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1

Introduction: Regulating Bodies, Regulatory Bodies

This is a book about embodied sporting practices. The centrality of the body in sport is often taken for granted, but in this book I seek to unravel some of the diverse and complex meanings and practices of bodies in sport. Although bodies are pivotal to what constitutes sport and to how it is understood and experienced, it has not often been sporting bodies that have been cited as the main source of empirical or illustrative material in the development of theories of the body and embodiment. Bodies are material; they include the physical bodies that are involved in sporting practices and the organizational bodies which regulate what is called sport. These bodies are also physical in the sense that they are material and involve social institutions, but the living human body has been seen as distinctive because, unlike, inanimate matter, the living body has some notion of consciousness or intentionality attributed to it. I focus upon the notion of embodiment, rather than ‘the body’ or even ‘bodies’ because embodiment always involves a self who is embodied and a self which cannot be disentangled from its corporeality. Embodiment challenges the division between subject and object. The idea of embodiment draws upon phenomenological accounts in which action and behaviour cannot be conceived of as outcomes of will which is then executed by the body. The concept is not without its problems, as I shall demonstrate, but it remains useful because of its incorporation of self and corporeality and of being, doing and thinking. Bodies and selves are inextricably linked, with the body that each of us inhabits offering both possibilities and opportunities and limitations and constraints. To begin with ‘the body’, or even ‘bodies’ in the plural, which might

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encompass more of the diversities and multiplicities of those who are embodied, suggests being outside looking on, as if the body is what is left after the self has gone. In everyday usage, 'the body' might even refer to the dead body. I do, of course, use 'the body', which appears frequently in the literature, but I want to state at the outset that my concern is with embodiment, and my argument is underpinned by the inextricable elision of body and self and the materiality of embodiment. The embodied selves in this book are made and remade through the sporting practices with which they engage and through the diverse regulatory apparatuses of sport.

This book is inspired by reflections upon the specificities and materialities of sport, which have arisen from the work undertaken, firstly, for the *Economic and Social Science Research Council* and subsequently for the *Arts and Humanities Research Council* on questions of equality, inequality and diversity in sport, through its embodied practices, organization and representation. This has been through broadcasting, in my most recent work using the example of the BBC World Service. This research, which has combined discursive analysis of the media in reproducing meanings about sport for the *Tuning In: Sport Across Diasporas at the BBC World Service* and interviews with activists in the field of diversity politics, for *Re-configuring Footballing Identities*, highlights the intersection of representations and embodied selves, which underpins the theoretical concerns of this book. It is this intersection which also presents one of the intellectual dilemmas of exploring bodies in sport, namely the relationship between representations and corporeal, lived experience.

Sport presents its own problems, with a tradition of separation, especially of mind and body. Bodies and selves are, however, inextricably intertwined, although sport can demonstrate spectacular feats of what in common parlance is called exercising 'mind over matter'. My purpose is to focus upon the embodied and enfolded subject and to explore the centrality of embodied selves in sport, using the vehicle of sport and sporting practices to consider some of the ways in which bodies and embodiment can be theorized in contemporary culture, without resorting to binary logic and by accommodating the intersections between material corporeality and the symbolic and social systems through which embodied selves are made and experienced. The bodies in this book are selves who make and remake experience and selfhood through a range of practices in the field

of sport, which is shaped by these embodied selves who participate in such practices and by the regulatory bodies which constitute the organizational apparatuses of sport. Enfleshed bodies are endowed with more status than Judith Butler's (1993) anatomical bodies. These are R.W. Connell's (1995) living breathing bodies which are born, reproduce, lactate, die and, in sport, engage in a range of body practices involving bone, skin, muscle and brain with a nervous system that experiences pain, excitement, distress and a whole range of feelings, emotions and affects.

Sporting body practices and organizing bodies

Bodies matter in sport and sporting bodies are material. The materiality of bodies involves a complex interplay of socially constructed, symbolic and affective forces and is bio-social. Bodies are biological and anatomical and social and symbolic and include contradictions, however emphatic the distinctions that are made in the field of sport. Sports are organized and classified according to what people do with their bodies by moving through space in a variety of ways – running, jumping, throwing, punching, dodging and the skilful manipulation of sporting artefacts and equipment. The kind of body one has and its size are determinants of which competitions one can enter and even, historically, which sport can be played. Sports are very commonly organized into women's sports and men's sports; gender, based on outwardly observable physical and more recently genetic differences, has provided a key criterion of classification for inclusion and exclusion and women have been prevented from playing some sports because they are women. However ambiguous and fluid gender categories may be in some areas of contemporary life, in sport there is a strong adherence to binary differentiation into categories of women and men. Racialized characteristics, similarly, have provided criteria of exclusion from sporting competitions and participation, with bodies being key markers of difference.

