Ultimately, control over the production of knowledge lay with the newspaper.

[31]Northcroft (interview with P. Dimeo, October 1996) claimed that Ron McKay, then a journalist with the SoS, was asked to write on the Thistle episode. However, this article never appeared. Nevertheless, the extent and nature of prejudice around the Thistle bid surely warranted some discussion. Perhaps the subtleties of that prejudice, and the complex controversies surrounding Galloway and Oliver's disagreement, deterred further discussion of this affair.

[32]Scottish Asians in Glasgow (interviews with P. Dimeo, May 1998) have claimed that a lack of role models is one explanation for the lack of Scottish Asian football players.

[33]Interview with Sarwar held on 14 May 1998.

[34]Criticisms made by the SoS of ideas that Scottish Asians lack talent or physique or interest do blame this group itself, though this character is not fully discussed by the SoS. The relationship of these ideas with myths of equal opportunities in a racism-free Scotland is never mentioned. Nor is the anti-English prejudice which is inherent in the argument that while England has racism Scotland does not.

Chapter 8: Scottish Asians, football and cultural identity

8.1 Introduction

Chambers has suggested that: 'Language is not primarily a means of communication; it is, above all, a means of cultural construction in which our very selves and sense are constituted' (1994:22). So far in this thesis, it has mostly been the language of the majority which has been the subject of inquiry, it has been the representations of the majority which have been interrogated. Within these representations, for instance, Scottish Asians are portrayed as immigrants or descendants of immigrants. 'They' are constructed by the majority as different to (a Scottish) 'us', and are discussed from 'our' perspective as 'others'. 'They' are viewed as 'ethnically different', which means that their defining essence is their 'ethnicity', and their 'difference' to 'white' Scots. They are defined as 'Asians', fixed by their 'origin', often presumed not to be Scottish. 'They' are defined by their South Asian origin, otherness, ethnic difference, and by their status as outsiders, as always contrasted against an imagined, stable community of Scots. Often that sense of difference prompts racist prejudice. Almost always it assumes a bounded community with clearly defined lines of inclusion and exclusion based on South Asian 'origin'.

However, previous chapters have also included some narratives and comments from Scottish Asians. These were often complex, and hinted at a diversity and heterogeneity which majority groups often failed to acknowledge. It is this failing of the majority perspective which this chapter hopes to overcome.

Alexander, in her study of British Afro-Caribbean youth, hypothesised that rather than having complete autonomy over self-identity it may be that: 'Black people are denied any element of choice, and hence of creativity, in the construction of black identity . . . minority groups cannot but become subject to

dominant definitions and perforce re-create them' (1996:12). However, her research in London ethnographically described some aspects of black youth culture, notably their strategies of resistance and subjective responses to racist stereotyping, and led her to suggest that: 'self-consciousness was inseparable from the gaze of others and yet not wholly determined by it' (1996:187). Thus, despite being subject to the dominant, majority definitions of their identity, minorities remain capable of preserving some autonomy for self-construction. For instance, even a cursory glance at organisations such as the Scottish Asian Sports Association suggest that Scottish Asian sport is far more prevalent and organised than most majority observers realise. So, despite being portrayed as uninterested in sport, Scottish Asians are actively involved in sport.

There shall be three different set of ethnographic findings presented here. The first is an analysis of the Scottish Asian Sports Association (SASA) in Glasgow, considering the structure and function of the organisation, and describing the cultural values and practices of the players in SASA's amateur league team. The second study is of Scottish Asian football in Edinburgh, comparing and contrasting its organisation and practice with SASA. And the third study is of fan groups supporting the Scottish national team, with a focus upon the inclusion or otherwise of Scottish Asians within this profound symbol of contemporary Scottish identity. The reason for including these three inquiries is because each, in different ways, asks critical and difficult questions of the nature of Scottish Asian identity and the foundations for racism and exclusion.

However, it also becomes possible to uncover various strategies of resistance. Previous chapters have discussed the type of prejudices which face Scottish Asians, and examined some of the various strategies of resistance (see chapters 6 and 7). Just as there are various forms of power, and these are

implied in the variety of racist expression already discussed in this thesis, there are various forms of resistance. Football is an important site of power and resistance in Scottish society. Therefore, the cultural practices of Scottish Asian football may indicate something of their response to prejudice and exclusion. Tomlinson has argued that studying a particular sport culture can show 'how power relations themselves involve an ebb and flow of influence, illustrative of the reflexive and generative capacity of human actors to confirm, adapt, negotiate, and at times remake their institutions and cultures' (1998:239).

The first two studies address questions of minority self-construction, self-representation, and the construction of social identities in relation to football. A methodological shift is required that shall allow investigation of cultures and behaviours which, while not being beyond the gaze of the majority, are certainly represented in limited ways by the majority. Ethnography involves going 'into the field to observe, listen and interpret' guided by sociological 'theories and evidence' to 'make sense of a new situation, a strange group or a foreign country in everyday life' (Shipman 1988:37). These are interesting terms chosen by Shipman, designed to illustrate the method in general terms, but useful for this study. Scottish Asian football players and fans may not be a 'foreign country' but from the evidence already presented in this thesis they are, to many Scots, a 'strange group'. Many majority observers seem to presume that Scottish Asians do not play or watch football, so as football participants they are strangers. Yet, outside of football, the racism which permeates Scottish society means that perceptions of Scottish Asians are limited, and thus relationships are also limited. Scottish Asians can remain strangers in the land of their residence and/or birth. Yet, for the ethnographer a description of such oppositional otherness is inadequate. For it assumes an otherness which may not, in reality, be so oppositional, and it

assumes a centre which is homogeneous and stable. Instead, it is important to note that in 'the recognition of the other . . . lies the acknowledgement that we are no longer at the centre of the world. Our sense of centre is being displaced' (Chalmers 1994:24).

The third study examines the various processes of social identification central to Scottish national team supporters. It focuses upon the cultural practices through which self-identities of Scottish fans are expressed. The specific styles of self-construction are important because an essentialistic or limited version of Scottishness may emerge which precludes the inclusion of minorities. However, football fans construct their identities with reference to specific others (Giulianotti 1999), and this may involve the expression of various prejudices which also influence Scottish Asian inclusion.

The objective of ethnography is to consider cultural practices beyond politicised rhetoric and the impression management process of specific groups:

> We are not dealing here with a field of persuasive rhetorical representations within the political arena, but, quite to the contrary, with the taken-for-grantedness of the quotidian, of everyday life, the lived in world, the commonsensical, unexamined assumptions which, as such, are the locus of implicit, and thus doubly powerful, affective commitments.
>
> (Werbner 1996a:69)

Thus, through ethnography it may be possible to describe and analyse a set of cultural practices whose existence is often unacknowledged. In the case of Scottish Asians this may be a complex set of identifications central to a football culture. In the case of Scottish national team fans, this may be a range

of problematic identity expressions beyond, as shall be discussed, the simplistic presentations of the 'carnivalesque'.

The process of doing ethnographic research involves the researcher participating in the group under investigation. This involvement can prove difficult to achieve, and provides a number of dilemmas for the researcher (Giulianotti 1995a; Sugden 1996; Marshall & Rosman 1999). For these studies, entry to the group of Scottish fans was far more straightforward since I am Scottish, white, and familiar with the cultural practices of these fans. It was relatively simply to become 'immersed' in that group, and I chose not to inform fans of my role as researcher. Although this decision raises questions of ethics I was interested in their expressions of prejudice, which may have become limited by their awareness of my role.

Entry to the Scottish Asians groups posed greater problems since I had no personal contacts, and was viewed as an 'outsider'. I acknowledged my position as researcher with these groups, which helped my entrée into certain groups, and allowed my research to remain ethical. My role as researcher caused several key individuals to question my ability to understand racism and Scottish Asian perspectives since I was white. Other individuals became more explicitly conversant on racism issues in direct response to my presence. It should also be noted that the spaces of football are not always conducive to one-to-one conversation. Therefore, the ethnographic information is supplemented by some interview data.

8.2 Notions of cultural identity

Hall has argued that identity 'is not as transparent or unproblematic as we might think' and suggests that we move beyond essentialistic versions which conceive of identity as 'an already accomplished fact' (1990:222). Hall defines essentialist identities as 'lying unchanged, outside history and culture . . . some universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history has made no fundamental mark . . . a fixed origin to which we can make some final and absolute return' (1990:226). Similarly, Archetti understands essential identities to be those which 'an individual or group has in and of itself' (1996:201). Therefore, essentialism suggests that despite change, movement, and contemporary concerns, the identities of Scottish Asians are locked into origin, defined by origin, and remain unchanged by the socio-historical processes of migration, settlement, and residence in Scotland. The consequence is a limited, one-dimensional view of Scottish Asians, which restricts through definitions of difference.

In the black African-American context it has been argued that a critical review of essentialist versions of identity is crucial:

> The critique of essentialism . . . is useful for African-Americans concerned with reformulating outmoded notions of identity. We have too long had imposed upon us, both from the outside and the inside, a narrow constricting notion of blackness . . . critiques of essentialism which challenge notions of universality and static over-determined identity within mass culture and mass consciousness can open up new possibilities from the construction of self and the assertion of agency.
>
> (hooks 1990:6)

The identification of Scottish Asians as simply 'Asian' and as simply defined by their 'Asianness' signals the use of essentialism. Their identities are assumed to remain fixed to a South Asian past and tradition, and the use of concepts of tradition both by Scottish Asians and other Scottish groups to suggest a fixed, essentialist identity for Scottish Asians is problematic: 'whenever tradition appears in the form of a temporal and cultural continuum that unfolds according to the logic of its origins . . . tradition masks the powers and complexities of its heterogeneous configuration' (Chambers 1994:73).

Essentialism is problematic because of its ontological flaws, history cannot be succinctly captured in neat identity categories. However, it is also problematic for anti-racism as it suggests social division and rigid boundaries based on 'ethnicity', with oppositional 'Asian' against 'Scottish' identities. As hooks argues: 'Abandoning essentialist notions would be a serious challenge to racism' (1990:6). It would disrupt prejudiced ideas of minorities which naturalise expressions of culture and practice which conform to restrictive and debilitating stereotypes.

Essentialism problematically suggests purity of ethnicity and tradition (Brah 1996), primordality and the over-determination of ethnic difference (Anthias 1998), authenticity of tradition and heritage (Chambers 1994; Hastrup 1995), and it ignores both change and the politics of representation (Hall 1992).[1] As such, essentialism reinforces notions of distance and exteriority. To overcome these problems Chambers suggests that by 'disentangling the knots of that monothetic discourse and loosening ourselves from its rigid ordinances, a further, more open, discontinuous and historical, framework emerges' (1994:73). Thus, essentialism's critiques demand an anti-essentialist consideration of the range and variety of heterogeneities, discontinuities and the intertwining of ethnicity with other identity concerns, such as gender,

locality and nation. Though, as Smaje argues we cannot replace 'the essentialism of primordial theories which treat ethnicity as a social category *sui generis*, the explanatory totality of an essential "ethnic sentiment"' with another reductionist model based on class (1997:311), or for that matter nationhood, gender, locality, or age. Nor, however, can we regress into a postmodern free-for-all where social identities have no historical or structural location (Solomos & Back 1996; Malik 1996). Furthermore, criticising essentialism is not identical to criticising the expression of difference *per se*. There are various versions of difference, and essentialistic versions have their own problems, as have been outlined above.

The ethnographic studies presented here hope to challenge essentialism and stereotype by describing a more diverse and heterogeneous reality. In other words, it is hypothesised that essentialistic versions are inadequate empirically, even though, as we shall see, some recent studies have uncritically reproduced simplistic essentialisms. The concluding chapter shall attempt to offer a more adequate notion of ethnicity which challenges racism and essentialism, while maintaining an awareness of South Asian heritage.

8.3 Framing identities: studies of English Asian football

The dilemmas of English Asian identities with relation to football is a central theme of Fleming's (1991, 1992, 1995) ethnographic study of English Asian youth sport in a school setting. Fleming related the influence of South Asian identifications upon his subjects, as well as the influence of racist exclusion. In an effort to demonstrate that English Asians were incorporating local forms of identification Fleming re-classified some of the subjects as victims, straights, boffins, and street kids. This demonstrated that his subjects accepted the value-system of their peers and, alongside Fleming's consistent emphasis on the 'internal heterogeneities' of religion and origin within the British Asian communities, may have presented an anti-essentialist critique of social identities. Despite a discussion of various forms of social identity, local power struggles, and the variety of responses available, however, Fleming failed to address cross-boundary differences in an anti-essentialist mode. That is, the interaction between the 'British' and 'Asian' aspects of British Asianness was not expanded upon or dissected. Thus, the distinction between the two sides of this dual social identity remained distinct.

Despite indications of potential anti-essentialism Fleming drew upon Modood's definition of British Asian ethnicity as 'South Asian'; collectivising those who 'share in the heritage of the civilisation of the old Hindustan prior to British conquest. Roughly, it is those people who believe that the Taj Mahal is an object of their history' (Modood 1988:397). Such a definition presumably relies upon notions of stability which define identities through a Muslim temple in western India. Modood fails to elucidate upon the precise meaning of having the Taj Mahal as an object of one's history. What specific type of relationship must one have with this temple to be considered South Asian? Indeed, Edensor (1998) suggests that there are a variety of ways in which the

Taj Mahal can be interpreted: for some it is a symbol of Muslim power, for others a symbol of India's colonial past, and for tourists it is a monument of love. Moreover, should this South Asian identity necessarily be an historical identification, as suggested by the reference to the 'old Hindustan' (which was not a homogeneous cultural or political entity prior to British colonisation anyway), or can it be contemporary? In short, this definition is too vague, and any offers a limited model for conceptualising identity.

Regardless of the ambiguities of the use of the Taj Mahal, the grounding of British Asianness in the 'old Hindustan' creates identity from a fixed sense of history, and a distant sense of origin. Therefore, Fleming never really identified the heterogeneities resulting from 'cross-cultural' Britishness and Asianness, his indication of heterogeneity remained inside and internal to South Asianness. Instead, he may have pointed to both the complexities of being British and to the complexities of being both British and South Asian; his empirical analysis suggested these complexities but his conceptual apparatus remained trapped in essentialisms.

