British Universities and Colleges Sport

Race and Equality Research

University of Wolverhampton: Sport and Physical Activity Research Centre

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Contents

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Preface

British Universities & Colleges Sport (BUCS) is the national governing body for higher education (HE) sport in the UK, a membership organisation, and a company limited by guarantee with charitable status.

The aim of this research is to identify areas for improvement, to recognise best practice and share a summary of how to improve our ability as a sector to engage with students from different race and ethnicities within the higher education sporting landscape. The findings and recommendations will be used by BUCS, its network of member institutions (practitioners), and supporting partners to better engage a diverse range of students from all communities and provide insight into developing an inclusive approach to sport and physical activity programmes.

We aim to achieve equality of access to our portfolio of opportunities, so it is important that both BUCS and the HE sector, and sporting partners fully understand the potential barriers that can prohibit students from engaging with such services. Thus, this research identifies recommendations that will help establish a truly inclusive approach to the development of physical activity programmes for BUCS and its members.

We would like to thank Dr Gavin Ward and his research team for all their sustained work and efforts in compiling the research but also identifying key recommendations which will enable BUCS and its members to develop an inclusive approach in all the programmes in which we deliver.

Sam Bell-Minogue

Director of Delivery
British Universities & Colleges Sport (BUCS)

Acknowledgements

The research team would like to thank the following people involved in the completion of this research project:

- Thank you to the students and staff, who for some were prepared to share and relive adverse experiences. It has been the aim of the research team to ensure this voice has been represented for everyone to learn from and improve inclusion in all our communities.

- Thank you to very busy staff for taking time out to speak about their roles and views on inclusion and diversity within their sport systems.

- The student interviewers played a key role in recruiting and engendering trust in the student participants that their experiences will be valued and carefully considered. The research teams have reflected upon how enjoyable it was to work together with dedicated and interested researchers. We hope that this will lead to more projects and research that works to improve students' experience of university.

- Thank you to British Universities and Colleges Sport (BUCS) for facilitating and supporting the research throughout the project, particularly, for the openness and willingness to discuss ideas and directions of the study.

Introduction

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Social media has been a catalyst for global level debate and the rapid emergence of movements centred upon social justice, inclusion, and equality. Public consciousness has been raised to social identifiers such as race, gender, class, and sexuality, which play a key role in individual and societal level life experiences and outcomes.

The experience of racism continues across all areas of peoples' lives and its consequences are destructive. Inequalities attributable to racial identity are consistently reported across key social intuitions, healthcare, employment, housing, criminal justice, and education. Debate concerning race has consistently challenged 'post-race' narratives that rationalise racism into individual prejudices i.e. to individual prejudices of perpetrators. From this standpoint, racial inequalities are a result of how different individuals make decisions and chose to live.

Post-race narratives are often set into ideas of societal meritocracy that believe everyone has equal access to resources and influence, and individual talent and hard work is equally rewarded. #Blacklivesmatter, for example, has worked to overcome these meritocratic narratives to demonstrate the legacy of historical systemic racism in which those with a Non-White racial identity continue to be treated unequally and suffer both explicit and implicit prejudice.

Set within this context, this report summarises the findings of a twelve-month research project commissioned by British Universities and Colleges Sport (BUCS) to explore race and equality. The research was commissioned to investigate Non-White participant's experiences of coaching and competing within British Universities and College Sport. Non-White was chosen as a term to focus attention upon the voices of those who do not share the racial majority of those who lead, coach, and participate in university sport. Leaders of sport at university were also included in the research to explore how Non-White experiences are considered from a strategic and operational perspective. The findings will inform the development of a tool kit that will aim to support the network of BUCS member institutions to respect the experiences and needs of Non-White stakeholders and continue to develop belonging and equality of inclusion in their sport programmes.

Over an eight-month period, a research team of staff and student peer researchers, explored the experiences of 66 staff and students across 5 universities. These case studies captured insights into a range of university and student populations. In-depth interviews were used to explore experiences of being a student participant ('student-athlete') in university sport on campus and playing fixtures at other universities.

Two research questions were posed:

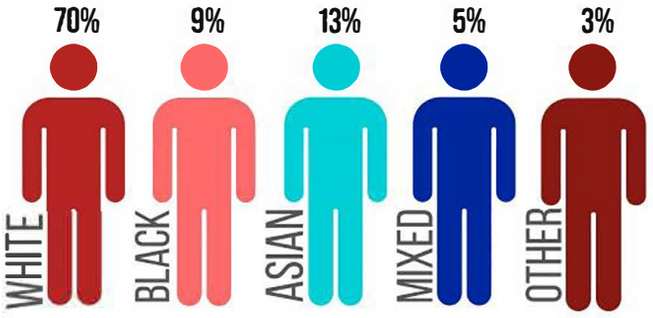
1. **What are Non-White students' experiences of university sport?**
2. **How are the sport and physical activity experiences of Non-White students and staff considered strategically and operationally by universities?**

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

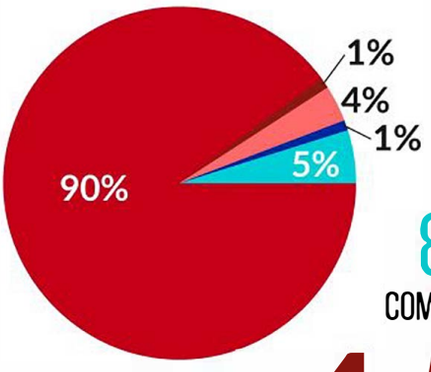
In-depth Qualitative Interviews

5 Case Study Universities
Russell Group - Participatory Universities

BROAD DIVERSITY DATA



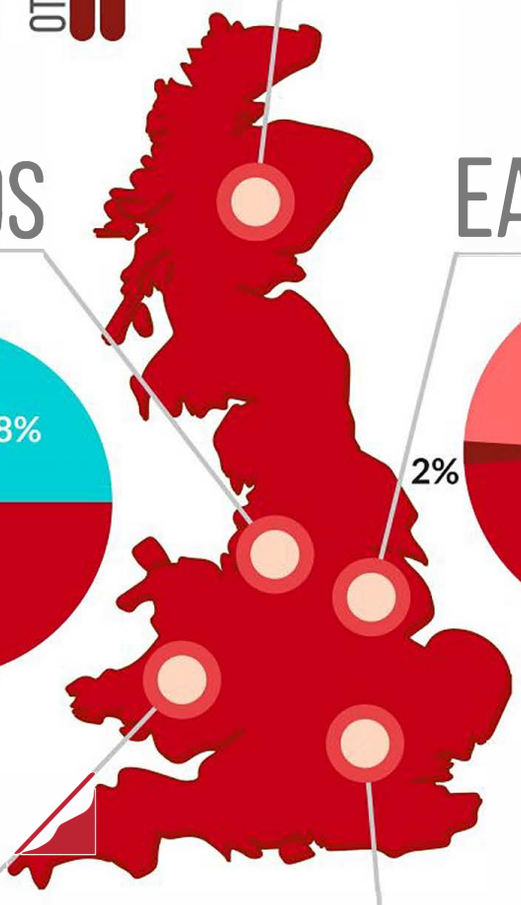
SCOTLAND



12% INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

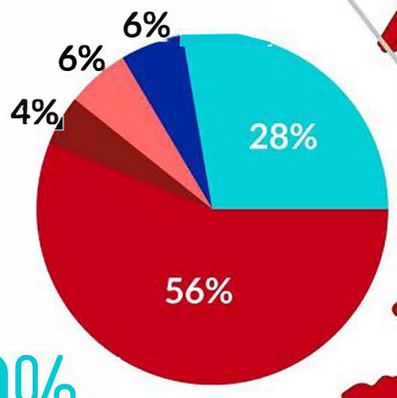
89% COMMUTING STUDENTS

4,500 Students



WEST MIDLANDS

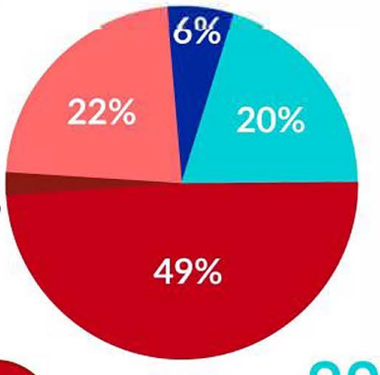
35% INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS



69% COMMUTING STUDENTS

28,500 Students

EAST MIDLANDS



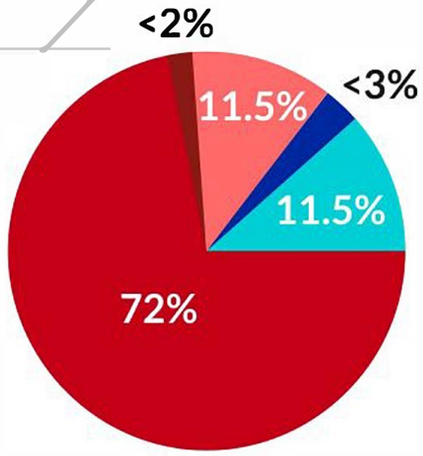
11% INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

92% COMMUTING STUDENTS

21,000 Students

WALES

11% INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

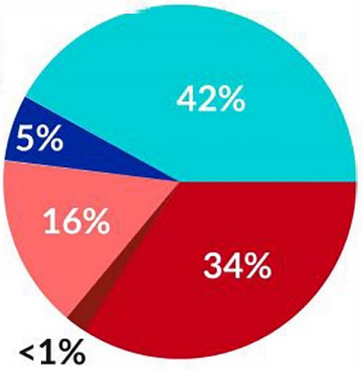


N/A COMMUTING STUDENTS

13,000 Students

EAST OF ENGLAND

25% INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS



58% COMMUTING STUDENTS

16,000 Students

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: KEY FINDINGS ON STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES

RESEARCH QUESTION 1. WHAT ARE NON-WHITE STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES OF UNIVERSITY SPORT?

Supporting participation in sport and physical activity

"If I have low morale or I'm struggling with my degree, spending one hour at training with my team, I get a completely uplifting mood."

Recognising sport is a habit built prior to university through family/community
Acknowledging and working with students' different identities produces an inclusive environment

Paying attention to who is represented in marketing and reporting sport and physical activity makes a difference
Coaching and leadership should provide space for student ownership and goals

Reporting of Racial Abuse

Racism happens in sport and physical activity at university

Racial abuse occurs mainly as isolated incidents

Racial abuse has a profound impact upon a student's sense of self, inclusion, and well-being

Experiences of Staff and Students

Non-white students and staff have to negotiate whiteness

There are unwritten rules about how a non-white person should behave

PLAY BY THE RULES

Students reported having to meet additional expectations as to how to behave when doing sport.
"I'm like, oh I don't say anything, and I still get the same. I still get this, you know, I get that look."

I play by an extra set of rules
"We speak about just being respectful, polite, all the time."

I put up with being racially abused
"One thing I try not to do, especially as a Black man, is never live up to the angry man stereotype."

My kinship stands out, but white kinship does not
"We normally do like sit next to each other and have our own conversations and give each other that like look of like, oh Lord what's going on here?"

Do not judge me through your experiences
"Just because we turn up and step on the court doesn't mean we haven't faced barriers to get there."

I must work hard to become accepted
"You put on like this kind of like whitewashed face."

Everything will not work out because there are rules and officials – officials also treat me differently
"They just denied it and said it was a serious allegation that needed clear evidence. Which we didn't have 'cause that's how it works, you know, nothing exact but constant niggling and stuff under the radar."

Those being abused need to be heard
"I'm very aware of the weight that comes with having black skin and being perceived as this thug."

KEEP YOU GUESSING

Students reported the anonymity and camouflaged nature of racial abuse.
"You always have a feeling that something is going to happen."

Racism does not always have clear evidence – I often do not report it because of lack of evidence
"Whenever I've experienced racism, it's always been like umm -- it's been like very quick, and like people haven't like noticed it? Did that just happen to me?"

Racism hides in the anonymity of crowds, aggressive play and quiet comments – often to gain advantage
"I can't remember what he said but he said a snide comment that wasn't overtly racist, but had that undertone."

The racist label is seen as worse than the racist act
"BUCS says we have to resolve it between us first, but [the other university] are ducking responsibility and how do I know if they will really take this seriously? They could fob me off. Where is the justice here?"

Social justice is needed in the heat of competition, not left to go cold and forgotten.
"The spectators like were shouting and some were like racist things to me and my teammates…they're just saying it to get a reaction."

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: KEY FINDINGS ON UNIVERSITY CONSIDERATIONS OF STUDENT AND STAFF EXPERIENCES

Research Question 2.
How are the sport and physical activity experiences of non-white students and staff considered strategically and operationally by universities?

Strategic and Operational Consideration
Themes of white neutrality
Limited explicit action that supports equality, diversity, and inclusion

DELEGATED RESPONSIBILITY

Shifting responsibility for equality, diversity and inclusion onto others, e.g., by offering diversity training as a single strategy for supporting inclusion

"We make sure that at least the captains and those who are in leadership roles within the sports teams know about setting the culture, challenging inappropriate behaviours."

Reporting systems are colour blind and naive to the existence of racial abuse

Inclusion is judged by promotion and numbers rather than equity

Limited (if any) reporting systems exist to monitor and evaluate:

Patterns of racial abuse
Demographic characteristics of people engaging in sport/physical activity

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A white-centric 'party culture' dominates many sport systems
"It was quite interesting that the sports teams already thought that they were quite inclusive and just by virtue of being the sports team."

Being colour blind or a silent bystander reinforces white-centric culture and ignores inequality
"They'll often talk about things to do with the team when they're down the pub or whatever, and you then feel excluded."

Understanding and supporting an individual's journey is empowering
"The new coaches who come in, I explain that these are our students, this is our demographic. This is where we are at, you have to understand that this is how we run."

ON THE PERIPHERY

Not being part of the central culture
"It's not necessarily purposeful, [but] especially being a black female, I have no proximity to them to explore at all."

See me, appreciate me, and work with my difference
“There's not many who look like you.”

I must work hard to show I am worthy of my position – experience of dual expectations
“I try not to go to race, but I think you know, some of my white colleagues, you know if he was black would he have gotten away with that?”

If I do not conform to white expectations, I am treated differently
“We are a very diverse team, most of the players are black and it felt like that we are being penalised for having an aggressive, attacking, constant kind of communication style.”

If I challenge the status quo, my racial identity becomes the issue
“They'll just be like oh, you know, we know what you are like. And I’m like ‘what do you mean by that?”

Summary of Findings

This research project was commissioned by British Universities and Colleges Sport to investigate Race and Equality. The research team was tasked to investigate Non-White participant's experiences of coaching and participating within university sport and physical activity. Non-White was chosen as a term to focus attention upon the voices of those who do not share the racial identity of most people who lead, coach, and participate in university sport. Leaders of sport at university were also included in the research to explore how Non-White experiences are considered from a strategic and operational perspective.

Over an eight-month period, a research team of university staff and student peer researchers, explored the experiences of 66 staff and students across 5 universities. The following conclusions were reached:

1. Supporting student identities, both as students and athletes, produces an environment in which Non-White students feel they belonged and can thrive. Understanding the personal narratives of students helps to support their journey through both university and participation in sport and physical activity. Conversely, sport coaches and administrators who judged students based upon their own personal experience, narrative, and goals, was not conducive to promoting inclusion and belonging. Doing so overlooks the many other identities and demands students must negotiate and balance when choosing to participate in sport.

2. A central aspect of evaluating the extent of racial and ethnic inclusion is knowing when, where and how often racist incidents occur. Having a critical approach to existing cultures and practices that happen in university sport is also important. Colour blind and bystander approaches to race and ethnicity do not engage sufficient critical reflection to ensure inclusion lies at the heart of policy, strategy, and practice. Colour blind and bystander approaches to inclusion are reinforced by White centric views of experiences in sport. These perspectives reduce racial and ethnic inclusion to visual references and are supported by systems that prioritise conclusive evidence and institutional reputation over social justice.

3. All participants, White and Non-White, are expected to negotiate and penetrate layers of credibility and legitimacy to become accepted and valued members of a squad. Students not only have to negotiate the needs of the team and its established players, but also penetrate the social networks between players and coaches, and amongst team members. In most situations this demands significant emotional and identity labour for Non-White students, particularly, when the cultures and practices they are required to join in with clash with their ethnicities.

4. All staff, White and Non-White, are required to meet expectations related to their roles and the educational context of these responsibilities. Non-White staff experience subtle dual expectations that require conscious self-management of their intersected identities, particularly, their work ethic. This also involves conscious distancing from racial stereotypes to present a professional identity. Hidden rules and expectations as to what constitutes Non-White professionalism causes comparisons to be made with White colleagues. This can produce a perception that more allowances are made for White than Non-White staff. Understanding and addressing this experience is a crucial element of supporting greater racial and ethnic diversity of sport leaders and coaches.

5. Seeing and appreciating difference is a crucial aspect of racial and ethnic inclusion. This includes listening to experiences and understanding imbalances in power between racial and ethnic groups. These imbalances in power have significant impact on the occurrence of racial abuse, how it is reported and how social justice is often not reached. Complaints against racial abuse create the labels of racist and racism against individual and organisations. Systems of reporting and disciplinary action make these labels worse than the original abuse.

6. Taken for granted practices based upon a belief that 'everything will work out' during sports competitions, allow space for both explicit racial abuse and cumulative microaggressions to occur and to escalate. When racial abuse happens reporting systems require robust evidence. At the same time these systems demand cooperation of universities that do not want to be associated with racial abuse. Racism can be camouflaged in unowned comments from crowds, hidden in overly aggressive play or in language with implicit racist undertones. This makes capturing robust evidence very challenging and requires cooperation from those who may not be viewed as reliable witnesses.

7. Values led practices can help to focus attention on the quality of practices that engage students in sport participation and competition. The life blood of BUCS sport are universities that are founded upon educational values and practices. Criteria that place these values front and centre of sports competitions would allow the opportunity to judge the quality of the experience of these events.

Recommendations

1. **All university and member sport systems should ensure that robust policies guide the practice of safeguarding student experiences of sport and physical activity through:**

    - The generation of defined networks of communication that enable meaningful dialogue with minority populations.

    - The education and training of all staff, student leaders, and student participants on policy and practice relating to student welfare and safeguarding in their participation of sport and physical activity both on and off-site. These policies and practices should include:

        - Clear lines of responsibility for care immediately following the experience of abuse.
        - Mechanisms for game day management, incident reporting and follow-up.
        - Mechanisms for linking sport and academic lines of communication to ensure students remain supported through adverse experiences.
        - A system of recording, monitoring, and reporting to academic leads of abusive language and behaviour associated with partying alcohol-based sport culture.

    - The reviewing of promotional and newsworthy material for its representation of the wider university student body and to ensure protected characteristics are included.

2. **All university and member sport systems and BUCS to collaborate to establish a means to collect data on students who access BUCS sport and other physical activity provision. This data should:**

    - Be monitored annually to understand how reflective it is against a university's wider student body and used to inform and support strategic planning for inclusive sport provision.

3. **BUCS to devise a mechanism of university and member-based mediation following reported abuse during a university competition. This should include:**

    - A nominated intermediary 'Chair' to oversee the completion and diligence of the mediation process.
    - A clear set of rules, including time frames, that both parties are obliged to follow, including, penalty clauses for their transgression.
    - The inclusion of both sport and academic leadership and the opportunity for the submission of impact statements from affected parties.
    - A mechanism for recording mediations, their outcome and for patterns to be monitored and managed by BUCS.
    - BUCS to publish, with identifying information removed, the outcomes of mediations, including those that go to formal disciplinary hearings.

4. **BUCS to lead on the development of policy and practice that define mechanisms for the management of all competition experiences. This should include:**

- The obligation for officials, coaches, and player representatives to meet before competitions commence to establish clear lines of communication through which abuse experienced from spectators and players can be reported and managed.

- The obligation for competition officials to stop a fixture and act in the event of abuse being observed or reported.

- The management of spectators by officials and coaches with a system of ejection, if necessary.

- The opportunity for all parties to meet to monitor the quality of the competition and discuss immediate concerns at a suitable break in the competition. This should include immediate post competition follow-up to ensure clarity on any issues of abuse and to agreement on the next course of action.

5. **BUCS to work with universities, members and National Governing Bodies of Sport to:**

- Facilitate the sharing of good practice that promotes sustained participation and engagement that is representative of the diversity of the university student body.

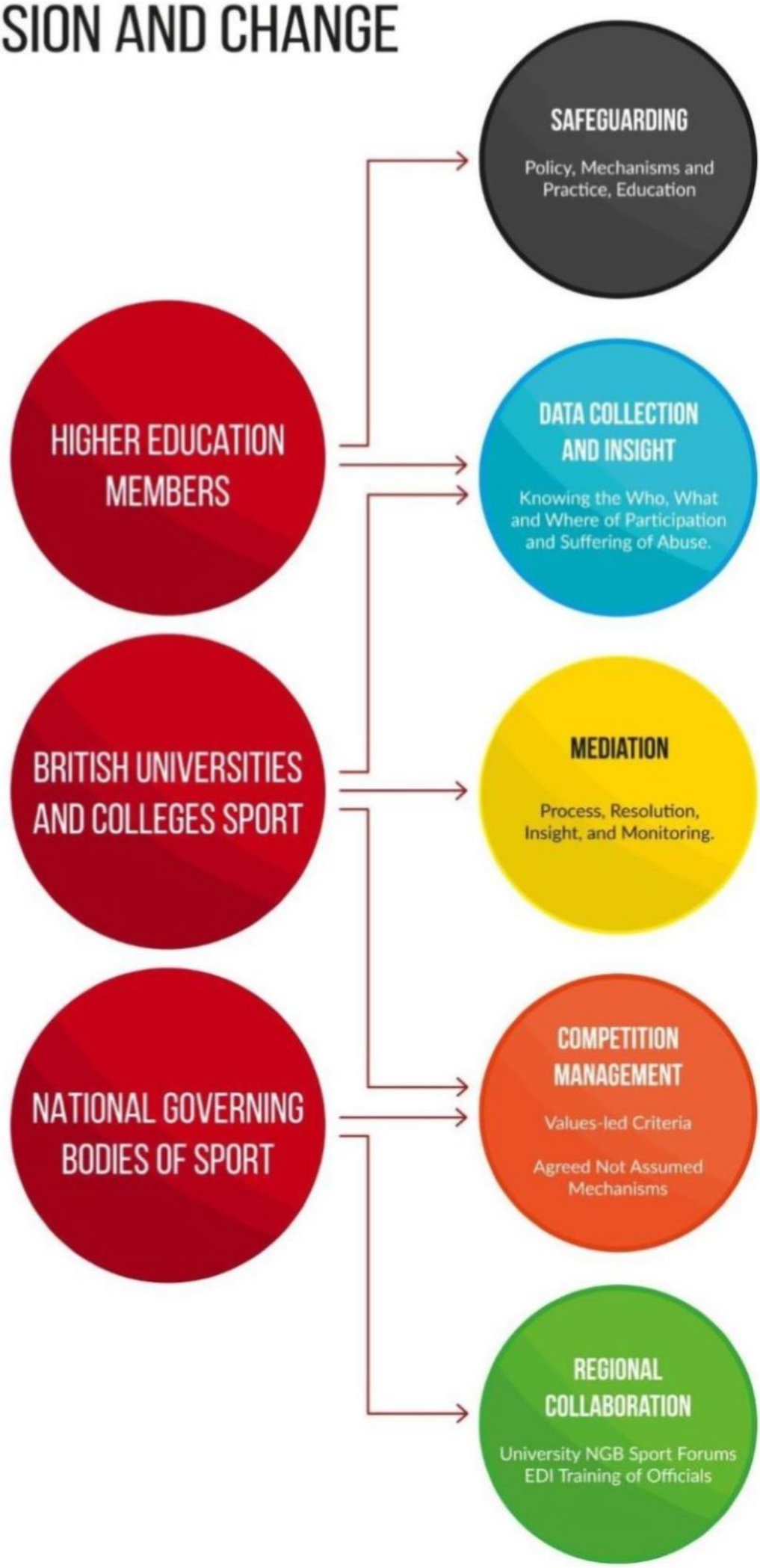
- Devise a clear system of reporting for all abuse issues in BUCS events, to ensure they are communicated directly through to BUCS, recording basic facts and outcomes of the incident. Formats may include website portals or apps that permit data to be gathered and presented for monitoring patterns of incidents.