Sport measures and quantifies bodies, sometimes formally as part of its rule governing system, as in boxing, into weight categories based on measurable body mass. Sporting practices always involve physical activity of some sort and it is very often the limitations of the body and the damage that is incurred that prevents or constrains sporting success. Athletes often push themselves physically

to the limits of physical endurance and competence, even though the damage so incurred can be disastrous. A career can be ended by injury to a single limb. Thus the field of sport offers a particularly productive site for the exploration of embodiment, body practices and embodied selves. It may be assumed that bodies are central to sport but how are these embodied selves regulated, classified and organized? How do they regulate themselves? Bodies in sport and sporting bodies cannot be understood simply, or as separate categories, as if bodies were not inextricably connected to the selves who inhabit them and the social worlds in which sport is experienced. Sport offers a significant site of the intersection between the lived experience of actual bodies and discursive systems of representation. The centrality of bodies and body practices extends beyond the corporeal and includes the bodies that govern sport and establish its rules and regulations, both formally and informally. Sport is part of a wider social world. Sporting bodies are regulated by those who engage in sporting practices and by the diverse regulatory bodies of the social world. These regulatory bodies range from governments and the international and national sports' bodies through voluntary associations and the apparatuses through which sporting practices are routinely enacted and experienced at the local level. Which embodied selves are permitted to participate and which are excluded have been determined by the formal and informal rulings of the various bodies which regulate sport. Different axes of power intersect through the controlling elements of modern bureaucracies of which sport has many with more fluid principles found in organizations that challenge orthodoxies, such as cultural movements that struggle against social exclusion manifest in racism, homophobia or based on gender, disability or ethnicity, as more loosely formed group resistance.

Governments have long targeted the body as a means of creating 'good citizens' as expressed in the 'healthy mind healthy body' dictum. Sport is seen as a healthy physical activity which promotes a fit active body and thus a fully integrated and participating citizen. Boundaries are blurred between the fit, disciplined body and the active citizen. Bodies are also the target of intervention, for example, through the multiple bodies of governmentality, because of the assumption that 'we are our bodies' (Bourdieu, 1992) and that citizen selves can be transformed and recreated through body practices.

Sports heroes and celebrities occupy a cultural terrain in which the media play an increasingly powerful part creating role models and embodied identificatory figures. In this book regulating bodies extend beyond the governance of sport and encompass its governmentality. The media are included in the apparatuses through which embodied selves are made and remade. The sport, media, sponsorship nexus presents a mechanism that dominates the representation of bodies and embodied selves. This book looks at the relationship and connections between the two; between the regulatory bodies of sport and the embodied selves who engage in sport through sets of embodied practices.

The embodied practices of sport are also sources of enormous pleasure for those who participate and for those who are spectators. Sport is fun. It is also challenging and frequently involves competition, but to engage in body practices that extend the possibilities of corporeality and which permit the deepest enjoyment of physicality, as well as the discipline required, raises sporting embodied practices beyond the banal and the routine. Sensations, sensibilities and sensuality are all implicated in sporting embodied practices. Bodies are transported by different pleasures, whether watching or participating. There is no small element of sheer joy in sport that is sometimes obscured by routines and even more by regulatory practices.

Thinking the body

Bodies are not only central to sports performance and achievement, thinking the body in sport is also deeply problematic and indicative of the wider intellectual terrain of theorizing bodies and embodiment. This book is about some of these problems and aims to make a contribution to the theoretical literature on bodies and embodiment using the empirical vehicle of sport. Critical theory emerging from other empirical fields has been applied to sport, but there has been less two-way traffic with theoretical approaches arising from the study of sport being applied more widely, as Jennifer Hargreaves (2002) has argued. Sport and sporting practices provide a lens through which to view the tensions, interrelationships and connections between corporeality and the social world embodied selves inhabit. What sort of problems does thinking about bodies generate?