Both Bains with Patel (1996) and Johal (1999) contextualised brief histories of British Asian professional football players in the framework of Modood's Taj Mahal and Hindustan references, and were more obviously essentialist than Fleming. For instance, after briefly referring to the 1950s West Ham player Roy Smith and Celtic's Paul Wilson (see chapter 3), Johal discussed the careers of Ricky Heppolate (Preston North End, Chesterfield, Leyton Orient, Peterborough United and Crystal Palace) and Chris Dolby (Rotherham and Bradford). Each of these players were British Asians and had successful careers, probably despite racism, though Johal makes little reference to their experiences of racism. However, they represent something more

complex for Johal; referring specifically to Smith, Wilson and Heppolate he argued:

> The names of these three players betray their ethnic origin, moreover, their names disclose the extent to which their ethnicity, their South Asian heritage has been diluted, indeed forsaken, during the course of their (and their families') respective quests for socio-cultural alignment. All three players are of mixed race parentage, a syncretic proclivity that extends to more than one generation of their familial genealogies.
>
> (1999:in press)

Although Johal's purpose, as noted below, is to criticise the institutions of British football, his discussion of these players is problematic. He insists upon a limited definition of 'Asianness' which tends towards essentialistic versions of identity. The terms used signify a criticism that these players are too British. Their names 'betray' their origin, their 'heritage'[2] is 'diluted', indeed 'forsaken'. In terms of the 'British' and 'Asian' duality these players are – culturally at least – too British to be considered ethnically 'Asian' by Johal. Racially they are seen as 'mixed', a suggestion which hints at an insistence on 'Asian' racial purity if an individual is to be considered 'Asian'. The complexities and diverse forms of British Asianness are reduced to simple formulae, and those who have developed cross-cultural identities are criticised.

Chris Dolby, born to South Asian parents, but adopted by 'white' parents, was presented as an example of cultural 'non-Asianness'. He was, in Johal's terms, raised in a 'white environment' which was 'non-ethnic' (1999:in press) and included none of the customs, religions or traditions of South Asian culture. His skin colour was only a 'superficial testament to his ethnic origin'

(1999:in press). As such, Dolby almost cannot be considered 'Asian' in any sense, regardless of the fact that prejudiced members of majority groups would not distinguish between a 'real' South Asian and an 'unreal' one.

Johal seems to be ostensibly arguing that since every player of South Asian origin who has successfully achieved professional status has been identified as 'culturally aligned' with Britain, then inclusion may be easier on account of both their familiarity with the cultural territory and the majority's greater inclination to accept an individual like 'us':

> When the most notable players to have made the grade in British professional football seem to share a common non-ethnicity, a distinct non-South Asian-ness, it seems to suggest that to become a footballer in Britain one does not necessarily have to be white, rather one must be seen as white, seen as being British in a cultural, and thus a perceived ideological context.
>
> (1999:in press)

Johal's attempt to recognise cultural racism is creditable. He argues that any British Asian footballer, who has been professionally successful, has been viewed as culturally British. Therefore, individuals who express their 'Asian' heritage have been absent suggesting that they faced racist prejudice and stereotype. However, this model undermines the claims of these players to be identified – by themselves as much as by others – as British Asian, and simultaneously dissolves any critique of the racism which they suffered. Moreover, the effect is a essentialistic version of identity which posits an either/or scenario, reducing the complexity and variety of British Asian identities. Individuals are either 'Asian' or 'British', there are no spaces of

duality or ambivalence, and the possibility for a combined British Asianness is dismissed.

Johal's claims that these players were accepted thanks to their Britishness sits uneasily with the racism experienced by racialised minorities throughout the history of British football. Another player, Rashid Sarwar, overlooked by Johal, experienced racism while simultaneously being perceived as 'Western' by his team-mates at Kilmarnock; it was suggested in one match day programme that he was more Western than most of his team-mates.[3] Johal's conceptualisation of racism implies that cultural racism predominates; that if a British Asian can be 'accepted' in 'cultural' terms then he would face no further racism from fans, players or officials. Instead, such 'assimilation' cannot actually leave a British Asian as being 'seen as white': for most observers he will continue to be seen as 'brown'.

Beyond such contradictions, however, lies Johal's insistence upon a dichotomous and exclusionary set of identifications. However, he detailed his own personal relationship with the English national team in order to explain his own sense of exclusion. As a consequence of experiencing racism, of 'analysing the effects of my ethnicity, the methods of my minoritization and the exclusion and denial of my difference' (1998:129), his initial support for England transferred into detachment, climaxing with his own celebration of Germany's victory over England in the 1996 European Championships. The construction of the English nation through football has been specifically oriented towards a mono-cultural, white, romantic image of glorious imperial days and the unity which characterised the period before the arrival of black and Asian migrants (Carrington 1998b). Yet, many non-whites support the English national team (Back *et al.* 1998) and Johal himself did until recently. The dilemma over nationhood is complex, and the choices made among British

Asians and British blacks will be varied and heterogeneous. However, it would be wrong to argue that all British Asians are culturally non-British; the range of identifications with national football teams expresses the complexities of dual national identities. Such issues undermine the validity of essentialism.

While the concerns of minorities in the face of racism, and a majority nationalist culture which can exclude them, are understandable, the resultant model of identity losses the sense of change, of locality and of time. Modood's primordality casts identities back in time to the Middle Ages, searching for the roots of heritage in 'old Hindustan'. An essential South Asianness is constructed, understood to have persisted throughout the intervening centuries and across the continents of diasporic space. By privileging heritage and history, over change and the contemporary acts of identity, the essentialistic version of identities forgets the present cultural syncretism of Britain's minority communities. It over-determines the 'ethnic origin/difference' element of subjectivities, and renders redundant the challenge presented by ethnic minorities to majority British culture. Ethnic minorities can choose to relocate themselves beyond the nation, beyond Britain, in their country of origin or in diasporas (see Johal 1999). Yet, Gilroy has argued that it 'is impossible to theorise black culture in Britain without developing a new perspective on British culture as a whole' (1987:156). The same can be said in relation to British Asians.

8.4 Scottish Asian football: an ethnographic approach

The ethnographic research was conducted in both Glasgow and Edinburgh. From September 1995 to April 1999 social contacts were made, informal and formal interviews held, and football played with various groups involved with football and Scottish Asian minorities in Glasgow and Edinburgh. In Glasgow I played indoor football with the Scottish Asian Sports Association (SASA) every week for nine months in 1996, and in 1998-99 both trained with and played for their 11-a-side league team.

I met members of SASA by attending their annual sports event, their annual dinner and a committee meeting. The research was a combination of the qualitative techniques of ethnography and interviewing. By attending a range of events and activities the social context of football could be observed and individuals' actions and responses in everyday settings recorded and analysed. Informal interviews would often simply involve brief and unrecorded discussions with individuals as we met at various events. Recorded, more structured interviews were held with key figures with whom I could arrange a meeting in advance. However, other arranged meetings involved long discussions on various subjects and were not recorded. In Edinburgh the same methods were applied, though the organisation was less structured than in Glasgow (see below). The opportunity was taken to participate in a regular game with a group of Scottish Pakistanis over three months, and events such as the Mela – the annual cultural festival for Scottish Asians – were also attended. I also met regularly with individuals from various groups in Edinburgh who were involved with football. These involvements can be labelled ethnographic fieldwork, a method which stresses 'taken-for granted social routines, informal knowledge, and embodied practices' (Gupta & Ferguson 1997:36).

During the course of this study, my identity as ethnographer and researcher into racism, football and Scottish Asians, was openly revealed to subjects, gatekeepers and informers.[4] Indeed, at times such an admission assisted the flow of information as, being white and on occasions entering events without any prior contact, individuals could not be sure as to my motives and trustworthiness. These issues hint at the dilemma regarding the ability of white researchers to investigate and understand black minority cultures (see also Cashmore 1982 and Fleming 1992, 1995).

It is worth making several points in this respect. Firstly, it is unlikely that a white researcher will ever have full access to the spaces of identity creation and management, such as the home, place of worship, school, and so on; however, any ethnography will be limited in some way by such access issues. Secondly, not all potential subjects realised the value of this research and conceded little information of value. Thirdly, stating anti-racist objectives often reassured sceptical subjects. Fourthly, this has been a study of secular activities in which I could easily become involved, it remains focused upon and limited to football settings.. Fifthly, it is important that the researcher undertake his or her task with objectivity, rigour, and respect for their subjects. Thus, the question of whether or not this study, conducted by a white researcher, describes, analyses, yet respects, Scottish Asians and offers a serious contribution to the understanding of racism and Scottish Asian football, is in the eye of the reader.

The place of this fieldwork in this thesis, as one of a number of qualitative methods reflects recent trends in social research which have effected the:

> further softening [of] the division between ethnographic knowledge and other forms of representation flowing out of archival research, the analysis of public discourse, interviewing, journalism, fiction, or statistical representations of collectivities. Genres seem destined to continue to blur.
>
> (Gupta & Ferguson 1997:38)

Instead of simply considering Scottish Asians in their 'Asianness', that is focusing solely on one aspect of their identities, their ethnicity, a more complete analysis of identity would contain a description of the different dimensions to identity. Football, as Bromberger has noted, gives spectators 'an expressive support to the symbolisation of the *various facets* of their identity (local, professional, regional, national)' (1993:115; emphasis added). Thus, the description of Scottish Asians relationship with football shall move beyond essentialism and consider the complexities of their position as minority, of belonging to Scotland but facing the dilemmas of racialised difference.

Discussions of Scottish Asians within a football context have often assumed essentialist versions of identity to be adequate. Thus, the spectrum of beliefs about Scottish Asian identity range from the implicit such as Bairner's view that Scottish Asians 'do not belong to a football culture' (1994:21) to the view of some journalists that Scottish Asian involvement in football would bring 'holy war' (chapter 5; Dimeo & Finn 1999), or the racist expression encouraging Scottish Asians 'go home' (see details about Rashid Sarwar, chapter 3, and chapter 7; also Dimeo & Finn 1999). At the more extreme level, some majority Scots express their prejudice through violence and discriminatory exclusion (chapter 7).

Once it is realised that Scottish Asians do play and watch football, and are not simply defined by their South Asian ethnicity, then the importance of football becomes apparent. As Finn has argued of football fans: 'The club becomes part of supporters' identities, which means there is an emotional and cognitive identification with the club' (1994c:101). Importantly, Finn notes that fans identify both with the 'imagined community' of the local community which a club represents, and with the 'imagined community' of the club itself. Therefore, if Scottish Asians support football clubs, and play for football clubs, then it becomes necessary to consider the relationship of football and social identity. The complex identifications of nation, community and ethnicity which may operate within Scottish Asian football cultures suggest that the simple formulae of ethnicity-determined essentialism are inadequate (see Johal 1999). Instead, Scottish Asians may relate to, and identify with, football teams and cultures.[5]

It is worth returning at this stage, and in more detail, to Bairner's (1994) discussion of Scottish Asians and football. Bairner's arguments highlight some of the complexity around essentialism, though they remain entrenched within essentialised discourses. He argues that 'Asians' do not 'belong to a football culture' thus suggesting an essentialised 'Asianness' despite their residence and/or birth in Scotland. However, he goes on to note that 'one cannot help but wonder to what extent young Asians are dissuaded from involving themselves in football by the racism which infects Scottish League grounds' (1994:21). In this latter statement 'Asians' are not viewed as entirely avoiding football because it contradicts their 'culture', it may be that racism undermines their enthusiasm. Yet, Bairner is contradictory because he suggests two opposing reasons for their under-representation: 'culture' and racism. The former was described as 'one obvious explanation' while the latter was what 'one cannot

help but wonder'. Thus, although Bairner's account is complex it tends towards an essentialist view which posits Scottish Asians as primarily determined by their 'Asianness'.

Essentialist versions of identity tend to focus on those specific aspects of identity which relate to South Asian origin. By contrast, portraying Scottish Asians as fans and players includes other forms of identity and other vehicles for tradition and community, and emphasises change over origin. The studies presented here challenge essentialism, and the constructions of Scottish Asian football presented in majority discourse.

8.5 The Scottish Asian Sports Association in Glasgow

8.5.1 Structure and historical development

In Glasgow SASA dominated the provision and organisation of Scottish Asian football. The Association was established in 1990, and designed to ensure that the ethnic minorities of Glasgow obtained access to leisure facilities. The committee members of SASA, whose numbers have varied but during 1996-98 averaged around 10, worked voluntarily. They mainly took responsibility for the annual sports meeting held in Glasgow's Kelvin Hall in late summer, and for the brochure which accompanied this event. As such they were primarily engaged with administration: they arranged the Kelvin Hall reservation[6], developed support for the event, organised team events, invited guest teams and speakers, organised the design and publication of the brochure, arranged the advertisements and the guest contributions for the brochure. The event does require substantial organisation; it covers two full weekends. The number of entrants varies but is often several hundred.

During the first years of SASA's existence, in the early 1990s, the committee petitioned Glasgow City Council (GCC) to employ a sports development officer with a specific remit for ethnic minorities. This post was filled by Kash Taank in autumn 1993. Taank's responsibilities were developed in collaboration with SASA, he remained officially autonomous from the Association, though often volunteered to assist their activities. Taank primarily accepted the responsibility for organising regular classes of leisure activities for GCC, providing for a wide range of age groups a variety of sports. The specific focus of Taank's work was Glasgow's ethnic minority population. His success in developing a number of leisure services justified SASA's lobbying of the City Council. In short, SASA quickly became an organisation capable of successfully negotiating and working with local government. Indeed, the status

and power of SASA was best illustrated by the numerous wealthy benefactors, politicians and businessmen who attended their annual dinners.[7] Representatives of Scotland's media and football organisations were also present, thus demonstrating SASA's increasing importance and social standing.

