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Bodies on the Margins: Regulating bodies, regulatory bodies.

Abstract

Sport is all about bodies, but some bodies are seen as on the margins and policies are directed at re-situating them into the mainstream. This article explores some of the ways in which embodied selves are the target of diversity policies and practices, especially those implemented by fan-based, anti-racist organisations. Sport has long been considered a site for the creation of healthy citizens, a tradition which has been rearticulated to encompass diverse groups of people who are seen as under represented in sport. The article looks at which embodied selves are encouraged to participate, non-governmental regulatory bodies in sport, to investigate the tension between the positive and negative dimensions of diversity politics in sport, as an example of what Paul Gilroy calls 'conviviality', in the practices of those who seek to bring in those on the margins in the multi-ethnic UK.

Key Words: margins, diversity, bodies as situations, situated bodies, social inclusion, conviviality

Introduction

Governments have long targeted the body as a means of creating 'good citizens' as expressed in the 'healthy mind healthy body' dictum. Such interventions have increasingly become linked to policies of social inclusion in sport too, within the framework of managing populations and maintaining social order (Carrington and McDonald, 2008). The regulatory bodies through which 'good citizens' are configured include the legislative bodies of governance, agencies that implement policies and commercial and voluntary organisations. Sport offers particular opportunities for promoting social cohesion through body practices, because sport is all about bodies (Hargreaves and Vertinsky, 2007, Hargreaves, 1986, Elias, 1982). However, bodies are differently lived and situated and, notably, lived bodies are inequitably valued; bodies matter, but they matter in different ways because these bodies are always embodied selves, who might also exercise some agency in the process of being included. Thinking about bodies can be problematic, especially when the bodies involved are of those on the margins, because of the threat that we are reduced to our bodies. For example, for some of the people targeted by diversity policies in sport, the identification with sporting excellence might appear to exclude other forms of identification, such as intellectual achievement and appear to reinforce negative stereotypes of racialized, athletic identities.

This article looks at both the embodied selves that are involved in sporting practices and at some of the bodies that target them by developing and implementing policies and practices aimed at promoting both healthy bodies and social inclusion by bringing those perceived as on the margins into the centre.

Sport presents a useful site for the exploration of embodied selves drawing upon the phenomenological notion of embodiment (Wacquant, 1995, 2004, Young, 2005) which combines mind and body in the formation of the self (Merleau Ponty, 1962, de Beauvoir, 1989). Bodies and their practices are targets of intervention because of the assumption that citizen selves can be re-created through corporeal practices. This is recognised in the interventions of the state, which imply a merging of mind and body, although they are also heavily dependent upon the idea that we can control our bodies and in a sense exercise ‘mind over matter’. Thinking about bodies can be problematic, especially when the bodies involved are of those on the margins, because of the threat that we are reduced to our bodies and that these bodies might be docile, passive bodies. For some of the people targeted by diversity policies in sport, the identification with sporting excellence might appear to exclude other forms of identification, such as intellectual achievement and appear to reinforce negative stereotypes of racialized, athletic identities. However, material bodies and, I argue, both situated bodies and bodies as situations offer a useful means of presenting a critical analysis of the organisation and implementation of social inclusion in sport. Bodies both regulate themselves and are regulated, for example by the sporting bodies through which what is categorised as ‘sport’ is organised. This article looks at how some embodied selves are the target of governmental and sports bodies, in particular those organised by activists, such as fans and volunteers and anti-racist organisations, especially in the field of football in the UK.