- Develop values led criteria through which the quality of BUCS competitions can be judged by officials, coaches, and participants. This should relate directly to student and coach experiences.

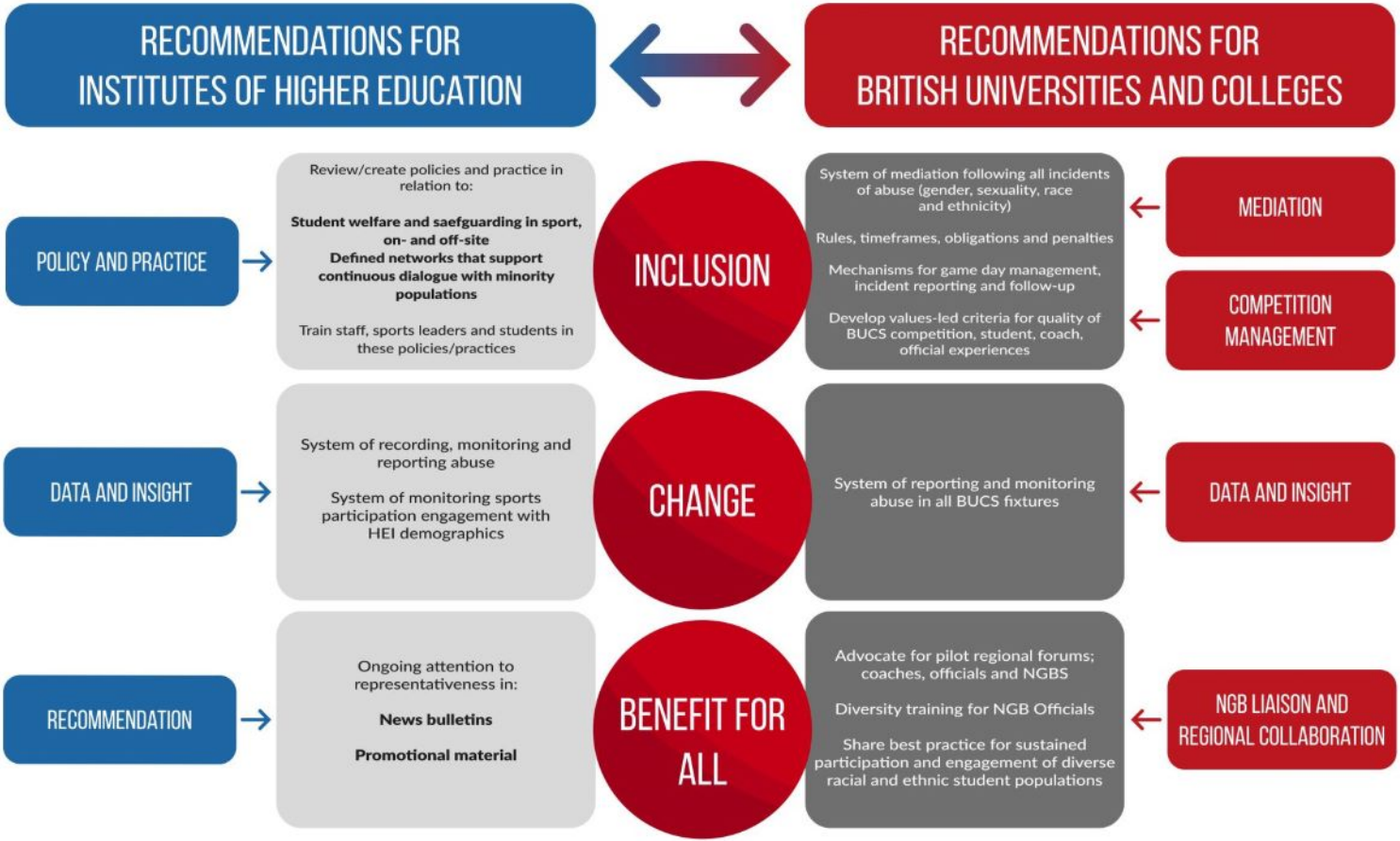
- Advocate for all competition officials to participate in training in relation in equality, diversity, and inclusion, including recognising and addressing racial bias in the management of coaches and players.

- Advocate the use of existing networks to pilot regional university sport forums. This should promote communication between coaches and officials and support discussion of competition management and the sharing and promotion of good practice.

RECOMMENDATIONS:
INCLUSION AND CHANGE



RECOMMENDATIONS IN DETAIL



Answers to the Research Questions

The following answers to the research questions were reached:

1. What are Non-White students' experiences of university sport?

- A sporting habit of sustained participation in sport is built prior to university through support from family and local community resources.

- The ever-present risk of racism and racial bias that was reported, requires all Non-White staff and students to consistently negotiate Whiteness and White spaces.
- Supporting student identities, both as students and athletes, produces an environment in which Non-White students feel they belong and can thrive. Understanding the personal narratives of students helps to support their journey through both university and participation in sport and physical activity.
- Judging Non-White students based upon White-centric personal experiences does not appreciate the many other identities and demands Non-White students have in their lives and is not conducive to building inclusion and belonging.
- Explicit racism occurs as isolated incidents and does not have a regular pattern for individual students. Often, explicit racial abuse stems from poor competition management. This requires explicit lines of responsibility and mechanisms to ensure racial abuse can be addressed in the immediacy of the context. Not dealing with racist abuse in the moment it happens leads to feelings of injustice and the normalisation of racism. This is created through the need to provide conclusive evidence and enter a complaints procedure that permits universities to avoid responsibility or sanitise incidents as a matter of one person's 'word' against another.

- When joining university sports clubs, students not only have to negotiate the needs of the team and its established players, but also penetrate the social networks between players and coaches. Non-White students must work hard to fit in and thrive, particularly when dominant social traditions clash with their ethnicities.
- All students are required to engage in additional labour to seek a sense of belonging, particularly when alcohol based 'socials' were commonly used to build social networks within squads. Events and spaces in which alcohol is focal, such as 'pre-drinks', pubs, bars, and clubs, create a distance for non-drinkers and identities who do not affiliate with such spaces, from the social ties that are built around this partying culture.
- Explicit reactions from victims of racial abuse create a lose-lose situation. Not conforming to racial stereotypes is an important unwritten rule of inclusion into White space. Even though these stereotypes can be used by White students to 'other' Non-White identities. Non-White students' silent resistance to this stereotyping and abuse makes it an accepted norm of playing sport. Victims are left to manage the impact that such self-censorship has on their sense of self and belonging.

- Racial stereotypes such as Black athleticism, that expects Non-White students to be good at specific sports is evidenced. Both students and staff reported racial profiling, where Non-White players are limited to roles associated with strength, speed, and power, rather than strategy and skilfulness.
- A lived experience of biased treatment from competition officials, particularly in relation to reaction to decisions, is commonly reported. This experience is particularly intensified when a racially diverse team plays a mainly White team.
- Racial abuse is used by opponents to try to gain advantage by 'fishing' for an explicit response and that leads to adverse judgement from competition officials. In some sports it is accepted that crowds will taunt opposition players which can include racial abuse. Lines of explicit responsibility for the management of crowd behaviour are assumed and not clearly established.
- Students and staff often do not feel able to report abuse while competing. Students are left to negotiate such abuse as an accepted part of competing.

- Racial abuse can be very subtle, camouflaged in comments and actions by players and teams that happen momentarily, such abuse is impossible to capture and evidence in any robust way.
- Many of the sports systems researched do not have enough different ways for students to feedback information about their experiences. Sport systems do not recognise imbalances in power for those reporting racial abuse. Students do not know who to turn to for support within their sport organisation following abuse. The existence of explicitly identified personnel within sport systems to support abused students was not evidenced.
- Those reporting racial abuse suggested they were 'lucky' to have corroborating evidence from bystanders. Reporting and disciplinary systems rely on evidence from the victim that can conclusively link abuse to a perpetrator. Thus, given such uncertainty, the perpetrator is privileged, and responsibility placed upon the victim to seek justice. The requirement for hard evidence becomes prioritised over care for the victim, which diminishes social justice.
- Competition officials are relied upon as key witnesses to corroborate racial abuse, but racial abuse is not always heard. Coaches and players do not have tried and tested mechanisms of redress to ensure racial abuse is acknowledged in the moment and appropriately addressed.
- Universities are required in the first instance to manage incidents between themselves. The absence of guidance or rules for this process leaves a void in which social justice is dependent upon good faith. As a result, there is no means to monitor the quality of this process or if there are any patterns to incidents.

2. How are the sport and physical activity experiences of Non-White students and staff considered strategically and operationally by universities?

- A White neutral, passive stance on inclusion can be evidenced through:
    - Use of a visual reference to consider the racial and ethnic diversity of the student body accessing sport and physical activity.
    - Limited, if any, data about the student body accessing sport and physical activity. This confined discussion about inclusion to recognising individual student narratives, the variety and number of activities offered, or personal treatises and claims to be 'inclusive'.
    - Faith in 'systems' where anomalies in experiences are dealt with by policies and procedures, while not being fully informed on the impact of racism and the cumulative effect of microaggressions; specifically, the impact of abuse on student and staff identities, feelings of self-worth, legitimacy, and inclusion.

- Evidence suggests that an understanding of the multiple identities of students and their responsibilities can work to enhance participation and access to systems of support.

- Recognition of the significant challenge to inclusion posed by a historical partying culture in university sport, particularly the potential for misogynistic 'lad' culture, racist and homophobic language, and behaviours.

- Evidence of delegating responsibility for control and influence over this powerful culture through diversity and inclusion training for coaches and student leaders.

- Evidence of inequalities in campus sport facilities being addressed through 'inclusion by provision'. This delegates responsibility to students to choose to use opportunities offered or the resources provided to access these opportunities, even if these are not logistically reasonable. An approach of providing equity, rather than equality is required.

- Non-White staff experienced subtle dual expectations that required conscious self-management of their multiple identities, particularly, work ethic, and involved conscious distancing from racial stereotypes to present a professional identity. Staff reported hidden rules and expectations as to what constituted professionalism for a Non-White identity. This led to comparisons with White colleagues and created experiences that more allowances are made for White than Non-White staff.

- Absence of the use of explicit criteria to judge the quality and values of BUCS sports competitions that reflect the educational role of universities

Language and Definitions

In this section key terms used in the report will be briefly defined to help the reader understand the meanings that support their usage. Terminology employed to discuss race, equality and social justice can often present significant barriers to those on the periphery of these discussions and debate. Being situated on the periphery of social justice debate is often a privilege afforded by those who have not experienced discrimination or who's social positions offer a relative sense of stability and security. Avoidance or delayed engagement in debate can be caused through a fear of causing offence by using terms which are out of date and those whose meanings have changed.

Terms such as those below are used as points of reference because they offer a short-cut in language to refer to groups of people, social phenomena, and ways of thinking. The meanings and consequences of these short-cuts become explored through debate, reading and research. The latter can help the voices of those who experience social injustice to be taken seriously. It is through this processes that terms, which once offered a short-cut, are found to overlook, and disrespect the power relations and experiences that constitute social injustice, discrimination, and racism. It is not just the responsibility of those who experience the latter, but importantly those who enjoy social justice to educate themselves in the language of social justice. Doing so prevents the silence of inaction and disengagement and supports the project of a more democratic, socially just, inclusive, and equitable society (Aouragh, 2019). Fear of being labelled a racist or trolled online can offer legitimation to a peripheral disengaged stance on race, equality, and social justice debate.

All terms that refer to groups of people are not unproblematic, because they suggest a grouping of shared identity. In some usages and contexts, a term may be judged to homogenise and ignore the varying experiences of those it aims to represent. In other contexts, a term may be considered sufficient to draw attention to the intended area of discussion. What is key here is that when choosing the use of a term to refer to groups of people, it should function to represent as best as possible the voices and lives that may lie behind the grouping.

In this report for example, the term Non-White is used. This term is not unproblematic because it racialises and homogenises those without White skin. The intention is not to ignore the plethora of experiences of diverse ethnicities and racial identities. The report acknowledges that all terms racialise, that race is a historical social construction that is flawed because skin tone, physical features and ethnicities can vary significantly in groups such as Black, White, and South Asian. The use of Non-White is intended to draw attention to White as a racial group, particularly, in the organising, running and participation of British Universities and Colleges Sport. In doing so it aims to privilege the voices of those who share a racial identity that is different to White.

Ongoing normativity and the policing of language in the discussion of race and ethnicity can give rise to hesitancy and silence. What is key is dialogue that can be generated that promotes understanding and awareness, rather than the silencing of voices. It is through on-going dialogue, patience, empathy, education, and action that inclusion can be achieved.

Equality, Equity, and Inclusion

Equality focuses on creating the same starting line for everyone in relation to equal access to resources. Equity works to develop the same finishing line, through a differentiated provision of resources and opportunities. Inclusion refers to a culture of belonging by actively inviting and valuing the contribution and participation of all people**.**

Further Reading:

Penney, D. (2002) Equality, equity and inclusion in physical education and school sport, Laker, A. (Ed) *The sociology of sport and physical education: An introductory reader*, London: Routledge (110-128).

Sally Shaw, S. and Penney, D. (2003) Gender equity policies in national governing bodies: An oxymoron or a vehicle for change? *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 3(2), 78-102, DOI: 10.1080/16184740308721942

Race and Ethnicity

The Equality Act 2010 defines the protected characteristic of 'race' as including colour, ethnic or national origin, or nationality. Whilst the terms Race and Ethnicity are often used interchangeably and have close associations, in social science research, they are distinguishable. Race is a social construction, based upon skin colour and was developed historically by White people to differentiate, exclude, and obtain political and economic advantage over Non-White people. This legacy of the use of race to exploit Non-White people and position them as fundamentally different and inferior to White people, means race is experienced explicitly and implicitly in everyone's lives through the privileges and discrimination they experience. Skin colour, identified through Race, is a fundamental fact of racial inequality and thus discussions about racial inequalities, cannot occur without using this term of classification. For many racial groups, reference to their skin colour represents an acknowledgement of the historical struggle and achievements against brutal, endemic racism. Race is an arbitrary means of categorising people, because skin colour varies significantly between racial groups and may also be shared by people with very different cultural identities. Unlike race, which is attributed to skin colour, ethnicity is not always visibly identifiable, and is a term used to appreciate a person's cultural identity. It is distinguished through shared beliefs about cultural heritage; the habits and customs that connect groups of people. Ethnicity pivots on social interaction amongst group members who develop agreements about shared cultural traits. It also relies upon interaction between minority and majority groups which functions to produce differences and similarities. Ethnicity works to support our claimed identity that is rooted in our cultural origins, the identification of ourselves, whilst at the same time it works to identify others (Little, 2014; Zevallos, 2022).

Further Reading:

Fletcher, T. (2016) 'Race', whiteness, and sport, in Nauright, J. and Wiggins, D. (Eds) Routledge Handbook of Sport, Race and Ethnicity, London: Routledge.

Little, W. (2014). *Introduction to Sociology*, Victoria, British Columbia: OpenText.

Whiteness

Whiteness is a term that supports an understanding of how White, as a racial category, is defined, constructed, and has become established as an unquestioned 'norm'. This norm is hegemonic; in other words, it is a historical, embedded ideology, around which social life is organised and evaluated. Its pervading existence has enabled White culture to become the primary perspective through which history, art, science, and social

institutions have been constructed. Whiteness, like all socially constructed ideologies, is not static but dynamic, shaped through history, political dialogue, and activism (Thuram, 2020; Zevallos, 2022).

Further Reading:

Thuram, L. (2020) *White thinking: Behind the mask of racial identity* (Translated by D. Murphy, A. Ni Loingsigh and C. Johnston), London: Hero Press.

Zevallos, Z. (2022) The sociology of Race; Available at: https://othersociologist.com/sociology-of-race/

White Privilege

White privilege is a position from which most, if not all white people, are able to move through daily life without their race being questioned. Possessing White privilege is not racist; however, it exists because of historic racism and racial bias. White privilege does not suggest that all White people have benefitted from equal access to education, health resources, and inherited wealth, rather it refers to the way in which those, based on their White skin are rarely considered to be different from and unchallenging to the social norm (McIntosh, 1989).

Further Reading:

P. McIntosh (1989) White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack. *Peace and Freedom* (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Philadelphia), July/August 10-12.

Racism

Racism is an action that is rooted in conscious or unconscious racial bias and prejudice, committed against an individual or person based upon their racial identity. Racism can be systemic, whereby biases and prejudices run through the beliefs of those in institutions and organisations, which in turn lead to actions that work to reproduce racial inequality. Racism and racial bias can be conscious or unconscious, and sustained through racialisation. This is the process of grouping people arbitrarily on the colour of their skin. Racialisation is rooted in the historical use of race to exploit Non-White people through colonialism and slavery. This historic racialisation positions Non-White people as different and inferior to White people and is integral to White Thinking and White Privilege. Terms such a Black, White, Non-White are used to identify groups of people. Using such terms does involve racialisation to some extent, however, their use is to draw attention to inequitable power relations and discrimination that people experience based upon their skin colour (Colins, 2018).

Further Reading:

Colins, C. (2018) What is White privilege, really? *Learning for Justice*, 60, Available at: https://www.learningforjustice.org/magazine/fall-2018/what-is-white-privilege-really

People of Colour

People of Colour (POC) is a term employed to refer to those who do not have a White racial identity. A disadvantage is that it can suggest that White is not a colour and thus not a Race. As with other terms that create racial groups, for example, BAME and Non-White, POC can be suggestive of inclusion and a sensitivity to racialisation. However, homogenising racial groups overlooks the complexity of race and ethnicity because not all people suffer similar injustices. POC is often used in reference to Black people and as such the perspectives and voices of other races and ethnicities can be lost (Zegeye, 2002).

Further Reading:

Zegeye, A., 2002. A matter of colour. *African and Asian Studies*, *1*(4), pp.323-348.

BAME

BAME is an acronym for Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic, which is commonly used in the UK by institutions to refer to Non-White racial and ethnic groups. As a label, it emphasises specific racial groups and excludes others and often implies all Non-White racial and ethnic groups are homogeneous. In doing so, this term can lead to the user overlooking the varying experiences of women and men from many different ethnic and racial groups.

Further Reading:

Sporting Equals; Terminology Resource. Available at;
https://sportingequals.org.uk/programmes/projects/terminology-resource.html

Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities (2021) Independent Report: Summary of recommendations; Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-report-of-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities/summary-of-recommendations#recommendation-24-%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20disaggregate-the-term-bame

Diverse Racial and Ethnic Backgrounds

This term aims to avoid the implication of homogeneity created by terms that group people on a racial basis such a Black, White, or Non-White. The word 'diverse', implies that it aims to refer to those with identities that vary from a population majority. In some cases, this may also include those from White backgrounds with diverse ethnicities such as Roma, Irish-traveller or other cultural identities that are low in number in relation to the population being discussed.

Non-White

Non-White is a term that is used to refer to racial groups that are not White. The disadvantage of this term is that it suggests White is the norm and that something is lacking or missing if you do not have White skin. Often White is not seen as a race, because through the dominance of Whiteness and White Thinking it can become the taken for granted norm. By implicitly bringing the category of White into the language of race, Non-White can help to provide a foreground to the concepts of Whiteness and White Privilege and the power inequities that can exist between White and Non-White racial groups. As with all terms that group people based upon skin colour, Non-White is not unproblematic because skin colour does not correspond to distinct groups and homogenises people who will have varying cultural identities. Non-White is used in this report because it aims to bring forward White as a racial identity which is reflected in those who hold positions of power in University Sport.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory has emerged from research that evidences racial inequality which is rooted in historical and systemic disenfranchisement of those who are Non-White. The theory starts from an understanding of individual inequality, specifically the historical inequality Non-White races and ethnicities experience throughout society, such as in labour markets, education systems and health services. Opposing arguments reject this starting position by arguing that these inequalities no longer exist and can be explained by individual choices and practices. Opponents argue that Critical Race Theory works negatively to undermine White people who have worked hard and invested in their lives and communities. Such arguments overlook hidden biases and privileges that remain beyond the policies and practices that govern our institutions and countries. Critical Race Theory is used to foreground the historical power of racial Whiteness to better understand how privilege and power work.

Further Reading:

Hylton, K. (2010) How a turning to critical race theory can contribute to our understanding of 'race', racism, and anti-racism in sport. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 45(3), 335 - 354.

Intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw first coined the term 'intersectionality' in reaction to a court case against discrimination in which the judge rejected a plea based on the plaintiff being a Black and female. The judge argued that the plaintiff should make a choice; pursue the case against racism or sexism, not both. The conceptual lens of intersectionality was developed by Crenshaw as an alternative reflection of the reality of multiple identities that cause overlapping oppressions. Through this lens a person does not inhabit a singular position of for example, gender, race, ethnicity, or social class. Intersectionality is often misconceived as an additive theorising of identity, for example, in which Black women suffer a 'triple jeopardy' of oppression by suffering from sexism, racism and being working class. Intersectionality is used to explore how these positions co-construct each other and reveal the processes of individual social inequality. In other words when someone suffers racism they do so not only as a British South Asian, but as, for example, a heterosexual, working class woman. It is these intersecting identities that shape the production and experience of this racism.

Further Reading:

Crenshaw, K. (1991) Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour, Stanford Law Review, 43(6), 1241-99.

Microaggressions

African American psychiatrist and lecturer Chester Pierce first conceptualised microaggressions in the 1970s, to describe unacknowledged racism he experienced from White Americans. Different types of microaggressions have been identified which are rooted in aspects of identity that are stigmatised, for example, disability, religion, gender, etc. Racial microaggressions constitute covert racial slurs. Whilst potentially being unintentional these slurs create stress and oppression for Non-White people. Microaggressions are also easy to deny or to be self-excused through lack of awareness of dominant ways of thinking and are associated with biases in beliefs about groups of people.

Further Reading:

Norman, L. and Simpson, R. (2022) Gendered microaggressions towards the “only” women coaches in high-performance sport, *Sports Coaching Review*, https://doi.org/10.1080/21640629.2021.2021031

Williams M., Ching, T., and Gallo J. (2021) Understanding aggression and microaggressions by and against people of colour, *The Cognitive Behaviour Therapist*, 14(e25), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1754470X21000234

The Research Approach Taken to Understand Non-White Experiences of British Universities and College Sport

The following section aims to establish the assumptions made that inform the approach taken in this report to equality, inclusion and belonging when exploring Non-White experiences of British Universities and College Sport.

Equality, Inclusion and Belonging

Social justice and anti-racist activism continue to expose and fight systemic societal prejudice, harassment, discrimination, and exclusion experienced in Britain. This is set in a context of historical and contemporary immigration, legacies of colonialism and cycles of economic growth and recession. At the beginning of the 21st Century renewed attention has returned to the ethical nature of our society and the practices to which we should turn to create more inclusive and equal communities. This report was commissioned by BUCS to take seriously the experiences of those who historically and continue to face inequality and exclusion.

Equality

The Equality Act 2010 provides the legal framework through which equality and inclusion are sought and discrimination, prejudice, harassment, and victimisation are judged. Discrimination describes unfair treatment

based on protected characteristics, which include for example, race, gender and religion or belief. Prejudice describes an attitude or idea about a person or group which they may not act upon but is often the root of discriminatory behaviour. Harassment refers to an unwanted or unwelcome behaviour that a victim finds offensive or makes them feel intimidated or humiliated. Harassment can be a standalone behaviour but can also be caused by prejudice and discrimination. Victimisation describes singling someone out and subjecting a person to cruel or unjust treatment.