8.5.2 The functions and rationale of SASA

It is possible to identify a number of themes which have motivated those involved with SASA, and which are directly related to some of the issues facing Scottish Asians in contemporary Scottish society.[8] The first of these themes concerned the provision of sports and leisure for Scottish Asians when majority group provision failed. So, for instance, on the question of female dress codes, certain forms of organisation are required which allow all-female sports sessions. Often such religious codes, to which only Muslims adhered, were not accommodated within the 'open access' regime of leisure facilities. Although leisure providers were not deliberately excluding minorities, their 'colour-blind' approach had the effect of exclusion. Such issues confronted Kash Taank after he joined Glasgow City Council, as the Council had not catered for minority religious and cultural needs. However, SASA were also aware, as Dilawar Singh argued, that the participation of specific sectors of the Scottish Asian community, such as women and the elderly, faced both the obstacles of racism and the requirements of their religion and South Asian traditions. Thus, they rarely ventured to the public leisure centres.

Another theme was to address the discrimination faced by young Scottish Asians as they attempted to participate in 'open' sports. Not only was such discrimination considered commonplace, but few positive anti-racist strategies had emerged to counter such racism. SASA recognised that the enthusiasm among Scottish Asians for football was being undermined by racism. Thus, SASA's organisers sought to provide for those forgotten by a system of leisure provision which fails to recognise issues facing minorities, such as religious practice or racism. In essence, they attempted to overcome the vacuum created by racism and by antipathy. They attempted to assist the

inclusion of Scottish Asians in sport, an activity which, as Dilawar Singh argued, was both enjoyable and improved health.

A third theme which SASA emphasised was to use sports and leisure provision to continue specific cultural traditions of South Asia. The sports of the subcontinent, such as kabbadi, were made available for Scottish Asian children and young adults who might have spent little, if any, time in South Asia. As such, sport and leisure were considered important to the maintenance of both customs and community.

A fourth theme was that while sports participation among Scottish Asians was important, the secular character of these sports allowed the promotion of multiculturalism. Given that no special learning, language, belief, skill or facilities were required for these sports, they also allowed Scottish Asians to invite majority Scots to participate with them in a playful, enjoyable space, free from the explicit concerns of ethnicity.[9] Indeed, 'white' sportsmen became involved with every sport, including kabaddi, and at every level. Sport was a secular space in which all groups could participate, it was positively multicultural.

Related to these processes was also a desire to demonstrate to a sceptical majority population that Scottish Asians could compete at sports as much as in other fields of social life. Members of SASA, and many of the sports participants, were aware of the slights made against their physique, bodily strength and capability, and sports ability. Popular stereotypes argued that 'Asians' were not interested in sport, thus sport was used to differentiate and discriminate. However, by developing sports skill, especially in football which is so prized in British culture, Scottish Asians might challenge the prejudice which they regularly face.

Thus, we can identify a number of themes related to the function and philosophy of SASA: provision should be made where majority institutions fail the minorities; provision should be made for those who face racism in 'open' sports; specific sporting traditions of South Asia might be continued; a multicultural openness might be promoted; Scottish Asians might counter stereotypes and prejudice. In more general terms, SASA's sporting events provided a focus of Scottish Asians, but it was a secular focus using public facilities and which could involve individuals from any community.

Finally, it is important to note the distinction between the secular character of sport and the manner in which British Asians are understood by majority groups: 'the "alienness" which was seen to be such an affront to the British character and the British way of life . . . was conspicuously visible in the Asian communities' (Hedetoft 1985:238). The construction of 'Asianness' within the majority imagination emphasises those features of British Asian life which distinguishes this group from the majority, which makes them the minority. Although recognition of South Asian culture is valid, to over-emphasise it, and to construct it as 'alien', are simplistic essentialist versions of social identity. The participation of Scottish Asians in sport challenges the majority's preconceived stereotypes. Instead, Scottish Asians play and watch a number of different sports, and active leisure pursuits are very important within these minority communities.

8.5.3 SASA's amateur league team

Several months were spent participating in SASA football team's training and weekend matches. This involvement allows a more detailed description of 'naturally emergent (or concealed) social truths' (Sugden 1996:211), which occur in routine and everyday settings. A useful distinction to be made is between events on the field, in the dressing room, and in post-training discussions and interactions which occurred in public houses. In these different contexts, a range of issues emerge which are relevant to a social scientific understanding of the cultural significance of football in Scottish Asian life.

On the field

There is one striking feature of Scottish Asian football that impresses upon the ethnographer: that the common assumptions made by majority Scots are almost the mirror image of what one finds in practice. Scottish Asians set about their football with passion, skill, physical aggression, and alongside 'white' Scots. In the SASA training of 1998-99, held in the Glasgow district of Knightswood, there were some great players and some mediocre players, but they indulged in the contest just as any other Scottish group would, or indeed any group of football players throughout the world.

These training sessions were structured in such a way that some coaching exercises were led by Rajiv[10], a qualified coach who worked part-time alongside Kash Taank at Glasgow City Council, and there was always a game at the end of the session. The players' attitudes to the sessions blended a work ethic, in which they wanted to become fitter, with a sense of enjoyment and there was always talking and 'piss taking' throughout the session. A poor performance would be ridiculed and it was very important to the players that the team was successful. The Knightswood training was considered preparation

for the Saturday morning 11-a-side amateur league in which SASA had a good reputation but their fortunes had diminished by the 1998-99 season. Thus, the cultural context of their football was very similar to other amateur leagues consisting of players who were not good enough to become professionals but who enjoy playing the sport.

League matches were considered highly important to the players. Playing under the name 'Scottish Asian Sports Association' meant that they were clearly identified as Scottish Asians. Many players experienced racism as the price, both emotionally and possibly physically, of representing their ethnicity on the football field. As Williams indicated of English minority group amateur football clubs:

> Involvement in local football in these terms is, in part, a form of *community* 'politics', or a symbol of resistance to domination if not a ready made agent of structural change. It constitutes, however, a form of resistance, expression and involvement which must always articulate within *local* circumstances.
>
> (1994:162)

If racism was the potential cost of involvement then the rewards related directly to the football's role as 'symbol of resistance'.

Football thus became a site for the negotiation of power and resistance (see Rowe 1998), in which the masculine values of sport (Parker 1996) became central to process of negotiation and conflict. Armstrong, in his discussion of football 'hooliganism' (1994, 1998), constructed a framework for understanding his subject which, while not directly referring to minorities and racism, may assist the understanding of Scottish Asian football and in particular the role of

masculine performances. He argued that: 'hooliganism is an experiment in which young men test their responses under certain conditions' (1994:301). The performance was for the benefit of specific audiences (their own gang, rival gangs, the police, media, the local community), and the rewards for demonstrations of bravery were honour and status, the cost of cowardice was shame. Masculinity plays a powerful role in amateur football (Williams 1994), so league matches were an opportunity for Scottish Asians to demonstrate they were the equals of any other group through a test of masculinity for the benefit of a range of audiences (their own team, 'white' teams, other Scottish Asians, the media). Many of the common myths around Scottish Asian football implicitly suggest they are not 'man enough' to 'mix it' in the tough, physical world of Scottish football. So, even though masculinity is important for a range of Scottish male groups, in the case of Scottish Asians it overlapped with their construction as 'ethnic others'. Racism and resistance operated within these complex interactions of ethnicity and gender.

Responses to racism were the primary source for disputes over masculinity and ethnicity. One player, Kamal, was often criticised because he always over-reacted to racism on the pitch. The value-system of the team demanded some restraint during the match because Kamal was often sent off and the team's opportunities for success reduced. The criticism of Kamal's behaviour signals a quite complex hierarchy of values in which succeeding at football predominates over localised opposition to racism because football success (it is believed) allows a longer term challenge to the structures and institutions of racism. Thus, the values related to masculinity shift accordingly. The player has to be 'man enough' to 'take it' on the pitch, whereas outside of the football context such racist abuse would demand verbal or physical response from the victim.

One player, James, proudly recalled the racist abuse he had withstood on the pitch: 'I've taken it from the best of them', yet off the pitch he was extremely forthright in his response to racism and condemnation of racist practice. He simply felt that the appropriate response on the field was to channel his anger into the match itself. Defeating the opposition was a more satisfying response than over-reacting and being sent off.[11] The assumption was that the racist opponent was trying to distract them, and thus undermine their effectiveness in the match. Consequently, the best reaction was not to fall into his trap but to demonstrate that they were strong enough not to be distracted. There was further satisfaction to be gained from the knowledge that the racist opponent suffered shame at the sporting defeat. A greater shame than usual because defeat came at the hands of a group considered socially inferior, a group who – it is believed – do not even like football, do not have a tradition of football, and do not have the physique or inclination to play football.

In other circumstances, where racism was not the central issue, powerful masculine football-related codes became influential reference points for the 'performance'. During one match in April 1999, the team were in the midst of a significant defeat at the hands of Glasgow Highlanders, and racism had never been an issue during the match. The team was beset with injuries, including one to the player-manager, Robert, who watched from the sidelines. Towards the end of the match, with the victory already secured, a Highlanders player rounded the SASA goalkeeper and faced no challenge to scoring another goal. He mockingly stood on the ball waiting for a challenge before scoring. Such ridicule drew on a tradition of on-field ritualised mockery of the losers, of which there are famous examples: Scotland's Jim Baxter sitting on the ball against England at Wembley in 1967, or the great Leeds team of the 1970s keeping the ball from their Southampton opponents for almost ten minutes. In

SASA's case the demoralised players offered little resistance, and Robert saw the event as symbolic of the team's lack of 'fight' during the entire match. He shouted from the touchline: 'Somebody half that fucker', and later on in the dressing room he declared: 'If someone did that to me I would have halved him'.[12] Indeed, his post-match criticisms centred upon the lack of 'character', 'aggression' and a general submissiveness: 'we need fighters out there, yous bottled it', that called upon common codes of football-related masculinity.

Thus, although SASA were a Scottish Asian team, neither ethnicity or racism was a feature in certain discourses around gender identities. Masculinity was a common and accepted value, which Scottish Asians shared with other Scots. Nevertheless, prejudiced commentaries around Scottish Asians which suggested that they cannot play football include implicit suggestions that their physique is inadequate for the sport. As such, the desire to succeed at football includes an unarticulated effort to counter stereotypes of weakness and enervation; if so, gender and ethnicity remain interdependent and inseparable. However, in specific circumstances, such as the response to racist abuse, gender and ethnicity overlapped more explicitly to create a complex interaction of social variables.

These examples indicate the importance of amateur football in the construction of masculine identities as well as ethnic identities – Scottish Asian male identities – and the shared cultural material which bonds all football players regardless of 'origin', 'ethnicity' or 'ancestry'.

In the dressing room

Football cultures in Britain have a tradition of 'banter', of routine ridicule and joking based on a series of informal, yet clearly defined and refined, codes understood by the participants. 'Banter' is ostensibly amusing, however it offers the opportunity to relate moral codes, dissatisfactions, criticisms and to promote change without explicitly and seriously admitting that any real problem exists. As Parker's study of football apprenticeships revealed:

> Put into practice within the context of relational work-place humour, such language took the shape of the previously well documented process of "piss taking" – or "ripping" as it was more commonly known amongst Colby Town players. Here, in order to accumulate any kind of peer-group credibility individuals were not only required to 'take' the insults of others, but to 'give' as good as they got, thereby proving their masculine worth.
>
> (1996:224)

The receiver is further ridiculed if they take offence, so the ridiculer can make a series of criticisms within an accepted sets of limits. If the ridiculer crosses the line of the accepted limits then the receiver can in turn ridicule him. Thus, this common culture is sophisticated and reflects the playing out of a number of themes important to the participants. By focusing on players' imperfections 'banter' can illustrate agreed and idealised forms of masculinity, especially in relation to the body, lifestyle and football ability.

So, for example, Yogesh was reluctant to play on a Saturday morning preferring instead to spend time with his family. A regular occurrence after training was for Yogesh to embarrassingly admit that he would not play the

following Saturday, despite knowing that the team were struggling to find 11 players. Yogesh was ridiculed for this position, reflecting the other players' concern to have the best players on a Saturday. However, he was never seriously chastised as the others respected the prominence of family life once children arrive. Yet, Yogesh would subvert his own position by telling unmarried players not to get married, thus respecting the 'laddish' culture of football dressing rooms.

Another player who refused to play on Saturdays was Ali, a good, strong player and an obvious asset to SASA's team. His routine, complicated and somewhat dubious explanation of why his ankle injury ruled him out of 11-a-side but he could still play indoor football, was another regular feature of the post-training conversation. Ali would always arrive late for training and would rarely work hard at the fitness exercises: these characteristics also brought humorous criticism.

Such examples of 'banter' reflected a common football culture, and possibly a broader system of communication and the negotiation of moral values which can be found in other social contexts. While the 'banter' was similar to other football settings, the conversation could often turn to racism, a turn which ushered in a sharp reminder that the group were largely made up of Scottish Asians.[13] One player, James, who had a Pakistani father and a white Scottish mother, would relate numerous stories of the racism he had confronted while playing football.[14] He had been physically attacked during matches, seen his team-mates attacked, and on one occasion his team's dressing room was firebombed. He was also acutely aware of the more subtle forms of racism. For example, after one match in which he felt the referee had shown bias towards other teams he said to the official: 'The rules apply to black people as much as to white', to which the referee tellingly replied: 'What do you lot know about

football?' James also complained of prejudice within the Scottish Asian communities, arguing that Scots-Pakistanis had been excluded from SASA. He added that when Maxwell Park, which was a largely Scots-Pakistani team merged with SASA, many of the Scots-Indians who played for SASA left in protest.[15] The veracity of such claims is not known, though Kash Taank always denied that SASA is a Scottish Indian organisation.