Methodologies

The research upon which this article is based, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council's *Diaspora, Migration and Identities* programme was carried out between February 2006 and February 2007, covering the period of the 2006 Men's Football World Cup. Although the World Cup was not a specific focus of the research, is necessarily included in the discussion because the event was central to the activities of anti-racist organisations during 2006. Some of the interviews were delayed because of staff commitment to the event, which took up time and energy for staff and volunteers. This research project builds on previous work conducted at English football league clubs and their club websites (Woodward, 2007), which demonstrated that interventions aimed at widening participation in sport offer the possibility of creating an assemblage of persons through the mechanisms of governmentality, (Rose, 1996, 1999). The practices of social inclusion were categorised by discourses of charity, where a football club organises charity events to create a good public relations impression, utilitarianism, where the club might benefit by recruiting new players of a very high standard through bringing in a range of young athletes, or, the more politically motivated discourse of human rights, where those involved are motivated by principles of justice and equity (Woodward, 2007). It is the last category that I focus upon in this research, which shifts the emphasis from clubs and government policy statements to the involvement of fans and activists, partly government funded, quasi-autonomous organisations and their promotional activities. In order to redress some of the problems of the disembodiment of governmentality, I deploy the phenomenological concept of embodiment and the notion of bodies as situations, rather than the Foucauldian discourse analysis of the earlier project. This research project¹ focused upon the problem of the status of bodies in the tension between regulation as control and the more positive liberatory potential of social inclusion activities at grass roots level which Gilroy interprets in the wider social context within a framework of 'conviviality'. I contacted interviewees through the directors of *FURD* and of *KIO*. I had expected the work of anti-racist bodies to be closer to the human rights discourses I had identified in the community sections of football clubs, on the part of those with significant commitment to social cohesion rather than the charitable or utilitarian approaches of those

who were largely involved in ‘community work’ and in promoting diversity, ‘because they had to be’ (Woodward, 2007). In this research, I seek to evaluate the political potential of the strategies adopted by anti-racist organisations in sport and to explore what strengths and weaknesses there might be in a politics that targets the body to advance social inclusion when committed activists are involved in the project. I use the concepts of situated bodies and bodies as situations to accommodate the corporeal dimensions of the involvement of ‘those on the margins’.

Bodies in sport: Embodying good citizens

In the configurations of new citizens through diversity policies in sport, bodies are clearly important. These are not only symbolic bodies, inscribed by social meanings and visible, visual markers of difference, although media representations clearly play a key role in the configuration of sporting bodies (Miller et al 2001). Material bodies also embody inequalities and experience the limitations as well as the opportunities of corporeality. The meanings of bodies are not written on the surface, nor will the experience be the same for everyone.

Simone de Beauvoir suggests that the human body is ambiguous; subject to natural laws and to the human production of meaning:

It is not merely as a body, but rather as a body subject to taboos, to laws, that the subject becomes conscious of himself and attains fulfilment-it is with reference to certain values that he valorizes himself. To repeat once more: physiology cannot ground any values; rather, the facts of biology take on the values that the existent bestows upon them (de Beauvoir, 1989:76)

Bodies as represented, for example as marginalised, also experience themselves and are crucial to an understanding of self hood and the processes through which people position themselves and are positioned within the social world.

‘the body is not a thing, it is a *situation*... it is the instrument of our grasp upon the world, a limiting factor for projects’ (de Beauvoir, 1989, p.66)

This approach provides a way of bringing together the natural, material body, the experiences of embodied selves and the situations, which include representations, practices and policies, which re-create the lived body. Bodies are not ‘just’ in a situation, nor are they just objects of empirical inquiry; bodies are more than this. De Beauvoir’s analysis of the ‘lived body’ provides a means of enabling:

a situated way of seeing the subject based on the understanding that the most important location or situation is the roots of the subject in the spatial frame of the body’ (Braidotti, 1994:161)

Bodies are situated on the margins through structural factors such as economic inequalities, racialization, ethnicization, discrimination of grounds of gender and of physical or mental impairment, but bodies are also themselves situations through which people experience themselves, both negatively and positively. Embodied selves, understood through the trope of lived bodies accords greater agency and possibility for transformation and avoids the reduction of the self to the body by acknowledging both the situations which bodies inhabit and the interrelationship between bodies and situations. Lived embodiment disrupts dichotomies of mind and body, nature and culture, public and private and foregrounds experience (Young, 2005). How are embodied selves targeted in the interventions in sport which aim to bring the margins into the centre? What are the connections between the bodies that are targeted and those do the targeting?