By identifying how inequality can be caused, the Equality Act, through the stipulation of protected characteristics, recognises that some groups have historically faced inequality and exclusion. Equality thus becomes the practice of increasing justice and fairness through equal treatment and the provision of access and opportunity. Improving equality challenges policy makers and leaders to consider the use and distribution of resources and opportunities. At this level of decision making the term 'equity' is used, which refers to the quality of fairness being sought. Equity recognises that people have different circumstances and supports the allocation of opportunities and resources required to develop equal outcomes. This creates significant debate as what constitutes fairness, and an equal outcome is contested and not necessarily easily agreed upon. Groups that have faced historical exclusion, such as those who are Non-White, campaign, not only for equality, but also equity to produce inclusion and belonging.

Inclusion and Belonging

Debate about fairness and equal outcomes draws attention to the benefits of inclusion and the generation of

social diversity in institutions, work, and recreational spaces. Diversity values variety in individual differences and is used in reference to race, ethnicity, and gender, but also for example, age, ethnic origin, religion, disability, sexual orientation, marital status, socioeconomic status, and education. It also includes diversity of thought, ideas, perspectives, and values. More diverse spaces can create stronger, resilient, and creative outcomes. Inclusion is used to drive practices that create diverse environments in which individuals or groups are respected, supported, and their participation and contribution equally valued. Inclusion promotes

a sense of acceptance based upon merit. This creates the sense of affiliation and legitimacy which in turn generates belonging.

In brief, equality can generate inclusion and diversity, which promote voice, and belonging means this voice is heard. Common sense beliefs and assumptions generated by personal experiences have a profound impact upon understandings and interpretations of equality, inclusion, and belonging. When discussing the latter, their start and end points are brought into view and how they are to be achieved are highly debated and contested.

The Problem of Colour-Blind Approaches to Race

Discussing race can create defensiveness and fragility, particularly for those who perceive themselves as 'blind' to colour, who believe seeing racial difference does not align with developing inclusive sport environments. However, being open to and understanding the wider, historical, societal level inequality, which may or may not feature in our own experiences, is crucial to understanding social inclusion. A colour-blind stance on race, ignores the historical, institutional, and individual prejudice and discrimination experienced by Non-White people. It is through seeing difference and being open to the diverse backgrounds and journeys of people through both their lives and through sport, that stronger commonality and inclusion can be developed.

Seeing difference can generate insight into individual experience and to place this into wider collective and societal contexts. Zooming 'in' on individual experiences in sport and zooming 'out' to broader aspects of people's lives can develop insight that continues to create inclusive, supportive environments that build everyone's sense of belonging. Lessons can be learned from those who have had positive experiences and have not had to question their racial difference, and from those who have faced negative and discriminatory experiences.

Race is a label, a means of identifying oneself, and a way to group people and experiences. As such, it is not a straightforward term. In this report the term Non-White is used to identify some of the students and staff who were interviewed and was agreed upon by Non-White contributors to the research and report. The use of the term Non-White serves merely to identify those students and staff who were the focus of the study. The participants were not homogenised into a singular group, rather the aim was to take seriously the voices of those who are not in the racial majority in British Universities and College Sport. These voices are often lost in the believed meritocracy of Sport, where the talented and those who work hard are rewarded, where everyone is treated equally, and fairness abounds.

Competitive sport can produce rich learning and life affirming experiences. Participation in sport can generate networks of friendships and opportunities to push and test oneself. It can build strong resilient identities and mindsets that can be transferred to immediate and future life challenges. Sport can teach respect, discipline, magnanimity, and humility. However, alongside the ethics and morality of sport, lies the aim of winning and dominating opponents. The objective of competitive sport is to create inequality before, during and after competition to increase immediate, and future chances of winning. This tension combined with societal inequalities that athletes and players experience, cuts through beliefs about sport's meritocratic ideals. In understanding peoples' journeys into and through sport as not being meritocratic, this report aims to better understand the experiences of those who have historically been excluded or placed on the periphery of positions of influence.

Race and Ethnicity

At a wider societal level, people's race has historically led to being seen as 'other' than to being White. This is reflected in the terms used to identify Non-White populations, such as People of Colour. Thinking like this draws attention away from the fact that White people too have a colour and a race, White. Whilst race is a social construction, developed historically by White people to differentiate, exclude, and obtain political and economic advantage, this legacy and its bond to skin colour means that race exists in everyone's lives.

Discussing race in terms of narrow differences in skin colour can create animosity and closedown dialogue. There are as many different shades of White skin as there are Black, Brown, and Asian. However, the historical legacy of race relations and racial categories, means racial categories are useful in understanding broader patterns of societal equality and inclusion. These wider patterns will be accompanied by individual experiences which may, or may not, correspond to the broader picture of equality and inclusion. Nevertheless, zooming 'in' on individual experiences and 'out' to wider societal pictures can be useful to understand historical legacies of inequality.

Grouping people into racial categories such as White, Black, or South Asian assumes that they share the same cultural orientations. Ethnicity is a term employed to overcome this homogenising, by recognising the cultural practices that can identify a particular group of people. Race and ethnicity are often closely associated and are used to group racial identity and cultural orientation. These categorisations can help educational institutions to track and compare, for example, the diversity and attainment of specific groups.

Race and ethnicity do not necessarily predetermine experience however, they do work to create immediate and lifelong experience, along with other social identifiers such as gender and class. Critical Race Theory has been used to understand equality and inclusion from the perspective of historical legacies of racial and gender inequalities. Originally developed to understand the power relations that produce inequalities encountered by being both Black and female, this theory is useful in being able to zoom 'in' to individual experiences and relate this to wider societal inequalities. This report approaches race and ethnicity from a position that aligns with Critical Race Theory. There has been much recent controversy surrounding this approach to exploring experiences from a racial perspective. These controversies have stemmed from misinterpretation and arguments that work to generate misinformation, create division, and stoke racial tensions.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory starts with the assumption of racial inequality which is rooted in historical and systemic disenfranchisement of those who are Non-White. Often the reaction is to look to specific individuals which may debunk this argument. For example, the Black barrister verses the White long-term unemployed factory worker. Thinking like this misconstrues the position of Critical Race Theory, which does not start from individual inequality, rather the historical inequality Non-White races and ethnicities experience throughout society, such as in labour markets, education systems and health services.

Those with a White racial identity can argue that these inequalities no longer exist and can be explained by individual choices and practices. As a result, it is argued Critical Race Theory works negatively to undermine White people who have worked hard and invested in their lives and communities. This thinking, however, overlooks the hidden biases and privileges that remain beyond the policies and practices that govern our institutions and countries. Critical Race Theory keeps in mind the historical power of racial Whiteness to understand how privilege and power work.

Whiteness

The concept of Whiteness and White privilege, closely associated with the use of Critical Race Theory, has been met with anger and accusations of racism against people with a White racial identity. Being accused of having

a privilege that either you do not believe you possess or have worked hard to acquire resources and choices, can create feeling of vulnerability and fragility. This White fragility can serve to quash openness to dialogue that can work to deconstruct the processes that can create historical racial inequality. White privilege can be better understood as the advantage of not having the risk of the colour of Non-White skin being questioned or being used to unknowingly or knowingly, exclude, disenfranchise, and disadvantage. This risk is persistent and pervasive, to which White people are not exposed. Critical Race Theory asks those who are White to appreciate that, while they do not equally share privilege across society, when taken as a whole and compared to most Non-White people, they have an advantage of historical dominance in relation to their association with economic, educational and health resources.

This is not to demean or overlook groups of White people who have also been excluded or positioned on the periphery of societal resources and decision-making. Other identities, such as class and gender, have created social and economic disadvantage for those with a White racial identity. However, White has historically not been seen to constitute a race, whilst conversely, whilst Non-White races have been seen singled out as being subordinate and have been subjected to systemic social and economic disadvantage. Historical and contemporary power imbalances between White and Non-White racial groups, in which Non-White people have overall, been excluded and disenfranchised, means racism is approached from this White privilege.

Derogatory and degrading racial terms can be exchanged at an individual level and be felt equally to injure and cause distress. At an individual level this can be difficult to appreciate, particularly from a White person's perspective who believes their racial identity has been used against them. However, as a member of a dominant racial group, in which, out of that immediate context, the privilege of sharing the racial identity of those in positions of power and influence exists, these insults are approached as individual, rather than a collective, experience.

Racism

Racism comes in many forms and is produced in different contexts. As a result, there are different categories of racism which are used to identify how it is produced. Not all behaviour is intentionally racist but can work to other and exclude. This report explores some of the adverse experiences of Non-White staff and students to understand what characterised the context and production in which racism and being othered occurred and to expose the personal consequences.

The report also explores the consequences of being accused of racism and how this term can work with White fragility to reduce dialogue to the accumulation of evidence and proof. When actions are explicit and observed by others the latter can be easier. However, when actions are less clear and hidden within other behaviours and contextual events, evidence and proof are very difficult to acquire. In polarising positions this approach shuts off dialogue about interpretations, perceptions and feelings that may expose unrecognised, taken for granted privilege and discrimination. Openness to dialogue in the heat of high stakes sporting encounters can be extremely challenging, however, this report explores how everyone, at all times, are responsible for the inclusive and belonging quality of the experiences generated by sport.

Intersectionality

To remain open to dialogue, it is important to understand the need to reflect upon your own multiple identities

and the privileges that they may or may not afford you. Gender for example, remains an ongoing identity through which the dominance of masculinity has come to be understood and deconstructed to support greater equality. Understanding how multiple identities; for example, race, ethnicity, gender, and class, intersect to shape experiences is an important dimension of Critical Race Theory. This intersectionality can be used to understand the role multiple identities can play in experiences of sport and physical activity. Comparing an individual's experience with one's own can be very insightful and useful, however, it can also create adverse reactions, particularly if they do not align with common sense assumptions developed from individual experience. For example, Colour Blind positions and White privilege, can assume that everyone has equal opportunity to resources and life chances, whatever one's Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class. Being open to understanding how experiences are produced through individuals, groups and contexts can create insights into the workings, structures and processes that can create inequality.

Summary

Moving between individual experience and wider knowledge about societal inequalities enables insight and reflection upon assumptions about the privileges we and others possess. This can create resistance, particularly when these narratives challenge our taken for granted assumptions. Reflecting upon the tensions that create this resistance and maintaining openness is crucial to creating and maintaining the dialogue through which inclusion and belonging are produced.

Methodology

Research Design Dilemmas

Researching a United Kingdom wide network of sporting participation creates a tension between reach or coverage, and the need for detail. In many ways commonly held beliefs suggest that national surveys are the solution to both depth and coverage. Like all research, surveys rely upon participant response rates, which can

be very low and often attract the disgruntled or the very positive. Surveys seeking rich data can also become very long and require considerable patience and consideration from the participant. Case studies based upon qualitative data collection methods can support deeper dives into people's lives. Commonly held beliefs, however, can suggest the data can be affected by bias through, for example, the questions asked in interviews and the interpretation of the transcripts. As a result, these beliefs lead to the conclusion that such research is only applicable to the context in which it was collected and cannot be generalised to wider contexts and populations. The purpose of this methodology is not to aim to provide an academic justification of the research methodology, rather, to provide a rationale behind the approach to the research and the processes involved in the data collection and analysis. The outcome of this explanation is to help assure the reader of the robust approach taken to ensure the findings are ethical, representative, and trustworthy, and can be used to generate recommendations and guide the construction of a tool kit.

Ongoing discussion with the commissioning team from BUCS worked through the purposes, feasibility for the budget and timescales for the research. The production of a tool kit worked to provide the focus of the research

on personal experiences of physical activity and sport whilst at university. The aim of the research thus became generating data that would inform the construction of the tool kit which would be based upon identified patterns of needs and practice related to Non-White students and staff experiences of university sport systems. Deep explorations of personal experiences and looking to recruit participants who may not respond to a survey became key requirements of the research methodology. To better understand the contexts of these experiences the research methodology was tasked with interviewing staff who led the sport systems at their university.

Research Strategy

People's experiences are spread across different contexts and are experienced through different intersecting identities including, gender, class, race, and ethnicity. This spread also means that it is not easy for participants

to compartmentalise their lives before, during and beyond university. A qualitative research approach was considered the most feasible means to explore the nuances of participants' experiences and how their identities are produced through and within different contexts. The commissioned research tender was based on a partnership of researchers geographically spread across the UK. This facilitated the development of a multiple case study approach. Data was collected via semi-structured interviews conducted via staff and student researchers. Each case study was developed and key patterns from these were drawn together to develop this final report.

An additional university was added to the original tender partnership, and as the research progressed one partner had to drop out of the research. Consequently, the commissioning teams from BUCS facilitated in the development of an additional case study:

Geographical Location	**Student Body** (rounded to the nearest 500)	**Students who commute**	**Broad Diversity Data** (rounded to the nearest 1%)				
			National University Data				
			White **70%**	Black **9%**	Asian **13%**	Mixed **5%**	Other **3%**
			Case Study Data				
West Midlands	28,500 (35% International Students)	69%	56%	6%	28%	4%	6%
West Midlands	21,000 (11% International Students)	92%	49%	22%	20%	6%	2%
East of England	16,000 (25% International students)	58%	34%	16%	42%	5%	<1%
Scotland	4,500 (12% International students)	89%	90%	4%	5%	<1%	<1%
Wales	13,000 (11% International students)	No data	72%	23%		<3%	<2%

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was sought from the lead partner university and when approved, each partner university applied to their own ethics committee for the research to be approved at their university. Key ethical concerns for the research were consent, data security, participant confidentiality, anonymity and ethical care for participants and student interviewers re-living stressful experiences.

Participant consent was provided via a Microsoft Form, which included information about the research aims, processes and outcomes, and provision of care for the participant. To ensure data security, all files were stored on university data sites, structured using institutional data security and password access. Data was collected using a blend of face-to-face and university approved video conferencing software. Whilst absolute confidentiality could not be guaranteed, participant identity was protected by anonymising transcripts and removing as much as possible any direct means of connecting data to a particular participant.

Disclosure of racism and hate was not automatically reported outside of the interview because it was not seen as the interviewer's gift to depower the interviewee through any decision to refrain from reporting these incidents. However, if exceptional circumstances arose the consent form declared that incidents would be disclosed if, in the interview, the participant appeared to have suffered significant impact, or the incidents had a pattern or were violent. Any incident reporting did not disclose the exact details but those with a duty of care for the student or staff member suffering distress was notified.

Research Participants and Data Collection

University staff were interviewed by staff leading the research at each case study. Student participants were interviewed by student researchers recruited from the student body. The semi-structured interview schedules used can be found in Appendices 1 and 2. Student researchers were employed to lower the power differential that can occur between staff and students. Recruitment of both research participants and student researchers was sought via a blend of communication channels and most student researchers were also Non-White. Staff working in university BUCS sport systems were interviewed by experienced researchers. Student interviewers were trained by these staff, through regular meetings and reviews of interview transcripts. These interactions also functioned to support monitoring and care of both participants and student researchers. They were collaborative in nature and functioned to support both staff and student learning. University staff interviewed

included staff responsible for the leadership of sport and included coaches, managers, and academics. To avoid racialising the research participants, they were asked how they identified their identities in relation to race and ethnicity.

A snowballing method of sampling was used to recruit research participants. For example, student researchers responded to participants who volunteered to take part in the research via core communication channels and used their own networks and those generated via their interactions with research participants to grow their sample of students. A slightly different strategy was used for the staff interviews. Volunteer participants were recruited from Non-White staff, however, those in senior leadership roles were approached directly and asked to participate. Working through this network also led to the recruitment of additional participants beyond the case study, such as founder members of the Afro-Caribbean Sport (ACS) Leagues, a network of student-led and run sport, facilitated via university Afro-Caribbean society networks. These interviews remained focussed upon students who participate in university sport and physical activity as athletes and coaches. The participant population was based upon the limit of participant recruitment, the timescales of the research agreed with BUCS and data saturation. While the experiences and examples elicited in the data from each individual participant maintained significant variability and idiosyncrasy, saturation was reached when during the concurrent analysis process, data started to develop a repeat and thematic pattern. Profiles of the staff and student samples each case study can be found in Appendix 3.

Data Analysis

The data was approached from a Critical Race Theory and Intersectional perspective. Initial analysis began with research teams from each case study analysing data from a small sample of student and staff transcripts drawn from one case study. Key analytical questions that can be found in Appendix 4 and were drawn from the research questions were used to develop this initial analysis and production of initial themes. Further analysis was conducted by going back through the data and looking for additional emergent patterns and themes. Small groups of case studies then met to share their analysis and look at similar and different interpretations.

This process resulted in the production of an overarching analysis framework constituted by the dominant patterns and themes. The lead researchers from each of the collaborating universities then shared the meta-analysis framework with their local research team to analyse their own student-athlete data set. During this phase there was a strong emphasis on assessing and identifying similarities and differences in interpretations within the local research team, as well as critical assessments of the overall effectiveness of that framework. Four case studies were subsequently produced from this process. The whole research team then met to share their interpretations and discussions focussed upon how to achieve parity across the case studies. The use of a mixture of analytical questions and emergent themes supported both a broad and contextual analysis of the data and similar patterns of analysis were developed from the sample data. Each case study was developed using a common framework and this served to draw together the key findings of the research across the multiple case studies.

Findings

Introduction

This section of the report is divided into several sub-sections. First, some broad findings about what sport and physical activity can offer to student's experiences of university are presented. Secondly, this is contextualised by a description of the hierarchical organisation of universities and their sport systems that was evidenced across the case studies. Thirdly, there follows a detailed discussion of the analysis of the two data sets. This starts with a section reporting on the nature of the experience of explicit racism. The discussion of the findings then turns first to the staff data and then to the student data. To prevent confusion and to reduce the risk of complication, the data sets were analysed separately, and thus are discussed separately.

The discussion of the analysis of the staff and student data sets begins by introducing the reader through the key characteristics of the data across the case studies. This functions to identify to the reader the core thread of the specific themes that emerged from the analysis. The staff data produced two core themes of '**Delegated Responsibility**' and '**On the Periphery**', which were themes of a data set characterised by **White Neutrality**. The student data produced two core themes of '**Play by the Rules'** and '**Keep You Guessing'** which were themes of a data set characterised by **Negotiating Whiteness**. This is not to say that the student data did not include experiences of 'delegated responsibility' or the staff of 'negotiating Whiteness' because student experiences inevitably featured in the staff data, and vice versa. What these themes represent are the more prominent analytical features of the data that were developed. Text in bold and italics identifies it as a direct citation from the data.

What Sport and Physical Activity can Offer Students

Across the data it was clear that the staff and students recalled positive experiences of competing, participating, and working within BUCS. Sport offered in many cases an important space for students to:

Get away from the stresses and struggles of assignments, and I feel like everyone shares that as well. Obviously, we want to win first and foremost, but this season hasn't been that great for us. So, like going to away days and you know, travelling on the bus, just chatting, just chatting about general life and assignments that just does it for me because we're also diverse. We've come from different backgrounds and it's that, being part of a team, like belonging to it.

Sport offered an added dimension to student's university life and a network of social contacts that enriched their sense of belonging and sense of well-being:

It's just the friendship element and the teamwork and group aspect. Like if you was to compare it to going to the gym, you're on your own. If you have low morale, there's no one to motivate you and move you, unlike my teammates. If I have low morale or I'm struggling with my degree, spending one hour at training with my team, I get a completely uplifting mood.

These positive experiences derived from feeling a sense of purpose, where the objectives of teams and squads aligned with personal desires and goals. Coaches play a key role in mediating the relationship between the sport and continued participation, particularly recognition of commitment and effort to develop:

He has actually said I have improved, that I am a great leader. I'm a good captain. I actually contribute towards the energy and the momentum which is quite a lot to be fair because normally you have a coach that's doing

the opposite. So, it's nice to have a coach that is positive even though they shout at you, you understand his criticism.

Coaches played a key role in managing the tensions between performing well, students' self-confidence and motivation to develop, in addition to other demands on their time. Staff who were good at balancing students' goals with what they could provide demonstrated how students' long-term participation was an important consideration. For example, a coach running a participatory recreational activity was reported as:

Like he 'gets me', if you know what I mean, like he understands and asks what we want to get out of our session and like tries to deliver it, you know. I feel like we have a say and can, like help decide the direction.

This approach was also evident in more competitive sport teams:

They do try to win those games to try to encourage you but they like switch around the positions, so you're not always stuck in the same position, so you experience a bit of everything. Coaching is a lot better now where you're like more on a level where they can see what skills you can do, rather than just use them when they feel like they need them, everyone gets the same opportunity.

Coaches who positioned the student as central to the success of their sessions was an important factor in maintaining student commitment and continued participation. In some cases, coaches were very well aware of the different treatment Non-White players could receive from match officials:

I feel I could actually, like things have happened, she's [White coach] ***really, really good to me. She knows I've just come back into netball, and I felt like she has got my back. It's like with things like with the referee, just to help me avoid like getting, like not questioning whether they're right or wrong, like not reacting, like accepting it and moving on.***

Data from one case study evidenced how Non-White students, particularly the women, felt that whilst there was more ground to cover in the promotion of women's sport, Non-White representation in promotional materials had improved:

There's a long way to go. I think they're getting better with it. I think that's the backbone, things like that. Like when they do like their photos, their sessions and stuff they try to include us a lot more. We're on more advertisements, there's a lot more Black faces on the walls and stuff.

At this case study there was also clear evidence where continued community participation was being supported through connections with a local team:

So, with the netball team as well, you also have the local team you train with them as well. So it's really nice, like getting a perspective of your elders sort of thing, people who have been within the last few years within the Uni and have moved on to the local league team but because they like it so much. Almost like a little family.

Unfortunately, there was also evidence where marketing and recruitment information lured students on misconceptions about what they could offer:

Before I came to the Uni, I was really looking for a track team. I wanted to do athletics. Eh, when I came to an Open day, they said to me "O yeah we do have a track team". There was actually a bit of misinformation because they said they had a track team, but they didn't mention that they would only be, in a way, helping

those that are running – currently running- at like National level. I was actually recovering from injury, so I wasn't running at that time. Got to Uni and they were like "Oh, yeah. Sorry we can't help you". So, I no longer, I no longer could join a track team because the nearest one was too far.

Sport provision was an important consideration for students when choosing a university and understanding its power is key to ensuring this is not abused when universities sell their wares. UK university provision is hierarchical and political policies have made it a marketplace in which all aspects of university life are used as marketing tools. Universities with a history of academic and research excellence can be very selective in their offer of places to students. This selective status and reputation brings with it the power of market share and thus funding. At the other end of the hierarchy, universities without this status rely upon the marketing of their student experience and quality of teaching to attract students and funding. Within this hierarchy of provision patterns exist in relation to the class, gender, and racial diversity of university's student body

The case studies included a variety of institutions in relation to multiple and single campuses, commuter and residential, racially, and ethnically diverse, or not, and varying availability of resources for sport and physical activity provision. The themes developed from the data analysis were sufficiently strong to cut through this complexity and it was beyond the scope of the methodology to explore causal relationships between these variables and the participants' experience of race and ethnicity. However, their experiences were contextual to their university and where appropriate this will be discussed. The following section aims to help the reader understand the relationships between university hierarchies, their provision of sport and physical activity and the student body.