Yogesh also complained of racism, arguing that every day he is reminded by at least one member of the majority groups that he is an outsider. He maintained that Scottish people did not appreciate the contribution Scottish Asians made to the economy and culture of Scotland. Football was important to Yogesh as a means of demonstrating that Scottish Asians have more to offer than 'corner shops', and so he was encouraging his son to play football. Yet, he firmly believed that majority group Scots did not recognise the existence of racism and its constant presence in the lives of Scottish Asians. Even the 'white' players who played for SASA did not all consider racism to be a problem, Yogesh argued that one player in particular, Fraser, refused to accept or understand the issue of racism. Fraser maintained that his friend, Ali had never complained of racism in football. Yet, Ali related stories of receiving abuse both on the pitch and inside stadia, and James's numerous stories of racism were also very convincing. Curiously, another 'white' player, Simon, also failed to see racism as a problem for Scottish football claiming that stadia were free of racism. Perhaps Fraser and Simon's positioning with respect to racism demonstrates the potency of the myth of no racism in Scotland. However, it is surprising that they failed to respect the claims of their own team-mates and friends.[16]

The common use of ideas of tradition and community with respect to minorities is with reference to their 'ethnic origin'. So, religion and origin are

employed to articulate 'culture' based on a perceived purity of 'tradition', brought from South Asia and passed on through generations. In this essentialist view, culture is determined by a fixed historical identity, rooted in a South Asian past. However, in other circumstances, the same terms are applied to football 'cultures' when referring to the 'tradition' of a club, or a 'community' of supporters (Finn 1994c; Armstrong & Giulianotti 1997), and the importance of football relationships for the process of constructing group boundaries. Directly referring to amateur league football, Williams has claimed:

> Local football is . . . important, of course, for its role in the construction of local male identities. Recollections of the football events, the trips, the goals or fearless tackles represent for the men involved accounts of their own specific history; of the loyalty, brotherhood and collective struggle involved in raising and maintaining a team and a club.
>
> (1994:158-9)

The SASA team was no different, stories of past encounters, the common cultural references about other teams, other pitches, triumphs and failures, the good and bad players of the team's history, were the symbolic material which bonded the players in their masculine culture. The 'specific history' of which Williams speaks is vital to SASA, it creates a uniqueness such that the team becomes a subdivision of a football culture of Scotland, and a subdivision of the Scottish Asian community, drawing on both, overlapping and intertwining discursive and symbolic material from both to create its own tradition, community and culture.

In the pub

Excursions to the pub for a drink after training were frequent, though only several players regularly attended. No matter which players were there the conversation usually turned eventually to British Asian football, and it was here that ethnicity became the central and dominant theme. Before detailing these conversations, it is worth noting that my presence may have engendered these discussions as the players were aware of my position as researcher.[17] It would be impossible to speculate precisely about the existence of such conversational themes in other contexts. However, I did not raise the subject and often the debates raged without any intervention from myself or any reference to my work.

Perhaps the most fervent supporter of British Asian football was Ali, who was always searching for examples of success. He was proud when he discovered that the France and Juventus player, Zinedan Zidane, was of Arabic origin and his name should really be written Zin-e-dan. One particular evening the venue for the post-training drink was a five-a-side football complex in Drumchapel. Kash Taank was there as he had been at training, Rajiv, myself and Ali. The conversation quickly turned to British Asian football and began with a recollection of the players they had known in Glasgow who almost became professionals. There were numerous players Ali knew dating back to the 1970s, who had played to a high standard. One player, Kami, had trained with Rangers in the late 1970s but, according to Ali, had been told by a coach at Ibrox that the club would not contemplate signing him on account of his ethnicity.

More recent examples of English Asian success, such as 18-year old Harpal Singh, signed by Leeds but currently playing in their reserve team, brought expressions of satisfaction and pride from Kash and Ali. They were at

a loss to explain why so few British Asians had been successful, especially since they had themselves known so many good players. At this point, I interjected to suggest that Paul Wilson was a good example of Scottish Asian success and it was symbolically important that he had played for Celtic, the club which had worked closely with SASA on the Bhoys Against Bigotry campaign. Ali replied: 'Who? Paul Wilson isn't an Asian name'. To which I explained that his mother was Indian and his father Scottish, which did not satisfy Ali: 'Doesn't count'. Given the previous treatment of Wilson (chapter 3) and his absence from the *Scotland on Sunday*'s campaign (chapter 7) Ali's response was vital to ideas of 'Asianness' around Wilson's career. 'Why not?' I asked. To which Ali had no answer except for an unsupported comment about Paul Wilson not being 'properly Asian'. Rajiv was the first to defend Wilson, arguing that not only did he belong to the Scottish Asian community but that he suffered as much racism as any other Scottish Asian: 'Racists aren't going to worry about the difference'. The use of essentialised notions of identity by Ali bore similarities to Johal's (1999) discussion of British Asian players, and Ali's response to Wilson was almost identical to Johal's treatment of the former Celtic and Scotland player. Yet, Rajiv's intervention was significant because it undermined Ali's essentialism, argued that collectivities resisting racism should include all those who suffer from racism, and his claims indicated the diversity of response from Scottish Asians. It remains unclear why Scottish Asians such as Ali might insist that a successful football player must be genealogically and maybe, as Johal argued, culturally 'Asian', before being accepted as a successful 'Asian' player.

That particular evening Kash broadened the discussion of racism and related concern that his employers, Glasgow City Council, have offered little organisational support for his plans.[18] For instance, he planned a British Asian

football tournament for Glasgow and had organised all the teams and the finance, but the Council had not given its permission or offered the use of their facilities. Also, he complained that his post was still dependent on external funding, and the Council had not committed their own financial resources to the development of minority sport. To these issues Ali responded by arguing that Scottish institutions did not really care about Scottish Asians. Kash argued that organisations often paid 'lip service' to anti-racism but actually made few changes to develop any significant anti-racist policies. Thus, despite Kash holding one of the most powerful positions with respect to minority sport in Scotland he has been applying for jobs elsewhere and is disillusioned with the lack of serious intent on the part of the Council. Indeed, he dreams of coaching football in India and assisting in the development of the sport in his 'homeland'.

It is clear that racism predominates reflections upon sporting life in Scotland. Scottish Asians seek the opportunity to participate in football, but receive little assistance and some have become passionately critical of racism. They dream of the future day when a Scottish Asian plays for one of Scotland's big clubs and eventually for Scotland itself. However, one player, Paul Wilson, who was an accomplished club player and represented Scotland, is neglected and forgotten. This failure to use Wilson to demonstrate both the historical success and potential of Scottish Asian football is surprising. There is frequent reference to a lack of role models (Dimeo & Finn 1999) when Wilson's example could fill such a vacuum. While some claim Wilson not be 'Asian', his achievements deserve recognition, and might be strategically used to counter prejudiced stereotypes about Scottish Asian football. It is ironic that Wilson played for Celtic, the club now closely involved with SASA through Bhoys Against Bigotry. Indeed, on an arranged tour of Celtic Park (as part of the BAB campaign), in January 1999, a group of Scottish Asian children, being shown

the trophy room, were ushered past a 1975 team photograph which included Wilson. This moment of neglect adequately symbolised the wider neglect of Wilson's achievements.

The Scottish Asian players of SASA believe that football success would demonstrate their presence in, and contribution to, Scottish society. Football is such an important part of Scottish life that a Scottish Asian professional represents a presence which cannot be ignored and which undermines all the stereotypes and prejudices which currently describe Scottish Asian 'culture'. Of course, such claims made the neglect of Wilson even more surprising and regrettable. However, and despite the suggestions of essentialist versions of identity, they desire nothing more than a change in Scottish life to accommodate their sense of a dual identity. They are both Scottish and Asian, they face racism and counter it in the appropriate manner, and they want Scottish society to recognise their presence and their problems. However, the situation is complex and subjective agency means that various positions are taken with respect to the balance between being Scottish and being South Asian. It remains an important aspect of sporting identities that, so far at least, Scottish Asians have not been forced to chose between Scotland and India/Pakistan on either the cricket or the football pitch. There remains a delicate balance between a sense of belonging to Scotland and a recognition of their rejection by some Scottish groups.

8.6 Sports organisations in Edinburgh

Scottish Asians in Edinburgh have never benefited from such an organised and capable association as SASA. The analysis, therefore, of Edinburgh football shall focus upon the structure and organisation of football and inquire as the consequences of its differences from Glasgow for the presentation and reproduction of Scottish Asian identities.[19]

In Leith, the Sikh Boys' Club, established in the early 1970s, has operated football coaching sessions every Sunday evening. These sessions have proved popular, and demand from both adults and children is too large to accommodate everyone within existing time and space resources. Yet, the club relies upon small concessions from the Edinburgh City Council, notably in securing free use of the Leith Community Centre for two hours on a Sunday evening. Furthermore, little external assistance has been offered with respect to coaching the young players. Responsibility has been left with individuals such as Mike Singh who played schools and amateur football before developing his coaching skills. He devotes much of his leisure time to coaching boys' teams, and has proved a successful coach with local 'open' teams as well as with the Sikh Boys' Club. It is indicative of the prevalence of racism that Mike Singh places importance upon developing skills and confidence within the racism-free confines of the Sikh Boys' Club before introducing a player to his 'open' club. He argues that for a Sikh player joining a club 'outside the community' can be a daunting and intimidating process. He himself faced racism when playing in amateur leagues, as did other Sikh players such as Johnny Singh and China Singh. Nevertheless, some of the players who have played football in their youth, and have since married and had children, are committed to developing a structure within which Sikh boys can learn football skills, enjoy playing, and possibly have successful playing careers.

Meanwhile, in the western areas of Edinburgh, Bengalis organise their annual event, called the *samity*, which brings together Scottish Bengalis and includes sports tournaments. This event, however, was not supported by a system of regular sports provision and young Scottish Bengalis were left to play in 'open' clubs even though older Bengalis recognised the prevalence of racism around football. Many Edinburgh Bengalis supported Hearts because they had settled in areas close to Tynecastle. Yet, Hearts fans have something of a reputation for racism, especially with respect to the experiences of Mark Walters and Paul Elliott. Edinburgh Bengalis appear to dismiss such concerns, pointing to recent examples of black players who have represented the club, and the fact that they themselves have not faced racism inside the stadium. Nevertheless, the response of some Edinburgh Bengalis to racism has been to de-amplify the issue. For example, Walli Uddin, who played football in Bangladesh before his family migrated, supported Wimbledon when he lived in London, and while in Edinburgh has refereed amateur leagues and supported Hearts, argued that in amateur leagues there is always conflict and that racism is simply another example. And Foisal Chaudhury rejected the idea of racism's prevalence before contradictorily recalling an occasion when his team were chased from Edinburgh's Meadows park by white youths shouting 'Get off you black bastards'.[20] Thus, responses to racism among Scottish Asians in Edinburgh were diverse and complex.

The Scots-Pakistanis and Scots-Indians each evolved their own forms of football organisation.[21] For example, a group of Scots-Pakistanis met every Friday for an informal five-a-side match.[22] During the mid-1990s the Scottish Pakistani Association (SPA) organised a regular league for its members. Its organisational style was too heavy-handed, however, with the teams being picked by committee members and tight restrictions on such aggressive

behaviour as swearing and fighting eventually causing disillusionment among the players. From the Friday evening games, and the demise of the SPA's league, it seems that this football culture was characterised by the aggression, competitiveness and masculine crudity that is common in football cultures throughout the world.

The main social event for Scottish Asians in Edinburgh is the Mela, held over one weekend in August at Meadowbank Sports Stadium. The Mela emphasises a range of cultural activities, including music, dance, exhibitions, and art. Sport is simply one of a number of activities in the Mela, as opposed to the SASA event which not only is twice the duration but is solely devoted to sport. Thus, in Edinburgh there are no specific sports events around which Scottish Asian sporting identifications can focus and organise. Nor were there any generic Scottish Asian organisations which brought together disparate groups for sport or leisure. This experience stands in contrast to the successes of SASA in Glasgow.

8.6.1 Different models of social identity

One result of the SASA committee's efforts is that Glasgow and surrounding areas has a 'pan-Asian' organisation, which operates efficiently and can access key individuals in politics and business.[23] They present a strong, united front on the part of Scottish Asians as a whole.

In Edinburgh there is no such unity, and although little conflict was evident between the respective groups there was little mutual encouragement in the face of racism and apathy from the majority population. The Edinburgh-Glasgow difference represents the importance of local contingencies of self-organisation, and strategic responses to community and racism issues, for the expression of social identities through football. Perhaps the most significant difference was that in Edinburgh players represented their 'intra-Asian' group, while in Glasgow internal diversions were suppressed under the rubric of 'Scottish Asian': a 'functional Indo-Pakistani identity' which has historically been developed 'because their common plight forced them to act in unison' (Hedetoft 1985:243). As an expression of social identities the Glasgow model closely resembles the notion of 'strategic essentialism': 'In their need to create new political identities, dominated groups will often appeal to bonds of common cultural experience to mobilise their constituency' (Brah 1996:127).

A common 'Asianness' is fostered to strengthen collectivity:

> Perhaps the main defence has been to construct an imagined community of resistance which cuts across all internal divisions by emphasizing the levelling effects of racist oppression. In this way diaspora communities are able to subsume all their disparate histories with a single meta-narrative which irons out all the 'wrinkles'.
>
> (Cohen 1992:73)

Yet, SASA's definition of 'Asian' goes beyond Modood's emphasis on a South Asian heritage by including the duality of Scottish and South Asian in the label Scottish Asian: their Scottishness is boldly asserted. Furthermore local differences of organisation and agency impact upon the construction and expression of social identity through sport. The contemporary influences of Scottish society are clearly important. The Edinburgh model follows a pattern of increased heterogeneity among British Asian groups. The differences of locale are set alongside differences of South Asian culture, a culture which after all includes over a hundred million residents of South Asia as well as a global diaspora. The result is the manifestation of smaller, more intricate differences.

Therefore, the practices of football's organisation, which differed so markedly between Glasgow and Edinburgh, not only reflected different strategies of identity-expression, but reflected the importance of contemporary change for identity construction. Furthermore, the cities' differences cast a critical shadow over efforts to define Scottish Asian 'culture' and 'community'. The local factors were evident from the different systems of organisation; the 'intra-Asian' factors were manifest in Edinburgh's organisation and consciously downplayed in Glasgow. Clearly, the choice of response to racism and the strategy for organisation are central to the relationship between sport and social identity.