Diversity: Policies and Practices

Stephen Wagg claims that policy interventions to promote social inclusion have two interrelated aspects; the role played by clubs and that of ‘the grass roots campaigns to save clubs’ both concerned to ‘mobilize prevailing interpretations of the word ‘community’’ (2004:16). It is the relationship between ‘outsider’ communities, situated as disadvantaged and the related notion of belonging and ‘insiders’, in which people situate themselves, which informs the discussion in this article. Community is an avowedly complex concept, as acknowledged by both academics and practitioners (Brown et al, 2006). For example, the Football Foundation in its *Final Report on Football and its Communities* notes that social change has led to re-constituted allegiances of class and kinship and in the geographical location of ‘communities and economic factors have led to the exclusion of some groups in society and thirdly, the notion of ‘community has been distorted and undermined because it has been “‘sprayed on” to all manner of initiatives to indicate feelings of inclusiveness and the overcoming of social deprivation’ (2006:9).

‘Community’, as deployed in football, is described as embracing ‘particular groups such as current and potential supporters from black and minority ethnic “communities”, those with disabilities and those from “disadvantaged” groups that are considered as such...those who have been labelled “community” targets’ (Brown et al., 2006:49). Women and girls are seen as belonging to a community in this sense because they too are bodies situated on the margins of sport where their physical absence has been marked (www.premier.league.com), either as practitioners or as supporters at football grounds, although the sport is increasing in popularity. The FA’s enthusiasm about its own commitment to promoting the women’s game, (www.thefa.com/Women) is not matched by the visibility or embodied presence of women (Caudwell, 2003). This is illustrated by the negative situating of women. Women’s teams are the first to be sacrificed when economies have to be made, even by clubs with an exemplary record in promoting diversity (www.cafc.co.uk/yourview.ink?messageid=15421&display) as in 2007, when Charlton Athletic saved £250,000 by disbanding their women’s team (Leighton, 2007).

The frequent deployment of the word 'community' in football is part of the conviviality which characterises the contemporary UK (Gilroy, 2004) which has implications for those seen as on the margins in football, which can be both positive and negative. Those who are included within 'community' can become both homogenised and problematised, as has been the case with Asian men and women (Asian Football Forum, 2005, Burdsey, 2007).

'Community' both situates embodied selves and is part of the experience of bodies as situations. Traditional white working class fans too have been subjected to homogenization, albeit differently, but nonetheless polarized as trouble makers and hooligans (Crabbe and Brown, 2004). 'Community' interests are reproduced through implementations of the policies and practices of anti-racism, diversity and cohesion. Although many organisations are labelled specifically as targeting matters of race and ethnicity, usually under the 'anti-racist' banner, their work embraces a much wider range, including not only people from ethnic minorities, but also women, girls, disabled people and disadvantaged young people who may have taken drugs and committed various offences. Organisations such as *KIO* and *FURD* receive government funding to target a wide area of disadvantage. This is expressed in the UK government policy statement that 'Arts and sport, cultural and recreational activity, can contribute to neighbourhood renewal and make a real difference to health, crime, employment and education in deprived communities' (PAT10, 1999:5). These organisations, however, have to bid for resources, for example from the National Lottery and other European Funding sources in order to develop their work and rely heavily upon the support of volunteers, most of whom are fans. There is increasing competition for funding among the different bodies involved in a climate of new initiatives and short-term projects and formulating bids constitutes an ever growing aspect of their work (see for example, Bradbury, 2001, Football Unites, Racism Divides, 2006). As the director of *FURD* commented in response to my questions about classificatory systems in the field of anti-racism:

The language of diversity? Whether you say ethnic minorities or minority ethnic or what...that's for funding, for bids. Now, we have to say the right things for European funding, Government funding

This compliance is a constitutive part of the processes whereby those on the margins are situated, although their objectives remain primarily concerned with promoting diversity and in transforming the practices, situations and embodied selves that are re-produced within football, especially among the fans, but the economic framework in which the agencies are positioned plays a significant role.