This book engages with the problem of bodies, notably with ways of theorizing the body and embodiment, by examining the relationship between the bodies which take part in sport and the bodies through which these activities are organized and made meaningful, thus bringing together corporeality and embodied selves and the social world of regulatory bodies, which, like bodies, are diverse and characterized by multiple inequalities. Embodied selves are differently lived and differently situated and, especially for those marked by inequalities, a focus upon bodies and body practices might carry the threat of reductionism and of an overemphasis on physicality. Feminist critics have been troubled by focusing on 'the body' because of its associations with the fixity of corporeally based understandings of gender difference.

My questions in exploring embodied sporting practices include that of how it is possible to acknowledge and address the materiality of embodiment without resorting to reducing the self to the flesh. If you take on bodies, especially if you focus on bodies, does that mean that that is all there is? To target bodies, even in their multiplicities might suggest a reductionism that marginalizes other dimensions of being human. Being reduced to one's anatomical body is particularly perilous for those who have suffered from social exclusion; the bodies on the margins (Woodward, 2009). Alternatively, an excess of social constructionism could lead to an imbalance that diminishes recognition of the materiality of the flesh and the very real experiences of bodies and their practices. Sport demonstrates well the limitations as well as the achievements of corporeality; sport is marked by the successes of physical excellence, the pleasure of physical activity and the fragility of embodiment and the danger of physical damage that can so often restrict sporting body practices and success.

The book explores and develops understandings of embodiment and the relationship between bodies and selves and bodies and communities, using sport as a site in which, not only are material bodies paramount through body practices, but also the bodies which regulate and organize those living, breathing bodies are crucial. Embodied selves are reproduced and represented through the activities and practices of the wider society and culture as well as through the routine practices, for example, of training and of competition in the sport involved. The book considers the extent to which transformations can be made and bodies and selves reformed through the

interventions of the diverse bodies that regulate sport by focusing on different materialities and especially the interrelationship of different kinds of bodies, the corporeal and the regulatory. Its theoretical framework deploys post-Foucauldian approaches to the mechanisms of regulation (Brown, 2003; Burchell et al., 1991a; Markula, 1995; Rose, 1996b, 1999), and examines the limitations of an overemphasis on the discursive, including the rejection of psychoanalytical dimensions of identification associated with such approaches and debates that are central to the development of Foucauldian analyses, including Judith Butler's.

Much of the literature on embodiment in sport draws upon Merleau Ponty's phenomenology. Lived bodies are central to 'being in the world' in the phenomenological sense. This book engages more directly with the materiality of bodies and feminist phenomenological critiques of embodiment (de Beauvoir, 1989; Young, 2005b) and in particular the possibilities afforded by de Beauvoir's reading of the body as a situation as well as being situated which are conceptualizations explored by Toril Moi (2000). Developments of de Beauvoir's work on embodiment offer particularly useful ways of combining the material bodies of lived experience with the social, cultural and political context.

Deleuzian understandings of becoming and the notion of assemblage offer a radical critique which has also been developed in feminist critiques (Buchanan and Coleman, 2000) and particularly those such as Rosi Braidotti (1994, 2002), who combines aspects of the work of Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari with Luce Irigaray's difference-based feminist critique. Few of these thinkers write about sport but the theoretical frameworks they suggest provide interesting opportunities for rethinking embodiment through the prism of sport. The empirical field of sport is deployed in order to address contemporary debates about embodiment and the status of the body in relation to identification and the ways in which identities are adopted by exploring the productive interconnections between the social constructionism and the materiality of corporeality.

Sports methodologies: Sporting practices

Sport presents a particular field of investigation in terms of methodological concerns, methods and what constitutes empirical evidence

and which sources are reliable. Sports studies and the sociology of sport intersect with other forms of sports writing and representation, including media coverage of sports events, literary, cinematic and artistic representations and journalism. The boundary between the best journalism and what might otherwise be classified as literature is not always clear, nor should it necessarily be. Journalistic accounts may routinely be characterized by hyperbole and partisan bias, but sport also attracts some of the best and most well-known writing, with authors such as Ernest Hemingway, George Plimpton and Ring Lardner. Particular sports have literary histories, some more so than others; cricket (Cardus, 1947, 1970; Cardus and Arlott, 1986; James, 1963), or boxing (Egan, 1812; Mailer, 1975; Oates, 1987). Such accounts justifiably are included in the source material, which I draw upon in this book, although not without critical evaluation.