Overall, the ethnographic research uncovered an enthusiasm for football which runs contrary to all the prejudiced myths surrounding Scottish Asians. Playing the sport with SASA and with Scottish Pakistanis in Edinburgh, speaking with Scottish Asians in both Glasgow and Edinburgh, was in essence a similar cultural experience to participating in football with any

other social group. The commitment was as profound and the themes of conversation identical. Becoming involved in arguments over the relative merits of Rangers and Celtic, Hibs and Hearts, or the Scottish national team, the sense of 'ethnic difference' was absent since such discussions reflect a global, largely masculine, secular practice. Football truly was a 'universal referent, one of the rare (even the only) elements of a world-wide masculine culture, understood by all, transcending regional and generational distinctions' (Bromberger 1993:115). However, the players in SASA's teams were proud to be asserting their ethnic identity on Glasgow's football pitches. Equally, Edinburgh's Asians took pride in their Sikh, Bengali, Indian or Pakistani footballing identifications.

8.7 Belonging to the Tartan Army

Carrington (1998b) emphasised the construction during the 1996 European Championships of a 'white' homogeneous English nation, which implicitly excluded non-whites from its positive representations of 'Englishness'. The dual national identifications of English Asians are worked out in the spaces of sport. For instance, Werbner's study of English Pakistanis in Manchester led her to state that: 'it is in the field of sport, through support of the national team, that young British Pakistanis express their love of both cricket and the home country, along with their sense of alienation and disaffection from British society' (1996b:101).[24] Football does not offer the same expression of affection for South Asia as cricket since India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka compete with the world's best at cricket. Since Scotland does not have an internationally successful cricket team the question of who Scottish Asians would support if Scotland played India or Pakistan is redundant. The question of the 'cricket test' is not as meaningful for Scottish Asians.[25] Moreover, it cannot be assumed that Scottish Asians share their English counterparts apparent sense of alienation from British society. It remains to be seen how the relationship of Scottish Asians with the symbols of Scottish national sport have evolved.

In Scotland recent portrayals of the nation, notably in support of devolution or full independence, have often been of the 'Braveheart' variety: romantic mythologising of historic anti-English victories. Anti-English sentiments have been increasing (Finn & Giulianotti 1998), yet the SNP have crafted a definition of 'Scottish' which is open and inclusive, and depends upon period of residence instead of any sense of racial or genealogical purity. While the SNP's openness is not always reflected in Scottish society, many Scottish Asians have welcomed the prospect of independence. Indeed many have accepted a Scottish level of anti-Englishness, even if members of their

extended family are English Asians (Bains & Johal 1998:142). Minority status often confuses the relationship with the nation. A sense of belonging elsewhere allied with the majority's perception of the minority's 'otherness' may exclude the minority from the nation's centre. Such a process occurred with the Irish-Scots, reflected in the SFA's early insistence on defining Celtic and Hibs, and their players, as Irish (Finn 1991a). Until very recently Celtic players who represented Scotland have often been criticised for a lack of commitment, on the basis that they were not Scottish and therefore not passionate about the Scottish sporting cause.

Drawing upon ethnographic research conducted among Scottish fans at the European Championships of 1996, and discussions with Scottish Asians, the relationship of Scottish Asians with the Scottish national team as one representation of Scottishness shall now be explored. The research was conducted among Scottish fans during the 1996 European Championships in England, when Scotland played matches in Birmingham and London over a period of two weeks. In the course of conducting these investigations I joined Scottish fans in England, participating in a range of settings including attending matches, evening socialising in the camp-site or in Birmingham city centre, in London city centre before and after the match at Wembley. The research strategy involved observations and conversations without revealing my status at ethnographic researcher.[26]

8.7.1 The Tartan Army

Scotland is home for Scottish Asians and the spaces of negotiation over support for their home country are a fascinating site for analysis of football relations at a national level. Scottish national identity, of which one expression is the national football team's supporters, the Tartan Army, has developed in particular ways. In the process of devolution, and nationalists' independence aspirations, England has emerged as the significant other against which a unified, almost homogeneous, Scotland can be defined. However, this pattern has not always been the case and is indeed more complex than popular accounts would suggest (Finn & Giulianotti 1998; Dimeo & Finn 1999). The assertion that Scotland is free of racism is often qualified with the distinction that racism is a problem to be found in England (chapter 1). Similarly, in football, racism is understood to be an issue and a problem for the English authorities but not something to which the Scottish football establishment need attend (chapter 4).

The Tartan Army itself had developed a conscious and complex self-presentation known as the 'carnivalesque', which involves a gregarious, fun-loving approach to fandom. Displays of friendship towards other fan groups and to local residents are part of an image management campaign which distinctly distinguishes these supporters from English 'hooligans'. This conscious development has been traced by Giulianotti (1991, 1995b, 1999a,b) and particularly emerged during the 1990 World Cup in Italy and the 1992 European Championships in Sweden. Qualification for the 1996 European Championships in England offered a supreme test for the consistency and strength of the 'carnivalesque' strategy. It was possible that relations with local English groups, and confrontations with English fans, would create hostilities and eventuate in the type of violence which the Tartan Army sought to avoid.

Furthermore, the types of good-natured approach which the Tartan Army had towards local populations in Sweden possibly would not extend to such groups in England. After all, negative stereotypes of the English had formed an oppositional other against which Scottishness could be defined. Thus, if those stereotypes were challenged, a reassessment of self may be required from Scots fans.

Evidence gathered from ethnographic research conducted in England with the Tartan Army highlights a range of identity expressions, which are more complex than the self- and other- constructions involved in the 'carnivalesque'. The Tartan Army was based in Birmingham, where two of the team's three matches were played, against Switzerland and against Holland. In the camp-site which was their base, there also resided during this period Swiss fans and Dutch fans. The other team in this first round group were England, who were to play all of their matches in London, at Wembley. In the Birmingham camp-site the Scots mixed socially with the smaller numbers of Swiss and Dutch fans. Through their common language – English – they shared songs and expressed a common social bond: their disregard for the English. One example of this was the song: 'If you hate the fucking English clap your hands' and: 'We're gonna shit on the English'. The Scottish relationship with the Dutch had developed such that when the Dutch began their song: 'If you hate the fucking Germans ...' the Scots joined in. The Germans thus became a target for vitriol from the Scots in their alliance with the Dutch, but when England played Germany most Scots supported Germany. The only constant here, therefore, was anti-Englishness. Moreover, these examples demonstrated the complexity of the 'carnivalesque': a constructed identity based on supposed tolerance and friendliness, when in fact a powerful

and persistent anti-Englishness remained (Giulianotti 1991, 1995b, 1999a,b; Finn & Giulianotti 1998).

Each fan group wished the other good luck as they departed for London. Equally, each group was met with commiseration upon their arrival back in Birmingham after their defeat by England, except the Swiss who drew 1-1 and were heartily congratulated. This journey to London became a symbolic excursion into the heartland of the enemy, a crusade for the Scots (0-2) and Dutch (1-4) of failure. Excursions beyond the camp-site and into Birmingham's centre were tentative at the beginning of the Tartan Army's period of residence in the city. However, after a number of social visits to pubs and night-clubs the Scottish fans found Birmingham's citizens to be welcoming and friendly. This acceptance disrupted and challenged their prejudiced view of English people. The sojourn to London was a tense and unenjoyable experience for the Scottish fans who were based in Birmingham. The London they discovered was the England they knew they disliked, the stereotyped oppositional image of England. There were violent encounters between Scots and English fans before and after the match itself. Scots fans were unsure where they would be safe in London, and referred to it as 'Indian country'.[27] Indeed one evening after their return to Birmingham, while drinking in a city centre pub, some fans enrolled local Birmingham groups into the song: 'If you hate the fucking Cockneys clap your hands'. Thus, having encountered an English group on friendly terms, some of the Tartan Army enrolled these local 'Brummies' into expressing anti-London sentiments. It was as if London remained representative of the English oppositional other, while 'Brummies' were accepted as 'less English', and more similar to Scots since they also hated 'Cockneys'. Thus, despite 'Brummies' presenting a challenge to anti-

Englishness, the hierarchy of English identities was manipulated to ensure that the stereotyped England remained a figure for prejudice and self-distinction.

The Scottish identities which were being expressed through and by the Tartan Army were complex. Distinguishing themselves from the English, the fans offered a caricature of themselves to the media, security forces, local publics, and civic authorities as friendly, peaceful and welcoming subjects. This self-portrayal drew the distinction between the 'carnivalesque' of Scottish supporters and the 'hooliganism' the English fans. One T-shirt summed this up by portraying a large, broad-shouldered, kilted man with 'Tartan Army' written across his chest and bagpipes under one arm. On the other side from his pipes his elbow was holding down an Englishman, who was a small figure with tight, knotted muscles, a tattoo of a bulldog on one forearm, shaven head and one tooth, and 'Hooligan' written across his forehead as a tattoo.

The carnivalesque found success in Birmingham, but less success in London. The experience of London was generally employed in reflections upon the event as proof of that Birmingham was the exception rather than the rule. Throughout the tournament it was an essentialistic identity which was portrayed, one which drew upon anti-Englishness and upon the history of Scotland. Through kilts and other historical military accoutrement, bodies were adorned by symbols of a tradition distinctly Scottish. This was a search for the origins of the nation in the days of Scotland's triumphs over England.[28] A common T-shirt read 'Scotland Freedom' and another read '1298 William Wallace, 1328 Robert the Bruce, 1745 Bonnie Prince Charlie, 1996 Tartan Army'. Such use of Scottish history may suggest that Scottish national identity is rooted in the past, before the migration of 'foreigners', and thus recent migrants would be excluded from such inventions of tradition. Although the 'carnivalesque' is designed to be humorous and not too serious, it does draw

upon popular notions of Scottishness. Recent popular interest in the victories over the English on historical battlefields, encouraged by the film 'Braveheart' which tells the story of William Wallace, has coincided with Scottish devolution and the increased confidence of Scotland's Gaelic/Celtic cultural fringe (though it does remain peripheral). It remains to be seen if a new Scottish essentialism will emerge, one which excludes the cultural contributions and differences of ethnic minorities.

8.7.2 The Tartan Army and racism

Racism was evident among members of the Tartan Army; a practice which directly demonstrates the limits of Scottish tolerance upon which the 'carnivalesque' was founded. The perception of England as overrun by immigrants was evident in the opinions of a young man from Edinburgh who commented that Birmingham was not as bad for 'Pakis' as he had heard. This comment draws upon common racist discourses which perceive British Asians as a problem. The clear suggestion is that it is beneficial for a British city to contain a minimal population of British Asians. He was travelling with two other friends from Edinburgh. In Birmingham they happened upon the 'Saddam Hussain Mosque', an institution they felt was 'a fucking disgrace'. They generalised about the city, stating their disbelief that 'every area' in the city had 'some sort of Muslim centre'. Such an intrusion of Islam into British culture and into British city-scapes was criticised.[29] This attitude was extended towards individuals, and broadened to include sexuality. A local female who passed us was considered 'not bad for a Paki'. Being of South Asian origin was assumed to be a negative trait. The young women was considered to be sexually attractive *in spite* of her ethnicity.

The complexities of their beliefs, alongside a subscription to ideas of Scottish society being free of racism, were further revealed when the experience of 'whites' in the largely black area of Brixton became a topic of conversation. One Scots fan felt that being 'white' in Brixton would be akin to being black or 'Asian' in Scotland, that is, being in the minority: 'that makes you realise how they feel in Scotland'. However, this indication of sensitivity was qualified with: 'but they don't get much hassle' in Scotland. Thus, the myths of Scottish tolerance and 'no racism here' were repeated.

Other Scots fan shared their views. One had travelled from Glasgow and had found a hotel in Birmingham. This area, apparently with a diverse ethnic mix was described as 'the bloody Congo'[30]; that is, critically over-populated by non-whites. And during the match at Wembley, when England's black defender Sol Campbell (a substitute) was warming up near the Scots fans, preparing ready to take the field, he was met with shouts of 'black bastard'. Therefore, British Afro-Caribbeans as well as British Asians were problematised on account of their 'race'.

There were, however, two specific moments when the antipathy felt towards ethnic minorities was overwhelmed by a general anti-Englishness. Carrington (1998b) has outlined the alienation felt by black English groups towards the English national football team and its concomitant white nationalistic agenda. Before the Scotland-England match at Wembley the Scots fans had gathered in Trafalgar Square. While they drank and sang, a drunken black Englishman joined them shouting 'Freedom to Scotland and Scottish men', and spouting diatribes against English political rule. His presence was well-received by the Tartan Army. The expressions for political freedom made by the Tartan Army were football-oriented, and so inclusive that an Englishman who shared these views may be invited to join their expressions of nationalism and anti-Englishness. Thus, an implicit and almost humorous affiliation with this black Englishman occurred on the basis of a shared sense of marginalisation within the Union.

The second moment occurred when a group of fans from the Isle of Lewis sat in a Chinese restaurant having a meal. A group of black Englishmen entered the restaurant, saw the Scots and cheered them, before turning to a group of young white Englishmen and verbally abusing them. The Scots fans revelled in the incident, expressing their affiliation with the English Afro-

Caribbeans' anti-Englishness. Thus, the various forms of prejudice expressed were interrelated, and at times one took precedence over another. However, Scottish fans exploited numerous opportunities to join with other groups – Dutch, Swiss, black English, 'Brummies' – in expressions of anti-Englishness, even if two of those groups were themselves English. It appears that an archetypal and idealised England, which excluded ethnic minorities and marginalised peripheral cities such as Birmingham, was a common focus for disillusioned groups within the United Kingdom.

It was clear that racism significantly undermined the claims of the 'carnivalesque'. The distinction between the reality of racism and the image of friendliness and tolerance, compared directly to Scottish society. English, British Afro-Caribbeans and British Asian groups were all constructed in opposition to the Scottish self, though in complex ways which allowed occasional unity with specific English groups while prejudices against both England and racialised minorities remained. These practices, therefore, pose a problem for Scottish Asian participation in the Tartan Army.

8.7.3 Scottish Asians and the Tartan Army

Despite the evidence of racism there were a several Scottish Asians who travelled with the Tartan Army to support Scotland. For instance, three Sikhs arrived in Birmingham wearing the kilts of traditional Scottish culture, and the scarves of Scottish fan culture. They were expressing the Scottish part of their Scottish Asian identity. After the tournament. One member of the party, Johnny Singh, proudly displayed a photograph of the occasion in his Leith shop.