Such organisations, through the articulation and promotion of anti-racist practices and strategies, are implicated in negotiating new meanings for bodies on the margins and actively engage in 'explicit and systematic encounters with prevailing philosophies of race and ethnicity' (Schwarz, 2002:81). Racialization and ethnicization not only situate embodied selves on the margins, but they also constitute the lived bodies as situations. Anti-racism and discourses of social inclusion challenge and seek to subvert these philosophies of race which exploit different ideas about nature and culture and the naturalisation of embodied differences. Most exclusionary apparatuses are imbricated in the embodied practices of sport, including ideas about 'race', gender and able-bodiedness that are embedded in a naturalisation of 'race' (Wade, 2002) and the assertion of heterosexuality, as Jayne Caudwell argues using the example of women's football (2003), and draw upon repertoires of what is deemed 'natural'. This naturalization is more explicit in relation to gender through the segregation by regulatory bodies of sport into the women's and men's games (Hargreaves, 1994). Football, like most sports is highly gendered. The regulatory bodies which discipline and organise football are clearly segregated, although it is only the women's game which is marked as such. The 'World Cup' is the men's competition and gender is largely only noted when women are playing.

In sport the visibility of embodied difference is a key strategy in promoting social inclusion. For example club websites and those of the anti-racist organisations, include representations of a wide range of people participating in the sport. As the *KIO* officer who has responsibility for coordinating promotional activities and liaising with other organisations, acknowledged:

Look at the women's football on our [*KIO*] website. Gender is a priority area under the Community Chest... We want to increase that participation; getting girls and women into football. It's only just started for us...including women and girls on the website and there's a picture too in 2006 for the first time

Women have to become visible in order to promote their inclusion in football, although this is a very troubling visibility, which is far from carried over into full participation in league clubs. The presence of South Asian girls, wearing shalwar kameez and enjoying a game of football on the Kick it Out web site (www.kickitout.org.uk) presents a new departure, fairly understood as progress, but does not significantly challenge the invisibility, or at least marginalisation, of the women's game at club and national level and the lack of financial support and club resources to support women's teams (Woodward, 2007). These are both bodies *as* situations, whereby football as a game they play or as one they watch is not part of the body practices and lived experience or identification of these women and *in* situations, whereby women's identities are represented and understood in the wider social and cultural terrain. Gender presents a particularly difficult area for challenging traditional identifications, even if there is some acknowledgement of this, because not only does the social and cultural situation have to change, so too do lived bodies and embodied identities.

Embodied Selves: Football Identifications

For football fans, the sport is primarily focused upon belonging (Armstrong and Giulianotti, 1999) in a particularly partisan version. Belonging can be to the club and its history, a more local team or, at key moments, identifying with the nation and being part of its imagined and lived community (Anderson, 1971). Traditional football identifications are, however,

increasingly challenged by the commodification of the sport (Giulianotti, 2005). Identity provides a shared sense of belonging which is difficult to achieve and may, in fact, be unattainable, for example, because it feeds 'expectations of being together that are impossibly high' (Gilroy, 2005: 54). Paul Gilroy also suggests that the concept of identity may invoke notions of fixity that limit its usefulness in the context of global transformation and proposes the idea of 'conviviality'. He uses conviviality as a more relevant follow-on from 'multi-culturalism', which he claims to have broken down politically, as a means of understanding the 'processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multicultural an ordinary feature of social life in Britain's urban areas and in post-colonial cities elsewhere... that turns attention toward the always unpredictable mechanisms of identification' (2005: xv). Thus, Gilroy expresses the recent preference for the more dynamic notion of identification which highlights mobility and contingency rather than fixity. Identifications are enacted and embodied through sets of practices and meanings which situate embodied selves. Embodiment too can be fluid and ambivalent as situations and bodies as situations can challenge fixity. The security of this belonging remains central in sport and is manifest in histories and the personal and public narratives of spatial and temporal belonging that are an integral part of identification in sport. As Pnina Werbner has argued,

identities ... are not simply pre-given or inherited: they are formed, made and re-made: they exist in practice dialogically, through collective action and interaction.