The Hierarchical Organisation of Sport and Physical Activity

The case studies reflected how the system of provision of sport and physical activity at universities varies considerably, falling within two ends of a spectrum. At one end, university sport is organised through specialist sport departments, with professional sport performance directors and coaches. At the other end, university sport is led by student unions that rely heavily upon voluntary leadership. Different hybrids of these systems exist and have their own influence upon the experiences offered. Most university sport systems are concentrated at campus locations, where investment in sports facilities has been focussed. Whilst very little data was available at the case study institutions, it was reported in the staff interviews that university sport and physical activity programmes were skewed heavily to recruiting students studying sport or those whose courses were taught at campuses with focussed sports facilities. Student sport, particularly the success of sporting teams within BUCS competitions, including regional and local club sport, featured as valuable marketing tools for universities. At the highly competitive end of BUCS competitions, universities invest significant resources in developing national and world leading facilities and athlete programmes to attract high calibre student athletes. In doing so, this investment is repaid through growth in

their potential and selected student population. Where universities are less able to focus resources and whose sporting profile is smaller and more localised, investment in sport can be tenuous and meagre in comparison. Some universities do not have many spaces for sport on their campus and thus utilise community facilities. Most universities make pragmatic decisions as to where to focus their investment in resources and often this is reflected in the centralising of facilities at campus sites where sport is studied. Such organisation and centralisation of resources has a consequence for perceived ease of access by students and thus the make-up of the student body that participates in sport and physical activity. It was common for split-site campus universities to recognise that students at other campus locations were not involved in sport or physical activity in any significant numbers. Often courses run at these other campus locations attract more racially and ethnically diverse student populations. Campus resources and geography thus can impact upon the diversity of the population who participate in university led sport and physical activity.

A hierarchy of university sport in relation to resourcing and the student body was also evident in the case studies. Historic patterns of investment in sport and the development of a successful sporting reputation, was often concurrent with the ability to attract and develop a pool of students from national and international locations. These factors served to reproduce institutional capability to compete in what is valued as elite university sport. Conversely, other institutions without a historical record of investment and reputation, tend to serve students from their local region, who commute to study and thus, can maintain their participation in sport and physical activity outside of their university. As a result, university sport and physical activity 'offers' in relation to sport and physical activity are related in large degree by the generative relationships between history, central investment, geographical location, reputation, and the nature of the student body. These factors can be reflected in the socioeconomic composition of the student population and its racial and ethnic diversity.

The data from case studies included participants at very high to very low racially and ethnically diverse institutions. It also included universities at both ends of international reputation, resource rich to local commuter universities. The nature of the student body and the resources available were reflective of the challenges universities faced in developing their sport and physical activity 'offer'. Like all populations, student participation in physical activity and sport is related to socioeconomic composition and family support patterns that are found across other populations and communities. Some universities in the study sample were able to attract and draw from significant numbers of students studying at single campus institutions. These had stable annual populations, in contrast to other university sport providers, who were working with multiple campuses and with trends of sport and physical participation, reflected in diverse socioeconomic populations.

BUCS competitions offer universities the opportunity to reproduce reputations that are complemented through their resourcing of sport. For some universities, very pragmatic decisions have to be made in relation to the extent to which BUCS participation translates into an attractive 'offer' for students. Blurring this picture is a lens

of meritocracy that often accompanies sport in which determination, hard work and talent is believed to win through inequalities in historical resources and reputations. As with all educational sectors, university sport is not an even playing field and behind BUCS lies a pattern of historical, socioeconomic hierarchies and associated patterns of resourcing. Staff working in this environment, particularly coaches, can have very tenuous and contingent employment agreements which are linked to team performances or the provision of funding from university budgets.

Reporting of Explicit Racism

Explicit racism was confined to individual events of prejudice and discrimination. These were often, but not always, reported as historical, past events. In the methodology the interviewing set out to understand the staff and student's experiences of being Non-White. Many shared experiences of racism, microaggressions and bias, both within and beyond the university. Staff and students reported experiences of explicit racism outside of sport and physical activity provision, in their everyday lives, and it is clear, that the UK, is not post-racial by any means. For example, a student recalled an incident at a supermarket during COVID 19 lockdown:

I was standing behind this woman** [White], **there were no stickers on the floor, so I had to guess what was two metres away. She made an issue that I wasn't 2 metres from her. She was at the till, but I was like, in the food aisle. She turned around and said "can you move from me……are you trying to steal from me?"

I was like "you're joking right" and she said "No! Why are you so close?" and she got her handbag and held it to her chest, like I was going to grab it. Luckily, there were others** [White] **in ear shot to hear and someone said "What do you think you are saying? Don't talk to him like that!"

I felt then, I could take this on and say "If you're scared, order form home, don't come to the store and terrorise people because you're scared!".

Key to this student's experience was the need for the incident to be legitimised by bystanders. He reports that 'luckily' others were present to witness the racism and thus permitted him to respond and defend himself. This helps to demonstrate the prevailing inequality in power that created a perceived need for permission, or legitimacy, for a victim of racism to respond. Without this there is a perceived risk that a response, and thus potential confrontation, would be considered inappropriate for him, a young Black man, to direct at a White woman. Other students and staff reported being heckled, with an underlying racist tone, in public in town centres or on university campuses.

The need to negotiate racist incidents was reported across the data, for example, a coach explained:

Sometimes on a walk in the street, I'll get a group of White people start calling out because they know that might get a reaction from me, but I won't get it. I won't give them that reaction, that irritates them, and I'll take that power away from them. 'cause I'm not reacting to it.

Being sensitive to the power relations and the consequences of how to respond to racism, forms a key part of how to negotiate unwanted, degrading racialisation. Having to negotiate White expectations of how Non-White staff and students should behave, is a significant feature of the data and will be discussed in more depth later. Less explicit racism in the form of microaggressions; intentional or unintentional, racial slurs or racial ignorance, featured as common experiences for study participants. For example:

I've made many friends before, then something happens in the world and they're like, oh, I just think people are being a bit sensitive or it's not that big of a deal. Oh, he [George Floyd] ***shouldn't have been committing a***

crime and then he wouldn't have got killed, or that kind of thing. And then you think 'right?' So, you try to explain and they're like 'Oh no'….and that's the tiring part. The best way to put it is like somebody will like me as an individual, but their opinion on Black people or mixed-race people or people of colour is not favourable. But they say yeah, but it excludes you 'cause I really like you and I know you as a person.

Dismissing Non-White points of view is an example of how White centric viewpoints and ignorance of racial issues can be focused on social exchanges that can belittle significant issues that Non-White people face. Invalidating these arguments and experiences can develop as much injury as explicit racism. Some participants took issue with the term microaggression, as the 'micro' downplayed the significant impact the cumulation of these incidents had on their sense of belonging, self-worth, and experience of racial equality. Such incidents created an on-going decision whether to ignore them and move on or stop and negotiate with the perpetrator. Here power favours the perpetrator in which ignorance and insensitivity becomes the responsibility of the victim to manage, whilst also maintaining racial conviviality and not offending White sensibilities to being accused of racism.

The risk of this need to negotiate was consistently present, as one coach/player for example, describes:

It's like another stress on you that, you know, as a person like in the preparation for a game, there's always that doubt in your mind, it's happened before, or is this going to happen again, and that's another part of your preparation, it's another stressful aspect of your preparation.

Tiredness, stress, disappointment, and the on-going risk that comes with the need for continual negotiation, led for many participants to seek spaces of Non-White kinship. One example that emerged from one case study was the creation of national Afro Caribbean Sport Leagues, developed to extend the activities of university Afro-Caribbean societies. Open to all racial groups these student-developed and student-led leagues functioned, as one organiser described, as:

Spaces where we can come together, with minimal risk of being insulted…..where we can celebrate our shared identities and culture. Anyone can join in, they're not exclusive to Black students, but they are where we can be ourselves.

Seeking kinship groupings based on a shared race and ethnic identity, in this example is a racialised decision, because it involves a broad physical marker in the form of skin colour. Seeking kinship with visible markers such as race can offend White sensibilities of inclusion. Most kinship groupings such as, a love for a particular sport or a specific team, are not openly racial. Often White conceptions of inclusion suggest everyone should be evenly mixed, where kinship groupings based on race and ethnicity, suggest something is wrong. However, such a logic would suggest that all groupings of kinship should be heterogeneous, i.e., composed of relative ratios of race, ethnicity, gender, and class, etc. Examples of using visual representations of inclusion but also seeing racial kinship as necessary was evident in the data:

…there were three Black people in that football team, and interestingly [in the photo]***, they were all stood together. Now that told me something about a feeling, how you know, how comfortable you feel so that, Yeah, maybe they do feel comfortable with everybody in the team, but that picture just told me something about, well, I'm glad that there are Black males playing in this football team. They're all standing together.***

Which suggests to me that they feel some camaraderie. There's almost like a camaraderie within the wider group to make sure that they feel safe.

Whilst a visual sense of inclusion is evidenced in this example, there is also an appreciation of the power of Whiteness and how being Non-White comes with risks and a need for kinship beyond that of solely football. These are perceived to act as an insurance against racial abuse. If authentic inclusive cultures are being pursued, an understanding and appreciation of the power of Whiteness is important. In this data set it plays a significant role in personal experiences of microaggressions and racism and what it means to experience racial equality and inclusion. However, relying upon student kinship groups to provide insurance, exudes a neutral, passive stance on inclusion. This was a key theme that emerged from the staff data.

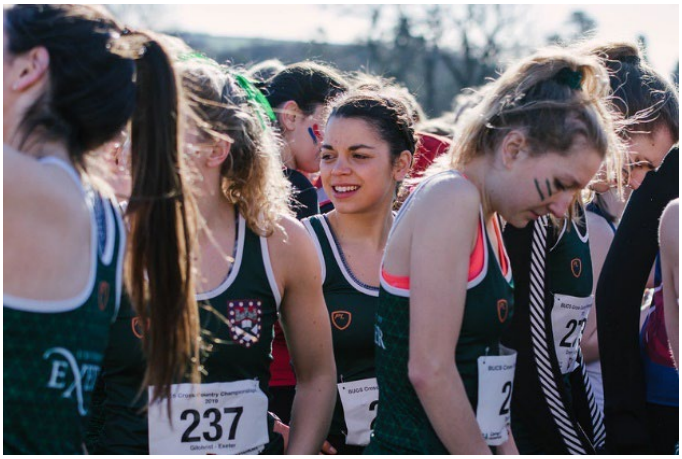
Findings from the Staff Data

White Neutrality

Staff in leadership positions with responsibilities for academic and/or sport programmes were interviewed, in addition to those delivering sport and physical activity. In some university systems this included academic leads such as Heads of School or Institutes, Senior University leaders such as Pro-Vice Chancellors, and BUCS sport delivery leads such as Directors of Sport. The research question that guided this process, including the data analysis was:

How are the sport and physical activity experiences of Non-White students and staff considered strategically and operationally by universities?

Across the case studies the data reflects the existence of neutrality in relation to issues of race and ethnicity, which was characterised by a sense of racial conviviality. This overlooked or remained the same despite known or unknown experiences of students and staff. Rather than being strategic, the neutrality was either passive or reactionary, with a limited conceptualisation, beyond a visual interpretation of inclusion. Students and staff within university sport systems were often **delegated responsibility** to create inclusive cultures, despite the historical dominance of social networks, practices, and traditions. These were couched within an alcohol-based, partying milieu of university sport. For Non-White staff, experiences were **peripheral** to a sense of racial equality and inclusion, if not within their own university, then beyond when supporting teams and athletes at off-site competition.



Some leadership staff were acutely aware of the intersected identities of students, where, for example, class, race, and ethnicity can work to create experiences and challenges for students. This awareness appeared to have developed by working with diverse student populations over a period, that in turn developed an appreciation of student lives beyond university. For example:

…***our students*** *[racially and socioeconomically diverse]****, they have lots of other things going on in their lives, some struggle with money, some have to provide for families, some being at uni is a struggle both in getting work done and working and wanting to play sport. They are not all just there for uni and sport like at other more prestigious unis.***

This staff leader in sport was acutely aware of the need to appreciate student identities beyond conceptions that university and sport was at the centre of student lives. An awareness that had developed by working at an institution that catered for non-traditional students, who were first-time family entrants to university, commuted, and balanced studies with work and family commitments. Such an understanding created friction with existing and new staff who were unable to see the need to look behind the athlete. As a result, it led to a strategic move to diversify their coaching staff:

The new coaches who come in, I explain that these are our students, this is our demographic. This is where we are at, you have to understand that this is how we run. I've had coaches who come in and can't deal with this……. We went through a restructure, I stepped back, and I looked at the list of names that was on our list and it was, for staff and coaches, hugely White and male orientated.

At this university a professionalised system of coaching enabled this strategic approach to staff employment, which is not a luxury for sport systems reliant upon student volunteers. However, the professionalisation of sport systems does not necessarily create an idealised structure. In the above case, the diversification of the coaching staff was reported to have developed better student-coach relationships and athlete retention. However, it was also clear that students and coaches had limited means to communicate adverse experiences, particularly, those which featured racism, microaggressions and racial bias. The absence of a system of student mentors or student voice beyond a captains committee, meant athletes were limited to reporting issues in person to this senior sport member of staff or to responding to spot checks and drop-ins by the same member of staff during training. It is here that evidence of a neutrality to inclusion emerges. Despite efforts to strategically manage inclusion through a diversification of coaching staff, inclusion, in relation to developing communication systems that enable feedback to filter through, and more severe issues to be reported, remain limited. It pivoted on the self-perceived approachability of the senior sport lead, or the approachability of a coach or captain and was common across the data set. What was lacking across the case studies was recognition of the following need:

It would help people of minority groups if they could have someone that they can relate with [in sports spaces]***, someone that can understand their experiences. I mean, in most cases, say for instance I was indirectly abused, it's hard to explain how that may have occurred… others may not understand.***

Some institutions were proud of achieving HE sector recognition for inclusion work centring upon race and ethnicity. However, it was clear sport was not included as a recognised area requiring inclusive oversight:

Interestingly, sport is not covered in it as a, like a recreational activity or anything like that it isn't really covered, which……. I think it's probably a bit remiss, probably of ourselves and I suspect most institutions don't think about sports…. I think they probably just think of things like is there, you know, are there particular groups like African Caribbean Society and things? But they don't think about sport.

This selective attention to university experiences, suggests a selective veneer in approach when considering all university sponsored activities, not only on a university's own site but on other institutional campuses and community settings. Having oversight on the number, type and location of racist incidents was also inconsistent, or not considered an established feature of monitoring sporting provision. For example, one senior academic member of staff questioned the logic of racist incidents that occur in BUCS to come across their desk:

Well, I really do not have any insight at all on that……really, you have to ask the question, how would you find out something in the [academic] ***role I am in…I line manage the person who's responsible for safeguarding within the institution, and that is something that I'm gonna be asking for a report on, cause I've not seen anything, but I wouldn't know…….. maybe it just hasn't come this way. Maybe if you ask*** [Dean of the faculty], ***these questions, they might have a different view because they are the line manager of the head of sport. But I don't receive any information on that.***

Management and oversight of the sport systems in the case studies varied considerably. In some, BUCS was separate to, or contrastingly housed within, academic portfolios. Some were split across a combination of sport and the Student Union with some academic oversight through line management. This had consequences for the insight that sport system leads had on student experiences within their sport and physical activity 'offer'. In one case, where academic staff had considerable input into sport teams, an incident during a fixture, in which an academic member of staff had jurisdiction, revealed the consequences of unclear lines of responsibility. Inaction and ineffective management of the context led to a formal complaint of racism. Shared communication, managerial connectivity, or coherence in institutional values, in this case, was found lacking. A collective responsibility, and united approach to a severe incident of racism, was crucially absent.

Not having a handle on severe incidents of student experiences of racism, combined with a faith in 'systems', where anomalies in experiences will be dealt with by policies and procedures, pointed towards a passive neutrality in relation to racial and ethnic inclusion. For example:

At which it occurs [explicit racist incident in a match]***, then I would hope somebody would change it, I mean that's what the captains are trained to do…********** would escalate that, then we go down a disciplinary process for students. If it was for another university then we would record the incident and then refer it to that university, their sports development team, and their sports union structure, one hopes they've equally got disciplinary processes in place in challenging this.***

Being overly reliant upon hierarchical structures of management or sporadic soliciting of student views supported a sense of conviviality as the norm and that explicit racism was the only threat to inclusion. Knowing when, where and how often racist incidents occur, but more importantly, having a critical approach to existing culture and practices that happen under the auspices of university sport, would seem to be a central aspect of racial and ethnic inclusion, and inclusion in general. By being unaware of racist incidents or by overlooking the differential in power relations between players, coaches and senior staff, university sports systems can become blind to what is happening and what is experienced by Non-White staff and students. Having a finger on the pulse of Non-White experiences, through differentiated communication systems that understands power within systems, policies and procedures help to counter this passive neutrality.

For example, having their identity continually questioned by ancillary staff, despite coaching at an institution for many years, created a cumulation of microaggressions. These experiences went unheard, because the coach had to make a choice about how they spoke to those in positions of power and what the consequences may be for them. As one coach explained:

What do I do? Draw attention to an actual person? But how will that affect me and how I am viewed? But it's also a general attitude that a Black man is a potential threat and why is he here? I just want basic respect, but if I complain it makes me look weak, or like a Black man with an attitude.

Coaches often worked part-time on zero hours contracts and were thus structurally vulnerable to their employer whilst conversely, working to produce success without creating unwanted attention for the sport system. For example, a coach in one case study who decided to confront perceived racial bias in game officiation, faced a dilemma about the potential consequences for future employment and the impact it may have on obtaining future game officials. Neutrality and passivity, combined with the dilemmas complainants faced, generated a gap between actual experiences and those that are reported.

Players in other case studies who were the targets of racial abuse whilst playing, also had to decide whether to make an issue of it, decide when the best time may be to raise it, who to turn to, and how it may affect their reputation. The time lapse between a complaint and the resultant investigation worked to sanitise events by removing feelings and emotions. The delayed chronology also created a sense of a past moment that was not as big as it seemed at the time. When complaints were not upheld, the result was a system that produced a narrative of 'all is well and convivial' and the status quo remained. For the staff and students who made the decision to raise concerns to the system, its neutrality, that places onus on the victim to complain, or where the label of being racist is valued as more damaging than the experience of being a victim, undermined and invalidated a sense of racial equality. The following example was an outcome for students experiencing and reporting racism:

One of our students, a Black student…. said that he was, you know, he said he was racially abused by somebody on the opposite team and to be honest I have no reason to disagree with the person. But of course, the university and the club on the other side said 'No, no, it couldn't possibly have happened. No, no, no, I wouldn't hear anything about it' and I well, that's just the way it goes. We're not in control of other people.' We can only hear, and we can only support our own students. So, and you can try and persuade people to look at things a bit more. If they don't want to look at it, they don't want to look at it. Yeah, they don't want to believe it.

Why a student would lie about being subjected to racial abuse is not clear, and the absence of the impact on the student concerned is an example of the passivity inherent in how racism can be treated. Power in this example, lies with Whiteness, evidence and relying upon others' sense of justice. These examples, that were contained in the case studies will be discussed in further detail to exemplify the findings of the themes. At this juncture they represent examples of how a neutral and passive approach to inclusion ignores the power of the norm, the status quo, of the perceived racial conviviality that most White athletes, coaches, and leaders unknowingly experience. Specifically, how events, microaggressions and racism or an inability to appreciate personal narratives that do not align with the White norm, are positioned as subordinate. Those who do not align with neutral racial conviviality, must make conscious choices about reporting issues because of the potential vulnerability of their legitimacy. In addition, the consequences of making a complaint on their future also must be considered. Power in this neutral, racial conviviality, is skewed towards a racial norm which is Whiteness.

One important theme of this White passive neutrality, that was strong across the case studies, was the perception of what was considered inclusion. Many White staff used a visual reference to suggest that their sports systems were racially and ethnically inclusive, for example:

You know, from seeing the sports teams, do you think that diversity is represented in some of their sports teams? Definitely, so that would suggest that maybe there aren't barriers there, it's equal.

Another for example, stated:

Our sport teams pull mainly from the sports courses, and these are diverse [racially]***, you just have to look at them.***

Only one of the case studies used data to inform the composition of the students accessing sport and physical activity. This senior sport lead was very much the exception, and the experience of obtaining data proved a difficult and time-consuming job, with a recognition that it was very hard to develop a definitive picture:

It's only recently that we have been in a position to look at our profile in sports participation. Whilst the data has some caveats it is indicative enough to know that when we look at our memberships, sports clubs, participation programmes and group exercise ……What we know is that against every average [population characteristics] ***of the university, other than disability where we are above average, we are below average, such as in the number of females we attract and below average on race and ethnicity and international students. When you go further into the sports club engagement…….it drops especially when it comes to race and international students.***

This overview was subsequently used to strategically identify areas of the student body that was not accessing their 'offer' and to thus focus planning and resourcing. Developed within a resource rich, professionalised system of sport, it was also clear, however, that this development had not been straightforward. Data gathering was hampered by different university systems collecting different data that did not interface, and the sharing of data created General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) complexities and additional labour. The remaining case studies, had limited if any, data that permitted a strategic means to understand the characteristics of the students who were accessing their sport and physical activity programmes, for example:

I don't know the numbers off the top of my head, but I wouldn't necessarily say it is an even split. It's something that I noticed.

I wouldn't want to say yes, it is diverse or it's not. I would be open to say that it is diverse to a certain extent, but I wouldn't say it is massively. I do think there's probably barriers from people taking part.

Such responses were common across the managerial and delivery staff that were interviewed. Not knowing the diversity of the student body accessing sport and physical activity created difficulties in discussing inclusion. This was limited to recognising individual student narratives, the variety and number of activities offered or a personal treatise and claim to be inclusive. Having insight into student participation and how this was reflective of the wider the university would seem a core means to evaluate physical activity and sport 'offers'. Absence of this oversight and the ability to take strategic action is reflective of a 'status quo' neutrality, one that in relation to race and ethnicity is content with visual representations of

inclusion. It was also clear improving equality and inclusion relied heavily upon the good will and decision-making of students and coaches. Training volunteers and coaches to tackle historical cultures, delegating responsibility for inclusion to student decision making, and superficial removal of easy 'barriers', characterised how race and ethnicity were considered.

Delegated Responsibility

University sport has a long history and systems have evolved and been shaped by the various ways they have been resourced and managed. There was a cross study trend in the data towards greater professionalisation, where universities saw competitive sport and physical activity as a useful tool to market courses, student life, university reputation and ambition. Sport at university is reproduced by the practices of the coaches and athletes who bring with them particular customs and habits. University sports clubs also develop their own traditional cultural practices. This process creates a shared cultural history that transcends the yearly through flux of athletes and creates cultural practices that are rooted in identity, tradition, and future longevity. The cultures serve to develop a sense of belonging, social ties and networks that create both obligation and sustenance. They have traditionally worked to substitute home support networks for residential students, and for commuter students, they can help to support a sense of connectivity and belonging to university life. Many have a historical location within a milieu of alcohol and partying that is reflective of practices found across traditional sports clubs.

The power of party culture

It was clear that this historical partying culture ran like an ongoing seam through the sport systems in the case studies, thickening quite significantly and thinning depending on the sport. Some clubs were well known for new athlete initiations and nights out, whereas for others locating social events in pubs and student union bars was a common method to organise get-togethers. For example, as one study participant explained:

In general, the culture of men's football is that it's heavily dominated by drinking and social occasions, not that I have a problem with drinking and social occasions. But then there is, not a requirement, but an understanding that you'd be fully part of the men's football team culture if you took part in a lot of getting naked and doing other acts like that, sort of involved with it.

Cultures such as this, created dilemmas for several students in this study and will be explored in the discussion of the student data. However, sport system leaders were aware that this partying and alcohol-based culture was problematic. It was identified a generating behaviour that was sometimes inappropriate or unacceptably brought the reputation of the sport system and university into disrepute. As a result, many had instituted student agreements or 'codes of conduct' and employed professional coaches and support staff, in part, to try to police this culture. The impetus for this primarily came from containing initiations and 'socials' rather than from an inclusion standpoint. As a result, they set out expectations of student behaviour. It was unclear how these agreements were reflective of student voice and ownership and what systems existed to support their positive experiences of sport within the system.