Yet, not all Scottish Asians feel they would be accepted.[31] Amir Saeed felt joining the Tartan Army would be a problem:

> I do not think I could incorporate into Scottish culture fully. I mean, I would like to go to France [to the 1998 World Cup] as a member of the Tartan Army but I wouldn't get accepted, I don't think, because of the colour of my skin.[32]

Saeed believed this on the basis of his past experiences of racism.[33] He did not feel that Scotland is a welcoming society, instead he felt rejected: 'Asians have now got what I would term a conditional belonging'. That is, they 'want to belong here but on our [majority Scots'] conditions'. So, despite notions of Scotland's tolerance and lack of racism, Scottish Asians such as Saeed felt patronised and under pressure from an implicit demand that they 'fit in'. Such forms of subtle prejudice undermined Saeed's desire to 'belong'. Furthermore, Saeed's experiences have caused him to avoid 'white' football: 'I'm not going to go to a club, go to a football club, where I'm going to get spat on and be there just to make a sort of statement that I want to integrate'. These rejections have led to a position where Saeed feels he would fail Norman Tebbit's 'cricket test'.

If Pakistan played Scotland he would support the former: 'because I don't get accepted as one of "us" [a Scot]. So how can I support "us"?' So, Saeed felt compelled to chose between his country of family origin and country of birth and residence. He wanted to 'belong' and to 'integrate' (though not on the majority's terms) but racist practice forced him to give up on such objectives. Since he could not be both Scottish and Asian, he had to chose between them, and since the former had rejected him, he tended towards the latter.

Another Scottish Asian who adopted a similar position was Mohammed Riaz, an Edinburgh Pakistani.[34] He felt racism was prevalent in Scottish football and society. While he did support the Scottish national team, his support was tinged with ambivalence. He asserted that if Scotland ever played Pakistan his loyalties would most likely shift towards the latter. Saeed and Riaz's response to racism illustrates the complex identity formations associated with their minority status. Rejection, exclusion and racism resulted in their disillusionment with Scotland. Yet, Scotland is their home and they would prefer to support the national team. The question of whether their attachment to Scotland is greater than their attachment to Pakistan is indefinite, but plays a significant role in their negotiations of multi-dimensional, multicultural, identities. Finally, they both shared an antipathy towards Rangers on account of a perceived element of racism associated with that club. Riaz argued: 'How can any Asian support Rangers?'. Saeed felt 'politically aligned' with Celtic, though his optimistic sense of Celtic fans' tolerance was challenged when he was racially abused by other Celtic supporters at a home match. The relationship between Scottish Asians and their expression of social identity through support for club and country is evidently complex, ambiguous and, at times, contradictory.

Further evidence of racism occurred when two Scottish Asians were racially abused while watching Scotland play Morocco, in the 1998 World Cup, from an Edinburgh pub. One of these fans was 'ordered to take off his shirt because he was black' by other Scottish fans drinking in the pub. The young man, called Saeed Akbar said: '"These two guys, really well-dressed, came out and told me to take off my Scotland top as we [Akbar and his brother] were 'black b******s' and shouldn't be wearing it"' (*Evening News*, 26 June 1998). For these 'white' Scots the symbol of Scottish national identity, the shirt of the national team, was not to be worn by Scottish Asians. The simple assumption was that Scottish Asians were not Scottish, were not welcome in Scotland, and were not welcome to support the national football team. Only whites were allowed to support Scotland, because only white people are Scottish. The racist desire for an apartheid-style division of the 'races' was articulated in the spaces of football fandom.

Observations made both during Euro 96 and the 1998 World Cup in France revealed a significant lack of non-whites among the Tartan Army. One Scottish Asian who was at the England versus Scotland match in 1996 complained of the incidents of racism he had witnessed during the tournament.[35] The racist barracking of Sol Campbell was one example. Although such events did not alienate him completely from supporting Scotland, his identification with the Tartan Army was severely disrupted. These experiences clearly demonstrate the types of racism faced by Scottish Asians when supporting their country.

The tensions around the Tartan Army and the negotiations of social difference reflect the struggles of minorities in Scotland. Scottish Asians feel that Scotland is their home, but they are not always welcomed or accepted. One response to such racist exclusion is an increased identification with their South

Asian aspect of their social identity. Furthermore, experiences of racism may understandably encourage Scottish Asians to avoid confrontations with strangers; Saeed is now 'quite happy playing football with my friends'. Like SASA, not all Saeed's team-mates will be Scottish Asian, but the 'white' ones will be carefully selected. For some Scottish Asians inclusion within all areas of Scottish life, the Tartan Army included, is demanded, and any attempt to exclude them would be resisted. But the Tartan Army reflects a national identity which appears not to be designed as multicultural. Indeed, it is wrought by its own prejudices. However, Scottish Asians who realise that Scotland is their home, and that the Tartan Army is a significant place for them to express their sporting nationalism, present a challenge to the dominant, majority groups in Scotland. Scottish Asians demand their right to be Scottish, and resist the monoculturalism of present Scottish football national identity. To rephrase Gilroy: it is impossible to theorise Scottish Asian culture without developing a new perspective on Scottish culture as a whole.

8.8 Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the 'reality' of Scottish Asian football, by considering organisational structures, regular participation, and the relationship with the Tartan Army. These different studies attempted to provide a more descriptive, cultural and analytical account of the sporting experiences of Scottish Asians than had been previously available. There were various strategies of resistance evident in the different forms of playing, organising, and supporting football. Both racism and resistance were manifest in a myriad of ways. Through confronting 'white' teams on a football pitch, searching for examples of British Asian footballing success, organising events, liaising with businessmen and politicians, and expressing commitment to Scotland through the Tartan Army, Scottish Asians resist the manifold strategies of racist prejudice. These 'plurality of resistances' (Foucault 1981:95) reflect the complexity of racism. But resistances did not always produce revolutionary successes, and they often involved compromise, adaption and acceptance (Tomlinson 1998).

The relationship of racism and resistance is complex, and the descriptions of this chapter detailed some of the processes of action and negotiation within Scottish society. Scottish Asians sacrifice time, money and energy to organise sport and provide for their communities when state and private provision have let them down. They are aware of racism and exclusion, yet they resist through autonomous self-organisation. They support teams and play football, often facing racist abuse as they struggle for full and equal participation.

These studies contradicted essentialist versions of identity, whether they are the result of majority prejudice or minority anti-racist 'strategic essentialisms'. They have demonstrated that social identities are multi-faceted,

both in terms of heterogeneities among Scottish Asians, and in terms of the interrelationship of ethnicity with locale, gender and nationhood.

It is important that sociological models of social identity recognise the complexities involved:

> Human social identities are very complex, multi-dimensional phenomena. Normally the function of any human's social identity is derived from those social groupings to which the person belongs or is seen to belong. Indeed, even to describe the complex of an individual's social identity as dual is to oversimplify the true nature of the interlocking dimensions which actually constitute that social identity: social identities are multi-dimensional. However, particular social identities, in which part of the identity reflects (or is seen to reflect) ancestral origins that lie outwith the country of residence, are seen as dual and are those most often open to misinterpretation. And the role of interpretation is crucial. Social identities are not the result of the actions of the social group(s) to which an individual objectively belongs, let alone explained by the actions of the lone individual: social identities result from the interplay between the individual, that individual's social groups and the other social groups within that society.
>
> (Finn 1991b:371)

Scottish Asian identities are constructed through a range of processes which include local organisational structures, local agents and preferences, relationships with majority Scots, and the expression and construction of masculinity. Football plays a significant and central part in the construction of social identities. Thus, it is necessary to shift from essentialist versions of

identity and their focus on origin and an over-deterministic ethnicity. This chapter analysed number of key themes: different forms of organisation, the culture of SASA's amateur football team, and Scottish Asians' relationship with the Tartan Army. These concerns have challenged essentialist notions of the processes of identity construction, highlighting the interdependency of different forms of identity and the dilemmas of being Scottish and Asian. Those themes integral to essentialism, and assumed to exist in a South Asian past – culture, community and tradition – are the foundations of changing identities, but they exist in contemporary Scotland and football provides one specific space for their articulation.

It is now important that issues of social identity are reassessed in light of these discussions and in the context of the previous chapters. The concluding chapter shall attempt such a reassessment.

NOTES

[1]The politics of representation refers to the relationship of power and knowledge in the production of images of social identities. Simplistic and stereotyped images are often the result of specific operations of power through racist prejudice or, in the case of 'strategic essentialism', as resistance. Thus, representations of specific ethnic groups do not necessarily correlate with reality, but with the subjective intentions of those creating the representations.

[2]The use of 'heritage' here only refers to South Asian heritage. However, British-born players have not had their 'heritage' 'diluted', they simply have a different heritage, one which includes their time spent in Britain.

[3]Interview with P. Dimeo, 14 May 1998. Of course, these assumptions around this claim of Sarwar's Westerness are complex and may suggest that the culture of football preferred to play down his ethnic difference and 'Asian' identity, thus corresponding with Johal's model. The important distinction, though, is that Sarwar admitted that racism persisted throughout his career and this racism cannot be ignored.

[4]At times my research motives were made very explicit. However, at other times my interests were not fully detailed. This disparity was the result of the different settings in which I met individuals. It was not a conscious effort to disguise my intentions. Also, individuals' understanding of my research, of academic research generally, varied. Some related directly to my work and helped as far as they could. Others remained distant, did not offer to help, and did not relate their own experiences to my study.

[5]In the different context of women's windsurfing, it has been argued that the identities of committed female windsurfers share more with male windsurfers than with nonwindsurfing women (Wheaton & Tomlinson 1998). Their sporting identities took privilege over their gender identities. For football playing Scottish Asians their identification with football culture may, in certain contexts, challenge the primacy of their ethnic identifications. They may relate to other footballers or football fans on the based of shared play or support more easily than to non-football Scottish Asians.

[6]The Kelvin Hall is one of Glasgow's more important sport and leisure complexes. It provides a range of facilities, and is used for international competitions for a number of indoor sports. Normally, it is used by the public. It is a prestigious venue, and acquired a reservation for two entire weekends would require support from the City Council and substantial finance.

[7]These observations were made by P. Dimeo at two different annual dinners, in 1996 and 1998. Examples range from businessmen such as Charan Gill, Maq Rasul, Subash Joshi, and others, to members of Glasgow City Council, representatives from the media, and prominent individuals working within Scottish football.

[8]The sources of this information were Dilawar Singh, secretary of SASA, Kash Taank of Glasgow City Council, and Yayiah Shaik, who had been a committee member until he resigned in 1997.

[9]The success of these invitations was varied. Often, as Kash Taank noted, 'white' Scots assumed all SASA's activities were only for Scottish Asians. However, Taank and other members of the committee, and speakers at annual dinners, frequently argued that SASA wanted to be as open as possible, inviting all groups to participate together.

[10]Synonyms shall be used for those involved with the SASA football team.

[11]At different levels and in different places, Mike Singh of Edinburgh (see 8.6) and Rashid Sarwar the ex-Kilmarnock player, both argued a similar case; that the best response to racist abuse was not to 'rise to it' but to focus on playing well and winning the match (in interviews with P. Dimeo).

[12]In this context the verb 'to half' means to physically assault another person.

[13]This was a significant difference to the masculine cultures found by Parker (1996), whose study highlighted examples of racism found in 'white' football cultures. By contrast, it was anti-racism which was a central part of the Scottish Asians football culture.

[14]James' experiences contradicted the essentialised model of British Asianness presented by Bains with Patel (1996) and Johal (1999). He thought of himself as a Scottish Asian, though he did not practice any religion, he received racist abuse and faced discrimination in both his work and leisure.

[15]Such claims appear to counter SASA's self-promotion as a unified organisation, open and multicultural. Other players argued that the Scots-Indians left because of injuries, work commitments or family commitments, the catalyst often being the shift in timing of fixtures from Sunday afternoons to Saturday mornings. However, SASA have struggled to shed their image as a Scots-Indian organisation which is the result of their historical emergence from that specific community rather than any contemporary practice.

[16]The 'white' players did play regularly in the league matches. There was no clear explanation why did they not hear or see racism being expressed.

[17]Such discussions allowed reflections upon British Asian football, racism and the experiences of SASA's players. Other social situations, such as playing matches, offered far fewer opportunities for self-reflection or a more objective analysis. Thus, by entering into a range of settings it is hoped this ethnography allows an examination of both behavioural patterns and subjective interpretations. While in the pub my position as researcher became the catalyst for debates, but while playing football the other players were more interested in my contribution to the game.

[18]Taank's criticisms of Glasgow City Council challenged any simple perception of the Council as being anti-racist simply because they appointed an Ethnic Minority Recreation Officer. Indeed, his position illustrated another of racism's complexities, that ostensible expressions of anti-racism can mask latent antipathy.

[19]The information for this section was the result of interviews with Edinburgh Asians in a range of settings between January 1996 and May 1998. These interviews were mostly conducted in the workplaces of individuals involved in football.

[20]From interviews with P. Dimeo, April 1997.

[21]In Edinburgh it was the Scots-Pakistanis who had developed an Association which organised sports for Scots-Pakistanis. The Scots-Indians who were interviewed as part of this survey played in informal ways with a range of groups and had no specific organisation to help structure their sport.

[22]This regular game had been organised at various intervals over a period of several years.

[23]Though, as noted, some evidence suggests that this 'pan-Asian' identity was unstable and threatened by internal divisions. Nevertheless, the effort continued to promote such a collectivity and it appeared largely successful.

[24]It is worth noting that Werbner appears to assume that Manchester Pakistanis can adequately represent the British Asian communities, her conclusions might not be accepted in the universalist terms she offers. Also, as noted previously in Johal's (1999) arguments, the broad conclusion that British Asians support South Asian teams oversimplifies a complex issue.

[25]One recent example of the potential 'cricket test' dilemmas came during the 1999 Cricket World Cup. Scotland were playing Australia at the same time as Pakistan faced the West Indies. When the BBC broadcast the Pakistan match instead of the Scotland match they were inundated with complaints from Scottish cricket fans. However, when the BBC conceded and showed the Scotland game they faced complaints from Scots-Pakistanis who were following the fortunes of Pakistan.

[26]It was assumed that expressions of prejudice were more likely to be revealed if subjects were not aware of my anti-racist work.