(2002: 267)

One of the ways in which identities are made and re-made is through re-situated embodiment. Football still invokes strongly polarised oppositions and notions of fixity, often expressed through the idea of 'authenticity' that might differentiate between 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' followers of a team, a classification which has powerful resonance in spite of recent challenges (Crabbe, 2004, Crawford, 2003). However much the ethnographer, or indeed any social science researcher using qualitative methods, might seek to employ mobile, fluid

categories and conceptualisations, it remains the case that in many fields, the subjects of the research may doggedly hold on to binary systems and polarised allegiances, which have to be acknowledged. These identifications, however, are being transformed through the very ordinariness of multi-culture and of multi-ethnic societies that characterizes conviviality (Gilroy, 2005).

Football can be seen as offering a very strong sense of location (Armstrong and Giulianotti, 1999). It has even been categorised as ‘the most universal cultural phenomenon in the world’ (Goldblatt, 2006: xii). However, not only has the sense of belonging which football has promoted been difficult to achieve, but also, it has, at particular moments, been (and continues to be) associated with the social exclusion of racism, homophobia and misogyny. Although there has been an enormous growth in activities which aim to combat such exclusion by promoting social cohesion through wider participation in sport (DCMS/SU, 2002, DCMS, 2001, there are entrenched attitudes which resist as well as accommodate change. Football invokes loyalties that are located in different spatial contexts, for example at the level of the club and the ground itself; cities are split spatially, physically, ideologically and through historic religious allegiances, most marked in the UK example of Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers. Affiliations operate trans-nationally as well as at the level of nations, although boundaries are blurred, especially through the multi-national players who make up most English Premiership and other European major club teams, although this has done little to reduce abuse at grounds (McNulty, 2007), although abuse might take many different forms (Back et al, 1998, 2001). As Bill Schwarz (2002) has argued, Englishness, as a national identity, has been characterised by whiteness in post-war Britain. This articulation has been particularly associated with football and, at times, with the Union Jack, which was appropriated as a symbol of Englishness, which situates embodied selves in bounded ways. Gilroy, nonetheless, sees the more recent use of the St George’s flag as a more positive development that disrupts the links between the Union Jack and right wing, white Englishness in a shift which saw the substitution of ‘the more pliable associations of the flag of St George

for those of the discredited Union Jack' (2005: 106). Gilroy's optimism might be contested by some of what could be called the 'racial events' (Doane, 2006:259) of the 2006 men's World Cup, when some, albeit a few, England supporters waved the St George's flag to accompany chants of 'Ten German Bombers' and a range of racist expletives in German cities (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/5219906.stm>). The 'Ten German Bombers' chant, seeming to refer to the defeat of Germany by Britain and her allies in the second world war, has served as a shorthand signifier of xenophobia and racism and has been deployed by those who may not have much understanding, let alone memory of its genealogy, but which nonetheless constitutes these bodies as situations. Embodied selves speak as well as having a visible presence.

The embodied differences of social exclusion are also marked by absences, on the pitch and on the terraces and the invisibility of particular groups of people. Thus, it is not surprising that the anti-racist organisations give high priority to the embodied visibility and physical presence of underrepresented groups, in the team and at the ground. This is acknowledged as a big problem, for example by the white, male Director of *FURD*:

I think one of the big issues here is the lack of involvement of black and Asian spectators at professional games. Get a few black managers, coaches in the league clubs, but that's a gap. Of course the clubs may think they've done it because of the numbers of black players in their teams... There's still a danger of tokenism

Visibility is marked by the dominating presence of football insignia and expressions of allegiance, through purchasing and displaying club merchandise which has been expanded to include anti racist slogans and even 'Kick it Out' shirts worn by the team at photo shoots to secure the club's anti racist credentials, although visibility may not of itself constitute bodies as situations. The language of inclusion and exclusion is central to the processes of transformation, or to those of re-entrenchment of identifications in football. Activists, like the

director of *FURD*, hold onto the discourse of diversity, whilst acknowledging that this is largely not the language of fans.

Yes well we keep the anti racist language because there is an edge to it. Anti sounds as if there is a battle to be fought and there is. We used to say black and Asian then it was black and ethnic minority then minority ethnic. I couldn't get along with that one. There's one that says ethnic minority there is BEM [black and ethnic minority]... It's what they use in Local Authority youth work. I am not keen, no. In Europe it's all 'minorities', although we don't say 'black' when we're out there. Diaspora is not used. Not by the fans not in our work really. Ethnicity...Diversity, cohesion, social inclusion, exclusion.

