

GARLAND, JON AND MICHAEL ROWE. *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*. New York: Palgrave, 2001. Pp x+223. Notes, bibliography and index.

In recent years, the number of black players in English football has been steadily growing. Although praised for their brilliance on the field, black footballers have undergone torrents of verbal and, in some cases, physical assaults. The ugly spectacle of these incidents has inspired some in the football community to initiate programs aimed at addressing racism. The specter of racism and the reaction against it is the subject of Garland and Rowe's compelling study, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*.

The authors, both of whom are affiliated with the University of Leicester, argue that in order to address racism in football, we must first understand the complex nature of racism. They maintain that the anti-racist campaigns must employ flexible strategies if racial discrimination is to be purged from the birthplace of the world's most popular sport.

Garland and Rowe provide the reader with a comprehensive yet concise history of black participation in football and the importance of the game in the formation of British identity. The section of this chapter that focuses on the emergence of black professionals was particularly enlightening. Garland and Rowe successfully link the struggles of early footballers such as Arthur Wharton and Walter Tull with more recent stars like Brendon Batson and Les Ferdinand.

In the next two chapters, the authors examine the attempts by clubs, supporters and police authorities to address racism in the "Beautiful Game." Although they laud many of these efforts, they argue that anti-racist initiatives spend far too much time and energy focusing on the most visible expressions of racial hatred. Most anti-racist campaigns have targeted National Front supporters, many of whom are skinheads in their late teens or early twenties. Garland and Rowe demonstrate that such a policy is misleading for it concentrates on the most visible but not the most common manifestation of racism. The authors break new ground in their condemnation of racism in football management. They charge that the inability of the club leadership to break down these barriers contributes to a culture of racism that is endemic in the football community.

The next chapters attempt to frame the discussion on racism by examining the contemporary relationship of football to English national identity. Garland and Rowe demonstrate that football was essential in the construction of English, Welsh and Scottish identities. These symbolic identities, however, did not include black players. As a result, for many Black Britons, loyalty for the Union Jack does not run deep. One Black Arsenal supporter explained his lack of support for the national team, "Even though my parents weren't into football, they supported Brazil and Peru because they had black players" (p. 121).

Although the issue of nationalism in football is an important and volatile topic, the authors should demonstrate a stronger link between xenophobia and racism. Chapter six (The Media and English Fans at Euro '96 and France '98) strays too far from the central message of this otherwise excellent piece of scholarship.

In sum, this book represents an important contribution to the field of race and sport. The authors demonstrate that efforts to address racism must assume a more comprehensive vision. Although this pioneering work deserves accolades, some questions remain. Where are the black voices in this struggle? The authors include accounts from fans and players yet there is nothing about the role of black activists, political leaders and organizations. Are they involved in this campaign? If not, we need to know why. In the United States, the integration of baseball and football was supported by civil rights activists, progressive labor unions and some political leaders. Although the issue in the United Kingdom is not American-style segregation, it is important to understand whether racism in football is a topic of concern for Black Britons.

It is also important not to focus mainly on Afro-Britons when discussing race. Although the authors mention South Asians, most of their research concentrates on players who are either Afro-Caribbean or have direct roots in Africa. South Asians represent one of the fastest growing segments of the British population. Their relationship with football deserves a more systematic approach. It is hoped that these suggestions could enhance the pioneering work of Garland and Rowe.

—STANLEY ARNOLD  
*Le Moyne College*