Methodological concerns are of prime importance in relation to the theoretical underpinnings of the research. Theory and methodology overlap. Phenomenological approaches are included in the theoretical discussion, especially of different understandings of embodiment and in the conceptualizations of lived bodies and bodies as situations. Phenomenology, with its powerful stress on the testimonies of the subjects of research and on their perceptions of their lived experience has long informed ethnographic studies, for example in anthropology where it has even been claimed that phenomenology constitutes an albatross (Ilde, 2009). However, I suggest that moving into post-phenomenology is not the only solution. The perception of research subjects is not a transparent reflection, nor is ethnography the only possibility. Meanings and practices in sport are made and remade through a number of different genres and fields, including material bodies. It is not necessary to reject the potential of phenomenology, but rather it is necessary to be attentive to the relationship between the researcher and the subjects of research and the diverse materialities that constitute embodied experience.

Reflection upon methodologies and methods is underpinned by consideration of the role of the researcher and the processes through which knowledge is produced and the situatedness of the research process (Haraway, 1991; Stanley, 1997) and as applied to the body practices of sport (Wheaton, 2002, 2004; Woodward, 2008a). Participant observation and ethnography have frequently been used in work on sport and such approaches are particularly attractive

because of the embodied practices with which athletes, at whatever level engage. The immersion of the researcher into the body practices of the chosen sport presents great advantages including insights into the lived experience of the sport. Such methods have often been used, in boxing for example (Wacquant, 1995a, 1995b, 2004), as a means of accessing insider knowledge through being in the material, enflashed world of the boxer. A critical approach to methodologies and to feminist and feminist-inspired critiques to inform the analysis, especially in terms of situating the researcher and acknowledging the situatedness of researchers and the subjects of research (Woodward, 2007a, 2009).

Those who conduct the investigations and generate knowledge are also complicit in the processes through which knowledge is reproduced. Increasingly, researchers whose work on sport draws upon feminist perspectives, including those, such as Free and Hughson (2003) and McKay, Messner and Sabo, described as 'pro-feminist' (2000). Such work engages with masculinities in a way that makes men visible as men, rather than assuming men as the homogenous, non-gendered norm of humanity, moving beyond the female/male binary and putting women into the discursive regime of sport. I would include the lived body of the researcher too.

Not only work carried out by women, but research within an avowedly feminist framework, has been subjected to criticisms of excessive ontological complicity and on occasion of essentialism, for example in the criticisms levelled at French feminist work on embodied gender difference such as the earlier work of Luce Irigaray, who has argued that the notion of gender cannot embrace the specificity of women's embodiment (1991). She demands the recognition of embodied gender difference and presents a powerful critique of the lack of recognition of women's bodies and women's lives in Western culture. This is one aspect of the criticism that has been made of feminist work in relation to its epistemology. The other stresses methodology, for example where the starting point of research is women's experience (Smith, 1997; Stanley and Wise, 1993). In particular, feminist standpoint epistemology, a hotly contested conceptualization, has been criticized, for example, by Wacquant, as holding 'that women's subjugation puts them in a privileged position to produce true knowledge' (1993: 497). Similarly, the development of Chicago School ethnography, involving the participation of men in

sports research, might suggest a similar, albeit largely unacknowledged, privileging of the researcher's position (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, 2005).

Sport is physical for practitioners and for spectators; they are drawn into the spectacle and, as Vivien Sobchack argues in relation to film (2004), spectatorship is a corporeal practice in which all the senses are implicated. The researcher too is physically situated, although, if not a participant, at more of a distance. Although in less dramatic an experience, the researcher, for example, in the gym or at the game, witnesses the regimen of physical exertion, which nonetheless can be powerful. You can smell, hear and see the experience of embodied sporting practices. Spectators' reactions are also physical sensations. In the case of boxing, we are reminded of the flesh at every turn. Joyce Carol Oates suggests this is embedded in the genealogy of boxing (Oates, 1987: 42).

What underpins my interest is the tension implicated in the situation of the researcher. The insider/outsider dichotomy and that between objectivity and subjectivity on which some of these dilemmas are predicated are based on far too crude a polarization. The research process can never be totally 'inside' or completely 'outside', but involves an interrogation of situatedness and how 'being inside' relates to lived bodies and their practices and experiences. There are myriad ways of being 'inside' sport, although actually engaging in the sport physically is the most dramatic. As the cricketer and sports writer Ed Smith, whose work crosses some of the journalistic, practitioner and literary boundaries, notes of the relationship between sport and life; there are multiple ways of 'doing' sport and of it being part of your life (2008). However, it is possible that the more one is immersed in it, the less one recognizes the specificities of engagement. What is often missing in the debate on methodologies, however, is a recognition of the gendered experience of all the lived bodies involved, however they are classified or classify themselves.