Bodies on the margins are situated by the demands of the bureaucratic structures of liberal government which re-produce the version of multi-culturalism, which Gilroy describes, in the wider arena of global capitalism as 'the market-driven pastiche of multi-culture that is manipulated from above by commerce' (2005:142). 'Multi-culture' is articulated in specific ways in football and arguments for cohesion and diversity are framed more by notions of disadvantage and the desirability of including those who have been categorised as outsiders, than by any celebration of differences. However, football like all other commercial enterprises is, of course, profit and resource driven and whether the aim of activists and fans is to celebrate diversity or bring underrepresented groups into football, they are dependent on the practices, policies and resources of the state as well as the market. The 'pastiche of multi-culture' is seen by Slavoj Žižek as having some purchase because of the absence of governmental action and initiatives organised from below (1997), which is what informs Gilroy's critique of liberal democracy and the ambivalence of conviviality. Whilst campaigns that promote diversity and anti-racist fans might not be central to football, they are increasingly a physical presence at all major events and through routine practices, for example in effecting some changes at grounds and in the language of sport. Activists are only too aware of the game they are playing in their endeavours to survive in an increasingly

competitive field of providers in which they have to satisfy the requirements of this regulatory discourse in order to access resources and funding. Diversity is constituted through body practices, including language, which may or may not explicitly address its concerns. As one black, male activist said:

The fans understand these words though, like cohesion. They never use it but they say like in a pub 'we ought to get these Asian lads in. We ought to get the people who live round the ground to come to matches, get more of them playing'. That's cohesion, but they wouldn't use the word.

Market forces may not be all negative in their impact and a changing climate, wherein social inclusion and diversity have not only been 'put into discourse' (Foucault, 1981:11), but also become constitutive of the bodies as situations which participate, (or not), in sport, so that they may have begun to become part of common currency through the endeavours of anti-racist campaigns and fans. As the male, 'mixed race' *KIO* officer for Europe and media relations pointed out:

The World Cup was a plastic card sponsors' cup. More than it ever has been before. A corporate World cup. However, that is not all bad. Black and Asian people could get tickets through corporate sponsors...to be part of a members' group who could get tickets, say through Coca Cola, Play Station, using their own business contacts. This is anecdotal evidence...but black and Asian people didn't have to log on the FA saying they had been to millions of games. They didn't need all those qualifying caps...they can pay so they can get tickets

This suggests a challenge to the notion of the 'real' or 'authentic' fan, who has proven credentials and a re-situating of the football supporter:

You don't have to prove that you belong to get tickets. You needed proof you were a **real** fan. This time Asian couples went too. First time. OK if they had money. That's how it is.

There is an incremental shift from a discourse of authenticity in the identifications that are being made in sport here. The evidence may be anecdotal and the changes marginal, but such disclosures demonstrate some movement away from fixity of belonging and the 'life or death' discourse of football fandom, which could re-situate embodied selves that can coexist without contradiction.

Just as Gilroy's notion of conviviality can embrace both positive and negative dimensions, multi-culture has evolved into something that is both taken for granted as a feature of contemporary life in the UK, so too has the racism that accompanies it. New identifications of social inclusion have to negotiate as well as counter some of the negative traditions of belonging in football. Embodied selves are not only seen, they speak and are heard. Football chants play a significant part in signifying the ordinariness of belonging, but, because of their explicit hostility, they have also been the target of much of the work of anti-racist organisations. Expressions of identification with the team are most voluble through the audible presence of football chants, which have given voice to racist, homophobic and misogynist feelings in the past as well as contributing to more innovative re-articulations of popular culture. The following statement from one black, male activist is echoed by all those actively engaged in fighting racism:

Things are different. The thing is we've stopped the racist chants. It is as if that's been our big project... Well I think there have been some big changes banana throwing monkey noises have gone from the British game which is very encouraging but unfortunately there was the mass racial abuse against black England players in Madrid in November 2004 and that isn't so long ago and we are not happy about that.