All sport leaders recognised how the partying culture did pose a significant challenge to supporting diversity and inclusion. In many instances there was a recognition by sport leaders that such events provided a space for potential misogynistic 'lad' culture, racist and homophobic behaviour, to occur. Recognising the existence of these social spaces both within and beyond university, identified the existence of a veneer of conviviality. On the surface Whiteness was inclusive and open, yet at its worst, permitted abhorrent beliefs about Women, Non-White, and LGBTQ+ to hide below the surface, and to emerge when encouraged or when considered 'safe'. Tackling this culture in a system that is driven and preoccupied by the substantial logistics, resourcing, management and on-going scheduling of fixtures, training, and participation sessions, presented a significant challenge.

Delegating management of the party culture

Sport system leaders were not seeking a 'ban' on socialising or wanting to create a system of policing. However, they reported being confronted by the knowledge that gaining control and guaranteeing inclusive attitudes and behaviours was hugely challenging. The logic here was to offer training to students and coaches about inclusion. For example:

In a small institution, we have to do many things… sports team captains. They, you know, they run those clubs. What sort of training should be put in place? So, there's, you know, obviously, there are things around health and safety……but there are other things that I want them to do as well, we've got a number of online modules around gender based violence and about a bystander module that tackles homophobia. It tackles racism. It tackles ableism it, it tackles a number of things, but doing it in a way of don't stand by, if you challenge things then generally people back off or suddenly you know, stop being unkind or whatever. It's true because they [the sports captains] ***have got influential roles within their teams, by providing that training, there's hope that they then influence the other people who are around them.***

This approach was not limited to smaller universities that were reliant upon student volunteers to run the sport and physical activity 'offer'. It was also an element of well-resourced universities with professional systems. Much onus was placed upon one-off, catch-all inclusion training, for example:

We make sure that at least the captains and those who are in leadership roles within the sports teams know about setting the culture, challenging inappropriate behaviours, ……. being prepared to say that that's not appropriate, and being willing to sort of you know, set the tone for what's right and what's wrong in this space.

Delegating responsibility for control and influence over this culture has significant limitations. Relying upon it as a sole means to create inclusive cultures, whilst admitting to its power, is contradictory in the least. Many sport leads understood the significant burdens that came with running teams and being team captains, including those within well-resourced sport systems. Delegating responsibility through training, shifts responsibility onto individuals who are tasked with all the usual demands of running a team, including being effective shapers and changers of a steadfast culture. A culture which more likely existed before they arrived and a culture which sport systems admit to not having much influence over. Training relied upon student volunteers to possess significant legitimation and motivation to do such a task.

Training is a legitimate way to develop allies within cultures, to help to shape where they can, and support and act as active witnesses. However, relying on this training as a primary means to promote inclusion and to act as a mechanism to stop racism, microaggressions and racial bias, stands as a passively neutral way to delegate responsibility to students and coaches to tackle racial inclusion. As one sport lead pointed out, training is no guarantee and without investment it is left to the conscientiousness of the students. Whether they learn about racial equality, and develop the necessary skills to act strategically and in the moment that racism occurs:

It's not just the captains, it's the senior positions. So, if they've got like a social secretary, what we try and do is cover all the influential positions. You try and encourage them to do those things. We're not going to check up on them. There are some formal things where we get them in a room, either in teams or physically, and say you need to learn. The thing is, you can come along to something and not actually pay any attention to what's being said in the room and walk out and tick the box to say that you've been there. The proof is really what happens outside of the training.

Incidents of racism that were reported in the case studies did not just arise out of a vacuum, they emerged from hidden attitudes and biases. Creating inclusive cultures requires moving beyond delegating responsibility to students and relying upon their legitimacy to tackle historical attitudes and values that are brought into university spaces.

Realising inclusion through legitimacy, motivation, and skilfulness

Asking searching questions of the inclusive nature of sport and physical activity provision is a key starting point. For example:

It was quite interesting that the sports teams already thought that they were quite inclusive and just by virtue of being the sports team that was, that they couldn't, you know, necessarily articulate what they did to be more inclusive in their culture, other than we welcome everyone, and it's like yes, but actually do you realise that actually some of the ways that you portray things might actually not be inclusive?

In one case study, this questioning approach combined with training of both coaches and students had found an ambassador for inclusion in the form of a coach who identified as a Black-mixed race man. Delegation of responsibility here found a willing actor, with significant legitimation and personal experience to work to affect inclusion. However, he admitted that he was more a peripheral guide to the inclusive social practices of his team:

I did ask my team 'have you considered why ***, ****** and ******* may not come to socials?' and pointed to the fact that all of them were alcohol based and that this would put these guys off. They did do a bowling event and these guys attended which was great, but the default is alcohol based……. It is important for these guys to attend because the effort had been made for them, you know, it has to come from two ways.***

Inclusion cannot be constituted without active collaboration and consultation between all players, not just limited to a one-off effort. This coach was also acutely aware of the social ties these events created within team structures and identified how these can actively reproduce the dominance of particular players, their preferences, and practices on and off the field. Whilst he provided examples of being cognisant and active in managing this aspect of the team, he admitted to only being able to exert influence in the sports context, not the team culture away from training and competing. Awareness of student narratives and working to include students on the periphery of team culture was also a feature of this coach's practice of inclusion:

I did my best with that player, he, he was a Black lad. I tried to bring him into the team, got in touch with him regularly, but it didn't work, and he finally stopped coming. I couldn't get to the bottom of what didn't fit for him, I mean he was a really good player, but something just sort of did not click.

It is important to recognise that even an embodied legitimacy as coach, with a past professional sport career, is limited in what influence can be exerted, particularly when other variables are at play within students' narratives and lives beyond sport. Delegating responsibility relies upon finding allies, with legitimacy, motivation, and the skilfulness to guide and influence culture to greater inclusive practices.

The delegation of inclusion to weight of numbers

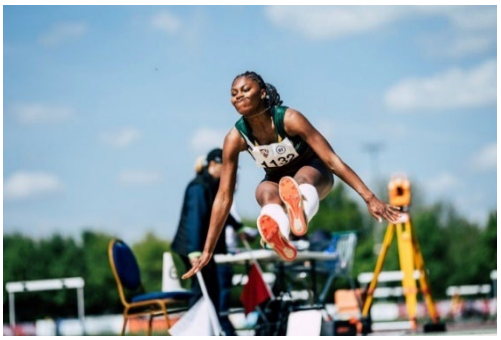
In some cases, students were also delegated responsibility to choose to use the opportunities offered to them to take part in competitive sport and physical activity. In other words, a perception of inclusion defined by provision that was reliant upon students to choose to turn up. Some case studies were significantly large institutions, and it was clear that their sport and physical activity offer was very broad in range and enjoyed a large following of students. Data from participants who took part in recreational competitive sport suggested that sheer weight of numbers of participants was a misleading factor in a sense of racial and ethnic inclusion. This was particularly evident in sports that attracted Non-White students and underpinned by a visual metaphor of inclusion. By delving deeper into the experiences of these students it was clear that what kept them participating were friendships formed prior or in the first few weeks of participating. It was not necessarily the structure of the sessions or the 'socials' that were offered:

The coach is good, yeah but it's quite kind of, competitive focussed, and a bit repetitive at times……I go with my friend……if she doesn't go I kind of sort of opt not to go too. I have gone when she's not there but it's not the same and you have to play with others. But it makes you feel a bit, sort of, aware that you might not be as good as who they usually play with. It just makes it awkward……Yeah there are some socials…they sort of revolve around alcohol, you know, I don't do that [drink alcohol] ***which is OK, but I suppose people party, like they get drunk but that's OK, but you know I'm not and it's not always that much fun.***

Relying on the sheer weight of numbers participating to legitimise reach and breadth of inclusion can make institutions blind to the importance of understanding students' different motivations and objectives for their participation. When players from popular sports fall away from provision, it has to be questioned whether questions will be asked or simply that the sport looks diverse and popular. The practices of sport sessions and how they balance different objectives and motivations, as well as building cross group social networks, is a fundamental part of sustaining participation. Mirroring the activities of the more elite squads of players and assuming that everyone is motivated to climb the squad ladder to make it to the top, would not constitute an inclusive approach to provision. Building differentiated criteria for success for different goals and motivations for participation which coaches, and system managers can facilitate, can help to create sustainability founded upon inclusion. Rather than relying upon the sheer weight of numbers of participants to 'appear' inclusive.

The delegation of inclusion to student choice

Delegating responsibility for students to use free transports systems was a common way for split site campuses to 'include' those not located at the 'sports' campus. However, as this staff member explained, for their context, this was not a real solution to cross university site inclusion:



I don't think it's right because the offer is still there that students can come and compete and play for us at any campus, and we will pay for travel. But travel between campuses is 45 minutes to an hour. So, you're asking the student to come for a 2-hour training session in mid-week and that's a 4-hour commitment, including travel, then on Wednesdays come to play and compete. Then you've got the social element after the game.

In this example, the students who were being asked to travel from a very racially and ethnically diverse campus student population. Inclusion and access thus became a racial issue:

All sport takes place on the ** campus and then we would transport ******** over here, which is all well and good. But some people don't want to do that travelling and I know that is something that a lot of us in the department have said we need to do more. Is it something that we can now sort of move into? Having teams that are based in ******* so that we're not alienating them because I do believe that there is a higher mix on the ******* campus.***

Delegating responsibility for students to substantially invest in playing sport or participating in physical activity on one campus, is an approach limited to a short-cut solution framed within a tight budget. Rationalising resources on one campus can also have alternative consequence:

So here in *** it's seen as a sporty campus, whereas ******, the atmosphere and the desire of students. It's more like they don't see the offer. It's actually trying to find people to engage. What works in ******** doesn't work in **********, and I know again at the other campus, the nurses over there, they really want to do stuff, but when they realise how big their workload is, it's virtually impossible to engage.***

Inclusion in this example lies in understanding the needs of the students and matching this with an offer of activities that support engagement. Concentrating facilities and resources at one site created a sense of a 'sporty' campus, particularly when sports courses centred on this facility. The unintentional rationalisation and professionalisation process can create barriers to students who may want to access a more recreational offer:

When you've got sport students in gyms training, you know it's not their fault, but I'm sure that they can be sort of intimating for general recreation type users or like first-time gym goers…….Our facilities have been developed on this site and this creates, yes, a big challenge in developing an enticing as it were programme at a site where facilitates are very limited and, yes, with a low physical presence of physical recreation at that site.

Sport leads were challenged by how to offer more at limited or non-sport sites. The combination of racially diverse campuses with a very limited presence and limited facilities, was set against very competitive sport orientated campuses. These were discussed by staff, at some case studies, as often being very White populated facilities. Such conditions created a resource impasse to inclusion and free transportation was a common means that universities used to provide their 'offer'.

The geographical split of campuses was often linked to course recruitment that divided student bodies on the grounds along international and domestic, diverse, and less racially and ethnically diverse groups. When combined with the rationalisation of sport facilities at one site, a sense of sporty/non-sporty, White, and racially diverse campuses, was produced. This created a peripheral sense of sports participation for non-sporty, Non-White students. This characterised how Non-White staff working in sport reflected upon their experiences.

On the Periphery

Being positioned, or at worst pushed, to the edge of social influence was a common experience for Non-White coaches interviewed for the research. The peripheral nature of this perceived positioning was created through contextual events that reinforced a sense of being 'other' to the norm. When explored these events often involved an intersection of the identities of the Non-White coach. For example:

It's not necessarily purposeful, but especially being a Black female, I have no proximity to them [football coaching colleagues] ***to explore at all. I'm not White, and I'm not male, so they I have nothing that in that sense, joins us together……. I don't have that typical laddie football banter; I can't join in with that. I can't join in with the banter about you know, Christmas, and 'we went drinking down the pub' and things like that. I can't join in on that aspect, so my relationship with them is very professional. It's all about coaching, it doesn't extend past having conversations about football……..they'll often talk about things to do with the team when they're down the pub or whatever, and you then feel excluded, they'll say like 'Oh ********, we forgot to say this' or 'Oh! by the way, when we were talking yesterday, we thought of this', so it's like you feel excluded from that like network that little club.***

Privilege here lay with a shared identity, football in the first instance, which everyone shared, then gender and race, which narrowed the connectivity, and further still, ethnicity or shared social-cultural activities, such as having a drink at the pub. Multiple points of connected identities enabled stronger social ties to be developed, thoughts, ideas, and conversations to be shared, and future directions of travel agreed and decided upon. Connected identities can be used intentionally to bypass and exclude people on many different grounds. This exclusion can also be unintentional, in which dominant social norms, such as gendered ways of connecting and socialising around alcohol, become taken for granted, and considered 'natural'.

When these social-cultural activities are identified as being potentially 'exclusionary' and their legitimacy challenged, animosity can result. The stopping or policing of social-cultural activities is often a misconceived necessity for inclusion. Instead, greater consciousness of how identities connect and the associated social norms that form these connections, can help to foster inclusion across intersected identities. Self and group reflection, being conscious of identities and their inclusion, brings goals and ambitions into sharper view, particularly, the extent to which these are shared and involve others. When this becomes the focus, the shared direction of travel becomes the end in view i.e., the shared goals and the building of lines of connection, rather than privileging taken for granted norms. Solutions to disconnections in social-cultural norms used to build social ties, such as pubs or gendered ways of connecting, become less challenging, and can be more easily negotiated.

The power of privilege to 'other' identities

The 'othering' of identities that differ from the norm were also evident in the data. For example:

We played a university few weeks ago and I went down to meet their coach [White male] ***as our head coach was setting up and I was like hi, I'm **********, the assistant and he looked at me and he was like 'There's not many who look like you'*** [Black, female football coach] ***and he was like, 'sorry, I don't mean to be so shocked, but I just I've never seen a coach like you', I was like are these like the words coming out of his mouth?.....Then I introduced him to the head coach*** [White male]***, and he was fine. He was comfortable. He stood there and talked to him for 15 minutes and engaged with him, asked him how our season was going. Asked him, you know how he'd found coaching and BUCS and they had that conversation. And again, I was there to the side.***

It could be argued that poor manners in this example, created an awkward social situation. Such a view privileges the dominant social norms, in this case football being coached by White men. 'Othering' those that differ to this norm is socially crass and clumsy. Excluding the 'othered' individual further, disrespectfully reinforced the sense of difference and exclusion. In this case being verbally and physically placed on the periphery on the grounds of race and gender. This was an example of a microaggression, bordering on explicit racism, because the dominant norm was White male. Privilege lay with the White male's decision to 'other' the Black female coach.

Such an example demonstrates how consciousness of identities and of dominant social norms, is key to developing meaningful social inclusion. Specifically, greater consciousness of the privileges that being a member of the norm provides. Importantly, giving serious consideration to the challenges to succeeding within this privilege that other identities may face. Such an approach supersedes the need to 'other' and then ignore due to social awkwardness. In this case, to cover up the crass microaggression, boarding on racism. This example helps to identify how the power of White Privilege can 'other' and exclude. These events of being 'othered', which both coaches and students in the study recalled, culminated into a sense that their racial identity, positioned them by default of not being White, to the periphery of mutual respect, power, and influence. Consequently, very White contexts were seen to have a latent risk of being 'othered' and were thus approached with an on-going sense of caution and heightened consciousness.

Avoiding racial tropes

Staff working across different types of physical activity provision reflected on the existence of dual expectations and criteria through which they were felt to be judged. This was subtle in nature, rarely explicit but reflected expectations that assumed the existence of identities and cultural practices. These were associated with racial tropes, for example, being Black and speaking in slang, listening to 'urban' music with provocative lyrics. To avoid confirmation of adhering to these stereotypes, staff reported the need to conform to an additional set of rules. These required staff to manage their intersected identities and attend to their choice of language, work ethic and how they interacted with others. For example:

I am very aware that I always have a perception that I need to um I need to make sure I adhere to certain ways, that's something I have always carried with myself that I not only have to be good, but I have to be slightly better than everybody else. I feel like if, no matter what, if equality is there, sometimes it's unconscious bias, if you get along with certain people, they will adhere to you a bit more. I feel like I have to make sure that I am not lazy, that I am not sitting around, even the way I speak as well. I am conscious in how I speak, how I conduct myself cause people do talk and will make comments, but I must sort of take my position [job role] ***into consideration. Another guy at work who is also Black, called me the militant Black guy, but I would rather be militant than disrespected.***

Non-White staff reported the need to pay particular attention to how they were perceived, particularly, by White colleagues. Resisting confirmation of racial stereotypes by White colleagues was often an explicit or implicit part of their attention:

We had this contractor [who was Black] ***who came in at work and he was using slang, he started using slang with me and like I got offended and I basically had to call him out and I was like I don't want to be spoken to like that…… A few members of staff who um were White said that I overreacted…but I was not aggressive just sort of made sure that it*** [the language] ***stopped and I was like well this is why I reacted…I do not use slang at work I do not want to give them the view that this is who I am.***

Managing the need to be considered professional, in opposition to a racial trope, could also be accompanied by judgement from colleagues. Attending to how identities were perceived, generated an implicit consciousness of comparing oneself to the behaviour of White colleagues:

I try not to go to race, but I think you know, some of my White colleagues, you know if he was Black would he have gotten away with that? As bad as it sounds, it is in my mind. If he was Black, would he get away with speaking like that, conducting himself like that? It's the harsh reality than any Black male would know that they get to know through experience or know through second hand experiences. You have to be blind not to know this, it's not ideal but it's something we have to deal with. But I am aware of the nuances, and I am aware that it's not always racism it may be something else. But it's hard to challenge or to err um identify as it might be due to that they don't like you or you haven't got a good relationship with them.

There was also a sense that not conforming to the rules, not to conform to racial stereotypes involved a hidden element, one that kept the Non-White staff member guessing as to the motivation behind friction with White colleagues. Friction that can be generated through poor relationships, or the failure of the Non-White staff member, to conform to White expectations. Negotiating the hidden rules of these expectations demanded Non-White staff to compare themselves to White colleagues. These comparisons lead to judgements as to how White expectations of professionalism were applied. Investing in good relationships with colleagues brought some insurance against unfair expectations on Non-White staff. However, it was clear that there was a perception that, for White colleagues, being popular excused unproductive behaviour and a poor work ethic. The latter being far less tolerated if adopted by a Non-White staff member.

The hidden rules of avoiding racial tropes

Ambiguity over the extent to which comparable behaviour would be tolerated from Non-White staff was also present in the student data. Whilst this will be discussed in detail later, some of the data also pointed towards unexplained perceived inequality in the extent to which Non-White student organisations would be trusted to adhere to COVID protocols:

So, we wanted to restart our fixtures but the funding for them wouldn't be released from the Student Union because they said there were these strict rules that had to be followed. But the sport teams were able to resume, but our leagues [Afro-Caribbean Society] ***weren't. It was crazy, you know they didn't give any real explanation as to why, so it definitely looked like they didn't trust us to conform to the rules. Yeah, really gutting to feel like we couldn't be trusted.***

The hidden nature of the rules being applied led to a feeling of inequity in treatment and with that, regret, and injustice. When this was layered into the experience of having to work to develop trust that transcended racial stereotypes, the need for complete transparency in decision making and dialogue was urgently required. This hidden nature of decision making, application of rules and potential to be 'othered' or singled out, for unwanted attention produced a sense that White spaces contained an omnipresent latent risk of injustice.

At the less extreme end this produced an ongoing sense of vulnerability mediated through a need to be mindful of work ethic, and attention to how, and with whom, staff engaged. At the extreme end it presented a significant disruption to their own and their player's experience of BUCS. Being pushed to the periphery for some coaches was produced by challenging the norms of play that consequently brought in a 'keep you guessing' form of racism and a 'need to play by the rules' of how Non-White men and women should behave. This was consistent with the student data that is explored later. The role of coach exposed a fragile legitimacy:

So, I am caught. Is it my colour, is it the way I speak, you know? And I've tried to be as pleasant as I can, so I try and look at different scenarios where I am kind of, I don't shout and be abrupt, sometimes right? And then I'm like oh I don't say anything, and I still get the same. I still get this you know I get that look and it is typical referees. I had a ref who said, why can't I be like that, that coach over there and what he means like that coach, he's shouting and bawling and doing all the same thing and he almost nearly came out, but he didn't say it. You know, I kinda like that 'what? that coach over there, like the White coach' and he looked to me [and I said] ***'I don't know going on but that's racism' and he looked at me and he gave me technical. He gave me an intentional foul 'Why is that? Because I called you racist? So, I'm like going, what can I say? I'm in a rock and a hard place!' I feel that the way that he's treating me is totally different from the coach that happens to be White and I'm telling him he's shouting as much as I'm shouting. But my mannerisms and he's taking my demeanour as threatening.***

For this coach, consistent tension with game officials led to a confrontation over comparisons and expectations of behaviour. Challenging the perceived bias of the game official, delegitimised the coach, sending him to a metaphorical and physical side-line which resulted in a counter accusation of racism.

The verbally outgoing physical presence of coaches on basketball side-lines created an ambiguous space of challenge to officials' control, particularly if their decision-making was being called into question. In the emotionally charged, juggernaut-like momentum of a sporting contest, management of coach behaviour according to the coaches interviewed, presented a significant challenge for game officials. Rather than establishing an agreed code for both coaches, requesting the Black coach to behave like another White coach, exacerbated a historical lived experience of having to act in particular ways that satisfy unacknowledged and deferential White behavioural norms for Black men.

White privilege worked here to blind the game official to this potential history and the comparison made to the White coach is suggestive that the expectations of behaviour contained a racial trope. In other words, a Black coach should be more respectful to the authority of the game official and that loud Black men pose a threat to the status quo, in this case the White sense of acceptable behaviour. In one suggestive comment from the game official, the Black coach is reminded of his peripheral position to the privileges enjoyed by the White coach. Having to play to codes of behaviour was a common feature of student athlete experiences of university sport. Both the coaches' and the students' experiences indicated an expectation or unwritten rule, revealed by unwittingly transgressing it, not to embody racial stereotypes such as the angry Black man or woman. To produce this desired behaviour controlled, respectful behaviour was the expected outcome from the Non-White coach or athlete.

The conflict between privilege and challenges to the status quo

In some cases, this hidden expectation produced by White spaces was undermined by a particular style of play being pursued by teams comprised of mainly Non-White players. In basketball, this style was physically dominant in nature, loud, and challenged the status quo of a less physically overt, quieter style of play. For officials it presented a challenge in how to officiate, because it stressed and tested contact rules and opposed expectations for Non-White players to be respectful of White norms:

It's a style of play, which is very normal in ****** League it's quite aggressive and attacking. This is the style our players will play when they leave us, and we want to prepare them for a career beyond university. We are a very diverse team, most of the players are Black and it felt like that we are being penalised for having an aggressive, attacking, constant kind of communication style. So, it kind of feels like there's almost like a little bit of intimidation of the referees. I wouldn't say they're against it, but when they see that style, it's almost like, 'we need to control this' because it could get out of hand.***

The racial challenge to norms, merged with the challenging style of play with consequences for the perceived the neutrality of game officials:

Things that we were doing, we weren't allowed to speak to the referees, like our players and even myself. We weren't allowed to really speak to referees without it being a warning or a technical, whereas they [White opposition] ***were doing the exact same thing.***

To mitigate against the perceived backlash from game officials, greater attention to behaviour control was required by both coaches and players:

So, we speak about just being respectful, polite, all the time. My guys, I think we didn't have any technicals this year and because my guys aren't allowed to speak to referees, so I manage that process. So, if I see one of my guys getting a little bit heated, I'll sub them off straight away because I know you're [the player] **is *going***

to say something and it might not even be anything bad but if it's just a bit aggressive in tone, the referee is going to start saying all these guys are aggressive.

As a result, there is a need to closely manage a challenge to the status quo style of play so as not to upset game officials who were tested by the style of play and ambiguously, by the Non-White racial identity of the players and coach:

There's been multiple occasions, especially this year, where I've turned up to a game and like officials are just on me. As soon as I walk in. 'Oh, make sure you guys are doing this, make sure you guys are doing that. Make sure make sure make sure' and I'm a bit like. OK, that's fine. You know, I do understand the game. I know the process, you know, I know what's gonna happen and you don't have to come at me like in an aggressive way. And I will speak to them. I'll say, look, you know, why are you coming at me like this? And they'll just be like oh, you know, we know what you are like. And I'm like 'what do you mean by that?'.