One sport, perhaps because it is so marked by traditional gender binaries, which illustrates particularly well the assumptions of immersion and the lack of critical awareness of situation, in spite of its explicit dualisms, is boxing. The majority of ethnographies conducted in boxing have been carried out by men (Beattie, 1996; de Garis, 2000; Sugden, 1996; Wacquant, 2004, 1995a, 1995c) as have the great boxing books (Hazlitt, 1982; La Motta, 1970; Mailer, 1975;

McIlvanney, 1996; McRae, 1996; O'Connor, 2002) especially the biographies of Muhammad Ali (Ali and Durham, 1975; Hauser, 1991; Kram, 2002; Marqusee, 2000; Remnick, 1998). Similarly, histories of the sport and expositions of its social significance (e.g., Sammons, 1988; Early, 1994; Gorn, 1986) have male authors. Joyce Carol Oates's is something of a lone voice in the canon of great boxing books (1987). There has been work done on gyms where women box (e.g., Mennesson, 2000) but women researchers are more likely to conduct research by observation and interview, rather than emphasizing participation (e.g., the research of Lafferty discussed in Lafferty and McKay, 2005).

However, men's boxing along with many sports still invites participation in inclusion in a network of colluding masculinities. To be able to say that you 'hang out' with boxers, as 'one of the guys' supports an identification with a powerful, long-standing version of masculinity. The networks through which the culture of boxing is forged remain reminiscent of the *Fancy*, the term used to describe the amusements of sporting men from diverse social backgrounds, in the Regency period in the early nineteenth century in Britain, especially in London (Egan, 1812). Pierce Egan's pugilistic writing in the *Boxiana* series (1812–1829) described not only the theatricality of pugilism and the spectacle of fights, but also the social networks where identifications with masculinity through sporting, drinking and gambling pursuits at times transcended differences of social class. Boxing is illustrative of the gendered specificities of traditional sporting embodied practices and raises some significant issues about the processes through which knowledge is produced, especially about the relationship between the researcher and the subject of the research. Boxing, perhaps more than most sports, invites such dualisms and privileges notions of inclusion and exclusion as one of the defence mechanisms in play in a sport that is so often under attack in the public realm. In this book I am attentive to such collusions and seek to make them visible.

Few ethnographies of sport by male researchers acknowledge or make visible the researcher's gendered identity and maleness often passes unquestioned (Wheaton, 2002). This complicity does not only apply to ethnographic accounts. It extends into other areas of sports research where there is participation in and collusion with the gendered sporting culture even if there is not physical involvement

by the researcher in the actual sporting practices (Messner, 2002). Ethnography is one particularly pertinent approach to research, which may be subject to the question of ontological complicity (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) as is the production of authentic 'truth' or an inside world, sometimes couched in terms of the objective–subjective dualism, which have much wider application outside sports research. In order to explore embodied sporting practices and in particular the relationship between the material bodies that participate in sport at all levels and the regulatory bodies that reconstitute them, this book includes consideration of interconnections between different texts and the relationship between all sorts of bodies.

Chapter summaries

The theme of the relationship between regulatory bodies and the bodies they regulate is explored in relation to different sporting practices through the book. Chapter 2, 'Body Matters', sets out the debates with which the book engages in relation to the 'problem of bodies', and the relationship between the bodies that participate in sport and those that regulate its practices in the context of contemporary debates about 'the body' and bodies. This chapter maps out the debates and some of the history of thinking about bodies in sport. What problems does 'thinking the body' pose? How can embodiment be explained without either limiting embodied selves to the material body or, conversely, to a surface upon which social inscriptions are made? This chapter presents some of the problems of theorizing embodiment that have particular resonance within sport and engages with some of the tensions that persist, notably between representations and corporeality and the points of disruption as well as connection between subjectivity and objectivity. Phenomenological critiques have been influential within the study of sporting body practices and this chapter presents a critical discussion of these approaches, which also suggests ways of reworking phenomenology. The problem of thinking bodies also raises questions about the status of the embodied self in the process of effecting change. My argument suggests how change can be addressed by questioning the idea of a linear narrative or epochal transformations and considering the multiplicities of transformation and the interaction between material bodies and social and cultural practices and interventions.