[27]This expression is common in Glasgow. Indian is not meant to refer to South Asian, but to North American natives. Thus, the meaning expressed is that London was a dangerous place. One example came from the train journey to Wembley in which Scots fans were in the minority. I was wearing no colours, and other Scots fans thought that I might be identified as a Scottish casual (since traditionally 'casuals' identified themselves by not wearing team colours). One of these fans offered me a scarf to wear, saying 'I've saved your life, my friend'.

[28]Although such expressions are deliberately overstated in the 'carnivalesque' they do play on themes of anti-Englishness.

[29]These expressions represent a complex form of inter-relationship between racism and anti-Englishness. It is common, as previously noted, for England to be accused of having higher levels of racism than present in Scotland. Yet, contradictorily, English is accused here of having higher levels of non-white minority groups. A society cannot be criticised for both, though it is often thought that racism only emerges when black people arrive in a society.

However, such complex expressions of racism and anti-Englishness continue to be expressed despite the obvious logical flaws.

[30]The term 'Congo' is meant to signify the heart of Africa, and suggest pre-modern civilisation. Other examples of such pre-modern imagery have been manifest in different contexts. For instance, a Falkirk fan (interview with P. Dimeo, November 1995), described two black players fighting as 'having their spears out'. Later, a Celtic fan was overheard in a Glasgow public house (August 1999) discussing Celtic's new signing, Oliver Tebily from the Ivory Coast. According to the fan, Tebily had 'just emerged from his hut'.

[31]This section shall use material gained from interviews and media analysis undertaken some months after the European Championships of 1996. Thus, although it relates to the ethnographic research, it actually consists of later reflections and attitudes among Scottish Asians. Although I met Johnny Singh later in Leith he would not, for his own reasons, agree to speak with me in any further detail.

[32]Interview with P. Dimeo, 8 June 1998.

[33]Although Saeed had not joined the Tartan Army in England or France he had experienced racism while playing football and while supporting Celtic. One of his experiences involved being spat at by fellow Celtic fans.

[34]Interview with P. Dimeo, May 1997.

[35]This fan was a Scots-Pakistani from Paisley who was also a match-day steward at St. Mirren's ground, Love Street, in Paisley. His discussions of racism did not refer to any other specific incidents, except the racist abuse directed at Sol Campbell, though he did mention 'things said' to him which he found insulting. He did not elaborate.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has been a testament to the persistence of racism, its changing nature, its variety of form, and the sophisticated strategies of its continuation. An examination of long-term socio-historical processes, this study mapped out the evolution of racism from the mid-nineteenth century to the last decade of the twentieth century. The changing relationship of football, racism and social inclusion demonstrated the need to understand the past as a prerequisite to understanding the present. It also demonstrated that the changing expressions of racism are dependent upon other social circumstances. There have been certain evident patterns to these changes, though overlaps should be recognised. 'Old-fashioned' bigotry has given way to more 'modern' implicit forms of racism, but both were found to co-exist over the time period in question. There has been a clear, if incomplete, shift in attitudes and beliefs. A definite development in anti-racism has occurred, in criticism of intolerance and in representation of minorities. Thus, while the types of debates have changed, and racism has responded to anti-racist resistance, racism has both persisted and evolved.

This concluding chapter shall reflect upon the historical evolution of racism, bringing together the results of the different studies of this thesis. The legacy of imperialism, the longevity of negative racist attitudes, and the heritage of inferiority are central to this synthesis. Two aspects of racism shall then be summarised: the range of racist expressions, and the contemporary response strategies to racism. It is suggested that the presentation of such

summary will make the conclusions of the thesis more accessible for future research. Finally, there will be a re-assessment of the nature of identity, and suggestions for improved understanding of social identities. The question of identity has been present throughout the thesis. It is impossible to research any group without asking who they are, where they came from, how they are differentiated from others. Racism is founded upon specific and misconstrued versions of identity, and anti-racist response should be careful not to replicate these flaws. These questions underlie this thesis and some conceptual reflection shall contribute to our understanding of social identity.

9.2 The evolution of racism

The history of football in South Asia was characterised by various forms of racialised prejudice. These were varied and complex, the positive racialisation of the martial 'races' had its limits and was closely connected to inculcating these 'natural' warriors into the Army and the colonial system. By contrast, portraying the Bengalis as effeminate sought to undermine nationalist power, and the threat from the educated, middle-class indigenous elite. There were a number of ambivalences: the British taught the Bengalis to play football, but limited their access to competitions; the Bengalis took part in the sport of their colonisers, but it offered opportunities for resistance.

Central to sporting relationships, however, were racial theories that claimed the superiority of the British 'race', as well as the superiority of British civilisation and of Christianity. The martial 'races' were the most highly praised of all South Asian groups, but were still considered inferior to the British. Other 'races' were considered both inferior and effeminate. Football was used for purposes of discipline and control, to express British superiority and power; yet also to develop the physical strength and skill of Indians, to address their inferiority, and to assert the British role in 'improvement'. As the nationalist movement developed, especially in Bengal, the sport provided an opportunity to redress this sense of inferiority and to express anti-colonial feelings.

The effects of imperialism and negativity were also to be found at home. Social beliefs of racial superiority, forged in the crucible of Empire, encouraged a range of negative responses to the few black players who graced football pitches before the Second World War. In the late nineteenth century,

black players elicited racist responses from the Scottish media. Wharton was discussed in the terms of scientific racism; Walker was consistently called 'Darkie', sometimes 'nigger', he was exoticised as a curiosity, and accused of physical inferiority and cowardice.

The 1930s brought three players – Latif, Salim and Mansour – to Scottish football, their presence the result of colonial influence in Egypt and India. The racism they faced was of a more subtle nature, drawing upon cultural stereotyping and exoticisation. The racial motifs were less obvious than had been the case with Wharton and Walker, though the implications of inferiority were clear.

The immediate post-war period was characterised by a revulsion towards Nazi excesses, fascism and extreme racist intolerance. Yet, Britain remained an almost entirely white society until the Commonwealth immigrations of the 1950s and 1960s. The appearance of Heron, a Jamaican-born American, in 1951 revived the traditions of racist naming and exoticism. Accusations of his physical weakness continued the legacy of black inferiority. Praise for his athleticism signalled an apparent shift in racist ideas, and proved a precursor to the later stereotyping of British black players as 'soft' yet fast. Heron was portrayed as having a natural prowess, yet lacking skill and refinement, which he could subsequently learn from the Scottish. However, this idea has precedent in colonial images of the naturally physical 'savage', who requires the control, discipline and improvement of European culture.

The legacy of imperialism is a set of racist beliefs that became recycled to suit changing times. The increased criticism of intolerance, combined with

the loss of Empire, curtailed explicit expressions of racial superiority. Yet, the remnants of 'race' hierarchies remained, negative attitudes towards others persisted, and racism evolved. The challenge of mass immigration resulted in extreme racist expression, the problematisation of black and South Asian immigrants, calls for repatriation, violence, marginalisation, and demands for cultural assimilation. At the same time, though, anti-racism emerged to resist against such injustices. 'Race' became a more difficult issue, politicised and emotive, a junction at which racism collided with civil rights claims and the demands of resident minorities.

These debates continued into the 1970s when Paul Wilson played for Celtic. He represented the burgeoning Scottish Asian community, itself a product of imperialism; and both the player and the community struggled against imperialism's legacy: racism. However, racism had evolved since the last century when negative attitudes were expressed publicly in the media. The strategy in the 1970s appeared to be one of avoidance, of ignoring Wilson's 'ethnic difference', despite that fact that fans and players used it to racially abuse him. This strategy was similar to one response to the racist abuse of Mark Walters in 1988: the claim that any discussion of it made it appear more important than it was.

In the 1980s Rashid Sarwar was at least acknowledged as being Scottish Asian, which represented a progression in comparison to the treatment of Wilson. However, it did not lead to identification of the racism Sarwar suffered, or a disruption of the cultural stereotyping of Scottish Asians. Indeed, retrospective reviews of these Wilson and Sarwar's careers often failed to

highlight either their achievements or the racism that accompanied their presence. Black and 'Asian' players, like the racism they faced, became absent.

A significant historical moment came in January 1988 when Mark Walters' arrival prompted intense levels of racism. Drawing upon the developing criticism of racial intolerance, Scottish society could no longer ignore the problem of racism. Moreover, the events of this month were so obviously racist that ignoring or excusing the problem were not viable response strategies. Racism had become a more emotive issue, in which social authority figures had to be seen to be anti-racist. Yet, many of the analyses of racism in 1988 were flawed by apparent efforts to avoid, deny, or deflect attention from racism. Meanwhile, forms of anti-English and anti-Irish prejudice emerged within the discussion of anti-black racism. The balance between racism and anti-racism in public debate may have shifted over time towards the latter, but a genuine empathy for those discriminated against remained absent. Even in the identification of the 'big bigots' who threw bananas, spat at and racially abused Walters, denials and diversions characterised analyses of Scottish racism.

Throughout the rest of the 1980s and into the 1990s racism continued. However, Scottish society failed to support for anti-racist campaigns, to make a genuine attempt to understand and to challenge racism. Expressions of racism were criticised, but largely in superficial terms. Meanwhile, neither the clubs nor the SFA supported long-running anti-racism campaigns. Regular denials of the prevalence of racism, despite regular examples of its presence, indicated a determination not to acknowledge, address and challenge the issue.

During this period different forms of racism co-existed, often to ultimately deny the existence of any form of racism. So, for instance, racism was claimed to be an English problem rather than a Scottish one. Scotland, it was claimed, had 'sectarianism', which wasn't racism but somehow drove out 'real' (anti-black) racism. A limited view of racism was presented which linked it directly to violence and fascism. The outcome was the continuity of anti-black racism, anti-Irish racism, anti-Englishness, but the denial of all three. As a fascinating inversion of the real legacy of Empire, Scotland's efforts to portray itself as either a colony of the English Empire or at least as an innocent bystander in the British Empire, allowed a denial of past imperial racism and legitimated continued anti-Englishness.

Throughout the 1990s Scottish Asians were denying the common myths about their sporting experience. For instance, claims that their lack of football presence was related to their own cultural preferences. Indeed, it was typical of the period that discrimination and exclusion were translated as self-determination, due to a misunderstanding of 'Asianness' and to a misunderstanding of the stratified nature of Scottish society.

The general idea that the under-representation of Scottish Asians in football is a result of their own choice and 'culture' rather than the consequence of racism was challenged in this thesis. Scottish Asians' 'culture', as imagined by majority groups, becomes a fixed, essentialist, determinant of their exclusion: it is the motive behind exclusion, the reason offered for exclusion, and it is the justification for exclusion. So, ideas of 'culture' became central to material inequalities. And, in an almost circular process the apparent lack of

involvement of Scottish Asians in football validates ideas about their 'culture'. However, the evidence presented in these studies has exposed the flaws in this logical process.

Claims of inferiority and negative attitudes – the legacies of the country's colonial past – informed racism against Scottish Asians. Indeed, using football as a reference point, there is an apparent continuity between ideas of Indians, football, physical culture and masculinity in the late nineteenth century and these same ideas in late twentieth century Scotland. These ideas underpin the lack of concern that Scottish Asians were not involved in football, the idea that they are not interested in sports, and the notion that they do not have the physique for football. Football is a primary arena for displays of masculinity in contemporary Scotland, therefore beliefs in racial and gender inferiority would dictate their 'natural' exclusion from football.

The case of the Partick Thistle takeover illustrated contemporary forms of racist prejudice. An attitude of disbelief at the prospect of Scottish Asian investment in the club combined with notions of Scottish Asian 'culture', and a lack of knowledge regarding the extent of football among Scottish Asians, to produce scepticism and accusation. The emphasis fell upon Galloway and Oliver, on the image of curries and entrepreneurialism, the (imagined) 'non-sectarian' character of the club, and the 'sectarian' consequences of Scottish Asians' involvement in football. Racism allied with notions of 'culture' caused the take-over to be treated with disdain and the result was the endorsement of a

set of beliefs that sustain racist exclusion. Very clearly, prejudiced ideas about Scottish Asian 'culture' influenced their experience of football.

The interviews with protagonists highlighted these processes, but also introduced several new findings. The local process of negotiation was vital, and George Galloway's plans were, it seems, partly usurped by poor strategy. The insults of Jim Oliver and the racism in the media may well have discouraged the potential investors, though questions remain as to the organisation of the consortium, and the commitment of its members. The media's coverage was limited, ill-informed and prejudiced, and addressed few of the deeper issues such as racism, Scottish Asian exclusion, and the motives of both the bid's organisers and the Scottish Asian businessmen. Moreover, the media directly intruded upon the process of negotiation. Thus, prejudice was expressed in a range of ways, from insults, stereotypes and problematisation, to the sensationalism that characterised much of the coverage. Indeed, it was the media's fascination that prompted the early publicity which caused so many problems. Chick Young's manipulation of Charan Gill caused problems of a different variety for the consortium. Finally, the beliefs of Jim Oliver, Brown McMaster, Ron McKay, and even Charan Gill, indicated various forms of stereotyping and ignorance that did not help the bid or help Scottish Asian football. Thus, the ideas and motives behind the bid and its failure were complex and ambivalent, but contrasted with the simplistic, prejudiced, and intrusive media coverage.

The *Scotland on Sunday*'s campaign was a very useful example of the range of ideas associated with Scottish Asian 'culture', racism in Scotland, and

notions of Irish-Scots and English difference. It was an important part of this investigation because it was the first media campaign to address racism against Scottish Asian football fans and players. It signalled a new development in the shifting balance of racism and anti-racism. For the first time, the media was not simply responding to a 'controversy'; there was a real effort to discuss and analyse the issues, and to include those feeling the force of prejudice, discrimination and exclusion.

Although the campaign was anti-racist, and should be commended as such, its survey and its rhetorical discussions remained problematic. Perhaps most importantly, racism was understood as epiphenomenal, a 'coat of paint'. Consequently, the more subtle, cultural or banal forms of racism were not criticised, neither was the continued myth that Scotland is a land with little racism and equal opportunities. Another critical aspect of the campaign was the assumption of Scottish society as clearly divided between 'Asian' and 'Scottish', 'ethnic' and 'mainstream'. The language of 'racial difference' was embedded in the campaign, the assumption of hard and fast boundaries accepting essentialist version of fixed, unchanging identities. Scotland was assumed to be homogeneous and white, 'Asians' were assumed homogeneous and brown, both were assumed to remain the same and to remain apart.