What resulted was a complex mesh of racial identity, style of play that game officials struggled to officiate, and ambiguous codes of behaviour for the interactions between coaches, players, and game officials. This was layered into lived experiences of Non-White coaches and players perceiving and registering evidence of how they had to negotiate two sets of rules, one of the game the other of how Non-White athletes and coaches should behave. The findings whilst emerging from basketball, suggest what is required by all game officials and players is an understanding of Whiteness, particularly White privilege. How not having your racial identity and your legitimacy questioned, can blind you to seeing how others may perceive you and you them. Understanding this privilege is the starting point of working to achieve racial inclusion, by reflecting upon personal biases and expectations, namely, how others who differ and choose to challenge the norm should behave. The removal of dual rules of behaviour necessitates an acknowledgement of personal and contextual privilege, i.e., the social-cultural capital that provides power in social contexts. White racial identity in many instances is often unknowingly unrecognised as key social-cultural capital.

A coherent approach to the management of immediate contexts is also urgently required to cut through the ambiguity in expectations in how players, coaches and officials interact. Far greater communication between officials and coaches to establish localised expectations in relation to how interactions should be conducted. This would go some way to alleviating the tensions during games. Tensions that then spill over into challenging the legitimacy of racial identities. BUCS competitions occur under the auspices of educational institutions, they are resourced and facilitated by university staff and students. Other than the existence of codes of conduct, it was not clear in the data how educational principles, by which universities were run, were consciously and explicitly reflected in the sporting competitions that occur in their name.

The power of professional sport to define authentic sport

There seemed a sense that coaches were preparing students for sport beyond university thus, developing experiences akin to these conditions of competition was legitimate:

University spectators, you know that that situation [abuse from crowds] ***that's happened a lot to us. Players will take a side-line out of play and there're supporters that will just be going off on our guys, sometimes it's close to being racist but yeah it mostly just like hostile. Some of that is a good thing, believe it or not, I think it is. If you've ever, like, observed a Euro League game or an NBA playoff game, there's a lot of like, it's full on non-stop and if these guys wanna ever move forward and play in the professional leagues, it's something that is going to have to encounter and manage.***

The universal power of professional sport to act as the model to how all other sports should be played, featured strongly in the interview data obtained from coaches. There was a ubiquitous conception to consider professional sport as authentic and thus, for BUCS, to likewise be judged as authentic, it must copy, warts and all, professional sport. Whilst some athletes in BUCS will be aiming for sport careers beyond university, not all will. This view presupposes that BUCS exists to serve elite sport and should thus accept or remain passive to practices that are antithetical to education and would not be acceptable in a lecture theatre or classroom. It is a very short-sighted view that subordinates and undervalues the equally valuable, but less marketable, potential purposes and outcomes of university sport.

Returning to these educational values, explicitly defining them, and purposefully using them as criteria to lead, manage and judge the quality of experiences it offers to sport across the spectrum of participation, is necessary. Without this cognisant quality control BUCS legitimises conditions of competition that conflict with the values and ethos of the very institutions that provide its existence. The conception that sport cannot be gladiatorial or authentically competitive, without practices that accepts, for example, abuse from crowds, demands explicit challenge. It demeans sport and normalises abhorrent, antisocial, and abusive behaviour. Were such behaviour to occur in a campus cafe or classroom it would not be tolerated. The necessity for this challenge was found in the student data, where adverse experiences, produced through university sport, contributed to the normalisation of experiences of racism, microaggressions and 'othering' of Non-White students.

Findings from the Student Data

Negotiating Whiteness

Non-White students were interviewed by student researchers recruited and trained by research staff at the case study universities. In many cases, the students responding to calls for student researchers were themselves from Non-White backgrounds. The researchers were mentored through their interviewing and contributed to the data analysis. The research question that guided this part of the research was:

What are Non-White students' experiences of university sport?

Across the case studies the data reflected how students' experiences centred upon **Negotiating Whiteness**, that was an ongoing process and had different intensities depending on the specific context. In some cases, the need for negotiation held a lingering sense, in the background of social interactions. In other contexts, it was heightened and demanded explicit attention and action. Negotiation of Whiteness was experienced as negligible when a symbiosis existed between the identities of the students, their positive experience of university, and their identities as athletes. However, in events where Non-White identities became the focus of attention, rather than athlete identities, the students had to make explicit decisions in how to respond. These events were laboursome, wrapped in emotional challenge and impacted their sense of safety, belonging and inclusion.

The omnipresent need to negotiate different contexts brought, with it a sense of a need to **'Play by the Rules',** that produced felt expectations of needing to behave according to what was expected of a Non-White identity. Similar with the experience of Non-White staff, students experienced a requirement not to play up to racial stereo types, particularly the 'angry Black man or woman'. Racism had a hidden element, camouflaged in unowned comments from crowds, hidden in overly aggressive play or in language with implicit racist undertones that gave it a '**Keep You Guessing'** quality.

When reflecting upon their decisions to study at their chosen university, some students felt they had been naive in choosing an institution without considering its racial and ethnic diversity. On-going effects of the experience of cumulative microaggressions, led these students to consider further study at less White dominated universities. Others had benefited from the experience of friends and siblings, where being Non-White, in a very White university, had led to adverse experiences. These had resulted in a depleted sense of belonging that challenged the legitimacy of their sense of inclusion.

Consequently, racial diversity for some students became a central factor in their preparation for university:

If you look at it like when you, when you go to uni you do check, you check about like the percentage of colour, like what minority, what diversity and if you are going to go to a uni that don't have a high percentage of your, ethnicity. You should be there with your heads up. Like you are gonna get those microaggressions or those little comments.

The expectation of White spaces as places of risk, within which racial identities were at risk of being 'othered', was normalised across both the student and staff data. 'Othering' ranged from explicit hostility to being fetishised as an 'exotic' contrast to the Whiteness of the space. For example:

I was like the only sort of like BAME person so they like, some of them would describe me as exotic. I found that so weird. That's just such a weird way to describe people and they just, you know, went into, like, who's that? Who's that? Like, I was some sort of rare species like, because everyone else is so White on the team.

This 'othering' had the impact of making Non-White students feel, for example:

…. uncomfortable in like a bit like, different from everyone else, because if I was born here and I was White, for example. Like they probably wouldn't be asking those questions and would just like wouldn't really care.

Having teammates who had an anti-racist stance, however, could help to alleviate the pattern of being singled out:

Like I said, my team were very supportive. For instance, when names were being called, I had my White friends that would even stand up for me and say, don't call her that name. So, I had support from my team."

Participating in sport could thus be both inclusive and 'othering' at the same time. The data across the case studies reflected students' ongoing negotiation of Whiteness as something that was present and, depending on the context, demanded differing levels of attention. Explicit racism occurred in isolation and was not an on-going pattern of experience for students. Despite this irregular pattern, the students were left with the need to negotiate and manage this experience of unowned explicit racist slurs or comments about their identities, that on the surface were ambiguous, but beneath had racist undertones. Similar to the staff data, the student data also reflected the existence of a set of hidden rules not to play to racial stereotypes, which functioned to remind them of the power of a norm dominated by Whiteness. Whilst these were key features of the data relating to the experience of being 'othered' and singled out, the data also reflected very positive experiences of sport and physical activity.

The power of reflecting and supporting student identities

When university experiences were positive, supporting their identity as a student, and this was matched by support of their identity as athletes, very positive experiences were reported. In these cases, students would be happy to travel from non-sport campus sites to train and their social networks centred upon sports teams and squads. For example, in living together:

We kind of have a rugby house, it's our shared thing, we do different courses, like I'm not on a sport course and don't study at *****, but so does ******* and ******. We live with others who do, and it is a great house like, we are into rugby.***

International students reflected upon their experience in the UK, with some feeling very at home playing sport in the UK compared to at home. It was clear that in these positive cases there was an alignment of student identity and sporting capital, in addition to a university context which valued their sporting abilities and actions

to grow academically. In case-studies where academic staff also worked as BUCS coaches, this appeared to create a coherent experience when behaviour and actions were in line with expectations from both academic and sport contexts.

The power of understanding student narratives

Shared goals and recognising students' own goals was a key feature of positive experience of university sport. Having teammates and coaches who understood their narrative, particularly, when students were not a typical university athlete, helped the management of different identities. For example:

He is a fellow Black Coach and is a person who understands how a mother with kids, you know, will need help and support because he himself was raised by his mom who was young when she had him. So, he understands how it feels to be a young Black woman trying to balance things and also play the sport that she loves. So there just comes a respect with that, that I think not a lot of people can understand unless they're in the same position.

University student bodies are not constituted solely by young recent attendees of 6th forms and further education colleges. Sport contexts within which students and staff were able to share the diversity of their backgrounds and associated identities provided a strong sense of belonging. In contexts where these identities were reflected in the staff body, a sense of a shared understanding of the negotiations and resource implications involved in committing to a sports team was created. Conversely, if staff in coaching or administration roles, did not acknowledge the complexity and demands of juggling non-traditional student identities, frustration and resentment resulted:

They should have a level of understanding or sympathy towards their athletes because just because we turn up and step on the court doesn't mean we haven't faced barriers to get there. So that is frustrating, but I don't expect any less because for them [White staff] ***to help me they would have to understand how I work and how I struggle. And that's a privilege to people and you think that's missing for them to actually have. It says a lot when you have different backgrounds trying to understand why a player is acting how they are or struggling how they are.***

Judging students based on one's own identity, narrative and goals was not conducive to inclusion, particularly, when this identity was the taken for granted norm. The importance of seeing behind the athlete and understanding their journey to, and through sport and university, was key to supporting continued participation. Specifically, through the development of mutual respect and belonging. All the students interviewed had participated in sport and physical activity prior to university and had benefited from family members who enjoyed sport. This materialised in logistical, financial, and emotional support that facilitated them in developing their experience, expertise, and motivation to persevere with their participation in sport. It created a habit of being 'sporty', built by the intersection of location, opportunity, and access to resources. When connected with the opportunities provided by universities this led to their participation in BUCS sport and physical activity.

The risks posed by White spaces

Students applied their prior experiences of sport to navigate university sport and evaluate the associated spaces and contexts in which they occurred. For example, prior experience of playing sport in a rural environment and the challenges this presented to their racial identity. Adverse experiences and how these were navigated created the need to assess how much a new team would provide the necessary support to negotiate racism experienced before coming to university:

Like you always think of something goes badly. Who do I know is going to be behind me, like from just looking around this room? Who do I know it's going to be in my corner kind of thing? Like if something happened like who is the person that or who are the people that you know they're going to be there? They're gonna understand? And that's, that's quite hard. I need someone who's gonna know what this is about and know what this feels like and know and identify with what my concerns are. But I knew this wouldn't be there. Yes, they wanted to play football and they wanted to be good. But if it was very social, based in the sense of you know, come to socials, and go out drinking and do that kind of thing and that's not something that I enjoy, I don't drink and don't want to do all that stuff. It was just, I suppose a lot of people from similar backgrounds, and I didn't have that similar background. I don't think I didn't have the closeness of similar experiences so. So, I think I came into it quite nervous and quite like sceptical, whereas they came in and felt comfortable in that environment from the beginning, so they could laugh and make jokes and feel part of the group straight away, whereas I didn't. I felt quite like on the outside.

The student data reflected how Non-White staff also assessed spaces and contexts with an acknowledgement that racially un-diverse, White space, came with risks of racism. In this example, not sharing the racial identity of most of a squad and previous experience of the risk of playing sport in rural White spaces, produced the need to explicitly consider how much support would exist when the expected racism occurred. The social network couched in instantly sharable White experiences of sport, that may not be aware of the reality of racism, created doubt as to whether the necessary support would materialise. In less racially diverse sports and squads it was not simply a question of making the effort to turn up and expend physical energy required to show sporting legitimacy. Students discussed the need to make conscious decisions to engage in the emotional and identity labour required to negotiate the social networks that defined squads and teams.

Negotiating layers of credibility

Less diverse teams and squads necessitated double layers of negotiation for Non-White students, that required penetrating to access both the sport performance level of inclusion but also the expected White social life associated with being part of a team. Social networks within sport societies, squads and teams provided important strength to their functioning. These were built through training, competing, and socialising in down time. The thread of partying culture running through university sport, provided the milieu for this bonding and sense of togetherness to grow. This was often, even in more participatory sports, based around drinking alcohol, that for many Non-White students in the study was not an activity with which they regularly, if all, engaged. Not attending alcohol based 'socials' created their distance to the social ties built around the partying culture. This distance created a challenge to a sense of feeling an equally respected and included member of a team.

There were various strategies to negotiate the tension between identity and the White norms of socialising around alcohol. For example:

Like I still enjoy it. It just means I drink water, but sometimes like. Uh, some nights like if we have, like, pre's really early, let's say we have pre's sometimes it's like 5-6 PM the way they drink they'll all be like obliterated by like 10, half 10 and that kind of makes me wanna go home at that point because like, they're all just paralytic, like it's fun. Some nights it's a bit too much like I'll be like OK, I just. I'm just gonna dip now. Everyone's really understanding and accepting like even when I told the girls I don't drink. Like I was terrified coming to uni because I know uni is big on like the drinking culture and I thought I was going to be like a peer pressured into drinking……. but they're all really understanding of it like no ones like, forced me to do anything or pressured me to do anything. Some of them ask questions and they're like, oh, how come? But I don't, I don't really mind that, because that's just them wanting to like, understand why and they're not rude about it.

Having supportive and understanding teammates who accept an identity that did not fit the partying norm, helped to support the legitimacy to join in with nights out and to leave when these become unenjoyable. When this was not the case students felt compelled to maintain their membership of the team's social network and by default, how this impacted upon their credibility as a player:

So, what I do is to actually adapt to their own culture or their way of thinking… like the things they like to do. Like what was said earlier, going out for drinks after games, that's not me. So sometimes I have to do that just to feel like I belong. It's not ideal that I have to always adapt and change like my way of doing things or my way of thinking or my cultural beliefs in order to be a part of the group.

The labour of playing at 'fitting in' came with it the need to negotiate their own values. For example:

I feel like I have to act like a rugby lad just to be accepted into the rugby group and it's like it's not me, it's not me at all, like chanting and all that. It's just I just, I just find it really cringey.

For some students negotiating difference to the White norm required considered negotiation to assess acceptance, for example:

So, you need to put on this kind of like whitewashed face so you're not so Black. You put on like this kind of like White face. And then when you get closer and you understand that they accept you for who you are, a little bit more of your Black can come out and play.

In this sense conformity to the White norm came first and through negotiation, and with it a sense of acceptance, more Non-Whiteness could be exposed. This was more explicit for students playing within and studying at mainly White universities where being Non-White created a consciousness of difference.

The racial consequences of kinship

Negotiating White centric culture created a sense of a need to seek shared understandings with other Non-White students and this often-involved friendships that would not normally have been made outside of university. For example, one student explained:

The Black community is very small here, so if you don't like the Black people that you meet, then you have nothing else. You don't have the luxury of being like 'oh we share the same race, but we don't have the same interests', so I'll find someone else who has the same interests. It's like we share the same race. You don't have the same interests, but maybe we should force a friendship here because there's nothing else. That's the bottom line.

Kinship functioned as an important resource to support the on-going negotiation of Whiteness and challenges to Non-White identities beyond university:

We barely see each but at training when, and like when we are like getting changed for the matches, we normally do like sit next to each other and have our own conversations and give each other that like look of like, oh Lord what's going on here?

Choosing to physically seek the support of others for Non-White students was an openly racial act that White students did not have to negotiate. Non-White students were conscious of its racial character because it offended a White centric sense of inclusion, for example:

Like when we sit together or are chatting, you know sometimes they [White teammates] ***or the coach will come up and say is everything OK? Like us being close is a threat or sign that we're not happy. I mean sometimes, but we're just hanging out! You know like we can be friends!***

Playing sport and having to use, for example, White slang terms for their sport, socialising after games, with a pressure to drink 'pints' rather than 'shorts', worked against students' identities beyond university sport. For some students this additional labour and negotiation of Whiteness in their sporting lives, created a need to seek spaces of shared language, music, and clothes. A context in which the shared experiences of university could be enjoyed:

…without the need to explain everything.

This led to the setting up of separate, but complementary opportunities to play sport organised around Non-White racial and ethnic identity. For example, opportunities presented through university Afro-Caribbean Societies. These student-led and run sport leagues were established, not as a challenge to Whiteness, but more a way of being able to create spaces of mutually shared values, where inclusion and identity work was less laboursome.

Class intersected closely with race and ethnicity for students negotiating largely White campuses, particularly, where middle class cultural identities in the form of agreed dress and language codes, enabled easier initial assimilation. However, students from less affluent and more inner-city backgrounds discussed clothes and music as core parts of defining their heritage, and sense of racial and ethnic identities. This was proudly employed as core elements of their university identities that in turn, required careful negotiation so as not to slip into racial stereotypes and thus encourage unwanted microaggressions or racist comments:

I don't know what this conception of the way of certain person dresses, people attribute that to a certain type of lifestyle and culture. It's just that's just not accurate, so you, you will get like Road Man or Gang Man shouted at you, you just kind of get a standoffish presence, 'cause if I'm walking into lectures and I'm the only one in tracksuit [matching top and bottoms] ***and trainers, it just looks a bit so, and again in lectures there's the Black people in a big huddle in the kind of centre. Then everyone else is on the outside, so it's just those, those things that are like, but no one ever says anything, so it's not like someone being like Oh yeah, you're wearing a tracksuit so I'm making this assumption about you. You just feel that little bit of you're being standoffish.***

Whiteness and Non-Whiteness functioned in these contexts to define each other, co-producing kinship, and a desire to be true to one's pre-university identity. This was concurrent with a consciousness about difference, explicit racial kinship, and fragility in how to respect and include difference to a White middle class norm.

Fishing for social connections thorough tropes

The desire to be authentic to an identity beyond university, brought with it the tension of negotiating racial tropes and stereotypes. In some instances, these negotiations also involved White students 'fishing' for social connections using racial tropes:

Certain people feel like when they come speak to me or me and my, my, Black mate, they'll have to come like Oh what you saying brother? They feel like they have to become more like roadman, oh what you saying fam? And it's just like really? Like it's not. You don't need to act for us it's like we speak normally.

When this 'fishing' for, in this example, Black trope identities, was conducted by coaches it was judged as being even more crass and clumsy:

I feel like, like when, let's say, all the Black players are together the coach tries to act a bit more like hip, like more cool when he comes to us like and even though we take it as banter we're just like what are you doing? Like he's like ohhh wagwan and it's just like what? But I don't know if he's trying to like just to make himself like do a Trojan horse, we come in peace or just like, just like, just fun and games.

'Black fishing' where White coaches and teammates tried to ingratiate themselves with Black athletes through the mimicking of racial tropes, racially homogenised and caricatured Black identities. Doing so also created the suspicion of a hidden agenda, whether it was genuinely meant as humoured banter, or something more sinister. These examples of negotiating Whiteness that characterised the student data, had two key features, a 'keep you guessing form' of racism that was accompanied by the need to 'play by the rules.

Play by the Rules

The need to negotiate an additional set of rules was also a feature of the student data. These were characterised by the students reporting the need to negotiate racial tropes about Non-White Black athleticism, managing different expectations from coaches and officials, and negotiating overt racist slurs used by opponents to gain a competitive advantage. The experience of these hidden rules for Non-White identities served to govern actions and reactions to racism so as not to upset racial conviviality. For example, White homogenisation of Non-White students as representatives of a particular racial group, required students to consider how to respond. Despite ethnicity being racialised into a trope defined by Non-White skin, responses to this were pressured so as not to cause tension or offend White sensitivities:

They [White girls] ***weren't horrible or anything, but they just started discussing about twerking, and one of them came up to me and it was during Ramadan, by the way, I was wearing a headscarf. I was fasting and they just came up to me and they're like, oh, well, well, we're not even going to guess we know that you know how to twerk. Can you teach us how to twerk? And so, I was like, What? Yeah, because I'm a Black woman I'm supposed to know how to twerk, and that was so inappropriate to me because a) I'm wearing a headscarf b) I have informed you guys that I am fasting c) why would you come up to me like that you don't know me? But I had to just say 'sorry no, I am, I am not into twerking sorry to disappoint you' and you know, smile it away.***

The power of Whiteness existed in not only making assumptions that were based upon racial tropes but also overlooked the impact of this disrespect. Importantly, the responsibility of how to respond lay with the victim of the distress and ignorance, because it is through this reaction students felt they were judged.

The double-edged power of racial tropes

Choosing to ignore racial tropes and disrespect, was a common strategy students used to avoid confrontation. Confrontation created a risk of offending White fragility to issues of race and ethnicity and exposing a Non-White identity to exclusion. However, not confronting disrespect and the use of racial tropes normalised its existence. A hidden doubled-edged sword of a dual set of rules applied in these instances, that permitted White ignorance, but expected this to be negotiated in a non-confrontational way. Not doing so created a risk of confirming racial tropes that initiated the need for negotiation in the first place. In this sense, it was a lose-lose situation was produced; not conforming to racial tropes such as the 'Angry Black man or woman' was an important rule of inclusion into White space, even though tropes were also used to 'other' Non-White identities.

Students negotiating very White spaces turned to their racial identity to motivate them to perform and have a legitimate reason to be in a team:

Knowing that all eyes were on me because I look different. It made me work harder. To prove that I should be there in the first instance.

Black students also reported feeling like they had to play up to racial tropes that Black bodies were naturally stronger and less inclined to be strategic competitors, for example:

So, my friend, when describing her, everyone always used, you know, adjectives like powerful, strong, fast, as opposed to she's actually really clever in terms of understanding the game as well that, nobody would talk about that. It's all about her physicality…. You know, she, she was stronger in the gym, but there was White players that are way stronger than her.

Concurrent with the application of these tropes, Non-White students reported that they should also consequently, be 'naturally' good at sport:

Like Oh look, I'm the only Black person here and then automatically thinking your head, I have to work. I have to work twice as hard. I have to be twice as good and then you'll probably ask well, why is that? And that's because I'm the only Black person here and Black people have stereotypes. Like we're either super-fast or they're super strong or they're very good or they're very athletic. And because you are the only Black person in the team, it's kind of like, oh well, she speaks for all Black people. Do you know, I mean, so you want to do a good job?

In this example, the pressure to conform to these tropes, combined with a sense of wanting to excel, produced a felt pressure to be an ambassador for other Black women. The double-edged power and confirming cycle of the application of racial tropes created a need to respond in a positive way to maintain a sense of legitimacy, was a pattern evident throughout the student data.

There were examples of contexts where students felt they could resist these tropes and see through the absurdity:

I played a charity netball game here. I think I was the only Black person on our charity team except for a couple of times we had to swap in players 'cause we didn't actually have enough. It did feel a little weird because I feel like people assume, like automatically assume, that we're athletes, like just naturally athletic and it's like, uh, I got zero coordination here! The coach asked what position I wanted, and I was like "I don't want to have to shoot. I can't, OK, I'm sorry, like I know it's a lot like basketball, but I can't play basketball either." I felt like everybody was looking at me like "what kind of Black person can't play sports?".

In this example, despite being open and resisting the trope that all Black men were sports performers and played basketball, there was a consequence for the student. A residual slight on the felt legitimacy of a Black male identity not 'naturally' good at sport. Another consequence of the application of athletic tropes to Black players was also experienced in a felt distrust and manoeuvring to positions that were less strategic:

So, in rugby you see it quite a lot, sort of these stereotypes come out, and I've experienced this too, like where Black players aren't trusted to hold key positions and get put into positions where they can be athletic. It's like that's all we are, athletic, and we can't be, you know, playmakers, like be trusted in strategic positions.