Chapters 3 and 4 bring together bodies in sport and sporting regulatory bodies in the field of categorization. Chapter 3 focuses on sport as a field of enquiry and as a significant social, cultural, political and economic terrain, starting with which rules and practices make up what is called sport. This chapter looks at what constitute the embodied practices that have been and are classified as sport, in order to set up the book's concern with how interventions in the regulation of bodies and embodied selves work in sport. Subsequent chapters focus on the different theoretical approaches that have been deployed to understand different aspects of the relationship between sporting bodies and bodies of regulation, for example as illustrated by the phenomenological practices of lived bodies and the practices of Foucauldian regulatory bodies.

Chapter 3, 'Sport: Bodies at Play?', maps out the field of sport and engages critically with debates about definitions of sport and sporting practices, the significance of sport as play and the relationship between play, games and contests, by exploring some of the distinctions between pre-modern and modern sport (Giulianotti, 2005a; Guttmann, 2005; Ingham and Loy, 1973, 1993; Loy, 1968). The transition into the period of modern sport is marked by the changing relationship between the governance and the apparatuses of regulation in sport, evident in a range of sports which are covered in the book, such as athletics, boxing, cricket and football (soccer). A focus upon the ludic dimensions of sport and the universality of its rules can obscure the marginalization of some groups and the inequalities that so mark the field of sport and its histories. Sporting bodies are temporally and spatially situated within different fields, ranging from specific bodies, such as the Olympic Committee, the IOC, Athletics Association (AA), the Football Association (FA), the Test and County Cricket Board (TTCB) and the World Boxing Association (WBA), to legislative and quasi-governmental bodies and the media which plays a key role in the making and remaking of sport. The chapter highlights some of the histories of the making of the healthy and 'normal' sporting body and the evolution of regulation in sport, for example in relation to the articulation of gender, sexuality, able-bodiedness and race and the construction of success and failure in sporting practices.

Chapter 4, 'Equalities and Inequalities: Diversity and Neo-Liberal Dilemmas', focuses upon some of the dilemmas and tensions between the inequalities that persist in sport and the opportunities

that participation offers. The chapter starts with a discussion of equality within discourses of liberalism and the problems of equality and difference and the move towards the idea of diversity as a solution to the oppositional language of difference. This chapter also addresses the strategies and practices of Foucault's notion of governmentality, for example as applied by Nikolas Rose (1996a, 1999), that have been adopted to promote greater social inclusion and cohesion through sport and explores the measure of transformations that have and have not been made possible. Using the examples of those classified as outsiders on grounds of gender, ethnicity or 'race', especially, theorizing the body can be seen to present the dilemma of reductionism and the threat of being reduced to the body, whereby success or failure is measured in relation to corporeal characteristics. Sports like soccer, cricket and boxing have a long tradition of social exclusion and inclusion and of particular class, 'race', 'ethnic' and gender affiliations which demonstrate the centrality of material embodied differences which inform debates about equality and inequality and social inclusion.

Chapter 5, 'Embodied Identities: Situated Bodies, Bodies as Situations', highlights the centrality of embodiment in sport through the evolution of regulatory practices, for example in the tradition of Juvenal's *mens sana in corpore sano*, which at different historical moments has been applied to different social, ethnic and cultural groups, where the healthy person is constructed as the physically healthy individual. What identities are configured in sport and what problems emerge from seeing sport as a site where such embodied identities are forged? This also raises the need to address some of the problems of 'thinking the body'. For example, the devaluing of the body in relation to the mind can be lived in the experience of social disadvantage which operates in contradictory ways in sport, which has been addressed in phenomenological accounts which challenge the mind-body binary (Bourdieu, 1992; Crossley, 2001; Merleau-Ponty, 1962) and the centrality of body practices in the making of gendered identities (Connell, 1995, 2002; Young, 2005a). This chapter explores the possibilities of different aspects of embodied selves and looks at how actual bodies are lived, situated and at the concept of bodies as situations (Beauvoir, 1949; Moi, 1999). Individual and collective endeavours in sport focus upon the material body. Sport has been seen as an appropriate route for black

young men, as in athletics, boxing and the divisions which operate within cricket, which could reinforce inequalities or provide opportunities for agency and resistance (Carrington, 1998; James, 1963). Cricket offers a good example of historical reworkings of class and gender binaries and the operation of racialization and ethnicization (Carrington, 2001; Tomlinson, 2007) as does boxing, through the subtle injunctions of power as well as its more coercive manifestations (Sugden, 1996; Wacquant, 2001, 2004; Woodward, 2007a). This chapter presents the argument that bodies are both situated and are themselves situations, in order to accommodate all elements of the materiality of embodiment, thus combining analyses of embodiment with those of regulation.