The final chapter offered ethnographic research and cultural description of three locations of Scottish Asian involvement in football. Essentialistic versions of identity were criticised, as was their use in studies about British Asian football. Beyond essentialism lay practices of sport and cultural identity that contradicted the majority's attempts to classify 'Asians'. Three specific

themes were discussed: the organisation and playing of football in Glasgow; the comparison between Glasgow's organisation and that of Edinburgh; and Scottish Asians' relationship with the Tartan Army. So, interacting with 'ethnicity' were negotiations over national, regional and gender identities. These themes were complex, but it was precisely this complexity which challenged popular essentialisms. Social identities cannot be reduced to one factor, nor can any one factor – whether it be ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, or class – be assumed to be straightforward. Ambiguity and ambivalence undermined any simplistic conclusions. Yet, racism is a constant presence, and prejudiced representations should be set against assertions of Scottish Asians' presence, belonging and equality.

The result of the ethnographic research was to expand knowledge of Scottish Asians and football. It brought together the issues of identity, evolving forms of racism, and developing forms of anti-racism, which informed the thesis as a whole. It presented the players' involvement with Scottish football, as they constructed their Scottish Asian male identities through the cultures, communities and traditions of football. It highlighted the interaction of local conditions, masculinity, nationality and ethnicity. Racism was a common problem, but Scottish Asians wanted to be part of Scottish society despite the rejection they continually faced. The study offered a greater insight in minority football than had previously been available. Finally, it furthered understanding of the relationship between sport, minorities and racism in contemporary Britain.

This thesis has proved that from colonial India through to contemporary Scotland racism has been a constant presence, it has evolved over time, it has consistently been denied, football has played a role in negotiating racist exclusion and anti-racist resistance. At the heart of these issues lie questions of belonging and nationhood, questions of identity and entitlement, and questions over the nature of racism itself. The final sections of the thesis will reflect upon racism and identity in modern Scotland.

9.3 The range of racist expressions

This thesis has attempted to understand racism in its changing context. It has argued that the nature of racism has changed over time, that specific local factors influence racism, and that a range of sophisticated response strategies has developed. This section shall list both the types of racist expression that have been detailed throughout the study.

Extreme, explicit, physical racism:

Genocide

Holocaust

Ethnic cleansing

Murder

Physical violence

Fascism

Scientific racism

Claims of intellectual and physical inferiority

Xenophobia

Institutional racism:

Exclusion from housing, jobs, education, legal system

Exclusion from consumerism, tourism, recreation, sports

Police harassment

Demands for repatriation

Lack of support for anti-racism and community projects

View that black people cause racism

Cultural racism:

Oppression of religion and traditions

Denial of cultural expression

Criticism of 'alien' culture

Criticism of religious practices

Ridiculing of others cultures

Ethnocentricity

Personal, banal racism:

Verbal abuse

Social marginalisation

Negative stereotyping

Homogenisation

Patronising strategies:

The need for 'white' benevolence

Creation of dependency

Construction of inferiority and strategies for improvement

Representational exclusion:

Portrayals of 'white' Britain

Silencing of minority voices

Exclusion from public spaces and systems of communication

Negative attitudes to black and underdeveloped nations

Criticism of minority rights and multiculturalism

Holocaust denial

Ethnocentric revisions of imperialism

9.4 Contemporary response strategies to racism

This section shall summarise the types of responses outlined in the thesis. Again, there should be caution over the actual complexity of these issues. However, these strategies tend to allow racism to continue, and in that sense should be considered as part of the overall system of racism.

Refusal to recognise:

Denial

Silence

Avoidance

Omission

Recognition without admission:

Diversion

Uniqueness/exceptionalism

Relativising and comparing

Blaming the victim

Admission without responsibility:

Excuses

Mitigating circumstances

9.5 The nature of identity

The complexities of racism, the struggles of anti-racism, the ambiguities and dilemmas inherent in discussions of racism and ethnicity, were the central themes of this thesis. The style in which racism was practiced in prejudiced discourse, represented in liberal discourse, and rarely challenged in a coherent and sustained manner, has been a significant theme. In contrast to simplistic representations of Scottish Asian sporting culture, ethnographic research suggested that a more complex and rounded view of this culture is necessary for sociological understanding:

> This new 'culture', then, is not the bounded and organic 'bubble' of ethnicity theory, nor the reified oppositional weapon of early identity politics: this 'culture' is actively and self-consciously made and remade, heterogeneous and often conflicted, unbounded and fractured, imagined, contested, and sometimes reactionary – the product and terrain of 'representation'.
>
> (Alexander 1996:195)

While these critical reflections have posited a necessary complexity, it is worthwhile commenting on the consequences for anti-racism. Recent critics have argued that minorities should maintain their solidarity despite academic theorising which destabilises the fixed and secure relationship of identity and colour (Jarvie & Reid 1997). It may be that by emphasising change and challenging the homogeneity of 'white', 'black', 'Asian', 'Scottish' or any other

social group, we find ourselves trapped in a 'discursive quagmire, a kind of epistemological equivalent of quicksand or a Scottish bog' (Jarvie & Reid 1997:218). However, having the courage to address the complexities of racism does not preclude anti-racist solidarity or the construction of communities around ethnicity. We do, though, have to face reality and social reality is always complex; if that leads us to a Scottish bog then so be it. It remains doubtful, though, that challenges to fixed notions of identity necessarily lead directly to relativism: such positing of dichotomous extremes rules out the possibility of finding a suitable compromise. Furthermore, we should resist the temptation to recede into simplistic explanations at the expense of empirical detail.

Responses to racism are varied, and ethnic group solidarity is only one form of response. It has been suggested here that another response is to undermine the language and assumptions of racism: the notion of distinct and oppositional groups; the idea that minorities are exterior, homogeneous and inferior; the complacent stereotypes which inform liberal discourses as well as prejudiced; and the assumption that racism is only associated with right-wing groups.

However, the challenge remains to reconceptualise identity and difference such that the above issues, which may seem confusing – how can solidarity persist if heterogeneity is recognised? – can be integrated into a new design for formulating ethnicity. Is it possible to generalise on ethnicity when each society has a different set of histories and relationships? Is it possible to ground a notion of ethnicity empirically and theoretically?

It may be that an adequate model would have to span the oppositions of conflicting theories: history versus the present, essentialism versus anti-essentialism. While historical origins remain important contemporary changes are also crucial, there is an important interdependency of 'scattered historical inheritance and a heterogeneous present' (Chambers 1994:6), the balance of which varies between individuals and groups. While an essentialist version of identity operates in daily life, and assists solidarity, it had fundamental theoretical flaws; a radical anti-essentialism would reject the social construction of oppositional boundaries. While objectified social relations generalise about identity, subjective and local processes are replete with dilemmas, contradictions, cross-cultural blurrings, and complex negotiations within and across social groups and including other sociological factors such as age, gender, class, nationhood and locale. An approach which emphasised agency, and subjects' own self-understandings, remains detached from the broader social processes of domination and structure. But, an approach which solely focuses upon structural processes leaves localised processes and agency practice absent. As Smaje has argued:

> It is on this theoretical question that productive empirical work in the historical sociology of race is needed in order to illuminate the contrast often found in sociological analysis between ethnicity conceived as a property of social structure defining identifiable groups, and ethnicity conceived as a fluid process of identity formation. While there are obvious problems of reification in claims to be able objectively to

> identify any particular ethnic group, the notion of ethnicity as pure cultural process which stems from the (post)modern critique of stable ethnic identities would seem to deny the possibility of identifying any such groups or boundaries at all.
>
> (1997:322-3)

Smaje recommends the use of both history and ethnography to describe the location of subjective agencies within broader social processes, but which emphasises change within an historical context. Thus, any study requires a multi-facted methodological analysis, which describes and critically analyses the relationship of domination and resistance. The power of discourse and structure remain, and the power of history (or, at least, translations of history), as limits for change and contemporary practice. Perhaps it is here that we find a suitable compromise of essentialism's insistence upon an ahistorical structuralism and a postmodernist insistence on the instability of identities:

> Our sense of belonging, our language and the myths we carry in us remain, but no longer as 'origins' or signs of 'authenticity' capable of guaranteeing the sense of our lives. They now linger on as traces, voices, memories and murmurs that are mixed in with other histories, episodes, encounters.
>
> (Chambers 1994:18-19)

What are the consequences of these ideas for Scottish Asians, racism and Scottish society? Scottish Asians ethnicity is partly as consequence of their historical origin, and the selective maintenance of South Asian customs. They are a hetereogenous group, with internal differentiations of age, origin, class, gender, and religion. They are also Scottish, and the constant interaction between Scottish Asians and the rest of Scottish society means that they cannot be defined solely by their Asian identities – especially since residence and birthplace classify them as Scottish, and they may choose to identify with Scotland. So they should not be thought of as outsiders, nor should they be inferiorised, nor should claims of their homogeneity be accepted. Racism should be recognised in all its variant forms, from the violences of physical discrimination to the subtle discursive prejudices inherent in stereotypes and corrupt notions of difference. Scottish Asians are, as Maan (1992) has argued, here to stay, and Scottish society needs to accept them and appreciate the contributions they have to offer.

And what of Scottish Asian identity? How should it be represented? First of all, 'Scottish' and 'Asian' should not preclude each other, they are not mutually independent, and definitions of ethnicity should recognise that fact. Secondly, both aspects of this duality are diverse and heterogeneous, 'origin' and the present are interdependent. Thirdly, the relationship between the two should be viewed as variable and contingent, with individuals having the opportunity to stress one over the other as they consider appropriate. Fourthly, other sociological variables interact and overlap with ethnicity. Finally, the dichotomies of structure/agency, history/present, stability/change,

stranger/native, should be overcome: any description of ethnicity needs to confront these and to detail the complex negotiations between them. And ethnicity requires description, it cannot be conceptualised through simple and complacent assumptions. By challenging racism and inadequate notions of ethnic identity, it is hoped that social change will occur, and that anti-racism will be strengthened. It is also a prerequisite that the more complex, subtle, and common, forms of prejudice are identified and challenged. At the same time the diversity among us all should be recognised and celebrated. Finally, difference should no longer imply distance: 'differences function not necessarily as barriers but rather as signals of complexity . . .' (Chambers 1994:18).

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Appendix I: Media sources consulted

British Newspapers

Daily Express

Daily Record

Daily Record and Mail

Evening Dispatch

Evening News

Evening Times

Glasgow Herald

Glasgow Observer

Glasgow Observer and Scottish Catholic Herald

Govan Press

Guardian

Herald

Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News

Independent

Kilmarnock Standard

Kilmarnock Standard and Ayrshire Weekly News

Leith Observer

Observer

Scotland on Sunday

Scotsman

Scottish Athletic Journal

Scottish Referee

Scottish Sport

Scottish Umpire

Sun

Sunday Mail

Scottish Asian Voice

Scottish Sunday Express

Times

The Glaswegian

Indian Newspapers

Basumati

Calcutta Telegraph

Englishman

Nayak

Sahachar

Statesman

Fanzines

Follow, Follow

Hearts Review

Hearts Supporter

Hibs Monthly

Not the View

Proclaimer

Rangers Historian

The Absolute Game

Official Football Club Magazines

Celtic View

Rangers News

Television

BBC Reporting Scotland

BBC 'All Black: Kicking Out'

Appendix II: Interviews conducted

Recorded Interviews

Mick Conboy, Policy Officer, Commission for Racial Equality. 15 April 1998; 11 May 1999.

Allan Cowan, formerly Partick Thistle supporters' representative, now deputy chairman. 2 April 1998.

George Galloway, MP for Hillhead. 9 February 1996.

Arnab Ghosh, Chief Sports Writer, *Hindu* Newspaper, Calcutta. 17 November 1998.

Charan Gill, businessman. 16 June 1997.

Victor Kasule, former Albion Rovers and Meadowbank Thistle player. 31 January 1999.

Ron McKay, journalist. 11 March 1996.

Brown McMaster, formerly deputy chairman Partick Thistle, now chairman. 2 April 1998.

Imran Muneer, formerly editor *Scottish Asian Voice*, 9 March 1996.

Jim Oliver, businessman. 16 April 1998.

Najimee Parveen, Policy Officer, Commission for Racial Equality. 13 April 1998.

Gordon Peden, Partick Thistle fanzine editor. 18 December 1995.

Maqbul Rasul, businessman. 14 May 1996.

Amir Saeed, football player and University lecturer. 8 June 1998.

Rashid Sarwar, former Kilmarnock player. 14 May 1998; August 1998.

Yayiah Shaik, formerly SASA Committee member. 3 April 1996.

Kash Taank, Ethnic Minority Sports Development Officer, Glasgow City Council. October 1995; April 1996; 13 July 1998.

Chick Young, journalist and television presenter. 13 February 1996.

Shawlands Academy schoolchildren. 5 June 1996.

Unrecorded Interviews

Anton Chaudhry, February 1997.

Foisal Chaudhy, April 1997.

Kevin Connolly, Celtic supporter. April 1999.

Edinburgh Scots-Indian players and fans. May 1997.

Edinburgh Scots-Pakistani football team. March 1997.

Falkirk fans. November 1995.

Mumtaz Hussain. May 1998.

Subash Joshi, businessman. February 1998.

Jonathan Northcroft, journalist. October 1996; November 1996.

Mohammed Riaz, student and football player. May 1997.

Roy Small, historian of Jordanhill College. May 1996.

Mohammed Sarwar. September 1998.

SASA Committee. October 1996.

SASA football players. September 1995–May 1996; January 1999–May 1999.

Scottish football fans. June 1996; June 1998.

Dilawar Singh, police officer and SASA Chairman. October 1996; February 1999.

Gary Singh, businessman. May 1997.

Mike Singh, businessman, organiser of Sikh Boys' Club, boys' club manager. April 1997.

Walli Uddin, businessman. May 1997.