Perceived racial profiling in BUCS teams was evident in the student data, particularly in traditional sports:

Only two Black players that I know that made it into the team. And even if you weren't a centre-mid they might have played you centre back or right wing. Yeah, it just didn't make sense because they're looking at what they know as Black player's, physical attributes, pace, power and strength, not technical and tactical ability, and that's kind of reflective when you look at these teams.

For some students playing in White dominated sports teams there was a clash between perceived talent and those who made the first teams:

It was, it was a bit of a weird one because I'm seeing a lot of like good players that I'm playing with outside of the BUCS teams and I'm thinking why are you not here? Uh, like you, you're clearly good enough. Obviously, football is heavily subjective. The managers pick players based on you know, people that played before and people that they kind of knew. So, it's like there was already, you know, I'm saying bonds. Coming in and for me just coming I didn't know anyone, so it was kind of that aspect of when the manager is building the squad. Obviously, they have to keep in mind the players that they already know they used to. It's just a bit harder to make you know bonds or everyone's, they've, they've already got their halls and stuff so and if you're not going out to these social events. Then it's, if they're not for you, in general it can be tough. I tried it but you know I don't drink or party like when I'm going out. The music tastes are quite, you know, different. Yeah, just, but, not for me. You know, some people enjoy that music and those kinds of activities, but personally it just, just wasn't for me.

There was a felt need that to be in the first team you not only had to negotiate the needs of the team and its established players, but also penetrate the social networks between players and coaches, and between team members.

The additional labour and rules of belonging

Attending social events was an expected part of the process of becoming a legitimate member of a squad, for example:

After I while I did [feel accepted by the team]***, but initially it was challenging. It was like a bonding team and somehow difficult and I did ask myself then, would I really be able to be part of this team? But I would never tell my friends or family how all these things were happening. It was mentally, sort of draining. Oh yes, you have to do things to be part of the team, having to overcome your being uncomfortable to do things, to get in the team.***

The hidden criteria of making the grade for leading teams and squads was not necessarily skill level, but the ability to reinforce existing social networks and contribute to the style of play desired by coaches:

I didn't really enjoy the style of football or playing the social aspect wasn't really for me. I just I wanted to enjoy playing football. And my enjoyment came from when I was playing with, you know people I am more familiar with, not that I wasn't familiar with the teammates over there. It's just a bit harder to make you know bonds, or everyone's they've, they've already got their halls and stuff so and if you're not going out to these social events, then it's. If they're not for you, in general it can be tough to like, get on and like, do well.

The rules of the meritocracy thus, were not based upon the best players reaching the top teams, but those willing to conform and thrive within the sport and social practices already in existence. Those that were able to negotiate and have sufficient currency to penetrate these layers of credibility, were not necessarily secure, particularly, if Non-White kinship featured in their play:

There aren't many Black players within that squad, the Black players do tend to stick together when they're, you know, just conversations or in training and stuff. And when you're playing, especially football, when you have these kinds of relationships, they're gonna reflect on the pitch. If you're putting three Black players in three attacking positions, you know it's just that's naturally going to happen with it. They're trying to find each other more on the pitch. Maybe more than some of the other players [White]**.**

When kinship, clashed with the style of play, player value was put at risk:

I don't think the manager liked that, 'cause maybe this does not suit the system. These guys just playing, you know, they will be scoring, and they're winning games, but maybe it wasn't seeing the system. I think that was the main complaint. Obviously, it's hard to see it from a player's perspective because you're winning. You're winning, and at the end of the day that is not what matters. You know there needs to be give and take.

Despite being judged as successful by winning matches, accepting a style of play that cut-through kinship ties was seen as a requirement to be in a leading team. Cutting through, metaphorically, required breaking ties forged through the experience of negotiating layers of established credibility. The latter ties developed in the context of White spaces that demanded additional navigation by Non-White players.

This is not to say that only Non-White students were required to penetrate the layers of credibility that being a member of a squad and, in particular, a leading team, demanded. Doing so is a de facto component of becoming a member of a team. This data suggests students who are already negotiating their racial identity within very White spaces, where socialising around alcohol and cultural practices conflicts with their ethnicity, experienced additional sets of rules of this necessary negotiation. The findings suggest a need for honest consideration of the layers of credibility that coaches and established players create and the nature of the inclusiveness that is defined as a result. Doing so will create consciousness of who, i.e., what type of student athlete, is welcome in a squad or team. Evaluation of the values that lie at the heart of this credibility and the extent to which it is controlled by coaches and players, is a central requirement of claiming to be an inclusive sport system.

For some students, a sense of sporting legitimacy developed prior to university led to the rejection of the labour required to assimilate to the dominant White norm present in their squads:

You hear the term White voice a lot when people are talking about working in a professional capacity, but that's just about speaking English. Sport, this is kind of my comfort zone. This is, you know, this this is not my profession, I'm just I'm here to enjoy playing. I don't really want to be having to change the way I speak when I play.

Playing in spaces that required less labour to fit in, and thus to be truer to a pre university identity, was an option that some players chose to take. Opportunities such as those provided in lower performing teams, in which

participation was the focus, not solely winning, or in competitions and clubs beyond BUCS, where students were able to feel authentically themselves, became the outlet for their continuation in sport.

The governing power of hidden rules

Negotiating legitimacy within squads and teams was governed by students' experiences of hidden expectations of coaches:

Umm for example they will talk to you like, umm, if you didn't belong there but in a very subtle ways so when they would explain something, it was like I was a child or a baby, so I didn't even understand, I didn't even know what was going on. I'm not saying he's a racist or something, but you can sense that he didn't deal with me, like I wasn't good enough, I wasn't like basically I wasn't good enough most of the time. I had to show more do more in order to be to be somebody, like live up to an expectation, you know?

The hidden nature of these rules resulted in self-governing behaviour that worked across university experiences, in the context of courses and placements:

The majority of the time I did feel quite equal, but that could be maybe naivety as well, on my part. I did think there were some differing standards around the expectations and professionalism for me, compared to some of my White peers in terms of my placements as well as how I had to apply myself on the course to achieve the same standards. I did feel that I had to work harder to become the professional. And if I had an off day, that it was not the same off day that somebody else would have. I made sure I wore a polo top buttoned up to the top, wore relatively smart attire. I felt like if I wore like casual clothes, then I would not come across in the right manner to the people that are grading me based on my professionalism, and how I dressed would have an impact on how I was perceived in terms of my academic writing.

Non- White students reported feeling like they had to live up to or be distinct from the various racial tropes that demanded negotiation. In some instances, these were not just about trust in holding strategic positions in teams, living up to expectations of being 'naturally athletic' and or as a representative of those who shared their skin colour. These expectations created a felt need not to provide any excuse for potential criticism by attending to every detail of their conduct. From dressing professionally, to always being present and on-task. Students reported that any off-task behaviour or joking in training drew heightened attention from coaches, particularly, if the student had a Non-white identity in a majority White squad.

The legitimising power of silence

Students reported a need to be conscious of the hidden rules of their Non-White identities and often it was only by transgressing these rules, that they became visible:

I am always being careful and mindful of what I do because someone would say she doesn't deserve this. It has been hard. It has been hard to manage because you can't gauge people's reactions. People's take on you, when you do wrong, more than when you do right. Therefore, I try not to be overly aggressive, being mindful of my race. No matter what you do, people would link it to your race… You just have to reassure yourself that your gender doesn't have to do with what you do. Develop a thick skin. Don't get emotional. It is not easy, but you just have to.

Having to be cognisant of not transgressing an expectation of racial conviviality was reported to be a lonely and isolating experience:

You know, you are always in the room where others are White. You have to put yourself in a situation where you speak or talk so that you don't make other people uncomfortable around you… kind of being the only one in the room.

This constant awareness also functioned to govern students' behaviour to ensure it met expectations of Non-White identities to conform to some racial tropes, while also ensuring reactions maintained a respectful air of racial conviviality.:

I did feel like I need to report it, but it's because of it like it's social stigma, where if you snitch, you'll be like wrong or you'll be like everyone will look at you as a snitch for rest of their like time there……so I just like had to put up with it, so I don't feel left out even more. And if I say something to them like oh hey that's a bit rude and that's not very nice and that kind of stuff, I will be seeing like, as someone who's doesn't get the joke, it's not. He's not funny, he's not like he's not like that. Cool. He's not a cool guy……. When I did say something in the past, they didn't want to talk to me, and it wasn't very nice because it was probably one of the worst moments of my life. Yeah, especially if someone else is like with me. If it's a group and like one person makes that joke, and then nobody else likes stands up, I probably will keep quiet because it's like, as if their silence is agreeing with it.

The risk of social exclusion from not maintaining racial conviviality demanded conscious decision making. To balance resistance to immediate felt injustice, with the potential impact on long term inclusion. Whilst Non-White silence was a governed response to racist jokes or banter, White silence was interpreted as legitimising its presence. The power of Whiteness to create silence from both Non-White and White identities to racism was evident across the data. This power worked to ensure White and Non-White students maintained the veneer of racial conviviality by not challenging racial tropes and racism couched in jokes and banter.

The data reflects an urgent need to break White silence by delegitimising racist slurs and the reproduction of racial tropes through White resistance. Calling 'out', resisting racism in its tracks, calling 'in', appealing to a perpetrator's humanity to critique racism and calling 'on', recruiting a perpetrator to an anti-racist stance, are example approaches that can be applied to different contexts to break White silence. Crucially, the breaking of White silence creates the space for the impact of racist jokes and banter to be legitimately shared. It takes the onus away from the victim to negotiate racial conviviality and makes tackling prejudice, both an individual, and a collective responsibility. Moving from silent bystander to an ally is key to the process, which cannot be delegated to one-off catch all training. It should become an implicit part of a sport system's values and way of operating both within and between other universities. With this comes the need to consider White norms as the problem, not those that differ from them.

The rules of negotiating discrimination while competing

Students commonly recalled about getting a feeling that something was not right and that there was a difference in how they were being treated but were unable to identify it. For example:

I'm in the game I feel like it's when I start to sense all kinds of what's going on and you see things and you think this doesn't make sense so yeah, I don't know, I don't know if its reputation because we're the team that's almost been dominating for the past two or three years in our division so, I'm not sure, but you get a feeling that it's not right.

This included a feeling of being othered by the power of the gaze from White dominated spaces:

I go to a competition and suddenly everybody is looking at you, and you feel like they know you don't belong, you know you don't belong there. They know you don't belong there. And it's just like you have to shrug it off and try to focus on the sport.

This sense of being 'othered' materialised in felt discriminatory judgement by competition officials. For example:

It's like they look at you in a certain way. Yeah, not gonna tell you Yeah. Like you guys are different. But they look at you in a certain way. You'd have referees that are constantly looking at you and waiting for you to make the wrong move. So, they can call it out so fast. Yeah, it's Yeah, I have seen that. I have experienced it. But like I say, I play for me, I don't think for them.

Another student explained how this could be experienced more explicitly:

Going to other universities, it depends. So, the more South we went is where the minorities were greater in percentage. So that was fine. But then when we went a little bit north, let's say ***, we played ****** and they were all White girls, they were brutal. They're umpires*** [White] ***were brutal. I think one of the umpires made a comment like your attitude stinks. I said, "I've not even said anything" I said, "I've literally not said anything". And then one of her netballers and she got the ball intercepted from her, she ripped off her bib, threw it on the floor, and I said, what about her attitude? And she*** [the umpire] ***said, well, you know, she's upset. Whereas I pull my face at her call and my attitude stinks? And she nearly wanna stand me off, send me off the court! It's as if the penalties are much greater. So, then you have to actually play smarter, which in itself is harder.***

When asked to recall discriminatory experiences, students across the data set shared their experience of bias in the decisions of games officials, particularly in team sports. As guardians of fair play, notably in games activities, White officials were reported as treating Non-White players differently to White players, particularly when a White team was playing a very racially diverse team: For example:

On the one hand the team will be getting fouls and the fouls are not fouls. And then come down over to our side we're not getting the same kind of calls. And then if you turn around and say anything, we get a technical, and that's bad on us.

These reported experiences suggest that there is much to be done in relation to ensuring Non-White students perceive White officials to be actual guardians of fair play.

Whilst this could be classed as a perennial problem of players criticising the legitimacy of game officials. The prevalence of this pattern in the data suggests that there is a need to address the current perception of White games officials as possessing latent racial prejudices. These beliefs were aggravated by the existence and additional hidden rules in how Non-White players should respond to perceived unfair decisions. For example:

You just have to just walk away from the situation, let the others deal with it, because I do get penalised more, it feels like that, maybe it's just in my head, but I feels like I get penalised more for voicing my opinions or. Just like little, things like rolling eyes like they're like, oh, you can't do that. I just get penalised for it. And obviously the way, obviously the way we talk, the way I would cuss someone out or vent my frustrations is like more disrespectful to them, they will see another race, like me kissing my teeth then like oh then someone just going like, oh, for God's sake.

Patterns in the data evidenced this experience of hidden rules in the moments of sports, in how to respond to official's decisions. Not retreating to racial tropes governed players' responses to in game decision by officials and with this came the familiar hidden set of rules for their response:

There's a difference when displaying frustration and anger for a Black player and a White player. They would be seen differently. Some of my other White teammates would get quite angry or get quite upset, be able to swear or walk towards officials. Whereas I'm very aware of the weight that comes with having Black skin and being perceived as this thug, making sure that you avoid that position before it gets there…. you self-govern your behaviour in which you don't put yourself in that position.

The explicit use of slurs directed at students to gain a competitive advantage was also reported. Despite not being a regular experience for individuals, it was common across the data. For example:

People would drop the 'N' word, would drop the 'C' word as a way to like wind you up, to get a rise out of you. So like if you're doing well, it's a one word. It's a one word that will like trigger you like no matter how. If you're in a good mood, bad mood, if you get called a 'Black C', you're just like, sorry? What did you just say? And sometimes I do bite back, but most of the time it's just like, you're pathetic, if you're going to this length to get a rise out of me, it's just a bit of embarrassing.

Whilst the explicit experience of racism was reported as isolated incidents for BUCS athletes, they were common across the data set. Evidence of systemic explicit racist abuse was not found, rather that explicit racism exists in BUCS sport.

Staff in leadership positions also reported past incidents of explicit racism experienced by their teams, for example:

When they got off the bus some of their spectators were like 'God look how many Blacks they've got in the team'. The coach at the time went over to them and said you can't say stuff like that, and they went 'Oh no we don't mean it nasty, we just, we don't see Black people'. So that set the tone for the day and that was it. More was said on the pitch, and it erupted. I went to their sport lead and said you need to give me an answer and sort this out. He came back saying they were not happy with the challenging behaviour of our students [in game fight occurred as a result of racist comments]***. I was like, fair enough, but there was a very good reason for their behaviour. The long story short, was it went to a BUCS disciplinary panel, but nothing happened. The referee said he didn't hear any racial discrimination and it was our word against theirs.***

Exposure to racism did not just occur on the field of play but also in the context of visiting another university. When sharing these racist incidents, the students recalled experiencing these more explicitly when competing at another university. In all the incidents shared by the students and staff, the totality of the environment was a key factor in experience. This will be discussed in more depth in the next theme, however, at this point it draws into question the way these environments are managed and the lines of responsibility of all those involved.

In this study the data demonstrated how racism existed in spaces created by anonymity, ambiguity, and the privileging of the contest. Specifically, the illusion that the momentum and chronology of the context, trumped interruption. Recognising this pattern presents an opportunity to tighten the spaces in which racism can occur and when it does, for it to be dealt with in the immediacy of the moment. Not when it has been sanitised by time and a lack of explicit evidence. The deficit of which characterises many of the incidents in the first place.

The hidden set of rules that governed students' responses worked to normalise the existence of racism. Like the cumulative weight of microaggressions, students' experience of explicit racism impacted their emotional well-being, the felt legitimacy of their Non-White identities and their experience of social justice and sense of inclusion. The felt pressure not to explicitly resist racism, so as not to invoke racial tropes, worked to normalise its existence. This was common across the data, as one student explained:

That made me angry at the time, but yeah. No one else heard it so I couldn't turn around and one thing I try not to do, especially as a Black man, is never live up to the angry man stereotype.

Another exemplified, for example:

I need to keep my mouth silent because I don't want to have that stereotype of the angry Black man or the lippy, or the Black man has asked you.

Decisions to respond more explicitly were swayed in some cases by the security of witnesses who were able to legitimise their status of victim. However, these were also balanced against the support they would receive from coaches and other players, particularly if their behaviour would bring harsher treatment from officials. The data reflects how students were required to continually negotiate not only the experience of perceived injustice, but also how to react and how this might create more adversity.

Students used their responses to regain control over adverse experiences. The felt need to be silent and to move on, worked not only to help to make the experience intelligible but also to view this silence as a choice in demonstrating moral superiority. Being a better person than a perpetrator was a common means to take back the power from attacks to the legitimacy of their Non-White intersected identities. For example, one woman who identified as Black mixed race, reported suffering sexual harassment from a White male. Her decision not to pursue a formal complaint balanced her enjoyment and sense of belonging to a sports club, within which the perpetrator was an established member. It also weighed the immediate impact of the experience with the knowledge of the potential long-term impact of a formal label on the perpetrator. Despite having support from her captain, the student used her choice to regain control and power over the event through the gift of her ethical care to the perpetrator. This example demonstrates the importance of respecting a victim's view on the desired outcomes of adverse experiences. Conversely, without explicit communication of the choices and decision made by students, silence can work to normalise, for example, sexual harassment and racism.

Examples of the normalising effect of racism was particularly evident in one case study where interviews with the Director of Sport revealed several incidents of experienced racism that had come across their desk. When these were brought into the interview with the Black coach, the response was:

Ahh, you know I can't recall, that, no, you know there are so many things that you know they all sort of blur, we just have to get on with it 'cause if we did it would be damaging yeah. No, I can't specifically remember that time, but they happen, it's the reality.

In this case study the Director of Sport had accompanied this coach and team to competitions and recalled his own experience of the team and coach being treated with disrespect:

The ******* team was racially abused, I'm lucky enough that I've got a really good team there and it was closed out, but the actual issue was not dealt with by any authorities, but the coach helped to manage it. It***

was ***** and he is Black and was on the receiving end of it too. They*** [the team] ***wanted to lose their temper, but actually they took themselves away. On the way home they got really angry but dealt with it. And that's what it's about for me. They and the coach did not make it worse. It's about building better individuals.***

'*Closing out*' and the fact that '*the coach did not make it worse*' means that the perpetrators were not tackled directly because the lack of evidence required by the *'authorities'*:

We reported it to their Head of Sport and ultimately it didn't go anywhere, they just denied it and said it was a serious allegation that needed clear evidence. Which we didn't have 'cause that's how it works, you know nothing exact but constant niggling and stuff under the radar.

As a result, the conclusion was to put this adverse experience down to a 'moral victory' because there was insufficient evidence to prove that the behaviour of the host university was racist. Such conclusions allowed the victims to make the experience intelligible and to move on. Crucially, this conclusion also serves to normalise the experience for both the victim and the perpetrator. Social justice was trumped for the continuation of racial conviviality. The label of 'racist' trumped the experience of being a victim because the host organisation demanded conclusive evidence to justify a potential label of racism. Being labelled a 'racist' worked paradoxically against achieving social justice from the context. It suggests that the current system as it stands does not achieve social justice, does not trust victims, or prioritise the impact of racism on self-identity and sense of racial justice and inclusion.

In the examples above the responses of students became a key factor in the incident. The governance created by the hidden set of rules worked to provide legitimation for potential perpetrators to recognise and avoid responsibility. The need for evidence, after the heat of the incident creates the illusion of a search for social justice. The anonymity of crowds and thus the reliance on officials or parties with vested interests, allows adverse experiences to be subordinated for the sake of reputation management. Faith in systems and policies by staff working in sport systems reliance on BUCS disciplinary decisions, did not bring about any superior sense of justice. Regardless of the outcome and the system's reliance upon evidence, students and staff have experienced racism within a space of education. Responsibility to listen to concerns, manage these in the moment and to commit to social justice through action that is not trumped by the label of racism, is urgently required. Academic chains of command also need to work with sport system leads and with other institutions to ensure the educational values upon which they claim for their students, are upheld in all activities, not just teaching and learning.

Keep You Guessing

Whilst the experience of explicit racism was common across the data, it was also clear that negotiating Whiteness demanded students to manage their responses to unowned, anonymous, and implied racism. The type of racism kept students guessing, either as to who the perpetrator was or, whether the context implied their identity was under attack. This hidden element of this racism worked with the need to 'play by the rules' that ensured explicit resistance was implausible and the momentum of the context continued. As a result, the student was left to deal with the felt impact of the experience. These experiences happened across the students' lives, for example:

Obviously being Brown, I don't know how to explain it, but if you ask any Brown person what I mean when I say this, there's a certain look that people give you when they like, look down at you. umm. Because of, you know who you are and if you were to speak of anything about, like your culture or anything, you know, people just kind of shoot you dirty looks. Like there was this one lad who I used to train with, his mom, she just, she never looked at me, just never looked at me, and then she became like umm, Club manager of some sort, and she never properly like addressed me by my name. And she just kind of, pretended like I wasn't there.

This example recalled an experience prior to university, but it started with a learnt expectation that the colour of your skin, when it does not match the White norm, has a latent potential to draw looks that are used to challenge, subordinate, and call out difference. Students often talked about a feeling, a look, and a sense that the space they were in was not safe:

You always have to be on guard. Everywhere you go even when nothing is going to happen, you always have a feeling that something is going to happen. I don't want someone to say something like; "I don't mean to be racist" and laugh it off, or someone to single me out while playing. You just have to be alert, have it in the back of your mind.

Being the subject of more overt but implied racism was a common feature of student's life experiences:

They just got a new coffee maker, and it was a Black one the boss called it ******* [student's name]***, "you are not the only Black thing we have in this office anymore" and everyone laughed, and I walked away. Honestly, I laughed too because it was so shocking, they would say, "you people" and I would be like, what do you mean by "you people"? We are all human. Or if anything bad happens in an environment and you would begin to pray, I wish it's not a Black person because they would say, every Black person is like that. It was very frustrating.***

This experience happened in a work environment; racism dressed up in a joke relating to the students' racial difference to the Whiteness of the company staff. It also used an association between the student and a machine that functioned to make drinks. The student was left to decide how to respond, that was in turn, governed by the explicit knowledge that the boss and others, through their silence, saw them as a racial abnormality and subservient. This exemplifies how racism uses guised insults and imbalances in power, created by White privilege and norms, to humiliate. It also

uses hidden rules to ensure the Non-White victim was left with little choice but to remain silent. Silence, particularly from other White colleagues, reproduces the normality for further racial abuse.

Expectations also existed for Non-White students to be representative experts of all Non-White people and to justify intrusion into personal space:

I have suffered racism both when with the team [BUCS team] ***and even when without the team. When I am on my own. The racial slang. Touching my hair because it is different. They will ask. "Where are you from"? I will tell them, "I am from ******!*** [UK country]***". I experience racism all the time. In class, when are learning, for instance, a topic on human rights. They will look at me, like; can you share your experience? Even when I go for an interview. So, it is a very common occurrence.***

Implying that all Black people are the same and have the same cultural values is an example of homogenising racism facilitated by ignorance and privilege. Possessing the right to touch somebody on the grounds of racial difference indicates a sense of superior privilege.

These experiences across the students' lives created the sense that all White spaces contained a hidden risk of being 'othered', including while competing in BUCS, for example:

You know you get a feeling like; you know like we turned up to this really White uni and you know, we are like an umm diverse team, you turn up to play and something's not right like the looks you get, the feeling in the air. Like this has some, umm like hostility that could turn. So, it makes you think right OK this is it, you've got to watch it here 'cos it could turn ugly.