Chapter 6, 'Beyond Text: Spectacles, Sensations and Affects', suggests other possibilities for interrogating what Butler calls the 'discursive limits of sex' (1993) in relation to embodied selves. The chapter explores how sport invites spectatorship and very powerful allegiances, for example through the identifications of fans and supporters and through performance and spectacle. Identifications and affiliations in sport can also be understood within the parameters of belonging and becoming (Braidotti, 2002; Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) and seen not to follow a linear path. Meanings about body practices and embodied selves are recreated through routine practices, for example in the gym and the public arena of representation and the media, and this chapter looks at an example of broadcasting which brings together everyday followers and media heroes, using the example of the BBC World Service coverage of sporting heroes. Celebrities (Whannel, 2002; Cashmore, 2004), whether configured as sporting heroes, personalities or villains, are a key component in the production of meanings about embodied sporting identities. This chapter explores the status of such representations and the identifications that are made by examining the phenomenon of the sporting spectacle and the celebrities who inhabit these spaces as well as those who are invisible and under-represented. Spectacles such as The Olympics offer a site at which bodies are central to the political iconography of sport as manifest in some of the big moments at the Games, including the podium salutes of Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Games. Media representations include live events, television and film and there are distinctions that can be made, especially between the live event and its representation

on screen (Oates, 1987). This is used in this chapter to explore the assemblage of sensations and affects which constitute the embodied self (Sobchack, 2004) and the impact of the affective turn in sport which goes beyond visibility and the visual to include aspects of the sensate and sentient body such as sensations of hearing, touch and smell and emotions and affects.

Chapter 7, 'Beyond Bodies', examines the extent to which body projects and practices facilitate transformations and the degree to which, in sport, such interventions may or may not transgress and contravene regulatory practices. The promise of monsters (Braidotti, 1996) and of cyborgs (Haraway, 1990), which inform sporting practices that range from technologies of health and nutrition, the technoscience of sports science to pharmaceutical interventions, for example in athletics, although there is extensive evidence across a range of sports. The chapter cites the example of the Paralympic sprinter Oscar Pistorius and his status in sport as 'Blade Runner'. Cyborg thinking offers one explanatory framework which has to be negotiated within a framework of ethics (Walsh and Giulianotti, 2006) and a critique of power. This chapter includes the crossing of other boundaries, such as those between human and machine and human and animal (Haraway, 1991, 2007). Sport invites transformations of the body as well as providing a site where the boundaries of the human body can be interrogated and challenged as well as possibly reinstated. Self-regulation and techniques of the self suggest the transgression of body boundaries but also demonstrate tensions between regulatory bodies and the material bodies they target and present only limited acknowledgement of the inner as well as the outer worlds through which selves are made (Butler, 1990; Grosz, 1994). This chapter explores how sustainable the reiteration of fluidity can be in explaining embodiment and the relationships between different materialities. Boundaries can be set through specific assemblages.

Chapter 8, 'Conclusion', returns to the initial 'problem of bodies' and Butler's question about the relationship between material bodies and regulatory discursive regimes and brings together the arguments of the book which extend beyond the constraints of a polarization between social inscriptions and material corporeality, permitting a conceptualization of bodies and selves as assemblages. Bodies are both situations and situated – assemblages themselves and part of the

systems which constitute assemblages in the Deleuzian sense. However, there is a self and even a narrative of that self which retains some continuity of energy which is bounded to some extent by whatever changing body the self lives in, in the world. Sporting bodies and sporting practices offer the possibility of transformation and of retrenchment and also highlight the disjunctions and disruptions as well as the continuities between disciplinary regimes and regulatory practices and the material bodies which they target. The conclusion revisits the concept of change and points to a reformulation of the moments through which change can be seen to be effected, both incrementally and in significant ways which can be understood as multiplicity, where change involves movement rather than a simple forward trajectory.

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