However, this is qualified by this observation:

I can't help thinking that's part of *Kick it Out*. Just part of it because have we kicked racism out of the stands, so that it's now somewhere else. There is still a lot of racism out there. It goes deep. But its going at least it's moved from the terraces. There is anger there. Bad language but mostly it's not racist ...The way we have done it is to stop the racist chants. Everyone knows that now- no chanting. Some of them are still racist though and even say so but they know not to do it at the ground.

There is evidence of transformation and the possibility of re-situated embodied selves that challenge the constraints of racism and social exclusion, but this is accompanied by the worrying possibility that what has happened is a spatial re-location of racist practices.

Changing Times?

Although the campaigns that are involved in 'bringing in the margins', target a range of bodies on the margins in socially excluded groups within the remit of their work, as do the clubs in the football league through their 'community' work, there has been a shift from the classification of the target groups as victims towards a recognition of the lived bodies as situations of those who are 'on the margins'. As one black, male activist said:

Our message is fighting racism. It isn't just black people or to 'help' black people. It is for everybody. We are doing it for football. Not just for black people only.

Victims are situated bodies; bodies as situations are also agents. His position as actively working to fight racism situates these statements differently from the football clubs who defend their community programmes to the club board, as benefiting the public image of the club or of opening up a wider pool of players for the youth academy (Woodward, 2007): activists also seek to encourage wider participation in playing the game. The transformation within activism interrelates with the experience of fans and the wider terrain, including re-

situating the body practices of traditional fans, that is those situated at the centre, rather than on the margins, although there are clearly tensions.

The racists can be embarrassed by the fans who stand up to them. That is what we are trying to do. Place the racists in minorities so the majority of fans do stand up to them. But twenty or thirty guys in a pub are not going to get challenged are they? It's changing though.

It is largely accepted that, although there are transformations, these are often countered by negative manifestations of exclusion. It does, however, seem more likely that there has been a significant spatial re-location, for example in moving racism in particular, out of the ground and into other spaces, like the pub or in the less public spaces at the ground as this white male fan observed:

You don't have to hear people sort of chanting things. Just in half time conversation over the years you can hear people talking.

The other place is the street. As one black, male fan who attended the 2006 World Cup said:

The numbers flooding into the town centres made the big screen showings a different experience...There was more [racist, xenophobic] chanting in the town centres I only heard the Ten German Bombers Twice. At the ground it was quickly stopped by the fans...the chants were everywhere in the town centres ...It was bad. They were singing those songs. Really racist. Fascists. Women were getting a lot of abuse...it was pretty primal rubbish...In some ways we have kicked racism out of the ground but into other places, into the town. Outside the ground.

It is noteworthy that the interweaving of gender, race and ethnicity are acknowledged here in the re-situating of embodied selves and there has been a shift from the segregation of different aspects of 'othering'. Anti-racism now specifically embraces the multi-faceted phenomena that constitute social exclusion. Gender presents some difficulty, even for the activists who recognise the differentiation that is institutional and structural in sport. Whilst women might be encouraged to participate, either as spectators in the 'family' atmosphere which some clubs seek to promote at grounds, or as members of under-represented groups in the 'community', the game which is the focus of all activity is the *men's* game. Women may be encouraged to join in, but this is always underpinned by the global dominance of the men's game, with its celebrity players and massive salaries at the top levels. Women's situation highlights the slippage between body practices, that is playing the game and being a follower or spectator in the politics and practices of bringing in the bodies on the margins.

Fans and volunteers who work with children and young people,(see also www.farenet.org) for example organising football matches and in the Street Kick games also say that girls are often reluctant to play and may prefer to watch. As one black male volunteer said:

We do get them coming but like in schools the girls seem to prefer to watch. It's hard getting them playing. We do try. Yeah in some schools they do like primary schools but the secondary stage that's more of a problem

What is called a preference demonstrates the body as situation and some of the ways in which gender presents a disruption to the transformation of embodied selves, which could however, be productive. As one young south Asian, Muslim woman told me:

Yes, I like watching the games. We go to United it's big where I live. It's OK, Yeah, it's only a game, but I enjoy going and following the team. I never used to be

interested, but since I've come down here [to work at FURD] I thought I'd give it a try. See what all the fuss is about.