If students had not yet experienced racism in BUCS, there was an expectation that students would be on the receiving end:

Playing sport [prior to university], ***I was called Taj Mahal, uh Gandhi. I've been called chocolate boy before, like when playing sport, that kind of stuff. And to be honest, it wasn't like pleasant. It was a bit like mean, and I felt really, really bad and it did, like, put me off like the enjoyment side of things but I just had to deal with it. I've not seen it happen to anybody like yet*** [in BUCS]***, so I think I'm lucky in that aspect, but I don't know. Going forward, what else will happen?***

In some cases, it was predicted that the locus of this expectation would be hard to identify and unpredictable, for example:

You know some people are going to hold those opinions, and you're going to come into contact with those opinions, but obviously 'cause it's covert and it's down, you don't know who it is, and you could be talking to someone, and they could like you in the moment but again, they can turn on you.

Experience of the hidden nature provided a clear insight to how racism can be perpetrated in a hidden way 'keep you guessing' way:

Like if you want to get a reaction like out of people you say it, and you say it multiple times. You whisper it, you shout it. You'll, you'll just think of inventive ways to say the words.

The expectation was that if racism was to occur, it would most likely, but not always, take an implied form, camouflaged in sly comments or more explicit anonymous calls:

It hasn't happened yet; I am one of the lucky ones. But I think if something like that were to happen it would probably be quite subtle. Like either I don't think anyone would say anything too loud so if something were to happen, I probably wouldn't have heard it or if I did it would only me who really heard it.

The expectation that it will be experienced due to the luck of their avoidance so far was also clear for this student. When students suffered these incidents across the data, other than teammates, few felt they had anyone else within their sport system to turn to discuss it or pursue a complaint. Only captains, coaches and senior staff who were in positions of power:

It would help people in minority groups if they could have someone that they can relate with [in sports spaces]***, someone that can understand their experiences. I mean, in most cases, say for instance I was indirectly abused, it's hard to explain how that may have occurred… others may not understand.***

The covert nature of some forms of racism, the 'keep you guessing' form, made seeking a sense of justice from being a victim very challenging. More so than when it was explicit, particularly when systems and policies demanded conclusive evidence. Many of the staff and student experiences of racism were not pursued as complaints because the onus of responsibility was placed upon victims to provide evidence. For 'keep you guessing' racism this often had a fragile shelf-life that ended after the moment of its occurrence.

Complaints that were pursued, even with the backing of their sport system, were often rejected by the organisation that were aimed at. Denial on the grounds of insufficient evidence and 'word against word', reflects the paradoxical power of the label of racist. It also suggests institutional reputation trumps actual experience. Recognising adverse experiences have occurred and respecting the rationale for them being raised, should be a requirement of institution level mediation. Denial and disregarding the experience, normalises and allows the reproduction of racism, particularly this 'keep you guessing' type. Academic staff cannot be left out of this level of mediation because it is their students who have been at the forefront of the experience and in universities such staff hold considerably more organisational influence.

Sport systems relied upon captains and coaches as a main route for player experiences to filter through to sport leads. Delegating responsibility to these roles, who may not have any expertise in understanding social justice and the way racism can hide in social contexts, cannot be seen as a solution. Having trained individuals who can specialise and develop expertise in understanding social justice and support players and coaches, without fear of weakening their standing in teams and staff hierarchies, should be a priority. These experts can also support the student through the aftermath of racism and indeed other forms of defamation, counselling the student through the personal consequences and impact of abuse. Relying upon approachability and open-door policies does not suffice. Moreover, tracking a portfolio of feedback loops for students to communicate social justice issues within a university sport system, would go some way to recognising, tracking, and tackling racism and supporting victims through the emotional consequences of abuse.

Hidden in plain sight

Students recalling racism within BUCS spoke about it as part of the on-going juggernaut momentum of a sports competition, where its 'keep you guessing' quality made resistance challenging. Even when the behaviour was more overt, it still had an unowned quality. For example:

All the girl did to me all game was kick me and I was like I know what your issue is with me. 'cause you laugh and joke with the rest of my team. But you need to be big enough to say it and own it kind of thing. 'cause yeah, 'cause you can see you become frustrated by it cause it's like unowned.

The physical violence here had to be attributed by the victim to her skin colour as a 'best guess' for why it was happening. Incidents could also be experienced within the pace of play and the speed of its appearance and existence had a temporal element:

To be fair I've never really done anything about it before [racist comments]***. Because whenever I've experienced racism, it's always been like umm. It's been like very, I don't know how to explain it, quick, and like people haven't like noticed it? Did that just happen to me?***

This temporal 'keep you guessing' quality made resistance implausible and served to normalise its existence. The temporal quality could also be more prolonged, permitted by hidden behaviours that taunted and fished for an explicit retaliation and evocation of a racial trope:

Throughout the game when the ball would go out of play, and we had this White player, and they would only send the ball back to him. There were too many occasions in that game, like this player would be at the other end of the court and they would make a point of going past three or four Black players to give the ball back to him. What happened then was the captain asked the referee and they pulled their coach and said 'like why are you doing that? This is out of order' which sparked, you know, a big issue. They said oh, we're not racist. But nothing went any further, what's the grounds? Yet it was blatantly racist. The guys came back really upset about it. They said I'm never going to *** again 'cause there's just White people that treat them like dirt.***

In this example, the racist action was concealed in a team's decision to insult the Non-White players by using the White player on their team as a vehicle to signal racial degradation. Some recognition of objections from the coach and team captain was made by the game officials, but they were left useless by a counter denial. Concerns can be raised, however, the pressure of maintaining the momentum of the contest and the privileging of evidence, work to delegitimise and normalise experiences of racism.

This example and the prior discussion of data relating to perceived unfair and biased treatment by officials, demonstrates a need for more effective training in recognising 'keep you guessing' racism. Moreover, how to manage concerns in the flow and heat of competition, is also urgently required. Understanding the hidden rules that Non-White staff and students face that govern their responses, should also feature in this training so that coaches and officials do more to ensure, in the moment that it happens, victims of racism can be heard. Space within the momentum of sport should be created to acknowledge the experience and the impact of this shared immediately. It also provides space to remind players of the values to which contests, conducted under auspices of educational institutions, should adhere. Privileging the juggernaut of a sporting contest can no longer become the primary concern for sports

contests. Sport has the duty to ensure that in the moment, experiences can be managed effectively, rather than allowing post-match investigation time and a search for evidence to sanitise experiences or deter complaints.

Hidden in the anonymity of bystanders

Students who had experienced racism whilst competing in BUCS shared how it was often hidden in the anonymity of a crowd. This was interpreted as a means to 'sledge' players, in other words, to put them off their game and obtain an advantage. Specifically, to provoke a reaction that would lead to an outburst that would confirm a racial trope, taint them with guilt, and win a decision from an official. For example:

They had spectators in a 'Bay' and all the spectators like were shouting and some were like racist things to me and my teammates. And we were like. But it's just pathetic really sometimes, how do I explain it, sometimes I feel with racism. It's not so much the words that they're saying it's the intent that they see it, there's some people just say words to get a rise out of you without understanding the meaning behind the actual word, so someone could say something to me really racist and call me a certain word. But they just saying it to get a reaction.

Depersonalising anonymous racism through their own and the perpetrators' anonymity, in addition to excusing racism as a means to provoke a reaction, were common ways victims made the abuse intelligible. The potential trauma and impact of arbitrary unowned racial abuse demanded victims to depersonalise it and align it with ignorance. This active negotiation functioned to enable them to maintain their belief in the efficacy of the environment in which they were competing.

For some students, arbitrary comments could also be more subtle in the racist undertones the abuse contained, for example:

I don't know if it was a coach or just a fan, but we were just at the game and then I think he just kind of, I can't remember what he said but he said a snide comment that wasn't overtly racist, but had that undertone umm, like I was mid-game, so I couldn't just stop like that, call the guy out or anything, kinda I just carried on and ignored it. And then after the game he [White bystander] ***gave a smirk when he was leaving. It made me feel very angry at the time. He called, what he said was, I think it was 'boy'. Something along the lines of 'boy'.***

The Weaponising of the term 'boy' to abuse a player midgame, followed through with implied ownership, used the momentum of a sport context to create the conditions to depower the student from seeking justice. 'Boy' is a term, when directed at a Black man, that invokes abhorrent connections to the treatment of slaves and ongoing subordination of Black men. It works to delegitimise personhood and reduce identity to a child and a servant that is inferior to a White person. Initial anonymity, followed through with implied ownership through a facial gesture, minimises ownership and evidence from which the victim would have to rely upon to seek justice. Importantly, the initial anonymity and ongoing flow of the game makes it difficult to raise the experienced abuse at the time, and this works to normalise its existence.

Another explicit racist incident occurring in the flow of a game was let to pass because the game officials did not hear it and the coach from the victim's team did not feel empowered to stop the game:

A student was involved in a tackle and the opposition player [White] ***was not happy with the challenge and he racially abused our player*** [Black] ***called him a ***** ***** *****. ******** [name of member of staff] ***luckily witnessed this and heard it clearly, ****** said he*** [the abused player] ***walked off the pitch and sat out. Like can you believe it the referee didn't hear anything and the game went on! I think the sense of injustice boiled over umm and there was a serious incident involving some of our players, but not the guy who was racially abused. Like it was bad, really bad, but I think they were really angry that this blatant racism had happened and like hadn't been dealt with. Like, I'm in no way excusing their behaviour, like they will be severely disciplined, but they were so angry. The referee didn't hear it, so nothing happened. Look, I have also taken this to the ******* [head of that university's sport section] ***and they are suggesting it's alleged racism. Like what? I have staff who heard this and statements from them, so I have sent this to him. But he is using the other incident in the changing rooms to push this to one side. BUCS says we have to resolve it between us first, but they*** [the other university] ***are ducking responsibility and how do I know if they will really take this seriously? They could fob me off. Where is the justice here?***

This example demonstrates how injustice develops from not dealing with issues in the moment they happen. It also demonstrates how time and physical distance from an event provide the opportunity to avoid responsibility and require the victim and their institution to hunt for evidence to prove that the racism occurred. The word 'luckily' is used to suggest that without a credible witness such as a member of staff the incident would not have been addressed. Relying on a game official to hear everything on a pitch does not suggest that players welfare is being take n seriously. Players need to be empowered by a mechanism that allows them to communicate abuse to the match officials so that the game can be stopped, and the issue addressed at that moment, but also returned to at the end of the future. Injustice can inflame responses and damage the victim. The care of the student who was abused also needs close consideration along with the search for responsibility. Justice here would have been served by immediate action taken in the moment so public acts of abuse are recognised, sanctioned, and followed up after the game.

One sport lead recalled an incident that had gone to a formal complaint that was legitimised by its blatant public occurrence and the ease of placing blame with an institution:

It was from our spectators rather than our team so there was some sort of racist chants being aimed at one particular player……we obviously tried to identify who was in the crowd that night, 'cause it wasn't a huge crowd, so we don't get like massive crowds. But the people who were there, we had some witness statements from them. But they kind of insinuated that didn't happen. They *[the visiting university]* ***were not particularly happy with how our coach reacted to it, for example, like the coach didn't go over to the spectators to say anything. He sort of had a bit of a similar reaction, in like, no like it's all part, you know a bit part of the game or just sort of missed it look, I didn't hear it kind of thing.***

This was an example where systems rely upon evidence that can conclusively identify both abuse and a perpetrator to which a sanction can be applied. Relying upon a system of justice that requires these conditions cannot be upheld as the only way to tackle racism. It happens after the fact, often some months past and it does not position the impact on the welfare of the student or staff member at the forefront of concerns. What becomes privileged is the identification of a perpetrator and allotment of a punishment. Whilst this system of justice is required, better conscious management before, during and immediately after games, needs to be raised and responsibilities agreed. This must be a duty that is assigned to coaches, game officials and player representatives at a pre-match meeting. An agreement that can be turned to during the fixture if there is a risk of conflict and abuse in the environment in which the competition is being held.

In this example, and others in the data, game officials claimed only to have jurisdiction on play and not control of spectators. This cannot be used to avoid responsibilities to the welfare of players. The lack of respect afforded to the opposition player on the receiving end of the abuse because it was 'part of the game', emphasises the poor cultures that can exist in some sports. It is here that coaches, who may also be members of academic staff, have educational values at the forefront of the environment they create for all students. Not tackling hostility, particularly, racial abuse with racist undertones cannot be denied based on being 'part of the game'. Educational values and the purposes of BUCS environments for students need far greater explicit declaration and use as criteria to evaluate their quality. In some cases, coaches and sport leads were left to help students come to terms with adverse experiences. For many this was a case of trying to move on by having to adopt the moral high ground and use it as evidence of being better players and human beings than the perpetrators. In other cases, coaches and sport leads were left managing students' experiences by apologising on behalf of their university hosts for the hostile and racist abuse they had received:

We got on the coach, and we just spoke about it. Really. Our Uni like, coordinator of the games, the buses, everything like, that she sent in a letter of complaint, sent out a big email to us all apologising. But it's not her fault, and it's not our uni's fault. My uni can't police other universities and the people that go to that university, it didn't really leave a lasting effect. And it stopped because we've had worse.

In this example, prior experiences of abuse were trumped by further adverse experiences. All cases that are taken to BUCS adjudication should be shared publicly so the system can learn from errors in leadership and mismanagement. As has been seen in the data in this study, staff and students are subjected to racial injustices, in their broader lives and BUCS, thus BUCS is not immune. Whilst protecting identities would be required, it is important for all BUCS institutions to see what the tip of the iceberg of complaints and adverse experiences looks like. BUCS must also become more aware of localised attempts at mediation between universities, why complaints were raised and what responses and outcomes were reached. When incidents of racism and other abuse are raised by officials this data should be fed through to BUCS so it can be analysed for patterns and strategic action taken. University staff should be obliged to meet formally with coaches, academic and sport leads present from both institutions, to ensure that denial and avoiding responsibility cannot be positions of retreat. Problems occur because two or more parties have a conflict, both have a role to play in this conflict, thus, both should work together to produce a resolution. Without dialogue and shared responsibility, the risk of students experiencing abuse will continue.

Tackling the barriers so the immediacy of abuse can be confronted, with public attention drawn to the offensive behaviour is also required. Student's need to be empowered to use a mechanism to communicate to officials the experience of racial abuse and officials need to be duty bound to stop play. This should be followed up at the end of the fixture, with game officials, coaches and the players concerned. This must be reported through to BUCS and recorded by university sport leads so patterns can be analysed for systemic abuse. It is incumbent on those with a duty of care for students, particularly coaches and officials, to manage environments effectively to ensure racism is not reproduced one grounds of lack of evidence, it was too sly, or anonymously hidden in a crowd. Ejecting crowds must be a seriously considered option if it is these that are deemed to be the origin of the problem. All those involved in making a BUCS sport fixtures happen, have a duty of care to the students, this includes exposure to crowd behaviour.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Interview Schedule for Staff

Notes to Interviewer:

Reaffirm consent. Check consent form completed. Reaffirm the right to withdraw and right to refrain from responding to question with which you feel uncomfortable.

Confirm the purpose of the interview; to ensure the views of Non-white students and staff are represented in sport and physical activity whilst at university; in particular, your experiences (as a Non-white) e.g., coaches or/and your involvement in policy and practice and how Non-white students are considered in these processes.

Confirm with them the absence of absolute confidentiality – in relation to you negotiating with them the impact and reporting of any relived trauma and notifying those with a duty of care, in relation to trauma suffered, should this create adverse emotional reactions.

Check for any signs of distress and pause the interview and check if the participants consent to continuing.

When interviewing senior leaders – focus on vision, policy, and support/resourcing for participation – start broad and draw this down to Non-white students.

Opening questions – background:

Can you tell me a bit about your role at university?

How does this role fit in the strategic and operational management of sport and physical activity?

What input do you have in relation to policy and/practice of providing physical activity and sport?

What would you say is your vision for sport and activity provision – in relation to your role and the university as a whole?

How inclusive would you say your sport and physical activity provision is?

What does inclusive mean for you in this context?

What experience have you of making specific provision in relation to policy and practice to support inclusion?

What works

What are your key priorities in relation to the provision of sport and physical activity for students?

What would you say are the key strengths to physical activity and sport provision at your university?

What are the key challenges? – prompt here to find the incoherence

What links exist with local communities

Consideration of race and ethnicity:

How diverse, in relation to race and ethnicity, are your student populations who access sport and activity provision?

Is this representative of the student population as a whole?

How do you consider the needs of Non-white participants in your sport and activity provision?

Have any of your students or staff experienced explicit racism whilst participating at their own university?

Have any of your students or staff experienced explicit racism when travelling to other universities to participate?

If they have an operational role and are Non-White:

How do you identify in relation to your race and ethnicity?

How do you feel you are treated by others when participating in physical activity and sport at university? (players, coaches, officials, administrators – both at own university and when visiting other universities)

What is it like being a Non-white student and have responsibility for the provision of sport and physical activity at university?

Can you tell me about any experience of explicit racism whilst being involved in sport and physical activity at university?

Can you tell me about any subtle form of racism or being made to feel different?

Explore the responses:

How did that make you feel?

What happened?

Who else was involved?

Did you feel the incident was resolved?

What would you like to have been the outcome?

Has it happened again?

If they have an operational role and are White:

How well do you feel the university encourages and caters for Non-White students to work within the sporting provision department of the university?

What changes could be made to help the staff within the department be more diverse?

Appendix 2

Interview Schedule for Students

Notes to Interviewer:

Confirm the purpose of the interview; to ensure the views of Non-White students are represented in sport and physical activity whilst at university.

Reaffirm consent.

Check consent form completed.

Reaffirm their right to:

- withdraw from the study
- refrain from responding to question with which they uncomfortable
- leave the interview at any time without giving a reason
- confirm with them the absence of absolute confidentiality – in relation to you negotiating with them the impact and reporting of any relived trauma and notifying those with a duty of care, in relation to trauma suffered, should this create adverse emotional reactions.

Check for signs of distress and pause the interview and check if the participants consent to continuing.

Flow of the interview – start with general questions and build to more probing and sensitive experiences.

At the end of the interview reaffirm consent.

Opening questions – background:

When did you get interested in sport or physical activity?

What was your interest like going through primary and secondary school?

What about when you were doing 6th form/college?

Are your family into sport and physical activity?

How do you identify in relation to your race and ethnicity?

What are you studying at university?

What is your involvement with sport and physical activity at university?

To what extent are there connections between your course and your participation in sport and physical activity at university? (links with peers, sport courses, etc.)

Physical Activity and Sport Resources

What has led to this involvement in sport and physical activity at university?

What helps you to participate in sport and physical activity at university?

What motivates you to take part?

What do you get out of participating in sport and physical activity at university?

Are there any barriers or challenges to your involvement?

Are there any tensions and conflict within your participation? (e.g., employment, studies, travel, etc.)

To what extent do you feel you belong to the groups with whom you do sport and physical activity?

What helps to build this sense of belonging?

What is missing?

Are there any aspects of your participation that make you feel uncomfortable?

Experiences as a Non-White participant:

What is it like being a Non-White student taking part in sport and physical activity at university?

Do you feel you are treated equally and listened to?

Have you experienced microaggressions based upon your racial identity at university and/or during university?

How do you feel you are treated by others when participating in physical activity and sport at your university? (players, coaches, officials, administrators – at own university)

How do you feel you are treated by others when participating in physical activity and sport when visiting other universities?

Have you ever witnessed racism or microaggressions whilst participating in sport and physical activity at your university or when you have been participating at another university?

Have you ever suffered over racism when participating in physical activity and sport whilst at university?

Can you tell me about any experience of explicit racism?

- In your wider experience of university?
- Sport and physical activity beyond university?
- Sport and physical activity at university?
- When do you experience being a minority in relation to race and ethnicity at university?
- Does this ever include sport and physical activity at university?

Explore the responses:

Remember to explore the intersections of gender, race, and class/background and faith:

How did that make you feel?

What happened?

Who else was involved?

Did you feel the incident was resolved?

What would you like to have been the outcome?

Has it happened again?

How has the incident(s) affected you?

Appendix 3

Student Participant Profiles:

Case Study 1

How the student identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Sport	Participation or BUCS	International or domestic
Asian British Black African Black British Black African Muslim Black Zimbabwean Kashmiri Muslim Black Jamaican Mixed	Male – 5 Female – 5	Netball –1 Basketball – 7 Football – 3	Participation – 1 BUCS – 9	Domestic – 10

Case Study 2

How the student identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Sport	Participation or BUCS	International or domestic
Black African Nigerian Asian Pakistani Indian British Chinese Afro-Caribbean – 3	Male – 3 Female – 4	Netball – 2 Badminton – 2 Cricket – 1 Football – 2	Participation – 2 BUCS – 5	Domestic – 7

Case Study 3

How the student identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Sport	Participation or BUCS	International or domestic
Black African Cameroonian- French South Asian Muslim British Pakistani Black Nigerian Indian Caribbean French Black Native American British Hongkong Mixed Black Caribbean British Black African American	Male – 8 Female – 4	Basketball – 3 Rugby – 4 Athletics – 1 Football – 2 Tennis/ Badminton – 1 Various - 1	Participation – 5 BUCS - 7	Domestic – 7 International - 5

Case Study 4

How the student identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Sport	Participation or BUCS	International or domestic
British Asian Mixed black Caribbean and White Black Black African	Male – 1 Female - 3	Running - 1 Tennis - 1 Volleyball - 1 Various - 1	Participation – 3 BUCS - 1	Domestic – 3 International - 1

Case Study 5

How the student identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Sport	Participation or BUCS	International or domestic
Arab British Black African Black Irish Nigerian Black American Black British	Male - 1 Female - 4	Basketball - 3 Softball - 1 Netball - 1	Participation – 1 BUCS - 4	Domestic - 4 International - 1

Staff Participant Profiles:

Case Study 1

How the Staff identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Roles
White British Black Mixed British Mixed Race Caribbean Black British Black British	Male – 8 Female – 1	Head of School Head of Sport Coach – 7 Gym Supervisor

Case Study 2

How the Staff identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Roles
White British South Asian Black British	Male – 5	Vice-Chancellor Head of School Head of Sport Coach – 2

Case Study 3

How the Staff identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Roles
White British	Male – 1 Female – 1	Head of School Head of Sport

Case Study 4

How the Staff identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Roles
White British Black Mixed	Male – 4 Female – 4	Pro-Vice Chancellor Dean of Faculty Head of School Head of Sport Sport Development Officer Competitive Sport Officer Recreational Programme Officer Wellbeing Manager

Case Study 5

How the Staff identified Racially and Ethnically	Gender	Roles
White British	Male - 3	Vice Chancellor
		Associate Dean
	Female - 1	Director of Student Academic Services
		Sport Development Officer

Appendix 4

Analytical questions for staff transcripts:

What stakeholders are there and what influence do they have within the sport/team cultures?

What does the focus of this sport/culture say about what is privileged and what outcomes are balanced by the stakeholders?

What tensions exist in the provision of sport/wider student societies and services?

What relations are identified as the locus of control/influence in the sport/team culture?

How is care for the students operationalised?

What structures do the students have to negotiate to raise concerns?

If incidents of racism are raised how are these experienced by the students or staff and what are the consequences?

If incidents of racism are reported in what contexts do these occur and what characterises the nature of the racism?

Where was the racism located and what facilitated the incidents?

How did the student/staff member negotiate the incidents and what were the consequences?

What did the reactions of the student say about how they negotiated these incidents and what control did they try to maintain?

What do the responses/outcomes of these incidents say about what was privileged?

How might the individual participant's own viewpoints and opinions influence the culture and practices of sport/inclusion?

What intersections of e.g., race/gender/ethnicity/class are apparent as prominent influences within the University student experience?

Analytical questions for student transcripts:

How does university sport contribute to the student's identities?

How has this been built on prior experiences?

What intersections of e.g., race/gender/ethnicity/class came to the fore in the students' experience of sport?

What do these say about the identities of the student and the contexts in which these are created?

If incidents of racism are reported in what contexts do these occur and what characterises the nature of the racism?

Where was the racism located and what facilitated the incidents?

How did the student negotiate the incidents and what were the consequences?

What did the reactions of the student say about where control lay?

What do the responses/outcomes of these incidents say about what was privileged?

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