This young woman astutely notes that indeed it is 'only a game' and she has no problem with situating herself as a fan along with other aspects of embodied, situated subjectivity. People do situate themselves in a manner which is not always contradictory and can accommodate different aspects of experience. Football can be a part of popular culture that is accommodated along with other identifications of religion, kinship, occupation and location and situated bodies that are themselves situations. Transformation may be incremental and involve the cohabitation of diverse differentially weighted identifications.

Conclusion

The politics of diversity has seeped into sport as it has in other areas of social life. It has become ordinary in many situations such that it has become possible for the margins to be re-constituted within the terrain of popular culture which includes football. It is not that there are no longer 'racial events', or that racism is not routine, but bodies on the margins have been re-situated, albeit often in incremental ways. Fans play a significant part in the promotion of practices of diversity and social inclusion, historically through the development of organisations like *FURD*, *KIO* and *FARE* and through the routine, embodied practices with which they engage. Routine encounters and body practices as well as more dramatic events and campaigns such as *FARE*'s events and Street Kick organised at the 2006 World Cup create new ways of situating embodied selves.. Whilst some fans may be the motor for change, others, through their physical presence and body practices, are a source of social exclusion, which prevents transformations in the embodied identities that can be taken up in sport. Racism has, nonetheless, been explicitly addressed through attempts to attend to those bodies on the margins; conviviality, despite its name is both negative and positive and usefully describes the ambiguities and tensions both between the positive and negative

dimensions of the relationship between the anti-racist bodies and the embodied selves with whom they engage and the disjuncture between policies and practices and especially the lived, situated experience of those perceived as in the centre and those on the margins. Although combating racism is not and never has been central to sport, it has, however become a material possibility, so that situations can be re-constituted and bodies re-situated in sport.

Lived bodies open up opportunities for new ways of belonging that transgress traditional limitations that are spatially, corporeally and temporally located, albeit often in uncomfortable ways; progress is limited and contradictory. However, change is explicitly acknowledged by activists, albeit within the context of resilient racist discourses, but transformations and new identifications are apparent in the increased visibility of a more diverse constituency at grounds and on the web sites. New fans and activists may further challenge the distinctions that have been between ‘authentic and ‘inauthentic’ supporters and exercise an agency that counters the culture of dependency and the notion of being victims in the classification of under-represented groups in sport.

It becomes possible to follow football, without eschewing other, more deeply held identifications. There is no simple, linear trajectory of progress and change, but a series of disruptions and re-alignments which do, however, suggest that new identifications are emerging, even in football.

By focusing on situated embodiment and bodies as situations it is possible to note the ambiguities of bodies in the policies aimed to promote social inclusion. The experience of social exclusion encompasses all the aspects such as gender, ‘race’, ethnicity, dis/ability that are increasingly the focus of the policies and practices of organisations promoting cohesion. Those who belong to these organisations have to negotiate their own situations Bodies mark the visibility of differences and inequalities as well as the triumphs which human beings are capable of achieving. Thus viewing bodies as situations as well as situated by external

circumstances and the policies and practices through which governments attempt to recruit citizens allows for some understanding of the ambiguities and contradictions of experience which conviviality includes. Diversity too is ambivalent and, indeed, diverse, as policies directed at promoting inclusion and bringing in those on the margins can also reinforce inequalities as well as challenging them.

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ⁱ I conducted in depth interviews with 6 paid activists (3 full time, (2 men, 1 woman) and 3 part time, (2 women, 1 man) 3 south Asian, 2 African Caribbean, 1 white) and 8 volunteers (5 men, 3 women) 3 south Asian, 3 African, 1 'mixed race' (his description), 1 white) at *Football Unites: Racism Divides (FURD)* and at *Kick it Out (KIO)* and undertook textual analyses of their websites and those of *Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE)* in order to explore implementation of the policies that I had identified in my earlier research